

(財)女性のためのアジア平和国民基金

第61回理事会

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【ソウル21日＝黒田勝弘】日韓両国政府の合意による「日韓歴史共同研究委員会」の第二回会合が二十五日、ソウルで開催されることが決まった。韓国側のメンバーが確定せず開催が延びていたものだが、関心を集めていた韓国側の盛衰には趙東木、国民大名誉教授ヤンが任命された。

韓国側座長に民族主義史観学者

◀◀ 日韓歷史共同研究委

種名舊教授は抗日獨立運動史が専門で民族主義史觀の代表的な學者として知られる。委員會は日韓双方から十人（三分科各）ずつが参加し、注目される近現代史分野では、日本側が、座長の授・俞炳勇・精神文化研究三谷太一郎東大名舊教授（外交史）、小此木政夫慶大教授（國際政治）、北岡野では、日本側が、座長の授・俞炳勇・精神文化研究三谷太一郎東大名舊教授（外交史）、小此木政夫慶大教授（國際政治）、北岡

仲一東大教授（同）、原田弘広弘島女子大教授（日韓近代史）、森山茂徳東京都立大教授（同）となつてい

メンバーは対日強硬派

争など民族運動史の専門家になっている。

同委員会は歴史教科書をめぐる日韓の外交対立の解決策として生まれたもので、韓国側で当初、盛長に内定していた知日派の金榮作・国民大教授（政治学）に対し歴史学界などから反対があり人選が混乱していた。韓国側の顔触れは教科書問題での姿勢などからみて対日強硬派の印象が強い。

2002. 5. 26. J. T.

JAPAN'S 'COMFORT WOMEN'

Wartime suffering that didn't count

JAPAN'S COMFORT WOMEN: Sexual Slavery and Prostitution During World War Two and the U.S. Occupation. By Yuki Tanaka. Routledge, London, 2002, 212 pp. \$24.95

Reviewed by
JEFF KINGSTON

This is by far the best book available on this sordid chapter in Japan's history. Yuki Tanaka's sophisticated and textured assessment of Japan's institutionalized system of sexual slavery draws on a rich array of sources and sheds new light on the larger historical context of "... how sex is used and abused to maintain military organization and discipline."

The suffering of tens of thousands of teenage girls, ignored for half a century, is recounted in graphic detail. Those in Japan who seek to deny, minimize, rationalize or mitigate this inhumane system can no longer evade the powerful indictments argued so compellingly in "Japan's Comfort Women." Tanaka's dispassionate and logical analysis of the evidence and what it implies leaves little wiggle room for Japan's Dr. Feelgoods and their popular attempts to conjure up a glorious, exculpatory and unstained version of the country's conduct during World War II.

Tanaka counters by placing the comfort women in the larger historical context of Japan's economic and military expansion, beginning with the "karayuki-san" (prostitutes) in the late 19th century. At this time, Japanese women were sent to overseas brothels run by Japanese men that were scattered about Southeast Asia. Their earnings and remittances were a crucial source of capital feeding development in Japan, and they spearheaded Japanese economic penetration of the region.

Later, during the U.S. Occupation, the sex industry that served the troops proved to be a crucial and large source of employment and foreign exchange for a nation recovering from war and poverty. The author concludes: "While it is not peculiar to Japan that the female workforce was, and still is, exploited for the development of a modern economy, it may be unusual to find another nation that exploited women for sex to such an extent. The socio-economic and cultural climate of Japan provided the environment for Japanese men — our fathers and grandfathers — to create an extraordinary military machine whose organization was deeply intertwined with sexual enslavement."

