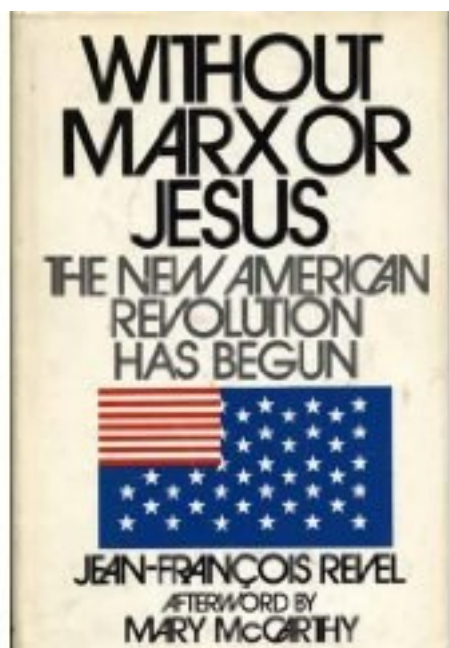


# 没有马克思或耶稣 (Without Marx or Jesus)



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著者:Jean-Francois Revel

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1969年，法国著名政论家勒维尔（Jean-Francois Revel）预言，美国即将经验“第二次世界大革命”——这一场动乱将继续完成第一次的革命，也就是18世纪西方兴起的民主浪潮。在《没有马克思或耶稣》（Without Marx or Jesus）一书里，他预言一种新的人类(homo novus)即将出现。他相信，因为美国人现在开始对东方宗教产生兴趣，所以这种关怀灵性的暗潮将是一种预兆，预兆这个地球上唯一自由到不流血就可以革命的国家即将发生深层的变革。

勒维尔认为，这个二次革命是20世纪60年代一切社会运动、多元事物、抗议与暴力等混沌现象中的本型(pattern)。确实，有很多行动者已经开始转向内心。这个方向，对传统左派的同志而言，实在是异端。他们说，他们必须先改变自己，才能改变社会。

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July 18, 2009

By Pieter "Toypom" (Johannesburg)

This classic work on the USA and the concept of revolution was first published in English in 1971. Revel's astute analyses include the observations that European culture was stagnant and that Europeans were hopelessly uninformed on the United States. Even more alarmingly, Revel reveals that already at that time the European elites were projecting their guilt and self-loathing for their own imperialistic past onto the USA. The author also explores the idea of revolution, distinguishing mere revolts that lead to worse oppression from revolutions that bring individual freedom and progress.

He identifies 5 conditions & 5 solutions prerequisite for a successful revolution. There must be critiques of: 1 injustice in economic, social & racial relationships 2 management against the waste of human & material resources 3 political power, both its sources and exercise 4 culture, morality, religion, customs, art and the function of these in society 5 the old civilizational sanction and vindication of individual freedom. Revel then explains why a true revolution can take place only in the United States.

Chapters 4, 5 & 6 investigate to the impossible revolution in the communist nations, in Western Europe and in the Third World. The following chapter looks at the history of revolutions whilst the next focuses on national sovereignty, international relations, multilateral & bilateral agreements and wasteful military expenditures. Revel also devotes a chapter each to violence & revolution and to the one-way street from freedom to socialism, a subject on which Hayek's Road to Serfdom remains the classical text.

The phenomenon of Anti-Americanism about which he wrote a most perceptive and witty book in 2003, is dealt with in chapter 11. He identifies two basic kinds of anti-Americanism and subjects its causes and symptoms to close scrutiny. In this chapter he provides ample examples of its emotionally unhinged nature, its puerile sense of grievance, lack of logic, anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic undertones. America has faithfully followed its democratic institutions while Europe produced the Shoah/Holocaust, Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini, murderous collectivist ideologies and two world wars.

Revel points out that the cultural is the most humiliating form of defeat. The envy & resentment arising from that fuel much of the irrational anti-Americanism found amongst European elites. Several examples of verbatim conversations are provided in order to demonstrate the puerile and contradictory nature of this hatred of America. Since then, the phenomenon has grown as recorded by amongst others Andre Markovits, Bruce Bawer, Barry Rubin, David Horowitz, Paul Hollander, Jamie Glazov and Carol Gould. In addition, its close connection to anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism has become more explicit.

Chapters 12 & 13 cover the dynamics of revolution and the information revolution respectively. Interestingly, Revel claims that opinions formed by Propaganda are as easy to destroy as they are to create; counterpropaganda can in one day destroy what it took the state 20 years to fabricate. I found this of interest in relation to Eric Hoffer's

claim in *The True Believer* that propaganda only serves to reinforce existing beliefs. Chapter 15: *The Rights & The Means*, provides evidence of the manifold means available to US citizens to defend their constitutional rights against the federal, state or municipal governments.

The final chapter which provided the title concludes that the only real revolution is taking place in America; a revolution involving culture, economic and technological power. Technological civilization is accepted as a means not an end. This revolution seeks not to destroy but to reshape society. Mary McCarthy's Afterword is flattering to Revel as iconoclast, a witty and enjoyable read but ultimately a bit shallow and devalued by her ideological bias. Revel tactfully but effectively refutes her obscurantism in the Author's Note to the American Edition, especially brilliantly on the definition of revolution.

I highly recommend Revel's *How Democracies Perish* along with his *Anti-Americanism* as well as *Menace in Europe* by Claire Berlinski and *While Europe Slept* by Bruce Bawer that expose the perilous situation of Europe. The ongoing attempt by progressives to subvert the US system is informatively examined by Jonah Goldberg in *Liberal Fascism* while two books by the French philosopher Chantal Delsol diagnoses the current malaise of Europe with great empathy: *Icarus Fallen* and *The Unlearned Lessons Of the Twentieth Century: An Essay On Late Modernity*.

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