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SUJET :

**Leçons à tirer de la guerre en Ukraine : quelle souveraineté
pour l'Union européenne (défense, économie, sécurité alimentaire) ?**

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1. EU leaders announce intention to collectively rearm in face of Putin threat

The Guardian, 11 March 2022

EU leaders have announced their intention to collectively rearm and become autonomous in food, energy and military hardware in a Versailles declaration that described Russia's war as "a tectonic shift in European history".

At a summit in the former royal palace, the 27 heads of state and government said on Friday that the invasion of Ukraine had shown the urgent need for the EU to take responsibility for its own security and to rid itself of dependencies on others.

Speaking at a press conference in the palace's Galerie des Batailles, in which France's military achievements are celebrated in painting and sculpture, France's Emmanuel Macron said the Versailles treaty of 1919 had divided Europe but that today leaders were uniting. He described Russia's aggression as a "tragic turning point".

"We can see how our food, our energy, our defence are all issues of sovereignty," he said. "We want to be open to the world but we want to choose our partners and not depend on anybody."

He added: "The Versailles declaration is linked to the fact that sovereignty in Europe, which might have been thought of by some as a slogan or a French fantasy, is seen by all today as crucial."

Macron defended the decision not to offer fast-track EU membership for Ukraine, which was criticised overnight by the Ukrainian president, Volodymyr Zelenskiy. "The answer is no," Macron said of the request from the war-stricken country, but he added that the EU was mobilising all its economic power to help the Ukrainian government and that the "European path" was open.

Lithuania's president, Gitanas Nausėda, said there was a "flavour of disappointment" to the decision for a number of EU member states but that the bloc would return to the issue.

The Versailles declaration was said to be the "initiation" of European defence by Charles Michel, the European Council president.

The leaders agreed to "invest more and better in defence capabilities and innovative technologies" by substantially increasing defence expenditures and through tighter cooperation and coordination of their armed forces and procurement. While EU member states spend more than three times the Russian defence budget, there are limited tie-ups and multiple overlaps in capabilities.

The European Commission has been given a new role to find weaknesses in Europe's defences and to advise on investment.

Macron said Olaf Scholz's decision to set aside €100bn (£84bn) for defence and Denmark's decision to put its opt-out on EU security mechanisms to a referendum showed the seriousness of the moment. The EU is also doubling its funding of military equipment destined for Ukraine to €1bn.

"About 10 days ago, Germany decided to make historical investments and Denmark made a historic choice deciding to ask the people if they want to come back to the European defence and security project," Macron said. "Everywhere you look historic choices are being made."

A deadline of 2027 has been set for freeing the EU from dependency on Russian gas, oil and coal. In 2021, the EU imported 155bn cubic metres of natural gas from Russia, accounting for about 45% of its gas imports and close to 40% of the bloc's total gas consumption.

Ursula von der Leyen, the European Commission president, said the commission would produce proposals by mid-May on how to achieve the target. In order to prepare for next winter, plans will also be made to coordinate European countries' fragmented network of gas stocks. Von der Leyen said in future underground stocks would have to be filled to at least 90% by the start of October each year.

Macron and Scholz are due to speak to Vladimir Putin in what the French president said would be a "demanding dialogue", with the EU threatening tougher economic sanctions should Russia's president make a move against Kyiv, the Ukrainian capital.

Shortly after leaders left Versailles, a new round of measures was announced by the G7, with Von der Leyen citing the failure to respect agreements over humanitarian corridors as being a motivating factor.

Russia is being denied most-favoured-nation status for its markets under World Trade Organization rules, which will mean tariffs being imposed on its goods, and Moscow risks having its representatives thrown out of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

After some resistance from Italy, the EU is also banning exports of any luxury goods to Russia, "as a direct blow to the Russian elite", Von der Leyen said.

"Those who sustain Putin's war machine should no longer be able to enjoy their lavish lifestyle while bombs fall on innocent people in Ukraine," she added.

