# 原注(※原注内のURLは、原書どおりに記載した。)

### ペーパーバック版への序文

- 1 Homi Kharas and Kristofer Hamel, "Turning Back the Poverty Clock: How Will COVID-19 Impact the World's Poorest People?" Brookings, May 6, 2020, https://www.brookings.edu/blog/future-development/2020/05/06/ turning-back-the-poverty-clock-how-will-covid-19-impact-the-worlds-poorest-people/.
- "Update: Which Firms and Industries Have Been Most Affected by 2 COVID-19?" Economic Observatory, https://www.economicsobservatory. com/update-which-firms-and-industries-have-been-most-affected-bycovid-19; "Small Businesses Feel Biggest Impact of Coronavirus Pandemic," Business Wire, October 8, 2020, https://www.businesswire.com/news/ home/20201008005232/en/Small-Businesses-Feel-Biggest-Impact-of-Coronavirus-Pandemic; "Overall Impact of COVID-19 on Small Businesses in the United States as of April 2022," Statista, May 24, 2022, https:// www.statista.com/statistics/1220920/us-covid-19-impact-small-businesses/; Abriham Ebabu Engidaw, "Small Businesses and Their Challenges During COVID-19 Pandemic in Developing Countries: In the Case of Ethiopia," Journal of Innovation and Entrepreneurship 11, no. 1 (January 10, 2022), https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/35036286/; Howard Schneider, "Pandemic Destroyed Fewer Businesses than Feared, Study Shows," Reuters, April 16, 2021, https://www.reuters.com/business/pandemic-destroyed-fewer-usfirms-than-feared-fed-study-shows-2021-04-16/.
- 3 Moriah Balingit, "Virtual Learning Set Poor Children Even Further Behind, Study Shows," May 9, 2022, Washington Post, https://www.washingtonpost.com/education/2022/05/09/virtual-online-learning-achievement-gap/.
- 4 Naomi Klein, "How Big Tech Plans to Profit from the Pandemic," *Guardian*, May 13, 2020, https://www.theguardian.com/news/2020/may/13/naomi-klein-how-big-tech-plans-to-profit-from-coronavirus-pandemic.
- 5 DealBook, "They Made How Much?" New York Times, July 31, 2020,

.

- https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/31/business/dealbook/tech-earning seconomy.html.
- 6 Matthew Johnston (fact checked by Ryan Eichler), "Biggest Companies in the World by Market Cap," Investopedia, updated March 4, 2022, https:// www.investopedia.com/biggest-companies-in-the-world-by-marketcap-5212784.
- 7 Christopher Rowland, "Pfizer Coronavirus Vaccine Revenue is Projected to Hit \$26 Billion in 2021 with Production Surge," Washington Post, May 4, 2021, https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2021/05/04/pfizer-covidvaccine-revenue/; Kevin Dunleavy, "Pfizer, Merck and AstraZeneca Led Big Pharma's Growth in Q1 but They Couldn't Match mRNA Hotshots," Fierce Pharma, May 17, 2022, https://www.fiercepharma.com/pharma/ biopharma-industry-showed-across-board-growth-q1-rebound-pandemiccontinues.
- 8 "Marx on the Reserve Army of Labor / Unemployed," *Culture Reader*, November 20, 2017, https://culturalstudiesnow.blogspot.com/2017/11/marx-on-reserve-army-of-labor-unemployed.html; "Another Growing Threat from South Africa's Jobs Crisis," *BusinessTech*, May 17, 2021, https://businesstech.co.za/news/business/491061/another-growing-threat-from-south-africas-jobs-crisis/; Joe Parkinson, "Covid's Next Challenge: The Growing Divide Between Rich and Poor Economies," *Wall Street Journal*, May 18, 2021, https://www.wsj.com/articles/covids-next-challenge-the-growing-divide-between-rich-and-poor-economies-11621343332.
- 9 たとえば、Christian Britschgi, "California Judge Says Los Angeles County's Outdoor Dining Ban Isn't 'Grounded in Science, Evidence, or Logic,'" *Reason*, December 10, 2020, https://reason.com/2020/12/10/california-judge-rules-that-los-angeles-outdoor-dining-ban-isnt-grounded-in-science-evidence-or-logic/.
- Ethan Yang, "Reddit's Censorship of The Great Barrington Declaration," American Institute for Economic Research, October 8, 2020, https://www.aier.org/article/reddits-censorship-of-the-great-barrington-declaration/; Editorial Board, "How Fauci and Collins Shut Down Covid Debate," Wall Street Journal, December 21, 2021, https://www.wsj.com/articles/fauci-

- collins-emails-great-barrington-declaration-covid-pandemic-lockdown-11640129116.
- 11 Charles Bremner, "Coronavirus Conspiracy Theories: France Riven with Fear and Distrust," *The Times* (UK), April 1, 2020, https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/coronavirus-conspiracies-france-riven-with-fear-and-distrust-as-the-virus-death-toll-soars-mx9fswws3?region=global; Reuters, "Melbourne to Ease World's Longest COVID-19 Lockdown," NBC News, October 17, 2021, https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/australia-melbourne-ease-worlds-longest-covid-19-lockdown-rcna3150.
- 12 Dan Kurland, "COVID-19 a Test Run for Climate Change," Op-Ed, *Charleston Gazette-Mail*, March 28, 2020, https://www.wvgazettemail.com/opinion/op\_ed\_commentaries/dan-kurland-covid-19-a-test-run-for-climate-change/article\_99489b57-f141-56dc-8f91-6c656d2b3177.html.
- 13 Brendan O'Neill, "COVID-19: A Glimpse of the Dystopia Greens Want Us to Live in," *Spiked*, March 25, 2020, https://www.spiked-online.com/2020/03/25/covid-19-a-glimpse-of-the-dystopia-greens-want-us-to-live-in/; Stephen Kruiser, "New Totalitarian Pandemic Power-Grab Idea: Permanently Close Some City Streets to Cars," PJ Media, March 23, 2020, https://pjmedia.com/news-and-politics/stephen-kruiser/2020/03/23/newtotalitarian-pandemic-power-grab-idea-permanently-close-some-city-streets-to-cars-n382826.
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), "Effect of the COVID-19 Pandemic and Related Restrictions on Homicide and Property Crime," Research Brief, December 2020, https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/covid/Property\_Crime\_Brief\_2020.pdf; Dora Mekouar, "Why Homicide Rates in US Spiked 30% during COVID Pandemic," VOA, February 2, 2022, https://www.voanews.com/a/whyhomicide-rates-spiked-30-during-the-pandemic-/6420391.html; Henry Grabar, "Crime Went Down during the Pandemic, but Cities Got More Dangerous," Slate, March 7, 2022, https://slate.com/business/2022/03/covid-pandemic-and-crime-a-new-way-to-measure-crime-in-cities-during-2020.html.
- 15 Wendell Cox, "America's Dispersing Metros: The 2020 Population Esti-

- mates," New Geography, May 6, 2020, https://www.newgeography.com/content/007037-americas-dispersing-metros-the-2020-population-estimates; Timothy B. Lee, "The Donut Effect: How the Pandemic Hollowed Out America's Biggest Cities," Full Stack Economics, April 7, 2022, https://fullstackeconomics.com/the-donut-effect-how-the-pandemic-hollowed-out-americas-biggest-cities/.
- 16 Freedom House, "New Report: Attacks on Democracy Intensify as Autocracy Spreads in Europe and Eurasia," Press Release, April 18, 2021, https://freedomhouse.org/article/new-report-attacks-democracy-intensify-autocracy-spreads-europe-and-eurasia; Henry E. Hale, "Eurasian Polities As Hybrid Regimes: The Case of Putin's Russia," *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 1, no. 1 (January 2010): 33–41, https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1879366509000025.
- 17 Salvatore Babones, "China's Middle Class Is Pulling Up the Ladder Behind Itself," Foreign Policy, February 1, 2018, https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/02/01/chinas-middle-class-is-pulling-up-the-ladder-behind-itself/; Maya Wang, "China's Chilling 'Social Credit' Blacklist," Wall Street Journal, December 11, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/chinas-chilling-social-credit-blacklist-1513036054.
- Alexis Mrachek and Shane McCrum, "How Putin Uses Russian Orthodoxy to Grow His Empire," Heritage Foundation, February 22, 2019, https://www.heritage.org/europe/commentary/how-putin-uses-russian-orthodoxygrow-his-empire; Jason Horowitz, "The Russian Orthodox Leader at the Core of Putin's Ambitions," New York Times, May 21, 2022, https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/21/world/europe/kirill-putin-russian-orthodox-church.html.
- 19 Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Touchstone, 1996), 28–29, 184–185, 229. (サミュエル・ハンチントン『文明の衝突』鈴木主税訳、集英社、1998年)
- 20 Yuen Yuen Ang, "How China's Development Story Can Be an Alternative to the Western Model," *South China Morning Post*, February 3, 2017, https://www.scmp.com/comment/insight-opinion/article/2067512/how-chinas-development-story-can-be-alternative-western; Anne-Marie Brady,

- "Magic Weapons: China's Political Influence Activities under Xi Jinping," Wilson Center, September 18, 2017, https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/magic-weapons-chinas-political-influence-activities-under-xi-jinping.
- 21 Barbara Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14th Century* (New York: Knopf, 1978), 276, 365–367, 386. (バーバラ・W・タックマン『遠い鏡――災厄の14世紀ヨーロッパ』徳永守儀訳、朝日出版社、2013年)
- 22 Kim Mackrael, "In the Covid Economy, Laid-Off Employees Become New Entrepreneurs," Wall Street Journal, November 18, 2020, https://www.wsj.com/articles/in-the-covid-economy-laid-off-employees-become-new-entrepreneurs-11605716565; Matt Phillips, "Small Tech Stocks Soar as the Future Arrives Early," New York Times, September 17, 2020, https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/17/business/small-tech-stocks-coronavirus.html; U.S. Census Bureau, Business Formation Statistics, https://www.census.gov/econ/bfs/index.html.
- 23 Brian M. Rosenthal, "Density Is New York City's Big 'Enemy' in the Coronavirus Fight," *New York Times*, March 23, 2020, https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/23/nyregion/coronavirus-nyc-crowds-density.html.
- 24 Patrick Sisson, "Why So Many Cities Are Now Paying Workers \$10,000 to Relocate," *Marker*, April 5, 2020, https://marker.medium.com/why-somany-cities-are-now-paying-workers-10-000-to-relocate-ef352f723167.
- 25 Megan Brenan, "Americans' Confidence in Major U.S. Institutions Dips," Gallup, July 14, 2020, https://news.gallup.com/poll/352316/americansconfidence-major-institutions-dips.aspx; Hart Research Associates/Public Opinion Strategies, Study #220027, NBC News Survey, January 14–18, 2022, https://s3.documentcloud.org/documents/21184709/220027-nbcnews-january-poll.pdf.
- 26 Serena McNiff, "CDC Looks to Rebuild Trust after Sweeping Review," UPI, May 10, 2022, https://www.upi.com/Health\_News/2022/05/10/CDC-rebuild-trust-review/6731652194274/.

#### 第1章 封建制の復活

1 Nicholas Riasanovsky, *A History of Russia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), 127–131, 204–207; Daniel Pipes, *Russia Under the Old* 

- Regime (New York: Scribner, 1974), 48-49, 144.
- 2 Emmanuel Saez and Gabriel Zucman, "Wealth Inequality in the United States since 1913: Evidence from Capitalized Income Tax Data," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol. 131: 2 (May 2016), 519.
- 3 Michael Savage, "Richest 1% on Target to Own Two-Thirds of All Wealth by 2030," *Guardian*, April 7, 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/business/2018/apr/07/global-inequality-tipping-point-2030.
- 4 Christophe Guilluy, *Twilight of the Elites: Prosperity, the Periphery, and the Future of France*, trans. Malcolm Debevoise (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), 100.
- 5 Daniel Henninger, "Socialism? Yes, Be Afraid," *Wall Street Journal*, March 13, 2019, https://www.wsj.com/articles/socialism-yes-be-afraid-115525 18646.
- 6 Michael Grant, The Fall of the Roman Empire (New York: Collier, 1990), 58.
- 7 Robert S. Lopez, The Birth of Europe (New York: M. Evans & Co., 1967), 170.
- 8 Max Roser, "Economic Growth," Our World in Data, https://ourworld indata.org/economic-growth.
- George W. Bush, "Remarks by President George W. Bush at the 20th Anniversary of the National Endowment for Democracy," November 6, 2003, U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Washington, D.C., https://www.ned.org/remarks-by-president-george-w-bush-at-the-20th-anniversary/; David A. Graham, "The Wrong Side of 'the Right Side of History," Atlantic, December 21, 2015, https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/12/obama-right-side-of-history/420462/.
- 10 OECD, "Governments Must Act to Help Struggling Middle Class," October 4, 2019, https://www.oecd.org/newsroom/governments-must-act-to-help-struggling-middle-class.htm.
- 11 Estelle Sommeiller and Mark Price, "The New Gilded Age: Income Inequality in the U.S. by State, Metropolitan Area, and County," Economic Policy Institute, Table 10, July 19, 2018, https://www.epi.org/publication/the-new-gilded-age-income-inequality-in-the-u-s-by-state-metropolitan-

- area-and-county/#epi-toc-14.
- 12 David DeGraw, "We're Living in a System of New Feudalism. Here's How to Change It," *New Statesman*, October 31, 2013, http://www.newstatesman.com/2013/10/were-living-system-new-feudalism-heres-how-change-it.
- 13 Shannon Tiezzi, "Report: China's 1 Percent Owns 1/3 of Wealth," Diplomat, January 15, 2016, https://thediplomat.com/2016/01/report-chinas-1-percent-owns-13-of-wealth/; Jonathan Kaiman, "China Gets Richer but More Unequal," Guardian, July 28, 2014, https://www.theguar dian.com/world/2014/jul/28/china-more-unequal-richer; David S.G. Goodman, Class in Contemporary China (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014), 2-3, 45.
- 14 Satyajit Das, "Despite Appearances, The Idea of Social Progress Is a Myth," *Independent*, July 30, 2017, http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/despite-appearances-the-idea-of-social-progress-is-a-myth-a7867371.html.
- 15 Christopher Ingraham, "American Land Barons: 100 Wealthy Families Now Own Nearly as Much Land as That of New England," Washington Post, December 21, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2017/12/21/american-land-barons-100-wealthy-families-now-own-nearly-as-much-land-as-that-of-new-england/?utm\_term=.89f1e78c55d0; 2018 Land Report 100: America's 100 Largest Landowners, Magazine of the American Landowner, Special Report, Winter 2018, https://www.landleader.com/land-report-100.
- Julie Turkewitz, "Who Gets to Own the West?" New York Times, June 22, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/22/us/wilks-brothers-fracking-business.html.
- 17 Elena L. Pasquini, "Land Concentration in Europe: What We Know," Degrees of Latitude, November 28, 2017, http://www.degreesoflatitude.com/stories/land-concentration-in-europe-what-we-know/; Levente Polyak, "Exploring Property: Perspectives of Ownership," Cooperative City, October 22, 2017, https://cooperativecity.org/2017/10/22/ownership/; Palko Karasz, "Half of England Is Owned by Less Than 1% of Its Population, Researcher Says," New York Times, April 19, 2019, https://www.

- nytimes.com/2019/04/19/world/europe/england-land-inequality.html.
- Michael D. Carr and Emily E. Wiemers, "The Decline in Lifetime Earnings Mobility in the U.S.: Evidence from Survey-Linked Administrative Data," Washington Center for Equitable Growth, September 7, 2016, https://equitablegrowth.org/working-papers/the-decline-in-lifetime-earnings-mobility-in-the-u-s-evidence-from-survey-linked-administrative-data/.
- 19 OECD, *Under Pressure: The Squeezed Middle Class* (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2019), 13, https://doi.org/10.1787/689afed1-en.
- John W. Schoen, "Millennials Will Be Renting for a Lot Longer," CNBC, September 9, 2016, https://www.cnbc.com/2016/09/09/millennials-will-be-renting-for-a-lot-longer.html; Leith van Onselen, "The Sad Death of Australian Home Ownership," Macrobusiness, August 7, 2018, https://www.macrobusiness.com.au/2018/08/sad-death-australian-home-ownership/; Richard Partington, "Home Ownership among Young Adults Has 'Collapsed', Study Finds," *Guardian*, February 16, 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/money/2018/feb/16/homeownership-among-young-adults-collapsed-institute-fiscal-studies; Joel Kotkin, "The High Cost of a Home Is Turning American Millennials into the New Serfs," *Daily Beast*, April 11, 2017, https://www.thedailybeast.com/the-high-cost-of-a-home-isturning-american-millennials-into-the-new-serfs.
- 21 Robert E. Scott and Zane Mokhiber, "The China Toll Deepens," Economic Policy Institute, October 23, 2018, https://www.epi.org/publication/the-china-toll-deepens-growth-in-the-bilateral-trade-deficit-between-2001-and-2017-cost-3-4-million-u-s-jobs-with-losses-in-every-state-and-congressional-district/; Phillip Inman, "UK Manufacturing Has Lost 600,000 Jobs in a Decade, Says Union," *Guardian*, June 4, 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/business/2018/jun/04/uk-manufacturing-has-lost-600000-jobs-in-a-decade-says-union.
- 22 Guilluy, Twilight of the Elites, 2.
- 23 Joel Kotkin, "Progressives Have Let Inner Cities Fail for Decades. President Trump Could Change That," *Daily Beast*, April 13, 2017, https://www.thedailybeast.com/progressives-have-let-inner-cities-fail-for-decades-president-trump-could-change-that.

- 24 Michael Lind, "The New Class War," American Affairs, Summer 2017; Brody Mullins and Jack Nicas, "Paying Professors: Inside Google's Academic Influence Campaign," Wall Street Journal, July 14, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/paying-professors-inside-googles-academic-influence-campaign-1499785286; Justin Danhof, "I Confronted Google about Its Liberal Groupthink at a Shareholder Meeting—Here's What Happened Next," Investors, August 9, 2017, https://www.investors.com/politics/commentary/i-confronted-google-about-its-liberal-groupthink-at-a-shareholder-meeting-heres-what-happened-next/.
- 25 Daniel Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 391. (ダニエル・ベル『脱工業社会の到来(下)』内田忠夫、嘉治元郎、城塚登、馬場修一、村上泰亮、谷嶋喬四郎訳、ダイヤモンド社、1975年)
- 26 Bruce Stokes, "Expectations for the Future," Pew Research Center, September 18, 2018, https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2018/09/18/expectations-for-the-future/.
- 27 Bruce Stokes and Kat Devlin, "Despite Rising Economic Confidence, Japanese See Best Days behind Them and Say Children Face a Bleak Future," Pew Research Center, November 12, 2018, https://www.pewglobal.org/2018/11/12/despite-rising-economic-confidence-japanese-see-best-days-behind-them-and-say-children-face-a-bleak-future/; Ameber Pariona, "The World's Most Pessimistic Countries," World Atlas, August 15, 2017, https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/the-world-s-10-most-pessimistic-countries.html.
- 28 "Employment and Wages," *China Labour Bulletin*, July 2019, https://clb.org.hk/content/employment-and-wages.
- 29 Lyman Stone, "More Thoughts on Falling Fertility," Medium, December 4, 2017, https://medium.com/migration-issues/more-thoughts-on-falling-fertility-366fd1a84d8; Rich Miller, "Powell's Puzzling U.S. Labor Market Looks Somewhat Like Japan's," Bloomberg, June 19, 2018, https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-06-19/powell-s-puzzling-u-s-labor-market-looks-somewhat-like-japan-s; Peter Dockrill, "US Fertility Rates Have Plummeted into Uncharted Territory, and Nobody Knows Why,"

Science Alert, May 21, 2018, https://www.sciencealert.com/us-birth-rate-hits-record-low-fertility-plummets-uncharted-territory-cdc-decline; Andrew Van Dam, "Toys R Us's Baby Problem is Everybody's Baby Problem," Washington Post, March 15, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2018/03/15/toys-r-uss-baby-problem-is-everybodys-baby-problem/?noredirect=on&utm\_term=.fb1caf2d80c5; Justin Fox, "The Consequences of the U.S. Baby Bust," Bloomberg Opinion, September 20, 2017, https://www.bloomberg.com/view/articles/2017-09-20/the-consequences-of-the-u-s-baby-bust; Wolfgang Streeck, How Will Capitalism End? Essays on a Failing System (New York: Verso, 2016), 219.

- 30 Phil Longman, The Empty Cradle: How Falling Birthrates Threaten World Prosperity (New York: New America Books, 2004); Joel Kotkin, "Death Spiral Demographics: The Countries Shrinking the Fastest," Forbes, February 1, 2017, https://www.forbes.com/sites/joelkotkin/2017/02/01/ death-spiral-demographics-the-countries-shrinking-the-fastest/#4ae 48b38b83c.
- 31 Alex Gray, "The Troubling Charts That Show Young People Losing Faith in Democracy," World Economic Forum, December 1, 2016, https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2016/12/charts-that-show-young-people-losing-faith-in-democracy/.
- 32 Amanda Taub, "How Stable Are Democracies? 'Warning Signs Are Flashing Red," *New York Times*, November 29, 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/29/world/americas/western-liberal-democracy. html? r=0.
- 33 Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York: Free Press, 1992), 12. (フランシス・フクヤマ『歴史の終わり(上)』渡部昇一訳・特別解説、三笠書房、1992年)
- 34 Emily Atkin, "Al Gore's Carbon Footprint Doesn't Matter," *New Republic*, August 7, 2017, https://newrepublic.com/article/144199/al-gores-carbon-footprint-doesnt-matter; "How Electricity Became a Luxury Good," *Spiegel*, September 4, 2013, http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/high-costs-and-errors-of-german-transition-to-renewable-energy-a-920288-2. html; Dagmara Stoerring, "Energy Poverty," European Parliament,

- November 9, 2016, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ STUD/2017/607350/IPOL STU (2017) 607350 EN.pdf.
- 35 Salena Zito and Brad Todd, *The Great Revolt: Inside the Populist Coalition Reshaping American Politics* (New York: Crown Forum, 2018), 3, 246.
- 36 Guilluy, *Twilight of the Elites*, 15; Pascal-Emmanuel Gobry, "The Failure of the French Elite," *Wall Street Journal*, February 22, 2019, https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-failure-of-the-french-elite-11550851097?mod=?mod=itp\_wsj&ru=yahoo&mod=djemITP\_h.
- 37 Adam Nossiter, "France's Mayors, Feeling the Pinch, Lead a Quiet Rebellion and Quit," *New York Times*, November 11, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/11/world/europe/france-mayors-quit-macron.html; Adam Nossiter, "As France's Towns Wither, Fear of a Decline in 'Frenchness," *New York Times*, February 28, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/28/world/europe/france-albi-french-towns-fading.html; Wendell Cox, "The Evolving Urban Form: Paris," *New Geography*, March 19, 2018, http://www.newgeography.com/content/005912-the-evolving-urban-form-paris.
- 38 Alan S. Blinder, "Democrats, Stop Pretending to Be Socialists," *Wall Street Journal*, March 14, 2019, https://www.wsj.com/articles/democrats-stop-pretending-to-be-socialists-11552603666.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 Vasily Grossman, *Life and Fate*, trans. Robert Chandler (New York: New York Review of Books, 1985), 537. (ワシーリー・グロスマン『人生と運命2』 齋藤紘一訳、みすず書房、2012年)

#### 第2章 封建制 その不朽の魅力

- 1 Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, trans. L. A. Manyon (London: Routledge, 1961), xii-xiii. (マルク・ブロック『封建社会』堀米庸三監訳、岩波書店、1995年)
- 2 Peter Heather, Empires and Barbarians: The Fall of Rome and the Birth of Europe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 291–293; Frances and Joseph Gies, Daily Life in Medieval Times (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1969), 12–13; Jeffrey Barraclough, The Crucible of Europe (Berkeley:

- University of California Press, 1976), 33; J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1954), 59–61. (ヨハン・ホイジンガ『中世の秋(ホイジンガ選集6)』兼岩正夫、里見元一郎訳、河出書房新社、1989年)
- 3 Norman F. Cantor, Medieval History: The Life and Death of a Civilization (New York: Macmillan, 1963), 294.
- 4 Robert S. Lopez, *The Birth of Europe* (New York: M. Evans & Co., 1967), 163–166; Bloch. *Feudal Society*, 145–146, 161.
- 5 Bloch, Feudal Society, 232. (ブロック『封建社会』)
- 6 Pierre Riché, Daily Life in the World of Charlemagne, trans. Jo Ann McNamara (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), 133.
- 7 Lopez, The Birth of Europe, 339; James Westfall Thompson and Edgar Nathaniel Johnson, An Introduction to Medieval Europe (New York: Norton, 1937), 229.
- 8 Riché, Daily Life in the World of Charlemagne, 51; Barbara Tuchman, A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14th Century (New York: Knopf, 1978), 27 (タックマン『遠い鏡』); Cantor, Medieval History, 97, 109; Lopez, The Birth of Europe, 149–150, 198; Bloch, Feudal Society, 98 (ブロック 『封建社会』); Pitirim Sorokin, The Crisis of Our Age (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1992), 17–19. (ピトリム・ソローキン『現代の危機』北昤吉、渡辺勇助共訳、日本経済道徳協会、1955年)
- 9 Edward Gibbon, The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (New York: Modern Library, 1931), vol. 2: 6, 93, 845; Cantor, Medieval History, 7. (エドワード・ギボン『ローマ帝国衰亡史〈2〉第11-16章 ――ディオクレティアヌスとキリスト教の展開』中野好夫訳、ちくま学芸文庫、1996年)
- 10 Riché, Daily Life, 211-212; Gies, Daily Life in Medieval Times, 128.
- 11 Thompson and Johnson, An Introduction to Medieval Europe, 290–291; Riché, Daily Life, 67–68.
- 12 Arno Mayer, *The Persistence of the Old Regime: Europe to the Great War* (New York: Pantheon, 1981), 292-294; Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society* (New York: Harper & Row, 1958), 110-117, 258 (レイモンド・ウィリアムズ『文化と社会——1780-1950)』 若松繁信、長谷川光昭訳、

- ミネルヴァ書房、2008年); Martin Wiener, English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 31. (マーティン・J・ウィーナ『英国産業精神の衰退——文化史的接近』原剛訳、勁草書房、1984年)
- 13 Karl Marx, *Capital*, trans. Ben Fowkes (New York: Vintage, 1957), 452–453. (カール・マルクス『資本論――経済学批判 第1巻II』中山元訳、日経BPクラシックス、2012年)[※「協業」章より〕原注にある書誌情報の出版年1957 は1977 の誤植と思われる。
- 14 Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, trans. W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chalmers (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1958), 207–208. (エンゲルス『イギリスにおける労働者階級の状態——19世紀のロンドンとマンチェスター(下)』一條和生、杉山忠平訳、岩波文庫、1990年)
- 15 Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "The Manifesto of the Communist Party," in *The Essential Left* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1961), 36–37. (マルクス、エンゲルス『共産党宣言』森田成也訳、光文社古典新訳文庫、2020年)
- 16 Arnold Toynbee, The Industrial Revolution (Boston: Beacon, 1956), 121–122; Charles H. Kegel, "Lord John Manners and the Young England Movement: Romanticism in Politics," Western Political Quarterly, vol. 14: 3 (1961), 691–697.
- 17 J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution* (New York: New American Library, 1962), 290-291. (E・J・ホブズボーム『市民革命と産業革命――二重革命の時代』安川悦子、水田洋訳、岩波書店、1968年)
- 18 Orlando Figes, A People's Tragedy: The Russian Revolution, 1891–1924 (New York: Penguin, 1996), 87.
- 19 Mayer, The Persistence of the Old Regime, 293-294; Ernst Nolte, Three Faces of Fascism, trans. Leila Vennewitz (New York: New American Library, 1969), 28.
- 20 Frederick Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 17 (フリードリヒ・A・ハイエク『隷従への道――全体主義と自由』一谷藤一郎、一谷映理子訳、東京創元社、1992年); Nolte, *Three Faces of Fascism*, 57, 75, 166; F. L. Carsten, *The Rise of Fascism* (Berkeley:

- University of California Press, 1967), 11–12. (F・L・カーステン『ファシズムの勃興』久能昭訳、思想の科学社、1970年)
- 21 Wiener, English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 107. (ウィーナ『英国産業精神の衰退』)
- 22 "The Far Right's New Fascination with the Middle Ages," *Economist*, January 2, 2017, https://www.economist.com/blogs/democracyinamerica/2017/01/medieval-memes.
- 23 "Vladimir Putin Embraces the Russian Church," Economist, February 3, 2018, https://www.economist.com/europe/2018/02/03/vladimir-putin-embraces-the-russian-church; Andrey Pertsev, "President and Patriarch: What Putin Wants from the Orthodox Church," Carnegie Moscow Center, December 19, 2017, https://carnegie.ru/commentary/75058; Yaroslav Trofimov, "Russia's Turn to Its Asian Past," Wall Street Journal, July 7–8, 2018, https://www.wsj.com/articles/russias-turn-to-its-asian-past-153088 9247.
- 24 Ya Hua, "In China, Feudal Answers to Modern Problems," New York Times, April 10, 2013, https://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/11/opinion/yu-in-china-feudal-answers-for-modern-problems.html; Jeremy Page, "Why China Is Turning Back to Confucius," Wall Street Journal, September 20, 2015, https://www.wsj.com/articles/why-china-is-turning-back-to-confucius-1442754000; Richard McGregor, The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers (New York: Harper, 2010), 26.
- 25 Lee Kwan Yew, From Third World to First (New York, Harper, 2000), 491 -494; Richard McGregor, The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers, 32-33. (リチャード・マグレガー『中国共産党――支配者たちの秘密の世界』小谷まさ代訳、草思社、2011年)
- 26 Wiener, English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 93. (ウィーナ『英国産業精神の衰退』)
- 27 Robert Verkaik, "Just 96 Months to Save the World, Says Prince Charles," Independent, June 9, 2009, https://www.independent.co.uk/environment/ green-living/just-96-months-to-save-world-says-prince-charles-1738049. html; "Prince Charles: Feudal Critic of Capitalism," Socialist Party of Great Britain, February 2003, https://www.worldsocialism.org/spgb/socialist-

- standard/2000s/2003/no-1182-february-2003/prince-charles-feudal-critic-capitalism; Oscar Rickett, "What We Can Learn about Prince Charles from His Letters to Politicians," *Vice*, May 15, 2015, https://www.vice.com/en/article/yvxgzx/prince-charles-letters-284.
- 28 Michael Kimmelman, "The Kind of Thinking Cities Need," *New York Times*, October 28, 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/30/opinion/sunday/the-kind-of-thinking-cities-need.html.
- 29 Dominic Green, "A Philosopher on the Decline of the English Countryside, Brexit, and the European Project," Weekly Standard, November 17, 2017, https://www.weeklystandard.com/a-philosopher-on-the-decline-of-the-english-countryside-brexit-and-the-european-project/article/2010521.
- 30 Karl Sharro, "Density over Sprawl," in *The Future of Community*, ed. Dave Clements et al. (London: Pluto Press, 2008), 72.

## 第3章 自由主義的資本主義の盛衰

- 1 R. R. Palmer, The World of the French Revolution (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 268–269; Georges Lefebvre, The Coming of the French Revolution, trans. R. R. Palmer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), 177–181.
- 2 Robert S. Lopez, The Birth of Europe (New York: M. Evans & Co., 1967), 21–23.
- 3 Reuven Brenner, Rivalry: In Business, Science, Among Nations (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 37-41.
- 4 Edward Barbier, Scarcities and Frontiers: How Economies Have Developed Through Natural Resource Exploitation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 84-91, 158, 176; Jeffrey A. Winters, Oligarchy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 28-29; Bernard Lewis, The Muslim Discovery of Europe (New York: Norton, 1982), 27. (バーナード=ルイス 『ムスリムのヨーロッパ発見(上)』尾高晋己訳、春風社、2000年)
- 5 Peter Heather, Empires and Barbarians: The Fall of Rome and the Birth of Europe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 465; Nathan Rosenberg and L. E. Birdzell, Jr., How the West Grew Rich: The Economic Transformation of the Industrial World (New York: Basic Books, 1986),

- 37; Fernand Braudel, *The Perspective of the World*, vol. 3 of *Civilization and Capitalism*, 15th-18th Century, trans. Sian Reynolds (New York: Harper & Row, 1982), 503, 511. (フェルナン・ブローデル『物質文明・経済・資本主義 15-18世紀 III-2 世界時間2』村上光彦訳、みすず書房、1999年)
- Barbier, Scarcities and Frontiers, 273; Immanuel Wallerstein, The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the 16th Century (New York: Academic Press, 1974), 14–17; Tony Smith, The Patterns of Imperialism: The United States, Great Britain and the Late-Industrializing World since 1815 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 27, 35.
- 7 世界銀行のデータ。
- Javier C. Hernandez, "Mao 101: Inside a Chinese Classroom Training the Communists of Tomorrow," New York Times, June 28, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/28/world/asia/chinese-classrooms-education-communists.html; Aaron L. Friedberg, "The Authoritarian Challenge: China, Russia and the Threat to the Liberal International Order," Sasakawa Peace Foundation, August 2017, https://www.spf.org/jpus-j/img/invest igation/The\_Authoritarian\_Challenge.pdf; Anne-Marie Brady, "Magic Weapons: China's political influence under Xi Jinping," Kissinger Institute on China and the United States, September 18, 2017, https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/magic-weapons-chinas-political-influence-activities-under-xi-jinping; Chun Han Wong, "China Celebrates Xi Jinping with Fervor Not Seen since Mao," Wall Street Journal, December 10, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/china-celebrates-xi-jinping-with-fervor-not-seen-since-mao-1512907201.
- 9 Salvatore Babones, "China's Middle Class Is Pulling Up the Ladder Behind Itself," Foreign Policy, February 1, 2018, https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/02/01/chinas-middle-class-is-pulling-up-the-ladder-behind-itself/; Richard McGregor, The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers (New York: Harper, 2010), 30. (マグレガー『中国共産党』); David S. G. Goodman, "The New Rich in China: Why There Is No New Middle Class," Arts: The Journal of the Sydney University Arts

- Association, vol. 32 (2010), https://openjournals.library.sydney.edu.au/index.php/ART/article/view/5715.
- Maya Wang, "China's Chilling 'Social Credit' Blacklist," Wall Street Journal, December 11, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/chinas-chilling-social-credit-blacklist-1513036054.
- 11 Hal Brands, "China's Master Plan: Exporting an Ideology," Bloomberg, June 11, 2018, https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2018-06-11/china-s-master-plan-exporting-an-ideology.
- 12 Paul Kennedy, Preparing for the Twenty-first Century (New York: Random House, 1993), 25 (ポール・ケネディ『21世紀の難間に備えて(上)』鈴木主税訳、草思社、1993年); Austin Williams, The Enemies of Progress: The Dangers of Sustainability (Exeter: Societas, 2008), 125-126; McGregor, The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers, 272 (マグレガー『中国共産党』); Howard W. French, China's Second Continent: How a Million Migrants Are Building a New Empire in Africa (New York: Vintage, 2015), 33-25, 261 (ハワード・W・フレンチ『中国第二の大陸 アフリカ――一〇万の移民が築く新たな帝国』栗原泉訳、白水社、2016年); Jason Horowitz and Jack Ewing, "Italy May Split with Allies and Open Its Ports to China's Building Push," New York Times, March 6, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/06/world/europe/italy-portschina.html.
- 13 Martin Jacques, When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and the Birth of a New Global Order (New York: Penguin, 2009), 363–364; Tunku Varadarajan, "India Turns West but Away from Western Values," Wall Street Journal, May 23, 2019, https://www.wsj.com/articles/india-turns-west-but-away-from-western-values-11558651907.
- 14 Karel van Wolferen, *The Enigma of Japanese Power: People and Politics in a Stateless Nation* (New York: Vintage, 1990), 1. (カレル・ヴァン・ウォルフレン『日本/権力構造の謎(上)』篠原勝訳、ハヤカワ文庫NF、1994年)
- 15 Robert J. Gordon, *The Rise and Fall of American Growth* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 574-576, 601-604. (ロバート・J・ゴードン『アメリカ経済――成長の終焉(下)』高遠裕子、山岡由美訳、日経

- BP、2018年)
- 16 Fred Pearce, *The Coming Population Crash and Our Planet's Surprising Future* (Boston: Beacon, 2011), 94–95.
- Emma Chen and Wendell Cox, "Six Adults and One Child in China," New Geography, October 9, 2011, http://www.newgeography.com/content/002474-six-adults-and-one-child-china; Paul Yip, "Does China Actually Need More Children to Replace Its Declining Working-Age Population?" South China Morning Post, January 28, 2018, https://www.scmp.com/comment/insight-opinion/article/2130666/does-china-actually-need-more-children-replace-its-declining.
- 18 Greg Wilford, "Young Japanese People Are Not Having Sex," *Independent*, July 8, 2017, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/japan-sex-problem-demographic-time-bomb-birth-rates-sex-robots-fertility-crisis-virgins-romance-porn-a7831041.html; Bill Emmott, *The Sun Also Sets* (New York: Times Books, 1989), 31, 36 (ビル・エモット『日はまた沈む―ジャパン・パワーの限界』鈴木主税訳、草思社、1990年); Pearce, *The Coming Population Crash*, 39; Jonathan V. Last, *What to Expect When No One's Expecting: America's Coming Demographic Disaster* (New York: Encounter, 2013), 110–111.
- 19 Anuradha Shroff, Ali Modarres, and Wendell Cox, "The Rise of Post-Familialism: Humanity's Future?" Civil Service College Singapore, 2012, https://www.chapman.edu/wilkinson/\_files/the-rise-of-post-familialism.pdf.
- 20 Chen and Cox. "Six Adults and One Child in China."
- 21 Phil Longman, The Empty Cradle: How Falling Birthrates Threaten World Prosperity (New York: New America Books, 2004), 26–27, 63; Fred Pearce, "The Bomb in 2076: The Population Bomb Has Imploded," New Scientist, November 16, 2016, https://www.newscientist.com/article/ mg23231001-400-the-world-in-2076-the-population-bomb-did-go-off-butwere-ok/.
- 22 Pearce, The Coming Population Crash, 147; "Experts Predict Global Population Will Plateau," Spiegel, November 3, 2011, http://www.spiegel. de/international/world/the-great-contraction-experts-predict-global-population-will-plateau-a-795479.html.

- 23 Longman, The Empty Cradle, 5.
- 24 Shroff et al., "The Rise of Post-Familialism: Humanity's Future?"; Aisha Majid and Sarah Newey, "Defusing The 'Demographic Timebomb': The World's Population in 13 Charts," *Telegraph*, September 18, 2018, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/0/defusing-demographic-timebomb-worlds-population-challenges-13/.
- 25 Michael Grant, *The Fall of the Roman Empire* (New York: Collier, 1990), 17; Taichi Sakaiya, *The Knowledge Value Revolution*, trans. George Fields and William Marsh (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1985), 138–139 (堺屋太一『知価革命——工業社会が終わる・知価社会が始まる』PHP研究所、1985年); George Friedman, *The Next Hundred Years: A Forecast for the 21st Century* (New York: Doubleday, 2009), 53. (ジョージ・フリードマン『100年予測』櫻井祐子訳、ハヤカワ・ノンフィクション文庫、2014年)
- 26 James K. Galbraith, "Extreme Inequality Creates Global Disorder," *Nation*, June 22, 2018, https://www.thenation.com/article/extreme-inequality-creates-global-disorder/.
- Robert D. Atkinson, "Unfortunately, Technology Will Not Eliminate Many 27 Jobs," Innovation Files, August 7, 2017, https://itif.org/publications/ 2017/08/07/unfortunately-technology-will-not-eliminate-many-jobs; Carl Benedikt Frey and Michael A. Osborne, "The Future of Employment: How Susceptible Are Jobs to Computerisation?" Oxford Martin School, University of Oxford, September 17, 2013, https://www.oxfordmartin. ox.ac.uk/downloads/academic/The Future of Employment.pdf; Greg Ip, "Workers: Fear Not the Robot Apocalypse," Wall Street Journal, September 5, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/workers-fear-not-therobot-apocalypse-1504631505?shareToken=stabbe53f26f544566a3b04fc336 1af876&reflink=article email share; Deirdre McCloskey, "The Myth of Technological Employment," Reason, August-September 2017, http:// reason.com/archives/2017/07/11/the-myth-of-technological-unem; Vanessa Fuhrmans, "How the Robot Revolution Could Create 21 Million Jobs," Wall Street Journal, November 15, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/ how-the-robot-revolution-could-create-21-million-jobs-1510758001; Oren

- Cass, "Is Technology Destroying the Labor Market?" *City Journal*, Spring 2018, https://www.city-journal.org/html/technology-destroying-labor-market-15829.html.
- 28 Martin Wolf, "Seven Charts That Show How the Developed World Is Losing Its Edge," *Financial Times*, July 19, 2017, https://www.ft.com/content/1c7270d2-6ae4-11e7-b9c7-15af748b60d0; Gordon, *The Rise and Fall of American Growth*, 601-604. (ゴードン『アメリカ経済(上)』)
- 29 David P. Goldman, "The Triumph of Inequality," *PJ Media*, August 14, 2017, https://pjmedia.com/spengler/2017/08/14/the-triumph-of-inequality/.
- 30 See Joel Kotkin, "The Growth Dilemma," *Quillette*, January 9, 2020, https://quillette.com/2020/01/09/the-growth-dilemma/.
- 31 Johannes Niederhauser, "An Interview with John Gray: 'Human Progress Is a Lie," *Vice*, March 28, 2013, https://www.vice.com/en\_us/article/qbw qem/john-gray-interview-atheism.
- 32 Austin Williams, The Enemies of Progress: The Dangers of Sustainability (Exeter: Societas, 2008), 8-9, 59.

