

How to Read Cultures

原書で読む
カルチュラル・スタディーズ

Edited with Notes by
YUZO YAMADA
Junko MURO
Hisako MATSUKIZONO

EIHŌSHA

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はじめに

「そろそろ文化をそれ本来の場所にもどす時がきたようだ」と、テリー・イーグルトンは言う。21世紀の文化多元主義のもとで百花繚乱の文化に「普遍」を取り戻せ、しょせん文化をいじくりまわすだけでは現実は変わらないのだから、文化をもちあげるのはやめろ、と言う。どうやら1990年代にあれほどのブームとなったカルチュラル・スタディーズ(カルスタ)も曲がり角を迎えたようだ。そこで、もう一度、カルスタの原点に戻ってみようではないかというのがこのテキストの主旨である。

その主旨のもとに、比較的最近の文章からカルスタ草創期の1950年代の文章へと時間を遡ってみたい。その順序で、UNITを配列している。それにともなって、扱われている地域もアジアから北米へ、そしてイギリスへと移動することになる。これは、カルスタが世界的に伝播していった過程を、逆にたどるかたちになる。収録されたいずれの文章も、カルスタが元気であったころの雰囲気満ちている。加工されたハウツーものではなく、「本物の」テキストを通して、それを感じなおしてみたい。

しかしそう言いながらも、この教科書の試みが時代に逆行するものであることは否定できない。カルスタという思潮が引き潮になったこともあるが、それ以上に、ここで掲載した類いの英文が、大学の英語の授業で使われなくなったことが大きい。どのUNITでも拾い読みしていただけると分かつと思うが、明確な起承転結をもつ文章ではない。繰り返しの表現も多い。おそらく、TOEFLやTOEICなどの検定型リーディング問題に慣れた学習者は、これらの文章それ自体に戸惑いを覚えるだろう。

このように書くと、検定型の学習法を批判する保守的な主張をしていると誤解を招くかもしれない。しかし、そうではない。教科書製作にあたり、検定型のリーディング学習をつねに意識してきた。一般に、検定型のリーディング学習では、短くまとめられた英文の主旨を短時間でおおまかに読み取る能力、または、英文内の重要な情報を拾い上げる能力が求められる。

確かに検定では、それらの能力を試すための設問が大半を占める。それでも、設問のなかには、文章の要旨ではなく論調を、執筆者の主張だけでなく感情を、あるいは結論の明示的な意味ではなく暗示的な意味を尋ねるものが含まれる。

編者の教室での経験では、学習者はこの手の設問に苦勞しているように思える。その部分を補うには、多少荒治療であっても、カルスタの文章は適している。そこには、ブレることのないはっきりしたスタンスに基づく論調と感情、それを戦略的に伝える含意がふんだんに現れるからだ。その意味で、本書が検定型のリーディング学習の補足になればと願っている。

本教科書の特徴

「はじめに」でもふれたように、この教科書は検定型のリーディング学習を意識したものである。そのため、フォーマットもいくらか TOEFL の CBT を見本にして、テキストの左右マージンに選択型のクイズを設けている。また、注も傍注のかたちで提示しており、学習者が注を見たり、クイズに答えながら、同時進行で本文を読めるようにと配慮している。傍注やクイズは、あくまで読解の補助として使ってほしい。

各ユニットの構成

水先案内：本文を実際に読み始める前に、各地域の事情やグローバルな状況などの背景やこの文章が書かれた経緯を示している。

傍注部分：語彙に関することを中心に、クイズを出している。クイズは本文読解の補助として使ってほしい。注に関しても、スムーズな読解の流れを妨げないように、最低限の説明に止めている。

内容理解の確認問題：テキスト本文を読解した後で、テキストの要所をとらえているかを確認するために設問を解いてもらう。この設問に正しく答えられるようになることが、この教科書が設定する最大の目標である。

英語表現の練習：各 UNIT 末には、本文で使われた英語表現を用いて英文を書いてみるコーナーを設けている。英語で発信するための小演習として使ってほしい。

2007年8月

編注者

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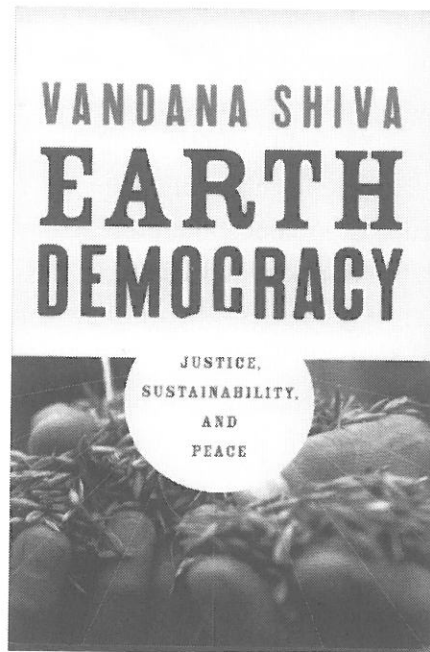
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How to Read Cultures

