The Ideology of Sovereignty in Crisis

主权意识形态的危机

I

抱歉，没有原文。您可以提供翻译的原文吗？

n the midst of the pandemic, expressions of gratitude are everywhere. The appreciation of frontline workers can be heard from the balcony singing of Northern Italy to the nightly applause across New York City rooftops. Even the wolves of my own state of Colorado seem to be contributing their evening howls (Gruenauer 2020). Meanwhile, mental health experts encourage us to remain 'grounded' through gratitude meditations. Psychology Today lists the life-affirming benefits of 'Gratitude in a Time of Pandemic' (Alti 2020), while the Mayo Clinic (2020) enjoins us to 'Discover Gratitude' as a strategy to preserve our mental and physical health. But what is gratitude, and why is it having a moment right now?

在疫情期间，感恩的表达无处不在。从意大利北部阳台上的歌唱到纽约市屋顶上的每夜掌声，都能听到人们对一线工作者的感激之情。甚至我所在的科罗拉多州的狼群似乎也参与到了它们的晚上嚎叫中 (Gruenauer 2020)。与此同时，心理健康专家鼓励我们通过感恩冥想来保持“脚踏实地”。《今日心理学》列出了“疫情时期感恩的肯定性益处”(Alti 2020)，而梅奥诊所 (Mayo Clinic) (2020) 则教导我们发现感恩作为保护我们的心理和身体健康的策略。但是，什么是感恩，为什么它现在受到关注？

Gratitude is the appreciation of our vulnerability and dependence on others. Covid-19 reminds us that no person is an island; we exist in webs of dependence and chains of production that connect us to the immigrant worker who harvests produce, the truck driver who delivers it, and the local cashier at WholeFoods. When these threads-so often taken for granted-become frayed, gratitude is an attempt to symbolically repair them.

感恩是对我们脆弱和依赖他人的欣赏。新冠疫情提醒我们，没有一个人是孤岛；我们存在于相互依赖的网络和生产链中，这些链接我们与收割农产品的移民工人、运输卡车司机和全食超市的本地收银员联系在一起。当这些常常被视为理所当然的纽带开始磨损时，感恩就是试图象征性地修复它们。

Gratitude as an Alibi

感激作为借口

While gratitude appears, on the face of it, to be a constructive response to the current crisis, it can also be an affective alibi for what Saidiya Hartman (2020) refers to as the 'gratuitous violence' of racialised and unequal societies and geopolitical relations-we are not all in this together. As a public discourse, gratitude can easily slip from a recognition of individuals to an acceptance of the systems that reproduce their exploitation. Can one really be grateful for a world in which blood samples with Covid-19 antibodies are sold for astronomical prices and the lives of low-wage workers are being risked and sacrificed to maintain corporate profits under the guise of keeping the economy running, rather than imagining what it would take to build a post-capitalist economy that will not destroy the planet? Instead of gratitude for the world as it is, I prefer to think of the risks we take and care we give to each other as instances of solidarity and comradeship in the fight for the world as it could be (Dean 2019).

虽然感恩似乎是对当前危机的一种建设性回应，但它也可能成为 Saidiya Hartman（2020）所称的种族化和不平等社会以及地缘政治关系“毫无根据的暴力”的情感 co

依赖-我们并不都在这里。作为公共话语，感恩很容易从对个体的认可滑落到对再生产他们剥削的系统的接受。一个人真的会为一个血液中带有Covid-19抗体的世界感激万分，这些血样会以天价出售，并且低收入工人的生命会冒着风险并牺牲以维护公司利润，而这种做法是以保持经济运转的名义而进行的，而不是想象创造一个不会毁灭行星的后资本主义经济需要做什么。与对世界的感激不同，我更愿意将我们所承担的风险和关怀视为在为可能出现的这个世界战斗中的团结和同志情感的实例（Dean 2019）。

But to glimpse that world, we need to see through the mystifications of this one. Although gratitude is praised as an ethical disposition, the politics of gratitude ensnares us in a complicated logic of sovereignty, indebtedness, and de-politicisation. Behind its warm edges lies the moralising and silencing accusation of being ungrateful. What does it mean when gratitude is no longer a spontaneous emotional response but something that is asked from us?

