

TPP Negotiation & Issues: February through July 2013

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日本語要約『TPP交渉の歩み(2013年2月から7月迄)と課題』御手洗 昭治

Preface

The following article grew out of the the content the author of this article spoke out on “TPP Negotiation : The meaning of national interests” in a television program produced by BS Fuji Television Broadcasting company on August 30, 2013. Its summary is also written in Japanese in a cursory fashion for the Japanese readers.

While Japan became the 12th member of the Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP) multilateral trade agreement negotiationsteam on July 23 at the tail end of the 18th round in Malaysia—hoping to engage in full-fledged negotiations, particularly on tariff issues in the next round of talks to be held in Brunei from Aug. 22 to 30, many pending unresolved issues and hurdles remain. For instance, much progress has not be made over tariff elimination.

Thus far, Japan finds itself on the offensive side advocating to other participating countries not only to remove tariffs on automobiles and other industrial goods, but to eliminate regulations on foreign investments.

On the one hand, Koji Tsuruoka, Japan’s chief TPP negotiator made very optimistic views at a news conference telling there is ample opportunity for Japan to make up for lost time and Japan can get the ball rolling. On the other hand, Japan will be urged by other participating countries to formulate its negotiation policy, which includes the handling of five key items, such as rice and other dairy products.

Out of 1,000–page document stipulating draft articles, only a few pages describe or set aside for tariffs. Those Japanese who participated in the TPP negotiations indicated that disadvantage caused by Japan's late entry will be minimal, but according to Government sources spells out that besides tariff issues, there are other invisible tough issues that remain to be solved in the fields of intellectual property, the environment and state-owned enterprises. The main or primary issue is whether or not core issues be tackled and agreements be reached through multilateral and bilateral talks by the end of the year. The joint statement issued after the Malaysia round did not specify the conclusion of the negotiations within 2013.

In the TPP talks, specific areas cannot be renegotiated once discussions have ended. However, after analyzing negotiations documents, if a participating country has objections, it “is allowed to point out contradictions in logic,” according to the government sources. Therefore, Japan plans to strategically seek de-facto renegotiation on some issues using this route. (August 6, Tuesday by Kyodo).

Many tariff issues cannot be thoroughly be hammered out and be resolved by multilateral negotiations, but one way or another alternative is said to be explored and be resolved through bilateral talks. It is Japan's wish that through bilateral sessions with the United States and 10 other countries involved in the TPP talks, but countries like the United States, for example, is hoping to focus on advancing tariff negotiations with other members to start off with, and then jointly pressure Japan to achieve high-level trade liberalization.

The period between Japan's initial willingness to participate in TPP negotiations and Japan's entry into the TPP multilateral trade negotiation can be divided into four phases. During the period, one question remains—that is, whether Japan entered into TPP negotiations: (1) taking risks with a lack of information about Japan's own weakness and their opponents' strengths: and (2) without getting consensus by organizations that oppose Japan's entry into

TPP trade negotiations. With these in mind, the following four phases—chosen as critical stages—will be examined and analyzed.

One significant point needs to be stressed here is that battling, whether in international court or conference room, in many cases results in “lose-lose” outcomes where protagonists are worse off. But there is a time that some battles produce clear winners. When it comes to TPP negotiations, it can be conjectured that: [1] while all the participants prefer “positive sum” or “win-win,” results in which parties to a dispute “creative values” expand the pie, and make both parties better off; and [2] although a number of lessons to be learned at negotiating tables, participants are urged to avoid a sort of chicken game—a lose-lose game if a collision occurs, here, the result turns out lamentable and disastrous.

Phase I: 2012 to February 23, 2013 in Washington, D.C. to April 13, 2013 **How Japan tackles TPP Negotiation with U.S. in Washington**

One vexing or puzzling question—which concerns to those who would like to keep track of the process of Trans-Pacific Partnership (henceforth TPP)—is under what circumstances or when Japan made a final official commitment or decision about taking part in TPP trade initiative. As the reader recalls, since 2012, Japanese government has tackled issues relating to TPP trade negotiations at a snail’s pace. The unanimous national consensus and polls for that decision—whether or not Japan should participate in TPP trade negotiations—had not been made under the Noda administration, and furthermore, the Democratic party itself had opposed the entry of TPP trade negotiations. But immediately after the Liberal Democratic Party’s landslide victory in the general election, the LDP hurriedly made an official commitment and decided to taking in part of TPP negotiations and also decided to take up the issue in his summit meeting with President Barak Obama in February 23, 2013—just prior to Prime Minister Shintaro Abe’s departure for Washington, D.C.

An intricate issue is that before his visit to the United States, Abe reiterated that he would uphold his Liberal Democratic Party's election pledge that the party opposes joining the TPP talks as long as it mandates all tariffs must be eliminated without exception. The latest Japan-U.S. agreement, which allows Abe to maintain his pledge and join the TPP talks, carries great significance.

Summit Talks in Washington, D.C. on TPP & Other Issues

On February 23, 2013, the American government held high expectations for Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, and it became apparent during his visit to Washington. In his effort to live up to the U.S. trust being placed in him, As a new Prime Minister, Abe tried to restore the vitality of Japan's politics and economy. Prime Minister Abe and U.S. President Barack Obama held their first summit talks on the day at the White House and agreed to further strengthen the Japan-U.S. ties and alliance. Obama stressed that "the U.S.-Japan alliance is the central foundation for our regional security, and so much of what we do in the [Asia-] Pacific region." Abe in response to Obama's statement, he also declared the strong bond of the Japan-U.S. at alliance which had been restored after he assumed his office as Prime Minister of Japan. The focal points during the summit talk between Obama and Abe at the White House on February 22 (US time) can be summarized in the following fashion:

(1) President Obama indicated to Prime Minister Abe that Japan wouldn't have to vow to remove all trade tariffs if it took part in the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) trade initiative; (2) moreover, it was found that Abe and Obama confirmed on 22, 2013, first it would be vital to set the stage for Japan's early entry into the ongoing TPP trade talks, and second, the two leaders agreed to enhance security cooperation in Asia in response to North Korea's nuclear threats and China's mounting military assertiveness, which had escalated territorial disputes throughout the strategically critical region, third, if Japan could participate in the TPP trade negotiations, all goods would be subject to negotiation; (3) in a joint statement it was emphasized that as the final outcome would be determined during the negotiations, and Japan was not

required to make a prior commitment to unilaterally eliminate all tariffs upon joining the TPP discussions.

Abe, in his effort to persuade U.S. President Obama to take into consideration of negotiable Japanese products—the possibility of excluding certain Japanese agricultural goods particularly rice and beef, from the zero tariffs principle. As for the TPP trade talks, Abe learned that TPP is not premised on tariff elimination without sanctuary.

On Hague Treaty: Among other topics discussed, Prime Minister Abe told President Obama that Japan is close to signing the 1980 Hague treaty on cross-border parental child abductions, and subsequent custody disputes, following years of pressure from the United States, Canada and major European countries. Abe stressed that the Japanese Diet is expected to pass related bills in May with the endorsement of both the ruling and opposition camps—which prompts Japan to join the Hague Convention on the Civil Aspects of International Child Abduction.

