

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 136 号 (2020 年 8 月)

キャ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。

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(あや)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/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 136 号

7 月に上海で開催された国際会議(World Artificial Intelligence Conference (WAIC))は“Intelligent Connectivity, Indivisible Community (世界人工知能大会: 智联世界、共同家园)”と題し、globalization の深化を称える精神を謳った。だが残念な事に世界に漂う緊張感—主因は COVID-19 及び米中関係—が障害となつて、楽観出来ない状況だ。

米国出身で毒舌家の或る友人は WAIC の表題を皮肉り、「現実には Intelligent Disconnection, Divided Communities だ」とメールを送ってきた。これに対して筆者は、中国が 7 月初旬に公表したデータ規制に関する法制化—「数据安全法 (草案)»; Data Security Law (“Draft Law”)—を念頭に、「正確には Intelligent Disjunction amidst Divided Politics じゃない?」と返答した次第だ。

中国専門家のテイラー・フラヴェル MIT 教授は 6 月末に小論(China's Sovereignty Obsession)を発表し、“much ado about sovereignty”として主権に関し“空騒ぎ”する中国を Shakespeare 流に論じた(次の 2 を参照)。米中関係に関し筆者は、昨年末に台北で元米国国家安全保障会議(NSC)戦略計画担当上級部長ロバート・スポルディング氏の本(*Stealth War*, Oct. 2019)を巡り、同書台湾版の草稿(「隠形戦: 中国如何在美國菁英沉睡時悄悄奪取世界霸權」)を横に置きつつ議論した。同書は人民解放軍(PLA)関係者による本(「超限戦」; *Unrestricted Warfare*, 1999)に触れ、Cyber や AI を駆使する“戦争の新原理”に基づき、中国が今後“想定する限界を超えた”対外戦略を打ち出してくると警鐘を鳴らしている。即ち「武力と非武力、軍事と非軍事、殺傷と非殺傷を含むあらゆる手段を用いて、自らの利益を強制的に敵に受け入れさせる(用一切手段、包括武力と非武力、軍事と非軍事、殺傷と非殺傷の手段、強迫敵方接受自的の利益) 形で中国は国益を追求する“超限戦”を展開しようとしている、と。

米中間の相互不信が日ごとに深まる大國間競争の中(p. 4 の付属資料を参照)、人類のための先端技術開発が、細断化された形で展開するとの懸念が広まってきた。このため対中経済関係を重視するドイツやオーストラリア、そして東南アジア諸国や日本は自らの対応に関し、更に知恵を絞る事を余儀なくされている。EU の中でも難しい対応を迫られるドイツ産業同盟(BDI)は昨年 1 月、報告書「パートナーであると同時に体制的競争相手 (Partner und systemischer Wettbewerber—Wie gehen wir mit Chinas staatlich gelenkter Volkswirtschaft um?)」を発表したが、特にその中で示した「強く結束した欧州(Starkes und geeintes Europa)」と「立場を同じくする諸国との国際協力(Internationale Kooperation mit gleichgesinnten Partnern)」という課題は、克服すべき障壁を多く抱えているが、同国産業の奮闘を祈るばかりだ。

Post-corona の中国はどの方向に向かうのか。内外の友人達と様々な情報交換を行う毎日だ。

7 月中旬、Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) の Ash Center から中国共産党に関する民意調査報告書(Understanding CCP Resilience: Surveying Chinese Public Opinion through Time)が公表された。著者のアンソニー・セイチ教授やエドワード・カニンガム氏と情報交換すると同時に、彼等から最新の知見を聞いた次第だ。中国の公式発表を正確に理解する事と同じくらい、この国の市井の人の“本音”を聞き出す事は非常に難しい。こうした理由から中国国内に多くの友人を持ち、言葉が堪能なセイチ教授やカニンガム氏が行なった長年にわたる調査に感心している。この調査は 7 月 15 日付の「環球時報」等で触れられ、ケツサクな事に華春瑩中国外交部報道官までがツイート発言している(次の 2 を参照)。

