

**ÉPREUVES D'ENTRÉE EN FILIÈRE INTERNATIONALE  
INTÉGRÉE**

**COMPOSITION SUR UN THÈME D'ACTUALITÉ  
À PARTIR D'UN DOSSIER**

**3 Heures**

**Sujet :** Au vu des documents constituant ce dossier et à partir de vos connaissances, vous analyserez et présenterez, sous forme d'un devoir organisé et rédigé, les évolutions de la notion de frontière.

*Ce dossier comporte 4 documents.*

*Veillez vérifier qu'il est complet dès le début de l'épreuve et signaler tout problème à un personnel de surveillance.*

## Document 1

En français, le mot *frontière* est, à l'origine, l'adjectif féminin du substantif front : frontier, frontière. Le registre d'emploi est d'abord militaire : aller « en frontière » pour faire front. (...) Les frontières ont acquis des fonctions autres que strictement militaires, qui elles s'expriment par la notion de « front » ou de « ligne de front ». Mais l'étymologie souligne la relation forte, originelle, entre « front » et « frontière » ; beaucoup de frontières aujourd'hui paisibles furent hier des fronts. L'inverse est également vrai. Il importe d'en donner une définition fonctionnelle : à quoi sert une frontière ?

*Les frontières sont des structures spatiales élémentaires, de forme linéaire, à fonction de discontinuité géopolitique et de marquage, de repère, sur les trois registres du réel, du symbolique et de l'imaginaire.*

La discontinuité joue entre des souverainetés, des histoires, des sociétés, des économies, des États, souvent aussi – mais pas toujours – des langues et des nations. La fonction de réalité, c'est la limite spatiale de l'exercice d'une souveraineté dans ses modalités propres : ligne ouverte, entrouverte ou fermée. Le symbolique renvoie à l'appartenance à une communauté politique inscrite dans un territoire qui est le sien ; il a trait à l'identité.

Michel Foucher, *Fronts et frontières. Un tour du monde géopolitique*, Paris, Fayard, 1991, p. 38-39.

## Document 2

Une idée bête enchante l'Occident : l'humanité, qui va mal, ira mieux sans frontières. D'ailleurs, ajoute notre *Dictionnaire des idées reçues* (dernière édition), la démocratie y mène tout droit, à ce monde sans dehors ni dedans. Pas de souci. Voyez Berlin. Il y avait un mur. Il n'y en a plus. Preuve que la Toile, les paradis fiscaux, les cyberattaques, les nuages volcaniques et l'effet de serre sont en voie d'expédier nos vieillottes barrières rouge et blanc à l'écomusée, avec la charrue à mancheron de bois, la bourrée auvergnate et le coucou suisse. Aussi tout ce qui a pignon sur rue dans notre petit cap de l'Asie – reporters, médecins, footballeurs, banquiers, clowns, *coaches*, avocats d'affaires et vétérinaires – arbore-t-il l'étiquette « sans frontières ». L'on ne donne pas cher des professions et associations qui oublieraient sur leur carte de visite ce « Sésame, ouvre-toi » des sympathies et des subventions. « Douaniers sans frontières », c'est pour demain. (...)

De quelle réalité veut-on s'abriter en fuyant dans le *wishful thinking*, en brandissant ce mot-fétiche, cet alibi commode qui dispense de vouloir les conséquences de ce que l'on veut, la *diversité* ? D'une réalité têtue qui nous flanque une claque chaque fois que nous oublions la recommandation avant-gardiste de Giuseppe Verdi : « *Tornate all'Antico, sará un progresso* »<sup>1</sup>. D'une absurdité très nécessaire, et insubmersible, qui a nom *frontière*.

<sup>1</sup> « Revenez à l'Antique, ce sera un progrès. »

Régis Debray, *Eloge des frontières*, Paris, Gallimard, 2010, p. 11.

### Document 3

On s'habitue aussi à la disparition des frontières, à l'intérieur de l'espace Schengen. Il paraît normal de ne plus avoir à montrer un passeport, à l'arrivée dans un pays, il y a si peu de temps étranger. Pour les jeunes Européens, d'ailleurs, c'est d'avoir à le montrer qui semblerait aujourd'hui anormal. Car les jeunes Européens, même si nous n'avons pas su éveiller en eux la passion politique de l'Europe, la pratiquent pourtant comme M. Jourdain pratiquait la prose. Entre euro et Erasmus, ils naviguent en Europe avec le même naturel qu'ils mettent à surfer sur les réseaux d'Internet.

Pourtant, les deux événements – la monnaie unique ; la disparition des frontières intérieures dans l'espace Schengen – ont une portée considérable. Ils permettent en tout cas, de comprendre que la question des frontières de l'Europe se pose aujourd'hui de façon entièrement nouvelle.

En réalité, la vocation de l'Europe aura toujours été – malgré des crises identitaires induites par la transformation, parfois chaotique, des systèmes politiques successifs – celle de dépasser sans cesse ses propres frontières strictement géographiques ; celle de toujours fixer une nouvelle frontière spirituelle.

Vraie à l'époque où l'Europe était Chrétienté, ou bien Illumination, ou encore mondialisation des normes du droit et de l'économie européens, cette vocation d'une nouvelle frontière s'annonce aujourd'hui sous les espèces de la Démocratie.

Pour cette raison, huit ans après la Déclaration du Conseil européen de Copenhague, qui fixait en 1993 les critères d'appartenance à l'Union, celle de Laeken pouvait affirmer dans son préambule : « La seule frontière que trace l'Union européenne est celle de la démocratie et des droits de l'homme. »

Sans doute, mais c'est une frontière contraignante, qui exige de nous ardeur, imagination et conséquence.

Jorge Semprún, « Les frontières de l'Europe »,  
in Jorge Semprún, Dominique de Villepin, *L'homme européen*, Paris, Plon, 2005, p. 75-76.

