

# **CONCOURS EXTERNE ET INTERNE POUR LE RECRUTEMENT DANS LE GRADE SECRÉTAIRE DE CHANCELLERIE AU TITRE DE L'ANNÉE 2025**

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## **ÉPREUVE ÉCRITE D'ADMISSIBILITÉ**

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**Partie 1 : Rédaction en français d'une note de synthèse à partir de documents  
en anglais**

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**SUJET : *au verso***

*Ce dossier comporte 10 pages (page de garde, sommaire et sujet non compris)*

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## **Sujet**

À partir de ces textes, vous répondrez à la question : « Harris - Trump : quelles politiques étrangères ? »

## DOCUMENT 1

### Who's coaching Harris and Trump on foreign policy for Tuesday's debate?

*A list of the men and women prepping the debaters on the Middle East, Ukraine and other national security issues — and who might advise them in the White House.*

[nbcnews.com](#) — Sept. 8, 2024, 12:00 PM

By Dan De Luce, Vaughn Hillyard, Courtney Kube, [Yamiche Alcindor](#) and Carol E. Lee

Foreign policy and national security have not played a dominant role in this year's campaign so far, but a fumbled answer at Tuesday's presidential debate could damage either candidate in a race with no margin for error.

As former President Donald Trump and Vice President Kamala Harris head into the homestretch of debate preparation, who is coaching them on how to address the Israel-Hamas war, Russia's onslaught against Ukraine and China's efforts to overtake the U.S. as the world's superpower?

There are stark differences between [Harris](#) and Trump in their foreign policy positions and how they express them. And the current and former officials and lawmakers who advise each candidate reflect those divergent outlooks.

According to multiple sources associated with the candidates and their parties, here is a rough sketch of who is advising Trump and Harris on foreign policy for the debate — and for their potential presidencies:

#### **Donald Trump**

As always with Trump, expect his approach to be fluid and improvised, according to multiple sources and his own comments.

Trump has said he has been prepping for the debate his whole life and questioned the need for elaborate study in advance. "I do, I have meetings on it," Trump said recently when asked about his preparations. "We talk about it, but there's not a lot you can do. Either you know your subject or not."

Viewers can expect him to attack Harris over the southern border, the war in Gaza and the U.S. exit from Afghanistan. Trump has never articulated an overarching foreign policy, but he has one core belief that he has expressed for decades. Trump thinks other nations are taking advantage of the U.S. — that too many allies are freeloading off American military might and not spending enough on their own armed forces.

His campaign has no process for formulating foreign or domestic policy, and Trump doesn't have a designated foreign policy adviser. But his campaign team does provide talking points for surrogates on foreign policy.

Trump speaks about national security with a variety of former officials who served in his administration and who are deemed loyal, as well as several senators. His son-in-law Jared

Kushner retains influence, as well. Trump's emphasis on loyalty rules out a long list of former national security officials who worked under him but who have criticized him publicly.

The former Trump administration officials and senators who speak to Trump about foreign policy range from traditional conservative voices who invoke Ronald Reagan to those favoring a more isolationist "America First" vision that calls for scaling back international commitments and imposing tariffs on adversaries and allies alike. Some fall somewhere in between.

[...] Although many former advisers have fallen out of favor, **Stephen Miller**, who was a senior adviser and chief speechwriter during Trump's presidency, has been a consistent influence inside Trump's circle for years. Miller has shaped Trump's hard-line immigration policies and positions. Miller and Trump have vowed to launch a mass deportation of millions of undocumented immigrants if Trump is elected.

### **Kamala Harris**

Harris is likely to criticize Trump for his praise of autocrats like Vladimir Putin and his skepticism about America's long-standing network of alliances. Echoing past presidents from both parties, Harris views allies as vital to U.S. economic and military power — especially at a time when China and other U.S. foes are deepening ties with one another.

Harris relies mainly on her national security staff to help navigate foreign policy issues, and that advice has shaped how she talks about foreign policy as a candidate. But her White House staff is not legally permitted to take part in the preparations for the debate, so that will be handled by experts who are out of government.

Harris' White House staffers include **Philip Gordon**, her national security adviser. Gordon worked in previous Democratic administrations and has become an influential figure for Harris. He was the head of European affairs at the National Security Council under Bill Clinton and the assistant secretary of state for European and Eurasian affairs during the Obama administration.

In a 2018 commentary he co-wrote, Gordon said Russia's aggressive actions had led him to conclude that the U.S. "needs to confront Russia more forcefully."