また国営企業(SOEs)改革は如何なる形で推移するのか。或いは経済成長減速の影響で、新卒学生の 874 万人が中国版「大学は出たけれど(卒業等于失業)」という状態にならないか。これらに関して、UC パークレー校 Haas School of Business のアン・ハンソン校長等が昨年 1 月に発表した研究論文(“Can a Tiger Change Its Stripes?”; 「猛虎能否驯良? 欲速还羞的国有企业改革」)等を通じて情報交換をしている。

COVID-19 のために、夏のイベントが次々と“新しい形態”で実施されるようになった。

米国のアспен研究所でマイケル・サンデル教授が 9 月刊行予定の著書(*The Tyranny of Merit: What's Become of the Common Good?*)を語る virtual event を米国の友人達が知らせてきた。Aspen Institute は 1949 年のゲーテ生誕 200 年を記念し、神学者で医者、シュヴァイツァー、哲学者のオルテガ、ピアニストのルービンシュタイン等を招いて避暑地のアспенで過ごす行事を開催して以来、独創的な活動を続けるシンクタンクだ。筆者も数は限られているがご招待を頂き、知的刺激に満ちたひとときを過ごさせて頂いた。

特に Aspen Ideas Festival は、ノーベル賞受賞者やメトロポリタン歌劇場の歌手、連邦政府の高官や国際問題に関心の高い企業人が集う素晴らしい機会である。筆者の懐かしい思い出は、①Boston から Aspen へ向かう飛行機で、偶然一緒になったジャーナリストのトーマス・フリードマン氏(*The World Is Flat* の著者)は、客室乗務員が有名な彼に気付いたため搭乗後の離陸直前に first class に移れたが、無名の筆者は残念ながら economy class に留まるしかなかった事と、②マデレーン・オルブライト元国務長官の流暢なフランス語に舌を巻いた事だ。

また Aspen Strategy Group はブレント・スコウクロフト元大統領補佐官やジョセフ・ナイ教授等が語り合う知的集団で、彼等の知見にも注目する必要がある。日本の優れた若者達が将来参画する事を願ってやまない。

恒例の英国音楽祭(BBC Proms 2020)が始まったが、ソフトウェアの“BBC iPlayer”は日本では利用不可能だ!! ベートーヴェン生誕 250 周年で折角盛り上がっているのに、日英間の digital connectivity が未だ不完全である事が残念だ。今後の制度的・技術的改善が望まれる。

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

- July 9: (an online event, Washington, D.C.) Brookings Institution: "Preserving Manufacturing in the COVID-19 Economy."
July 16: (an online event, London) Chatham House: "Social Investments in Ageing Populations – Health Value Decision-Making After COVID-19."

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

- Economist, 2020, "Venice Tests Its Flood Defences," July 12.
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Reuters (David Stanway), 2020, "China Cities Declare Flood 'Red Alerts' as Extreme Weather Threats Surge," July 10.

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

- July 9: (an online event, Washington, D.C. and Milan) Resources for the Future (RFF) and Euro-Mediterranean Center on Climate Change (EMCC) European Institute on Economics and Environment (EIEE): "Air Quality Impacts of the COVID-19 Pandemic: A View from Two Epicenters."

