

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。

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。

『東京=ケンブリッジ・ガゼット：グローバル戦略編』 第 199 号 (2025 年 11 月)

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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。

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

彼れを知らずして己れを知れば、一勝一負す。

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

彼れを知らず己れを知らざれば、戦う毎に必ず殆うし。(孫子)

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

今月号 «目次»

1. *Tokyo-Cambridge Gazette*: グローバル戦略編第 199 号
2. 情報概観—①マクロ経済、②資源・エネルギー環境、③外交・安全保障
3. 編集後記

1. *Tokyo-Cambridge Gazette*: グローバル戦略編第 199 号

10 月はノーベル賞を受賞した研究者に関して内外の友人達と議論をした。

10 月 6 日に坂口志文教授が、続いて 8 日には北川進教授がノーベル賞を受賞した。一日本人として嬉しいこと限りない。また 13 日、ジョエル・モキイア、フィリップ・アギヨン、ピーター・ホウィットの 3 教授が経済学賞を受賞した。

Innovation に関心を抱く筆者は経済学賞受賞者である 3 教授の業績を高く評価してきた。筆者はモキイア教授の本を 2022 年に東京大学での講演で、また小誌昨年 7 月号で記したヘルシンキでの講演で触れている(*A Culture of Growth*, 2016)。アギヨン教授は Harvard 大学時代にアセモグル MIT 教授と共に多くの業績を残したが、小誌での紙面の制約上、主著者であるアセモグル教授の名だけを記して、彼の名前が隠れた著作が多い。だが、今年 7 月号の中では教授の名に触れている。ホウィット教授に関しては小誌 2023 年 9 月号の 2 で、アギヨン、ホウィット両教授の業績に関する書籍を記した(*The Economics of Creative Destruction: New Research on Themes from Aghion and Howitt*, Harvard University Press, 2023)。アギヨン=ホウィット論文は画期的だった。シュンペーター先生が提唱した“創造的破壊”をモデルとして提示し、innovation による“創造”だけでなく“破壊”にも目を配り、“innovation が生む負の外部性(negative externalities of innovation)”という事象(既存の製品・技術を陳腐化させ価値を減価させる事象)を明示した(“A Model of Growth through Creative Destruction,” *Econometrica*, Vol. 60, no. 2, 1990)。

現在の目覚ましい AI 技術の進歩、例えば 9 月 30 日に OpenAI が公表した Sora 2 を観察していると、無視する事の出来ない negative externalities の影響を感じてしまう。尚、彼等の業績評価に関し、米 think tank (Manhattan Institute)のアリソン・シュレイダー氏や Oxford や King's College London(KCL)で活躍するダニエル・サスキンド教授の解説が参考になる(PDF 版の 2 参照)。

坂口志文教授の好きな言葉は“運鈍根”。北川進教授の好きな言葉は『後漢書』「鮑叔牙薦管仲列傳」の中の言葉「疾風知勁草(疾風に勁草を知る)や『莊子』「人間世」の「無用之用」とのこと。また北川先生は「アイデアは斬新なほどたかたか」と語っている。両教授の言葉は、独創的な見解は往々にして大勢の人から非難され無視される事を示唆している。科学技術であれ、思想であれ、芸術であれ、簡単に受け入れられる事は減多に無いのだ。日本人初のノーベル賞受賞者湯川秀樹先生も学説を彼が当時所属していた大阪帝国大学で、そして東京の理化学研究所と東京帝国大学で話した時、誰からも賞賛を受けなかった。訪日した物理学者ニールス・ボーア博士からも評価されず、仁科芳雄先生も、湯川先生の仮説を評価する事に戸惑ったらしい。1937 年にライブツィヒ大学に留学した朝永振一郎先生は「ヴェルナー・ハイゼンベルク博士が、湯川理論をボーア先生が理解しなかった事を不思議がっていた」と後年記している。