## 第4章 ハイテク封建制

- 1 Fernand Braudel, *The Perspective of the World*, vol. 3 of *Civilization and Capitalism*, 1500–1800, trans. Sian Reynolds (New York: Harper & Row, 1984), 68, 617 (ブローデル『物質文明・経済・資本主義 15–18世紀 III-2 世界時間2』); Geoffrey Barraclough, *The Crucible of Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 97; William H. McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force, and Society since A.D. 1000* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 82–83, 117–118. (ウィリアム・H・マクニール『戦争の世界史――技術と軍隊と社会(上)』高橋均訳、中公文庫、2014年)
- 2 Gustavo Grullon, Yelena Larkin, and Roni Michaely, "Are US Industries Becoming More Concentrated?" *Review of Finance*, vol. 23: 4 (July 2019), 697–743, https://academic.oup.com/rof/article/23/4/697/5477414; Mike Konczal, "There Are Too Few Companies and Their Profits Are Too High," *Nation*, August 5, 2019, https://www.thenation.com/article/industry-concentration-score/.

- 3 Taichi Sakaiya, *The Knowledge Value Revolution*, trans. George Fields and William Marsh (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1985), 152. (堺屋『知価革命』)
- 4 Danny Yadron, "Silicon Valley Tech Firms Exacerbating Income Inequality, World Bank Warns," *Guardian*, January 15, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/jan/14/silicon-valley-tech-firms-income-inequality-world-bank; Gemma Tetlow, "Blame Technology Not Globalization for Rising Inequality, Says IMF," *Financial Times*, April 11, 2017, https://www.ft.com/content/cfbd0af6-1e0b-11e7-b7d3-163f5a7f229c.
- 5 Michael Anton, "The Frivolous Valley and Its Dreadful Conformity," Law & Liberty, September 4, 2018, https://www.lawliberty.org/liberty-forum/ the-frivolous-valley-and-its-dreadful-conformity/.
- 6 Kevin Starr, California: A History (New York: Modern Library, 2005), 261 –267; Kevin Starr, The Dream Endures: California Enters the 1940s (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997) 42–43; Gary Brechin, Imperial San Francisco: Urban Power, Earthly Ruin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 98–99, 322–323; Leslie Berlin, "Tracing Silicon Valley's Roots," SFGate, September 30, 2007, https://www.sfgate.com/business/article/Tracing-Silicon-Valley-s-roots-2520298.php.
- 7 Ruchir Sharma, "When Will the Tech Bubble Burst?" New York Times, August 5, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/05/opinion/sunday/ when-will-the-tech-bubble-burst.html.
- 8 Kevin Starr, Coast of Dreams: California on the Edge, 1990–2003 (New York: Knopf, 2004), 271–275.
- 9 Scott Galloway, "Silicon Valley's Tax-Avoiding, Job-Killing, Soul-Sucking Machine," *Esquire*, February 8, 2018, http://www.esquire.com/news-politics/a15895746/bust-big-tech-silicon-valley/.
- Shira Ovide, "Big Tech Has Dug a Moat That Rivals and Regulators Can't Cross," Yahoo, July 5, 2019, https://finance.yahoo.com/news/big-tech-dug-moat-rivals-120012308.html.
- 11 Thomas Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap/Harvard, 2014), 174 (トマ・ピケティ『21世紀の資本』山形浩生、守岡桜、森本正史訳、みすず書房、

- 2014年); "Richest People in the World," CBS News, https://www.cbsnews.com/pictures/richest-people-in-world-forbes/12/.
- 12 Carter Coudriet, "13 under 40: Here Are the Youngest Billionaires on the Forbes 400 2019," *Forbes*, October 31, 2019, https://www.forbes.com/sites/cartercoudriet/2019/10/02/forbes-400-youngest-under-40-zuckerberg-spiegel/#7fd35f5a5a0e.
- 13 Sally French, "China Has 9 of the World's 20 Biggest Companies," *Market Watch*, May 31, 2018, https://www.marketwatch.com/story/china-has-9-of-the-worlds-20-biggest-tech-companies-2018-05-31.
- 14 Farhad Manjoo, "Tech's 'Frightful 5' Will Dominate Digital Life for Foreseeable Future," New York Times, January 20, 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/21/technology/techs-frightful-5-will-dominate-digital-life-for-foreseeable-future.html; Dana Mattioli, "Takeovers Roar to Life as Companies Hear Footsteps from Tech Giants," Wall Street Journal, November 20, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/takeovers-roar-to-life-as-companies-hear-footsteps-from-tech-giants-1511200327.
- "Why Startups Are Leaving Silicon Valley," Economist, August 30, 2018, https://www.economist.com/leaders/2018/08/30/why-startups-are-leaving-silicon-valley; Rex Crum, "Let's Make a Deal: SV150 Firms Spent \$41 Billion on Acquisitions in 2016," Mercury News, May 1, 2017, https://www.mercurynews.com/2017/05/01/lets-make-a-deal-acquisitions-were-all-over-the-sv150-in-2016/; "Too Much of a Good Thing," Economist, March 26, 2016, https://www.economist.com/briefing/2016/03/26/too-much-of-a-good-thing.
- 16 Christopher Mims, "Why Free Is Too High a Price for Facebook and Google," Wall Street Journal, June 8, 2019, https://www.wsj.com/articles/why-free-is-too-high-a-price-for-facebook-and-google-11559966411; Andy Kessler, "Antitrust Can't Catch Big Tech," Wall Street Journal, September 14, 2019, https://www.wsj.com/articles/antitrust-cant-catch-big-tech-11568577387; David Dayen, "Trump's Antitrust Cops Fail to Police Big Business—Again," American Prospect, July 24, 2019, https://prospect.org/power/trump-s-antitrust-cops-fail-police-big-business-again/; Andrew Orlowski, "Google Had Obama's Ear during Antitrust Probe," Register,

- August 18, 2016, https://www.theregister.co.uk/2016/08/18/google\_had\_obamas ear on antitrust probe/.
- 17 Bryan Clark, "Facebook's New 'Early Bird' Spy Tool Is Just Tip of the Iceberg," Next Web, August 10, 2017, https://thenextweb.com/insider/2017/08/10/facebooks-new-early-bird-spy-tool-is-just-the-tip-of-the-iceberg/#; Betsy Morris and Deepa Seetharaman, "The New Copycats: How Facebook Squashes Competition from Startups," Wall Street Journal, August 9, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-new-copycats-how-facebook-squashes-competition-from-startups-1502293444.
- 18 Crunchbase, Google Acquisitions, updated January 15, 2020, https://www.crunchbase.com/organization/google/acquisitions/acquisitions\_list#section -acquisitions; Ben Popper, "Failure Is a Feature: How Google Stays Sharp Gobbling up Startups," The Verge, September 17, 2012, https://www.theverge.com/2012/9/17/3322854/google-startup-mergers-acquisitions-failure-is-a-feature; Tim Wu and Stuart A. Thompson, "The Roots of Big Tech Run Disturbingly Deep," *New York Times*, June 7, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/06/07/opinion/google-facebook-mergers-acquisitions-antitrust.html.
- 19 Jeff Desjardins, "How Google Retains More than 90% of Market Share," Business Insider, April 24, 2018, https://www.businessinsider.com/howgoogle-retains-more-than-90-of-market-share-2018-4; Gordon Donnelly, "75 Super-Useful Facebook Statistics for 2018," WordStream, August 12, 2019, https://www.wordstream.com/blog/ws/2017/11/07/facebook-statistics; "Amazon Ebook Market Share 2019—Is It Big Enough?" PublishDrive, December 2019, https://publishdrive.com/amazon-ebook-market-share/; Tanwen Dawn-Hiscox, "Synergy: AWS Dominates the Public Cloud Market Across the World," Data Center Dynamics, June 26, 2018, https:// www.datacenterdynamics.com/news/synergy-aws-dominates-the-publiccloud-market-across-the-world/; Stat-counter, "Mobile Marketing Share," http://gs.statcounter.com/os-market-share/mobile/worldwide; Shanhong Lui, "Operating Systems Market Share of Desktop PCs 2013-2019, by Month," Statista, November 19, 2019, https://www.statista.com/statistics/ 218089/global-market-share-of-windows-7/.

- 20 Li Yuan, "China's Startups Are Only Pawns in the Game," *Wall Street Journal*, December 9, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/chinas-startups-are-only-pawns-in-the-game-1512642603.
- 21 Josh Marshall, "A Serf on Google's Farm," *Talking Points Memo*, September 1, 2017, https://talkingpointsmemo.com/edblog/a-serf-on-googles-farm.
- 22 Jonathan Taplin, "Can the Tech Giants Be Stopped?" Wall Street Journal, July 14, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/can-the-tech-giants-bestopped-1500057243; Erin Griffith, "Silicon Valley's Single Degree of Separation," Fortune, March 20, 2014, http://fortune.com/2014/03/20/ silicon-valleys-single-degree-of-separation/.
- 23 Kalev Leetaru, "The Perils to Democracy Posed by Big Tech," Real Clear Politics, November 16, 2018, https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2018/11/16/the\_perils\_to\_democracy\_posed\_by\_big\_tech.html; Sean Gallagher, "The Internet has Serious Health Problems, Mozilla Foundation Report Finds," Ars Technica, October 4, 2018, https://arstechnica.com/information-technology/2018/04/mozilla-foundation-report-details-decline-in-health-of-internet/; Ariel Ezrachi and Maurice Stucke, "The EScraper and EMonopsony," Faculty of Law, University of Oxford, April 10, 2017, https://www.law.ox.ac.uk/business-law-blog/blog/2017/04/e-scraper-and-e-monopsony.
- 24 John Detrixhe, "Tech Firms Like Amazon and Facebook are the Biggest Competitive Threats to the Banking Industry," Quartz, August 22, 2017, https://qz.com/1058590/tech-firms-like-amazon-amzn-facebook-fb-and-google-googl-are-the-biggest-competitive-threats-to-the-banking-industry/?mc\_cid=ea17b615f3&mc\_eid=d569232f9d; Andy Pasztor and Doug Cameron, "Jeff Bezos' Space Startup to Supply Engines for Boeing-Lockheed Rocket Venture," Wall Street Journal, September 27, 2018, https://www.wsj.com/articles/jeff-bezoss-space-startup-to-supply-engines-for-boeing-lockheed-rocket-venture-1538035079?mod=hp\_lead\_pos3; Erin Griffith, "Google Is on the Prowl for Cloud and AI Deals in 2017," Fortune, January 30, 2017, http://fortune.com/2017/01/30/google-acquisitions-2017/; Cathy O'Neil, "Silicon Valley's Unchecked Influence in the Classroom," Metro West Daily News, June 16, 2017, http://www.metrowest

- dailynews.com/opinion/20170616/oneil-silicon-valleys-unchecked-influence-in-classroom; Jon Fingas, "Jeff Bezos Outlines Blue Origin's Space Colony Ambitions," Engadget, May 27, 2018, https://www.engadget.com/2018/05/27/jeff-bezos-outlines-blue-origin-space-colony-ambitions/; Gregory Zuckerman and Bradley Hope, "The Quants Run Wall Street Now," Wall Street Journal, May 21, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-quants-run-wall-street-now-1495389108.
- 25 Evgeny Morozov, "Tech Titans Are Busy Privatizing Our Data," *Guardian*, April 24, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/apr/24/the-new-feudalism-silicon-valley-overlords-advertising-necessary-evil.
- 26 Matthew B. Crawford, "Algorithmic Governance and Political Legitimacy," American Affairs, Summer 2019, https://americanaffairsjournal.org/2019/05/algorithmic-governance-and-political-legitimacy/.
- 27 Cade Metz, "As China Marches Forward on A.I., the White House Is Silent," New York Times, February 12, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/12/technology/china-trump-artificial-intelligence.html; Li Yuan, "For These Young Entrepreneurs, Silicon Valley, Is, Like, Lame," Wall Street Journal, January 18, 2018, https://www.wsj.com/articles/forthese-entrepreneurs-silicon-valley-is-like-lame-1516270601.
- Ezekiel Emanuel, "How the U.S. Surrendered to China on Scientific Research," Wall Street Journal, April 19, 2019, https://www.wsj.com/ articles/how-the-u-s-surrendered-to-china-on-scientific-research-115556 66200.
- 29 "Forbes 2017 Billionaires List: Mainland Chinese Make up Greatest Number of New Entrants," CNA, March 21, 2017, https://www.channel newsasia.com/news/business/forbes-2017-billionaires-list-mainland-chinese-make-up-greatest--8582612; Megan Trimble, "The 10 Countries with the Most Billionaires," U.S. News, May 23, 2018, https://www.usnews.com/news/best-countries/articles/2018-05-23/the-10-countries-with-the-most-billionaires.
- 30 Richard McGregor, *The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers* (New York: Harper, 2010), 206-208. (マグレガー『中国共産党』); David S. G. Goodman, *Class in Contemporary China* (Cambridge: Polity

- Press, 2014), 26.
- 31 Friedrich Engels, "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific," in *The Essential Left*, trans. Edward Aveling (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1968), 138–142. (エンゲルス『空想より科学へ――社会主義の発展』大内兵衛訳、岩波文庫、1966年)
- 32 Goodman, Class in Contemporary China, 83; Kenneth Scott Latourette, The Chinese: Their History and Culture (New York: Macmillan, 1967), 579–580; Jane Perlez, Paul Mozer, and Jonathan Ansfield, "China's Technology Ambitions Could Upset the Global Trade Order," New York Times, November 7, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/07/business/made-in-china-technology-trade.html; Li Yuan, "Growing Pains: What the Next Five Years Will Bring to Chinese Technology," Wall Street Journal, November 9, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/a-look-at-the-future-of-tech-in-xis-china-1509013963; Liza Lin and Josh Chin, "China's Tech Giants Have a Second Job: Helping Beijing Spy on Its People," Wall Street Journal, November 30, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/chinas-techgiants-have-a-second-job-helping-the-government-see-everything-1512056284.
- 33 Kai-Fu Lee, AI Superpowers: China, Silicon Valley, and the New World Order (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2018), 115 (李開復『AI世界秩序――米中が支配する「雇用なき未来」』上野元美訳、日経BP日本経済新聞出版本部、2020年); Julian E. Barnes and Josh Chin, "The New Arms Race in AI," Wall Street Journal, March 2, 2018, https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-new-arms-race-in-ai-1520009261.
- 34 Andrew Browne, "China's Big Brother Is Watching You Do Business," Wall Street Journal, May 23, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/big-brothercomes-for-foreign-firms-in-china-1495531800.
- 35 Mara Hvistendahl, "Inside China's Vast New Experiment in Social Ranking," *Wired*, December 14, 2017, https://www.wired.com/story/age-of-social-credit/; Ryan Gallagher, "How U.S. Tech Giants Are Helping to Build China's Surveillance State," *Intercept*, July 11, 2019, https://theintercept.com/2019/07/11/china-surveillance-google-ibm-semptian/; Mike Elgan, "Uh Oh: Silicon Valley Is Building a Chinese-style Social Credit

- System," Fast Company, August 26, 2019, https://www.fastcompany.com/90394048/uh-oh-silicon-valley-is-building-a-chinese-style-social-credit-system; Dan Strumpf and Wenxin Fan, "Who Wants to Supply China's Surveillance State? The West," *Wall Street Journal*, November 1, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/who-wants-to-supply-chinas-surveillance-state-the-west-1509540111.
- 36 Stewart Brand, "Spacewar," *Rolling Stone*, December 7, 1972, http://www.wheels.org/spacewar/stone/rolling\_stone.html.
- 37 Jaron Lanier, Who Owns the Future? (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2013). xii.
- 38 Will Oremus, "Most Americans Still Don't Fear Big Tech's Power," Slate, March 16, 2018, https://slate.com/technology/2018/03/most-americans-still-dont-fear-big-techs-power-survey-finds.html; Aaron Smith, "Public Attitudes Toward Technology Companies," Pew Research Center, June 28, 2018, http://www.pewinternet.org/2018/06/28/public-attitudes-toward-technology-companies/.
- 39 Wolfgang Streeck, *How Will Capitalism End?* (New York: Verso, 2016), 117. (ヴォルフガング・シュトレーク『資本主義はどう終わるのか』村澤 真保呂、信友建志訳、河出書房新社、2017年)
- 40 Philip Elmer-DeWitt, "The Tea Party, Occupy Wall Street and Steve Jobs," *Fortune*, November 6, 2011, http://fortune.com/2011/11/06/the-tea-party-occupy-wall-street-and-steve-jobs/.
- 41 Piketty, Capital in the Twenty-First Century, 444. (ピケティ『21世紀の資本』) [※引用部の翻訳は、同書の461頁]
- 42 David Callahan, Fortunes of Change: The Rise of the Liberal Rich and the Remaking of America (New York: Wiley, 2010), 67, 269.
- 43 "America's Gilded Age: Robber Barons and Captains of Industry," Maryville University, https://online.maryville.edu/business-degrees/americas-gilded-age/.

### 第5章 新しい寡頭支配層の信仰体系

Anne VanderMey, "Why Are Young Billionaires So Boring?" Bloomberg, July 9, 2018, https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-07-09/why-

- are-young-billionaires-so-boring.
- 2 Reuven Brenner, Rivalry: In Business, Science, Among Nations (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 31–39; Thomas Mahon, Charged Bodies: People, Power, and Paradox in Silicon Valley (New York: New American Library, 1985), 30–31.
- 3 Joel Kotkin and Paul Grabowicz, *California, Inc.* (New York: Rawson Wade, 1982), 142. (ジョエル・コトキン、ポール・グラボヴィッツ『カリフォルニア Inc.] 徳山二郎訳、講談社、1982年)
- 4 David Callahan, Fortunes of Change: The Rise of the Liberal Rich and the Remaking of America (New York: Wiley, 2010), 22–24; Paige Leskin and Nick Vega, "Here's Where the World's Most Influential Tech CEOs Went to College—and What They Studied," Business Insider, June 14, 2019, https://www.businessinsider.com/college-degrees-and-majors-of-famoustech-ceos#larry-page-ceo-alphabet-14.
- 5 Charles Murray, Coming Apart: The State of White America, 1960-2010 (New York: Crown Forum, 2012), 46-47. (チャールズ・マレー『階級「断絶」社会アメリカ――新上流と新下流の出現』橘明美訳、草思社、2013年)
- 6 Aldous Huxley, *Brave New World and Brave New World Revisited* (New York: Harper Classics, 2004), 237. (オールダス・ハックスレー『素晴らしい新世界ふたたび』高橋衞右訳、近代文芸社、2009年)
- Julie Charpentrat, "Labor Unions Face Hard Road in Silicon Valley," Phys. org, April 27, 2018, https://phys.org/news/2018-04-labor-unions-hard-road-silicon.html; Gregory Ferenstein, "Why Labor Unions and Silicon Valley Aren't Friends, in 2 Charts," Tech Crunch, July 29, 2013, https://techcrunch.com/2013/07/29/why-labor-unions-and-silicon-valley-arent-friends-in-2-charts/.
- 8 Craft, "S&P 500—Market Value per Employee Perspective," https://craft.co/reports/s-p-500-market-value-per-employee-perspective; Jeff Desjardins, "Which Companies Make the Most Revenue Per Employee?" Visual Capitalist, June 15, 2017, http://www.visualcapitalist.com/companies-revenue-per-employee/; Jon Hilsenath and Bob Davis, "America's Dazzling Tech Boom Has a Downside: Not Enough Jobs," Wall Street Journal,

- October 12, 2016, https://www.wsj.com/articles/americas-dazzling-techboom-has-a-downside-not-enough-jobs-1476282355; I. Wagner, "Number of General Motors Employees between FY 2010 and FY 2018," Statista, February 2019, https://www.statista.com/statistics/239843/employees-of-general-motors/; Lockheed Martin, "About Lockheed Martin," https://www.lockheedmartin.com/en-us/who-we-are.html; Jan Conway, "Number of Employees Kroger 2014–2018," Statista, April 2019, https://www.statista.com/statistics/717646/kroger-number-employees/; Home Depot, "About Home Depot," https://corporate.homedepot.com/about.
- 9 Nikhil Swaminathan, "Inside the Growing Guest Worker Program Trapping Indian Students in Virtual Servitude," *Mother Jones*, September/October 2017, http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2017/09/inside-the-growing-guest-worker-program-trapping-indian-students-in-virtual-servitude.
- Annalee Newitz, "Mark Zuckerberg's Manifesto Is a Political Trainwreck," Ars Technica, February 18, 2017, https://arstechnica.com/staff/2017/02/ op-ed-mark-zuckerbergs-manifesto-is-a-political-trainwreck/; Ezra Klein, "Mark Zuckerberg's theory of human history," Vox, February 18, 2017, http://www.vox.com/new-money/2017/2/18/14653542/mark-zuckerberg-facebook-manifesto-sapiens.
- 11 Gregory Ferenstein, "The Disrupters," City Journal, Winter 2017, https://www.city-journal.org/html/disrupters-14950.html.
- 12 Gregory Ferenstein, "A Lot of Billionaires Are Giving to Democrats. Here's a Look at Their Agenda," *Forbes*, February 26, 2016, https://www.forbes.com/sites/gregoryferenstein/2016/02/26/a-lot-of-billionaires-are-giving-to-democrats-heres-a-data-driven-look-at-their-agenda/#2002ef134869; Greg Ferenstein, "Why Are Billionaires Ditching the Republican Party?" *Medium*, February 26, 2016, https://medium.com/@ferenstein/a-lot-of-billionaires-are-giving-to-democrats-here-s-a-look-at-their-agenda-b5038c2ecb34.
- Todd Haselton, "Mark Zuckerberg Joins Silicon Valley Bigwigs in Calling for Government to Give Everybody Free Money," Yahoo, May 25, 2017, https://finance.yahoo.com/news/mark-zuckerberg-joins-siliconvalley-202800717.html; Patrick Gillespie, "Mark Zuckerberg Supports Universal Basic Income. What is it?" CNN, May 6, 2017, https://money.

cnn.com/2017/05/26/news/economy/mark-zuckerberg-universal-basic-income/index.html; Chris Weller, "Elon Musk Doubles Down on Universal Basic Income: 'It's Going to Be Necessary," *Business Insider*, February 13, 2017, https://www.businessinsider.com/elon-musk-universal-basic-income-2017-2; Patrick Caughill, "Another Silicon Valley Exec Joins the Ranks of Universal Basic Income Supporters," Futurism, September 8, 2017, https://futurism.com/another-silicon-valley-exec-joins-the-ranks-of-universal-basic-income-supporters; Sam Altman, "Moving Forward on Basic Income," Y Combinator, May 31, 2016, https://blog.ycombinator.com/moving-forward-on-basic-income/; Diane Francis, "The Beginning of the End of Work," *American Interest*, March 19, 2018, https://www.the-american-interest.com/2018/03/19/beginning-end-work/.

- "The YIMBY Guide to Bullying and Its Results: SB 827 Goes Down in Committee," City Watch LA, April 19, 2018, https://www.citywatchla.com/index.php/los-angeles/15298-the-yimby-guide-to-bullying-and-its-results-sb-827-goes-down-in-committee; John Mirisch, "Tech Oligarchs and the California Housing Crisis," California Political Review, April 15, 2018, http://www.capoliticalreview.com/top-stories/tech-Oligarchs-and-the-california-housing-crisis/; Joel Kotkin, "Giving Common Sense a Chance in California," City Journal, April 26, 2018, https://www.city-journal.org/html/giving-common-sense-chance-california-15868.html.
- 15 Thomas Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap/Harvard, 2014), 85. (ピケティ『21世紀の資本』)[※引用部の翻訳は、同書の90頁]
- 16 VanderMey, "Why Are Young Billionaires So Boring?"
- 17 Fernand Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life*, vol. 1 of *Civilization and Capitalism*, 15th–18th Century, trans. Sian Reynolds, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 334. (ブローデル『物質文明・経済・資本主義 15–18世紀 I-2 日常性の構造2』) [※引用部の翻訳は、同書の2頁]
- 18 Laura Sydell, "In Google's Vision of the Future, Computing is Immersive," NPR, May 20, 2017, https://www.npr.org/sections/alltechconsider ed/2017/05/20/529146185/in-googles-vision-of-the-future-computing-is-

immersive.

- Jason Pontin, "Silicon Valley's Immortalists Will Help Us All Stay Healthy," Wired, December 15, 2017, https://www.wired.com/story/silicon-valleys-immortalists-will-help-us-all-stay-healthy/; Dom Galeon and Christianna Reedy, "A Google Exec Just Claimed the Singularity Will Happen by 2029," Science Alert, March 16, 2017, https://www.sciencealert.com/google-s-director-of-engineering-claims-that-the-singularity-will-happen-by-2029.
- Alvin Toffler, The Third Wave (New York: Bantam, 1980), 158-159 (7) 20 ビン・トフラー『第三の波』徳岡孝夫監訳、中公文庫、1982年); Kevin Carty, "Tech Giants Are the Robber Barons of Our Time," New York Post, February 3, 2018, https://nypost.com/2018/02/03/big-techs-monopolisticrule-is-hiding-in-plain-sight/; Jia Tolentino, "The End of the Awl and the Vanishing of Freedom and Fun from the Internet," New Yorker, January 18, 2018, https://www.newvorker.com/culture/cultural-comment/the-endof-the-awl-and-the-vanishing-of-freedom-and-fun-from-the-internet; Andrew Orlowski, "Google, Propaganda, and the New New Man," Register, September 4, 2017, https://www.theregister.co.uk/2017/09/04/google propaganda and the new new man; Aaron Renn, "How Apple and Google Are Censoring the Mobile Web," Real Clear Politics, August 24, 2017, https://www.realclearpolitics.com/2017/08/24/how apple and google are censoring the mobile web 419092.html; Kenneth P. Vogel, "Google Critic Ousted from Think Tank Funded by the Tech Giant," New York Times, August 30, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/30/us/ politics/eric-schmidt-google-new-america.html?referer=https://www. google.com/.
- 21 Joseph Lichterman, "Nearly Half of U.S. Adults Get News on Facebook, Pew Says," Nieman Lab, May 16, 2016, http://www.niemanlab.org/2016/05/pew-report-44-percent-of-u-s-adults-get-news-on-facebook/; Amy Gesenhues, "Pew Research Center Says 45% of Americans Get Their News from Facebook," Marketing Land, November 8, 2017, https://marketingland.com/pew-research-center-says-45-americans-get-news-facebook-228001; Elisa Shearer and Jeffrey Gottfried, "News Use Across

- Social Media Platforms 2017," Pew Research Center, September 7, 2017, http://www.journalism.org/2017/09/07/news-use-across-social-media-platforms-2017/.
- 22 Monica Anderson and Jingjing Jiang, "Teens, Social Media and Technology 2018," Pew Research Center, May 31, 2018, http://www.pewinternet.org/2018/05/31/teens-social-media-technology-2018/; Daniel Reed, "How do Millennials Receive News?" Study Breaks, May 7, 2018, https://studybreaks.com/sponsored/millennials-receive-news/.
- 23 Joel Kotkin and Michael Shires, "The Cities Winning the Battle for Information Jobs," New Geography, May 23, 2013, http://www.newgeography.com/content/003736-the-cities-winning-the-battle-for-information-jobs; Marc Tracy, "Google Made \$4.7 Billion From the News Industry in 2018, Study Says," New York Times, June 9, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/09/business/media/google-news-industry-antitrust.html; Lucy Handley, "Google and Facebook take 20% of Total Global Ad Spend," CNBC, May 2, 2017, https://www.cnbc.com/2017/05/02/google-and-facebook-take-20-percent-of-total-global-ad-spend.html.
- 24 Keach Hagey, Lukas Alpert, and Yaryna Serkez, "In News Industry, a Stark Divide Between Haves and Have-Nots," Wall Street Journal, May 4, 2019, https://www.wsj.com/graphics/local-newspapers-stark-divide/.
- David Gelles, "Billionaires Can Seem Like Saviors to Media Companies, but They Come with Risks," New York Times, September 19, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/19/business/media/newspapers-billionaire-owners-magazines.html; Jeffrey A. Trachtenberg, "Time Magazine Sold to Salesforce Founder Marc Benioff for \$190 Million," Wall Street Journal, September 16, 2018.
- 26 Javier C. Hernandez, "A Hong Kong Newspaper on a Mission to Promote China's Soft Power," *New York Times*, March 31, 2018, https://www. nytimes.com/2018/03/31/world/asia/south-china-morning-post-hong-kong-alibaba.html.
- 27 Jeffrey A. Winters, *Oligarchy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), xii, 277–280.
- 28 "The Atlantic Expands Its News Team and Adds Other New Roles,"

- *Atlantic*, July 23, 2015, https://www.theatlantic.com/press-releases/archive/2015/07/the-atlantic-expands-its-news-team-and-adds-other-new-roles/399407/.
- 29 "Robert R. McCormick," *Britannica*, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Robert-R-McCormick.
- 30 Jim Rutenberg, "Behind the Scenes, Billionaires' Growing Control of News," New York Times, May 28, 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/ 05/28/business/media/behind-the-scenes-billionaires-growing-control-ofnews.html; John Sexton, "Audit: Google Favors a Small Number of Left-Leaning News Outlets," Hot Air, May 10, 2019, https://hotair.com/ archives/2019/05/10/audit-concludes-google-favors-small-number-leftleaning-news-outlets/.
- 31 Mike Shatzkin, "A Changing Book Business: It All Seems to Be Flowing Downhill to Amazon," The Idea Logical Company, January 22, 2018, https://www.idealog.com/blog/changing-book-business-seems-flowing-downhill-amazon/; David Steitfeld, "What Happens after Amazon's Domination Is Complete? Its Bookstore Offers Clues," *New York Times*, June 23, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/23/technology/amazon-domination-bookstore-books.html.
- 32 Nick Srnicek, "We Need to Nationalize Google, Facebook, and Amazon. Here's Why," *Guardian*, August 30, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/aug/30/nationalise-google-facebook-amazon-data-monopoly-platform-public-interest.
- 33 Brittany Hodak, "How Fragmentation Is Hurting the Music Industry's Developing Artists," *Forbes*, July 9, 2018, https://www.forbes.com/sites/brittanyhodak/2018/07/09/how-fragmentation-is-hurting-the-music-industrys-developing-artists/#243d19502402; Peter Kafka, "Here's Why the Music Labels Are Furious at YouTube. Again," *Vox*, April 11, 2016, https://www.recode.net/2016/4/11/11586030/youtube-google-dmca-riaa-cary-sherman.
- 34 Alex Shephard, "Can Netflix Take Over Hollywood?" New Republic, April 2, 2018, https://newrepublic.com/article/148102/can-netflix-takehollywood; David Griffin, "Netflix Will Outspend Every Hollywood Studio

in 2018," IGN, July 6, 2018, https://www.ign.com/articles/2018/07/05/netflix-will-outspend-every-hollywood-studio-in-2018.

35 Jeremy Carl, "How to Break Silicon Valley's Anti-Free-Speech Monopoly," National Review, August 15, 2017, https://www.nationalreview. com/2017/08/silicon-valleys-anti-conservative-bias-solution-treat-majortech-companies-utilities/; John Hinderaker, "Google Does It Again," Power Line, May 31, 2018, https://www.powerlineblog.com/archives/2018/05/ google-does-it-again.php; Aaron M. Renn, "Like, Share, Beware," City Journal, Autumn 2016, https://www.city-journal.org/html/sharebeware-14801.html; Aaron M. Renn, "How Apple and Google Are Censoring the Mobile Web," Real Clear Politics, August 24, 2017, https:// www.realclearpolitics.com/2017/08/24/how apple and google are censoring the mobile web 419092.html; Jim Treacher, "It Seems Twitter' s 'Trust and Safety Council' Is Working Overtime to Ban Conservatives," PJ Media, August 15, 2018, https://pjmedia.com/trending/it-seemstwitters-trust-and-safety-council-is-working-overtime-to-banconservatives/; Eric Lieberman, "Google's New Fact-Check Feature Almost Exclusively Targets Conservative Sites," Daily Caller, January 9, 2018, http://dailycaller.com/2018/01/09/googles-new-fact-check-feature-almostexclusively-targets-conservative-sites/; Glenn Harlan Reynolds, "When Digital Platforms Become Censors," Wall Street Journal, August 18, 2018, https://www.wsj.com/articles/when-digital-platforms-becomecensors-1534514122; Karl Zinsmeister, "How the Tech Worldview Affects Free-Speech Battles," Real Clear Politics, October 3, 2018, https://www. realclearpolitics.com/articles/2018/10/03/how the tech worldview affects free-speech battles 138234.html.

- 36 Daniel Friedman, "How Free Speech Dies Online," *Quillette*, June 23, 2019, https://quillette.com/2019/06/23/how-free-speech-dies-online/.
- 37 Paul Bedard, "Social Media Companies Back Liberals, 72% 'Censor' Views They Don't Like," *Washington Examiner*, June 28, 2018, https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/washington-secrets/pew-social-media-companies-back-liberals-72-censor-views-they-dont-like; Brad Parscale, "Big Tech is Becoming Big Brother," *Washington Examiner*, August 16,

- 2018, https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/opinion/op-eds/brad-parscale-big-tech-is-becoming-big-brother.
- 38 Mark Epstein, "The Google-Facebook Duopoly Threatens Diversity of Thought," Wall Street Journal, December 18, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-google-facebook-duopoly-threatens-diversity-of-thought-1513642519; Robert Tracinski, "Don't Be Evil'? Google Is Becoming a Police State," Federalist, January 12, 2018, http://thefederalist.com/2018/01/12/dont-be-evil-google-is-trying-to-become-a-police-state/.
- 39 Richard L. Hasen, "Speech in America Is Fast, Cheap and Out of Control," Los Angeles Times, August 18, 2017, http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-hasen-cheap-speech-democracy-20170818-story.html.
- 40 Ruchir Sharma, "When Will the Tech Bubble Burst?" *New York Times*, August 5, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/05/opinion/sunday/when-will-the-tech-bubble-burst.html.
- 41 Maurice E. Stucke and Ariel Ezrachi, "Looking up in the Data-Driven Economy," Competition Policy International, May 2017, https://www.competitionpolicyinternational.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/CPI-Stucke-Ezrachi.pdf; Kai-Fu Lee, AI Superpowers: China, Silicon Valley, and the New World Order (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2018), 70.
- 42 Joe Miller, "How Facebook's Tentacles Reach Further than You Think," BBC, May 26, 2017, https://www.bbc.com/news/business-39947942.
- 43 Gaspard Koenig, "We Are All Digital Serfs, but the Time Is Ripe for Revolution," *Irish Examiner*, July 24, 2018, https://www.irishexaminer.com/opinion/commentanalysis/arid-30857216.html.
- 44 Jaron Lanier, Who Owns the Future? (New York: Simon & Shuster, 2013), 309.
- 45 Zac Hall, "Facebook Might Not Spy on You Now, but It Has a Patent for the Ability," 9 to 5 Mac, June 27, 2018, https://9to5mac.com/2018/06/27/facebook-spy-patent/.
- 46 Alfred Ng, "Amazon's Alexa Had a Flaw that Let Eavesdroppers in," CNET, April 25, 2018, https://www.cnet.com/news/amazon-alexa-voice-assistant-had-a-flaw-that-let-eavesdroppers-listen-in/; Surya Mattu and Kashmir Hill, "The House that Spied on Me," Gizmodo, February 7, 2018,

- https://gizmodo.com/the-house-that-spied-on-me-1822429852.
- 47 Michelle Malkin, "The Student Data-Mining Scandal Under Our Noses," National Review, April 11, 2018, https://www.nationalreview.com/2018/04/the-student-data-mining-scandal-under-our-noses/.
- 48 Richi Jennings, "Google CEO: If You Want Privacy, Do You Have Something to Hide?" *Computer World*, December 11, 2009, https://www.computerworld.com/article/2468308/internet/google-ceo--if-you-want-privacy--do-you-have-something-to-hide-.html.
- 49 Ellie Mae O'Hagan, "No One Can Pretend Facebook Is Just Harmless Fun Any More," *Guardian*, March 18, 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/mar/18/facebook-extremist-content-user-data.

#### 第6章 カリフォルニア州に封建制がやってきた

- 1 Peter Leyden, "California Is the Future of American Politics," *Medium*, October 4, 2017, https://medium.com/s/state-of-the-future.
- 2 Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream*, 1850–1915 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), xii.
- 3 Public Policy Institute of California, "Californians and Their Government," PPIC Statewide Survey, September 2019, https://www.ppic.org/wp-content/uploads/ppic-statewide-survey-californians-and-their-government-september-2019.pdf.
- 4 George Skelton, "Capitol Journal: California's Legislature Is Less Popular than Trump with State's Voters, Poll Finds," Los Angeles Times, June 6, 2019, https://www.latimes.com/politics/la-pol-sac-skelton-californialegislature-disapproval-rating-20190606-story.html; Morning Consult, "The 10 Most Popular and Unpopular Governors," https://morningconsult.com/ governor-rankings-α2-19/.
- 5 Jonathan Lansner, "Bubble Watch: Why Is California Consumer Confidence Down? Is it Trump or Newsom?" *Orange County Register*, June 27, 2019, https://www.ocregister.com/2019/06/27/bubble-watch-california-consumer-confidence-plummets-to-near-3-year-low/.
- 6 Thomas Fuller, Tim Arango, and Louis Keene, "As Homelessness Surges in California, So Does a Backlash," New York Times, October 21, 2019,

- $https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/21/us/california-homeless-backlash. \\ html?emc=rss\&partner=rss.$
- James Galbraith, "Inequality and the 2016 Election Outcome: A Dirty Secret and a Dilemma," *New Geography*, July 5, 2017, http://www.newgeography.com/content/005678-inequality-and-2016-election-outcome-a-dirty-secret-and-a-dilemma.
- 8 Jonathan Lansner, "California Has No. 1 Wage Gap between Middle-Income Pay and What Wealthy Earn," *Orange County Register*, April 25, 2019, https://www.ocregister.com/2019/04/23/california-has-no-1-wage-gap-between-middle-income-pay-and-what-wealthy-earn/.
- 9 Spencer P. Morrison, "California's Income Inequality Now Worse Than Mexico's, Poverty Level Highest in America," *National Economics Editorial*, January 17, 2018, https://nationaleconomicseditorial.com/2018/ 01/17/californian-income-inequality-tops-mexico/.
- 10 Liana Fox, "The Supplemental Poverty Measure: 2017," U.S. Census Bureau, September 12, 2018, https://www.census.gov/library/publications/2018/demo/p60-265.html.
- 11 "Is California the Welfare Capital?" *San Diego Union-Tribune*, July 28, 2012, http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/news/politics/sdut-welfare-capital-of-the-us-2012jul28-htmlstory.html.
- 12 United Way, "Struggling to Stay Afloat: The Real Cost Measure in California 2018," United Ways of California, https://www.unitedwaysca.org/realcost.
- 13 David Friedman and Jennifer Hernandez, "California, Greenhouse Gas Regulation, and Climate Change," *New Geography*, June 25, 2018, http://www.newgeography.com/content/006014-california-greenhouse-gas-regulation-and-climate-change.
- 14 Sarah Bohn, Caroline Danielson, and Tess Thorman, "Child Poverty in California," Public Policy Institute of California, July 2019, http://www.ppic.org/publication/child-poverty-in-california/.
- 15 David Friedman and Jennifer Hernandez, California Environmental Quality Act, Greenhouse Gas Regulation, and Climate Change, Center for Demographics and Policy, Chapman University, 2015, https://www.