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

- Associated Press (AP), 2020, "TikTok Says It Will Leave Hong Kong after Recent Passage of Security Law," July 7.
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Die Zeit, 2020, "Frank-Walter Steinmeier warnt China vor Konsequenzen", July 13.
Economist, 2020, "Thinking Fast and Slow: How Speedy Lockdowns Save Lives," July 4.
Financial Times (Leo Lewis and Kana Inagaki), 2020, "Toshiba Clash with Activist Poses First Test of National Security Law," July 4.
Financial Times (Jonathan Ford and Laura Hughes), 2020, "UK-China Relations: From 'Golden Era' to the Deep Freeze," July 14.
Flournoy, Michèle A., 2020, "How to Prevent a War in Asia: The Erosion of American Deterrence Raises the Risk of Chinese Miscalculation," *Foreign Affairs*, June 18.
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (Helmut Bündler), 2020, "Kein Grund für einen Vorab-Ausschluss von Huawei", July 15.
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Gallup, 2020, "Trump's Job Approval Rating Steady at Lower Level," July 6.
Green, Michael and Evan Medeiros, 2020, "Is Taiwan the Next Hong Kong? China Tests the Limits of Impunity," *Foreign Affairs*, July 8.
Hill (Tal Axelrod), 2020, "Fiorina Planning to Vote for Biden," June 25.
Hill (Marina Pitofsky), 2020, "The Lincoln Project Releases Laugh Track Ad Hammering Trump," July 21.
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New York Times (Katrin Bennhold), 2020, "As Neo-Nazis Seed Military Ranks, Germany Confronts 'an Enemy Within,'" July 3.
New York Times (Choe Sang-Hun *et al.*), 2020, "Major Security Flaws Found in South Korea Quarantine App," July 21.
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Wall Street Journal (River Davis), 2020, "U.S. Allies Capture China Tech Business Despite Washington's Curbs," June 29.
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Washington Post (Karen DeYoung et al.), 2020, "Intelligence Reports on Russian Bounty Operation First Reached White House in Early 2019," July 1.
Washington Post (Jeanne Whalen and Steven Zeitchik), 2020, "William Barr Cites Disney, Apple in Speech Accusing U.S. Companies of 'Kowtowing' to China," July 16.

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

June 30: (an online event, Washington, D.C.) US Congress, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations: Hearing: "COVID-19 and U.S. International Pandemic Preparedness, Prevention, and Response: Additional Perspectives."
July 7: (an online event, Washington, D.C.) Hudson Institute: "China's Attempt to Influence U.S. Institutions: A Conversation with FBI Director Christopher Wray"; Moderator Walter Russell Mead (Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute).
July 15: (an online event, Washington, D.C.) Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS): "Allied Cooperation on China."
July 15~22: (Washington, D.C. including online sessions) Center for a New America Security (CNAS) and Axios: "2020 National Security Conference: The America Competes Summer Series."
July 22: (an online event, Washington, D.C.) Foreign Policy: "FP Virtual Dialogue: 5G Global Power Plays."
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その他—Information in Other Fields

Aronson, Elliot and Carol Tavris, 2020, "The Role of Cognitive Dissonance in the Pandemic," *Atlantic*, July 12.
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Financial Times (Patrick McGee and Peter Campbell), 2020, "Tesla Overtakes Toyota to Become World's Most Valuable Carmaker," July 1.
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MIT Technology Review (Will D. Heaven), 2020, "If AI Is Going to Help Us in a Crisis, We Need a New Kind of Ethics," June 24.
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TechCrunch.com (Brian Heater), 2020, "Hello Robot Emerges Out of Stealth to Launch a Mobile Robotic Gripping Platform for the Home," July 14.
Thompson, Neil C. et al., 2020, "The Computational Limits of Deep Learning," Cambridge, MA: Computer Science and Artificial Intelligence Laboratory (CSAIL), MIT, July.
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Wall Street Journal (Eva Xiao), 2020, "Scientific Journal Pulls Over a Dozen Papers by Chinese Researchers," July 14.
Waltzman, Rand et al., 2020, "Maintaining the Competitive Advantage in Artificial Intelligence and Machine Learning," Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, July.
ZDNet (Catalin Cimpanu), 2020, "Zoom Working on Patching Zero-day Disclosed in Windows Client," July 9.
Event: July 7: (an online event) IEEE: World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) Forum 2020: "How to Make Tech Development Work for Sustainable Development."
Event: July 9~11: (an online event, Shanghai) World Artificial Intelligence Conference (WAIC) Committee Office: "WAIC: Intelligent Connectivity, Indivisible Community (世界人工智能大会: 智联世界、共同家园)."
Event: July 13~18: (an online event) International Machine Learning Society (IMLS): "International Conference on Machine Learning (ICML) 2020."

