THE PEOPLE WANT THE FALL OF THE REGIME

our era of revolution
this came to fruition on Dec. 31st where the number of dead had been higher than usual.

SOLIDARITY

We cannot predict how this movement will end, if revolution will be achieved, if the revolt will be snuffed out or if a coup d’etat will put an end to any protest. In the face of any attempts of the State to break the cohesion created during the struggle, the people have affirmed their unity and support, without failure, for the victims of State racism. But it also in the neighborhoods where elders have helped the youth in revolt; where men and women are fighting hand-in-hand against repression; where doors open to those chased by police squadrons; where doctors are arrested for rescuing injured protesters; where soldiers join the protests and refuse to fire on the people, or in some cities even protect people from police violence... Solidarity is also international since [Sudanese] exilées around the world have protested in almost every Western capital to support their fellow compatriots in struggle. They demand a stop to any collaboration with the regime of Khartoum. They relay the voices of those far away and raise medical funds sorely needed by those who have been injured.

*Thaoura thaoura thaoura hata alnassr*—revolution revolution revolution until victory!

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are beaten on the street and are often carried off. There are several hundred people gone missing. Very often nothing more is heard from them. The mutilations and injuries are incalculable.

A state of emergency has been decreed in almost all cities: the armed forces occupy all urban spaces; universities and schools have been closed; university students kicked out of dorms; and a curfew has been enacted in many cities like Atbara and Khartoum. Some people have been arrested in their homes, raids were carried out during the protests, with sometimes up to 200 people gone missing from one place. Houses have been attacked as protesters took refuge. Journalists have been arrested, newspapers forced to close. The internet has been cut-off several times in the country—notably to put a halt to use of social networks.

The regime has found some strong support like that of the emir of Qatar, Ben Khalifa Al Thani, who is notably the owner of the television network Al-Jazeera. The few times the network has covered the protests, it has only showed those protests which do not call into question the regime (which only speak of economic demands). Broadly, the media has been gagged by the State to silence what is happening.

While activists are killed just 100 meters from the headquarters of television network, these networks would rather broadcast music programs. In response to the serious lack of media coverage, at the level of Sudan and across the world, protests have cried out with the slogan: "attalghab ma bitaktul, biktul sukat azol" ("It is not the bullet that kills, it is silence that kills").

State propaganda essentially consists of not only silencing, but also dividing. The government has arrested Darfuri university students which they accuse of fomenting the revolt and of belonging to an armed group at Darfur, the LMS (Liberation Movement of Sudan). An image of a handcuffed student, with weapons in front of them, was used to say that they were responsible for killing protesters, as a means to increase anger. This is where the population’s response to State racism came in support of the Darfurians. Omar El-Bashir has spoken several times on television to address the situation. The first time he told Wad Madani that the protesters were traitors and thieves, and that Israel was behind these movements. The second time took place on Dec 30th; Omar El-Bashir instrumentalized some Koranic suras and Hadith passages to justify the deaths of the protesters. There is thus now a willingness to kill and
itself during protests and in social networks: "alounsouri almaghroor, koulou albalad darfour"; “the racist is arrogant, the whole country is Darfur” (which is a subtle nod to Al-Bashir).

In light of old racist ethnic divisions within Sudanese society, protesters have attempted to redefine the old fracture lines within society: there are those who are with the regime (the Kizan) and those who are against the regime (the Sudanese people). We see arise the desire to cut with the old political game led by the government, to then redefine the political field in a new way.

Likewise, many young people, men and women, took to the streets, some for the first time in their lives, to express their anger, in large cities but also in smaller villages – and not just in urban centers. Besides the high school and university students who have protests, there have also been many children. One of them, Shaoqi Assadig, 12 years old, was shot dead in Al-Gezira province. The picture of the child demonstrating in the streets was widely relayed and he became a symbol of the uprising.

Unions took a long time to enter the movement, and they struggle to rally their troops, though they played an important role in calling for protests on Dec. 25th and 31st. They attempted some strikes which were relatively not very followed through. Further, the opposition parties have trailed behind, even though they have also been the target of repression (some of their leaders have been arrested).

