The Right to Vote

“Voting is easy and marginally useful, but it is a poor substitute for democracy, which requires direct action by concerned citizens.”

– Howard Zinn

Human Rights Program
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OVERVIEW

The upcoming November 28, 2010 Haitian elections have caught international attention with the proposed candidacy of an American rock star, the fragility of the Haitian government after the January 12, 2010 earthquake, and the country’s first cholera outbreak in decades. Voters will choose all 99 members of the House of Deputies for four years, a President for five years, and one-third of the Senate for six years. Forces both international and domestic are looking for these 110 leaders to emerge with the ability to give direction to the shattered country. These forces, however, have placed so much pressure on the upcoming elections that the only option is to have an election regardless of its outright illegality.

The most basic and fundamentally democratic process established in the Constitution requires the formation of an impartial electoral council that ensures fairness of the elections. Unfortunately, the establishment of this electoral council is fragrantly unconstitutional. Instead of the Constitutionally required impartial electoral council, there is a body of persons hand-selected by President Preval rendering decisions that are in favor of him and his political party -- INITE. Therefore, all of their decisions have been fundamentally flawed, disorganized, and fly in the face of the best interest of the people.

This report details the upcoming elections and analyzes the written law against the reality of how the elections are unfolding in Haiti. The specific geographical and socio-political focus of the report is the community of Bwa Nef, a neighborhood within the greater slum of Cite Soleil in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, where our organization, the Lamp for Haiti foundation, is based. Like the rest of the country’s 10 million people, Bwa Nef residents will soon participate in two elections: November 28, 2010 for the National elections and March 2011, for the local elections.

Permanent vs. Provisional

A proper election should follow both the Haitian Constitution of 1987 as well as the most recent enactment of the Electoral Law (2008). The electoral law largely governs the actions of the governmental body that regulates the elections process -- the Permanent Electoral Council (“Conseil Electoral Permanent” or “CEP”). Ever since the enactment of the 1987 Constitution, however, the CEP has been substituted with a “Conseil Electoral Provisoire” or Provisional Electoral Council in each election that does not actually pass constitutional muster. For lack of the constitutionally-mandated “permanent” council, every election and their results since 1987 have technically been unconstitutional. In practice, this deficiency has been overlooked in favor of a pragmatic approach based on the continued use of provisional councils that neglect the constitutional requirement that the citizenry be represented in the process.

This current Conseil Electoral Provisoire has made even more controversial decisions than previous ones. For the purpose of clarity in this report, the current Conseil Electoral Provisoire will be referred to as the “Provisional Council,” whereas any reference to CEP will refer to the Conseil Electoral Permanant in its intended legal form. For a detailed discussion of the illegality of the selection of CEP and the results of the illegality, please see the section entitled, Conseil Electoral Provisoire/ Conseil Electoral Permanant “CEP.”

Government in Shambles

At one of the most vulnerable times in Haiti’s history, there is an incomplete government that has no ability to check the decisions of the executive branch. Pursuant to Haiti’s 1987 Constitution, there ought to be a bicameral legislature that includes both a Senate and House of Deputies. The legislature is similar to the U.S. legislature in that it is entrusted with ratifying and voting on laws, voting on the national budget, and providing a check against the executive branch. Because the scheduled February and April elections were postponed due to the earthquake, the terms of all 99 members of the House of Deputies and one third of the...
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30 senate seats expired on, and have not been re-filled, since May 8, 2010.\(^1\)

**November Elections**

The following is a timeline of the November 2010 elections. Unlike the United States and many other countries that employ a plurality voting system, candidates in Haiti must win by a majority -- over 50% of votes cast. It is expected that there will be two rounds of “run off” elections, after the November 28\(^{th}\) vote for candidates that do not achieve a simple majority in the first round.

**Timeline**\(^2\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Activities</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>July 15, 2010</td>
<td>Official launch of the November Elections</td>
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<tr>
<td>July 16, 2010</td>
<td>Publication of list of Political Parties approved by the Provisional Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>July 16, 2010</td>
<td>Publication of list of Provisional Council approved candidates for the legislature</td>
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<tr>
<td>19 -25 July 2010</td>
<td>Registration of New Political Parties for the Presidential election</td>
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<tr>
<td>July 30, 2010</td>
<td>Publication the list of parties approved by the Provisional Council for the presidential elections</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-7 August 2010</td>
<td>Filing of nominations for the Presidential elections.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-12 August 2010</td>
<td>Challenging of eligibility for applications for the Presidential elections.</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 17, 2010</td>
<td>Publication of list of presidential candidates approved by the Provisional Board as meeting eligibility for running.</td>
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<tr>
<td>September 18 to November 26, 2010</td>
<td>Commencement of Campaigning/Campaigning Period</td>
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<td>September 18, 2010</td>
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<tr>
<td>October 15, 2010</td>
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<tr>
<td>November 28, 2010</td>
<td>First round of presidential and legislative elections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 7, 2010</td>
<td>Preliminary results from November 28 elections</td>
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<tr>
<td>8-10 December 2010</td>
<td>Period of Challenging of the Election Results</td>
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<tr>
<td>11-19 December 2010</td>
<td>Provisional Council litigates the challenges and makes a determination</td>
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<tr>
<td>December 20, 2010</td>
<td>Final results of the First Round</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 16, 2011</td>
<td>If Needed - Second Presidential and Legislative Round</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 26, 2011</td>
<td>Preliminary Results</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 5, 2011</td>
<td>Final Results</td>
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**March Elections**

The March elections are for the local seats of Magistrate, Delegate, *Assemblés des Sections Communales* (“ASEC”), and *Conseil d’Administration de la Section Communale* (“CASEC”). The local elections are of particular importance because it is the ASEC that forms the basis for the selection of CEP.\(^3\)

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\(^1\) *The International Community Should Pressure the Haitian Government For Prompt and Fair Elections*, Institute for Justice and Democracy in Haiti (“IJDH”), June 30, 2010


\(^3\) See section, below, discussing the actual formation of CEP.
There are two main bodies of law that govern elections, the 1987 Haitian Constitution and the 2008 Electoral Law.