The EU will no longer import iron and steel goods from the Russian Federation and there will be a ban on European investments across Russia's energy sector.

2. EU leaders agree to ban majority of Russian oil imports

The Financial Times, 31 May 2022

EU leaders have struck a deal to ban most Russian oil imports as they seek to deprive Russian president Vladimir Putin of revenues to fund his war in Ukraine. The embargo, which was agreed after weeks of difficult negotiations, will include oil and petroleum products but contains a temporary exemption for oil delivered from Russia by pipeline. This was intended to grant Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic extra time to wean themselves off crude oil supplies from Russia. The agreement signed late on Monday evening paved the way for the EU to enact a heavily delayed sixth package of sanctions, which includes measures to hit Russian banks and individuals. The deal followed a stand-off on the oil embargo between the European Commission and Hungary, which complained Brussels was failing to consider the country's energy security needs given its reliance on the Russian Druzhba pipeline. [...] The ban covers seaborne oil purchases, which make up about two-thirds of Europe's imports from Russia. In addition, pledges from Germany and Poland to stop oil imports via the northern part of the Druzhba pipeline mean that the ban is expected to cover 90 per cent of Russian imports by the end of the year. [...] Keeping pipelines out of any initial embargo was a crucial demand for Hungary, which had argued that a ban would put its economy at risk because of its dependence on Russian crude. Viktor Orbán, Hungary's prime minister, also secured measures to ensure that Budapest could still obtain Russian oil from other sources if there was an "accident" with Druzhba, which crosses Ukraine.

Asked about the length of the temporary carve-out, Ursula von der Leyen, commission president, said it was "very clear" that member states would revert to this topic. Croatia, she said, could expand the capacity of its Adria pipeline, which runs from the Adriatic Sea, to provide supplies of crude to Hungary. She added that it was helpful to offer extra time to Hungary so the country could "really switch off" Russian oil.

The partial ban risks distorting competition in the EU oil market, with refineries connected to pipelines from Russia enjoying a price advantage. The price of Russian oil has fallen sharply as European traders have shunned the country's seaborne crude. Russian Urals crude is trading at about \$93 a barrel, compared with \$120 for Brent, the international oil benchmark. While Russian oil delivered via Druzhba may not carry such a big discount, depending on how contracts are structured, Hungarian oil group Mol has said it has enjoyed "skyrocketing" margins for its refineries since March because of the "widening Brent-Ural spread". [...]

The conclusions from the summit said member states would need to ensure the final sanctions package, which will be settled by EU ambassadors in the coming days, provided for a "well-functioning EU Single Market, fair competition, solidarity among Member States and a level playing field". [...] Brussels proposed the embargo on buying Russian oil in early May, underlining the EU's difficulties in finding a way to increase its punishment on Moscow while not damaging parts of the European economy that depend on Russian energy. The EU has already banned Russian coal but has exempted gas from sanctions. Gazprom, the Russian state-owned energy company, has nevertheless cut supplies to Poland, the Netherlands and Bulgaria for refusing to pay for gas in roubles.

3. Russia's war on Ukraine: EU adopts sixth package of sanctions against Russia

European Commission, Press Release. 3 June 2022

The European Commission welcomes the adoption of the sixth package of restrictive measures against Russia. Sanctions are among the EU's most visible, direct and powerful responses to Russia's brutal and unprovoked attack on Ukraine, including systemic violence and atrocities against the civilian population. This package also imposes further sanctions against Belarus considering its involvement in this aggression. Together with the previous five packages, the sanctions adopted today are unprecedented and designed to further increase economic pressure on Russia and undermine its ability to wage its war on Ukraine. Like with previous sanctions packages, they have been coordinated with international partners.

Today's package contains a complete import ban on all Russian seaborne crude oil and petroleum products. This covers 90% of our current oil imports from Russia. The ban is subject to certain transition periods to allow the sector and global markets to adapt, and a temporary exemption for pipeline crude oil to ensure that Russian oil is phased out in an orderly fashion. This will allow the EU and its partners to secure alternative supplies and minimises the impact on global oil prices.

