



**JAPANESE
CIVILIZATION
INSTITUTE**

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On 8th of February, the third symposium held by the Japanese Civilization Institute took place at Japan University of Economics in Shibuya, Tokyo. Followed by Naoki Inose's keynote speech, "The Role Fulfilled by Mr. Koizumi's Structural Reform," came former Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi presenting a special lecture entitled, "The Path that Japan Should Take—The Future of Japanese Civilization".

Third Symposium Keynote Speech



"The Role Fulfilled by Mr. Koizumi's Structural Reform"

by Naoki Inose

Tsuzuki: Thank you very much for attending everyone. It seems as though this year marks the 400th Anniversary since William Shakespeare died. Our country compiled the magnificent "The Tale of Genji"—over 600 years before the British Industrial Revolution—during the last years of 66th Emperor Ichijo's reign.

"In a certain reign there was a lady not of the first rank, whom the emperor loved more than any of the others."

I'm sure many of you know that this is the first chapter of "The Tale of Genji" comprised of 54 chapters. In this exceptional story, there is a phrase relating to how Genji's son Yugiri should be educated; "It is through 'zae' (scholarship) that *Yamato-damashii* (Japanese spirit) is spread widely to the people." "Zae" here means "*karazae*" (Chinese learning) referring to Chinese literature, Chinese study, and civilization on the continent.

This idea was later developed to create the philosophy of "*Wakon Kansai* (Japanese Spirit imbued with

Chinese learning)," and in the Edo Period people like Norinaga Motoori, Shoin Yoshida and other scholars of the Meiji Restoration passed this learning down to future generations, which underpins even our spirits today.

70 years have passed since WWII, and today being in an ambivalent era, we still wonder what Yamato soul and Japanese spirit is. In such circumstances, the Japanese Civilization Institute looks to Japanese traditions and history from various angles to consider which path Japan should take from here onwards. Today we have Mr. Junichiro Koizumi attending the event to guide us the way that we should pave. I hope you all enjoy the event until the end. Thank you all for attending this event today.

* * *

INOSE: It'll probably take me about three hours to go through all the details of what Koizumi Structural Reform achieved, so I'll try and summarize it in 10 minutes. I met former



Kimiko Tsuzuki

Prime Minister Mr. Koizumi in 1996. It was during the time I was writing my book "Niponkoku no Kenkyu" (A Report of Japan) and I met with him for the book. This is an extract from the book, describing that time:

Japan's postal service needed to be privatized in three areas—mail delivery, savings and insurance. Amongst the three, an amount of 220 trillion yen came from savings and insurance. The money went to what was

known to be a special public corporation—now known as an independent administrative corporation—as a kind of “fiscal investment loan program.” There was nearly 400 trillion yen spent on postal savings and pensions, which was forcefully loaned to former Japan Highway Public Corp. and Japan Housing Corp (UR today). A relationship like the phrase, “which came first? The chicken or the egg?” existed between the fiscal investment loan program and public corporation. The public corporation was able to pursue debt management because of the fiscal investment loan program, and because public corporation lacked finance, the fiscal investment loan program made profit.

It was in such circumstances, that Mr. Koizumi brought up the issue of postal privatization. At the time, such a claim was unimaginable—something the governing party LDP, not to mention other members of the Diet, frankly took no notice of. However, whilst writing my book “Niponkoku no Kenkyu” (A Report of Japan), I realized that Mr. Koizumi’s proposal was something that was absolutely necessary.

At the same time, I realized the need to reform both the fiscal investment loan programs of postal savings—the entrance to financials—and Japan Highway Public Corp.—the biggest exit—simultaneously. So I asked Mr. Koizumi at the time in an interview, “What will happen if we got rid of fiscal investment loan programs?” Mr. Koizumi replies quite simply, “Government-affiliated corporations should simply collect their own money.” From that time, he spoke directly using only one phrase. I remember I wrote in my book:

“After saying that, he tightened his lips in a straight line and expanded his nasal cavity. It was true. The problem was the fact that what he was saying was something that couldn’t be done.”

I questioned him further, “In order to do that, maybe we need to find a different way?” He answered, “Japan

Highway Public Corp. should issue bonds. If their business contents were of standard, I’m sure there are people out there who are willing to purchase their bonds.” To my question, “But their business contents are not open to the public,” he replied, “Then they should open them to the public.”

