



## THE 27<sup>TH</sup> POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

# The Establishment of an International Energy Security System

### — Recommendations —

1. Plan to Establish a Comprehensive Energy Strategy in Keeping with National Interests.
2. Strive Further to Achieve the Best Energy Mix.
3. Move to Proactively Take Advantage of Japan's Strengths in Energy Technology Development.
4. Work to Become a Player Capable of Carrying Out the Strategy.
5. Play a Leading Role in Regional Energy Cooperation in Asia.
6. Strengthen the Strategic Approach Toward the Oil-producing Countries in the Middle East and Russia.
7. Improve Energy Infrastructure according to a Grand Design.
8. Reaffirm the Importance of Nuclear Energy and Plan to Maintain and Expand Its Share.
9. Strive to Expand Support for the Development and Diffusion of New and Renewable Energy.
10. Become Actively Involved in Post-Kyoto Protocol Strategies and Aim to Simultaneously Achieve National and Global Interests.

**May 2006**

**THE POLICY COUNCIL  
THE JAPAN FORUM ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

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# Introduction

The world today faces new threats and risks to the international energy security system. The issues include: the depletion of oil and gas resources in advanced nations such as the United States and the countries of Europe; the sudden increase in the demand for energy in the background of economic development by countries such as China and India; moves to obtain resources; growing geopolitical risks in the world's main oil supply bases in the Middle Eastern region; the security of energy transportation and sea lanes; moves to tighten international regulations on nuclear fuel cycle policies; and international obligations towards the reduction of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions to counter global warming. Japan's poverty of energy resources means that these new risks and threats have a crucial bearing on its existence as a state.

Japan overcame the two "oil shocks" of the 1970s due to the efforts of its government and private sector, but since the mid-1980s, due to the easing of the international oil demand and supply situation, decreases in the price of crude oil, the development of the global oil market and the subsequent collapse of the Cold War structure, the United States and Europe gradually came to view energy supplies as little more than a commodity, and only a bare minimum of energy related special measures and policies are required. That view then spread in Japan. However, the terrorist attacks that occurred in the United States on September 11, 2001, were a crucial turning point in terms of bringing about a paradigm shift in the way the energy problem is viewed. A strong awareness has developed of the importance of ensuring security for nations and people, bringing with it the need for a fundamental change away from the policies of recent years emphasizing the pursuit of economic efficiency

and fairness.

However, some aspects of Japan's overall approach to the problem still lag behind the changes occurring in the world. In particular, we need to be mindful of the fact that the paradigm shift that emphasizes the strategic importance of energy has far greater significance than is appreciated in Japan. The first manifestation of that significance is that the paradigm shift has caused national interests to start colliding in the international energy market, and countries are now applying strategic thinking to energy issues. The second is that quarrels between countries or players in the international energy market are now complicated by the fact that matters such as diplomacy, defense, economic and trade policies, environment and education become entangled in energy problems. With this in mind, we must ensure that policies and strategies that should be given careful consideration from the point of view of energy security are not excessively influenced by "short-term economic calculations."

Japan now requires a comprehensive national strategy for effectively dealing with the new circumstances that surround energy issues, rather than an approach linked solely to the narrow realm of the energy sector. That national strategy must be based upon current and future global trends, and must clearly define a grand design that matches our national interests. To this end, a comprehensive approach that takes into account such factors as diplomacy, defense, the economy, the environment, culture and society is essential, and it is imperative that issues are clearly prioritized. Based upon our perception of international relations, we need to create short-, medium- and long-term action plans, which delineate the roles and responsibilities of the nation, regional governments and the private sector, and then work to strengthen our

national commitment to such an action plans.

These policy recommendations analyze the new threats and risks surrounding international energy security and propose to review what kind of national strategy for energy Japan should employ and how to implement it from a new point of view.

Based on our perspectives described above, we present our “Analysis” in Part I of this paper, and in Part II, organize and present our “Recommendations.”