What of Japan's Pan-Asian crusade? Tanaka contends that "The extraordinary scale and brutality of the organized sexual violence committed by the Japanese Imperial forces against women is a powerful example of demeaning other people in the name of 'high ideals' — in this case, Japan's

claim to liberate Asian people from the toils of Western colonialism." In organizing rape centers to protect the health of their troops and to prevent widespread sexual violence against the general populace in areas occupied and invaded by Japan, men in the highest echelons of the military and bureaucracy condoned and sanctioned an irreparable violation of the human rights of the more than 100,000 women coerced and deceived into sexual slavery. While

ment, distribution and medical testing of this sought after "commodity" was carefully and openly administered, although key relevant archives remain closed to researchers eager to sift through what might be a voluminous paper trail. Establishing and staffing the comfort stations was given priority in frontline war zones and mostly targeted young Korean women because as virgins they would not have sexually transmitted diseases. In addition, since

on occasion brought women from the U.S. to serve the troops. Like their Japanese counterparts, limiting the spread of VD, maintaining morale and preventing rape constituted the logic behind such efforts.

It is damning that at the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal, the Allies did prosecute Japanese soldiers for coercing Dutch women into sexual slavery while consigning to oblivion the similar suffering endured by Asian victims. These

cooperation among bureaucrats, police and gangsters. Hayato Ikeda, who later served as prime minister (1960-64), pledged up to ¥100 million of government money funneled through the Industrial Development Bank of Japan to create the euphemistically named Recreation and Amusement Association at a time when the average monthly wage for factory workers was ¥160.

Apparently, Ryoichi Sasagawa and his brother, Ryobei, were involved in recruiting Japanese women for the comfort stations such as their American Club in Osaka. Ironically, "... even the most ardent nationalists like Sasagawa, who had led a popular anti-American movement during the war, quickly became fluttering sycophants of the U.S. Occupation forces as soon as the war ended. We find Japanese politicians who had procured tens of thousands of non-Japanese comfort women during the war quickly turning to the procurement of their own women for the benefit of soldiers who had only recently been their enemies. It is obvious that, for people like Sasagawa, political ideologies were simply tools of self-promotion."

In his characteristically evenhanded manner, Tanaka points out that the progressive social policies of the U.S. Occupation forces benefited Japanese women significantly, but "... as far as the prostitution business and the plight of tens of thousands of Japanese women working in this industry are concerned, the Occupation forces, far from implementing 'democratization policies,' actively participated in their subjugation."

The story of the comfort women is one that reveals contempt for women and for Asians by the Japanese perpetrators and the Allies, who not only did nothing about the hideous crimes of the Imperial forces, but then turned and committed similar crimes of their own against Japanese women. Tanaka does not expose the dirty laundry of the Allies as a way of rationalizing or mitigating Japan's sorry record, rather he is eager to highlight the links between organized sexual violence and a military culture based on control and imbued with a sexualized masculinity. His efforts to explain and understand the roots of sexual violence committed by soldiers is an ambitious and path-breaking aspect of his work and raises the debate about man's inhumanity to women to a more profound level. The implications of his study reverberate from Bosnia to contemporary Okinawa and provide a new framework for assessing the organized and random excesses committed by military men throughout history against women.

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TWO TAIWANESE WOMEN cry as they recall their sexual enslavement by Japanese World War II occupation forces at an April 29 protest outside the Japanese trade office in Taipei. AP PHOTO

In Tanaka's view, the Japanese and Allies were complicit in covering up the story of the comfort women because both sides were prejudiced against Asian women and both sides were guilty of committing extensive crimes of sexual violence

careful monitoring of these rape centers helped to reduce somewhat the incidence of venereal disease, there was little impact on widespread rape and random sexual violence against women in the countries that suffered the horrors of Japan's war of "liberation."

Was the comfort women system unprecedented or just another, twisted but well-organized variation on a familiar consequence of war? Tanaka argues that war and sexual violence are inextricably linked, but suggests that Japan's version was "... unprecedented perhaps both in its cruelty and in the magnitude of a state organized system of forced military prostitution." He also asserts that it was unique "... in terms of the violation of the basic human rights of so large a number of women of different nationalities who were violated and abused as 'sex slaves' over a considerable period."

