

**Ministério das Relações Exteriores  
Instituto Rio Branco**

**Concurso de Admissão à Carreira de Diplomata**

em 3 de julho de 2005

**Prova de Inglês**

EXAMINADORES:

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**1 – TRANSLATION**

**(Total: 30 marks)**

Translate the following text adapted from an article by Pedro Gómez-Valadés in *La Insignia* (13<sup>th</sup> June, 2005) into English:

**Europa, sem pressa, mas sem pausa**

Nunca ninguém disse que o processo de construção europeia fosse fácil. Superar séculos de confrontos habitualmente resolvidos por via militar não é exatamente o melhor alicerce para a construção. Ou talvez sim. A unidade política da Europa é um caminho sem retorno. Desenham-se muito claro os espaços geopolíticos que serão os pivôs da política mundial no século atual: os Estados Unidos; a China, onde todos os algarismos são astronômicos, com o seu disciplinado mercado de trabalho e pujante aparelho político-militar a serviço de uma expansão econômica de que só começamos a vislumbrar o começo; a Índia, país que entrou devagar pela porta dos fundos, já em todas as apostas das potências do século; e a União Europeia.

É evidente que os golpes contundentes que a Constituição europeia acaba de sofrer por parte da cidadania francesa e holandesa, obrigam a fazer uso daquela máxima que dizia: “Estamos em guerra, temos que refletir”. Claro que não se trata de um conflito bélico, mas o tremor que há duas semanas sacode os campos da Europa bem merece uma reflexão.

O medo da eventual entrada da Turquia mobilizou, lamentavelmente, mais do que qualquer outro argumento tirado do próprio texto constitucional em debate. A xenofobia foi um dos pilares da contestação ao Tratado Constitucional europeu.

Não é fácil, lógico e evidente, assumir que um dos efeitos irreversíveis e talvez um dos mais (permitam-me a licença poética) formosos da globalização é a mestiçagem de culturas, nações e raças. A Europa, berço da civilização, não deve ser mais do que exemplo de integração. Não será fácil. Contudo, dar por morta a Constituição Europeia não deixa de ser só uma manchete de jornal. Mais nada. A sensatez obriga a abrir um tempo de reflexão de que, tenho certeza, sairão soluções. Para já, o democrático é continuar com o processo de ratificação dos diferentes estados. Interrompê-lo agora seria um precedente gravíssimo, um fato quase orwelliano. "Todos os Estados da Europa são iguais, mas uns são mais iguais do que outros".

## 2 - SUMMARY & TEXTUAL EXERCISES

(Total: 25 marks)

- A. Read the following text, adapted from a report by Richard Gott, in *The Guardian* (Saturday, 11<sup>th</sup> June, 2005) and complete the exercises at the end of it. (10 marks)
- B. Summarise the text, **in your own words**, in up to 200 words. (15 marks)

### **A seismic upheaval among Latin America's Indians** *The crisis in Bolivia has put the continent's balance of power in question*

When the Spanish conquistadors arrived on the immense plains of the westerly part of Bolivia, they paused at a settlement not far from the rim of a great canyon. At 12,000ft they found it too cold, and they made their permanent base in the relative shelter of the slopes below and founded the city of La Paz.

The village of El Alto on the high plateau, which 30 years ago was home only to the capital's international airport, has now become a huge metropolis of nearly a million Indians, driven there over the past 20 years by the irresistible force of neo-liberal economics. The prevailing economic system, devised by US economists in the 1980s, succeeded in destroying the country's agricultural system and its embryonic industries, and closing down the state-owned tin mines – once the source of the wealth of Spain. This predictable disaster brought hundreds of thousands of workless but highly politicised families to live at the gates of the capital city, from where they have been able to hold it to \_\_\_\_\_ at will. Others migrated to the lower regions of the country, to the Chapare, to grow the profitable crop of coca leaf, the base of cocaine.

