REPORT

OF THE FIFTEENTH MEETING OF THE REGIONAL COORDINATION MECHANISM OF THE ARAB STATES

BEIRUT, 1 JUNE 2011
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## ANNEXES

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Introduction

1. As the secretariat to the Regional Coordination Mechanism (RCM) for the Arab States, the Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA) convened the fifteenth meeting of the RCM at United Nations House, Beirut, on 1 June 2011 under the chairmanship of Ms. Rima Khalaf, Under-Secretary-General and Executive Secretary of ESCWA.

2. The purpose of the meeting, which was attended by representatives of regional United Nations agencies; other regional organizations, including the League of Arab States; and regional experts on the issues to be discussed, was to identify key features of the new economic, political and social profile of the Arab region in the wake of recent social movements, highlighting in particular the main challenges facing member countries and the role of the United Nations and other regional actors in responding to the changing needs. The thematic focus of the meeting was the transition to democracy in the Arab region. This report is a summary of the key discussions and outcomes of the meeting.

I. KEY OUTCOMES

3. The main outcome of the meeting was the establishment of a working group on Regional Integration. The meeting also endorsed the work of the Statistical Coordination Taskforce, which was convened as a result of a recommendation from the fourteenth meeting of the RCM in November 2010.

4. Participants supported the articulation of a workplan for the Statistics Group and RCM members requested the production of terms of reference for the Regional Integration Working Group for the consideration of the full membership.

II. PRESENTATIONS, DISCUSSIONS AND OUTCOMES

A. SESSION I – THE ARAB REGION AT A CROSS ROADS: CHANGING THE POLITICS OF DEVELOPMENT

5. The purpose of this session was to identify key features of the new economic, political and social profile of the region in the wake of the recent social movements in a number of Arab countries, and to explore new areas in which the United Nations and other regional actors could effectively respond and adjust their support to member countries.

1. Presentation

The Arab region at a cross roads: towards a new development paradigm

6. In his presentation, the keynote speaker of the meeting, Dr. Taher Kanaan, (Jordan) identified the deep-rooted cultural identity, economic complementarity and common interests shared by countries in the Arab region as the primary source of potential solutions to counter the politics of fragmentation in the region. He based his presentation on lessons learned from history, focusing on the ways in which foreign interference in the region had undermined peoples’ aspirations, increased the economic and political dependence of Arab States on external industrial powers, and weakened intra-Arab relations. He also emphasized the mutually enforcing relationship between democracy and development, and underlined the challenges facing the region in terms of sustaining democratic momentum, delivering basic services, and combating poverty and unemployment.

2. Discussion

7. The central role of youth and civil society organizations in the recent social movements was emphasized throughout the discussion. General discussion by participants focused on the need to deal with
young people as an integrated part of society, rather than as a separate, vulnerable group. There was consensus that the unfolding social, political and economic movements in the region should help shape a clear vision about future relations with young people. In this regard, Dr. Kanaan considered youth as the principal leaders of the recent social movements in the Arab region and noted the importance of articulating national strategies which address sustainable development and other vital issues from a youth perspective. National and international institutions concerned with development should therefore revisit their development philosophies with a view to engaging young people in national dialogue, incorporating their proposals and aspirations into national policies, and guaranteeing their political, economic and social inclusion.

8. Participants noted that the recent social movements have been inclusive and have shown no gender or other discrimination. They also stressed the failure of gender-based development policies which consider women to be weak members of society, and emphasized the need for a new development paradigm, based on empowering women and achieving inclusive and integrated development in the Arab countries. It was noted that women played an important role in the social movements and that empowering women in all aspects and stages of development is critical. In that regard, a recommendation was made to re-examine strategic development policies with the specific needs and roles of women in mind.

9. The nexus between economic growth and democratic change was deliberated, and participants suggested that the United Nations should reconsider its strategies for engaging stakeholders to facilitate that transition, with a particular focus on women. In considering this nexus, the RCM noted that while economic growth is key to achieving sustainable democracy, democratic governance is not considered as important for economic growth. To rectify this imbalance, democracy should be promoted more fully in development policies. Further, the role of the United Nations in the region needs to be redefined, with United Nations actors promoting both economic and regional integration in the Arab States.

10. Given that practice has demonstrated that economic growth does not always yield political and social benefits, the importance of redefining economic growth as key to sustainable democracy was highlighted. In this regard, the role of States as regulators should be revisited and a comprehensive growth paradigm generated.

11. The importance of equity and dignity as primary drivers of the “Arab spring” was highlighted, and it was proposed that these should be universally established as the principal dimension of the design and financing of development-related investments.