**Constitution**

The current governing constitution in Haiti is the 1987 Constitution. Articles 61-97 outline the various seats in the government from the territorial divisions to the national level. Articles 191-199 govern the proper formation of CEP, the permanent electoral council.

**Electoral Law**

The Electoral Law lays out the entire elections process including the formation of CEP, timelines for registering of candidates, the regulations outlining candidate eligibility, and the voter registration process. The current Electoral Law was reenacted in 2008 under President Preval. It relies on the constitution, the penal code, and various other acts regulating politics in Haiti. Although the Provisional Council is not technically the proper CEP, they remain bound by the Electoral Law as they are essentially acting as CEP.

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4 Previous Electoral Laws are, for all intents and purposes, identical to the current 2008 version. One of CEP’s many duties is to draft the Electoral Law and submit it to the Haitian legislature for ratification. Electoral Law, Article 4.
ELECTORAL GEO-POLITICAL DIVISIONS

Haiti’s geo-political divisions are as follows, in descending order of geographical size.

- National: Election of the President of the Republic.
- Departments: Election of 3 Senators from each of the 10 departments.
- Municipal Authority: Election of 1 Deputy for each municipal authority, dependent on the population, a municipal authority can be comprised of 1 or 2 communes.
- Communes: Election of 3 Mayors/Magistrates for each commune, elected in cartels, or groups of three that run and are elected together.
- Communal Sections: An election of an administrative board called the CASEC (3 distinct members) and an assembly called an ASEC, determined by population, 7 members for the communal section Bwa Nef is located in.
- Cities/Towns: Elections of 1 Delegate for each city/town.

Bwa Nef’s geo-political profile:

- National: Haiti
- Department: Ouest
- Municipal Authority: Given the size of the commune it is as the Commune – all of Cite Soleil
- Commune: Cite Soleil
- Communal Section: Premeye Seksyon (first section)
- Town: A portion of Bwa Nef (2 of the 17 delegates of Cite Soleil are elected to service Bwa Nef)

COMMUNAL SECTION, COMMUNE AND THE DEPARTMENTS

Of the six geo-political divisions in Haiti, three are separately delineated in the constitution as “territorial divisions:” communal section, commune, and the department.\(^\text{3}\)

\(^\text{3}\) Haitian Const. Article 61.
Communal Section

There are a total of 570 Communal Sections in Haiti.⁶ A Communal Section is the smallest territorial section.⁷ There are two distinct bodies of elected officials that regulate each communal section. One is the administrative council, comprised of three council members each elected for four-year periods, and known as a Conseil d’Administration de la Section Communale, or “CASEC.”⁸ The other is an assembly for the communal section known as the Assemblés des Sections Communales, or “ASEC” which plays an advisory role to the CASEC.⁹ CASECs are comprised of three assigned membership positions: one Chairman and two Assessors, elected in accordance with their order entered on the ballot.¹⁰ Based upon population, in the first communal section in Cite Soleil, the ASEC is comprised of 7 members.¹¹ Elections for these positions are part of the local elections scheduled for March 2011.

Commune

There are a total of 170 communes in Haiti.¹² The commune is the middle-sized of the three territorial sections, tucked between the smaller Communal Section and the larger Department. Similar to the Communal Section, there are two bodies that regulate the commune -- three members of an administrative council elected for four years and eligible for indefinite re-election,¹³ and a commune assembly that assists in administration.¹⁴ The commune assembly is comprised of members from the ASEC.

Department

There are a total of 10 departments in Haiti. The Department is the largest of the three constitutionally delineated territorial divisions. The closest analog in the United States would be a “state.” Similar to the other two territorial divisions, the department is also run by an administrative council. This administrative council is comprised of three members appointed for four years by the Departmental Assembly.¹⁵ The Departmental Assembly is comprised of one representative from each Commune Assembly that is made up of members from the relevant ASECs in the geo-political division.¹⁶ Unfortunately the Departmental Assembly, although constitutionally required, is not currently implemented.

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

House of Deputies

Per the Constitution, the House of Deputies must be comprised of at least 70 persons (“Deputies”). Each Municipal Authority constitutes an “electoral district” which elects one deputy.¹⁷ The electoral district is typically comprised of one or two communes dependent on the population. Currently, because there are 99

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⁷ Haitian Const. Article 62.
⁸ Haitian Const. Article 63.
⁹ Haitian Const. Article 63-1.
¹² Id.
¹³ Haitian Const. Article 66 & 68
¹⁴ Haitian Const. Article 66-1.
¹⁵ Haitian Const. Article 78
¹⁶ Haitian Const. Article 80
¹⁷ Haitian Const. Article 89 & 90
Municipal Authorities, there are 99 members in the House of Deputies. Each deputy serves a four-year term and may be reelected indefinitely. The entire house is up for election at the same time every four years.

**Senate**

The senate is comprised of 30 senators, three elected from each of the 10 departments. The senators are elected for six-year terms that are staggered, and can be reelected indefinitely. One third (or 10) of the senators are replaced every 2 years.

**THE ELECTIONS PROCESS**

**Registering to Vote**

To vote in Haiti a person must present an official identification called a “Kat Elektoral” (in English, “Electoral Card”). To obtain this card, a Haitian citizen must be at least 18 years old, appear before an official registration station, and provide requisite identification. Registration closes two months prior to the election date. Thus, for the November elections the closing date was September 28, 2010.

