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ABSTRACT

The Potential of Japan's Anti-Nuclear Citizens' Movement to End Nuclear Power and Implement Change in Japan's Energy Policy

What Needs to be Undertaken to Meet this Challenge

Aileen Mioko Smith
Executive Director, Green Action

Japanese civil society today has been given the greatest opportunity it has ever had to end nuclear power and create a new energy policy in Japan.

The citizen movement working on energy policy change, and the anti-nuclear power movement in particular, faces possibly its greatest challenge to ensure that we do not repeat another disaster like the Fukushima Daiichi accident, to facilitate civil society debate on nuclear power in particular and energy policy in general, and to convince Japanese society that there is a better way.

Here is a list of tasks that I believe we need to undertake in order to meet this opportunity and challenge:

- Prevent and delay restart of nuclear power reactors. This will provide a favorable environment for civil society discussion on ending nuclear power and implementing energy policy change
- Show the fallaciousness of electric utility and government arguments for restarting nuclear power
- Address the undemocratic nature of the Abe government's process for deliberating nuclear power and energy policy
- Show how we can end nuclear power. Show how nuclear power is getting in the way—i.e. show we cannot have both nuclear power and a new energy policy which would provide distributive energy services based upon civil society participation, community empowerment, conservation, energy efficiency, and renewable energy
- Offer a new path that is more attractive to civil society
- Work to create a civil society public arena discussion on which path is best to take
- Convince the public through that discussion that stopping nuclear power immediately and taking a new path is the best solution

Japanese society is today in a psychic frenzy about losing economic dominance. It is scrambling for a new vision. Political leaders are clinging to what is "safe", attempting to somehow create a sequel to the country's past rapid economic growth.

It is crucial that the NGO community presents a clear, concrete analysis that ending nuclear power right now is *good* for the economy, *good* for creation of jobs, *good* for the health of communities, *good* for farmers, *good* for young people—that it's the better way.

For this, a holistic approach is essential. People want happiness. Healthy communities and a fair society. Jobs and a future for young people. People cannot eat “kilowatt hours.” People are seeking what good energy services will provide. And because of that, we must convince the public that Japan needs to end nuclear power now and change its “top-down” energy policy. We need to show that this discussion is not about scientific expertise but is actually about citizen participation, jobs, new work, creating healthy communities, futures for young people, an environment where people can seek their happiness.

We cannot do this on our own. We need to think about what kind of capacity-building will be necessary. We need to be able to facilitate involvement by a wide range of civil society. We need a more creative, interactive approach to learning from other civil societies like Germany. We need to build our capacity, especially in language ability, in order to communicate effectively outside Japan's national boundaries. We need to further develop our strategic thinking on the *process* for attaining a new energy policy. We can learn about fundraising and that it is not just about money but that the process is about a wider range of civil society involvement.

Civil society is interested in implementation, not wonderful papers about an ideal world. They want us to show them how it can concretely be done. For that we need to show them the data. For that we need to learn enough about economics and local/regional government planning including how appropriations are made in order to work with experts in these fields.

Working to reform the electric power system and promoting the role of local renewable energy initiatives is vital. It needs to be exciting. The emphasis should be on municipal planning and how it will help people and communities rather than hardware.

We should think more artistically, more creatively to facilitate citizen participation. If people can't wait to be involved, we have won their hearts. They too will become pro-active.

We should actively spell out the process for fair civil society public debate and be pro-active in negotiating its terms. If the discussion becomes too city-oriented, has age and gender imbalance, and excludes those facing physical challenges, we will get the wrong answers. One of the biggest lessons learned from Three Mile Island, Chernobyl, and Fukushima accidents is that civil society did not sufficiently listen to people's direct experiences.

Nuclear power is the foundation of Japan's top-down energy policy, in spite of the fact it only provides electricity. By ending nuclear power, we can facilitate change in Japan's energy policy, opening the path to better energy services and thus a better society for people living in Japan.

FULL TEXT

The Potential of Japan's Anti-Nuclear Citizens' Movement to End Nuclear Power and Implement Change in Japan's Energy Policy

What Needs to be Undertaken to Meet this Challenge

Aileen Mioko Smith, Executive Director, Green Action

The Challenge Before Us

Japanese civil society today has been given the greatest opportunity it has ever had to end nuclear power in Japan and create a new energy policy. We stand at the crossroads with a clear decision to be made -- will we continue as usual with nuclear power and its "top-down" energy policy in spite of the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant accident, or, turn away and move on to a new path? We cannot take this opportunity lightly, for it has been given to us at the cost of all the suffering caused by the Fukushima Daiichi accident.

Today, the Japanese citizens' movement, and specifically the anti-nuclear movement, faces possibly its greatest challenge in order to ensure that we do not allow another nuclear disaster, that we facilitate civil society debate on nuclear power and energy policy, and convince Japanese society that we need to end nuclear power now.