In a 2020 book, Gordon recounted the fallout from U.S.-backed regime change in Iraq and elsewhere in the Muslim world. Gordon portrayed those efforts as unrealistic, uninformed and reckless.

**Rebecca Lissner**, Harris' deputy national security adviser, taught at the U.S. Naval Institute and wrote a book about how to adapt American leadership to counter increasingly powerful authoritarian global powers led by China.

**Dean Lieberman**, Harris' deputy national security adviser for strategic communications, crafts her speeches and public statements.

Harris' speech at the annual Munich Security Conference in February, drafted by Lieberman, offered something close to the world view of the vice president — and her advisers — as well as a response to Trump world's calls for pulling back from international commitments.

"History has also shown us: If we only look inward, we cannot defeat threats from outside; isolation is not insulation," Harris said. "In fact, when America has isolated herself, threats have only grown."

### Foreign policy takes a back seat in unconventional Harris-Trump US presidential race

*Whether Kamala Harris or Donald Trump wins, US tariffs and export restrictions targeting China will almost certainly increase, say analysts*

South China Morning Post — Mark Magnier in Washington

Published: 12:31am, 17 Sep 2024 Updated: 1:48am, 17 Sep 2024

One US presidential candidate has avoided specifics on her China, Indo-Pacific or broader foreign policy stance, allowing her to avoid being pinned down. The other has avoided specifics in keeping with his mercurial, populist approach.

Welcome to the most unconventional US presidential race in memory, complete with two [assassination attempts](#), a former president with 34 felony convictions back for another run and a vice-president [vaulted onto the top of the Democratic ticket](#) 15 weeks before the November 5 election.

Trying to tease out specifics on how Vice-President Kamala Harris's foreign policies might differ from those of President Joe Biden, who bowed out after a disastrous debate performance, or exactly how former president Donald Trump 2.0 might veer from his 2017-2021 term, is difficult at best.

Adding to the challenge is strong voter focus on domestic issues this cycle, despite two wars and the race's impact on [US-China relations](#), the global economy, climate change, illegal drugs and other issues.

"Do they care about foreign policy, probably not," said Bonnie Glaser, managing director at the German Marshall Fund of the United States. "But America still wants to hear what they think about the Mideast, the war in Ukraine."

A few things are clear, analysts say. No matter who wins, US tariffs and export restrictions targeting China will almost certainly increase. And improved US-China relations are unlikely any time soon given deep, mutual distrust. "Things will fray either way, but it will be worse under Trump," said Dominic Chiu, a senior analyst at the Eurasia Group. "And some things will get worse no matter. The clock is ticking."

But analysts expect a second Trump presidency to be more confrontational toward Beijing, given his call for up to 20 per cent [tariffs](#) on all imports and 60 per cent on Chinese goods, with Harris likely to continue Biden's measured tightening on electric vehicle imports and strategic tech exports. "Trump's strategy points to a continuation of a hardline, 'America First' policy towards China, while Harris's approach suggests a more balanced, globally coordinated effort," said Casey Burgat, assistant professor at George Washington University. "He's also used his China stance to reflect the strongman image he wants to be associated with."

The candidates' debate last week, heavy on point-scoring and light on foreign policy detail, saw the two spar over economic rivalry with China, as Harris attacking his proposed higher tariffs and trade wars and Trump pointed out that she and Biden largely kept the Trump-era tariffs in place.

Elsewhere, Harris is expected to maintain support for Biden's latticework of [alliances](#) countering China's muscle flexing, while Trump is expected to remain sceptical of multilateralism, allies not 'paying their share', Nato and American military members posted overseas. "The coalitions will hold with Harris," said a policy expert who served on Trump's 2016 presidential transition team, speaking on background. "But if Trump wins, it will be harder to do."

One exception could be the Japan-India-Australia-US security dialogue known as the Quad, since Trump can take credit for its formation. But alliances also face internal pressures. The three architects of a key trilateral alliance – Japanese Prime Minister Fumio Kishida, South Korean President Yoon Suk-yeol and Biden – are stepping down or rapidly losing popularity.

The Australia-United Kingdom-US alliance known as Aukus faces Australian resistance given its inordinate share of Canberra's military budget.

And the trans-Atlantic alliance is showing fissures over Ukraine defence costs and US pressure on Europe to harden its stance on Chinese electric vehicles and other strategic trade.

