

与党統一会派「国民新党・新党日本」、田中康夫です。

I'm Yasuo Tanaka, speaking on behalf of New Party Nippon and our parliamentary group partner, the People's New Party.

民主党定期大会で、私共の亀井静香は諫（いさ）めました。  
暴風雨の中を、TPPや消費税の風を吹かせ、帆を上げ、安全航海が出来ると、本当にお思いですかと。

People's New Party leader Mr. Shizuka Kamei gave an admonition at a regular party convention of the Democratic Party of Japan. He asked if the party really believes it can set sail safely in a rainstorm with self-induced headwinds of TPP and the consumption tax hike.

野田佳彦さん、掛け声ばかり勇ましい「大増税・TPP・放射能」の行方に、国民の多くは不安や疑問を抱いています。

「弱きを挫（くじ）き・強きを助ける」倒錯した社会。個性を認めぬ金太郎飴な悪平等社会。

その何れでもない、社会的公正と経済的自由を同時に達成し、人間の体温を感じさせる「一億総中流社会」復権を目指すべき日本は、「公正な税制・公正な通商・公正な資源」の確立に向け、「新しい方程式」に基づく抜本変革が不可欠。

Mr. Yoshihiko Noda. Many people in Japan are doubtful about your seemingly-powerful slogans and concerned about what will happen to the future of the proposed tax increase, TPP and radiation. We now live in a perverted society which sides with the strong and crushes the weak. That's a parochial society of false equalitarianism which tends to deny people's individualities.

That's not the society we aspire for. We must achieve social justice and economic freedom simultaneously. We must restore the dignity of a decent society in which everyone can live the life of a middle class citizen. In order to establish a society with a fair tax code, fair trade and fair access to resources, we need to carry out drastic reform based on a new equation.

「毎年、繰り返してきた対処療法は、もう限界」。野田さんは「消費税引き上げ宣言」しました。

それこそ、問題先送りの「対処療法」ではありませんか？ (1)

Mr. Noda, you said implementing stopgap measures over and over again every year won't work any more and pledged to raise the consumption tax. But isn't it yet another quick fix, putting off till tomorrow what you must do today?

国税の法人税、地方税の法人事業税。株式会社の7割がビター文、払っていません。連結納税導入の、日本経団連加盟、超大企業も、その66%が1円も納めていません。

昨年11月、貴方も本会議で認めた事実です。

企業の僅か3割しか法人税を納めていない。その僅か3割の実直な企業に、加重

(かじゅう) な負担を強いる。

「一票の格差」どころでない「不条理」は、利益に対して課税する仕組みが原因。

Seventy percent of the limited companies in Japan pay no national corporate tax or regional business tax. Sixty-six percent of Japan's super large corporations which are the members of the Japan Business Federation (Nippon Keidanren) file consolidated tax returns and don't pay any tax at all. You too acknowledged that at the plenary session of the diet last November. Only 30 percent of all the companies in Japan pay taxes and are forced to shoulder the heavy burden for being honest. This absurdity is worse than the controversial vote-value disparity and is caused by a system in which companies are taxed on profits.

だから、「国民新党・新党日本」は、企業の利益でなく、企業の支出に対し、広く薄く課税する公正＝フェアな外形標準課税の全面導入を、繰り返し求めています。(2)

前回、私の代表質問に野田さんは、「新たな課税を行う際には、その目的や影響等を含め、慎重な検討が必要」と答弁。

ならば、消費税という新たな増税を行う際こそ、その目的や影響等を含め、慎重な検討が必要です(3)

New Party Nippon and the People's New party have repeatedly demanded the introduction of a fair, pro forma standard taxation system under which taxes are imposed on corporate expenditures instead of profits and collected widely and thinly.

In my last questioning, I told Mr. Noda when the government plans to introduce new taxes, it needs to deliberate cautiously on its purpose and impact beforehand. It's the same thing with tax hikes. If the government wants to raise the tax rate, it needs to deliberate on the goal and impact from it thoroughly.

古今東西、増税で景気浮揚した国家は、何処にも存在しません。

もう一点、「国民新党・新党日本」は求めてきました。生産に掛かった国内消費税額を、海外への商品輸出に際し還付する輸出戻し税制度の「不公正」を正すべく、取引明細書＝インボイスの導入こそ急務と。

No country in the world has ever succeeded in bolstering its economy by tax increases. There's one more thing New Party Nippon and the People's New Party have repeatedly called for. It's the introduction of an Invoicing system to eliminate unfairness caused by the current export drawback system which allows exporters to make refund claims for the consumption tax they pay while manufacturing products in Japan.