Today in Japan, zero kilowatts of electricity are being produced by nuclear power. The challenge for the Japanese anti-nuclear movement is to keep it that way. Unlike Germany, which, although it still has 9 nuclear power plants operating, has a legally binding phase-out policy for ending nuclear power, Japan's current Abe government is vigorously pushing restart of nuclear power in Japan and actively promoting the export of nuclear reactor technology.

At the time of writing this, five utilities have submitted a total of 14 nuclear power plant restart applications to the Nuclear Regulation Authority (NRA), and the NRA is

reviewing these applications with the aim of restarting nuclear power. *How to prevent this restart is the key issue.* This is the moment for effective NGO action. If we are successful, Japan can end nuclear power and serve as a role model for the world.

Historically, the Japanese anti-nuclear movement is considered not very effective by Japanese civil society. But in fact, it *has* been effective and the proof is in the results it has produced. There would be no current debate on whether we can and should end nuclear power, were it not for the tireless work of local farmers, fisherfolk, citizens, and others in the countryside areas targeted for nuclear reactors, citizen groups and individual citizens in the cities, professionals such as nuclear physicists/chemists, lawyers, doctors, writers, artists---all the citizens of Japan who worked tenaciously from the mid-1960s to the present to prevent the siting of nuclear power plants and/or addressed safety issues after the reactors were built.

Because they did what they did, only one-quarter¹ of Japan's electricity was being produced by nuclear power when the Fukushima Daiichi accident occurred on March 11, 2011. If they had not made such efforts, Japan's dependence on nuclear power would have been so great that ending nuclear power immediately or even in the near future would have been unthinkable. They made this discussion possible. This is truly a great accomplishment. It should be recognized as such.

So, the issue is not how the anti-nuclear power movement can really be effective, but how it can complete its job. And that is not an easy task!

A Listing of Tasks In Order To Meet the Challenge

Here is a list of tasks, that I believe the Japanese citizens' movement and the anti-nuclear movement in particular needs to undertake in order to meet this opportunity and challenge:

- Prevent and delay restart of nuclear power reactors, thus providing a favorable environment for civil society discussion on ending nuclear power and implementing energy policy change
- Show the fallaciousness of electric utility and government arguments for restarting nuclear power
- Address the undemocratic nature of the Abe government's process for deliberating nuclear power and energy policy
- Show how we can end nuclear power. Show how nuclear power is getting in the way—i.e. show we cannot have both nuclear power and a new energy policy which

¹ If independent producers are included, it is one-quarter. If not, then one-third.

would provide distributive energy services based upon civil society participation, community empowerment, conservation, energy efficiency, and renewable energy

- Offer a new path that is more attractive to civil society
- Work to create a civil society public arena discussion on which path is best to take
- Convince the public through that discussion that stopping nuclear power immediately and taking a new path is the best solution

Activism, including anti-nuclear activism, is an art. Like shiatsu, judo, and aikido, it is about finding the right pressure point at the right timing, and knowing how to use what comes at us, including the other side's strength. All the work listed above needs to be done simultaneously, synergistically, creatively working with the circumstances given to us.

In order to implement the above, we need to undertake various actions. To do this, we need to capacity-build the movement. *Exchanges with other civil society movements working to end nuclear power and creating a new path in other countries, including Germany, is essential.*

What Is Being Undertaken / What Is Yet to be Undertaken

Below I elaborate on each item, giving examples of work being undertaken or work to be undertaken in each area. Media are being addressed, legislators lobbied, information released via the internet, and study sessions and public meetings are being held for all of these items.

- **Continue to prevent and delay restart of nuclear power, thus allowing a favorable environment for civil society discussion on policy change**

Some examples of work currently being undertaken are:

Being a citizen watchdog² of the newly-formed Nuclear Regulation Authority (NRA), working to make it publicly accountable for its actions

Networking of NGOs in areas of all sites in Japan targeted for restart in order to strategize and address common issues

Holding frequent meetings (broadcast via U-stream) concerning pertinent restart issues with the Nuclear Regulation Agency and METI's Agency for Natural Resources and Energy (ANRE) at Diet office building auditoriums and conference rooms

Targeting earthquake faults under and near reactors that have restart applications

² For example a coalition of Tokyo groups have formed The Nuclear Regulation Authority Citizen Watchdog (原子力規制を監視する市民の会)

Addressing technical issues, including extended deadlines for implementation of safety facilities to be put in place as a result of lessons learned from the Fukushima accident

Addressing the inadequacy of nuclear accident emergency planning

Addressing Fukushima accident issues both on site and concerning relief to victims of the accident, reminding society that the accident is continuing and the Abe government should concentrate on dealing with the accident, not pushing forward a restart

Going to towns where nuclear power plants are slated for restart, meeting with town/city/prefectural officials to address safety issues and going door-to-door to meet townspeople

All of the above is being done with considerable research, networking between Tokyo and the regions, bringing together regional cities with citizens of prefectures where nuclear power plants are located.