As regards export restrictions, today's package includes restrictions on chemicals that could be used in manufacturing chemical weapons.

Beyond sanctions, the EU has made it clear that reducing our dependence on energy imports from Russia is an urgent imperative. The Commission adopted its REPowerEU Plan on 18 May 2022 to end dependence on Russian fossil fuels as soon as possible and to tackle the climate crisis.

Based on a proposal by the High Representative, the EU has also today listed high-ranking military officers and other individuals who committed war crimes in Bucha and who are responsible for the inhuman siege of the city of Mariupol. It also includes entities involved in the military sector, and manufacturing equipment and software, used in Russia's aggression against Ukraine. The new listings include political, propaganda and business figures, and individuals with close ties to the Kremlin. [...]

4. The true value of European sovereignty

European Council on Foreign Relations, 25 March 2022

Putin's invasion of Ukraine has underlined the importance of European sovereignty. The EU should now invest boldly in its military capabilities, cyber-defences, energy independence, and economic resilience.

On the morning of 24 February, we woke up to a different Europe. Russian President Vladimir Putin's war of aggression against Ukraine has shattered the European security order. But the past few days have seen the international community, NATO, and the European Union stand firmly by Ukraine's side – with the Ukrainian struggle for democracy and self-determination guiding their response.

The West's recent packages of sanctions on Russia and arms deliveries to Ukraine are an unambiguous response to Putin's ruthlessness. He has encountered a united West. And instead of a timid and divided Europe, he is confronted with a union that is determined and quick to act. Putin's cruelty has only succeeded in showing Europeans how valuable this union is – for their peace, freedom, democracy, and prosperity.

However, the EU now needs to invest in its strategic sovereignty, its ability to act, and its resilience. It should pay particular attention to the following four areas.

For the EU, an important lesson of this war will be that these investments need to happen quickly

Firstly, the EU needs to increase its military capabilities for the purposes of defence and deterrence. But the Union should not make the mistake of investing solely at the national level. On the contrary, the aim should be to create as many synergies as possible through joint procurement and with a focus on interoperability. To do so, EU member states should jointly identify where their military capabilities are lacking, by building on the ongoing Strategic Compass initiative and the Coordinated Annual Review on Defence. The implementation of the resulting measures should be collaborative and should not merely address national capability gaps. The effort would produce a European arms industry that would require common export controls. These controls would be based on the position the union adopted more than ten years ago, during the previous French presidency of the Council of the European Union.

Secondly, the EU needs to invest in its security in the cyber domain. For years, Russian trolls have engaged in cyber-warfare using disinformation, fake news, and even deepfakes. The war on Ukraine is no exception. Russian actors are trying to weaken Ukrainian society with disinformation and attacks on digital infrastructure. Therefore, the EU needs to invest heavily in its defences against hybrid threats and in the technological independence of the union's digital infrastructure.

Thirdly, energy policy is security policy. Therefore, the EU should allocate funding to enable a move towards energy independence. Europe's dependence on fossil fuel imports means that it is vulnerable to blackmail. And Putin is using revenues from gas and oil exports to EU member states to finance his invading army. For the EU to establish its energy sovereignty, it will need to invest in renewables, green hydrogen, and rapid industrial decarbonisation. This is another process that will be quicker if member states work together. Therefore, it will be necessary to increase investment in transnational energy infrastructure and the green transformation of industry.

Finally, while Putin's war has unpredictable economic costs for the EU, it is certain to cause financial damage to many member states, companies, and citizens. If the union is truly serious about its sovereignty, it should be able to mobilise financial support in exceptional

circumstances such as these. For example, it could employ further packages of sanctions or punitive tariffs on Russia. And European sovereignty requires joint efforts to safeguard access to critical raw materials and global supply chains. This would help to strengthen the resilience of the single market and facilitate decisive action by EU leaders.