3. 編集後記

1944年夏、米国の避暑地(ニューハンプシャー州 Bretton Woods)で開かれた国際会議の最終日(7月22日)、祝宴の場でケインズ大先生が語った言葉—The brotherhood of man will have become more than a phrase—は示唆的だ。人類の兄弟愛を言葉だけにせず、大先生が語ったように具体策を講じて平和と繁栄を実現しなくてはならない。そして今は、米国の避暑地(マサチューセッツ州 Tanglewood)での音楽祭で、ワイングラス片手に中国の友人と彼等の国の偉人達—諸葛孔明や文天祥等—の人生に関して語り合った事を思い出し、そうした時が再び来る事を祈っている。以上

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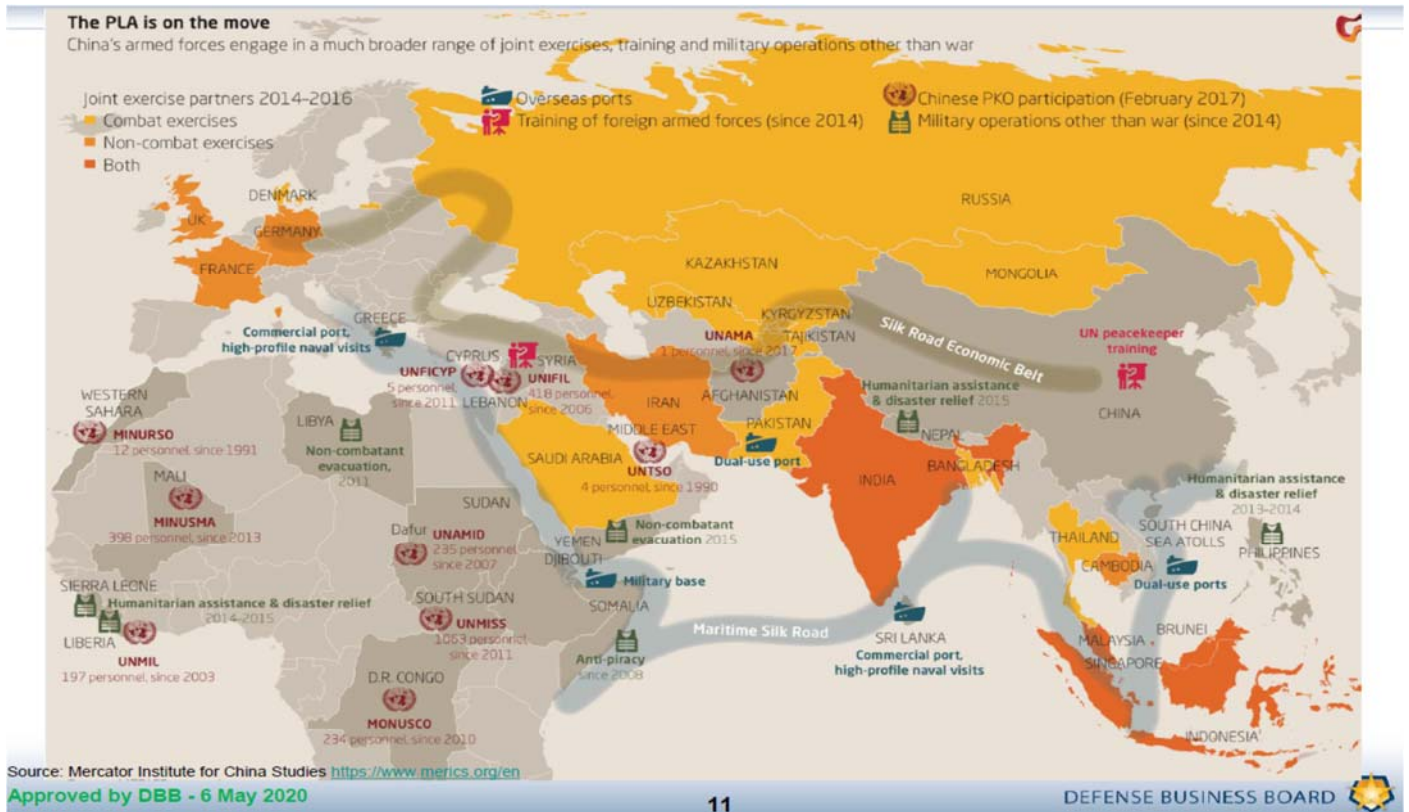
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Figure 1 China's Military Presence Is Looming around the Globe