- chapman.edu/wilkinson/\_files/ghg-fn.pdf.
- Mark Hugo Lopez and Manuel Krogstad, "Will California Ever Become a Majority-Latino State?" Pew Research Center, June 4, 2015, http://www. pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/06/04/will-california-ever-become-a-majority-latino-state-maybe-not/.
- 17 Betsy Baum Block et al., "Struggling to Get by: The Real Cost Measure in California 2015," United Ways of California, https://www.unitedwaysca.org/images/StrugglingToGetBy/Struggling\_to\_Get\_By.pdf.
- Emma G. Gallegos, "Los Angeles Is the Poorest Big City," LAist, September 9, 2014, http://laist.com/2014/09/19/los\_angeles\_is\_the\_poorest\_of\_the\_m.php; Alejandro Lazo, "Homelessness Grows in California Despite New Government Spending," Wall Street Journal, June 7, 2019, https://www.wsj.com/articles/homelessness-grows-in-california-despite-new-govern ment-spending-11559899801.
- 19 Alex Thomas, "A Tale of Two SoCals: Poverty in Southern California," New Geography, January 16, 2018, http://www.newgeography.com/content/005854-a-tale-two-socals-poverty-southern-california.
- 20 Kerry Jackson, "California Leads the Nation in Bringing Back Medieval Illnesses," *Daily Caller*, March 21, 2019, https://dailycaller.com/2019/03/21/jackson-california-illness/; Joseph Curl, "Bubonic Plague 'Likely' Already Present in Los Angeles, Dr. Drew Says," *Daily Wire*, May 31, 2019, https://www.dailywire.com/news/47888/bubonic-plague-likely-already-present-los-angeles-joseph-curl; David K. Randall, "Climate Change Could Bring Bubonic Plague Back to Los Angeles," *Los Angeles Times*, May 16, 2019, https://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-randall-plague-climate-change-rats-20190516-story.html.
- 21 "California Economy: Annual Forecast Charts," California Lutheran University, September 14, 2017, https://blogs.callutheran.edu/cerf/files/2017/09/Annual\_Pop\_PerCapitaGDP\_Forecast1.pdf; Friedman and Hernandez, California, Greenhouse Gas Regulation, and Climate Change, 67–68; Susan Shelley, "In California, a Poor Imitation of Economic Growth," Los Angeles Daily News, January 27, 2017, https://www.dailynews.com/2017/01/27/in-california-a-poor-imitation-of-economic-growth-susan-

- shelley/.
- 22 Joel Kotkin, "California Preening," *City Journal*, December 20, 2019, https://www.city-journal.org/california-high-tech-feudalism.
- Daniel Harris, "What Silicon Valley Doesn't Get about People," CityLab, September 14, 2017, https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/ 2017-09-14/silicon-valley-s-people-problem-explained; Marisa Kendall, "Buying a Bay Area Home Now a Struggle Even for Apple, Google Engineers," Mercury News, February 15, 2018, https://www.mercurynews.com/2018/02/14/buying-a-bay-area-home-now-a-struggle-even-for-apple-google-engineers/.
- 24 Amy Graff, "\$303K Is the Annual Income Needed to Buy a Median Priced Home in San Francisco," *SFGate*, February 15, 2018, https://www.sfgate.com/realestate/article/income-needed-buy-home-San-Francisco-realestate-12614111.php; Alan Berube, "All Cities Are Not Created Unequal," Brookings, February 20, 2014, https://www.brookings.edu/research/all-cities-are-not-created-unequal/; Frederick Kuo, "San Francisco Has Become One Huge Metaphor for Economic Inequality in America," *Quartz*, June 21, 2016, https://qz.com/711854/the-inequality-happening-now-in-san-francisco-will-impact-america-for-generations-to-come/.
- 25 Luke Redenbach et al., "The Growth of Top Incomes Across California," California Budget and Policy Center, February 2016, https://calbudget center.org/wp-content/uploads/The-Growth-of-Top-Incomes-Across-California-02172016.pdf; Chris Roberts, "How California's Homeless Crisis Grew Obscenely Out of Control," Observer, May 30, 2019, https://observer.com/2019/05/california-homeless-crisis-san-francisco/.
- 26 Amy Graff, "San Francisco Metro Area Has Lost 31,000 Home-Owning Families in 10 Years," SFGate, July 13, 2018, https://www.sfgate.com/mommyfiles/article/San-Francisco-low-percentage-families-homeowners-13069287.php; Megan Cassidy and Sarah Ravani, "San Francisco Ranks No. 1 in US in Property Crime," San Francisco Chronicle, October 2, 2018, https://www.sfchronicle.com/crime/article/The-Scanner-San-Francisco-ranks-No-1-in-13267113.php?psid=bwGGn; Aria Bendix, "San Francisco's Homelessness Crisis Is So Bad, People Appear to Be Using Poop to Graffiti

- the Sidewalks," *SFGate*, November 20, 2018, https://www.sfgate.com/technology/businessinsider/article/Meet-the-guy-in-charge-of-tackling-San-8331836.php.
- 27 Chris Benner and Manuel Pastor, *Equity, Growth, and Community: What the Nation Can Learn from America's Metro Areas* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015), 167.
- 28 Rachel Massaro, "Silicon Valley Index," Joint Venture, 2016, https://jointventure.org/images/stories/pdf; Dylan Wittenberg, "These Bay Area FinTech Companies Are Revolutionizing the Lending Space," Benzinga, July 25, 2017, https://www.benzinga.com/fintech/17/07/9816489/these-bay-area-fintech-companies-are-revolutionizing-the-lending-space/index2016.pdf.
- 29 Issie Lapowsky, "Silicon Valley's Biggest Worry Should Be Inequality, Not a Bubble," *Wired*, February 4, 2015, https://www.wired.com/2015/02/silicon-valley-inequality-study/.
- 30 Gabriel Metcalf, "Four Future Scenarios for the San Francisco Bay Area," SPUR Regional Strategy, August 2018, https://www.spur.org/sites/default/files/publications\_pdfs/SPUR\_Future\_Scenarios\_for\_the\_SF\_Bay\_Area.pdf; Alex Thomas, "The Demographics of Poverty in Santa Clara County," New Geography, January 10, 2017, https://www.newgeography.com/content/005501-the-demographics-poverty-santa-clara-county; Jeff Desjardins, "Which Companies Make the Most Revenue Per Employee?" Visual Capitalist, June 15, 2017, http://www.visualcapitalist.com/companies-revenue-per-employee/.
- 31 Nikhil Swaminathan, "Inside the Growing Guest Worker Program Trapping Indian Students in Virtual Servitude," *Mother Jones*, September/October 2017, http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2017/09/inside-the-growing-guest-worker-program-trapping-indian-students-in-virtual-servitude.
- 32 Sam Levin, "Black and Latino Representation in Silicon Valley Has Declined, Study Shows," *Guardian*, October 3, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2017/oct/03/silicon-valley-diversity-black-latino-women-decline-study.
- 33 Seung Lee, "'These Are Poverty-Level Jobs in Facebook': Silicon Valley

Security Officers Protest for Better Wages," *Mercury News*, June 18, 2018, https://www.mercurynews.com/2018/06/15/these-are-poverty-level-jobs-in-facebook-silicon-valley-security-officers-protest-for-better-wages/; Julia Carrie Wong, "Silicon Valley Subcontracting Makes Income Inequality Worse, Report Finds," *Guardian*, March 30, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/mar/30/silicon-valley-subcontracting-income-inequality-worse-report.

- 34 Kathleen Elkins, "Several Google Employees Say They've Lived in the Company Parking Lot—Here's Why They Did It," *Business Insider*, October 30, 2015, https://www.businessinsider.com/why-google-employees-live-in-the-parking-lot-2015-10; Robert Johnson, "Welcome to 'The Jungle': The Largest Homeless Camp in Mainland USA Is Right in the Heart of Silicon Valley," *Business Insider*, September 7, 2013, https://www.businessinsider.com/the-jungle-largest-homeless-camp-in-us-2013-8.
- 35 Bernner and Pastor, Equity, Growth and Community, 168.
- 36 Antonio García Martínez, "How Silicon Valley Fuels an Informal Caste System," Wired, July 9, 2018, https://www.wired.com/story/how-siliconvalley-fuels-an-informal-caste-system/.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Jeff Daniels, "Nearly half of California's Gig Economy Workers Struggling with Poverty," CNBC, August 28, 2018, https://www.cnbc.com/2018/ 08/28/about-half-of-californias-gig-economy-workers-struggling-withpoverty.html.
- 39 Nick Srnicek, "We Need To Nationalize Google, Facebook, and Amazon. Here's why," *Guardian*, August 30, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/aug/30/nationalise-google-facebook-amazon-datamonopoly-platform-public-interest; Jonathan Taplin, "Is It Time to Break Up Google?" *New York Times*, April 22, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/22/opinion/sunday/is-it-time-to-break-up-google.html?ref=opinion&\_r=0; Franklin Foer, "Amazon Must Be Stopped," *New Republic*, October 10, 2014, https://newrepublic.com/article/119769/amazonsmonopoly-must-be-broken-radical-plan-tech-giant; Andrew Clement and David Lyon, "Facebook: A Mass Media Micro-surveillance Monopoly,"

- Globe and Mail, April 23, 2018, https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/article-facebook-a-mass-media-micro-surveillance-monopoly/; James Pethokoukis, "Conservatives turn on Silicon Valley—and the free market," *The Week*, August 17, 2017, http://theweek.com/articles/718558/conservatives-turn-silicon-valley--free-market.
- 40 David Dayen, "Big Tech: The New Predatory Capitalism," American Prospect, December 26, 2017, http://prospect.org/article/big-tech-newpredatory-capitalism; K. Sabeel Rahman, "Up Against Big Tech," American Prospect, February 5, 2018, http://prospect.org/article/against-big-tech; Elizabeth Kolbert, "Who Owns the Internet?" New Yorker, August 21, 2017, https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/08/28/who-owns-theinternet
- 41 Daniel Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 33. (ベル『脱工業社会の到来(上)』) [※引用部の翻訳は、同書の48頁]
- 42 Mike Elgan, "Why the Public's Love Affair with Silicon Valley Might Be Over," Fast Company, September 27, 2017, https://www.fastcompany.com/40472189/why-the-publics-love-affair-with-silicon-valley-might-beover.
- 43 Stanley Bing, Immortal Life: A Soon to Be True Future (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2017).

#### 第7章 世界統制官

- Alexandra Alter, "Uneasy about the Future, Readers Turn to Dystopian Classics," New York Times, January 27, 2017, https://www.nytimes. com/2017/01/27/business/media/dystopian-classics-1984-animal-farm-the-handmaids-tale.html.
- 2 Andrew S. Ross, "In Silicon Valley, Age Can Be a Curse," *SFGate*, August 20, 2013, https://www.sfgate.com/business/bottomline/article/In-Silicon-Valley-age-can-be-a-curse-4742365.php.
- 3 Aldous Huxley, *Brave New World and Brave New World Revisited* (New York: Harper Classics, 2004), 237, 259. (ハックスレー『素晴らしい新世界ふたたび』)

- 4 Eleanor Duckett, Death and Life in the Tenth Century (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967), 251; Norman F. Cantor, Medieval History: The Life and Death of a Civilization (New York: Macmillan, 1963), 50-51, 69-70, 97, 101.
- 5 Pitirim Sorokin, *The Crisis of Our Age* (London: Oneworld Publication, 1992), 20-21, 67-69, 81. (ソローキン『現代の危機』)
- 6 Adam K. Webb, "Class and Clerisy," Front Porch Republic, October 19, 2010, https://www.frontporchrepublic.com/2010/10/class-and-Clerisy.
- 7 Max Weber, *Economy and Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), vol. 1: xcix; Thomas Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap/Harvard, 2014), 345. (ピケティ『21世紀の資本』)
- 8 Barbara Tuchman, *The March of Folly: From Troy to Vietnam* (New York: Ballantine, 1984), 6-7 (バーバラ・W・タックマン『愚行の世界史――トロイアからベトナムまで(上)』大社淑子訳、中公文庫、2009年); John Hale, *The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance* (New York: Touchstone, 1993), 413-419.
- 9 H. G. Wells, Anticipations of the Reaction of Mechanical and Scientific Progress Upon Human Life and Thought (1901; Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Books, 1999), 85–87, 99, 151; Fred Siegel, The Revolt Against the Masses: How Liberalism Has Undermined the Middle Class (New York: Encounter, 2015), 100.
- Peter Bachrach, The Theory of Democratic Elitism (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1967), 58-60; Arthur Herman, The Idea of Decline in Western History (New York: Free Press, 1997), 17; Talcott Parsons, "The Distribution of Power in American Society," in The Power Elite, ed. C. Wright Mills (Boston: Beacon, 1968), 79; J. Hobsbawm, The Age of Revolution (New York: New American Library, 1962), 327.
- 11 C. Wright Mills, The Causes of World War Three (1958; Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1985), 170. (ライト・ミルズ『第三次世界大戦の原因』村上光彦訳、みすず書房、1959年)
- 12 Robert B. Reich and Ira C. Magaziner, *Minding America's Business* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1982), 13, 378. (アイラ・C・マガジナー、ロバー

- ト・B・ライシュ『アメリカの挑戦――日米欧の企業戦略と産業政策』天 谷直弘監訳、中岡望、塩崎恭久、永岡洋治訳、東洋経済新報社、1984 年)
- Thomas L. Friedman, "Our One-Party Democracy," New York Times, September 8, 2009, https://www.nytimes.com/2009/09/09/opinion /09friedman.html; John Hudson, "Peter Orszag Is So Over Democracy," Atlantic, September 26, 2011, https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2011/09/peter-orszag-so-over-democracy/337475/; Joseph C. Sternberg, "The European Union's Democracy Deficit," Wall Street Journal, February 15, 2018, https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-european-unions-democracy-deficit-1518739588.
- 14 Daniel Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 15, 51, 213, 387. (ベル『脱工業社会の到来(上)』)
- "An Hereditary Meritocracy," Economist, January 22, 2015, https://www.economist.com/briefing/2015/01/22/an-hereditary-meritocracy; Kevin Carey, "I Do' between Elites Widens Class Gap, Researchers Say," WRAL, March 31, 2018, https://www.wral.com/-i-do-between-elites-widens-class-gap-researchers-say/17456597/.
- 16 Bell, The Coming of Post-Industrial Society, 427. (ベル『脱工業社会の到来(下)』)
- 17 Michael Lind, "The New Class War," American Affairs, Summer 2017, https://americanaffairsjournal.org/2017/05/new-class-war; Michael Lind, The New Class War: Saving Democracy from the Managerial Elite (New York: Portfolio, 2020). (マイケル・リンド『新しい階級闘争——大都市エリートから民主主義を守る』中野剛志解説、施光恒監訳、寺下滝郎訳、東洋経済新報社、2022年)
- 18 Charles Murray, Coming Apart: The State of White America, 1960-2010 (New York: Crown Forum, 2012), 19-20. (C・マレー『階級「断絶」社会アメリカ』)
- 19 Marge Anderson, "The Clergy and the Nobility: The French Revolution," Big Site of History, June 9, 2008, https://bigsiteofhistory.com/the-clergy-and-the-nobility-the-french-revolution/.
- 20 Christophe Guilluy, Twilight of the Elites: Prosperity, the Periphery, and

- the Future of France (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 2, 9.
- 21 U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Employment by Industry, 1910 and 2015," *Economics Daily*, March 3, 2016, U.S. Department of Labor, https://www.bls.gov/opub/ted/2016/employment-by-industry-1910-and-2015.htm.
- 22 エコノミック・モデリング・スペシャリスト・インターナショナル社 (EMSI) の計算に基づくマーク・シルによる雇用データの分析。
- 23 Julian Mischi et al., "The World of the Blue-Collar Worker: Changed, but Not Gone," trans. Olivier Waine, *Metropolitics*, February 19, 2014, https://www.metropolitiques.eu/The-world-of-the-blue-collar.html.
- 24 Jeremy Warner, "Small Business Owners Explain Why France Is a Nation in Decline," *Business Insider*, October 19, 2014, https://www.businessin sider.com/small-business-owners-explain-why-france-is-a-nation-indecline-2014-10.
- 25 Orlando Figes, *A People's Tragedy: The Russian Revolution, 1891–1924* (New York: Penguin, 1996), 737.
- 26 Ibid., 511, 551; Dmitri Volkogonov, Autopsy for Empire: The Seven Leaders Who Built the Soviet Regime (New York: Free Press, 1998), 63. (ドミートリー・ヴォルコゴーノフ『七人の首領――レーニンからゴルバチョフまで(上)』生田真司訳、朝日新聞社、1997年)
- 27 Eric D. Weitz, Weimar Germany: Promise and Tragedy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 334.
- 28 Frederic Spotts, *Hitler and the Power of Aesthetics* (New York: Overlook Press, 2003), 30, 79–82, 98.
- 29 Klaus P. Fischer, Nazi Germany: A New History (New York: Continuum, 1996), 17.
- 30 Nate Silver, "There Really Was a Liberal Media Bubble," FiveThirtyEight, March 10, 2017, https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/there-really-was-a-liberal-media-bubble/; "Media Bias: Pretty Much All of Journalism Now Leans Left, Study Shows," *Investor's Business Daily*, November 16, 2018, https://www.investors.com/politics/editorials/media-bias-left-study/.
- 31 Christopher M. Finan, "A Shameful Season for American Journalism," Wall Street Journal, September 24, 2018, https://www.wsj.com/articles/a-shameful-season-for-american-journalism-1537830679; Justin Ward, "The

- Death of the Working Class Reporter," *Medium*, June 25, 2019, https://blog.usejournal.com/the-death-of-the-working-class-reporter-48b4673 00f4d; Amée LaTour, "Do 97 Percent of Journalist Donations Go to Democrats?" Ballotopedia, August 16, 2017, https://ballotpedia.org/Fact\_check/Do\_97\_percent\_of\_journalist\_donations\_go\_to\_Democrat.
- 32 Guilluy, Twilight of the Elites, 35–37.
- 33 Kathleen McLaughlin, "The Big Journalism Void: 'The Real Crisis Is Not Technological, Its Geographical," *Guardian*, January 30, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/media/2017/jan/30/the-big-journalism-void-the-real-crisis-is-not-technological-its-geographic.
- 34 Jennifer Kavanagh et al., News in a Digital Age (Santa Monica: Rand Corporation, 2019), https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\_reports/RR2960. html; Kalev Leetaru, "A Small Number of Fact-Checkers Now Define Our Reality," Real Clear Politics, August 24, 2019, https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2019/08/24/a\_small\_number\_of\_fact-checkers\_now\_define\_our\_reality\_141087.html.
- 35 Jonathan Chait, "The Vast Left-Wing Conspiracy Is on Your Screen," New York Magazine, August 17, 2012, http://nymag.com/news/features/chaitliberal-movies-tv-2012-8/.
- 36 Jeremy Barr, "Top Hollywood Execs Give Overwhelmingly to Democrats for Midterms," Hollywood Reporter, October 12, 2018, https://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/top-hollywood-execs-give-99-percent-political-donations-democrats-midterms-1151392; Joanna Piacenza, "Putting a Number on Hollywood's Perceived Liberalism," Morning Consult, March 1, 2018, https://morningconsult.com/2018/03/01/putting-number-hollywoods-perceived-liberalism/; Tom Jacobs, "Why Is Hollywood So Liberal?" Pacific Standard, May 14, 2019, https://psmag.com/news/why-is-hollywood-so-liberal.
- 37 Thomas Piketty, "Brahmin Left vs Merchant Right: Rising Inequality and the Changing Structure of Political Conflict (Evidence from France, Britain and the US, 1948–2017)," World Inequality Database, March 2018, http://piketty.pse.ens.fr/files/Piketty2018.pdf.
- 38 Mark Hemingway, "The Left Is Transforming into a Religion, Maybe a Bit

- Too Literally," *Washington Examiner*, March 28, 2017, https://www.weeklystandard.com/the-left-is-transforming-into-a-religion-maybe-a-bit-too-literally/article/2007416; Rob Henderson, "'Luxury Beliefs' Are the Latest Status Symbol for Rich Americans," *New York Post*, August 17, 2019, https://nypost.com/2019/08/17/luxury-beliefs-are-the-latest-status-symbol-for-rich-americans/.
- 39 Matt Ridley, "Studying the Biases of Bureaucrats," Wall Street Journal, October 23, 2010, https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB1000142405270230441 0504575560323807741154.
- 40 Ernst Nolte, *Three Faces of Fascism*, trans. Leila Vennewitz (New York: New American Library, 1969), 57; Michael Grant, *The Fall of the Roman Empire* (New York: Collier, 1990), 92.
- 41 Friedrich Engels, "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific," in *The Essential Left: Marx, Engels, Lenin: Their Basic Teachings*, trans. Edward Aveling (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1961), 138–142. (エンゲルス『空想より科学へ』)
- 42 Isaiah Berlin, *Karl Marx: His Life and Environment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 63, 244-245. (I・バーリン『カール・マルクス』 倉塚平、小箕俊介訳、中央公論社、1974年)
- 43 Volkogonov, Autopsy for Empire, 63, 75, 78; Figes, A People's Tragedy, 125, 127, 511, 551, 682; Masha Gessen, The Future Is History: How Totalitarianism Reclaimed Russia (New York: Riverhead Books, 2017), 38 –39; Richard Pipes, Russia under the Old Regime (New York: Scribner, 1974), 161; Nicholas Riasanovsky, A History of Russia (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), 521.
- 44 Richard Pipes, Communism: A History (New York: Modern Library, 2001), 44, 65, 66 (リチャード・パイプス『共産主義が見た夢』飯嶋貴子訳、ランダムハウス講談社、2007年); Barbara Tuchman, A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14th Century (New York: Knopf, 1978), 17. (タックマン『遠い鏡』)
- 45 Pipes, Communism, 86; Vladislav Zuboc, a Failed Empire: The Soviet Union in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev (Raleigh: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 9 (パイプス『共産主義が見た夢』); Riasanovsky, A History of Russia, 621.

- William H. McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force, and Society since A.D. 1000* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 69 (マクニール『戦争の世界史(上)』); Cho-yun Hsu, "The Roles of the Literati and of Regionalism in the Fall of the Han Dynasty," in *The Collapse of Ancient States and Civilizations*, ed. Norman Yoffee and George L. Cowgill (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998), 178.
- 47 James Hankins, "Reforming Elites the Confucian Way," American Affairs Journal, Summer 2017, https://americanaffairsjournal.org/2017/05/reforming-elites-confucian-way/; Barrington Moore, Jr., Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World (Boston: Beacon, 1967), 163-64 (バリントン・ムーア『独裁と民主政治の社会的起源――近代世界形成過程における領主と農民(上)』宮崎隆次、森山茂徳、高橋直樹訳、岩波文庫、2019年); Weber, Economy and Society, vol. 1: 1048; Tu Wei-ming, Confucian Thought: Selfhood as Creative Transformation (Albany, N.Y.: SUNY Press, 1985), 53.
- 48 Pipes, Communism, 129-131 (パイプス『共産主義が見た夢』); Milovan Djilas, The Unperfect Society: Beyond the New Class (New York: Harcourt, 1969), 16.
- 49 Yang Jisheng, Tombstone: The Great Chinese Famine, 1958-1962, trans. Stacey Mosher and Guo Jian (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2008), 254-255; Richard McGregor, The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers (New York: Harper, 2010), 15-19. (マグレガー『中国共産党』)
- 50 Jisheng, Tombstone, 261.
- 51 Karen Gilchrist, "Here Are the 10 Wealthiest People in China—a Country Leading the Way for Self-Made Billionaires," CNBC, February 22, 2018, https://www.cnbc.com/2018/02/20/self-made-billionaires-chinas-10-richest-billionaires.html.
- 52 He Huifeng, "In China, Three in Five Men Are Dumped because They Can't Afford a Flat, Survey Suggests," *South China Morning Post*, July 20, 2017, https://www.scmp.com/news/china/society/article/2103399/sixty-cent-chinese-men-dumped-because-cant-afford-flat-survey; Zhuang

- Pinghui, "First the Diploma, then the Date: How China's Educated Elite Find Love," *South China Morning Post*, September 10, 2017, https://www.scmp.com/news/china/society/article/2110442/first-diploma-then-date-how-chinas-educated-elites-find-love.
- 53 David S. G. Goodman, *Class in Contemporary China* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014), 156–157, 180–181.
- 54 Richard Bernstein, "How America's Ivory Towers Flunked at Chinese Democracy," *Real Clear Investigations*, March 29, 2018, https://www.realclearinvestigations.com/articles/2018/03/27/chinese\_students\_in\_the\_u.html.
- 55 Lily Kuo, "China Bans 23m from Buying Travel Tickets as Part of 'Social Credit' System," *Guardian*, March 1, 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/mar/01/china-bans-23m-discredited-citizens-from-buying-travel-tickets-social-credit-system; Jacob Siegel, "The Post-Liberal Politician," *Tablet*, April 16, 2019, https://www.tabletmag.com/jewish-news-and-politics/283055/the-post-liberal-politician.
- 56 Karel van Wolferen, *The Enigma of Japanese Power: People and Politics in a Stateless Nation* (New York: Vintage, 1990), 45, 114–124. (ウォルフレン『日本/権力構造の謎(上)』)
- 57 Julius Krein, "James Burnham's Managerial Elite," American Affairs, Spring 2017, https://americanaffairsjournal.org/2017/02/james-burnhamsmanagerial-elite/; Todd Gaziano and Tommy Berry, "Career Civil Servants Illegitimately Rule America," Wall Street Journal, February 28, 2018, https://www.wsj.com/articles/career-civil-servants-illegitimately-ruleamerica-1519862395.
- 58 Huxley, Brave New World, 260. (ハックスレー『素晴らしい新世界ふたた び』)
- 59 Yascha Mounk, "Americans Strongly Dislike PC Culture," *Atlantic*, October 10, 2018, https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2018/10/large-majorities-dislike-political-correctness/572581/.
- 60 Peter Berkowitz, "The Most Politically Intolerant Americans," *Real Clear Politics*, March 21, 2019, https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2019/03/21/the most politically intolerant americans 139810.

- html; Amanda Ripley, Rekha Tenjarla, and Angela Y. He, "The Geography of Partisan Prejudice," *Atlantic*, March 4, 2019, https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2019/03/us-counties-vary-their-degree-partisan-prejudice/583072/.
- 61 Bell, The Coming of Post-Industrial Society, 33. (ベル『脱工業社会の到来 (上)』)
- 62 Toni Airaksinen, "Google's 'Bias Busting' Spreads to College Campuses," Campus Reform, June 29, 2018, https://www.campusreform.org/?ID= 11080; Richard Feloni and Sherin Shibu, "Here's the Presentation Google Gives Employees on How to Spot Unconscious Bias at Work," Business Insider, February 12, 2016, https://www.businessinsider.com/googleunconscious-bias-training-presentation-2015-12; University of California Office of the President, UC Managing Implicit Bias Series, https://www. ucop.edu/local-human-resources/your-career/uc-implicit-bias-series.html; John Daniel Davidson, "Google's Insane Campus Is What Happens When You Politicize Everything," Federalist, http://thefederalist.com/2018/05/03/ googles-insane-campus-is-what-happens-when-you-politicize-everything/; Derrick Johnson, "Before the Next Videotaped Starbucks Disaster, Everyone Should Take Implicit Bias Training," USA Today, May 10, 2018, https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2018/05/08/starbucks-naacpimplicit-bias-training-racism-column/587402002/; Ryan P. Williams, "Algorithms of Suppression," American Mind, May 6, 2019, https:// americanmind.org/post/algorithms-of-suppression/.
- 63 Paul Mozur, "Inside China's Dystopian Dreams: A.I., Shame and Lots of Cameras," *New York Times*, July 8, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/08/business/china-surveillance-technology.html; Javier C. Hernandez, "Mao 101: Inside a Chinese Classroom Training the Communists of Tomorrow," *New York Times*, June 28, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/28/world/asia/chinese-classrooms-education-communists.html; Chen Guangcheng, "Apple Can't Resist Playing by China's Rules," *New York Times*, January 23, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/23/opinion/apple-china-data.html; "Don't Do Evil at China's Bidding, Google," *Washington Post*, August 5, 2018, https://www.

washingtonpost.com/opinions/dont-do-evil-at-chinas-bidding-google/2018/08/05/b3628598-9687-11e8-810c-5fa705927d54 story.html.

# 第8章 学問の府

- 1 Richard V. Reeves and Joanna Venator, "The Inheritance of Education," Brookings, October 27, 2014, https://www.brookings.edu/blog/social-mobility-memos/2014/10/27/the-inheritance-of-education/.
- David S. G. Goodman, Class in Contemporary China (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014), 157; Yuzhuo Cai, "Chinese Higher Education: The Changes in the Past Two Decades and Reform Tendencies up to 2020," in China and Brazil: Challenges and Opportunities, ed. L. d. C. Ferreira and J. A. G. Albuquerque (São Paulo: Unicamp & Annablume, 2013), 91–118.
- William J. Dobson, "The East Is Crimson," Slate, May 23, 2012, http://www.slate.com/articles/news\_and\_politics/foreigners/2012/05/harvard\_and\_the\_chinese\_communist\_party\_top\_chinese\_officials\_are\_studying\_at\_elite\_u\_s\_universities\_in\_large\_numbers\_.html; Jennifer Levitz, Steve Eder, and Jeremy Page, "Bo Xilai's Son Appears to Have Left Home near Harvard," Wall Street Journal, April 16, 2012, https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052702304818404577345680438913376.
- 4 David Rothcopf, Superclass: The Global Power Elite and the World They Are Making (Farrar Straus & Giroux, 2008), 290 (デヴィッド・ロスコフ 『超・階級(スーパークラス)——グローバル・パワー・エリートの実態』 河野純治訳、光文社、2009年); Ben Wildavsky, The Great Brain Race: How Global Universities Are Reshaping the World (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 169.
- 5 "NYU President on Global Universities, 'Idea Capitals' and 'Talent Snowballs,'" *Times Higher Education*, May 22, 2013, https://www.timeshighereducation.com/comment/opinion/nyu-president-on-global-universities-idea-capitals-and-talent-snowballs/2004033.article.
- 6 Claudia Goldin and Lawrence F. Katz, "The Shaping of Higher Education: The Formative Years in the United States, 1890 to 1940," National Bureau of Economic Research, April 1998, https://www.nber.org/papers/w6537.pdf.

- 7 Daniel Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 217-222 (ベル『脱工業社会の到来(上)』); Erin Duffin, "U.S. College Enrollment Statistics for Public and Private Colleges from 1965 to 2016 and Projections up to 2028," Statista, August 9, 2019, https://www.statista.com/statistics/183995/us-college-enrollment-and-projections-in-public-and-private-institutions/.
- 8 Robert Gordon, *The Rise and Fall of American Growth* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 513, 521.
- 9 Max Roser and Esteban Ortiz-Ospina, "Tertiary Education," Our World in Data, 2019, https://ourworldindata.org/tertiary-education; Angel Calderon, "The Higher Education Landscape Is Changing Fast," *University World News*, June 22, 2018, http://www.universityworldnews.com/article.php?story=2018062208555853.
- Allen Guelzo, "College Is Trade School for the Elite," Wall Street Journal, August 6, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/college-is-trade-school-for-the-elite-1502051874.
- 11 Charles Murray, Coming Apart: The State of White America, 1960-2010 (New York: Crown Forum, 2012), 54-56 (C・マレー『階級「断絶」社会アメリカ』); Thomas Piketty, Capital in the Twenty-First Century, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap/Harvard, 2014), 447.(ピケティ『21世紀の資本』)
- 12 Daniel Markovits, "How Life Becomes an Endless, Terrible Competition," *Atlantic*, September 2019, https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2019/09/meritocracys-miserable-winners/594760/.
- 13 Matthew Stewart, "The 9.9 Percent Is the New American Aristocracy," *Atlantic*, June 2018, https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2018/06/the-birth-of-a-new-american-aristocracy/559130/; Matthew Continetti, "Our Bankrupt Elite," *Washington Free Beacon*, March 15, 2019, https://freebeacon.com/columns/our-bankrupt-elite/.
- 14 Robert Reich, "The Ivy League is Ripping off America!" Salon, October 16, 2014, https://www.salon.com/2014/10/16/robert\_reich\_the\_ivy\_league\_is\_ripping\_off\_america\_partner/?utm\_source=twitter&utm\_medium=socialflow.

- 15 Arthur Herman, The Idea of Decline in Western History (New York: Free Press, 1997), 159.
- "Obama's Love of Elites," National Journal, https://www.nationaljournal. com/s/62836.
- 17 "America's Elite: An Hereditary Meritocracy," *Economist*, January 22, 2015, https://www.economist.com/news/briefing/21640316-children-rich-and-powerful-are-increasingly-well-suited-earning-wealth-and-power.
- 18 David Goodhart, The Road to Somewhere: The Populist Revolt and the Future of Politics (London: C. Hurst & Co., 2017), 186–187.
- 19 Noah Rothman, "A Professor's Revolt," Commentary, May 11, 2018, https://www.commentarymagazine.com/culture-civilization/education/ college-professors-revolt-administrative/.
- 20 Ken Jacobs, Ian Perry, and Jenifer MacGillvary, "The High Public Cost of Low Wages," UC Berkeley Center for Labor Research and Education, April 2015, http://laborcenter.berkeley.edu/pdf/2015/the-high-public-cost-of-low-wages.pdf; Alastair Gee, "Facing Poverty, Academics Turn to Sex Work and Sleeping in Cars," *Guardian*, September 28, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/sep/28/adjunct-professors-homeless-sexwork-academia-poverty?CMP=share\_btn\_fb; Neil Gross, "Professors Behaving Badly," *New York Times*, September 30, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/30/opinion/sunday/adjunct-professors-politics.html.
- 21 John Bagnell Bury, A History of Freedom of Thought (Cambridge: The University Press, 1913), http://www.gutenberg.org/files/10684/10684-h/10684-h.htm. (J・B・ビュァリ『思想の自由の歴史』森島恒雄訳、岩波新書、1951年)
- 22 James Westfall Thompson and Edgar Nathaniel Johnson, An Introduction to Medieval Europe (New York: Norton, 1937), 724; Norman F. Cantor, Medieval History: The Life and Death of a Civilization (New York: Macmillan, 1963), 373, 385, 459, 503-505; Barbara Tuchman, A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14th Century (New York: Knopf, 1978), 160, 319, 371. (タックマン『遠い鏡』)
- 23 Thompson and Johnson, An Introduction to Medieval Europe, 706–708.
- 24 Christopher Hibbert, Cavaliers and Roundheads: The English Civil War,

- 1642–1649 (New York: Scribner, 1993), 68–69, 93; Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477–1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 899–900.
- 25 Pitirim Sorokin, *The Crisis of Our Age* (London: Oneworld Publication, 1992), 103. (ソローキン『現代の危機』)
- 26 Dahlia Remler, "Are 90% of Academic Papers Really Never Cited? Reviewing the Literature on Academic Citations," London School of Economics and Political Science, November 1, 2016, https://blogs.lse. ac.uk/impactofsocialsciences/2014/04/23/academic-papers-citation-rates-remler/.
- 27 Joseph Conley, "Just Another Piece of Quit Lit," Chronicle, March 8, 2018, https://www.chronicle.com/article/Just-Another-Piece-of-Quit-Lit/242756; Guelzo, "College Is Trade School for the Elite."
- 28 Vladislav Zubok, A Failed Empire: The Soviet Union in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 166.
- 29 F. L. Carsten, *The Rise of Fascism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 33.
- 30 Austin Williams, The Enemies of Progress: The Dangers of Sustainability (Exeter: Societas, 2008), 75.
- 31 Herman, The Idea of Decline in Western History, 299-302, 320-328; Herbert Marcuse, One Dimensional Man (Boston: Beacon, 1964), 7. (ヘルベルト・マルクーゼ『一次元的人間――先進産業社会におけるイデオロギーの研究』生松敬三、三沢謙一訳、河出書房新社、1980年)
- 32 "The Dramatic Shift among College Professors That's Hurting Students' Education," Washington Post, January 11, 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2016/01/11/the-dramatic-shift-among-college-professors-thats-hurting-students-education; "Publications—The Faculty Survey," Higher Education Research Institute, https://heri.ucla.edu/publications-fac/.
- 33 Mitchell Langbert, "Homogeneous: The Political Affiliations of Elite Liberal Arts College Faculty," National Association of Scholars, Summer 2018, https://www.nas.org/articles/homogeneous political affiliations of elite

liberal.

- Paul Caron, "BYU and Pepperdine Are the Most Ideologically Balanced Faculties Among the Top 50 Law Schools (2013)," TaxProf Blog, August 14, 2018, http://taxprof.typepad.com/taxprof\_blog/2018/08/byu-and-pepperdine-are-the-most-ideologically-balanced-faculties-among-the-top-50-law-schools-2013.html; Toni Airaksinen, "Study: Profs Less Likely to Hire NRA Members, Republicans," *PJ Media*, August 9, 2018, https://pjmedia.com/trending/study-profs-less-likely-to-hire-nra-members-republicans/; Kathryn Hinderaker, "The Assault on Academic Freedom at UCLA," *College Fix*, October 23, 2017, https://www.thecollegefix.com/assault-academic-freedom-ucla/; Nicolas Kristof, "A Confession of Liberal Intolerance," *New York Times*, May 7, 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/08/opinion/sunday/a-confession-of-liberal-intolerance.html.
- 35 Noah Carl, "Lackademia: Why Do Academics Lean Left?" Adam Smith Institute, March 2, 2017, https://www.adamsmith.org/research/lackademia-why-do-academics-lean-left; Goodhart, *The Road to Somewhere*, 37.
- 36 M. R. Nakhaie and Barry D. Adam, "Political Affiliation of Canadian University Professors," Canadian Journal of Sociology, vol. 33: 4 (2008), 873–898, https://journals.library.ualberta.ca/cjs/index.php/CJS/article/viewFile/1036/3661; James Galbraith, "The Future of the Left in Europe?" American Prospect, August 17, 2016, http://prospect.org/article/future-left-europe.
- 37 Jonathan Kay, "A Black Eye for the Columbia Journalism Review," *Quillette*, June 18, 2019, https://quillette.com/2019/06/18/a-black-eye-for-the-columbia-journalism-review/.
- 38 Cass R. Sunstein, "The Problem with All Those Liberal Professors," Bloomberg, September 17, 2018, https://www.bloomberg.com/view/articles/2018-09-17/colleges-have-way-too-many-liberal-professors; Chase Watkins, "Study Finds 'Ideological Similarity, Hostility, and Discrimination' Rampant in Academic Philosophy," *College Fix*, August 21, 2019, https://www.thecollegefix.com/study-finds-ideological-similarity-hostility-and-discrimination-rampant-in-academic-philosophy/.
- 39 Rex Murphy, "Laurier, Trading 'Free Speech' for 'Better Speech,' Proves

- Unspeakably Clueless Still," *National Post*, August 3, 2018, https://nationalpost.com/opinion/rex-murphy-now-laurier-wants-to-ditch-free-speech-for-better-speech-can-we-converse.
- 40 Kate Hardiman, "Universities Require Scholars Pledge Commitment to Diversity," *College Fix*, April 14, 2017, https://www.thecollegefix.com/universities-require-scholars-pledge-commitment-diversity/.
- 41 James Barrett, "University Panel: Is Intersectionality a Religion?" *Daily Wire*, March 5, 2018, https://www.dailywire.com/news/27825/watch-university-panel-intersectionality-religion-james-barrett.
- 42 Musa Al-Gharbi, "Academic and Political Elitism," Inside Higher Ed, August 27, 2019, https://www.insidehighered.com/views/2019/08/27/academe-should-avoid-politicizing-educational-attainment-opinion; Amanda Ripley, Rekha Tenjarla, and Angela Y. He, "The Geography of Partisan Prejudice," Atlantic, March 4, 2019, https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2019/03/us-counties-vary-their-degree-partisan-prejudice/583072/; Stav Atir, Emily Rosenzweig, and David Dunning, "When Knowledge Knows No Bounds: Self-Perceived Expertise Predicts Claims of Impossible Knowledge," Psychological Science, vol. 26: 8 (August 1, 2015), 1295–1303, https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/095679761 5588195.
- 43 Jane Jacobs, *Dark Ages Ahead* (New York: Random House, 2004), 43–46. (ジェイン・ジェイコブズ『壊れゆくアメリカ』中谷和男訳、日経BP、2008年)
- 44 Scott Jaschik, "Academically Adrift," *Inside Higher Ed*, January 18, 2011, https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2011/01/18/academically-adrift.
- 45 Kate Davidson, "Employers Find 'Soft Skills' Like Critical Thinking in Short Supply," *Wall Street Journal*, August 30, 2016, https://www.wsj.com/articles/employers-find-soft-skills-like-critical-thinking-in-short-supply-1472549400.
- 46 Jacobs, Dark Ages Ahead, 7-9. (ジェイコブズ『壊れゆくアメリカ』)
- 47 James Hannam, "Did Early Christians Destroy Pagan Literature?" *Medieval Science and Philosophy*, 2007, http://jameshannam.com/literature.htm.
- 48 Alison Flood, "Sharp Decline in Children Reading for Pleasure, Survey

- Finds," *Guardian*, January 9, 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/books/2015/jan/09/decline-children-reading-pleasure-survey.
- 49 Charles Hymas, "Children's Literacy Levels Fall as Social Media Hits Reading," *Telegraph*, August 20, 2018, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/08/20/childrens-literacy-levels-fall-social-media-hits-reading/.
- 50 John Tierney, "Reeducation Campus," City Journal, Summer 2018, https://www.city-journal.org/first-year-experience-16032.html; John M. Ellis, "Higher Education's Deeper Sickness," Wall Street Journal, November 13, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/higher-educations-deeper-ailment-1510615185.
- 51 Ashley Thorne, "Why are American Universities Shying Away from the Classics?" *Guardian*, August 25, 2013, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/aug/25/american-universities-not-reading-classics; Irvin Weathersby, Jr., "The Case for Teaching Dead White Authors, Even during Black History Month," *Atlantic*, February 12, 2015, https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2015/02/dead-white-authors-matter/385421/.
- 52 Cathy Young, "Half of College Students Aren't Sure Protecting Free Speech Is Important. That's Bad News," *Los Angeles Times*, April 8, 2018, http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-young-free-speech-on-campus-20180408-story.html; Jacob Poushter, "40% of Millennials OK with Limiting Speech Offensive to Minorities," Pew Research Center, November 20, 2015, http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/11/20/40-of-millennials-ok-with-limiting-speech-offensive-to-minorities/.
- 53 Gwynn Guilford, "Harvard Research Suggests an Entire Global Generation has Lost Faith in Democracy," *Quartz*, November 30, 2016, https://qz.com/848031/harvard-research-suggests-that-an-entire-global-generation-has-lost-faith-in-democracy/; Andrew A. Michta, "Losing the Nation-State," *American Interest*, July 1, 2017, https://www.the-american-interest.com/2017/07/01/losing-nation-state/.