#### Document 4

La mondialisation économique est souvent perçue comme une dynamique portant l'effacement des frontières étatiques. Erreur, avance le géographe Michel Foucher. Les phases de mondialisation économique s'accompagnent toujours, au contraire, d'un mouvement de consolidation territoriale. Un an après le premier voyage de Colomb, le pape partage les territoires entre Espagnols et Portugais. A la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, les empires coloniaux tracent de nouvelles frontières. La mondialisation actuelle n'échappe pas à la règle. Un chiffre l'illustre : sur les 248 000 kilomètres de frontières terrestres existantes, 26 000 ont été instituées depuis 1991. Partout dans le monde, se règlent régulièrement des problèmes de frontières : par médiation politique ou par l'intervention de la Cour internationale de justice. La surveillance électronique par satellite des forêts tropicales et des aires désertiques se met en place. Au Moyen-Orient, aux États-Unis au Maroc, de nouveaux murs aux fonctions sécuritaires voient le jour. Et le débat sur « les frontières de l'Europe » est loin d'être réglé. « Institutions établies par des décisions politiques », les frontières restent un animal politique bien vivant.

Christian Chavagneux, *Alternatives Economiques*, n°262, octobre 2007.

**SCIENCES PO BORDEAUX**

**SPRACHTEST DEUTSCH**

**2 Stunden**

**Flüchtlingspolitik nach dem Lampedusa-Bootsunglück**

*Süddeutsche Zeitung, 30.12.2013, Von Alex Rühle (stark gekürzt)*

Als im Oktober vor Lampedusa fast 400 Menschen ertranken, war Europa erschüttert. Eine Änderung in der Flüchtlingspolitik schien die einzig richtige Reaktion. Seitdem hat sich viel getan - doch um die Menschenrechte ging es dabei nur am Rande.

In der Nacht auf den 3. Oktober 2013 näherte sich ein alter Kutter<sup>1</sup>, der drei Tage zuvor in der libyschen Hafenstadt Misrata aufgebrochen war, dem Hafen von Lampedusa. Auf dem Schiff befanden sich mehr als 500 Flüchtlinge aus Somalia und Eritrea. Als die Häuser der Insel in Sichtweite waren, zündeten einige der Flüchtlinge eine Decke an, um auf sich aufmerksam zu machen. Das Führerhaus<sup>2</sup> fing Feuer, eines der Benzinfässer kippte um, Panik brach aus, das Schiff kenterte<sup>3</sup>.

In den Tagen danach flog die europäische Politprominenz auf der kleinen Mittelmeerinsel ein. Der EU-Kommissionspräsident José Manuel Barroso sagte, er werde all diese Toten sein Lebtag nicht vergessen, der italienische Innenminister Angelino Alfano rief: "Es muss, muss, muss anders werden", und die EU-Innenkommissarin Cecilia Malmström erklärte: "Das ist das Bild einer Union, die wir nicht wollen." Sie kündigte die Einsetzung einer Task Force an, die Sofortmaßnahmen erarbeiten sollte, um derartige Katastrophen in Zukunft zu verhindern. Kurzum: Für einen Moment klang es tatsächlich so, als ob sich etwas grundlegend ändern könnte an der europäischen Flüchtlingspolitik.

Das Ganze war auch deshalb ein Desaster, weil es den Europäern so drastisch wie selten zuvor vor Augen führte, wie menschenfeindlich mittlerweile die Gesetzgebung ist, mit denen der Kontinent seine Außengrenzen absichert. Hat sich tatsächlich irgendwas geändert?

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<sup>1</sup> Kutter, der – ein Boot mittlerer Größe

<sup>2</sup> Führerhaus – Raum für den Kapitän

<sup>3</sup> kentern – untergehen

An den Grenzen Europas hat sich sehr viel getan seither: Anfang Dezember wurde Eurosur eingeführt, das European Border Surveillance System, das mithilfe von Drohnenkameras, Satellitensuchsystemen und Offshore-Sensoren dazu dienen soll, Flüchtlinge effizienter zu orten.

Außerdem wurde das Budget der Grenzüberwachungsagentur Frontex um 30 Millionen Euro angehoben, um Italien zu helfen, seine Grenzen besser zu überwachen. Bis in jüngster Zeit war die Agentur, die den Auftrag hat, Menschen von der illegalen Einwanderung in die EU abzuhalten, daran beteiligt, Flüchtlinge auf hoher See abzufangen und in Drittstaaten zurückzuschicken.

Die spanische Regierung beschloss im November, seine sechs Meter hohen Grenzzäune um Melilla, eine der beiden Exklaven auf marokkanischem Boden, mit Natodraht zu umwickeln. Dieser Stacheldraht ist mit scharfen Klingen und Widerhaken versehen. In der zweiten Exklave, Ceuta, wurde der Zaun gleichzeitig weit ins Meer hinein verlängert, um Flüchtlinge davon abzuhalten, vom Strand in Marokko aus auf spanisches Territorium zu gelangen.

Das war alles? Natürlich nicht. Auf einem Sondergipfel beschlossen die Regierungschefs der EU die "tiefer liegenden Ursachen der Migrationsströme anzugehen, indem die Zusammenarbeit mit den Herkunfts- und Transitländern verbessert wird". (...)

Natürlich gibt es ein legitimes Interesse der EU an Migrationssteuerung. Zumal der politische Druck gleich in zweierlei Hinsicht zunehmen wird: Zum einen steigen die Flüchtlingszahlen. Der UNHCR<sup>4</sup> schrieb soeben, dass 2013 so viele Menschen auf der Flucht seien wie nie zuvor. Zum anderen steht die Europawahl bevor.

