

# 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』 第202号（2026年2月）

キヤノングローバル戦略研究所 研究主幹 栗原 潤

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)

小説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・安全保障の分野に分類して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、小説が少しでも役立つことを心から願っている。

### 今月号『目次』

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### 1. *Tokyo-Cambridge Gazette: グローバル戦略編第202号*

#### 米中欧におけるAI・Roboticsの社会実装が本格的に開始するとの情報が筆者の許に届くようになった。

小説でAI・Robotics関連技術は未だに“黎明期”的段階であるとこれまで述べてきた。だが、今年になって社会実装を試みる段階に移行しつつある事を実感させる情報が筆者の許に届くようになった。

先月初旬に米国のLas Vegasで開催された世界最大級の技術見本市(CES)を訪れた知人から「今年のCESは従来の新技術の“紹介の場”から、新技術の社会実装を“提案する場”に変化したという印象を受けた」という感想を聞いた。残念な事に二次情報に基づいた判断しか出来ないが、中国系企業は出展者の4分の1を占め、彼等はAI・Roboticsの実用化に熱心らしい—例えばMIT Technology Review誌は次の様に伝えている。Humanoid robotsの技術自体は未だ黎明期の段階だ。そして将来の発展に必要なものはtext dataではなく物理世界dataだ。従って中国に在る様々な製造現場がPhysical AIのためのデータ収集基地となり、Humanoid robotics育成産業が出現・発展している。かくして近い将来、「中国で製造、世界で販売、そして米国市場で新製品実装化実験(Build in China, sell to the world, and treat the US market like the proving ground)」となる(PDF版2参照)。

また軍民両用技術(DUT)であるAI・Roboticsに関する情報にも注視している。例えば米国think tankのRAND Corporationが1月22日に公表した報告書はAI warfareに関する4領域の大変革を論じている(“How Artificial Intelligence Could Reshape Four Essential Competitions in Future Warfare,”PDF版2参照)。また米空軍は米英加3ヵ国合同の戦闘管理(Battle Management)の計画立案実験を公表した。その結果は、AIを活用した場合の方が人間のみで立案した場合に比べて良好な成績を残している(PDF版2の“Human-Machine Teaming in Battle Management: A Collaborative Effort across Borders”や“Air Force Says AI Tools Outperform Human Planners in ‘Battle Management’ Experiment”参照)。欧州でも社会実装の動きは報告されている。例えばマルク・ルッテNATO事務総長は、1月28日、DUT技術(Counter-Unclassified Aerial Systems)の会合に出席し、NATOがdrone warfareに備える取り組みを論じた(PDF版2の“NATO Secretary General Joins Industry during NATO’s C-UAS Week”を参照)。

#### 先月、Harvard時代の友人達と語り合う機会に恵まれた。

Harvard大学の講師で一橋大学での集中講義のため先月来日したジェイ・ローゼンガード氏と元日本銀行国際局長の福本智之大阪経済大学教授、そして筆者の3人が神楽坂に集まった。米政権と対立するHarvardの現状を開ける貴重な機会だ。彼に依ると、中国人学生・研究者はHarvardで以前と同様の生活を過ごしているらしい。Harvard International Office(HIO)の統計に依れば、昨年度の中国人の総数は2,126名でコロナ禍以前より僅かに減っただけだ(PDF版のBloomberg誌1月13日付記事や表を参照。因みに日本人は260人)。ただ福本教授や筆者がHarvardに居た時代に比べると米中・米日共に交流活動は随分落ちてきているとのこと。また政府の研究助成金削減を受け、教授達は自主的減給を受け入れ、また職員の一部は解雇されたらしい。米現政権下では大学の受難は続くと予想される。

以前弊所に半年間滞在した中国専門家のトニー・セイチ教授は学生の指導から解放され、故ナイ教授や故ヴォーゲル教授と同様に自由に研究出来るResearch Professorの職位を得て優雅な研究生活を過ごしているらしい。そして彼が以前務めていた役割はOxford大学から移ったラナ・ミッター教授が引き継いだ。セイチ教授やミッター教授が先導し、米中関係に知的で冷静な雰囲気を呼び戻してもらいたい。