China – which has not weighed in on the US campaign, citing a policy of foreign "non-interference" – favours Trump, some analysts say, believing he will undercut US strength, erode alliances and can be flattered. In July, Trump cited President Xi Jinping's "beautiful note" after the assassination attempt.

Others say Beijing prefers Harris, given the prospect of greater stability and consistency. "China is absolutely nervous about the election," said Eurasia senior analyst Jeremy Chan. "But I've also picked up relative optimism on Harris as someone who may be more malleable."

Traditionally, party platforms provide foreign policy insights.

But the Democratic platform, released so quickly it referenced a second Biden term, offers little beyond Biden's trademark China and Indo-Pacific strategies: alliances, tech controls, competition where necessary, cooperation where possible. "She's trying to be seen as all things to all people and not take controversial positions," said Cornell University government and law professor Sarah Kreps. "And it seems to be working."

The Republican platform, meanwhile, mentions China just four times, calling for phasing out essential imports and banning Chinese purchases of US real estate and industries. Taiwan is not mentioned. Trump has wavered on Taiwan, [telephoning](#) then-president Tsai Ing-wen in 2016 before edging toward strategic ambiguity. Recently, he urged Taipei to pay Washington more for its defence and blamed Taiwan for taking "about 100 per cent of our chip business".

At a speech on his economic policies this month Trump said global warming was "not our problem", and claimed that higher tariffs would reduce the US deficit, contribute "trillions" of dollars to the budget and solidify US dollar primacy against the yuan and rouble.

The Petersen Institute estimated that Trump's tariffs could cost American families US\$2,600 annually, while the current Trump-inspired tariffs could cost them US\$800.

"It's a fight between dumb and dumber," said Sourabh Gupta, senior fellow at Washington's Institute for China-America Studies. "Both sides have been abdicating on tariff leadership. It's going to hurt the country."

"Trump doesn't care about projects or planning," said the former Trump transition adviser, adding that he expected Trump to threaten massive China tariffs, enact some, then try to negotiate a new version of the 2020 Phase 1 or Phase 2 trade deals. "He makes a decision based on his mood – and they change."

Harris's views are less defined than Trump's. Among the policy directions she could pursue, analysts said, citing her history, include a greater focus on: human rights and the Global South; technology renewal given her northern California roots; and rules and norms given her legal background, which could heighten tensions around Taiwan and the South China Sea. "She seems to care about democracy, but not democracy versus autocracy," said Glaser. Were Harris to be elected, some see an opportunity to fully review Biden's approach.

*Additional reporting by Khushboo Razdan in Washington*

## DOCUMENT 3

### ***Harris vs. Trump on foreign policy: Where they stand***

*We're collecting Vice President Kamala Harris's and former president Donald Trump's stances on the most important issues including abortion, economic policy, immigration and more.*

The Washington Post . By Anthony J. Rivera, Abbie Cheeseman and Justine McDaniel

September 10, 2024 at 2:45 p.m. EDT

### **Geopolitical threats to the U.S.**

Q: What single country do you believe presents the greatest geopolitical threat to the U.S.?

Kamala Harris

A: The Biden-Harris administration has called China in some areas the leading national security threat to the United States, according to the Council on Foreign Relations, accusing the country of stealing U.S. intellectual property and flooding the U.S. market with cheap exports.

Donald Trump

A: At a rally in March 2023, Trump told a crowd that U.S. politicians are the greatest threat to the United States, as opposed to geopolitical adversaries like China and Russia. He has also said that nuclear weapons present the single biggest threat to the United States, rather than one particular country.

### **Funding for Ukraine**

Q: Do you support continued funding for weapons in Ukraine? What conditions or limits would you place on that funding?

Kamala Harris

A: Without giving details on conditions or limits, Harris said at the Democratic National Convention that she would continue to stand by Ukraine if she wins the presidency. In June, when announcing \$1.5 billion in U.S. assistance to the country, Harris pledged America's full support. In her own campaign, she has not clarified what she believes continued assistance to Ukraine should look like.

Donald Trump

A: Trump was impeached in 2019 during his presidency on a charge of abuse of power, related to his attempts to withhold aid from Ukraine and pressure its government to investigate Joe Biden, albeit before Russia's invasion in February 2022. In July 2023, he told an audience at a rally that Republicans in Congress should withhold military aid in exchange for the Biden administration's cooperation in a GOP investigation into President Biden and his family. He claims he will have the Ukraine war "settled" before being inaugurated and has considered a plan to end the war by pressuring Ukraine to cede territory to Russia.

