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"Solidarity for Development" – European Development Days 2011: challenge and opportunity for Poland's presidency of the Council of the European Union

European Development Days – an crucial event for the presidency

The European Development Days (EDD – www.eudevdays. eu) are the largest global event dedicated to development cooperation. The goal of the Development Days is to improve the quality of development cooperation and development assistance, and to build a global partnership to fight against poverty and achieve the Millennium Development Goals. The EDD are a unique meeting place for politicians and experts from a wide range of institutions, and are also a space for debates on such subjects as democracy, environment protection, and poverty.

The EDD have been organized during past four years and are held in the second half of each year, in the country holding the European Union presidency (the host cities, thus far, have been Brussels, Lisbon, Strasbourg, and Stockholm). The 2009 edition of the EDD, organised in Stockholm, was the Swedish presidency's most prominent event. Over a hundred organisations and institutions representing the EU administration, academia, the non-governmental sector, and the media participated in the organisation of debates and conferences.

Six thousand people took part in the Stockholm EDD, including presidents and prime ministers (among them, the Prime Minister of Sweden), Nobel prize laureates (including Muhammad Yunus), and directors of international organisations (including the President of the European Commission, José Manuel Barroso, the Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund – IMF, Dominique Strauss-Kahn, and the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme, Helen Clark). The event also brings together and facilitates dialogue with representatives of developing countries. Among the participants in EDD 2009 were leaders from Sierra Leone, Liberia, Kenya, Bangladesh, and Haiti. All editions of the European Development Days have been widely publicised by international media. In 2010, the EDD will take place in Brussels, most likely in December.

As a consequence of assuming the presidency of the Council of the European Union in 2011, the 6th edition of the European Development Days will be held in Poland – the first time that the EDD will be hosted by one of the newest EU member states. As was the case for Sweden, the EDD are likely to be one of the Polish presidency's most important events. In addition, if the EDD 2011 schedule is confirmed for July of that year, the EDD will be the *de facto* inaugural event of the Polish presidency.

The EDD are the scene of meetings and discussion panels co-organised by numerous partners from the EU and elsewhere. Among them are government agencies, international organisations, third sector representatives, think tanks, and research institutions. For potential partners, the EDD have already become one of the most important events engaging people who not only actively and directly shape the EU's development policy, but who also exert influence on EU external policy, overall.

Development policy challenges facing the Polish presidency

For the past several years, Poland has been gradually increasing its engagement in the provision of Official Development Assistance (ODA) to developing countries and countries undergoing transformation, but the volume of Poland's development assistance remains low. In 2008, Poland allocated approximately PLN 900 million to that end, meaning barely 0,08% of GDP, which places it among the least prolific development assistance donors in the European Union. As well, Poland does not have extensive experience in assisting the development of Global South countries, nor even our closest neighbours in Eastern Europe and the Balkan region. Meanwhile, the activities of Poland's presidency of the EU Council, in the second half of 2011, will concern global development cooperation - in no small degree, the actions and initiatives that the Polish presidency can put into effect

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will have an impact on improvements the security of lasting, sustainable development for the world and on progress in the fight against poverty.

The period of the Polish presidency of the EU Council may prove to be a difficult one for international and European development cooperation. The world economic crisis will leave behind significant social and economic problems in many developing, and especially the poorest, countries. Consequently, the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) adopted in 2000, may be severely compromised. Additionally, budget difficulties shouldered by European countries in the aftermath the crisis will limit their potential to generously support developing countries. Moreover, in financial negotiations on the EU's New Financial Perspective for the period 2014-20, it will be necessary to settle on a viable balance between the abilities of key donor countries, the needs of countries still benefitting from Union structural funds and the need to support global development. Finally, Poland's presidential term will coincide with important events for European and international development cooperation, such as the 4th High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in October 2011 and the European Development Days. The combined result of the above will be to make directing the work of the EU in the field of global development a particularly difficult challenge for the Polish administration requiring the mobilisation and sustained engagement of numerous individuals and institutions. The country presiding over the EU Council must have the ability to accurately define the processes and challenges, as well as gauge the current directions, of global development cooperation in order to aptly and effectively deploy the EU's enormous "development potential".1

The European Development Days as challenge and opportunity

In the preparations for the European Development Days, the experience of previous editions of the EDD and the experience of various Polish and international institutions engaged in the organisation of the United Nations Climate Change Conference in Poznań (COP14), in 2008, will be of substantial value. Although all these events are different in nature, they nevertheless share a number of common elements and solutions that will be useful in EDD preparations in Poland.

