

THE NEW YORK TIMES CHARLES M. BLOW

# THE POLITICS OF A PANDEMIC

## The Coronavirus could determine the outcome of the U.S. presidential election

In addition to being an international health crisis, the COVID-19 pandemic is also having an impact on political life. In the United States, in the midst of the presidential campaign, after initially downplaying the spread of the virus, Donald Trump changed his tune, and now willingly refers to it as a war effort. Can this strategy pay off or is it doomed to fail?

he coronavirus pandemic is first 2. Viewed strictly in a political light, the conand foremost a global public health crisis. But here in the United States — as is likely true in other countries — the response to it is heavily overlaid with political calculations. It is both obvious and inevitable. The crisis is unfolding in the lead-up to the elec-

sequences and rewards of responses to this virus - good responses as well as bad ones - suggest a new political dynamic that has few predecessors. There was an election in the midst of the Spanish Flu pandemic of 1918, but that was a midterm election year, not a presi-

3. I would submit that in general, a national crisis benefits the incumbent, if the nation is perceived to be at war against an outside actor. In such cases, there is a predictable nationalistic rallying. Fear becomes an adhesive; heroism becomes an antidepressant. And the president's bully pulpit is amplified, as networks carry his news conferences and an-

1. first and foremost above all / global international, worldwide / health physical well-being, here medical / likely probably/response reaction/to overlay, laid, laid to connect, link, influence / obvious evident, clear / to unfold to develop, take place / lead-up period preceding.

2. reward recompense, here, positive result / in the midst of during / flu influenza / midterm election congressional and local elections in the middle of a presidential term.

3. to submit here, to assert, support (the idea that)/ incumbent person currently holding office / predictable inevitable, unsurprising / rallying unifying, mobilising / adhesive here, element that unites / bully pulpit (US) public office or position of authority allowing its occupant to dominate, influence / network TV channel / to carry here to transmit, broadcast /

### BASIC AND ADVANCED RECORDINGS

With our guest, author, branding expert and blogger, Lisa Anselmo, we discuss the ockdown on the Advanced and Basic recordings CD audio ou téléchargement MP3 (sur abonnement)

nouncements live and the American public tunes in. People need reassurance, stability and leadership, and changing the person in command in the middle of the process might not appeal to many.

4. As such, Donald Trump has tried in every way to make fighting the pandemic feel like fighting 9. Here again, the battle differs. In a traditional

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feel like

true sense we're at war, and we are fighting an invisible enemy." But an invisible enemy doesn't work as well as a visible one, so Trump now regularly refers to the virus as the "Chinese virus."

5. The problem for Trump is that this actually isn't a war. It's a health crisis. The government may attempt to mobilize in some of the same ways it would if the country were actually at war, but

a health crisis carries a different psychological freight than a combat war.

**6.** A virus is invisible, as Trump originally phrased it, so there isn't a person or a people to vilify. An invisible army of submicroscopic infectious agents with no mind and no capacity for malice isn't an enemy that calls up patriotic defensive cohesion.

7. Calling the virus "the Chinese virus" is the closest Trump can get to a target, to racist, cultural scapegoating. Regardless of where the first case of this virus was identified, the United States now has more confirmed cases than any country in the world.

8. Furthermore, the theater of battle is out of sight, due to patient privacy concerns and HIPAA

to tune in to turn on the TV and watch/to appeal to to attract. please: here satisfy

4. as such thus/to frame to define, express/to refer to as to call, allude to

5. actually in fact, in reality / to attempt to to try to, make an effort to / to carry here, to embody, present / freight here, baggage, impact, effect

6. to phrase to express, formulate / to vilify to defame / mind brain, thoughts, intelligence.

7. target object of an attack / to scapegoat to make one entity responsible for/take the blame for sth in its entirety/ regardless irrespective of, independent of.