On North Korea Issues: the two leaders expressed their shared view—that is determination to take strong actions in response to North Korea's latest rocket launch and nuclear provocations—which run counter to the Charter of the United Nations. Inasmuch as the North Korea conducted its third underground atomic test Feb. 12, drawing international condemnation that included calls for additional sanctions to be slapped on the reclusive country. That followed its successful rocket launch in December, which was widely considered a ballistic missile test. Both actions were carried out in defiance of U.N. Security Council resolutions. Abe and Obama confirmed the importance of cooperating to seek the imposition of harsher sanctions on North Korea, among them a possible ban on financial institutions in the United States found to have done business with Pyongyang.

On Security Issues: In the security field, Abe explained that he would

proactively tackle such issues as a revision of the National Defense Program Guidelines, clarifying whether the nation can exercise its right to collective self-defense, and reviewing the Guidelines for Japan–U.S. Defense Cooperation.

All of these issues are essential for reinforcing the substance of the Japan–U.S. alliance. We hope the government gives priority to these issues and steadily achieves tangible results. The two leaders agreed to proceed with a plan to relocate the U.S. Marine Corps' Futenma Air Station from Ginowan, Okinawa Prefecture, to the Henoko district in Nago, also in the prefecture, based on an agreement reached by the Japanese and U.S. governments. Although the Okinawa prefectural government insists the air station should be relocated outside the prefecture, the Henoko plan is the shortest way to reduce the burdens of communities that currently host the base. The government must steadfastly persuade people involved in this matter to support this option.

As for North Korea's recent nuclear test, the two leaders confirmed such provocations cannot be tolerated, and that North Korea should not be rewarded for these actions. While both leaders agreed to seek the adoption of a U.N. Security Council resolution imposing additional sanctions on Pyongyang, they also agreed to consider sanctions independently enforced by such parties as Japan and the United States.

After North Korea's first nuclear test in 2006, the administration of then U.S. President George W. Bush cut a deal in which Pyongyang said it would abandon its nuclear facilities and Washington removed North Korea from its list of state sponsors of terrorism. North Korea should not receive any such benefit for conducting its third nuclear test this year.

On maritime security: Abe said Tokyo and Washington will look to enhance cooperation under the bilateral security alliance to ensure peace and stability in the Asia–Pacific region in the face of an increasingly belligerent China. Abe raised concerns about Chinese vessels that have repeatedly intruded

into Japan's territorial waters around the Senkaku islands since the previous Democratic Party of Japan administration nationalized the disputed islet chain in September. He also sought Washington's understanding on Japan's official position on the uninhabited East China Sea islets, namely that they are an inherent part of Japanese territory and that no dispute exists as to their sovereignty. The islets are administered by Japan but also claimed by China, which refers to them as Diaoyu.

The prime minister hoped to hold talks with China's new leaders about the territorial row, after the U.S. called on Asia's two largest economies to begin dialogue and come up with a peaceful solution to the increasingly acrimonious clash. Abe was further seeking to bolster Japan's defense capabilities through a possible revision of the pacifist Constitution, as well as the government's interpretation of it, in order to re-brand and allow the Self-Defense Forces to exercise collective self-defense overseas.

On Energy Issues: Prime Minister Abe sought President Obama to approve U.S. shale gas exports to Japan in order to secure inexpensive resources for Japan's power stations—all but two commercial nuclear reactors remain offline in light of the safety issues raised by the Fukushima's nuclear disaster. In response, utilities have had to ramp up thermal power generation to ensure a stable supply of electricity, sending their procurement costs soaring. The fact is that the United States did not previously authorize the export of shale gas to countries with which it has not concluded a free-trade accord. But President Obama assured the importance of U.S.-Japan relations and mentioned that the United States recognized Japan as a key ally and an important partner..

Cooperation on Sustainable Energy: Asia has many destabilizing factors, such as China and North Korea. To maintain peace and prosperity in this part of the world, Japan and the United States must properly play their respective roles based on the robust, stable bilateral alliance that is “public property” of the region. Japan-U.S. ties became disoriented while Democratic

Party of Japan-led administrations held power for more than three years. Seemingly going hand-in-hand with this, Japan's relations with China and South Korea also deteriorated.

The Obama administration apparently believes that restoring U.S. relations with Japan under the Abe administration would bring greater stability to the entire Asian region and benefit its own strategy that gives greater priority to Asia. TPP participation, which will boost Japan to harness the vitality of emerging Asian economies, is expected to become a major cornerstone for the growth strategy of the Abe administration's "*Abenomics*" economic policy. It will enable Japan to recover its economy. While some LDP members and agricultural organizations remain strongly opposed to the TPP, Abe must exercise his leadership and fully explain the major purpose of the trade agreement to calibrate opinions within the country, because doing so makes it possible for make Japangreat strides.

Additionally, during their meeting, Abe asked Obama to approve U.S. exports of shale gas to Japan. The president replied that his government always takes the importance of Japan as its ally into consideration. Some observers maintain that restrictions on shale gas exports could be lifted as early as March, 2013 opening a way for Japan to procure cheap natural gas. Prime Minister Abe also stressed that he would review the policy set under the DPJ-led government to shut down all of Japan's nuclear reactors by the end of the 2030s. It is vital that Japan and the United States cooperate extensively on economic issues, including energy and nuclear policies.

On Senkaku Issues: Although the Security Council should adopt an effective sanctions resolution, China has shown a cautious stance. It is important that ways to apply "pressure," other than a Security Council resolution, be considered under the initiative of Tokyo, Washington and Seoul.

During a bilateral foreign ministerial meeting held after the Abe-Obama

meeting, U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry, in reference to Japan-China relations, expressed a view that the Senkaku Islands are covered by the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and fall under the scope of U.S. defense obligations to Japan. Kerry's adherence to the stance of his predecessor, Hillary Clinton—Japan, for its part, should calmly address this issue without being rattled by such provocations as the use of fire-control radar by Chinese forces—has been welcomed. At the same time, Japan should strengthen the warning and surveillance operations conducted by the Self-Defense Forces and the Japan Coast Guard. To urge China to exercise self-restraint in its saber-rattling, Japan must deepen cooperation with the United States and other nations concerned.

Upon Prime Minister's Return After the Summit on TPP

Contrary to Prime Minister Abe's claim that the matter surrounding Japan's entry into TPP trade negotiations had fully been accepted and at the same time, the elimination of tariffs on certain Japanese items be taken into consideration by the Obama administration, there was a rumor going around that Japan has not received a clear assurance from the U.S. that it can continue to retain high tariffs on such sensitive agricultural products as rice as a condition for joining the TPP talks.

Abe, however, upon return to Japan on February 25th, reiterated that Japan would not join the multilateral, U.S.-led free-trade talks if it were required to abolish all tariffs without exception under the Pacific Rim accord, considering opposition from domestic farmers—a core constituency of his ruling LDP that fears an influx of cheap agricultural imports. Upon his return to Tokyo, Abe told at a news conference that he decided to accelerate the process within the LDP-led ruling coalition to build a consensus on Japan's accession to the TPP trade talks. Eleven Pacific Rim economies, including Australia, Singapore and Chile, were working on a framework for the negotiation agreement at that time.

TPP Agreement Between Japan and the United States

Prime Minister Abe and President Obama issued a joint statement on Japan's possible participation in Trans-Pacific Partnership free trade agreement negotiations. Abe and Obama confirmed that it is not required to make a prior commitment to unilaterally eliminate all tariffs upon joining the TPP negotiations, although they maintained the basic principle that all goods would be subject to negotiationspresumably off the table.

The following is the gist of a summit between Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and U.S. President Barak Obama on Friday in Washington on February 22, 2013 (Friday, U.S. Time).