原書で読む
カルチュラル・スタディーズ

UNIT 1

Living Cultures and Killing Cultures



水先案内

ヴァンダナ・シヴァはインドに生まれ、カナダの大学で博士号を取得した科学者である。しかし「象牙の塔」にこもることなく、環境破壊、グローバリゼーション、女性の抑圧といった問題について積極的に発言、行動する活動家でもある。弱者の視点から現代社会の不公正な構造を看破し、英語を媒体に世界と連携する彼女は、第三世界の女性知識人のシンボリック的存在ともいえるだろう。

このユニットでは、現在進行中である経済的グローバリゼーションの暴力があばかれる。それは、経済と不可分である文化にも画一化(モノカルチャー)をおし進めるものだ。この点で2001年南インドで開催されたシンポジウムにおける「文化」の定義に関する議論は傾聴に値する。多様性を認めないグローバリゼーションは、他の文化を文明化しようとした帝国主義や、民主化の名目で行われるイラク戦争と同列にあると、シヴァは警告する。

1 mar 「汚す」

Q1. 太字体 **nonsustainable** (l. 4) にもっとも意味が近いものを次のなかから選びなさい。
 (イ) 支えられない
 (ロ) 元気づけることができない
 (ハ) 我慢できない
 (ニ) 持続できない

9 **Udipi** インド南部カルナータカ州ウディピ県。

10 **Samdhong Rinpoche** 「サムドン・リンポチェ」(1939-) チベットの政治家。

12 **Sanskrit** 古代インドの文語「サンスクリット」**sanskriti** 「文化」の意。

16 **Hindi** インドの公用語「ヒンディー語」

17 **vkriti** 「変形、ゆがみ」の意。

19 **Gandhi Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi** (1869-1948) インドの政治指導者、思想家。マハートマー(偉大なる魂)・ガンディーと称された。

24 **societal** = social

30 **imposition** 「押しつけ」

Our age is marred by multiple forms of violence—economic, military, and cultural. The violence of the dominant culture is reinforced by the violent responses of those whose lands and cultures are invaded. A **nonsustainable** economic system based on principles of free trade, greed, and imperialism is creating vicious cycles of violence from which there seems to be no way out.

A few years ago, during a public dialog entitled “Globalization and Violence” in Udipi, South India, in reaction to the phrase “culture of violence,” Samdhong Rinpoche, the prime minister of the Tibetan government in exile, said violence cannot have a culture. The word culture in Sanskrit—*sanskriti*—means activities that hold a society and community together. Violence breaks societies up, it disintegrates instead of integrates. The practice of violence, therefore, cannot be referred to as “culture.” In Sanskrit and Hindi, in fact, we have a word for destructive processes—*vkriti*, that which disintegrates and violates. In English, however, the phrase “culture of violence” is frequently used. During British rule in India, Gandhi was asked what he thought of Western civilization. He responded “It would be a good idea.” An imperialist West can not be a civilized West, since civilized people do not destroy other civilizations and cultures. To be civilized is to live and let live, both at the individual and societal level.

Imperialism has always operated under the pretense of making other cultures civilized while, in fact, destroying other cultures and robbing people of their humanity, diversity, and identity. Living cultures are based on cultural diversity and recognize our universal and common humanity. Killing cultures are based on imperialistic universalism—a violent imposition of the cultural priorities of an imperial power. The universal order of globalization and imperialism is not based on universal responsibility, compassion, and solidarity, but on the conquest and colonization of resources, of history, and of the past and the future.

False universalisms lead to war and violence; **true universalisms** based on our common humanity, our oneness, and our interconnectedness provide the conditions for peace, coopera-

tion, and coexistence. Diversity and autonomy are treated as a problem and disease in the false universalism of imperialism, corporate globalization, crusades, and jihads, but in the universalism that creates peace, they are expressions of freedom.

5 In the eyes of imperialists, as non-Western cultures are invaded and conquered, their diversities and traditions disappear and the world is reshaped in the image of (Ⓐ)—and (Ⓑ) will feel grateful for their “liberation.” This used to be called the white man’s burden. It continues in the idea of bringing “democracy” and a war named “Operation Iraqi Freedom.”

10 The imperialists do not recognize their inability to respect the autonomy, self-organization, agency, and integrity of the other, creates diverse forms of violence.

Corporate globalization has unleashed a war against farmers, against women, against other species, and against other cultures. While the project of corporate globalization is based on the imposition of a global monoculture—a food monoculture shaped by McDonald’s, Monsanto, and Coke; a dress monoculture; a media monoculture; a transport monoculture—we are not witnessing a disappearance of diversity. Diversity is becoming dominant. There are, however, two kinds of movements for cultural diversity that are growing.