8. furthermore additionally, moreover / out of sight invisible / concern preoccupation, consideration /

(Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act) regulations. This war is being waged in hospitals, and the closest most of us will truly get to understanding the gravity and human cost of the situation is from personal testimonials from health care providers.

a war. As he tried to frame it: "We're at war, in a war, or even a terrorist attack, the front line com-

batants are public servants, extensions of the government: soldiers, police officers, firefighters. In the case of a health care emergency, many of those on the front lines are private citizens in a for-profit industry. They may rise, and they have in this case, to true honor, nobility and service, but it is hard for a politician to take credit for their effort and sacrifice.

10. That is a thing that leaders like to do: Find a moment when they can declare a victory, even if the war still rages — George W. Bush on an aircraft carrier standing in front of a "Mission Accomplished" banner, or Barack Obama announcing the killing of Osama bin Laden. There is not likely to be such a dramatic moment with this virus unless a vaccine or treatment is quickly developed.

11. Still, Trump forecasts a victory moment, saying in March, "Americans from every walk of life are coming together and thanks to the spirit of our people, we will win this war and

HIPAA law requiring the Secretary of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services to develop regulations protecting the privacy and security of certain health information / health insurance medical insurance / accountability responsibility/act law/regulation here, legal requirements **to wage** to fight (a war) / **testimonial** personal account / nealth care provider medical professional

9. public servant person in government position / firefighter person whose job it is to put out fires / health care medical services / emergency urgent situation / private citizen individual / for-profit aimed at making money / to rise, rose, risen here, to emerge / nobility quality of being noble in character / to take, took, taken credit for to allow people to believe that you have done something.

10. to rage (of a storm, battle) to be at its most violent / aircraft carrier military ship from which planes can take off and land / to stand, stood, stood to be positioned / dramatic theatrical / unless except if.

11. still yet, nevertheless / to forecast, cast, cast to predict, foresee / walk of life occupation, profession or position in

we are, we're winning and we're going to win

12. Furthermore, it is nearly impossible to grasp the scope of the lethality of the crisis. We see numbers climb, but we rarely see the human representation of those numbers.

13. There is no battlefield to visit. There is no pile of rubble to climb. There is no communal gathering place. Even if there was a place to gather, gatherings are strictly discouraged during this crisis. There is no collective action, and therefore collective conscience, because we are isolated from one another.

14. The most we see is online concerts and convening, and people clapping or singing from balconies. There are no candlelight vigils. There are no massive quilts. Trump needs America to view the fight against the virus as a war against an army unleashed by a foreign power — one over which we will emerge victorious. Only in that light can he emerge as a valiant leader. Seen the other way, the way it truly is - as a national health emergency during which he has failed by downplaying its significance and lying about his response — it would be a disaster. ●

12. to grasp to understand, here, visualise / scope extent / lethality capacity to be fatal / to climb to rise

13. battlefield area where combat takes place / rubble debris/gathering place meeting place / therefore as a

14. convening to come together for a meeting / to clap to applaud/candlelight vigil people gathering at night to remember, honour or protest, with candles / massive enormous, gigantic / quilt here, memorial (pictures or names arranged on the side of a building that resemble a patchwork quilt to memorialise people who died) / to unleash to instigate, set off / foreign from another country / valiant showing valour, courageous / to fail to be negligent about / to downplay to minimise / significance importance.



### Comparez:

to downplay (§ 14) minimiser l'importance to downsize, to downscale réduire la

taille, réduire les effectifs to downgrade déclasser

to downshift rétrograder to downcry (US) dénigrer



Since the publication of this article, Bernie Sanders has suspended his campaign and endorsed Joe Biden, meaning that we already know who will be running for president for the Democratic party.



#### **ADVANCED RECORDING**

On the Advanced recording, Lisa Anselmo discusses patriotism and being politically active. CD audio ou téléchargement MP3 (sur abonnement)

THE GUARDIAN DAVID SMITH

**CAN THE US PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION SURVIVE?** 

### Can there still be a 2020 presidential election?

The coronavirus has had a major effect that will be felt throughout 2020 and further. In a context where everyone stays at home to limit the contagion, no event, whatever its scope, has been spared. The day after his election in 2016, the Republican candidate went straight back to campaigning. Despite the many scandals that marred his presidency, Donald Trump survived his first term in office, but will the same be true for the next general election?

he coronavirus pandemic has taken a wrecking ball to the Olympics, Edinburgh Festival and UN's Cop26 climate conference. In America, presidential primary elections have gone down like skittles, the Democratic national convention has been postponed and campaigns are frozen in time. All of which raises the question: can the 2020 general election itself survive?