The “Introduction” and the “Recommendations” parts of the Policy Recommendations are translated in English and, together with the full text of the Policy Recommendations in Japanese, are distributed to various circles of people and made accessible at the website of the Japan Forum on International Relations, <http://www.jfir.or.jp/>.

The Policy Council of the Japan Forum on International Relations first met to consider the draft of the Policy Recommendations on May 11, 2005, and adopted them in the final form at its fourth meeting on February 27, 2006. During this time the Task Force headed by Mr. NAITOH Masahisa, Chairman and CEO, Institute of Energy Economics, Japan, and staffed by Dr. TOICHI Tsutomu, Managing Director and Chief Executive Researcher, Institute of Energy Economics, Japan, Mr. TANABE Yasuo, Vice President, Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry, Mr. KOYAMA Ken, Manager, General Strategy Unit, Institute of Energy Economics, Japan, and Mr. NAGAHARA Shin, Yomiuri Shimbun Editorial Writer, assisted the Policy Council in drafting the final text of the Policy Recommendations.

Once the final text was confirmed, it was sent to all the members of the Policy Council, and the following 88 members of the Council indicated their approval of its contents. Their names appear below as

co-signers of the Policy Recommendations.

On this occasion, we would like to thank Prof. MORIMOTO Satoshi, Director, Institute of World Studies, Takushoku University, for his valuable opinions expressed at the second meeting of the Policy Council. We would also like to mention the helpful insights we have received from senior officials of our government, who willingly granted us their precious time to attend our meetings as individuals in their advisory capacity as Policy Council Counselors.

Let us also add that the views expressed in the Policy Recommendations do not represent those of Prof. MORIMOTO Satoshi or the ministries and agencies represented by the Policy Council Counselors and that sole responsibility for the contents of the Policy Recommendations lies with those members of the Policy Council who signed them.

May 2006

**Co-Signed by:**

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**Vice-Chairman of the Policy Council**

YOSHIDA Haruki *President, The Yoshida Labo for Economics and Industry, Inc.*

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**(In alphabetical order)**

# The Recommendations

As new threats and risks to international energy security emerge, there has never been a time when an comprehensive energy strategy has been more sorely needed for a country as poor in energy resources as Japan. We hereby draw our ten-point Recommendations, which are based on the position and the viewpoint that are set forth in “Part I: The Analysis”.

## **1. Plan to Establish a Comprehensive Energy Strategy in Keeping with National Interests**

Based upon current and future global trends, we must establish a comprehensive energy strategy that matches our national interests. To this end, a comprehensive approach that considers a range of matters such as diplomacy, defense, economic and trade policies, environment and education is essential. In terms of creating an action plan, we must clarify the roles and responsibilities of the nation, regional governments and the public sector, and strengthen energy strategy creation functions, with the prime minister taking the lead in the government in further reinforcing a system for inter-ministerial and inter-agency cooperation. With regard to energy risk management, comprehensive and systematic preparation is required in the form of measures such as the effective dispersal of oil reserves and countermeasures to cope with disasters, terrorist acts or large-scale power outages affecting nuclear power stations.

## **2. Strive Further to Achieve the Best Energy**

We need to make further efforts to achieve the best energy mix, diversify our sources of supply and promote the development of alternative sources of energy. It is crucially important that we make good use of the unique features and advantages of each source of energy and of Japan's technology, human resources and experience, at the same time planning to promote the development of nuclear power, natural gas, coal, as well as new and reusable forms of energy. With regard to natural gas, rapid increases in demand in recent years in countries such as China and the United States indicate the need to establish a future-oriented strategy to ensure the security of our supply of gas. As for coal, considering the need to deal with issues of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions and other burdens on the environment, we must make a concerted effort to promote the use of clean coal technology.

## **3. Move to Proactively Take Advantage of Japan's Strengths in Energy Technology Development**

Technology plays a critical role in terms of simultaneously dealing with energy security, environmental problems and economic growth (economic efficiency). The establishment and development of the technology for these areas, which is a great advantage for Japan, provides one important pillar of our international energy strategy. To be specific, we must further develop the technologies in which we enjoy international superiority, such as energy-conservation and environmental measures, as well as the technology and know-how developed through our experience as an advanced nation in terms of the generation of nuclear power.