One is the extremist and exclusivist “Talibanization” of culture—a patriarchal, militarist response to the empire that mimics the violence of the empire. While resisting imperial occupation, it simultaneously declares cultural wars within its boundaries—against women, minorities, and other groups. In Taliban-ruled Afghanistan, the violence against women and the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas are examples of destruction of culture in the name of the protection of culture. The reduction of the 2004 US elections to “red” and “blue” belts and conflicts over so-called cultural values are other examples of the destruction of diversity and pluralism through the construction of exclusivist identity. Such identifications give rise to the culture wars, crusades, and jihads of our times.

The other movement for cultural diversity can be found in the movement for peace, sustainability, and justice, which protects diversity through care and compassion, not through domi-

- 3 **jihad** 「ジハード」イスラム教徒の聖戦。
9 **the white man’s burden** 「白人の責務」
10 **“Operation Iraqi Freedom”** 「イラクの自由作戦」

Q2. 本文中の空所①と②(II. 7-8)を補充するのにもっとも適切な組み合わせを次のなかから選びなさい。

- (イ) ①the colonized
②the colonizer
(ロ) ①the colonized
②the colonizing
(ハ) ①the colonizer
②the colonized
(ニ) ①the colonizing
②the colonizer

12 **agency** 「行為主体」

17 **monoculture** 元来は単一作物栽培, ここでは「単一文化」

18 **Monsanto** 「モンサント社」農業関連企業。

23 **exclusivist** 「排他主義者」
“Talibanization”
「ターリバーン化」
Talibanは2001年11月頃までアフガニスタンを支配していたイスラム主義政権。

24 **patriarchal** 「家長制度の」

29 **the Bamiyan Buddhas** バーミヤーン渓谷(アフガニスタンの仏教遺跡)。

31 **“red” and “blue” belts** 2004年アメリカ大統領選で、共和党および民主党を支持する州がそれぞれ、赤と青で示された。

33 **pluralism** 「複数共存」

- 3 **the Dalai Lama** チベット仏教（ラマ教）教主の称号。現在のダライ・ラマは1959年にインドに亡命し、亡命政府を樹立。

nation and conquest. These positive, diverse identities provide alternatives to the imperialistic, patriarchal models of relating to the diverse other. His Holiness the Dalai Lama has articulated how compassion and respect for human rights of people of all cultures can be a basis for public life and international relations: 5

To me it is clear that a genuine sense of responsibility can result only if we develop compassion. Only a spontaneous feeling of empathy for others can really motivate us to act on their behalf. 10

Q3. 太字体 **it** (l. 12) の指すものを次のなかから選びなさい。
 (イ) right
 (ロ) democracy
 (ハ) humanity
 (ニ) nature

Democracy is the system which is closest to humanity's essential nature. Hence those of us who enjoy **it** must continue to fight for all people's right to do so. . . . We must respect the right of all peoples and nations to maintain their own distinctive characters and values. 15

This philosophy of diversity plus universal responsibility provides the basis for cultivating living cultures from the midst of killing cultures. . . .

- 23 **mutate into** ～ 「～に変化する」
 24 **virulent** 「敵意に満ちた」
fundamentalism
 「原理主義」
 24- **ethnic cleansing** 「民族浄化」
 27 **World on fire** エイミー・チュア (Amy Chua) の著作。
 28 **polarization** 「分極化」

Economic globalization is not merely responsible for economic wars and class division. It is also contributing to cultural wars and religious and ethnic conflicts. When the monoculture of economic globalization is imposed on ethnically and religiously diverse societies, the diversity is not eliminated—it mutates into virulent forms emerging as religious fundamentalism, ethnic cleansing, and other symptoms of cultural wars. These cultural mutations are induced by multiple factors. 20 25

As Amy Chua discusses in her book *World on Fire*, the economic polarization of globalization is superimposed on existing class inequalities. These class inequalities frequently mirror ethnic patterns. Class conflicts, she argues, thus get camouflaged as ethnic conflicts. 30

As diverse cultures experience a threat to their values, norms, and practices by globalization, there is a cultural backlash. When the cultural response does not simultaneously defend economic democracy and create living economies, it takes the form of 35

negative identities and negative cultures.

Culture and economy are inseparable. **The neoliberal ideology of development and globalization wishes culture away,** yet culture dominates and becomes the surrogate for concerns over livelihoods and economic security. Fundamentalist religion becomes, as Marx so aptly observed, an “opiate of the masses.”

Politicians and political parties that have fully supported the agenda of neoliberal globalization are also increasingly invoking exclusivist religion for gaining political power—and claiming their power comes directly from God, not from corporation and capital. The “divine right to rule” seems to be the epidemic of the day. A concept that died with feudalism is making a comeback through representative democracy in the context of globalization. . . .

Imperialism is both an economic and cultural process. It is no accident that there has been an emergence of an arrogant, blinded, religious zeal to rescue the fallen, the cursed, the barbaric. Today the label of barbarism is being applied to Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, and Syria. Two centuries ago when India was the target for imperial conquest, it was viewed as needing imperial salvation. . . .

