

## FOCUS ON EUROPE

### Lesson 1

#### What is Europe?

*Bob Kelly (Lecturer in Social Sciences at the Open University):*

The first usage seems to be simple and that is geography. The idea of a stretch of land that covers from the Atlantic through to the Ural Mountains, that constitutes a geographical entity called Europe.

The second use of the term Europe generally refers to a whole set of values, the system of values or beliefs, that are seen to characterize what Europe is all about, politically, socially, culturally. It focuses on things like Christendom, liberal democracy, the idea that everybody should have a say in the decision-making of government. The idea of the rule of law, that nobody is above the law and nobody should be punished without going through the due processes of law.

We're looking at a modern version of the project, that's to create a peaceful Europe, a united Europe, a trading Europe, a successful economic entity of Europe.

usage  
stretch of land  
entity  
to refer to  
set of values



belief  
to focus  
Christendom  
liberal democracy  
to have a say in sth

decision-making  
government  
the rule of law  
to be above the law  
modern  
project  
to create  
peaceful  
united  
to trade  
successful

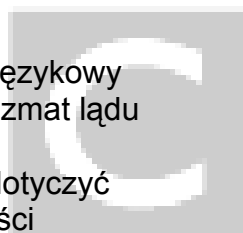
economic entity

- użycie, usus językowy  
- połąć ziemi, szmat lądu  
- jednostka  
- odnosić się, dotyczyć  
- system wartości

- przekonanie, wiara  
- skupiać się, koncentrować, ogniskować  
- chrześcijaństwo  
- liberalna demokracja  
- mieć głos/coś do powiedzenia w jakiejś sprawie

- podejmowanie decyzji  
- rząd  
- praworządność, rządy prawa  
- stać ponad prawem  
- nowoczesny, współczesny

- projekt, plan, przedsięwzięcie  
- tworzyć  
- pokojowy  
- zjednoczony  
- handlować  
- odnoszący sukcesy, zakończony sukcesem, udany  
- jednostka gospodarcza



**objaśnienia:**

...that are seen to characterize what Europe is all about - które, jak się uważa, charakteryzują to, czym jest Europa

...what Europe is all about - czym jest Europa, co mamy na myśli mówiąc Europa

to go through the due processes of law – przejść przez wymagane instancje prawne

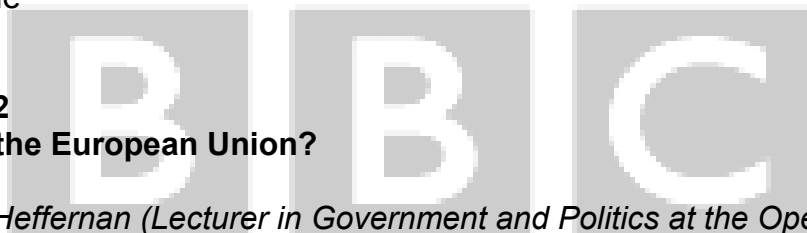
a trading Europe – *tu oznacza*: europejskie partnerstwo handlowe

**uzupełnij zdania:**

1. Europe is all (round, about, on) a common set of values and beliefs.
2. Nobody should be (around, above, over) the law.
3. A condition in which everybody, including the rulers, accepts the supreme authority of the law is called the (rule, ruler, ruling) of law.

**odpowiedzi:**

1. about
2. above
3. rule

**Lesson 2****What is the European Union?**

*Richard Heffernan (Lecturer in Government and Politics at the Open University):*

The European Union is a political organisation set up by member states over the last 50 years to secure economic individual and collective self-interest. I think we can see that Europe seeks to secure advantages for its member states through political cooperation and economic integration, building a common market, by cooperating with each other, and requiring member states to pool their sovereignty in the pursuit of these common interests that they share for their own interest but for their collective interest as well.

to set up	- założyć, utworzyć
member state	- państwo członkowskie
to secure	- zapewnić, zdobyć, uzyskać, zabezpieczyć
economic	- ekonomiczny, gospodarczy
individual	- indywidualny
collective	- wspólny, zbiorowy
self-interest	- własny interes, własna korzyść
to seek (to)	- dążyć, zabiegać
advantage	- korzyść
through	- <i>tu</i> : poprzez, na drodze, za pomocą
cooperation	- współpraca
integration	- integracja
to build	- budować

common market	- wspólny rynek
to require	- wymagać, potrzebować
to pool	- wspólnie zmobilizować, zebrać
sovereignty	- suwerenność
pursuit	- pogoń za, dążenie do
common	- wspólny
to share	- dzielić (wspólnie)
own	- własny

**objaśnienia:**

**The European Union – Unia Europejska**

over the last 50 years – w ciągu ostatnich 50-ciu lat

in the pursuit of – w pogoni za, w dążeniu do

*zauważ:*

self-interest – własny interes

own interest = self-interest

common interest – wspólny interes

collective interest – zbiorowy interes

**uzupełnij zdania:**

1. The European Union was set (in, up, down) by its member states.
2. They cooperate with each other in the (purse, pursue, pursuit) of common interests.
3. They seek to (secure, secular, security) their collective self-interests.

**odpowiedzi:**

1. up
2. pursuit
3. secure

**Lesson 3**

**Europe after the war**

*Winston Churchill (British Prime Minister 1940-1945, 1951-1955):*

We cannot aim at anything less than the union of Europe as a whole, and we look forward with confidence to the day when that union will be achieved.

*Edward Heath (British Prime Minister 1970-1974):*

There was the Hague Conference, which the British Labour government was not present at, and the Europeans there decided to move towards much closer unity. And then in 1950 it was Jean Monet who brought forward the idea of the Coal and Steel Community. And so from that it all developed.

*Christopher Johnson (journalist):*

The European Coal and Steel Community was really an attempt by France, Germany, and the Benelux countries and Italy, to turn their back on the war and to say, "If we pool the two basic materials that every economy needs in war or in peace, namely coal and steel, then there can't be a war again".

war	- wojna
to aim	- <i>tu</i> : dążyć/zmierzać do czegoś
union	- unia, związek
whole	- cały
to look forward to	- wypatrywać, oczekiwać
confidence	- <i>tu</i> : ufność, nadzieja
to achieve	- osiągnąć
Labour government	- rząd laburzystowski, rząd Partii Pracy
to move towards	- pójść w kierunku
unity	- jedność
to bring forward an idea	- wystąpić z pomysłem, ideą
attempt	- próba
to turn one's back on sth	- odwrócić się do czegoś plecami, odciąć się od czegoś
to pool	- wspólnie złączyć, zmobilizować
basic	- podstawowy
economy	- gospodarka
peace	- pokój
coal	- węgiel
steel	- stal

#### objaśnienia:

**The European Coal and Steel Community – Europejska Wspólnota Węgla i Stali** (pierwsza integracyjna organizacja europejska, założona w roku 1951 przez 6 państw: Belgię, Holandię, Luksemburg, Francję, RFN i Włochy, weszła w życie w lipcu 1952 roku)

And so from that it all developed – I to dało wszystkiemu początek

#### uzupełnij zdania:

1. They looked (above, further, forward) with confidence to the day when that union would be achieved.
2. They decided to (twist, turn, bend) their back on the war.
3. They decided to (pool, pull, puddle) the two basic materials that every economy needs, namely coal and steel.

#### odpowiedzi:

1. forward
2. turn
3. pool

### Lesson 4

#### The remaking of Europe

*Richard Heffernan (Lecturer in Government and Politics at the Open University):*

I think you have to see the emergence of the European Union as being a product of the remaking of Europe after 1945. I think, particularly continental

powers agreed that they were best suited to try to cooperate rather than conflict. And I think that the fear was that Europe should never ever again go to war, and that economic and political cooperation, in an institution organised internationally in a European arena, would be a good way of ensuring that that would not happen.

*Tony Benn (former Labour cabinet minister and Member of Parliament):*  
Germany knew it could only rediscover its power through a political instrument that wasn't Germany. And therefore the European union provided a framework within which its own economic and industrial power could be recreated. France realised that it depended on Germany to have the industrial base for its diplomatic leadership. And the little countries did, of course, feel that they were best protected within a framework of the European Union.

remaking	- przekształcenie, przerobienie, tworzenie na nowo
emergence	- wyłonienie się
power	- potęga, mocarstwo
to cooperate	- współpracować
to conflict	- pozostawać w konflikcie
fear	- obawa, strach
never ever	- ( <i>emfatycznie</i> ) nigdy więcej
to go to war	- iść na wojnę
cooperation	- współpraca
to ensure	- zapewnić, upewnić się
to rediscover	- odnaleźć, odzyskać
power	- potęga
to provide	- dostarczać
framework	- struktura, ramy
to recreate	- odtworzyć
to depend on	- zależeć, być uzależnionym od czegoś
industrial base	- baza przemysłowa
diplomatic leadership	- przywództwo dyplomatyczne
to be protected	- być chronionym
within a framework	- w łonie/w ramach struktury

### **objaśnienia:**

they were best suited to try to cooperate – najlepiej nadawały się do tego, żeby ze sobą współpracować

would be a good way of ensuring that that would not happen – byłoby dobrym sposobem zapewnienia, że do tego nie dojdzie

### **uzupełnij zdania:**

1. The (merger, mergence, emergence) of the European Union was the product of the remaking of Europe after the Second World War.
2. The fear was that Europe should never (whatever, whenever, ever) go to war again.
3. The little countries felt that they were best protected within a (frame, framed, framework) of the European Union.

**odpowiedzi:**

1. emergence
2. ever
3. framework

**Lesson 5**

**A deeper and wider Union**

*Richard Heffernan (Lecturer in Government and Politics at the Open University):*

There is a widening of the Union and there's a deepening. The Union's history is as the European Coal and Steel Community in 1952 became a customs union, a free trade area in 1958, with the establishment of the European Economic Community, the EEC. Which over time, by the late 1980's became a single market, which was a customs union plus the free movement of goods across all then twelve member-states.

The original six were joined by three to become nine, joined by one to become ten. Two more joined, twelve and now we have the present day fifteen, so the widening is more members joining all within western Europe, joined by southern Europe, with the possibility of another ten members joining in the next years.

widening  
deepening  
union

the Union

to change

to become

customs union

free trade area

establishment

by the late 80's

single market

the free movement of goods

member state

original

to join

to become

western

southern

possibility

- poszerzanie

- pogłębianie

- unia, związek

- *tu*: Unia Europejska

- zmieniać (się)

- stać się

- unia celna

- strefa wolnego handlu

- utworzenie, ustanowienie, założenie

- w końcu lat 80-tych

- wspólny rynek, jednolity rynek

- wolny przepływ towarów

- państwo członkowskie

- *tu*: pierwotny, początkowy

- przyłączyć się, wstąpić

- stać się

- zachodni

- południowy

- możliwość

**objaśnienia:**

**Union = European Union (EU) – Unia Europejska**

**European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) – Europejska Wspólnota Węgla i Stali**

## **European Economic Community (EEC) – Europejska Wspólnota Gospodarcza (EWG)**

the original six – pierwotna ‘szóstka’ (mowa o państwach, które założyły Europejską Wspólnotę Węgla i Stali, a były to: Belgia, Holandia, Francja, Luksemburg, RFN i Włochy)

the present day fifteen – dzisiejsza ‘piętnastka’ (czyli, oprócz ‘szóstki’: Austria, Dania, Finlandia, Grecja, Hiszpania, Irlandia, Portugalia, Szwecja, Wielka Brytania)

### **uzupełnij zdania:**

1. When you pay tax on goods brought into the country, you pay (custom, customs, customary) duty.
2. The European Community encouraged (freely, free, freedom) movement of goods between the member countries.
3. By the late 1980's it became a (single, sole, solitary) market.

### **odpowiedzi:**

1. customs
2. free
3. single

## **Lesson 6 The single market**

*Kate Goodson (BBC):*

The pace of European integration quickened dramatically in the 80's. The Single European Act of 1986 established a genuinely single market. It swept away all regulations that obstructed the free movement of capital, labour, goods and services across national frontiers within the EU. Gone too were the physical barriers in the form of internal border controls. Fiscal barriers, like VAT and sales tax, were also harmonised eventually.