12. In general discussion, participants stressed the importance of joint Arab action to address the non-integrated economic policies of Arab countries, calling for joint Arab programmes to resolve issues related to economic integration and employment. Participants also noted the need to seek practical solutions to development problems within an institutional framework and to develop “out-of-the-box” strategies, emphasizing that regional integration should be achieved by Governments in cooperation with civil society. In this regard, the importance of engaging both public and private sectors in an inclusive debate about social democracy and liberalism, especially social protection, across the Arab region was noted.

13. A number of participants suggested that United Nations organizations, in cooperation with non-governmental organizations and large institutions, should continue to support the recent social movements. Inspired by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations should use its best endeavours to support the Arab region against external intervention if it and its partners are not to be considered part of the problem.

14. Mr. Abdel Rahman Gad Hassan, a guest speaker and youth activist from Egypt, contended that the role of the United Nations in the Arab region was ripe for redefinition, as the work of certain United Nations agencies appeared to be guided by local policies, rather than by overarching principles. He argued that one
of the main outcomes of the meeting should be to revisit and restructure the work of the United Nations in the Middle East.

15. Ensuing discussion emphasized that the situation has not yet settled in a number of Arab countries, notably Egypt and Tunisia, and that United Nations agencies and the broader international community therefore still need to assist countries in overcoming their problems. It was further observed that while internal reform has succeeded in part, further efforts are needed to achieve a better balance between economic and social affairs.

16. The role of Arab media in recent social movements was highlighted as having provided a good reflection of the feeling on the ground. It was noted that the media in the Arab world had criticized United Nations agencies for failing to take practical steps to improve the situation of Arab people and for replicating foreign models which are inappropriate in the Arab context. In this regard, the significant role played by information and communications technology in social movements and the need for the United Nations and other regional actors to have greater awareness of the importance of media in facilitating such movements was noted.

17. Participants observed that social movements and uprisings have occurred despite high growth rates and existing policies and programmes. They conjectured that reasons for this may be rooted in poorly-implemented programmes, inefficient development methods, and weak political and civil action. They stressed the absence of transparency and accountability in governmental bodies, as well as corruption, noting that societies suffer not only from political exclusion, but also from civil and societal exclusion.

18. It was suggested that any new development paradigm should redistribute wealth equally between the public and private sectors. Furthermore, the need to defend property rights and fully integrate Arab markets was identified as critical, since experience had shown that integrated markets had been less negatively affected by the recent financial crisis.

19. Food security continues to pose a risk to development in the region. It was suggested that the United Nations and other regional players, such as the League of Arab States, review their strategies to ensure that they respond optimally to the needs of Arab people by reducing delays between the passing of resolutions and the implementation of related actions.

20. The important interlinkage between internal, subregional and regional reform were identified. In this regard, it was highlighted that a study to establish an economic model to foster both inter-State and intraregional justice is required.

21. In response, Dr. Kanaan considered that the major threat in an incomplete Arab spring is fragility and that the principal impediment to democracy is foreign intervention. He discussed the jobless economic growth that has been seen in Arab countries and drew a comparison between neo-liberalism, which hinders internal progress and impedes social movements, and liberalism, which creates market liberalization. Arguing that the inequalities which all too often prevail in the Arab region are related to market imperfections and productivity patterns, he reiterated that the political decay in Arab countries which is currently hindering the progress of social movements and uprisings is a direct result of the resistance to change by long-standing public institutions.

22. Participants concluded that the role of the United Nations should be revisited with a view to safeguarding the fragile social movements in the region. They posited that regional organizations and agencies of the United Nations need to create a new development paradigm, based on experience and lessons learned, with particular emphasis on social justice and wealth distribution. They also highlighted the need for the participation of foreign experts in meetings discussing the situation in Arab countries, as well as the assistance of the United Nations in debates involving both supporters and opponents of regional integration. Having underlined the need for the roles of Arab States, citizens, civil society, and the public and private
sectors in the social movements to be redefined, they discussed the need for further investment in education, health care services and the renaissance of Arab countries. There was broad agreement that Arab intellectuals should be involved in United Nations meetings and reports related to maintaining social movements in the region. They concluded by stressing the central role of Arab and international media in the transition to democratic change and by asserting that greater consideration needs to be given to ways in which cooperation between the United Nations on the one hand and Arab peoples and Governments on the other hand can be increased.

B. SESSION 2 – HARNESING THE POWER OF POPULAR MOVEMENTS INTO EFFECTIVE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

23. Session Chair, Ms. Amat Alsoswa (UNDP) set out the purpose of the session, which was to identify challenges to maintaining the momentum of reform and provide insight into rebuilding of the infrastructure of governance. The session was structured around the experience of three case studies: Egypt, Tunisia and Yemen.