柏原正樹教授が日本人初のアーベル賞受賞者になった事も喜んでいる。と同時に、アーベル自身、5 次以上の一般方程式の代数的解答が不可能である事を証明したが、ガウス大先生は理解出来なかった事を思い出している。坂口先生や湯川先生の例が示す通り、研究者は孤独を覚悟しなくてはならないのだ。友人達と『莊子』の中の言葉「人皆有用の用を知りて、無用の用を知ることなきなり；人皆知有用之用，而莫知無用之用也；All men know the advantage of being useful, but no one knows the advantage of being useless」に首肯している。

シンガポールの友人達は、「日本はノーベル賞受賞者が多く、優秀な技術者も多いのに、研究成果や経済的成果が芳しくないのは何故か?」と頻りに尋ねる。筆者の答えは次の通り—「日本には勤勉で優秀な人が大勢いる。そうした人は協力して組織内で活躍するとは限らない。組織内に適切な機能分担体制が無く、目標達成に向けて組織を管理するリーダーを欠くと、組織は機能不全に陥るのだ。交響楽団で喩えればバイオリン奏者やフルート奏者といった演奏者は皆優れている。だが、指揮者やコンサートマスターの指導力、そして楽団を支える人々が問題なのだ」。

これに関連して、たとえ個々の専門家が一流であっても、複数の専門家が協力して組織的に働かなければ成果が出ない事を、ピーター・ドラッカー先生が述べた事を次の様に友人達に伝えた(*The Effective Executive*, 1966):

知識労働者は通常ただ一つの事を良く学ぶ事で、成果を上げる事が出来るのだ。即ち専門家になりさえすればよい。だが、それが意味する事は、或る一分野の専門は一つの断面でしかなく不毛なものなのだ。最終的成果を出す前には、個別の専門的成果が、他の専門家の成果と統合されなければならない(He [knowledge worker] can, as a rule, be effective only if he has learned to do one thing very well; that is, if he has specialized. By itself, however, a specialty is a fragment and sterile. Its output has to be put together with the output of other specialists before it can produce results).

日本には定型業務を効率的に行う人が大勢いる。この事自体悪い事ではない。だが、それが故に非定型作業を臨機応変に行う人は他国に比して相当に強い社会的プレッシャーを受ける。そのプレッシャーを振り払って自己実現した人が坂口先生や北川先生なのだ。

トランプ政権の経済政策は、世界中に混乱を拡散させている。

米国の関税政策が世界中に不確実性を蔓延させている。IMF は 10 月 14 日に公表した 2 つの資料に背筋が寒くなるような表題を付けた(“World Economic Outlook: Global Economy in Flux, Prospects Remain Dim”, “Global Financial Report: Shifting Ground beneath the Calm”, PDF 版 2 参照)。また英国の経済評論家マーティン・ウルフ氏は、15 日の *Financial Times* 紙上に小論(“The World Economy in an Age of Disorder”)を発表した。その直前の 14 日、JPMorgan Chase のジェイミー・ダイモン CEO は金融市場での警戒感を高める必要性を語った。金融市場のみならず、財・サービス市場、特に global supply chains に看過出来ない歪みが生じている。19 日、クリステース・ラガルド欧州中央銀行(ECB)総裁は、米 CBS の TV 番組(“Face the Nation”)に出演し、関税政策によって世界経済が傷つくと同時に AI の発達によって大きく構造変化を遂げると語った。しかも当然の事として米国関税政策は自国経済自身に大きな傷を与えている(Yale 大学 Budget Lab の資料、PDF 版 2 参照)。

水面下での交渉は別にして米中貿易戦争が激化する中、スコット・ベッセント財務長官は 15 日に中国のレアアース輸出規制に対して厳しい見解を表明した。翌日、*Wall Street Journal* 紙は社説で直ちに政権を批判した(“Allies United against China on Rare Earths”, PDF 版 2 参照)。同紙は長官の対中批判を是とする一方、米国が関税を通じて同盟国・友好国の産業基盤や supply chains を傷つけている事を批判している。小誌 5 月号で記したが、対中貿易戦争を開始するなら、自国(及び同盟国)の戦略物資の対中依存度を慎重に事前調査しておくべきだった。筆者は「米国は“一連の政策の順序(sequence of policies)”が間違っている。レアアースに関し 10 月 20 日公表の米豪合意のような“代替供給先”の確保や“不使用技術(rare-earth-free technologies)”の開発を推進した後に、対中戦略に臨むべきだった」と友人達に語った。