製造・流通の中間段階で、それぞれの業者がどれだけ消費税を納付したか、証明する上で不可欠な取引明細書＝インボイスを、先進国で日本だけ未導入。年間3兆円に上る輸出戻し税は、最終販売業者の自動車、家電、電子機器等の超

大企業にのみ還付され、日本のモノ作り産業を支える材料や部品の中小納入業者には戻ってきません。

Invoicing is indispensable in certifying how much consumption tax each company pay in numerous intermediate stages of manufacturing and distribution. And Japan is the only country among the leading industrialized countries which hasn't introduced the Invoicing system.

Export drawbacks reaching 3 trillion yen a year are claimed and collected only by the final distributors including super large automakers, electronic appliance, machineries and electronics companies. Small and medium-sized companies which supply materials or produce components don't benefit from the export drawbacks system at all

仮に消費税率10%になれば、大手企業へ還付される輸出戻し税は毎年、2倍の6兆円にも膨らみます。これぞ「不条理」。

If the consumption tax is raised to 10 percent, the amount of refunds which go to big corporations will double and reach 6 trillion yen. This is absurd!

この問題も野田さんは前回、「事業者の事務負担への配慮が必要」と後ろ向き答弁。8%、10%の2段階引き上げこそ、事業者に事務負担を強めます。レジスターのソフトを、その都度、入れ替えねばなりません。

取引明細書＝インボイス方式の導入こそ、中小事業者への福音。23年前の消費税法施行時と異なり、今や小さなパパママストアでもパソコンで税務処理しています。

Mr. Noda was rather dismissive on the issue as well, responding to my questioning the last time. The two-step tax hike would impose even heavier administrative burden on business operators because they would have to change their register software each time.

The introduction of the Invoicing system would be great news for small and medium-sized businesses. Times are different now from 23 years ago when the consumption tax law took effect. Even a small family-run store takes care of tax matters on computers by now.

何故、後ろ向きなのですか？ 何故、超大企業の「益税」を年間3兆円も放置し続けるのですか？ それは公正な税制ですか？ 国民が納得出来る明確な答弁を求めます。(4)

Why are you dragging your feet on the Invoicing system?

Why not take action against Ekizei (consumption tax revenues normally pocketed by small businesses under the current system) and continue allowing super large businesses to benefit 3 trillion yen a year?

Is it a fair tax system? Please make your case so the public can understand. .

*(Ekizei is a term used when people talk about the measure allowing small businesses to pocket Con Tax revenues by exempting them from using invoices that would leave a paper trail for the tax authorities. It's virtually legal profit that one makes by charging*

*consumption tax when not required to. Ekizei literally means 'profit and tax' in Chinese characters)*

しかも岡田克也さんは、「消費税が10%になっても、更に、新たな増税が必要だ」と発言。(5)

日本が目指す「中負担・中福祉」を既に実践するイギリスの、消費税に当たる付加価値税が17.5%だからですか？

いいえ、実質的なイギリスの付加価値税率は、何と10%未満です。

There's more. Mr. Katsuya Okada says even after the consumption tax is raised to 10 percent, more tax increases will be needed. Is that because the rate of the British VAT(value added tax), which is comparable to the Japanese consumption tax, is 17.5 percent? And Japan is seeking to become a society of 'medium-burden for medium welfare like Britain?'

But I have to tell you, Mr. Okada, the real VAT rate in the UK is below 10 percent.

医療・教育・福祉・保険等は非課税。食料品・医薬品・公共交通・住宅建築等はゼロ税率。そして電気・ガス等は5%の軽減税率。残りの品目が17.5%。一律課税の日本の制度に当て嵌めれば、「中福祉・中負担」のイギリスの「消費税率」は9.8%。複数の経済研究所が公表しています。

In Britain, medical care, education, welfare, insurance are tax-exempt. No tax is imposed on food, medical products, public transportation and housing construction, either. The tax rate on electricity and gas is 5 percent lower than 17.5 percent imposed on the remaining items that are taxable. If that's computed to Japan's flat tax rate system, Britain's consumption tax rate is 9.8 percent, according to several economic research institutes. And yet, Britain is a society of 'medium-burden for medium welfare'

なのに、10%でも足りないと言っている岡田さん。日本の制度の何処かに問題がある。漏水の如くダダ漏れしている税金の支出がある。寧ろ、こう捉えるべきです。(6)

だから、前回の総選挙で「シロアリがたかっているんです。シロアリ退治しないで、今度は消費税引き上げるんですか？」と街頭演説された野田さん。そのシロアリ退治は完了しましたか。(7)

Mr. Okada says even 10 percent isn't high enough. But my take is different. I believe there's something wrong in the Japanese system in which tax revenues aren't spent wisely at all. Mr. Noda, please remember what you said during the last general election. You said, 'Termites are attacking us and will we raise the consumption tax without eliminating them?' Mr. Noda, have you finished the work you pledged to complete?