24. After arguing that the failure of the old development paradigm has led to the current situation, she conjectured that the strategic trends of development programmes in the region should be reoriented, rejecting foreign intervention and redrawing strategic development plans based on human rights, citizenship and increased participation. She noted that in a number of Arab countries, certain development activities had been suspended as a result of limited resources and the use of military options to resolve problems, and concluded by arguing that in this transitional period towards democratic change, Arab countries should have prepared both medium and long-term responses within a unified regional framework.

1. Presentations

(a) Egypt

25. In his presentation, guest speaker Mr. Abdelrahman Gad Hassan, a youth activist, explored the period prior to and during the uprising in Egypt. He observed that the crisis was not political, but human-centred. He also highlighted a lack of objective data, the right to knowledge, and the freedom of access to information as being among the causes that led to the uprising. Arguing that people were calling for freedom, human rights and justice, irrespective of any legislative and administrative measures which may be taken, he considered that solutions lay not only in punishment, but also in transparency, reconciliation and trust. By contrast, participatory development was being undermined by political centralization, the exclusion of minorities, an absence of political standards, family-rulled succession and the representation crisis, all of which underlined the need for a new social contract in which the roles of all actors are redrawn to reflect the changed situation.

26. On the question of the role of international organizations, Mr. Gad Hassan indicated that the United Nations should engage in the country with a view to assisting the State to regain its role and rebuild society in order to achieve comprehensive and sustainable development. He considered that international organizations need to reactivate their role in Arab countries, working in cooperation with civil society to rebuild public organizations, supporting local communities and undertaking civil supervision of common projects with the State. However, this would necessitate rebuilding trust between the people and the State, and remodelling the image of the United Nations.

(b) Tunisia

27. Guest speaker Mr. Obeid Briki, Deputy General Secretary, Tunisian Trade Union Federation, set out what he believed to be the direct causes of the Tunisian Revolution. At the social level, these included youth unemployment, exploitation of the workforce, the emergence of low-income groups, impoverishment of the middle class and regional disparity. At the political level, causes included containment and direct repression.
policies, dictatorship, control of the judiciary and the media, policies of denial, corruption and unfairness in taxation. Deeper causes included the failure to benefit fully from globalization, and the adoption of solutions imposed by international financial institutions.

28. Furthermore, Mr. Briki stressed that democracy is the only way to achieve social justice in a way that transcends ethnic, gender, sectarian and religious affiliations. The outcome of the uprising will depend on encouraging individual and general freedoms, rebuilding the independence of the judiciary and adopting internal solutions which fully encompass the needs of the country. At the social level, the country needs to formulate a new social contract that brings together the interests of all parties. He observed that the current situation requires training on democracy; support for youth groups, university graduates and sectors of high unemployment; improving its infrastructure; reviewing United Nations programmes; and encouraging focused political reform.

(c) Yemen

29. Guest speaker Mr. Ezzadin al-Asbahi, Coordinator of the Human Rights Information and Training Centre in Yemen, gave an overview of the current situation in Yemen and warned that deteriorating security levels could drag the country into civil war. Already lacking reliable institutions, the authority of those which do exist is fragile, and the country is suffering from rural isolation, capital fragmentation and corruption. He argued that that ruling family succession was the main trigger for the revolution, and highlighted the active role played by women and young people, particularly at the beginning of the crisis.

2. Discussion

30. Participants called for the United Nations to launch an in-depth discussion on the new concept of development, with a view to drawing up an updated definition that is no longer based on gross domestic product and economic growth. They emphasized that the sectoral and policy-oriented programmes of the United Nations, which aim to bridge the gap between State institutions, are preferable to the current trend of inclusive socio-economic initiatives. In this regard, RCM members were encouraged to share their experience in dealing with social movements in order to draw out a common model, to which United Nations agencies working in the region could contribute.

31. It was suggested that while external regional and global forces were an important agent and had been affected by the collapse of the Egyptian regime, they appeared to have been overlooked. With regard to Tunisia, it was argued that greater attention should be given to the external economic and financial assistance provided to the country, which may influence political decision-making.

32. It was suggested that Arab youth need to be supported by having strong communication networks, using information and communications technology to pave the way for change. Participants emphasized that the Internet and media outlets have played a crucial role in shaping recent social movements, and noted the need for non-violence and peaceful strategies to be included in the exchange of youth experience.