人々がたやすく同意する事とは、優れたいかなる課題よりも、負の感情を生み出す問題、例えば 敵に対する憎悪や富裕層に対する羨望といった事なのである。… 敵は例えば“ユダヤ人”や“帝政ロシアの豪農・悪徳商人・高利貸し等の搾取階級(kynás)”といった内なる敵であれ、外敵であれ、全体主義の指導者の武器庫の中に必須の武器である。 (フリードリヒ・フォン・ハイエク) It is easier for people to agree on a negative problem—on the hatred of an enemy, on the envy of those better off—than on any positive task. . . . The enemy, whether he internal, like the “Jew” or the “kulak,” or external, seems to be an indispensable requisite in the army of a totalitarian leader. (Friedrich August von Hayek)

トランプ政権の外交政策が国際政治に大きな変化をもたらしている。

筆者は米国経済界の動向を注視している。彼等こそが世界の将来に関して、最も大きな影響力を持っていると考えているからである。こうした理由から小誌では *Wall Street Journal* (WSJ) 紙の中で注目した記事を、PDF 版 2 で掲載している(米中問題に関しては中国語版も掲載)。米国経済界はトランプ政権の予想が難しい世界戦略に対して柔軟な対応を迫られている。そうした動きの中で、筆者が先月注目したのは①前述したダイモン CEO と②Apple のクック CEO の動きだ(PDF 版 2 参照。クック氏の動向については *Bloomberg* 誌の記事に及言)。

ダイモン氏は 13 日、JP Morgan が安全保障関連投資に注力する事を記した小論を発表した(“Our Investments for National Security”)。同氏は、米国が“自由の砦(the bastion of freedom)”で“民主主義の兵器庫(the arsenal of democracy)”である事を強調し、今後 10 年、1.5 兆ドルを“Security and Resiliency Initiative”として(1)Supply chains や製造技術、(2)国防・宇宙、(3)エネルギー、(4)AI、Cyber、量子技術に投資する事を述べた。国防関連投資に関して彼は「敵国や潜在敵国は待つてはくれない(Our adversaries and potential adversaries aren't waiting)」と緊急性を訴えている。筆者は、「香港での JP Morgan のプレゼンスは大きく、現地の IPO の動きに乗じて欧米の金融機関が香港での事業を拡大している事を勘案すれば、ダイモン氏の発言を引き続き注目しなくてはならない」と友人達に語った(PDF 版 2 の *Financial Times* 紙 10 月 21 日付社説も参照)。

Apple の動きも複雑だ。米中摩擦を懸念しベトナムでの事業を強化する一方、中国での投資も拡大する方針を採っている(PDF 版の 2、 “Apple to Build Tablet Robot and Home Hub in Vietnam”, “Apple's Cook Vows to Boost Chinese Investment during Visit”(両方とも 10 月 15 日)を参照)。

ノーベル平和賞を渴望するトランプ氏の言動は、中東と欧州を巡る国際紛争の解決に向けて忙しい。だが、その成果はどうだろうか。大統領は 13 日、エルサレムで「戦争の終わりだけでなく、恐怖と死の時代の終わりであり、信仰と希望、更には神の時代の始まり(not only the end of a war, this is the end of an age of terror and death and the beginning of the age of faith and hope and of God)」と語った。限られた情報を基にして感想を述べる事しか出来ない筆者だが、トランプ氏ほど楽観的でない。そして中東に関して、Harvard の欧州問題研究所(CES)で、故スタンリー・ホフマン教授から教わったレイモン・アロン氏の本(*Penser la guerre*, 1976 (邦訳「戦争を考える」))の中の意味深長な最後の文章を思い出した——「私は…イスラエル人とともにパレスティナ人、3 つの聖典に基づく宗教の聖地をどちらが正当に要求出来るのか、法廷が下す事を待ち望む(J'attends qu'un tribunal decide qui, des Israéliens ou des Palestiniens, revendique à bon droit la terre sacrée pour les trois religions du Livre)」。