Der italienische Ministerpräsident Enrico Letta warnte vor einigen Wochen, bei diesen Wahlen werde die EU ihr blaues Wunder erleben, erstmals würden mehr Europagegner als -befürworter das europäische Volk repräsentieren. Schaut man sich die Flüchtlingspolitik an, so kann man sich des Eindrucks nicht erwehren, dass die Rechtspopulisten ihre jeweiligen Regierungen jetzt schon vor sich herzutreiben scheinen.

Wie sonst ist es zu erklären, dass so gar nicht über andere Lösungswege in der europäischen Flüchtlingspolitik diskutiert wird, etwa über humanitäre Visa, wie sie das UN-Flüchtlingswerk seit Längerem fordert? Die Flüchtlinge müssten sich dann nicht mehr kriminellen Schlepperbanden anvertrauen.

Warum gibt es immer noch keine gemeinsamen Kriterien für Aufnahme, Anerkennung und Integration? Und warum traut sich dieser Kontinent trotz des kollektiven Wissens um die kollektive Überalterung nicht, neue Regeln für die Zuwanderung qualifizierter Arbeitskräfte zu diskutieren?

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<sup>4</sup> Hohes Flüchtlingskommissariat der Vereinten Nationen

## I. Textverstehen (10 Punkte)

### A. Beantworten Sie kurz die folgenden Fragen (6 Punkte)

Was ist im Oktober 2013 auf der italienischen Insel Lampedusa passiert?

Vor welchen Problemen steht die europäische Flüchtlingspolitik?

Welche Lösungen werden von den europäischen Politikern diskutiert?

Welche Meinung hat der Autor über die europäische Flüchtlingspolitik und an welchen Stilmitteln kann man seine Meinung erkennen?

### B. Übersetzen Sie den folgenden Abschnitt ins Französische (4 Punkte)

Als im Oktober vor Lampedusa fast 400 Menschen ertranken, war Europa erschüttert. Eine Änderung in der Flüchtlingspolitik schien die einzig richtige Reaktion. In den Tagen nach der Katastrophe flog die europäische Politprominenz auf der kleinen Mittelmeerinsel ein. Der Präsident der Eu-Kommission sagte, er werde all diese Toten sein Lebtag nicht vergessen, der italienische Innenminister rief: "Es muss, muss, muss anders werden", und die EU-Kommissarin Cecilia Malmström erklärte: "Das ist das Bild einer Union, die wir nicht wollen." Es gibt natürlich ein legitimes Interesse der EU an Migrationssteuerung. Und der politische Druck wird zunehmen: Zum einen steigen die Flüchtlingszahlen. 2013 waren so viele Menschen auf der Flucht wie nie zuvor. Zum anderen steht die Europawahl bevor.

## II. Textproduktion (10 Punkte)

Wählen Sie eines von den zwei folgenden Themen und entwickeln Sie dazu eine zusammenhängende Argumentation von etwa 200 Wörtern:

### Thema 1

Welche Gründe und Hoffnungen verbinden die Menschen mit Emigration? Geben Sie Beispiele aus Geschichte und Aktualität, mit denen Sie Ihre Ausführungen veranschaulichen.

### Thema 2

Werden die Ängste vor Zuwanderung den Rechtspopulisten Stimmenzuwächse bei der EU-Wahl bringen?



**SCIENCES PO BORDEAUX**  
**ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEST**  
**2 hours**

# TASKS

## A- READING COMPREHENSION (10 pts/20)

### 1- Show your understanding of the text by answering the following questions. (5 pts)

- 1- In his article, Simon Jenkins underlines certain negative aspects or issues that can be associated with crowds? Mention three of them (*in ONE sentence per negative aspect, no more*).
- 2- What does Simon Jenkins suggest when talking about "the threadbare tatters of electoral legitimacy" (§12) in reference to former Ukrainian president Yanukovich? (*Give a short answer: no more than TWO sentences.*)

### 2- Explain the meaning of the following sentences in their context, using your own words (where relevant, elucidate the historical/ political references, the journalist's position, tone, etc...). Write between 50 and 100 words for each answer. (5 pts)

- 1- "Fire, smoke, bloodstained flags, broken heads, water, gas and sinister paramilitaries are *Les Misérables* for slow learners. We can sit with a front seat in the auditorium of history. It beats polling booths any day." (§2)
- 2- "What social media can do is old-fashioned, acting as a means of communication, a means to an end. That end is live, human congregation." (§6)

## B- ESSAY (10 pts/20)

Write an essay (approximately 400 words) on ONE of the following topics.

You should use your own ideas and knowledge, and support your arguments with examples and relevant evidence.

- 1- Discuss Victor Hugo's statement that "When dictatorship is a fact, revolution becomes a right".
- 2- Can social media spur a revolution?

# MAIDAN, UKRAINE ... TAHRIR, EGYPT ... THE SQUARE SYMBOLISES FAILURE, NOT HOPE

*The lesson of Egypt for Ukraine is that defiant crowds may destroy an old regime – but they seldom build a new one*

- Simon Jenkins, *The Guardian*, 26 February 2014

1- The experience was eerie. I was watching a documentary, *The Square*, on Netflix about the 2011 Tahrir Square occupation when the lead character, Ahmed, let out a cry of delight, "The revolution has been won." At that very moment my radio blurted out a voice live from a different square, Kiev's Maidan. "The revolution has been won," it repeated.

2- Squares are famously potent political theatres. This year is a second showing for Ukraine's revolution, and a third for Egypt's. Western TV viewers have cheered them all on. We thrill to see young people hurling rocks at power. **Fire, smoke, bloodstained flags, broken heads, water, gas and sinister paramilitaries are *Les Misérables* for slow learners. We can sit with a front seat in the auditorium of history. It beats polling booths any day.**

3- Tahrir and Maidan squares thus join Istanbul's Taksim, Tehran's Azadi, Beijing's Tiananmen, Prague's Wenceslaus, Athens's Syntagma, London's Trafalgar and a dozen other urban spaces the world over as icons of modern revolutionary politics. Their furniture is the barricade, their tipples the Molotov cocktail, their tonic the tear gas canister. They gather people in their thousands to sacred forums and invite the world to witness the latest trial of strength with a supposedly oppressive regime. Sometimes they even win.