2. The presidential vote is due to take place on 3 November. The date is set by federal law and Donald Trump has no power to delay it alone. That would require legislation enacted by Congress and signed by the president. Such an outcome still remains unthinkable to most. But many unthinkable events have unfolded in the last month.

1. to take, took, taken a wrecking ball to to destroy (wrecking ball heavy metal ball used to demolish buildings) / primary election preliminary election by voters of a political party to select a candidate for office / to go, went, gone down like skittles to fall like a house of cards (skittle one of nine wooden objects which must be hit in a game of bowling) / **Democratic** here, of the Democrat party / to postpone to move to a later date / frozen turned to ice, here, officially temporarily stopped / to raise to provoke / general election presidential election.

2. vote here, election / to be due to to be organised/ planned to / to take, took, taken place to happen, to occur/to set, set, set to fix/to delay to move to a later date / to require to necessitate / to enact to pass into law /outcome result, here, situation / to unfold to take place, **3.** "We're in completely uncharted waters here and I don't think anybody knows what's going to happen," said Monika McDermott, a political science professor at Fordham University in New York. "By November the picture might be completely unrecognisable. We don't even know if the election is going to happen as scheduled. There's talk out there about postponing it or changing it to a mail-in only election."

#### THE FUTURE OF THE CAMPAIGN

4. The profound uncertainty has upended political campaigns like nothing else in living memory. On 3 March, former vice-president Joe Biden won 10 states on Super Tuesday, the biggest day in the primary calendar, and took firm control of the Democratic race. Trump, meanwhile, was holding regular campaign rallies in packed arenas.

3. uncharted waters unknown territory / picture situation /scheduled planned, programmed / talk discussion / out there here, among the population / mail-in only election

4. to upend to completely change / in living memory during a time which can be remembered by people still alive /former ex-/Super Tuesday Tuesday in March when party members in more than 20 states vote in primary elections to select their presidential candidate / race here, election / meanwhile in the meantime, at the same time / to hold, held, held to organise, to participate in / regular frequent / rally large political gathering / packed full of people, crowded / arena stadium.

**5.** Now, Biden finds himself holed up in his basement in Wilmington, Delaware, struggling to break into the national conversation through TV interviews and virtual campaign events. Trump has been denied the lifeblood of rallies but switched to his other favourite medium television - with daily coronavirus taskforce briefings from the White House. Polls suggest he is benefiting moderately from a "rally around the flag effect".

6. Media coverage that would normally be all about the race for the White House is dominated instead by an extraordinary public health and economic crisis. Trump and Biden continue to work on the assumption that, come

5. to hole up to confine / basement room below ground level / to struggle to have difficulties / to break, broke, broken into to force one's way into / lifeblood vital force / to switch to to change to / medium media, means of communication / taskforce group of experts brought together to advise on or manage a particular problem / briefing press conference / poll survey, study of public opinion / rally around the flag effect support for the President of the US during a period of international crisis (as it takes attention away from other criticized national governmental policies).

6. coverage media attention, reporting of an event / extraordinary unprecedented / assumption supposition / to come, came, come here, by the time it's November /

November, the worst of the pandemic will be over. The US held midterm elections in 1918 even in the grip of the Spanish flu that killed 675,000 people nationwide.

7. Fifteen states and one territory have postponed their primaries already this year, denying Biden the chance to knock out his rival, the Vermont senator Bernie Sanders, sooner rather than later. June will now be a bumper month, with nearly 700 delegates up for grabs in 10 states and the District of Columbia on 2 June alone - assuming the primaries can go ahead. The Democratic National Committee also announced it was delaying its presidential nominating convention in Milwaukee by a month until the week of 17 August.