#### 第9章 新しい宗教

1 Samuel P. Huntington, The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of

- World Order (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 47. (ハンチントン『文明の衝突』) [※引用部の翻訳は、同書の62頁]
- William H. McNeill, The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community (1963; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 34-60, 351.
- Jim Geraghty, "The Catholic Church Drives the Nail into Its Own Moral Authority," National Review, August 20, 2018, https://www.nationalreview. com/the-morning-jolt/the-catholic-church-drives-the-nail-into-its-own-moral-authority/; Harry Bruinius, "Amid Evangelical Decline, Growing Split between Young Christians and Church Elders," Christian Science Monitor, October 10, 2017, https://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Politics/2017/1010/Amid-Evangelical-decline-growing-split-between-young-Christians-and-church-elders; Damon Linker, "The Dangers of the Great American unchurching," The Week, September 8, 2017, http://theweek.com/articles/723203/dangers-great-american-unchurching.
- 4 Betsy Cooper et al., "Exodus: Why Americans are Leaving Religion—and Why They're Unlikely to Come Back," PRRI, September 22, 2016, https://www.prri.org/research/prri-rns-poll-nones-atheist-leaving-religion/; Robert Putnam, Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community (New York: Simon & Shuster, 2000), 65-69. (ロバート・D・パットナム『孤独なボウリング——米国コミュニティの崩壊と再生』柴内康文訳、柏書房、2006年)
- 5 Oliver Smith, "Mapped: The World's Most (and Least) Religious Countries," *Telegraph*, January 14, 2018, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/maps-and-graphics/most-religious-countries-in-the-world; Pew Research Center, "Young Adults around the World as Less Religious by Several Measures," June 13, 2018, https://www.pewforum.org/2018/06/13/young-adults-around-the-world-are-less-religious-by-several-measures/.
- 6 David Campbell, John Green, and Alan Cooperman, "American Grace: How Religion Divides and Unites Us," Pew Research Center, December 16, 2010, http://www.pewforum.org/2010/12/16/american-grace-how-religion-divides-and-unites-us/.
- 7 Angie Thurston and Casper ter Kuile, "How We Gather," April 2015,

- https://caspertk.files.wordpress.com/2015/04/how-we-gather.pdf.
- 8 Ian Lovett, "Politics in the Pews: Anti-Trump Activism Is Reviving Protestant Churches—at a Cost," *Wall Street Journal*, May 4, 2018, https://www.wsj.com/articles/trump-in-the-pews-politics-is-convulsing-mainline-churches-1525445467; Raymond D. Aumack, "The Jesuits Are Too Liberal," *America: The Jesuit Review*, May 24, 2004, https://www.americamagazine.org/issue/486/faith-focus/jesuits-are-too-liberal; "U.S. Jews Share Shuls Due to Low Attendance," *Haaretz*, November 5, 2013, https://www.haaretz.com/jewish/.premium-u-s-jews-share-shuls-due-to-low-attendance-1.5285750.
- 9 Tyler O'Neil, "Democrats Outnumber Republicans 70 to 1 in College Religion Departments, 10 to 1 Overall," *PJ Media*, May 4, 2018, https://pjmedia.com/lifestyle/democrats-outnumber-republicans-70-to-1-in-college-religion-departments-10-to-1-overall/.
- Michael Lipka, "Mainline Protestants Make up Shrinking Number of U.S. Adults," Pew Research Center, May 18, 2015, http://www.pewresearch. org/fact-tank/2015/05/18/mainline-protestants-make-up-shrinking-number-of-u-s-adults/.
- 11 Pew Research Center, "Religion in Latin America," November 13, 2014, http://www.pewforum.org/2014/11/13/religion-in-latin-america/.
- 12 Jared C. Wilson, "Traditionalism Is Winning," For the Church, August 2, 2015, https://ftc.co/resource-library/blog-entries/traditionalism-is-winning; Charles Colson, "How Christianity Is Growing around the World," Christian Broadcasting Network, http://www1.cbn.com/how-christianity-growing-around-world.
- 13 "Islam Poised to Overtake Established Christianity in UK: Report," *Express Tribune*, March 21, 2018, https://tribune.com.pk/story/1665803/9-islam-poised-overtake-established-christianity-uk-reports-guardian/.
- 14 Joel Garreau, "Environmentalism as Religion," New Atlantis, no. 28 (Summer 2010), 61–74, https://www.thenewatlantis.com/publications/environmentalism-as-religion; Mark J. Perry, "18 Spectacularly Wrong Predictions Made Around the Time of the First Earth Day in 1970. Expect More This Year," Foundation for Economic Education, April 22, 2018,

- https://fee.org/articles/18-spectacularly-wrong-predictions-made-around-the-time-of-the-first-earth-day-in-1970-expect-more-this-year/; James Ridgeway, *The Politics of Ecology* (New York: Dutton, 1970), 195.
- Garreau, "Environmentalism as Religion"; Thomas Robert Malthus, An Essay on the Principle of Population (New York: Norton, 2018), 42; David Adler, "Straight to Hell: Millenarianism and the Green New Deal," Quillette, May 21, 2019, https://quillette.com/2019/05/21/straight-to-hell-millenarianism-and-the-green-new-deal/.
- 16 Marc Bloch, Feudal Society, trans. L. A. Manyon (London: Routledge, 1961), 84 (プロック『封建社会』); Johan Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1954), 138; Barbara Tuchman, A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14th Century (New York: Knopf, 1978), 327. (タックマン『遠い鏡』)
- 17 Prof. Alexandratos, "Is Human Greed at the Core of Modern Day Environmental Issues?" Environmental Science and Technology, MCH Seminar 3, Macaulay Honors College at CUNY, Fall 2016, https://eportfolios.macaulay.cuny.edu/est2016/2016/09/11/is-human-greed-at-the-core-of-modern-day-environmental-issues/; Rev. Peter Sawtell, "The Top Environmental Problems Are Selfishness, Greed, and Apathy and Resignation. We Need Spiritual and Cultural Transformation," Global Catholic Climate Movement, April 22, 2019, https://catholicclimate movement.global/the-top-environmental-problems-are-selfishness-greed-and-apathy-and-resignation-we-need-spiritual-and-cultural-transformation/; Suzanne Goldenberg, "US Cult of Greed Is Now a Global Environmental Threat, Report Warns," *Guardian*, January 12, 2010, https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2010/jan/12/climate-change-greed-environment-threat.
- 18 Paul R. Ehrlich, *The Population Bomb* (SF: Sierra Club, 1968) (ポール・R・エーリック『人口爆弾』宮川毅訳、河出書房新社、1974年); Norman Yoffee, "Orienting Collapse," in *The Collapse of Ancient States and Civilizations*, ed. Norman Yoffee and George L. Cowgill (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991), 4–5.
- 19 Scott Whitlock, "Flashback: ABC's '08 Prediction: NYC under Water from

- Climate Change by June 2015," Media Research Center, June 12, 2015, https://www.newsbusters.org/blogs/scott-whitlock/2015/06/12/flashback-abcs-08-prediction-nyc-under-water-climate-change-june.
- 20 Abe Greenwald, "When the Scientific Consensus Is Corrected by a Skeptic," Commentary, November 16, 2018, https://www.commentarym agazine.com/culture-civilization/science/when-the-scientific-consensus-iscorrected-by-a-skeptic/; Francis Menton, "How Do You Tell if the Earth's Climate System 'Is Warming," Manhattan Contrarian, August 9, 2018, https://www.manhattancontrarian.com/blog/2018-8-9-how-do-you-tell-ifthe-earths-climate-system-is-warming; Oren Cass, "Climate Song and Dance," City Journal, November 10, 2017, https://www.city-journal.org/ html/climate-song-and-dance-15556.html; Oren Cass, "Doomsday Climate Scenarios Are a Joke," Wall Street Journal, March 11, 2018, https://www. wsj.com/articles/doomsday-climate-scenarios-are-a-joke-1520800377; "Don't Tell Anyone, but We Just Had Two Years of Record-Breaking Global Cooling," Editorial, Investor's Business Daily, May 16, 2018, https:// www.investors.com/politics/editorials/climate-change-global-warmingearth-cooling-media-bias/; Larry Kummer, "Listening to Climate Doomsters Makes Our Situation Worse," Fabius Maximus, June 24, 2019, https:// fabiusmaximus.com/2019/06/24/climate-doomsters/; Anthony Watts, "Terrifying Predications about the Melting North Pole!" Watts Up With That?, https://wattsupwiththat.com/2019/04/30/terrifying-predictionsabout-the-melting-north-pole/.
- 21 Marian L. Tupy, "How Humanity Won the War on Famine," *Human Progress*, August 16, 2018, https://humanprogress.org/article.php?p=1459.
- 22 Pierre Riché, *Daily Life in the World of Charlemagne*, trans. Jo Ann McNamara (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), 33; Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror*, 28. (タックマン『遠い鏡』)
- 23 Blythe Copeland, "7 Green Philanthropists Making a Difference," Mother Nature Network, January 11, 2013, https://www.mnn.com/leaderboard/stories/7-green-philanthropists-making-a-difference; Tara Weiss, "The \$3 Billion Man," Forbes, November 28, 2006, https://www.forbes.com/2006/11/26/leadership-branson-virgin-lead-citizen-cx\_tw\_1128b

- ranson.html#224723ce1fa5.
- 24 Robert Kirchhoeffer, "Granting Environmental Indulgences," *American Spectator*, July 15, 2009, https://spectator.org/41248\_granting-environmental-indulgences/.
- 25 Rebecca Ratcliffe, "Record Private Jet Flights into Davos as Leaders Arrive for Climate Talk," *Guardian*, January 22, 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2019/jan/22/record-private-jet-flights-davos-leaders-climate-talk; Alan Moore, "The Top 12 Celebrity Climate Hypocrites," Media Research Center, March 1, 2016, https://www.mrctv.org/blog/top-12-climate-hypocrites; Fraser Myers, "An Establishment Rebellion," *Spiked*, August 8, 2019, https://www.spiked-online.com/2019/08/08/an-establishment-rebellion/.
- 26 Judith Curry, "The Perils of 'Near-tabloid Science," Climate Etc., July 22, 2018, https://judithcurry.com/2018/07/22/the-perils-of-near-tabloid-science/#more-24240; Judith Curry, "Hearing on the Biodiversity Report," Climate Etc., May 22, 2019, https://judithcurry.com/2019/05/22/hearing-on-the-un-biodiversity-report/#more-24890; Judith Curry, "The Latest Travesty in 'Consensus Enforcement,'" Climate Etc., August 14, 2019, https://judithcurry.com/2019/08/14/the-latest-travesty-in-consensus-enforcement; Roger Pielke, Jr., "My Unhappy Life as a Climate Heretic," Wall Street Journal, December 2, 2016, https://www.wsj.com/articles/my-unhappy-life-as-a-climate-heretic-1480723518/; David B. Rivkin, Jr. and Andrew M. Grossman, "Punishing Climate-Change Skeptics," Wall Street Journal, March 23, 2016, https://www.wsj.com/articles/punishing-climate-change-skeptics-1458772173.
- 27 Valerie Richardson, "Bill Nye, the Science Guy, Is Open to Criminal Charges and Jail Time to Climate Change Dissenters," Washington Times, April 14, 2016, https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2016/apr/14/bill-nye-open-criminal-charges-jail-time-climate-c/; Mark Hemingway, "Senator: Use RICO Laws to Prosecute Global Warming Skeptics," Washington Examiner, June 2, 2015, https://www.weeklystandard.com/mark-hemingway/senator-use-rico-laws-to-prosecute-global-warming-skeptics; Robert Bryce, "An Environmentalist Sues over an Academic

- Disagreement," *National Review*, November 10, 2017, https://www.nationalreview.com/2017/11/environmentalist-who-claimed-us-could-runrenewables-sues-over-academic-disagreement/.
- 28 Steven Hayward, "Make Socialism Scientific Again," *Power Line*, August 9, 2018, https://www.powerlineblog.com/archives/2018/08/make-socialism-scientific-again.php.
- 29 Steven Koonin, "A 'Red Team' Exercise Would Strengthen Climate Science," *Wall Street Journal*, April 20, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/a-red-team-exercise-would-strengthen-climate-science-149272 8579
- 30 Jaron Lanier, Who Owns the Future? (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2013), 325-326.
- 31 Wesley J. Smith, "Transhumanism: A Wail of Despair in the Night," *National Review*, May 14, 2018, https://www.nationalreview.com/2018/05/transhumanism-promise-immortality-glorified-body-ersatz-christian-hope/.
- 32 Dyllan Furness, "Technology Makes Our Lives Easier, but Is It at the Cost of Our Humanity?" *Digital Trends*, April 28, 2018, https://www.digitaltrends.com/cool-tech/re-engineer-humanity-evan-selinger-interview/.
- 33 Ashlee Vance, "Merely Human? That's So Yesterday," New York Times, June 12, 2010, https://www.nytimes.com/2010/06/13/business/13sing. html; "A Timeline of Transhumanism," The Verge, https://www.theverge.com/a/transhumanism-2015/history-of-transhumanism; Mark Piesing, "Silicon Valley's 'Suicide Pill' for Mankind," UnHerd, August 20, 2018, https://unherd.com/2018/12/silicon-valleys-suicide-pill-mankind-2/; Michelle Quinn, "Silicon Valley's Fascination with a Fountain of Youth," Mercury News, August 24, 2016, https://www.mercurynews.com/2016/08/09/silicon-valleys-fascination-with-a-fountain-of-youth/; "Measuring Deep-Brain Neurons' Electrical Signals at High Speed with Light Instead of Electrodes," Kurzweilai, February 28, 2018, http://www.kurzweilai.net/measuring-deep-brain-neurons-electrical-signals-at-high-speed-with-light-instead-of-electrodes.
- 34 Antonio Regalado, "A Startup Is Pitching a Mind-Uploading Service That Is '100 Percent Fatal," MIT Technology Review, March 13, 2018, https://

- www.technologyreview.com/s/610456/a-startup-is-pitching-a-mind-uploading-service-that-is-100-percent-fatal/.
- 35 Mark Harris, "God Is a Bot, and Anthony Levandowski Is His Messenger," *Wired*, September 27, 2017, https://www.wired.com/story/god-is-a-bot-and-anthony-levandowski-is-his-messenger/.
- 36 Thomas Metzinger, "Silicon Valley Evangelists Sell an Ancient Dream of Immortality," *Financial Times*, August 20, 2017, https://www.ft.com/ content/7a89c998-828d-11e7-94e2-c5b903247afd.
- 37 Georges Lefebvre, The Coming of the French Revolution, trans. R. R. Palmer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), 215.
- 38 Yuval Noah Harari, *Homo Deus: A Brief History of Tomorrow* (New York: HarperCollins, 2017), 44. (ユヴァル・ノア・ハラリ『ホモ・デウス―-テクノロジーとサピエンスの未来(上・下)』柴田裕之訳、河出書房新社、2018年)[※引用部の翻訳は、同書下巻の183頁および上巻の60頁]
- 39 Tad Walch, "Mormon Humanitarian Donations Quadruple in Response to Disasters," *Deseret News*, November 3, 2017, https://www.deseretnews.com/article/865692237/Mormon-humanitarian-donations-quadruple-in-response-to-disasters.html; Jill DiSanto, "Penn Research Shows that Mormons Are Generous and Active in Helping Others," *Penn Today*, April 17, 2012, https://penntoday.upenn.edu/news/penn-research-shows-mormons-are-generous-and-active-helping-others; John Ellis, "The Best-Kept Secret in Disaster Relief: Southern Baptists," *PJ Media*, September 11, 2017, https://pjmedia.com/faith/2017/09/11/the-best-kept-secret-in-disaster-relief-southern-baptists/; "Evangelicals Give More to Charity, Study Finds," *Christian Headlines*, https://www.christianheadlines.com/blog/evangelicals-give-more-to-charity-study-finds.html.

# 第10章 社会的流動性の盛衰

J. P. V. D. Balsdon, Romans and Aliens (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 167; DutchReview Crew, "Romans in Clogs: The Roman Empire in the Netherlands," DutchReview, June 13, 2014, https:// dutchreview.com/latest/roman-empire-in-the-netherlands/; Jona Lendering, "The Batavian Revolt," Ancient History Encyclopedia, November 28, 2011,

- https://www.ancient.eu/article/286/the-batavian-revolt/.
- 2 Fernand Braudel, *The Perspective of the World*, vol. 3 of *Civilization and Capitalism*, 15th-18th Century, trans. Sian Reynolds (New York: Harper & Row, 1984), 98, 177-178. (ブローデル『物質文明・経済・資本主義 15-18世紀 III-1 世界時間1』)
- 3 Ibid., 178-184, 190-191 (プローデル、前出); Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 905.
- 4 Immanuel Wallerstein, The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the 16th Century (New York: Academic Press, 1974), 208-209. (I・ウォーラーステイン『近代世界システムI――農業資本主義と「ヨーロッパ世界経済」の成立』川北稔訳、名古屋大学出版会、2013年)
- 5 Philippe Ariès, Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life, trans. Robert Baldick (New York: Vintage, 1962), 375, 398. (フィリップ・アリエス『〈子供〉の誕生——アンシァン・レジーム期の子供と家族生活』杉山光信、杉山恵美子訳、みすず書房、1980年); Simon Schama, An Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age (New York: Vintage, 1997), 297; Israel, The Dutch Republic, 41, 80, 787.
- 6 Braudel, The Perspective of the World, 186–189 (ブローデル、前出); Bernard Lewis, The Muslim Discovery of Europe (New York: Norton, 1982), 112. (ルイス『ムスリムのヨーロッパ発見(上)』)
- 7 Braudel, The Perspective of the World, 177 (ブローデル、前出); Schama, An Embarrassment of Riches, 263.
- 8 Schama, An Embarrassment of Riches, 38-39; Braudel, The Perspective of the World, 177-178, 201 (プローデル、前出); Israel, The Dutch Republic, 106; Andro Linklater, Owning the Earth: The Transforming History of Land Ownership (New York: Bloomsbury USA, 2013), 50.
- 9 Robert S. Lopez, *The Birth of Europe* (New York: M. Evans & Co., 1967), 21–23.
- James Westfall Thompson and Edgar Nathaniel Johnson, An Introduction to Medieval Europe (New York: Norton, 1937), 349; Barbara Tuchman, A

- Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14th Century (New York: Knopf, 1978), 135. (タックマン『遠い鏡』)
- 11 Lopez, The Birth of Europe, 171; Marc Bloch, Feudal Society, trans. L. A. Manyon (London: Routledge, 1961), 278 (ブロック『封建社会』); Frances and Joseph Gies, Daily Life in Medieval Times (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1969), 148–149; Norman F. Cantor, Medieval History: The Life and Death of a Civilization (New York: Macmillan, 1963), 277; Barrington Moore, Jr., Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World (Boston: Beacon, 1967), 10. (ムーア『独裁と民主政治の社会的起源(上)』)
- 12 William H. McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force, and Society since A.D. 1000* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 82–83, 117–119. (マクニール『戦争の世界史(上)』)
- 13 Christopher Hibbert, Cavaliers and Roundheads: The English Civil War, 1642–1649 (New York: Scribner, 1993), 197, 247–248.
- 14 R. R. Palmer, The World of the French Revolution (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 97.
- Richard Reeves, "Capitalism Used to Promise a Better Future. Can it Still Do That?" *Guardian*, May 22, 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/may/22/capitalism-broken-better-future-can-it-do-that.
- 16 Max Roser, "Economic Growth," Our World in Data, University of Oxford, https://ourworldindata.org/economic-growth.
- 17 Karl Marx, *Capital*, trans. Ben Fowkes (New York: Vintage, 1957), vol. 1: 914-915; Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "The Manifesto of the Communist Party," in *The Essential Left* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1961), 15-17. (マルクス、エンゲルス『共産党宣言』) [※引用部の翻訳は、同書の59頁]
- 18 E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution* (New York: New American Library, 1962), 222. (ホブズボーム『市民革命と産業革命』)
- 19 Peter Lindert and Jeffrey Williamson, "Unequal Gains: American Growth and Inequality since 1700," *Vox*, CEPR Policy Portal, June 16, 2016, https://voxeu.org/article/american-growth-and-inequality-1700.

- 20 Hans Rosling, "Good News at Last: The World Isn't as Horrific as You Think," *Guardian*, April 11, 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/world/commentisfree/2018/apr/11/good-news-at-last-the-world-isnt-as-horrific-as-you-think; Homi Kharas and Kristofer Hamel, "A Global Tipping Point: Half the World Is Now Middle Class or Wealthier," September 27, 2018, https://www.brookings.edu/blog/future-development/2018/09/27/a-global-tipping-point-half-the-world-is-now-middle-class-or-wealthier/?utm\_campaign=Brookings%20Brief&utm\_source=hs\_email&utm\_medium=email&tm\_content=66298094.
- 21 Lindert and Williamson, "Unequal Gains: American Growth and Inequality since 1700."
- David DeGraw, "We're Living in a System of New Feudalism. Here's How to Change It," *New Statesman*, October 31, 2013, http://www.newstat esman.com/2013/10/were-living-system-new-feudalism-heres-how-changeit.
- 23 Michael D. Carr and Emily E. Wiemers, "The Decline in Lifetime Earnings Mobility in the U.S.: Evidence from Survey-linked Administrative Data," Equitable Growth, September 7, 2016, https://equitablegrowth.org/working-papers/the-decline-in-lifetime-earnings-mobility-in-the-u-s-evidence-from-survey-linked-administrative-data/.
- 24 Mona Chalabi, "The World's Wealthy: Where on Earth Are the Richest 1%?" *Guardian*, October 9, 2013, https://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2013 /oct/09/worlds-wealthy-where-russia-rich-list; Andrea Willige, "5 Charts That Show What Is Happening to the Middle Class around the World," World Economic Forum, January 12, 2017, https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2017/01/5-charts-which-show-what-is-happening-to-the-middle-class-around-the-world/.
- 25 Anna Ludwinek et al., Social Mobility in the EU, Eurofound, 2017, http://www.praxis.ee/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Social-mobility-in-the-EU-2017.pdf; Adam O'Neal, "Why Bernie Sanders Is Wrong about Sweden," Wall Street Journal, August 23, 2019, https://www.wsj.com/articles/why-bernie-sanders-is-wrong-about-sweden-11566596536; Liz Alderman, "Europe's Middle Class Is Shrinking. Spain Bears Much of the

- Pain," *New York Times*, February 14, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/14/business/spain-europe-middle-class.html.
- 26 "Germany: The Hidden Divide in Europe's Richest Country," *Financial Times*, August 17, 2017, https://www.ft.com/content/db8e0b28-7ec3-11e7-9108-edda0bcbc928.
- 27 David Goodhart, The Road to Somewhere: The New Tribes Shaping British Politics (London: Penguin, 2017), 149–151, 183.
- 28 Yvonne Roberts, "Millennials Are Struggling. Is it the Fault of the Baby Boomers?" *Guardian*, April 28, 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/society/2018/apr/29/millennials-struggling-is-it-fault-of-baby-boomers-intergenerational-fairness.
- 29 Willige, "5 Charts that Show What Is Happening to the Middle Class around the World"; Pew Research Center, "Wealth Gap between Middle-income and Upper-income Families Reaches Record High," December 9, 2015, http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2015/12/09/5-wealth-gap-between-middle-income-and-upper-income-families-reaches-record-high/.
- 30 Alex Rowell, "New Census Data Show Household Incomes Are Rising Again, but Share Going to Middle Class Is at Record Low," Center for American Progress, September 12, 2017, https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/economy/news/2017/09/12/438778/new-census-data-show-household-incomes-rising-share-going-middle-class-record-low/.
- 31 Chad Stone, Danilo Trisi, Arloc Sherman, and Roderick Taylor, "A Guide to Statistics on Historical Trends in Income Inequality," Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, August 21, 2019, https://www.cbpp.org/research/poverty-and-inequality/a-guide-to-statistics-on-historical-trends-in-income-inequality.
- 32 Richard V. Reeves, Dream Hoarders: How the American Upper Middle Class Is Leaving Everyone Else in the Dust, Why That Is a Problem, and What to Do About It (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2017), 23.
- 33 Les Leopold, "The Rich Have Gained \$5.6 Trillion in the 'Recovery,' While the Rest of Us Have Lost \$669 Billion," *Huffington Post*, December 6, 2017, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/les-leopold/the-rich-have-gained-56-t

- b 3237528.html.
- 34 John Michaelson, "America's Lost Decade," City Journal, Winter 2018, https://www.city-journal.org/html/america%E2%80%99s-lost-decade-15653.html.
- 35 Jeffrey A. Winters, *Oligarchy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 226.
- 36 Matthew Stewart, "The 9.9 Percent Is the New American Aristocracy," *Atlantic*, June 2018, https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2018/06/the-birth-of-a-new-american-aristocracy/559130/.
- 37 David Pilling, Bending Adversity: Japan and the Art of Survival (New York: Penguin, 2014), 121–122. (デイヴィッド・ピリング『日本―喪失と再起の物語――黒船、敗戦、そして3・11 (上)』仲達志訳、早川書房、2014年)
- 38 David S. G. Goodman, *Class in Contemporary China* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014), 45; Central Intelligence Agency, "Country Comparison: Distribution of Family Income—GINI Index," https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2172rank.html.
- 39 Thomas Piketty, Li Yang, and Gabriel Zuchman, "Capital Accumulation, Private Property and Rising Inequality in China," National Bureau of Economic Research, June 2017, https://www.nber.org/papers/w23368.
- 40 Salvatore Babones, "China's Middle Class Is Pulling Up the Ladder Behind Itself," *Foreign Policy*, February 1, 2018, https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/02/01/chinas-middle-class-is-pulling-up-the-ladder-behind-itself/.
- 41 Winters, Oligarchy, 78-90, 92; Montesquieu, Considerations on the Causes of Rome's Greatness and Fall, chap. 2 and 9, in Selected Political Writings, ed. and trans. Melvin Richter (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1990), 86-87, 99; Aristotle, Politics, trans. Benjamin Jowett, Bk. 3, http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/politics.3.three.html. (アリストテレス『政治学』牛田徳子訳、京都大学学術出版会、2001年)
- 42 Michael Grant, The Fall of the Roman Empire (New York: Collier, 1990), 58-60, 72, 79; Edward Gibbon, The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (New York: Modern Library, 1930), vol. 1: 1101-1102; Thompson and Johnson, An Introduction to Medieval Europe, 13-15;

- Norman F. Cantor, Medieval History: The Life and Death of a Civilization (New York: Macmillan, 1963), 33.
- 43 Gies, Daily Life in Medieval Times, 24, 26–28; Lopez, The Birth of Europe, 170.
- 44 Cho-yun Hsu, "The Roles of the Literati and of Regionalism in the Fall of the Han Dynasty," in *The Collapse of Ancient States and Civilizations*, ed. Norman Yoffee and George L. Cowgill (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988), 176–177; Charles O. Hucker, *China's Imperial Past: An Introduction to Chinese History and Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), 52–53.
- 45 McNeill, The Pursuit of Power, 31-33. (マクニール『戦争の世界史(上)』)
- 46 Andrew R. Wilson, "Southern Trade and Northern Defense: Ming Mission to Manila," in *Chinese Diaspora Since Admiral Zheng He*, ed. Leo Suryadinata, (Singapore: Chinese Heritage Center, 2007), 99–111.
- 47 Hucker, China's Imperial Past, 10-11, 57, 84, 176.
- 48 McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power*, 28-48, 69. (マクニール『戦争の世界史(上)』)
- 49 Edward Luce, *In Spite of the Gods: The Rise of Modern India* (New York: Anchor Books, 2006), 71 (エドワード・ルース『インド――厄介な経済大国』田口未和訳、日経BP、2008年); Romila Thapar, *History of India*, vol. 1 (New York: Penguin, 1990), 77–78, 239; Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, 317–319. (ムーア『独裁と民主政治の社会的起源(下)』)
- 50 John Hale, *The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance* (New York: Touchstone, 1993), 389-390; J. H. Elliot, *Imperial Spain* (New York: St. Martin's, 1964), 88, 95, 115, 189-190. (J・H・エリオット『スペイン帝国の興亡1469-1716』藤田一成訳、岩波モダンクラシックス、2009年)
- 51 David Rock, Argentina, 1516–1987: From Spanish Colonization to Alfonsín (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), xxi, xxiv, 177, 213; Robert D. Crasswaller, Perón and the Enigmas of Argentina (New York: Norton, 1987), 30; Braudel, The Perspective of the World, 400–408. (ブローデル 『物質文明・経済・資本主義 15–18世紀 III-2 世界時間2』)
- 52 T. R. Fehrenbach, Fire and Blood: A History of Mexico (New York: Collier,

- 1973), 112, 203, 247, 256.
- 53 Elisa Wiener Bravo, "The Concentration of Land Ownership in Latin America: An Approach to Current Problems," International Land Coalition, January 2011, http://www.landcoalition.org/sites/default/files/documents/resources/LA\_Regional\_ENG\_web\_11.03.11.pdf; Oxfam, "Divide and Purchase: How Land Ownership is Being Concentrated in Colombia," https://www-cdn.oxfam.org/s3fs-public/file\_attachments/rr-divide-and-purchase-land-concentration-colombia-270913-en\_0.pdf.
- 54 Nathan Rosenberg and L. E. Birdzell, Jr., How the West Grew Rich: The Economic Transformation of the Industrial World (New York: Basic Books, 1986), 24; Edward B. Barbier, Scarcities and Frontiers: How Economies Have Developed Through Natural Resource Exploitation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 407, 605.
- 55 Thompson and Johnson, An Introduction to Medieval Europe, 328.
- 56 Moore, Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy, 418. (ムーア『独裁と民主政治の社会的起源(下)』)[※引用部の翻訳は、同書の292頁(一部修正)]
- 57 Robert W. July, A History of the African People (New York: Scribner, 1970), 468-471.
- 58 McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power*, 259–260 (マクニール『戦争の世界史 (下)』); Ian Buruma, *Inventing Japan: 1853–1964* (New York: Modern Library, 2004), 74. (イアン・ブルマ『近代日本の誕生』小林朋則訳、ランダムハウス講談社、2006年)

### 第11章 ロスト・ジェネレーション?

- 1 Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, chap. 5, "Education in a Republican Government," in *Selected Political Writings*, ed. and trans. Melvin Richter (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1990), 139. (モンテスキュー『法の精神(上)』野田良之ほか訳、岩波文庫、1989年)
- 2 NBC News/Wall Street Journal Survey, August 2014, https://online.wsj. com/public/resources/documents/WSJNBCpoll08062014.pdf.
- 3 Bruce Stokes, "Public Divided on Prospects for the Next Generation," Pew Research Center, June 5, 2017, http://www.pewglobal.org/2017/06/05/2-

- public-divided-on-prospects-for-the-next-generation/.
- 4 Raj Chetty et al., "The Fading American Dream: Trends in Absolute Income Mobility since 1940," National Bureau of Economic Research, December 2016, http://www.equality-of-opportunity.org/papers/abs\_mobility\_paper.pdf; Opportunity Insights, https://opportunityinsights.org/.
- 5 OECD, "Governments Must Act to Help Struggling Middle Class," April 10, 2019, https://www.oecd.org/newsroom/governments-must-act-to-help-struggling-middle-class.htm.
- 6 William R. Emmons, Ana H. Kent, and Lowell R. Ricketts, "A Lost Generation? Long-Lasting Wealth Impacts of the Great Recession on Young Families," in *The Demographics of Wealth*, 2018 Series: *How Education, Race and Birth Year Shape Financial Outcomes*, Center for Household Financial Stability, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, May 2018, https://www.stlouisfed.org/~/media/files/pdfs/hfs/essays/hfs\_essay 2 2018.pdf?la=en.
- 7 Val Srinivas and Urval Goradia, "The Future of Wealth in the United States: Mapping Trends in Generational Wealth," Deloitte Insights, November 10, 2015, https://www2.deloitte.com/insights/us/en/industry/ investment-management/us-generational-wealth-trends.html.
- 8 Harry A. Patrinos, "50 Years of 'Returns to Education' Studies," March 19, 2015, World Bank Blogs, http://blogs.worldbank.org/education/50-years-returns-education-studies; Peter Orszag, "Why Are So Many College Graduates Driving Taxis?" Bloomberg, June 26, 2013, https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2013-06-25/why-are-so-many-college-graduates-driving-taxis-; Josh Mitchell, "College Still Pays off, but Not for Everyone," *Wall Street Journal*, August 9, 2019, https://www.wsj.com/articles/college-still-pays-off-but-not-for-everyone-11565343000.
- 9 Emmons et al., "A Lost Generation?"
- Sue Shellenberger, "The Most Anxious Generation Goes to Work," Wall Street Journal, May 9, 2019, https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-most-anxious-generation-goes-to-work-11557418951; Stef W. Kight, "Young Americans Are Embracing Socialism," Axios, March 10, 2019, https://www.axios.com/exclusive-poll-young-americans-embracing-socialism-

- b051907a-87a8-4f61-9e6e-0db75f7edc4a.html.
- 11 Stokes, "Public Divided on Prospects for the Next Generation."
- "India Fares Worst among Developing Countries in World Bank Study on Upward Mobility," *Business Today*, June 5, 2018, https://www.businesst oday.in/current/world/india-developing-countries-world-bank-upward-mobility-study/story/278455.html.
- 13 Bruce Stokes and Kat Devlin, "Despite Rising Economic Confidence, Japanese See Best Days behind Them and Say Children Face a Bleak Future," Pew Research Center, November 12, 2018, http://www.pewglobal.org/2018/11/12/despite-rising-economic-confidence-japanese-see-best-days-behind-them-and-say-children-face-a-bleak-future/.
- 14 Robert Gordon, *The Rise and Fall of American Growth* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 106.
- Janet Adamy and Paul Overberg, "'Playing Catch-Up in the Game of Life.' Millennials Approach Middle Age in Crisis," Wall Street Journal, May 19, 2019, https://www.wsj.com/articles/playing-catch-up-in-the-game-of-life-millennials-approach-middle-age-in-crisis-11558290908.
- John Daley and Brendan Coates, "Housing Affordability: Re-Imagining the Australian Dream," Grattan Institute, March 2018, https://grattan.edu.au/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/901-Housing-affordability.pdf; Leith Van Onselen, "The Sad Death of Australian Home Ownership," MacroBusiness, August 7, 2018, https://www.macrobusiness.com.au/2018/08/sad-death-australian-home-ownership/; Nathan Stitt, "Renting for Life Is Becoming Melbourne's New Normal—but Is The Law Keeping up?" ABC News, October 17, 2018, https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-10-18/melbourne-renters-overtaking-home-ownership-are-laws-keeping-up/10375226.
- 17 Mark Keenan, "Revealed: The Rental Trap That Aspiring Homeowners Fall into," *Independent*, June 5, 2017, https://www.independent.ie/business/personal-finance/property-mortgages/revealed-the-rental-trap-that-aspiring-homeowners-fall-into-35788771.html.
- 18 Yvonne Roberts, "Millennials Are Struggling. Is It the Fault of the Baby Boomers?" *Guardian*, April 29, 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/society/2018/apr/29/millennials-struggling-is-it-fault-of-baby-boomers-

- intergenerational-fairness; Lindsay Judge and Daniel Tomlinson, "Home Improvements: Action to Address the Housing Challenges Faced by Young People," Resolution Foundation, April 17, 2018, https://www.resolutionfoundation.org/publications/home-improvements-action-to-address-the-housing-challenges-faced-by-young-people/.
- 19 Kamal Ahmed, "Up to a Third of Millennials 'Face Renting Their Entire Life," BBC, April 17, 2018, https://www.bbc.com/news/business-4378 8537.
- 20 Yuan Yang, "The Quiet Revolution: China's Millennial Backlash," *Financial Times*, April 18, 2018, https://www.ft.com/content/dae2c548-4226-11e8-93cf-67ac3a6482fd.
- 21 Andrea Willige, "5 Charts Which Show What Is Happening to the Middle Class around the World," World Economic Forum, January 12, 2017, https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2017/01/5-charts-which-show-what-is-happening-to-the-middle-class-around-the-world/.
- 22 Lisa Boone, "They Don't Own Homes. They Don't Have Kids. Why Millennials Are Plant Addicts," Los Angeles Times, July 24, 2018, http:// www.latimes.com/home/la-hm-millennials-plant-parents-20180724-story. html.
- 23 Ryan Dezember and Laura Kusisto, "House Money: Wall Street Is Raising More Cash Than Ever for Its Rental-Home Gambit," *Wall Street Journal*, July 9, 2018, https://www.wsj.com/articles/house-money-wall-street-israising-more-cash-than-ever-for-its-rental-home-gambit-1531128600.
- 24 Chris Salviati, "Student Debt and Millennial Homeownership," Apartment List, January 25, 2018, https://www.apartmentlist.com/rentonomics/student-debt-millennial-homeowership/; Valerie Bauerlein, "American Suburbs Swell Again as a New Generation Escapes the City," Wall Street Journal, July 1, 2019, https://www.wsj.com/articles/american-suburbs-swell-again-as-a-new-generation-escapes-the-city-11561992889?mod=hp\_lead\_pos8; "5 Millennial Real Estate Trends in 2019," Realtor Magazine, November 25, 2018, https://magazine.realtor/daily-news/2018/11/29/5-millennial-real-estate-trends-in-2019; National Association of Realtors, Profile of Home Buyers and Sellers, 2016, https://www.nar.realtor/sites/

default/files/reports/2016/2016-profile-of-home-buyers-and-sellers-10-31-2016.pdf; Wendell Cox, "Suburban Nations: Canada, Australia and the United States," *New Geography*, December 30, 2016, http://www.newgeography.com/content/005495-suburban-nations-canada-australia-and-united-states; Kris Hudson, "Generation Y Prefers Suburban Home Over City Condo," *Wall Street Journal*, January 21, 2015, https://www.wsj.com/articles/millennials-prefer-single-family-homes-in-the-suburbs-1421896797.

