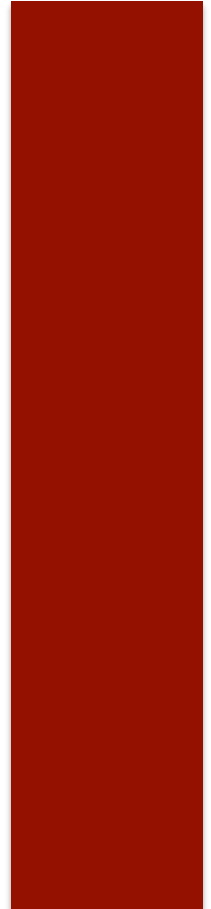


Special Election Report

11 December 2014



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Contents

Predictions

- Outcome
- Reasons

Implications

- Historical trends
- Policy impact

Appendix: Policy options

- Parties and platforms



2014 House of Representatives Election

- Predictions

1. Strong victory for the LDP
2. LDP (or LDP-led coalition) majority in both houses

- Implications

1. Chairmanship of most Diet committees and carte blanche in legislature
2. Abenomics 2.0

Predictions

Two main factors predict Japanese election outcomes:

1. What do independent voters want?

- Ranks of non-aligned voters have ballooned since 1994 electoral reform
- Highly sensitive to popularity of the Prime Minister

2. Can opposition parties coordinate?

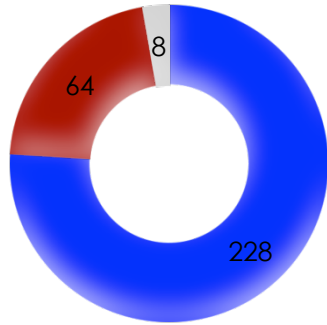
- LDP often wins without a majority of votes
- If opposition can coordinate candidates, they will do better

2014 Forecast

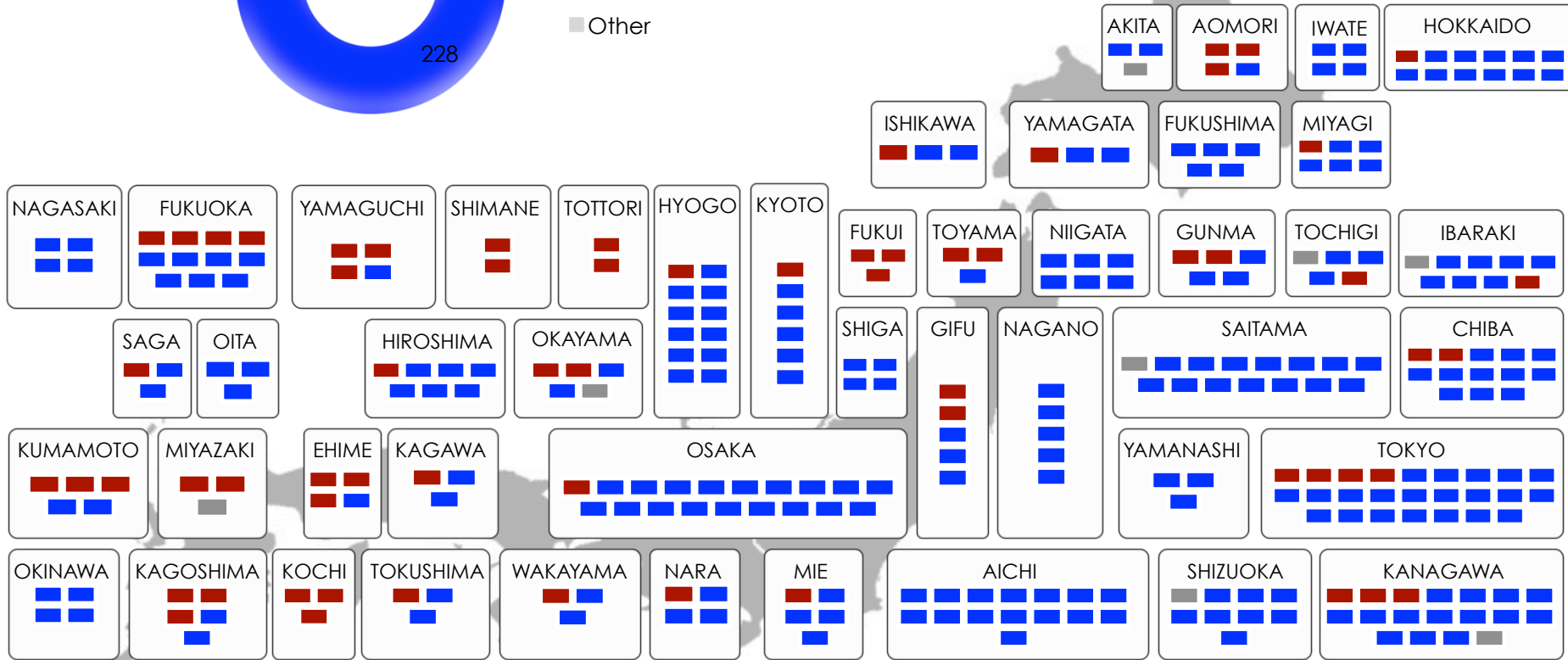
Opposition parties are coordinating this time, but