**REPRESSION**

Faced with this movement the government was initially in denial, while repressing the protests. Faced with the fraternization of the many regular army troops with people in revolt in provincial cities (such as at Atbara), the regime relied on the riot police, the Janjaweed militias (those who went to war and committed massacres at Darfur), security forces (NISS), “the popular army” (Kizan civilians armed by the government) and private militias hired by the local pro-regime bourgeoisie.

During protests, the deployment of armed repression has been staggering: snipers atop buildings, constant use of tear gas, regular use of live ammunition, aiming for people’s heads. Today we count some 40 deaths across the country. Some bodies are found in the Nile, such as a student of literature at the University of Khartoum, Abderahman Asadiq. Protesters who are captured
Contrary to all that we’re hearing, the real mystery is not that we revolted, but the fact that we didn’t do it sooner. What’s abnormal is not what we’re doing now, but all that we’ve put up with until now. Who can deny the bankruptcy of the system, from every angle? Who still wants to be shook down, robbed, and left precarious for nothing? Will anyone weep as the wealthy avenues of the 16th arrondissement are plundered by the poor, and the bourgeois watch their gleaming SUV’s go up in flames? As for Macron, he can stop complaining; it was he who asked us to come to him. A state can’t keep legitimating itself by reference to the corpse of a “glorious revolution” and then denounce the rioters as soon as a revolution gets going. The situation is simple: the people want the fall of the system. But the system intends to keep going. It is this that defines the situation as insurrectional, as even the police openly admit. On their side, the people have the numbers, as well as their courage, joy, intelligence, and naivety. On the other side, the system has its army, its police, its media, and the deception and fear of the bourgeois. Since the 17th of November, the people have had recourse to two complementary levers: economic blockades, and the Saturday assaults on the government districts. These are each complementary, since the economy is the reality of the system, while the government provides its symbolic representation. To truly destitute them both, it is necessary to attack them both. This goes for Paris no less than the rest of the territory: to burn a prefecture and to storm the Elysée are a single and sole gesture. Every Saturday since the 17th of November, people in Paris have been magnetically focused on the same goal: storming the enclaves of government [marcher sur le reduit governmental].

The discriminated and isolated categories of the population, like the people of Darfur and the Nuba, are even more quick to revolt against the regime which wages war on their homelands.

Thus, for the Sudanese people today in revolt, the economic and social problems cannot be solved by the regime: the way to find a solution is by way of the fall of the regime (“tasqut bes”: “the fall or nothing”). Further, no opposition party has the strength to resist the regime. Their positions and strategies have been largely disavowed. At the moment the revolt began, negotiations were openly underway with the principal opposition parties at Addis Ababa on the subject of the troubling political and economic situation in the country. Thus, these revolts were not the result of these parties, but rather a spontaneous reply that have taken on a wider scope, and based on a common feeling: the regime is the origin of the ills of the country.

One of the trademarks of the start of the movement is the fact that its start was essentially thanks to the provincial cities (notably those in the north) and not the capital itself. Notably, Atbara is a historically revolutionary bastion and has served as a springboard for the movement that spread very quickly throughout the country, thus breaking the isolation of sporadic protests which had taken place until then. Another trademark has been the fact that different fringe of society (university and high school students; workers from different sectors; residents of different cities; but also unions, NGOs and different social classes) found themselves together in the revolt. Social networks has played an essential role in breaking through the counter-information disseminated by the media which sought to stifle dissident voices.

Facebook, Twitter and WhatsApp have also allowed people to coordinate themselves (notably thanks to the hashtag #moudoun_essoudan_tantaffid, #SudaneseCitiesRevolt). The images and video of the protests all over the country have been seen all over the world, which allowed the protest movement to spread...

Further, the attempts by the government to separate the different categories of the [Sudanese] population have been shattered with these new means of communication. We notably recall the bloody repression against Darfurian students which consequently set off a large solidarity movement expressing
accumulated through the previous weekend’s failure. If there are a lot more people with swimming goggles and gas masks this Saturday, it’s not because “organized groups of rioters” have “infiltrated the demonstration.” Rather, it’s because people were gassed extensively the week before, and they drew the same conclusion any sensible person would: better come equipped the next time. And anyway, we’re not talking about demonstrations, but an uprising.

