

# 「国家安全」時代の中国ナラティブ外交

## —習近平が目論む国際秩序—

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### 【要約】

本稿は中国の習近平国家主席が、自身の発信する戦略的なナラティブによって、いかなる有利な国際秩序を形成しようとするかを目論んでいるかを考察した。2005年前後に「話語権」（ディスコース・パワー）に注目し始めた共産党は2009～12年、米国を中心とした西側民主主義価値観に対抗するために国際話語権を強化、さらに習近平は2013年以降、自らの求心力を高めるためナラティブによって独自の歴史観や世界観をつくり上げ、特に「人類運命共同体」という戦略ナラティブを活用し、「公正かつ合理的な国際秩序」構築に向けた外交を本格化させた。習近平は何よりも「国家の安全」を最優先し、そのために「安全な世界」を求めている点に着目した。西側陣営から見て習近平のナラティブで描かれる国際秩序は、実際の「戦狼外交」と乖離しており、「仮想」の世界と言えるが、増大する中国の経済力や軍事力を背景に、あたかも現実のものとして、グローバルサウスの中で国際的影響を高めており、中国のナラティブ外交を過小評価すべきではない。「法の支配」に基づく国際秩序を

目指す日本を含めた西側民主主義陣営は、共産党の発するナラティブへのリテラシーを高め、結束して対応する必要がある。

**キーワード：**国家安全、話語権（ディスコース・パワー）、戦略ナラティブ、グローバルサウス

# 「国家安全」時代の中國故事外交

## —習近平所籌劃的國際秩序—

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### 【摘要】

本文的研究旨趣是，透過中國習近平國家主席發表的戰略故事（Strategic Narrative），分析習近平如何籌劃形成對其有利的國際秩序。2005年前後開始關注「話語權（discourse Power）」的中國共產黨，在2009～2012年，爲了對抗以美國爲中心的西方民主主義價值觀，始強化自身國際話語權。甚至，習近平在2013年後，爲提升對自己的向心力，透過故事方式，創造獨特的歷史觀與世界觀，特別活用「人類命運共同體」這樣的戰略故事，全力建構符合「公正且合理的國際秩序」的外交。對於習近平而言，「国家安全」最爲優先，爲此他著眼的是追求「安全的世界」。在西方陣營眼中，習近平在故事外交中所籌劃的國際秩序，與實際發生的「戰狼外交」有所乖離，可以說是一個「虛擬」的世界。然而中國以日益強盛的經濟或軍事實力爲背景，加入看似現實的情形，藉以提升中國在「全球南方（Global South）」之間的國際影響力，因此不應該輕視中國在故事

外交上的影響力。包含追求根據「法律主導」建立國際秩序的日本等西方民主主義陣營，對於中國共產黨所發表的故事方式必須提高解讀能力，團結一致加以因應。

關鍵字：國家安全、話語權（discourse power）、戰略故事（Strategic Narrative）、全球南方（Global South）

# Narrative Diplomacy in the Era of “National Security”: Xi Jinping’s Plans for the International Order

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## 【Abstract】

This article examines how Chinese President Xi Jinping intends to shape the international order through the strategic narratives that he communicates. The Communist Party, which began to focus on “discourse power” around 2005, strengthened international discourse power in 2009-12 to counter Western democratic values, particularly those of the United States. Furthermore, since 2013, Xi Jinping has been creating his historical perspective and worldview through narratives to enhance his own centripetal force, and in particular, he has been using the strategic narrative of “Community with a shared future for mankind” to launch a full-scale diplomatic strategy to build a “just and rational international order.” This paper focuses on the fact that Xi Jinping prioritizes “national security” above all else and seeks a “secure world” to achieve this goal. From the Western countries’ perspective, the international order depicted in Xi’s narrative deviates from the actual “War-Wolf Diplomacy” and can be said to be a “virtual” world. However, with China’s growing economic and military power, it is gaining increasing international influence among the global South as if it were a reality, and China’s narrative diplomacy should not be underestimated. Western democracies, including Japan, which aspire to an international order based on the “rule of law,” need to increase their literacy

of the narratives emanating from the Communist Party and respond to them in a united manner.

**Keywords:** national security, discourse power, strategic narrative, Global South

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