The European Development Days are organised by the European Commission and the country hosting

the event. On its own, Poland would not be able to organise a development policy event of this scale, not only because of the significant organisational expenses, but primarily because development cooperation is still very low on the list of Poland's political priorities. As president of the Council of the European Union, Poland will have a singular opportunity to organise an event of genuine political import in the international arena. This will not only be an occasion to enhance Poland's prestige, but also to exercise in practice the prominent role within the European Union that the government frequently cites as a Polish national ambition.

Despite the considerable support – organisational and substantive – of the European Commission, the organisation of the EDD will be a major challenge for the Polish government. Logistical issues do not fall within the scope of interest of this paper, but it is important to examine the substantive dimension of the event. In this perspective, the potential success of the EDD hinges on three factors:

- a lead theme that will determine the framework in which pertinent debates can be carried out and within which concrete solutions can be arrived at;
- a fitting status for the event in the international arena, which will translate into the attendance of guests and panellists of note and, consequently, into favourable substantive and political effects for the event;
- media interest, which will heighten the profile of development cooperation among the public at large.

These three factors suggest that the all-important lead theme and programme should should lead to compelling and fruitful discussions, while at the same time stoking the interest of the media and society at large. In a country where awareness of development cooperation issues is limited, the European Development Days should fill two simultaneous functions: those of an expert forum and a global education event that disseminates knowledge on development cooperation. Therefore, the challenges of EDD 2011 will include not only skilfully organising a major international event, but also giving that event a fitting status, generating an appropriate level of political interest

- both on the international and national levels
- and ensuring its substantive coherence.

It is also worth noting that, at present – in a context where the world is emerging from the global economic crisis, discussions on the effects of climate change are intensifying, and emerging donor countries are increasingly active – the influence of development policy goes

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far beyond its traditional definition of assistance for the world's poorest countries. Indeed, the EDD are an opportunity for Poland to permanently establish itself among the EU's key players and indelibly assert that status among its partners. This can be achieved without sudden increases of the volume of funds assigned to the Polish Aid government programme, which however will not relieve Poland of the responsibility to fulfil international obligations in long term.

The EDD will also be an opportunity for Poland to promulgate its most important initiatives and priorities within the EU and international fora. These include the Eastern Partnership programme, which can be discussed during the EDD – substantively and politically – in the wider context of EU external action. By organising an event of such prominence, Poland can act in the name of the EU's newest member states, in presenting conceptions and best practices related to the provision of development assistance to former Eastern block countries and countries undergoing transformation.

The organisation of the European Development Days will also offer the opportunity to initiate a public debate on development cooperation and on Poland's new role in the international arena. It will be necessary to undertake a range of initiatives in order to raise Polish citizens' awareness of development issues and understanding of development cooperation, which will become highly important when assistance funds drawn from the state budget will need to be increased.

For the Polish private sector, the promotion of the European Development Days and the increased importance of development policy in Poland may prove to be an attractive incentive to engage in development cooperation. Presently, the presence of the business sector within development cooperation - either as donors, or in project implementation - is negligible. In order to initiate cooperation among the government, non-governmental organisations, and the business sector in the field of development, Poland's development and economic policies, as well as certain aspects of climate policy will have to be made more coherent. Such cooperation will also require a legal framework. Without doubt, the combination of the EU Council presidency and the European Development Days will offer an opportune occasion to mobilise political decision-makers to adopt a long-awaited resolution on development cooperation.

The Lead Themes of European Development Days

Past EDD editions have adopted one or several lead themes. This approach makes it easier to elaborate a coherent agenda and to schedule meetings and panels whose discussion topics centre on clearly delineated issues. Such organisation not only makes the EDD a forum for the exchange of ideas, but also leads to the formulation of concrete conclusions and expert reports for decision-makers. At the first edition of the Development Days, hosted by Brussels, the lead theme was effective governance. In 2007, in Lisbon, the discussion centred on the ways in which climate change affects development,² while the following year, in Strasbourg, the EDD focused on the local dimension of development processes. The most recent edition of the Development Days, organised during Sweden's presidency, articulated four leading themes: democracy, adapting to the effects of climate change, energy efficiency, and the global economic recession. It would appear that such a widely cast range of lead themes, lacking a common denominator that would connect the key issues, makes it difficult to compose a consistent programme for the Development Days. This is important to keep in mind, because the formulation of a coherent programme is one of the challenges facing the Development Days organisers in Poland.