*Richard Heffernan (Lecturer in Government and Politics at the Open University):*

I think a lot of member states decided for different reasons that they wanted to try to unify the Common Market by introducing a single market, so the idea of the free movement of capital, labour, goods and services across the boundaries of the then twelve member states was something that everybody supported.

pace	- tempo
integration	- integracja
to quicken	- przyspieszyć
in the 80's	- w latach 80-tych
to establish	- ustanowić, założyć
genuinely	- prawdziwie
single market	- wspólny rynek, jednolity rynek
to sweep away	- wymieść, usunąć
regulations	- przepisy

to obstruct	- przeszkadzać, utrudniać
free movement	- <i>tu</i> : wolny przepływ
capital	- kapitał
labour	- <i>tu</i> : siła robocza
goods	- towary
services	- usługi
across national frontiers	- poprzez granice państw
within	- w ramach, w łonie
member state	- kraj członkowski
internal	- wewnętrzny
border controls	- kontrole graniczne
barrier	- bariera
VAT (Value Added Tax)	- VAT, podatek od wartości dodanej
sales tax	- podatek obrotowy
eventually	- wreszcie, w końcu (NIE: ewentualnie)
to unify	- jednoczyć
to introduce	- wprowadzać
the then	- ówczesny
to support	- popierać

#### **objaśnienia:**

**The Single European Act of 1986 (SEA) – Jednolity Akt Europejski**

**The EU = The European Union – Unia Europejska**

gone too were the physical barriers – zlikwidowano także fizyczne bariery

#### **uzupełnij zdania:**

1. The pace of European integration (moved, quickened, speeded) in the 80's.
2. The Single European Act swept away all regulations that obstructed the free movement of capital, goods and services across the (barriers, borders, boundaries).
3. (Went, Gone, Disappeared) too were the physical barriers in the form of internal border controls.

#### **odpowiedzi:**

1. quickened
2. borders
3. gone

## **Lesson 7**

### **The Monetary Union**

#### *BBC news report:*

The document is regarded as a blueprint for closer relations between the twelve community countries, over the coming decade.

#### *Kate Goodson (BBC):*

The Maastricht Treaty marked a new stage in European integration. It introduced a common foreign and security policy, and cooperation on justice

and home affairs. But it didn't stop there. It also established Economic and Monetary Union, and a single currency, managed at a European level, and administered by a European Central Bank.

*Richard Heffernan (Lecturer in Government and Politics at the Open University):*

The most famous or infamous for sceptics, premise of the Maastricht Treaty was the establishment of a single currency, which was a huge step forward, because again you're giving powers to the European level to determine such things as interest rates and monetary policy, these are no longer decisions that are taken at the member state level.

to regard	- uważać
blueprint	- plan, projekt, strategia, wzorzec
relations	- stosunki
to mark	- oznaczać
stage	- etap, faza
to introduce	- wprowadzać
common	- wspólny
foreign policy	- polityka zagraniczna
security policy	- polityka bezpieczeństwa
home affairs	- sprawy wewnętrzne
to establish	- ustanowić, założyć
single currency	- wspólna waluta
to manage	- zarządzać
level	- poziom
to administer	- administrować, zarządzać
famous	- słynny, sławny
infamous	- otoczony niesławą, niechlubny
sceptic	- sceptyk
premise	- założenie
step forward	- krok naprzód
powers	- uprawnienia
interest rates	- stopy procentowe
monetary policy	- polityka walutowa
member state	- kraj członkowski

#### **objaśnienia:**

twelve community countries – kraje europejskiej ‘dwunastki’  
over the coming decade – w ciągu najbliższych dziesięciu lat

**The Maastricht Treaty** – traktat przyjęty na konferencji międzyrządowej w Maastricht w grudniu 1991 roku, podpisany w lutym 1992 roku. Jego głównym celem było stworzenie Unii Europejskiej.

**Economic and Monetary Union – Unia Gospodarcza i Walutowa**

**European Central Bank (ECB) – Europejski Bank Centralny**

cooperation on justice – współpraca w ramach wymiaru sprawiedliwości

these are no longer decisions that are taken at the member state level – to nie są już decyzje, które się podejmuje na poziomie krajów członkowskich

**uzupełnij zdania:**

1. The Maastricht Treaty is regarded as a (printout, blueprint, bold print) for closer relations between the members of the European community.
2. The most famous premise of the Maastricht Treaty was the establishment of a single (money, currency, cash).
3. It meant that certain decisions about monetary policy (were, weren't, wasn't) taken at the member state level.

**odpowiedzi:**

1. blueprint
2. currency
3. weren't

**Lesson 8**

**The 'euro' debate (economic implications)**

*Roy Jenkins (former President of the European Commission):*

I still think a single market is half-hobbled without a single currency.

*Kitty Usher (senior economist, 'Britain in Europe' Group):*

This country would actually be far more prosperous as a result of the fact that they were in the euro zone. And that is because inside the euro our trade with euro zone countries would increase dramatically, and that means more jobs.

*Tony Benn (former Labour cabinet minister and Member of Parliament):*

It is about who fixes your interest rates, who fixes your tax policy, who fixes your mortgage, who fixes your economy. Is it people you elect and can get rid of on polling day or is it people absolutely exempt from any democratic accountability whatever.

*Stephen Everts (Research Fellow, Centre for European Reform):*

In my view the euro is an enormous, economic liberalizing force. It will set loose, and it already has done so, enormous competitive pressures. It makes the European economy more efficient, and it makes us all better off as a consequence.

single market	- jednolity, wspólny rynek
half-hobbled	- na pół kulejący, kuśtykający
single currency	- wspólna waluta
prosperous	- dobrze prosperujący, zamożny
euro zone	- strefa 'euro'
to increase	- wzrastać, zwiększać się
job	- wykonywana praca
to fix	- ustalać
interest rate	- stopa procentowa
tax policy	- polityka podatkowa

mortgage	- pożyczka hipoteczna
economy	- gospodarka
to elect	- wybierać
to get rid of	- pozbyć się
polling day	- dzień wyborów
to be exempt from	- być zwolnionym od czegoś
accountability	- odpowiedzialność
liberalizing	- liberalizujący
to set loose	- uwolnić, wypuścić
competitive pressures	- siły konkurencyjne
efficient	- wydajny
to be better off	- (o osobie) taka, której się lepiej wiedzie
as a consequence	- w konsekwencji, w rezultacie

### objaśnienia:

it is about who fixes your interest rates – tu chodzi o to, kto ustala stopy procentowe

it makes us all better off – sprawia, że wszystkim nam się lepiej powodzi

### uzupełnij zdania:

1. When you are more prosperous, you are better (of, off, away).
2. People who are not elected are exempt from democratic (account, accountancy, accountability).
3. The euro will make the economy more (effective, effectual, efficient).

### odpowiedzi:

1. off
2. accountability
3. efficient

## Lesson 9

### The 'euro' debate (political implications)

*Geoffrey van Orden (Conservative Member of the European Parliament):*

The implications in terms of national sovereignty are enormous, after all who controls the purse strings controls so many other areas of national policy. A national Chancellor of the Exchequer would have very little room for manoeuvre and very few powers left to him. So, in other words, the key decisions about the British economy and the British taxation system, ultimately, would be taken in Frankfurt rather than in London.

*Lord Owen (former British Foreign Secretary, Chairman of the Peace Conference on Kosovo):*

I'm really quite optimistic, you know, I want to see an enlarged Europe, I want to see a European Union, in which there is an element of supra-nationality which has always been in the treaties, but also a strong element of inter-governmentalism. I think once we went above nine, once Britain went into the European Union, the chances of having a super-state were very much less.

implications	- implikacje
sovereignty	- suwerenność
Chancellor of the Exchequer	- (brytyjski) minister skarbu/finansów
room for manoeuvre	- pole manewru
powers	- <i>tu</i> : uprawnienia, prerogatywy
key decisions	- kluczowe decyzje
economy	- gospodarka
taxation system	- system podatkowy
ultimately	- w ostateczności
enlarged	- powiększony

### **objaśnienia:**

to control the purse strings – kontrolować finanse, zarządzać kieszonkową kieszonką (purse – portmonetka, public purse – kieszonka państwowa)

inter-governmentalism – chodzi o podejmowanie decyzji na szczeblu międzyrządowym państw Unii Europejskiej

super-state – mowa o Unii Europejskiej, określanej jako super-państwo, w którym państwa członkowskie utraciły sporą część swej suwerenności na rzecz struktury ponadpaństwowej

supra-nationality - chodzi o elementy ponadnarodowe, ponadpaństwowe Unii (*dosł.* ponad-narodowość, ponad-państwowość)

once we went above nine – nawiązanie do poszerzenia członkostwa Unii do ponad dziewięciu państw

### **uzupełnij zdania:**

1. Who controls the (cash, purse, wallet) strings, controls many areas of national policy.
2. I have very little (place, field, room) for manoeuvre.
3. Opponents of the European Union fear that it will become a (super-, supra-, superb) state.

### **odpowiedzi:**

1. purse
2. room
3. super-

## **Lesson 10**

### **Sovereignty or dependence**

*Catherine Stihler (Scottish Member of the European Parliament):*

From the air that you breathe to the water that you drink, from the food that you eat to the car that you drive. The European Union will have some impact.

*Richard Corbett (Labour Member of the European Parliament):*

It is very far from being sort of the centralised super-state that some of its opponents portray it.

*Nick Clegg (Member of the European Parliament):*

The horse has bolted. The buck has been passed. Sovereignty has been transferred to European level in massive dollops. Now the question is, "How do you make that democratic? How do you make that accountable? How do you make that comprehensible to people"?

sovereignty	- suwerenność
dependence	- zależność
impact	- skutek
to portray	- odmalowywać
to bolt	- rzucić się do ucieczki, (o koniu) spłoszyć się, ponieść
buck	- odpowiedzialność
massive dollops	- potężne dawki
accountable	- odpowiedzialny (przed kimś, za coś)
comprehensible	- zrozumiały

#### **objaśnienia:**

super-state – mowa o Unii Europejskiej, określanej jako super-państwo, w którym państwa członkowskie utraciły sporą część swej suwerenności na rzecz struktury ponadpaństwowej

the horse has bolted - jest fragmentem pełniejszego wyrażenia: to lock the stable door after the horse has bolted – dosł: zamknąć drzwi stajni po tym, jak koń uciekł, czyli: zrobić coś po niewczasie, kiedy jest już za późno

to pass the buck – zrzekać się odpowiedzialności, przekazywać ją dalej/komuś innemu

#### **uzupełnij zdania:**

1. Don't lock the stable door after the horse has (beltaed, bolted, galloped).
2. Nobody takes responsibility anymore – they're all passing the (bug, back, buck).
3. The chocolate cake had a large (dollop, blob, splodge) of cream on it.

#### **odpowiedzi:**

1. bolted
2. buck
3. dollop

## Lesson 11

### A union or a super-state

*Richard Heffernan (Lecturer in Government and Politics at the Open University):*

Well, all member states pool sovereignty, so in joining they're accepting that decisions that are taken at the European level take precedence over decisions taken at the domestic level. So, the pooling of sovereignty means that by inter-governmental processes, member states in the European Union are setting up a supranational authority, which then imposes treaty agreements that all member states assign to. Which, of course, means that your sovereignty, the right for you to make your own decisions at a national level, is qualified by your need to operate at the level of the European Union.

union	- unia, związek
super-state	- super-państwo (jako zwierzchnia struktura)
member state	- państwo członkowskie
to pool	- składać do wspólnej puli, scalać
sovereignty	- suwerenność
to join	- wstąpić, przyłączyć się
level	- poziom, szczebel
to take precedence (over sth)	- mieć pierwszeństwo, być ważniejszym
domestic	- krajowy
inter-governmental	- międzyrządowy
supranational	- ponadpaństwowy, ponadnarodowy
authority	- władza, zwierzchnictwo, autorytet
to impose	- nakładać (z góry), narzucać
treaty agreements	- porozumienia traktatowe
to assign to sth	- podpisać się pod czymś?
qualified	- <i>tu</i> : ograniczony, uściślony, uzależniony
national	- narodowy, krajowy, państwowy
need	- potrzeba
to operate	- działać, prowadzić działalność

#### **objaśnienia:**

to pool – zmobilizować, zebrać; na ogół w odniesieniu do środków (to pool resources), informacji (to pool information), sił (to pool forces), w kontekście Unii mówi się o: pooling of sovereignty – łączeniu suwerenności, składaniu jej we wspólnej puli

to set up a supranational authority – ustanowić władzę ponadpaństwową

decisions – you take them or you make them  
...decisions are taken at the European level....  
...the right for you to make your own decisions...

...is qualified by your need to operate at the level of the European Union –  
jest ograniczone potrzebą działania na szczeblu Unii Europejskiej

**uzupełnij zdania:**

1. Decisions taken at the European level (take, make, set) precedence over decisions taken at the domestic level.
2. Your rights are (educated, qualified, certified) by your need to operate at the European level.
3. Supranational authority is (above, below, better than) the authority of the state.