トランプ氏の言動はロシアとウクライナとの間で振り子の様に揺れ動いている。予見し難い超大国米国の言動を前提にして、欧州諸国は独立色を強める形でロシアからの脅威に備えている。現在、欧州諸国はロシアによる drones の侵入や cyber attacks に悩まされている。こうした中、フリードリヒ・メルツ独首相に対する interview が 13 日の *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* 紙に掲載されたが、筆者はその表題を見て驚いた——「ドイツは欧州で最強の非核・従来型軍隊を編成(Wir wollen die stärkste konventionelle Armee in Europa aufbauen)」。

これを読んで、筆者は停滞する経済と右傾化する政治の下で果たしてドイツが強力な軍隊を編成出来るのか、友人達と議論を続けている。ドイツの右傾化に関して①小誌前号の 2 で示した独 think tank(経済社会研究所(WSI))による報告書や②今月号の 2 で示したコンラート・アデナウアー財団(KAS)の報告書が興味深い。報告書は極右政党(AfD)の危険性を指摘していると同時に、将来における政治の不安定性を警告している。①の報告書の AfD 対抗策に筆者は苦笑した。移民・難民・(無策の)政権に対する人々の不満を利用し、AfD は“民主制度下の感情化(demokratischer Emotionalisierung)”を図り、人々の理性を惑わしている点を指摘している。報告書は、この事態への対応策として冷静に希望を語る建設的な“民主制度下の感情化”に努める事を提言した。筆者は「感情を基に人々を結束させるには、幸福・希望という“正”の感情よりも、“不幸・失望”という“負”の感情の方が容易である事は、フリードリヒ・フォン・ハイエク大先生が既に語っている。だから対応策としては効果が薄いと思う」と語った次第だ(PDF 版 p.2 のヘッダー参照)。そして Harvard Kennedy School(HKS)で友人達とビッパ・ノリス教授の本について約 10 年前に議論した事を思い出している(*Radical Right: Voters and Parties in the Electoral Market*, Cambridge University Press, 2005)。

欧米社会の右傾化は日本にとって決して遠い国の話ではなく、日本も同じ潮流の中に入ると海外は見ている(例えば PDF 版 2 の *Wall Street Journal*, “Japan's Ruling Party, Following Global Trend, Veers Right,” October 5 や Reuters, “Japan's Far-Right Party Courts Trump Allies,” October 10 を参照)。

しかもロシアと対峙している欧州諸国は、ロシアを背後から援助する中国・北朝鮮の行動にも神経を尖らせているのだ。このため 15 日、マルク・ルッテ NATO 事務局長はブリュッセルにおける記者会見の場で次の様に語った:

豪州・ニュージーランド・日本・韓国…NATO 用語では IP4、インドパシフィック 4。… 何故なら我々の認識では、欧州大西洋とインド太平洋は 2 つの離れた戦域だとは考えられないからだ(Australia and New Zealand and Japan and South Korea ... in NATO parlance, the IP4, the Indo-Pacific Four Because we acknowledge that the Euro-Atlantic and the Indo-Pacific cannot be seen as two separate theatres)。

まさしくルッテ事務局長が語った通り、サイバー時代・宇宙時代の現在では、殆ど全ての問題をグローバルに考えなくてはならないのだ。

10 月も先月に引き続き、AI・ロボット技術に関して友人達と議論した。

小誌先月号でも記したが AI・ロボット技術は未だ揺籃期であるため、様々な課題と異なる評価が混在している。それ自体は当然であり、こうした中、我々の責務は人類に役立つ AI・ロボットを効果的・効率的に開発・事業化する方策を探求する事であると考える。