Japan Highway Public Corp. repaying their debt through expenditures

In 1996, postal privatization was considered as an empty theory. Japan Highway Public Corp. increased their rate at a regular basis and their debt expanded to 40 trillion yen. Meanwhile, in April 2001, Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori known for having the “brain of a shark,” retired after a year. It was rumored that Ryutaro Hashimoto was probably going to be reappointed. However, when Mr. Koizumi came forward as a candidate, he gathered a lot of the district votes and the Koizumi Cabinet was established.

At that moment, I realized something big had happened. After I published my book “*Niponkoku no Kenkyu*” (A Report of Japan), I was writing “Picaresque,” a critical biography of Osamu Dazai, and I completely forgot about what was going on in Nagata-cho and Kasumigaseki, but I somehow knew that “the birth of Koizumi as Prime Minister” was a big event. However, in his commitment it said, “Postal privatization, starting with administrative and financial reforms.” Privatization of Japan Highway Public Corp. wasn’t on the list. So I contacted him.

“Mr. Koizumi, I don’t see privatization of Japan Highway Public Corp. in your commitment.” Again he replied in one phrase, “Oh, right. You do it.”

This is how I got involved in the privatization of Japan Highway Public Corp. But back then there was no atmosphere for carrying out any kind of reform. To begin with, the official residents of Koizumi Administration were not at all in attractive modern glass buildings, but

were instead in old buildings that were built in the early Showa Era.

You had to climb up the stairs, walk by the secretary’s room to reach Prime Minister Koizumi’s office. The room itself was very small, only about 5 meters in depth. I don’t know how he managed to his duties in such a room. He set about privatizing Japan Highway Public Corp., but none of the diet members gave him a hand. So he established a Privatization Committee and sent in TV cameras and made it an open conference. In the beginning, there were members of the committee that didn’t approve of bringing in the cameras, but he soon made it open even to journalists and freelance writers.

Under that principle of disclosure, Mr. Koizumi slowly revealed the truth as to how Japan Highway Public Corp. was being operated. The most important discovery was the fact that despite Japan Highway Public Corp. was mired in debt it had a high amount of cash flow.

Japan Highway Public Corp. was returning 700 billion yen of debt every year, but the money was brought about not from profit but from expenditures. If it were a normal company, it could never pay its debt through its expenditures. In other words, government affiliated corporations had different, special accounts. There was this scary situation in that if nothing was done, the debt of 30 trillion yen will soon expand to 40 trillion yen, and then to 50 trillion yen, and users of the highway would have to pay for it.

In the course of clarifying these matters, it became clear that there was actually quite an amount of money. So if there’s money, it wasn’t correct to say we shouldn’t build highways. But instead we were able to see a way to efficiently build highways so that we could reduce fees along the way.

Another accomplishment achieved by introduction of the principle of competition to Japan Highway Public Corp. was the privatization of service areas and parking areas. Do you remember service areas of 10 years ago? Shops lacked vitality,

and poor-tasting curry and noodles were served. This was all due to the corporation's family business structure, in which outsiders weren't allowed to enter. If you introduce some elements of competition, service areas and parking areas can transform themselves into popular entertainments spots like trendy outlet malls.

10 years have past, and service areas are now popular excursion spots

Presently, the number one place where people gather in Japan today is Tokyo Disneyland followed by USJ (Universal Studio Japan) and at third place comes Kariya Service Area near Nagoya.

Reform can be done. Debt amounting to 40 trillion yen, lessened 10 trillion yen to 30 trillion yen. But there are still people who don't understand and as soon as the Democratic Party took control, they started saying, "free highway." How were they to maintain if they were to make highway free? Only one in 10 people use the highway, and making it free would mean that the burden wouldn't be covered by highway users but by tax payers. There were several drawbacks such as these, but debt was smoothly paid and with the help of reduction in land prices, places that were not connected before became connected.