Prime Minister Abe and President Obama were in agreement with:

- to strengthen bilateral alliance, enhance security cooperation.
- the alliance contributes to stability in Asia-Pacific.
- to seek peace, stability in East China Sea.
- to seek tougher U.N. sanctions on N. Korea.
- joining TPP talks will not require commitment to removing all tariffs.
- to step up efforts to fight terrorism.
- to advance base relocation, reduce Okinawa burdens.
- on need to pursue strong economic growth.

Prime Minister Abe stated:

- bonds of Japan-U.S. alliance have been restored.
- Japan close to joining int'l parental abduction pact.
- Japan boosting its defense capabilities.
- Japan to review previous government plan to end nuclear power in 2030s.

President Obama mentioned:

- alliance is central foundation of security in Asia-Pacific.

— U.S. backs Japan's attempt to solve N. Korea abduction issue.

President Obama and Prime Minister Abe signal solidarity on North Korea
February 23, 2013 (Signaling solidarity together between Japan and the United States, President Obama and Prime Minister Abe stated on Feb. 22 that North Korea's recent nuclear provocations would not be tolerated.)

On February 26, Prime Minister Abe Spoke at Diet on Japan's Entry

Prime Minister Abe stated on February 26 that he would make a decision on Japan's entry into the U.S.-led Trans-Pacific Partnership trade liberalization talks soon. Abe also instructed other ministers to come up with concrete steps to strengthen the competitiveness of Japan's agriculture, forestry, fishing and industrial sectors. The steps, including measures to attract younger people to farming, are set to be included in the government's growth strategy to be compiled by June, officials said. In his policy speech at the Diet on February 28, Abe stressed constitutional revisions and other long-cherished issues highlights his confidence deriving from rising share prices and the devaluation of the yen as well as the increasing approval rating of his Cabinet.

Having completed the successful summit talks at the White House with President Obama on February 23, Abe made a pledge with confidence by saying that he would make Japan a nation that would lead the world's economic growth and enhance business activities while keeping Japan the world's safest country.

Abe also touched upon the economic growth strategy of his administration and attached importance to regenerative medicine and environmental protection technology as part of its strategy called *Abenomics* (Abe administration's economic policy). However, Abe did not specifically mention to what extent or how the government would encourage and facilitate private investment, although he recognized sooner or later he would be in a position to

show specific measures that his administration must take to back up his optimism. Contrary to Prime Abe's claim, Japan has not received a clear assurance from the U.S. that it can continue to retain high tariffs on such sensitive agricultural products as rice as a condition for joining the TPP talks.

Phase II: March 15 to April 14

Japan's TPP Entry Announced in Japan & U.S Approved

Prime Minister Shinzo Abe said Friday that Japan will seek to join the Trans-Pacific Partnership free trade talks to boost its faltering economy, while pledging to continue protecting some industries from cheap imports. The announcement came despite strong opposition from domestic farmers and some lawmakers of Abe's own Liberal Democratic Party who depend heavily on the votes of farmers. The decision to join the TPP talks could thus affect Abe's standing ahead of the Diet upper house election expected this summer, crucial for the LDP to consolidate its comeback to power in December's general election.

"It is not only for Japan's national interests but also for the prosperity of the world," Abe said at a press conference. "I believe that joining the TPP talks is a far-sighted policy," necessary for Japan to envision its future in 100 years. Abe said any further delay in joining the talks could leave Japan outside the crucial process of rule-setting under the TPP. "Once joining, we will be able to lead the rule-setting as an important player," he said. The U.S.-led negotiations also involve Australia, Brunei, Canada, Chile, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore and Vietnam, which together account for about a third of global economic output. Japan is expected to soon seek their permission for its participation, hoping to join talks as early as in July, government officials said.

While intensifying efforts to lift the world's third-biggest economy by benefiting from the fast growth of emerging economies in the Asia-Pacific area, Abe also seeks to ease the impact of joining the TPP talks, in which Japan will

be urged to open up its market to foreign goods and services. Japanese manufacturers such as carmakers and high-tech firms have welcomed Abe's decision to enter the TPP talks, expecting growth of their exports to developing members of the partnership.

But farmers, traditional supporters of the LDP, have been up against Japan's participation, saying their industry could be destroyed by an influx of cheaper imports once the liberalization of got underway. The Japanese government estimated that over 40 percent in agricultural output, or 3 trillion yen (\$31 billion) in farm products, would be lost over an unspecified period if Japan removed all tariffs under the TPP, as domestic consumers may turn to cheaper foreign products.

However, the overall impact on Japan's economy from the TPP is expected to be positive, as the estimate showed the country's gross domestic product could be boosted by some 0.7 percentage point, or 3.2 trillion yen, with expanded exports of industrial goods offsetting the negative impact on the agricultural sector. Touching on farmers' concerns, Abe said the TPP is a "chance rather than pinch" for them, pledging that the government will introduce measures to help the industry become more competitive and increase its growth. Abe also promised the government will seek to win exemption of some key farm products from the TPP's principle of eliminating all tariffs on trade between member countries.

As the reader is reminded of Prime Minister Abe's official visit to the United States for talks with President Obama in February, in which they confirmed Japan is not required to commit to the zero-tariff principle prior to its joining talks and may be able to win exemptions in the course of negotiations. Abe has accelerated his campaign for public understanding toward joining the trade talks, directly explaining the outcome of the meeting with Obama to leaders from agricultural lobbies, as well as from the medical services sector where concerns persist that joining the TPP could jeopardize Japan's universal health-

insurance system.

On March 13, 2013, the LDP, whose member lawmakers are divided over the pros and cons of the TPP, barely secured a resolution to support Abe's position. But the agreement only came on the premise that the government must safeguard "vital interests" of the country, referring to such agricultural products as rice, wheat, sugar, beef and dairy products. But Japan's protectionist stance has already triggered skepticism among existing TPP members toward its possible membership. Negotiators in some countries have aired concerns that Japan—and its strong desire to protect certain industries—would disturb their aim of striking a deal by October, 2013.

Japan's possible inclusion was discussed by the existing members at talks in Singapore that ended on March 13, with many expressing concerns, a conference source said. But another TPP official said whether Japan can join depends only on how the United States responds. If the U.S. agrees to bring Japan in, the other negotiating countries will not oppose, said the official from a Southeast Asian country, who asked not to be named. The TPP has emerged as a key free-trade bloc as wider multilateral talks—most notably the Doha Round talks under the World Trade Organization—have faltered largely due to conflicting national interests.

U.S. Approved Japan's TPP Entry, April 13, 2013

The United States on April 12, 2013 approved Japan's entry into negotiations on the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a critical step for Tokyo's inclusion in a regional trade pact that underpins the Obama administration's efforts to boost exports to Asia. Acting U.S. Trade Representative Demetrios Marantis said in a statement that the U.S. and Japan have agreed on robust actions in the automotive and insurance sectors, as well as other non-tariff measures—key areas of U.S. concern. But they will need to hold further negotiations in parallel with the TPP talks to tackle their differences.

Japan's admission into the TPP negotiations still requires approval from the other 10 nations involved, and "the completion of our respective domestic processes," the statement said.

U.S. lawmakers quickly insisted that Japan lift barriers to U.S. exports. Michigan Republican Rep. Dave Camp, chairman of the powerful House Ways and Means Committee, said he would not endorse Japan's participation without assurances it wouldn't diminish the scope of the negotiations or delay the goal of concluding the negotiations this year — already viewed as a tough deadline. Providing the other nations endorse Japan's participation, the announcement on April 12 could pave the way for it to join the next round of TPP negotiations in July.