世論調査で8割もの有権者が「賛同」する国会議員定数と国家公務員給与の削減は、必要条件の1つに過ぎず、十分条件ではありません。この認識は間違っていますか？(8)

An opinion poll shows about 80 percent of the eligible voters support a reduction in the number of the diet members and pay cuts for national public servants. But that's not sufficient. That's only one of the necessary. Am I wrong about this?

岡田さん、実質破綻状態の年金制度。その年金生活者より恵まれる総額3兆円突破の生活保護制度。労使ベア交渉の如き数字いじりでは抜本解決に至らず。発想と仕組みを大転換すべきです。  
乳幼児から高齢者まで毎月一定の金額を一律に、個人単位で配当する最低所得保障＝ベーシックインカム。地域密着型事業で全ての成人に週20時間の就労と賃金を最低保障するベーシックワークを提唱する所以です。

Mr. Okada, our pension system has virtually collapsed. And yet, over 3 trillion yen is being spent on social welfare and some recipients are better-off than some pensioners. Just fiddling with the numbers won't solve the problem fundamentally. We need to drastically change the system and our mindset.

That's why we champion the need to introduce a Basic Income Guarantee, a system of social security which regularly provides each citizen with a flat sum of money every month. The payment goes to everyone including babies and the elderly people. We also champion the need to introduce a Basic Job Guarantee as a community-based project which guarantees every adult 20 hours of work and wage per week.

「TPP」には中国も韓国も台湾も、インドネシアもタイもフィリピンも、そしてインドも。経済成長著しいアジアの国は何処も参加しません。どうやってアジアの成長を取り込むのですか？ (9)

As for TPP, China, South Korea and Taiwan aren't participating in the TPP. None of the fast-growing Asian economies such as Indonesia, Thailand or the Philippines, is participating. Then, how can we possibly reap the benefits of the economic growth in Asia?

野田さん、枯れ葉剤でベトナム戦争に荷担。今や遺伝子組換え作物市場で占有率9割に達する米国モンサント社と長期協力関係を結ぶ、住友化学（ばけがく）で会長を務める日本経団連の米倉弘昌さんと貴方が、手を取り合って進めるTPPは、アメリカ一勝の時代錯誤なブロック経済。日本にとっては貿易障害協定。

Mr. Noda, you are teaming up with Mr. Hiromasa Yonekura, the chairman of the Keidanren (Japan Business Federation) in promoting TPP. Incidentally, the gentleman is the chair of the Sumitomo Chemical Company which has a long business ties with Monsanto Company, notorious as the producer of Agent Orange used in US military operations in Vietnam. The company now enjoys over 90 percent of the market share in genetically-modified products.

TPP is an obvious anachronism. It's the block economy whose sole winner is the US. For

Japan, it's trade inhibition agreement.

案の定、米国生命保険評議会は、USTR＝米国通商代表部に文書で要求。かんぽ生命保険と共済保険に関する積年の課題を一挙解決するのがTPP参加。日本に認識させよと。

As anticipated, the American Council of Life Insurance has sent a letter to the Office of the US Trade Representative, saying Japan must immediately settle for the longstanding issue of postal life insurance and fraternal insurance if it wishes to join the TPP.

「三事業のサービスを一体で提供し、利用者の利便性を高める郵政改革の今国会での実現」を約束した野田さん、どうやって二兎を得るのです？ (10)  
自動車大手3社で構成される米国自動車貿易政策評議会は、日本のTPP参加に現時点では反対と表明。日本独自の軽自動車規格は「国内メーカーのみ恩恵を受ける非合理的政策」と廃止を求め、アメ車輸入に向けての市場開放を義務付けるのがTPP参加の大前提、と主張し始めました。

Mr. Noda, you have pledged to carry out postal reform and allow post offices to provide all three services (postal, banking and life insurance) to make it more convenient for the public. You said you will make it happen during this diet session.

But, Mr. Noda, it's almost like chasing two rabbits at a time. You cannot have it both ways.

There's more. The American Automotive Trade Policy Council or AAPC, comprising three leading automakers, has also issued a statement. It says it opposes Japan's participation in the TPP for now.