#### **4. Work to Become a Player Capable of Carrying Out the Strategy**

Based upon appropriate role sharing by the public and private sectors, we need to establish Japanese energy corporations capable of holding their own as Japan's players in the competition of the international energy market. We need to encourage the establishment of players with international competitiveness that can secure and maintain technology and human resources in the long term in the oil development sector and in such areas as the manufacture of nuclear power related equipment and the power industry. It is also important to review the nature of the energy industry system, including industrial consolidation through either vertical or horizontal integration.

#### **5. Play a Leading Role in Regional Energy Cooperation in Asia**

Sharing the same interests as energy-consumers, the countries of Asia should work together to create a cooperative and joint approach within the region. Japan should use its experience, knowledge and technological capabilities in the field of energy conservation and energy security policy and take a leading role in cooperation within the Asian region. In doing so, it is important to promote regional cooperation in order to avoid China becoming a destabilizing factor in the international energy market. With regard to sovereignty issues such as the exclusive economic zone (EEZ) in the East China Sea, in terms of Japan's national interests, we need to assume a position with international persuasive power, but at the same time look to solve problems through cooperation. India is in a unique position of being capable of serving as a bridge between the oil-consuming nations of East Asia and the oil producing nations of the Middle East, and in that respect needs to be emphasized as a partner in the area of energy cooperation.

## **6. Strengthen the Strategic Approach Toward the Oil-producing Countries in the Middle East and Russia**

Because oil will continue to provide the foundation of Japan's energy supply for a considerable time in the future, it is extremely important to establish a strategy on the oil-supplying nations in order to ensure a stable supply of oil. By improving the investment climate and enhancing financial vehicles and insurance for trade and investment, we need to strengthen the support systems for businesses seeking to do business in the oil-producing nations of the Middle East that will assume increasing importance as sources of oil. Political and social stability in the Middle East is also important, and to realize this, we need to look beyond the energy arena and make the maximum use possible of "soft power" through technical cooperation including human development in the areas of IT, medical care or the environment. It is also important for us to strengthen political initiatives and international cooperation to help promote peace in the Middle East and bring stability to the region. In terms of the decentralization of sources of supply, it is extremely important that we effectively utilize Russian oil or natural gas resources, and we should create a strategy on Russia that is based upon a long-term vision. We also need to pay careful attention to trends in the oil-producing countries of Africa and Central Asia.

## **7. Improve Energy Infrastructure according to a Grand Design**

The improvement of infrastructure, such as pipelines to Japan, for the transport of energy from the countries that possess resources will help strengthen energy security and improve the domestic energy market through the diversification and decentralization of sources of supply. In

addition, in terms of promoting links with the countries of Asia and the unification of the Asian market, infrastructure improvement based upon a comprehensive national strategy that predicts the trends of the future is important. With regard to the development of the energy resources in Eastern Siberia or Sakhalin in Russia, it is important to consider the pipeline construction plan for the entire North East Asian region from a strategic point of view and to implement an approach after the drawbacks and constraints to its realization have been made clear. When doing so, it is important to act after having taken due consideration of the risk of the kind of situation that occurred between Russia and the Ukraine from late 2005 to early 2006 with the supply of natural gas being stopped. In addition, the security of energy transport routes is also an important issue, including the problem of safe passage through the Straits of Malacca.

## **8. Reaffirm the Importance of Nuclear Energy and Plan to Maintain and Expand Its Share**

In terms of dealing with energy security and global environmental issues, Japan should reaffirm the position of nuclear energy as a key source of energy and plan to maintain and expand its share of the market. In order to do so, on the basis that they achieve strict security, we should plan to restore confidence in nuclear power authorities and providers and improve decision-making processes. In a liberalized market, in addition to securing timely and appropriate investment in nuclear energy generation, we should plan for the succession of the human resources and technology necessary for continued innovative development. On top of strengthening back-end measures, based upon international trends, we should also seriously consider improving our system for reprocessing

spent nuclear fuel from other countries.