Even so, there are still people out there who still don't get it. The other day, a journalist from the Asahi Shimbun came to me for an interview commemorating the 10th Anniversary of privatizing Japan Highway Public Corp. The headlines read, "Free Highway—a long way to go." It's silly, isn't it? The problem with this country has a lot to do with media too. However, it's also true that public opinion was created because they opened the Japan Highway Public Corp. Privatization Committee to the media. During these times, there were several times



when Prime Minister Koizumi faced difficulties. There were members of the Diet referred to as "*doro-zoku* (road tribe)," who gathered regardless of their party—including members of the Japanese Communist Party—and raised their voices to build highways for districts in their electoral zones. Prime Minister and his administration no doubt were isolated.

But Mr. Koizumi never changed his mind. He fought until the end. This is how privatization of Japan Highway Public Corp. materialized. Soon the situation reached a point in which the vice-president of Japan Highway Public Corp. was arrested for collusive bidding. Moreover the re-election of postal services led to a snap general election, which made the privatization of postal service possible.

Koizumi Administration legitimized their power by opening up the process

There was the privatization of Japan National Railway (JR today) and Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Public Corporation (NTT today) in the 1980s, which led to the privatization of postal service and the Japan Highway Public Corp. during the 4 years from 2001 to 2005. "Structural reform" is forgotten as something of the past, but I think that Abe Administration should continue with structural reform. The budget, which was 83 trillion yen during the Koizumi Administration, has now expanded to 96 trillion yen. Even if we increased taxes, they're going to use them all up. That's not where

they should focus. There are many other areas that need structural reform.

Because I was involved in the battle for privatizing Japan Highway Public Corp., I have left the record in my books, "*Doro no Kenryoku*" (Authority of the Road) and "*Doro no Kettchaku*" (Settlement of the Road). The important thing is to expose the policy making process to the public and record every detail of it. I'm sure Abe Administration is going to undergo various reforms, but it's necessary to expose the process of policy making to the public and thereby pursue reform involving its people.

The political style of Koizumi Administration was called "theatrical." Because it was dramatic, it was also known to be a "theatrical space." Actually, I think he created the basics of what politics should be like in the future.

It's the presidential election time for America this year. The presidential election I think is in a sense, a battle that occurs once every four years to gain the right to the throne. It's as if every four years that country is continuously experiencing an internal disturbance similar to that of the Civil War. Thoroughly giving out various ideas legitimizes their power as a result. By doing so, its people are able to follow the new throne, in other words, they follow orders that come from the new president.

Koizumi's reform at the time I think was a little similar to that. Koizumi Administration legitimized their power by disclosing information as much as they could and gained approval from its people. I myself understand it this way.

The Future of Japanese Civilization, a lecture by Junichiro Koizumi

Structural Reform of Energy toward zero-nuclear power

Structural reform achieved in an environment where every party was in opposition

Today I would like to talk about the path Japan should take in the future, centering around the issue of nuclear power.

It was in 1996 that I first ran for general election. In the beginning, it was rumored that the election would result in a clash head-on between the incumbent Prime Minister Yohei Kono and newcomer Ryutaro Hashimoto. Being in a position to support Mr. Kono, I was planning to serve as master of ceremony the following day in a ceremonial event to kick off Mr. Kono's election campaign. But when I returned home, after participating in the election's strategy meeting, I received a phone call from Mr. Kono. I thought it unusual that I got a phone call from Mr. Kono. When I picked up the phone, he said he was going to "decline the general elections." Was I surprised!

The incumbent Prime Minister de-

clines, but we can't have newcomer Mr. Hashimoto become Prime Minister without a battle, so we tried to find a rival candidate. Of course everyone refused. Nobody wants to fight a losing battle, in which even the incumbent Prime Minister has declined. Then there were these people who started saying "Koizumi won't receive any damage even he loses." At the time, recommendation from 30 Diet members of the LDP was required to become a candidate. I didn't think they'd be able to gather that many. But then an enthusiastic colleague collected them all. Of course, the election was a total defeat. Naturally, for I was claiming for privatization of the postal service, which nobody cared about.

In the meantime, I lost my second election to Mr. Keizo Obuchi. But when Yoshiro Mori decided to resign the position of 19th Prime Minister of Japan, I ran again for the third time against Mr. Hashimoto. "I lost two times, so this will be my third," I said. Even my family said to me, "Please don't run because you'll lose again and it'll be embarrassing." I told them that this would be the last. Then funnily enough I won. This is how I became Prime Minis-



ter.