The rise of empire goes hand in hand with the imperialism of religion and culture. Both share an intolerance for diversity and the illusion of **deliverance** through destruction. The evangelical fundamentalists in the US today had their counterparts in another age of empire. Imperialism of religion and culture simultaneously performs two functions—it hides the roots of economic injustice and dispossession and it offers cultural colonization as a cure.

2 neoliberal 「新自由主義の」

6- an “opiate of the masses” マルクスは『ヘーゲル法哲学批判序論』で「宗教は民衆の阿片である」と述べている。

13 of the day 「当世の」

19 barbarism 「野蛮」

Q4. 太字体 **deliverance** (L. 25) にもっとも意味が近いものを次のなかから選びなさい。
 (イ) 配達
 (ロ) 分娩
 (ハ) 救済
 (ニ) 建設

29 dispossession 「奪取」

内容理解の確認問題

【設問 1】 p. 4 第 2 パラグラフ (ll. 8-24) の内容として不適切なものを次のなかから選びなさい。

- (イ) サンスクリットで「文化」という語には、人々を結びつけるという意味がある。
- (ロ) サンスクリットで「暴力」という語には、人々を分裂させる文化という意味がある。
- (ハ) 英語には「暴力の文化」という表現がある。
- (ニ) サンスクリットでは暴力を「文化」とは称さない。

【設問 2】 太字体 true universalisms (p. 4, ll. 36-7) を特徴づける要素として不適切なものを次のなかから選びなさい。

- (イ) common humanity
- (ロ) cultural diversity
- (ハ) cooperation
- (ニ) corporative globalarization

【設問 3】 太字体 corporate globalization (p. 5, l. 14) がもたらす事象としてもっとも適切なものを次のなかから選びなさい。

- (イ) 小作農や女性の間で争いを引き起こし、互いに対立させる。
- (ロ) さまざまな面で文化が単一化されることにより、多様性が消滅しつつある。
- (ハ) さまざまな面で文化が単一化される一方で、多様性を守ろうとする動きがみられる。
- (ニ) 国が経済的に発展することにより、マクドナルドやコカ・コーラといった企業が参入する。

【設問 4】 太字体 The neoliberal ideology . . . cultures away (p. 7, ll. 2-3) の説明としてもっとも適切なものを次のなかから選びなさい。

- (イ) 開発やグローバリゼーションといった新自由主義のイデオロギーにとって、文化は不要なものである。
- (ロ) 開発やグローバリゼーションといった新自由主義のイデオロギーにとって、遠くにある文化が必要である。
- (ハ) 新自由主義のイデオロギーは、開発やグローバリゼーションには文化が必要だということを教えている。
- (ニ) 新自由主義のイデオロギーは、開発やグローバリゼーションと文化を分けて考えている。

【設問 5】 太字体 imperialism (p. 7, l. 16) が今日、および植民地時代に「野蛮なもの」と称し、救おうとしている国の名前を、それぞれ挙げなさい。

英語表現の練習

次の文章を、() 内の単語を用いて、英語で表現しなさい。

1. 複雑な問題点を単一の問題に還元するのは危険だ。
(complex issue; single question; reduction)

2. この計画は学生がより効率的に学ぶように意図されている。
(efficiently; motivate; design)

3. 彼の研究が科学の発展に貢献した。
(contribute to; progress in science)

4. 経済の拡大は人口の増加に関係がある。
(economic expansion; population growth; hand in hand with)

UNIT 2

From Cultures of Death to Cultures of Life



稲刈り風景

水先案内

市場経済では企業の利益が優先され、現実の人々の暮らしは独自性を奪われ、貨幣の価値に換算される。ここからの方向転換をシヴァは呼びかける。問い直してみよう、貧しさとは何か。市場の「商品」が買えないことや、非西洋的な生活様式が貧しさだろうか。このような固定観念から脱すれば、グローバリゼーションの対極にある、ローカルな暮らしの多様性や豊かさに気づくだろう。私たちは Earth Family (地球=大地の家族) であり、多彩な衣食住文化にもとづいて複数のアイデンティティを有することができるのだ。

かつてインド独立の父ガンディーは、イギリスの植民地支配に対して非暴力 (アヒンサー) 思想を用いて抵抗した。今またグローバリゼーションの暴力に対抗するには、他の生命をも生かす非暴力という武器に注目する必要があるだろう。

6 **life-annihilating**
「生命を絶やす」

Why are we as a species destroying the very basis of our survival and existence? Why has insecurity been the result of every attempt to build security? How can we as members of the earth community reinvent security to ensure the survival of all species and the survival and future of diverse cultures? How do we make a shift from life-annihilating tendencies to life-preserving processes? How do we, from the ruins of the dominant culture of death and destruction, build cultures that sustain and celebrate life?

When reality is replaced by abstract constructions created by the dominant powers in society, manipulation of nature and society for profits and power becomes easy. The welfare of real people and real societies are replaced with the welfare of corporations. The real production of the economies of nature and society is replaced by the abstract construction of capital. The real, the concrete, the life-giving is substituted for by artificially constructed currencies.