- 1) their popularity is too low, and
- 2) Abe is too popular

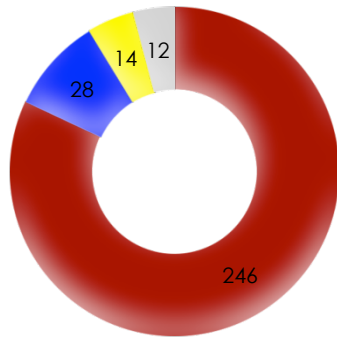
2009 General Election Single Seat Distribution Map



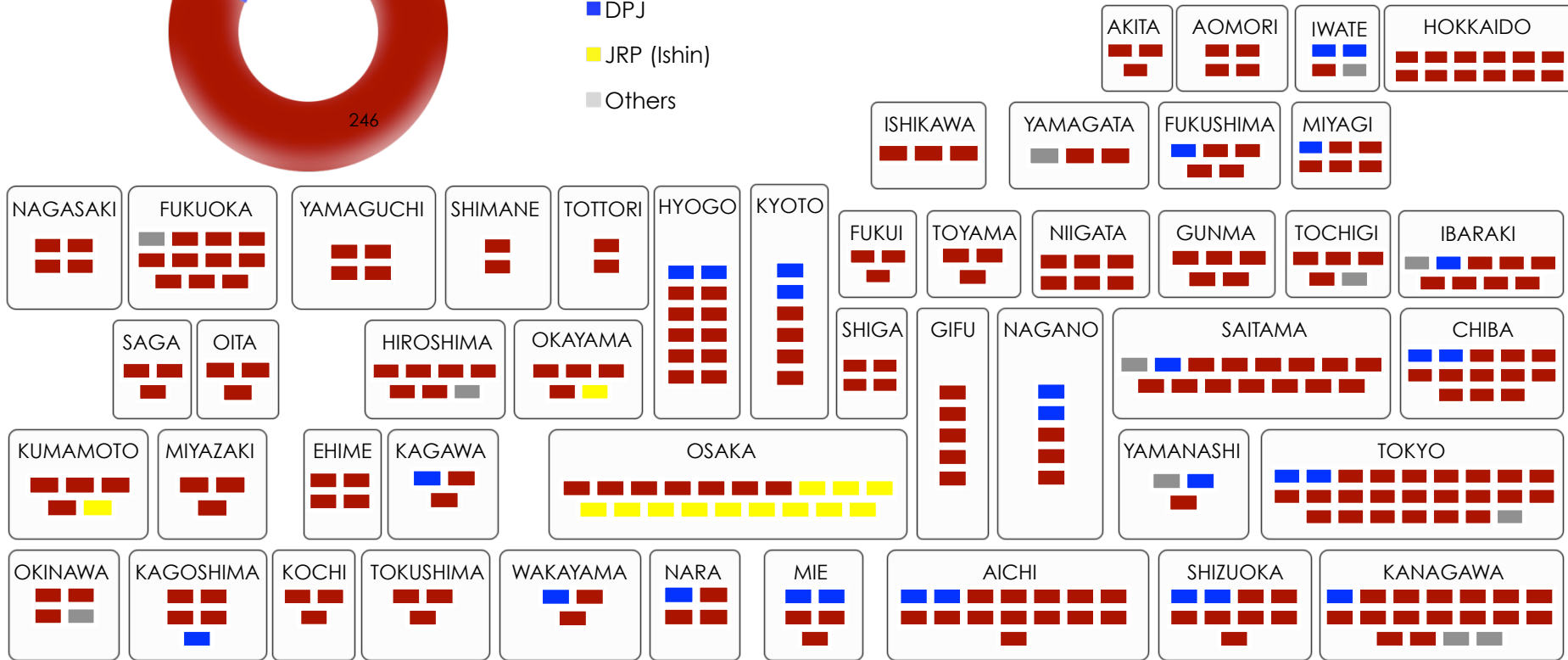
- DPJ coalition