Actors engaged in international development cooperation are faced with the continual need to answer long-term challenges, such as: achieving the Millennium Development Goals, fulfilling the resolutions of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, and indentifying the role of emerging donor countries, with a particular focus on the role of the People's Republic of China in Africa and Latin America. At the same time, however, new and unforeseen challenges arise to confront the international community each year. The present situation in Haiti is one such example, in which a natural catastrophe presented the international community not only with the necessity of delivering immediate humanitarian relief, but also that of answering questions about that country's future, that is, its development strategy and the tools necessary to carry it out. In addition, as mentioned above, we must take into account the dissemination of information on development cooperation and the degree of interest in, and understanding of, global development processes among Polish citizens. Balancing all these challenges will be undoubtedly difficult, but it is certainly achievable.

We may cite, for example, the 2007 edition of the EDD in Lisbon, whose lead theme and programme schedule

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were centred on climate issues. Organisers, however, did not shy away from broaching a variety of issues, such as: sensitivity to the negative effects of climate change, mitigation and adaptation, as well as poverty, migration and human settlement in the light of climate change. The French presidency, for its part, opted for a similar solution, using the lead theme "local dimension of development" to discuss problems of involving local authorities and communities in development processes, as well as the democratisation of governance processes, access to basic public services, and adaptation to the effects of climate change. As demonstrated by these examples, the adoption of a single lead theme means not that the scope of the agenda is limited, but that its organisation is focused. Moreover, an undisputed advantage of a precise definition of the lead theme is its relatively easy translation into publicity directed at public opinion.

We may, therefore, conclude that the EDD in Poland should be assigned a single lead theme that will delineate the discussion framework, but that will be sufficiently broad to encompass all relevant questions, relate to 'burning' issues, satisfy all interested parties – from Poland, the European Union, and third countries – and ensure that the event's prominence adequately reflects its status. The success of the Polish presidency in the field of development cooperation will depend on these factors.

"Solidarity for Development" – Lead Theme proposal for the European Development Days in Poland

Global Development Research Group proposes that the lead theme of the European Development Days in Poland be "Solidarity for Development".3

"Solidarity" is an internationally recognised calling card for Poland, a symbol that strengthens our position and credibility. The historical perception that has so far marked "Solidarity" – as a social movement that initiated political and economic change in Central and Eastern Europe 30 years ago – imposes limits on the possibility of fully expressing the philosophy at the heart of that movement in a contemporary context that requires a global vision. However, Lech Wałęsa himself, when asked about the Solidarity ideal, has repeatedly asserted that "Solidarity is nothing more than: when you've got to lift a weight that's too heavy, find the right person to help you lift it. But there are different weights: national, European, global…".⁴ It would seem that the Polish presidency of the Council of the European Union in 2011 would be a ripe occasion

to show how we can redefine the prevalent perception of what "solidarity" means by endowing it with the global dimension cited by Lech Wałęsa.

One of the contemporary world's challenges is global development, but so is its support through development cooperation. Thus, the "Solidarity for Development" slogan is not only an opportunity to recast the Solidarity ideal in a new light, giving it the substance of contemporary challenges and imbuing the legend with a renewed dynamism, it is more importantly an opening – intellectually and politically – onto new perspectives of the most burning global issues: poverty, development disparity, lack of democracy, and the negative effects of climate change. This reappraisal will carry particular significance in 2011, at a moment when the world will be recovering from the economic crisis that has already given cause to rethink the logic and strategy of development.

