

the Sovereign Individual

主权个人：掌握信息时代的变革

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Lord William Rees-Mogg

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序言

中世纪的人对意志没有信心,认为人类是容易受伤的、极其脆弱的,但他们尊重智力。他们认为只要认真思考,即使是人,也有能力回答关于上帝和宇宙的最深奥的问题。现代人崇拜意志,但他们对智力感到绝望。乌合之众,随机粒子的偏转,无意识偏见的影响:所有这些当代的陈词滥调,都在谈论智力的弱点,或者说也在谈论我们自己。

威廉·里斯·莫格勋爵和詹姆斯·戴尔·戴维森,并没有承诺也没有给出任何关于上帝和宇宙的答案。但是,他们对“大政治”的研究,对历史上各种力量的剖析,以及对不久的将来的一系列预测,是非比寻常的,甚至是反文化的,因为他们运用人类的理性,去思索那些我们被教导为“机遇”或“命运”的事情。在《主权个人》首次出版近四分之一世纪之后,回顾过去,最容易做、也是我们周围的文化最喜欢做的事,就是挑剔他们的错误,这也算是一种自我安慰:那么费心去思考未来有什么意义呢?

当然,有一些事情他们没有想到:首先就是中国的崛起。在共产党的领导下,21 世纪的中国创造了自己的信息时代,具有明显的民族主义、种族同化和深刻的国家主义特征。这可能是该书出版以来最大的“大政治”现象。仅举一个关键的例子,共产中国已经粉碎了香港这个城邦(城市国家),而里斯·莫格和戴维森曾将香港描述为“一种心智模式,一种会在信息时代繁荣昌盛的管辖区模式”。

从某个角度看,这是作者的一个盲点。从另一个角度看,中国的政治局委员一定是《主权个人》的热心读者。在不断重温列宁斯大林主义的同时,也积极地展望信息时代,只有这种特有的长期的警惕意识,才使得党的领导人能在本书分析的趋势中获得胜利。

这些趋势在今天依然适用:赢家通吃的经济、管辖权的竞争、大规模生产的转移,以及国家间的战争可能会过时。中国的崛起,与其说是对里斯·莫格和戴维森的反驳,倒更像是对他们所描述的利害关系的剧烈提升。

事实上,未来大政治的巨大冲突才刚刚开始。在技术层面上,**这场冲突的两极是:人工智能和加密技术。**人工智能展现出一种前景,能够最终解决经济学家所说“计算问题”(计划经济的关键)。理论上,它使集中控制整个经济成为可能。CCP 最喜欢的技术,就是人工智能,这绝不是巧合。强加密技术在另外一极,它带来的远景是一个去中心化和个性化的世界。如果说人工智能是共产主义的,那么加密技术就是自由主义的。

未来可能就落在这两极之间。而要知道,我们今天采取的行动,会决定日后全局性的结果。在 2020 年,阅读《主权个人》有助你认真思考,自己的行动将塑造什么样的未来;这是一次不容浪费的学习机会。

彼得·蒂尔

2020 年 1 月 6 日,洛杉矶

译者推荐

今天,我们生活在一个民族国家的世界里,联合国承认 195 个“国家,”地球上除南极洲以外的几乎所有陆地领土都属于其中一个国家。我们认为这很正常。但实际上,我们现在的时代是一个历史上的异类:在过去 2000 年的大部分时间里,世界上的大部分领土都是完全不受统治的。为什么今天不一样了?因为在过去 500 年的大部分时间里,现有的技术创造了一套激励机制,让民族国家是有意义的。用《主权个人》的作者詹姆斯·戴尔·戴维森¹的话来说,暴力的逻辑倾向于民族国家,政府通过征服尽可能多的领土会获得很多好处,而且他们这么做很容易,他们确实这么做了。

但事实并非总是如此。一个典型的例子是,在“黑暗时代”欧洲在地理上极为分散,很少有中央政府掌权。这部分是因为盔甲的发明。如果你有一套盔甲,一把剑和一匹马,那时候没有任何武器能真正阻止你。这意味着大国家很难形成,因为国家的运作依赖于隐性的暴力威胁。但当火药在欧洲盛行时,暴力的逻辑被颠覆了。在一个有枪的世界里,集结大量军队和征服大量领土要便宜得多。詹姆斯·戴尔·戴维森认为,互联网是另一项改变世界的发明,最终它会让民族国家过时,这是因为互联网能在本质上能使资本流动。