- **Show the fallaciousness of electric utility and government arguments for restarting nuclear power**

This area needs to be worked on in depth. It requires an economic analysis of fuel costs, and know-how on how a revamp of the major utilities would be undertaken, etc. We would need to build capacity to gain enough expertise to locate and obtain cooperation of experts/professionals in order to undertake this properly. We need to work on this comprehensively.

- **Address how undemocratic the current Abe government's process for deliberating nuclear power and energy policy is**

This work is centered around Tokyo NGOs although all groups nationwide are addressing this issue. e-shift³, a network of Tokyo and national/regional groups works on this issue, is pointing out how the current deliberation process by the Abe government is a big step backward compared to the much more democratic process undertaken during the summer of 2012 by the then Democratic Party administration.

There are attempts to spell out how a democratic process should look, but extensive work in this area is yet to be undertaken. *We need more know-how about democratic policy deliberation process methods.*

- **Show how we can end nuclear power. Show how nuclear power is getting in the way—i.e. that we cannot have both**

³ <http://e-shift.org/>

There is yet no extensive analysis of this important area.⁴ Most anti-nuclear NGOs have their hands full concentrating on stopping restart and addressing the Fukushima accident (onsite issues and victim relief.) Also, we lack know-how as well as interest. The anti-nuclear power movement historically does not include economists and people with extensive hands-on government management expertise. We in the anti-nuclear power movement have tended to think more on the lines of safety rather than administrative issues concerning implementation such as budget allocation. *Concretely showing how we can end nuclear power and how nuclear power is getting in the way of creating necessary energy policy change is a crucial area that needs to be addressed.*

- **Offer a new path that is more attractive to civil society**

This area is being worked on by various NGOs working on renewable energy such as the Institute for Sustainable Energy Policies (ISEP)⁵. What is vitally important is that we present a holistic, attractive approach (to be elaborated below.) *Much work needs to be undertaken in this extremely important area.*

- **Work to create a civil society public arena discussion on which path is best to take**

Both e-shift and the Citizens' Commission on Nuclear Energy (CCNE)⁶ and NGOs working on renewable energy issues are working in this area. Although crucial for deliberating the ending of nuclear energy, *this area is only beginning to be addressed and urgently needs more work and more people.*

We should actively spell out what the process would be for a fair debate. We should persistently demand that this debate be undertaken. We should be pro-active in negotiating its terms. The deliberative poll is one method. Methods designed to facilitate a fair hearing of all the sides should be actively proposed.

This would consist of forums where, for example, a full range of expert views are publicly debated, but where non-experts are the ones being addressed, and these non-experts have the opportunity to respond and give their verdict. Lay people should be given the tools to make informed judgments, and the final decision should be out of the hands of experts.

We should encourage universities and newspapers, and lobby for a steering committee organized by a full range of stakeholders to organize such forums. There should be multiple forums. No one "event" should dictate.

⁴ This includes at this point, the Citizens' Commission on Nuclear Energy (CCNE)

⁵ <http://www.isep.or.jp/>

⁶ <http://www.ccnejapan.com/>

During this time we urge for these forums to be created, we need to get as much publicity as possible for the informed views of ordinary citizens. And, we need to get as much publicity as possible for our arguments.

- **Convince the public that stopping nuclear power immediately is the best solution**

This is the big challenge. We need to be able to say, “We should end nuclear power right away. Here are the reasons and the facts to back this up. Ending nuclear power right away can be implemented, in this way. We propose and will promote a civil society debate on all the various views. If we can’t convince you we are right, we can’t have our views implemented!”

Exclusion of Women

A recent all night TV debate broadcast live nationally on Asahi TV⁷ about nuclear power selected 10 debaters. Nine of them were men, and the MC was male. Apart from this being blatant inequality, it shows how the media sets up discussion and what it thinks are the issues that should be addressed.

Government meetings on nuclear power are wall-to-wall with men--- committee members, advisors, and the audience, filled with utility people, is over 95 per cent if not 100% men.

I have attended Kansai Electric shareholder meetings for nearly 25 years as one of the anti-nuclear shareholders. Every year, it is identical. The stage is lined with rows and rows of gray-suited male company directors. Apparently there are one or two women directors in the back row somewhere.

In comparison, the anti-nuclear movement, whether in the countryside or cities, has from decades back had a healthy balance of men and women. Both women and men have played a key role.

Surely, this gender imbalance in the pro-nuclear world has had something to do with the creation and continuation of nuclear power in Japanese society. Therefore, correcting this imbalance is crucial for ending nuclear power in Japan.