18 **reification** 「具体化」

Q1. 太字体 **middle** (1. 19) にもっとも意味が近いものを次のなかから選びなさい。
(イ) 中間
(ロ) 腰部
(ハ) 媒介
(ニ) 平均

Closely linked to the rule and reification of abstraction are the monoculture of the mind and the law of the excluded **middle**, which threaten life in its diversity, self-organization, and self-renewal.

The monoculture of the mind is the reductionist perspective which sees and constructs the world in terms of monocultures. It is a mind, blind to diversity and its richness, that pushes to oblivion and extinction biological and cultural diversity—the very preconditions of ecological and cultural security.

The law of the excluded middle, which is based on an either/or logic, becomes the basis of legitimizing of exclusion and ecocide and genocide. It constructs the world in mutually exclusive categories, thus banishing multiplicity and pluralism as well as relationships and connectedness. It shuts out spaces between nature and culture. It denies the existence of biodiversity on farms and food from forests. It denies cultural diversity in our knowledge, our food, and our dress.

Even while the market economy erodes nature's economy and creates new forms of poverty and dispossession, the market is proposed as a solution to the problem of ecologically induced poverty. Such a situation arises because the expansion of

- 22 **reductionist** 「還元主義の」
25 **oblivion** 「忘却」
26 **precondition** 「前提条件」
28 **legitimize** = legitimate
29 **ecocide** 「生態系破壊」
30 **multiplicity** 「多数性」
32 **biodiversity** 「生物多様性」

the market is mechanically assumed to lead to development and poverty alleviation. In the ideology of the market, people are defined as poor if they do not participate overwhelmingly in the market economy and do not consume commodities produced for and distributed through the market. People who satisfy their needs through self-provisioning mechanisms are perceived as poor and backward.

Cultural perceptions which prejudice the market economy also impact this situation. As Rudolf Bahro observed, **culturally conceived poverty** based on non-Western modes of consumption are often mistaken for misery and poverty. People are perceived to be poor if they eat millet or maize, common non-Western staple foods that are nutritionally far superior to processed foods (and are once again becoming popular in the West as health foods). Huts constructed with **local** materials, rather than indicating poverty, represent an ecologically more evolved method of providing shelter than concrete houses in many conditions. Similarly, natural fibers and local dress are far superior in satisfying region-specific needs to machine-made nylon clothing, especially in tropical climates. The West uses its own misguided definition of poverty and backwardness to legitimize unsustainable forms of development, which have, in turn, created further conditions for material poverty or misery by diverting essential resources to resource-intensive production processes.

Once we break free of the mental prison of separation and exclusion and see how the world is interconnected, new alternatives emerge. Despair turns to hope. Violence gives way to nonviolence. Scarcity transforms into abundance and insecurity to security. Diversity becomes a solution to violence, not its cause.

The concrete context of culture—the food we eat, the clothes we wear, the languages we speak, the faiths we hold—is the source of our human identity. However, economic globalization has hijacked culture, reducing it to a consumerist monoculture of McDonald's and Coca-Cola on the one hand, and negative identities of hate on the other.

The Cartesian idea of freedom is based on separation and

2 **alleviation** 「軽減」

9 **Rudolf Bahro** 「ルドルフ・バーロ」(1935–97) ドイツの環境思想家。

12 **millet** 「ミレット」
maize 「トウモロコシ」

13 **staple foods** 「主食」
nutritionally 「栄養上」

13– **processed food** 「加工食品」

Q2. 太字体 **local** (l. 15) にもっとも意味が近いものを次のなかから選びなさい。

(イ) 地元の

(ロ) 田舎の

(ハ) 天然の

(ニ) 近隣の

20– **misguided** 「見当違いの」

35 **consumerist** 「消費者中心主義の」

38 **Cartesian** 「デカルト主義の, 心身二元論の」

independence. This conception of **independence** has its roots in capitalist patriarchy and allows powerful men owning capital and property, while dependent on women, farmers, workers, and other cultures and species, to pretend that they are independent. Furthermore, these men can pretend that those whom they exploit and who support them, are dependent on them. Patriarchy presents women as dependent. Imperialism projects itself as a liberator—the colonized are dependent on the empire for freedom and liberation. . . .

8 liberator 「解放者」

Q3. 太字体 **those** (l. 13) の指すものを次のなかから選びなさい。
 (イ) people
 (ロ) communities
 (ハ) identities
 (ニ) compassions

Identities can also be forged by compassion and the consciousness that we all belong to the earth family. These deep positive identities recognize that we share a common evolutionary history and a common future. They are stronger than **those** forged from hate. We, especially indigenous peoples, have a deep identity of place. We have bonds of family, community, and country. We have an identity as members of the earth family. We have a common human identity that is universal, even while embedded in local culture. We are both local and universal beings. Living cultures are vibrant, evolving, self-generative, and peaceful. Living cultures are rooted in life—the life of the earth, the life of the community.