Moreover, this system was based on official policy, involving the top brass of the military implementing a system with the blessing and support of ranking civilian state authorities. The procure-

they were colonized subjects of the Emperor, transporting these girls across international borders would not technically violate Japan's international treaty obligations.

Why did this terrible saga remain buried for so long? After all, the victors were not reluctant to trumpet the many acts of terror committed by Japan during its 15-year rampage across Asia. In Tanaka's view, the Japanese and Allies were silently complicit in the coverup because both sides were prejudiced against Asian women and both sides were guilty of committing extensive crimes of sexual violence.

In examining U.S. and Australian archives, Tanaka proves that the comfort women system was no secret to the Allies. In various theaters the U.S. had an ambivalent policy toward establishing and regulating brothels for its own troops. Official policy was against doing so, but large amounts of money were spent on keeping the soldiers supplied with condoms to prevent VD, and local commanders were often involved in organizing and monitoring local brothels for military use and

women just did not count.

Within three days of Japan's surrender on Aug. 15, 1945, the Japanese government was already preparing comfort stations for the Allied troops. Tanaka argues that Prince Fumimaro Konoe played a crucial role in ensuring that Japanese women were recruited to service the occupiers. Orders went out to prefectural police offices throughout the country to recruit women and secure necessary facilities. Here the Japanese officials were less concerned with protecting GIs from VD than they were in sacrificing small numbers of women to protect the general population from sexual abuses. The horrendous record of rape committed by U.S. soldiers against Okinawan women led many to reasonably fear that the Occupation would bring more of the same. Despite these precautions, a VD epidemic was soon raging among Allied soldiers and Japanese women were suffering from a wave of sexual assaults.

The establishment of comfort stations for the Allies involved future pillars of the establishment and led to an odd

2002.5.17. 金日

子供1400人が不明

東ティモールで売春、強制労働か

UNHCR指摘

【ティリ（東ティモール）】たまたま行方不明となった（ル）船内宏明）正式独立している子供が約1400人を20日に迎えた東ティモールに上ることが16日、

（R）の調べで分かった。インドネシア内で労働や売春を強要されている」との情報もあり、国連が追跡調査を急いでい

る。UNHCRによると、99年の騒乱では20万人を超す東ティモール住民が西ティモールなどイ

ンドネシア領内に連行されたり、戦火を避けて逃げ込んだ。この混乱で約2600人の子供が家族と離ればなれになっ

たが、うち約1200人は難民キャンプなどで親と再会できた。しかし、残りの1400人は行方不明のままとなっている。

年齢は4歳から12歳くらい（当時）までが多く、男女の割合はほぼ半々。家族と再会できた子供らの証言によると、国境を越えた後、西ティモールのジャワ、スマトラ、カリマンタンなどインドネシア各地の孤児院などに収容されたが、その後、連れ出され農園や工場で低賃金か無報酬で働か

たが、うち約1200人は難民キャンプなどで親と再会できた。しかし、残りの1400人は行方不明のままとなっている。UNHCRはインドネシア政府にも協力を要請し、児童施設などに照会を続けている。帰還民からの聞き取り調査も行っているが、サンドラ・ランゲンバツハ調査官は「貧しい帰還民の中には、子供のことに口をつぐむ親が多く、実際にはもっと多くの子供たちが行方不明になっているとみられる」と話している。

2002.5.23. 読売(夕)

◆性犯罪DV被害無料電話相談
 一人で悩まず相談を——。東京、第一東京、第二東京の三弁護士会が共同で、性犯罪や家庭内暴力(DV)トメスデックバイオレンスの被害者の支援強化に乗り出した。具体的な支援内容を説明したパンフレットを約2万部作成し、都内の警察署や区役所などに配布するほか、月曜から金曜まで担当弁護士が待機して無料電話相談を受け付ける。

無料電話相談は東京弁護士会が月、水、木(03・3581・6666)、第二東京弁護士会が火、金(03・3581・3635)、第一東京弁護士会が月曜から金曜日まで(03・3580・7974)と、平日は常に二つの弁護士会が窓口を開いている。有料の面接相談もある。(夕刊読売)

Raped mother faces stoning to death

Extreme judgment in Pakistan sees Islamic code colliding with secular law

By RORY MCCARTHY
KOHAT, PAKISTAN

Zafran Bibi walked into the police station in the village of Kerri Sheikhan, deep in the valleys of Pakistan's North West Frontier, and gave a harrowing account of how she had been raped by a neighbor.