The pact aims to reduce duties on a wide range of goods and services and ease regulatory and other non-tariff barriers to trade. Marantis told reporters Japan's entry into the pact will help promote it as "the most promising pathway to achieving a free-trade area in the Asia-Pacific." Japan is the world's third-largest economy, and the U.S. aside, its GDP exceeds the combined total of the other participating nations: Australia, Canada, Malaysia, Mexico, Vietnam, Chile, New Zealand, Brunei, Singapore and Peru. If Japan is admitted, the TPP countries would account for nearly 40 percent of global GDP and about one-third of all world trade. China, the world's second-largest economy, is not taking part in TPP trade negotiations.

Prime Minister Abe announced his country's intent to join TPP just a month ago as part of efforts to revive a long-slumbering economy. But he still faces considerable domestic opposition to the pact, not least from Japan's heavily subsidized farmers, who are a traditional bastion of support for the ruling Liberal Democratic Party. There has also been grumbling in the U.S. Congress and among auto producers, with critics saying that Japan exports 120 automobiles to the U.S. for every American vehicle sold to Japan, and that an

undervalued yen is giving an unfair advantage to Japanese producers.

In a sign of progress, the statement made on April 12 indicates Japan has agreed to more than double the number of motor vehicles eligible for preferential imports. Reaction from lawmakers to the administration's announcement was mixed. Sen. Orin Hatch, senior Republican on the Senate Finance Committee, said Japan's entry into negotiations would represent a historic opportunity to open up one of the world's largest export markets where American products have faced barriers for decades. But Democratic Sen. Debbie Stabenow of Michigan warned she would urge the president and Congress not to ratify the trade agreement unless Japan stops blocking U.S. companies.

"Any agreement that allows Japan's businesses to continue playing by one set of rules while ours are forced to play by another will cost us jobs, and I will do whatever I can to stop it," she said. Stabenow said the U.S. trade deficit with Japan is \$76 billion, higher than with any other nation except China. "The bottom line is Japan must address its longstanding tariff and non-tariff barriers to U.S. exports—in particular on autos, insurance, and agriculture," Camp said.

The U.S. and Japan have agreed to address further issues in the automotive sector and on non-tariff measures in separate bilateral negotiations that will be conducted at the same time as the TPP talks. Marantis said the U.S. will not be able to "close" with Japan on the TPP unless it can finalize these parallel negotiations, too.

Phase IV: April 7 to June 10, 2013

TPP Delayed Start for Japan

On April 7, 2013 the policy chief of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party said Sunday negotiations on the U.S.-led Trans-Pacific Partnership may not necessarily be concluded by the end of this year if Japan's arguments are not

accepted. “Japan is a player with big economy,” SanaeTakaichi told an NHK television program. “It’s possible that the negotiations will be concluded later than planned.” Regarding the government estimate that 3 trillion yen of Japan’s current 7.1 trillion yen worth of agricultural produce would be lost if the country abolishes all tariffs in joining the TPP, Takaichi said this was “the worst scenario.”

Japan’s Nego. Strategies should be Implemented

On April 13, 2013, Japan has concluded its advance consultations with the United States for the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) negotiations, paving the way for Japan’s participation in the talks in July. The talks will be a good opportunity for Japan to reflect its needs in the trade and investment rules in the Asia-Pacific region. However, the results of the advance consultations have given the public the impression that Japan was forced to compromise over the automobile and insurance sectors. Japan should reinforce its bargaining power to secure its national interests. It will be 90 days before the U.S. Congress approves Japan’s participation in the TPP talks. The Japanese government is aiming to join negotiations from the July session, and is likely to make it. Japan has overcome the biggest challenge to entry, although it is still trying to persuade Canada and two other countries in the TPP talks to approve Japan’s participation.

In the advance consultations, it was agreed that the United States will maintain the 2.5 percent import tariff on Japanese cars and 25 percent tariff on Japanese trucks for now, and that Japan will curb the expansion of Japan Post Insurance Co.’s life insurance programs. While Japan managed to convince the United States that there are sensitive issues with import tariffs on agricultural products in Japan, the compromise has raised concerns over Japan’s bargaining ability.

Prime Minister Shinzo Abe has said that Japan is determined to take a strong bargaining position and protect its national interests. To that end, the

government has established a task force headed by Economic Revitalization Minister Akira Amari, who is responsible for the TPP talks. Under the task force, the government set up a negotiation team headed by an “executive negotiator” and a coordination team headed by a “domestic coordinator” to form consensus among ruling coalition members.

To improve the government’s bargaining power, it is necessary to clearly identify areas that should be excepted from import tariff elimination. To that end, it is indispensable to coordinate views among those affected by the TPP. Moreover, the government must implement structural reforms on areas of Japan’s agricultural sector likely to be affected by the free trade accord. In that sense, it is of great significance that the government appointed a domestic coordinator to the task force.

Still, national interests cannot be protected simply by seeking tariff elimination exceptions for certain sectors. Nations in the TPP talks are aiming to work out rules governing a wide variety of trade and investment fields, including the service sector, intellectual property rights and government procurement. To sustain this country’s economic growth even as its population declines, Japan has no choice but to take in the Asia–Pacific region’s economic dynamism through trade and investment liberalization. As a major economic power, Japan cannot reap the benefits of the TPP if it remains inward-looking.

The drastically liberalizing force that is the TPP will certainly affect the free trade talks between Japan, China and South Korea, as well as the 16–country Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership in East Asia (RCEP), which includes all 10 ASEAN nations. Along with its trilateral talks with Japan and South Korea, China is also a party to the RCEP negotiations. Once set, the TPP and its rules on free trade and investment will have a significant impact on just how China is incorporated into these free trade frameworks.

On May 23, 2013, according to a report released by Jiji Press on May 2, 2013, it

might be difficult for Japan to fully take part in an expected July session of the Trans-Pacific Partnership multilateral trade negotiations.

Yasutoshi Nishimura, Cabinet Office senior vice minister, met with Acting U.S. Trade Representative Demetrios Marantis on Tuesday and sought cooperation in entering the TPP negotiations from the planned July round. "I sought U.S. support so that Japan will be substantially engaged in the July session," he told a news conference after talks with Marantis and other U.S. officials. Nishimura also said Japan hopes to join the meeting even for one or two days of substantial discussion, hinting that it may be difficult for Tokyo to join from the beginning due to U.S. congressional procedures.

The U.S. side pledged cooperation in helping Japan take meaningful part in the July TPP talks, according to Nishimura. The United States and 10 other countries involved in the TPP negotiations formally approved Japan's entry to the multilateral talks at a meeting of their trade ministers April 20.

Japan can join the TPP negotiations in late July at the earliest, because at least 90 days are necessary for Congress to conclude its procedures concerning Japan's entry after being notified of the issue by the U.S. administration April 24. The 11 countries in the TPP negotiations are planning to meet for about 10 days from mid-July in Malaysia. In that case, Japan will be unable to fully take part in the session. The other U.S. officials Nishimura met Tuesday included White House deputy national security adviser Mike Froman, an anticipated nominee for the next U.S. trade representative.