8. But changing general election day would be much more difficult. Faced with the inconsist-

to be over to be finished / to hold, held, held to organise / midterm elections congressional and local elections in the middle of a presidential term / in the grip of at a time when severely affected by, in the middle of / Spanish flu influenza pandemic of 1918 / nationwide all over the country,

7. to deny to refuse / to knock out to eliminate / bumper very full / nearly almost / up for grabs available to win / alone only / assuming provided / to go, went, gone ahead to continue, to take place.

ency of states voting on different dates, Congress passed a law in 1845 that stipulated federal elections must be held on the Tuesday after the first Monday in November (the day and time of year were chosen to suit farmers). Congress would have to pass a new law to postpone the 2020 election and even then would run into constitutional hurdles stating the new Congress must be sworn in on 3 January and the new president's term must begin on 20 January.

9. If the election does go ahead as expected on 3 November, states that already allow early and absentee voting will be well placed. Washington state, for example, has carried out elections by mail for years and its primary last month went ahead as planned. But 17 states require some kind of excuse for requesting an absentee ballot.

8. inconsistency nonuniformity / to pass to vote for, to bring into effect by legislation / to suit to be appropriate for, to satisfy / farmer agriculturalist / to run, ran, run into to come up against / hurdle obstacle / to state to stipulate / to be sworn in to inaugurate / term period in office.

9. as expected as planned / early voting ability to vote in advance / absentee voting postal vote / to carry out to do, here, to organise / to require to impose, to demand / to request to ask for / ballot vote /

Many would need to change their rules at huge cost to run a mail-only election.

10. Robert P Jones, founder and chief executive of the Public Religion Research Institute (PRRI), said: "There is a patchwork of state constitutions. The west coast is ahead of the curve whereas other states might have to scramble. One challenge is the United States postal service is economically unstable, so vote by mail may not be as simple as it seems right now. We could end up with concerns about the legitimacy of the election. Last time it was only 10,000 votes in Michigan. It's not hard to think we might have votes misdirected or 'return to sender'."

11. Party politics are already a factor. Democrats sought s2bn in funding for absentee and voteby-mail options in the recent coronavirus emergency relief bill but only got \$400m. Trump admitted on Fox News: "The things they had in there were crazy. They had things - levels of voting that, if you ever agreed to it, you'd never have a Republican elected in this country again." >>>

huge enormous, colossal / to run, ran, run to organise.

10. chief executive company director / ahead of in advance /curve trend/line on a graph/to scramble to rush to do sth, to be in a hurry to do sth (with difficulty) / challenge difficulty /concern worry, preoccupation / to misdirect to send to the wrong place / sender person who sends sth (return to sender phrase used to indicate that a letter can not be delivered and must be returned to the person who sent it)

11. to seek, sought, sought to try to obtain / bn = billion (one thousand million) / funding financing / emergency relief financial help in case of disasters / bill proposed new law /to admit to concede/crazy mad/to agree to to accept.



#### Comment traduire "due" dans le sens de "prévu" ?

The vote is *due* to take place on 3 November (§ 4). Le vote est prévu pour le 3 novembre. The train is due at 4pm. Le train doit

arriver à 16 heures When is the baby due? Quand doit naître le bébé ?

He's due in Quebec next week. Il est attendu au Québec la semaine prochaine.



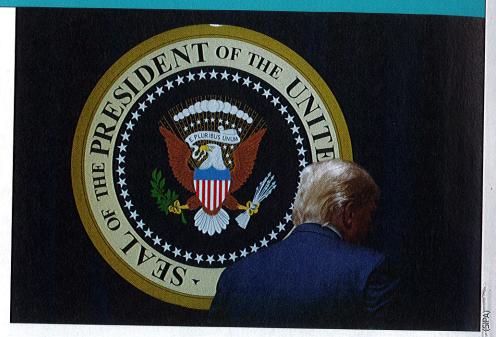
#### **VIDEO BONUS**

The race for the White House was supposed to be the most important story of 2020. But coronavirus has made traditional campaigning impossible for President Trump and former vice president Joe Biden, complicating their efforts to raise money and reach voters. www.vocable.fr/videos-anglais

#### STOKING FEAR

12. At a White House coronavirus taskforce briefing he elaborated by claiming without evidence: "I think a lot of people cheat with mail-in voting. I think people should vote with ID voter ID. I think voter ID is very important and the reason they don't want voter ID is because they intend to cheat. "It shouldn't be mail-in voting. It should be: you go to a booth and you proudly display yourself. You don't send it in the mail where people pick up - all sorts of bad things can happen by the time they signed that, if they signed that by the time it gets in and is tabulated."