33. Participants discussed a wide range of issues, including economic integration and opportunity; the role of young people in shaping the future and triggering change for the better; women’s affairs; social justice and social protection; equality; the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a basis for humanitarian assistance; political and social participation of individuals and institutions; freedom of expression and assembly; the need to revisit employment structures; and ways to increase accountability and efficiency.

34. Participants emphasized the need to rebuild trust between the United Nations, other organizations and civil society. They also concluded that in view of the need to respond to developments as they unfold, the policies and approaches of the United Nations and those of other national, regional and international institutions should be revisited.
C. SESSION 3 – MOVING FORWARD: GRASPING NEW OPPORTUNITIES TO ENGAGE

35. The purpose of this session was to discuss opportunities for the United Nations policy and technical expertise provided to Arab countries; opportunities for engagement between the United Nations and other regional stakeholders, including the League of Arab States, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and regional banks; and the development of a position by the RCM on engaging Arab countries to facilitate the transition to democracy in the region and determine clear mechanisms for the initiation of social transformation dialogue.

Discussion

36. Participants emphasized the importance of civil society engagement to enhance the credibility and image of the United Nations. Moreover, they noted that the credibility of the Organization could be further strengthened through campaigns which identified its partners, shared the results of the projects which it has implemented and explained not only its programmes, but also its underlying strategies. In this regard, the need for open dialogue could not be underestimated. Furthermore, the importance of transparency, good governance and public access to data was identified as critical.

37. Participants contended that enhancing dialogue with youth would create an enabling environment in which young people could become agents of change and develop a vision for their own future. They also stressed the importance of engaging women and youth in small enterprises, and of enhancing access to social protection, health and education in order to reduce inequality. They concluded by arguing that the United Nations should support changes in legislation to better serve the interests of vulnerable groups. This also highlighted the pressing need to generate employment opportunities and support socio-economic institutions.

38. Noting the international mandate and convening power of the United Nations, RCM members called for the creation of joint programmes under two headings: transparent, accountable governance and equitable, sustainable development. Participants called for improved coordination between agencies and for country-specific strategies, adding that the agendas to be implemented should be determined by countries themselves and should include more action-oriented activities. In this regard, the importance of data for effective, evidence-based policymaking was reaffirmed.

III. ORGANIZATION OF WORK

A. DATE AND VENUE

39. The fifteenth meeting of the Regional Coordination Mechanism (RCM) for the Arab States was held at United Nations House, Beirut, on 1 June 2011. It convened four sessions for the discussion of agenda items, following which it was agreed that the next meeting will be held on 17 and 18 November 2011.

B. OPENING OF THE SESSION

40. United Nations Under-Secretary-General and Executive Secretary of ESCWA, Ms. Rima Khalaf, opened the meeting with a statement in which she welcomed participants to United Nations House in Beirut. She congratulated the League of Arab States on the election of its new Secretary General and emphasized the role of the RCM in facilitating regional partnerships, hoping that the meeting would result in a shared understanding of the magnitude of recent events in a number of Arab countries, as well as the unfolding challenges and opportunities created by such events.

41. Ms. Khalaf stressed the need for the United Nations to adapt to changing situations in order to maintain credibility and relevance. She referred to a number of measures already taken by United Nations organizations to respond to the Arab spring, including political and diplomatic missions, meetings and new flagship publications. She classified countries that require assistance from the United Nations into three
groups: countries that have pledged to undertake a series of political and socio-economic reforms; countries in which the political struggle has degenerated into State-led violence, resulting in increased potential for civil conflict; and countries in which the political establishment has deflected demands by its citizens for greater democratization and rights by providing increased social and financial transfers. She called for the articulation of a new development paradigm that fully captures the impact of growth and development, governance variables, environmental sustainability, political systems and decision-making processes. Above all, country-tailored solutions need to be based on full respect of fundamental freedoms, human rights and personal dignity.

42. In her opening statement, Ms. Sima Bahous, Assistant Secretary-General for Social Affairs at the League of Arab States, highlighted the interest of the League in enhancing partnership, cooperation and coordination with the United Nations. She stressed the importance of the RCM meeting at a time when the Arab region is experiencing profound change. People at all levels of society are calling for change, reform, democracy and poverty reduction; and for an end to unemployment, social marginalization, corruption, and the absence of freedom, democracy and human rights.

43. She argued that now is the time for regional organizations to explore the roots of social uprisings, and to revise orientations and priorities accordingly. A number of high-level summits, including most recently the second Arab Economic and Social Development Summit (Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt, 19 January 2011), have made clear calls for developmental paths to be revised, production to be diversified, poverty to be combated, social care to be improved, unemployment levels to be reduced, decent work opportunities to be provided, education to be improved, and for the role of youth and women to be enhanced at the political, economic and social levels, all with a view to achieving the Millennium Development Goals, realizing comprehensive development in the region, and improving the living standards of all Arab citizens.