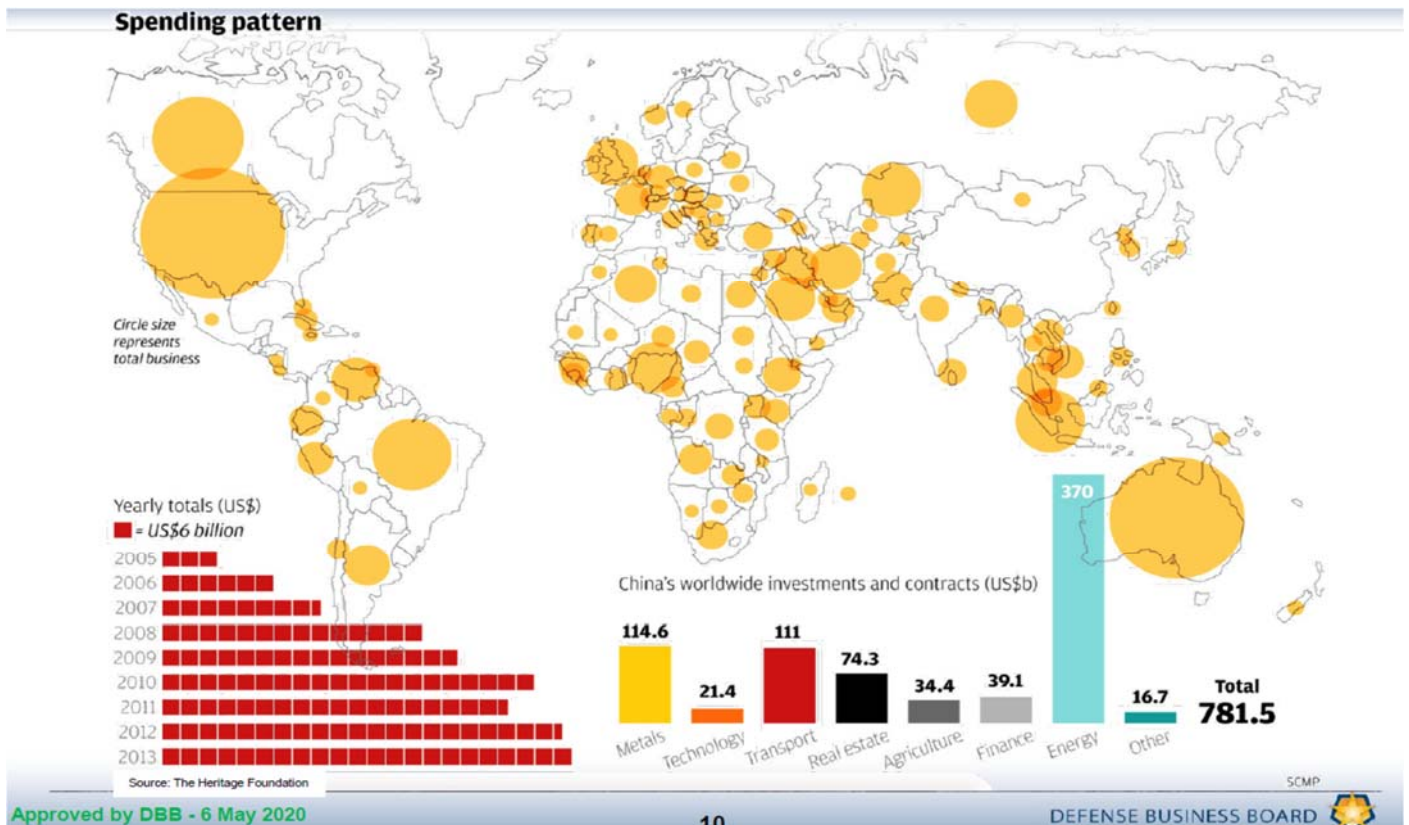
図1 世界中に姿を見せ始めた中国の軍事的存在



Source: Defense Business Board (DBB), "Assessment of Responsibilities and Authorities of the Chief Management Officer of the Department of Defense," Washington, D.C.: DBB, May 2020, p. 11.

Figure 2 Omnipresent Chinese Investment

図2 世界に遍在する中国による投資



Source: Ibid., p. 10.