

## HIDUP BERSAMA RADIASI NUKLIR: SIASAT WARGA JEPANG MENGELOLA INGATAN

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### ABSTRAK

Teknologi nuklir dalam rupa bom atom yang dijatuhkan Sekutu (Amerika Serikat), telah menjumpai Jepang melalui wujud paling celaka pada penghujung Perang Dunia II (PD II). Ledakan dahsyat yang meluluhlantakkan kota Hiroshima dan Nagasaki pada 1945 tersebut sekaligus menandai berakhirnya serial ekspansi dan ambisi militer Kekaisaran Jepang di Asia. Selepas PD II, di bawah paradigma *Atoms for Peace* yang diperkenalkan Amerika Serikat, Jepang akhirnya mampu bangkit melaju dalam bidang ekonomi. Di tengah kelangkaan sumber daya, nuklir telah menjadi jawaban kebutuhan energi di Jepang, menghantarkan negara ini menjadi salah satu raksasa ekonomi dunia di masa paruh-akhir Perang Dingin.

Pada tahun 2011, gempa Tohoku yang berkekuatan 9 SR menghantam pesisir timur Jepang. Guncangan dahsyat ini berimbas pada rentetan bencana besar lain: gelombang tsunami dan meledaknya reaktor Pembangkit Listrik Tenaga Nuklir (PLTN) Fukushima Daichii. Meledaknya 3 reaktor nuklir Fukushima telah mengakibatkan bocornya radiasi yang memiliki dampak kesehatan, ekologi dan sosial yang panjang & kompleks. Paska bocornya radiasi, sejumlah kota terdampak segera dikosongkan, diikuti proses dekontaminasi yang epik dan masih berlangsung hingga sekarang. Ideologi dan keputusan teknologi nuklir Jepang (kembali) menghadapi pertanyaan besar.

Penelitian ini melacak sejarah ketergantungan Jepang dengan teknologi nuklir, serta menelusuri proses pewacanaan nuklir yang dilakukan pemerintah Jepang paska PD II. Dengan konsep ideologi yang dikembangkan Louis Althusser, pewacanaan nuklir sebagai ideologi negara Jepang berikut segenap aparatusnya diperiksa kembali. Pada saat bersamaan, penelitian ini juga memberi ruang khusus dalam mencatat antagonisme, serta siasat sejumlah warga yang hidup dalam ketegangan ingatan atas nuklir dan segala hal yang terpaut dengannya (seperti perang dunia, radiasi, mekanisasi, dan industrialisasi) pada konteks realitas Jepang paska-perang. Dengan penelusuran etnografis yang (sekaligus) menggunakan proyek seni sebagai metode pengumpulan data, penulis menginventarisir ingatan dan siasat-siasat warga "berhadapan" dengan negara dengan cara yang estetik. Data yang terkumpul di lapangan, secara komplementer dilengkapi pula dengan sejumlah data yang diperoleh *online*, termasuk pendalaman khusus dari dua film dokumenter pendek berjudul "Alone in The Zone" karya sutradara Ivan Kovac & Jeffrey Jousan yang diproduksi oleh Vice Japan (2013), dan "Women of Fukushima" karya Paul Johannessen, Ivan Kovac & Jeffrey (2012).

Dalam penelitian ini, praktik antagonisme sejumlah warga yang dengan tegas berseberangan dengan ideologi nuklir negara, ditempatkan dan dibaca pada dimensi "*the political*" sebagaimana didefinisikan oleh Chantal Mouffe. Secara komplementer, konsep "*dissensus*" yang digagas Jacques Rancière menjadi perangkat untuk membaca praktik-praktik antagonisme warga yang mengartikulasikan pilihan ideologisnya dengan cara estetik. Suara-suara warga yang tak sejalan dengan negara, menemukan agensinya dalam disensus; ia termanifestasi pada praktik keseharian sebagai sebuah "jalan alternatif". Bisa jadi, "suara-suara menyimpang" tersebut bertentangan dengan hukum, parlemen dan ideologi negara, namun pada saat yang bersamaan, mereka justru sedang mewakili nurani dan panggilan moral kebanyakan warga Jepang yang selama ini luput diakomodir kekuasaan.

*Kata kunci: Ingatan, Nuklir, Radiasi, Jepang, The Political, Dissensus, Antagonisme*

**LIVING WITH NUCLEAR RADIATION:  
JAPANESE PEOPLE STRATEGIES IN MAINTAINING THE MEMORIES**

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**ABSTRACT**

*Nuclear technology in the form of atomic bomb dropped by the Allies (the United States) greeted Japan in the most evil way at the end of World War II. The tremendous explosion demolishing the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 marked the end of the Empire of Japan's series of imperialism and military ambition. By the end of the war, within the paradigm of Atoms for Peace introduced by the United States, Japan rose and revived its economy. In the midst of resource depletion, nuclear has become an answer to the needs of energy in Japan; it even led the country to be one of the world economic giants in the final half of the Cold War.*

*In 2011, Tohoku earthquake whose magnitude was 9 SR struck the eastern coast of Japan. The terrible earthquake led to a series of other hazard: a tsunami and the explosion of Fukushima Daichii Nuclear Power Plant. Three nuclear reactors in Fukushima detonated and caused radiation leakage that brought about long-term, complex ecological and social impacts. The widespread nuclear radiation had effectuated the long-term risks of environmental pollution and deterioration of health condition, among others thyroid cancer. Following the radiation leakage, a number of impacted cities were immediately evacuated; and later on the epic decontamination procedures began right away and are still ongoing hitherto. Japan's ideology and decision on nuclear technology were (once again) confronted with an essential question.*

*This research traced back on the history of Japan's dependency on nuclear technology as well as investigated the process of discoursing on nuclear performed by the government of Japan after World War II. By means of the concept of ideology proposed by Louis Althusser, the discoursing on nuclear which served as Japan's state ideology and its entire apparatuses were re-examined. All at once, this research provided a designated space in recording the antagonism and the strategy of a number of people who lived in the tension generated from their memories about nuclear and all related things (such as world war, radiation, mechanization, and industrialization) within the context of post-war Japan reality. By an ethnographic investigation with an art project as the data collection method, the writer made an inventory of people's memories and strategies in "confronting" the state in several aesthetic ways. The primary field research data are supported by other complementary data collected online, as well as particular comprehension on two short documentaries titled *Alone in the Zone* directed by Ivan Kovac & Jeffrey Jousan, produced by Vice Japan (2013) and *Women of Fukushima* directed by Paul Johannessen, Ivan Kovac, and Jeffrey (2012).*

*In this research, people's practices of antagonism that firmly withstood the state's ideology of nuclear were positioned and deciphered in "the political" dimension as what Chantal Mouffe defined. In a complementary manner, the concept of "dissensus" conceived by Jacques Rancière was used as a device to read people's practices of antagonism that articulated their ideological choices in some aesthetic ways. People's voices not conforming with the state found their agencies in the dissensus; they were manifested in daily practices serving as an "alternative way". The "deviating voices" might be conflicting with law, the parliament, and the state's ideology; but at the same time, they were indeed representing most Japan citizens' conscience and moral calling which had not been accommodated by the authority*

Keywords: Memories, Nuclear, Radiation, Japan, The Political, Dissensus, Antagonism