**odpowiedzi:**

1. take
2. qualified
3. above

**Lesson 12****A united Europe or a United States of Europe?**

*Richard Heffernan (Lecturer in Government and Politics at the Open University):*

I don't think we'll see a federal United States of Europe in the near future. The French are European but remain French, the British are European but may remain British. They cooperate out of reasons of national self-interest, and decision making in terms of the future of the European Union are taken on the basis of inter-state, inter-governmental bargaining. They then surrender powers by pooling sovereignty. So nobody is going to be forced to go into anything they don't want to go into. I think that Europe is going to remain a confederation of states for a considerable period of time.

*Tony Benn (former Labour cabinet minister and Member of Parliament):*

What is being set up in Western Europe now is a one party capitalist state which inevitably is going to move towards a full federation.

The United States of Europe	- Stany Zjednoczone Europy
to remain	- pozostawać
reason	- powód, przyczyna
national	- państwowy, krajowy, narodowy
self-interest	- własny interes
decision making	- podejmowanie decyzji
in terms of	- jeśli chodzi o...
basis	- podstawa
inter-state	- międzypaństwowy
inter-governmental	- międzyrządowy
bargaining	- przetargi, negocjacje
to surrender powers	- oddać uprawnienia/władzę
pooling	- zbieranie, składanie do wspólnej puli
sovereignty	- suwerenność
to be forced	- być zmuszanym
confederation of states	- konfederacja państw
considerable	- znaczny, spory

to set up	- ustanawiać, zakładać
one party state	- państwo jednopartyjne
inevitably	- nieuchronnie
to move towards	- zmierzać w kierunku
federation	- federacja

**objaśnienia:**

they cooperate out of reasons of national self-interest = they cooperate because of reasons of national self-interest

**uzupełnij zdania:**

1. They cooperate (from, by, out of) reasons of national self-interest.
2. When they surrender powers, they give them (in, up, out).
3. The process that is taking place between the governments is (intra-, inter-, into-) governmental.

**odpowiedzi:**

1. out of
2. up
3. inter-

**Lesson 13**

**A President for Europe – a good idea?**

*Vox pops:*

Voice 1: I don't know but Europe is not a unit, it's because you have to pay in Great Britain with pounds and everywhere else you can pay with euros...

Voice 2: I don't think it's a good idea, because you would have all power concentrated in one hand.

Voice 3: There should be someone who doesn't lie and someone who really tells the truth.

Reporter: Do you think it's possible?

Voice 3: No.

*Geoff Meade (Brussels correspondent for the British Press Association):*

One is, we need someone to set the agenda for the European Union and actually run the circus. More important, perhaps, you need someone who will be seen as a figurehead to the wider world. Now, that's an easier role to fulfil, funnily enough, because you're not having just to, sort of, keep the family under control – you can actually parade on the world stage, if you have the right credible figure.

unit	- jednostka, całość, jedność
to pay	- płacić
pound	- funt szterling

euro	- euro (jednostka monetarna)
power	- władza
to lie	- kłamać
to tell the truth	- mówić prawdę
to set the agenda	- ustalać terminarz
to run the circus	- rządzić cyrkiem
figurehead	- symboliczny przywódca
to fulfil a role	- spełniać rolę
funnily enough	- dziwnym trafem
world stage	- scena/arena międzynarodowa
credible	- wiarygodny

### objaśnienia:

to keep the family under control – utrzymywać (europejską) rodzinę w ryzach, trzymać pod kontrolą

NB:

head - przywódca, głowa

figurehead – symboliczny przywódca/głowa

### uzupełnij zdania:

1. A person who doesn't lie (says, tells, talks) the truth.
2. We need someone to (get, set, put) the agenda.
3. We also need someone to (run, ran, rush) the circus.

### odpowiedzi:

1. tells
2. set
3. run

## Lesson 14

### A president for Europe – but who?

*James Rubin (State Department spokesman in the time of president Clinton):*

I think it would be extremely difficult for Washington to really believe that a new European president did speak for Europe on the issues that Washington cares about most, namely subjects like Iraq, the war on terrorism, the Middle East peace process. These are issues where there are differences between France, Germany, the United Kingdom, Spain and other countries.

*Vox pops:*

Reporter: Who do you think it should be?

Voice 1: The Finnish president.

Reporter: Why's that?

Voice 1: He has a little distance to George Bush.

Voice 2: I think the same.

Reporter: Why?

Voice 2: He looks nice.

to speak for issues	- przemawiać w imieniu
to care about sth	- kwestie, sprawy, problemy
the war on terrorism	- zależec (komuś na czymś)
the Middle East peace process	- walka/wojna z terroryzmem
differences	- bliskowschodni process pokojowy
to remain	- różnice
Finnish	- pozostawać
distance	- fiński
	- dystans

**objaśnienia:**

to speak for Europe – przemawiać, wypowiadać się w imieniu Europy

he has a little distance to George Bush – dystansuje się nieco od George'a Busha (nie jest to ściśle poprawne, jeśli się od kogoś dystansujesz – you distance yourself from somebody or something)

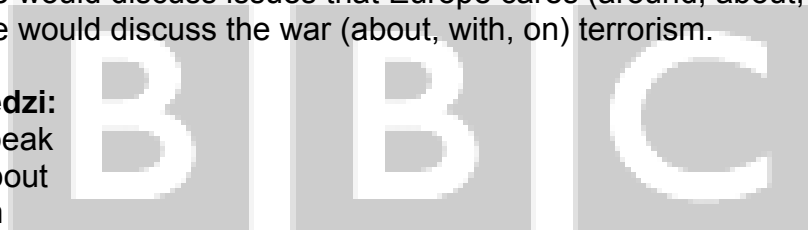
he looks nice – miło wygląda, jest przystojny

**uzupełnij zdania:**

1. A European president would (talk, say, speak) for Europe.
2. He would discuss issues that Europe cares (around, about, round).
3. He would discuss the war (about, with, on) terrorism.

**odpowiedzi:**

1. speak
2. about
3. on



**Lesson 15**

**An army for Europe – the iron curtain**

*Winston Churchill (British Prime Minister 1940-1945, 1951-1955):*

From Szczecin in the Baltic, to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe.

*Steven Everts (The Centre for European Reform):*

Europe had no defence policy because we had NATO, and all countries, apart perhaps from the French, were agreed that the primacy of NATO in the security field should be maintained, and for very good reasons, too. Having said that, the Europeans have progressively taken certain steps to strengthen the cooperation among them.

*BBC news report:*

Good evening, bulldozers tonight began to open new holes in the Berlin wall..

A huge Lenin statue in the central square crashed to the ground. It's not only in Georgia Lenin's statues are being pulled down, in the Western Ukraine ...

iron curtain	- żelazna kurtyna
to descend	- opadać, spuszczać
to lie	- leżeć
capital	- stolica
ancient	- stary, pradawny
state	- państwo
Central Europe	- Europa środkowa
Eastern Europe	- Europa wschodnia
defence policy	- polityka obronna
primacy	- wyższość, prymat, supremacja
security	- bezpieczeństwo
to maintain	- utrzymywać
progressively	- stopniowo
to take steps	- podejmować kroki
to strengthen cooperation	- zacieśnić współpracę
bulldozer	- buldożer
hole	- dziura, wyrwa
the Berlin wall	- mur berliński
statue	- pomnik
square	- plac
to crash to the ground	- runąć, zwalić się na ziemię
to pull down	- burzyć

**objaśnienia:**

**NATO = North Atlantic Treaty Organisation – Sojusz Atlantycki**

and for very good reasons, too – i to z wiadomych, dobrze znanych powodów

**uzupełnij zdania:**

1. The iron curtain (descended, condescended, ascended) across Europe.
2. The Europeans have taken steps to strengthen the cooperation (within, among, amongst) them.
3. Lenin's statues were being pulled (up, down, in).

**odpowiedzi:**

1. descended
2. among
3. down

**Lesson 16**

**An army for Europe – after the cold war**

*Gary Titley (Labour Member of the European Parliament):*

Even when the Treaty was negotiated, the idea of the Foreign Security Policy was dominated by the thinking before the Berlin wall came down, i.e. we had two big blocks facing each other across Europe, and that was a matter really

for NATO, and what the European Union was going to do was just gradually develop a Foreign Security Policy.

*Steven Everts (The Centre for European reform):*

Kosovo, sort of, highlighted the weaknesses of Europe's existing military capabilities. Everybody's agreed on this, it was abysmal, the European performance. The Americans did, I think, two thirds of the missions...

*Gary Titley (Labour Member of the European Parliament):*

We could scarcely gather together a small force to keep the peace in Kosovo. Now, the reason for that, of course, is that most countries, their military thinking is still dominated by the cold war, so their armies and other military forces are designed to confront the danger of Russian tanks coming across the plains. And that is no longer what is needed, what is needed is the ability to mobilise very quickly to have a rapid reaction.

cold war

- zimna wojna

treaty

- traktat

to negotiate

- negocjować

foreign policy

- polityka zagraniczna

security policy

- polityka bezpieczeństwa

the Berlin wall

- mur berliński

to come down

- upadać, runąć, walić się

i.e.

= (*fac*) id est; to jest, to znaczy

to face

- stawać twarzą w twarz, naprzeciw kogoś/czegoś, w obliczu kogoś/czego, konfrontować

matter

- sprawa

gradually

- stopniowo

to develop

- rozwijać

to highlight

- uwypatniać, podkreślać, zwracać uwagę

weakness

- słabość, słaba strona

existing

- istniejący

military capabilities

- potencjał wojskowy

abysmal

- okropny, fatalny

performance

- sposób wykonania/zachowania/ spełnienia

two thirds

- dwie trzecie

mission

- misja/operacja wojskowa

to gather together

- zbierać

force

- siła, siły, oddział, oddziały

to keep the peace

- utrzymywać pokój

to design

- zaplanować, zaprojektować, przeznaczyć

tank

- czołgi

plains

- równina

to need

- potrzebować

ability

- zdolność, umiejętność

to mobilise

- mobilizować

rapid reaction

- szybkie reagowanie

**objaśnienia:**

Foreign Security Policy – chodzi o wspólne zasady bezpieczeństwa w dziedzinie polityki zagranicznej Unii

**NATO – (skrót od:) North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, Sojusz Atlantyczny**  
a rapid reaction = a rapid reaction force – oddziały szybkiego reagowania

NB:

force – może funkcjonować w polskim jako *siła, siły albo oddział, oddziały*  
np.:

a small force – niewielkie siły – albo - mały oddział

peacekeeping force – siły pokojowe

air force – siły powietrzne

military forces – siły zbrojne

to be in the forces – służyć w wojsku

**uzupełnij zdania:**

1. Kosovo highlighted the weaknesses of Europe's military (abilities, capabilities, capacities).
2. What is needed now is the (capacity, ability, capability) to mobilise quickly.
3. What is needed is a (quick, rapid, fast) reaction force.

**odpowiedzi:**

1. capabilities
2. ability
3. rapid

**Lesson 17****An army for a united Europe**

*Lord Carrington (former British Foreign Secretary, former Secretary General of NATO):*

There is no way that the European countries are going to finance that. All of them, every one of them, is cutting its defence budget, and it's very difficult to see how it's ever going to happen.

*General Sir Mike Jackson (Commander of NATO's K4 force in Kosovo):*

We have to remember that many European armies in particular, are still conscript armies. In many of those countries there are constitutional bars on conscript soldiers being employed for any other purpose than in the defence of national territory. France took, what I think is a very courageous decision, to do away with conscription and to move on to an all-professional forces, but the Bundeswehr is very much a conscript army. Some of the smaller countries find it really quite difficult to assemble any sizeable force to go and take part in the peace support operation.

to finance

- finansować

to cut the budget

- dokonywać cięć w budżecie

conscript army

- armia poborowa

constitutional bars	- przeszkody konstytucyjne
soldier	- żołnierz
to be employed	- być zatrudnionym, zaangażowanym
purpose	- cel
defence	- obrona
national territory	- terytorium państwa
to take a decision	- podjąć decyzję
courageous	- odważny
to do away with	- znieść, zlikwidować, pozbyć się
conscription	- pobór
to move on	- pójść dalej, zrobić krok naprzód
force	- siła zbrojna
to assemble	- zebrać, zgromadzić
to take part in	- brać udział w
peace support operation	- operacja pokojowa

### objaśnienia:

there's no way that – niemożliwe jest, żeby... nie ma mowy, żeby

all-professional forces – (w pełni) zawodowe siły zbrojne

to assemble any sizeable force – zebrać jakąś większą siłę

### uzupełnij zdania:

1. France decided to do (out, without, away) with conscription.
2. It moved (onto, on, up) to the all-professional forces.
3. Smaller countries find it difficult to take (part, piece, share) in the peace support operation.