Phase V: June 11 to July, 2013

Japanese Farmers Opposition Stance Firm

In Washington, D.C., the leader of a Japanese group of agricultural cooperatives said on June 11 on a visit to Washington that he has conveyed to U.S. officials the group's resolve to oppose Japan's entry into Trans-Pacific Partnership free

trade negotiations. At a press conference, Akira Banzai, who heads the Central Union of Agricultural Cooperatives (JA-Zenchu), revealed that he expressed the resolve when he met with Assistant U.S. Trade Representative Wendy Cutler and other officials.

“The JA group will continue to campaign against Japan’s entry into the TPP talks,” Banzai said. Banzai said he confirmed through the talks that tariff elimination without exceptions remains the principal goal of the TPP. “Japan should not take part in the TPP talks,” Banzai said, adding that Tokyo cannot negotiate terms for its participation in the free trade pact under the current situation. (Jiji Press, June 13, 2013)

Final Remarks

While Japan became the 12th member of the Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP) multilateral trade agreement negotiations team on July 23 at the tail end of the 18th round in Malaysia—hoping to engage in full-fledged negotiations, particularly on tariff issues in the next round of talks to be held in Brunei from Aug. 22 to 30, many pending unresolved issues and hurdles remain. For instance, much progress has not been made over tariff elimination.

Thus far, Japan finds itself on the offensive side advocating to other participating countries not only to remove tariffs on automobiles and other industrial goods, but to eliminate regulations on foreign investments.

On the one hand, Koji Tsuruoka, Japan’s chief TPP negotiator made very optimistic views at a news conference telling there is ample opportunity for Japan to make up for lost time and Japan can get the ball rolling. On the other hand, Japan will be urged by other participating countries to formulate its negotiation policy, which includes the handling of five key items, such as rice and other dairy products.

Out of 1,000-page document stipulating draft articles, only few pages describe or set aside for tariffs. Those Japanese who participated in the TPP negotiations indicated that disadvantage caused by Japan's late entry will be minimal, but according to Government sources spells out that besides tariff issues, there are other invisible tough issues that remain to be solved in the fields of intellectual property, the environment and state-owned enterprises. The main or primary issue is whether or not core issues be tackled and agreements be reached through multilateral and bilateral talks by the end of the year. The joint statement issued after the Malaysia round did not specify the conclusion of the negotiations within 2013.

In the TPP talks, specific areas cannot be renegotiated once discussions have ended. However, after analyzing negotiations documents, if a participating country has objections, it "is allowed to point out contradictions in logic," according to the government sources. Therefore, Japan plans to strategically seek de-facto renegotiation on some issues using this route. (August 6, Tuesday by Kyodo). Many tariff issues cannot be thoroughly be hammered out and be resolved by multilateral negotiations, but one way or another alternative is said to be explored and be resolved through bilateral talks. It is Japan's wish that through bilateral sessions with the United States and 10 other countries involved in the TPP talks, but countries like the United States, for example, is hoping to focus on advancing tariff negotiations with other members to start off with, and then jointly pressure Japan to achieve high-level trade liberalization.

As previously stated, Japan's entry into TPP trade negotiations would allow Japan to harness the vitality of emerging Japanese economy and Asian economies as well. It is likely to become a major pillar for the growth strategy of the Abe administration's "Abenomics" economic policy and help the recovery of the nation's economy. However, some LDP members and agricultural organizations remain up against TPP policy. Abe must exercise leadership and carefully explain the aims of the trade pact to calibrate opinions within the

country giving other alternatives to agricultural organizations for their benefits. Netherlands, which is much smaller than Japan in size, has been a major export country selling their agricultural products worldwide—which amounts to \$ 7 trillion per year. This fact has not been known to many Japanese farmers that haven been under the protection of the Japanese agricultural policy. One way to boost Japan's agricultural economic sector, it is essential to conduct research on agricultural policies and learn something new out of it . Furthermore, some changes be made in lukewarm relationships between the Japanese Government and sections found in agricultural organizations in order to take Japanese initiative. How to sell good qualities of Japanese agricultural products globally, for instance, can be a new theme for theirsurvival in the future in competition against other countries. Thearticipation of Japan, the world's third-largest economy, in the TPP trade negotiations will have advantages not only for Japan but for the United States and the rest of the world. Formation of a free trade area featuring the Japan-U.S. partnership will be an asset, too.

TPP 交渉プロセスの概要

上記の英文は、2013年8月30日にBSフジテレビ番組「プライム・ニュース番組：TPP ブルネイ会合『国益は守れるか?』～交渉の現状&今後の戦略を検証～」に筆者が出演した際に語った内容を外国の読者のために英語にまとめたものである。

昨年（2012年）秋には、一旦世の中を騒がした環太平洋経済連携協定（通称 TPP）の議論がトーンダウンした。しかしである。その間、世界のいたるところで経済の連携提携交渉や自由貿易に関する交渉が繰り返し広げられていたし、現に今でも数多くの交渉が続けられている。現実には、日本にとって TPP の問題は避けて通れない。なぜならば、TPP 交渉へ参加することは、日本の将来の国と経済の発展にとって極めて重要な課題であるからである。特に、TPP の重要性は国の成長戦略の上で特に意義が深いものがあるからである。

TPP のような経済連携協定が結ばれることは、日本の企業が海外に輸出し

やすくなるだけのものではない。海外からより多くの財源やサービスが日本に入りやすくなる。このため、国内の競争にも影響が及ぶわけである。その結果、産業や企業の構造システムの調整を促すのである。TPPによる経済連携協定は関税を撤廃するものだけのものではない。それ以上大切なことは、国内のサービスの分野、金融、投資、政府調達など、さまざまな分野で規制のルールの見直しが行われることになる。

経済学者のブランダイス大学のピーター・ペトリなどによれば、日本がTPP交渉に加えてRCEP（東アジア地域包括経済連携）などに参加した場合には、2025年時点で国民経済のGDP（国内総生産）を3.9%引き上げられるという。シュミレーションを行えば、金額として18兆円の経済成長が見込まれることになる。これとは逆に、TPP交渉のような経済連携協定に参加しない場合には、日本の経済成長は見込まれない。

TPP交渉を考える上で重要なことは、TPPを通商政策の地球レベルで捉えることが必要である。通商政策には、四つのレベルがある。世界貿易機関（WTO）のような多国間、それにTPPやEU（ヨーロッパ連合）のような地域的な枠組みもあれば、日中、日韓のような二国間交渉協定もある。これに加え各国が独自に貿易自由化を進めてゆくという4種類である。これまでの最大の課題は、WTOの交渉が進まないことである。このため、世界の多くの地域では二国間の経済連携交渉を刺激する結果となった。

日本はこれまで小規模の二国間交渉を東南アジアの国々との間で行い提携をした経緯がある。しかし、その一方、米国や欧州、中国など大きな貿易相手国との間で大規模な協定を結ぶことができないのが現状である。TPPの意義は、それが二国間協定ではなく、十カ国以上の地域を相手にする協定でありメリットも大きいことにかる。問題は交渉を行う際のルール作りである。例えば、安倍首相は2013年2月22日に米国訪問のため首都ワシントンに向かった。オバマ大統領との会談では、TPPへの交渉参加問題が焦点の一つである日米は例外品目（聖域）の扱いのルールを巡って最終折衝を続けた。