We ourselves must be careful. The more we in the anti-nuclear movement start to discuss policy, the more we are in the danger of becoming “man-like” and the more the

⁷ 26 October 2013. 「激論！止まらない汚染水 ド〜する？！原発」 テレビ朝日系列 朝まで生テレビ 26 October 2013, “Heated Discussion! Radioactive Discharges Which Don’t Stop / What Should We Do! Nuclear Power”, Asa Made Nama Terebi, Asahi TV, (This is an all night live, debate-style program.)

way we set-up our own committees or the way we discuss issues, in other words the process, becomes similar to the way the pro-nuclear side conducts its business. We mirror the image we are trying to change. We need to be conscious of this and check in order not to have this happen.

The Importance of Including a Wide Range of Society

The problem is not only that women have been shut out. If we have an age imbalance skewed to too few young people, don't include those facing physical challenges, or become too city-oriented, we will get the wrong answers. We must keep in mind that the discussion changes depending on who are the discussants.

To Convince Society, We Need to Holistically Address Why We Need to End Nuclear Power

The 2012 national Lower House elections saw a blossoming of new political parties. Many had an anti-nuclear stand. But a vital, crucial policy and political mistake was made. When nuclear power was discussed, it was discussed as a stand-alone issue. Instead, the analysis political parties should have presented, was, "If you are *really* concerned about Japan's economy, if you *really* want to create jobs for young people, if you *really* want healthy communities in the countryside and in cities, then, we need to end nuclear power."

But the political parties did not do this. So the public chose the economy over ending nuclear power even though a large majority wanted to end nuclear power. No doubt the line of thinking of much of the public was, "I really want nuclear power to end. But the economy is in such a slump right now. It's unfortunate but ending nuclear power will just have to wait."

It is crucial that the NGO community presents a clear analysis that ending nuclear power right now is *good* for the economy, *good* for creation of jobs, *good* for the health of communities, *good* for farmers, *good* for young people—that it's the better way. People's happiness, civil society, is damaged by "top-down" energy policy. We have attained wealth but not true happiness. What we need is to offer a plan so exciting that people will jump at it.

We are poised at a turning point to create a new society. For that, we need to know where we want to be headed, have the necessary coalition of people and undertake the necessary analysis.

For this we need to raise protest to the level of culture. We need to develop more style, convey values, add humor, involve artistic criticism, mixing it with top-level economic analysis, professionals who are conscious of government budgets, top-level know-how on how to actually implement the change in local and regional government as well as

national. We can't do this all on our own. For this, we need to involve people who know about these areas. Our role is to be a catalyst and facilitate this kind of action by these people.

What we need is to address nuclear power in a more socially holistic way. We need to make it attractive to the mainstream in Japan. And for that we have to address the *how* just as much as the *why* on ending nuclear power. We need to change that process.

We ourselves need to have a clear vision of how ending nuclear power now is vitally important for creating a better, happier society.

The Fukushima Daiichi accident was decades in the making. A wider civil society's lack of participation, stakeholders being shut-out of decision-making processes, in short, the lack of a functioning democracy, resulted in the accident.

One of the biggest lessons learned from Three Mile Island, Chernobyl, and Fukushima accidents is that civil society did not sufficiently listen to people's direct experiences.

The Japanese Political Leadership's Closed World — And How It Harms Japan

Here are a few examples from my own experience which illustrate this.

I recall meeting Naoto Kan in 2002 at Democratic Party headquarters when he was head of the party. When I addressed nuclear power, he turned to me looking a little perplexed as though he had never heard of any of the arguments said, "What's wrong with nuclear power?" Less than a decade later, he as prime minister was to face the earthquake, tsunami, and Fukushima Daiichi accident crisis totally unprepared.

In April 2009 the Democratic Party which was then in government asked NGOs to come and brief them on climate change. Goshi Hosono, who was then head of the Democratic Party chaired the meeting but was in and out. When we talked briefly afterwards, he apologized for his absence from the meeting and said, "I want to learn about nuclear power from you and other NGOs." (There was no budget to even pay for our transportation that day.) Nothing happened after that. Then, 3.11 occurred and he found himself as Nuclear Disaster Minister of Japan. The Democratic Party probably still has no budget for briefings from civil society.

This is not just the Democratic Party and not just for NGOs but for outside experts from civil society as well. It appears Diet members and political parties have no budget for learning from civil society. And when we provide them with briefings (payed for ourselves), Diet members listen, say what was discussed was very important, and that is the end of it.

Listening to NGOs or not pro-nuclear experts has been and still is “extracurricular.” It’s not considered a possible lifeline for preventing another nuclear disaster or making a better society in Japan.

The problem with the Japanese leadership is not only that they are conservative and pro-nuclear, but that their sources of information are severely limited.