以前弊所に1年間滞在したIndiana大学のヒラリー・ホルブルーア助教授の著書が昨年12月15日に出版された(Future Is Foreign: Women and Immigrants in Corporate Japan, Cornell University Press)。彼女を知ったのは、Harvard大学の日米関係プログラムExecutive Directorの藤平新樹氏が日本企業の人材開発を研究する同プログラムの米国人の受け入れを筆者に依頼してきた事がきっかけだ。聰明な彼女は日本語で敬語も上手に使えるために安心して弊所に迎える事が出来た。そして弊所の堀井昭成理事・特別顧問に経済同友会とのコンタクトをお願いし、また筆者が長年お世話になった三菱金曜会事務局にも紹介する事が出来た。同書は文献調査に加え、アンケートやインタビューを通じ、巷間流布する(男性サラリーマンが支配的な内向きの日本企業社会という)固定観念(stereotype)を再点検した良書である(小説前月号の2参照)。

#### 今年のダボス会議(World Economic Forum (WEF))に関して友人達と議論した。

Harvard大学時代はWEFに参加した故ハンティントン教授からDavosでの裏話を聞いて楽しんでいた。だがそれ以降は一般公開されたWEFのvideoや資料を時折一瞥するだけだった。だが、今年は国際情勢が大きく変化している時。従って今回だけは世界の指導者の政治経済や技術に関する発言に关心を抱きvideoを観た。例えば①昨年のノーベル経済学賞を受賞したホウイット教授やアギヨン教授による“Return of Creative Destruction”、②プリンニヨルフソンStanford大学教授やタイソン元大統領経済諮問委員会(CEA)委員長による“Preventing Jobless Growth”、③ロゴフHarvard教授やフォーブスMIT教授による“Dedollarization or Redollarization?”、④“China’s AI+Economy”に出演したTencent(腾讯)の湯道生氏や世界工学機関連盟(WFEO)会長を務めた柯氏の話に興味をそられた。

今年のWEFで友人達と最も数多く意見交換したのはカナダのマーク・カーニー首相の演説だ。筆者は首相の事を殆ど知らない。だが、videoを観て確かに名演説だと思った。彼の演説の反響は本当に凄い。直後からこの演説に関して数多くの海外メディアが取り上げている(例えば21日のFrankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung紙や22日のLe Monde紙、また25日のEconomist誌や27日のFinancial Times紙、PDF版の2参照)。

首相は冒頭フランス語で語り、英語で演説を始めた。そしてツキジデスの『戦史(The History of the Peloponnesian War, Ιστορία των Πελοποννησιακού Πολέμου)』の中の有名な「メロスの対話(the Melian Dialogue; Διάλογος Αθηναίων-Μηλιάων)」(第5巻第89章)を引用した—「強者は出来る事を為し、弱者は当然の苦難を受ける(The strong do what they can, and the weak suffer what they must: δυνατά δὲ οἱ προύνοντες πράσσουσι καὶ οἱ ἀσθενεῖς ξυγχοροῦσι)」。

筆者は「メロスの対話」を20日の首相演説の直前、15日にグレッグ・グラディンYale大学教授がNew York Times紙への寄稿文の中で触れていたので感激もひとしおだった(“Trump Picked the Right Stage to Act Out His Imperial Ambitions”)。そして友人達とは中仏独の3言語で、この言葉を語り合っている(強者が可以为所欲为、弱者只能承受苦难; Les forts agissent selon leur volonté et que les faibles en subissent les conséquences; Die Starken tun können, was sie können, und die Schwachen leiden müssen, was sie müssen)。

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政治的自由とは、個人が他人から強制されない事を意味する。自由に対する主たる脅威 Political freedom means the absence of coercion of a man by his fellow men. [19-20] The とは、強制力であり、しかもその力が専制君主や独裁者、更には少数の有力者や一時に fundamental threat to freedom is the power to coerce, be it in the hands of a monarch, a dictator,勢力を得た多数派に握られているのかは問題ではない。自由を守るために強制力が an oligarchy, or a momentary majority. The preservation of freedom requires the elimination of such concentration of power to the fullest possible extent and the dispersal and distribution of 集中する事を出来るだけ排除し、排除出来ない際には強制力を分散させなくてはならない (ミルトン・フリードマン) whatever power cannot be eliminated — a system of checks and balances. (Milton Friedman) —即ちチェック・アンド・バランスである。

「米国の民主主義が“変調”をきたしているのでは?」と感じているのは筆者だけではあるまい。

前述した Harvard 大学のジェイ・ローゼンガード氏との会合で、同じく Harvard のスティーヴン・レビツキー及びダニエル・ジブラット両教授の著書(*Irrational of the Minority: Why American Democracy Reached the Breaking Point* (『少数派の横暴: 民主主義はいかにして奪われるか』))についても議論した。原書の出版から 1 年経た 2024 年秋に邦訳が出版されたため、多くの読者諸兄姉が読了していると思うが、ここでは極めて簡単に筆者の感想を述べる(原書約 250 ページ、邦訳本約 300 ページ)を要約するため、著しく偏った感想である事をお許し願いたい)。