During the last few weeks before the registration deadline, the only place to register to vote for a Bwa Nef resident was at Cite Soleil’s Tribunal de Paix (“Court of Peace,” the court of first instance). The Tribunal de Paix is approximately a 10-15 minute transit commute (by public transportation, car, or motorcycle) from Bwa Nef. There were previously three other locations -- one at a school, another at a cultural center, and a third at a religious organization’s building. To vote on November
28, 2010, a resident must return with his electoral card in hand to the same place that he registered, where a polling station should be set up.\textsuperscript{24} Obtaining an electoral card can take upwards of 2 months to be processed.\textsuperscript{25}

To register to vote, a person must present one of the following:

- Act de Mariage (Marriage License)
- Passpô Ayisyen (Haitian Passport)
- Lisans pour Kondi (Driver’s License)
- Carte D’Identite (National Identification Card)
- Oficial Bagde pour travay (Official Work Badge)
- Carte Fiscal (Fiscal Card)
- Act de Naissance or Extrait des archives (Birth certificate or an extract from the National Archives)

Although the process for obtaining and presenting an electoral card is mandated and clearly explained by electoral law, the polling officials do not enforce the law. Several residents of Bwa Nef have confirmed that poll workers allow voting without an electoral card if a fee is paid at the voting station or if a poll worker simply allows a friend to vote without a fee. There are numerous accounts from the people of Bwa Nef, describing past elections replete with underage voting, multiple voting (up to 50 times by one account), and suggestions that this will easily recur in the upcoming elections.

\textbf{Conseil Electoral Provisoire/ Conseil Electoral Permanant “CEP”}

The Haitian Constitution declares that the \textit{Conseil Electoral Permanant} or “CEP” shall be an impartial body of persons responsible for organizing and monitoring all elections in Haiti.\textsuperscript{26} CEP can only be relieved from its duties when the final results are announced.\textsuperscript{27} In theory, CEP’s mandate is to ensure fair elections according to the law. Although the current counsel is a provisional council, they are still required to follow the same law and ensure election fairness as CEP otherwise would. Historically – and, especially for these 2010/2011 elections – the Electoral Councils have been heavily criticized for their lack of transparency and fairness. The following section outlines how the actual formation and membership of the current Provisional Council fails to meet constitutional standards and subsequently provides for an unlawful election.

The Constitution declares that the CEP must consist of 9 members selected from a pool of thirty people submitted jointly by the Departmental Assembly:\textsuperscript{28} The Executive Branch, the Supreme Court and the National Assembly each select three persons.

The 1987 Constitution’s aspirational goal is that each Department be represented on CEP.\textsuperscript{29} This goal has become impossible since the 1987 enactment of the constitution because there are now ten departments.

\textsuperscript{24} Interview with Cite Soleil resident and aspiring candidate for Delegate, Pierre Emmanuel, September 29, 2010.
\textsuperscript{25} Id.
\textsuperscript{26} Haitian Electoral Law, Article 1.
\textsuperscript{27} Haitian Constitution Article 191
\textsuperscript{28} Haitian Constitution Article 192
\textsuperscript{29} Haitian Constitution Article 192
instead of nine. Each member of CEP is elected for a nine-year, non-revocable term\textsuperscript{30} so that three members of the CEP are replaced every three years.\textsuperscript{31} Any disputes related to elections are adjudicated before the CEP.\textsuperscript{32}

### Constitutionally-Mandated Formation of CEP:

Constitutional formation of CEP depends on the existence of the complex *Assemblés des Sections Communales* (ASEC) system. Using the ASEC system ensures that one of the smallest geo-political divisions -- the communal section -- has a voice in the selection of the members of CEP. ASEC is the assembly elected by the “communal section” geo-political division.\textsuperscript{33} The ASEC plays an advisory role in monitoring the CASEC, which is the three-person administrative council that serves the communal section. The ASEC sends one representative to the Commune Assembly. Each Commune Assembly (170 in total) sends one representative to the Departmental Assembly. In turn, the 170 member Departmental Assembly nomimates thirty people whose names are forwarded to the national government for final selection by the three branches of government. The Executive Branch, the Supreme Court and the National Assembly then each have the responsibility of selecting three members.

### Current, Actual Formation of the CEP for the Upcoming Elections

The current Provisional Council, like all other electoral councils in Haiti’s history, has not been chosen in accordance with the ASEC\textsuperscript{34} system set forth by the Constitution. Thus, the elections will remain unconstitutional and skewed in favor of those who made the selections. As it stands, the council members owe their loyalty not to the people at the communal section level but to those in powerful positions who selected them. While ASECs are regularly elected, and a Commune Assembly is implemented, the Departmental Assembly (the third level, comprised of one representative from each Commune (second tier) Assembly) does not exist. Thus, because the Departmental Assembly charged with nominating possible CEP members has never been seated, there has never been a permanent electoral council formed with the representative input of the people.\textsuperscript{35}

In 2009, when President Preval terminated the prior Electoral Council and seated the current Provisional Council, he selected members by asking leaders from each of the 9 named culture sectors to submit three names from which he would select one. The nine “culture sectors” are categories of cultural aspects of Haiti, e.g. protestant, art, catholic. Thus unelected “leaders” in each sector did the nominating and President Preval -- rather than the three branches of government -- did the selecting.\textsuperscript{36} These are powers not Constitutionally granted to neither the culture sector leaders nor President Preval.\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{30} Haitian Constitution Article 194
\textsuperscript{31} Haitian Constitution Article 194-1.
\textsuperscript{32} Interview with Members of a Reseau National de Defense Des Droit Humans, September 14, 2010.
\textsuperscript{33} See above, description of territorial sections.
\textsuperscript{34} See above, for description of ASEC system.
\textsuperscript{35} *The International Community Should Pressure the Haitian Government For Prompt and Fair Elections*, IJDH, June 30, 2010.
\textsuperscript{36} Although the executive branch has the constitutional power to nominate three CEP members, the executive branch is not comprised of President Preval only. It also includes a number of advisory positions comprising the cabinet.
\textsuperscript{37} Interview with Members of a Reseau National de Defense Des Droit Humans, September 14, 2010.
Current Provisional Council’s’ Membership