44. She contended that it is clear that regional organizations have not yet succeeded in achieving such goals and, in their pursuit, should work towards both a new social contract and a new Arab developmental agenda. The recent uprisings in the region are clear evidence that centring strategies on people, and investing in education and development are key to social peace and justice. She expressed the readiness of the League to reorient its vision and developmental programmes and to use all available means to collaborate effectively with all stakeholders during this transitional period.

C. PARTICIPANTS

45. The meeting was attended by representatives of regional United Nations agencies, other regional organizations, international financial institutions and the League of Arab States. A list of participants can be found in annex I to this report.

D. AGENDA

46. At its fifteenth meeting, the RCM discussed the items on the agenda which is reproduced in annex II.

E. DOCUMENTS

47. The list of documents submitted to the RCM at its fifteenth meeting is contained in annex III to this report.
Annex I

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

A. UNITED NATIONS SECRETARIAT

Regional Commissions New York Office

Mr. Amr Nour
Director
New York, United States of America
Tel.: 00 121 2963 5563
E-mail: nour@un.org

Economic Commission for Africa

Ms. Karima Bu Nemra Ben Soltane
Director, ECA North Africa Office
Rabat, Morocco
Tel.: 00 21 237 654 595
E-mail: kbounemra@unea.org

B. UNITED NATIONS PROGRAMMES AND BODIES

United Nations Development Programme

Ms. Mona Hammam
Deputy Regional Director
Cairo, Egypt
Tel.: 00 202 277 02266
E-mail: mona.hammam@undp.org

Ms. Amat al-Alim Alsoswa
ASG/Assistant Administrator and Regional
Director, UNDP and Chair of the Regional
UNDG Arab States/MENA
New York, United States of America
Tel.: 00 1 917 497 4432
E-mail: amat.alsoswa@undp.org

Ms. Susanne Dam Hansen
Regional Coordination Specialist
UNDG Arab States
New York, United States of America
Tel.: 00 1 212 906 5462
E-mail: susanne.dam-hansen@undp.org

Ms. Juliette Hage
Chief, Country Operations Division
UNDP Regional Bureau for Arab States
New York, United States of America
E-mail: juliette.hage@undp.org

Mr. Arkan el-Seblani
Regional Legal Specialist for Arab States
Cairo, Egypt
E-mail: arkan.el-seblani@undp.org

United Nations Environment Programme

Mr. Habib N. el-Habr
Director and Regional Representative
Regional Office for West Asia
Manama, Bahrain
Tel.: 00 973 17 812 777/755
Fax: 00 973 17 825 110/111
E-mail: habib.elhabr@unep.org

Ms. Melanie Hutchinson
Programme Officer at UNEP Regional Office for
Western Asia
Manama, Bahrain
E-mail: Melanie.hutchinson@unep.org

United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

Mr. Fatteh Azzam
Regional Representative
Beirut, Lebanon
Tel.: 00 961 1 981414
E-mail: azzam1@un.org

UN Women

Mr. John Hendra
Assistant Secretary-General
UN Women
New York, United States of America
E-mail: john.hendra@unwomen.org
C. UNITED NATIONS SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

International Labour Organization
Ms. Nada Al Nashif
Regional Director
Regional Office for Arab States
Beirut, Lebanon
Tel.: 00 961 1752400
E-mail: al-nashif@ilo.org

Mr. Jurgen Schwettmann
Deputy Regional Director
Regional Office for Africa
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
E-mail: schwettmann@ilo.org

Mr. Maurizio Bussi
Deputy Regional Director
Regional Office for Arab States
Beirut, Lebanon
Tel.: 00 961 1 752 400
Fax: 00 961 1 752 406
E-mail: bussi@ilo.org

Ms. Shaza al-Jundi
Programme Officer
Regional Programming Services
Regional Office for Arab States
Beirut, Lebanon
Tel.: 00 961 1 752 400 Ext. 217
Mobile: 00 961 3 480 747
E-mail: aljundi@ilo.org

Food and Agriculture Organization
Mr. Saad al-Otaibi
Regional Representative for the Near East
Cairo, Egypt
Tel.: 00 20 2 33316000
E-mail: saad.alotaibi@fao.org

Mr. Ali Moumen
Representative in Lebanon
Beirut, Lebanon
E-mail: ali.moumen@fao.org

Mr. Tarek Shawki
Director, Regional Bureau for Sciences in Arab States
Cairo, Egypt
Tel.: 00 20 2 279 4 3036
E-mail: t.shawki@unesco.org

