



?????? ?? ??????? ??????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?? ??? ?????????? ?????????????  
????????? ??????? ?????????????? ??????? ?????????? ??????? ?????????? ???????  
???????? ?????? ?????????????? ?????????? ??????? ??????? ?????????? ??????? ??????  
????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ??? ?????????? ?? ?????? ??????  
?????????. ?????? ?????? ??? ?????? ?????? ?????????? ?? ?????????? ?????????????? ?????? ??????????  
????????????????? ?????? ?? "????? ??????"? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????????????????? ??????????????  
?????????????? ?? ?????? ?????? ?????????? ??? ??? ?????? ?????????? ??? ?????????? ??????  
?????? ?????? ?????????????? ??????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????? ?? ?????? ?????? ?????? ??????  
????? ?????? ???????-??.<sup>[3]</sup> ?????? ?????????? ??? ?????? ?????????? ?????? ??????????  
????????????????? ?????? ??? ??? ?????????? ?????????? ?? ?????????? ?????? ??????????. ???????  
??? ?????? ?? ?????????? ?????? ?????????? ?????????????????? ?????? ?????????? ??? ?????? ??????????  
?????? ?? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????.

????? ?? ??? ?????????????? ?????? ?????? ??? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ??????  
????????? ?????????????? ??????? ??? ?????? ?????? ?? "????????? ??????"? ?????? ?? ??????  
????????????? ??? ?????????? ?????????? ??????????. ??? ?????? ??? ?????????????? ?????????????? ??????  
????????????? ?????????? ?? "??? ?????? ?????????? ??????????"? ?????????? ?????? ??? "?????????  
?????????"? ?????? ?????? ??? ?????? ?????????? ?????? ?????? ?????????? ?????????????? ??????????  
????????? ??????. ??? ??? ?????? ?????? "??? ?????? ?????????? ??????????" ??????? ???  
??? ?????????? ?? ?????? ??? ?????????? ?????? ?? ?????? ?????????????????? ?????? ?????????? ??  
????????? ?? ?????? ?????? ??? ?????????? ?????????????? ?????? ?????????????? ?????????? ??????????  
????????????? ?????? ??? ?????? ?????????? ?? ?????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ??  
????????? ??? ?????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????? ?????????????? ?????????? ??????????????  
????????????? ?? ?????? ?? ?????????????? ?????? ?????? ?? ?????? ?????????? ??????????

??? ?????? ??? ?????????????? ?????? ?????? ?? ?????? ?????????? ?????????????? ?????????????? ??????  
?? ?????? "????? ?????????? ??????????????". ?????????? ?????? ?????????? ?????????????? (??? ???  
?????? ?????? ?????? ?????????? ?????????????? ?????? ?????????? ?????????? ???????  
?????????) ?????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????? ?? ?????????? ?? ?????? ?????? ?????????? ???  
?????? ?????????????? ?????????? ?????? "?????? ?????????? ??????????????". ?????? ?????????? ??????????  
?? ?????????? ?????????? ?????? ?????????? ?????? ?????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ???  
????????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????????? ?? ?????????? "????? ?????????? ?????????? ??????????  
????????? ??????????". ?????????? ?? ?????????? ?????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ??????????  
????????? ?????????????? ??????????. ??? ??? ?????? ?????? ?????????? ?????????????? ??? ?? ??????  
??? ?????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????? ?? ?????????? ??? ?????????? ?????? ?? ??? ??????  
????????? ?????????????? ?????? ?????????? ?????? ?????? ??? "?????"? ?????? ??????????????