**Hotly Contested Provision Council Decisions**

**Exclusion of political parties, particularly Fanmi Lavalas**

At the commencement of preparations for the upcoming elections, the current Provisional Council announced, without reasons, which political parties had met, or failed to meet, the requirements for the upcoming elections. Fourteen total parties were banned. The exclusion controversy has been highlighted by banning two parties which had been qualified for prior national elections; these are Fanmi Lavalas --the most well-known party in the country and the party of former President Aristide -- and the **UNION** party.\(^{38}\)

In addition to the unjustified exclusions, the Provisional Council has also improperly included President Preval’s party -- **INITE** -- because INITE is known to be operating under two separate party platforms in contravention of the Electoral Law.\(^{39}\)

**Fanmi Lavalas -- Banned**

The exclusion of Fanmi Lavalas (FL) in the upcoming elections is especially problematic because of its undisputed country-wide popularity, especially among the poor masses.\(^{40}\)

Exclusion of FL began with elections to fill open senate seats in April 2009. The exclusion was directed by the previous Electoral Council (“2009 EC”) that was later dismissed and replaced by President Preval for allegations of malfeasance. For the April 2009 elections, the 2009 EC had originally approved the

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\(^{39}\) Id.

\(^{40}\) Members of the Committee on Foreign Relations report detailing the many problems with the upcoming elections because of President Preval’s partiality and CEP’s exclusion of FL. **HAITI: NO LEADERSHIP—NO ELECTIONS, A REPORT TO THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS UNITED STATES SENATE ONE HUNDRED ELEVENTH CONGRESS SECOND SESSION, JUNE 10, 2010** available at http://www.gpoaccess.gov/congress/index.html
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inclusion of FL, but later refused to certify any individual candidates.\textsuperscript{41} At the time of the 2009 senate elections, there was an apparent fracture within the FL party. Two separate groups submitted lists of FL approved candidates. Because only one party representative is permitted to submit candidate names for an election, the 2009 EC chose to reject all of the submissions. The two FL factions, however, responded by jointly submitting one candidate list.

The 2009 EC then rejected the single list, this time claiming that the candidates list was invalid because it did not include an original signature by the party leader, former President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.\textsuperscript{42} In exile in South Africa, Aristide’s signature had arrived via facsimile. In turn, FL and the international community accused the 2009 EC of manufacturing the “original signature” requirement knowing that Aristide would be unable to deliver it in a timely manner. FL then organized a boycott which is presumed to be the main cause of the low elections turnout.\textsuperscript{43}

For these 2010 elections, FL filed their submissions through President Aristide’s nominated FL representative, Dr. Maryse Narcisse (a cabinet member under Aristide).\textsuperscript{44} It is reported that Dr. Narcisse complied with all legal requirements for registration. But, without a single stated reason, the current Provisional Council maintained that FL had failed to meet all legal requirements.\textsuperscript{45}

Electoral Cards and Voters Living as Internally Displaced Persons

Another devastating impact of the January 12\textsuperscript{th} earthquake is the gross handicapping of free and fair elections due to the deaths of some 300,000 people and the creation of over 1 million internally displaced persons (“IDPs”) now living in camps.\textsuperscript{46}

Establishment of C.O.V.

In an attempt to satisfy the international community’s concerns about fair elections in view of the IDP crisis, the current Provisional Council installed “Centers of Operation and Verification” (“COV”) meant to provide additional outlets for registration. These COVs were expected to receive reports on lost electoral cards and help displaced voters determine their proper polling place. The COVs did not replace lost or stolen electoral cards, as this duty remained with the National Identification Office (ONI). Instead, the

\textsuperscript{41} The International Community Should Pressure the Haitian Government For Prompt and Fair Elections, IJDH, June 30, 2010.

\textsuperscript{42} Id.


\textsuperscript{44} President Aristide transmitted a mandate to CEP authorizing an FL representative, Dr. Maryse Narcisse, to take all necessary actions to register FL. The authorization was faxed to CEP on November 19, 2009 and the original received on November 23, 2009 enclosed with a certificate from a Haitian Notary certifying Aristide’s signature. Additionally, Aristide confirmed on local Radio Solidarity on November 25 that he had given authority to FL representative Dr. Maryse Narcisse.

\textsuperscript{45} The International Community Should Pressure the Haitian Government For Prompt and Fair Elections, UDH, June 30, 2010; although in name only, several authorities have suggested that five of the candidates are indeed “faux” or “undercover” Jean Henry Céant, Yvon Neptune, Leslie Voltaire, Yves Christallin and Dr. Gérard Blot see generally http://www.haitianalysis.com/2010/9/17/34-candidates-bid-for-haiti-s-presidency-part-3-of-3-the-faux-lavalas-candidates

\textsuperscript{46} For more detailed analysis on the situation in the so called “Camp Cities” and the Human Rights violations that the IDPs live with, please see Lamp for Haiti’s previously published coauthored reports: Neglect in the Encampments: Haiti’s Second Wave Humanitarian Disaster, published in April, 2010 available at http://www.lampforhaiti.org/~lampforh/?q=content/neglect-encampments-haitis-second-wave-humanitarian-disaster; and We’ve Been Forgotten: Conditions in Haiti’s Displacement Camps, 8 Months After the Earthquake, published September, 2010 available at http://www.lampforhaiti.org/~lampforh/?q=content/idp-investigation-finds-desperate-conditions-haitis-tent-cities. Both reports document and follow 90 families living in internally displaced camps in 6 randomly selected camp cities in Port-au-Prince, documenting horrific living conditions faced by camp-dwellers that exist in contravention of international standards for camp management as well as international treaties adopted by the Haitian government.
COVs simply provided persons with a receipt representing that they lost their card, and this could then be taken to the ONI to obtain a replacement. The government’s inadequacy to inform the public about the COV’s undermined their effectiveness.