The demands of the Indians have been uncompromisingly radical. They make no mention of work or food, education or health. They have only two specific requests: a new constitution that would recognise the part that they should play in the government of the country (in which they form more than 60% of the population of 8 million), and the return to the hands of the state of the country's reserves of oil and gas.

Oil was nationalised in Bolivia first in 1937, a year before the Mexican wells were expropriated, and again in 1970. The shell of the state company, YPFB, still exists, and most Bolivians remain implacably \_\_\_\_\_ to foreign ownership, but private oil companies have kept coming back. When immense reserves of natural gas were discovered in the 1990s, some 50 trillion cubic feet at the last estimate, Bolivia became ever more attractive to external predators, its reserves second \_\_\_\_\_ to those of Venezuela.

The government and the companies (British Gas and Spain's Repsol among them) were keen to get the gas out of the ground and down to the coast, to be shipped off to California. Others, notably the spokesmen for the Indian majority, thought that the gas might be better used to fuel Bolivia's own industrial development. The government's attempts to secure the export of the gas through Chile, Bolivia's traditional enemy, ended in October 2003 when violent protests in El Alto led to the overthrow of President Sánchez de Losada, Bolivia's last elected president. This week's events have been an almost exact replay, with the resignation of the stop-gap president, Carlos Mesa, after prolonged Indian demonstrations and roadblocks had made the country ungovernable by his regime. Something new was required.

The chief emerging protagonist in the next stage of Bolivia's drama is Evo Morales, an Aymara Indian from the high plateau who became the organiser of the coca growers in the Chapare, in the headwaters of the Amazon. From this base of desperate landless peasants and politicised former tin miners, he has become a national figure, allying the socialist rhetoric of the traditional Bolivian left with the fresh language of the indigenous population, now mobilised and angry.

Morales leads the Movement Towards Socialism, and is an outspoken supporter of Castro's Cuba. He is also a favourite son of Venezuela's Hugo Chávez, whose wider ambition has been to replicate the revolution of Simón Bolívar, whose name is immortalised in that of Bolivia. The Americans have accused Chávez of providing Morales with assistance at the presidential election in 2002 (in which he came second), and this would hardly be unusual since all parties in Bolivia depend on external patrons, whether from Europe or the US. Morales has certainly taken a leaf from Chávez's book in demanding the holding of a constitutional assembly to draft a new constitution. This was Chávez's triumph in 1999, modernising and radicalising the country with a single blow before the forces of opposition could mobilise to prevent him.

The crisis came to a head as the Congress met to accept President Mesa's resignation in the old colonial capital of Sucre (away from the protesters in La Paz). According to the Constitution, the presidency would then fall to Hormando Vaca Díaz, the president of the Senate and a wealthy white landowner from the lowland eastern region, centred on the city of Santa Cruz. The area around Santa Cruz is the principal wealth-producer of the country, with the soya fields of agribusiness on the surface, and oil and gas underground. This is the land of more recent white settlers who have been opposed to the political emergence of the Indian majority in the western high lands, and to the Indian resistance that has emerged to challenge them in the lowlands. Elite white groups have been asking for autonomy – some even argue for independence – and have unilaterally called for a referendum on this issue in August.

Vaca Díaz had the support of the largest parties in Congress but was unacceptable to the Indians and, under pressure from the leaders of the armed forces and the Catholic Church, he declined the task. So too did Mario Cossio, the second constitutional choice. It fell to the third in line, Eduardo Rodríguez, president of the Supreme Court and a man without political affiliation, to take up the challenge. Fresh elections will be held before the end of the year, and Morales's demand for a constituent assembly is on the agenda.

If Morales eventually emerges as Bolivia's elected president, the relation of forces in the countries of the Andes will be changed, since comparable indigenous movements in neighbouring countries are also demanding their proper share of power.

## A. TEXTUAL EXERCISES

(2 marks per correct answer)

a) Fill in the **three** gaps in the text above with an appropriate word or phrase.

I. “This predictable disaster brought hundreds of thousands of workless but highly politicised families to live at the gates of the capital city, from where they have been able to hold it to \_\_\_\_\_ at will.”

