**Will Donald Trump run again?**

**特朗普会重出江湖吗？**

（英文部分选自经济学人20220813社论版块）



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Will Donald Trump run again?

特朗普会重出江湖吗？

And, if he does, would Republicans **pick** him **as** their nominee?

如果再次参选，特朗普有望成为共和党候选人吗？

**They are the questions hanging over America and, thus, the West.** Will the man who tried to overturn the results of the presidential election in 2020, threatened to disband the world’s most powerful military alliance and **played footsie** with Vladimir Putin, decide that he wants to run again? If so, can he be stopped? It may seem premature to ask. But the first primary of 2024 is closer in time than the last general election, 94 weeks ago. And, despite his poor record in office and his unconscionable behaviour after America’s voters kicked him out, Donald Trump’s grip on the Republican Party has strengthened.

**有两个问题当前令美国乃至整个西方世界忧心忡忡【**作者这里没有使用there are two questions，而是使用了定冠词the questions，这是一种修辞手法——在文章的开头破例使用定冠词，类似的比如威廉·戈尔丁《蝇王》的第一句The boy with fair hair lowered himself down the last few feet of rock and began to pick his way towards the lagoon.男孩和环礁湖在之前都没提及，但是作者用了定冠词，给读者留下了悬念，到底是哪个男孩。这是一种特别的文体手法。**】。**曾试图推翻2020年美国总统选举结果，扬言解散全球最强大的军事联盟，还和普京“勾肩搭背”的特朗普会决定再次竞选总统吗？如果决定参选，他会受到阻拦吗？目前讨论这些问题看似为时尚早，然而，相比于94周前进行的2020总统选举，我们距2024年总统初选已经不剩94个礼拜了。尽管特朗普在位期间劣迹斑斑，被选民抛弃后的举动令人不齿，但是他的党内影响力不减反增。

P1 翻译精读笔记

3. But the first primary of 2024 is closer in time than the last general election, 94 weeks ago（然而，相比于94周前进行的2020总统选举，我们距2024年总统初选已经不剩94个礼拜了）。这句话里用but开头，有一些人认为不应该用连词作为句子的第一个词，但是绝大多数写作专家和写作指南都表示这种做法没有任何问题。笔者拿到的审校版本中，此句翻译为“实则拜登任期过半，距离2024年总统选举首次初选已不到94周了。”，这一翻译没有很好的理解primary 和general election，而且“拜登任期过半”与事实不符。

The **thumping** defeat of Liz Cheney in her Wyoming primary this week matters, because it **robs** Congress **of** a brave, principled conservative, and **because it fits a pattern**. Not all the candidates endorsed by Mr Trump have won their primaries. But most of them have done so. Perhaps a greater sign of his influence is that many of the losing candidates sought his endorsement, too. These contests have not been over different flavours of conservatism, but over which contender is the most maga. Of the ten House Republicans who voted to impeach the president for what he did on January 6th 2021, eight are either retiring or have been retired by primary voters. At the same time, the party’s nominees for key positions in some states’ administration of elections are people who support Mr Trump’s dangerous claim that the vote in 2020 was stolen.

本周，莉兹·切尼在怀俄明州党内预选中惨遭淘汰。她的惨败事关重大，因为这意味着国会将失去一位勇敢且有原则的保守派议员，**同时也印证了一条规律**：特朗普背书的候选人大多（虽非全部）都能在预选中获胜。甚至许多落败的候选人也曾寻求他的支持，更加彰显出他的影响力。共和党初选从不同流派保守主义论战，沦为了票选特朗普的铁杆拥趸。特朗普因2021年1月6日国会山骚乱事件遭弹劾表决时，10名共和党籍众议员投了赞成票，其中八名放弃连任或在预选中落败。与此同时，部分州立选举部门重要职位的共和党提名人也都是支持特朗普关于2020年选举胜利“被偷走”这一危险言论的。

P2 翻译精读笔记

2.These contests have not been over different flavours of conservatism, but over which contender is the most maga (共和党初选从不同流派保守主义论战，沦为了票选特朗普的铁杆拥趸)，这里的contests是指共和党各州的初选，保守主义是共和党的政治观念。笔者拿到的审校版本此举翻译为：总统竞选并不是比较不同风格的保守主义，而是要选出“让美国再次伟大”的最佳拥护者。这一翻译理解有误。

Early **polling on** whom Republican voters want as their champion in 2024 suggests that about 50% of them say Mr Trump. **In a system where** a candidate can **knock out** most rivals **with a solid 30% of support** in the early states, it is a formidable starting position. A few months ago Republican voters, tiring of Mr Trump, looked as if they might switch to Florida’s governor, Ron DeSantis, or anyone else offering maga without the drama. Today Mr DeSantis would be more likely to conclude that his best shot at the White House is as Mr Trump’s running-mate.

