《共和党人：学着去爱川普》

导读:在经历了异常激烈的初选鏖战之后，两个党派为了大选，都本应统一各自战线。不管是失败者，还是重伤者，本应为了团结而平息他们的不满，但这件事不会发生在特朗普身上。当共和党众议员以及参议员5月10日回到国会山时，支持这名未来候选人的队伍似乎仍然是参差不齐，抱怨连连。

AFTER a bruising workout in the primaries, both parties are supposed to clank back into line for the general election. The losers and maimed quell their sni?ing for the sake of unity. But that is not happening for Donald Trump. As Republican congressmen and senators returned to Capitol Hill on May 10th, the ranks backing the party's prospective nominee looked ragged and querulous.

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Many Republican congressmen have held off endorsing Mr Trump, including their leader, Paul Ryan, the Republican Speaker of the House of Representatives, who has declared himself "just not ready" to. Other Republican leaders, including two former presidents, George Bush senior and junior, a handful of senators, such as Lindsey Graham of South Carolina, and at least one governor, Charlie Baker of Massachusetts, have said they will never back him. 'Sometimes there's a stink you just can't wash off, kinda like a venereal disease," said a Republican congressman. "That's the problem Trump's got." There is muttering of mutiny, perhaps a rallying around an alternative leader. Senator Ted Cruz, who suspended his campaign after Mr Trump trounced him in Indiana, hinted on May 10th that he might reactivate it.

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This is at once unprecedented and predictable. No presidential nominee has shown such contempt for his party's verities as Mr Trump has. While professing to admire Ronald Reagan, he castigates free trade, vows to defend Social Security and apologises for Vladimir Putin. He has also missed no opportunity to belittle his Republican confrères.

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Asked, in an interview with The Economist, which brand was more powerful, the Republicans or his own, he responded by noting that a television debate he had appeared in was watched by 24m people; “Massive, massive show—biggest show in the history of cable. If I wasn't in it, they would've had 3m-4m, if that.” Responding to Mr Ryan, he has declared himself “not ready to support Speaker Ryan's agenda” which, he implied, ran contrary to the interests of Americans, who “have been treated so badly for so long.” That was less a snippy rejoinder than a statement of war. It identi?ed the prospective Republican nominee with those—around half the Republican electorate, according to recent exit polls—who say they feel “betrayed” by their party.

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As The Economist went to press on May 12th, Mr Trump and Mr Ryan were due to hold peace talks. The impression of a party in meltdown is helping neither. Despite his braggadocio, Mr Trump needs Mr Ryan's help to raise money—he says he may need $1.5 billion—and to turn out the conservative vote in November. There are not enough aggrieved Republicans to give him victory; Mr Trump needs all Republicans including those, roughly a quarter of the total in recent primary exit polls, who currently say they will not vote for him.

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Mr Ryan's interests are more balanced. A wonkish sort of politician, he must be horri?ed by Mr Trump's policies. He preaches ?scal discipline, including by trimming welfare; Mr Trump, who vows to safeguard Social Security, promises tax cuts worth $10 trillion (though he says he is seeing if he can reduce that cost a bit).

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A former acolyte of Jack Kemp, who retains his mentor's optimistic belief in the power of enterprise and free markets to help the poor, Mr Ryan must ?nd Mr Trump's angry pessimism even more objectionable. He denounced the tycoon's proposed ban on foreign Muslims, as well as his reluctance to disavow the support of a former Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, David Duke.

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Mr Trump’s off ensiveness is also a worry for the many Republican congressmen who are up for re-election in November and maintaining Republican control of both houses is one of Mr Ryan’s main responsibilities. John McCain, a senator from Arizona, a state with many Hispanics, who mostly loathe Mr Trump, has predicted a tough re-election ?ght for himself. Despite Mr Trump having denigrated his heroism as a prisoner-of-war in Vietnam, however, Mr McCain is reluctantly backing the tycoon.

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Sooner or later, Mr Ryan is likely to follow suit. He will not want to be seen blocking party unity. For the same reason, he and other front-rank Republicans will probably not be tempted to run as an independent, which would hand victory to Hillary Clinton, the prospective Democratic nominee. By holding out against Mr Trump, at least for a bit, Mr Ryan mainly hopes to persuade him to adopt a less vituperative style. He knows there is not much he can do to influence Mr Trump’s policies. “This is a big-tent party,” he said on May 11th. “There’s plenty of room for policy disputes.”

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The painful fact for Republican leaders, including Mr Cruz, whose campaign is dead, is that Mr Trump has won. They have lost. The rest is mostly noise

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