交渉の参加へのカギは、安倍首相が「聖域なき関税撤廃」の例外があり得る

とのルールを設けるという感触をオバマ大統領から引き出せるかどうかであった。英語では off the table とは例外のルールを明らかに容認する言葉である。交渉可能 negotiable の表現を引き出せば、例外のルール設定に含みを持たせると解釈できる。すべての品目を交渉の対象にする趣旨の on the table であれば例外ルール設定は困難とみられ、交渉が暗礁に乗り上げる場合もなきにしもあらずである。ただし、on the table の場合でも「聖域にしたい品目を含め全てはまず、テーブルの上に並べる」という意味なら、交渉を経て例外品目を設けるという選択肢もあるという解釈もあり、交渉の継続は可能である。「反対 against」という表現が発言された場合には、交渉の進展は難しくなる。

ちなみに、二国間交渉は、相手国に関税を撤廃してほしい品目や期限を要求し、自国の引き下げ可能な品目も同時に提案しあうことも可能である。例えば、コメなどの関税を維持できるか、またアメリカやカナダは砂糖や乳製品の関税維持を狙ってくるとみられる。そこで日本は両国と組んで、関税撤廃を求めるオーストラリアやニュージーランドに対抗はできる。なお、予定では、今後の TPP 交渉スケジュール予定であるが、次のように計画されている。2013年7月 15日「マレーシア会合会議」、7月22日「日本午後から参加」、7月25日「マレーシア会合閉会」、8月上旬「交渉担当者の合宿」、日米並行協議、8月22日～30日「ブルネイ協議」、10月「首脳会談で基本合意」、「年内に交渉妥結を目指す」予定。

TPP とは

TPP（環太平洋経済連携協定）は2004年にブルネイ、ニュージーランド、シンガポール、それにチリーなどの四カ国が考案した経済連携協定のことである。現在では、米国やカナダ、ベトナムなど11カ国が TPP に参加している。日本の TPP 交渉参加に関して農業関係者などが反対を表明しているが、TPP 交渉参加がもたらす経済効果については情報が不足しているようだ。例えば、経済の押し上げ効果は関税撤廃にとどまらない。参加11カ国が21分野（サービス、投資や知的財産、自動車や農業工業他）で共通のルールづくりを目指している。唐突な規制の変更などで不利益を被らないようにすることで、企業などが安心して投資できるようにする。では、なぜ中国は TPP 参加に躊躇している

のであろうか？理由は簡単である。TPPの参加メンバーになれば、知的財産権や政府調達などに関するルールの取り決めについて、主導権を握れないことである。日本がTPP交渉に参加することになれば、経済連携交渉を進める上でも有利な役割を果たせることがあまり論じられていない。また、中国がTPPに参加しないことは、日本にとっては安全保障面でのメリットがある。例えば、アメリカ政府は、TPPを「中国包囲網」戦略につなげてゆく思惑がある。

アジア太平洋地域で貿易の法的ルールを設定し、将来的には中国がこの法的ルールに従わざるを得なくなるようにして、TPP参加国メンバーの関係強化を図り、中国に抑止力を強め牽制をかけるというシナリオである。このことは、尖閣諸島の領域で日本に対して対抗的な威嚇行動を続けている中国に対抗しなければならない日本側のシナリオや思惑とも共通する。

安倍首相は、そんな中2013年2月23日に日米首脳会談に向けて首都ワシントンに向けて出発した。アメリカ通商代表部のカーク代表は、テレビのインタビュー（ロイター通信）の中で、TPPは全品目が対象なのが原則であるが、最終的な例外品目の容認はあり得るとの考えを示唆した。しかしながら、交渉とは「お互いに激しく闘い、言葉の応酬があるものだ」とも付け加えた。

アメリカ側にとって、日本が米などの一部の品目を関税撤廃の例外として認めよという提案は理解できないわけではないが、他の争点となる事は、日本はこれまで米（778%）のみならず、でんぷん（583%）、大豆（403%）、バター（360%）、砂糖（305%）、大麦（256%）、小麦（252%）など900以上にもおよぶ品目に関税を経済連携協定（EPA）などでも維持してきた。つまり、米以外の「聖域あり関税撤廃」品目が一般国民の予想を越えて多いことである。したがって、TPP交渉の場において「日本側の品目全体の1割を例外品目に認めよ」という主張は通らない。TPP交渉の際には、日本側は品目の理捨選択を迫られることは確かである。日本が多くの農産物に対して関税撤廃リストから対象外とするならば、アメリカ側から自動車の関税撤廃や引き下げ措置は取りにくくなることは確かである。アメリカの議会内では、日本のTPP参加を望む声が多数であるが、米大手自動車メーカーは反対を表明して

いる。オバマ政権は米自動車大手メーカーへの配慮もあり、目に見える措置を求めている。自動車分野においてある程度のアウトラインと前進が示されると、米議会からは比較的円滑に日本の TPP 参加は承認される。安倍首相はオバマ大統領との日米首脳会談、アメリカの高速鉄道整備計画に協力し、世界で唯一日本が実用段階にある「超電導リニアモーターカー」の技術提供する意向を表明。アメリカ側も歓迎しており、会談で手始めにワシントン・ボルチモア間の建設に向けた合意を目指す。

TPP 反対論者

TPP 交渉への課題があるとするれば、TPP 参加への反対の声が農業関係者からではなく、医療や保険関係者などからも上がっていることである。

TPP は規制改革等の面で言えば、日本経済の構造改革を推し進める突破口になる。しかし、農業関係者からは特に TPP で国内の農業が破滅するという意見があるが、TPP には関係なく農業は衰退しているのが現状である。農業の保護ではなく農業の再生を議論する絶好の機会である。例えば、アメリカ側は、アメリカとオーストラリアとの自由貿易協定 (FTA) において砂糖と乳製品を関税撤廃の例外としたことが日本の農業関係者に周知されていない。

また、医療部門に焦点を当ててみると、TPP に反対する医療関係者は、混合診察が全面解禁され、株式会社の医療機関経営への参入が認められることで、保険制度が崩れ、アメリカ企業などが利益を得るのではと警戒しているのが現状である。しかしである。このような12カ国の医療制度の根幹にかかわることが、いきなり TPP 交渉のテーブルの議題に取り上げられるとは考えにくい。TPP 交渉で問われる事は、一定の国内の制度・システムを前提とした上で、最恵国待遇や内外無差別原則が確保されているかといった点である。例えば、市場開放という点で言うことは、日本では現在でも開国人が医療行為や病院を経営することは認められている。反対論者（農業関係者含め）おびえている事は、実は TPP ではなく「医療部門の規制制度の改革」ではないか。改革が推し進められるとこれまでの既得権益の制度システムが失われることに不安を感じているのである。改革なくして国民医療費のこれからの増加を抑えるこ

とはできない。TPP 交渉へ参加するか、しないのかの議論に関わらず、規制・制度システムの改革を進めることが日本経済の再生につながることも理解すべき点である。TPP 交渉への参加が決まれば、農業部門の改革と農業強化のための支援方法や資金投入が議論になる。また、農業分野が再生し輸出産業が生まれ新たな競争力が高まれば、TPP 交渉のメリットや恩恵を受けるのは、まぎれもなく日本の農業自身である。国際交渉はまとめやすいところからまとまる場合が多い日本側に例外品目があれば、いち早く交渉に参加すべきである。

人口減少社会に入った日本は、グローバル経済の中に次の成長の活路を見出すしか道がない。日本社会が、今後も内向きに傾けば、衰退への道を辿るであろう。農業分野では、TPP 交渉を改革の機会として捉え、新たな輸出産業を育てるべきである。それこそが、日本の農業再生への道のファースト・ステップとなることも忘れてはならない。