先月は AI に関し①AI 活用の難しさ、②AI と倫理問題を議論した。①では最初に小誌前号の 2 に記した MIT の報告書(“The GenAI Divide”)に触れる。既に日本でも紹介されたが、巨額の AI 関連投資にもかかわらず、95%の組織が AI の活用に失敗している事を記した報告書だ。報告書は大多数の組織が AI を導入したものの、AI を効率的に活用してない問題を指摘している。これに關し、MIT のアセモグル教授もたとえ“道具(AI)”が良くても、AI を使いこなせる“ヒト”が不足している問題を指摘している(PDF 版 2 の Bloomberg, “The Real AI Risk Is ...,” October 10 を参照。また McKinsey, “Technology Trends Outlook 2025,” July 2025 も参照)。

効果的な AI 活用に関して、米国海兵隊指揮幕僚大学で AI を利用した際の教訓を記した小論が非常に示唆的だ(Chapa and Cantu, “Human-Machine Planning: AI Lessons from the Marine Command and General Staff College,” PDF 版 2 参照)。その教訓とは(1)効果的な AI 活用法として、作業の初期段階において、“多角的視点から思考する(divergent thinking)”際に AI を用いる事、(2)大規模言語モデル(LLM)は誤答をする事(hallucinate)を認識した上で利用する事、(3)習熟の重要性。AI の誤答に直面すると、AI に興味を失う人が多い。だが、忍耐強く AI の活用を継続する事が重要、(4)AI 活用は個人で単独で行うより、集団で個々人が相互に補完し合う事。即ちチーム構造の innovation が必要な事、以上 4 つの教訓だ。結論として問題は AI 技術の限界ではなく、AI 活用方法の限界を克服する事。即ち technological innovation より、活用する組織の structural innovation が重要だと著者は指摘している。これらの教訓に関連し、9 月 2 日に *Forbes* 誌の website に掲載された或る専門家の警句を思い出した——「愚者は道具を持っていても、やはり愚者(A fool with a tool is still a fool)」という警句がある。AI の場合も同じであり、A fool with an AI tool is still a fool なのだ、と。筆者は思わず笑うと同時に自らの AI literacy を高める事を改めて銘記した。

②AI と倫理に関しては、クリスタリナ・ゲオルギエバ IMF 専務理事が 9 月 23 日に Maryland 大での Global AI Summit で“The AI Economy”という演題で登壇し、また世銀グループ(WBG)・IMF 年次総会初日である 10 月 13 日に市民団体の前で講演した際、IMF が AI の規制・倫理を重視した“AI 準備度指数(AI preparedness index)”を作成したと語った。この IMF の動きについて、内外の友人達と議論した。

ロボットに関しては軍民両術(DUT)としてのロボット技術開発動向に関する議論が中心となった。15 日深夜、米 *Breaking Defense* 誌から email が届いた——“Drones Dominate AUSA 2025”。米国陸軍協会(AUSA)の会合に併設された展示会での新型兵器は殆ど drones だったのだ。後日、同誌は詳報を提供している(“Drones, Drones Carrying Drones and Counter-Drones on the AUSA Show Floor”, PDF 版 2 参照)。軍用の drones はウクライナが実戦を通じ急速に発展させている。欧州の政策を研究する米 think tank(CEPA)は、ウクライナの民間企業家から軍の精鋭 drone 部隊(Yasni Ochi/Yachi Ovi, or Clear Eyes)の指揮官に転じた人の活躍を伝えている(“Ukraine's AI Drones Hunt the Enemy”, PDF 版 2 参照)。

我々の関心は民間用 drones だが、ウクライナだけでなく中露両国、更には米欧両の軍事用 drones 開発の動きも注視する必要がある。

「組織の」内部での一貫性が、効率性よりも高く評価されるのだ。これこそが「ピーター」の(法則) Internal consistency is valued more highly than efficient service: this is Peter's
に関する価値の「転倒」である。… 普通の無能さは解雇の原因とはならず、ただ昇進にストップ Inversion. . . Ordinary incompetence . . . is no cause for dismissal: it is simply a bar to
がかかるだけだ。しかし、驚異的な有能さはしばしば解雇の原因になるのだ。『何故なら組織内 promotion. Super-competence often leads to dismissal, because it disrupts the hierarchy,
の階層上の秩序を混乱』させ、『組織内の階層における秩序は維持されるべき』という第一の戒律 and thereby violates the first commandment of hierarchal life: the hierarchy must be
を破るからだ。 (ローレンス・J・ピーター & レイモンド・ハル) preserved. (Lawrence J. Peter and Raymond Hull)