### odpowiedzi:

1. away
2. on
3. part

## Lesson 18

### An army for Europe – with or without NATO?

*Edward Heath (British Prime Minister 1970-1974):*

It's quite obvious to the Americans that the Europeans ought to have one defence force. We want a European force, and it's not anti NATO, in fact I know many Americans who would welcome only too warmly, that in NATO they had to deal with one force instead of having to deal with a large number of different forces.

*Lord Owen (Foreign Secretary 1977-1979, Chairman of the International Conference on Former Yugoslavia):*

And if any American commander's going to say, 'If you tell me that the Europeans can take away a great chunk of NATO credibility, I'm going to say to you Mr. President, you shouldn't have American boys out there at risk on Europe'.

*Dan Plesch (Director of the British American Information Council):*

The great concern of European capitals is not the Americans will leave Europe, it's the fact that they might act independently in Europe in terms of the way in which the United States behaved throughout the Bosnian/Croat wars, where sometimes they were in and sometimes they were pursuing independent US military policies without NATO.

*Soldier:*

Queen and country.

*Soldier:*

Queen and country.

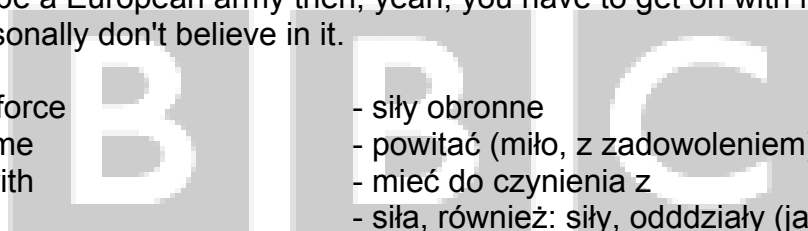
*Soldier:*

The queen. I'd always be a British soldier

*Soldier:*

At the end of the day you have to do what you're told. If we get told we're going to be a European army then, yeah, you have to get on with it and do it, but I personally don't believe in it.

defence force  
to welcome  
to deal with  
force



- siły obronne  
- powitać (miło, z zadowoleniem)  
- mieć do czynienia z  
- siła, również: siły, oddziały (jako rzeczownik zbiorowy)

forces  
commander  
to take away  
credibility  
chunk  
to be at risk  
concern  
to leave  
to act independently  
to behave  
throughout  
to pursue  
military policy  
at the end of the day

- siły  
- dowódca  
- zabrać, odebrać  
- wiarygodność  
- kawał, znaczna część  
- być narażonym na ryzyko  
- obawa, zaniepokojenie  
- opuszczać, odchodzić  
- działać niezależnie  
- zachowywać się  
- *tu*: przez cały czas  
- prowadzić (np. politykę)  
- polityka wojskowa  
- w końcu, w ostateczności

**objaśnienia:**

...the Europeans ought to have one defence force – ...Europejczycy powinni mieć wspólne siły obronne

'Queen and country' – żołnierze brytyjscy składają przysięgę na 'królową i ojczyznę'

you have to do what you're told – musisz robić, co ci każą  
you have to get on with it – musisz się z tym pogodzić, zaakceptować to, dalej wykonywać swoje obowiązki

**uzupełnij zdania:**

1. You (purse, pursue, pursuit) a policy.
2. You have to get (at, in, on) with your job, whether you like it or not!
3. You took (out, away, beyond) a great chunk of his credibility.

**odpowiedzi:**

1. pursue
2. on
3. away

**Lesson 19**  
**Joining Europe**

*Nicholas Walton (BBC correspondent in Warsaw):*

Here in Poland, as elsewhere among the applicants, there's important symbolism in joining the European Union. EU membership represents joining the Europe that was denied to them after the Second World War.

The applicants no longer expect a financial bailout of struggling ex-communist industries and inefficient farms. But they do see the long-term benefits of joining the larger European market.

But money also lies at the heart of their doubts. Over here, the concern is about being welcomed into the EU only as second-class members. And existing members are being seen as selfishly denying applicants what they have already benefited from. In Poland, a loud minority has already summed up the EU expansion plans: The Union wants the markets of the east, but without the competition and without the responsibility.

to join	- wejść, przystąpić, przyłączyć się
elsewhere	- gdzie indziej
applicant	- kandydat
membership	- członkostwo
to deny	- odmawiać
the Second World War	- druga wojna światowa
bailout	- ratunek, pomoc
struggling	- szamotający się, borykający; <i>tu</i> : niedochodowy
industry	- przemysł, gałąź przemysłu
inefficient farm	- niewydajne gospodarstwo rolne
long-term benefit	- korzyść długoterminowa
market	- rynek
concern	- obawa, zaniepokojenie

to be welcomed	- być powitany
second-class member	- członek drugiej kategorii/klasy
existing	- istniejący
selfishly	- egoistycznie
to benefit from	- korzystać z czegoś
loud	- głośny
minority	- mniejszość
to sum up	- podsumować
the EU expansion plans	- plany rozszerzenia Unii Europejskiej
competition	- konkurencja
responsibility	- odpowiedzialność

### **objaśnienia:**

#### **the EU = the European Union**

financial bailout – wyratowanie z opresji finansowych, dofinansowywanie

but money also lies at the heart of their doubts – ale kwestia pieniędzy (subsydów) jest źródłem ich największych wątpliwości

existing members are being seen – istniejący członkowie są widziani/postrzegani (strona bierna czasu Present Continuous)

### **uzupełnij zdania:**

1. When you join an organisation, you become a (joiner, member, membership).
2. Another name for an applicant is a/an (applicator, appliance, candidate).
3. When you rescue somebody from a difficult situation, you (bale, bail, bowl) them out.

### **odpowiedzi:**

1. member
2. candidate
3. bail

## **Lesson 20**

### **Joining Europe: Poland**

*Jan Paweł II:*

Mam nadzieję, że pielęgnując te wartości, społeczeństwo polskie, które od wieków przynależy do Europy, znajdzie właściwe sobie miejsce w strukturach wspólnoty europejskiej. I nie tylko nie zatraci własnej tożsamości, ale wzbogaci swą tradycję, ten kontynent i cały świat.

*Translation:*

I hope that by cultivating these values, the Polish people, who for centuries have been a part of Europe, will find their rightful place in the structures of the

European community. Not only will they lose nothing of their identity, but they will enrich their own traditions, this continent and the whole world.

*Vox pops:*

Każdy liczy na dotacje, do rolnictwa, może na rozwój przemysłu...

*Translation:*

Everybody counts on subsidies, for agriculture, maybe for industry...

Jeśli chodzi o takiego szarego pracownika, robotnika, to nie wiem, nie jestem pewna jeszcze.

*Translation:*

As far as an ordinary worker is concerned, I don't know, I'm not so sure yet.

**uzupełnij zdania:**

1. John Paul II hopes that the Polish people will find their (right, rightly, rightful) place in the structures of the European community.
2. They will not lose their (entity, identity, identification).
3. Everybody counts (in, on, upon) the EU subsidies.

**odpowiedzi:**

1. rightful
2. identity
3. on

## **Lesson 21** **Poland and the EU**



*Jan Truszczyński:*

Ultimately, what is decisive is the long-term outlook for Poland and this long-term outlook for Poland is decisively better if you are in the EU rather than outside the EU.

*Bishop Tadeusz Pieronek:*

Doświadczenia europejskie świadczą o tym, że to jest wybór dobry. Żaden kraj, który do Unii Europejskiej wszedł, nie stracił na tym.

*Translation:*

The European experience shows that it is a good choice. No country that has joined the Union, has lost anything.

*Andrzej Lepper:*

Bardziej na wejściu do Unii zależy samej Unii niż Polsce. Unia oczywiście udaje, że im nie zależy, ale Unia zrobiła sobie z Polski rynek zbytu dla swoich nadwyżek produkcyjnych.

*Translation:*

The EU is keener on Poland's accession than Poland itself. The Union, of course, pretends that it is not that bothered, but the EU has made Poland a dumping ground for its own production surpluses.

*Vox pop:*

*Jak nie w tamtym kierunku, to gdzie?*

*Translation:*

If not in that direction, then where?

ultimately	- ostatecznie, w ostateczności
decisive	- decydujący, zdecydowany
long-term	- długofalowy, długoterminowy, na dłuższą metę
outlook	- widoki, perspektywy
decisively	- decydująco, zdecydowanie

### **objaśnienia:**

EU = European Union = Unia Europejska

'outlook' odpowiada polskiemu wyrazowi 'perspektywy', np.

a long-term outlook – długoterminowe perspektywy

w angielskim istnieje wyraz 'perspective', ale oznacza on dosłownie perspektywę (np. w rysunku), albo pogląd, punkt widzenia  
np.

to draw something in perspective – narysować coś z zachowaniem perspektywy

to put something into perspective – nabrać do czegoś dystansu

from my own perspective – z mojego punktu widzenia

### **uzupełnij zdania:**

1. What is the long-term (perspective, outlook, view) for Poland in the EU?
2. Accession is another word for (access, succession, joining).
3. A dumping ground is a place where things that are not wanted are (dumpy, dumped, grounded).

### **odpowiedzi:**

1. outlook
2. joining
3. dumped

## **Lesson 22**

### **Joining Europe: Slovakia**

*Vox pops*

*Woman:*

I think it will bring us only advantages – for the young generation, not so much for the old: possibilities to study abroad, working opportunities. I firmly believe, that the situation in this country will also improve.

*Man:*

I think, when we are in the EU, the situation will be better. That's what I think. I will be able to go abroad, when I want, and go everywhere without a visa.

*Woman:* No. Because it will only bring poverty to all Slovakia.

*Reporter:* Won't it bring anything good?

*Woman:* No.

*Woman:*

People have great expectations that by joining the EU we will be entering a wonderland. But we will be tightening our belts for some time, before our economic situation and our earnings reach the level of other EU countries. But I believe we will do it.

to join	- wstąpić, przyłączyć się
advantage	- korzyść
generation	- pokolenie
possibility	- możliwość, okazja
to study abroad	- studiować za granicą
working opportunities	- możliwości pracy, szanse zatrudnienia
to improve	- poprawić się
to go abroad	- udać się/wyjechać za granicę
visa	- wiza
poverty	- bieda
great expectations	- wielkie nadzieje, oczekiwania
to join	- wstąpić, wejść do (organizacji)
to enter	- wejść
wonderland	- kraina bajki
to tighten one's belt	- zacisnąć pasa
earnings	- zarobki
to reach the level	- osiągnąć poziom

### **objaśnienia:**

I firmly believe – głęboko wierzę, jestem głęboko przekonana

EU = European Union = Unia Europejska

I believe we will do it - sądzę, że się nam uda/powiedzie

### **uzupełnij zdania:**

1. There will be lots of work (opportunities, possibilities, chances) abroad.
2. We'll have to (squeeze, fasten, tighten) our belts for some time.
3. When the situation gets better, it (improves, approves, deteriorates).

### **odpowiedzi:**

1. opportunities
2. tighten
3. improves

## Lesson 23

### Joining Europe: the Czech Republic

*Vaclav Havel:*

Thanks to you there will be, hopefully, a referendum on our accession to the European Union and it will be during your present term that we shall truly become a member of the European Union.

*Daniela Cervova (Director of the European Union Information Centre, Prague):*

People are very concerned about their well-being after accession. There are a lot of financial questions, a lot of questions coming from farmers, a lot of questions about national sovereignty. People are afraid that after we've been ruled from Moscow for many, many years; now Brussels is the one who's going to rule us again. Because people don't understand how the European Union is functioning.

to join	- wstąpić, przyłączyć się
accession	- wstąpienie, przyłączenie się, akces
the European Union	- Unia Europejska
term	- okres, kadencja
member	- członek
to be concerned	- być zaniepokojonym
well-being	- dobrobyt
farmer	- rolnik
sovereignty	- suwerenność
to rule	- rządzić
to function	- funkcjonować

#### **objaśnienia:**

well-being - to ogólnie dobre samopoczucie – emocjonalne, fizyczne, psychiczne - a sense of emotional/ physical/ psychological well-being

w sensie gospodarczym – economic well-being – to pomyślność gospodarcza, dobrobyt kraju

#### **uzupełnij zdania:**

1. They're are concerned about the economic (good-, well-, better-) being of the country.
2. The president introduced a lot of changes during his first (period, cadence, term) in office.
3. When a country (enlists, enrolls, joins) the European Union, it becomes a member of the EU.