A report issued by an independent delegation of human rights reporters proves the lack of use of the COVs. The reporters visited 6 COVs and observed that only 588 people had utilized them as of September 17, 2010, even though hundreds of thousands of voting-age citizens have been displaced and may have needed to change their address or replace a lost electoral card. The installation of the COVs, without a substantial campaign to inform the citizenry, appears to have been an expensive way to appease the international community and justify the millions of international dollars invested rather than providing an effective means to remedy the difficult logistical issues raised by the earthquake.

**Electoral Cards Missing in Action**

In addition to the problems with registering for electoral cards, and waiting in lines stretching around the block at the ONI, there is a massive backlog of undistributed electoral cards that have piled up since 2005. Between just three ONI locations surveyed (in Jacmel, Gonaives, and Cap Haitian) there were 18,511 cards not yet distributed. Without this card, a person should not be able to vote. There is no reported effort by ONI to distribute these existing electoral cards that have already been assigned to individual voters.

**Expired Voting Lists**

The government’s existing eligible voter list (which is maintained at each polling place and contains each registered voter’s name, address and voter location) have not been updated to reflect the registered voters who died in the earthquake or have been displaced from their pre-quake polling place. In theory, a person registered at his pre-quake address who relocated after the quake can vote in two different locations if he re-registers at his new address. Additionally, so long as a person can obtain a decedent’s electoral card he can vote with it as the card need not be accompanied by any another form of identification to vote on election day.

**Unabashed INITE Support**

The Provisional Council held a series of three meetings in response to observer complaints about the Provisional Council’s decision-making and lack of transparency. During the last of the three meetings on November 11, 2010, the Provisional Council yet again called their impartiality into question. A public service announcement meant to encourage the public to vote was screened at the event and the widely-recognized INITE party’s campaign theme song was played at the conclusion of the short film. Jude Celestin is the selected presidential candidate for INITE and is largely considered to be President Preval’s pick for successor. The inclusion of the song in the Provisional Council’s video suggests the Provisional Council’s bias.

**THE NOVEMBER ELECTIONS**

For the upcoming elections, the seat of President (the head of state), ten Senatorial seats and ninety-nine Deputy seats are open. The Prime Minister (head of government), will be chosen by the President from the
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A majority party in parliament. The following pages give an overview of the candidates contending for the presidency.

For the November 28, 2010 elections, the current Provisional Council has made a number of decisions related to these candidates in secrecy. First, the Provisional Council rejected 14 political parties while accepting 66. In addition, to the rejected parties, if a party put forth a candidate that was rejected for failure to meet a constitutional requirement, or failure to meet a conjured requirement by the Electoral Council, that party was essentially barred. There were 35 presidential candidacy applications submitted, 15 of which were rejected on an individual basis. The Electoral Council published a news release that did not fully state the reasons for the rejections.

**President**

*Accepted vs. Rejected*

**Accepted Candidates**

2. Jean-Hector Anacacis (MODEJHA / EN: Democratic Youth Movement Haitian)
5. Jean Henry Céant (KR: Renmen Ayiti)
6. Jude Celestin (INITE)
7. Erick Smarcki Charles (PENH / TBC Party)
8. Yves Cristalin (KR: LAVNI/ Oganizasyon Lavni)
9. Axan Abellard Delson (KNDA / Konbit Nasyonal pou Developman Ayiti)
13. Bijou Anne Marie Josette (Independent)
15. Garaudy Laguerre (Wozo / Mouvman “Nou se Wozo”)
17. Mirlande Manigat (RDNP/ EN:Rally of Progressive National Democrats Party)

**Rejected Candidates**

1. Raymond Joseph Alcide (PDI / EN: Institutionalist Democratic Party)
2. Fleurival Paul Arthur (KR : Vwazinaj)
3. Jean Bertin (HSP/Parti Socialiste Haïtien)
4. Armand Pierre Canon (PPL)
5. Duroseau Vilaire Cluny (Independent)
6. Kesnel Dalmacy (Indépendant)
7. Lavoice Gaudin (KR: Veye Yo)
8. Rodriguez Mario Eddy Gabriel (Independent)

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13. Olicier Piériche (FR : Parti Reconstruire Haïti)
15. Charles Henri Voight (MRDH)


Profiles of Approved Presidential Candidates (in alphabetical order)

Axan Abellard / Konbit Nasyonal Developman

Age: 58
Place of birth: Leogane
Education: BA civil engineering with a MA in Mathematics
Main employment and current source of income: CEO of EATT (Enterprise Development of Land and Works, in English)
Prior government experience: Worked in the Ministry of Public Works

Platform: Unknown

Notes and analysis: Was a former shareholder of PromoCapital, an investment group based in Haiti where 9 of its 70 shareholders were rumored to have funded the 1991 military coup. Abellard hasn’t been implicated personally. Radio reports allege that he fled Haiti after issues with President Aristide in 2003.

Jacques-Edouard Alexis / Mobilization for the Progress of Haiti (MPH)

Age: 63
Place of birth: Unknown
Education: BA in Agronomy from the State University and an MA in Food technology in Canada
Main employment and current source of income: Professor at Quisqueya University
Prior government experience: Previous Prime Minister of Haiti (1999-2000, 2006-2008), Minister of National Education, Youth and Sports, and Minister of Culture
Website: None

Platform: His full platform is not disclosed online. He is on the record as saying he would like a new national army, but one that would supposedly be focused upon civil service and assisting in emergency situations. This new army would also assist in reforesting the nation and would be comprised of persons aged 18-25.