民族国家依赖富人的掠夺性税收(远远超过政府提供的商品和服务价值的税收),以支持大型军队和福利项目。但是戴维森说,互联网使掠夺性税收变得不可能,因为当资本流动时,人们可以选择生活在世界上的任何地方。他们不会被自己的工作、拥有的土地或工厂的位置所束缚。他们可以去待遇最好的地方。

所以戴维森说,在未来的一百年左右,民族国家将开始崩溃,因为他们根本没有足够的钱来维持今天的运作方式。相反,他想象的是一个由小城邦组成的世界,类似于 19 世纪前的意大利,或今天的新加坡。我不知道这一切是否会成真,或者何时会成真,但我们已经看到了一些趋势。疫情证明大规模远程工作是可行的,这意味着工人们可以不再被自己的位置所束缚。许多城市和国家正在为远程工作者提供激励措施,让他们回到自己的境内生活。此外,越来越多的人以高税收为由放弃了他们的美国公民身份,许多西方商人现在住在避税天堂。纳西姆·塔勒布让我相信未来的世界可能会有不确定性,而《主权个人》让我相信,未来的世界会有所不同。在未来的几十年里,像美国这样的大国的影响力可能会下降,而像葡萄牙、新加坡和土耳其这样的小国的影响力会变得更重要。人们可能会集体逃离西方,特别是如果目前这种低自由度的趋势继续下去的话。

因此,指望过一种“传统”的生活(上大学、在大公司找工作、努力工作、在公司里步步高升)可能没有意义。相反,现在的年轻人应该尽可能多地学习,培养一套灵活的技能,这样他们才可以重新适应未来的任何情况。

2023 年 5 月

<https://macin.org>

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2000 年转折： 人类社会的第四阶段

1.1 PREMONITIONS

预言

The coming of the year 2000 has haunted the Western imagination for the past thousand years. Ever since the world failed to end at the turn of the first millennium after Christ, theologians, evangelists, poets, seers, and now, even computer programmers have looked to the end of this decade with an expectation that it would bring something momentous. No less an authority than Isaac Newton speculated that the world would end with the year 2000. Michel de Nostradamus, whose prophecies have been read by every generation since they were first published in 1568, forecast the coming of the Third Antichrist in July 1999. Swiss psychologist Carl Jung, connoisseur of the “collective unconscious,” envisioned the birth of a New Age in 1997. Such forecasts may easily be ridiculed. And so can the sober forecasts of economists, such as Dr. Edward Yardeni of Deutsche Bank Securities, who expects computer malfunctions on the millennial midnight to “disrupt the entire global economy.” But whether you view the Y2K computer problem as groundless hysteria ginned up by computer

在过去的一千年里, 2000 年的到来一直困扰着西方人的想象力。自从世界在基督之后的第一个千年之交未能结束以来, 神学家、传道者、诗人、先知甚至现在甚至计算机程序员也期待着这个十年的结束, 期望它会带来一些重大的东西。不亚于艾萨克·牛顿(Isaac Newton)推测世界将在 2000 年结束的权威米歇尔·德·诺查丹玛斯(Michel de Nostradamus)的预言自 1568 年首次出版以来, 每一代人都在阅读, 他预言了 1999 年 7 月第三敌基督者的到来。瑞士心理学家卡尔·荣格(Carl Jung)是“集体无意识”的鉴赏家, 他在 1997 年设想新时代的诞生。这样的预测可能很容易被嘲笑。经济学家的清醒预测也是如此, 例如德意志银行证券(Deutsche Bank Securities)的

programmers and Information Technology consultants to stir up business, or as a mysterious instance of technology unfolding in concert with the prophetic imagination, there is no denying that circumstances at the eve of the millennium excite more than the usual morbid doubt about where the world is tending.

A sense of disquiet about the future has begun to color the optimism so characteristic of Western societies for the past 250 years. People everywhere are hesitant and worried. You see it in their faces. Hear it in their conversation. See it reflected in polls and registered in the ballot box. Just as an invisible, physical change of ions in the atmosphere signals that a thunderstorm is imminent even before the clouds darken and lightning strikes, so now, in the twilight of the millennium, premonitions of change are in the air. One person after another, each in his own way, senses that time is running out on a dying way of life. As the decade expires, a murderous century expires with it, and also a glorious millennium of human accomplishment. All draw to a close with the year 2000.

For there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed, neither hid that shall not be known.