The philosophy that was at the foundation of the Solidarity movement may also hold clues to the elaboration of a new conception of global development and a new intellectual and political perspective on global challenges. Since the Second World War, a number of theories and conceptions of development have received attention from social scientists, as well as the makers of socio-economic policy in countries throughout the world. Thus, during the past 50-60 years a range of scholarly disciplines, political currents, and institutions have expended large-scale efforts in attempting to conceptualise and implement development. Indeed, development has become an organising principle for society - locally, regionally, nationally, and internationally. It would be difficult to identify a Global North country that does not dispose of a Ministry of Development, or a local government entity that does not include an office in charge of local development. No international agency gives serious attention to a Global South country that does not have a national development plan. It is worth noting that there has been one constant throughout the 'blazing career path' that development has followed: no matter whether one adopts Marxist, dependentist, structuralist, or neoliberal points of view, development always appears as the passage from tradition to modernity – as a modernising process.⁵ Of course, the various conceptions, theories, and schools of thought bring a high degree of nuance to this picture and see in it many dimensions. Nonetheless, the perception that development requires an evolutionary transition of some sort is common to all western scholarly approaches to the subject. Widespread criticism has now been levelled against approaches popular in the first two decades following



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the Second World War, which asserted the need for abrupt modernisation and large-scale development projects. In later years, conceptions of development expanded into other dimensions: local, gender, participative, environmental. In recent years, there has even been increasing mention of 'post-development'. Nonetheless, the conception of "development" is deeply entrenched in Western Enlightenment thought.6

At the turn of the millennium, the international community embarked on an attempt to operationalise development through measurable action – the Millennium Declaration defined eight Millennium Development Goals focusing the challenges of global development on several concrete aims to be achieved.

Given that the chances of achieving the MDGs on schedule are slim, it is certain that in 2011 a debate will persist as to what to do after 2015. Will the world be able to undertake a 'MDGs 2.0'? Would their mobilising potential equal that of the 2000 declaration? It is well worth reflecting whether the situation does not call for a conception that, without repeating the mistakes of the "great development" projects", would nevertheless have a binding power in which to ground proposals for concrete tasks and solutions. The development agenda must increasingly include dimensions of community belonging, as well as collective responsibility for the totality of common obligations - such characteristics are closely connected with the notion of solidarity. The "Solidarity for Development" slogan, viewed not only as the lead theme of the European Development Days, but also as the focus of discussions in a far broader context, would endow the EDD in Poland with additional prominence and importance. "Solidarity for Development" has the potential to not only change ways of thinking about global development, but also to give Poland's voice an unprecedented range within the international forum.

Admittedly, the perspective presented above may be idealistic. Nevertheless, the present authors see "Solidarity for Development" as an answer to the call issued at the end of the very first edition of the EDD in 2006 by Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, whi stated that "[t]he only way we will ever be safe and [...] prosperous, ultimately, is together. The only way we can be human, is together". Whether the EDD in Poland will engage in a dialogue with these ideals depends solely on the organisers of the event and their substantive preparation. Jerzy Buzek, President of the European Parliament, affirmed this outlook in a statement given to Dziennik Gazeta Prawna on 29 October 2009: "Poland is showing that it is an active and accountable participant

in the international community [...] That is our ambition and our potential. During our EU presidency we will have the opportunity to make our mark through, among other things, the organisation of the European Development Days."9

Moreover, "Solidarity for Development" is an inclusive slogan that will allow Poland to publicise initiatives it has already undertaken, such as the Eastern Partnership.

Simultaneously with the EDD, it would be possible, indeed advisable, to organise parallel panels, forums, and events dedicated to solidarity with the EU's eastern neighbours.

With the "Solidarity for Development" slogan, Poland, along with fellow new EU member states, will have a singular opportunity to state its responsibility towards, and solidarity with, the one-fifth of humanity who live in extreme poverty. Given its historical experience, Poland can share the knowledge and know-how that it has acquired during the past 20 years of transformations. The European Development Days in 2011 will be an excellent opportunity to demonstrate real solidarity with developing countries and to show that the differences between the "old" and the "new" Union, in terms of development cooperation, are already fading. Responsibility for global development is communal. Solidarity, therefore, does not signify only raising the volume of development assistance, but also ensuring that the assistance is effective and that other areas of activity, such as environment protection, migration, trade, and human rights protection all contribute to development.

Adopting the "Solidarity for Development" slogan for the European Development Days in Poland thus carries undoubted benefits for the event in particular and for Poland in general. The choice does, however, carry certain risks, which can be mitigated through accurate identification and appropriate preparation.

"Solidarity", as both slogan and subject matter, is readily recognised in Poland, not only as the socio-political movement of the 1980s, but also as a traditional obligation within Polish society to assist those in need of help – when giving reasons for the necessity of assisting inhabitants of poorer countries, Polish citizens most frequently cite a moral obligation (56% in 2009). The solidarity slogan is as universal as it is frequently cited in political circles. Its adoption for the EDD would, thus, undoubtedly focus the attention of the media and that of the Polish population on international development cooperation.