現在の米国政治は正当な民主主義の原理に反して、選挙結果を受容せず、また政治的暴力が横行し、その結果、過激派勢力が国家の頂点に登り詰めている。こうした状況下で、著者は民主主義衰退の原因を見極め、更には民主主義を回復させるための処方箋を提示する。

現在の米国では、白人社会の多数派が所謂「人種的置き換え理論(great replacement theory)」を信じている。即ち台頭する非白人及び移民が、少数派になりつつある我々(白人)を政治の舞台で“置き換える(replace)”のでは、という危機感が出現している。このため 2020 年の大統領選挙では、現職の大統領が米国史上初めて選挙結果を否定し、大多数の共和党系の人々も否定するという暴挙に出た。そして 2024 年の大統領選では、選挙人団(electoral college)等の国政選挙上の制度的欠陥が原因となり、米国民全体で考えたならば本来は少数派が捏造された多数派(manufactured majorities)となって、正当な選挙制度に基づき政権交代を認めるという民主主義の原理に反する形で勝利したのだ。

衰退した民主主義を回復させるために、著者はノーベル平和賞受賞者のジェイン・アダムスの言葉「民主主義の病弊の治療は民主主義の更なる強化(The cure for the ills of Democracy is more Democracy)」に言及し、現在特に擁護された少数派の権利を修正し、健全な形で多数派が勝利するような制度改革を提示する。即ち選挙人団や恣意的な選挙区変更(Gerrymandering)の廃止、更には最高裁判所の判事に対する任期制限等の 15 種類の処方箋を提示する。処方箋は困難だが、著者は「変化に対する最大の武器は沈黙(The most powerful weapon against change is silence)」であり、彼等が怯んで沈黙すれば「非改革派の主張が自己成就する予言になる(Non-reform is a self-fulfilling prophecy)」と警告する。

19 世紀のトクヴィルは『米国の民主主義(De la démocratie en Amérique)』の中で、またミルは『自由論(On Liberty)』の中で“多数派の專制(Tyranny of the Majority)”に警鐘を鳴らした。今は国内の少数派(だと危機感を感じた白人社会)内部での“多数派の專制”が問題となっているようだ。

カナダのカーニー首相の言葉が秘めた重要性: 「世界秩序の断絶、美しい物語の終焉、そして残酷な現実の始まり」。

前述したカーニー首相は、演説の冒頭、フランス語で「世界秩序の断絶、美しい物語の終焉、そして残酷な現実の始まり(la rupture de l'ordre mondial, de la fin d'une fiction agréable et du début d'une réalité brutale; the rupture in the world order, the end of a nice story, and the beginning of a brutal reality)」に関して語り始めた。

首相の演説に対してトランプ大統領は直ちに反発したが、大多数の友人達はカーニー首相の難局における冷静な判断を支持している。1 月 23 日に米国戦争省(DoW)が公表した「国家安全保障戦略(NDS)」を読むと、やはり「残酷な現実の始まり」を実感する。これに関して米国 think tank(戦略国際問題研究所(CSIS))が、27 日に 20 ページの資料を公表した("The 2026 National Defense Strategy by Numbers", PDF 版 2 参照)、資料は過去の政権による同様の防衛戦略と比較した上で 2026 年の NDS を評価している。特に第 1 期トランプ政権時の NDS と比べると、優先事項が“大國間競争(great power competition)”から“米国本土防衛(America First)”へ変わり、ペンタゴンの使命も「戦争抑止と国家安全保障(deter war and protect the security of our nation)」から「力による平和を念頭に剣と盾を(nation's sword and its shield for lasting peace through strength)」へと変わった。ところで資料の中で筆者が思わず笑った部分がある。第 1 期政権の NDS にはトランプ氏の名前や姿は出ていなかったが、今回の NDS にはトランプ大統領に言及した文が 47 カ所、また彼の写真を含む姿が 5 カ所。まさにトランプ色に染まった NDS だ。