I read Mr. Inose's book, "*Niponkoku no Kenkyu*" (A Report of Japan) with deep admiration, thinking, "This author is great!" I had also attended Mr. Inose's lectures, before becoming Prime Minister. Then, one day after I'd become Prime Minister, Mr. Inose contacted me. I met him and we started talking about the privatization of the Japan Highway Public Corp. First I said to him, "I don't think it's possible." Like the privatization of the postal service, the project would receive great opposition. I told him it seemed impossible to privatize both the postal service and Japan Highway Public

Corp. during my tenure. But Mr. Inose said, “No, we can do it.” “Are you sure?” I asked him. “Yes,” he said. So I said to him, “Okay, let’s do it then.”

Just as I thought, we met with great conflict when I placed Mr. Inose as a member of the Committee for the Promotion of the privatization of the Japan Highway Public Corp. However, none of the bureaucrats and specialists could overthrow Mr. Inose’s verification regarding the privatization issues of the Japan Highway Public Corp. Amongst the many specialists who turned away and left the committee, a very small number of Diet members remained and made a great effort. Also, critic Ms. Eiko Ooya supported us very well. Little by little, the people began to believe in us. It is because of Mr. Inose that we were able to privatize Japan Highway Public Corp., despite oppositional forces.

Similarly, the privatization of postal service met opposition from all parties. A foreign journalist once told me, “I thought Japan was a democratic nation.” Not only were the Democratic Party of Japan and Japanese Communist Party against me, but also the majority of the LDP was not in my favor. “Every party is against you. Prime Minister you alone can’t pursue this, can you?” I had no answer to this.

In 2005, the House of Representatives approved the Postal Service Privatization Act, in an ordinary session of the Diet by a slim margin of 5 votes. But then there was a rebellion from LDP members and the Act was rejected by the House of Councilors and thus abandoned. Normally, this would have meant mass resignation. I pursued a snap election, but they told me that even if I dissolve the House of Representatives, and the members approving of the privatization held a majority, I wouldn’t be able to dissolve the House of Councilors so they’d carry on rejecting the Act. They also said I lacked common sense and that I was pursuing a sui-

cidal dissolution. Moreover, they told me that because LDP was split in half, the opposition parties would now have control. However, despite all of this, the public supported us during the snap election. I still think it was extraordinary that we were able to privatize the postal service facing the opposition of all parties, but it made me believe that if you tried you can do it.

There is no absolute safety, so we should not possess nuclear power

Zero-nuclear power is, so to speak, a structural reform of energy. I’m often criticized for being irresponsible, having promoted nuclear power when I was Prime Minister and stressing zero now. But back then, I totally believed in what the specialists were saying about nuclear power. The specialists were saying that it’s safe, cheap, and clean. They also said it was an energy source essential for Japan, and we’re depending for 90% of energy on nuclear power.

Then we experienced the meltdown of Fukushima nuclear reactor in the earthquake in the Tohoku region in 2011. I realized immediately that safety was a big lie. From then onwards I educated myself. I studied the history of how nuclear power got introduced and about nuclear power plant accidents of Three Mile Island and Chernobyl. I listened to both the opinion of people who were against nuclear power from before the accident, and people who still stress its necessity even after the accident.

Nuclear power started commercial operations in 1966 with Tokai Power Station. Nearly 50 years have passed since its introduction. During these times, America’s Three Mile and Soviet Union’s Chernobyl have experienced great disasters. Even af-

ter the accidents, they said, “Japan is unlike Three Mile and Chernobyl. Japan is extremely sensitive toward safety and our technical experts are highly skilled.”

Before the earthquake, the chairman of the Nuclear Safety Commission was brought in to the Diet and was questioned; “Are you sure that Fukushima Nuclear Power Plant’s safety is sufficient?” But the reply was, “We have enough security measures. We have multiple layers of protection. Even if one accident happens, we have a separate protection wall, so it’ll be okay. If we take further security measures, we won’t be able to secure profitability.” A few months after these words, there was that accident. We could have prevented that accident.

What were the people promoting nuclear power saying before the accident? They said Japan’s nuclear power was different to that of Chernobyl because it had a reactor container that covered the reactor vessel that carried the nuclear fuel uranium and plutonium. They widely announced that because of the multiple layers of protection, radioactive substances would not leak outside. Former Science and Technology Agency’s Atomic Energy Bureau chief said, “A situation in which local people would have to evacuate to other prefectures will never happen. With multiple protection layers, big accidents will never happen.” This statement remains on record.