The economic, ecological, and social crises resulting from corporate globalization demand a new way of thinking and living on this planet. They demand a new worldview in which compassion, not greed, is globalized; a new consciousness in which we are not reduced to consumers of globally traded commodities if we are privileged, or to narrow, fragmented one-dimensional identities based on color, religion, or ethnicity if we are excluded. We can and we do experience our lives as planetary beings with planetary consciousness, mindful and aware of what our actions, our consumption, cost other humans, other species, and future generations.

Not only are we connected with all life on the planet, past and future, but the diverse and multiple dimensions of our lives are connected. Economy shapes culture, culture shapes economy.

Earth Democracy reconnects culture to how and what we produce and consume, and to how we govern ourselves.

Beginning with people's everyday actions, Earth Democracy

offers a potential for changing the way governments, intergovernment agencies, NGOs, and corporations operate. It creates a new paradigm for global governance while empowering local communities. It creates the possibility of strengthening ecological security while improving economic security. And, on these foundations, it makes societies immune to the virus of communal hatred and fear.

Earth Democracy offers a new way of seeing, one in which everything is not at war with everything else, but through which we can cooperate to create peace, sustainability, and justice in our violent and volatile times.

Earth Democracy provides the context for living cultures—inspired both by the timeless wisdom of ancient worldviews and by the emerging solidarities of new global movements of citizens against globalization, war, and intolerance. Humanity has been connected through a planetary consciousness in the past. Our contemporary crises—the multiple fallouts of globalization—connect our future humanity even more intimately. We are experiencing ourselves as simultaneously local, national, and global. This diversity and multiplicity, and the nonviolence and inclusiveness it implies, is giving birth to a new living culture of our common humanity and our rich diversities.

As Gandhi has said, nonviolence is not just the absence of violence. It is an active **engagement** in compassion. *Ahimsa*, or nonviolence, is the basis of many faiths that have emerged on Indian soil. Translated into economics, nonviolence implies that our systems of production, trade, and consumption do not use up the ecological space of other species and other people. . . .

Ahimsa combines justice and sustainability at a deep level. “Not taking more than you need” ensures that enough resources are left in the ecosystem for other species and the maintenance of essential ecological processes to ensure sustainability. It also ensures that enough resources are left for the livelihoods of diverse groups of people. . . .

Diversity and pluralism are necessary characteristics of an *ahimsic* economic order. If we don’t encroach on others’ rights, diverse species will survive and diverse trades and occupations will flourish. Diversity is, therefore, a barometer of nonviolence

3 **global governance**
「グローバル・ガバナンス」中央政府を置かない国際社会の統治。

24 **Ahimsa** 「非暴力」の意。

Q4. 太字体 **engagement** (l. 24) にもっとも意味が近いものを次のなかから選びなさい。
(イ) 契約
(ロ) 雇用
(ハ) 婚約
(ニ) 関与

36 **ahimsic** 「非暴力的な」
encroach 「侵害する」

and reflects the sustainability and justice that nonviolence embodies.

- 4 **swadeshi and swaraj** 「国産品奨励」と「自治」の意。
6 **corollary** 「原則」

Diversity is intimately linked to the possibility of self-organization. It is, therefore, the basis of both swadeshi and swaraj, of economic and political freedom. Decentralization and local democratic control are political corollaries of the cultivation of diversity. The conditions in which diverse species and communities have the freedom to self-organize and evolve according to their own needs, structures, and priorities are also conditions for peace.

5

10

内容理解の確認問題

【設問 1】 太字体 *The monoculture of the mind* (p. 12, l. 22) の性質としてもっとも適切なものを次のなかから選びなさい。

- (イ) 生態系と文化を保護する。
- (ロ) 今では世間から忘れられ、消えつつある。
- (ハ) 生態学的、文化的な多様性を擁護する。
- (ニ) 還元主義的な単純な見方で世界をとらえる。

【設問 2】 太字体 *culturally conceived poverty* (p. 13, ll. 9–10) とみなされている生活様式の具体的な例を 3 つあげなさい。

【設問 3】 太字体 *independence* (p. 14, l. 1) に関する筆者の見解としてもっとも適切な記述を次のなかから選びなさい。

- (イ) 男性は独立しているので、資本と富を持つことが可能である。
- (ロ) 男性は女性、農民、労働者に依存している。
- (ハ) 女性、農民、労働者は男性に依存している。
- (ニ) 女性、農民、労働者は独立しているふりをしている。

【設問 4】 太字体 *Ahimsa* (p. 15, l. 24) の説明としてもっとも適切なものを次のなかから選びなさい。

- (イ) 公正であり、持続することが肝心である。
- (ロ) 暴力を一切排除し、他者に干渉してはならない。
- (ハ) 必要以上に取らず、他者のために資源を残すべきである。
- (ニ) インドの信仰や経済制度の基礎となっている。