## **9. Strive to Expand Support for the Development and Diffusion of New and Renewable Energy**

New and renewable energy such as wind-generated power, solar batteries, and biomass are seen as extremely important energy options both in terms of long-term sources of energy within Japan and as methods to counter global warming. We should plan to further expand new and reusable forms of energy by strengthening effective and efficient support systems for their diffusion, increasing budgets for research and development oriented toward technological innovation and introducing policies to support their development by private enterprise. Policies of support for industries seeking to become involved in the global market for new and renewable energy are also important.

## **10. Become Actively Involved in Post-Kyoto Protocol Strategies and Aim to Simultaneously Achieve National and Global Interests**

We need to be aware that decisions in the post-Kyoto Protocol international rule-making process will have a crucial bearing on countries' economic growth and industrial competitiveness, and so, as a key insider in this rule-making, we need to take the lead in framing the concepts for moves to create effective and fair rules. In this respect, in addition to the top-down approach used to date, we need to bring in a bottom-up approach that allows countries to select measures matching their specific circumstances and to create schemes by which technology development and diffusion are steadily promoted under the umbrella of international cooperation. By taking steps to include mechanisms that transfer technology effectively to developing nations, we must aim to

create a framework that not only serves Japan's national interests, but also contributes to global interests by countering global warming. Within this effort, we should promote the development of technology related to energy conservation, new or renewable energy, nuclear power and carbon fixation, and establish an energy supply and demand system capable of balancing the need for energy security with measures to counter global warming.

# Appendix

## Introduction to The Japan Forum on International Relations

### [History]

The Japan Forum on International Relations, Inc. (JFIR or The Forum) was founded on March 12, 1987 in Tokyo on the private initiative of Dr. Okita Saburo, Mr. Hattori Ichiro and 61 other independent citizens from business, academic, political and mass media circles of Japan. They agreed that a policy oriented research institution in the field of international affairs independent from the government was most urgently looked for in Japan because the world now wanted to know not only what the Japanese government spoke about but also what the Japanese people thought about. They were also convinced that Japan was now expected not only to think about its own role in the international community but also to contribute to breaking new ground in the search for a new world order.

### [Purpose]

The Forum is a nonprofit and nonpartisan membership organization dedicated to improved understanding of Japanese foreign policy and international relations. The Forum takes no institutional position on issues of foreign policy, though its members are encouraged not only to analyze but to propose alternatives on matters of foreign policy. Though the Forum helps its members to formulate policy recommendations on matters of public policy, the views expressed in such recommendations represent in no way those of the Forum as an institution and the responsibility for the contents of the recommendations is that of those members of the Forum who sign them alone.

### [Organization]

The Japan Forum on International Relations is a membership organization. There are four categories of membership in the Forum; corporate membership, associate corporate membership, individual membership and associate individual membership. The Forum as a whole is governed by the Board of Directors, which is in charge of the management, and is supervised by the Board of Trustees, which is a consultative body. The Board of Trustees elects Directors and Auditors and advises the Board of Directors on such important issues as the adoption of an annual budget and an annual work program. Chairman, Vice Chairmen, President and Executive Director, are elected for a term of two years by the Board of Directors and are eligible for reelection.

## [Activities]

The Japan Forum on International Relations conducts a variety of activities hosting conferences, organizing research programs, and publishing research reports and policy recommendations. The most significant of such activities of the Forum is carried out by the Policy Council, which is engaged in policy research and helps its members to produce Policy Recommendations. A list of the 26 sets of Policy Recommendations which have so far been adopted by the Policy Council, presented to the Prime Minister of Japan and published is as follows;

