Title(s):

无标题

The Ideology of Sovereignty in Crisis

主权意识形态危机

Abstract:

摘要：

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?

在疫情中，感恩的表达无处不在。从意大利北部阳台的歌唱到纽约市屋顶的夜间掌声，人们对一线工作者的感激之情无所不在。即使是我所在的科罗拉多州的狼，似乎也为夜晚呼啸贡献了他们的一份力量（Gruenauer 2020）。与此同时，心理专家鼓励我们通过感恩冥想保持“立足点”。《心理学今日》列出了“疫情期间感恩的积极益处”（Alti 2020），而梅奥诊所（2020）则敦促我们“发现感恩”作为保护我们的身心健康的策略。但是，感恩是什么，为什么它现在如此受到关注？

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.

感恩是对我们对他人的脆弱和依赖的感激。 Covid-19 提醒我们，没有人是孤岛； 我们存在于相互连接的依赖和生产链中，这些链将我们与收获农产品的移民工人、运输货物的卡车司机以及WholeFoods的当地收银员联系起来。 当这些通常被视为理所当然的线路变得破烂不堪时，感恩是一种象征性的修复。

Gratitude as an Alibi

感激作为托词

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).

虽然感激之情表面上看起来是对当下危机的一种积极回应，但它也可能成为Saidiya Hartman（2020年）所谓的种族化和不平等社会以及地缘政治关系中“无端暴力”的情感辩护——我们并不都在同一条船上。作为一种公共话语，感激之情很容易从对个人的认可滑落到对复制他们剥削的体制的接受。一个人真的能为这样一个世界感激吗？在这样的世界里，带有Covid-19抗体的血样被高价出售，低收入工人的生命在代表维护经济运行的幌子下被置于危险和牺牲的境地，而不是想象如何建立一个不会毁灭地球的后资本主义经济？与其感激现状，我更愿意把我们所冒的风险和彼此之间的关爱看作是为了在建设那个可能存在的世界中而展开的团结和战斗（Dean 2019年）。

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?

但要看到那个世界，我们需要透过这个世界的神秘来看清事实真相。虽然感激之情被誉为一种伦理取向，但感激之政治却将我们缠绕在一种复杂的主权，债务和去政治化的逻辑中。在其温暖的边缘之后是说教和沉默的指控，指责我们不感恩。当感激之情不再是自发情感反应，而是被要求从我们身上表露时，这意味着什么？

Petty Politics

小人之政治

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，非常多失去工作和医疗保障的人都需要新冠肺炎援助支票。但唐纳德·特朗普因为想要在支票上签字，而推迟了支票的发放（Rein 2020），这让人想到孝心重于天的主子想要在礼物后面留下他的标记。特朗普明知生命重于泰山，却无视此事。他要求州长们为分发救命药品如呼吸机和人身保护设备感激他（Mackey 2020）。"我的要求非常简单——我想让他们感激我们。我不希望他们说不实话。我只希望他们感激我们的工作。" 特朗普处理外交政策的方式也是如此反复无常。他认为其他国家没有为美国在支持全球秩序方面所做的贡献充分感激。我们无法将这种行为归咎于特朗普自恋的奇癖，而不是美国帝国主义的一个特征。我们可以回顾一下乔治 W·布什在 2007 年抱怨伊拉克人对他的生活没有足够的感激之情（Kaplan 2007），这让他毁了他们的生活。"我认为伊拉克人欠美国人民巨大的恩情。我们做出了巨大的牺牲，帮助了他们…… [和] 怀疑伊拉克是否有足够的感激之情。" 正如 Mimi T. Nguyen (2012) 所展示的那样，这是美国文化的一种广泛模式。美国良心发现出身于美国的难民们对于"自由的礼物"没有表述出足够的感激。

China as Antithesis?

中国作为对立面？

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).

当许多美国人应该和被我们的小皇帝的歇斯底里的要求惹怒并使之感到丑闻的时候，作为一个中国政治学者，我有一种神奇的似曾相识的感觉。在我关于2008年四川地震后果的书籍中，我写到了中国共产党官员们向灾民要求感恩甚至在地震区开展感恩教育运动的情形。在2018年5月，地震十周年被庆祝为“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).

更近期，2020年3月7日，新任武汉市委书记王忠林鼓励当地居民在进行为期三个月的隔离期时“开展全市市民感恩教育，感谢总书记 [习近平]，感谢中国共产党，听党话、跟党走，创造正能量”，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中删除（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).