【設問 5】 筆者は繰り返し 'diversity' (多様性) の重要性を訴えている。筆者が重要だと主張していないものを次のなかから選びなさい。

- (イ) 田畑や森から採れる食物の多様性
- (ロ) 企業グローバル化によって得られる商品の多様性
- (ハ) 地域や国家、地球に同時に属するわれわれのアイデンティティーの多様性
- (ニ) われわれの知識や食事、衣服などにみられる文化的な多様性

英語表現の練習

次の文章を、() 内の単語を用いて、英語で表現しなさい。

1. 小さな誤解のために彼らの友情は損なわれた。
(a little misunderstanding; erode; friendship)

2. 彼らの死のほとんどは不適切な医療処置が原因だった。
(result from; improper medical treatment)

3. 誰も彼女の魅力には逆らえない。
(immune to; charms)

4. 彼の成功はアメリカン・ドリームを体現している。
(embody; the American dream)

UNIT 3

Globalization as Genocide against Farmers



収 穫 風 景

水先案内

2003年9月世界貿易機構閣僚会議が開催されていたメキシコのカンクンで、韓国の農民団体幹部イ・キョンヘ氏が自殺した。農産物市場の自由化により安価な輸入品が流入したため、韓国の農村は疲弊し、彼自身も破産していた。しかしWTOは韓国政府が自国の農業保護政策をとることに反対であった。イ氏が掲げるプラカードに書かれていた言葉は「WTOは農民を殺す」。しかしこの事件は氷山の一角である。

インドではグローバル企業が参入し、伝統的な農業を一変させた。これまで農民が収穫の一部から取り置いていた無料の種子は、特許化されて商品となり、費用を増大させる。加えて市場の自由化により農産物の価格は低下し、収入が減少する。このような負の連鎖によって、グローバリゼーションは何万もの農民を「虐殺」しているのだ。

- 3 **threatened species** = endangered species
「絶滅危惧種」
- 5 **corporatize** 「大企業化する」

Q1. 太字体 **render** (1.9) にもっとも意味が近いものを次のなかから選びなさい。

(イ) 表現する
(ロ) 変化させる
(ハ) 与える
(ニ) 誤解する

- 10 **martyr oneself** 「自己を犠牲にする」
- 11 **the Cancún WTO ministerial** 「世界貿易機構カンクン閣僚会議」(WTOはWorld Trade Organizationの略)
- 17 **India's National Crime Bureau** 「インド国家犯罪記録局」
- 20 **Andhra Pradesh** インド南部アーンドラ・プラデーシュ州。

Imperialistic globalization is emerging as the worst form of genocide in our times. It is turning the vast majority of the human race into threatened species. Small farmers and peasants—two thirds of humanity—are an endangered species in the agenda of globalized, corporatized agriculture. Women—half of humanity—are also becoming a threatened species as subtle changes in societal arrangements introduce imbalance, and the patriarchal biases of traditional cultures converge with patriarchal biases of global capitalism to **render** women disposable.

Lee Kyung Hae martyred himself while wearing a sign reading “WTO kills farmers” at the Cancún WTO ministerial to attract attention to one of the worst genocides of our times—the genocide of small farmers through the rules of globalization. His suicide is merely the most public of the tens of thousands of farmers who have been driven to kill themselves. Thirty thousand farmers have been killed by globalization policies in India over a decade. According to India’s National Crime Bureau, 16,000 farmers in India committed suicide during 2004. During one six-month span in 2004, there were 1,860 suicides by farmers in the state of Andhra Pradesh alone.

Farmer suicide emerged in India in 1997. The policies of corporate-driven globalized and industrialized agriculture deliberately destroy small farms, dispossess small farmers, and render them disposable.

The Indian peasantry, the largest body of surviving small farmers in the world, today faces a crisis of extinction. Two-thirds of India makes its living from the land. In this country of a billion, that has farmed this land for more than 5,000 years, the earth is the most generous employer. However, as farming is delinked from the earth, the soil, the climate, and biodiversity, and is instead linked to global corporations and global markets, and as the generosity of the earth is replaced by the greed of corporations, the viability of small farmers and small farms is destroyed. Farmer suicides are the most tragic and dramatic symptom of the crisis of survival faced by Indian peasants.

Rapid increase in indebtedness is at the root of farmer’s taking their lives. Debt is a reflection of a negative economy. **Two factors** have transformed agriculture from a positive economy

- 36 **indebtedness**
「負債」

into a negative economy for peasants—the rising costs of production and the falling prices of farm commodities. Both these factors are rooted in the policies of trade liberalization and corporate globalization.

5 In 1998, the World Bank's structural adjustment policies forced India to open up its seed sector to global corporations like Cargill, Monsanto, and Syngenta. The global corporations changed the input economy overnight. **Farm-saved seeds were replaced by corporate seeds, which need fertilizers and pesticides and cannot be saved.**

10 Corporations prevent seed savings through patents and by engineering seeds with nonrenewable traits. As a result, poor peasants have to buy new seeds for every planting season and what was a traditionally free resource, available by putting aside
15 a small portion of the crop, becomes a commodity. This new expense increases poverty and leads to indebtedness.

