

EGZAMIN RESORTOWY Z JĘZYKA ANGIELSKIEGO

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1. *Summarize the article below. Use your own words. Do not quote from the article.*

At last the European Union as a group is getting tougher with Russia

MOST people attacked by bears bring it upon themselves, rugged country types tell you. These fierce creatures should be treated with respect. Should a bear wander near your backyard, you should restrain small, reckless members of the household who may foolishly provoke it and then run to your arms when it growls, leading the enraged animal straight to you.

For too long, many European Union leaders have taken a similar view over dealing with Russia, Europe's backyard grizzly. Countries that crossed Vladimir Putin's Russia, especially the small (eg, the Baltics) or reckless (eg, the Poles) have found themselves chided for provoking a "strategic partner". Instead of the comforting embrace of EU solidarity, the targets of Russian growling have often been asked to face their fate alone, rather than allow bilateral disputes to "hijack" the EU's entire relationship with the rising energy superpower.

Encouraged by its ability to divide Europe, Russia has expanded its bilateral disputes. The original list was dominated by ex-Soviet satellites (rows over Polish meat exports, Lithuanian oil imports, the siting of an Estonian war memorial, and Czech and Polish plans to host an American anti-missile defence system). But Russia is now growling at old Europe, too. Ask Sweden and Italy (trade squabbles), Spain (a Russian spying scandal), and Britain, locked in the fallout from the radioactive poisoning in London of Alexander Litvinenko.

At last, the EU is reacting as a group. At the "informal" meeting of EU foreign ministers in northern Portugal on September 7th and 8th, a closed-door discussion on Russia turned into a remarkable round of soul-searching. "The tone of the discussions today was very different from anything I've ever

encountered,” said one veteran. “We were all saying the same thing: this is a very different Russia.” Europe has officially sought a “strategic partnership” with Russia since 1999, when the phrase was coined in an EU policy paper. But this quest has failed, the minister said bluntly. Such a conclusion was not really driven by a shift in European thinking, he added, but by the reality of Russia's recent behaviour.

Private fretting about Russia is nothing new. But this time the fretting continued in public, as ministers emerged from deliberations in Viana do Castelo (the political fief of their host, the Portuguese foreign minister, Luís Amado). Mr Amado, whose government has sought warm ties with Mr Putin, pointedly called for a “true strategic partnership” with Russia, saying that such a partnership should not include the “problems” that the EU had recently encountered. The external-relations commissioner, Benita Ferrero-Waldner, raised the “paradox” that EU-Russia trade and investment flows were growing by 20% a year, but “we also have increasing questions about Russia's commitment to democracy and human rights and the rule of law.”

Even the familiar rhetoric about speaking with a single voice seemed more purposeful, with unity presented as a defensive strategy (in contrast with woolly past talk of preserving EU credibility). Bernard Kouchner, the French foreign minister, noted that, when the EU was weak, Russia was ready to talk to it; but, when it was strong, the Russians talked to member countries “one by one”. Mr Kouchner's boss, President Nicolas Sarkozy, last month accused Russia of using its power with some “brutality”. This is a huge change in tone from his predecessor, Jacques Chirac, who treated Mr Putin as an ally and chum.

Indeed, it is hard to overstate the importance of new leaders in France and Germany. The German chancellor, Angela Merkel (who grew up under Soviet occupation in East Germany), has challenged Mr Putin in public, chiding him earlier this year about the clumsy suppression of opposition protests. In case anyone had forgotten how different she is from her predecessor, Gerhard Schröder, he popped up in Moscow recently to urge the EU to overrule Poland, which is blocking talks on a new EU-Russia treaty because of the meat ban.

Sometimes, it is in Europe's interest to “forget about the interests of individual countries”, explained Mr Schröder, now pursuing his individual interests as chairman of Nord Stream, a German-Russian pipeline company.

Even outside the EU structure, diplomats hail a new “rigour” in European thinking about Russia. A senior NATO official talks of Russia “overplaying” its hand, and picking fights on strategic issues that touch European nerves. “If the Russians misplayed it anywhere in the last four months, deciding they didn't need the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty was fundamental.”

None of this means Europe is wholly united against Russia. At the meeting in Portugal, Poland's foreign minister, Anna Fotyga, reportedly asked if the time had come to abandon the quest for a strategic partnership with Russia, but this idea was unanimously rejected. The EU cannot ignore Russia as a neighbour or trade partner (it supplies about half the EU's gas imports), nor can it deny Russia a role as actor in world trouble spots from Iran to North Korea, the Middle East and Kosovo.