- (1) *“The Structural Adjustment of Economies of Japan, U.S. and Asian NICs”* drafted by the Task Force headed by Prof. Watanabe Toshio (March 3, 1988)
- (2) *“Long-term Political Vision for Stabilization and Cooperation in Northeast Asia”* by the Task Force headed by Prof. Kamiya Fuji (March 15, 1989)
- (3) *“How to Best Utilize Economic Resources of Japan for Development of World Economy”* by the Task Force headed by Mr. Kanamori Hisao (July 25, 1989)
- (4) *“Japan, the United States and Global Responsibilities”* by the Task Force headed by Prof. Inoguchi Takashi (April 5, 1990)
- (5) *“Stabilization of the International Monetary and Trade Systems”* by the Task Force headed by Mr. Mano Teruhiko (August 14, 1990)
- (6) *“Japan’s Response to the Changing Soviet Union”* by the Task Force headed by Prof. Takubo Tadae (April 10, 1991)
- (7) *“For a More Open Market in Japan”* by the Task Force headed by Mr. Takenaka Ichio (failing to be adopted by the Policy Council on February 27, 1992)
- (8) *“The Strengthening of the U.N. Peace Function and Japan’s Role”* by the Task Force headed by Prof. Sato Seizaburo (October 7, 1992)
- (9) *“Japan’s Response to the Transformation of Socialist Economies in Asia”* by the Task Force headed by Prof. Sato Tsuneaki (June 8, 1993)
- (10) *“Political Cooperation with Europe: Japan’s Agenda for 21<sup>st</sup> Century”* by the Task Force headed by Prof. Nakanishi Terumasa (November 16, 1993)
- (11) *“The Future of Regionalism and Japan”* by the Task Force headed by Mr. Kobayashi Minoru (June 17, 1994)
- (12) *“The Future of China in the Context of Asian Security”* by the Task Force headed by Prof. Kojima Tomoyuki (January 25, 1995)

- (13) ***“The Essence of U.S.-Japan Economic Conflicts and Japan’s Response”*** by the Task Force headed by Prof. Shimada Haruo (August 3, 1995)
- (14) ***“The Perspective of Security Regimes in Asia-Pacific Region”*** by the Task Force headed by Prof. Watanabe Akio (June 5, 1996)
- (15) ***“The WTO System and Japan”*** by the Task Force headed by Prof. Sakamoto Masahiro (November 27, 1997)
- (16) ***“Japan’s ODA in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century”*** by the Task Force headed by Prof. Kusano Atsushi (March 5, 1998)
- (17) ***“Japan and International Society in the Age of Information Revolution”*** by the Task Force headed by Prof. Kumon Shunpei (August 24, 1998)
- (18) ***“Japan’s Initiatives towards US, China and Russia”*** by the Task Force headed by Prof. Ito Kenichi (April 19, 1999)
- (19) ***“Economic Globalization and Options for Asia”*** by the Task Force headed by Prof. Tran Van Tho (May 27, 2000)
- (20) ***“Towards Collective Human Security: A New Internationalism and Japan”*** by the Task Force headed by Prof. Inoguchi Kuniko (July 6, 2001)
- (21) ***“Japan’s New Initiative for Global Environment”*** by the Task Force headed by Prof. Yamamoto Ryoichi (October 24, 2001)
- (22) ***“Building a System of Security and Cooperation in East Asia”*** by the Task Force headed by Prof. Tanaka Akihiko (December 18, 2002)
- (23) ***“Japan’s Initiative for Economic Community in East Asia”*** by the Task Force headed by Mr. Yoshida Haruki (June 20, 2003)
- (24) ***“New World Order of No-War Community and Future of Japan-U.S. Alliance”*** by the Task Force headed by Prof. Ito Kenichi (April 28, 2004)
- (25) ***“Japan’s Place in the World: The Strategic Value of Culture and Education”*** by the Task Force headed by Prof. Hakamada Shigeki (December 13, 2004)
- (26) ***“Emerging New Threats and Japan’s National Security”*** by the Task Force headed by Prof. Sase Masamori (August 10, 2005)

Currently under study in the Policy Council are the proposed recommendations on ***“Japan and China in the Changing Asia”*** by the Task Force headed by Prof. Kojima Tomoyuki, and ***“India’s Leap Forward and Japan”*** by the Task Force headed by Prof. Sakakibara Eisuke.

JF-E-I-A-0027

Drafted by

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TANABE Yasuo  
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Signed by

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**ITO Kenichi, Chairman and  
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