中国对于其“抗击病毒英勇步伐”和向急需医疗设备的外国国家提供帮助的感激和认可的需求，已成为中国软实力和全球外交的一个新特点（Repnikova 2020）。在某些情况下，中国的感激请求已经得到回报，例如当“塞尔维亚总统在跑道上欢迎一批医疗物资抵达时亲吻中国国旗”的场景（Allen-Ebrahimian 2020）。在其他情况下，它引起了警惕并加剧了反华情绪（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。似乎这是民主党和共和党唯一能达成一致的事情，特别是2020年总统选举将成为一场关于谁更强硬对待中国的斗鸡比赛。但也许这场感恩讨论可以提供一个机会，考虑我们在主流政治言辞中接受的荒谬之处。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

民主主权

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).

尽管在两种政治体制的另一面可能不会立即显露出来，但是在两种政治体制中，人民是主权者，不需要对政府有任何感激之情。政府只是代表着并基于被统治者的同意才能执政。中国作家方方在她关于隔离生活的博客中表达了这一点，她以令人钦佩的清晰度表达了这一点：“政府是人民的政府；它的存在是为了服务人民……政府，请收起你的傲慢，谦卑地感激你的主人——武汉的数百万人民"（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，两个国家都是通过权力的礼仪仪式而不是积极地给予同意来进行调解。在美国，研究表明普通公民对政策制定和决策几乎没有影响力（吉伦斯和佩奇2014）。在中国，共产党在不透明的保密下统治，但偶尔会对民意和抗议做出响应。没有人愿意承认的是，中国和美国公民都生活在民主主权的残余光环之下。正如帕塔·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.

维护气质的一种方式是情感补偿。尽管习近平承诺“振兴中华” ，这实际上是“让美国再次伟大”的中国版本，特朗普则让美国人相信他体现了他们被夺去的主权。这些重夺幻想之间的区别在于它们承载着相反的轨迹。特朗普对感激的要求是一个帝国衰落的表达，而中国对感激的要求则表明了一种略显不安的状态。

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.

尽管中美存在差异，感恩却是主权危机下的意识形态。感恩呼唤我们在情感上适应当前的世界，同时也在暗示它也许明天就会消失。不要追求更好的生活，要感恩现有的一切。这些歇斯底里的要求揭示了主权权力的不安全感。

Beyond Refusal

拒绝之外

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一名护士的诗歌中，她拒绝了感激之情：“请不要用花环装饰我 / 不要鼓掌致敬 / 不要为我的工伤、殉职或其他功绩颁发表彰”（Wei 2020）。这名护士知道她在一线工作如何反馈到中国共产党的自吹自擂上，她要求被放置一个人，以便她可以睡个好觉。她的诗歌是对职责、风险和勇气政治利用的拒绝。这种情感在美国的医护工作者中得到了回响，他们“不想要荣耀，我们只想保护我们的工作 - 在每个意义上”（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?

这种拒绝让这位诗人得以“安静呼吸”一段宝贵的时刻，并让“口号”和“宣传”的声音显得空洞。我们可以听到君主焦虑的声音，呼吁我们感恩。但在Fred Moten (2018, 149)所描述的错误地将自己误认为公共领域的“与美国军事/企业权力平行的嘈杂轨道”中，它有多久才会变得脆弱，以至于被淹没？或者，在中国国家主义的尖锐欢呼声中被沉默？

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.

当一个人陷入深水中时，感激之情就像救生衣一般。为了生存而漂浮在深海中的危险中，自然而然地会想象并专注于一片能让其看到地平线的海岸线，期待着恢复正常生活的感觉，怀着感激之情。但如果正常只是一种幻觉呢？君权力量闻到水中流淌的血腥味，它会伺机而动，以弱者为猎物。它向落水的人伸出援手，但条件是求回报的感激之情。虽然我们应该拒绝这种呼吁并获取我们已经共同拥有的，但单纯的拒绝是危险的，而且还不足以解决问题。

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,

拒绝本身的问题在于，它只是一种审美姿态，最多只能在意识形态上做出暂时的切割。但意识形态的表层很快就可以愈合。没有一个有组织的政治力量支持，拒绝几乎只是表面上的划痕。■ 本文选自《中国制造》杂志：2020年第5卷第2期，由Ivan Franceschini和Nicholas Loubere编辑，于2020年由ANU Press出版。

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