Dave Merrill and Lauren Leatherby, "Here's How America Uses Its Land," 25 Bloomberg, July 31, 2018, https://www.bloomberg.com/graphics/2018-usland-use/; Wendell Cox, "Tearing Down American Dream Boundaries: An Imperative," New Geography, November 26, 2016, http://www. newgeography.com/content/005461-removing-american-dream-boundariesan-imperative; Carey L. Biron, "In U.S. First, Minneapolis Rethinks Housing Density to Make Homes Cheaper," Reuters, April 8, 2019, https:// www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-housing-cities/in-us-first-minneapolisrethinks-housing-density-to-make-homes-cheaper-idUSKCN1RK1DX; Leith van Onselen, "UK Moves to Reform Housing Disaster," New Geography, September 24, 2011, http://www.newgeography.com/content/002458uk-moves-reform-planning-disaster; Wendell Cox, "The Cost of Smart Growth Revisited: A 40 Year Perspective," New Geography, July 7, 2011, http://www.newgeography.com/content/002324-the-costs-smart-growthrevisited-a-40-year-perspective; Wendell Cox, "New Index Estimates New House Cost Impact of Land Regulation," New Geography, November 1, 2010, http://www.newgeography.com/content/001841-new-indexestimates-new-house-cost-impact-land-regulation.

- 26 Ross Kendall and Peter Tulip, "The Effect of Zoning on Housing Prices," Research Discussion Paper 2018-03 (March 2018), Economic Research Department, Reserve Bank of Australia, https://www.rba.gov.au/publications/rdp/2018/pdf/rdp2018-03.pdf.
- 27 Data from Wendell Cox, and from Estimated Urban Land Area: Selected Nations, Demographia, http://www.demographia.com/db-intlualand.htm.
- 28 James Heartfield, Green Capitalism: Manufacturing Scarcity in an Age of

- Abundance (London: Mute, 2008), 45-47.
- 29 Alexandra Stevenson and Jin Wu, "Tiny Apartments and Punishing Work Hours: The Economic Roots of Hong Kong's Protests," New York Times, July 22, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/07/22/world/asia/hong-kong-housing-inequality.html; Benjamin Haas, "My Week in Lucky House: The Horror of Hong Kong's Coffin Homes," Guardian, August 28, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/aug/29/hong-kong-coffin-homes-horror-my-week.
- 30 Ryan Kilpatrick, "Feudalism, Not Overpopulation or Land Shortage, Is to Blame for Hong Kong's Housing Problems," *Hong Kong Free Press*, June 2, 2018, https://www.hongkongfp.com/2018/06/02/feudalism-not-overpopulation-land-shortage-blame-hong-kongs-housing-problems/.
- 31 Ben Bland, "Pressure to Spread the Wealth," *Financial Times*, May 11, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/07/22/world/asia/hong-kong-housing-inequality.html.
- 32 Bill Emmott, The Sun Also Sets: The Limits to Japan's Economic Power (New York: Times Books, 1989), 48-49, 79. (エモット『日はまた沈む』)
- 33 Emmons et al., "The Demographics of Wealth: How Education, Race and Birth Year Shape Financial Outcomes."
- 34 Edward N. Wolff, "The Asset Price Meltdown and the Wealth of the Middle Class," National Bureau of Economic Research, November 2012, http://www.nber.org/papers/w18559.pdf?new\_window=1; American Community Survey data from Wendell Cox, www.demographia.com; Jonathan Eggleston and Donald Hays, "Gaps in the Wealth of Americans by Household Type," U.S. Census Bureau, August 2, 2019, https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2019/08/gaps-in-wealth-americans-by-house hold-type.html.
- 35 Thomas Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap/Harvard, 2014), 84, 107, 424, 538-543. (ピケティ『21世紀の資本』)
- 36 Gillian B. White, "Millennials Who Are Thriving Financially Have One Thing in Common," *Atlantic*, July 15, 2015, https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2015/07/millennials-with-rich-parents/398501/.

- Wojciech Kopczuk and Joseph P. Lupton, "To Leave or Not to Leave: The Distribution of Bequest Motives," National Bureau of Economic Research, November 2005, https://www.nber.org/papers/w11767.pdf; Suzanne Woolley, "Rich Kids Are Counting on Inheritance to Pay for Retirement," Bloomberg, June 7, 2018, https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-06-07/rich-kids-are-counting-on-inheritance-to-pay-for-retirement.
- 38 Claire Thompson, "Millennial Medium Chill: What the Screwed Generation Can Teach Us about Happiness," *Grist*, April 30, 2013, https://grist.org/living/millennial-medium-chill/; Lisa Hymas, "Say It Loud—I'm Childfree and I'm Proud," *Grist*, March 31, 2010, https://grist.org/article/2010-03-30-gink-manifesto-say-it-loud-im-childfree-and-im-proud/.
- 39 Dezember and Kusisto, "House Money: Wall Street Is Raising More Cash Than Ever for Its Rental-Home Gambit"; Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, 534–537. (ピケティ『21世紀の資本』)
- 40 Gaspard Koenig, "We Are All Digital Serfs but the Time is Ripe for Revolution," *Irish Examiner*, July 24, 2018, https://www.irishexaminer. com/breakingnews/views/analysis/we-are-all-digital-serfs-but-the-time-isripe-for-revolution-857216.html.

# 第12章 文化と資本主義

- Pierre Riché, *Daily Life in the World of Charlemagne*, trans. Jo Ann McNamara (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), 133.
- 2 David S. G. Goodman, Class in Contemporary China (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014), 86, 89.
- 3 Fernand Braudel, *The Perspective of the World*, vol. 3 of *Civilization and Capitalism*, 15th-18th Century, trans. Sian Reynolds (New York: Harper & Row, 1984), 205. (ブローデル『物質文明・経済・資本主義 15-18世紀 III-1 世界時間1』) [※引用部の翻訳は、同書の261頁]
- 4 Scott Kerwin, "Are the Wealthiest Americans Republicans, or Are They Democrats?" *Quora*, February 7, 2017, https://www.quora.com/Are-the-wealthiest-Americans-Republicans-or-Democrats; Greg Ferenstein, "How Silicon Valley Is Overhauling the Democratic Party (in 11 charts)," *Medium*, November 11, 2015, https://medium.com/the-ferenstein-wire/

what-the-democratic-party-will-look-like-when-silicon-valley-takes-over-in-9-charts-904cd0cd6feb; Katelyn Carelle, "90 Percent of Political Donations from Google-related Companies Go to Democrats: Study," Washington Examiner, September 7, 2018, https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/ policy/technology/90-percent-of-political-donations-from-google-relatedcompanies-go-to-democrats-study; John Hinderaker, "It's Official: Google Is a Democratic Party Front," Power Line, September 12, 2018, https:// www.powerlineblog.com/archives/2018/09/its-official-google-is-ademocratic-party-front.php; Cecilia Kang and Juliet Eilperin, "Why Silicon Valley is the New Revolving Door for Obama Staffers," Washington Post, February 28, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/economy/ as-obama-nears-close-of-his-tenure-commitment-to-silicon-valley-isclear/2015/02/27/3bee8088-bc8e-11e4-bdfa-b8e8f594e6ee story.html?utm term=.bb4a8855a73a; Irina Ivanova, "Wall Street's Campaign Contributions Are Flowing Mostly to Democrats," CBS News, October 31, 2018, https://www.cbsnews.com/news/wall-street-political-campaigncontibutions-flowing-mostly-to-democratic-candidates-for-congress/.

- 5 Thomas Piketty, "Brahmin Left vs Merchant Right: Rising Inequality and the Changing Structure of Political Conflict (Evidence from France, Britain and the US, 1948–2017)," World Inequality Database, March 2018, http://piketty.pse.ens.fr/files/Piketty2018.pdf.
- 6 Alvin Toffler, *Future Shock* (New York: Random House, 1970), 452. (アルビン・トフラー『未来の衝撃』徳山二郎訳、中公文庫、1982年)
- John Benjamin, "Business Class," New Republic, May 14, 2018, https://newrepublic.com/article/148368/ideology-business-school; John Gray, "The Problem of Hyper-liberalism," TLS, March 30, 2018, https://www.the-tls.co.uk/articles/public/john-gray-hyper-liberalism-liberty/; Angelo Codevilla, "America's Ruling Class," American Spectator, July 16, 2010, https://spectator.org/americas-ruling-class/; Jeremy Au and Rafael Rivera, "HBS Election Poll," Harbus, October 18, 2016, http://www.harbus.org/2016/hbs-election-poll/.
- 8 Nick Dedeke, "Is Corporate Vigilantism a Threat to Democracy?" *Real Clear Politics*, May 4, 2019, https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/

- 2019/05/04/is\_corporate\_vigilantism\_a\_threat\_to\_democracy\_ 140218. html; Harlan Loeb, "CEO Activism: Taking Risks to Build Trust," Edelman, July 24, 2018, https://www.edelman.com/post/ceo-activism-taking-risks-to-build-trust; Jill Priluck, "America's Corporate Activism: The Rise of the CEO as Social Justice Warrior," *Guardian*, July 2, 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/jul/01/americas-corporate-activism-the-rise-of-the-ceo-as-social-justice-warrior.
- 9 Anna Kambhampaty, "Selling Social Movements: 5 Brands Using Politics in Their Ad Campaigns—for Better and for Worse," CNBC, August 11, 2017, https://www.cnbc.com/2017/08/11/selling-social-movements-five-brands-using-politics-in-their-ads.html; Toby Young, "The Woke Corporation: How Campus Madness Entered the Workplace," Spectator, March 7, 2019, https://spectator.us/woke-corporation-campus-madness/; Dave Gershgorn, "Microsoft Staff Are Openly Questioning the Value of Diversity," Quartz, April 19, 2019, https://qz.com/1598345/microsoft-staff-are-openly-questioning-the-value-of-diversity/; Nikasha Tiku, "Survey Finds Conservatives Feel Out of Place in Silicon Valley," Wired, February 2, 2018, https://www.wired.com/story/survey-finds-conservatives-feel-out-of-place-in-silicon-valley/; Alan Murray, "America's CEOs Seek a New Purpose for the Corporation," Fortune, August 19, 2019, https://fortune.com/longform/business-roundtable-ceos-corporations-purpose/.
- 10 Paul Caron, "Lawyer Presidential Campaign Contributions: 97% to Clinton, 3% to Trump," TaxProf Blog, January 20, 2017, http://taxprof.typepad. com/taxprof\_blog/2017/01/lawyer-presidential-campaign-contributions-97-to-clinton-3-to-trump.html; Andy Kiersz and Hunter Walker, "These Charts Show the Political Bias of Workers in Each Profession," *Business Insider*, November 3, 2014, https://amp.businessin sider.com/charts-show-the-political-bias-of-each-profession- 2014-11? twitter impression=true.
- 11 Fred Siegel, *The Revolt Against the Masses: How Liberalism Has Undermined the Middle Class* (New York: Encounter, 2015), xv.
- 12 Dennis Meadows et al., *Limits to Growth* (New York: Signet, 1972), 120–121, 170–171. (D・H・メドウズ、D・L・メドウズ、J・ラーンダズ、W・W・ベアランズ三世『成長の限界――ローマ・クラブ「人類の危機」レ

- ポート』大来佐武郎監訳、ダイヤモンド社、1972年)[※引用部の翻訳は、同書の155頁(一部修正)]
- 13 Spencer Walrath, "Rockefellers Use New Front Group to Advance Climate Liability Campaign," Energy In Depth, September 28, 2018, https://eidclimate.org/rockefellers-use-new-front-group-to-advance-climate-liability-campaign/; Rupert Darwall, "Democrats' Dark Money and the Climate Industrial Complex," Washington Examiner, May 18, 2018, https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/opinion/op-eds/democrats-dark-money-and-the-climate-industrial-complex; David Friedman and Jennifer Hernandez, California Environmental Quality Act, Greenhouse Gas Regulation, and Climate Change, Chapman University, 2015, https://www.chapman.edu/wilkinson/\_files/ghg-fn.pdf; David Callahan, Fortunes of Change: The Rise of the Liberal Rich and the Remaking of America (New York: Wiley, 2010), 57–82; Rupert Darwall, "A Veneer of Certainty Stoking Climate Alarm," Competitive Enterprise Institute, November 27, 2017, https://cei.org/content/stoking-climate-action.
- 14 Anand Giridharadas, Winners Take All: The Elite Charade of Changing the World (New York: Knopf, 2018), 7.
- 15 James Heartfield, Green Capitalism: Manufacturing Scarcity in an Age of Abundance (London: Mute, 2008), 21–22.
- 16 Ibid., 10, 28; Michael Wirth, "The Tragic Cost of Energy Poverty," *Real Clear Politics*, June 26, 2018, https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2018/06/26/the tragic cost of energy poverty 137345.html.
- 17 Max Roser and Esteban Ortiz-Ospina, "Literacy," Our World in Data, https://ourworldindata.org/literacy.
- 18 Benjamin Franklin, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), 130–131. (ベンジャミン・フランクリン『フランクリン自伝』鶴見俊輔訳、土曜社、2015年)
- 19 Siegel, The Revolt Against the Masses, 112-115.
- 20 Nina Metz, "Hollywood's Sweeping Generalizations about 'Mainstream America' Are Getting It Wrong," *Chicago Tribune*, May 24, 2018, https://www.chicagotribune.com/entertainment/tv/ct-ent-inclusion-minorities-0529-story.html; Jason Guerrasio, "The Last 16 Best-Picture Oscar Winners

Show How Out of Touch Hollywood's Biggest Night is with General Audiences," *Business Insider*, February 25, 2019, https://www.businessinsider.com/best-picture-oscar-winners-compared-to-yearly-box-office-winners-2018-3; Raquel Laneri, "The Oscars' New 'Popular Film' Award Proves It's Out of Touch and Elitist," *New York Post*, August 9, 2018, https://nypost.com/2018/08/09/the-oscars-new-popular-film-award-proves-its-out-of-touch-and-elitist/; Chris Lee, "Why the Academy Keeps Giving Oscars to Movies No One Sees," *Fortune*, February 29, 2016, http://fortune.com/2016/02/29/spotlight-oscars-movies-box-office/.

- 21 The Numbers, "All Time Worldwide Box Office for Super Hero Movies," https://www.the-numbers.com/box-office-records/worldwide/all-movies/ creative-types/super-hero; Erin Free, "The Age of Heroes: Why Are Superhero Movies So Popular?" Film Ink, March 19, 2016, https://www.filmink.com.au/the-age-of-heroes-why-are-superhero-movies-so-popular/; Dave Gonzales, "Hollywood Loves White Guys, but Its Real Superhero Audience Will Surprise You," Guardian, July 29, 2014, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/jul/29/hollywood-superhero-audience-box-office-comic-con.
- 22 Bentley University, "The PreparedU Project: An In-Depth Look at Millennial Preparedness for Today's Workforce," 2014, https://www.slideshare.net/BentleyU/prepared-u-project-on-millennial-preparedness; Robert Schooley, "Why Are Soft Skills Missing in Today's Applicants?" Murray State University, 2017, https://digitalcommons.murraystate.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.com/&httpsredir=1&article=1038&context=etd.
- 23 Jean M. Twenge, "Have Smartphones Destroyed a Generation?" Atlantic, September 2017, https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2017/09/ has-the-smartphone-destroyed-a-generation/534198/; Sara G. Miller, "Too Much Social Media Use Linked to Feelings of Isolation," Live Science, March 6, 2017, http://www.livescience.com/58121-social-media-useperceived-isolation.html.
- 24 Cision, "Are Declining Attention Spans Killing Your Content Marketing Strategy?" January 22, 2018, https://www.cision.com/us/2018/01/

- declining-attention-killing-content-marketing-strategy/.
- 25 Glenn Harlan Reynolds, "Social Media Firms Want Us Addicted to Approval. So Much for Wifi Making Us Smarter," USA Today, April 1, 2018, https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2018/04/01/social-mediabusiness-model-addicts-us-approval-not-information-column/476719002/.
- 26 "These Tech Insiders Are Shielding Their Children from the Technology They Work with," Science Alert, March 31, 2018, https://www.sciencealert.com/tech-insiders-are-shielding-their-children-from-the-tech-they-work-with; Tim Hains, "Former Facebook Exec: Social Media Is Ripping Our Social Fabric Apart," Real Clear Politics, December 11, 2017, https://www.realclearpolitics.com/video/2017/12/11/fmr\_facebook\_exec\_social\_media\_is\_ripping\_our\_social\_fabric\_apart.html.
- 27 Barbara Tuchman, A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14th Century (New York: Knopf, 1978), 49-50 (タックマン『遠い鏡』) [※引用部の翻訳は、同書の93頁]; Frances and Joseph Gies, Daily Life in Medieval Times (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1969), 179; Fernand Braudel, The Structures of Everyday Life, vol. 1 of Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century, trans. Sian Reynolds (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 74. (ブローデル『物質文明・経済・資本主義 15-18世紀 I-1 日常性の構造1』)
- Norman F. Cantor, Medieval History: The Life and Death of a Civilization (New York: Macmillan, 1963), 111; Michael Grant, The Fall of the Roman Empire (New York: Collier, 1990), 150; Katherine Lynch, Individuals, Families, and Communities in Europe: The Urban Foundations of Western Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 8.
- 29 James Westfall Thompson and Edgar Nathaniel Johnson, An Introduction to Medieval Europe (New York: Norton, 1937), 596; Nathan Rosenberg and L E. Birdzell, Jr., How the West Got Rich: The Economic Transformation of the Industrial World (New York: Basic Books, 1987), 140; Steven Ozment, When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), 40–41, 99, 152–153; John Hale, The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance (New York: Harper, 1993), 438–450; Philippe Ariès, Centuries of Childhood: A Social

- History of Family Life, trans. Robert Baldick (New York: Vintage, 1962), 398. (アリエス『〈子供〉の誕生』)
- 30 Simon Schama, An Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age (New York: Vintage, 1997), 481–485; Ariès, Centuries of Childhood, 351–353. (アリエス、前出)
- 31 Kay S. Hymowitz, *Marriage and Caste in America* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2006), 35.
- 32 Tova Cohen, "Israel Has the Highest Birth Rate in the Developed World, and That's Becoming a Problem," *Business Insider*, September 25, 2015, https://www.businessinsider.com/israel-has-the-highest-birth-rate-in-the-developed-world-and-thats-becoming-a-problem-2015-9; Richard V. Reeves, *Dream Hoarders: How the American Upper Middle Class Is Leaving Everyone Else in the Dust, Why That Is a Problem, and What to Do About It* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2018), 28.
- 33 Sarah Knapton, "Soaring House Prices Reduce Number of Babies Born in England," *Telegraph*, April 12, 2017, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/science/2017/04/12/soaring-house-prices-reduce-number-babies-bornengland/; Sarah O'Grady, "British Birth Rate at Record Low and Women Opt Out Raising a Family," *Express*, November 25, 2017, https://www.express.co.uk/life-style/health/884120/office-national-statistics-ons-united-kingdom-birth-rate-women-family-children.
- 34 Jennifer A. Holland, "Love, Marriage, Then The Baby Carriage? Marriage Timing and Childbearing in Sweden," *Demographic Research*, vol. 29: 11 (August 2013), 275–306, https://www.demographic-research.org/volumes/vol29/11/29-11.pdf; Andrew Cherlin, "Marriage Has Become a Trophy," *Atlantic*, March 20, 2018, https://www.theatlantic.com/family/archive/2018/03/incredible-everlasting-institution-marriage/555320/.
- 35 Lyman Stone, "The Decline of American Motherhood," *Atlantic*, May 13, 2018, https://www.theatlantic.com/family/archive/2018/05/mothers-day-decline-motherhood/560198/.
- 36 Claire Cain Miller, "Americans Are Having Fewer Babies. They Told Us Why," New York Times, July 5, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/05/upshot/americans-are-having-fewer-babies-they-told-us-why.html;

Elizabeth Bauer, "What's Next for the Fertility Rate? (Part 2)," Forbes, May 19, 2018, https://www.forbes.com/sites/ebauer/2018/05/19/whats-next-for-the-fertility-rate-part-2/#736c4b7a2e72; Dave Baldwin, "It Cost \$31,000 More to Raise a Kid Today Than in 1960. Where's All the Extra Money Going?" Fatherly, August 13, 2018, https://www.fatherly.com/love-money/why-cost-raising-kids-skyrocketed-since-1960/; Heidi Steinour, "Baby Bust: 5 Charts Show How Expensive It Is to Have Kids in the US Today," The Conversation, March 28, 2018, https://theconversation.com/baby-bust-5-charts-show-how-expensive-it-is-to-have-kids-in-the-ustoday-91532; Lauren Alix Brown, "When Will America Wise up to the Truth about Why Women Aren't Having Children?" Quartz, July 7, 2018, https://qz.com/1323241/young-americans-arent-having-children-for-avariety-of-reasons-beyond-the-economy/.

- 37 Jacqueline Howard, "The Costs of Child Care around the World," CNN, April 25, 2018, https://www.cnn.com/2018/04/25/health/child-care-parenting-explainer-intl/index.html; Charlie Weston, "Cost of Raising a Child from Birth to College Is €100,000," *Independent*, July 17, 2015, https://www.independent.ie/life/family/cost-of-raising-a-child-from-birth-to-college-is-100000-31383511.html.
- 38 "Are We Facing a Future without Families?" *Maclean's*, December 4, 2012, https://www.macleans.ca/politics/are-we-facing-a-future-without-families/.
- 39 Alvin Toffler, *Future Shock* (New York: Random House, 1970), 238–251. (トフラー『未来の衝撃』)
- 40 Tim Henderson, "Growing Number of People Living Solo Can Pose Challenges," Pew Charitable Trust, September 11, 2014, https://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/blogs/stateline/2014/09/11/growing-number-of-people-living-solo-can-pose-challenges; Steven Kurutz, "One Is the Quirkiest Number," New York Times, February 22, 2012, https://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/23/garden/the-freedom-and-perils-of-living-alone.html; Ashley Fetters, "Living Alone and Liking It," Curbed, June 20, 2018, https://www.curbed.com/2018/6/20/17479740/living-alone-tips-women-advice.
- 41 He Wei, "The Rise of Solo Living," China Daily, July 28, 2017, http://usa.

- chinadaily.com.cn/china/2017-07/28/content 30286948.htm.
- 42 "Going It Alone: Solo Dwellers Will Account for 40% of Japan's Households by 2040, Forecast Says," *Japan Times*, January 13, 2018, https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2018/01/13/national/social-issues/going-alone-solo-dwellers-will-account-40-japans-households-2040-forecast-says/.
- 43 Norimitsu Onishi, "A Generation in Japan Faces a Lonely Death," *New York Times*, November 30, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/30/world/asia/japan-lonely-deaths-the-end.html.
- 44 Seymour Martin Lipset and Gabriel Salman Lenz, "Corruption, Culture and Markets," in *Culture Matters*, ed. Lawrence E. Harrison and Samuel P. Harrington (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 119–121.
- 45 Daniel Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 478-480. (ベル『脱工業社会の到来 (下)』)
- 46 David Pilling, *Bending Adversity: Japan and the Art of Survival* (New York: Penguin, 2014), 175. (ピリング『日本一喪失と再起の物語――黒船、敗戦、そして3・11 (下)』)
- 47 Greg Wilford, "Young Japanese People Are Not Having Sex," *Independent*, July 8, 2017, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/japan-sex-problem-demographic-time-bomb-birth-rates-sex-robots-fertility-crisis-virgins-romance-porn-a7831041.html.

## 第13章 隷従への道

- 1 Li Sun, Rural Migration and Policy Intervention in China (Singapore: Palgrave, 2019), 2–4; David S. G. Goodman, Class in Contemporary China (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014), 161–162.
- 2 "Foxconn Admits Schoolchildren in China Factory Worked Overnight to Build Amazon's Alexa Devices, Blaming 'Lax Oversight' by Local Management," South China Morning Post, August 10, 2019, https://www.scmp. com/news/china/article/3022237/foxconn-admits-schoolchildren-chinafactory-worked-overnight-build.
- 3 Li Sun, Rural Migration and Policy Intervention in China, 3–4; Goodman, Class in Contemporary China, 124; Jamie Condliffe, "Foxconn Is Under

- Scrutiny for Worker Conditions. It's Not the First Time," *New York Times*, June 11, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/11/business/dealbook/foxconn-worker-conditions.html.
- 4 Alemayedu Bishaw and Kirby G. Posey, "A Comparison of Rural and Urban America: Household Income and Poverty," U.S. Census Bureau, December 8, 2016, https://www.census.gov/newsroom/blogs/random-samplings/2016/12/a\_comparison\_of\_rura.html; Goodman, Class in Contemporary China, 140; Nan Chen, "China's Missing Middle Class," Foreign Policy in Focus, May 24, 2012, https://fpif.org/chinas\_missing\_middle\_class/.
- 5 "Shanghai to Cap Population at 25 Million to Battle 'Big City Disease," NBC News, December 26, 2017, https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/ shanghai-cap-population-25-million-battle-big-city-disease-n832591; Eva Dou and Dominique Fong, "Homeward Bound: Beijing Boots Migrant Workers to Trim Its Population," Wall Street Journal, November 29, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/beijing-evictions-of-migrant-workers-sparksoutrage-1511962464; Salvatore Babones, "China's Middle Class Is Pulling up the Ladder behind Itself," Foreign Policy, February 1, 2018, https:// foreignpolicy.com/2018/02/01/chinas-middle-class-is-pulling-up-the-ladderbehind-itself/; Eva Dou, "Rare Protests in Beijing Condemn Forced Evictions," Wall Street Journal, December 10, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/ articles/rare-protests-in-beijing-condemn-forced-evictions-1512915082; Viola Zhou and Zhuang Pinghui, "Migrant Workers Take to Streets of Beijing to Protest against Forced Evictions," South China Morning Post, December 10, 2017, https://www.scmp.com/news/china/policies-politics/ article/2123714/migrant-workers-take-streets-beijing-protest-against.
- 6 Goodman, Class in Contemporary China, 6, 35, 42, 98.
- 7 John Sudworth, "Counting the Cost of China's Left-behind Children," BBC, April 12, 2016, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-35994481; Lijia Zhang, "The Orphans of China's Economic Miracle," New York Times, March 27, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/27/opinion/china-left-behind-children.html?ribbon-ad-idx=2&rref=opinion.
- 8 Joe Zhang, "As China Grows, Equal Opportunity and Social Mobility Are

- Fast Becoming a Cruel Life," *South China Morning Post*, July 7, 2017, http://www.scmp.com/comment/insight-opinion/article/2101654/chinagrows-equal-opportunity-and-social-mobility-are-fast.
- 9 Nan Chen, "China's Missing Middle Class," Foreign Policy in Focus, May 24, 2012, https://fpif.org/chinas\_missing\_middle\_class/.
- 10 Loukas Karabarbounis and Brent Neiman, "The Global Decline of the Labor Share," National Bureau of Economic Research, June 2013, http:// www.nber.org/papers/w19136.pdf.
- 11 Norman F. Cantor, *Medieval History: The Life and Death of a Civilization* (New York: Macmillan, 1963), 33; Michael Grant, *The Fall of the Roman Empire* (New York: Collier, 1990), 59–60, 72, 79.
- 12 Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, trans. L. A. Manyon (London: Routledge, 1961), 265. (プロック『封建社会』)
- 13 Mark Cartwright, "Serf," Ancient History Encyclopedia, December 4, 2018, https://www.ancient.eu/Serf/.
- 14 Ibid.
- Edward Barbier, Scarcities and Frontiers: How Economies Have Developed Through Natural Resource Exploitation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 84–91, 156, 176; Jeffrey A. Winters, Oligarchy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 28–29.
- 16 Fernand Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life*, vol. 1 of *Civilization and Capitalism* (New York: Harper & Row, 1982), 187, 283–284. (フェルナン・ブローデル『物質文明・経済・資本主義 15–18世紀 I-1 日常性の構造1』村上光彦訳、みすず書房、1985年)
- 17 Ernst Nolte, *Three Faces of Fascism*, trans. Leila Vennewitz (New York: New American Library, 1969), 365–374.
- 18 Mao Tse-tung, The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party, December 1939, https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-2/mswv2\_23.htm(毛沢東『新民主主義論/中国革命と中国共産党──他一篇』毛沢東選集刊行会訳、国民文庫社、1954年); Andro Linklater, Owning the Earth: The Transforming History of Land Ownership (New York: Bloomsbury USA, 2013), 152-153; Barbier, Scarcity and Frontiers, 230.

- 19 Phillip A. M. Taylor, *The Industrial Revolution in Britain: Triumph or Disaster?* (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1958), 40; E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution* (New York: New American Library, 1962), 64. (ホブズボーム『市民革命と産業革命』)
- 20 Arnold Toynbee, *The Industrial Revolution* (Boston: Beacon, 1956), 25–26, 30–31, 41, 60. (アーノルド・トインビー『イギリス産業革命史』原田三郎訳、創元文庫、1953年)
- 21 Alexis de Tocqueville, "On the Middle Class and the People," in *Tocqueville and Beaumont on Social Reform*, ed. and trans. Seymour Drescher (New York: Harper, 1968), 175–177. (A・トクヴィル『フランス二月革命の日々 ――トクヴィル回想録』喜安朗訳、岩波文庫、1988年)〔※本訳書はここに挙げられた参考文献の翻訳ではないが、本書の引用部に対応する記述が本訳書の30頁に記載されている〕
- 22 Alexis de Tocqueville, "Letters on Conditions in France," in Tocqueville and Beaumont on Social Reform, 192.
- 23 Harvey Mitchell and Peter N. Stearns, Workers and Protests: The European Labor Movement, the Working Classes, and the Origins of Social Democracy (Ithaca, N.Y.: Peacock, 1971), 25–27; Asa Briggs, Victorian People: A Reassessment of Persons and Themes, 1851–1867 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), 2.
- 24 John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (New York: Penguin, 2006), 86 (ジョン・L・ガディス『冷戦――その歴史と問題点』河合秀和、鈴木健人訳、彩流社、2007年); Isaiah Berlin, *Karl Marx: His Life and Environment* (London: Oxford University Press, 1996), 224. (バーリン『カール・マルクス』)
- 25 Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, The Rise of American Civilization (New York: Macmillan, 1930), vol. 1: 341–344.
- 26 Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Age of Jackson* (New York: Book Find Club, 1945), 57–58, 339, 346, 353.
- 27 Beard, The Rise of American Civilization, vol. 2: 383-284.
- William LeFevre, "The Treaty of Detroit," Seeking Michigan, August 23, 2011, http://seekingmichigan.org/look/2011/08/23/treaty-of-detroit.
- 29 Abigail Thernstrom and Stephan Thernstrom, "Black Progress: How Far

- We've Come, and How Far We Have to Go," Brookings, March 1, 1998, https://www.brookings.edu/articles/black-progress-how-far-weve-come-and-how-far-we-have-to-go/.
- 30 John Kenneth Galbraith, *The Affluent Society* (New York: Mentor, 1958), 75. (ガルブレイス『ゆたかな社会 (決定版)』鈴木哲太郎訳、岩波現代文庫、2006年)
- 31 John Kenneth Galbraith, *The New Industrial State* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 363, 441. (ジョン・K・ガルブレイス『新しい産業国家(下)』斎藤精一郎訳、講談社文庫、1984年)[※引用部の翻訳は、同書の244頁]
- 32 Max Green, Epitaph for American Labor: How Union Leaders Lost Touch with America (Washington: AEI, 1996), 19.
- 33 Matthew Stewart, "The 9.9 Percent Is the New American Aristocracy," *Atlantic*, June 2018, https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2018/06/the-birth-of-a-new-american-aristocracy/559130/; Timothy Taylor, "Unions in Decline: Some International Comparisons," Conversable Economist, June 20, 2017, http://conversableeconomist. blogspot.com/2017/06/unions-in-decline-some-international.html.
- 34 David E. Noble, Forces of Production: A Social History of Industrial Automation (New York: Knopf, 1984), 249; Robert Gordon, The Rise and Fall of American Growth (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 499; Economic Policy Institute, "The Growing Trade Deficit with China Has Led to a Loss of 3.4 Million U.S. Jobs between 2001 and 2017," October 23, 2018, https://www.epi.org/press/the-growing-trade-deficit-with-china-has-led-to-a-loss-of-3-4-million-u-s-jobs-between-2001-and-2017/.
- 35 David Goodhart, The Road to Somewhere: The New Tribes Shaping British Politics (London: Penguin, 2017), 151.
- 36 Sherry Linkon and John Russo, "Economic Nationalism and the Half-Life of Deindustrialization," Working-Class Perspectives, October 30, 2017, https://workingclassstudies.wordpress.com/2017/10/30/economic-nationalism-and-the-half-life-of-deindustrialization/.
- 37 Alan B. Krueger, "The Rise and Consequences of Inequality," Council of

- Economic Advisors, January 12, 2012, https://milescorak.files.wordpress.com/2012/01/speech-2012 01 12 final web-1.pdf.
- 38 Fatih Guvenen et al., "Lifetime Incomes in the United States over Six Decades," National Bureau of Economic Research, April 2017, https://www.nber.org/papers/w23371.pdf.
- 39 Phillip Inman, "Social Mobility in Richest Countries 'Has Stalled since 1990,'" *Guardian*, June 15, 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/society/2018/jun/15/social-mobility-in-richest-countries-has-stalled-since-1990s; Miles Corak, "Inequality from Generation to Generation: The United States in Comparison," in *The Economics of Inequality, Poverty, and Discrimination in the 21st Century*, ed. Robert Rycroft (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2013); Metin Feyyaz, "Turkey's Defiant Working Class: From Offense to Defense," *International Viewpoint*, November 22, 2018, http://www.internationalviewpoint.org/spip.php?article5795.
- 40 Alan Berube, "Middle-Skilled Workers Still Making Up for Lost Ground on Earnings," Brookings, October 19, 2016, https://www.brookings.edu/blog/ the-avenue/2016/10/19/middle-skilled-workers-still-making-up-for-lostground-on-earnings/; Tavia Grant, "The Continuing Decline of the 'Middle-Skill' Worker," Globe and Mail, June 3, 2013, https://www.theglobeand mail.com/report-on-business/economy/jobs/the-continuing-decline-of-themiddle-skill-worker/article12303799/.
- 41 Enrique Fernández-Macías, "Job Polarisation in Europe: Are Mid-Skilled Jobs Disappearing?" Social Europe, July 30, 2015, https://www.socialeurope.eu/job-polarisation-in-europe-are-mid-skilled-jobs-disap pearing; Margo Hoftijzer and Lucas Gortazar, *Skills and Europe's Labor Market*, World Bank Report on the European Union, World Bank Group, 2018, http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/115971529687983521/EU-GU-Skills-and-Labor-Markets-final-5-29-2018.pdf; Christophe Guilluy, *Twilight of the Elites: Prosperity, the Periphery, and the Future of France*, trans. Malcolm Debevoise (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), 14.
- 42 Goodhart, The Road to Somewhere, 151.
- 43 Rajan Menon, "The United States Has a National-Security Problem—and It's Not What You Think," *Nation*, July 16, 2018, https://www.thenation.

- com/article/united-states-national-security-problem-not-think/; Guilluy, *Twilight of the Elites*, 56, 71.
- 44 Neha Thirani Bagri, "In the Great Robot Job Takeover, Women are Less Likely to Suffer than Men," Quartz, March 28, 2017, https://qz.com/943978/in-the-great-robot-job-takeover-women-are-less-likely-to-suffer-than-men-a-pricewaterhousecoopers-study-suggests/; Natalie Kitroeff, "Robots Could Replace 1.7 Million American Truckers in the Next Decade," Los Angeles Times, September 25, 2016, http://www.latimes.com/projects/la-fi-automated-trucks-labor-20160924/.
- 45 Kourtney Adams, "Bureau of Labor Statistics Projects Major Loss of Middle-Class Jobs by 2024," WIFR, March 22, 2018, http://www.wifr.com/ content/news/Bureau-of-Labor-Statistics-projects-the-loss-of-tens-ofthousands-of-middle-class-jobs-by-2024-477101543.html.

## 第14章 労働者階級の未来

- "Apple Says Illegal Student Labor Discovered at iPhone X Plant," Reuters, November 22, 2017, https://uk.reuters.com/article/us-apple-foxconn-labour/apple-says-illegal-student-labor-discovered-at-iphone-x-plant-idUKKBN1DM1LA; Neil Irwin, "To Understand Rising Inequality, Consider the Janitors at Two Top Companies, Then and Now," New York Times, September 3, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/03/upshot/to-understand-rising-inequality-consider-the-janitors-at-two-top-companies-then-and-now.html.
- 2 Bryan Menegus, "Elon Musk Responds to Claims of Low Pay, Injuries, and Anti-Union Policies at Tesla Plant," Gizmodo, September 2, 2017, https://gizmodo.com/elon-musk-responds-to-claims-of-low-pay-injuries-and-a-1792190512; "Analysis of Tesla Injury Rates: 2014 to 2017," Work Safe, May 24, 2017, https://worksafe.typepad.com/files/worksafe\_tesla5\_24.pdf; Will Evans and Alyssa Jeong Perry, "Tesla Says Its Factory Is Safer. But It Left Injuries Off the Books," *Mercury News*, https://www.mercurynews.com/2018/06/01/elon-musk-and-unions-congressman-askstesla-ceo-to-stop-threats/.
- 3 Josh Eidelson, "Tesla Workers Claim Racial Bias and Abuse at Electric Car

Factory," Bloomberg, April 12, 2018, https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2018-04-12/tesla-workers-claim-racial-bias-and-abuse-at-electric-car-factory; Caroline O'Donavon, "At Tesla's Factory, Building the Car of the Future Has Painful and Permanent Consequences for Some Workers," Buzzfeed, February 4, 2018, https://www.buzzfeed.com/carolineodonovan/tesla-fremont-factory-injuries?utm\_term=.jf1qexXmj#.iajjZb6x8; Julie Carrie Wong, "Tesla Factory Workers Reveal Pain, Injury and Stress: 'Everything Feels Like the Future but Us,'" Guardian, May 18, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2017/may/18/tesla-workers-factory-conditions-elon-musk; https://www.revealnews.org/article/tesla-says-its-factory-is-safer-but-it-left-injuries-off-the-books/.

- 4 Macrotrends, "Amazon: Number of Employees 2006–2019," https://www. macrotrends.net/stocks/charts/AMZN/amazon/number-of-employees.
- 5 Stacy Mitchell and Olivia LaVecchia, "Report: Amazon's Stranglehold: How the Company's Tightening Grip on the Economy Is Stifling Competition, Eroding Jobs, and Threatening Communities," Institute for Local Self-Reliance, November 29, 2016, https://ilsr.org/amazon-stranglehold/; "What Amazon Does to Wages," *Economist*, January 20, 2018, https://www.economist.com/united-states/2018/01/20/what-amazon-does-towages; Luke Barnes, "A Large Number of Amazon Workers Rely on Food Stamps for Assistance," *Think Progress*, April 20, 2018, https://think.progress.org/amazon-workers-rely-on-food-stamps-24ab86dd6495/; Joseph Pisani, "Amazon's \$15 an Hour a Win? Not So, Some Workers Say," AP News, October 4, 2018, https://www.apnews.com/8e60d4d9e1b74171a34d 3196081910d1.
- 6 Julia Glum, "The Median Amazon Employee's Salary Is \$28,000. Jeff Bezos Makes More Than That in 10 Seconds," *Money*, May 2, 2018, http://time.com/money/5262923/amazon-employee-median-salary-jeff-bezos/.
- 7 Chris Pollard, "Rushed Amazon Warehouse Staff Pee into Bottles as They're Afraid of "Time-Wasting," Sun, April 15, 2018, https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/6055021/rushed-amazon-warehouse-staff-time-wasting/; Ceylan Yeginsu, "If Workers Slack Off, the Wristband Will Know. (And Amazon Has a Patent for It)," New York Times, February 1, 2018, https://www.

nytimes.com/2018/02/01/technology/amazon-wristband-tracking-privacy. html?smid=tw-nytimesworld&smtyp=cur; Olivia Solon, "Amazon Patents Wristband That Tracks Warehouse Workers' Movements," *Guardian*, February 1, 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2018/jan/31/amazon-warehouse-wristband-tracking; Alan Boyle, "Amazon Wins a Pair of Patents for Wireless Wristbands That Track Warehouse Workers," *Geek Wire*, January 30, 2018, https://www.geekwire.com/2018/amazon-winspatents-wireless-wristbands-track-warehouse-workers/; Natasha Bernal, "Amazon's Warehouse Computer System Tracked and Fired Hundreds of Workers," *Telegraph*, April 26, 2019, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/technology/2019/04/26/amazons-warehouse-computer-system-tracked-fired-hundreds-workers/.