早期民调显示，近半共和党选民表示支持特朗普作为共和党候选人参加2024年总统选举。**在美国党内选举体制中**，若候选人在各州早期初选中能够**稳定取得30%党内选民支持**，就足以战胜大多数对手，因此这一近半数的支持率可算是相当高的起点了。几个月前，受够了特朗普的共和党选民似乎转而支持佛罗里达州州长罗恩·德桑蒂斯（Ron DeSantis），或是其他能够平稳实现“让美国再次伟大”的候选人。如今看来，德桑蒂斯要想入驻白宫，最佳机会便是成为特朗普的竞选搭档。

**A lot could change between now and the first Republican primary**, but unless Mr Trump either decides he does not want to run, or something prevents him from doing so, it looks as if he would win the Republican nomination. That leads to the second question: could he be stopped?

**如今距离共和党初选尚有时日，许多事情都可能发生变化**。但是，除非特朗普决定不再参选，或是因某些事情而无法参选，他赢得共和党提名似乎已成定局。这就带来了第二个问题：能否阻止特朗普参选？

One obstacle is the law. The most recent of the many investigations Mr Trump faces was revealed when the fbi came knocking at Mar-a-Lago earlier this month. A lot remains unknown. The unsealed warrant says that the Department of Justice sought classified documents that Mr Trump took from the White House. Once his investigation is complete, the attorney-general, Merrick Garland, may decide that the documents are safe and his work is done. Whether a prosecution follows may depend on how sensitive the documents were.

横亘在他身前的其中一只拦路虎是法律。特朗普面临多起案件调查，最近一起发生在本月初，美国联邦调查局突击搜查海湖庄园。许多案件相关信息尚未可知。披露的搜查令表示司法部在寻找特朗普从白宫带出的机密文件。一旦该案调查完成，司法部长梅里克·加兰（Merrick Garland）可能会宣布文件处于安全状态，相关工作已完成。之后是否会对特朗普发起起诉，可能取决于文件的敏感程度。

P5 翻译精读笔记

1. The most recent of the many investigations Mr Trump faces was revealed when the fbi came knocking at Mar-a-Lago earlier this month. A lot remains unknown. （特朗普面临多起案件调查，最近一起发生在本月初，美国联邦调查局突击搜查海湖庄园。许多案件相关信息尚未可知。）读者可以从这两句中管中窥豹欣赏经济学人的写作风格（同时也是现在英文写作提倡的风格）。作者并没有使用it is still unclear/we know little/there are many investigations这种行文，而是直截了当的用具体的事物做主语。这样写出的文章会更清晰有力。

Many Republicans, including Mr DeSantis, have **rallied behind** Mr Trump. The most vocal are calling for the impeachment of Mr Garland and demanding the defunding of the fbi—**a double standard** considering that they wanted Hillary Clinton to b**e locked up** for her use of a private email server. However, Democrats should remember that **the precedent cuts both ways**: in 2016 the Justice Department declined to prosecute Mrs Clinton.

包括德桑蒂斯在内的许多共和党人都拥护支持特朗普。发声最激烈的共和党人要求弹劾美国司法部长加兰，撤销美国联邦调查局的经费。考虑到他们之前曾希望希拉里·克林顿因使用私人电子邮件服务器而遭受牢狱之灾，这无疑是种**双标行为**。不过，民主党人不应忘记该**先例是把双刃剑**：2016年，司法部拒绝起诉希拉里。

P6 翻译精读笔记

1. However, Democrats should remember that the precedent cuts both ways: in 2016 the Justice Department declined to prosecute Mrs Clinton （不过，民主党人不应忘记该先例是把双刃剑：2016年，司法部拒绝起诉希拉里。）这里掌握一个词组：if something cuts both ways, it has both good and bad aspects.可以用来替换double-edged sword。

Three other investigations—into whether Mr Trump lied on his tax returns, whether he broke the law on January 6th, and whether he took part in a criminal conspiracy to overturn the election in Fulton County, Georgia, in November 2020—are equally uncertain. Like anyone else, Mr Trump deserves the **presumption of innocence**. And his opponents should **be wary of repeating old mistakes**: at each turn they have hoped that something, anything (the Mueller investigation, the first impeachment trial, the second impeachment trial) would **take him out of the picture**. And yet here he is.