但是，要窥视那个世界，我们需要看透这个世界的神秘化。尽管感恩被称赞为一种伦理倾向，感恩的政治却把我们纠缠在一种复杂的主权、负债和非政治化的逻辑中。在其温暖的边缘后面，是道德化和沉默的指责，即我们不感激。当感恩不再是自发的情感回应而成为我们被要求做的事情时，这意味着什么？

Petty Politics

小政治

In the United States, Donald Trump delayed Covid-19 relief cheques, which are critical for many people who have lost their jobs and health care, because he insisted that his signature be on them (Rein 2020)-a tacky reminder of the sovereign giver behind the gift. With a blatant disregard for the temporalities of life and death, he demanded that state governors express their gratitude to him in return for the distribution of life-saving medical resources, such as ventilators and personal protective equipment (Mackey 2020). 'All I want them to do-very simple-I want them to be appreciative. I don't want them to say things that aren't true. I want them to be appreciative. We've done a great job.' This is also how Trump mercurially conducts foreign policy. Other countries are not grateful enough to the United States for its role and investment in propping up the global order. Lest we are tempted to dismiss this as a quirk of Trump's narcissism and not a feature of American imperialism, recall-recently rehabilitated in public opinion-George W. Bush complaining in 2007 that the Iraqis whose lives he destroyed do not feel sufficiently grateful (Kaplan 2007): 'I think the Iraqi people owe the American people a huge debt of gratitude. I mean … we've endured great sacrifices to help them … [and] wonder whether or not there is a gratitude level that's significant enough in Iraq.' As Mimi T. Nguyen (2012) has shown, this is a broader pattern of American culture; after being granted citizenship in the United States, refugees from areas devastated by US imperialism are expected to show 'gratitude' for the 'gift of freedom'.

在美国，唐纳德·特朗普推迟了关键的新冠肺炎救助支票发放，对于许多失去工作和医疗保障的人来说这是至关重要的，原因是他坚持要在支票上签名（Rein 2020）——这是对赠礼者所在主权国家的俗气提醒。他对于生与死关头的时限毫不在意，却要求州长们对他表示感激，作为换取生命救助资源（如呼吸机和个人防护设备）分配的回报（Mackey 2020）。“我只是希望他们做一个非常简单的事情——就是要感激我们。我不想让他们说一些不真实的话。我只希望他们感激我们做了一份伟大的工作。”特朗普这样表现的方式也适用于他反复无常的外交政策。其他国家对于美国在维护全球秩序方面所扮演的角色和投资不够感激。 如果识破特朗普的自恋，而不是美国帝国主义的特点，我们就会陷入错误的认识中。回忆一下经过公众舆论修订的乔治·W·布什在2007年抱怨称：那些他毁灭生命的伊拉克人没有足够的感激之情（Kaplan 2007）：“我认为，伊拉克人民欠美国人民一个巨大的债，我的意思是......我们遭受了巨大的牺牲来帮助他们......我不确定伊拉克是否有一个足够显著的感激度。”正如 Mimi T. Nguyen（2012）所显示的那样，这是美国文化的一个更广泛的模式；在获得美国公民身份后，那些受US帝国主义破坏的难民被期望表现出对“自由赠品”的“感激”。

China as Antithesis?

中国作为反面例子？

While many Americans were rightfully outraged and scandalised by the hysterical demands of our petty sovereign, as a scholar of Chinese politics, I had an uncanny moment of déjà-vu. In my book on the aftermath of the 2008 Sichuan earthquake, I wrote about how Chinese Communist Party officials demanded gratitude from the disaster victims and even launched gratitude education campaigns in the earthquake zone (Sorace 2017). In May 2018, the tenth anniversary of the earthquake was celebrated as a 'day of gratitude' (感恩日).

虽然许多美国人 rightfully outraged and scandalised by 我们这个小主人公的歇斯底里的要求, 但作为中国政治学者，我有一种神奇的 déjà-vu 感。在我关于2008年四川地震后的一本书中，我写到中国共产党官员要求灾民感激，并在地震区发起感恩教育运动 (Sorace 2017)。在2018年5月，地震十周年纪念日被庆祝为 "感恩日"。

More recently, on 7 March 2020, the newly appointed Wuhan Communist Party secretary Wang Zhonglin encouraged local residents embarking on their third month of quarantine to 'carry out gratitude education among the citizens of the whole city, so that they thank the General Secretary [Xi Jinping], thank the Chinese Communist Party, heed the Party, walk with the Party, and create positive energy'-a demand that met with outrage and ridicule and was swiftly removed from the municipal government's official WeChat page (Bandurski 2020).

更近的是，2020年3月7日，新任武汉市委书记王忠林鼓励当地正在进行第三个月隔离的居民“在全市市民中进行感恩教育，让他们感谢习近平总书记、感谢中国共产党，听党话、跟党走，创造积极能量”。这一要求引起了愤怒和嘲笑，并迅速从市政府官方微信页面上删除。 (Bandurski 2020)

China's demand for gratitude and recognition for its 'heroic steps to fight the virus' (Wong and Mozur 2020) and aid to foreign countries that are in dire need of medical equipment has also become a new feature of Chinese soft power and global diplomacy (Repnikova 2020). In some cases, China's plea for gratitude has been requited, in scenes such as when 'the Serbian president kissed the Chinese flag as he welcomed a shipment of medical supplies on the tarmac' (Allen-Ebrahimian 2020). In others, it has caused alarm and furthered anti-China sentiment (Erlanger 2020).