#### **odpowiedzi:**

1. well-
2. term
3. joins

## Lesson 24

### Joining Europe – Lithuania

Vox pops:

Either we have to enter Moscow's union or the European Union. We've been in Moscow's union, so the best thing now is to enter the European Union. Russians still have nostalgia for Lithuania. After Lithuania joins the EU, Russia will have to see Lithuania in a different way – because we are a different country, not a Russian country. That's a good thing.

Europe is good, it's OK. But, for us Lithuanians, because we are a small country, it won't be very good.

I think the best way to join the European civilisation is to join the European Union, and we will be able to solve problems in a civilised way.

to enter	- wchodzić
union	- unia, związek
to join	- przystąpić, wejść, zapisać się
the EU	= the European Union, Unia Europejska
civilisation	- cywilizacja
civilised	- cywilizowany

#### objaśnienia:

Russia will have to see Lithuania in a different way – Rosja będzie musiała widzieć Litwę w innym świetle

We'll be able to solve problems in a civilised way – będziemy mogli rozwiązywać problemy w cywilizowany sposób

#### uzupełnij zdania:

1. When you enter an organisation, you (join, joint, unite) it.
2. The opposite of 'civilised' is (in-, un-, anti-) civilised.
3. One should always (solve, crack, answer) problems in a civilised way.

#### odpowiedzi:

1. join
2. un-
3. solve

## Lesson 25

### Joining Europe - Latvia

Steven Johnson (journalist, 'The Baltic Times', Riga):

The people, who are dead set against giving more rights to minorities, to Russian speakers in these countries, tend to view the EU with some scepticism. And that's largely because the EU does make constant

pronouncements about these two countries having to, you know, speed up the naturalization processes and things like that.

One of the reasons they often give is that they believe that joining the EU will somehow cut down on corruption – will clean up some of the more...the dirtier ministries here and places where corruption is rumoured to be rampant – customs controls, in the judicial system, registering businesses, things like this.

to be dead set against something	- być zdecydowanie przeciwnym czemuś
rights	- prawa
minority	- mniejszość ( <i>tu</i> : etniczna)
Russian speakers	- ludność rosyjsko-języczna
to tend to	- na ogół robić coś, przejawiać tendencję do czegoś, skłaniać się
to view	- postrzegać, oceniać, traktować, uważać za
the EU	= the European Union
scepticism	- sceptycyzm
to make pronouncements	- wygłaszać/wydawać oświadczenia
to speed up	- przyspieszyć
naturalization process	- process naturalizacji
reason	- powód
to join	- wstąpić, przystąpić, zapisać się
to cut down on	- zmniejszyć, ograniczyć
to clean up	- oczyścić
rampant	- szalejący, szerzący się
customs control	- kontrola celna
judicial system	- system sądownictwa
to register	- rejestrować

### objaśnienia:

and that's largely because ... - a to w dużej mierze dlatego, że...  
some of the dirtier ministries = some of the more corrupt ministries

zwróć uwagę na wyrażenie:

it is rumoured that... – chodzą słuchy, że ...

np:

it is rumoured that the corruption is rampant in certain ministries – chodzą słuchy, że szerzy się korupcja w niektórych ministerstwach

to samo można powiedzieć w inny sposób:

corruption is rumoured to be rampant in certain ministries

certain ministries are rumoured to be very corrupt

### uzupełnij zdania:

1. We are (dead, deed, dad) set against giving up our rights.
2. They tend to (vie, view, review) the European Union with scepticism.
3. Corruption is (rumour, rumours, rumoured) to be rampant in certain ministries.

### odpowiedzi:

1. dead
2. view
3. rumoured

## Lesson 26

### Joining Europe – Estonia

*Nikolai Meinert (journalist):*

And they try to mislead people saying that the European Union is a great threat to them, especially to the country life and the countryside. That's one of the most often used arguments in discussion – that we will disappear as a state, we will disappear as a nation – because, you know, the culture mostly has its own roots in the countryside and the countryside will not survive in that kind of new situation.

My wife, she's teaching at the university, she asked her students what they think about trade unions. And these quite young people, they answered that this was part of the management in the company. So this is what they inherited from the Soviet system – but this is the new generation!

to mislead	- wprowadzać w błąd
the EU	= the European Union = Unia Europejska
threat	- groźba
country life	- życie na wsi
the countryside	- wieś, wiejskie regiony, krajobrazy, okolice
to use	- używać
to disappear	- znikać
state	- państwo
nation	- naród
roots	- korzenie
to survive	- przeżyć, przetrwać
trade unions	- związki zawodowe
management	- kierownictwo, dyrekcja
company	- firma, przedsiębiorstwo
to inherit	- odziedziczyć
the Soviet system	- system/ustrój radziecki
generation	- pokolenie

### objaśnienia:

Zwróć uwagę na wieloznaczność słowa 'country'. Może ono oznaczać:

kraj  
I love my country

ojczyznę  
He died for his country

krainę, region  
It's beautiful walking country

wieś  
He lives in the country

Wieś – wiejskie rejony, krajobrazy i okolice – to również

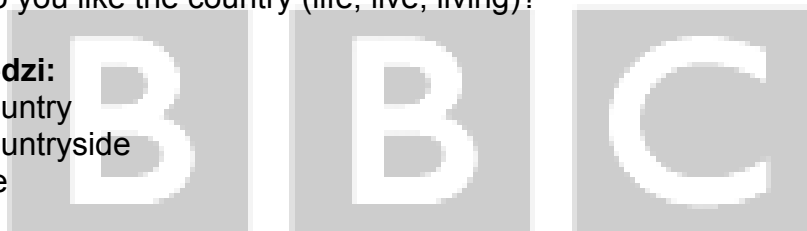
the countryside  
He explored the beautiful countryside around him

**uzupełnij zdania:**

1. Poland is beautiful (country, the country, countryside).
2. Poland has a beautiful (country, the country, countryside).
3. Do you like the country (life, live, living)?

**odpowiedzi:**

1. country
2. countryside
3. life



**Lesson 27**  
**After Copenhagen**

*Anders Fogh Rasmusse (Danish Prime Minister):*

Today we succeeded in fulfilling the aim, which generations of Europeans have fought for. In 1989, brave and visionary people tore down the Berlin Wall. They would no longer tolerate the forced division of Europe. Today, we have delivered on their hopes. We decided to heal our continent, we decided to create one Europe.

*Guenter Verheugen (the EU Enlargement Commissioner):*

Negotiations are finished, the public debate will begin. And I think it is very important to tell European citizens that this is the best-prepared enlargement in the history of the European Union, that nobody must be afraid. These ten countries join the European Union because they deserve it and because they were able to conduct successful transformation in a very, very short period of time, and I think that Europe can be very proud and very happy to get these countries and these nations as members.

**to succeed**  
to fulfil

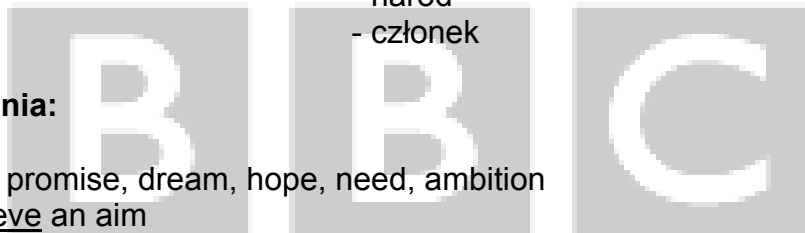
- **odnieść sukces, powieść się, udać się**  
- zrealizować, spełnić

aim	- cel
generation	- pokolenie
to fight for sth	- walczyć o coś
brave	- odważny
visionary	- mający wizję
to tear down	- zburzyć
the Berlin Wall	- mur berliński
forced	- wymuszony
division	- podział
to deliver on sth	- spełnić coś
to heal	- wyleczyć, uleczyć, uśmierzyć, ukoić
to create	- stworzyć
citizen	- obywatel
enlargement	- rozszerzenie, powiększenie
to be afraid	- obawiać się
to join	- wstąpić, wejść, przyłączyć się
to deserve	- zasłużyć sobie na coś
to conduct	- prowadzić
successful	- uwieńczony sukcesem
proud	- dumny
country	- kraj
nation	- naród
member	- członek

**objaśnienia:**

zauważ:

you fulfil: promise, dream, hope, need, ambition  
 you achieve an aim



premier Danii powinien był powiedzieć:  
 Today we succeeded in achieving the aim

to deliver on sth = to keep a promise (dotrzymać/spełnić obietnicę)

**uzupełnij zdania:**

1. Today I have (fulfilled, achieved, satisfied) my aim.
2. Tomorrow I will (fulfil, achieve, satisfy) my hopes.
3. When I do what I promised to do, I deliver (in, on, with) my promise.

**odpowiedzi:**

1. achieved
2. fulfil
3. on

**Lesson 28**  
**The challenge of Eastern enlargement**

Jan Repa (BBC):

There are several challenges. First of all, how do you actually organise and run a union of 25 states as distinct from a union of 15 states, which is already finding it difficult to achieve a coherence in terms of policy-making and reconciling different national interests.

Secondly, most, not all, but most of the new members, are going to be considerably poorer than the existing EU countries. So, how do you redress the balance, how quickly should you do that, at what cost to the existing members? What size of subsidy is a country like the Czech Republic or Poland capable of digesting usefully?

The third challenge, I think, is that almost invariably, it will change the power structures between the present EU members. The French have been very nervous about the whole enlargement project, because they think, instinctively, that this will tend to increase Germany's influence in Europe. The centre of gravity of the European Union will shift eastwards.

challenge	- wyzwanie
eastern	- wschodni
enlargement	- powiększenie, rozszerzenie
to run	- kierować, zarządzać
union	- unia, związek
state	- państwo
to achieve coherence	- osiągnąć spójność/jedność
policy-making	- formułowanie zasad polityki, podejmowanie decyzji
to reconcile	- pogodzić
considerably	- znacznie
existing	- istniejący
member	- członek
to redress the balance	- przywrócić równowagę
to digest usefully	- <i>dosł.</i> strawić z pożytkiem
invariably	- niezmiennie, <i>tu w sensie:</i> nieuchronnie
power structure	- struktura władzy
influence	- wpływ
the centre of gravity	- środek ciężkości
to shift	- przesunąć się
eastwards	- na wschód

### objaśnienia:

a coherence = a kind of coherence ('coherence' to rzeczownik niepoliczalny, przed którym nie stawiamy z reguły 'a'; w tym kontekście przedimek nieokreślony 'a' sugeruje – 'jakąś, jakiś rodzaj' koherencji)

### uzupełnij zdania:

1. You (dress, undress, redress) the balance.
2. The process of policy-(doing, making, remaking) in an enlarged Union is going to be more difficult.
3. The (middle, core, centre) of gravity will shift eastwards.

**odpowiedzi:**

1. redress
2. making
3. centre

**Lesson 29**

**For or against enlargement**

Jan Repa (BBC):

Certainly the political elites in western Europe are for enlargement, they see the big picture, they see it in terms of Europe realizing its vocation, nations that did not have an opportunity to join the European Union at the start – now, we need to give them a fair chance. I think, when you look at it at the level of the street, I think, there's a lot more ambiguity. There is a fear that, you know, these will be poor countries that will drag us down. And there's a lot of persuading that needs to be done.

If you are a company, you can say, "Hey, why don't we set up an assembly plant or something in Hungary – bigger profits". But, you know, for workers in the English Midlands or northern Italy, it might not be such a good idea, if suddenly a lot of production goes east.

enlargement	- powiększenie, rozszerzenie
political elites	- elity polityczne
to realize one's vocation	- spełnić swoje powołanie
nation	- naród
opportunity	- szansa, okazja
to join	- przyłączyć się, przystąpić, wstąpić, wejść
at the start	- na początku
to give sb a fair chance	- dać komuś równą szansę
at the level of the street	- na poziomie ulicy
ambiguity	- dwuznaczność, niejasność
fear	- obawa, strach
to drag sb down	- pociągnąć kogoś w dół
to persuade	- perswadować, nakłaniać
company	- firma, przedsiębiorstwo
to set up	- założyć
assembly plant	- montownia
profit	- zysk
east	- wschód

**objaśnienia:**

the political elites in western Europe are for enlargement – elity polityczne w Europie zachodniej są za powiększeniem Unii

they see the big picture – widzą całość obrazu, widzą to w szerszej perspektywie

Midlands – rejon przemysłowy w środkowej Anglii

**uzupełnij zdania:**

1. They set (out, up, in) a big assembly plant in Eastern Europe.
2. Something which not clear or can be understood in more than one way is (ambivalent, ambient, ambiguous).
3. If they fail, they'll (drug, drag, dreg) us all down with them.