—MATTHEW 10.26

We believe that the modern phase of Western civilization will end with it. This book tells why. Like many earlier works, it is an attempt to see into a glass darkly, to sketch out the vague shapes and dimensions of a future that is still to be. In that sense, we mean our work to be apocalyptic—in the original meaning of the word. Apoka-

爱德华·亚德尼Edward Yardeni博士他预计千禧年午夜的计算机故障将扰乱整个全球经济但是无论你是否将 Y2K 计算机问题视为计算机程序员和信息技术顾问为搅动业务而制造的毫无根据的歇斯底里或者作为技术与预言想象力一起展开的一个神秘例子不可否认的是千禧年前夕的情况比通常对世界走向何方的病态怀疑更令人兴奋。

对未来的不安感已经开始为过去 250 年来西方社会特有的乐观情绪着色世界各地的人们都在犹豫和担心你可以在他们的脸上看到它。在他们的谈话中听到它看到它反映在民意调查中并在投票箱中登记正如大气中无形的物理变化甚至在云层变暗和闪电袭击之前就预示着雷暴即将来临所以现在,在千年的黄昏,空气中弥漫着变化的预感。一个又一个人每个人都以自己的方式感觉到时间在垂死的生活方式上已经不多。随着十年的过去,一个杀戮的世纪也随之结束,也是人类成就的光荣千年。所有这些都在 2000 年结束。

因为没有什么是不能透露的,也没有隐藏的是不应该知道的。

——马太福音 10.26

我们相信西方文明的现代阶段将随之结束。这本书讲述了原因。像许多早期的作品一样,它试图黑暗地看到玻璃,勾勒出未来仍然存在的模糊形状和维度。从这个意义上说,我们的意思是我们的工作是世界

lypsis means “unveiling” in Greek. We believe that a new stage in history—the Information Age—is about to be “unveiled.”

We are watching the beginnings of a new logical space, an instantaneous electronic everywhere-ness, which we may all access, enter into, and experience. We have, in short, the beginnings of a new kind of community. The virtual community becomes the model for a secular Kingdom of Heaven; as Jesus said there were many mansions in his Father's Kingdom, so there are many virtual communities, each reflecting their own needs and desires.

—MICHAEL GRASSO

界末日的——在这个词的原始含义中Apokalypsis 在希腊语中的意思是“揭幕”。我们相信, 历史的新阶段——信息时代——即将“揭开面纱”。

我们正在观察一个新的逻辑空间的开始, 一个瞬间的电子无处不在, 我们都可以访问, 进入和体验。简而言之我们已经有了一个新的社区的开端。虚拟社区成为世俗天国的典范; 正如耶稣所说, 在他父的王国里有许多豪宅, 所以有许多虚拟社区每个社区都反映了他们自己的需要和愿望。

——迈克尔·格拉索

1.2 THE FOURTH STAGE OF HUMAN SOCIETY

人类社会的第四阶段

The theme of this book is the new revolution of power which is liberating individuals at the expense of the twentieth-century nation-state. Innovations that alter the logic of violence in unprecedented ways are transforming the boundaries within which the future must lie. If our deductions are correct, you stand at the threshold of the most sweeping revolution in history. Faster than all but a few now imagine, microprocessing will subvert and destroy the nation-state, creating new forms of social organization in the process. This will be far from an easy transformation.

The challenge it will pose will be all the greater because it will happen with incredible speed compared with anything seen in the past. Through all of human history from its earliest beginnings until now, there have been

本书的主题是权力的新革命, 它以牺牲二十世纪的民族国家为代价, 解放个人以前所未有的方式改变暴力逻辑的创新正在改变未来必须存在的界限。如果我们的推论是正确的, 那么你就站在了历史上最彻底的革命的门槛上。微处理的速度比现在除了少数人想象的要快, 它将颠覆和摧毁民族国家, 在此过程中创造新的社会组织形式。这远非易事的转变。

它将带来的挑战将更大, 因为与过去看到的任何东西相比, 它将以令人难以置信的速度发生。纵观人类历史, 从最早的开始到现在, 经

only three basic stages of economic life: (1) hunting-and-gathering societies; (2) agricultural societies; and (3) industrial societies. Now, looming over the horizon, is something entirely new, the fourth stage of social organization: information societies.