NDS と昨年 12 月 4 日発表の「国家安全保障戦略(NSS)」を読んで具体的な国防予算は分からず。だが 1 月 8 日にトランプ大統領は、27 年度国防予算について 1.5 兆ドルと前年度比で 6 千億ドルの増額を議会に要求すると語った。確かに「力による平和(peace through strength)」には高額の費用を要する。そして「西半球を守り、しかも“Golden Fleet”構想等で中国との建艦競争を行い、国内に盤石な国防産業基盤(Defense Industrial Base (DIB))を整備すれば巨額の国防予算が必要だ」と友人達と語り合った(例えれば PDF 版 2 の議会予算局(CBO)資料の図(出典は“The Congress, the Golden Fleet, and the Shipbuilding Industrial Base in 2026”, Jan. 15.)、また 1 月 8 日の Reuters の記事や 9 日の Dumbacher 氏の解説を参照)。

ロシアの脅威に直面する欧州は既に「残酷な現実」が始まっている。独 *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* 紙の 1 月 15 日付記事を見て驚いた一「独海軍監察官中将、海軍は“嘗てない程の現実味を帯びた”戦争の脅威を目の当たりにしている(VizeAdmiral Kaack: Marine sieht Kriegsgefahr „konkreter denn je“)」。独海軍最高位の将官であるカーク中将是 15 日に「2026 年所感(Meine Absicht 2026)」を公表した。彼は「バルト海及び北海での緊張状態(eine hoch angespannte Lage in Ost- und Nordsee)」を指摘し、「戦備不足の状態は、武力対立回避の戦略たり得ず(Harmlosigkeit ist keine Strategie zur Kampfvermeidung)」と語った。筆者は友人に「日本には諺『備えあれば憂いなし』がある。ドイツ語では,Gute Vorbereitung für alle Fälle“と言ったら良いか?」と伝えた(またラトヴィア中銀総裁の危機感を伝えた PDF 版 2 の *Financial Times* 紙 1 月 17 日付記事も参照されたい)。

故ジョセフ・ナイ教授達と楽しんだコロラド州に在るアスペン研究所での知的交流を思い出している。

1 月 27 日付 *Forbes* 誌の記事(“No Davos Invite? These 6 Leadership Conferences Are Great Alternatives (世界経済フォーラムだけじゃない: 2026 年、真に価値あるリーダーシップ会議 6 選)”)を読み、故ナイ Harvard 大学教授や国家安全保障問題担当大統領補佐官を務めた故スコウcroft 将軍と語り合ったコロラド州アスペンに在る think tank(Aspen Institute)を思い出していた(PDF 版 2 参照)。

*Forbes* 誌の記事はダボス以外で集うべき本年の“場”を 6 カ所提示している。即ち①SXSW Conferences & Festivals (March 12~18, Austin, TX)、②Lead Where You Stand (June 4~5, Santa Barbara, CA)、③ALIVE: Intentionally Evolving Our Futures (April 23~25, Asheville, NC)、④The Future of Everything Festival (May 4~5, New York)、⑤Harvard Flourishing Summit (March 18~19, Cambridge, MA)、⑥Aspen Ideas Festival (June 25~July 1, Aspen, CO)だ。

提示された 6 カ所のうち、筆者が過去に参加したのは⑥Aspen Ideas Festival だけだ。アスペンでは様々なイベントが同時並行的に開催されており、多様な分野の人々が集い、楽しい会食や演奏会が開催されている。同研究所はシカゴの実業家ウォルター・ペプラー氏が資金提供し、シカゴ大学のロバート・ハッチンス総長の助言を基に設立された think tank である。1949 年夏、文豪ゲーテ生誕 2 百年を記念し、ノーベル平和賞受賞者のアルベルト・シュヴァイツァー博士や哲学者ホセ・オルテガ・イ・ガセッタ等の教養ある人々が集い、think tank の設立準備を祝った。

リゾート地であるアスペンでは急流下り(rafting)や乗馬(horseback riding)等を討論会の合間に楽しむ事が出来る。そうした活動が嫌いではないが、筆者は自習を選択して、スペインの友人から哲学書を教わっていた。彼が『ドン・キホーテに関する考察(Las Meditaciones del Quijote)』を筆者のために読んで聞かせてくれた事が懐かしい。アスペンに集った人々との交流を思い出し、米国の現政権はどうして彼等のような優れた人々の智識を政策に生かさないのか、と不思議でならない。知的活動に関する彼等の努力は全く無駄になつてはいると嘆息するのは筆者だけでは無いはずだ。

こうした中、敬愛するオルテガ先生による上述した本(*Las Meditaciones del Quijote*)の中の有名な文章を思い出している:

19 世紀の英國探検家であるウィリアム・パリーは、次のように語っている。北極での旅で、丸一日、犬橇(いぬぞり)を勢い良く走らせて北に向った。夜になって自分の位置を緯度で調べてみると、驚いた事に到着地点は朝よりも更に南だったのだ。即ち彼は南に向かう海流に浮かんでいる巨大な氷山の上を、一日中懸命に北上していたのだった。

(Cuenta Parry que en su viaje polar avanzó un día entero dirección Norte, haciendo galopar valientemente los perros de su trineo. A la noche verificó las observaciones para determinar la altura a que se hallaba y, con gran sorpresa, notó que se encontraba mucho más al Sur que de mañana. Durante todo el día se había afanado hacia el Norte corriendo sobre un inmenso témpano a quien una corriente oceánica arrastraba hacia el Sur.)

確かに努力は必ずしも報われない。アスペンに集まる鋭い国際感覚を具えた人々は今、上述の「人種的置き換え理論(great replacement theory)」を信じ込んだ人々から「人種置き換えに熱心なエリート(replacement elites)」という烙印を押され、政策立案過程の闇に置かれているのだ。

人々が目を向けるもの、人々が足を止めて見るもの、人々が  
驚きこれ見よがしに競い合うもの、そういったものは、外見は  
きらびやかであっても、中身はみすぼらしいものである。  
Good things that draw the eyes of men, before which they halt, which they show to one another in wonder, outwardly glitter,  
but are worthless within.  
[Ista, quae spectantur, ad quae consistuntur, quae alteri stupens monstrat, foris nitent, introrsus misera sunt.]  
(Lucius Annaeus Seneca the Younger)

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

No. 202 (February 2026)

民の口を防ぐは、水を防ぐよりも甚だし。水壅(ふさ)がりて Silencing people is more sinister than blocking rivers. If the river is blocked, it will eventually burst, and many people will be injured. The same goes for the suppressed people.  
之の如し。 (司馬遷) [防民之口，甚於防水。水壅而潰，傷人必多，民亦如之。] (Sīmǎ Qiān, a Han dynasty historian; 司馬遷)

January 22: (a hybrid event, London) Chatham House: "What Is China's Vision for a New World Order?"

January 27~29: (Berlin) Handelsblatt: „Der Handelsblatt Energie Gipfel: System unter Spannung: Wie die Energieversorgung sicher, flexibel und bezahlbar bleibt (Handelsblatt Energy Summit)“.

## 外交・安全保障: Diplomacy and National Security—Books, Papers, and, Articles

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経済依存度が次第に高まる世界における諸問題の解決は、多くの政府の意思決定能力を超えていくのだ。こうした状況は国粹主義的であり熱狂的な信奉主義の反応を生み出してきたし、将来も生み出されであろう。しかもこの反応は権威主義的政治と結び付きやすい。

(ファン・リンス)

In an increasingly economically interdependent world, the solution of certain problems is beyond the decision-making capacity of many national governments. This has led and will increasingly lead to ultranationalistic and voluntarist responses, which are likely to be associated with authoritarian politics.

(Juan José Linz)

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

No. 202 (February 2026)

政治は歴史の終わりまで良心と権力がぶつかり合う場であり続ける。  
(ラインホールド・ニーバー)

Politics will to the end of history, be an area where conscience and power meet.

(Reinhold Niebuhr)

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多数派? それは何だ?

理性は今もまだ少数派と共に居るのだ。

(フリードリヒ・フォン・シラー)

Majority? What is it? The majority is nonsense; Reason has still ranked only with the few.

[Die Mehrheit? Was ist die Mehrheit? Mehrheit ist der Unsinn; Verstand ist stets bei Wen' gen nur gewesen.]

(Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller)

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No. 202 (February 2026)

隠れて生きよ。

(エピクロス)

Live hidden.

[λάθε βιόσας; lathe biosas.]