???????? ?????? ?????????????? ?? ????????? ?? ?????? ?????????????? ??????????????  
????????????? <sup>[10]</sup> ????????? ?? ?????? ?????????? ??? ?????????? ??? ??? ?????? ?????????? ??????  
????? ??? ?????????????? ?? ?????? ?????????? ??? ?????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ??????????  
????????????? ?? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????????? ?? ?????? ?? ?????? ?????? ??? ?????????????? ??  
?????????. ??? ?????? ??? ?????? ??? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????????? ?????? ??????  
????????????? ?????????? ?? ?????? ?????????? ?????? ??? ?????????????? ?????????? ?????? ?????????????? ??  
????????????? ?? ?????????????? ?? ?????????????? ??????????. ?????????? ?????????? ?????? ?????????????? ???  
????????????? ?????????????? ?????????? ??? ?????????????? ?? ?????????????? ?? ?????? ?????????? ?? ?? ??????  
????????? ??? ?????? ??? ?????????????? ?? ?????????????? ?????????????? ?????? ?????? ?? ?????? ??????????  
????????????? ?????????????? ?? ??? ?????? ?????????? ?????????????? ?? ?????????? ?? ?????????? ??????????  
????????????? ?????????????? ?????????????? ?????? ?????????????? ?? ?????? ?????????????? ?????????? ??????????  
?????????????. ??? ?????????? ??? ?????????????? ??? ?????? ?????????????? ?? ?? ?????????????? ??????????  
????????????? ?????????? ?????????????? ?????????????? ?????????????? ??? ?????????????? ?? ??? ??????  
????????? ?????????????????.

????? ?????? ?? ?????? ??? ?????????????????? ?????????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????? ??? ?????? ??????  
?? ?????????? ?????????????? ?? ?????????????? ?????????????? ??? ?????? ?????????? ?????????????? ?????????????/??  
????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ??? ?????? ?????????? ???  
????????/?? ?????????? ?? ?????? ?????????? ?? ?????????? ?????????????? ?????????????? ?? ?????????? ??????????  
??? ?????????????? ?????????????? ?????? ?????????? ?????? ?? ??? ?????????????? ?????????? ?????????? ??????????  
?? ?????????/?? ?????????????? ?????????? ??? ??? ?????????????? ?????????????? ?????? ?????????? ??????????????  
????????? ?????? ?????????????????? ?????????????? ?????????????????? ??? ?????????????????? ?????????????? ??????????????????  
????????????????? ?????????????????????? ?????????? ??????????/?? ?????????????? ??????????.

??? ?????? ?????????? ?????????????? ?????????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?? ??????????????????  
????????? ?????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????????? ?????????? ?????????????????? ??????????????  
????????????? ?? ?????????????????? ??????????????. ?????????? ??? ?????????????? ?????????????? ??? ??????  
????????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????????? ?????????? ??? ?????????????????? ?? ?????????????? ?????? ??????????  
?????????????. ?????????????????? ?? ?????????????????? ?????? " ?????? ?????????????? ?????????????????? ??????????????  
????????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ??????????" ?? ??????????  
????????? ?????????????? ?????????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ??????????????  
????????????? ?????? ?????????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ??????????  
??? ?????????????? ??????????. <sup>[11]</sup> ?????? ?????? ?? ??? ?????????????? ??? "????????? ?????????? ??????????  
?????????" ?? " ?????? ?????????????? ?????????????????? ?????????????? ?????????????? ??????????????  
????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????????? ??????????" (??? ?????? ?????? ?????????? ?????? ???  
????????? ?????????? ?? ?????????????????? ?? ?????????? ?????????? ??????????)? ??? ??? ?? ?????????? ??

???? ????? ??? ?????? ?? ?????? ?????????? ?????? ?????????? ??? ?????? ??????  
????????? ??????. ??? ????? ?????? ?????????? ?????????????? ?????? ??? ?????????? ???  
????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????? ?????????? ?????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????? ?? ??????  
????????? ?????????? ?? ????? ?????????????? ?????????? ?????????? ?????? ?????????? ??????????  
????? ?????????? ?????? ?????????? ?????? ?????????? ??????????

### ????? ??????????:

Debt Service Watch. "The Worst Global Debt Crisis: New Data from Debt Service Watch."

Development Finance International. October 2023.