- LDP, Komeito
- Other



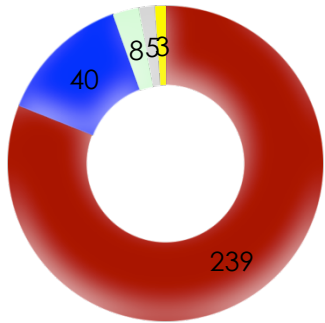
2012 General Election Single Seat Distribution Map



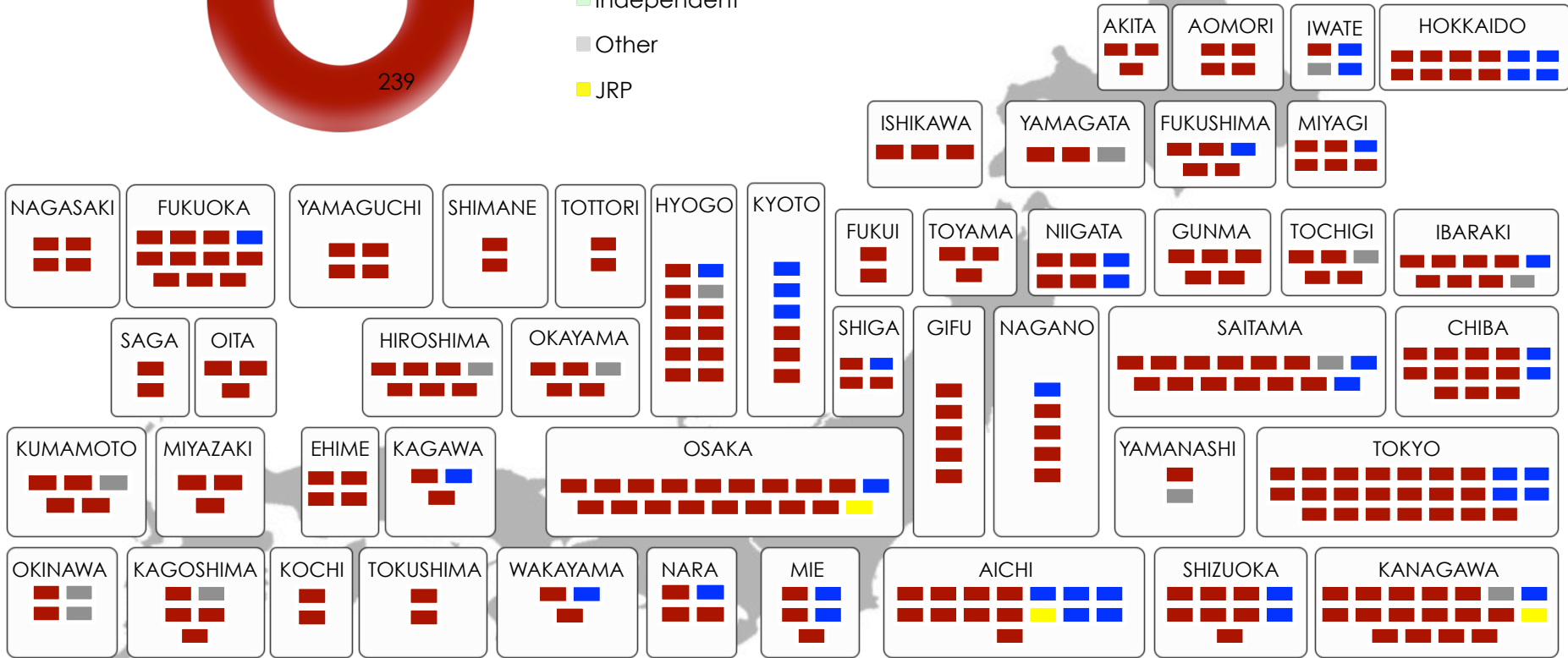
- LDP Komeito
- DPJ
- JRP (Ishin)
- Others