From an international perspective, taking into account the public at large and decision-makers, "Solidarity",

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together with John Paul II and Lech Wałęsa, is undoubtedly one of Poland's 'calling-cards' and its most recognisable symbol. The achievements of the "Solidarity" movement demonstrate a historical capacity for accomplishment in times radical political, social, and economic transformation – which carry distinct connotations of development.

"Solidarity for Development" is an inclusive theme that can encompass a broad range of areas of interest and issues that are significant for the organisers and participants of the European Development Days and which will be highly important for international development cooperation in 2011. However, the effective use of this slogan will require intellectual and political effort in order successfully to recast the 20-30 year old slogans of Solidarity in a context of contemporary global development challenges and to give "Solidarity for Development" real meaning. We can identify three key questions that will need to be answered if the "Solidarity for Development" slogan is to be used effectively:

1. What do we mean by the "Solidarity for Development" slogan? It is essential to define what solidarity, in its 1980 incarnation, has to do with the current challenges of global development if it is to acquire contemporary meaning. It will not be enough to uncritically recall the achievements 20 or 30 years past. Global education, combined with increased media activity in disseminating information on developing countries, can contribute to give contemporary and concrete meaning to the ideal of Polish solidarity that emerged 30 years ago – as solidarity for development.¹¹ This line of thinking is already making headway in the political sphere. On 22 October 2009, Jerzy Buzek stated: "The European Union wants and is prepared to play a prominent role in international affairs and an effective development policy is a key element for our engagement in the world. Solidarity starts at home but then needs to be extended abroad. This is a lesson we learned and one that we are willing to share". 12 Like-minded statements were made by Prime Minister Donald Tusk during the opening of 14th UN Climate Change Conference, and the President of the Republic of Poland, Lech Kaczyński, during the inauguration of the 63rd Session of the UN General Assembly. Organisers of the European Development Days can link historical solidarity with contemporary challenges by identifying and focusing on specific aspects of development and development cooperation, within which discussions may be engaged on 'solidarity challenges',

such as climate solidarity in the context of climate change, democratic solidarity in the context of the promotion of democracy in the countries of the former USSR, and economic solidarity with developing countries in crisis-emergence scenarios.

- 2. Do we live up to the solidarity ideal? It is of the utmost importance to identify areas in which Poland's 'solidarity credentials' could potentially be questioned by the international community and, subsequently, to address such questions. For example: Poland has been criticised for a lack of solidarity with developing countries because it has blocked certain agreements on climate within the European Union;13 Poland is likely to fulfil only half its development assistance obligations (0,17 % of GDP) for 2010; the negligible proportion of assistance destined for Africa within Polish bilateral assistance places Poland's solidarity with African countries under a question mark; the continued defence of subsidies for Polish agriculture, at the expense of access to the Polish market for products from developing countries, may raise questions about the coherence of Polish development assistance. Clearly, it will not be possible to resolve all existing problems by 2011. It is, then, all the more important for Poland to be substantively and politically prepared to present specific solutions and feasible avenues to translate 'solidarity for development' slogans into practice during the Polish presidency.
- 3. What can we offer through our solidarity with developing countries? Poland, as well as other Central and Eastern European countries, has acquired valuable experience during political, social, and economic transformations. Some of that experience – both positive and negative – can serve to assist the development of countries facing similar challenges and reforms. This is an important contribution to be made by countries in our part of Europe towards solidarity with developing countries. However, the effectiveness of such an offer will hinge on, first, the identification of the real needs of developing countries to which our experience can be adapted and, second, our readiness to apply our practical skills. It will also require a diagnosis of our successes and failures. This will serve to make our offer to developing countries and countries undergoing transformations more concrete, by identifying areas in which Polish experts and specialists excel, such as: privatisation, decentralisation, health services reform,



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retirement pensions reform, development of democratic institutions, human rights protection, and the construction of civil society. Without a precise classification of expertise vis-à-vis needs, the frequently cited "Polish transformation experience" will remain confined to the political-ideological sphere, with no practical applications to assist developing countries.