4- If I were a dictator I would build shopping malls over these places right away, as Turkey's Recep Erdoğan tried to do last year in Taksim's Gezi Park. At the very least, I would learn the message of Tiananmen: that a crowd once formed in a square is fiendishly hard to remove, and creates worse publicity worldwide than a dozen provincial massacres.

5- Such gatherings have long fascinated philosophers. Crowds demonstrate what Durkheim called "a collective effervescence". To Freud, they released "deep historical convulsions". Even today, regimes do not tremble when confronted by millions on Facebook or Twitter. If "virtual politics" had power, no politician would leave his desk.

6- **What social media can do is old-fashioned, acting as a means of communication, a means to an end. That end is live, human congregation.** The square is where political actors put their bodies on the line, where their demands are expressed in flesh and blood.

7- Yet such crowds are anarchic and chaotic. Their motives are essentially negative, those of opposition to power. Crowds destroy but seldom build. In Taksim Square, the performance artist Erdem Gündüz simply stood silent. His message was nothing but defiance. In Kiev a protester told the Guardian that Yanukovich's repression was "unbelievable in the centre of a civilised European city": he should be dragged to the square so everyone could line up "and spit in his face".

8- Many of today's activists are students and offspring of an urban professional class. They may claim the legitimacy of street power, but they have no accountability to other classes or regions of their country. Observers felt that was why Tiananmen Square saw no imitators outside Beijing, and why the protest was so easily if ruthlessly suppressed. In Belgrade at the time of the downfall of Serbia's Slobodan Milosevic, the protesting crowds were relatively ineffective until joined by busloads of workers from the provinces. In Ukraine, what is said to have shaken Yanukovich was signs that the Maidan protest was spreading nationwide.

9- To Elias Canetti, author of *Crowds and Power*, a crowd "needs direction if it is not to lose mass and die". The Cairo documentary constantly paraded the naivety of the protesters, brave as they were. They could wield the power of occupation, but it exerted little more than a veto on each new twist in the crisis. They seemed tossed this way and that by forces beyond their control, notably the well-organised Muslim Brotherhood. They could summon what they were to claim was "the largest demonstration in history"; but all they could chant was "power to the people". The argument had not advanced since the Bastille. As one parent said, "You think a tent and a blanket can solve all your problems."

10- Romantics sometimes refer to the "wisdom of crowds", and why "we are smarter than me". They ignore the capacity of totalitarians to manipulate the masses to their will. They forget the hysteria and cruelty of which programmed crowds are capable. Even a spontaneous gathering is unmediated and unstable, inherently dangerous, as much a gift to demagogues as to aspiring democrats. Crowds rarely display judgment.

11- Last week seemed a case in point. The EU mediators in Kiev had negotiated with government and opposition, and then offered the Maidan crowd a package to resolve the crisis and lead to a disciplined transfer of power. Yanukovich would have a semi-dignified climbdown, a process that Putin would have had trouble rejecting. Yet the crowd would have none of it. They howled down the messengers and refused to leave the square. Yanukovich lost his nerve and fled.

12- Ukraine is fortunate in having a democratic parliament, representative of the whole nation. That institution will now be tested to the full. But, as in Egypt, the fact remains that a duly elected leader was toppled by a mob. That leader may have deserved all he got. He may have been corrupt, grotesque and murderous, a puppet in the hands of Russia. But he still wore **the threadbare tatters of electoral legitimacy**, which the demonstrators did not. His supporters are unlikely to forget it.

13- A crowd in a square is not some ritual of democratic purification. It is the most primitive human response to a threat. It suggests a collapse of political institutions, a failure of law and order, a usurping of party, association and leadership. A crowd can blow the fuse of a weakened regime and plunge the state into darkness. It seldom turns on the light of democracy.

14- Any upheaval can offer the hope of better times. But history is always a sceptic. Just a month ago another large crowd gathered in Tahrir Square, in an exercise in irony. It celebrated the army's return to power after three years of chaos. Sometimes even crowds crave order.

**SCIENCES PO BORDEAUX**  
**ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEST**  
**2 hours**

# TASKS

## A- READING COMPREHENSION (10 pts/20)

1- Show your understanding of the text by answering the following questions. (5 pts)

- 1- What are the three reasons put forward by David Cox to explain why Britain and America have a different relation to slavery? (*Give a short answer: ONE sentence per reason, no more*).
- 2- What is the main criticism made by David Cox regarding Hollywood's treatment of America's "national demons" (§8)? (*Give a short answer: no more than TWO sentences*.)

2- Explain the meaning of the following sentences in their context, using your own words (where relevant, elucidate the historical/ political references, the journalist's position, tone, etc...). Write between 50 and 100 words for each answer. (5 pts)

1-“Steve McQueen's feat is thus a rare transatlantic putdown of the swaggering yanks.” (§2)

2-“But our own national closet holds other, no less grisly skeletons. Such as Ireland.” (§11-12)

## B- ESSAY (10 pts/20)

Write an essay (approximately 400 words) on ONE of the following topics.

You should use your own ideas and knowledge, and support your arguments with examples and relevant evidence relating preferably, though not exclusively, to the British context.

- 1- Discuss the importance for a country to come to terms with the dark pages in its history.
- 2- Discuss the importance of the arts in building and/or questioning a nation's story.