What We Can Do — Implementation is the Key and Getting Others Involved Essential

We can’t change this situation right away, but we can do the following.

The anti-nuclear movement, in my view, needs to be more aware that the technical arguments that lead to the main part of the movement in the cities and which factually back up the movement come from a tradition of primarily nuclear physicists and chemists who began to question the use of nuclear power. They have been our primary teachers. Their arguments against nuclear power were primarily about safety. Anti-nuclear arguments were not from economists who said it was bad for the economy and job creation. Even issues about the health of communities or ethical issues regarding nuclear power were usually considered by the movement to be “in addition” to the main technical safety issues.

We need to compensate for this weakness and actively figure out a way to seek out and involve economists, people who have experience with implementing local and regional policy including budgets or dealing with local/regional crises such as evacuation, and other types of professionals. Getting different people involved will lead to asking much-needed different questions in order to critique the issues and create solutions. We need to think about what is missing and go out and get it.

For it is finally the nitty-gritty situation in local areas dependent on nuclear power, or, the financial situation of the electric utilities, etc. that will decide the day. Intellectual arguments about how ending nuclear power makes sense will not finish the job.

We try to go it alone too much. Yes, we work very hard. Yes, it’s important to be diligent and persistent. But we need to be aware that no matter how hard we work, nuclear power will not stop unless there is a broad section of society that realizes it can end and that ending it right away is the best way. Essential to this is for people to be able to see *how* ending nuclear power can be implemented.

By making changes in our actions, we can help move the process forward.

For example, when we meet with the Union of Kansai⁸ Governments about region-wide nuclear emergency evacuation plans, submitting pertinent questions is vital. But equally important is *who* we invite to hear this exchange, professionals who would be in charge of evacuating their association's facilities or those in charge of moving or accepting evacuees, as well as legislators and local/regional media. Seeing for themselves the complete unpreparedness of the Kansai governments they would become alarmed and raise their own concerns.

Another example would be when an important international symposium on current nuclear power issues or the Fukushima accident is held at Tokyo University or some major university, the key issue would be not just *what* we discuss there but *who* we get to attend and *how* to follow-up after. Inviting other professionals, or making the symposium free for that university's students, cheap for other students, and attractive for key new stakeholders is essential.

The universities need to blossom as a place of debate and discussion on nuclear power. Yes, there are many meetings and symposia on nuclear power issues held at universities, but most of them are either pro-nuclear events, or, anti-nuclear events. For example, one still cannot organize a series of real debate and discussion between pro-nuclear experts and those opposed to nuclear power at Kyoto University, located in my own city, one of the most prestigious universities in Japan. It is still taboo! What is the status of academia if there is no mechanism for disagreeing publicly or discussing controversial issues constructively at universities?

Another example is the Fukushima accident victims' negotiations with the government. The Fukushima parents should not have to worry about getting other people there when they are pleading with the government to help protect their children, and the core NGO activists supporting them have their hands full. We need other people beside the core people, to help get other people to see how unfair and terrible the current situation is including the lack of government budget and help get the word out both domestically and internationally. We can pound the table about the injustices but without sufficient budget allocated to the issue, things will not improve.

Right now, many of us know, from meeting with the government, that we may well be headed for another Fukushima disaster. But we can't explain it to others because they haven't seen the dire situation first-hand.

In other words, whatever we do, only part of the work is the issue itself, but also an important part of it is how we sell it and who we get involved. We must be assertive about implementing this or it just will not happen. The CCNE website showing a public

⁸ <http://kouiki-kansai.jp/>

symposium CCNE organized should be visually so exciting that people would say, "Wow! I am missing out. I've got to go to the next meeting!" There is nothing wrong in making things fun and attractive. In fact, it is really important.

We continue to only pay lip-service about "getting young people involved." We have to get serious about this. For that, we need young people to do the planning. It is easy to say and difficult to do, but important, and we need to move this forward.

National Isolation Has Not Ended — The Importance of Bilingual/Multi-Lingual Capability

In my view, by far the biggest problem is the fact that so much of what is going on in Japan regarding the ongoing Fukushima accident crisis and what is going on regarding the Abe government's attempt to restart nuclear power is that, in spite of international media reports, it is still mostly unknown to the outside world because of the language barrier. Almost no Japanese activists or technical experts critical of what is going on are communicating directly in English. As a result, a consistent exchange does not exist between the domestic work in Japan and NGOs, professionals, and media abroad.

The real lessons of Fukushima are not being communicated sufficiently abroad. Because of the lack of transparency regarding what is going on in Japan, Fukushima accident victims and Japanese NGOs are cut off from getting the support, information, and stimulation from abroad to help the situation in Japan. Today, our bilingual capacity is so limited that we cannot even properly service the international journalist requests that come to us.