中国对自己“为打击病毒采取的英勇措施”和对亟需医疗设备的外国提供援助的感恩和认可的需求，已成为中国软实力和全球外交的新特点 (Repnikova 2020)。在某些情况下，中国争取感激之情已得到回报，例如塞尔维亚总统在机场B平台迎接一批医疗物资时亲吻中国国旗 (Allen-Ebrahimian 2020)。而在其他情况下，这种需求则引发了警惕和进一步反华情绪 (Erlanger 2020)。

The US government urges Americans to think of so-called Communist China as the antithesis of the United States. It seems to be the one thing the Democratic and Republican parties can agree on, especially as the 2020 presidential election promises to be a spectacle of cockfighting over who is tougher on China (Beinart 2020). But perhaps this discussion of gratitude can provide an occasion to consider the irrationality and absurdity of what we accept as normal in mainstream political discourse. For starters, why, in the midst of this unprecedented political, economic, epistemic, and health crisis, are both of the world's superpowers demanding gratitude?

美国政府敦促美国人将所谓的共产主义中国视为美国的对立面。这似乎是民主党和共和党都可以达成一致的事情，特别是随着2020年总统选举的到来，谁对中国更强硬将成为一场角斗士的表演（Beinart 2020）。但也许这次感恩讨论可以提供一个机会来考虑我们所接受的主流政治言论中的不合理和荒谬之处。首先，在这场前所未有的政治、经济、认知和健康危机中，为什么世界上两个超级大国都要求感恩呢？

Popular Sovereignty

民众主权

Although it may not be immediately apparent from the other side, in both political systems, the people are sovereign and do not owe the government any gratitude whatsoever. The government rules only at the behest of and on the basis of the consent of the governed. The Chinese writer Fang Fang articulates this point with disarming clarity in the following lines from her blog about life under quarantine: 'The government is the people's government; it exists to serve the people … Government, please take away your arrogance, and humbly be grateful to your masters-the millions of people of Wuhan' (Bandurski 2020).

虽然从另一方面可能不太明显，但是在这两种政治制度中，人民是至高无上的，不需要向政府任何感激之情。政府只有在受到统治者的同意和基础上才能统治。中国作家方方在关于隔离生活的博客中以平易近人的方式表达了这一观点：“政府是人民的政府，它存在是为了服务人民……政府，请拿走你的傲慢，谦虚地感激你的主人 - 武汉数百万人民”（Bandurski 2020）。

In both countries, however, consent is mediated through liturgical rituals of power rather than actively given. In the United States, studies have shown that ordinary citizens have almost zero impact on policy formulation and decision-making (Gilens and Page 2014). In China, the Communist Party governs in opaque secrecy while being occasionally responsive to popular opinion and protest. What no one wants to admit is that both Chinese and American citizens live under the residual aura of the promise of popular sovereignty. As Partha Chatterjee (2019, 113) puts it, 'the people, in other words, were sovereign, without exercising sovereign power.'

然而，在这两个国家中，同意是通过权力礼仪仪式来传达的，而不是通过积极地给予。在美国，研究表明普通公民在政策制定和决策方面几乎没有影响力（吉伦斯和佩奇，2014年）。在中国，共产党在不透明的秘密中进行统治，同时偶尔对民意和抗议作出回应。没有人想承认的是，无论是中国还是美国公民都生活在民主权力的残留氛围之下。正如帕尔塔·查特吉（2019年，113页）所说，“换句话说，人民是主权者，但没有行使主权力。”

One of the ways that aura is maintained is through affective compensation. While Xi Jinping promises to 'rejuvenate the great Chinese nation', which is really a Chinese version of 'Make America Great Again', Trump seduces Americans into believing that he embodies their stolen sovereignty. The difference between these fantasies of reclamation is that they are carried by opposite trajectories. Trump's demand for gratitude is the expression of an empire in decline, whereas China's demand for gratitude registers the insecurity of the not quite.

维系光环的一种方式是通过情感补偿。虽然习近平承诺“振兴中华”，这实际上是“让美国再次伟大”的中国版本，而特朗普诱使美国人相信他代表了他们被夺去的主权。这些夺回幻想之间的区别在于它们是由相反的轨迹驱动的。特朗普对感恩的要求表达了一个正在衰落的帝国，而中国对感恩的要求则显示了一种不太稳定的不安全感。

Despite their differences, in both China and the United States, gratitude is the ideology of sovereignty in crisis. It calls on us to emotionally accommodate the world on offer, while insinuating that it might be gone tomorrow. Don't ask for a better life, be grateful for what you have. These hysterical demands reveal the insecurity of sovereign power.