(Epicurus; Επίκουρος)

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## 3. 編集後記

AI は「使うか否か」ではなく、「如何なる分野で如何なる方法で使うか」を問う時代に入っている。

“Google AI Plus”や“Nano Banana Pro”を使ってみて、AI の進歩に驚いている。と同時に Harvard AI and Robotics Lab の研究者が 1 月に発表した論文を読むと「やはり使い方次第だな。AI に対して妄信はいけないな」と思う("Large Language Models Are Bad Dice Players")。同様に IEEE Spectrum 誌の 1 月 8 日付記事や Nature 誌の 1 月 14 日付記事も AI 利用に関する警告を発している("AI Coding Assistants Are Getting Worse"、"Artificial Intelligence Tools Expand Scientists' Impact but Contract Science's Focus"、上記 2 を参照)。昨年 9 月 7 日朝、NHK の「桂文珍の演芸図鑑」を観ていた時、文珍師匠による新作落語「懶める AI」に笑ってしまった。安易に AI を信じる事が出来ないという警告を笑い話に変えてしまう師匠の落語に魅了された。そして今、The Economist 誌の 1 月 29 日付記事の主張に納得している("Stop Panicking about AI. Start Preparing: There Is Time to Adapt. Use It Wisely")。

AI との上手な付き合い方について様々な分野で探り当てたいと考えている。

以上

(編集責任者) 栗原 潤	Jun KURIHARA
キヤノングローバル戦略研究所 研究主幹	Research Director, Canon Institute for Global Studies
〒100-6511 東京都千代田区丸の内 1-5-1 新丸の内ビルディング 11 階 Tel: +81-(0)3-6213-0550 (代)	Kurihara.Jun@gmail.com
過去の Cambridge Gazette はネット上で見ることが出来、ダウンロードも出来ます。ネット上でキヤ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。	

## Appendix 1/付属資料 1

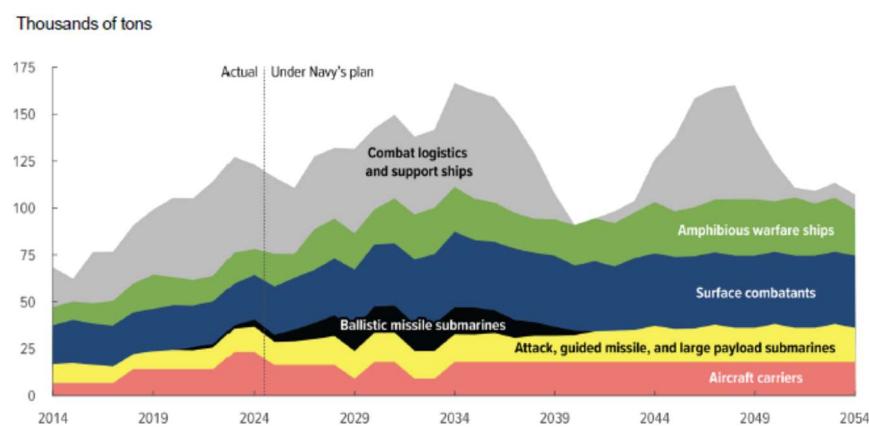
Table Number of International Students and Scholars at Harvard University  
表 ハーバード大学における海外からの学生・研究者数

Academic Year	18-19	19-20	20-21	21-22	22-23	23-24	24-25
Students and Scholars							
World	10,285	9,977	7,523	8,087	9,970	10,223	10,158
Japan	312	276	213	221	264	261	260
China	2,270	2,318	1,855	1,800	1,969	2,174	2,126
South Korea	481	475	401	395	384	409	434
Taiwan	167	152	117	118	131	133	118
Singapore	129	119	101	99	150	144	151
India	624	659	513	613	816	824	788
Canada	796	786	621	660	767	766	769
United Kingdom	423	398	278	339	439	410	402
Germany	520	497	316	350	547	551	549
France	332	275	172	187	305	313	305
Students							
World	5,007	4,988	4,254	4,818	5,492	5,692	5,627
Japan	93	102	89	97	101	111	110
China	1,028	1,089	1,075	1,020	1,214	1,330	1,282
South Korea	284	266	227	221	217	227	252
Taiwan	74	81	65	66	82	80	65
Singapore	104	97	88	86	125	110	117
Scholars							
World	5,278	4,989	3,269	3,269	4,478	4,531	4,531
Japan	219	174	124	124	163	150	150
China	1,242	1,229	780	780	755	844	844
South Korea	197	209	174	174	167	182	182
Taiwan	93	71	52	52	49	53	53
Singapore	25	22	13	13	25	34	34

Source: Harvard International Office (HIO).

## Appendix 2/付属資料 2

Figure Amount of Tonnage That Would Be Constructed under the Navy's 2025 Plan  
図 米国海軍 2025 建艦計画に基づく艦艇建造総トン数の推移



Source: Labs, Eric J., "The Congress, the Golden Fleet, and the Shipbuilding Industrial Base in 2026," Washington, D.C.: Congressional Budget Office (CBO), January 15, 2026, p. 8.