The council is demanding the repeal of Japan's original light motor vehicle standards, calling them irrational because they only benefits domestic manufacturers. AAPC is now saying Japan must be obligated to open its market to increase American car imports before it's allowed to participate in the TPP.

「大好きな日本を守りたい。この美しいふるさとを未来に引き継いでいきたい」。演説された野田さん。アメリカが非関税障壁だと主張する軽自動車を、日本国内の雇用を奪っても廃止するのですか？ (11)

Here is what Mr. Noda told the nation in his policy speech.

I quote, 'I love this country, and I want to protect it. I want to take this beautiful homeland of ours into the future,' unquote.

With this message in mind, would you dare eliminate the light motor vehicle standards which the US insists on recognizing as non-tariff barriers? Would you do that even though the repeal would result in job losses in Japan?

美しい農村の畦道も、美しい京都の路地も、その田園を潰し、その町屋（まちや）を壊し、アメ車が通れる為、財政悪化も何のその、公共事業を大展開ですか？ (12)

Would you dare to destroy idyllic farm roads and beautiful alleys in the ancient city of

Kyoto? Or are you planning a huge package of public works projects and build roads in the town so American cars can pass through them comfortably? And won't care a thing about snowballing budget deficits?

「私たちの仕事と生活を奪うな。日本を壊すな」。羊の皮を被った狼・TPP反対の大きな“うねり”は、右も左も関係ない、イデオロギーを超えた新しいムーブメント。

People are saying ‘don't steal our job, don't destroy our country.’ There's an unstoppable movement against TPP which is a wolf in sheep's skin. It goes beyond right and left. It's a new movement that transcends ideologies.

貴方がバラク・オバマさんの故郷（ふるさと）、ホノルルAPECへ出掛ける直前、私を含む10名が衆議院で呼び掛けた国会決議「TPP交渉協議への参加表明を日本政府は行うべきでない」。直筆賛同署名の代議士は僅か2日半で、過半数に肉薄の232名。

Mr. Noda, please remember the diet resolution 10 members of the lower house including me sponsored just before you left for the APEC summit in Honolulu, Hawaii, the birthplace of the US President Barak Obama. We said Japan should not announce its intention to participate in the TPP talks.

It took only two and a half days for 232 lawmakers, almost a majority of the lower house, to join and sign the document.

みんなの党を除く全ての政党・会派から集まったのも、中国、韓国、インド、オーストラリア等を加えたASEAN東アジア諸国連合プラス6で自由貿易協定を結び、その上で同盟国アメリカとも協調する戦略こそ、通商国家ニッポンに求められる、と感じていたからです。（13）

A lot of members from all parties and parliamentary groups but Your Party agreed to sign the document because they all agreed Japan should first conclude free trade agreements with ASEAN plus 6 nations including China, South Korea, India, Australia, BEFORE partnering with the US, our ally. We all agreed that's the strategy Japan should pursue.

首相就任直後の9月21日、「ウォール・ストリート・ジャーナル」は単独インタビューを、内外のメディアで最初に掲載。

On the other hand, the Wall Street Journal was the first at home and abroad to carry an exclusive interview with Mr. Noda on September 21, immediately after he took office.

「野田首相は、国民の間で盛り上がる反原発の機運を一蹴し、現在停止中の原発を2012年夏迄に再稼働させると決意を固めた。原発無しで日本国家が立ち行く筈も無く、原発の速（すみ）やかな段階的廃止の検討など不可能と述べ

た」。  
お考えは今も同じですか？

The article says, quote, ‘Japanese Prime Minister Yoshihiko Noda, brushing aside mounting popular opposition to nuclear power, said he was determined to restart idled reactors by next summer, adding that it was "impossible" for the country to get by without them or to consider a quick phaseout of nuclear energy,’ unquote. Do you still hold this view?

4月に原子力規制庁が発足する前に、10基程度の原発を再稼働と、官僚が在京大使館関係者にブリーフィング中との「情報」も有ります。これは私の空耳ですか。それとも貴方と枝野幸男さんの指示ですか。（14）

I also heard bureaucrats are already briefing embassy officials in Tokyo on the planned resumption of operations at about 10 nuclear power plants, even before the new Nuclear Regulatory Agency kicks off the ground. Is this news to you? Am I just hearing things? Or, did the order come from you and Mr. Yukio Edano?