还有三项调查同样尚不确定：其一，特朗普是否存在税务欺诈问题；其二，2021 年 1 月 6 日特朗普支持者冲击美国国会大厦事件中，特朗普是否违反了法律规定；其三，特朗普是否参与了2020年11月在乔治亚州富尔顿县推翻选举结果的犯罪阴谋。和其他人一样，特朗普同样享有无罪推定。他的反对者需警惕**重蹈覆辙**：他们总是寄希望出些状况（穆勒调查、第一次弹劾审判、第二次弹劾审判）**将特朗普踢出局**。但他还是来了。

P7 翻译精读笔记

1 Three other investigations—into whether Mr Trump lied on his tax returns, whether he broke the law on January 6th, and whether he took part in a criminal conspiracy to overturn the election in Fulton County, Georgia, in November 2020—are equally uncertain.（还有三项调查同样尚不确定：其一，特朗普是否存在税务欺诈问题；其二，2021 年 1 月 6 日特朗普支持者冲击美国国会大厦事件中，特朗普是否违反了法律规定；其三，特朗普是否参与了2020年11月在乔治亚州富尔顿县推翻选举结果的犯罪阴谋。）关于这部分的拓展阅读可以参见：

https://chinese.aljazeera.net/donald-trump/2022/8/9/%E7%89%B9%E6%9C%97%E6%99%AE%E7%BE%8E%E5%9B%BD%E5%89%8D%E6%80%BB%E7%BB%9F%E9%9D%A2%E4%B8%B4%E5%93%AA%E4%BA%9B%E6%B3%95%E5%BE%8B%E5%9B%B0%E5%A2%83

In fact, these legal troubles increase the incentive for Mr Trump to run. Out of politics, he is just a private citizen facing some prosecutions. For as long as he is a potential president, he is the head of a movement that won 74m votes last time round. At that point Mr Garland and others running the investigations would face an unenviable choice: either put a presidential candidate **on trial** or choose not to uphold the rule of law. Being on trial and even being convicted could **fuel** Mr Trump’s return. A revenge tour, in which he campaigned on retribution for his persecution by the legal system, would **play to【正好迎合了】** Mr Trump’s worst instincts and further exhaust America’s institutions.

事实上，这些法律困境让特朗普参选更有动力。抛开政治身份，特朗普只是一位面临指控的普通公民。但只要他还在竞选总统，我们就不能忘记他领导着一个2020年赢得过7400万张选票的政治团体。因此，加兰和其他调查者面临艰难抉择：是让总统候选人接受审判还是放弃维护法治。受审甚至被定罪都可能会**助长**特朗普回归政坛的雄心。扮演起法制受害者的角色，开启自己的“复仇”竞选之旅，这一切对特朗普而言可谓正中下怀——他将用他卑劣下作的行径继续破坏美国的政治制度。

P8 翻译精读笔记

1.For as long as he is a potential president, he is the head of a movement that won 74m votes last time round. （但只要他还在竞选总统，我们就不能忘记他领导着一个2020年赢得过7400万张选票的政治团体。），movement在这里（以及在下文）的含义是A movement is a group of people who share the same beliefs, ideas, or aims.笔者拿到的审稿版本中此句翻译为：但只要他是总统候选人，他就是总统竞选活动的领袖，上次参选还赢得了7400万张选票。这个翻译很难懂。

2.At that point Mr Garland and others running the investigations would face an unenviable choice（因此，加兰和其他调查者面临艰难抉择）这里掌握一个单词unenviable：羡慕的；令人不快的；尴尬的 If you describe a situation or task as unenviable, you mean that nobody would enjoy dealing with it because it is very difficult, dangerous, or unpleasant.

3. A revenge tour, in which he campaigned on retribution for his persecution by the legal system, would play to Mr Trump’s worst instincts and further exhaust America’s institutions.（扮演起法制受害者的角色，开启自己的“复仇”竞选之旅，这一切对特朗普而言可谓正中下怀——他将用他卑劣下作的行径继续破坏美国的政治制度。

）这一句中play to表示正好迎合了，worst instincts是川普想要重蹈覆辙做各种坏事的冲动，最终破坏的是institutions（An **institution** is a custom or system that is considered an important or typical feature of a particular society or group, usually because it has existed for a long time.）

**In another era**, the influence of corporate America might have helped sideline Mr Trump. **Yet the political clout of big companies is waning, as** the Republican Party becomes a movement of working-class whites and an increasing number of conservative Hispanics. That movement protests against not just foreign entanglements, illegal immigration and cuts to Medicare and Social Security, but also trade and left-wing identity politics advanced by the global, managerial elite. Many Republicans think the party has for too long put the interests of the s&p 500 ahead of American workers. Little wonder that big companies now regard the prospect of a Republican triumph in November with trepidation. What remains of the Republican establishment acts like a government in exile, muttering about Mr Trump’s takeover, but lacking the means to reverse it.