[https://www.eurodad.org/the\\_worst\\_ever\\_global\\_debt\\_crisis\\_new\\_data\\_from\\_debt\\_service\\_watch](https://www.eurodad.org/the_worst_ever_global_debt_crisis_new_data_from_debt_service_watch)

Bretton Woods Project. "Marrakech Annual Meetings Wrap-up 2023: Bretton Woods Institutions wilt in the desert, as 'pragmatism' fails to resolve urgent crises." Bretton Woods Project (2023):

<https://www.brettonwoodsproject.org/2023/10/marrakech-annual-meetings-wrap-up-2023-bretton-woods-institutions-wilt-in-the-desert-as-pragmatism-fails-to-resolve-urgent-crises/>.

Stephen Kidd and [Diloá Athias](#). "Hit and miss: An assessment of targeting effectiveness in social protection." Development Pathways (2020):

<https://www.developmentpathways.co.uk/publications/hit-and-miss-an-assessment-of-targeting-effectiveness-in-social-protection/>.

Olga Jbeili, Michele Scala, and Miriam Younes. "Bailing out on Rights: The High Cost of an IMF Deal in Lebanon." Centre for Social Sciences Research & Action.

2022. <https://civilsociety-centre.org/resource/bailing-out-rights-high-cost-imf-deal-lebanon>.

Alexandros Kentikelenis and Thomas Stubbs. "IMF Social Spending Floors A fig leaf for austerity?" Oxfam. April

2023. <https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/621495/bp-imf-social-spending-floors-summ-130423-en.pdf;jsessionid=4917D3703A1E6877F482ABB6761F0E74?sequence=5>.

Ajay Banga. "Remarks by World Bank Group President Ajay Banga at the 2023 Annual Meetings Plenary." Transcription. The World Bank. October 2023.

<https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/speech/2023/10/13/remarks-by-world-bank-group-president-ajay-banga-at-the-2023-annual-meetings-plenary>.

CSO Joint Paper. "Civil Society calls for rethink of World Bank's Evolution Roadmap as part of wider reforms to highly unequal global financial architecture." Bretton Woods Project (2023):

[https://www.brettonwoodsproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/CSO-reaction-to-WBG-evolution-roadmap\\_FINAL-1.pdf](https://www.brettonwoodsproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/CSO-reaction-to-WBG-evolution-roadmap_FINAL-1.pdf).

Bretton Woods Project. "Development to the rescue of finance – the Bank's 'cascade' approach."  
Bretton Woods Observer. 2017. [https://www.brettonwoodsproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/observer\\_summer\\_17\\_screen.pdf](https://www.brettonwoodsproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/observer_summer_17_screen.pdf).

Centre for Social Sciences Research & Action. "Can the PMT Ensure Access to Social Protection to Lebanon's Poorest?" Centre for Social Sciences Research & Action. May 2022.  
<https://civilsociety-centre.org/content/can-pmt-ensure-access-social-protection-lebanons-poorest-0#:~:text=Evidence%20indicates%20that%20PMTs%20do,society%20can%20access%20social%20protection.>

Centre for Social Sciences Research & Action. "International Financial Institutions Breaking down Social Contracts in the MENA". Centre for Social Sciences Research & Action. July 2022.  
<https://civilsociety-centre.org/content/international-financial-institutions-breaking-down-social-contracts-mena-0>.

Counter-Summit Of Social Movements. "Marrakech Statement 79 Years Of Neocolonial Exploitation And Destruction By The WB And The IMF, This Is Enough!". Counter-Summit Of Social Movements (October 2023): <https://www.countersummitimfwbmarrakech.org/marrakech-statement-79-years-of-neocolonial-exploitation-and-destruction-by-the-wb-and-the-imf-this-is-enough/>.

<sup>[1]</sup> ??????? ?????????? ?? ? ??? ?? ?????? ??????/???????? ?? ?????? ??????.