「メルトダウンを超えた東京電力福島第1原子力発電所の周囲は、『放射能に占領された領土』と冷徹に捉えるべき。原発から少なくとも30km圏内は、居住禁止区域に設定し、愛着を抱く郷里から離れる当該住民には、国家が新たな住居と職業を保証・提供すべき。それが『国民の生命と財産を護る』政治指導者の責務」。

The area surrounding the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant which experienced full meltdown should be declared a territory ‘occupied by’ radiation. The area at least within 30 kilometers from the crippled power plant should be declared off-limits. Residents who decide to leave their beloved-hometown should be provided with new homes and guaranteed jobs by the government. That’s because it’s the responsibility of the government to protect the lives of the people and their property.

昨年12月8日、衆参両院が合同設置の事故調査委員会で私が述べた提言です。12月6日付「ニューヨーク・タイムズ」も、「フクシマ」の除染作業は日本最大・最悪の「有り難迷惑な公共事業」「無用の長物」と批判。

That’s what I proposed at a meeting of the nuclear accident investigation commission set up by both houses of the diet. The New York Times also wrote in a December 6<sup>th</sup> article, quote, ‘*Critique counter that the effort to clean Fukushima Prefecture could end up as perhaps the biggest of Japan’s white-elephant public works projects,*’ unquote.

除染は、放射能汚染を他の場所に移す「移染」に過ぎず、作業に当たる人々の、内部被曝の悲劇を更に生み出します。

Decontamination or cleanup efforts would only help transfer radioactive substances elsewhere and cause yet another tragic internal radiation exposure among workers.

京都大学、筑波大学、気象研究所の合同調査で、福島県の阿武隈川から太平洋に流れ出る放射性セシウム量は、1日500億ベクレルにも上ると判明。



Kyoto University, Tsukuba University and the Meteorological Research Institute jointly conducted a study which found the amount of radioactive cesium leaking from the Abukuma River in Fukushima Prefecture to the Pacific Ocean reached 500 becquerel per day.

「今の所は大丈夫」会見を続けた枝野さん、「今は既に大丈夫」発言を続ける細野豪志さん、身命を賭しての移住命令こそ、抜本的解決ではありませんか。

(15)

「値上げは電力会社の義務であり権利」。西澤俊夫社長が会見した東京電力への、数兆円に上る血税投入を国民は納得しません。

Mr. Edano kept telling the news conference, 'It's safe for now.' Mr. Goshi Hosono is still saying repeatedly, 'It's safe by now.' I believe the fundamental answer to the challenging issue is to order residents to evacuate the area, even if that means risking your life on the job. Otherwise, people will never agree to the injection of trillions of yen in their hard-earned tax money to TEPCO, Tokyo Electric Power Company, whose president Toshio Nishizawa appalled many at a news conference by saying, 'The utility companies have the duty and the right to raise their rates.'

一時国有化は銀行の債権を守り、天下りポストを増やし、責任の所在を曖昧にし、負担は国民に押し付ける無責任そのもの。

往時の国鉄分割・民営化に学んで、新社・旧社に分割処理する公正な気概を、と年末にも亀井と共に野田さんに申し上げました。(15)

「安全チェック機能強化の為、国家行政組織法第3条に基づく独立性の高い原子力安全規制委員会を創設。住民の安全確保に国が責任を持って取り組む体制を確立」。

Temporary nationalization of the utility would protect banks' credit, increase post-retirement jobs for government employees, obscure where responsibility lies and force people to bear the burden. It's utterly irresponsible.

That's why, at the end of last year, Mr. Kamei and I urged Mr. Noda to learn a lesson from the privatization and the separation of the Japanese National Railways and have a fair-minded spirit to split the utility into a new and old companies.

We called for the establishment of a highly independent nuclear safety regulatory commission based on the article 3 of the National Government Organization Act and the establishment of a system under which the state takes responsibility in securing safety for the residents.

この民主党マニフェストに明記された、内閣から独立の「3条委員会」でなく、腰砕けに終わったのは何故ですか？(16)

「書いてあることは命懸けで実行する。それがルール」。

まさしく野田さん、その通り。

連立を組む民主党の皆さんの覚悟と気概に期待し、協力を表明し、「国民新

党・新党日本」代表質問を終わります。

Why did the commission, which should have been based on the article 3 and independent of the Cabinet as written in the DPJ manifesto, end in a wimpy deal?

Mr. Noda, you pledged to deliver what's on the Manifesto even if it meant risking your own life. You said, 'That is the rule,' and I can't agree with you more.

With my pledge of cooperation and expectations towards guts and grace on the part of the DPJ, I would hereby conclude my representative questioning on behalf of New Party Nippon and the People's New Party.

Thank you.