Recently, people promoting nuclear power are starting to say, “Well Mr. Koizumi, there’s no machine or industry that’s absolutely safe.” Whether it’s a machine or an industry, if we don’t take the risk of accidents, we won’t be able to benefit, they say. It’s true, accidents happen, be it airplanes or cars. But a nuclear plant accident is incomparable in the sense that it destroys a vast area of land during a long period of time, during which we are helpless and are unable to recover. The nuclear power industry is an industry that we

must never allow to cause accidents. Japan is a country in which well over 100 million people live in a land as small as California. There are several countries that are in favor of nuclear power, but whether its America, China, India or Russia, they have enormous land and under-populated areas. We can't compare our country to these countries that make the most of nuclear power. If we are aware that there's no absolute safety, Japan should not possess nuclear power.

What if one more nuclear reactor exploded in the meltdown of Fukushima Nuclear Power Plant, 5 years ago? A report describing the worst results remains. If that should have happened, people within the range of 250 km would have had to evacuate, including Fukushima, the whole of Tohoku and Kanto region, obviously Tokyo too. Out of the 100 million Japanese population 50 million wouldn't even have a place to evacuate to.

Today, the people of Odawara are trying to live entirely on electricity other than nuclear power. Vice president of Suzuhiro, famous for its "kamaboko (boiled fish paste)" took action. He said kamaboko can only be made from the rich spring water of the Hakone mountains. We can't live anywhere else, so we're not going to use electricity provided by nuclear power. People of Odawara assumed the worst and made zero-nuclear possible. This is not just the case in Odawara. Japan Junior Chambers and Chamber of Commerce and Industry nationwide are searching for renewable energy that is produced and consumed by locals, and are able to take the place of nuclear power.

In Hakodate City, approximately 30 members of the municipal assembly, including the governor and members from LDP to Japan Communist Party, are against Oma Nuclear Power Plant. In Oma, they are trying to make an innovative power plant that burns radioactive waste

and recycles it. There was opposition and then there was breakdown, so its construction has come to a standstill after 40% of it was completed.

There's over two hundred thousand residents in Hakodate City. Oma and Hakodate—just over on the side—are extremely close, so if people of Oma get sick they come to Hakodate not Aomori. Hakodate City is within 30 kilometers of Oma Nuclear Power Plant, so it is required by law to have evacuation plans and evacuation route if an accident should happen. If anything of the worst should happen, where will the people of Hakodate evacuate to? It is extremely difficult to find a place to evacuate. But Hakodate City does not have the right for consent or the right of veto regarding Oma Nuclear Power Plant. Only the local government of Oma has this. It's an one-sided law, so no wonder the people are against it.

Dangerous and expensive pollution energy

"Monju" is in the center of the nuclear fuel cycle. It was built as a fast breeder reactor that burns radioactive waste from nuclear power plants and reproduces fuel. However, its careless operation was revealed late last year. It's over 30 years since it began construction in 1983. 10 years later, its operation began only to face an accident a few months later. Since then, it hasn't recovered operation for 20 years. The money spent on the project during those 30 years, is 1 trillion 100 billion yen, but its operation was merely a few months. I don't know how they can say, "Nuclear power plants are the lowest priced." Plus, the burden is supported by taxes—in other words—the people. Moreover, even if it doesn't operate, it costs 50 million yen a day just for maintenance. Tokyo Electric Power Co. cannot

even cover the compensation fee. When a nuclear power plant is built, the local government receives a huge amount of government funds, but that law was specifically made. Ultimately, local governments that are financially poor took in the nuclear power plants. Compensation fees and government funds are covered by tax, but they are not included in the cost to run nuclear power. If Japan was to head for zero-nuclear right now, it must make a decommissioned nuclear reactor and an interim storage facility. Also, it needs to develop technical ways to lessen radioactivity. How can it call itself the cheapest energy source without including these costs?

I started emphasizing zero-nuclear three years ago. People in business who are promoting nuclear power say, "We can't suddenly go zero. The Japanese economy will collapse." They say we can't bear the cold winter and hot summer and that our heating expenses will go up if we cut nuclear power.