For the EU, an important lesson of this war will be that these investments need to happen quickly. This would also send a signal to rivals such as China that the EU is not only an economic power – it is also a geopolitical actor that knows how to use its strengths to assert its values and interests.

A sovereign and safe Europe will not come for free. The EU needs to invest vigorously in a capable and defensible union – and it needs to do so now.

Franziska Brantner is an ECFR board member and has been a member of the Bundestag since 2013. In 2021 she was appointed parliamentary state secretary at the Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Climate Action.

5. Russia's war on Ukraine: Impact on food security and EU response

European Parliament Research Service, 11 April 2022

Russia's unprovoked invasion of Ukraine, a country known as the 'breadbasket of Europe', is raising fears of a global food crisis, further exacerbating existing food security challenges worldwide. Much depends on the response of the international community, including the EU, to a number of rapidly evolving scenarios.

Impact on global food supplies and food security

There is widespread international concern that Russia's war will provoke a global food crisis similar to, or worse than, that faced in 2007 and 2008. The war comes at a time when the global food system was already struggling to feed its growing population in a sustainable way, under the pressure caused by climate change and the Covid-19 pandemic.

Russia and Ukraine are key agricultural players, together exporting nearly 12 % of food calories traded globally. They are major providers of basic agro-commodities, including wheat, maize and sunflower oil, and Russia is the world's top exporter of fertilisers.

Several regions are highly dependent on imports from these two countries for their basic food supply. Russia and Ukraine, combined, supply over 50 % of cereal imports in North Africa and the Middle East, while Eastern African countries import 72 % of their cereals from Russia and 18 % from Ukraine.

The war's impact on global food supply will depend on its duration and the evolution of various scenarios, centred on three factors:

- a significant reduction in exports and production of essential commodities from both countries, caused by the war and not the economic sanctions imposed on Russia, which, intentionally, did not target the agricultural sector. Overall, the European Commission estimates that 'up to 25 million tonnes of wheat would need to be substituted to meet worldwide food needs in the current and the next season';
- a global spike in prices of food supplies and inputs needed for agri-food production (fertilisers and energy), which were already at record levels before the war;
- the international response to the above, which could either amplify the effects of the crisis (mainly by uncoordinated export bans or speculative measures) or mitigate them (applying lessons learnt from the 2007-2008 food crisis). A number of countries, other than Russia and Ukraine, have already imposed or announced their intention to impose some control over exports of essential agricultural commodities, including Egypt, Argentina, Indonesia, Serbia, Turkey and, in the EU, Hungary.

Expected impact on EU food security

Food availability is not currently at stake in the EU. The block is largely self-sufficient in key agricultural products, as well as in most animal products. However, the EU is a considerable net importer of specific products that may be difficult to substitute in the short term, such as sunflower oil and seafood. Moreover, the crisis has exposed the dependency of EU agricultural production on a number of key imported inputs: energy, animal feed and feed additives, and also agricultural fertilisers. The EU's vulnerability to market distortions in fertiliser trade might be particularly acute, since fertilisers represent 18 % of input costs for arable crops. The EU relies on Belarus and Russia for 59 % of its potassium fertiliser imports, while 31 % of EU nitrogen fertiliser imports (for which the natural gas price is the main factor) come from Russia. Furthermore, food affordability for low-income households, already affected by the pandemic,

will be further jeopardised. Already in 2020, 8.6 % of the overall EU population were unable to afford a meal with meat, fish or a vegetarian equivalent every second day. [...]

Food security at the top of the EU political agenda: Swift EU responses

The EU leaders' 10-11 March Versailles declaration urged the Commission to present options to address the rising food and input prices and enhance global food security in the light of Russia's war. Drawing on lessons learned from the pandemic, the Commission swiftly presented a package of measures. These were set out in a 23 March communication 'Safeguarding food security and reinforcing the resilience of food systems, including short-term and medium-term proposals, at both EU and Member State level. Most measures can be implemented within existing instruments, mainly through the common agricultural policy (CAP). In parallel, the Commission announced the postponement of two highly-anticipated Green Deal legislative proposals: on the sustainable use of pesticides and nature restoration targets in the EU.