**如果换个年代**，美国企业的影响力很有可能会将特朗普挤出竞争圈。**随着**白人工人阶级和大量西裔保守派渐渐成为共和党的中坚力量，**大企业的政治影响力与日俱减**。这般组建的共和党不仅反对外方干涉、非法移民、医疗保险和社会保障削减，也反对全球精英管理阶级推动的贸易和左派身份政治。一众共和党人认为，共和党一直都将大型上市公司的利益置于美国工人阶级的利益之上，是时候做出改变了。难怪各大型企业如今都对共和党11月中期选举取得的胜利前景感到恐惧。共和党建制派现在就像流亡政府，私下对特朗普强大的党内影响力表示不满，但是又无法扭转局面。

P9 翻译精读笔记

1.Yet the political clout of big companies is waning, as the Republican Party becomes a movement of working-class whites and an increasing number of conservative Hispanics.（随着白人工人阶级和大量西裔保守派渐渐成为共和党的中坚力量，大企业的政治影响力与日俱减。）本句笔者拿到的审稿版本为“但由于蓝领白人和大量拉美裔保守派涌入共和党，大企业的政治影响力与日俱减。”请读者比较两个版本的区别。

2. What remains of the Republican establishment acts like a government in exile, muttering about Mr Trump’s takeover, but lacking the means to reverse it. （共和党建制派现在就像流亡政府，私下对特朗普强大的党内影响力表示不满，但是又无法扭转局面。）想要读懂这句话，需要了解美国政治制度，一个政党的建制派是这个政党里比较温和的，而川普则完全不是，他是非常激进的民粹主义者。民主党同样有建制派，比如拜登就是，但是民主党也有非常激进的，比如桑德斯，AOC等。

**More crosses than ticks**

最后的防线

If neither his party nor the law will stop Mr Trump, what can? Poetic justice recommends a **do-or-die** run for the Oval Office by Ms Cheney, **in a bid to** **siphon off** Republican voters who cannot bear to put a cross next to the name of a Democrat. If enough of them switched in red states **in a close race**, it could deny Mr Trump victory in the electoral college.

假若共和党和联邦法律都无法阻挡特朗普，那么到底什么能呢？老天有眼的话，让莉兹·切尼**孤注一掷**竞选总统，以分流那些无法接受投票给民主党候选人的共和党选民的选票。即使选情焦灼，只要有足够多的红州共和党投票给切尼，特朗普就无法入主白宫。

P10 翻译精读笔记

1. Poetic justice recommends a do-or-die run for the Oval Office by Ms Cheney, in a bid to siphon off Republican voters who cannot bear to put a cross next to the name of a Democrat.（老天有眼的话，让莉兹·切尼孤注一掷竞选总统，以分流那些无法接受投票给民主党候选人的共和党选民的选票。）这里的Poetic justice意思是Poetic justice is a literary device in which ultimately virtue is rewarded and viciousness is punished.而do-or-die的意思是破釜沉舟、孤注一掷。

Better would be to depend on the good sense of the American people. It is easy to forget that Mr Trump loses elections. In the four years of his presidency he lost his party both houses of Congress as well as the White House. Many voters understand that he is dangerous and undemocratic and most do not want him back in office. The reason Mr Trump campaigns so hard against the trustworthiness of the ballot box is that he knows the ballot box can defeat him.

相信美国人民的理智会是更好的方法。人们很容易忘记特朗普也是会输掉选举的。执政四年，共和党失去了国会两院多数党地位，特朗普本人也失去了总统职位。很多选民深知他既危险又不民主，而且大多数人并不想让他重回白宫。特朗普之所以极力质疑投票选举制的可信度就是因为他知道投票选举制会将其击溃。

P11 翻译精读笔记：

It is easy to forget that Mr Trump loses elections.人们很容易忘记特朗普也是会输掉选举的。这句的翻译需要注意elections是复数形式，因此不是单指2020年总统选举。