In fact, from 11th March of 5 years ago, until September 2 years later, only 2 reactors were operating. After that, until September last year, we had zero nuclear power. Nonetheless, during September 2 years ago until September last year, there were no power cuts even in Tokyo whether it was freezing winter or sweltering summer. Today, we have 3 reactors back in operation, but if it's just 3, I'm sure we can cover that output with natural energy. Those promoting nuclear power emphasize that "If we cut nuclear power, our trade deficit will increase 3 trillion 600 billion yen due to oil import. It's a loss to our nation." But import of our food always excels export, but they've never stressed trade deficit, let alone a loss to our nation, have they?

Just after the earthquake, nearly 3,000 workers a day were working at the nuclear power plant for decontamination operations and countermeasures to the accident. Today, there are 6,000 to 7,000 people a

day entering the plant. They have to rest their bodies after they absorb a certain amount of radiation. It's very hard to continuously find this number of workers.

Of course, these workers have to wear protective clothing. Whether its gloves or Wellington boots, they can't use them and then just pass on to others. They throw them away after they wear them a day. Maybe the company making this protective clothing is making profit, but this is costly too. Of course there is no local government that is willing to burn these clothes. Tokyo Electric Power Co. is now at last considering constructing a mechanism that will burn polluted protective clothes inside the facility so that radiation won't leak outside. It's already 5 years since the earthquake and they are at last starting to take measures. Nuclear power is inexpensive is a very big lie. The cost spent on nuclear power is eating up our tax.

Just last year, Germany announced that it would build a nation of zero-nuclear. Like Japan, Germany is a country that lacks energy sources like oil and coal, but if Germany can do it, so can we. That is why I inspected the German situation. From now on, various innovative technologies such as solar, wind power, biomass and geothermal energy will be developed. Solar and wind power generation is said to be affected by the environment, but a brilliant accumulator is now being developed. I believe we can come up with labor saving, CO2 reducing substitutes for our energy needs.

Energy from nature—living with nature

I also went to Olkiluoto Island in Finland to inspect Onkalo, the world's only nuclear fuel repository for the final disposal of spent nuclear fuel. Finnish roads are all made from solid rock. Tunnels are simply holes

dug out from solid rock but they're tremendously strong. Onkalo is situated 400m underground, and there is a spiral road that leads to it. Dig 400m underground and in Finland you still find solid rock. There is a 2km square space underground, where you dig a cave to bury radioactive waste, which can be stored for a hundred thousand years. But even here, there is only space for output from 2 reactors. Finland has 4 reactors, so it has yet to find a place for a final disposal site for the remaining 2. Also, they are still at a testing stage to examine if there might be a possibility for the damp on the walls of the solid rock to condense into water and flow to the outside world, 10,000 years from now.

Inspecting this facility made me realize that Japan would never be able to find a place for a final disposal site. If you dig 400m underground anywhere in Japan, I think you'll find water or a hot spring. Even if we did find a place to build it, it would be extremely expensive and to maintain it for a hundred thousand years would be outrageously difficult.

Industrial waste disposal business needs to find a final disposal site or else they cannot obtain permission from governors of prefectures. Dangers caused by nuclear power are no comparison to industrial waste, but the government gives permission to nuclear power companies to operate even if they don't find a final disposal site. Isn't this wrong?

Nuclear power needs to burn nuclear fuel in order to create energy. In order to cool this down, they gather a huge amount of seawater with plankton and microbes offshore and send it through a pipe to cool down the reactors. Exploitation of seawater will lessen microbes, seaweed and fish, ultimately changing the ecosystem altogether. Moreover, if carcasses of microbes remain in the pipes, the pipes get blocked, and this will pose a problem for cooling down the reactors. So they use chemicals to remove them. When they pump out



the water, they're discharging warm chemical water. Nuclear power energy is far from being a clean industry that doesn't discharge CO2 as they say. It creates industrial pollution.

All 3 statements stressed by people promoting nuclear power—safe, cheap and clean energy—ended up being a lie. But still, Japan is trying to restart operations. Sendai Nuclear Power Plant of Kyushu passed the new standard after the accident and obtained permission to restart operations from the Nuclear Regulation Authority. But even if they passed the standard, it doesn't mean they're absolutely safe. Who is going to take responsibility—the government, the nuclear power companies or the Regulation Authority? Japan's irresponsible structure is frightening indeed.