Medical tests were ordered, witnesses questioned and a trial was held. Defense lawyers were called in. But Pakistan's archaic legal system, a mix of secular and Islamic codes, offers little protection for women.

Bibi, 28, was convicted of adultery under Islamic laws which many regard as deeply prejudicial. Last month, a year after she reported the rape, a judge sentenced her to death by stoning.

For several weeks the young mother has lived in solitary confinement in a death cell behind the redbrick walls of Kohat jail nursing her 7-month old daughter. An appeal was to be heard before an Islamic court in Islamabad this month.

Her case has exposed the empty promises of Pakistan's military regime, which has committed itself to improving women's rights and countering religious extremism. Gen. Pervez Musharraf, the military ruler, knew nothing about the case until he was questioned by foreign journalists. "Is that the law?" he asked. "Now? I don't even know."

He was asked if he planned to reform the adultery laws, introduced in 1979 in a wave of Islamisation led by the last military dictator, Zia-ul-Haq. "Frankly, I haven't given it

PAKISTAN is a country where Islamic code collides with secular law, and even Gen. Pervez Musharraf, the military ruler, knows little about the case. AFP PHOTO



such deep thought, let me admit," Musharraf said.

The urbane general, sitting in his lavish office in Islamabad, insisted Bibi would not be executed. But hundreds more women who have reported rapes are held in jail under the same adultery law.

It appears Bibi was used by relatives caught up in a family feud, and her husband claims she suffered from poor legal advice. Her account of what happened has never been heard. In remote villages such as Kerri Sheikhan, the word of a young, uneducated mother counts for little.

On the morning of March 26

last year, Bibi went to the village police station with her father-in-law, Zabita Khan, and said she had been raped while cutting grass outside the village. She named Akmal Khan, a villager involved in a long-running dispute with her family, as her attacker. At the time, her husband was in prison for murder.

Bibi was examined by a doctor and found to be seven to eight weeks pregnant, a fact that appears to have convinced the judge she was guilty of adultery. She later insisted that the baby was conceived during a conjugal visit to her husband in prison.

Last October the trial opened and Bibi appeared in court in Kohat wearing a faded yellow burqa, the all-enveloping cloak the Taliban forced women to wear in Afghanistan. She recorded a statement repeating the claim of rape and again naming Akmal Khan. But at the next hearing she said her father-in-law had pressured her into making the accusation. In a new statement, she named her brother-in-law Jamal, 15, as the rapist.

The judge acquitted Akmal Khan, the man first accused. But no investigation was ordered into the new accusation

and Jamal was never arrested. The judge ruled the medical evidence showed no signs of force and her pregnancy was evidence of adultery. "Resultantly, I hereby convict and sentence the accused Zafran Bibi to stoning to death and that she be stoned to death at a public place," Judge Anwar Ali Khan wrote in his final judgment.

Her lawyers were stunned. In the court at Kohat they are still arguing over the case.

"She has never confessed her guilt. There is no case against her," said Sardar Ali, one of her original defense lawyers. "I think it was mis-

handled by a relative of this lady. She never stated she committed adultery."

Under the Offense of Zina Ordinance, which covers both rape and adultery under the Islamic code, a conviction requires either a confession from the accused or evidence from four witnesses to the crime who are Muslim men who "abstain from major sins." Frequently, when rape is not proven, women are charged with adultery. As a result, most rapes are never reported, even though the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan estimates that every two hours a woman in the country is raped.