So many opportunities are being missed because of severely limited bilingual capacity.
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⁹ Here are some examples of opportunities that will be or are being missed because of severely limited bilingual capacity:

The UN Human Rights Council's Special Rapporteur Anand Grover issued an important interim report on Fukushima⁹ on 2 May 2013, which was arrogantly dismissed by the Japanese government. Our work on this issue is severely limited because of lack of language capability.

The world is looking to Japanese experts' and NGO proposals, appeals, briefing materials, etc. regarding the Fukushima accident and technical issues on nuclear power in Japan. Concerned experts outside of Japan and Japanese experts critical of nuclear power need to be in communication with each other. At present Japanese experts virtually never communicates in English and proposals from abroad either do not reach Japan or are not deliberated in Japan.

The National Diet of Japan Fukushima Nuclear Accident Independent Investigation's report issued 5 July 2012 stated that the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power accident was, " a profoundly man-made disaster -- that could and should have been foreseen and prevented. And its effects could have been mitigated by a more effective human response." NGOs could work on maximizing this content domestically and internationally. One example is addressing the cozy relationship between the Japanese committee members of the International Commission on Radiological Protection (ICRP) and the electric utilities which

Figuring out how to increase our language capability, for a start bilingual Japanese/English capability such as working with concerned young bilingual people and bilingual professionals is vital, so that this barrier can be broken. It would be an extremely effective tool for stopping nuclear power in Japan. And stopping nuclear power in Japan can greatly help make it happen abroad.

What We Do Best And Why This is Important

Because the Abe government regressed to a more undemocratic process than the Democratic Party administration, an important part of NGO work is to work even more emphatically in our classic role. In other words, national policy can be very pro-nuclear, but if we can concretely prevent nuclear power plants from restarting by reacting to government actions and agendas, we can have de facto no nuclear power and from there we can work on national policy change to reflect the de facto situation. Working to stop restart of nuclear power plants is not just reactive but actually about working to change policy in Japan.

At the same time, the work of other NGOs to reform the electric power system and promote the role of local renewable energy initiatives is a vital parallel campaign. If these are implemented, the economic case for nuclear power will become notably worse. This will build a constituency which says we should get out of nuclear power. There will be more public participation. The more practical vision we have for an alternative economy and society, the worse it will look to remain in nuclear power.

Capacity Building Through Fundraising — Creating Greater Civil Society Support

One of the key areas that would benefit from more international exchange is support and empowerment of the all-too-few funders (they can be counted on one hand without using all the fingers!) in Japan who support anti-nuclear NGOs, and increasing the funding pie in Japan. This is important not just for monetary reasons but for helping to involve a wider civil society in Japan.

Rather than this handful of Japanese funders continuing to go through the excruciating process of trying to decide which NGO to give 200,000 yen (\$2000. equivalent) to, it would be important if they could get the support to be able to spend more time on

pay their airfares to ICRP meetings and relay this information abroad.

Japanese nuclear regulation has not learned the lessons of the Fukushima accident. The new Nuclear Regulation Authority (NRA) takes a strong stance toward electric utilities at first, but after closed-door meetings, it does an about-face. This situation is getting worse but is not receiving sufficient coverage abroad. For example, the NRA does not even follow its own regulations regarding earthquake faults under nuclear power plants.

In 2012, Japanese NGOs organized two extensive international conferences, Nuclear Free Now--Global Conference for a Nuclear Power Free World (<http://npfree.jp/english.html>), but cannot follow up because of lack of bilingual capacity.

increasing the pie. It's true that Japan does not have a tradition of philanthropy, and yes, Japan is in an economic slump, but nevertheless, it is still the third largest economy in the world. The increase in media coverage of nuclear issues has grown exponentially since 3.11 but with absolutely no corollary of wider financial support to end nuclear power. In order to change this situation, some people need to be thinking about this in a consistent, concerted manner. Surely, there is more money out there for financially supporting these funders, and creating additional funding sources.

A big part of the problem why this does not happen is that the handful of funders and NGOs don't have the capacity to be working on this investment for NGO work. Everyone is over-extended. Another part of the problem is that not only NGOs but many of the funders come from the perspective of campaigning. The funders are on the most part not made up of people whose primary interest is in creating money.

What we need are *additional* people, new kinds of people to be involved. We have to make a breakthrough.

Learning and bringing in influence from Germany on this, or more broadly, Europe, or broader yet, the world out there which has a developed tradition of philanthropy is an important area to develop. Of course there are cultural and financial, and societal differences, but the "glamour" factor that this interest is from abroad could help jump-start more Japanese philanthropy for anti-nuclear work. For that we first need to work in Japan and locate a a broader spectrum of interest. Meetings and public seminars should involve new people who are interested and have access to resources and can act on it, and separately but equally importantly, we need to hold seminars with already committed funders on how to increase the pie, for example techniques to conduct matching fund programs, etc.

