

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、そして欧洲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29号(2011年9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。

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。

(孫子)

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, an ancient Chinese strategist)

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1. *Tokyo-Cambridge Gazette: グローバル戦略編第29号*

東日本大震災に関しハーバード大学が開催した4月22日のシンポジウム("Japan Disaster Response and Future Assessment")で、日本でも有名なマイケル・サンデル教授は、18世紀後半に活躍した思想家—アダム・スミスやジャン=ジャック・ルソー等—が、里斯ボン地震(1755年)後に抱いた世界観に触れた。そして「東日本大震災後、global community に関し如何なる意識を抱くか」という問題を聴衆に説いた。すなわち当時の欧州人が抱いた中国人に対する感情やコスマポリタニズムに対する反発と比較した場合、「グローバル時代に生きる我々が抱く global community に対する帰属意識は如何なるものか」、と(詳細はスミスの『道徳感情論(The Theory of Moral Sentiments)』、またルソーの『エミール(Emile)』や『社会契約論(Du Contrat Social)』を参照)。当然のこととしてこの問題に一意解は無く、またこの種の問題は、国際対話を通じ自らを常に問い合わせプロセスこそが大切なのだ。

さて“global community”と言えば、キッシンジャー氏が近著(*On China, May 2011*)の最終章で提案した概念(a “Pacific Community”)を思い浮かべる。同書の最後の引用—カントの『永遠平和のために(Zum ewigen Frieden)』の中の言葉—を目にした時、自他共に realist と認める同氏も、遂に idealist/liberalist の思想にも傾いたのか?、と思わず微笑んでしまった。が、その直前、キッシンジャー氏は中国人民解放軍(PLA)の「反米派」、劉明福国防大学軍隊建設研究所長の著書(《中国梦: 后美国时代的大国思维与战略定位》(2010))や英国の第1次世界大戦前の対独姿勢を規定した「クロウ・メモランダム」(1907)に触れており、著者自身が”Pacific Community”に対し楽観的でないことを表明している。

グローバル化が進展し、様々な“Pacific Community”が提案されているなかで、日本は如何なる対外戦略で臨むのか。これに関し、博学で経験豊かな戦略家キッシンジャー氏は、日本の「戦略的思考」に対し長年疑惑を抱いている。嘗て同氏は「米中両国は日本に戦略を練る誘惑を過度に与えではない」と毛沢東主席に語ったが、筆者は今、米中に伍する「したたかな日本」の対外戦略を、慧眼な諸兄姉と冷静に討議したいと考えている(前述の書や『キッシンジャー「最高機密」会話録(Kissinger Transcripts: The Top Secret Talks with Beijing and Moscow)』を参照)。

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

Cheng, Kevin et al., 2011, "France: Selected Issues Paper," Country Report No. 11/212, Washington, D.C: International Monetary Fund (IMF), July.

Economist, 2011, "Turning Japanese," Vol. 400, No. 8744 (July 30), p. 9.

Fletcher, Kevin et al., 2011, "France: Selected Issues Paper," Country Report No. 11/221, Washington, D.C: International Monetary Fund

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知性の働きが信頼できるのは、強い衝動を我々が抑制した時だけだ。翻つて強い衝動の影響下では、知性は単に意志の道具として動き、意志が要求する結果をもたらす。それが故に論理的な議論は、感情が絡む得失に対して無力であり、その際、理由—それはシェイクスピア劇の登場人物(Falstaff)の言葉を借りれば「ブラックベリーのように数多く在る」ものだが—に基づいて議論を行うことは、意味が全く無いことなのだ。

(ジークムント・フロイト)

Our intellect can function reliably only when it is removed from the influences of strong emotional impulses; otherwise it behaves merely as an instrument of the will and delivers the results which the will requires. Thus, logical arguments are powerless against affective interests, and that is why disputes backed by reasons, which in Falstaff's phrase are 'as plenty as blackberries,' are so unfruitful in the world of interests.

[Unsere Intellekt könnte nur verlässlich arbeiten, wenn er den Einwirkungen starker Gefühlsregungen entrückt sei; im gegenteiligen Falle benehme er sich einfach wie ein Instrument zu Händen eines Willens und liefe das Resultat, das ihm von diesem aufgetragen sei. Logische Argumente seien also ohnmächtig gegen affektive Interessen, und darum sei das Streiten mit Gründen, die nach Falstaffs Wort so gemein sind wie Brombeeren, in der Welt der Interessen so unfruchtbar.]

(Sigmund Freud)

(IMF), July.

Lane, Philip R. et al., 2011, "External Adjustment and the Global Crisis," Working Paper No. 11/197, Washington, D.C.: International Monetary Fund (IMF), August.

Roxburgh, Charles and Jan Mischke, 2011, 2011, "European Growth and Renewal: The Path from Crisis to Recovery," London: McKinsey Global Institute (MGI), July.