Each of the previous stages of society has corresponded with distinctly different phases in the evolution and control of violence. As we explain in detail, information societies promise to dramatically reduce the returns to violence, in part because they transcend locality. The virtual reality of cyberspace, what novelist William Gibson characterized as a “consensual hallucination,” will be as far beyond the reach of bullies as imagination can take it. In the new millennium, the advantage of controlling violence on a large scale will be far lower than it has been at any time since before the French Revolution. This will have profound consequences. One of these will be rising crime. When the payoff for organizing violence at a large scale tumbles, the payoff from violence at a smaller scale is likely to jump. Violence will become more random and localized. Organized crime will grow in scope. We explain why.

Another logical implication of falling returns to violence is the eclipse of politics, which is the stage for crime on the largest scale. There is much evidence that adherence to the civic myths of the twentieth-century nation-state is rapidly eroding. The death of Communism is merely the most striking example. As we explore in detail, the collapse of morality and growing corruption among leaders of Western governments are not random developments. They are evidence that the potential of the nation-state is exhausted. Even many of its leaders no longer believe the platitudes they mouth. Nor are they believed by others.

济生活只有三个基本阶段:(1)狩猎和采集社会;(2)农业社会;(3)工业社会。现在,迫在眉睫的是某种全新的社会组织阶段:信息社会。

社会以前的每个阶段都与暴力演变和控制的明显不同阶段相对应。正如我们详细解释的那样信息社会有望大幅减少暴力的回归部分原因是它们超越了地方性。小说家威廉·吉布森William Gibson称之为“自愿幻觉”的网络空间的虚拟现实将远远超出欺凌者的想象范围。在新的千年里大规模控制暴力的优势将远远低于法国大革命前的任何时候。这将产生深远的影响。其中之一将是犯罪率上升。当大规模组织暴力的回报下降时,小规模暴力的回报可能会增加。暴力将变得更加随机和局部化。有组织犯罪的范围将会扩大。我们解释原因。

暴力回归下降的另一个逻辑含义是政治的黯然失色这是最大规模犯罪的舞台有很多证据表明对二十世纪民族国家的公民神话的坚持正在迅速侵蚀共产主义的死亡只是最引人注目的例子正如我们详细探讨的那样西方政府领导人道德的崩溃和日益严重的腐败并不是随机的发展。它们证明民族国家的潜力已经耗尽。甚至许多领导人也不再相信他们所说的陈词滥调。他们也不被其他人相信。

1.2.1 History Repeats Itself

历史重演

This is a situation with striking parallels in the past. Whenever technological change has divorced the old forms from the new moving forces of the economy, moral standards shift, and people begin to treat those in command of the old institutions with growing disdain. This widespread revulsion often comes into evidence well before people develop a new coherent ideology of change. So it was in the late fifteenth century, when the medieval Church was the predominant institution of feudalism. Notwithstanding popular belief in “the sacredness of the sacerdotal office,” both the higher and lower ranks of clergy were held in the utmost contempt—not unlike the popular attitude toward politicians and bureaucrats today.

We believe that much can be learned by analogy between the situation at the end of the fifteenth century, when life had become thoroughly saturated by organized religion, and the situation today, when the world has become saturated with politics. The costs of supporting institutionalized religion at the end of the fifteenth century had reached a historic extreme, much as the costs of supporting government have reached a senile extreme today.

We know what happened to organized religion in the wake of the Gunpowder Revolution. Technological developments created strong incentives to downsize religious institutions and lower their costs. A similar technological revolution is destined to downsize radically the nation-state early in the new millennium.

Today, after more than a century of electric technology, we have extended our central nervous system itself in a global embrace, abolishing both space and time as far as our planet is concerned

—MARSHALL McLuhan, 1964

这种情况在过去有着惊人的相似之处。每当技术变革将旧形式与新的经济动力分离时，道德标准就会发生变化。人们开始越来越蔑视那些控制旧机构的人。这种普遍的厌恶往往在人们形成一种新的连贯的变革意识形态之前就已经显现出来了。因此，在十五世纪后期，中世纪教会是封建主义的主要机构。尽管人们普遍相信“神圣职位的神圣性”，但神职人员的上级和下级都受到了极大的蔑视——这与今天对政治家和官僚的普遍态度没有什么不同。

我们认为，通过类比 15 世纪末的生活被有组织的宗教彻底浸透的情况与今天世界政治饱和的情况可以学到很多东西。十五世纪末支持制度化宗教的成本已经达到了历史的极端，就像支持政府的成本今天达到了衰老的极端一样。

我们知道在火药革命之后，有组织的宗教发生了什么。技术发展为缩小宗教机构规模和降低成本创造了强烈的动力。类似的技术革命注定要在新千年初期从根本上缩小民族国家的规模。