<sup>[2]</sup> ???? ???? ?????????? "???? ???? ???? ??????: ?????? ?????? ?? ???? ???? ?????????". (The Worst Global Debt Crisis: New Data from Debt Service Watch)? ?????? ?????? ?????? ?????????? ?????? ??????/???????? ??????  
[https://www.eurodad.org/the\\_worst\\_ever\\_global\\_debt\\_crisis\\_new\\_data\\_from\\_debt\\_service\\_watch](https://www.eurodad.org/the_worst_ever_global_debt_crisis_new_data_from_debt_service_watch).

<sup>[3]</sup> ?????? ?????? ?????? "????? ?????????? ?????? ?????????? ??????: ?????????? ?????? ?????? ?? ?????????? ?????? ??????" ?????????????? ?? ??????? ?????????? ?????????? Marrakech Annual Meetings Wrap-up 2023: Bretton Woods Institutions wilt in the desert, as 'pragmatism' fails to resolve urgent crises)? (????? ?????? ?????? ??????):

<https://www.brettonwoodsproject.org/2023/10/marrakech-annual-meetings-wrap-up-2023-bretton-woods-institutions-wilt-in-the-desert-as-pragmatism-fails-to-resolve-urgent-crises/>

<sup>[4]</sup> "Hit and miss: An assessment of targeting effectiveness in social protection)? (Development Pathways?):

<https://www.developmentpathways.co.uk/publications/hit-and-miss-an-assessment-of-targeting-effectiveness-in-social-protection/>

<sup>[5]</sup> "Bailing-out rights-high-cost-imf-deal-lebanon." (<https://civilsociety-centre.org/resource/bailing-out-rights-high-cost-imf-deal-lebanon>).

<sup>[6]</sup> "Social spending floors-summ-130423-en.pdf;jsessionid=4917D3703A1E6877F482ABB6761F0E74?sequence=5

<sup>[7]</sup> "Remarks by World Bank Group President Ajay Banga at the 2023 Annual Meetings Plenary)" (<https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/speech/2023/10/13/remarks-by-world-bank-group-president-ajay-banga-at-the-2023-annual-meetings-plenary>

<sup>[8]</sup> "Civil Society calls for rethink of World Bank's Evolution Roadmap as part of wider reforms to highly unequal global financial architecture)" ([https://www.brettonwoodsproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/CSO-reaction-to-WBG-evolution-roadmap\\_FINAL-1.pdf](https://www.brettonwoodsproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/CSO-reaction-to-WBG-evolution-roadmap_FINAL-1.pdf)

[https://www.brettonwoodsproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/CSO-reaction-to-WBG-evolution-roadmap\\_FINAL-1.pdf](https://www.brettonwoodsproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/CSO-reaction-to-WBG-evolution-roadmap_FINAL-1.pdf)

<sup>[9]</sup> "Development to the rescue of finance – the Bank's 'cascade' (

)? (https://www.brettonwoodsproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/observer\_summer\_17\_screen.pdf

<sup>[10]</sup> "Development to the rescue of finance – the Bank's 'cascade' (https://civilsociety-centre.org/content/%D9%87%D9%84-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%AE%D8%AA%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%B1-%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%88%D8%B3%D8%A7%D8%A6%D9%84-%D8%BA%D9%8A%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%B4%D8%B1%D8%A9-%D9%84%D9%82%D9%8A%D8%A7%D8%B3-%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%AA%D9%88%D9%89-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AF%D8%AE%D9%84-%D9%8A%D8%B6%D9%85%D9%86-%D9%88%D8%B5%D9%88%D9%84-%D8%A3%D9%81%D9%82%D8%B1-%D8%A3%D9%81%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%AF-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%AC%D8%AA%D9%85%D8%B9-%D8%A5%D9%84%D9%89-0 ?

<sup>[11]</sup> "Development to the rescue of finance – the Bank's 'cascade' (https://www.countersummitimfwbmarrakech.org/ar/%d8%a8%d9%8a%d8%a7%d9%86-...