Mr. Abdel Moneim Osman
Regional Director
Beirut, Lebanon
Tel.: 00 961 1 850013
E-mail: am.osman@unesco.org

World Health Organization
Dr. Abdallah Assa’edi
Deputy Regional Director
Cairo, Egypt
Tel.: 00 20 2 227 65027
E-mail: drd@emro.who.int

World Bank
Mr. Hedi Larbi
Director, Middle East Department
Beirut, Lebanon
Tel.: 00 961 1 987 800 ext 245
E-mail: hlarbi@worldbank.org

Mr. Omar Razzaz
Advisor, Middle East and North Africa Region
Amman, Jordan
Tel.: 00 962 077 677707
E-mail: orazzaz@worldbank.org
World Bank (continued)

Ms. Haneen Syed
Youth Expert
Beirut, Lebanon
E-mail: hsayed@worldbank.org

Ms. May Ibrahim
Programme Assistant
Beirut, Lebanon
Tel.: 00 961 986 800
E-mail: mibrahim@worldbank.org

United Nations Industrial Development Organization

Mr. Ziad Ifram
Chief, Arab Programme
Vienna, Austria
Tel.: 00 43 1 260 260 3480
E-mail: z.ifram@unido.org

Ms. Amita Misra
Director, Bureau of Regional Programmes
Vienna, Austria
E-mail: a.misra@unido.org

Mr. Khaled el-Mekwad
Regional Programme Director for Arab States
Beirut, Lebanon
Tel.: 00 961 1 978 699
E-mail: k.elmekwad@unido.org

World Food Programme

Mr. Daly Belgasmi
Regional Director
Cairo, Egypt
Tel.: 00 202 528 1730
E-mail: daly.belgasmi@wfp.org

Ms. Marwa Bouka
Programme Officer
Cairo, Egypt
Tel.: 00 202 252 81730
E-mail: marwa.bouka@wfp.org

Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

Mr. Abdul Haq Amiri
Head of Office, Regional Office for the MENA and Central Asia
Cairo, Egypt
Tel.: 00 202 275 15 016
E-mail: amiri@un.org

International Organization for Migration

Mr. Pasquale Lupoli
Regional Representative for the Middle East
Cairo, Egypt
Tel.: 00 202 358 0011
E-mail: plupoli@iom.int

Mr. Othman Belbeisi
Head of Office
Beirut, Lebanon
Tel.: 00 961 1 752108 118
E-mail: obelbeisi@iom.int

Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS

Mr. Erik Lamontagne
Regional Technical Adviser
Cairo, Egypt
E-mail: lamontagne@unaids.org

Mr. Hamidreza Setayesh
Regional Adviser for the Middle East and North Africa
Cairo, Egypt
E-mail: setayeshh@unaids.org

United Nations Children’s Fund

Ms. Shahida Azfar
Regional Director
Amman, Jordan
Tel.: 00 962 6 550 2402
E-mail: saazfar@unicef.org

United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East

Mr. Salvatore Lombardo
Director of UNRWA Affairs
Beirut, Lebanon
E-mail: s.lombardo@unrwa.org

United Nations Population Fund

Mr. Hafedh Chekiri
Director, Arab States
Cairo, Egypt
Tel.: 00 202 227 65675
E-mail: chekir@unfpa.org

Mr Mohamed Afifi
Special Assistant to the Regional Director
Cairo, Egypt
E-mail: afifi@unfpa.org
UN HABITAT
Mr. Muhammad Kadhim
Representative to Egypt
Cairo, Egypt
Tel.: 00 202 279 230 86
E-mail: muhammad.kadhim@unhabitat.org

International Fund for Agricultural Development
Mr. Nadim Khouri
Director, Middle East and North Africa Division
Rome, Italy
Tel.: 00 39 06 5453 2321
E-mail: n.khour@ifad.org

United Nations Volunteers
Ms. Naheed Haque
Deputy Executive Coordinator
Bonn, Germany
Tel.: 00 49 228 815 2506
E-mail: naheed.haque@unvolunteers.org

United Nations Development Operations Coordination Office
Ms. Deborah Landey
Director
New York, United States of America
Tel.: 00 1 646 256 5384
E-mail: deborah.landey@undg.org

Ms. Caroline Lensing Hebben
Programme Officer
Beirut, Lebanon
E-mail: caroline.lensinghebben@undp.org

D. INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

League of Arab States
Dr. Sima Bahous
Assistant Secretary General, Social Affairs
Cairo, Egypt
E-mail: sima.bahous@las.int