If tens of thousands of people invaded the Tuileries-Saint Lazare-Étoile-Trocadero zone, it was not because of a strategy of harassment that had been decided upon by a handful of small groups. It was a result of the diffuse tactical intelligence possessed by people who had been prevented from achieving their objective by the police apparatus. To criminalize the “ultra-leftists” for attempting to foment an uprising won’t fool anyone: if the ultra-leftists knew how to hijack construction machines and use them to charge the police or destroy a tollbooth, we would have heard about it; if they were so massive in scale, so disarming and brave, we would know that too. The fact is, with its essentially identitarian concerns, the so-called “ultra-left” has been deeply embarrassed by the impurity of the movement of Yellow Vests, plagued by a bourgeois fear of compromising itself by mingling with a crowd that doesn’t belong anywhere within its own categories. As for the “ultra-right,” it is sandwiched between its means and its supposed ends: they sew disorder under the pretext of an attachment to order, they attack the National Police all the while declaring their devotion to the Law and the Nation, they want to beheaded the republican monarch out of love of a non-existent King. On these points, we will leave the Ministry of the Interior to its absurd rambling. It is not the radicals who are making the movement, it is the movement that is radicalizing people. Does anyone really believe that our government would consider declaring a state of emergency over a handful of ultras?

Those who make an insurrection halfway only dig their own graves. At the point we are at now, and given the contemporary means of repression, we have two choices: either we overthrow the system, or we let it crush us. It would be a grave mistake to underestimate this government’s level of radicalization. Anyone who attempts to mediate between the people and the government over the coming days is destined to be torn apart: none of us want to be represented, we’re all old enough to express ourselves, and to discern who is trying to cajole or recuperate us. And if the government ends up taking a step backwards, this will only prove that we were right to do what we did, that our methods were sound.

As soon as the marches formed, they were dispersed by tear gas and by live ammunition rounds, mass arrests, and beatings. The center of Khartoum had thus become, through the evening, a macabre game of cat and mouse which resulted in multiple attempts to reach the palace, which ultimately were in vain. That said, this day was pivotal for the movement, firstly because the unions have entered the struggle and secondly because the movement has reached such a magnitude that many people took the streets which have never done so before.

Wednesday and Thursday, only a few protests took place in the smaller cities and in the universities. But people were preparing for Friday. The number of killed grew, this Friday has been baptized as “Friday of the martyrs” ("jumaat al-shouhada"). On this day, all cities were in revolt but the agents of repression halted the people from coming out in as strong of numbers as on Thursday. But this was but a preparation for the protest on Monday, the 31st [of Dec.], a new day of protest called by the unions which brought out a lot of people.

THE FACE OF THE MOVEMENT

If the movement kicked off due to economic and social problems, it is now above all a political revolt. The main slogan, repeated by all marches, from the beginning has been “the people want the fall of the regime” or “freedom, peace, justice and revolution is the choice of the people.” This is because, in reality, the cause of the uprising are deeper than the just the sudden rise in prices of foodstuffs. Corruption has hit an all-time high: the security forces which hold the reigns of power divert most public money to their own ends, while leaving the rest of people in poverty. Like the giant new club now being built for the NSS (National Intelligence Security Service). In short, the regime continues to strengthen itself, mobilizing all resources to this end: thus, the security budget is higher than that of health and education combines. Since this policy did not just come about yesterday, the social consequences felt today have been heavy.

Since the beginning of the regime war has continued without end. First war with the Republic of South Sudan, which voted for its independence in 2011, with which conflict (and notably the resources for this conflict) has still not
RECOUNTING THE START OF A REVOLUTION

But this time the anger has taken off, and for good. Thousands of people have taken to the streets, in cities across the country. On the 14th [of Dec.] protests were still rather weak. But the following Wednesday, in the worker and industrial city of Atbara, high school and university students took to the streets and overwhelmed the police. During the day’s events, the seat of the National Congress Party, that of Omar El-Bashir, was burned down. All of the police were forced to flee the city since the army took the side of people. High school and university students were in even stronger numbers at Khartoum the next day: Thursday, they got out onto the streets, blockaded the universities and certain major road axes in the capital. Similarly, at Qadarif, in the east of the country, the protests were growing in number. The movement then was on: on Friday, after prayer (“jumaat alghaddab”: Friday of rage) the streets of the capital, and numerous other cities, were inundated by protesters.