Notes and analysis: Alexis was initially selected to stand as the presidential candidate for the INITE (President Preval’s party), but INITE subsequently selected Jude Celestin as the party’s candidate after a public falling out between Alexis and President Preval. During Alexis’ term as Prime Minister, criticism of his economic policies led to a no-confidence vote in the legislature in February 2008, which Alexis survived. Riots broke out in early April 2008 regarding high food prices, and Alexis announced an investment program designed to lower the cost of living. Following the riots and Alexis’ alleged failure to

cure the problem, the Senate signed a letter advising Alexis to resign, which he obliged.\(^{58}\)

**Charles Henry Baker / Regwoupan Sitwayen Power Espwa (RESPÈ)**

*Age:* 55  
*Place of birth:* Bourdon, Port-au-Prince  
*Education:* Business Administration from St. Leo College in Florida  
*Main employment and current source of income:* Industrialist, elected as Vice-President of the Association of Industries of Haiti (ADIH) and head of his party, RESPÈ  
*Prior government experience:* None  
*Website:* charleshenribaker.com/

*Notes and analysis:* Owner of several factories that are reported to pay very low wages and maintain poor work conditions.

**Jean Henry Ceant / Renmen Ayiti**

*Age:* 54  
*Place of birth:* Goureau, Croix-des-Missions  
*Education:* Law degree from the State University School of Law and advanced degrees from the University of Pontifia in Spain  
*Main employment and current source of income:* Professor at the National School of Financial Administration, presenter on a TV show entitled “Dwa Pou Tout Moun,” (“Law for All”).  
*Prior government experience:* None  
*Website:* None

*Notes and analysis:* Lawyer and notary of former President Aristide, giving him authority to manage his funds in Haiti.\(^{59}\) Several Lavalas leaders have endorsed Ceant as an un-official Lavalas candidate.\(^{60}\)

**Jude Celestin / INITE**

*Age:* 48  
*Place of birth:* Port-au-Prince  
*Education:* Received a degree in Civil Engineering from a university in Switzerland  
*Main employment and current source of income:* Head of the National Center for Equipment (CNE); maintains land in Thiotte  
*Prior government experience:*  
*Website:* No official site; a biography appears at judecestin.com

*Notes and analysis:* Jacques Edouard Alexis was expected to be the selected candidate for INITE but Celestin was chosen over Alexis. INITE is comprised of several former Lavalas representatives.

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\(^{58}\) "Haiti reels from food protests", Al Jazeera (April 7, 2008) available at http://english.aljazeera.net/news/americas/2008/04/200861503911117732.html; "Haiti senators call on PM to quit", Al Jazeera (April 10, 2008) available at http://afp.google.com/article/ALeqM5hL0HvflNZQ2mMgFdy9dSKLZ7t2Gw; "Haiti PM ousted over soaring food prices", AFP, April 12, 2008 available at http://afp.google.com/article/ALeqM5hL0HvflNZQ2aMgFdy9dSKLZ7t2Gw.  

\(^{59}\) http://haiti-elections.centerblog.net/20-jean-henry-ceant  

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Yves Cristalin / LAVNI

Age: 41
Place of birth: Unknown
Education: Unknown
Main employment and current source of income: Currently the Minister of Social Affairs and Labor
Prior government experience: Former speaker of the House of Deputies
Website: None
Platform: None available online

Michel Martelly / Repons Peyizan

Age: 49
Place of birth: Port-au-Prince
Education: No university education
Main employment and current source of income: Musician
Prior government experience: None
Website: Martellyforhaiti.com

Platform: Wants to create a national income tax system, develop roads, bridges, highways, public transportation, sewage and utility systems. He also hopes to revive historically strong domestic industries and improve security and cut taxes to attract investment. He hopes to improve healthcare using an insurance plan for $10 per person per month to cover doctors visits and surgeries. He also hopes to curb unemployment through rubble removal and reconstruction, as well as reforestation efforts. He wants to hire 200,000 new teachers.62

Notes and analysis: Created the Pink and White Foundation (www.frebhaiti.org/eng). Formalized created in September 2008, it is a 501(c)3 nonprofit in the U.S. It appears to have done little substantial work beyond annual toy and food distributions around Christmas-time for the last 16 years.

Mirlande Manigat / Rally of Progressive National Democrats (NPDR)

Age: 70
Place of birth: Miragoane
Education: Law Degree
Main employment and current source of income: Vice-President of Quisqueya University and Secretary General at Rally of Progressive National Democrats
Prior government experience: None
Website: rdnphaiti.org/

Platform: Lists the need for education and work for unemployed youth as high priorities. She wishes to change Article 15 of the Constitution to allow for dual citizenship, wants to encourage assistance of Haitians outside Haiti to bring more youth, modern training, economic resources, and contacts to benefit Haiti. She is also an advocate of religious freedom for Catholics, Protestants and those who practice voodoo.63

61 http://www.lenouvelliste.com/articles.print/1/77517
63 http://rdnphaiti.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=111&Itemid=124
Leslie Voltaire / Ansam Nou Fo

Age: 61
Place of birth: Port-au-Prince
Education: Degree in Architecture from the Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico and Regional and Urban Planning and Cornell University
Main employment and current source of income: Currently working for the government on Haiti’s national reconstruction plans
Website: leslievoltaire.com

Platform: Specific areas and proposals include a system for rapidly responding to national emergencies that prioritizes the protection of vulnerable populations; the implementation of construction standards to face hurricanes and future earthquakes and rebuilding communities with master plans to factor in environmental and safety concerns; expanding basic education; improvements to the health systems; reforestation, charcoal substitution, and increased protection for at-risk zones in Gonaïves, Jacmel or Cabaret; improving the justice system and progressively withdrawing MINUSTAH troops; extensive economic revitalization efforts including updating regulatory frameworks; and the improvement of the agricultural sector through development of rural infrastructure.

Notes and analysis: After the 2004 coup, Voltaire was appointed to sit on a “Tripartite Council” along with Justice Minister Paul Denis and the United Nations Development Programme’s Adama Guindo. Voltaire, Denis and Guindo named a “Council of the Wise” comprised of seven people, which selected Gérard Latortue to act as interim president.