**odpowiedzi:**

1. up
2. ambiguous
3. drag

**Lesson 30**

**Migration of labour**

Jan Repa (BBC):

There's been all sorts of alarmist talk about millions of East Europeans flooding into Germany and Austria in particular and ....I think this is exaggerated. But clearly, there are qualified professionals in Central and Eastern Europe, who would very willingly work, at least for a while.

Andrzej Łodyński (BBC):

Partly because it's not that easy, in practice, to find a job, to settle in a different country. In theory, it's possible that lots of people would like to come, but in practice the numbers are limited. And if you look at the example of Portugal, Spain and Greece, there were the same anxieties several years ago. And they never were confirmed.

Jan Repa (BBC):

*I've been to my local National Health hospital in London recently, and in one department all the junior doctors were Greek.*

Andrzej Łodyński (BBC):

There are pockets where skilled professionals from Eastern Europe could get jobs and the European Union is in favour of that. And if you take an example of Britain, Britain is willing to admit nurses and doctors. There will be windows of opportunity for such professionals.

labour	- <i>tu</i> : siła robocza
alarmist	- alarmistyczny
to flood	- zalewać
to exaggerate	- przesadzać
qualified	- wykwalifikowany, z dyplomem
professional	- przedstawiciel wolnego zawodu, zawodowiec, profesjonalista, 'fachowiec'
willingly	- chętnie, ochoczo
for a while	- przez chwilę, <i>tu</i> : przez jakiś czas

to find a job	- znaleźć pracę
to settle (down)	- osiedlić się
anxiety	- obawa
to confirm	- potwierdzić
the National Health (Service)	- państwowa służba zdrowia
department	- <i>tu</i> : oddział (w szpitalu)
junior doctor	- młodszy stażem lekarz
pocket	- kieszeń, <i>tu</i> : nisza
skilled	- wykwalifikowany
nurse	- pielęgniarka
windows of opportunity	- nowe szanse, nowe możliwości

### objaśnienia:

there's been all sorts of alarmist talk – słycać różne alarmistyczne głosy  
to be in favour of sth – opowiadać się za czymś, skłaniać się ku czemuś

NB:

fear and anxiety – obawy i niepokoje; jeśli się nie potwierdziły, powiemy nie  
tyle: they were not confirmed, ale raczej: they haven't materialized

### uzupełnij zdania:

1. He wants to settle (up, down, in) in England.
2. He is a (skilled, skilful, skilful) professional; he will get a job easily.
3. There will be (windows, doors, gates) of opportunity for qualified professionals in Western Europe.

### odpowiedzi:

1. down
2. skilled
3. windows

## Lesson 31 Farmers

*Jan Repa (BBC):*

There's traditionally a difference, for example between the British, who've had a very small agricultural sector for the last hundred and fifty years and who, traditionally, for most of their recent history, have been attracted to notions of free trade, and some of the big continental countries, like France and Germany, which do not really have a history of free trade. Their economic tradition has been based on protectionism, putting up a tariff wall and building up your own industry and agriculture.

Sill, the legacy of this exists today. That is why the French are so bitterly opposed to the idea of their own agricultural subsidies going off east somewhere. You know, why do we need another country with fine agricultural soils, you know, when we have it?

Where do you draw the final frontier of an enlarged EU? If you think Polish farmers pose a threat, just wait till you get a whole lot of Ukrainian and Turkish farmers, competing for subsidies and markets.

farmer	- farmer, <i>tu</i> : rolnik
agricultural	- rolniczy, rolny
notion	- myśl, pomysł, pogląd, pojęcie
free trade	- wolny handel
to be based on	- być opartym na
protectionism	- protekcjonizm
to put up	- <i>tu</i> : wznieść
tariff wall	- <i>tu</i> : bariera celna
to build up	- <i>tu</i> : rozbudować
industry	- przemysł
agriculture	- rolnictwo
legacy	- spuścizna
agricultural subsidies	- subsydia na rolnictwo
fine	- <i>tu</i> : żyzny
soil	- gleba, ziemia
to draw a frontier	- wyznaczyć granicę
final	- ostateczny
enlarged	- powiększony
to pose a threat	- stwarzać groźbę/zagrożenie
a whole lot	- <i>pot</i> cała masa, mnóstwo
to compete	- rywalizować
market	- rynek

**objaśnienia:**

to go off east somewhere – udać się gdzieś na wschód  
to be bitterly opposed – ostro się sprzeciwiać

**uzupełnij zdania:**

1. They have put (out, up, in) a tariff wall between the two countries.
2. They are (sourly, harshly, bitterly) opposed to the idea of free trade.
3. Where do you (sketch, draw, portray) the final frontier of an enlarged EU?

**odpowiedzi:**

1. up
2. bitterly
3. draw

**Lesson 32**

**Transport and environment**

*Ciaran Cuffe (Green Party Councillor and Lecturer, Planning, Dublin Technology Institute):*

There is a conflict between the environment and breaking down all these economic barriers and as we move towards European Union, there's a danger that we'll be sending lots of trucks, lots of goods, all around Europe with roads buzzing with activity, but yet the environment might suffer.

What I would see as the way forward is to promote the regions within Europe, to promote the local economies, to the point of eating produce that's grown locally, so that you're not responsible for trucks driving halfway across Europe, or planes hurtling around the world to bring you fresh peas from somewhere down in the bottom of Africa.

I would like to think that we'll offer a few carrots by having a public transport system that's reliable, that's efficient, that comes at the time it's expected to, but we might have to fall back on some kind of eco-taxes, and we need to increase taxes in order to get the public transport working and get people out of their cars.

environment	- środowisko naturalne
to break down	- <i>tu</i> : znieść
economic barrier	- bariera gospodarcza
truck	- ciężarówka
goods	- towary
to suffer	- cierpieć, ucierpieć, ponieść szkodę
the way forward	- droga naprzód, wyjście z sytuacji
to promote	- popierać, propagować, lansować
produce	- produkty rolne
to grow	- uprawiać, hodować
responsible	- odpowiedzialny
to hurtle	- mknąć, pędzić, gnać
peas	- groch, groszek
carrot	- <i>tu</i> : marchewka jako zachęta, nagroda
reliable	- pewny, taki na którym można polegać
efficient	- sprawny, kompetentny
to fall back on	- uciec się do czegoś, sięgnąć do
eco-taxes	- podatek ekologiczny (jako instrument ochrony środowiska)
to increase	- zwiększyć
in order to	- po to, żeby; w celu

### **objaśnienia:**

roads buzzing with activity – szosy, na których panuje wielki ruch, na których aż huczy od ruchu (*dosł*: to buzz – brzęczeć)

trucks driving halfway across Europe – ciężarówki przejeżdżające połowę Europy

somewhere down in the bottom of Africa – gdzieś na samym krańcu Afryki

we'll offer a few carrots – zaoferujemy parę marchewek (na zachętę)

NB:

carrot and stick policy – polityka marchewki i kija

comes at the time it's expected to = comes on time – przychodzi na czas

to get the public transport working – usprawnić system transportu publicznego

to get people out of their cars – sprawić, aby ludzie przestali korzystać z samochodów

**uzupełnij zdania:**

1. European roads are (blasting, buzzing, blaring) with activity.
2. They did not offer us any carrots, only the (stick, twig, pole).
3. We did not have enough money, so we had to fall back (on, upon, at) our savings.

**odpowiedzi:**

1. buzzing
2. stick
3. on

**Lesson 33**

**Car trouble - Ireland**

*Vox pops:*

I travel into Dublin every morning, and it takes about an hour and a half each day to get in, so it's horrendous. Parking is terrible.

I can't get a bus to work in the mornings, I stand at a bus stop at 7 o'clock in the morning to get into work for half eight, and I'm standing there and two buses go by me full, which means I can't get to work, and you look at the traffic every morning there's one person in every car.

*Frank McDonald (Environmental Editor for 'The Irish Times'):*

Well, in the past, I suppose in the 1980's in particular, the European money that came into this country was primarily for roads. The roads were inadequate and did need to be invested in, there's no doubt about that. But the European Commission also funded very damaging schemes within the urban area, which involved the demolition of streets and their replacement with urban dual carriageways.

They had the big stick behind threatening to take action against us if we don't deal with the whole issue of air pollution.

to travel to/into

- dojeżdżać do

horrendous, terrible

- okropny, potworny, straszny

to get to work

- dostać się/dojechać do pracy

traffic

- ruch uliczny

primarily

- głównie

roads	- drogi, szosy
the European Commission	- Komisja Europejska
to fund	- finansować
damaging scheme	- szkodliwy projekt
urban area	- rejon miejski
replacement	- zastąpienie
dual carriageway	- wielopasmowe drogi szybkiego ruchu
stick	- <i>tu</i> : kij, bat
to threaten	- grozić
to take action against sb	- podjąć akcję przeciwko komuś

**objaśnienia:**

it takes about an hour and a half – zajmuje/trwa to około półtorej godziny

to get into work for half eight – dostać się do pracy na godz. 8.30

two buses go by me full – dwa autobusy przejeżdżają obok mnie pełne

and there's one person in every car – i w każdym samochodzie siedzi jedna osoba

the roads did need to be invested in – drogi naprawdę potrzebowały inwestycji  
(*dost*: aby w nie zainwestowano – to be invested in – strona bierna)

there's no doubt about that – nie ma w tej sprawie żadnych wątpliwości

to deal with the issue of air pollution – uporać się z kwestią zanieczyszczenia środowiska

**uzupełnij zdania:**

1. It (takes, continues, lasts) me an hour to get to work in the morning.
2. (Getting, riding, following) a bus to work in the morning is difficult.
3. They threatened to (pick, take, get) action against us if we don't deal with the problem.

**odpowiedzi:**

1. takes
2. getting
3. take

**Lesson 34**

**Car trouble – Poland**

*Magda Stoczkiewicz (Polski Klub Ekologiczny):*

I think in Poland we are in at the moment when we can choose two paths, we can go through the same path as many western countries, and exactly do the same mistakes you did, or we can prevent and improve what we have, I mean

the good public transport. All signs show that we are on the way to go through your mistakes.

The government keeps saying that western countries have highways so we have to have highways as well, without trying to estimate if we really need them, and what is the impact on the environment, what is the impact on people's health, what is the full cost of having this highway programme instead of improving already existing transport modes and systems.

*Ian Barber (The European Commission):*

It will be important for the candidate countries, and once they accede, to – if not meet from day one the EU's environmental legislation and standards – at least have a phased-in programme of achieving those, and that again is a win-win situation.

to choose	- wybierać
path	- <i>tu</i> : droga
to prevent	- zapobiec
to improve	- ulepszyć, poprawić
sign	- znak, oznaka
highway	- <i>Am English</i> autostrada
to estimate	- oszacować
impact	- wpływ
environment	- środowisko
health	- zdrowie
cost	- koszt
candidate countries	- kraje kandydujące
to accede	- przystąpić, wstąpić
to meet	- <i>tu</i> : spełnić, sprostać, zastosować się
legislation	- ustawodawstwo
a phased-in programme	- program fazowego wcielania w życie
to achieve	- osiągnąć
win-win situation	- sytuacja, w której każda strona wygrywa

### **objaśnienia:**

we are on the way to go through your mistakes – wygląda na to, że zrobimy te same błędy, które wy zrobiliście

the government keeps saying that ...– rząd ciągle powtarza, że ...

to meet (...) legislation and standards – spełnić wymogi przewidziane przez ustawy i przepisy/normy

NB:

autostrada w *American English* to: highway  
w *British English*: motorway

### **uzupełnij zdania:**

1. When a country joins the European Union, it (assents, accedes, attains) to it.

2. This product does not (meet, follow, set) the EU safety standards.
3. A situation in which nobody loses is called a win-(wins, win, won) situation.

**odpowiedzi:**

1. accedes
2. meet
3. win

**Lesson 35**

**Who's a European?**

*Robert Bideleux (Reader in Politics at the University of Swansea):*

I would emphasise against those who see Christianity or Christendom as the core of Europe, that the Moslems of Albania or Bosnia-Herzegovina or other parts of the Balkans, even Turkey, are as entitled to see themselves as European as are the British or the French or the Germans. Being Moslem doesn't make you non-European, and that doesn't just apply to Bosnians or Albanians, Kosovars, it also applies to the large numbers of Moslem immigrants from outside Europe, from Asia or from parts of Africa.