TPP に関する日米共同声明

日米両政府は、日本が環太平洋経済連携協定（TPP）交渉に参加する場合には、全ての物品が交渉の対象になること。及び、日本が他の交渉参加国とともに。2011年11月12日に TPP 首脳によって表明された「TPP の輪郭（アウトライン）において示された包括的で高い水準の協定を達成していくことになることを確認する。

日本には一定の農産品、米国には一定の工業製品というように両国ともに2国間貿易上のセンシティブリティ（重要品目）が存在することを認識しつつ、両政府は最終的な結果は交渉の中で決まっていくものであることから、TPP 交渉参加に際し、一方的に全ての関税撤廃をあらかじめ約束するよう求められるものではないことを認識する。

両政府は TPP 参加への日本のあり得るべき関心について2国間協議を継続する。これらの協議は、進展を見せているが、自動車部分や保険部門に関する残された懸念事項に対処し、その他の非課税措置に対処し、TPP の高い水準

を満たすことについての作業を完了することを含め、なされるべき作業が残されている。

8月20日に日本を訪問した米通商部代表（USTR）のフロマン代表は、日本記者クラブでTPP交渉について記者会見を行い、オバマ大統領にとってもTPP交渉は最優先事項」と発表した。日本側が関税維持を求めているコメや麦などの5項目に関して「日本にとっての聖域（センシティブティ）があるのは、理解している。全ての国にもセンシティブティ領域があり交渉の中で対応すべきである」と指摘した。アメリカ側も年内妥結に向けて8月22日からブルネイで始まるTPP関係閣僚会合で交渉を加速させる意向を示した。

またフロマン氏は、日本との交渉を9月に行うとの見通しを示した。特に自動車や保険、その他の分野で米国企業の参入を阻む壁があり日米両国の労働者と消費者の利益を損なっている。日本に建設的な形で対応することを期待する」と強調した。

TPPには21の交渉分野があり、競争政策は関税撤廃や知的財産保護などと共に、これまで進展が遅れていた。日米など12か国は8月22日からブルネイで交渉を開き、これまで難航していた分野の集中協議を開催する。12か国がまとめた合意文書によれば、国有企業の優遇措置を廃止するまでに3～5年の経過措置を設け、その間にベトナムなどの新興国に市場開放を推し進める。合意文書では、国有企業は国内企業と外国企業に差別を設けないことが明記されている。国有企業が外国企業を排除し、自国の企業と優先的に商取引をすることを禁じた。他の民間企業に課している税金の免除を禁じるほか、モノやサービスの価格を著しく下げることとも規制する。国有企業の定義は「政府が議決権の50%超を保有する」案が有力視されている。日本の場合、日本郵政がその対象になる。無差別待遇に違反した場合は、国連の仲裁機関を通して訴えることができる。

今後の2013年10月 APEC 会議までの課題

8月23日ブルネイで12カ国が参加したTPP交渉の閣僚会合は、年内の妥結に向けて今度の交渉を進めるための「共同声明」を発表し閉幕した。その骨子

を要約すれば (1) 年内妥結に向け交渉を推進、(2) 課題の多くは最終段階にある、(3) 関税撤廃、投資、知的財産の分野は未解決。(4) 10月の首脳会合は重要な節目となる。

課題1：「年内に妥結」は可能か？

12カ国の交渉担当者による年内合意は「言うは易し、行うが難し」であることは事実である。共同声明では、今回のTPP交渉では、次の七分野——(1) 関税撤廃 (2) 投資・サービス (3) 金融サービス (4) 政府調達 (5) 知的財産権の保護 (6) 競争 (7) 環境——に焦点が当てられたことが報告された。

課題2：各国の選挙がらみの交渉態度・戦略などを見据える必要があること。関税撤廃では、米国とオーストラリアとの協議では、今回の交渉に合わせて行う事を見送ったこと。米国は新しい国と交渉を行う場合、第三機関による影響調査の手続きが必要であることを表明。理由は、オーストラリアは9月に総選挙を控えているためである。

米国の日本との関税自由化交渉は、9月中旬になる見通し（11月に米国は中間選挙を控えている。）。一方でマレーシアなどは、優遇策の廃止を求めている米国提案に対し、懸念を表明し新加盟国との間にギャップがあることが判明した。

課題3：TPPは関税の撤廃による貿易自由化のみならず、公共事業の外資参入ルールなど非課税障壁についても高い自由化を目標としていることが忘れられがちである。

課題4：これまで後回し課題で難航していた「関税撤廃交渉」の取り扱い。

10月に基本合意すべき関税交渉。日本は全品目の中の5項目（コメ58、乳製品188、牛・豚肉100、砂糖 131、麦 109）を守るため、自由化の品目を「80%程度」と低めの数字で提示。しかし、TPP参加交渉国は90%台前後の自由化を自由貿易協定（FTA）で実現してきた国も多い。日本にとって最大の難問は「米国との関税交渉」である。問題は80%からどれだけ引き上げられるか？で

あり、日本にとっての試練となる。フロマン氏「関税撤廃については9月ごろには案を日本に提案できる」との意気込みを示した。

課題5：「聖域」5項目をどう守るのか？だけが交渉でなない。国内の農業改革のカギを握るので、国内農業青写真を示す必要あり。「聖域」を守ることを交渉と考えていることは間違い。それかをどう守るか？目標を定かではない。戦術より、長期戦略が必要。農家の所得を別の方法でどう支援するのか？等の「ビジョン」が必要。

課題6：「知的財産権」、「競争政策」、「投資」、「政府調整」などの共通の「ルール作り整備も日本の攻めにとって必要。

日本の将来の人材育成、技術革新（アイデア商品発明コンテスト等）、投資資金の活躍できる舞台が必要。

課題7：(A) 関税表のリスト作りを巡っての対立。

関税表を巡って「2国間交渉」によって対立を解決したい国：米国、カナダ、メキシコ。それに対し「多国間交渉」を通して対立解消を図り共通化した国：オーストラリア、ニュージーランド、シンガポールなど。日本は態度保留。これまで日本は中／韓／インドが参加する東アジア地域包括的経済連携（RCEP）では共通方式導入に賛成を示す。どちらに足並みを揃えるか？が課題。

他国が日本製品にかかる関税率

ベトナム	自動車	74%
米国	トラック	25%
	& 自動車	2.5%
マレーシア	自動車	15%
オーストラリア	自動車	5%
ブルネイ	医療機器関係	20%
ペルー	コピー機	6%

(B) 関税をなくすまでの猶予期間

各国の間では、関税をなくす猶予期間を10～20年程度まで認めようという動きがある。米国は年内に交渉妥結を希望。しかし、ベトナムは工業製品の関税撤廃を年内に妥結することには反対しているためだ。これまで、TPP 交渉では関税品目の90～95%を協定の発効日になくし、残りの品目を7年以内にステップ・バイ・ステップでなくす案が有力であった。米国が急ぐのは中間選挙で TPP 妥結をアピールしたい狙いがある。

ちなみに米国が結んでいる2国間の経済連携協定(EPA)では、20年近くにわたる関税撤廃例がある。米国がオーストラリアの間で牛肉とチョコレートの関税をなくす期間は10～18年、ペルーとの牛肉や乳製品の関税を10～17年でなくす協定を結んでいる前例がある。米国は、これをテコに関係国に猶予期間を認める交渉戦略を展開するであろう。長期猶予期間が認められると日本のコメ、麦、砂糖など5品目分野の守りの交渉には有利。しかし、関係表リストにある新興国が日本車に対して設けている関税を撤廃したいわけであるが、長期の関税撤廃を認めると経済的なメリット・恩恵は少なくなる事も忘れてはならない。日本の農業以外の自動車産業に与える影響も大きくなる。