But can some EU members continue to treat Russia as a benevolent ally? That is a new question. Take Kosovo. For a variety of reasons, several members (including Spain, Greece, Slovakia and Romania) dislike the idea that Kosovo may soon declare unilateral independence from Serbia. Their insistence on deciding the Kosovo question in the United Nations Security Council amounts to giving Russia a veto over Kosovo, giving it in effect a say over EU policy.

But that is now becoming harder to stomach. In Portugal, several ministers said they were unhappy about a breakaway by Kosovo—but hated still more letting Russia dictate policy in the neighbourhood. Another moral from bear country suggests itself. Once a rogue bear is on the prowl, it is not just foolish to provoke it. It can be equally rash to lie down and try to appease it.

2. Translate the following text into Polish.

IN A country ruled by Social Democrats for 65 of the past 75 years, the election 12 months ago of a centre-right government was seismic. Mr Reinfeldt had a bumpy start, losing two female ministers to scandals in his first few weeks. Since then he has kept a determinedly low profile, while assiduously touring the country to meet voters. He admits that he is “not a media star”. As for leadership, he declares that it “is about going through all the doors of Sweden and finding out what people want.” It is certainly not a recipe for radical change. And yet, despite the Social Democrats' present edge, it may prove enough to win the centre-right re-election in three years' time.

3. Choose one of the following topics and write an essay of about 200 words.

- 1) The European Union has been planning to establish the European Day against the Death Penalty. Is such a Day relevant in Europe, where capital punishment is abolished? What are the EU countries hoping to achieve by establishing it?
- 2) The parliamentary election campaign in Poland is getting into full swing. Write about the possible results of the forthcoming vote, together with its most likely consequences for both internal and external politics.
- 3) Relations between the elites of business and the governing politicians have always been seen as controversial, if not suspicious. How should contemporary democracies regulate such contacts? In your opinion, are there any areas of social life where cooperation between politicians and business people is advisable? In which areas would this cooperation be definitely unacceptable?

4. Complete the numbered gaps with one word each time.

Luciano Pavarotti

HE REMEMBERED the moment it began, at four years old: jumping on the kitchen table, setting the lamp swinging, singing “La donna è mobile” to an audience of adoring women. His father sang, beautifully, as a tenor in the church in Modena; at the cinema Mario Lanza sang and young Luciano Pavarotti copied him, gesturing into the mirror. To sing was to (1)_____ loved.

Football was still his chief obsession. Yet as his musical career unfolded, it crossed paths with the Beautiful Game. He performed in stadiums, in (2)_____ of thousands. The final of the 1990 World Cup in Rome was marked by a concert with Plácido Domingo and José Carreras, “The Three Tenors”, (3) _____ then sang together for 13 years. Pavarotti's version of “Nessun dorma” from Puccini's “Turandot”, (4)_____ anthem of that World Cup, came to epitomise (5) _____ the drama, glory and pain of football, with his three climactic “vinceros” (6) _____ the end of the aria like a perfect free kick, rising, arching, landing sweetly on the very note, safe in the corner of the net.

Pavarotti made it seem so easy. “Natural” and “effortless” (7)_____ the words most often applied to that smooth, honeyed, gorgeous voice, (8)_____ made skin break out in goose-bumps and raised the hairs on the back of the neck. (9)_____ matter that the singer was huge and (10)_____ immobile, his beard blackened with burnt cork and his face running with sweat mopped away (11)_____ an enormous white handkerchief; the smile was ecstatic, and the voice was from heaven. His biggest break (12)_____ come, in 1972, when he hit nine high Cs in Donizetti's “La Fille du Régiment”; he was dressed then (13)_____ a fat toy soldier, patently unable to act, (14)_____ the crowd adored him. He took 17 curtain calls and, by his death, held the world record (15)_____ them.

The easiness and naturalness were deceptive. He was terrified (16)_____ the high notes, full of the usual performer's superstitions: a bent nail kept in his pocket, and a quick cry of “Malocchio!” if anyone mentioned bad luck. (17)_____ his voice showed no strain, he (18)_____ be seen rising on the balls of his feet in recital, using every sinew and nerve to produce the sound. Wherever he went, he (19)_____ sure to surround himself with home comforts: espresso machines, prosciutto-slicers, bottles of Lambrusco, his blotter and pens laid out exactly as they would be on his desk in Modena, and a secretary—nubile, pretty, obliging—who would hold up cue cards for him in the wings and who, when (20)_____, would warm his extra-marital bed.