## **Supporting Taiwan**

Q: Do you support sending U.S. troops to defend Taiwan?

Kamala Harris

A: Harris has not spoken about whether she supports sending troops to Taiwan. In 2022, after Biden said that he supported sending troops in the face of a Chinese invasion, Harris said: "We will continue to support Taiwan's self-defense, consistent with our long-standing policy." She has said she will take a strong stance toward China and has previously met with Taiwan's president.

Donald Trump

A: When talking to radio host (and Washington Post contributing columnist) Hugh Hewitt, Trump said in September 2023 that there is "zero" chance China will invade Taiwan if he is president again. He added: "There are other things you can do without going into a nuclear holocaust."

## **Funding for Israel**

Q: Do you support continued military aid for Israel? What conditions or limits would you place on that funding?

Kamala Harris

A: Harris has not directly answered the question, but has suggested that U.S. military aid to Israel would continue if she wins the White House. While she has highlighted the suffering of Palestinians, Harris has not said whether there would be conditions on weapons transfers to Israel. "Let me be clear, I will always stand up for Israel's right to defend itself and I will always ensure Israel has the ability to defend itself," she said when accepting the Democratic nomination.

Donald Trump

A: Trump chastised Biden for threatening to withhold certain offensive U.S. weapons from Israel, but he has not directly said what his policy toward military aid would be. His campaign has suggested that military aid will continue. "When President Trump is back in the Oval Office, Israel will once again be protected, Iran will go back to being broke, terrorists will be hunted down, and the bloodshed will end," Karoline Leavitt, the campaign's national press secretary, wrote in an email to The Post in May, without answering specific questions on their planned policy.

## DOCUMENT 4

### Trump or Harris? Putin's preference isn't clear cut

*Kremlin's best-case scenario might actually be a contested election*

Toronto Star / Bloomberg - Insight, Saturday, September 14, 2024

Back in 2016, it was evident that Vladimir Putin was Team Trump. Top Kremlin officials cracked open champagne bottles in the early hours of Nov. 9 as the businessman-turned-politician emerged as the surprise victor in the U.S. election.

[...] The view that has crystallized in Moscow, according to five people familiar with the latest thinking in the Kremlin, is that there really isn't much reason to raise a glass this time around if Trump returns.

If the Kremlin could have picked their ideal scenario, it would have been another Biden term because he was more predictable and easier to read, two of the people said. That means that if there were any efforts toward ending Russia's war on Ukraine, it would be simpler with Biden than with someone with a history of tearing up deals.

Russia doesn't care so much who wins, but that doesn't mean it's indifferent to the outcome. For example, if Harris were to win narrowly, and Trump contested the result, the ensuing paralysis would likely be welcome news.

While there is no love lost for Harris, the assessment of how beneficial Trump's four years were for Moscow is mixed. He issued a slew of sanctions targeting Russian oligarchs and enterprises as well as the Nord Stream 2 gas pipeline to Europe.

"Who is better or worse is hard to say," said Fyodor Lukyanov, head of the Council on Foreign and Defence Policy, a think tank which advises the Kremlin. "We may end up remembering Biden with fondness because he was very cautious and constantly assessed the risks."

With no end in sight to the war, the reality is that whoever wins in November has little incentive to prioritize improving relations with Moscow. Harris has steered clear of specific promises but has adopted the Biden line of wanting to "stand strong" with Ukraine.

Harris "is likely to continue with the strategic caution that was characteristic for President Biden," said Maria Snegovaya, senior fellow at the Washington-based Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Meanwhile, the approach a second Trump administration would take to the war also remains uncertain. Trump swears he has a "guaranteed" plan to end the war in Ukraine and his running mate, Ohio Sen. JD Vance, has said he doesn't "really care what happens to Ukraine."

But as Igor Korotchenko, editor-in-chief of the Russian National Defence magazine, sums it up, the biggest problem with Trump "is his impulsiveness and total unpredictability."

Either way, there is an almost obsessive focus on the U.S. election, noted Sergei Markov, a political consultant close to the Kremlin. Forecasts of the result and scenarios under each candidate are updated constantly.

### Harris and Trump: Compare where they stand on key issues

September 9, 2024 – NBC News

#### [...] Foreign policy

##### China

Kamala HARRIS: Countering China

Harris has strongly supported the Biden administration's view of China as a threat to peace and stability in the Indo-Pacific region and as a threat to the international "rules-based order" crafted by the U.S. and other Western world powers after World War II.