- 8 David Goldman, "Why Apple Will Never Bring Manufacturing Jobs Back to the U.S.," CNN Business, October 17, 2012, https://money.cnn.com/ 2012/10/17/technology/apple-china-jobs/; "China Tech Factory Conditions Fuel Suicides," France 24, November 14, 2018, https://www.france24.com/ en/20181114-china-tech-factory-conditions-fuel-suicides-study.
- 9 Guy Standing, "Meet the Precariat, the New Global Class Fuelling the Rise of Populism," World Economic Forum, November 9, 2016, https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2016/11/precariat-global-class-rise-of-populism/.
- Sarah Jaffe, "The New Working Class," New Republic, February 22, 2018, https://newrepublic.com/article/146904/new-working-class; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Employment by Major Industry Sector," https://www.bls. gov/emp/tables/employment-by-major-industry-sector.htm; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Home Health Aides and Personal Care Aides," https://www.bls.gov/ooh/healthcare/home-health-aides-and-personal-care-aides. htm.
- 11 Bradley Hardy and James P. Ziliak, "Decomposing Trends in Income Volatility: The 'Wide Ride' at the Top and Bottom," *Economic Inquiry*, January 2014, http://www.bradleyhardy.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Hardy-Ziliak-2014-Final-EI.pdf.
- 12 Tavia Grant, "The Continuing Decline of the 'Middle-Skill' Worker," *Globe and Mail*, June 3, 2013, https://www.theglobeandmail.com/report-on-

- business/economy/jobs/the-continuing-decline-of-the-middle-skill-worker/article12303799/.
- "Independent Work: Choice, Necessity, and the Gig Economy," McKinsey & Company, October 2016, https://www.mckinsey.com/~/media/McKinsey/Featured%20Insights/Employment%20and%20Growth/Independent%20work%20Choice%20necessity%20and%20the%20gig%20 economy/Independent-Work-Choice-necessity-and-the-gig-economy-Executive-Summary.ashx.
- 14 Annie Lowrey, "What the Gig Economy Looks Like around the World," *Atlantic*, April 13, 2017, https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2017/04/gig-economy-global/522954/.
- 15 Alana Samuels, "The Mystery of Why Japanese People Are Having So Few Babies," *Atlantic*, July 20, 2017, https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2017/07/japan-mystery-low-birth-rate/534291/.
- Alison Griswold, "People Are Joining the Gig Economy because of a Powerful Myth," Quartz, May 31, 2018, https://qz.com/1293741/peoplejoin-the-gig-economy-to-be-their-own-boss-but-the-algorithm-is-really-incharge.
- 17 Nathan Heller, "Is the Gig Economy Working?" *New Yorker*, May 8, 2017, https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/05/15/is-the-gig-economyworking; Jeff Daniels, "Nearly Half of California's Gig Economy Workers Struggling with Poverty, New Survey Says," CNBC, August 28, 2018, https://www.cnbc.com/2018/08/28/about-half-of-californias-gig-economyworkers-struggling-with-poverty.html; Leonid Bershidsky, "Gig-Economy Workers Are the Modern Proletariat," Bloomberg, September 25, 2018, https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2018-09-25/gig-economyworkers-are-last-of-marx-s-oppressed-proletarians.
- 18 Kate Aronoff, "How the On-Demand Economy Enables the Cycle of Racial Labor Discrimination," *Color Lines*, July 5, 2017, https://www.colorlines.com/articles/how-demand-economy-enables-cycle-racial-labor-discrimination; Robert Reich, "The Share-the-Scraps Economy," February 2, 2015, https://robertreich.org/post/109894095095.
- 19 Charles Murray, Coming Apart: The State of White America, 1960-2010

- (New York: Crown Forum, 2012), 125–127 (C・マレー『階級「断絶」社会アメリカ』); Maria Koulogou, "The New Inequality; The Decline of the Working Class Family," *Quillette*, June 13, 2019, https://quillette.com/2019/06/13/the-new-inequality-the-decline-of-the-working-class-family/.
- 20 E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution, 1789–1848* (New York: New American Library, 1962), 241 (ホブズボーム『市民革命と産業革命』) [※ 引用部の翻訳は、同書の329頁]; Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (London: Penguin, 2009), 144. (エンゲルス『イギリスにおける労働者階級の状態(上)』)
- 21 Isabel V. Sawhill, "Inequality and Social Mobility: Be Afraid," Brookings, May 27, 2015, https://www.brookings.edu/blog/social-mobility-mem os/2015/05/27/inequality-and-social-mobility-be-afraid/; Motoko Rich et al., "Money, Race and Success; How Your School District Compares," New York Times, April 29, 2015, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/ 2016/04/29/upshot/money-race-and-success-how-your-school-districtcompares.html? r=1; Raj Chetty and Nathaniel Hendren, "The Impacts of Neighborhoods on Intergenerational Mobility: Childhood Exposure Effects and County-Level Estimates," Harvard University and NBER, May 2015, https://scholar.harvard.edu/files/hendren/files/nbhds\_paper.pdf; Stephanie Coontz, "How Unmarried Americans Are Changing Everything," CNN, September 22, 2017, http://www.cnn.com/2017/09/21/opinions/ how-unmarried-americans-are-changing-the-game-coontz/index.html; Kay S. Hymowitz, Marriage and Caste in America (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2006), 6-7, 22-23; Murray, Coming Apart, 164-165. (C・マレー『階級 「断 絶し社会アメリカ』)
- 22 David Autor et al., "When Work Disappears: Manufacturing Decline and the Falling Marriage-Market Value of Men," University of Massachusetts, July 2017, http://www.umass.edu/preferen/You%20Must%20Read%20 This/Autor-Dorn-Hanson-MarriageMarket.pdf.
- 23 Matthew Stewart, "The 9.9 Percent Is the New American Aristocracy," *Atlantic*, June 2018, https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2018/06/the-birth-of-a-new-american-aristocracy/559130/; Anne Case and

- Sir Angus Deaton, "Mortality and Morbidity in the 21st Century," Brookings, March 23, 2017, https://www.brookings.edu/bpea-articles/mortality-and-morbidity-in-the-21st-century/.
- 24 Severin Carrell, "Scotland Records Highest Level of Drugs Deaths in Europe," *Guardian*, July 3, 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/society/2018/jul/03/scotland-records-highest-level-of-drugs-deaths-in-europe.
- 25 Lee Chang-gon, "Economic Crises the Biggest Threat to South Korean Families," *Hankyoreh*, March 21, 2017, http://english.hani.co.kr/arti/english edition/e national/787399.html.
- 26 Kristin Celello and Hanan Kholoussy, "Domestic Tensions, National Anxieties: Global Perspectives on Marriage, Crisis, and Nation," Oxford Scholarship Online, March 2016, http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/ view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199856749.001.0001/acprof-9780199856749chapter-12.
- 27 Andrew Jacobs and Adam Century, "As China Ages, Beijing Turns to Morality Tales to Spur Filial Devotion," *New York Times*, September 6, 2012.
- 28 Li Sun, Rural Urban Migration and Policy Intervention in China (Singapore: Palgrave, 2019), 31–33, 105, 133, 158; Andrew Browne, "The Underclass That Threatens Xi's 'China Dream," Wall Street Journal, December 5, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-underclass-that-threatens-xis-china-dream-1512470693?mod=itp&mod=djemITP h.
- 29 Ferdinand Lundberg, The Rich and the Super-Rich: A Study in the Power of Money Today (New York: Lyle Stuart, 1968), 919; Eugene V. Schneider, "The Sociology of C. Wright Mills," in C. Wright Mills, ed. Stanley Aronowitz (New York: SAGE Publications, 2004), 20.
- 30 David Goodhart, The Road to Somewhere: The New Tribes Shaping British Politics (London: Penguin, 2017), 75; Thomas Piketty, "Brahmin Left vs Merchant Right: Rising Inequality and the Changing Structure of Political Conflict," World Inequality Database, March 2018, http://piketty.pse.ens.fr/files/Piketty2018.pdf; Mark Rolfe, "Identity Crisis: Who Does the Australian Labor Party Represent?" The Conversation, April 16, 2014, https://theconversation.com/identity-crisis-who-does-the-australian-labor-

- party-represent-25374; Morris P. Fiorina, "The Revolt of the Masses," Hoover Institution, January 11, 2018, https://www.hoover.org/research/revolt-masses; Tim Pearce, "Union Members Have Traditionally Supported Democrats, but This Poll Shows a Dramatic Shift," *Daily Caller*, October 16, 2018, https://dailycaller.com/2018/10/16/union-members-republicandemocrat/; Frank Furedi, "Who Will Speak for the European Working Class?" *Spiked*, June 1, 2018, https://www.spiked-online.com/2018/06/01/who-will-speak-for-the-european-working-class/.
- 31 Bo Rothstein, "The Long Affair between the Working Class and the Intellectual Cultural Left Is Over," Social Europe, February 10, 2017, https://www.socialeurope.eu/long-affair-working-class-intellectual-cultural-left.
- 32 Jan Rovny, "What Happened to Europe's Left?" London School of Economics and Political Science, February 20, 2018, http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/2018/02/20/what-happened-to-europes-left/; Philip Manow et al., Welfare Democracies and Party Politics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), https://global.oup.com/academic/product/welfare-democracies-and-party-politics-9780198807971?q=palier+manow&lang=en &cc=nl; Herbert Kitschelt, "Diversification and Reconfiguration of Party Systems in Postindustrial Democracies," Europäische Politik, March 2004, http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/id/02608.pdf.
- 33 "Labour Will Be in Serious Peril If It Loses Its Working-Class Voters," Spiked, July 19, 2019, https://www.spiked-online.com/2019/07/19/labour-will-be-in-serious-peril-if-it-loses-its-working-class-voters/.
- 34 Rupert Darwall, "Behind the Green New Deal: An Elite War on the Working Class," New York Post, March 26, 2019, https://nypost.com/2019/03/26/behind-the-green-new-deal-an-elite-war-on-the-working-class/; David Friedman and Jennifer Hernandez, California, Greenhouse Gas Regulation, and Climate Change, Center for Demographics and Policy, Chapman University, http://www.newgeography.com/files/California%20 GHG%20Regulation%20Final.pdf.
- 35 Timothy Puko, "The Big Name in Coal's Resurgence: China," *Wall Street Journal*, August 27, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-big-name-in-

- coals-resurgence-china-1503835205; Fernand Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life*, vol. 1 of *Civilization and Capitalism* (New York: Harper & Row, 1982), 369. (ブローデル『物質文明・経済・資本主義 15–18世紀 I-2 日常性の構造 2』)
- 36 Robert Bryce, "How to Lower U.S. Living Standards," Wall Street Journal, September 21, 2015, https://www.wsj.com/articles/how-to-lower-u-s-living-standards-1442876463; EU Energy Poverty Observatory, "Energy Poverty in Germany—Highlights of a Beginning Debate," European Commission, July 9, 2014, https://www.energypoverty.eu/news/energy-poverty-germany-highlights-beginning-debate; EU Energy Poverty Observatory, "Measure Energy Poverty in Greece," European Commission, 2016, https://www.energypoverty.eu/publication/measuring-energy-poverty-greece.
- 37 Austin Williams, *The Enemies of Progress: The Dangers of Sustainability* (Exeter: Societas, 2008), 20–22, 25; Mariah Haas, "Google Summit on Climate Change Attended by Stars in Private Jets, Mega Yachts Slammed as 'Hypocritical,'" Fox News, August 2, 2019, https://www.foxnews.com/entertainment/google-summit-attended-by-hollywood-stars-slammed-ashypocritical.
- 38 Christopher Caldwell, "Europe is a Continent in Crisis—Where Lo-Vis People Now Wear Hi-Vis Jackets," *Spectator*, January 3, 2019, https://spectator.us/europe-continent-high-vis-jackets/; Christophe Guilluy, *Twilight of the Elites: Prosperity, the Periphery, and the Future of France*, trans. Malcolm Debevoise (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), 50.
- 39 Didier Eribon, *Returning to Reims*, trans. Michael Lucey (South Pasadena: Semiotext/MIT Press, 2013), 29–30, 128.
- 40 Pawel Zerka, "Europe's Underestimated Young Voters," European Council on Foreign Relations, May 2, 2019, https://www.ecfr.eu/article/commentary\_europes\_underestimated\_young\_voters\_elections; Lori Hinnant, "Europe's Far-Right Parties Hunt Down the Youth Vote," AP News, May 16, 2019, https://www.apnews.com/7f177b0cf15b4e87a53fe43 82d6884ca.
- 41 Michael Hobbes, "Turns Out White Millennials Are Just as Conservative

- as Their Parents," *Huffington Post*, June 2, 2019, https://www.huffpost.com/entry/turns-out-white-millennials-are-just-as-conservative-as-their-parents\_n\_5ce856fee4b0512156f16939; Chris Kahn, "Democrats Lose Ground with Millennials," Reuters, April 30, 2018, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-election-millennials/exclusive-democrats-lose-ground-with-millennials-reuters-ipsos-poll-idUSKBN1I10YH.
- 42 Alexis de Tocqueville, "Gale of Revolution in the Air," January 29, 1848, Speech Vault, http://www.speeches-usa.com/Transcripts/alexis\_de Tocqueville-gale.html.

## 第15章 農民反乱

- 1 Christopher Caldwell, "Sending Jobs Overseas," *Claremont Review of Books*, Spring 2017, http://www.claremont.org/crb/article/sending-jobs-overseas/#.WRf0XNzmbGE.twitter.
- 2 Adele M. Stan, "Trump and the Rise of 21st Century Fascism," *American Prospect*, August 27, 2018, http://prospect.org/article/trump-and-rise-21st-century-fascism.
- 3 Wolfgang Streeck, *How Will Capitalism End? Essays on a Failing System* (Brooklyn: Verso, 2016), 67; Anand Giridharadas, "After the Financial Crisis, Wall Street Turned to Charity—and Avoided Justice," *New Yorker*, September 15, 2018, https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/after-the-financial-crisis-wall-street-turned-to-charityand-avoided-justice.
- 4 Dani Rodrik, "Populism and the Economics of Globalization," *Journal of International Business Policy*, 2018, https://drodrik.scholar.harvard.edu/files/dani-rodrik/files/populism and the economics of globalization.pdf.
- 5 Pierre Riché, Daily Life in the World of Charlemagne, trans. Jo Ann McNamara (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), 67–68, 211–212; Frances and Joseph Gies, Daily Life in Medieval Times (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1969), 128; Norman F. Cantor, Medieval History: The Life and Death of a Civilization (New York: Macmillan, 1963), 87, 540; James Westfall Thompson and Edgar Nathaniel Johnson, An Introduction to Medieval Europe (New York: Norton, 1937), 290–291.
- 6 Mark Cartwright, "Serf," Ancient History Encyclopedia, December 4, 2018,

- https://www.ancient.eu/Serf/.
- 7 Barbara Tuchman, A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14th Century (New York: Knopf, 1978), 176-182. (タックマン『遠い鏡』)
- 8 "Tyler, Watt," *The Columbia Encyclopedia*, 6th ed., ed. Paul Lagassé (Columbia University Press, 2000).
- 9 Tuchman, A Distant Mirror, 372-396 (タックマン、前出); William H. McNeill, The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 556; Immanuel Wallerstein, The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the 16th Century (New York: Academic Press, 1974), 24. (ウォーラーステイン『近代世界システム』)
- 10 J. C. Davis, Oliver Cromwell (London: Arnold, 2001), 194-195.
- 11 Karel van Wolferen, *The Enigma of Japanese Power: People and Politics in a Stateless Nation* (New York: Vintage, 1990), 261. (ウォルフレン『日本 / 権力構造の謎(下)』)
- 12 T. R. Fehrenbach, Fire and Blood: A History of Mexico (New York: Collier, 1973), 255, 270, 305, 542–544, 591; Robert McCaa, "Missing Millions: the Human Cost of the Mexican Revolution," University of Minnesota Population Center, 2001, http://users.pop.umn.edu/~rmccaa/missmill/mxrev.htm.
- 13 Nicholas Riasanovsky, A History of Russia (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), 287–289, 410; Richard Pipes, Russian under the Old Regime (New York: Penguin, 1974), 155, 169–170; Orlando Figes, A People's Tragedy: The Russian Revolution, 1891–1924 (New York: Penguin, 1996), 754–775, 764.
- "Taiping Rebellion," *History*, February 22, 2018, updated August 21, 2018, https://www.history.com/topics/china/taiping-rebellion.
- 15 Kenneth Scott LaTourette, The Chinese: Their History and Culture (New York: Macmillan, 1967), 284–286, 292–294.
- 16 United Nations, "International Migration Report," 2017, http://www. un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/ migrationreport/docs/MigrationReport2017 Highlights.pdf.
- 17 Betsy McKay and Gabriele Steinhauser, "Extreme Poverty Concentrates in

- Sub-Saharan Africa," *Wall Street Journal*, September 18, 2018, https://www.wsj.com/articles/extreme-poverty-concentrates-in-sub-saharan-africa-1537243201.
- 18 Charlotte Werther, "Rebranding Britain: Cool Britannia, the Millennium Dome and the 2012 Olympics," *Moderna språk*, 2011, http://ojs.ub.gu.se/ojs/index.php/modernasprak/article/viewFile/664/616.
- "Number of Migrants in Germany Hits Record High," Reuters, April 12, 2018, https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-germany-immigration/number-of-migrants-in-germany-hits-record-high-idUKKBN1HJ2BQ; Krishnadev Calamur, "Migration Is Down, Crime Is Low, but Merkel Is in Trouble," Atlantic, June 18, 2018, https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/06/germany-migration-politics/563051/; Project 28, "Immigration," 2017, Századvég Foundation, http://project28.eu/migrants-2017/.
- 20 Jacob Poushter, "European Opinions of the Refugee Crisis in 5 Charts," Pew Research Center, September 16, 2016, https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/09/16/european-opinions-of-the-refugee-crisis-in-5-charts/.
- 21 Phillip Connor and Jens Manuel Krogstad, "Many Worldwide Oppose More Migration—Both into and Out of Their Countries," Pew Research Center, December 10, 2018, https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/ 2018/12/10/many-worldwide-oppose-more-migration-both-into-and-out-oftheir-countries/.
- 22 Elena Cavallone, "The Netherlands Tougher on Migration after Granting Asylum to Armenian Family," Euro News, February 25, 2019, https://www.euronews.com/2019/02/25/the-netherlands-tougher-on-migration-aftergranting-asylum-to-armenian-family; Nikolaj Nielsen, "France Tightens Immigration Law, Sparking Division," EU Observer, April 23, 2018, https://euobserver.com/migration/141661; Richard Orange, "Mette Frederiksen: the Anti-Immigration Left Leader Set to Win Power in Denmark," Guardian, May 11, 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/may/11/denmark-election-matte-frederiksen-leftwing-immigration; Asylum Information Database, "Germany: A Controversial Law Package Passes the Parliament," June 14, 2019, https://www.asylumineurope.org/news/14-06-2019/germany-controversial-law-package-passes-parliament-1; "Slovakia

- Drops in Press Freedom Ranking," *Slovak Spectator*, April 25, 2018, https://spectator.sme.sk/c/20812144/reporters-without-borders-issues-report-slovakia-worsened-in-chart.html.
- 23 Paulina Neuding, "Sweden's Violent Reality Is Undoing a Peaceful Self-image," *Politico*, April 17, 2018, https://www.politico.eu/article/sweden-bombings-grenade-attacks-violent-reality-undoing-peaceful-self-image-law-and-order/; "Teens Roam Streets with Rifles as Crime Swamps Sweden," *Times* (UK), January 21, 2018, https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/teens-roam-streets-with-rifles-as-crime-swamps-sweden-q83g055k9.
- 24 "On the Run Everywhere," *Washington Times*, March 21, 2018, https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2018/mar/21/editorial-the-reign-of-the-elites-is-crumbling-in-/; Christophe Guilluy, *Twilight of the Elites: Prosperity, the Periphery, and the Future of France*, trans. Malcolm Debevoise (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), 24.
- 25 "The Far Right's New Fascination with the Middle Ages," *Economist*, January 2, 2017, https://www.economist.com/blogs/democracyinamerica/2017/01/medieval-memes.
- 26 Guilluy, Twilight of the Elites, 43.
- 27 Neil Munro, "Billionaire Steve Case Says Immigrants Will Offset Middle Class Job Losses," *Daily Caller*, December 5, 2013, https://dailycaller. com/2013/12/05/billionaire-steve-case-says-immigrants-will-offset-middle-class-job-losses/.
- 28 Alex Pfeiffer, "Bill Kristol Says 'Lazy' White Working Class Should Be Replaced by 'New Americans," *Daily Caller*, February 8, 2017, https://dailycaller.com/2017/02/08/bill-kristol-says-lazy-white-working-class-should-be-replaced-by-new-americans/.
- 29 Geoff Colvin, "Donald Trump's Immigration Ban Ushers In a New Era of CEO Activism," *Fortune*, February 7, 2017, http://fortune.com/2017/02/07/donald-trumps-immigration-ban-ushers-in-a-new-era-of-ceo-activism/.
- 30 Douglas Murray, The Strange Death of Europe: Immigration, Identity, Islam (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 99, 226. (ダグラス・マレー『西洋の自死――移民・アイデンティティ・イスラム』中野剛志解説、町田敦夫訳、東洋経済新報社、2018年)

- 31 Giles Kepel, remarks at the Tocqueville Conversations, Château de Tocqueville, Normandy, France, June 7–8, 2018.
- 32 Goodhart, *The Road to Somewhere*, 3–4, 100; "The Brexit Index: a Who's Who of Remain and Leave Supporters," Populus, https://www.populus.co.uk/insights/2016/05/the-brexit-index-a-whos-who-of-remain-and-leave-supporters/; House of Commons Library, "General Election 2019: Results and Analysis," Number CBP 8749, 28 January 2020.
- 33 Peter Foster, "Denmark's EU Referendum Is a Blow to David Cameron," *Telegraph*, December 4, 2015, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/denmark/12032958/Denmarks-EU-referendum-is-a-blow-to-David-Cameron.html; "Dutch Referendum Voters Overwhelmingly Reject Closer EU Links to Ukraine," *Guardian*, April 7, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/apr/06/dutch-voters-reject-closer-eu-links-to-ukraine-in-referendum; Nick Gutteridge, "European Superstate to Be Unveiled: EU Nations 'to Be Morphed into One' Post-Brexit," *Express*, June 29, 2016, https://www.express.co.uk/news/politics/683739/EU-referendum-German-French-European-superstate-Brexit; Project 28, "Handling the Immigration Crisis," Századvég Foundation, http://project28. eu/.
- 34 Matthew Karnitschnig, "Cologne Puts Germany's 'Lying Press' on Defensive," *Politico*, January 25, 2016, https://www.politico.eu/article/cologne-puts-germany-lying-media-press-on-defensive-migration-refugees-attacks-sex-assault-nye/; Robert Spencer, "Google Manipulates Search Results to Conceal Criticism of Islam and Jihad," *PJ Media*, August 2, 2017, https://pjmedia.com/homeland-security/2017/08/02/google-manipulates-search-results-to-conceal-criticism-of-islam-and-jihad/; "Rome Opens Its Gates to the Modern Barbarians," *Financial Times*, May 15, 2018, https://www.ft.com/content/6348cc64-5764-11e8-b8b2-d6ceb45fa 9d0.
- 35 Goodhart, The Road to Somewhere, 14.
- 36 Robert Samuelson, "The Middle Class Rocks—Again," Real Clear Politics, September 18, 2017, https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2017/ 09/18/the\_middle\_class\_rocks-again\_135014.html; Nate Silver, "Silver

- Bulletpoints: The Union Vote Could Swing the Election," FiveThirtyEight, May 2, 2019, https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/silver-bulletpoints-the-union-vote-could-swing-the-election/.
- 37 Richard Florida, "Why Is Your State Red or Blue? Look to the Dominant Occupational Class," City Lab, November 28, 2018, https://www.citylab. com/life/2018/11/state-voting-patterns-occupational-class-datapolitics/575047/.
- 38 John Daniel Davidson, "Trump Is No Fascist. He Is a Champion for The Forgotten Millions," *Guardian*, February 5, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/feb/05/trump-not-fascist-champion-forforgotten-millions.
- 39 Salena Zito and Brad Todd, *The Great Revolt: Inside the Populist Coalition Reshaping American Politics* (New York: Crown Forum, 2018), 20, 234, 239, 252–253.
- 40 James Traub, "It's Time for the Elites to Rise Up Against the Ignorant Masses," Foreign Policy, June 28, 2016, https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/ 06/28/its-time-for-the-elites-to-rise-up-against-ignorant-masses-trump-2016-brexit/.
- 41 Goodhart, *The Road to Somewhere*, 91; Morris P. Fiorina, "The Revolt of the Masses," Hoover Institution, January 11, 2018, https://www.hoover.org/research/revolt-masses.
- 42 Eric D. Weitz, Weimar Germany: Promise and Tragedy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 137–138, 348.
- 43 John McCormick, "Americans Blame Wall Street for Making American Dream Harder to Achieve," Bloomberg, March 6, 2019, https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-03-06/wall-street-blamed-for-making-american-dream-harder-to-achieve?srnd=premium.
- 44 "Socialism 'More Popular than Capitalism' with Brits, Germans, US Youth," *Sputnik News*, February 24, 2016, https://sputniknews.com/europe/201602241035283984-socialism-popularity-britain-germany/.
- 45 Marco Damiani, "The Transformation of Jean-Luc Mélenchon: From Radical Outsider to Populist Leader," London School of Economics and Political Science, April 22, 2017, http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europp

- blog/2017/04/22/the-transformation-of-jean-luc-melenchon/.
- 46 Lucy Pasha-Robinson, "Election 2017: 61.5 Per Cent of under-40s Voted for Labour, New Poll Finds," *Independent*, June 14, 2017, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/election-2017-labour-youth-vote-under-40s-jeremy-corbyn-yougov-poll-a7789151.html; Jim Edwards, "Bernie Sanders and the Youth Vote: Stats and History Suggest He May Doom the Democrats," *Business Insider*, March 4, 2020, https://www.businessinsider.com/how-bernie-sanders-reliance-on-youth-vote-could-doom-democrats-2020-3.
- 47 Ben Knight, "Why the German Urban Middle Class is Going Green," *New Statesman*, July 17, 2019, https://www.newstatesman.com/culture/observations/2019/07/why-german-urban-middle-class-going-green.
- 48 Sohrab Ahmari, "Making the World Safe for Communism—Again," *Commentary*, October 18, 2017, https://www.commentarymagazine.com/politics-ideas/making-the-world-safe-for-communism-again/.
- 49 "More Young People Voted for Bernie Sanders than Trump and Clinton Combined," *Washington Post*, June 20, 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/06/20/more-young-people-voted-for-bernie-sanders-than-trump-and-clinton-combined-by-a-lot/?utm\_term=.60f572274c06.
- 50 Joel Kotkin, "Moderation's Limits," *City Journal*, March 6, 2020, https://www.city-journal.org/biden-victories-democrats-leftist-future.
- 51 Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation, 2019 Annual Poll, https://www.victimsofcommunism.org/2019-annual-poll; Jade Scipioni, "Half of Millennials Would Give Up Their Rights to Get Out of Debt," New York Post, September 14, 2017, https://nypost.com/2017/09/14/half-of-millennials-would-give-up-their-rights-to-get-out-of-debt/; Clay Routledge, "Why Are Millennials Wary of Freedom?" New York Times, October 14, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/14/opinion/sunday/millennials-freedom-fear.html.
- 52 Ronald Brownstein, "Millennials to Pass Baby Boomers as Largest Votereligible Age Group and What It Means," CNN, July 25, 2017, https://www.cnn.com/2017/07/25/politics/brownstein-millennials-largest-voter-group-baby-boomers/index.html.

- 53 Li Sun, Rural Urban Migration and Policy Intervention in China (Singapore: Palgrave, 2019), 133; Zhiming Cheng, Haining Wang, and Russell Smyth, "Happiness and Job Satisfaction in Urban China: A Comparative Study of Two Generations of Migrants and Urban Locals," Urban Studies, vol. 51: 10 (November 2013), 2160–2184.
- 54 Rob Schmitz, "In China, The Communist Party's Latest, Unlikely Target: Young Marxists," NPR, November 21, 2018, https://www.npr. org/2018/11/21/669509554/in-china-the-communist-partys-latest-unlikely-target-young-marxists?fbclid=IwAR2Qubw2ENnDLE\_G1GHwGws DaOUtwmBfRZalygyhQmO-Au7xAAd28CLXGwc; "Officials in Beijing Worry about Marx-Loving Students," *Economist*, September 27, 2018, https://www.economist.com/china/2018/09/27/officials-in-beijing-worry-about-marx-loving-students.
- 55 Guy Standing, "A 'Precariat Charter' Is Required to Combat the Inequalities and Insecurities Produced by Global Capitalism," London School of Economics and Political Science, May 5, 2014, http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/2014/05/05/a-precariat-charter-is-required-to-combat-the-inequalities-and-insecurities-produced-by-global-capitalism/; Aaron M. Renn, "Post-Work Won't Work," *City Journal*, August 4, 2017, https://www.city-journal.org/html/post-work-wont-work-15383.html.
- 56 Wendell Berry, What Are People For? (New York: Northpoint, 1990), 125.

## 第16章 新しい城塞都市

Richard Florida, "How and Why American Cities Are Coming Back," City Lab, May 17, 2012, https://www.citylab.com/life/2012/05/how-and-why-american-cities-are-coming-back/2015/; Lauren Nolan, "A Deepening Divide: Income Inequality Grows Spatially in Chicago," Voorhees Center for Neighborhood and Community Improvement, March 11, 2015, https://voorheescenter.wordpress.com/2015/03/11/a-deepening-divide-income-inequality-grows-spatially-in-chicago/; Aaron M. Renn, "Caterpillar's HQ Move to Chicago Shows America's Double Divide," Urbanophile, January 31, 2017, http://www.urbanophile.com/2017/01/31/caterpillars-hq-move-to-chicago-shows-americas-double-divide/.

- 2 Shane Hedmon. "The U.S. Cities with the Most Active Tower Cranes," Construction Junkie, July 23, 2018, https://www.constructionjunkie.com/blog/2018/7/23/the-us-cities-with-the-most-active-tower-cranes.
- Walter E. Williams, "Enough's Enough," Town Hall, August 15, 2018, https://townhall.com/columnists/walterewilliams/2018/08/15/enoughs-enough-n2509315; William Hageman, "Chicago Is a Rat's Kind of Town," Chicago Tribune, October 17, 2014, https://www.chicagotribune.com/lifestyles/ct-chicago-americas-rattiest-city-20141017-story.html.
- 4 Francesca Mirabile and Daniel Nass, "What's the Homicide Capital of America? Murder Rates in U.S. Cities, Ranked," *The Trace*, April 26, 2018, https://www.thetrace.org/2018/04/highest-murder-rates-us-cities-list/; Max Rust, Scott Calvert, and Shibani Mahtani, "Murder in America: What Makes Cities More Dangerous," *Wall Street Journal*, December 26, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/murder-in-america-what-makes-cities-more-dangerous-1514293200; Heather Mac Donald, "In Denial about Crime," *City Journal*, Winter 2016, https://www.city-journal.org/html/denial-about-crime-14118.html.
- William Cronon, Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West (New York: Norton, 1991), 4.
- 6 Pete Saunders, "More on Bifurcating Chicago and Detroit," *New Geography*, May 29, 2018, http://www.newgeography.com/content/005988-more-bifurcating-chicago-and-detroit.
- 7 Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis*, 283, 311; Alana Samuels, "Chicago's Awful Divide," *Atlantic*, March 28, 2018, https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2018/03/chicago-segregation-poverty/556649/; Center for Opportunity Urbanism, *Beyond Gentrification: Towards More Equitable Urban Growth*, https://opportunityurbanism.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/Toward-More-Equitable-Urban-Growth.pdf.
- 8 Linda Lutton, "The Middle Class Is Shrinking Everywhere—In Chicago It's Almost Gone," WBEZ 91.5 Chicago, February 18, 2019, https://www.wbez. org/shows/wbez-news/the-middle-class-is-shrinking-everywhere-inchicago-its-almost-gone/e63cb407-5d1e-41b1-9124-a717d4fb1b0b; Jessica Kursman and Nick Zettel, "Who Can Live in Chicago," Voorhees Center,

- June 6, 2018, https://voorheescenter.wordpress.com/2018/06/06/who-can-live-in-chicago-part-i/.
- 9 Samuels, "Chicago's Awful Divide"; Teresa L. Cordova and Matthew D. Wilson, "Abandoned in Their Neighborhoods: Youth Joblessness Amidst the Flight of Industry and Opportunity," Great Cities Institute, January 29, 2017, https://greatcities.uic.edu/2017/01/29/abandoned-in-their-neighborhoods-youth-joblessness-amidst-the-flight-of-industry-and-opportunity/; Manny Ramos, "Cook County's Black Population Continues to Decline," *Chicago Sun Times*, June 20, 2018, https://chicago.suntimes.com/news/cook-county-black-population-continues-to-decline-census-data/.
- 10 Patrick Sisson, "How a 'Reverse Great Migration' is Reshaping U.S. Cities," *Curbed*, July 31, 2018, https://www.curbed.com/2018/7/31/17632092/black-chicago-neighborhood-great-migration.
- 11 Aaron M. Renn, "How Richard Longworth Predicted 20 Years Ago That Globalization Would Cause a Social Crisis," Urbanophile, February 12, 2017, https://www.urbanophile.com/2017/02/12/how-richard-longworth-predicted-20-years-ago-that-globalization-would-cause-a-social-crisis/.
- 12 Edward Gibbon, The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (New York: Modern Library, 1931), vol. 1: 1102–1103, 1107, 1302–1303 (ギボン『ローマ帝国衰亡史〈5〉第31–38章——アッティラと西ローマ帝国滅亡』朱牟田夏雄訳、ちくま学芸文庫、1996年); Peter Heather, Empires and Barbarians: The Fall of Rome and the Birth of Europe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 279.
- 13 Gibbon, The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. 1: 976; vol. 2: 55 (ギボン『ローマ帝国衰亡史〈6〉第39-44章——ユスティニアヌスとビザンティン帝国』朱牟田夏雄、中野好之訳、ちくま学芸文庫、1996年)』); Michael Grant, The Fall of the Roman Empire (New York: Collier, 1990), 164; Henri Pirenne, Mohammed and Charlemagne (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover, 2001), 169-170.
- 14 Norman F. Cantor, Medieval History: The Life and Death of a Civilization (New York: Macmillan, 1963), 178, 278, 399; Frances and Joseph Gies, Daily Life in Medieval Times (New York: Barnes & Noble: 1969), 229;

- Vito Fumagalli, Landscapes of Fear: Perceptions of Nature and City in the Middle Ages, trans. Shayne Mitchell (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), 68.
- 15 Heng Chye Kiang, Cities of Aristocrats and Bureaucrats: The Development of Medieval Chinese Cityscapes (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 1–3.
- Stewart H. Holbrook, The Age of the Moguls: The Story of the Robber Barons and the Great Tycoons (New York: Doubleday, 1954), 131; Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, The Rise of American Civilization (New York: Macmillan, 1930), vol. 2: 385.
- 17 James Cherowbrier, "Leading Billionaire Cities in Europe in 2014 and 2016, by Billionaire Population," Statista, March 2017, https://www.statista.com/statistics/434709/leading-billionaire-cities-europe/; WealthX, "The WealthX Billionaire Census 2018," May 15, 2018, https://www.wealthx.com/report/the-wealth-x-billionaire-census-2018/; Stratfor, "Mapping the World's Wealthiest Cities," February 22, 2018, https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/mapping-worlds-wealthiest-cities.
- Daniel W. Drezner, "'Connectography' by Parag Khanna," New York Times, May 1, 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/01/books/review/connectography-by-parag-khanna.html?\_r=0; Simon Curtis, "What Comes after the End of the Global City?" De Gruyter Conversations, April 17, 2018, https://blog.degruyter.com/what-comes-after-the-end-of-the-global-city/; Joseph Gyourko et al., "Superstar Cities," National Bureau of Economic Research, July 2006, https://www.nber.org/papers/w12355.
- 19 Wendell Cox, "Paris, London Lead European Metropolitan Areas: Latest Data," *New Geography*, July 10, 2019, http://www.newgeography.com/content/006349-paris-london-lead-european-metropolitan-areas-latest-data; Christophe Guilluy, *Twilight of the Elites: Prosperity, the Periphery, and the Future of France*, trans. Malcolm Debevoise (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), 85; Wendell Cox, "The Long Term: Metro America Goes From 82% to 86% Suburban since 1990," *New Geography*, June 11, 2014, http://www.newgeography.com/content/004361-the-long-term-metro-america-goes-from-82-86-suburban-since-1990.
- 20 Fred Siegel and Harry Siegel, "Can Bloomberg's 'Luxury' City Survive?"