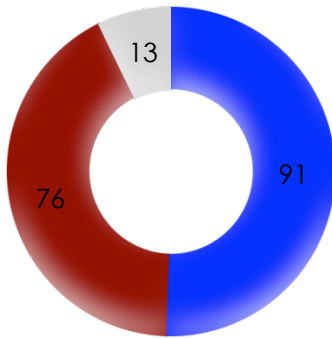


2014 Prediction – Single Seat Districts

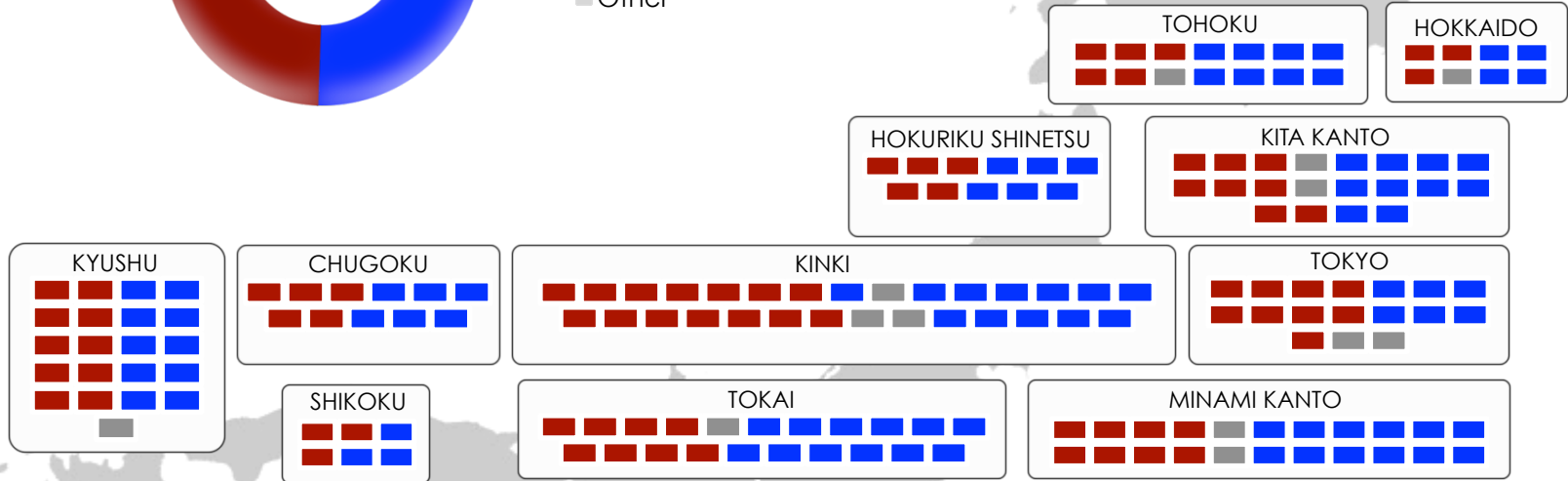


- LDP, Komeito
- DPJ
- Independent
- Other
- JRP