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。

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No. 199 (November 2025)

残念ながら、巷間、いわゆる象牙の塔の中に居る思想家の自立が唱えられているにもかかわらず、(思考能力ほど弱い人間の能力は他に無い。実際、暴政の下では考えるより行動する方が遥かに容易である。(ハンナ・アーレント)

Unfortunately, and contrary to what is currently assumed about the proverbial ivory-tower independence of thinkers, no other human capacity is so vulnerable, and it is in fact far easier to act under conditions of tyranny than it is to think. (Hannah Arendt)

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世論とは何にもまして社会的現象であり、従ってそれは権威の源泉であり、あらゆる権威は、世論の娘ではないか、と問うことさえ出来るであろう。…もしも民衆が科学を信奉していなければ、科学的説明は何ひとつとして人々の知的精神に影響を与えない。	Opinion, primarily a social thing, is a source of authority, and it might even be asked whether all authority is not the daughter of opinion. . . . If a people did not have faith in science, all the scientific demonstrations in the world would be without any influence whatsoever over their minds.
(エミール・デュルケーム)	[L'opinion, chose sociale au premier chef, est donc une source d'autorité et l'on peut même se demander si toute autorité n'est pas fille de l'opinion. . . . Qu'un peuple n'ait pas foi dans la science, et toutes les démonstrations scientifiques seront sans influence sur les esprits.] (Émile Durkheim)

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The Tokyo-Cambridge Gazette (In Search of Japan's Global Strategies)

No. 199 (November 2025)

権威に服従する人々が抵抗手段を全く持たないならば、彼等は自尊心を喪失し、自発的な行動は麻痺してしまうのである。そして(絶対的権力は絶対に腐敗するという)アクトン卿の有名な言葉(ケネス・アロー) the holder of irresponsible authority pays a price too. (Kenneth Joseph Arrow)

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The Tokyo-Cambridge Gazette (In Search of Japan's Global Strategies)

No. 199 (November 2025)

民主主義は、軍国主義的にも平和主義的にもなり得る。また A democracy can be militarist or pacifist, absolutist or liberal, centralized or decentralized, progressive or reactionary.
絶対主義的にも自由主義的にも、集権的にも分権的にも、進歩 [Eine Demokratie kann militaristisch oder pazifistisch sein, absolutistisch oder liberal, zentralistisch oder dezentralisierend,
的にも反動的にもなり得るのである。(カール・シュミット) fortschrittlich oder reaktionär.] (Carl Schmitt)

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The Tokyo-Cambridge Gazette (In Search of Japan's Global Strategies)

No. 199 (November 2025)

君主は野獣の気性を適切に学ぶ必要があるが、この場合、野獣の中でも狐とライオンに学ぶようにしなくてはならない。

A prince . . . being compelled knowingly to adopt the beast, ought to choose the fox and the lion.

[Sendo . . . uno principe necessitato sapere bene usare la bestia, debbe di quelle pigliare la golpe e il liono.]

(ニコロ・マキャヴェリ)

(Niccolò Machiavelli)

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Event: October 2: (a hybrid event, London) Chatham House: “Beyond the Hype: The Realities and Risks of Artificial Intelligence Today.”

Event: October 15~17: (Shanghai) World Federation of Engineering Organizations (WFEO) (世界工程组织联合会), China Association for Science and Technology (CAST) (中国科学技术协会) and others: “General Assembly (2025 GA) and the Global Engineering Congress (GEC): Engineering Shapes a Green Future (2025 世界工程组织联合会全体大会・全球工程大会: 工程塑造绿色未来).”