# 12 YEARS A SLAVE: COULD ONLY A BRIT REALLY HAVE MADE IT?

*The idea that only a British director such as Steve McQueen with British stars could have made Hollywood confront America's slavery legacy is a popular one with fans of UK cinema. But is there any foundation for it?*

- David Cox, *The Guardian*, 27 February 2014

1- The bookies, at least, are of one mind: Sunday's Oscars victor will be either *Gravity* or *12 Years a Slave*. The space spectacular must surely rank as the greatest-ever achievement of British film craftsmanship; the Louisiana-set drama doesn't even qualify as a UK film. Nonetheless, Britain's cinema chauvinists aren't all rooting for *Gravity*. There is something about its rival that inspires yet fiercer patriotism.

2- Of course, unlike *Gravity*, *Slave* features British stars. But that doesn't fully explain its hold on British hearts. Something else is involved: after decades of guilty silence from Hollywood, many believe, a British director has laid bare America's historic shame. **Steve McQueen's feat is thus a rare transatlantic putdown of the swaggering yanks.** Brad Pitt, no less, who co-produced and had a minor role in the film, has affirmed that none of his countrymen could have pulled it off. "It took a Brit," he reflected at the film's Toronto premiere. The idea's appeal is understandable, but how well-founded is it?

3- On the face of it, not very. London-born McQueen based *12 Years a Slave* on a memoir written in 1841 and bearing the same title. According to current myth, this work disappeared from view, to be rediscovered by McQueen's wife. In fact, the book was first adapted for the screen in 1984 by the multi-talented, Kansas-born director of *Shaft*, Gordon Parks. A US federal agency partly funded the project. Today's Brit-begotten sensation is actually the remake of an all-American original.

4- These days it's hard to get hold of *Solomon Northup's Odyssey*, which was shown only on PBS before going to video. Apparently it has its own merits, including the provision of a bit more context than McQueen found room for. All the same, no one suggests that it packed the punch of the Brit-directed version. Parks complained that he was forced to tone it down. "It could have been stronger," he said, adding: "There are some sort of compromises you always have to make."

5- American cinema's earlier portrayals of slavery had been even less exemplary. In 1915, the country's first big-screen account of its origins, *The Birth of a Nation*, featured plenty of slaves; however, they were shown as brutes deserving of their fate. In 1940, Hattie McDaniel won an Oscar for playing house-slave Mammy in *Gone with the Wind*, but her character was complicit in the system. At the awards ceremony, she and her guest sat apart from the rest of the cast at a segregated table. The lurid *Mandingo* (1975), celebrating rapacious black sexuality, was deemed "racist trash" by Roger Ebert. Its yet more purple sequel, *Drum*, was "exploitation junk" according to Vincent Canby of the *New York Times*.

6- In 1977, TV's *Roots* won both audiences and respect, but it was another 20 years before the big screen hosted Steven Spielberg's *Amistad*. This star-studded effort, portraying the US's treatment of a shipload of mutinous Cuban slaves, was both affecting and thoughtful. It was admired by critics, but rewarded with neither Oscars nor much of a welcome at the box office.

7- Not much followed until last year's *Django Unchained*. This found an audience, and may be thought to have shocked it. Yet Tarantino's grand guignol is a far cry from the unbending realism of *12 Years a Slave*. It doesn't force filmgoers to confront harsh truths, but instead invites them to luxuriate in an ironic balletic spectacle.

8- American cinema, then, may not have ignored slavery, as is currently being alleged, but it did leave itself open to being upstaged. Its eagerness to confront other national demons can also be questioned. When Vietnam was eventually broached, Hollywood dwelt more on American comradeship, compassion and nobility than on national mortification. The trauma of Watergate became a triumph for the first amendment in *All the President's Men*.

9- Pitt may therefore be entitled to doubt the courage of his country's film-makers, yet are the British really any braver? Or are they simply happy to pick at other nations' sores?

10- When it comes to slavery on the southern plantations, Britain can hardly claim the status of innocent bystander. From the 17th century onwards, British slavers delivered more than three million Africans to markets in the Americas. Indeed, the world depicted in *12 Years a Slave* was in part a product of British entrepreneurship. On this, our own cinema has so far had little to say.

11- All the same, slavery is not the issue for us that it is across the Atlantic. It's not just that Britain blazed the trail to abolition: we lack the poisonous racial legacy that the practice endowed upon America. **But our own national closet holds other, no less grisly skeletons.**

12- **Such as Ireland.** No slave-owner matched Cromwell's cruelty at Drogheda, while Bloody Sunday and RUC [*Royal Ulster Constabulary*] torture occurred within living memory. Might it take an American to turn over this stone?

13- In fact, British film-makers can make some claim to having bitten the bullet. Ken Loach's *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* gave us uniformed British thugs revelling in summary executions and pulling out Irish fingernails. Most uncompromising of all, and also publicly funded, was the Bobby Sands drama *Hunger*, replete with British brutality. Who made that? Why, Steve McQueen, as happy it turns out to dissect consciences at home as on the other side of the Atlantic.

14- Perhaps it is bit easier for an older, wearier nation to question its own story. Perhaps maturity helps it question others' as well. America may relish its youthful vigour, but confidence in its own past may need a while longer to take root.



SCIENCES PO BORDEAUX

PRUEBA DE ESPAÑOL

2 horas

**Boicoteo a un expreso de la ‘vía Nanclares’**

**Mikel Ormazabal**

*El País 1-03-2014*

A Iñaki Recarte ya le habían avisado de que su vuelta a la libertad plena no iba a ser un camino de rosas, y creía estar preparado para ello. Este exrecluso de ETA, acogido a la *vía Nanclares*, que ha renegado de su pasado terrorista y ha pedido perdón públicamente a todas sus víctimas, tiene que hacer ahora frente al “rechazo del entorno de la izquierda *abertzale*”.