Wilson Jeudy / Force 2010

Age: 47
Place of birth: Gonaïves
Education: Law Degree from the State University in Gonaïves
Main employment and current source of income: Mayor of Delmas
Prior government experience: Mayor of Delmas; Justice of Peace, Director of Customs, Project Supervisor at the Ministry of Public Works, Transport and Communications.
Website: force2010.com

Platform: Supports decentralization of government and environmental protection, including enforcement of laws against littering and deforestation. He says security is a high priority, but does not mention whether he would support a new national army. He wants to create a low cost health insurance plan for the employed. He wishes to increase Kreyol education and to end the restavek system based on child domestic servitude.

Notes and analysis: After the 2004 coup, Voltaire was appointed to sit on a “Tripartite Council” along with Justice Minister Paul Denis and the United Nations Development Programme’s Adama Guindo. Voltaire, Denis and Guindo named a “Council of the Wise” comprised of seven people, which selected Gérard Latortue to act as interim president.
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Chavannes Jeunes / Christian Alliance and Citizens for the Reconstruction of Haiti (ACCRAH)

Age: 57  
Place of birth: Morency, Cayes  
Education: BA in Civil Engineering, a Master’s in Public Administration from the University of Washington, an MA in Theology and Religious Organizations  
Administration  
Theme of his campaign: A Christian vision for rebuilding and developing Haiti  
Main employment and current source of income: An evangelical pastor, teacher at Lumiere Bible Institute, Co-authors a recurring Publication called “Politics is the Business of all God’s Children and has co-authored a soon to be released book on rural development”  

Prior government experience: None  
Website: chavannesjeune.com (English only)

Notes and analysis: Unsuccessfully ran for president in the 2005-2006 elections. Founded and managed the Integrated Rural Development organization (IRD) with development institutions operating in 5 of the 10 Geographical Departments of the Country. IRD has received funds from the European Union, USAID, ACDI of Canada, UNICEF of the United Nations, and Japan. Whether these “institutions” have in fact been helpful is unknown. Additionally, Chavannes consolidated the social institutions of Mission Baptiste du Sud d’Haiti (MEBSH).

Leon Jeune / Konbit Liberasyon Economik (KLE)

Age: 74  
Place of birth: Arniquet, near Port-Salut  
Education: Degree in Civil Aviation from Centro Internacional de Adiestramiento de Aviacion Civil  
Main employment and current source of income: Unknown  
Prior government experience: Director of Civil Aviation, and Director of the Haitian National Police  
Website: klehaiti.com

Platform: His priorities for economic development include the development of tourism, road infrastructure, industrialization of provincial towns to fight urbanization in Port-au-Prince, energy improvements and reforming the education system. He hopes to lessen traffic on vital roads through building highways and opening toll roads. His energy policies would support reforestation, increase the flow of rivers to allow for multiple small hydroelectric units to provide electricity, and utilizing other sources of alternative energy. Tackling illiteracy while improving schools is an important goal, as is improving the provision of healthcare.

Anne Marie Josette Bijou (Independent)

Age: 69  
Place of birth: Unavailable  
Education: Degree in Medicine from the State University and a Master’s in Public Health form the Institute of Public Health in Mexico  
Main employment and current source of income: Unavailable  
Prior government experience: Minister of Public Health under the Latortue government

Platform: Bijou is prioritizing the management and relocation of victims of the earthquake, reviving the economy through prioritizing the employment of women and youth, and promoting new investment in Haiti.\(^{73}\) She plans to promote universal education and expand access to quality health care, though no specific plans are mentioned.

**Genard Joseph / Solidarity**\(^{74}\)

Age: 43
Place of birth: Northern Haiti
Education: BA in Law and an MA in Humanities at the University of Nantes on Ethics and Parliament
Main employment and current source of income: Head of the Solidarity Party
Prior government experience: None
Website: Not available
Platform: Not available

**Garaudy Laguerre / Wozo**

Age: 47
Place of birth: Port-au-Prince
Education: MA in International Relations from Long Island University and a law degree from Faculte de Droit et des Sciences Économiques d’Haïti.
Theme of his campaign: His campaign, and the Wozo party, focus upon strengthening women and youth
Main employment and current source of income: Current Leader of the Mouvman Wozo party; former Executive Director of the Institute for Political and Social Studies (ISPOS, in French) for 10 years.
Prior government experience: None
Website: wozo.org

Platform: His stated first priority is the negotiated departure of all foreign troops from Haiti. Secondly, he wishes to immediately provide food for all Haitians through imports in the short term while simultaneously bolstering local agricultural production.\(^{75}\)

**Yvon Neptune / Ayisyen pou Ayiti**

Age: 63
Place of birth: Cavillon
Education: Unavailable online
Main employment and current source of income: Unknown
Prior government experience: Prime Minister from 2002 until 2004 and former president of the Haitian Senate.\(^{76}\)
Website: None
Platform: No official statement is available online

Notes and Analysis: After President Aristide’s 2004 ouster, Neptunewas held in prison by the interim Haitian government for over two years, eventually being released without conviction for any crimes.

\(^{74}\) http://www.fouye.com/messages.php/17151
\(^{75}\) www.belpolitik.com/messages.php/24536
\(^{76}\) Former Lavalas
Jean Hector Anacacis / MODEJHA

Age: 55  
Place of birth: Cayes-Jacmel  
Education: Degree in Accounting Sciences from INAGHEI and Commercial Sciences at the Institut des Hautes Etudes Commerciales and Economics  
Main employment and current source of income: Senator  
Prior government experience: Senator for the Ouest Department (2006-present)  
Platform: He was quoted saying he would push for the creation of armed forces and a new intelligence agency. He also said he would work to strengthen ties with CARICOM and UNASUR.  
Website: None

Eric Charles / PENH

Age: 55  
Place of birth: Unavailable  
Education: Unavailable  
Main employment and current source of income: Director of Customs of Port-au-Prince

Gerard Blot / Platform 16 Desanm

Age: 59  
Place of birth: Unavailable  
Education: Unavailable  
Main employment and current source of income: Gynecologist  
Prior government experience: Unknown  
Notes and Analysis: He was a minister in Aristide's first government in 1991 and briefly a member of the Lavalas Family after it formed in November 1996. In February 1999, Blot formed his own party called Heads Together (Tet Ansanm) which didn't garner any attention until 2006 when Texas-based Haitian-American businessman Dumarsais Siméus chose to run under its banner. In the lead up to the 2004 coup, Blot was part of the U.S.-backed opposition front the Group of 184, making him the candidate least likely to succeed in winning over any Lavalas-based organizations.