今天经过一个多世纪的电气技术我们已经在全球范围内扩展了我们的中枢神经系统本身就我们的星球而言废除了空间和时间

——马歇尔·麦克卢汉, 1964

1.2.2 The Information Revolution 信息革命

As the breakdown of large systems accelerates, systematic compulsion will recede as a factor shaping economic life and the distribution of income. Efficiency will become more important than the dictates of power in the organization of social institutions. This means that provinces and even cities that can effectively uphold property rights and provide for the administration of justice, while consuming few resources, will be viable sovereignties in the Information Age, as they generally have not been during the last five centuries. An entirely new realm of economic activity that is not hostage to physical violence will emerge in cyberspace. The most obvious benefits will flow to the “cognitive elite,” who will increasingly operate outside political boundaries. They are already equally at home in Frankfurt, London, New York, Buenos Aires, Los Angeles, Tokyo, and Hong Kong. Incomes will become more unequal within jurisdictions and more equal between them.

The Sovereign Individual explores the social and financial consequences of this revolutionary change. Our desire is to help you to take advantage of the opportunities of the new age and avoid being destroyed by its impact. If only half of what we expect to see happens, you face change of a magnitude with few precedents in history.

The transformation of the year 2000 will not only revolutionize the character of the world economy, it will do so

随着大型系统的加速崩溃系统性强迫作为影响经济生活和收入分配的一个因素将会消退在社会机构的组织中效率将变得比权力的要求更重要这意味着能够有效维护财产权和提供司法行政的省份甚至城市,同时消耗的资源很少在信息时代将是可行的主权就像过去五个世纪以来通常没有的那样。一个不受身体暴力影响的经济活动全新领域将在网络空间出现最明显的好处将流向认知精英”,他们将越来越多地在政治边界之外运作。他们已经在法兰克福、伦敦、纽约、布宜诺斯艾利斯、洛杉矶、东京和香港同样自在。辖区内的收入将变得更加不平等,它们之间的收入将变得更加平等。

《主权个人》探讨了这一革命性变化的社会和财务后果。我们的愿望是帮助您利用新时代的机遇,避免被其影响所摧毁。如果我们期望看到的只有一半发生,你将面临历史上很少有先例的巨大变化。

2000 年的转变不仅将彻底改变世界经济的性质,而且将比以往

more rapidly than any previous phase change. Unlike the Agricultural Revolution, the Information Revolution will not take millennia to do its work. Unlike the Industrial Revolution, its impact will not be spread over centuries. The Information Revolution will happen within a lifetime.

What is more, it will happen almost everywhere at once. Technical and economic innovations will no longer be confined to small portions of the globe. The transformation will be all but universal. And it will involve a break with the past so profound that it will almost bring to life the magical domain of the gods as imagined by the early agricultural peoples like the ancient Greeks. To a greater degree than most would now be willing to concede, it will prove difficult or impossible to preserve many contemporary institutions in the new millennium. When information societies take shape they will be as different from industrial societies as the Greece of Aeschylus was from the world of the cave dwellers.

任何阶段性变化都快。与农业革命不同,信息革命不需要几千年才能完成其工作。与工业革命不同,它的影响不会延续几个世纪。信息革命将在有生之年发生。

更重要的是它几乎会同时发生在任何地方技术和经济创新将不再局限于全球的一小部分这种转变几乎是普遍的它将涉及与如此深刻的过去决裂以至于它几乎将像古希腊人这样的早期农业民族所想象的那样使神的神奇领域栩栩如生在比大多数人现在愿意承认的更大程度上,在新千年中保留许多当代机构将证明是困难或不可能的当信息社会形成时它们将与工业社会不同就像埃斯库罗斯的希腊与穴居者的世界一样。

1.3 PROMETHEUS UNBOUND: THE RISE OF THE SOVEREIGN INDIVIDUAL

普罗米修斯不受束缚:主权个体的崛起

1.4 RETURN OF THE LUDDITES

卢德分子的回归

1.5 BANDWIDTH TRUMPS BORDERS

带宽胜过边界

1.6 REVIVING LAWS OF THE MARCH

复兴游行的法律

1.7 THE VANITY OF WISHES

愿望的虚荣

1.8 MAINFRAMES AND THE Y2K TIME BOMB

大型机和 Y2K 定时炸弹

1.9 Y2K AND THE NUCLEAR ARSENAL

Y2K 与核武库