

The Tokyo-Cambridge Gazette

In Search of Japan's Global Strategies

2010年秋から筆者の活動の中心を東京に移した。ケンブリッジの研究者との関係を維持しつつも、米中両国、東南アジア、そして欧州の研究者との関係を強化し、グローバルな視点から読者諸兄姉と共に日本の将来を考えてみたい。従ってタイトルも *Tokyo-Cambridge Gazette* に変更する。

『東京=ケンブリッジ・ガゼット：グローバル戦略編』

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彼れを知りて己れを知れば、百戦して殆(あや)うからず。

彼れを知らずして己れを知れば、一勝一負す。

彼れを知らず己れを知らざれば、戦う毎に必ず殆うし。

Know the enemy and know yourself; In a hundred battles you will never be in peril.

When you are ignorant of the enemy but know yourself; Your chances of winning or losing are equal.

If ignorant both of your enemy and of yourself; You are certain in every battle to be in peril. (Sunzi/Sun Tzu)

小誌は大量の資料を網羅的かつ詳細に報告するものではない—筆者が接した情報や文献を①マクロ経済、②資源・エネルギー・環境、③外交・安全保障の分野に関し整理したものである。紙面や時間の制約に加えて筆者の限られた能力という問題は有るが、小誌が少しでも役立つことを心から願っている。

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1. *Tokyo-Cambridge Gazette*: グローバル戦略編第189号

謹賀新年、2025年最初の海外情報を読者諸兄姉にご報告する。

年初から波乱の予感がする世界情勢だ。しかも一年中“国際政治”に翻弄される事になりそう。ロシアのミサイル“オレシュニク(Орешник)”の使用に関し小誌前号で触れたが、プーチン大統領は“Орешник”でそこ(首都キエフ)を攻撃してみよう。実験準備は完了。相手側はどうか? (Мы нанесем туда удар "Орешником" и посмотрим, что будет. Мы к такому эксперименту готовы. Готова ли другая сторона?) と国営TVの先月の或る番組で露国民に語りかけたのだ!! (Россия-1, «Москва. Кремль. Путин. Путин (Moscow. Kremlin. Putin)»). ベスコフ報道官も「大統領は冗談(шутка)で言っていない」と記者会見で語った。「単なる“虚勢”から彼等は発言している」と祈る気持ちでいるのは筆者だけではない。

“オレシュニク”は、ロシア語で木の実(hazelnuts)が採れる落葉低木のヘーゼルを表しており、その“花言葉”は“平和・和解(мир и примирение (peace and reconciliation))”である。今こそ世界の優れた指導者が“和解”への道を見出し“平和”を実現する時である、と考えている。

年末年始の休暇中、メルケル首相やモリス・チャン氏の回想録をはじめ多くの書籍を読む事が出来た。

昨年11月末発刊の2人の回想録を読んだ。客観性には注意する必要がある回想録だが、著者の思想と記憶を知る事が出来、非常に参考になる。自由(Freiheit)と題したメルケル首相の回想録ではプーチン大統領や習近平主席に対する評価が参考になった。「対話を通じた平和(Frieden durch Dialog)」を主題とした2007年のミュンヘン安全保障会議(MSC)で、最初の講演者は独首相。次は露大統領だ。「古き良き冷戦時代(die alten Zeiten des Kalten Krieges)」の旧ソ連に想いを馳せる大統領は、“無制限に近い形で増強された軍事行動(fast unbegrenzten, hypertrophierten Anwendung von Gewalt)”を語り、彼女はその姿を注意深く観察したらしい。筆者は「ならば何故、現在のウクライナでの悲劇を回避するため、2007年から対策を講じなかったのか?」という疑問を抱いた。これに対し彼女はドイツの軍備増強を感じていたが「日頃私はその事を力強く訴えなかった(Ich habe tatsächlich nicht jeden Tag eine flammende öffentliche Rede dafür gehalten)」と述べた。その理由は、自身が所属する政党(CDU/CSU)の問題ではなく、連立を組んだ政党(SPD)への配慮だと語った。現在の悲劇を考慮すれば、「彼女には“もう少し”勇気を出して頂きたかった」というのが筆者の感想である。さて700ページを越す回想録の中には、このほかドイツが誇るサッカーの“皇帝”ベッケンバウアーと首相が2人きりで語り合う時の写真も収録されており、読書を十分楽しむ事が出来た。