Mr. Tarek Nabulsi
Director General, Social Affairs
Cairo, Egypt
E-mail: tarek.nabulsi@las.int

Dr. Hoda Abo Al-Eil
Chief, Statistics and Information
Cairo, Egypt
Tel.: 00 202 2358 0088
E-mail: arabstat.dept@las.int
hodaabullail@gmail.com

Mr. Nada al-Aigazy
Head of Division, Economic Affairs
Cairo, Egypt
Tel.: 00 202 257 5051
E-mail: nada.agaizy@las.int

Mr. Ahmed Abdel Monem
Director, Pan Arab Project for Family Health
Cairo, Egypt
Tel.: 00 201 244 60309
E-mail: ahmonem@gmail.com

E. EXPERTS AND OTHER REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. Abdel Samad Ziad
Chair, Civil Society Advisory Group
Beirut, Lebanon
Tel.: 00 961 3 360 315
E-mail: abdel.samad@anmd.org

Mr. Mehmet Serkan Tosun
Associate Professor, Department of Economics
University of Nevada
Reno, United States of America
Tel.: 00 973 178 12751
E-mail: tosum@unr.edu

Mr. Samir Aita
Editor-in-Chief and Director General
Le Monde Diplomatique Arab Edition
Paris, France
Tel.: 00 33 611 99 8238
E-mail: aita@mafhoum.com

Ms. Elizabeth Sellwood
Center for International Cooperation
New York University
New York, United States of America
E-mail: elizabethesellwood@gmail.com
Mr. Nadim Shehadi  
Associate Fellow of Chatham House and  
Academic visitor at St. Anthony’s College  
St. Anthony’s College, Oxford University  
Oxford, United Kingdom  
Tel.: 00 44 795 639 0532  
E-mail: nadim.shehadi@gmail.com

Mr. Harvard Hegre  
Professor, Department of Political Sciences  
Centre for the Study of Civil War  
Oslo University  
Oslo, Norway  
Tel.: 00 47 4803 5321  
E-mail: hhegre@prio.no

F. GUEST SPEAKERS

Mr. Taher Kanaan  
Chief Executive Officer  
Jordan Centre for Public Policy Research and Dialogue  
Amman, Jordan  
E-mail: taher.kanaan@gmail.com

Mr. Abdel Rahman Gad Hassan  
Youth Activist  
Cairo, Egypt  
E-mail: a.hamdi.jad@gmail.com

Mr. Obeid Briki  
Deputy General Secretary  
Tunisian Trade Union Federation  
Tunis, Tunisia  
E-mail: abid_briki@hotmail.fr

Mr. Ezzadin al-Asbahi  
Coordinator  
Human Rights Information and Training Centre  
Sana’a, Yemen  
E-mail: ezzadin4@gmail.com

G. UNITED NATIONS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMISSION FOR WESTERN ASIA (ESCWA)

Ms. Rima Khalaf  
United Nations Under-Secretary-General  
Executive Secretary

Ms. Anhar Hegazi  
Deputy Executive Secretary, a.i.

Ms. Roula Majdalani  
Director, Sustainable Development and Productivity Division

Mr. Tarik Alami  
Officer-in-Charge, Economic Development and Globalization Division

Mr. Yousef Nusseir  
Director, Information and Communication Technology Division

Mr. Juraj Riečan  
Director, Statistics Division

Mr. Frederico Neto  
Director, Social Development Division

Mr. David Iyamah  
Director, Administrative Services Division

Mr. Robert Laurenti  
Director, Programme Planning and Technical Cooperation Division

Mr. Youssef Chaitani  
Joint Officer-in-Charge, Emerging and Conflict-Related Issues Section

Mr. Vito Intini  
Joint Officer-in-Charge, Emerging and Conflict-Related Issues Section

Ms. Ramla Khalidi  
Chief, Technical Cooperation Section, Programme Planning and Technical Cooperation Division

Mr. Albagir Adam  
Secretary of the Commission
H. RCM SECRETARIAT (ESCWA)

Ms. Catherine Haswell
Programme Officer, Programme Planning and Technical Cooperation Division

Ms. Ivana Brnovic
Associate Programme Officer, Office of the Executive Secretary

Ms. Maisaa Youssef
Programme Officer, Programme Planning and Technical Cooperation Division

Ms. Rana Mitri
Administrative Assistant, Programme Planning and Technical Cooperation Division
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<tr>
<td>08.30</td>
<td>Registration</td>
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<tr>
<td>08.45</td>
<td>Welcome by ESCWA Executive Secretary</td>
<td>Rima Khalaf</td>
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<tr>
<td>08.55</td>
<td>Introduction by League of Arab States Assistant Secretary General for Social Affairs</td>
<td>Sima Bahous</td>
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<tr>
<td>09.05-09.20</td>
<td>Presentation by Mr. Taher Kanaan (Jordan)</td>
<td>Session facilitated by Sima Bahous, League of Arab States</td>
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**Session 1 - The Arab Region at a Cross Roads: Towards a New Development Paradigm**