- Wall Street Journal, October 15, 2009, https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10 001424052748704107204574472892886003298; "Bloomberg: Would Be 'Godsend' if More Billionaires Moved to NYC," NBC New York, September 20, 2013, https://www.nbcnewyork.com/news/local/Mayor-Bloomberg-Billionaires-Rich-Poor-Income-Gap--224592951.html.
- 21 William A. Galston, "Why Cities Boom While Towns Struggle," Wall Street Journal, March 13, 2018, https://www.wsj.com/articles/why-cities-boom-while-towns-struggle-1520983492?mod=ITP\_opinion\_0&tesla=y; Will Wilkinson, "A Tale of Two Moralities, Part One: Regional Inequality and Moral Polarization," Niskanen Center, January 19, 2017, https://niskanencenter.org/blog/tale-two-moralities-part-one-regional-inequality-moral-polarization/.
- 22 Richard Florida, "How Your Social Class Affects Where You'll Move," City Lab, April 4, 2018, https://www.citylab.com/equity/2018/04/how-your-social-class-affects-where-youll-move/557060/; Conor Dougherty and Andrew Burton, "A 2:15 Alarm, 2 Trains and a Bus Get Her to Work by 7 A.M.," New York Times, August 17, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/17/business/economy/san-francisco-commute.html.
- 23 Data derived from the American Community Survey 2012–2016 by Wendell Cox, www.demographia.com.
- 24 Chad Shearer and Alan Berube, "The Surprisingly Short List of Metro Areas Achieving Inclusive Economic Growth," Brookings, April 27, 2017, https://www.brookings.edu/blog/the-avenue/2017/04/27/the-surprisingly-short-list-of-u-s-metro-areas-achieving-inclusive-economic-growth/; Kevin Baker, "The Death of a Once Great City," *Harper's*, July 2018, https://harpers.org/archive/2018/07/the-death-of-new-york-city-gentrification/?ex cid=SigDig.
- 25 Francesco Andreoli and Eugenio Peluso, "So Close Yet So Unequal: Reconsidering Spatial Inequality in U.S. Cities," Dipartimento di Economia e Finanza, February 2017, https://dipartimenti.unicatt.it/economia-finanzadef055.pdf.
- 26 Rakesh Kochhar, "The American Middle Class is Stable in Size, but Losing Ground Financially to Upper-Income Families," Pew Research Center,

- September 6, 2018, https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/09/06/the-american-middle-class-is-stable-in-size-but-losing-ground-financially-to-upper-income-families/; Wendell Cox, "2018 COU Standard of Living Index," Center for Opportunity Urbanism, December 2018, https://opportunityurbanism.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/2018-COU-Standard-of-Living-Index.pdf.
- 27 Nathaniel Baum-Snow and Ronni Pavan, "Inequality and City Size," Review of Economics and Statistics, vol. 95: 5 (December 2013), 1535–1548; https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4063360/; Enrico Moretti, "America's Great Divergence," Salon, May 20, 2012, https://www.salon.com/2012/05/20/america\_resegregated/; James Parrott, "As Income Gap Widens, New York Grows Apart," Gotham Gazette, January 18, 2011, http://www.gothamgazette.com/index.php/economy/683-as-incomes-gap-widens-new-york-grows-apart.
- Amy Liu, "The Urgency to Achieve an Inclusive Economy in the Bay Area," Brookings, June 7, 2018, https://www.brookings.edu/research/the-urgency-to-achieve-an-inclusive-economy-in-the-bay-area/.
- 29 Thomas Fuller, "San Francisco's Homeless Crisis Tests Mayoral Candidates' Liberal Ideals," *New York Times*, May 30, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/30/us/san-francisco-mayoral-election-homeless.html; Bigad Shaban, "Survey of Downtown San Francisco Reveals Trash on Every Block, 303 Piles of Feces and 100 Drug Needles," NBC Bay Area, February 2, 2018, https://www.nbcbayarea.com/news/local/Diseased-Streets-472430013.html; Alexis C. Madrigal, "Who's Really Buying Property in San Francisco?" *Atlantic*, April 19, 2019, https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2019/04/san-francisco-city-apps-built-or-destroyed/587389/; Dave Clark, "San Francisco's Black Population Is Less than 5 Percent, Exodus Has Been Steady," KTVU, November 24, 2016, http://www.ktvu.com/news/san-franciscos-black-population-is-less-than-5-percent-exodus-has-been-steady.
- 30 Kathleen Maclay, "More Gentrification, Displacement in Bay Area Forecast," *Berkeley News*, August 24, 2015, https://news.berkeley.edu/2015/08/24/more-gentrification-displacement-in-bay-area-forecast/;

- Sam Levin, "'Largest-Ever' Silicon Valley Eviction to Displace Hundreds of Tenants," *Guardian*, July 7, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/jul/07/silicon-valley-largest-eviction-rent-controlled-tenants-income-inequality; Rong-Gong Lin II and Gale Holland, "Silicon Valley Homeless No Longer Welcome in 'The Jungle,'" *Los Angeles Times*, December 3, 2014, https://www.latimes.com/local/california/la-me-silicon-valley-homeless-20141204-story.html.
- 31 John Barber, "Toronto Divided: A Tale of Three Cities," *Globe and Mail*, December 20, 2007, https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/toronto-divided-a-tale-of-3-cities/article18151444/.
- 32 Kat Hanna and Nicolas Bosetti, "Inside Out: The New Geography of Wealth and Poverty in London," Centre for London, December 2015, https://www.centreforlondon.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/CFLJ3887-Inside-out-inequality\_12.125\_WEB.pdf; Rupert Neate, "Rich Overseas Parents Buy £2bn of Property to Get Top School Places," *Guardian*, September 5, 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/sep/05/wealthy-overseas-parents-london-property-private-school-places.
- 33 David Goodhart, The Road to Somewhere: The New Tribes Shaping British Politics (London: Penguin, 2017), 135–139.
- 34 Sako Musterd et al., "Socioeconomic Segregation in European Capital Cities. Increasing Separation between Poor and Rich," *Urban Geography*, vol. 38: 7 (2017), 1062–1083, https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.108 0/02723638.2016.1228371; Richard Florida, "Economic Segregation and Inequality in Europe's Cities," City Lab, November 16, 2015, https://www.citylab.com/life/2015/11/economic-segregation-and-inequality-in-europes-cities/415920/.
- $35 \quad \text{Guilluy, } \textit{Twilight of the Elites, } 38.$
- 36 David Ottewell, "Which Are the Most Foreigner-Dominated Places in Europe? (And Only One of Them Is in the UK)," *Mirror*, June 7, 2016, https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/most-foreigner-dominated-places-europe-8133284.
- 37 "Indicators of Immigrant Integration 2015," OECD, 2015, https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/sites/6673aaf3-en/index.html?itemId=/content/comp

- onent/6673aaf3-en; Trading Economics, "GDP Annual Growth Rate/Europe," https://tradingeconomics.com/country-list/gdp-annual-growth-rate?continent=europe.
- 38 Kim Willsher, "Paris, City of Romance, Rues New Image as the Dirty Man of Europe," Observer, September 22, 21019, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/sep/22/paris-dirty-image-litter-dog-mess; Angela Giuffrida, "Romans Revolt as Tourists Turn Their Noses Up at City's Decay," Guardian, April 26, 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/apr/26/romans-revolt-as-tourists-turn-their-noses-up-at-citys-decay; Michael Colborne, "The European Capital with a Swastika Epidemic," Haaretz, November 1, 2018, https://www.haaretz.com/world-news/europe/.premium.MAGAZINE-the-european-capital-with-a-swastika-epidemic-1.6613202; Kenan Malik, "The Failure of Multiculturalism," Foreign Affairs, March/April 2015, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/western-europe/2015-02-18/failure-multiculturalism; Joel Kotkin, "Europe's Fading Cosmopolitan Dream," City Journal, August 12, 2019, https://www.city-journal.org/europe-multiculturalism.
- 39 "Austrian Govt Calls for 'Restrictive Asylum Policy' Amid Growing Foreign Crime Rate," RT, January 10, 2018, https://www.rt.com/news/415527-austria-foreign-crime-rate/; "Terrorisme, Criminalité et Immigration en Suède: Les Chiffres versus ce que dit Trump," RTBF, February 20, 2017, https://www.rtbf.be/info/monde/detail\_terrorisme-criminalite-et-immigration-en-suede-les-chiffres-versus-ce-que-dit-trump?id=9535270; "Reality Check: Are Migrants Driving Crime in Germany?" BBC, September 13, 2018, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-45419466.
- 40 Raheem Kassam, "Trump Is Right: Sadiq Khan Is a Stone Cold Loser," *Human Events*, June 3, 2019, https://humanevents.com/2019/06/03/trump-is-right-sadiq-khan-is-a-stone-cold-loser/; Justin Fox, "Why London Has More Crime Than New York," Bloomberg, June 19, 2018, https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2018-06-19/why-london-has-more-crime-than-new-york.
- 41 Center for Opportunity Urbanism, Beyond Gentrification: Towards More Equitable Growth, January 2019, https://opportunityurbanism.org/wp-

- content/uploads/2019/01/Toward-More-Equitable-Urban-Growth.pdf.
- 42 Jane Jacobs, *Dark Age Ahead* (New York: Random House, 2005), 37. (ジェイコブズ『壊れゆくアメリカ』)
- 43 Aaron M. Renn, "Caterpillar's HQ Move to Chicago Shows America's Double Divide," Urbanophile, January 31, 2017, http://www.urbanophile. com/2017/01/31/caterpillars-hq-move-to-chicago-shows-americas-doubledivide/; Emily Badger, "What Happens When the Richest U.S. Cities Turn to the World?" New York Times, December 22, 2017, https://www.nytimes. com/2017/12/22/upshot/the-great-disconnect-megacities-go-global-butlose-local-links.html.
- 44 Aaron M. Renn, "Population Transformation in Pittsburgh and Chicago," New Geography, April 13, 2018, http://www.newgeography.com/content/005937-population-transformation-pittsburgh-and-chicago.
- 45 UCL Urban Laboratory, "How Ruth Glass Shaped the Way We Approach Our Cities," University College London, January 13, 2015, http://www.ucl. ac.uk/urbanlab/news/ruth-glass-seminar.
- 46 Karen J. Gibson, "Bleeding Albina: A History of Community Disinvestment," Transforming Anthropology, vol. 15: 1, (2007), 3–25, http://kingneighborhood.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/BLEEDING-ALBINA\_-A-HISTORY-OF-COMMUNITY-DISINVESTMENT-1940% E2%80%932000.pdf; NYU Furman Center, "Focus on Gentrification," June 9, 2016, http://furmancenter.org/files/sotc/Part\_1\_Gentrification\_SOCin2015\_9JUNE2016.pdf; Jonathan Wynn and Andrew Deener, "Gentrification? Bring It," The Conversation, October 11, 2017, https://theconversation.com/gentrification-bring-it-82107.
- 47 Kevin Baker, "The Death of a Once Great City," *Harper's*, July 2018, https://harpers.org/archive/2018/07/the-death-of-new-york-city-gentrification/; Theodore Dalrymple, "The Architect as Totalitarian," *City Journal*, Autumn 2009, https://www.city-journal.org/html/architect-totalitarian-13246.html; Claire Berlinski, "The Architectural Sacking of Paris," *City Journal*, Winter 2018, https://www.city-journal.org/html/architectural-sacking-paris-15655.html.
- 48 James Heartfield, "London's Social Cleansing," New Geography, May 13,

- 2012, http://www.newgeography.com/content/002824-london% E2%80%99s-social-cleansing.
- 49 Ibid.; Sara Malm, "Is Buying a House Just a Pipe Dream? Concrete Tubes Just over Eight Feet Wide, with a Bench That Turns into a Bed, Could Be Your Solution," *Daily Mail*, January 15, 2018, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5271411/8ft-concrete-tubes-solution-housing-crisis.html; James Heartfield, "Britain's Housing Crisis: The Places People Live," *New Geography*, January 28, 2013, http://www.newgeography.com/content/003432-britains-housing-crisis-the-places-people-live.
- 50 Maggie Shen King, An Excess Male (New York: Harper, 2017), 11.
- 51 Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class* (New York: Basic Books, 2002).
- 52 Office of the New York Comptroller Scott M. Stringer, "New York City's Millennials in Recession and Recovery," April 2016, https://comptroller.nyc.gov/wp-content/uploads/documents/NYC\_Millennials\_In\_Recession\_and\_Recovery.PDF; Corinne Lestch, "NYC Affordable Housing Is Vanishing as Rents Skyrocket, Incomes Decline: Report," New York Daily News, April 23, 2014, https://www.nydailynews.com/new-york/nyc-rents-soar-incomes-decline-article-1.1765445; Patrick Clark, "The Exact Moment Big Cities Got Too Expensive for Millennials," Bloomberg, July 15, 2015, https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-07-15/the-exact-moment-big-cities-got-too-expensive-for-millennials?utm\_source=Mic+Check&utm\_campaign=2b200dd408-Thursday\_July\_167\_15\_2015&utm\_medium=email&utm\_term=0\_51f2320b33-2b200dd408-285306781.
- 53 Katy Murphy, "The California Dream is Tough to Afford If You're under 40," *Mercury News*, February 21, 2018, https://www.mercurynews.com/2018/02/18/the-california-dream-is-tough-to-afford-if-youre-under-40/; Joel Kotkin and Wendell Cox, "Fading Promise: Millennial Prospects in the Golden State," Center for Demographics and Policy, May 5, 2017, http://centerforcaliforniarealestate.org/publications/Kotkin-Fading-Dream-printable.pdf.
- 54 Center for Opportunity Urbanism, Beyond Gentrification.
- 55 John Aidan Byrne, "The Exodus of New York City's Endangered Middle

- Class," New York Post, December 22, 2018, https://nypost.com/2018/12/22/the-exodus-of-new-york-citys-endangered-middle-class/; Jane Jacobs, The Death and Life of Great American Cities (New York: Vintage, 1962), 282.
- 56 National Urban Coalition, Displacement: City Neighborhoods in Transition, Washington, D.C., 1978.
- 57 Kristian Behrens and Frederic Robert-Nicoud, "Urbanization Makes the World More Unequal," *VoxEU*, July 24, 2014, https://voxeu.org/article/inequality-big-cities.
- 58 Richard Florida, "Mapping the New Urban Crisis," City Lab, April 13, 2017, https://www.citylab.com/equity/2017/04/new-urban-crisis-index/521037/; Patrick Sharkey, "Rich Neighborhood, Poor Neighborhood: How Segregation Threatens Social Mobility," Brookings, December 5, 2013, https://www.brookings.edu/blog/social-mobility-memos/2013/12/05/rich-neighborhood-poor-neighborhood-how-segregation-threatens-social-mobility/.
- Helen Raleigh, "Gentrification Provokes a Coffee Clash in Denver's Five 59 Points," Wall Street Journal, December 22, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/ articles/gentrification-provokes-a-coffee-clash-in-denvers-five-points-1513983831; Cameron McWhirter, "Atlanta's Growing Pains Are Getting Worse," Wall Street Journal, August 31, 2018, https://www.wsj.com/ articles/atlantas-growing-pains-are-getting-worse-1535707800; Richard Campanella, "Gentrification and Its Discontents: Notes From New Orleans," New Geography, February 28, 2013, http://www.newgeography. com/content/003526-gentrification-and-its-discontents-notes-new-orleans; "Google Abandons Berlin Base after Two Years of Resistance," Guardian, October 24, 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2018/oct/24/ google-abandons-berlin-base-after-two-years-of-resistance; Chantal Braganza, "Why Opponents of Gentrification Have Taken to the Streets of Hamilton," TVO, April 5, 2018, https://tvo.org/article/current-affairs/whyopponents-of-gentrification-have-taken-to-the-streets-of-hamilton; David Streitfeld, "Protesters Block Google Buses in San Francisco, Citing 'Techsploitation,'" New York Times, May 31, 2018, https://www.nytimes. com/2018/05/31/us/google-bus-protest.html?emc=edit ca 20180601&nl=

- california-today&nlid=8514846720180601&te=1.
- 60 Alene Tchekmedyian and Joseph Serna, "'I Think it's Arson': Developer Suspects Political Motives as Officials Probe Latest Bay Area Fire," Los Angeles Times, July 10, 2017, https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-oakland-construction-fires-20170710-story.html; "Is Boyle Heights Coffee Shop Vandalism an Anti-Gentrification Message?" CBS Los Angeles, July 19, 2017, https://losangeles.cbslocal.com/2017/07/19/boyle-heights-vandalism-gentrification/.
- 61 Rakesh Kochhar, "The American Middle Class Is Stable in Size, but Losing Ground Financially to Upper-income Families," Pew Research Center, September 6, 2018, http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/09/06/the-american-middle-class-is-stable-in-size-but-losing-ground-financially-to-upper-income-families/.

### 第17章 新しい封建都市の精神

- 1 Fernand Braudel, *The Perspective of the World*, vol. 3 of *Civilization and Capitalism*, 15th–18th Century, trans. Sian Reynolds (New York: Harper & Row, 1984), 30. (ブローデル『物質文明・経済・資本主義 15–18世紀 III-1 世界時間1』)
- Jason Long, "Rural-Urban Migration and Socioeconomic Mobility in Victorian Britain," 2002, Semantic Scholar, https://pdfs.semanticscholar. org/c433/83f5019375b2ed737cec87fb764a0cf86920.pdf.
- 3 Christopher Rugaber, "Urban Middle Class Hollowing into Haves and Have-Nots, Pew Says," *Christian Science Monitor*, May 11, 2016, https://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Society/2016/0511/Urban-middle-class-hollowing-into-haves-and-have-nots-Pew-says.
- 4 Jed Kolko, "The Jobs Priced Out of Expensive Metros," Indeed Hiring Lab, May 17, 2018, https://www.hiringlab.org/2018/05/17/jobs-priced-expensive-metros/; Jana Kasperkevic, "These Blue Collar Workers Are Getting Priced Out of the Cities That Need Them," Marketplace, April 13, 2017, https://www.marketplace.org/2017/04/13/wealth-poverty/these-blue-collar-workers-are-getting-priced-out-cities-need-them; Aaron M. Renn, "The Lifeblood of Cities," City Journal, January 9, 2018, https://www.city-

- journal.org/html/lifeblood-cities-15639.html; Harrison Jacobs, "Incredible Maps Show How Working-Class Neighborhoods Are Disappearing from American Cities," *Business Insider*, September 30, 2014, http://www.businessinsider.com/working-class-neighborhoods-are-disappearing-from-american-cities-2014-9.
- 5 Emily Badger and Quoctrung Bai, "What if Cities Are No Longer the Land of Opportunity for Low-Skilled Workers?" New York Times, January 11, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/11/upshot/big-cities-low-skilledworkers-wages.html.
- Gabriela Inchauste, Living and Leaving: Housing, Mobility, and Welfare in the European Union, World Bank Report on the European Union, World Bank Group, 2018, http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/5070215416115 53122/Living-Leaving-web.pdf; William A. Galston, "Why Cities Boom While Towns Struggle," Wall Street Journal, March 13, 2018, https://www. wsj.com/articles/why-cities-boom-while-towns-struggle-15209834 92?mod=ITP\_opinion\_0&tesla=y.
- Jan Woronoff, Japan: The Coming Social Crisis (Tokyo: Lotus Press, 1984), 312; Alex Martin, "Japan's Glut of Abandoned Homes: Hard to Sell but Bargains When Opportunity Knocks," Japan Times, December 26, 2017, https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2017/12/26/national/japans-glut-abandoned-homes-hard-sell-bargains-opportunity-knocks/#.W\_Ap7OhK iUk; Jonathan Soble, "A Sprawl of Ghost Homes in Aging Tokyo Suburbs," New York Times, August 24, 2015, https://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/24/world/a-sprawl-of-abandoned-homes-in-tokyo-suburbs.html; Hiroko Tabuchi, "For Some in Japan, Home Is a Tiny Plastic Bunk," New York Times, January 1, 2010, http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/02/business/global/02capsule.html.
- 8 Nate Berg, "Why China's Urbanization Isn't Creating a Middle Class," City Lab, February 29, 2012, https://www.citylab.com/life/2012/02/why-chinas-urbanization-isnt-creating-middle-class/1357/; "City Chickens and Country Eggs," Economist, August 4, 2013, https://www-economist-com.stanford.idm.oclc.org/analects/2013/08/04/city-chickens-and-country-eggs; Eva Dou and Dominique Fong, "Homeward Bound: Beijing Boots Migrant Workers

- to Trim Its Population," *Wall Street Journal*, November 29, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/beijing-evictions-of-migrant-workers-sparks-outrage-1511962464.
- 9 Kai-Fu Lee, AI Superpowers: China, Silicon Valley, and the New World Order (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2018), 141; Hao Jingfang, "Folding Beijing," in Invisible Planets: Contemporary Chinese Science Fiction in Translation, trans. Ken Liu (New York: Tor, 2016), 221-262. (郝景芳「北京 折りたたみの都市」『郝景芳短篇集』及川茜訳、白水社、2019年)
- 10 Richard Florida, "The Problem of Urbanization without Economic Growth," City Lab, June 12 2015, https://www.citylab.com/life/2015/06/the-problem-of-urbanization-without-economic-growth/395648/; Richard Florida, "When Urbanization Doesn't Help," City Lab, June 22, 2016, https://www.citylab.com/equity/2016/06/disparities-of-urbanization-global-china-india/487625/; Susanne Frick, and Andres Rodriguez-Pose, "Big or Small Cities: On City Size and Economic Growth," *VoxEU*, October 20, 2017, https://voxeu.org/article/city-size-and-economic-growth.
- 11 Ivette Saldaña, "Estados del Norte, Los mas Atractivos Para la IED," El Financiero, April 7, 2008, http://biblioteca.iiec.unam.mx/index.php?option=com\_content&task=view&id=1733&Itemid=146; "As Inequality Grows in Mexico, So Does Social Polarization," World Politics Review, January 19, 2017, https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/trend-lines/20957/as-inequality-grows-in-mexico-so-does-social-polarization; Unequal Scenes, "Mexico City," https://unequalscenes.com/mexico-city-df.
- M. S. Deshmukh, "Conditions of Slum Population of Major Sub-Urban Wards of Mumbai in Maharashtra," *Voice of Research*, vol. 2: 2 (September 2013), 34–40, https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/12a5/695be9318ee233fe025 cc476eddcbc0580d3.pdf; Chittaranjan Tembhekar, "Mumbaikers Die Younger than Other Indians," *Times of India*, November 3, 2009, https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Mumbaikars-die-younger-than-other-Indians-Study/articleshow/5190726.cms; R. N. Sharma, "The Housing Market in Mumbai Metropolis and Its Relevance to the Average Citizen," in *Indian Cities in Transition*, ed. Annapurna Shaw (Chennai: Orient Longman, 2006), 284–285; 著者インタビュー、ミラ・アドヴァニ氏に聞く。

- 13 Michael Waldrep, "The Contemporary City at Its Limits: Santa Fe, Mexico City," *National Geographic*, May 14, 2015, https://blog.nationalgeographic.org/2015/05/14/the-contemporary-city-at-its-limits-santa-fe-mexico-city/.
- 14 Rajiv Desai, "Incredible India Indeed," *Times of India*, November 6, 2009. https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/edit-page/Incredible-India-Indeed/articleshow/5232986.cms.
- John Sutherland, "The Ideas Interview: Saskia Sassen," *Guardian*, July 4, 2006, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2006/jul/04/globalisation.comment.
- 16 著者インタビュー、R・M・シャルマ氏に聞く(2009年)。
- Tomas Frejka, Review of *Work: Ultra-Low Fertility in Pacific Asia: Trends, Causes and Policy Issues* by Gavin Jones et al., *Population and Development Review*, vol. 35: 2 (2009), 423–425, https://www.jstor.org/stable/25487674; Joel Kotkin, "The Rise of Post-Familialism: Humanity's Future?" Civil Service College Singapore and Chapman University, 2012, https://www.chapman.edu/wilkinson/\_files/the-rise-of-post-familialism.pdf; Ali Modarres and Joel Kotkin, "The Childless City," *City Journal*, Summer 2013, https://www.city-journal.org/html/childless-city-13577.html.
- Joel Kotkin and Wendell Cox, "America's Future Depends on the Bedroom, Not the Border," New Geography, April 22, 2019, http://www.newgeography.com/content/006282-america-s-future-depends-bedroom-not-border.
- 19 Derek Thompson, "The Future of the City Is Childless," *Atlantic*, July 18, 2019, https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/07/where-have-all-the-children-gone/594133/.
- 20 NYU Furman Center, "Report Analyzes New York City's Gentrifying Neighborhoods and Finds Dramatic Demographic Shifts," *The Stoop*, May 9, 2016, http://furmancenter.org/thestoop/entry/new-report-analyzes-new-york-citys-gentrifying-neighborhoods-and-finds-dram; Joel Kotkin, "America's Future Cities: Where the Youth Population Is Booming," *New Geography*, February 6, 2014, http://www.newgeography.com/content/004169-americas-future-cities-where-the-youth-population-is-booming.
- 21 Steve LeVine, "1 Big Thing: The Great Family Exodus," Axios, January 25,

- 2019, https://www.axios.com/newsletters/axios-future-ddfc78e8-78ec-4285-87ab-f10565b42249.html.
- 22 Elizabeth Cheung, "Financial Burdens, Cramped Living Quarters and Less Sex: Are These the Reasons So Many Hong Kong Women Are Undecided about Having Children?" South China Morning Post, December 5, 2018, https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/health-environment/article/2176389/financial-burdens-cramped-living-quarters-and-less.
- "China's Birth Rates Reportedly Fell in Several Regions in 2018," CNBC, March 21, 2019, https://www.cnbc.com/2019/03/22/chinas-birth-rates-reportedly-fell-in-several-regions-in-2018.html; Sutirtho Patranobis, "Shanghai, Beijing Have Lowest Fertility Rates in the World," *Hindustan Times*, May 1, 2012, https://www.hindustantimes.com/world/shanghai-beijing-have-lowest-fertility-rates-in-the-world/story-cT8E4ooYxhF eXcgiydBX9O.html; Stuart Basten and Quanbao Jiang, "Fertility in China: An Uncertain Future," *Population Studies*, vol. 69, Supp. 1 (April 30, 2015), S95–S105, https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC 4440625/.
- 24 Greg Wilford, "Young Japanese People Are Not Having Sex," *Independent*, July 8, 2017, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/japan-sex-problem-demographic-time-bomb-birth-rates-sex-robots-fertility-crisis-virgins-romance-porn-a7831041.html; Claire Aird, "Young Single People in Japan Aren't Having Sex and the Reason Is Proving Fatal," SBS, September 26, 2018, https://www.sbs.com.au/news/the-feed/young-single-people-in-japan-aren-t-having-sex-and-the-reason-is-proving-fatal.
- 25 Rachel Blundy, "Losing Sex Appeal? The Future of Hong Kong's Red Light Districts," South China Morning Post, December 3, 2016, https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/economy/article/2051238/losing-sex-appeal-future-hong-kongs-red-light-districts.
- 26 Sui-Lee Wee, "In China, an Education in Dating," New York Times, November 18, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/18/business/chinadating-schools.html; Sui-Lee Wee, "In China, a School Trains Boys to Be 'Real Men,'" New York Times, November 23, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/23/business/china-boys-men-school.html; 著者インタビュー。

- John Dale Glover, "Xi's China Dreams Will Not Age Well," Real Clear World, November 9, 2017, https://www.realclearworld.com/articles/2017/11/09/xis\_china\_dreams\_will\_not\_age\_well\_112625.html; Desmond Ng and Tan Jia Ning, "These Are the Leftover Men of China, Who Just Want to Get Married," CNA, July 3, 2018, https://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/cnainsider/leftover-men-china-get-married-gender-imbalance-one-child-policy-10485358; Qian Jinghua and Fan Yiying, "It's Complicated: Chinese Millennials and Marriage," Sixth Tone, August 4, 2018, http://www.sixthtone.com/news/1002717/its-complicated-chinese-millennials-and-marriage; Simon Denyer and Annie Gowen, "Too Many Men: China and India Battle with the Consequences of Gender Imbalance," South China Morning Post, April 24, 2018, https://www.scmp.com/magazines/post-magazine/long-reads/article/2142658/too-many-men-china-and-india-battle-consequences.
- 28 H. G. Wells, Anticipations of the Reaction of Mechanical and Scientific Progress Upon Human Life and Thought (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Books, 1999). 31–32.
- 29 Joel Kotkin, *The City: A Global History* (New York: Modern Library, 2005), 114–116; Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (London: Penguin, 2009), 31. (ジョエル・コトキン『都市から見る世界史』庭田よう子訳、ランダムハウス講談社、2007年)
- 30 Frank Lloyd Wright, *The Living City* (New York: New American Library, 1958), 87. (フランク・ロイド・ライト『ライトの都市論』谷川正己、谷川睦子訳、彰国社、1968年)
- 31 R. K. Webb, Modern England: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1971), 576–577; Benjamin M. Friedman, The Moral Consequences of Economic Growth (New York: Knopf, 2005), 20, 63.
- 32 Mark Clapson, "Community and Association in Milton Keynes since 1970," in *The Best Laid Plans: Milton Keynes since 1967*, ed. Mark Clapson, Mervyn Dobbin, and Peter Waterman (Luton, UK: Luton University Press, 1998), 101–106; James Heartfield, *Let's Build: Why We Need Five Hundred Million New Homes in the Next Ten Years* (London: Audacity.

- 2006), 65; Karl Sharro, "Density Versus Sprawl," in *The Future of Community (Reports of a Death Greatly Exaggerated)*, ed. Dave Clements et al. (London: Pluto Press, 2008), 67; John Boorman, *Adventures of a Suburban Boy* (London: Faber & Faber, 2003), n.p.
- 33 Wendell Cox, "Suburban Nations: Canada, Australia, and the United States," *New Geography*, December 30, 2016, http://www.newgeography.com/content/005495-suburban-nations-canada-australia-and-united-states.
- 34 Lawrence Yun et al., "2016 Profile of Home Buyers and Sellers," National Association of Realtors, October 31, 2016, https://www.nar.realtor/sites/default/files/reports/2016/2016-profile-of-home-buyers-and-sellers- 10-31-2016.pdf; Joel Kotkin, "California Wages War on Single-Family Homes," New Geography, July 26, 2011, http://www.newgeography.com/content/002357-california-wages-war-on-single-family-homes.
- Wendell Cox, "New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago Metro Areas All Lose Population," New Geography, April 19, 2019, http://www.newgeography. com/content/006280-new-york-los-angeles-and-chicago-metro-areas-all-lose-population.
- 36 Stephen Lacey, "Big Smoke, Bush or the 'Burbs?" Sidney Morning Herald, June 27, 2013.
- 37 Shireen Khalil, "Australia Needs to Manage High Density to Be a Successful Global City, Experts Say," News.com.au, October 16, 2018, https://www.news.com.au/finance/real-estate/australia-needs-to-manage-high-density-to-be-a-successful-global-city-experts-say/news-story/2c9d041 1daec4c9cf5eeebc009ad24ba; Tony Rescei, "Predictable Punditry Down Under," New Geography, July 27, 2012, http://www.newgeography.com/content/002980-predictable-punditry-down-under; Urban Taskforce Australia, "Greater Sydney Plan Sets Direction but More Advocacy for Urban Density Needed," March 19, 2018, https://www.urbantaskforce.com.au/greater-sydney-plan-sets-direction-but-more-advocacy-for-urbandensity-needed/.
- 38 Lester Black, "It's Official: Single Family Zoning Is Making Our City's Neighborhoods More White," *The Stranger*, December 4, 2018, https://www.thestranger.com/slog/2018/12/04/36711378/its-official-single-family-

- zoning-is-making-our-city-more-white; Henry Grabar, "Minneapolis Confronts Its History of Housing Segregation," *Slate*, December 7, 2018, https://slate.com/business/2018/12/minneapolis-single-family-zoning-housing-racism.html.
- 39 Victoria Fierce, "Why Building Housing Near Mass Transit Promotes Collectivism," *East Bay Express*, April 9, 2018, https://www.eastbayexpress.com/SevenDays/archives/2018/04/09/opinion-why-building-housing-near-mass-transit-promotes-collectivism.
- 40 Alicia Kurimska, "Looking Back: The Ideal Communist City," *New Geography*, January 19, 2015, http://www.newgeography.com/content/004830-looking-back-the-ideal-communist-city.
- 41 Robert Bruegmann, "The Anti-Suburban Crusade," in *Infinite Suburbia*, ed. Alan Berger and Joel Kotkin (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2018), 27–36.

# 第18章 全体主義的未来都市

- 1 Kevin Carty, "Tech Giants Are the Robber Barons of Our Time," New York Post, February 3, 2018, https://nypost.com/2018/02/03/big-techs-monopolistic-rule-is-hiding-in-plain-sight/.
- 2 Henry Grabar, "Building Googletown," Slate, October 25, 2017, https://slate.com/technology/2017/10/sidewalk-labs-quayside-development-intoronto-is-googles-first-shot-at-building-a-city.html; Sophie Davies, "WiFi but No Water: Can Smart Tech Help a City's Poor?" Reuters, January 4, 2018, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-global-cities-tech-inequality/wifi-but-no-water-can-smart-tech-help-a-citys-poor-idUSKBN1EU0JF.
- 3 William Mitchell, City of Bits: Space, Place, and the Infobahn (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1995), 50. (ウィリアム・J・ミッチェル『シティ・オブ・ビット――情報革命は都市・建築をどうかえるか』掛井秀一、仲隆介、田島則行、本江正茂訳、彰国社、1996年)
- 4 Luke Stangel, "Sam Altman Wants Silicon Valley to Sign on to a Core Set of Common Values," Silicon Valley Business Journal, April 19, 2017, https://www.bizjournals.com/sanjose/news/2017/04/19/sam-altmandonald-trump-silicon-valley.html.

- 5 Jane Wakefield, "Tomorrow's Cities—Nightmare Vision of the Future?" BBC, February 22, 2017, https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-37384152.
- 6 Greg Ferenstein, "Silicon Valley's Political Endgame, Summarized in 12 Visuals," *Medium*, November 5, 2015, https://medium.com/the-ferenstein-wire/silicon-valley-s-political-endgame-summarized-1f395785f3c1.
- Geoff Nesnow, "73 Mind-blowing Implications of Driverless Cars and Trucks," *Medium*, February 9, 2018, https://medium.com/@DonotInn ovate/73-mind-blowing-implications-of-a-driverless-future-58d23d1f338d; Steve Andriole, "Already Too Big to Fail—The Digital Oligarchy Is Alive, Well (& Growing)," *Forbes*, July 29, 2017, https://www.forbes.com/sites/ steveandriole/2017/07/29/already-too-big-to-fail-the-digital-oligarchy-isalive-well-growing/#71125b7667f5.
- 8 Marisa Kendall, "Tech Execs Back California Bill That Aims to Build More Housing Near Transit," *Mercury News*, January 25, 2018, https://www.mercurynews.com/2018/01/24/tech-execs-back-bill-that-aims-to-build-more-housing-near-transit/.
- 9 Ferenstein, "Silicon Valley's Political Endgame, Summarized in 12 Visuals."
- New York Times, March 4, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/04/technology/dorm-living-grown-ups-san-francisco.html; Emmie Martin, "Facebook and Google are Both Building More Affordable Housing in Silicon Valley," CNBC, July 10, 2017, https://www.cnbc.com/2017/07/07/facebook-and-google-are-building-affordable-housing-in-silicon-valley.html; Avery Hartmans, "Facebook is Building A Village That Will Include Housing, a Grocery Store and a Hotel," Business Insider, July 7, 2017, https://www.businessinsider.com/facebook-building-employee-housing-silicon-valley-headquarters-2017-7.
- 11 Ben Tarnoff, "Tech's Push to Teach Coding Isn't about Kids' Success—It's about Cutting Wages," *Guardian*, September 21, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2017/sep/21/coding-education-teaching-silicon-valley-wages.
- 12 Gerard C. S. Mildner, "Density at Any Cost," Center for Real Estate

- Quarterly Report, vol. 8: 4 (Fall 2014), 3–23, https://www.pdx.edu/sba/sites/www.pdx.edu/sba/files/01%20UGR%20-%20Mildner.pdf; Joel Kotkin, "U.S. Cities Have a Glut of High-Rises and Still Lack Affordable Housing," New Geography, September 3, 2017, http://www.newgeography.com/content/005732-us-cities-have-a-glut-of-high-rises-and-still-lack-affordable-housing.
- 13 Erika Riggs, "Mark Zuckerberg Spends \$30 Million on Four Homes to Ensure Privacy," NBC News, October 12, 2013, https://www.nbcnews.com/business/real-estate/mark-zuckerberg-spends-30-million-four-homesensure-privacy-f8C11379396; Melia Robinson, "We Scouted the Homes of the Top Tech Executives, and They All Live in This San Francisco Suburb for the 1%," Business Insider, October 7, 2017, https://www.businessin sider.com/homes-of-tech-ceos-in-atherton-silicon-valley-2017-10; Meredith Bauer, "8 Amazing Homes of Silicon Valley's Tech Elite," The Street, May 23, 2015, https://www.thestreet.com/story/13160991/1/8-amazing-homes-of-silicon-valleys-tech-elite.html#3.
- 14 Veena Dubal, "Google as a Landlord? A Looming Feudal Nightmare," Guardian, July 11, 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/commenti sfree/2019/jul/11/google-as-a-landlord-a-looming-feudal-nightmare? CMP=Share\_iOSApp\_Other.
- 15 Michele Lent Hirsch, "America's Company Towns, Then and Now," Smithsonian, September 4, 2015, https://www.smithsonianmag.com/travel/americas-company-towns-then-and-now-180956382/.
- 16 Andrew S. Ross, "In Silicon Valley, Age Can Be a Curse," *SFGate*, August 20, 2013, https://www.sfgate.com/business/bottomline/article/In-Silicon-Valley-age-can-be-a-curse-4742365.php.
- Susan Crawford, "Beware of Google's Intentions," Wired, February 1, 2018, https://www.wired.com/story/sidewalk-labs-toronto-google-risks/; Sidewalk Toronto, "Toronto Tomorrow," https://sidewalktoronto.ca/#documents; Vipal Monga, "Toronto Officials Question Alphabet Unit's Ambitions for 'Smart City," Wall Street Journal, June 24, 2019, https://www.wsj.com/ articles/toronto-officials-question-alphabet-units-ambitions-for-smartcity-11561412851.

- "Sidewalk Labs's Vision and Your Data Privacy: A Guide to the Saga on Toronto's Waterfront," Globe and Mail, June 24, 2019, https://www.theglobeandmail.com/canada/toronto/article-sidewalk-labs-quayside-toronto-waterfront-explainer/.
- 19 Crawford, "Beware of Google's Intentions."
- 20 "Albert Gidari," Center for Internet and Society, Stanford Law School, http://cyberlaw.stanford.edu/about/people/albert-gidari.
- Yulia Gorbunova, "Online and On All Fronts," Human Rights Watch, July 18, 2017, https://www.hrw.org/report/2017/07/18/online-and-all-fronts/ russias-assault-freedom-expression; Leopord Hakizimana and Dr. Wilson Kipruto Cheruiyot, "The Use of an Intelligent Surveillance System in Developing Countries—Rwanda," International Journal of Advanced Research in Computer Science and Software Engineering, vol. 6: 8 (August 2016), 162–168, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/317011846\_ The\_Use\_of\_an\_Intelligent\_Surveillance\_System\_in\_Developing\_ Countries-Rwanda.
- 22 Kai-Fu Lee, AI Superpowers: China, Silicon Valley, and the New World Order (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2018), 17, 83. (李開復『AI世界秩序』)
- 23 Ibid., 53.
- 24 Alexandra Ma, "China has Started Ranking Citizens with a Creepy 'Social Credit' System—Here's What You Can Do Wrong, and the Embarrassing, Demeaning Ways They Can Punish You," Business Insider, October 29, 2018, https://www.businessinsider.com/china-social-credit-system-punishments-and-rewards-explained-2018-4#a-prototype-blacklist-already-exists-and-has-been-used-to-punish-people-8; Jeremy Page and Eva Dou, "In Sign of Resistance, Chinese Balk at Using Apps to Snitch on Neighbors," Wall Street Journal, December 29, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/in-sign-of-resistance-chinese-balk-at-using-apps-to-snitch-on-neighbors-1514566110.
- 25 Christina Larson, "Who Needs Democracy When You Have Data?" *MIT Technology Review*, August 20, 2018, https://www.technologyreview.com/s/611815/who-needs-democracy-when-you-have-data/?utm.
- 26 Maggie Shen King, An Excess Male (New York: Harper, 2017), 393-384.

- 27 Tom Phillips, "China Testing Facial-Recognition Surveillance System in Xinjiang—Report," Guardian, January 18, 2018, https://www.theguardian. com/world/2018/jan/18/china-testing-facial-recognition-surveillancesystem-in-xinjiang-report?CMP=share btn tw; "The Guardian View on Surveillance in China: Big Brother is Watching," Editorial, Guardian, December 28, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/ dec/28/the-guardian-view-on-surveillance-in-china-big-brother-is-watching; Megha Rajagopalan, "This Is What a 21st-Century Police State Really Looks Like," Buzzfeed, October 17, 2017, https://www.buzzfeednews.com/ article/meghara/the-police-state-of-the-future-is-already-here#.kaqZr DywkR; Chris Buckley et al., "How China Turned a City Into a Prison," New York Times, April 4, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/ 2019/04/04/world/asia/xinjiang-china-surveillance-prison.html; Benjamin Haas, "Chinese Authorities Collecting DNA from All Residents of Xinjiang," *Guardian*, December 13, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/ world/2017/dec/13/chinese-authorities-collecting-dna-residents-xinjiang; Tom Phillips, "China Orders GPS Tracking of Every Car in Troubled Region," Guardian, February 21, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/ world/2017/feb/21/china-orders-gps-tracking-of-every-car-in-troubledregion.
- Josh Chin and Liza Lin, "China's All-Seeing Surveillance State Is Reading Its Citizens' Faces," Wall Street Journal, June 26, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-all-seeing-surveillance-state-feared-in-the-west-is-a-reality-in-china-1498493020; "Next-Level Surveillance: China Embraces Facial Recognition," Wall Street Journal, June 26, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/video/next-level-surveillance-china-embraces-facial-recognition/9ED95BFA-76EF-48DA-A56B-50126AFDDA1C.html.
- 29 Stephen Chan, "Forget the Facebook Leak': China is Mining Data Directly from Workers' Brains on an Industrial Scale," South China Morning Post, May 2, 2018, http://www.scmp.com/news/china/society/article/2143899/forget-facebook-leak-china-mining-data-directly-workers-brains.
- 30 Richard Florida, "When Urbanization Doesn't Help," City Lab, June 22, 2016, https://www.citylab.com/equity/2016/06/disparities-of-urbanization-

- global-china-india/487625/.
- 31 Daniel Lyon, "Surveillance, Power, and Everyday Life," *Oxford Handbook of Information and Communication Technologies*, https://panoptykon.org/sites/default/files/FeedsEnclosure-oxford handbook 3.pdf.
- 32 David Byrne, "Eliminating the Human," *Technology Review*, August 15, 2017, https://www.technologyreview.com/s/608580/eliminating-the-human/.
- 33 Peter Swire, "Should the Leading Online Tech Companies Be Regulated as Public Utilities?" *Lawfare*, August 2, 2017, https://www.lawfareblog.com/should-leading-online-tech-companies-be-regulated-public-utilities; Alex Shepard, "The Myth of Big Tech's Comeuppance," *New Republic*, December 29, 2017, https://newrepublic.com/article/146437/myth-big-techs-comeuppance.
- 34 Erin Griffith, "Facebook's Future Rests on Knowing You Even Better," Wired, February 1, 2019, https://www.wired.com/story/facebooks-future-rests-on-knowing-you-even-better/.