Morris Chang(張忠謀)氏の自伝は上下2巻850ページ余りある上に繁体字であるが故に“つまみ食い”的な読書で終わっている。感心した箇所は彼が2009~2014年に活躍した時代の記述だ(第32章)。78~83歳と高齢である事を少しも周囲に感じさせず、台積電(TSMC)を飛躍的に成長させた事が記されている。またこの章の表題が“カウコイ”。“老驥伏櫪・志在千里(老驥(ロウキ)は櫪(レキ)に伏すとも、志千里に在り)”“老馬はたとえ厩(うまや)に繋がれていても、千里を駆ける志を秘めている”という意味だ。一旦は退いていた董事長に復帰した彼は、『三国志』の中の英雄の一人、曹操の有名な詩を表題にしたのだ。またシェイクスピアの *The Tragedy of Julius Caesar* の一節(IV, iii)も引用している。張氏は最先端技術を理解する事の出来る専門知識及び世界経済の将来を見抜くビジネス感覚と教養を具えた企業人だ、と感心した次第だ。これに関し12月16日に台湾政府主催の会合で、現在のTSMC 董事長(魏哲家氏)が演説の最初に語ったジョークが面白い—「世の中にはTSMC 董事長を少し誤解しています。同社の董事長は必ず学識と広い見識を具えた人だ、と。だが、“それは苗字が張の時だけ”です(各界對台積電董事長有點誤會，以為只要是台積電董事長，一定是學問又好，見識又廣的人，但“那個只有姓張的時候才對”)、と(第12次全國科學技術會議)。

その他、トランプ政権入閣予定の人や第一期トランプ政権の人の著作や資料を年末年始の休暇中に読んだ。

国防長官就任予定のヘグセス氏の著書は彼が過去の国防長官とは性格が異なるが故に重要な本だ(*The War on Warriors*, 2024; *Battle for the American Mind*, 2022; *American Crusade*, 2020)。彼はHarvard Kennedy School (HKS)で学んだが、その学風を嫌い卒業証書を送り返した。彼の *The War on Warriors* を読むと米中間の将来に不安を感じる。冒頭から衝撃的で、最初に『旧約聖書』「ヨエル書」を引用しているのだ!—「諸々(もろもろ)の国に宣(のたま)えよ 戦争の準備を為し勇士を励まし軍人を悉く近きより来らしめよ。汝等の鋤(すき)を剣(つぎ)に打ち変え、汝らの鎌を鎗に打ち変えよ、と。そして11章では聖アウグスティヌスの「正戦論」に、また12章ではHarvardの問題に触れている。

国防長官に就任予定のマルコ・ルビオ氏は“反中派”の中心人物で、ウイグルや台湾の問題をはじめ、あらゆる対中批判を過去の発言や本(*Decades of Decadence*, 2023)の中に発見出来る。そして保健福祉省長官候補のケネディ氏に関する評論を読むと「医療専門家達からは歓迎されないかも?」と思っている。彼については、筆者が約30年前の1995年にBostonの海鮮料理店(Anthony's Pier 4)で夕食をとっていた時、隣の部屋を貸し切った盛大なパーティを開いていた彼を思い出し、当時の“若くてハンサム”な彼も「随分変わった」と思った次第だ。ヘグセス氏やルビオ氏の著書に加えて、国家安全保障問題担当補佐官の候補者ウォルツ氏と元補佐官マックマスター將軍の本を読み、やはり米中間大競争がエスカレートするのだ、と憂慮している(例えばWaltz, *Hard Truths*, 2024 や McMaster, *At War with Ourselves*, 2024)。

米中間に“平和と和解(peace and reconciliation)”への“茨の道(a thorny path)”を開くのは、今のところ米国経済界ではないだろうか。こうした理由から筆者は米国の経済系メディア(*Wall Street Journal*(WSJ)紙(英中版)や *Bloomberg* 誌等)の最新の記事に注意を払っている。そのなかでも注目しているのがイーロン・マスク氏とティム・クック氏だ(例えば前者に関して“China Looks to Musk as Conduit to Trump, Seeking to Ward Off Harsh Policies,” WSJ, Nov. 24)、また後者に関して“How Tim Cook Cracked the Code on Working with Trump,” WSJ, Nov. 28)。中国の市場・生産拠点を decouple する事はAppleのクック氏にとって極めて難しい。この事は中国にとっても同じだ。11月下旬に北京で開催された China International Supply Chain Expo (CISCE) (中国国际供应链促进博览会)に参加して、今年3度目の訪中を果たしたクック氏に関し、中国メディアも好意的に報じている(例えば「クック氏来訪! Apple CEOが3度目の訪中…(「庫克又来中国了! 苹果CEO年内第三次访华…)」, 《新浪财经》11月25日)。