After the war, nuclear power was promoted to make the lives of people richer.

During the war, people used oil preciously handling it like a "drop of blood." But after the war, people realized that oil was cheaper than fuel so they abandoned the coal mines. Japan developed rapidly using cheap oil. Then beginning with the Arab-Israeli conflict, oil-producing countries found it unreasonable that countries selling oil were poor, and countries that were fully using oil were thriving, so they started using oil as a weapon. In 1973, oil that was about 2 dollars a barrel rose 4 to 5 times to about 10-11 dollars.



Kimiko Tsuzuki presented a bouquet of flowers to Mr. Koizumi

I was elected for House of Representatives in 1972, so I experienced the skyrocketing prices of the Oil Shock as a freshman. It was tough. The prices go up everyday. At that time, I didn't think an era of deflation would come.

From April, deregulation of electric power will start. People promoting nuclear power are now starting to say, "Once the deregulation begins, the government must fund nuclear power or it won't be able to succeed." If it truly was an inexpensive source of energy, it should be able to beat out the competition. The truth is, the nuclear power industry can't get along without funding from the government. Frankly speaking, people who are promoting nuclear power want to maintain nuclear power no matter how much money it costs. It's no longer a means.

Fukushima Nuclear Disaster suffered from great damage. But I'm quite sure we can learn from this disaster and find a way to change this country to a better one. I can't think of a bigger project that's got dreams than this one—pursuing zero-nuclear and living on renewable energy.

And I think it's an entirely possible task if we try. Already, Denmark relies 50% of its electricity on renewable energy as well as Germany and Spain, which rely on just over 30%. I don't think it will take more than 20 years for Japan to rely on 30% on renewable energy if we start now. Up until now, the nuclear power industry has been monopolizing energy and blocking other energies coming in.

Once the goal is decided, Japanese people have the power to make it happen. No matter how much the government emphasizes the need for nuclear power, we have, in reality, spent five years without it. Solar power was said to destroy fields and rice fields, but recently solar panels have become small about double the height of humans. So it's now become possible to plow fields and rice fields and collect solar light at the same time. There are farmers out there, who produce and consume energy locally using these devices. Using nature for energy and thus co-existing with nature. Maybe Japan needs to demonstrate to the world a model that they can all be

proud of.

I have retired from the political world. It's a shame that I couldn't tackle this structural reform when I was Prime Minister, but I think maybe this was my destiny. I am determined to continue this zero-nuclear policy with persistence, and I never intend to give up.

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Translation: Ayako Karino



Naoki Inose,
"Nihonkoku no Kenkyu" (A Report of Japan) Bubshun bunko, 1999.

Human tastes is consisted of “sweetness,” “bitterness,” “sourness,” “saltiness” and “umami (pleasant savory taste).” UNESCO registered Japanese cuisine on its List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, due to the fact that this “umami” was discovered and developed during the long history of Japanese food culture. It probably won’t take that long for Japanese sake to come on equal terms with wine too. The symposium invites Mr. Hiroshi Sakurai, president of Asahi Shuzo Co., the brewery for making Japanese sake Dassai, which is also popular among people outside Japan, writer Mr. Tsuneyasu Takeda, known for his research of *Kojiki* (Japan’s oldest historical record) and Mr. Katsuhiko Kitamoto, research professor of Nihon Pharmaceutical University, known for his longtime study of fermentative bacteria, who will be widely discussing on how Japanese have come to form a deep relationship with *kobo* (yeast).

▶ Panel discussion:

“Why Japanese sake tastes good?”

—Japanese cuisine leads the world

Moderator

Hiroshi Sakurai

(president of Asahi Shuzo Co.)

Tsuneyasu Takeda

(writer)

Katsuhiko Kitamoto

(research professor of Nihon
Pharmaceutical University)

Naoki Inose

(writer, director of Japanese
Civilization Institute)



Date: 24th May 2016, 7 p.m.-9 p.m. (doors scheduled to open at 6:30 p.m.)

Venue: Japan University of Economics, Tokyo Shibuya Campus Hall (the hall seats approximately 100 people)

Address: 25-17, Sakuragaoka-cho, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo

How to attend: apply through the site below:

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