課題8：交渉と異文化理解の問題点

甘利 TPP 相は単独で開いた記者会見で「日本は米国と親密な関係を築いた。一方、アジアとの信頼関係がある。橋渡しを務めていきたい」と述べ、米国とアジアの利害対立を「調停」する役割を担う(交渉をリードするところから範を示すべき)ことを発表。8月22日夜、ブルネイの日本大使公館に TPP の各国の閣僚を招いた夕食会を開催。ホスト国のブルネイでなく日本が主催。これは異例の行事。この席で「お酒を飲んで遠慮なくものを言って頂くところから、交渉を前に進める知恵もでる。日本の悪口も米国の悪口の悪口も大いに言って下さい」と述べた。米フロマン代表から「悪口はいつものことだ」と切り返すと会場から笑いが流れた。

例：酒類(アルコール)はイスラム圏文化では御法度。10月はイスラム文化圏のインドネシアで TPP 交渉会議が開催。異文化理解に問題あり。

課題9：Time is Money. 時間の問題

各国代表の8/23最終日の TPP 交渉総括の印象

日本：TPP の大まかなルールを作る上で大きなステップだった。

米国：我々閣僚は交渉の「進展」を注視する。

ニュージーランド：「交渉は政治的に成熟した目標を達成しようとしている。

ブルネイ：TPP で設ける高い水準は参加国にメリットをもたらす。

マレーシア：政府調達はマレーシアにとって交渉が困難な分野だ。

メキシコ：知的財産の分野や妥協に時間がかかるだろう。

課題10「各国の国内における異文化・異分野の交渉」の成り行きをチェックも必要。

(A) 例：米国が1990年代に南米産の繊維輸入を規制したことがある。これに対し、南米の国の政府は『輸出しているのは我が国にあるアメリカの会社なので、規制するのはおかしい』と訴えた。これに対し、米通産省は「我々が守るのは、米国本国に根付きアメリカ人を雇い、アメリカ本国で税金を納めている企業だ」と反論。本国アメリカの雇用保護を最優先した姿勢に感動した交渉担当者もいたという。

FTA や EPA（経済連携協定）を通して、相手国と経済同盟を結ぶべき。その際、注意すべきはモノや情報の行き来が活性化するが、文化価値や安全基準、衛生基準も浸透し合っていく。提携先を選ぶ際の最低条件は？を考えること。特に安全保障上、また政治的に不安定は国とは容易な提携はすべきではない。

(B) 異文化新興国同士の結束。交渉筋によれば8/26に「チリー、ペルー、シンガポール」3カ国（三匹の侍）が、日本に対しTPPの原則通りに自国への輸入品にかかる関税全てを撤廃すると提案した。3か国の「思惑」は、日本にかなり高い水準の貿易自由化を求めることにある。日本の「思惑」は、重要5項目と位置づけたコメなどの関税を維持したいわけであるが、関税を巡っての

交渉がいかに難しいが改めて再認識された。

日本は8月26日までに7か国と関税の自由化提案をやりとりした。日本は関税を撤廃しても良いとする品目の比率を示す「自由化率について、80%台を提示したようだ。関税をめぐる交渉は「二国間交渉」で進められているようだが、(1) 最初に品目ごとに関税を撤廃すべきかを示したりストをお互いに提示し合い、(2) それを基に交渉を継続的に行い関税撤廃の品目を決めるという手法で進めているようだ。

日本と三ヵ国（三匹の侍）との交渉は、互いの案を示した段階で、最終的な自由化率がどうなるかは今後の交渉次第。なお、日本は三ヵ国とは、すでにEPA（経済連携協定）を締結済みである。日本はこれまでEPAでの自由化率の「品目ベース」は、88・488・4%に留まっており、いずれも重要5項目の関税撤廃は免れてきた経緯がある。

(C) 8月30日までは「24の作業部会」と全体をまとめる「主席交渉官会合」をセットで開き、各国の利害関係者も招いて数百人規模で開いてきた。が、今後は「作業部会」ごとに異なった時期と場所に分かれての、まさしく「異文化間交渉」が行われる見通しである。

- (D) *特に異文化二国間交渉で難航するのは『政府超調達分野』とされる「公共事業の入札を外国企業にも開放する」かどうか?」についてであろう。
- * 政府が鉄道や道路、港湾を整備するときの入札方法や手続きに関するルール作りと整備も課題となる。
 - * 拡大するアジアのインフラ需要を見据え、技術力の高い日本のゼネコンなどの受注拡大を後押しする狙いがあるが、果たしてどうなるか?
 - * 各国・各文化間の「食品安全基準」、例えば、文化や国によって添加物使用が異なるため「国際機関食品規格委員会」が食品の種類に応じて国際基準を決めている。が、食品の食べる量や頻度は文化や国によって異なるため焦点となる。WTOでは、「科学的根拠」があれば各国は基準を変えられることになっている。

北海道のビート、沖縄のサトウキビ生産者、関連工場などの立場と代表する精糖工業会関係者らも「TPPによって突然需要のバランスが崩れると対応が難しくなることを主張。砂糖の原料を輸出しているオーストラリアの業界との意見交換も必要と述べた

「マレーシアのムスタバ農業相発言：TPP 反対静まりつつある。」

マレーシアのムスタバ農業相は、29日までに、甘利 TPP 担当代相と22日にブルネイで会談した際に「TPP に反対する日本の反対派は徐々に静まりつつある。(状況) は半年前ほど深刻ではない」と発言した。また日本側が農業製品の関税撤廃をめぐる問題を説明した上で、TPP 反対派について「徐々に静まりつつある Slowly dying down と対処する事が可能だ」と自信を示したという。ムスタバ農業相の発言のポイントは以下である。

- (1) ブルネイで全ての国の TPP 相当閣僚らと2ヵ国会談をした。日本の閣僚のミスター・アマリもそのうちの一人だ。
- (2) (会談) で日本は、農業分野で自ら抱えているいくつかの問題をわれわれに伝える。
- (3) 日本側は我々に対し、「(日本の TPP) 反対派は、徐々に静まりつつある。(状況) は半年前ほど深刻ではない。」と言った。
- (4) それ (反対派) に対処することは可能だというのが彼らの見解だ。
- (5) 彼らはとても熱心だ。日本は参加したばかりなのに、交渉に深く入り込んでいる。彼らはとてもアグレッシブだと述べた。

TPP 交渉では、他の参加国とのせめぎ合いに注目が集まりがちだが、国内産業の意見集約と合意形成が欠かせない。攻める点、譲歩できる条件などで政府と業界の意思疎通が円滑でなければ、対外交渉での駆け引きに支障をきたす。北海道新聞の調査によれば、政府はそのための対策として、反対の根強い農業などの関係団体との橋渡し役に、「国内調整総括官」をトップに30人態勢のチームを結成した。具体的な問題処理として、雇用や生活への TPP の影響に不安を抱く人は少なくない。日本政府が結んだ秘密保持契約によって、交渉の十分な情報を得られない関係者もいら立ちを募らせており、政府の失点とな

る。政府としては、情報の開示をし国内の農業関係者との国内交渉の在り方について、問題解決型交渉戦略を用いて双方にとってメリットのある対策を開発し紛争処理を押し進めるべきである。

資料

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