El pasado fin de semana organizó una comida con *bertsolaris* (improvisadores de poesía cantada) en el bar que regenta en Santesteban (Navarra), pero tuvo que cancelarla dos días antes porque los invitados, Amets Arzallus y Jon Maia, le comunicaron que no querían actuar en el bar de un “arrepentido”, de alguien que “ha salido de su mundo”.

Es la primera bofetada que Recarte ha recibido de quienes antes le consideraban un héroe y ahora le tachan de “traidor”. Le apena que “en los tiempos que corren”, cuando lo que hacen falta son “pasos para pacificar y entendernos entre todos”, aún pervivan este tipo de gestos en un sector de la sociedad vasca. “¿Qué me pueden criticar a mí? ¿Qué he dejado eso, que he pedido perdón? ¿Me van a acusar a mí de tomar una decisión personal y rehacer mi vida”, se lamenta tras quedarse “plantado” por los dos *bertsolaris*.

Recarte estaba “muy ilusionado” con la fiesta que había organizado en su bar Ekaitza el día 22 de febrero. A través de un conocido, había conseguido que Amets Arzallus, el último vencedor de la final del Campeonato de Euskadi de Bertsolaris, celebrada en diciembre pasado, accediera a cantar en su local en compañía de Jon Maia, elegido por el campeón como pareja de actuación. Tenía vendidos algo más de 50 menús: alubias, chuleta y la sesión de *bertsos* a 35 euros por comensal. **“Todo iba normal hasta dos días antes. Este conocido recibió la llamada de Arzallus y le dijo que se enteró de quién soy y que le han presionado”, explica Recarte: “También le comentó que por él vendría, pero como le dijeron que yo soy un arrepentido, habían decidido que no iban a venir por lo que represento y porque soy alguien que ha salido de su entorno”.**

Estas “razones ideológicas” le obligaron a Recarte a suspender la comida, para la que contaba con el permiso del Ayuntamiento de este pequeño municipio del norte de Navarra regido por Miguel San Miguel, de Eusko Alkartasuna, a quien Recarte tiene como “un tío majo” que le ha apoyado “siempre”. “Es posible que Arzallus —natural de Hendaya— no supiera adónde venía, aunque a mí todo el mundo me conoce en Irún y Hendaya. Ahora, estoy seguro de que Maia sí sabe quién soy”.

Con 18 años ya militaba en ETA como integrante del *comando Mugarri* y fue condenado a 203 años de cárcel por su participación en la colocación de un coche bomba en 1992 contra una patrulla de la Policía Nacional en Santander que se saldó con tres muertos y 21 heridos. Estando en prisión, rompió con la disciplina de la banda terrorista y se acogió a la denominada *vía Nanclares*. Fue expulsado del colectivo de presos terroristas por condenar la lucha armada de ETA y reconciliarse con las víctimas. Hace tres años comenzó a gozar de beneficios penitenciarios —solo iba a dormir a la prisión de Martutene— hasta que en noviembre pasado consiguió la libertad definitiva al aplicársele la sentencia del Tribunal Europeo de Derechos Humanos de Estrasburgo que tumbó la aplicación de la *doctrina Parot*. Recarte ha rehecho su vida junto a su esposa y sus dos hijos en Santesteban, un municipio de 1.600 habitantes a 50 kilómetros de Pamplona. Allí se gana la vida con el bar Ekaitza, que le va “de lujo”. De vez en cuando organiza actividades para “dinamizar el pueblo”, como el concierto que ofreció el cantante vascofrancés Erramun Martikorena. Su última iniciativa fue la frustrada *bertsocomida* con Arzallus y Maia. El primero es la gran figura de la literatura oral vasca y no se había etiquetado políticamente, como sucede con la gran mayoría de los *bertsolaris*. Maia, en cambio, ha sido colocado por Bildu como asesor de la oficina de la capital cultural europea San Sebastián 2016.

“Yo pensaba que alguien que gana el Campeonato de Bertsolaris tiene un poco de sentido común y es una persona abierta, pero no debe ser así. En realidad, ¿a mí qué me tiene que reprochar?, se pregunta Recarte: “¿Esta es la paz que queremos conseguir? ¿Siempre vamos a vivir con enemigos? Es ridículo”.

Arzallus y Maia habían aceptado actuar en Santesteban a cambio de 350 euros cada uno “por estar dos horas y comer gratis. No venían a hacerme un favor a mí”, explica Recarte. “Lo extraño es que esto ocurra en los tiempos que corren, cuando es el momento de pacificar. ¿Cómo pretende la izquierda *abertzale* que salgan los presos? Tendrán que aceptar la reconciliación, pedir perdón, hacer algo por tantos años abriendo heridas tan grandes”, añade.

**MIKEL ORMAZABAL**

*El País* - San Sebastián - 1 de Marzo de 2014

**Notas :**

*Eusko Alkartasuna*: Formación política vasca nacionalista que en el País Vasco participa en la coalición Bildu

*Bildu* : Coalición política independentista vasca

## **Boicoteo a un expreso de la ‘vía Nanclares’**

**Mikel Ormazabal**

*El País 1-03-2014*

### **I – COMPREHENSION ( 10 points ) :**

A- Contestar y desarrollar en español las siguientes preguntas :

(6 puntos):

- 1 - Explique quién es Iñaki Recarte y analice su trayectoria política
- 2 - Explique la polémica provocada
- 3 - ¿Qué problemáticas plantea este caso?

B- Traducir al francés los párrafos en negrillas en el texto desde :

(4 puntos)

« **Todo iba normal.....**» hasta «... **Maia sí sabe quién soy.** »

### **II – EXPRESSION ( 10 points ) :**

Valiéndose de sus conocimientos y argumentando con ejemplos, desarrolle el siguiente tema (mínimo 300 palabras):

¿Puede ser la cultura un instrumento de paz y de cohesión social?