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

August 17: (Washington, D.C.) Brookings Institution: "Deficit Reduction and the New Congressional Committee: A Primer": introduction: Ron Haskins (Senior Fellow, Economic Studies); Panelists: Henry J. Aaron (Senior Fellow, Economic Studies), Sarah A. Binder (Senior Fellow, Governance Studies), Bill Frenzel (Guest Scholar, Economic Studies), William G. Gale (Senior Fellow, Economic Studies).

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

Cheung, Kat, 2011, "Integration of Renewables: Status and Challenges in China," IEA Energy Paper No. 2011/09, Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), May.

Renewable Energy Policy Network for the 21st Century (REN21), 2011, "Renewables 2011: Global Status Report," Paris: REN21, July. Stern, Rachel E., 2011, "From Dispute to Decision: Suing Polluters in China," *China Quarterly*, No. 269 (June), pp. 294-312.

Voice of America (VOA), 2011, "TEPCO Reported Tsunami Threat 4 Days before Fukushima Disaster," August 25, <http://www.voanews.com/english/news/TEPCO-Reported-Tsunami-Threat-4-Days-Before-Fukushima-Disaster-128372738.html>.

資源・エネルギー、環境: Resources, Energy, and Environment—Conferences, Workshops and Seminars

August 17~21 (Aspen, CO) American Renewable Energy Institute: "8th Annual AREDAY Summit 2011": Participants incl. Keynote Speaker: Lester Brown (Earth Policy Institute): "A New Vision,"; "The Path to a Low Carbon Future": Moderator Bryan Martel (Environmental Capital Group); Panelists: Tisha Conoly Schuller (Colorado Oil and Gas Association), Larry Flowers (American Wind Energy Association (AWEA)), Phil Radford (Greenpeace), Rhone Resch (Solar Energy Industries Association (SEIA)), Jerry Peterson (University of Colorado Physics Department); Keynote Speaker: Anthony Leiserowitz (Yale School of Forestry): "Global Warming's Six Americas."

August 25~26 (New York City) United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR): "Workshop on Environmental Negotiations and Climate Change Diplomacy."

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

Blank, Stephen J., 2011, "Russia in the Arctic," Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute (SSI), U.S. Army War College, July.

Boik, William A., 2011, "Understanding the North Korea Problem: Why It Has Become the 'Land of Lousy Options,'" Letort Papers, Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute (SSI), U.S. Army War College, July.

Bukh, Alexander, 2011, Japan's National Identity and Foreign Policy: Russia as Japan's 'Other,' London: Routledge, July.

Cohen, Craig S., ed., 2011, *Capacity and Resolve: Foreign Assessment of U.S. Power*, Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), June.

Cordner, Lee, 2011, "Progressing Maritime Security Cooperation in the Indian Ocean," *Naval War College Review*, Vol. 64, No. 4 (Autumn), pp. 68-88.

Dutton, Peter, 2011, "Three Disputes and Three Objectives: China and the South China Sea," *Naval War College Review*, Vol. 64, No. 4 (Autumn), pp. 42-67.

Friedberg, Aaron L., 2011, *A Contest for Supremacy: China, America, and the Struggle for Mastery in Asia*, New York: W.W. Norton, August.

Gons, Eric Stephen, 2011, "Access Challenges and Implications for Airpower in the Western Pacific," A RAND Graduate School Dissertation, Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, August.

Horner, Charles, 2011, "Rising China's Forgotten Father," *Naval War College Review*, Vol. 64, No. 4 (Autumn), pp. 142-145.

United States Government, Department of Defense (DoD), 2011, "Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China 2011," Washington, D.C.: DoD, August.

United States Government, U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission (USCC), 2011, "The Chinese People's Liberation Army Delegation Visit to the United States, May 11: A Summary of Key Actors and Issues," Staff Research Backgrounder, Washington, D.C.: USCC, June.

外交・安全保障: Diplomacy and National Security—Conferences, Workshops and Seminars

August 5 (Aspen, CO) Aspen Institute: "ASG Summer Workshop (an annual closed-door workshop of the Aspen Strategy Group (ASG)).