Senate Candidates for Department Ouest

Bwa Nef residents are located in Cite Soleil a part of Port-au-Prince which is in the Ouest Department. Each Department elects three senators, and there are 19 candidates in this particular senatorial race.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Last Name</th>
<th>First Name</th>
<th>Party</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BASILE</td>
<td>David</td>
<td>PUN</td>
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<tr>
<td>BENOIT</td>
<td>Steven Ivenson</td>
<td>ALTENATIV</td>
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<tr>
<td>BOYER</td>
<td>Nelly Verpile</td>
<td>MODEJHA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CASIMIR</td>
<td>Remile</td>
<td>UCCADE</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

78 Information on this candidate is not readily available.  
79 A reference to the date when Aristide first won the presidency in 1990.  
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Deputy Candidates for Cite Soleil

There are fourteen candidates for deputy and Bwa Nef/Cite Soleil residents vote one into office.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Last Name</th>
<th>First Name</th>
<th>Party</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BARAIS</td>
<td>Jean Louis</td>
<td>MODELH-PRDH</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAINT-FLEUR</td>
<td>Altemis Junior</td>
<td>ALTERNATIVE</td>
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<td>ELIAN</td>
<td>Wilner</td>
<td>KPH</td>
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<td>ROMILUS</td>
<td>Jozalus Louis</td>
<td>RESPE</td>
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<td>PHILISTIN</td>
<td>Mytho</td>
<td>SOLIDARITE</td>
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<td>JULES</td>
<td>Sonthonax</td>
<td>VIV ANSANM</td>
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<td>LOUIS</td>
<td>Wilson</td>
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<td>Makenton</td>
<td>MAS</td>
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<td>Daniel</td>
<td>INITE</td>
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<td>Saliban</td>
<td>AAA</td>
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<td>Celassie</td>
<td>PUN</td>
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<tr>
<td>PIERRE</td>
<td>Jean Bithol</td>
<td>PLATEFORME LIBERATION</td>
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<td>LAGUERRE</td>
<td>Jean Rodmond</td>
<td>LAVNI</td>
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<tr>
<td>AVRIL</td>
<td>Jean Aram</td>
<td>PLAPH</td>
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</table>

**THE MARCH ELECTIONS**

Information on candidates for the March elections are not yet available nor has the Provisional Council released any information regarding these elections. These elections are of great importance because it seats the very important base for the creation of the CEP, the ASEC.
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Current country conditions of 1.3 million people languishing in internally displaced camps, a mass epidemic of Cholera and 10,000 heavily armed UN troops occupying the country on a “peacekeeping” mission help explain the Haiti’s need for an effective elected leader. Unfortunately, these elections are an example of disorganization, corruption and greed unlikely to see such a leader emerge. The creation of the complex ASEC system meant to ensure that the people’s voice is heard in the selection of persons regulating elections has never been implemented. Instead, the constitutionally-mandated Permanent Electoral Council has always acted as a Provisional Electoral Council. The current Provisional Council, essentially hand-selected by President Preval, has been responsible for the barring of many popular candidates and parties without legal standing. Additionally, they have made many other questionable decisions, such as the implementation of dozens of mobile voter registration outlets without adequate publication of their existence, thereby rendering their implementation a waste. Moreover, the Provisional Council has seemingly made most of their decisions in secrecy. This lack of transparency has allowed the CEP to implement decisions that seem to benefit every interested party except Haiti’s poor majority.

Unfortunately, despite the media attention on Haiti due to the earthquake and cholera, interested international and domestic forces have not pushed the Haitian government hard enough to engage in a free and fair election. Given the actions of the Provisional Council and the tacit approval of the international community, the only result of the November 28, 2010 election is an “election” of persons who will continue to engage in self-interested decision making driving the country further into chaos.

ABOUT US

The Lamp for Haiti Foundation (“The Lamp”) is a non-profit, 501(c)(3) organization based in Philadelphia, PA, and operating in offices in Bwa Nef, a neighborhood in the slum of Cite Soleil on the outskirts of Port-au-Prince, Haiti. The Lamp works at the cross-section of human rights and medicine, housing both a medical clinic and a human rights law office on its Bwa Nef campus. Lamp’s philosophy is that many medical ailments are a manifestation of human rights violations, leading us to treat diseases while working to ameliorate the causes of disease rooted in rights abuses. Our Human Rights Programs currently focuses its attention on five domains: the Right to Vote (elections monitoring and education), Women’s Rights (criminal representation in the only women’s prison and community building within Bwa Nef), Children’s Rights (working to promote a right to education and a longer-term plan for legal representation in a juvenile prison), the Right to Housing (investigating the conditions in post-earthquake camp cities and addressing tenancy issues in Bwa Nef), and the Right to Water (working on sanitation and water issues in Cite Soleil while collaborating with other organizations to organize a legal response to the Cholera epidemic in Haiti). Additionally we take on client’s legal claims on an as-needed basis and work on community building initiatives. Please visit our website at www.lampforhaiti.org.

For more information on this report or the Lamp for Haiti, please contact, Thomas Griffin, Legal Director, at griffin@msgimmigration.com or Regine Theodat, In-Country Staff Attorney, at regine.theodat@gmail.com and follow her blog at http://ayiti-mwen.tumblr.com/