II. “The shell of the state company, YPFB, still exists, and most Bolivians remain implacably \_\_\_\_\_ to foreign ownership, but private oil companies have kept coming back.”

III. “When immense reserves of natural gas were discovered in the 1990s, some 50 trillion cubic feet at the last estimate, Bolivia became ever more attractive to external predators, its reserves second \_\_\_\_\_ to those of Venezuela.”

b) Choose the **most appropriate** substitute for the words or phrases underlined:

I. Stop-gap: “... *the resignation of the stop-gap president ...*”

- (1) replacement
- (2) dithering
- (3) transient
- (4) interim
- (5) filler

II. Shell: “*The shell of the state company, YPFB, still exists...*”

- (1) core
- (2) husk
- (3) wealth
- (4) trappings
- (5) wherewithal

## B. SUMMARY

(15 marks)

Summarise the text, **in your own words**, in up to 200 words.

### 3 – COMPOSITION

(Total 45 marks)

Read the following editorial from the *Washington Post*, 20<sup>th</sup> March, 2005, and in the light of it and of the text by Richard Gott in section 2, **comment on the geopolitical, social, and economic issues raised as they affect South American integration.**

#### A THREAT TO LATIN DEMOCRACY

Another Latin American democracy is on the verge of crumbling under pressure from leftist populism. The trouble comes this time in Bolivia, where a democratic president and Congress face a paralyzing mix of strikes and roadblocks by a radical movement opposed to foreign investment and free-market capitalism. The insurgents, who claim to represent the country's indigenous population, drove one democratically elected president from office 18 months ago; now they are working on his successor, Carlos Mesa, who has searched valiantly but unsuccessfully for compromise. The populists ride a leftist wave of momentum in Latin America and have the rhetorical, and possibly material, support of the region's self-styled "Bolivarian" revolutionary, Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez. The democrats could use some outside help, from their neighbors and the United States.

Accounts of political crises in Andean countries such as Bolivia sometimes portray a poor and disenfranchised indigenous majority pitted against an ethnically European and mestizo elite. The facts tell a different story in Bolivia. Mr. Mesa, polls show, has the support of two-thirds of his compatriots, while the party leading the protests, the Movement Toward Socialism, has never received more than 21 percent of the vote in an election. Nor is it the case that Bolivia's experiment with free-market policies in the 1990s failed to help the poor. Per capita incomes rose by 20 percent in the second half of the decade. Thanks to private foreign investment, significantly more Bolivians gained access to water, sewage systems and electricity.

The populist minority, led by former coca farmer Evo Morales, is bent on using force to reverse that progress. Already it has effectively blocked natural gas exports to the United States. Its current strikes are aimed at stopping further foreign investment in that industry through confiscatory taxes and reversing the privatization of other industries. Mr. Mesa, swearing off the use of force to break up the roadblocks, has countered with democratic political

tactics: first a national referendum on a compromise gas policy, then an accord with Congress on political and economic reforms. Last week, in desperation, he proposed that his own term as president be cut short and new elections be held in August; Congress rejected the proposal, and Mr. Mesa later announced he would stay on. But the opposition still threatens to renew a blockade that is devastating one of the hemisphere's poorest economies and prompting talk of secession in Bolivia's relatively prosperous and pro-capitalist eastern provinces.

All of this is good news for Mr. Chavez, who along with Cuba's Fidel Castro dreams of a new bloc of Latin "socialist" (i.e., undemocratic) regimes that will join with like-minded states such as Iran, Libya and China to oppose the United States. Bolivia's neighbors, including Brazil, Argentina and Chile, ought to be alarmed by this trend; but though their own leftist governments have expressed support for Mr. Mesa they have refrained from more concerted action -- such as demanding that Mr. Chavez cease his meddling. The State Department issued a statement last week expressing "support for the people of Bolivia and a peaceful democratic process." If there is a deeper U.S. policy to head off the breakdown of democracy in Latin America, there isn't much sign of it.