In Bibi's case, the judge ruled the fact that she changed her statement to name a new attacker was a confession of adultery.

"She made herself guilty in that statement when she clearly admits she had committed zina [adultery] with her brother-in-law," said Kurshid Anwar, a prosecutor in the case. "There was no mark of violence on her body. It was the right decision as long as the law exists." Later Anwar admitted he favored "modernization" of the law. "Women suffer more because of our customs," he said.

Outside Kohat jail, Bibi's husband, Naimat Khan, and his two sons, Israr, 9, and Rehman, 6, tried to arrange a visit to his wife. His children were allowed in, but he was not. Several minutes later, her sons returned with beaming smiles, clutching a small purple fan their mother had made them.

"The defense lawyers told us this would be an easy case.



RAWALPINDI POLICE take away activists protesting the stoning to death sentence against Zafran Bibi. AFP PHOTO

Then they told my wife if she didn't change her statement she would be tied to a pole and soldiers would throw stones at her," said Naimat Khan, 46, a poor farmer who makes less than \$600 a year from his fields. In an affidavit written for the appeal hearing, Bibi again pleaded her innocence. "I have not committed zina with anybody," she said. "I have not confessed any guilt."

While Bibi's conviction may be overturned on appeal, it is clear the military regime, despite its promise to eradicate fundamentalism, is unwilling to reform the Islamic laws for

fear of angering the religious right.

"She is not the first case and she is not going to be the last," said Afrasiab Khattak, chairman of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan. "If Gen. Musharraf really wants to do away with extremism, then there is no alternative to doing away with the structures created by Zia, which include the so-called Islamic laws."

"Even if Zafran Bibi returns to her village now, the stigma is so severe that it will be a very harsh life for her and her children."

2002.6.1. 読売

配偶者や恋人からの暴力（ドメスティック・バイオレンス＝DV）防止法が施行された昨年十月、民間団体などが全国一斉に行った電話相談で、一部の団体が回線のつながり具合を調べたところ、話中でつながらなかった電話件数がかなりの数に上ることが分かった。

DV電話相談

をそとえて実施した。このうち、広島県の民間団体「DV被害者支援ネットワーク（虹）」と、神奈川県「NPO法人グループビボ」がNTTに依頼し、相談電話がつながった件数（着信完了数）と、話中でつながらなかった件数（あふれ呼数）とを調べるトランキング調査を行った。受け付けた相談は

話し中で断念 多数

けでなく、潜在的な相談需要をはっきりさせるのが目的だった。それによると、一回線しか「虹」事務局では、「これだけのあふれがある」ということは、DVに悩む人がいかに多いかということ。電話をふるって電話したのに話中

潜在被害者多さ反映

では、二十五件の相談電話を受け付けたものの、その十倍近くの二百四十六件があふれ呼数として記録されている。一方一回線で応じ「虹」

る。

2002. 6. 3. 読売

DV 虐待で悩んでいたなら

24時間対応 駆け込み寺

新宿・歌舞伎町にオフィス

日本最大の歓楽街、東京・歌舞伎町に先月末、家出の女性や、夫や恋人からの暴力（ドメスティックバイオレンス）に悩む女性や、労働などに直面する女性や、少年少女たちの駆け込み寺「新宿救護センター」がオープンした。

設立したのはNPO法人「日本ソーシャル・マインリティー協会」（女英盛代表）。元調査会社社長の玄代表（46）が、警察OBや友人らに呼びかけ、発足した。二十四時間のNPOと新宿区社会福祉協議会、地元町内会などの協力も受け、二十四時に応じて連携するNPOや

弁護士、心理カウンセラーを紹介。暴力など差し迫った危険があり、緊急保護が必要な場合は、同会が区内に確保した民家で一時、生活することも可能だ。

先月二十日に開所して以来、これまでに十組が来所、電話の問い合わせも二五、六件ある。内容は、関西や東海地方に住む家族からの家出人相談が最も多く、「子どもが学校に行きたくない」といじめやDVの相談もあった。

玄代表自身も中学時代から家出を繰り返し、職を転々とした。調査会社社長時

代には、家出人捜しで歌舞伎町の表情も目の当たりにしてきた。「回り道して生

ンター（同区歌舞伎町）の三八の四、古層ビル四階、03・5361・5720。

元慰安婦らアジアの戦争被害者たち

日本へ賠償請求で団結

平壤国際会議

平壤で3、4日に開かれた「日本の過去の清算」を求める国際会議には、初めて朝鮮民主主義...