Japanese NGOs also need to work themselves on capacity building to reach more potential supporters. The "average" anti-nuclear NGO seems to have around 300 supporters who each contribute 3000 yen a year, coming to a grand total of 900,000 yen annually. A broader civil society supporting each NGO would help not only to raise more funds but give broader support to anti-nuclear activism.

In order for these changes to happen, we Japanese NGOs have to allot more attention to these matters. We have to force ourselves to at least spend a little of our precious time on capacity building and educating ourselves in this area we have little expertise in. We need to invest in this so that we can work more effectively. But it is a tightrope because now is the time to go all out in doing what we do best, i.e. opposing restart.

Importance of General Capacity Building

Capacity building is important for many areas, especially learning how to be more effective with media, increasing our ability to reach the younger generation, and,

improving our technique for attaining our campaign goals---learning how government budgets work, or how regional government decision-making is done, about the economics of nuclear power, enough about these issues to be able to address them effectively and find the right people to address them professionally. Capacity building means investing in our movement.

Learning from Germany and Other Civil Societies

“Learning from Germany” or “learning from abroad” is not a one-way street. I believe the exchange will bear fruit if it is helpful for both sides. For that, we need to not just talk about facts and results, but *process*. *We need to emphasize process.*

Needed: A Vision — Communicating Values

Japanese society is now in a psychic frenzy about losing economic dominance and everything that comes with it. It is scrambling for a new vision. Political leaders are clinging to what is “safe”, attempting to somehow create a sequel to the country’s past rapid economic growth. Now is the time for action. We must talk about the 20 years Japan has “lost”, and how ending nuclear power right away will help us “catch up.”

We need to further develop the vision we are proposing.

One of Aesop’s fables says we resist having our coat blown off by the wind, but are happy to take it off when the sun shines. Ending nuclear power should not be about “taking away” but about enriching: creating a healthier economy, creating healthier communities, happier people, more jobs into the future for young people as well as preventing a second Fukushima disaster.

We must say loudly and clearly that because Japan wants a healthier economy, a more attractive, elegant, artistic, happier society which is good for jobs, *that’s* why we need to end nuclear power. It’s showing to the Japanese public and politicians that nuclear power is *getting in the way* to a better world. We need to do the economic analysis and develop the language in order to send out this message. It’s not as much about giving up something, but gaining something. But for us to convince the Japanese public, we need to approach it as hard-nosed economists and urban and countryside town planners. We must learn from the mistakes of the political parties in the 2012 Lower House elections.

What Civil Society Wants to be Shown — How to Implement the End of Nuclear Power in Japan

I believe what the public is seeking is to be shown *how* a rapid end to nuclear power in Japan can actually be implemented. For example, there is no way that prefectures

dependent on nuclear power will give it up unless they can see direct benefits. We need the help of people who can see the situation through local eyes.

Perhaps a good way to start is to take CCNE's interim report and ask the question, "So how can we actually get this implemented? What are the types of people we can go to in order to look at each part of this puzzle?" We need to take this to a wide range of experts, stakeholders, and the public, and ask many questions and get their input. A starting point is the public forum discussions with civil society which CCNE is planning.

Conclusion

Seventy percent of Japanese society wants to end nuclear power. The public wants to know *if* and *how* this can be done. The Japanese citizens' movement and specifically the anti-nuclear movement's challenge is to prevent restart of nuclear reactors in Japan in order to provide the environment in which this discussion and debate can be undertaken, show how nuclear power is getting in the way of better energy policy, and offer a new path that is more attractive. Most importantly, we must facilitate the blossoming of civil society public arena discussion, and through it convince the public that ending nuclear power is the better way and that it can be implemented.

In order to do the above, we need to develop our capacity. We need communication with Germany and other civil societies who have and are undergoing the same debate. We need many others to become involved. At the end of the day, it is the public that will end nuclear power and thus change Japan's "top-down" energy policy. Our job is to be the catalyst.¹⁰

Aileen Mioko Smith
Executive Director
Green Action
Suite 103, 22-75 Tanaka Sekiden-cho
Sakyo-ku, Kyoto 606-8203 Japan
Tel: +81-75-701-7223
Fax: +81-75-702-1952
Cell: +81-90-3620-9251
email: amsmith@gol.com
URL: <http://www.greenaction-japan.org/>

¹⁰ 29 September 2013. Aileen Mioko Smith TEDx Kyoto presentation on how to end nuclear power in Japan (in Japanese) <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fa1Os5o5xU4>

**Celebrating the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of
the Faculty of Social Sciences, Hosei University**

**International Symposium:
“Energy Policy Shift and the Creation of Public Spheres:
Learning From Germany’s Experience”**

The accident at the Tokyo Electric Power Company’s Fukushima No.1 Nuclear Power Plant on March 11, 2011 was the largest nuclear disaster since the Chernobyl accident of 1986. Even now, the restoration of the plant is far from over, and there is no prospect at all of decommissioning it. Worse yet, radioactive material continues to be released from the plant. The air dose rate remains high (as of May 7, 2013, the highest level is 29.671 μ Sv/h measured at the Ottozawa District #3 in the town of Okuma, Fukushima prefecture). Most of all, the land, houses, forests, rivers and seas are still widely contaminated, forcing more than 150,000 residents to live in shelters.