The following Saturday and Sunday, the opposition movement took over football stadiums. Starting Saturday evening, the supporters of the Al Hilal [football] team protested during the match. The following day, the government hesitated to call off the following Al Hilal match, since this canceling of the game would amount to an acknowledgment of the opposition movement, it then preferred to fill the stadium with “Kizan” (“men who defend or work for the regime”). Likewise, at Al-Gezira, a province in the south of the country, El-Bashir went to visit an exposition, and then calls for protests were made in the city of Wad Madani (capital of this province). The night before, activists had set ablaze a part of the exposition. This act was strongly symbolic since the exposition cost more than $100,000, while the population of Gezira still remains in poverty. Many of them were arrested. During the opening of the exposition, they brought out Kizan and schoolchildren to greet the arrival of the dictator, and to show that all is well, that everyone is with him. During his speech, live on television, several voices in the crowd rose up to denounce the massacres perpetrated by the regime (“tasqut iasqut hukma al askir”: “let it fall, let it fall, the military government”) and to affirm the refusal to welcome criminals. The TV station cut the live feed and put on another show. El-Bashir had to continue his speech behind closed-doors and surrounded by his supporters. His visit was cut-short and he quickly returned to Khartoum. At this moment, all the cities in the country entered into revolt. Wednesday the 25th [of Dec.] a call was made by unions and opposition parties to protest across the country, and to notably gather in the city-center of Khartoum and march to the presidential palace. Thousands of people came out into the streets of Khartoum, the capital, and numerous other cities, were inundated by protesters.

This week will therefore be decisive: either we will manage, in ever-greater numbers, to halt the economic machine by blocking its ports, refineries, railway stations, logistics centers, etc., and by really taking-over the governmental enclaves and police stations next Saturday, or we’ve lost. The climate march next weekend has no reason not to join us in the street. After all, its purpose is make clear that those who have led us to the current brink of disaster cannot be counted on to get us out of it. We’re one step away from the breakdown of the governmental machine. Either we will succeed in diverting the course of things over the coming months, or else the foreseeable apocalypse will find itself accompanied by a securitarian backlash the depth and scale of which can already be glimpsed on social media.

The question is as follows: what does it concretely mean to destitute the system in practice? Obviously, it cannot mean electing new representatives, since the bankruptcy of the current regime issues precisely from the bankruptcy of its representative system. To destitute the system means to take over locally, canton by canton, the material and symbolic organization of life. It is precisely the current organization of life that is today in question, that is itself the catastrophe. We must not fear the unknown: we have never seen millions of people allow themselves to die of hunger. Just as we are perfectly capable of organizing ourselves horizontally to set up blockades, we have the capacity to organize ourselves to relaunch a more sensible organization of existence. As revolt is organized locally, so it is at the local level that our solutions will be found. The “national” level is only ever the echo that issues from local initiatives.

We can no longer put up with the endless accountancy of this world. If the reign of the economy is the reign of misery, this is first of all because it is the reign of calculation. The beauty of our blockades, in the streets, and in all that we have been doing for three weeks—already a form of victory in itself—lies in our having stopped counting, the moment we began counting on each other. When the question is that of our common salvation, that of the legal property of the infrastructures of life becomes a mere detail. The difference between the people and those who govern is that the people aren’t a bunch of losers.

Ill Will Editions
Contributions to a partisan analysis of the present.
ill-will-editions.tumblr.com
Two years ago we published an interview with a Sudanese exilé who took part in the insurrectionary movements in the Sudan between 2013 and 2016. Ever since repression has not stopped and many Sudanese have chosen exile, notably in Europe via Libya and the Mediterranean sea. These days, the movement demanding the fall of the regime has taken off once again across all the cities in the country.