## 第19章 テクノロジーが突きつける課題

- 1 Andro Linklater, Owning the Earth: The Transforming History of Land Ownership (New York: Bloomsbury USA, 2013), 281; Jeffrey A. Winters, Oligarchy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 5.
- 2 Sarah Jones, "Lessons From the Gilded Age," New Republic, June 13, 2018, https://newrepublic.com/article/149005/lessons-gilded-age; Fergus M. Bordewich, "How the Gilded Age Got That Way," Wall Street Journal, August 25, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/how-the-gilded-age-got-that-way-1503683705.
- 3 Richard V. Reeves, Dream Hoarders: How the American Upper Middle Class Is Leaving Everyone Else in the Dust, Why That Is a Problem, and What to Do About It (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2018). 8.
- 4 Satyajit Das, "Despite Appearances, the Idea of Social Progress is a Myth," *Independent*, July 30, 2017, https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/despite-appearances-the-idea-of-social-progress-is-a-myth-a7867371.html.

- 5 H. G. Wells, Anticipations of the Reaction of Mechanical and Scientific Progress Upon Human Life and Support (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 1999), 99; Fred Siegel, The Revolt Against the Masses: How Liberalism Has Undermined the Middle Class (New York: Encounter, 2015), 7. 43.
- 6 Ned Levin et al., "China Tightens Restrictions on Messaging Apps," Wall Street Journal, August 7, 2014, https://www.wsj.com/articles/china-issues-new-restrictions-on-messaging-apps-1407405666; Maya Wang, "China's Chilling 'Social Credit' Blacklist," Wall Street Journal, December 11, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/chinas-chilling-social-credit-blacklist-1513036054.
- 7 Arjun Kharpal, "A.I. Is in a 'Golden Age' and Solving Problems That Were Once in the Realm of Sci-Fi, Jeff Bezos Says," CNBC, May 8, 2017, https://www.cnbc.com/2017/05/08/amazon-jeff-bezos-artificial-intelligence-aigolden-age.html; Michael Knox Beran, "The Narrowing of the Elite: Part One," National Review, September 19, 2018, https://www.nationalreview.com/2018/09/educated-elites-faith-in-salvation-through-technology/.
- 8 Jill Priluck, "America's Corporate Activism: The Rise of the CEO as Social Justice Warrior," *Guardian*, July 2, 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/jul/01/americas-corporate-activism-the-rise-of-the-ceo-as-social-justice-warrior.
- 9 Irving Kristol, "Is Technology a Threat to Liberal Society?" *Public Interest*, Spring 2001, https://www.nationalaffairs.com/storage/app/uploads/public/58e/1a4/fad/58e1a4fad2bd7881345590.pdf.
- Judea Pearl and Dana Mackenzie, "AI Can't Reason Why," Wall Street Journal, May 18, 2018, https://www.wsj.com/articles/ai-cant-reason-why-1526657442.
- 11 "The Immortalist: Uploading the Mind to a Computer," BBC, March 14, 2016, https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-35786771.
- 12 Stanley Bing, The Immortal Life (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2017), 142–143.
- 13 Polina Aronson and Judith Duportail, "The Quantified Heart," *Aeon*, July 12, 2018, https://aeon.co/essays/can-emotion-regulating-tech-translate-

- across-cultures; Gale M. Lucas, "It's Only a Computer: Virtual Humans Increase Willingness to Disclose," *Computers in Human Behavior*, vol. 37 (August 2014), 94–100, https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0747563214002647.
- 14 Polina Aronson, "Romantic regimes," Aeon, October 22, 2015, https://aeon. co/essays/russia-against-the-western-way-of-love.
- David Crotty, "Algorithms Are Opinions Embedded in Code," Scholarly Kitchen, January 19, 2018, https://scholarlykitchen.sspnet.org/2018/01/19/ algorithms-opinions-embedded-code/.
- Jean M. Twenge, "Have Smartphones Destroyed a Generation?" Atlantic, September 2017, https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2017/09/ has-the-smartphone-destroyed-a-generation/534198/; Rhitu Chatterjee, "Americans Are a Lonely Lot, And Young People Bear the Heaviest Burden," NPR, May 1, 2018, https://www.npr.org/sections/health-shots/2018/05/01/606588504/americans-are-a-lonely-lot-and-young-people-bear-the-heaviest-burden.
- Michelle N. Meyer, "Everything You Need to Know About Facebook's Controversial Emotion Experiment," Wired, June 30, 2014, https://www.wired.com/2014/06/everything-you-need-to-know-about-facebooks-manipulative-experiment/; Roger McNamee, "I Invested Early in Google and Facebook. Now They Terrify Me," USA Today, August 10, 2017, https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2017/08/08/my-google-and-facebook-investments-made-fortune-but-now-they-menace/543755001/.
- 18 Nellie Bowles, "A Dark Consensus About Screens and Kids Begins to Emerge in Silicon Valley," *New York Times*, October 26, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/26/style/phones-children-silicon-valley.html.
- 19 Shannon Molloy, "We've Raised Generation Hopeless: Millennials Who Lack Basic Life and Workplace Skills. And It's a Big Issue," News.com.au, July 4, 2017, https://www.news.com.au/finance/business/weve-raised-generation-hopeless-millennials-who-lack-basic-life-and-workplace-skills-and-its-a-big-issue/news-story/f3256c05c19c356002103eb50e50cee1; Kate Davidson, "Employers Find 'Soft Skills' Like Critical Thinking in Short Supply," Wall Street Journal, August 30, 2016, https://www.wsj.com/

- articles/employers-find-soft-skills-like-critical-thinking-in-short-supply-1472549400?mod= djcm\_OBV1\_092216; Rurik Bradbury, "The Digital Lives of Millennials and Gen Z," Liveperson, September 2017, https://www.liveperson.com/resources/reports/digital-lives-of-millennials-genz/.
- 20 Kate Julian, "Why Are Young People Having So Little Sex?" Atlantic, December 2018, https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2018/12/the-sex-recession/573949/; Simon Denyer and Annie Gowen, "Too Many Men: China and India Battle with the Consequences of GENDER IMBALANCE," South China Morning Post, https://www.scmp.com/magazines/post-magazine/long-reads/article/2142658/too-many-menchina-and-india-battle-consequences; Anna Louie Sussman, "The End of Babies," New York Times, November 16, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/11/16/opinion/sunday/capitalism-children.html.
- 21 Greg Wilford, "Young Japanese People Are Not Having Sex," *Independent*, July 8, 2017, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/japan-sex-problem-demographic-time-bomb-birth-rates-sex-robots-fertility-crisis-virgins-romance-porn-a7831041.html; Eric Spitznagel, "You Can Sleep with the Latest Sex Robots at This Brothel—But Only if They Say 'Yes," *Observer*, November 27, 2018, https://observer.com/2018/11/sex-robots-hollywood-brothel-requires-consent-real-doll/.
- 22 Michel Houllebecq, Whatever, trans. Paul Hammond (London: Serpent's Tale, 2011), 14. (ミシェル・ウエルベック『闘争領域の拡大』中村佳子訳、河出文庫、2018年) [※引用部の翻訳は、同書の22頁]
- 23 Alvin Toffler, Future Shock (New York: Bantam, 1984), 186, 452 (トフラー『未来の衝撃』)[※引用部の翻訳は、同書の230頁]; Brian Merchant, "Fully Automated Luxury Communism," Guardian, March 18, 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/2015/mar/18/fully-automated-luxury-communism-robots-employment.
- 24 Glenn Harlan Reynolds, "When Digital Platforms Become Censors," *Wall Street Journal*, August 18, 2018, https://www.wsj.com/articles/when-digital-platforms-become-censors-1534514122.
- 25 Jacques Ellul, *The Technological Society*, trans. John Wilkinson (New York: Knopf, 1964), 432–433; Amy Dockser Marcus, "Scientists Confront

- the Ghost of Eugenics," *Wall Street Journal*, August 17, 2018, https://www.wsj.com/articles/scientists-confront-the-ghost-of-eugenics-1534523929.
- 26 Yuval Noah Harari, *Homo Deus: A Brief History of Tomorrow* (New York: HarperCollins, 2017), 67. (ハラリ『ホモ・デウス (上)』)[※引用部の翻訳は、同書の89頁]
- 27 Ibid., 150. (ハラリ、前出) [※引用部の翻訳は、同書の187頁]

### 第20章 新しい封建制社会の形成

- 1 Marc Bloch, Feudal Society, trans. L. A. Manyon (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 246–247 (ブロック『封建社会』); R. R. Palmer, The World of the French Revolution (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 19.
- 2 Nicole S. Garnett, "Suburbs as Exit, Suburbs as Entrance," *Michigan Law Review*, vol. 106 (2007–8), 277–304, https://scholarship.law.nd.edu/law\_faculty\_scholarship/105.
- 3 Crystal Galyean, "Levittown," U.S. History Scene, April 10, 2015, http://ushistoryscene.com/article/levittown/; National Association of Realtors, "Social Benefits of Homeownership and Stable Housing," April 2012, https://www.nar.realtor/sites/default/files/migration\_files/social-benefits-of-stable-housing-2012-04.pdf; Habitat for Humanity of York County, "Beneficial Impacts of Homeownership: A Research Summary," http://yorkcountyhabitat.org/~yorkco6/habitat/events/index.php?option=com\_content&view=article&id=100&Itemid=252.
- Wendell Cox, "Suburban Nations: Canada, Australia, and the United States," New Geography, December 30, 2016, http://www.newgeography. com/content/005495-suburban-nations-canada-australia-and-united-states; At Home in Europe, "The Ideal Home of Europeans Has Five Rooms," http://www.at-home-in-europe.eu/home-life/europe/the-ideal-home-of-europeans-has-five-rooms; Ben Weidmann and Jane-Frances Kelly, "What Matters Most: Housing Preferences Across the Australian Population," Grattan Institute, September 11, https://grattan.edu.au/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/109\_what\_matters\_most.pdf; NAHB Economics and Housing Policy Group, "Housing Preferences Across Generations," March 1, 2016, http://www.nahbclassic.org/generic.aspx?genericContentID=2497

- 97&channelID=311; Joel Kotkin, "The Progressives' War on Suburbia," *New Geography*, November 16, 2014, http://www.newgeography.com/content/004773-the-progressives-war-suburbia.
- 5 Patrick Condon, "Government Should Supply Housing for up to 40 Percent of Vancouver Wage Earners," *Think Pol*, December 3, 2017, https://thinkpol.ca/2017/12/03/condon-govt-should-supply-housing-for-up-to-40-percent-of-vancouver-wage-earners/; Edward Ring, "The Density Delusion," California Policy Center, August 20, 2019, https://california.policycenter.org/the-density-delusion/.
- 6 "A Home Truth for the Tories: Fix The Housing Crisis or Lose Power for Ever," *Spectator*, April 21, 2018, https://www.spectator.co.uk/2018/04/a-home-truth-for-the-tories-fix-the-housing-crisis-or-lose-power-for-ever.
- Joseph Chamie, "The Rise of One-Person Households," Inter Press Service News Agency, February 22, 2017, http://www.ipsnews.net/2017/02/therise-of-one-person-households/; Eric Klinenberg, Going Solo: The Extraordinary Rise and Surprising Appeal of Living Alone (New York: Penguin, 2013), 38–39; Council on Contemporary Families, "Reminder: Marriage Is No Longer the Mode," September 12, 2017, https:// contemporaryfamilies.org/singles2017factsheet/.
- 8 Jan Woronoff, *Japan: The Coming Social Crisis* (Tokyo: Lotus Press, 1984), 349-350.
- 9 Choe Sang-Hun, "A Writer Evokes Loss on South Korea's Path to Success," New York Times, September 8, 2012, https://www.nytimes.com/2012/ 09/08/world/asia/shin-kyung-sook-mines-south-koreas-sense-of-loss.html.
- "All the Single Ladies: China Leads World in Unmarried People—Report," Sputnik International, December 21, 2016, https://sputniknews.com/art\_living/201612211048842308-china-unmarried-people/; Chamie, "The Rise of One-Person Households."
- 11 Joel Kotkin, "The Rise of Post-Familialism: Humanity's Future," Chapman University and Civil Service College of Singapore, 2012, https://www.chapman.edu/wilkinson/\_files/the-rise-of-post-familialism.pdf.
- 12 Mary Eberstadt, "The Great Scattering': How Identity Panic Took Root in the Void Once Occupied by Family Life," *Quillette*, August 27, 2019,

- https://quillette.com/2019/08/27/the-great-scattering-how-identity-panic-took-root-in-the-void-once-occupied-by-family-life/.
- 13 Klinenberg, Going Solo; Liz Greene, "Why Millennials Are Choosing to Be Child-Free," Role Reboot, February 6, 2019, http://www.rolereboot.org/culture-and-politics/details/2019-02-why-millennials-are-choosing-to-be-child-free/; Claire Cain Miller, "Americans Are Having Fewer Babies. They Told Us Why," New York Times, July 5, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/05/upshot/americans-are-having-fewer-babies-they-told-us-why.html; Pew Research Center, "Parenting in America," December 17, 2015, http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2015/12/17/1-the-american-family-today/.
- 14 Morley Winograd and Michael D. Hais, "Millennials' Home Ownership Dreams Delayed, Not Abandoned," *New Geography*, June 17, 2012, http://www.newgeography.com/content/002919-millennials%E2%80%99-homeownership-dreams-delayed-not-abandoned.
- Nina Bahadur, "Child-Free by Choice: When You Don't Want Kids—but Your Doctor Won't Listen," Self, March 1, 2018, https://www.self.com/story/childfree-by-choice; Gladys Martinez et al., "Fertility of Men and Women Aged 15–44 Years in the United States: National Survey of Family Growth, 2006–2010," National Health Statistics Report, no. 51 (April 12, 2012), U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/nhsr/nhsr051.pdf.
- John Fleming, "Gallup Analysis: Millennials, Marriage and Family," Gallup, May 19, 2016, https://news.gallup.com/poll/191462/gallup-analysis-millennials-marriage-family.aspx; Gretchen Livingston, "More than a Million Millennials Are Becoming Moms Each Year," Pew Research Center, May 4, 2018, http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/05/04/more-than-a-million-millennials-are-becoming-moms-each-year/; Russell Heimlich, "Parenting a Priority," Pew Research Center, March 24, 2010, http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2010/03/24/parenting-a-priority/.
- 17 Greg Ip, "For Economy, Aging Population Poses Double Whammy," *Wall Street Journal*, August 3, 2016, https://www.wsj.com/articles/for-economy-aging-population-poses-double-whammy-1470249965.

- James Pethokoukis, "On Economic Growth and the Decline in US Births," American Enterprise Institute, June 2, 2016, http://www.aei.org/publication/on-economic-growth-and-the-decline-in-us-births/; Robin Harding, "Japan's Elderly Care Bill Soaks up Worker Pay Rises," Financial Times, May 29, 2018; Bryan Harris, "Rise in Older Workers Challenges South Korea," Financial Times, March 13, 2018; Eleanor Warnock, "Numbers of Japanese Elders in Workforce Soar," Wall Street Journal, November 28, 2016, https://www.wsj.com/articles/numbers-of-japanese-elders-in-workforce-soar-1480393642; Andrea Thomas, "In Spite of Thrifty Image, Germany Races to Raise Pensions," Wall Street Journal, November 25, 2016, https://www.wsj.com/articles/in-spite-of-thrifty-image-germany-races-to-raise-pensions-1480084689; "Germany Faces Huge Shortage of Skilled Workers," Deutsche Welle, August 30, 2017, https://www.dw.com/en/germany-faces-huge-shortage-of-skilled-workers/a-40294450.
- 19 Alejandro Macarrón Larumbe, Demographic Suicide in the West and Half the World: Either More Births or Catastrophe? (Scotts Valley, Calif.: CreateSpace, 2017), 33, 50, 60; "Winning: No Country for Old Men or New Mothers," Strategy Page, November 13, 2018, https://strategypage. com/htmw/htwin/articles/20181113.aspx.
- 20 Joe Myers, "China's Working-age Population Will Fall 23% by 2050," World Economic Forum, July 25, 2018, https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2016/07/china-working-ageing-population/.
- 21 U.S. House of Representatives, "Genocide: China's Missing Girls," Hearing Before the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 114th Congress, February 3, 2016 (U.S. Government Publishing Office), https://www. govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-114hhrg99772/html/CHRG-114hhrg 99772.htm.
- 22 John Dale Gover, "Xi's China Dreams Will Not Age Well," Real Clear World, November 9, 2017, https://www.realclearworld.com/articles/ 2017/11/09/xis\_china\_dreams\_will\_not\_age\_well\_112625.html.
- 23 Robinson Meyer, "A Terrifying Sea-Level Prediction Now Looks Far Less Likely," *Atlantic*, January 4, 2019, https://www.theatlantic.com/science/archive/2019/01/sea-level-rise-may-not-become-catastrophic-until-

after-2100/579478/; Roger Pielke, Jr., "Some Good News—about Natural Disasters, of All Things," *Wall Street Journal*, August 3, 2018, https://www.wsj.com/articles/some-good-newsabout-natural-disasters-of-all-things-1533331596; Nicholas Fondacaro, "NYT Reporter Demands You Become 'Hysterical' about Climate Change," *NewsBusters*, November 25, 2018, https://www.newsbusters.org/blogs/nb/nicholas-fondacaro/2018/11/25/nyt-reporter-demands-you-become-hysterical-about-climate.

- Steven E. Koonin, "Climate Science Is Not Settled," Wall Street Journal, September 19, 2014, https://www.wsj.com/articles/climate-science-is-not-settled-1411143565?mod=trending\_now\_1; Steven Koonin, "The Climate Won't Crash the Economy," Wall Street Journal, November 26, 2018, https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-climate-wont-crash-the-economy-1543276899?mod=?mod=itp&mod=djemITP h.
- 25 Francis Menton, "What Is The Cost of Getting to A 100% 'Renewable' Electric Grid?" Manhattan Contrarian, August 7, 2018, https://www. manhattancontrarian.com/blog/2018-8-6-what-is-the-cost-of-getting-to-a-100-renewable-electric-grid; James Temple, "Wide-Scale US Wind Power Could Cause Significant Warming," MIT Technology Review, October 4, 2018, https://www.technologyreview.com/s/612238/wide-scale-us-windpower-could-cause-significant-warming/; Leah Burrows, "The Down Side to Wind Power," Harvard Gazette, October 4, 2018, https://news.harvard. edu/gazette/story/2018/10/large-scale-wind-power-has-its-down-side/; Niclas Rolander, Jesper Starn, and Elisabeth Behrmann, "The Dirt on Clean Electric Cars," Bloomberg, https://www.bloomberg.com/news/ articles/2018-10-16/the-dirt-on-clean-electric-cars; James Temple, "The \$2.5 Trillion Reason We Can't Rely on Batteries to Clean up the Grid," MIT Technology Review, July 27, 2018, https://www.technologyreview. com/s/611683/the-25-trillion-reason-we-cant-rely-on-batteries-to-clean-upthe-grid/.
- 26 Jack Dini, "Paris Accord Not Meeting Targets," Canada Free Press, August 30, 2018, https://canadafreepress.com/article/paris-accord-not-meetingtargets; Bjorn Lomborg, "Paris Climate Promises Will Reduce Temperatures by Just 0.05°C in 2100," Press Release, November 2015, https://

- www.lomborg.com/press-release-research-reveals-negligible-impact-of-paris-climate-promises.
- David Friedman and Jennifer Hernandez, "California, Greenhouse Gas Regulation, and Climate Change," New Geography, June 25, 2018, http://www.newgeography.com/files/California%20GHG%20Regulation%20Final.pdf; Frank Dohmen et al., "German Failure on the Road to a Renewable Future," Spiegel, May 13, 2019, https://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/german-failure-on-the-road-to-a-renewable-future-a-1266586.html; William Wilkes, Hayley Warren, and Brian Parkin, "Germany's Failed Climate Goals: A Wake-Up Call for Governments Everywhere," Bloomberg, August 15, 2018, https://www.bloomberg.com/graphics/2018-germany-emissions/.
- 28 Bjorn Lomborg, "Trade-Offs for Global Do-Gooders," Wall Street Journal, September 18, 2015, https://www.wsj.com/articles/trade-offs-for-global-do-gooders-1442589938; Bjorn Lomborg, "Pseudo Scientific Hysteria Is the Wrong Answer to Climate Change," New York Post, August 2, 2019, https://nypost.com/2019/08/02/pseudo-scientific-hysteria-is-the-wrong-answer-to-climate-change/.
- 29 Roger Pielke, Jr., "Book Excerpt: The Iron Law of Climate Policy," Financial Post, October 4, 2010, https://sciencepolicy.colorado.edu/admin/publication\_files/2010.47.pdf; Aaron Patrick and Bo Seo, "GetUp's Aggressive, Progressive Tactics May Have Backfired," Financial Review, May 23, 2019, https://www.afr.com/politics/federal/getup-s-aggressive-progressive-tactics-may-have-backfired-20190522-p51pxs.
- 30 Ian Bailey, "Notley Points to Pipeline Battle with B.C. as Reason She Won't Attend Western Premiers' Conference," *Globe and Mail*, May 21, 2018, https://www.theglobeandmail.com/canada/article-notley-points-to-pipeline-battle-with-bc-as-reason-she-wont-attend/.
- 31 Alissa J. Rubin, "Macron Inspects Damage after 'Yellow Vest' Protests as France Weighs State of Emergency," *New York Times*, December 1, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/01/world/europe/france-yellow-vests-protests-macron.html.
- 32 Austin Williams, The Enemies of Progress: The Dangers of Sustainability

- (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2008), 152.
- 33 Norman F. Cantor, Medieval History: The Life and Death of a Civilization (New York: Macmillan, 1963), 25.
- 34 Lyman Stone, "In a State of Migration," Medium, December 30, 2019, https://medium.com/migration-issues/more-thoughts-on-falling-fertility-366fd1a84d8; Rachel Lu, "The Problem with the 'Science' Behind Having Fewer Children for the Planet's Sake," National Review, July 15, 2017, https://www.nationalreview.com/2017/07/climate-change-study-population-reduction-childlessness-recommendation-preposterous-carbon-footprint/; Paul A. Murtaugh and Michael G. Schlax, "Reproduction and the Carbon Legacies of Individuals," Global Environment Change, vol. 190 (2009), 14–20, https://www.biologicaldiversity.org/programs/population\_and sustainability/pdfs/OSUCarbonStudy.pdf.
- 35 Simon Evans and Rosamund Pearce, "Global Coal Power," Carbon Brief, March 25, 2019, https://www.carbonbrief.org/mapped-worlds-coal-powerplants; "China Is a Highly Suspect Leader on Climate Change," Wall Street Journal, June 2, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/china-is-a-highlysuspect-leader-on-climate-change-1496394151; Keith Bradsher and Lisa Friedman, "China's Emissions: More than U.S. Plus Europe, and Still Rising," New York Times, January 25, 2018, https://www.nytimes. com/2018/01/25/business/china-davos-climate-change.html; Jia Hepeng, "Opinion: Why Are There No Climate Sceptics in the Chinese Media?" China Dialogue, December 28, 2017, https://www.chinadialogue.net/ article/show/single/en/10287-Opinion-Why-are-there-no-climate-scepticsin-the-Chinese-media-; Daniel K. Gardner, "Trump Is Unwilling to Tackle Climate Change. China Must Step Up," New York Times, December 10, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/10/opinion/china-trump-climatechange.html.
- 36 Yu Shunkun et al., "China Wrestles with Power Shortages," Power Magazine, May 1, 2013, https://www.powermag.com/china-wrestles-with-power-shortages/; Rajesh Kumar Singh and Saket Sundria, "India Nears Power Success, But Millions Still in the Dark," T&D World, May 2, 2018, https://www.tdworld.com/utility-business/india-nears-power-success-

millions-still-dark; Project Partner, "China's Clean Water Shortage Intensifies the Poverty Crisis," https://projectpartner.org/clean-water/chinas-clean-water-shortage-intensifies-the-poverty-crisis/; Rina Chandran, "163,000,000 People in India Don't Have Clean Water. This Is Why," Global Citizen, April 25, 2018, https://www.globalcitizen.org/en/content/india-day-zero-clean-water-access-shortage/; Hannah Daly, "1.1 Billion People Still Lack Electricity. This Could Be the Solution," World Economic Forum, June 20, 2018, https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2018/06/1-billion-people-lack-electricity-solution-mini-grid-iea/.

- 37 Ted Nordhaus, "Impossible Environmentalism: Green Groups Promote Utopian Fantasies," USA Today, September 7, 2017, https://www.usatoday. com/story/opinion/2017/09/07/impossible-environmentalism-does-not-address-sustainability-ted-nordhaus-column/570651001/.
- 38 Lewis Page, "Renewable Energy 'Simply Won't Work': Top Google Engineers," *Register*, November 21, 2014, https://www.theregister.co. uk/2014/11/21/renewable\_energy\_simply\_wont\_work\_google\_renewables\_engineers/; Lewis Page, "Renewable Energy Can't Do the Job. Gov Should Switch Green Subsidies into R&D," *Register*, June 26, 2015, https://www.theregister.co.uk/2015/06/26/gates\_renewable\_energy\_cant\_do\_the\_job\_gov should switch green subsidies into rd/.
- 39 David R. Henderson and John H. Cochrane, "Climate Change Isn't the End of the World," Wall Street Journal, July 30, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/climate-change-isnt-the-end-of-the-world-1501446277; Paul Mulshine, "The 'Lukewarmers' Show How Environmentalists Are in Denial about Denial," NJ.com, March 12, 2017, https://www.nj.com/opinion/index.ssf/2017/03/the\_radical\_environmentalists\_are\_in\_denial\_about.html.
- 40 Kristina Costa and Cathleen Kelly, "5 Ways the New Congress Should Support Resilient Infrastructure," Center for American Progress, November 15, 2018, https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/green/news/2018/ 11/15/461048/5-ways-new-congress-support-resilient-infrastructure/; Bay Area News Group and Paul Rogers, "Gov. Jerry Brown Proposes Easing Logging Rules to Thin Forests," Santa Cruz Sentinel, November 20, 2018,

- https://www.santacruzsentinel.com/2018/08/23/gov-jerry-brown-proposes-easing-logging-rules-to-thin-forests/.
- 41 Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 9–11, 112.
- 42 Joseph Tainter, *The Collapse of Complex Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 6–11.
- 43 Sara Grossman, "Gilbert F. White, National Medal of Science, Physical Sciences," National Science and Technology Medals Foundation, https://www.nationalmedals.org/laureates/gilbert-f-white.
- 44 Jeff Sluyter-Beltrão, "Iron Law of Oligarchy," *Britannica*, https://www.britannica.com/topic/iron-law-of-Oligarchy.
- 45 Shadi Hamid, "The Good Liberal," *American Interest*, March 2018, https://www.the-american-interest.com/2018/03/06/the-good-liberal/.
- 46 David Runciman, "Democracy Is the Planet's Biggest Enemy," *Foreign Policy*, July 20, 2019, https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/07/20/democracy-is-the-planets-biggest-enemy-climate-change/.
- 47 Venkatesh Rao, "Why Solving Climate Change Will Be Like Mobilizing for War," Atlantic, October 15, 2015, https://www.theatlantic.com/science/archive/2015/10/why-only-a-technocratic-revolution-can-win-the-climate-change-war/410377/; Bill McKibben, "A World at War," New Republic, August 15, 2016, https://newrepublic.com/article/135684/declare-war-climate-change-mobilize-wwii; David Wallace-Wells, "Can Liberal Democracy Survive Climate Change?" Economist, March 29, 2019, https://www.economist.com/open-future/2019/03/29/can-liberal-democracy-survive-climate-change.
- 48 Joan Desmond, "California Gov. to Vatican: 'Brainwashing' Needed to Tackle Climate Change," *National Catholic Register*, November 12, 2017, http://www.ncregister.com/blog/joan-desmond/california-gov.-to-vatican-brain-washing-needed-to-tackle-climate-change; David Siders, "Jerry Brown: 'Never Underestimate the Coercive Power of the Central State," *Sacramento Bee*, December 7, 2015, https://www.sacbee.com/news/politics-government/capitol-alert/article48466200.html; "A Vital Partnership: California and China Collaborating on Clean Energy and

Combating Climate Change," Asia Society, https://asiasociety.org/center-us-china-relations/vital-partnership-california-and-china-collaborating-clean-energy-and-comb; Alejandro Lazo, "Jerry Brown Allies with China to Fight Climate Change," *Wall Street Journal*, September 23, 2019, https://www.wsj.com/articles/jerry-brown-allies-with-china-to-fight-climate-change-11569273903; Li Jing, "Is China's 'City of the Future' a Replicable Model?" China Dialogue, June 29, 2018, https://www.chinadialogue.net/article/show/single/en/10704-Is-China-s-city-of-the-future-a-replicable-model-; Matthew Stinson, "Salesman Xi," *National Review*, June 26, 2017, https://www.nationalreview.com/magazine/2017/06/26/xi-jinping-china-west-liberals/.

### 第21章 新しい封建制に立ち向かえるのか?

- 1 Martin Jacques, When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and the Birth of a New Global Order (New York: Penguin, 2012), 149. (マーティン・ジェイクス『中国が世界をリードするとき――西洋世界の終焉と新たなグローバル秩序の始まり(上)』松下幸子訳、NTT出版、2014年)
- 2 Larry Diamond, "The Global Crisis of Democracy," Wall Street Journal, May 17, 2019, https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-global-crisis-of-democracy-11558105463.
- 3 Hal Brands, "China's Master Plan: Exporting an Ideology," Bloomberg, June 11, 2018, https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2018-06-11/china-s-master-plan-exporting-an-ideology; Yuen Yuen Ang, "How China's Development Story Can Be an Alternative to the Western Model," South China Morning Post, February 3, 2017, https://www.scmp.com/comment/insight-opinion/article/2067512/how-chinas-development-story-can-be-alternative-western.
- 4 Rachel Nuwer, "How Western Civilization Could Collapse," BBC, April 18, 2017, http://www.bbc.com/future/story/20170418-how-western-civilisation-could-collapse.
- 5 Jonathan Tepper and Denise Hearn, The Myth of Capitalism: Monopolies and the Death of Competition (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2019), 2.

- 6 Wolfgang Streeck, How Will Capitalism End? Essays on a Failing System (New York: Verso, 2016), 31–33 (ヴォルフガング・シュトレーク 『資本主義はどう終わるのか』村澤真保呂、信友建志訳、河出書房新社、2017年); Danny Westneat, "Microsoft, Amazon, Others Excel At Offshore Tax Dance," Seattle Times, April 6, 2016, https://www.seattletimes.com/seattlenews/microsoft-amazon-others-excel-at-offshore-tax-dance/; Sarah Fallon, "How Big Tech Companies Make Their Tax Bills Vanish," Wired, April 15, 2015, https://www.wired.com/2015/04/big-tech-companies-make-tax-bills-vanish/; David Pring-Mill, "Are Tech Companies Avoiding Taxes?" National Interest, February 8, 2018, https://nationalinterest.org/feature/are-tech-companies-avoiding-taxes-2413; Jesse Ducker and Simon Bowers, "After a Tax Crackdown, Apple Found a New Shelter for Its Profits," New York Times, November 6, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/06/world/apple-taxes-jersey.html.
- 7 Darel E. Paul, "The European Center Weakens," *Real Clear Politics*, May 28, 2019, https://www.realclearpolitics.com/2019/05/28/the\_european\_center\_weakens\_475904.html.
- 8 Barrington Moore, Jr., Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy (Boston: Beacon, 1966), 418. (ムーア『独裁と民主政治の社会的起源 (下)』) [※引用部の翻訳は、同書の291頁]
- 9 Frederick Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 13. (ハイエク『隷従への道』)
- 10 Matthew Continetti, "Our Bankrupt Elite," Washington Free Beacon, March 15, 2019, https://freebeacon.com/columns/our-bankrupt-elite/.
- "Democrats: The Real Party of the Rich," *Investor's Business Daily*, April 2, 2014, https://www.investors.com/politics/editorials/democrat-political-donations-outstrip-republicans/; Rupert Durwall, "Behind the Green New Deal: An Elite War on the Working Class," *New York Post*, March 26, 2019, https://nypost.com/2019/03/26/behind-the-green-new-deal-an-elite-war-on-the-working-class/.
- 12 Alexis de Tocqueville, *The Ancien Regime and the Révolution* (London: Penguin, 2008), 144. (アレクシス・ド・トクヴィル『旧体制と大革命』 小山勉訳、ちくま学芸文庫、1998年)

- 13 John Hinderaker, "Exposing the Real Costs of 'Green' Energy," *Power Line*, March 12, 2019, https://www.powerlineblog.com/archives/2019/03/ exposing-the-real-costs-of-green-energy.php.
- 14 Anastasia Lin, "The Cultural Revolution Comes to North America," Wall Street Journal, April 7, 2019, https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-cultural-revolution-comes-to-north-america-11554661623
- 15 Rebecca Ratcliffe, "Record Private Jet Flights into Davos as Leaders Arrive for Climate Talk," *Guardian*, January 22, 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2019/jan/22/record-private-jet-flights-davos-leaders-climate-talk; Michael Shellenberger, "The Real Reason They Behave Hypocritically on Climate Change Is Because They Want To," *Forbes*, August 20, 2019, https://www.forbes.com/sites/michaels hellenberger/2019/08/20/the-real-reason-they-behave-hypocritically-on-climate-change-is-because-they-want-to/#5e242363185a.
- Eliza Relman, "Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez Said Billionaires Shouldn't Exist as Long as Americans Live in Abject Poverty," Business Insider, January 22, 2019, https://www.businessinsider.com/alexandria-ocasio-cortez-thinks-billionaires-shouldnt-exist-2019-1; Walter E. Williams, "Our Planet Is Not Fragile," Town Hall, March 6, 2019, https://townhall.com/columnists/walterewilliams/2019/03/06/our-planet-is-not-fragile-n2542516.
- 17 Claire Malone, "The Young Left's Anti-Capitalist Manifesto," FiveThirtyEight, January 22, 2019, https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/the-young-lefts-anti-capitalist-manifesto/.
- 18 Keith A. Spencer and Nicole Karlis, "Silicon Valley, Once a Bastion of Libertarianism, Sees a Budding Socialist Movement," Salon, April 11, 2019, https://www.salon.com/2019/04/11/silicon-valley-once-a-bastion-of-libertarianism-sees-a-budding-socialist-movement/; Bryan Preston, "Is Gen Z a Socialist Revolution in the Making?" PJ Media, August 22, 2019, https://pjmedia.com/news-and-politics/is-gen-z-a-socialist-revolution-in-the-making; Farhad Manjoo, "Why the Google Walkout Was a Watershed Moment in Tech," New York Times, November 7, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/07/technology/google-walkout-watershed-tech.html.
- 19 Matthew Reitman, "A Guide to Doomsday Prep for the Super-Rich,"

- *InsideHook*, February 2, 2017, https://www.insidehook.com/article/news-opinion/guide-doomsday-prep-super-rich.
- 20 Claire Brockway and Carroll Doherty, "Growing Share of Republicans Say U.S. Risks Losing Its Identity If It Is Too Open to Foreigners," Pew Research Center, July 17, 2019, https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/ 07/17/growing-share-of-republicans-say-u-s-risks-losing-its-identity-if-it-istoo-open-to-foreigners/.
- 21 Edward Gibbon, The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (New York: Modern Library, 1931), vol. 1: 29-30, 33 (ギボン『ローマ帝国衰亡史〈1〉第1-10章——五賢帝時代とローマ帝国衰亡の兆し』中野好夫訳、ちくま学芸文庫、1995年)[※引用部の翻訳は、同書の90頁]; Norman F. Cantor, Medieval History: The Life and Death of a Civilization (New York: Macmillan, 1963), 25, 43.
- 22 Arthur Herman, The Idea of Decline in Western History (New York: Free Press, 1997), 66, 73; Clive Crook, "Why Citizenship Matters," Bloomberg, May 2, 2018, https://www.bloomberg.com/view/articles/2018-05-02/citizenship-is-key-to-liberal-democracy; Bradley A. Thayer and John M. Friend, "The Dark Side of Powerful China—Its Repression—Can Benefit US," The Hill, January 9, 2019, https://thehill.com/opinion/international/424442-the-dark-side-of-powerful-china-its-repression-can-benefit-us.
- 23 Carlos Echeverria-Estrada and Jeanne Batalova, "Chinese Immigrants in the United States," Migration Policy Institute, January 15, 2020, https:// www.migrationpolicy.org/article/chinese-immigrants-united-states; Statistics Canada, "Immigration and Ethnocultural Diversity in Canada," July 25, 2018, https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/as-sa/99-010-x/99-010-x2011001-eng.cfmary\_Departments/Parliamentary\_Library/pubs/ rp/rp1819/Quick\_Guides/PopulationStatistics.
- 24 Robert D. Kaplan, "Was Democracy Just a Moment?" Atlantic, December 1997, https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1997/12/was-democracy-just-a-moment/306022/.
- 25 Joseph A. Tainter, The Collapse of Complex Societies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 1.
- 26 Gibbon, The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. 2:

- 92. (ギボン『ローマ帝国衰亡史〈6〉』)
- 27 Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2011), 305. (ハンチントン『文明の衝突』)
- 28 James Taranto, "The Politicization of Motherhood," Wall Street Journal, October 27, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-politicization-ofmotherhood-1509144044; Chad Day, "Americans Have Shifted Dramatically on What Values Matter Most," Wall Street Journal, August 25, 2019, https://www.wsj.com/articles/americans-have-shifted-dramatically-onwhat-values-matter-most-11566738001.
- David P. Goldman, "France Has Neither Nationalism nor Patriotism," PJ Media, November 11, 2018, https://pjmedia.com/spengler/france-hasneither-nationalism-nor-patriotism/; Tyler O' Neil, "German Headmaster Tells Christian Girl to Wear a Hijab to Avoid Beatings from Muslim Classmates," PJ Media, April 2, 2018, https://pjmedia.com/trending/german-headmaster-tells-christian-girl-to-wear-a-hijab-to-avoid-beatings-from-muslim-classmates/; Laura Backes et al., "Religious Symbols Take Center Stage," Spiegel, March 5, 2018, http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/religious-symbols-at-heart-of-german-search-for-identity-a-1205572.html; Lee Roden, "Why Sweden Doesn't Keep Stats on Ethnicity and Crime," The Local, May 8, 2018, https://www.thelocal.se/20180508/why-sweden-doesnt-keep-stats-on-ethnic-background-and-crime.
- 30 The Paris Statement, "A Europe We Can Believe In," October 7, 2017, https://thetrueeurope.eu/.
- 31 "Ben Franklin Who?" *Wall Street Journal*, October 3, 2018, https://www.wsj.com/articles/ben-franklin-who-1538608727; Colleen Flaherty, "The Vanishing History Major," *Inside Higher Ed*, November 27, 2018, https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2018/11/27/new-analysis-history-major-data-says-field-new-low-can-it-be-saved.
- 32 Henri Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne* (Cleveland: Meridian, 1957), 118; Roderick Seidenberg, *Post-historic Man: An Inquiry* (New York: Viking, 1974), 179.
- 33 Glenn Harlan Reynolds, "Robert Zubrin Makes 'The Case for Space," USA

- *Today*, May 7, 2019, https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2019/05/07/spacex-blue-origin-virgin-galactic-robert-zubrin-case-space-column/1119446001/.
- 34 David Pilling, Bending Adversity: Japan and the Art of Survival (New York: Penguin, 2014), 119, 177-179 (ピリング『日本一喪失と再起の物語 (上)』); Karel van Wolferen, The Enigma of Japanese Power: People and Politics in a Stateless Nation (New York: Knopf, 1989), 2-3.
- 35 Andy Kessler, "Zuckerberg's Opiate for the Masses," *Wall Street Journal*, June 18, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/zuckerbergs-opiate-for-the-masses-1497821885.
- 36 Catherine Clifford, "About Half of Americans Support Giving Residents up to \$2000 a Month When Robots Take Their Jobs," CNBC, December 19, 2016, https://www.cnbc.com/2016/12/19/about-half-of-americans-support-giving-residents-up-to-2000-a-month-when-robots-take-our-jobs.html.
- 37 Patrick Hoare, "European Social Survey (ESS) Reveal Findings about Attitudes toward Universal Basic Income across Europe," Basic Income, January 20, 2018, https://basicincome.org/news/2018/01/europe-european-social-survey-ess-reveal-findings-attitudes-toward-universal-basic-income-across-europe/; Andrew Russell, "What Do Canadians Think of Basic Income? It Will Reduce Poverty but Could Raise Taxes," *Global News*, June 7, 2017, https://globalnews.ca/news/3509763/what-do-canadians-think-of-basic-income-it-will-reduce-poverty-but-could-raise-taxes/.
- 38 Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture* and the Origins of the European World Economy in the 16th Century (New York: Academic Press, 1974), 357. (ウォーラーステイン『近代世界システム』)