All great civilisations have been multi-cultural rather than based on a single cultural identifier or marker and the plurality of their cultures, their diversity has always been the strength of great civilisations. Civilisations which lack this diversity tend to stagnate.

to emphasise	- podkreślać, położyć nacisk
Christianity	- chrześcijaństwo
Christendom	- chrześcijaństwo, świat chrześcijański
core	- rdzeń
Moslem	- Muzułmanin
to be entitled to	- być uprawnionym do czegoś
to apply	- <i>tu</i> : stosować się
multi-cultural	- wielokulturowy
to be based on	- być opartym na
identifier	- identyfikator
marker	- oznacznik
plurality	- pluralizm
diversity	- różnorodność
strength	- siła
to lack	- nie mieć, cierpieć na brak, brakować
to stagnate	- ulegać stagnacji

**objaśnienia:**

I would emphasise against those who...– chciałbym sprzeciwić się tym, którzy...

(NB: nie mówimy:

I would emphasise against – ale

I would emphasise that ...)

Christendom – czy znasz inne rzeczowniki zakończone na *-dom* (kingdom, wisdom, freedom ...?)

**uzupełnij zdania:**

1. All the people who live in Europe are (titled, entitled, enabled) to see themselves as European.
2. The word *Christianity* refers to religion, the word *Christendom* refers to the Christian (houses, rituals, countries) of the world.
3. He wanted to emphasise (for, against, that) those who saw Christians as the core of Europe were not right.

**odpowiedzi:**

1. entitled
2. countries
3. that

**Lesson 36**

**Regional identities**

*Vinyet Panyella (a poet and writer, former MP in the Catalan Parliament):*  
I am Spanish and Catalan.

*Jordi Carbonell (Catalan activist):*  
I am a Catalan and nothing else.

*Jordi Pujol (President of the coalition *Convergència i Unió*):*  
I am Catalan and a European. I am not Spanish.

*Salvador Giner (Professor of Sociology at the University of Barcelona):*  
The government in Spain is pro-European, and Spaniards on the whole are enthusiastic and pro-European, but for Catalans this is a matter of life and death. We feel that we have a guarantee, for peoples like the Catalans, that our rights to exist as a people with a language and with a tradition and with law and with our own history, will be respected. Of course, in this we may be a bit naive, because Europe is also run by nation states, and by governments, and we have a feeling, as I say often naive, that Europe will protect us.

*Ferran Requejo (Professor of Politics at the University of Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona):*  
Seen from Spain Europe has always meant a point of reference as a more liberal, more open minded, a more democratic society. And Catalan people usually fight for that. But I think that Catalan people have an additional reason to become pro-European, it's to try to safeguard their own national identity through the European Institutions.

identity	- tożsamość
Spanish	- Hiszpan, hiszpański
Catalan	- Katalończyk, kataloński

European	- Europejczyk, europejski
government	- rząd
Spaniard	- Hiszpan
on the whole	- ogólnie, w zasadzie, z reguły
guarantee	- gwarancja
right	- prawo
a people	- naród
law	- prawo, ustawa, przepis prawny
to respect	- szanować
naïve	- naiwny
to run	- rządzić, kierować
nation states	- państwa
to protect	- szanować
point of reference	- punkt odniesienia
open minded	- otwarty, wolny od uprzedzeń
society	- społeczeństwo
to safeguard	- chronić, strzec
national identity	- tożsamość narodowa

### objaśnienia:

this is a matter of life and death – to jest sprawa życia i śmierci

seen from Spain – widziany z Hiszpanii

Jestem Hiszpanem – można powiedzieć na dwa sposoby:

I am Spanish – albo

I am a Spaniard (rzadziej używane)

podobnie:

I am Polish

I am a Pole (rzadziej używane)

### uzupełnij zdania:

1. I am (Spaniard, Spanish, Spain).
2. Catalan people want to (safe, guard, safeguard) their own national identity through the European institutions.
3. Thank you for that, it's a very good point of (referral, referring, reference).

### odpowiedzi:

1. Spanish
2. safeguard
3. reference

## Lesson 37

### Supporting the regions

*Jordi Porta (runs one of the main NGOs in Barcelona):*

When you say sometimes to European Union, this is a problem for Catalonia, it would be very important that Europe recognize, for example, Catalan official

language – the answer is always the same. You must solve this problem inside in Spain, and after, come here. Not directly.

*Vinyet Panyella (a poet and writer, former MP in the Catalan Parliament):*

When you ask me if the European Union can help to preserve identity, I have to say clearly on that, “No”. Because the European Union is not for that at all. Identities is diversity and this is some kind of complication in bureaucracy and I am quite sure that they do not want to promote that.

*Ferran Requejo (Professor of Politics at the University of Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona):*

I think that we have to distinguish between the present and the future. The European Union is currently an organization based on states. Regions don't play any decisive role. What can happen in 50 years' time? Nobody knows.

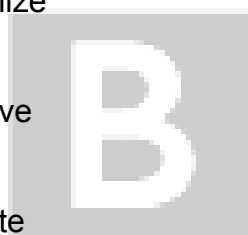
*Ignasi Guardans (MP in the Spanish Parliament, Madrid):*

Well, we don't see any difficulty with being Catalan, being Spaniards, for some of us, and being European at the same time, and it is just a question of how to deal with that, but it is not a contradiction.

to support  
to recognize

to solve  
directly  
to preserve  
identity  
diversity

to promote  
to distinguish  
currently  
to deal with sth  
a contradiction



- popierać  
- uznać

- rozwiązać  
- bezpośrednio  
- zachować  
- tożsamość  
- różnorodność

- popierać, działać na rzecz, sprzyjać  
- odróżnić, rozróżnić  
- obecnie  
- uporać się z czymś, poradzić sobie  
- sprzeczność



### **objaśnienia:**

to play a decisive role – odgrywać decydującą rolę

### **uzupełnij zdania:**

1. You have to distinguish (among, amongst, between) the present and the future.
2. The European Union is an organisation based (on, upon, within) states.
3. They do not know how to deal (in, with, about) this problem.

### **odpowiedzi:**

1. between
2. on
3. with

## Lesson 38

### Loyalty

*Robert Bideleux (Reader in Politics at the University of Swansea):*

You have to be able to sell the project to the people, and the way you do it is to say, 'Okay, we will protect you as citizens, we will protect your cultural identity, we believe in a multi-cultural Europe, and we will provide you with help for finding a new job if you lose your job as a result of the economic changes.

Given that it is a democratic system the leaders have to take the people along with them. There has to be an education programme and there have to be the social and cultural programmes that will convince people that they want to voluntarily go along with this project.

*Mark Pittaway (Lecturer in European Studies at the Open University):*

Well, I think you have to have a little more than persuading people that this is in their interests. I think, giving loyalty to a state or to a political system is very much about a gut feeling of loyalty. It is about sharing a feeling of a kind of common culture, a common set of principles and having a sense of patriotism about this thing called Europe. And at the moment, I think that the subdivisions, particularly the national subdivisions, command so much more loyalty, that it is going to take a prolonged programme of education to actually combat that.

loyalty	- lojalność
the project	- <i>tu</i> : projekt integracji europejskiej
to protect	- chronić, zabezpieczać
citizen	- obywatel
identity	- tożsamość
job	- praca
to convince	- przekonać
voluntarily	- ochotniczo, bez przymusu
to go along with sth	- zgodzić się na coś, przystać
to persuade	- perswadować, namawiać, przekonywać
gut	- bebec, brzuch, jelito
gut feeling	- instynktowne uczucie
to share	- dzielić
common	- wspólny
set of principles	- system zasad
subdivision	- dalszy podział, na mniejsze jednostki
national subdivisions	- podziały między krajami
to command loyalty	- cieszyć się/wzbudzać lojalność
prolonged	- przedłużający się
to combat	- zwalczyć

#### **objaśnienia:**

to provide sb with help – udzielić komuś pomocy

given that .... – wzięwszy pod uwagę, że...

the leaders have to take the people along with them – przywódcy muszą pociągnąć za sobą ludzi

**zauważ:**

to go along with sth – zgodzić się na coś, przystać  
They want the people to go along with the project

to take sb along with you - pociągnąć kogoś za sobą  
They have to take the people along with them

loyalty:

you have it

you give it

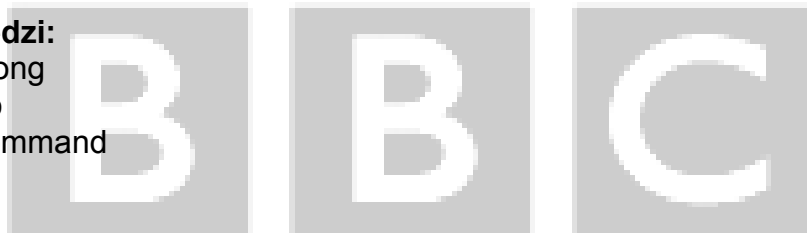
you command it

**uzupełnij zdania:**

1. The leaders must take the people (beside, by, along) with them.
2. They want them to (take, go, come) along with the project.
3. They want the European union to (order, command, direct) a lot more loyalty.

**odpowiedzi:**

1. along
2. go
3. command



**Lesson 39**

**Common identity**

*Mary Caldour (economist and social scientist, London School of Economics):*

For me a common European identity has to be a common political identity. The goal of Europe right from the beginning was to end war in Europe, and for me that's still the primary goal of a political identity for Europe. I'd like to see a Europe which was against intolerance, against racism, against exclusive nationalism and for the values of democracy.

*Jacques Myard, French parliamentarian:*

I think that we are wasting our time to build a centralized Europe with a political will and so on. I think Europe is diversity, it doesn't mean we don't have a common approach to certain problems, but I think it's even a dangerous policy to pursue such a goal.

*Boris Johnson, Conservative Member of Parliament:*

Peoples of Europe still have a touching loyalty to their own national governments and institutions and when they discover that those national governments and institutions no longer count vis-à-vis Brussels, then there will be recrimination and alarm and revolt.

identity	- tożsamość
goal	- cel
to end war	- zakończyć wojnę
primary	- główny, naczelny
exclusive	- wyłączny
value	- wartość
to waste time	- tracić/marnować czas
political will	- wola polityczna
diversity	- różnorodność
common approach	- wspólne podejście
to pursue a goal	- dążyć/zmierzać do celu
touching	- wzruszający
to count	- liczyć się
recrimination	- rekryminacje
revolt	- bunt, rewolta

**objaśnienia:**

right from the beginning – od samego początku

I'd like to see a Europe = a type of, a kind of Europe

we are wasting our time to build a centralized Europe – jest formą niepoprawną, lepiej powiedzieć:

we are wasting our time building a centralized Europe

albo

we are wasting our time trying to build a centralized Europe

a goal:

you pursue it

you achieve it

you attain it

**uzupełnij zdania:**

1. Your main goal is your (prime, primary, primacy) goal.
2. When you try to achieve a goal over a period of time, you (pursue, peruse, pursuit) it.
3. You are wasting your time (to try, try, trying) to build a centralized Europe with a political will.

**odpowiedzi:**

1. primary
2. pursue
3. trying

**Lesson 40**

**Unity and diversity**

*Stephen Castles (student on work placement at the EU):*

There's some basic ideas that every nation actually has about Europe. Really basic things that we just take for granted: capitalism, democracy, human rights, we fought for hundreds and hundreds of years and now there is, for the first time, this idea to take all these forces together and create something new, and that's European.

*Vox pop:*

I think that there can be kind of unity in diversity, I think we don't all have to be this one uniform umbrella Europe, where we're all European and nothing else. I think we can be Scots, we can be German, we can be English, we can be Irish, we could be British as well, within that.

basic ideas	- podstawowe idee
to take for granted	- uznać za oczywiste, należne, niedoceniąć
human rights	- prawa człowieka
to fight for sth	- walczyć o coś
force	- siła
to create	- tworzyć
unity	- jedność
diversity	- różnorodność
uniform	- jednakowy, taki sam

#### **objaśnienia:**

we don't all have to be this one uniform umbrella Europe – nie musimy być wszyscy jednakowi pod tym europejskim parasolem

uniform:

- jako rzeczownik znaczy: mundur
- jako przymiotnik znaczy: jednakowy, taki sam

#### **uzupełnij zdania:**

1. What are your (base, basic, ground) ideas that you have about Europe?
2. Don't take the ideas we have fought for (for, to, about) granted.
3. (Uniform, uniformity, unity) is the opposite of diversity.