We take this severe accident very seriously, and thus believe that Japan should phase out power production by nuclear power plants as soon as possible and switch to more geographically distributed and citizen-involved energy production based on renewable energy sources. Moreover, many among the general public are opposed to restarting the nuclear plant and the movement calling for immediate nuclear phase-out has continued across the nation. A recent opinion poll shows that 71% of the public supports the abandonment of nuclear power generation (Feb. 17, 2013, Asahi Shimbun).

However, nuclear reactor manufacturers, electric power companies, and the central government have planned a quick restart of the nuclear plant, and are also actively proceeding with the construction of nuclear power

plants in foreign countries.

In order to advance an “energy shift including nuclear phase-out,” it is crucial to reach both a social and political consensus for that goal. To do that, first and foremost, citizens and experts must meet to jointly exchange opinions, develop the discussion and then reach a consensus; next, based on that, a political debate must be conducted, a consensus must be formed, and then a policy must be formulated.

We believe that in order to implement Japan’s energy policy shift, it is particularly important and beneficial to learn from Germany’s experience in energy policy shift. This is because the Fukushima nuclear disaster was a direct and decisive turning point before the country launched a policy of “energy shift including nuclear phase-out.” Germany, in the process, conducted political deliberations and policymaking sessions based on the discussions and recommendations of three committees of experts, as well as dialogues with the general public. Particularly, in two committees of experts and a public dialogue, the pros and cons of nuclear power generation were exchanged and debated on an equal footing. Furthermore, in the dialogue, representatives of corporations such as electric power companies and aluminum manufacturers as well as NGO representatives including environmental protection groups also participated and expressed their positions.

In the background of this policy shift were the following facts: from the late 1960s, along with the anti-nuclear peace movement and the environmental protection movement, the anti-nuclear movement began to grow. Denuclearization increasingly gained majority support among the general public, especially after the Chernobyl disaster. Consequently, in 2000, the federal government and electric power companies both agreed to abandon nuclear power, leading to the enactment of a law to prioritize renewable energy.

Based on Germany’s experience, we wish to learn more about the

following key points and jointly consider and help clarify the prerequisites for realizing an energy policy shift in Japan:

Date : December 8, 2013

Place : Hosei University(Tama Campus),Tokyo, Japan

Program : 9:20~18:00

Greeting(9:50~):Prof.Dr.Toshio Masuda(President of Hosei University)

Prof.Yuhko Tanaka(Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences,Hosei University)

First Session(10:00~12:00): Energy Shift in Germany

- 1 Prof. Dr. Peter Hennicke (Former President of the Wuppertal Institute and Principal Advisor of the bigEE Project, Fomer Prof. of Darmstadt University)
- 2 Ms.Chikako Yamamoto(Former Journalist in Germany)

Second Session(13:15~15:15): Energy Shift in Japan

- 1 Prof.Dr.Koichi Kitazawa(President of Independent Investigation Commission on the Fukushima Nuclear Accident, President of Tokyo City University, Former President of Japan Science and Technology Agency,Prof. emeritus of Tokyo University)
- 2 Ms. Aileen Mioko Smith (Representative of Green Action, Kyoto)

Third Session(15:30~17:30): Process of Policy Making and Regeneration of Local Society

- 1 Prof. Harutoshi Funabashi (Hosei University,Tokyo,Chairperson of [Citizens'](#) Commission on Nuclear Energy)
- 2 Prof. Dr. [Raupach Sumiya Jorg](#) (Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto)

General Session(17:30~18:00):Prof.Dr.Peter Hennicke

Prof.Harutoshi Funabashi

Q & A / Discussion

*A Visit to Fukushima: December 7,2013

Sponsors:

- Institute for Sustainability Research, Hosei University
(President:Prof.Dr.Yoshiro Fukuda)
- Research Project “The Formation of a Sustainable Society Based on the Public Sphere,” the Faculty of Social Sciences, Hosei University
(Representative: Prof. Harutoshi Funabashi, Chairperson of Citizens’ Commission on Nuclear Energy)

Executive Office:

c/o the Archives of the Faculty of Social Sciences, Hosei University

phone: 0081-42-783-2367

fax: 0081-42-783-2370

Prof. Masami Jufuku:mjfk@hosei.ac.jp

Associate Prof. Munenori Suzuki:munenori@hosei.ac.jp