August 12: (Washington, D.C.) Brookings Institution: "The Deficit's Impact on American National Security and Foreign Policy": Moderator: Michael E. O'Hanlon (Director of Research and Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy, 21st Century Defense Initiative); Panelists: Stephen Hadley (Former National Security Adviser, Senior Adviser for International Affairs, U.S. Institute of Peace),

言行は君子の権機(スウキ)なり。
権機の發は、榮辱の主なり。
言行は、君子の天地を動かす所なり。
慎まざる可けんや。 (『易經』)

Words and deeds are the spring hinge of the Man of High Caliber. The movement of that spring hinge brings about either glory or disgrace. His words and deeds move heaven and earth;—can he be insensible to the choice of deeds and words? [言行君子之権機。権機之發、榮辱之主也。言行、君子之所以動天地也。可不慎乎。] (Yi Jing/The Book of Changes, one of great Chinese classics /『易經』)

- Alice M. Rivlin (Senior Fellow, Economic Studies), Peter W. Singer (Director, 21st Century Defense Initiative).
August 16: (Washington, D.C.) Brookings Institution: "Has America's Political Dysfunction Undermined Its Position as the World's Remaining Superpower?": Moderator (Martin S. Indyk, Vice President and Director, Foreign Policy); Panelists: Mauricio Cárdenas (Director, Latin America Initiative), Fiona Hill (Director, Center on the United States and Europe), Robert Kagan (Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy, Center on the United States and Europe), Kenneth G. Lieberthal (Director, John L. Thornton China Center), Thomas E. Mann (Senior Fellow, Governance Studies).
August 17: (Washington, D.C.) Brookings Institution: "Is China the New North? Assessing the Impact of Chinese Trade with Latin America": Introduction and Moderator: Eric Farnsworth (Vice President, Americas Society/Council of the Americas); Panelists: Mauricio Cárdenas (Director, Latin America Initiative), Erica S. Downs (Fellow, Foreign Policy, John L. Thornton China Center), Mauricio Mesquita Moreira (Principal Economist, Trade and Investment Sector, Inter-American Development Bank (IDB)).

その他—Information in Other Fields

- Arbatli, Elif, 2011, "Economic Policies and FDI Inflows to Emerging Market Economies," Working Paper No. 11/192, Washington, D.C.: International Monetary Fund (IMF), August.
Business Facilities, 2011, "2011 State Ranking Report," Tinton Falls, NJ, August.
Cihák, Martin et al., 2011, "The Bright and the Dark Side of Cross-Border Banking Linkages," Working Paper No. 11/186, Washington, D.C.: International Monetary Fund (IMF), August.
Haggard, Stephan et al., 2011, "Integration in the Absence of Institutions: China-North Korea Cross-Border Exchange," Working Paper No. WP11-13, Washington, D.C.: Peterson Institute for International Economics (PIIE), August.
Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 2011, *Future Global Shocks: Improving Risk Governance, OECD Reviews of Risk Management Policies*, Paris: OECD, August.
Rossi, Vanessa and William Jackson, 2011, "Hong Kong's Role in Building the Offshore Renminbi Market," International Economics Programme Paper, No. IE PP 2011/01, London: Chatham House, August.
United States Government, U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission (USCC), 2011, "Hearing on China's Five-Year Plan, Indigenous Innovation and Technology Transfers, and Outsourcing, June 15, 2011," Hearing Transcript, Washington, D.C.: USCC, July.
Event: August 11 (Aspen, CO) Aspen Institute and the American Enterprise Institute (AEI): "AEI at the Aspen Institute": Speaker: Scott Gottlieb (AEI): "Is Health Care Reform Good for Your Health?" Moderator: John Sarpa (Aspen Valley Hospital); Speaker: Marc A. Thiessen (AEI): "CIA Interrogations, the Bin Laden Operation, and the Next Attack," Moderator: Elliott Gerson (Aspen Institute); Speaker: Charles Murray (AEI): "Coming Apart at the Seams: The New Upper Class and New Underclass and Implications for America," Moderator: Carolyne Heldman (Aspen Public Radio); Speaker: Peter J. Wallison (AEI): "Improving the US Housing Market," Moderator: Carolyne Heldman (Aspen Public Radio).

3. 編集後記

8月14日付『日本経済新聞』の記事「新しい日本へ 復興の道筋を聞く(3)」の中で、ユーラシア・グループのイアン・ブレマー社長は、「明確な外交戦略を持て」と題し次のように語った—「日本が国際舞台で果たす役目はとても大きい」と日本に期待する一方、日本に対し「黙っていてはだめだ。国益や判断基準を明確に主張していかねばならない」と国際社会の厳しさを指摘し、「専門シンクタンク」の必要性に触れている。近年の環境・エネルギー問題が示すように、現在の諸問題は、政治、経済、技術、社会的価値観等、様々な専門分野が、複雑にしかも国際的に絡み合った形で、現れてくる。換言すると我々の住む世界は、エドムンド・フッサークルが警告した「専門化の必要性と同時に専門化の更なる危険性(die Notwendigkeit und doch wieder Gefährlichkeit der Spezialisierung)」に満ち溢れた世界なのだ。こうしたなか、日本は「広く浅く」と「狭く深く」という甲乙つけ難い知識社会が内包する2つの危険を回避し、しかも日本語以外の情報と知識の存在を正確に認識し、更には日本語以外の言葉で情報と知識を円滑に交信出来る専門家と戦略家を養成しなくてはならない。

以上

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