日本の旧植民地や被占領地の被害者、さらに日本を食めた支援国が参加した。北朝鮮側の呼びかけに応じたのは、戦後補償に関する「日本政府の不誠実さ」に不満があるからだ。

●「真の謝罪を」

「私はずっと基金に怒って来た。でも、夫が心臓発作を起し、入院治療と現代でお金が必要だった。私にどうしてこれが...

アジア各国・地域の元慰安婦らの状況 (平壤国際会議での報告などから)

Table with 5 columns: Country, Victims (Confirmed/Reported), Deaths, Government Response, and Number of Beneficiaries of National Foundation Fund.

を認めた真の謝罪ではない。は回復されていない」と。日本は「個人への賠償はできない」と...

するが、インドネシアには、戦後賠償をまだ終えていない日本と北朝鮮との国交回復に賛意を示す。

●いらい立ちも

戦後賠償交渉の過程で、慰安婦問題は強制連行問題とともに避けられない課題だが、北朝鮮の元慰安婦の現状はほとんど知られていなかった。

2002.5.15.

期日

経済漂流

バブル、デフレ、そして

— 96年1月、「元旦の晴れた空」を見て決めた首相辞任から6年余が過ぎました。経済の悪行善はばつと止まらん。

「辞任の時、株価は2万円台を回復し、経済に暗れ間が見えた。ここで人心一新してより安定した政権基盤を持つ内閣に力強いかけ取りを期待したいと思つた」

「経済問題でいえば、公的資金投入でずいぶんたかかれた住専（住居金融専門会社）処置が解決した後、次は金融機関全体の不良債権処理に取り組みざるを得ないだろう、大変なことだ、と思つてた。でも、政治家も官僚も住

インタビュー編②

村山 富市氏



住専懲りて問題先送り

専に懲りて手をつけず、大蔵省に引つ張られて財政構造改革にのめりこんだ。以来、空の戦り度合いは強まっています。

「そもそも、日本の経済低迷の理由をどうみますか。」
「複合要因だな。不良債権問題を含めてバブルの後遺症から抜けきっていない。巨額の財政赤字を

「小泉さんは「自民党をつぶす」とか言葉は格好良いが、自民党の総理にそれは無理ではないか。政党内閣である限り、政党の存在を離れた政治はない。妥協すれば支持率は下がるが、妥協せずに政策の実行はできん。世論の高い支持は党内を牽制できても、長く続く保証はない。移り気な世論だけに依拠した政治はないよ」

「冷戦崩壊後、資本主義対社会主義というイデオロギーの対立ではなく、政策を競いあう時代に入り、対立軸が一層はやけた。経済のグローバル化のなかで共通の物を差しで考える範囲が拡大した。憲法議論などに比べる

「政局收拾を考えると連立しかなかった。連立を組めば社会党は政権党として勉強ができるし、自民党は体質を変えなくては、と期待したんじゃないか」

「例えば、細川内閣で凍結した整備新幹線建設は村山内閣で復

題でも痛感した」

「首相官邸からみた政・官の関係は。」

「国造りの基本、予算の編成は大蔵省が握っていた。官邸は軌道の上を効率的に走ることが得意だ。だが、縦割り行政のなかで既存の権益を守ろうと保守的になる。改革の決断は官邸には無理で政治の役割だ」