As this recounting of the events since mid-December attests, the Sudanese situation never was exotic, but rather we can see that it resonates more than ever with the situation that now has taken place for two months in France.

Since Friday, Dec. 14th the Sudanese people have risen up against the dictatorship of General Omar El-Bashir and his radical Islamist regime. The catalyst: a shortage of flour, gasoline and cash, accompanied by a fall in the value of currency, an inflation of over 70% (where the price of bread has tripled in a few days in several cities). But this is not the principal object of revolt. The economic and political situation has deteriorated over the last few years: on one side, poverty is more and more widespread while the bourgeoisie of the regime grows rich, and on the other, parliament seeks to modify the constitution to allow Omar El-Bashir to be present in the 2020 elections after 31 years in power. The revolt has been felt across the country for a few months now. The government militias (Rapid Special Force, who notably were responsible for mass murder at Darfur) conducted raids in October in the periphery neighborhoods of Khartoum, beating young people, shaving their heads, to remind them that any desire to revolt will be repressed with violence.
not to mention the compounding effects of mass deforestation and climate change, the future looks as grim as it does promising.

As has been noted in many other instances the left path of electoralism runs up against the dictatorship of capital and the need of the state to first and foremost secure the existence of the state even at the expense of those it governs. In Haiti, with the direct and constant meddling of the US and UN, the military, and bourgeois leftovers of the Duvalier era, left electoralism is only a set up for worse to come. If there is hope for real peace and stability for the Haitian people it will come through abandoning political parties and state machinery in favor of building the autonomous power to take care of and defend each other. We can see the seeds of this in the autonomous revolts initiated by the Haitian people rather than called for by opposition parties and in groups like the autonomous workers organization Batay Ouvriye.

All struggles for liberation are connected, those directly happening in the backyard of the United States directly effect our struggles, and ours theirs. We will be continually keeping an eye on unfolding social conflict looking for ways to support struggle stateside, and we hope others do as well.

As we write the French Republic is burning and the North American anarchist movement has its eyes fixed on the fires, yet in our own backyard the former French colony of Haiti has been ablaze for months. Since the slave insurrections and struggle for decolonization (a struggle unfinished, we might add) the Haitian people have been in a near constant state of revolt against slavery and colonialism, dictatorships, neocolonialism, occupation, and a crumbling state. The most recent incarnation of this social revolt started in July against corruption and has spread into a nation wide insurrectionary situation calling for the removal of the US backed ruling Haitian Têt Kale Party (PHTK) and its leader, President Jovenel Moise. The state has responded with beatings, torture, shootings, massacres, and what many fear to be the return of dictatorship era death squads. Rather than crushing revolt, it has only intensified.

This recent anti-government wave of revolt comes from the revolt against corruption and a gas price hike from early July, though we can see its precursor in the resistance to the 2015/2016 elections and the post election wave of strikes and riots. The Haitian elections were marred by fraud and voter suppression, as well as the general rejection by the Haitian people who have long since lost faith in electoralism giving way to the lowest voter turn out in the western hemisphere. The first round of elections were held on October 25th, 2015 and of the nearly 6 million registered to vote there was a turnout of only 28.8% and Jovenel Moise, a protégé of former President Michel Martelly and owner of a banana exporting operation, of the right-wing PHTK took the election with 32.8% of the vote, a mere 500,000 people compared to the size of the Haitian electorate (or compared to Haiti’s almost 11 million total population in 2015). Coming in second was Jude Célestin of Alternative
movements that look more like them. To illustrate the point further we pull this quote from the same text,

“And we may even be overestimating the limits of our own solidarity. When immigrants in Omonia rioted in June 2009 after a cop ripped up a Koran in a racist police raid, shockingly few anarchists took part. The tearing of a Koran was interpreted by many immigrants as an attack on their identity, their difference, and thus their very survival. Greek anarchists seemed to interpret it as a religious squabble, much the same way that Italian high school students might fail to understand what the killing of a Greek kid had to do with them.”

However, if our anarchism is to be internationalist, if we want to generalize insurrection across borders and across identities, we must actively be looking for and taking part in revolt outside of the usual places and identifying ourselves not just with anarchists but with anarchistic and ungovernable forces, of course with a critical eye to the content of their politics lest we relive the anarchist fascination with the 2014 Ukraine revolts that has anarchists unknowingly cheer-leading for neo-nazis because they fought police.