- 13. Republicans have long stoked fears of fraud in mail-in voting. But according to the Washington Post, in Washington state's last election, 4.4m ballots were cast but fewer than a hundred were flagged and none led to a criminal fraud investigation.
- 14. What remains unknown is whether the pandemic will help or hurt Trump at the ballot box. He declared a national emergency on 13 March but has been fiercely condemned for previously downplaying the virus, squandering crucial weeks and leaving the country unprepared. The president has "has blood on his hands", argued the Boston Globe editorial board this week, while Biden's supporters say the former vice-president would bring precisely the stable leadership the country needs.
- 12. to elaborate to explain in detail / to claim to assert, to say/evidence proof/to cheat to act in a fraudulent/ dishonest way / to intend to have the intention to / booth enclosed area / proudly with pride, here, clearly, openly / to display oneself to show oneself / to pick up to take / by the time before / to get, got, got in to arrive, here, to be registered / to tabulate to count.
- 13. long for a long time / to stoke to provoke / according to in the opinion of... / to cast, cast a ballot to vote in an election / to flag to signal (with a warning) / to lead, led, led to result in / investigation enquiry.
- 14. to hurt, hurt, hurt to harm, to have a negative impact on/ballot box box in which a vote is put, here, elections/ emergency urgent situation, crisis / fiercely strongly, intensely / previously until that time / to downplay to minimise (the importance of) / to squander to waste / to have blood on one's hands to be responsible for the death of many people (**blood** red liquid which circulates around the body) / to argue to say / editorial board group of editors and writers of a newspaper / supporter defender, adherent, follower / leadership direction, authority.



unknown is

whether the

help or hurt

ballot box.

Trump at the

pandemic will

15. The PRRI says that, in less than three weeks, "The effect is not necessarily related to perfor-Trump has seen the highest increase in his favourability rating since the institute began "By historical standards, the effect for Trump is tracking it in 2015. Jones explained: "We're smaller than you'd expect and smaller than we've

seeing a typical American reaction at times of national crisis, a 'rally around the flag effect'. It happened with George W Bush after 9/11 and Barack Obama after the killing of Osama bin Laden. But on this one, we're looking at something different, the very front edge of the US finally taking this seriously.

16. Robert Griffin, research director of the Democracy Fund

Voter Study Group, agreed that the "rally around the flag effect" is benefiting the president but noted that, after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, it was not only Bush but also state governors who saw a rise in their approval ratings.

mance or what the government is doing," he said. seen for other world leaders. His What remains

approval rating has not really changed that much and, for the 2020 election, it's not moved the needle at all."

17. Trump's central re-election argument was the economy, but the coronavirus outbreak has caused the quickest collapse the US job market has ever seen, throwing 10 million people out of work in just two weeks, and destroyed countless

businesses. Griffin said: "Economic shocks in an election year are about as bad as it could get in terms of timing for a president seeking reelection. How are the American people going to interpret the action of this administration?"

15. increase rise / favourability rating popularity / to track to monitor, to study, to follow / typical normal, characteristic / to rally around to bring people together to support a cause / 9/11 = September 11th 2001 / killing execution / to look at to see, to observe / very absolute / front highest / edge limit, here, level.