「戦後50年の節目にけじめをつける植民地支配と侵略を認めた『総理談話』を出した。3党内には反対もあったが、全閣僚賛成で決めた。閣僚の支援は重要だね。ただでさえ、官邸内に政治家は少なく、官僚に囲まれる。首相は孤立したら仕事はできない。そういう意味では、党内で強い支持を、官邸内では首相を補佐する人間を配したチームを持ちつつ、リーダーシップを発揮していくことが大切だと思つた」

（聞き手・吉岡桂子）



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東洋英和文学院院长

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の政策秘書給与詐欺事件や辻元清美・元社民党衆院議員の政策秘書給与流用疑惑など、次々と政策秘書をめぐる問題が表面化している。こうした問題を目的の当たりになると、一九九一年に代議士秘書制度問題を検討するために衆院議員の諮問を受けた「国会議員の秘書に関する調査会」会長であった私は、その不明を恥じるのみである。

本来、同調査会が設置されたのは、公設秘書が二人ではあまりに忙しくて、十分かつ良質な議員の政治活動が難しいとの事情があったからだ。当時の議員秘書は多忙を極め、同時に給与

も著しく低いのが実情だった。米国では下院議員一人当たり二十二人まで公設秘書を持つことが認められ、膨大な予算が費

手段はないかと考えた。日本では行政府（官僚）が有能なとの前提で、議員立法はほとんど行政府の政策立案能力に依存している。立法府の議員に立法能力が欠けているのは残念だと思っただけである。

それゆえ、私はこうした状況を変えたいと願った。調査会メンバーの評論家、大宅映子氏ら

から秘書本人に直接振り込むことだ。公設秘書から議員への献金は法に基づき、公費されるのならば問題ない。現在、議論になっている秘書給与の「総額一括支払制度」（プール制）は一方策かと思う。ただし、議員事務所も官庁と同様に会計検査院の検査を受け、秘書は公務員として義務を負うことが条件だ。

論点

「親族秘書」は禁止すべきだ

やされている。上院下院とも議員は一年に何百という法案を作成し、各院に提出している。調査会はその立法府の事情を踏まえ、立法は議会が行い、行政府は執行するという本来の姿に少しでも戻す

は議員の政策立案、立法能力強化の必要性についてはただちに賛同した。ただ問題はあった。与野党の国会議員から要望が強かったのは、単に普通の公設秘書を三人に増員することではできないかとの問いかけだった。しかし、調査会では、三人目の公設秘書を認める場合、一歩進んで議員の政策立案能力の強

化に貢献すべしとの共通認識が熱した。かくして政策立案能力を備えた政策秘書を創設すること、議員の公設秘書の増員要求にこたえると同時に、六十億円を超える新たな財政支出への大義名分ができたと思っただけ。当初、懸念されたのは「ザル法」になるとだった。そのため、答申では、①政策秘

書には三親等以内の親族は採用しない②勤続二十年以上の公設秘書は一定の研修を受けて、政策秘書の資格を得る――などの条件を付けた。ところが、改正された法律では、抜け道ばかりで親族採用も禁止されず、勤続二十年は十年に半減された。政策秘書の調査会原案は骨抜きになったとさえ言えるほどだ。

さらに、秘書給与は衆参各院から秘書本人に直接振り込むことだ。公設秘書から議員への献金は法に基づき、公費されるのならば問題ない。現在、議論になっている秘書給与の「総額一括支払制度」（プール制）は一方策かと思う。ただし、議員事務所も官庁と同様に会計検査院の検査を受け、秘書は公務員として義務を負うことが条件だ。

私が今遺憾なのは、秘書という言葉にこだわらず、「顧問」や「補佐官」、「幕僚」など新しい役割にふさわしい肩書をつければよかったということだ。言語上の問題は時に表現だけでなく実態を表すものであり、今日のようないくつかの誤解を生む恐れを多少は防げたのではないかと残念に思っている。

東大名誉教授。国際関係史。亜細亜大学長などを経て、一九九八年から現職。七十八歳。