When we talk of elaborating a practice of internationalism, and particularly in the context of Haiti, we are talking about everything from intervening in workers struggles and forming state-side support campaigns to counter-information campaigns about and attacks against the means and logistics through which the United States intervenes in Haiti—through the State Department, the CIA, USAID, the US Military, and through the United Nations.

This can also take the form of putting in the effort to learn Kreyol, like many anarchists took the time and effort to learn Kurdish to support struggles in Rojava, to translate texts and analysis to and from to boost the voices of autonomous Haitian rebels and facilitate conversations between movements. We can also look to supporting groups like the autonomous workers organization Batay Ouvriye or the Haiti Info Project, one of the few on the ground grassroots groups putting out new and analysis of revolt in Haiti.

The continuous and increasingly escalating waves of revolt are looking like they might force out the President by early next year, however with the reformation of the Haitian Military and a violent history of US and UN intervention,
militarizes more to intimidate rebels. On the 13th a massacre takes place in the La Saline slum, a Lavalas stronghold, and while the state is saying that it was a gang turf war the account of survivors tells a different story.

"What was reported by residents—with shared photos on social media—the assassins appeared in BOID (Brigade d’opération et d’intervention départementale) uniforms and new vehicles. In addition, some of the known members of the Base Nan Chabon gang led by Serge Alectis—widely known as Ti Junior—were in the same mercenary soup wearing the uniforms. What is now becoming even more shared amongst Haitians is that the new amorphous mercenary group is fronted by former MINUSTAH (UN) officer Mohammad Nusari from Yemen. It is this “Security Consultant” that also brings with him the perceived involvement of the US Embassy, the CIA and the UN.”

A 3 day general strike is called shutting down most of Haiti as barricades go up. People hit the streets en-mass after the strike and police respond with teargas and gunfire. Protests continue, in one town police kill Beaumont resident Camecio Simon and people respond by burning down the police station.

The 28th anniversary of the election of Haiti’s first freely elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, is marked by protests.

As the situation currently stands demonstrations calling for the removal of President Moise are still happening and the newly elected Prime Minister Jean-Henry Céant has tried to appeal to “patriotism” to call a “truce” for Christmas, but it doesn’t look like there are any signs of slowing down.

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For us as insurrectionary anarchists in North America the inevitable revolts to come as the crumbling Haitian state tries to save itself offers us a chance to on one hand chip away at our movements eurocentrism and on the other elaborate a practice of internationalism.

We do not find it surprising that the places and movements we tend to give our attention, material solidarity, and rage to are generally european, almost never anywhere with a black majority. We understand that, as A. G. Schwarz words it in the text The Spirit of December Spread ‘Round the World, "...solidarity is based on affective bonds." Following this, it makes sense that an overwhelmingly white anarchist movement would find its inspiration and give most of its attention to explicitly anarchist forces (which is good) or other

Between the devastation of the hurricane and the Haitian peoples exhaustion from the year long election process, voter turnout for this election was even lower than last time at just 18%. Of that 18% that voted, Jovenel Moise took 55% of the vote and with an ‘absolute majority’ won the election as a whole. Unwilling to accept more years of PHTK rule, again the Haitian people overwhelmingly rejected the results and protests and conflicts broke out, with reports of demonstrations, burning barricades, and gunshots, especially in the La Saline slum which is a major stronghold of social democratic Fanmi Lavalas which called the election an “electoral coup”.

On February 7th, 2017, Jovenel Moise was sworn in as Haiti’s 58th President. Already in the peoples bad graces and coming into office with suspicions of money laundering, he declared, "we will invest in and cultivate available lands, build roads, bridges, and electricity networks... build schools, dispensaries, and hospitals, facilitate great tourist projects, take all the advantage we can from the HELP and HOPE acts [of the US Congress] by promoting investment in the assembly sector", promises that have gone unheeded.