**SCIENCES PO BORDEAUX**  
**PROVA DI LINGUA ITALIANA**  
**2 Ore**

# La disgregazione della democrazia

MARC LAZAR\* – REPUBBLICA 4/02/14

\*Professore di Storia e Sociologia politica all'Institut d'études politiques di Parigi

1. Le azioni recenti del Movimento 5 Stelle fanno impressione: **contestazioni plateali** e violenze nell'emiciclo del Parlamento, insulti e minacce al capo dello Stato, alla presidente della Camera, ad avversari politici e giornalisti, solo perché critici nei confronti dei **pentastellati**. Molti commentatori guardano con preoccupazione a questi fatti, e c'è chi vi scorge un segnale premonitore della rinascita del fascismo. Va detto però che l'Italia non detiene il triste privilegio di questa sindrome inquietante. Al di là delle Alpi assistiamo a una radicalizzazione delle proteste di piazza. Il 2 febbraio, gli oppositori della legge che autorizza il matrimonio di coppie dello stesso sesso hanno sfilato pacificamente in difesa della famiglia tradizionale; ma già una settimana prima, le vie di Parigi avevano assistito a un evento senza precedenti: una manifestazione antigovernativa intitolata "Giorno della collera", che ha radunato una folla eterogenea di cattolici integralisti, reazionari dichiarati, militanti di estrema destra, amici del comico antisemita Dieudonné, ma anche simpatizzanti dell'ultrasinistra.

13. Si tratta di eventi diversi che certo non possono essere assimilati tra loro. Lo stesso Movimento 5 Stelle ad esempio presenta una forte ambivalenza ideologica e politica, con un misto di temi della sinistra classica sul piano sociale e di quella postindustriale sulle questioni dell'**ambiente** e dell'acqua, mentre rivendica una forma diversa di democrazia, benché guidato da un leader quasi onnipotente. E al tempo stesso è combattuto — fenomeno classico per questo tipo di movimenti — tra una funzione di canalizzazione della protesta, legata alla sua stessa accettazione del principio elettorale, e la volontà di rimanere un outsider che infrange le regole, sopprime i tabù e ostenta permanentemente la propria diversità, rifiutando di essere considerato un partito come gli altri. In Francia, i movimenti di piazza sfuggono per il momento a ogni rappresentanza politica. Il partito dell'ex presidente Sarkozy, l'Ump (Union pour un Mouvement Populaire) ha condannato la manifestazione del 26 gennaio, ma è diviso sull'atteggiamento da adottare nei confronti dei difensori intransigenti della famiglia tradizionale. Marine Le Pen, che in vista di conquistare il potere si è impegnata in una strategia di responsabilizzazione, dà prova di grande prudenza a fronte di queste mobilitazioni.

27. Ma al di là delle differenze, indubbiamente il clima che si è instaurato, in Italia come in Francia, è pesante. Ormai non si tratta più del sempiterno allarme per l'ascesa dei populismi in Europa. Quello che vediamo potrebbe essere l'inizio di una disgregazione generalizzata dei fondamenti stessi delle nostre società democratiche. Questa dinamica si spiega con la congiunzione sempre più esplosiva di diversi fattori: l'insufficiente crescita economica e le sue conseguenze sociali — in particolare l'alto livello di disoccupazione e le crescenti disuguaglianze — alimentano le tensioni, il ripiegamento, la diffidenza generalizzata, la ricerca di **capri espiatori**: gli immigrati, gli ebrei, ma anche l'Europa, che a molti appare al tempo stesso lontana e intrusiva, poco democratica e oramai incapace di assicurare prosperità e protezione. Le istituzioni — parlamentari in Italia, semi-presidenziali in Francia — girano a vuoto; l'astensionismo e il discredito dei partiti guadagnano terreno, e col disinteresse per la cosa pubblica cresce l'attesa del leader forte — l'uomo della Provvidenza.

39. Le classi dirigenti — politica, economica, sociale, culturale, intellettuale — sono delegittimate, contestate, talvolta odiate. Davanti a questo quadro cupo, è il caso di parlare di un ritorno agli anni Venti e Trenta del secolo scorso? A mente fredda, dobbiamo ricordare che la Storia non si ripete, anche se balbetta. Nel corso del XX secolo l'idea e la prassi della democrazia hanno fatto passi avanti, ma restano fragili, e dovrebbero essere costantemente ripensate, rinnovate, reinventate. Questa è oggi la posta in gioco decisiva. La soluzione non verrà soltanto dalla "società civile", ritenuta per sua natura buona e virtuosa, benché percorsa da orientamenti contraddittori; dipenderà anche dai responsabili politici, economici, sociali e culturali. Spetta a loro adottare comportamenti esemplari, promulgare riforme di vasta portata nei rispettivi Paesi e in Europa, elaborare un progetto, ricostruire una narrativa mobilitante. Nella speranza che non sia troppo tardi.

**Testo : "La disgregazione della democrazia", Marc Lazar - Repubblica 4/02/14**

**I) COMPrensIONE ( 6 punti )**

**A. COMPrensIONE GENERALE ( 2 punti )**

Riassumete, in italiano e con parole vostre, l'articolo di Marc Lazar, mettendone in evidenza i punti salienti - (Minimo 100 Parole)

**B. COMPrensIONE SPECIFICA ( 4 punti )**

Spiegate, nel loro contesto, il significato delle seguenti espressioni:

- 1) "Contestazioni plateali" ( Riga 1 )
- 2) "Pentastellati" ( Riga 3 )
- 3) "Ambiente" ( Riga 16 )
- 4) "Capri espiatori" ( Righe 33-34 )

**II) RELAZIONE (10 punti)**

**Scegliete fra questi due argomenti ( minimo 300 parole ):**

1) Secondo Marc Lazar "il clima che si è instaurato, in Italia come in Francia, è pesante e potrebbe essere l'inizio di una disgregazione generalizzata dei fondamenti stessi delle nostre società democratiche". Esprimete la vostra opinione in proposito.