#### **odpowiedzi:**

1. basic
2. for
3. uniformity

### **Lesson 41**

#### **Conflict and consensus**

*Bob Kelly (staff tutor in Social Sciences at the Open University):*

There is consensus or basic agreement throughout members of the European Union and throughout the peoples of the European Union in the sense of an aim for economic and political stability. As Jean Monet was arguing, one of the founding fathers, the aim was to make war impossible in Europe and I think that's one thing that all members and all the peoples of Europe would hold in common.

Some people in the European Union see Europe as a union of business. Whereas other, equally strong supporters of the European Union, have seen it as a great defender of workers' interests, as something moving towards a more social-democratic Europe.

Some members want more power to the European Union, more centralisation of power, not just a common currency, but perhaps a federal Europe, whereas others are very reluctant to envisage that development.

*Vox pop:*

We have different countries, all jockeying, all manoeuvring, all politicking, different people from around the European continent, talking their way through to that ultimate European objective, which is a consensus.

consensus	- konsensus, zgodna opinia, stanowisko ogółu
the peoples	- narody
stability	- stabilizacja
founding father	- założyciel, 'ojciec'
aim	- cel
impossible	- niemożliwy
to hold in common	- uznawać za wspólne
union of business	- związek sił biznesu
supporter	- zwolennik, sympatyk
defender	- obrońca
workers' interests	- interesy pracowników
to move towards	- zmierzać w kierunku
social-democratic	- socjaldemokratyczny
power	- władza
common currency	- wspólna waluta
reluctant	- niechętny
to envisage	- wyobrazić sobie, planować zrobienie czegoś, przewidzieć
development	- <i>tu:</i> dalszy rozwój wydarzeń
to jockey	- przepychać się
to manoeuvre	- manewrować
politicking	- politykowanie, politykierstwo
ultimate	- ostateczny
objective	- cel

#### **objaśnienia:**

consensus

- you reach a consensus on sth
- you have a consensus on sth

agreement

- you reach an agreement on sth
- you have an agreement on sth

lack of agreement = disagreement

to talk one's way through – utorować sobie drogę debatą, perswazją

**uzupełnij zdania:**

1. It is very difficult to (make, attain, reach) agreement on controversial matters.
2. Consensus is easy on matters that you (hug, hold, take) in common.
3. Some people see the European Union as a defender of (worker, worker's, workers') interests.

**odpowiedzi:**

1. reach
2. hold
3. workers'

**Lesson 42**

**Tradition and transformation**

*Bob Kelly (staff tutor in Social Sciences at the Open University):*

There are traditional national identities. We can see that in many members demanding or reasserting their own identity, the fear of the French, that somehow their language can be threatened by developments through European union. Some areas are reasserting tradition, such as in Catalonia, or even in Scotland where they are using membership of the European Union to re-establish, I suppose, traditions as well as maintaining traditions.

At the same time there is, undoubtedly, transformation taking place. We have the removal of barriers to travel, to trade, so people can set up businesses in very different parts of the European Union. We've got changes in technology that mean that communications are now very easy to establish between areas. We've got increased tourism. We've got increased movement of peoples in every sense between them.

transformation	- transformacja, przemiana
national identity	- tożsamość narodowa
to demand	- domagać się
to reassert	- umocnić, wzmocnić
fear	- obawa
to threaten	- zagrozić
developments	- rozwój wydarzeń
membership	- członkostwo
to re-establish	- ponownie utworzyć/założyć; <i>tu:</i> ugruntować
to maintain	- utrzymać
undoubtedly	- niewątpliwie

to take place	- odbywać się, mieć miejsce, zachodzić
removal	- zniesienie, usunięcie
to set up business	- założyć firmę/przedsiębiorstwo
to establish	- założyć, ustanowić, utworzyć, zaprowadzić
area	- rejon
increased	- zwiększony
movement of peoples	- <i>tu</i> : migracja ludności
in every sense	- pod każdym względem

### objaśnienia:

zauważ:

their language can be threatened by developments through European union (chodzi o europejskie więzi)

they are using membership of the European Union to re-establish, I suppose, traditions as well as maintaining traditions (chodzi o Unię Europejską)

traditions

- you establish them (ustanawiasz)
- you maintain them (utrzymujesz)
- you re-establish them (wznawiasz, umacniasz, ugruntowujesz)
- you reassert them (*też*: umacniasz, ugruntowujesz)

### uzupełnij zdania:

1. Catalonia wants to use its membership of the European Union to (regain, reassert, renew) its identity.
2. People will be able to set (up, down, in) businesses in various parts of the European Union.
3. We will see the removal of barriers (against, within, to) trade and tourism.

### odpowiedzi:

1. reassert
2. up
3. to

## Lesson 43

### Power without democracy

*Lord John Tomlinson (Member of the European Parliament):*

Well, I think that the European Union certainly represents power, and increasing power. And it's a process not without democracy but it's, possibly, with inadequacy of democracy, inadequate democratic structures, inadequate democratic control.

*Ula Sandbak (Danish Member of the European Parliament, member of the eurosceptic 'June' movement):*

Well, normally in a democracy there would be a division between the people who make the laws, between the executive power and between the Court of Justice; whereas in European legislation there is no such division. The Commission, who is

issuing the laws is also the executive power. And even the Court of Justice is making laws – for instance, it made the law that European laws take precedence over national laws, even if they break the national constitution.

*Helen Wallis (Lecturer in European Law, Sussex University):*

The European Union exercises power, but it's a participation model, not a democracy model. And the participation is skewed; it leaves some people in the know with influence, and too many outsiders.

power	- potęga, władza
increasing	- coraz większy, rosnący
inadequacy	- niedostatek, brak, niedoskonałość
inadequate	- niedostateczny, niewystarczający, niezadowalający
division	- podział
to make laws	- wydawać akty prawne
executive power	- władza wykonawcza
The European Court of Justice	- Europejski Trybunał Sprawiedliwości
legislation	- ustawodawstwo, legislacja
The European Commission	- Komisja Europejska
to issue laws	- wydawać akty prawne, uchylać ustawy
to take precedence over national laws	- mieć pierwszeństwo przed
to break the constitution	- prawo obowiązujące w państwie
to exercise power	- łamać konstytucję
participation	- sprawować/mieć/korzystać z władzy
skewed	- partycypacja, udział
people in the know	- wypaczony, przekrzywiony, skrzywiony
	- ludzie zorientowani i wtajemniczeni, którzy wiedzą o co chodzi
influence	- wpływ, wpływy
outsider	- outsider, człowiek niewtajemniczony, postronny

### **objaśnienia:**

law – prawo (w sensie ogólnym), akt prawny, ustawa, przepis

to make laws, to pass laws – wydawać akty prawne, ustawy

### **NB:**

powiemy raczej – to pass laws – aniżeli – to issue laws

it leaves some people in the know with influence, and too many outsiders – (nielicznym) wtajemniczonym daje wpływy i pozostawia zbyt wielu outsiderów

### **uzupełnij zdania:**

1. The legislative power (makes, publishes, enacts) laws.
2. The executive power (implements, issues, distributes) laws.
3. People who are in the (know, knowing, knew) have more information than the others.

### **odpowiedzi:**

1. makes
2. implements

### 3. know

#### **Lesson 44** **The EU today**

*Roy Jenkins (President of the European Commission in the 1970's):*  
When one considers the advantages that have come from European integration...I mean, Europe not only semi-destroyed itself and killed millions of its people, but in fact it blew the whole world apart and the fact that in a world which is quite often unstable still, Europe has made itself one of the most stable, secure, peaceful and prosperous areas in the whole world, it's not been a negligible achievement.

*Ian Taylor (Conservative Member of Parliament):*  
It's partly the great success of the European Economic Community and the European Union since the 1950's, that really helped win the Cold War against the Soviet Union. It increasingly became obvious to those living in the east, and even in the Soviet Union, that communism was economically chaotic, incompetent and disastrous. And Western Europe was successful, cared for its citizens, had welfare. And had technological developments and innovation which reinvigorated the society and the economies.

*Richard Heffernan (Lecturer in Government and Politics at the Open University):*  
Well, I think the European Union is quite a remarkable construct, a political construct the like of which we've not seen in the history of liberal democracy. It's not necessarily a state, but it is an international confederation of states, all of whom are now operating on one common agenda. So, it's a quite extraordinary institution.

to consider	- rozważać
advantage	- korzyść
to blow apart	- rozerwać na strzępki
unstable	- niestabilny
stable	- stabilny
secure	- bezpieczny
peaceful	- spokojny, pokojowy
prosperous	- dobrze prosperujący
area	- rejon, obszar
negligible	- nieistotny, bez znaczenia
achievement	- osiągnięcie
the Cold War	- zimna wojna
to become obvious	- stać się oczywistym
increasingly	- coraz bardziej, w coraz większym stopniu
incompetent	- nieudolny, niekompetentny
disastrous	- katastrofalny
successful	- odnoszący sukcesy
to care	- opiekować się
citizen	- obywatel

welfare	- system opieki społecznej, dobro
technological developments	- postęp technologiczny
to reinvigorate	- wzmocnić, ożywić
remarkable	- zadziwiający, nadzwyczajny
construct	- konstrukcja, twór
state	- państwo
confederation of states	- konfederacja państw
common agenda	- wspólny program

**objaśnienia:**

Europe semi-destroyed itself – Europa na w pół/prawie się zniszczyła

**The European Economic Community (EEC) – Europejska Wspólnota Gospodarcza**

a political construct the like of which we've not seen in the history of liberal democracy – twór polityczny, któremu podobnych nie widzieliśmy w całej historii liberalnej demokracji

to operate on one common agenda – działać według jednego planu/programu

**uzupełnij zdania:**

1. The two world wars blew the world (aside, apart, away).
2. The countries are now operating on one common (outline, scheme, agenda).
3. Financial help that is provided by the government to those who need it is called (welfare, wealthy, well-being).

**odpowiedzi:**

1. apart
2. agenda
3. welfare

**Lesson 45**

**EU – the future**

*Jan Repa (BBC):*

Do we eventually see Europe as a united states, as the world's greatest superpower, or do we see it as an association of little countries. We may end up with Europe pulling itself apart. In other words, theoretically, you might have a tighter-knit block, let's say – hypothetically, consisting of Germany and the neighbouring countries, and then a looser block of countries that are interested in preserving a greater degree of national sovereignty and also greater freedom to cut their own deals and project their own national interests overseas, in Africa, Asia and so on.

*Richard Heffernan (Lecturer in Government and Politics at the Open University):*

I think there's no endgame. It's probably best for our purposes to concentrate on studying the Europe of today, rather than looking in our crystal ball and trying to discover the Europe of tomorrow.

*Jan Repa (BBC):*

And I don't think there's any one blueprint that you can just impose and say, "Right, that's it". I think it will be an evolving process and it's quite difficult to see, actually, what the end result will be.

*Ian Taylor (Conservative Member of Parliament):*

There is no blueprint for Europe. Now, that means that we're experimenting all the time.

future	- przyszłość
eventually	- w końcu, ostatecznie ( <i>nie</i> : ewentualnie)
united	- zjednoczony
state	- stan
superpower	- mocarstwo, potęga
association	- związek, stowarzyszenie
to end up with	- skończyć (się) na czymś
to pull oneself apart	- rozerwać się
tighter-knit block	- bardziej zwarty blok
to consist of	- składać się z
neighbouring	- sąsiadujący, ościenny
looser	- luźniejszy
to preserve	- zachować
degree	- stopień
national sovereignty	- suwerenność państwowa
to cut deals	- ubijać interesy
to project interests	- eksponować interesy
overseas	- za granicą
endgame	- etap końcowy, finałowy
purpose	- cel
crystal ball	- szklana/kryształowa kula
to discover	- odkryć
blueprint	- plan, projekt, strategia
to impose	- narzucić
evolving	- przechodzący ewolucję, ewoluujący, rozwijający się
the end result	- wynik/rezultat końcowy

**objaśnienia:**

interest - interes

*np.*

national interests – interesy narodowe

regional interests – interesy regionów

deal – interes, układ, porozumienie

*np.*

to make a deal, to cut a deal, to strike a deal – ubić interes, zawrzeć umowę, dojść do porozumienia

the Europe of today – Europa terażniejszości/dnia dzisiejszego

the Europe of tomorrow – Europa jutra

**uzupełnij zdania:**

1. We may end up (in, with, at) Europe pulling itself apart.
2. Some countries want to project their own national (business, interests, deals) overseas.
3. I want to (cut, slice, slash) my own deals.

**odpowiedzi:**

1. with
2. interests
3. cut