The shift from saved seed to a corporate monopoly of the seed supply also represents a shift from biodiversity to monoculture in agriculture. The district of Warangal in Andhra Pradesh
20 used to grow diverse legumes, millets, and oilseeds. Now the imposition of cotton monocultures has led to the loss of the wealth of farmer's breeding and nature's evolution.

Monocultures and uniformity increase the risks of crop failure, as diverse seeds **adapted** to diverse ecosystems are replaced
25 by the rushed introduction of uniform and often untested seeds into the market. When Monsanto first introduced Bt cotton in India in 2002, the farmers lost 1 billion rupees due to crop failure. Instead of 1,500 kilos per acre as promised by the company, the harvest was as low as 200 kilos per acre. Instead of
30 incomes of 10,000 rupees an acre, farmers ran into losses of 6,400 rupees an acre. In the state of Bihar, when farm-saved corn seed was displaced by Monsanto's hybrid corn, the entire crop failed, creating 4 billion rupees in losses and increased poverty for desperately poor farmers. **Poor peasants of the South**
35 cannot survive seed monopolies. The crisis of suicides shows how the survival of small farmers is incompatible with the seed monopolies of global corporations.

The second pressure Indian farmers are facing is the dramatic

5 **the World Bank** 「世界銀行」

7 **Cargill** 「カーギル社」穀物企業。
Syngenta 「シンジェンタ社」農業関連企業。

19 **Warangal** アーンドラ・プラデーシュ州ワランガル県。

20 **legume** 「豆」
oilseed 「脂肪種子」

23- **crop failure** 「不作」

Q2. 太字体 **adapted** (1. 24) にもっとも意味が近いものを次のなかから選びなさい。

- (イ) 相反した
- (ロ) 採り入れられた
- (ハ) 慣れ親しんだ
- (ニ) 順応した

26 **Bt cotton** 「Bt ワタ」害虫抵抗性を持つ遺伝子組み換え綿。

27 **rupee** 「ルピー」インドの貨幣単位。

31 **Bihar** インド東部ビハール州。

Q3. 太字体 **the South** (1. 34) にもっとも意味が近いものを次のなかから選びなさい。

- (イ) 南インド
- (ロ) ビハール州南部
- (ハ) 南国
- (ニ) 発展途上国

3 **dumping** 「不当廉
売, ダンピング」

4 **agribusiness** 「農業
関連企業」

12 **productivity** 「生産
性」

20 **groundnut** 「ナンキ
ンマメ」

24 **Burkina Faso** アフ
リカ西部の共和国
ブルキナ＝ファソ。
Benin アフリカ西部
の共和国ベナン。

25 **Mali** アフリカ西部
の共和国マリ。
untenable 「支持で
きない」

30 **rigged** 「人為的に操
作された」

32– **the Research Foun-
dation for Science,
Technology and
Ecology (RFSTE)**
「科学・技術・エコ
ロジー研究財団」
1982年に筆者が設
立。

fall in prices of farm produce as a result of the WTO's free trade policies. The WTO rules for trade in agriculture are, in essence, rules for dumping. **They have allowed wealthy countries to increase agribusiness subsidies while preventing other countries from protecting their farmers from artificially cheap imported produce.** Four hundred billion dollars in subsidies combined with the forced removal of import restrictions is a ready-made recipe for farmer suicide. Global wheat prices have dropped from \$216 a ton in 1995 to \$133 a ton in 2001; cotton prices from \$98.2 a ton in 1995 to \$49.1 a ton in 2001; soya bean prices from \$273 a ton in 1995 to \$178 a ton. This reduction is due not to a change in productivity, but to an increase in subsidies and an increase in market monopolies controlled by a handful of agribusiness corporations.

The US government pays \$193 per ton to US soya farmers, which artificially lowers the price of soya on the world market. In India, due to the removal of quotas and the lowering of tariffs, cheap soya has destroyed the livelihoods of not only soya growers but also other farmers who grow oil-producing crops, including coconut, mustard, sesame, and groundnut.

Similarly, cotton producers in the US are given a subsidy of \$4 billion annually. This has artificially brought down cotton prices, allowing the US to capture world markets previously accessible to poor African countries such as Burkina Faso, Benin, and Mali. This subsidy of \$230 per acre in the US is untenable for the African farmers. African cotton farmers are losing \$250 million every year. That is why small African countries walked out of the Cancún negotiations, leading to the collapse of the WTO ministerial.

The rigged prices of globally traded agriculture commodities steal from poor peasants of the South. A study carried out by the Research Foundation for Science, Technology and Ecology (RFSTE) shows that due to falling farm prices, Indian peasants are losing \$26 billion annually. This is a burden their poverty does not allow them to bear. As debts increase—unpayable from farm proceeds—farmers are compelled to sell a kidney or even commit suicide. Seed saving gives farmers life. Seed monopolies rob farmers of life. . . .