On 24 March 2022, the European Parliament adopted a comprehensive resolution calling for an 'urgent EU action' plan to ensure food security inside and outside the EU in light of the Russian invasion of Ukraine, supporting many actions proposed in the Commission's package. Members emphasised the need to maintain security of food supplies, in both the EU and vulnerable countries, when analysing the objectives set in the biodiversity and 'farm to fork' strategies. Parliament also called for safe food corridors to and from Ukraine to deliver aid and goods.

6. How Europe Can Achieve Energy Independence From Russia

Newsweek, 9 March 2022

The ongoing Russian invasion of Ukraine has brought renewed focus to the fact that European countries are heavily reliant on Russia for their energy needs, importing huge amounts of natural gas from the country.

The European Union buys around 40 percent of its natural gas needs from Russia, along with 27 percent of its oil and 46 percent of its coal, but the bloc has announced intentions to end its dependence on Russia.

On Tuesday, EU officials said the bloc would implement a plan to gain energy independence from Moscow "well before 2030" and cut gas imports from Russia by two-thirds this year.

European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen said in a statement: "We must become independent from Russian oil, coal and gas."

"We simply cannot rely on a supplier who explicitly threatens us," she said.

Experts who spoke to Newsweek suggested that Europe could achieve energy independence by focusing on the transition to renewable energy and by adopting policies that emphasized energy sources that can be produced in the EU rather than abroad.

Rapid Growth of Renewables

Robert Kaufmann is a professor in the Earth and Environment Department at Boston University whose research focuses on global climate change, world oil markets and land-use changes. He told Newsweek that Europe should move quickly to develop renewable sources of energy.

"Europe can reduce its dependence on Russia for oil and natural gas by accelerating its efforts to reduce carbon emissions," Kaufmann said.

"Europe uses natural gas to generate electricity and heat homes and can reduce these uses by supporting the rapid growth of solar capacity and wind power. These technologies reduce the need to burn natural gas to generate electricity.

"And the electricity generated by solar and wind can be used to power heat pumps—above and below ground). These technologies can heat buildings more efficiently and at lower cost than burning natural gas," Kaufmann said.

Kaufmann also noted that the electricity generated by solar and wind power can be used to power electric cars.

"This reduces the need for crude oil from Russia," he said.

Made in EU

Philip Walsh, professor of entrepreneurship and strategy at Ryerson University in Toronto and principal investigator at the university's Center for Urban Energy, told Newsweek that the EU's strategy of sourcing energy from Russia was mainly motivated by economics.

That strategy was based on the idea that "production, transportation and delivery costs of crude oil and natural gas would be lower because large pipelines could be constructed from major oil and gas fields in Russia to the consuming markets in the EU."

Walsh warned that a focus on renewable energy could come up short.

"The EU has been focusing lately on renewables as an energy independence solution to fossil fuels but their reliability to meet energy demand has either not been developed or has suffered from the intermittent nature of wind and solar," Walsh said.

Walsh said that the move to energy independence had been "exacerbated by the shutting down of coal and nuclear energy plants."

"Energy independence for the EU can only be achieved through a 'made in the EU' policy that would promote only those energy sources that exist within their own borders, but without the use of coal it would likely require higher energy costs to consumers," Walsh added.

A Security Imperative

Dirk Buschle is Iberdrola Manuel Marin chair for European Energy and Climate Policy at the College of Europe in Belgium. He told Newsweek that gaining energy independence from Russia was a matter of security for the EU.

"Europe needs to accelerate its energy transition," Buschle said. "The time for being ambitious only in target-setting is over. We must manage the switch to carbon-free fuels faster, and modernize our economies as we move on."

"The green deal becomes also a security imperative," Buschle went on.

"We considered gas—Russian gas—as a bridge fuel, but this bridge was destroyed with the bombing of Kyiv," he said.