尽管在中美两国，存在着相互不同，但感恩是主权危机中的意识形态。它要求我们在情感上适应现实，同时也传递了可能明天就会消失的预示。不要要求更好的生活，要对已有的充满感激。这些歇斯底里的要求暴露了主权权力的不安全感。

Beyond Refusal

拒绝的界限

In the poetic lines of a nurse working in one of the makeshift hospitals in Wuhan, gratitude is refused: 'Please don't decorate me in garlands / Don't give me applause / Spare me recognition for work injury, martyrdom, or any other merits' (Wei 2020). Aware of how her work at the frontlines feeds back into the Communist Party's self-adulation, the nurse demands to be left alone so she can have a good night's sleep. Her poem is a refusal of the political instrumentalisation of duty, risk, and courage. This sentiment is being echoed among health care workers in the United States who 'don't want glory. We just want our jobs to be protected-in every sense' (Khan 2020).

在武汉临时医院工作的护士写下的诗歌中，她拒绝了感激之词：“请不要用花环来装点我 / 不要给我鼓掌 / 免得让我承受工伤、枪击、烈士或任何其他功劳的认可”（Wei 2020）。这位护士意识到她在前线工作给中国共产党自我吹嘘带来的贡献，她要求被放下，这样她才能安心睡觉。她的诗歌拒绝了职责、风险和勇气的政治利用。这种情绪在美国的医护工作者中回响，“我们不想要荣耀。我们只想保护我们的工作-无论在任何方面”（Khan 2020）。

This refusal allows the poet to 'breathe undisturbed' for a precious moment and makes the sound of 'slogans' and 'propaganda' ring hollow. We can hear the anxious voice of the sovereign calling on us to be grateful. But for how long before its fragility is drowned out in what Fred Moten (2018, 149) describes as the 'noisy parallel track to American military/ corporate power' that mistakes itself for a public sphere? Or, silenced in the shrill jubilation of Chinese state-nationalism?

这种拒绝为诗人提供了一个“安静呼吸”的珍贵瞬间，使“口号”和“宣传”的声音显得空洞。 我们可以听到君王焦虑的呼声，要求我们感激。 但在弗雷德·莫滕（Fred Moten）（2018年，149页）所描述的“美国军事/企业力量的嘈杂平行轨道”中，它将是多久呢，它的脆弱性被淹没在将自己误认为是公共领域的声音中呢？或在中国国家主义的尖叫欢呼中被压制？

When one is drowning, gratitude can feel like a life vest. To survive the perils of floating in deep ocean, it is natural to conjure and fixate on a shore that brings a horizon into focus-a feeling of anticipation and gratitude for when this will be over, and life can return to normal. But what if normalcy is only a mirage? Sovereign power smells blood in the water, it preys on vulnerability. It extends a hand to the shipwrecked overboard on the condition of reciprocated gratitude. Although we should refuse this call and take what already is collectively ours, not only is refusal dangerous, but it is also not enough.

当一个人正在淹死的时候，感激之情就像一件救生衣。为了在深海中流浪的危险中幸存，自然而然地会想象并着迷于一个能够让地平线变得清晰的海岸——一种期待和感激的感觉，期待这一切结束，生活能够恢复正常。但是，如果正常只是一种幻觉怎么办？主权者闻到水中的血腥味，它会利用弱点。它向落水的船难者伸出援手的同时，也要求回报的感激之情。虽然我们应该拒绝这个呼吁，争取我们本来就应该拥有的，但拒绝不仅很危险，而且还不够。

The problem with refusal alone is that it is an aesthetic gesture which, at most, makes a temporary cut in ideology. But the skin of ideology heals quickly. Refusal, without an organised politics behind it, barely scratches the surface. ■ This text is taken from Made in China Journal: Volume 5, Issue 2, 2020, edited by Ivan Franceschini and Nicholas Loubere, published 2020 by ANU Press,

拒绝单独存在的问题在于它只不过是一个审美姿态，最多只是暂时地在意识形态上刻下了一刀。但意识形态的表面很快就会愈合。如果没有有组织的政治力量支持，拒绝只会轻而易举地破坏表面。■ 本文摘自《中国制造》杂志：第5卷，第2期，2020年，由伊万·弗朗切斯基尼（Ivan Franceschini）和尼古拉斯·卢贝尔（Nicholas Loubere）编辑，2020年由ANU出版社出版。

The Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.

澳大利亚国立大学，堪培拉，澳大利亚。

doi.org/10.22459/MIC.05.02.2020.20

doi.org/10.22459/MIC.05.02.2020.20

References

参考资料