16. to agree to share the same opinion / to note to state, to remark, to observe / rise increase, augmentation / approval ratings public popularity /

to be related to to be linked to / standard point of comparison / to expect to assume / leader head of state / needle indicator on a scale, here, to move the needle to change the situation / at all in any way

17. outbreak epidemic / collapse complete breakdown / job market labour market / to throw, threw, thrown sb out of work to make sb unemployed / countless many, innumerable / business company / shock here, crisis / as bad as it could get worst case scenario / timing moment Politique | ETATS-UNIS







## **Donald John Trump**

O Date and place of birth

June 14, 1946 in Queens,New York City, New York, U.S.A,

Education

The Wharton School

**○**Career

Trump began his career in 1968 at his father Fred's real estate development company, E. Trump & Son, which owned middle-class rental housing in New York City's outer boroughs. In 1971, he was named president of the family company and renamed it **The Trump Organization**. He then went on to turn his family name into a brand and ultimately a household name.

real estate development property management ranging from renovation to the purchase of land for building / **to own** to possess, be the proprietor of / **rental** , housing paying an amount monthly to have a domestic residence / outer boroughs suburb / to name to be chosen, identified, designated / to go, went, gone on to to proceed / brand image, trademark / ultimately finally, eventually household name famous name, name known to everyone.

He is the oldest first-term U.S. President, and the first without prior military or government service.

first-term newly elected / prior previous / Reform Party American political party formed in 1995 and led by Ross Perot to respond to electors disillusioned with the state of politics as being corrupt and unable to deal with vital issues / democratic here, Democrat,

#### O Party affiliation

Republican, but that has not always been the case Republican: 1987-1999

Reform Party: 1999-2001 Democratic Party: 2001-2009 Republican: 2009 - Present day

#### **○** Fortune

According to Forbes, the coronavirus crisis has affected the president's fortune, making it drop from \$3.1 billion to \$2.1 billion in less than a month.

to drop to decrease, to reduce / billion thousand

### **○** Controversy

The Trump name may be synonymous with success, but it also comes with its fair share of controversy ranging from accusations of racism, sex scandals, corruption both before and during his term in office. Trump's presidency has been so rocky that it has changed the way media cover the news, for better or for worse

> fair share rightly deserved, here, many / to range from... to to vary from... to / in office in power / rocky here, not stable, with ups and downs,

#### O Vices

Trump does not smoke or drink. His older brother Freddy suffered from alcoholism and died at the age of 43.

## Joseph Robinette Biden Jr.

O Date and place of birth

November 20, 1942 in Scranton, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.,

#### **○** Education

University of Delaware and Syracuse University

#### O Career

Biden comes from a working class background. He was a lawyer before becoming the sixth-youngest senator in American history. He represented the state of Delaware from 1973 to 2009. During that time, he also served as a longtime member of the U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary as well as the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

working class proletariat / background origins, family, sociocultural milieu / lawyer practitioner of law/to serve as to work as/longtime for a long time/Senate Committee on the Judiciary committee of 22 U.S. Senators whose role is to oversee the Department of Justice (DOJ), consider executive nominations, and review pending legislation/**Senate Committee on Foreign Relations** group responsible for leading foreign-policy legislation and debate in the Senate, for overseeing (but not administering) and funding foreign aid programs, and funding arms sales and training for national allies.

#### O Fun Facts

During his 30 years in the Senate, **Biden commuted to and from his** Delaware home every day.

fun fact anecdote / to commute to travel a certain distance between home and work every day / lifelong of a lifetime, always / to run, ran, run for president to be a candidate in the

presidential election / Democratic presidential nomination nomination of a candidate to represent the Democrat Party in the presidential election.

#### Party affiliation A lifelong Democrat

This is not the first time he has run for president: he unsuccessfully sought the Democratic presidential nomination in 1988 and

#### ○ Fortune

He has consistently been listed as **one of** America's least wealthy government officials. In 2017 and 2018, Biden and his wife, Jill, made more than \$15 million combined. consistently regularly / to be listed as to be classified as, considered as / wealthy rich / official representative.

#### **○** Controversy

He is a self-described "gaffe machine" who has falsely said he was fired upon in Iraq, that he met survivors of the 2018 Parkland, Florida school shooting while he was vice president, even though the shooting happened after he left office and that he was arrested while trying to visit Nelson Mandela in apartheid-era South Africa. He has recently been accused of groping women. His son's dealings in Ukraine have also attracted criticism.

self-described who describes herself/himself as / falsely wrongly / to be fired upon to be shot at (with a firearm) /to grope to grab/touch with one's hands / dealings negotiations /to attract here, to provoke / criticism critique

He does not drink or smoke but has a penchant for