Event: October 15~17: (Shenzhen (深圳)) Shēnzhèn-shì Bāndǎotī Hángyè Xiéhuì (Shenzhen Semiconductor and Integrated Circuit Industry Alliance (SZSIA)/深圳市半导体行业协会) and Shēnzhèn-shì Zhōngdà Chǎnyè Tóuzī Jítuán (Shenzhen Major Industry Investment Group/深圳市重大产业投资集团): “2025 Wānqū Bāndǎotī Chǎnyè Shēngtài Bólǎnhuì (Wǎn Xīn Zhǎn) [Bay Area Semiconductor Ecosystem Expo 2025/2025 湾区半导体产业生态博览会 (湾芯展)].”

3. 編集後記

国際社会に不確実性が高まる中、対応策を巡り議論が白熱する事は一見良いように映るが…。

米 *Foreign Affairs* 誌の website に 10 月 3 日、外交問題評議会(CFR)のベン・スティール氏が非常に興味深い論文を掲載した(“Reading Schmitt in Beijing: How China’s Rise Provoked America’s Illiberal Turn”)。同氏は中国の抬頭により、米国の自由民主主義(liberal democracy)が“非自由的”民主主義—ドイツの政治学者カール・シュミットが語る“人民投票の指導者民主主義(plebiscitary democracy; plebisitäre Demokratie)”—に変化した事を語った。彼に依れば 2003 年以降、中国の知識人の中でシュミット(カール・施密特)に関心が高まっているらしい。筆者は前述したホフマン教授と共に Harvard でシュミットの著作も読んだ思い出がある。シュミットは「民主主義には必然的に同質性が先ず要求される。次に必要とならば、異質な者の排除或いは根絶が要求される(Zur Demokratie gehört also notwendig erstens Homogenität und zweitens - nötigenfalls - die Ausscheidung oder Vernichtung des Heterogenen)」と述べ、民主主義が“自由”的から“人民投票の指導者”的に変化した時、「異質な者の排除或いは根絶」へと傾く危険性を示唆した。そうすると(独ヴァイマル共和国衰退時と同様)「今日、議会主義の状況は極めて危機的だ。それは現代大衆民主主義が発展し、論拠に基づく公開討論を形式的で空虚なものにしてしまったからだ(Die Lage des Parlamentarismus ist heute so kritisch, weil die Entwicklung der modernen Massendemokratie die argumentierende öffentliche Diskussion zu einer leeren Formalität gemacht hat)」という事態に陥るのだ(*Der Gegensatz von Parlamentarismus und moderner Massendemokratie*, 1926 (邦題: 『議会主義と現代の大衆民主主義との対立』)。

最近の政策論争を観察すれば、感情的・拒絶的な意見が支配的になっているように思えるのは筆者だけではあるまい。国のため、人類のために“熱く”語る事は勿論大切である。だが、それにも限度があると思う。理性的・受容的な形で政策を冷静に議論する必要があるのではないだろうか。敬愛する福澤諭吉先生は 1892(明治 25)年に「政論に酔ふ勿(なか)れ」と題して浅薄な政治論議を慎むよう論じた。当時の日本は選挙干渉に絡み世情が騒然として、板垣退助は 6 度目の暗殺未遂事件に遭遇し、久米邦武帝国大学教授が筆禍事件に遭っていた。こうした中、福澤先生は、人は酒に関し“下戸と上戸”に別れるとして「一盃の酒に酩酊して苦しむ者あれば飲めば飲むほどますます酒味を愛して容易に酔はざる者あり」と語った。そして書籍・新聞・演説を少し知っただけで「狂奔煩悶(キョウボンハンモン)するは政論の下戸」で、「脳中の空しき」証拠と断じたのだ。

福澤先生が語る“政論の上戸”を目指し、内外の正確かつ最新の知見を習得するよう努力するつもりだ。以上

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過去の <i>Cambridge Gazette</i> はネット上で見ることが出来、ダウンロードも出来ます。ネット上でキャノングローバル戦略研究所のウェブサイトに行き、そこで栗原のコラム・論文の欄をクリックして頂ければ、バックナンバー全てを見ることが出来ます。	