Conclusions and recommendations

The challenges facing the Polish presidency of the Council of the European Union in the field of development cooperation will not be limited to either the effective direction of Union activities during the half-year term. or cooperation within the presidential "trio", or the organisation of the European Development Days. It will also, if not primarily, consist of making the most of Poland's accumulated experience and demonstrating it on a European and global stage. The "Solidarity for Development" slogan is an excellent means of communicating that message. Used effectively, that ideal could facilitate Poland's constructive input into the shaping of development policy thinking, which would undoubtedly translate into an increased importance and a greater role for Poland in the European and international arenas.

For this scenario to unfold successfully, it will be necessary to take action to minimise the risks mentioned earlier and to project an appropriate image for Poland before assuming the presidency of the EU Council.

To that end, the authors of the present paper recommend:

- the elaboration of a coherent conception and programme for the European Development Days centred on the lead theme of "Solidarity for Development" during a specially convened forum of experts and elected officials;¹⁴
- a "trial run" for the lead theme of "Solidarity for Development" during the 4th Polish Development Cooperation Forum in September 2010;
- the increase of Poland's presence at the EDD in Brussels and the presentation of the slogan and the vision of the next edition of the European Development Days;
- the early involvement of the Polish non-governmental sector and Polish media, with the aim of disseminating the "Solidarity for Development" idea among the public at large.

The presidency of the EU Council represents a unique opportunity to promote the issue of European development cooperation among Polish society, to shape global solidarity and responsibility in Poland, and to bring long overdue reforms to the Polish Aid government programme. However, we cannot overlook the ever more pressing need for the international community to elaborate a common position on the most important global problems: poverty, climate change (where and by whom they are being felt first), and participation in the decision-making process. On these issues, the Polish solidarity experience can be an opening onto global discussions. This is important to consider, especially in view of those elements of the presidency that carry markedly pronounced dimensions of prestige, media exposure, and informational/ educational potential. An excellent example of such an element would be the European Development Days, held under the banner of "Solidarity for Development".

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- 1. Further reading, see: Bagiński P., Zakres tematyczny i priorytety polskiej prezydencji w Radzie UE w II połowie 2011 r. w obszarze współpracy rozwojowej, Report Prepared by Global Development Research Group on commission from the Development Cooperation Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Warsaw 2009.
- 2. The slogan of the Lisbon EDD was: "Will Climate Change Development?".
- 3. Between December 2009 and February 2010 GDRG experts presented and held preliminary discussions over the proposal of "Solidarity for Development" as the lead theme for the EDD in Poland with representatives of Polish and EU central administration institutions, as well as representatives of opinion-forming entities including media outlets, think tanks, and research centres.
- 4. Statement by Lech Wałęsa for the European Solidarity Centre, http://www.ecs.gda.pl
- 5. Further reading, see: Czaplicka K., Łuczak R., "Granice rozwoju", GDRG Working Papers, Global Development Research Group (in preparation).
- 6. Peet R., 1999, Theories of Development, The Guilford Press, New York
- 7. Słownik Języka Polskiego PWN, http://sjp.pwn.pl/lista.php?co=solidarno%B6%E6.
- 8. Source: http://ec.europa.eu/development/services/events/EDD2007/homepage_en.htm
- 9. See: "Jerzy Buzek o pomocy rozwojowej. Możemy się podzielić z innymi naszą wiedzą", Dziennik Gazeta Prawna, 29 October 2009.
- 10. Polacy o pomocy rozwojowej 2009, TNS OBOP study for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- 11. Szczyciński J., Witkowski J., "Świadomie i nieświadomie Polacy o rozwoju globalnym", *GDRG Policy Papers*, nr 1/2010, Global Development Research Group, http://www.gdrg.org.pl/attachments/124_POLICY_PAPERS_Nr_1_2010.pdf
- 12. Press release from the office of the President of the European Parliament on the 2009 European Development Days, Strasburg, 22 October 2009, http://www.eudevdays.eu/docs/Jerzy_Buzek_at_EDD.pdf
- Arcybiskup Tutu gani Polskę za stanowisko ws. zmian klimatycznych, PAP, 29.10.2009, http://wiadomosci.gazeta.pl/Wiadomosci/1,81048,7202368, Arcybiskup_Tutu_gani_Polske_za_stanowisko_ws__zmian.html
- 14. In order to meet specifically targeted needs, Global Development Research Group initiated the establishment of the Working Group on European Development Policy, whose goal is to offer support to the Polish government in the preparations and carrying out of the Presidency of the EU Council.