The vice president also has backed the Biden administration's efforts to severely restrict the export to China of advanced semiconductors and the equipment used to make them, on the grounds that Beijing could use the new tech to build up its military forces and spy agencies.

Amid tensions over the fate of Taiwan and fears that China could try to use military force to seize control of the island, Harris has called for continued dialogue with China. She met with Chinese President Xi Jinping in November 2022 in Thailand, saying the two countries needed to keep lines of communication open to ensure competition does not spiral into an unintended conflict.

But it's unclear if Harris is ready to endorse Biden's view that the U.S. would come to Taiwan's defense if it was attacked by China. Previous administrations left that question open.

Donald TRUMP: Higher tariffs

Trump wants to hit China with high tariffs. He says U.S. workers have suffered under what he calls unfair trade practices that have benefited China. If elected, he said in an interview in February that he would impose tariffs of at least 60% on Chinese goods. Trump also plans to institute a four-year plan to boost manufacturing in the U.S. so that the nation doesn't need to rely on China for crucial goods.

##### Israel/Gaza

Kamala HARRIS: Support, and some criticism

The top line is that Harris has backed the Biden administration's fundamental approach to the war in the Gaza Strip: push for de-escalation, help broker a cease-fire that includes the return of hostages, and promote a two-state solution. But Harris, who [argues for Israel's right to self-defense and the elimination of Hamas](#), has also shown signs that she's more in line with progressives than Biden is. In a March speech in Selma, Alabama, a sacred site in the Civil Rights Movement, she called the situation in Gaza [a "humanitarian catastrophe"](#) and called for an [immediate — but temporary — cease-fire](#). Biden aides watered down that speech from a version that was [more harshly critical of Israel](#). In July, she skipped Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's speech to Congress.

## Donald TRUMP: 'Fast' end to the war

The Oct. 7 Hamas attack on Israel never would have happened if he were president, Trump insists. He has pushed for a quick end to the war, telling conservative radio host Hugh Hewitt in April: "They have to get it done. Get it over with and get it over with fast." He has not said under what conditions Israel should agree to stop its military campaign, but he has also not suggested any support for Palestinians. His criticism of Israel has been limited to its struggles on the public-relations front. He has not articulated his own plan for peace in the Middle East.

## NATO/U.S. alliances

### Kamala HARRIS: Supports commitments

Harris has signaled she would continue Biden's strong support for NATO and other international alliances. Biden rallied the military alliance to oppose Russia's invasion of Ukraine and views it as one of his chief accomplishments in office. Harris' own foreign policy views have been obscured by Biden's, and she had relatively little experience before joining the administration. But there's no sign Harris would go in a different direction, saying in 2022 that the U.S. has "an unwavering commitment to NATO."

### Donald TRUMP: Criticism

Trump's "[America First](#)" ethos is skeptical of any international obligations that might encumber American sovereignty or cost it money. Trump has repeatedly said he believes other NATO countries are essentially mooching off the U.S. by [not spending enough](#) of their own money on defense. He has even [threatened to pull the U.S. out](#) of NATO. Similarly, Trump has a dim view of the United Nations and multilateral treaties like arms control agreements. "The future does not belong to the globalists. The future belongs to patriots," Trump said at the U.N. General Assembly in 2019, underscoring his commitment to nationalism over internationalism.

## Ukraine

### Kamala HARRIS: Supports arming Ukraine 'as long as it takes'

Harris has fully backed the Biden administration's effort to arm Ukraine and to rally European and international support for Kyiv against Russia's full-scale invasion.

Harris has met Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy six times, including five days before Russian forces attacked Ukraine's entire territory in February 2022. Harris has endorsed the Biden administration's view that keeping up military aid to Ukraine will bolster the country's negotiating position if and when Moscow agrees to hold genuine peace talks. She also has argued that if Russia is allowed to prevail in Ukraine, it could embolden Russian President Vladimir Putin and other authoritarian leaders to attack other countries.

### Donald TRUMP: Aid as a loan

Trump has said that if elected, he'd stop the war between Ukraine and Russia [within 24 hours](#) — without offering many details about how he'd do so. In September, he said he did not want to reveal his plan in order to preserve his "bargaining chips." Throughout his presidency, Trump sought to remain on good terms with Putin. On the eve of Russia's invasion, Trump described Putin's recognition of two breakaway Ukrainian territories as "very savvy" and "genius." Earlier this year, Trump embraced the idea of giving additional aid to Ukraine in the form of a "[loan](#)" rather than a "gift."