**Synopsis:** Independent of whether popular uprisings succeed in their agendas, the context of the region has been altered dramatically by a regional reaction to political, economic and social exclusion. What will be the main challenges for member countries following the popular uprisings recently witnessed in the region? Public sector reform, reconciliation and security sector reform are examples of areas in which member countries will need to redefine policies to adapt to the new climate. How can economic and social actors engage, and what opportunities have been created for the United Nations and others to use such opportunities to address underlying poverty and inequality to ensure the full enjoyment of economic, political and social rights by all citizens? What is the role of youth in addressing these challenges, given their primary role as an instrument of change in the region?

**Purpose:**

1. To identify key features of the region following the uprisings in a number of countries in the region.
2. To identify new openings in which the United Nations and other regional actors can respond and react.

Discussion

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<tr>
<td>9.20-11.00</td>
<td>Coffee Break</td>
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<tr>
<td>11.00-11.15</td>
<td>Session 2 - Harnessing the Power of Popular Movements into Effective Political, Economic and Social Transformation</td>
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<tr>
<td>11.15-11.25</td>
<td>Introduction of draft UNDG response strategy to Chief Executives Board (CEB)</td>
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<tr>
<td>11.25-12.30</td>
<td>Panel Discussion:</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Abdel Rahman Jad Hassan (Egypt)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2. Obeid Briki (Tunisian Trade Union Federation)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3. Mr Ezzadin al Asbahi (Human Rights Information and Training Centre, Yemen)</td>
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</table>
12.30-1.15 **Synopsis:** To review the common threads across the region through interaction between panel members with experience from Egypt, Tunisia and elsewhere.

**Purpose:** To identify challenges to maintaining the momentum of reform and provide insight into rebuilding the infrastructure of governance.

Discussion

1.15-2.15 Lunch

Expert Guest Participants

**Samir Aita**  
Rédacteur en Chef et Directeur Général, Le Monde Diplomatique Editions Arabes, Président du Cercle des Economistes Arabes

**George Corm**  
Former Lebanese Minister of Finance; Professor, Université Saint-Joseph, Beirut

**Yezid Sayigh**  
Professor of Middle East Studies, King’s College, London

**Omar Razzaz**  
Advisor, Middle East and North Africa Region, World Bank

**Mehmet Serkan Tosun**  
Associate Professor, Director of Graduate Programs, Department of Economics, College of Business, University of Nevada, Reno

**Arkan el-Seblani**  
Regional Legal Specialist, Regional Bureau for Arab States, UNDP

**James Eberlein**  
Communications and Research Advisor, Partnership for Democratic Governance, OECD

**Raghd el-Solh**  
Consultant, Issam Fares Center for Lebanese Studies

**Khalil Gebara**  
Head of Good Governance, Office of the Caretaker President of the Council of Ministers, Lebanon

**Jad Chaaban**  
Associate Professor of Economics, American University of Beirut

**Nadim Shehadi**  
Associate Fellow of Chatham House and Academic Visitor, St. Anthony’s College, Oxford University

**Elizabeth Sellwood**  
Center on International Cooperation, New York University, currently on temporary assignment with the United Nations Special Coordinator for Lebanon

**Havard Hegre**  
Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Oslo and Centre for the Study of Civil War

**Havard Nygard**  
PhD. Fellow, Department of Political Science, University of Oslo and Associate Researcher, Peace Research Institute, Oslo University

Session 3 - Moving Forward: Grasping New Opportunities to Engage

**Purpose:** To discuss the following:

1. **Opportunities for United Nations policy and technical expertise to member countries** – what are the new opportunities for the United Nations and others to engage?
2. **Opportunities for engagement between the United Nations and regional stakeholders** – including the League of Arab States, International Monetary Fund, World Bank and regional banks – on engagement with member countries

3. **Developing a common position by the RCM on engaging member countries with a view to facilitating the transition to democracy in the region**

4. **Determining clear mechanisms to engage social transformation dialogue**

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<td>5.00-5.20</td>
<td>Wrap-up and closing</td>
<td>Rima Khalaf and Sima Bahous</td>
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### Annex III

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<td>Presentation</td>
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<td>Rebuilding Society and State</td>
<td>Presentation by Mr Ezzadin al-Asbahi</td>
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