His first year in office was marked blatant corruption as well as by continuous protests, strikes, riots, and blockades for minimum wage increases and against the government that have taken an increasing revolutionary stance with protesters chanting “Down with the government, down with the bourgeoisie!” The Haitian State has responded with a wide range of repression through strike breaking and firing on with live ammo. This cycle of revolt and repression has been ongoing and it’s a pattern that will repeat itself with greater intensity in the next year.

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An intensely unpopular right wing government riddled with abuse and corruption and wave after wave of protest and revolt in the winter set the stage for a hot summer. In July, using the cover of the World Cup hoping everyone would be too distracted to notice, the government implemented an IMF imposed reform raising the price of gasoline, diesel, and kerosene by 38%-51%, with a liter of diesel costing around 4$ USD and a liter of gasoline costing about 5$ USD. This price hike also meant that costs for public transportation would rise and for a country who’s minimum wage is between 215 Gourdes (about 3 USD) to 500 Gourdes (about 7 USD) a day depending on industry any price raise is a large chunk out of a days wages.
Resumen Latinoamericano describes the revolt saying,

“Hundreds of thousands of protesters are in the streets, building barricades, setting fire to service stations, car dealerships, premises, homes and so on and there are calls to occupy the centre of the capital, where the palace of government is located.”

They follow up with,

“It is important to note that for the moment, no political force is commanding the actions, but rather that they are developing in an uncoordinated way. The organizations are trying to articulate to give this uprising a clearer political direction and avoid the situation ending in generalized uncontrolled violence.”

This bears mentioning because much of the revolts that have happened, like the resistance to the elections, are called for by opposition parties and while they always have the possibility of getting totally out of control and can to a degree go beyond the parties threshold for acceptable conflict they are still able to be reigned back in. This, of course, isn’t to say that the Haitian people are being led around by the opposition parties but that the opposition parties are apt in using and diverting the long burning rage of the Haitian people from asserting their power to directly meet their needs into being tools to get more leverage in the state, as any political body vying for state power aims to do.

The fires were still smoldering when in August an anti-corruption social movement under the banner of the #PetroCaribeChallenge began to emerge. What started as just an airing of grievances around government corruption based on a Senate committee report from last year quickly kicked off another wave of protest and intense revolt. The report details the misuse and disappearance of at least 1.7 billion USD from the PetroCaribe Fund, a fund established through the Venezuelan “economic solidarity” program PetroCaribe which for Haiti was filled by the 40% of revenues from cheap Venezuelan oil. A program that the United States was not a fan of.

The PetroCaribe fund was supposed to be used for social and economic projects as well as reconstruction from the 2010 earthquake. The outrage of this scandal was built upon not just the past months of revolt but years of corruption. Toward the end of August protestors began to hit the street and trying to save face and assert the legitimacy of the state both current and former Presidents pack an investigation into the misuse of the funds. Yet protests continued and would continue to escalate into October, which would prove to be a bloody month.

A protest was called for Dessalines Day, a day commemorating the death of ex-slave and revolutionary leader in the Haitian Revolution Jean-Jacques Dessalines. The lead up to the protest was filled with intimidation by the state and the Haitian ruling class, with a police memo fearing attacks on that day and some opposition party lawyers get questioned by a state prosecutor about the protests. Tensions begin to rise higher as highschool students begin to join the protests and videos of wealthy Haitians begin to circulate shooting weapons as a threat against the upcoming protest and in the days leading up banks and businesses begin to take steps to prepare.

The day before there were burning barricades erected and in the night there were ceremonies to invoke the ancestors. As the day began a government event is disrupted and police have to fire into the air to disperse the crowd. All over the country there are protests and clashes. In the end multiple buildings and vehicles were destroyed, 11 cops were injured, many police vehicles torched, and at least 2 people were killed. Days later video spreads of police beating people who were suspected of taking part in the protest and in the days leading up banks and businesses begin to take steps to prepare.

Nightly protests begin to take to the street and at the end of the month a funeral for those killed by police at the Dessalines Day demo is held. Police attack and open fire on the funeral which kicks off intense rioting in the capital city. Rebels put up flaming barricades all over the city and clash with the police.

In November more protests erupt calling for the removal of the president, and at this point police responding with live ammo is the norm as the state