地政学・地経学の点で中国に近接する日本も、硬軟交えた対中政経戦略が必要だ。単純な“親中”・“嫌中”で割り切れない事は明白だ。これに関し12月6日、北京大学で伊藤忠商事の小林文彦副社長が「三方よし」の考えと労働生産性向上(“三方有利”与劳动生产率提升)と題して講演された。日本の経済人が中国に対し堂々と情報発信する姿が頼もしい。このように国際感覚の優れた日本人が世界に向かい、知的インテグリティを保ちつつ、主張と硬軟交えた建設的批判を発信する事を期待する。勿論、筆者自身も努力を惜しまないつもりだ。

2. 情報概観 紙面の制約上、原則、参考になると筆者が判断した最新情報のみを掲載し解説や関連資料は一切省略。

マクロ経済: Macroeconomics—Books, Papers, and Articles

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マクロ経済: Macroeconomics—Conferences, Workshops and Seminars

- November 26: (an online event, Washington, D.C.) Brookings Institution: "China's Slowing Economy: What China Is Doing About It, and What It Means for the Rest of the World."
- December 9: (Beijing) Chinese Government: "'1+10' Dialogue: Building Consensus on Development to Promote Global Common Prosperity ('1+10' Duihua Hui: Ningju Fāzhan Gòngshi, Cujin Quánqiu Gòngtóng Fánróng ('1+10'对话会: 凝聚发展共识, 促进全球共同繁荣)."

資源・エネルギー、環境: Resources, Energy, and Environment—Books, Papers, and Articles

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- November 27: (Brussels) Bruegel: "UK-EU Cooperation on Energy and Climate: Opportunities and Practical Solutions."
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一將功成りて萬骨枯る。(曹松) Behind one general's glory lie the remains of countless unsung heroes. [一將功成萬骨枯。] (Cáo Sōng/曹松, a Chinese poet of the late Tang dynasty)

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莫大な財産がある所ならどこにでも著しい格差が存在する。1 人の大金持ちがいれば
少なくとも 5 百人の貧者がいるはずだ。少数の豊かさは多数の窮乏を前提にしている。
金持ちの豊かさは貧者の憤りを刺激する、そして時として困窮に駆り立てられ、嫉妬に
そそのかされて、貧者は金持ちの所有物の領域に侵略しようとする。(アダム・スミス)
Wherever there is great property there is great inequality. For one very rich man there must be at
least five hundred poor, and the affluence of the few supposes the indigence of the many. The
affluence of the rich excites the indignation of the poor, who are often both driven by want, and
prompted by envy, to invade his possessions. (Adam Smith)

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全ての善良な人は民主主義者であり、必ず政治に参加しようとするはずだ、などと思いを... We must not deceive ourselves into believing that all good people must be democrats or... will necessarily wish to have a share in the government. Many, no doubt, would rather entrust... it to somebody whom they think more competent. Although this might be unwise, there is... nothing bad or dishonorable in approving a dictatorship of the good. Totalitarianism, we can... already hear it argued, is a powerful system alike for good and evil, and the purpose for which... it will be used depends entirely on the dictators. (Friedrich Hayek)

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3. 編集後記

先行き不透明な国際情勢の中、日本は如何なる形で“三方よし”の考えを実践していくべきか。

海外の友人達に上述の“売り手”、“買い手”、“世間”が幸せになる“三方よし”の日本の考え方を伝えた時、彼等から鋭い意見をもらった。「確かに素晴らしい考え方だ。でもそれを“如何に(how)”、“実現(realize)”するのか。日本はそれを世界に示せるか?」、と。また米中大国間競争の狭間にいる欧州諸国や東南アジア諸国に対し、日本は如何なる情報発信を行い、如何なる具体的行動をとるのか、と質問してきた。そして「ジェン、キミは think tank の一員だろ? 空理空論ではなく幾つかの選択肢を論じろよ。世界は日本からの“言葉と行動”を待っているのだ」と励ましてくれた。

世界の平和と繁栄、そして日本の将来世代のため、我々は実行可能な選択肢を考える必要があるのだ。以上

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