2) Cercate di rispondere all'interrogativo posto dal professor Lazar: " Le classi dirigenti — politica, economica, sociale, culturale, intellettuale — sono delegittimate, contestate, talvolta odiate. Davanti a questo quadro cupo, è il caso di parlare di un ritorno agli anni Venti e Trenta del secolo scorso ?"

**III) TRADUZIONE (4 punti )**

Tradurre in francese l'ultimo paragrafo del testo (Righe 39-49) da : "**Le classi dirigenti**" fino a: "**sia troppo tardi**".

**SCIENCES PO BORDEAUX**  
**EXAME DE LÍNGUA PORTUGUESA**  
**2 horas**

## Pela livre circulação de pessoas

Há algum tempo, o governo tem discutido a possibilidade de incentivar médicos estrangeiros a atuar no Brasil. Com as manifestações de junho, tal ideia entrou na pauta das prioridades. Ela foi a única resposta do Executivo à indignação popular contra um sistema público de saúde que sofre brutalmente de subfinanciamento. Todos conhecem a sina de problemas de infraestrutura, pessoal e baixos salários que atinge a saúde pública brasileira. Sem fonte suficiente de financiamento, a saúde pública parece fadada a ser um dos setores em que a falência do nosso modelo econômico fica mais evidente.

É de causar estranheza, porém, a reação violenta dos médicos contra a vinda de profissionais de outros países. São compreensíveis as manifestações que procuram insistir na maior amplitude dos problemas da área e que fazem questão de lembrar que ainda há muito para ser feito. Mas não é compreensível que isso sirva de justificativa para manifestações contra a possibilidade de estrangeiros serem chamados para trabalhar no Brasil.

No fundo, talvez sem perceber, os médicos acabam por protagonizar **passeatas** a favor dos “brasileiros, primeiro” que mais parecem saídos do álbum de família da extrema-direita xenófoba comum no mundo desenvolvido. Não é possível admitir nenhuma forma de reserva de mercado de trabalho, pois ela quebra um princípio caro à vida democrática: a livre circulação de pessoas. Pois durante muito tempo vimos com os olhos da indignação como países europeus e norte-americanos impediam indivíduos à procura de trabalho de circular livremente, tratando-os como criminosos em potencial. Muitos brasileiros e latino-americanos foram vítimas dessas práticas deploráveis. Por isso, não há razão alguma para repetirmos tais ações em nosso País.

Na verdade, achamos natural uma situação em que o capital tem direito à livre circulação e as pessoas têm circulação restrita. O capital pode transitar de um país a outro em qualquer momento, assim como os produtos, isso ao menos segundo os preceitos liberais da economia. Já os seres humanos devem obedecer aos limites da fronteira e ficar onde estão, a não ser se queiram fazer turismo ou trabalhem em áreas estratégicas para outras nações. Melhor seria se o inverso fosse realidade, ou seja, que o capital tivesse circulação restrita e os cidadãos tivessem liberdade de viver suas vidas onde quisessem.

Nesse sentido, o problema da validação do diploma poderia ser resolvido de maneira simples. Há uma confusão do Ministério da Educação em relação ao assunto. Ele diz respeito tanto a diplomas de graduação quanto àqueles de mestrado e doutorado. Veja o caso dos títulos de mestrado e doutorado. Se alguém faz uma tese em outro país, por exemplo, o ministério exige um pedido de validação de diploma em alguma universidade brasileira. Tal universidade comporá então uma segunda **banca** para avaliar a tese que já foi objeto de uma banca de avaliação em outro país. Nada mais irracional e corporativista. Muito melhor seria se o ministério estabelecesse, de uma vez por todas, uma lista das universidades consideradas compatíveis com o nível de exigência das universidades brasileiras, o que simplificaria em muito o processo de validação.

Com essas pequenas ações e reações acabamos por decidir o rosto do país que queremos. Não haveria nada pior do que utilizarmos a justa indignação contra condições aviltantes de trabalho e de infraestrutura para escondermos um estranho sentimento segregacionista que, em alguns casos, foi alimentado por reações dignas do Comando de Caça aos Comunistas (CCC), pelo fato de boa parte dos médicos a ser chamados ter nacionalidade cubana. Uma sociedade rica é uma sociedade que acolhe aqueles que procuram refazer suas vidas em outro lugar e auxiliar na construção do desenvolvimento social.

por Vladimir Safatle, *CartaCapital* 22/07/2013



**Texto de apoio:** “Pela livre circulação de pessoas”, Vladimir Safatle, *Carta Capital*, 24/07/13

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## **I. Compreensão - 8 pontos**

### **Compreensão global – (2 pontos)**

I.a. Quais os elementos do texto que permitem apoiar a tese do colunista a favor da livre circulação de pessoas?

### **Compreensão pormenorizada – (6 pontos)**

I.b. Em que é que as “manifestações de junho” evocadas no primeiro parágrafo contribuíram para uma maior atuação de médicos estrangeiros no Brasil?

I.c: Que ponto de vista adota o Vladimir Salafate para melhor convencer o leitor?

I.d.: Explique, no contexto, as palavras seguintes: **passeatas – banca** (a negrito no texto)

## **II. Ensaio - 8 pontos**

Discute, à luz do texto e dos seus conhecimentos, a frase conclusiva: “Uma sociedade rica é uma sociedade que acolhe aqueles que procuram refazer suas vidas em outro lugar e auxiliar na construção do desenvolvimento social”.

## **III. Versão – 4 pontos**

Traduzir para francês o primeiro parágrafo