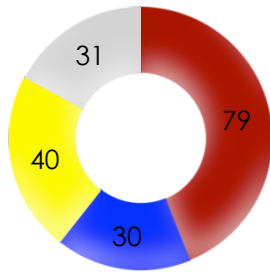




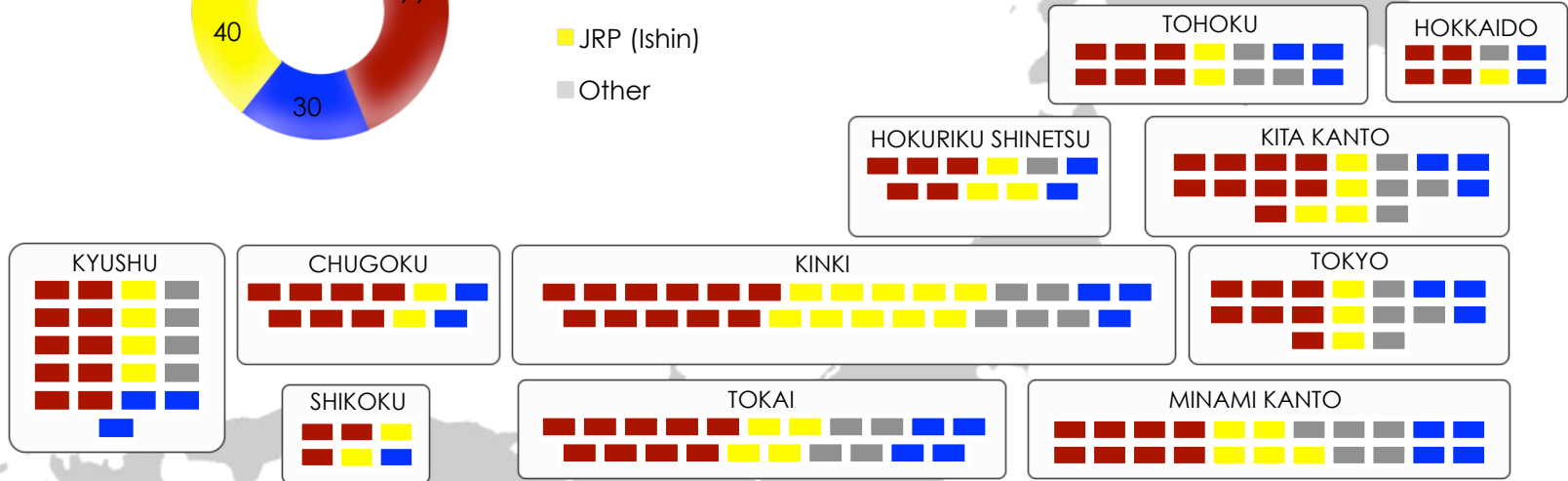
■ DPJ coalition
■ LDP, Komeito
■ Other



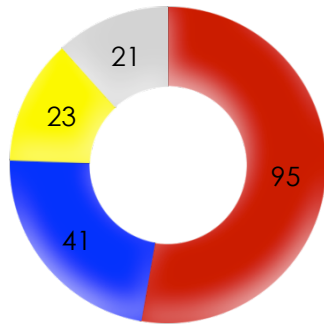
2012 Proportional Distribution Map



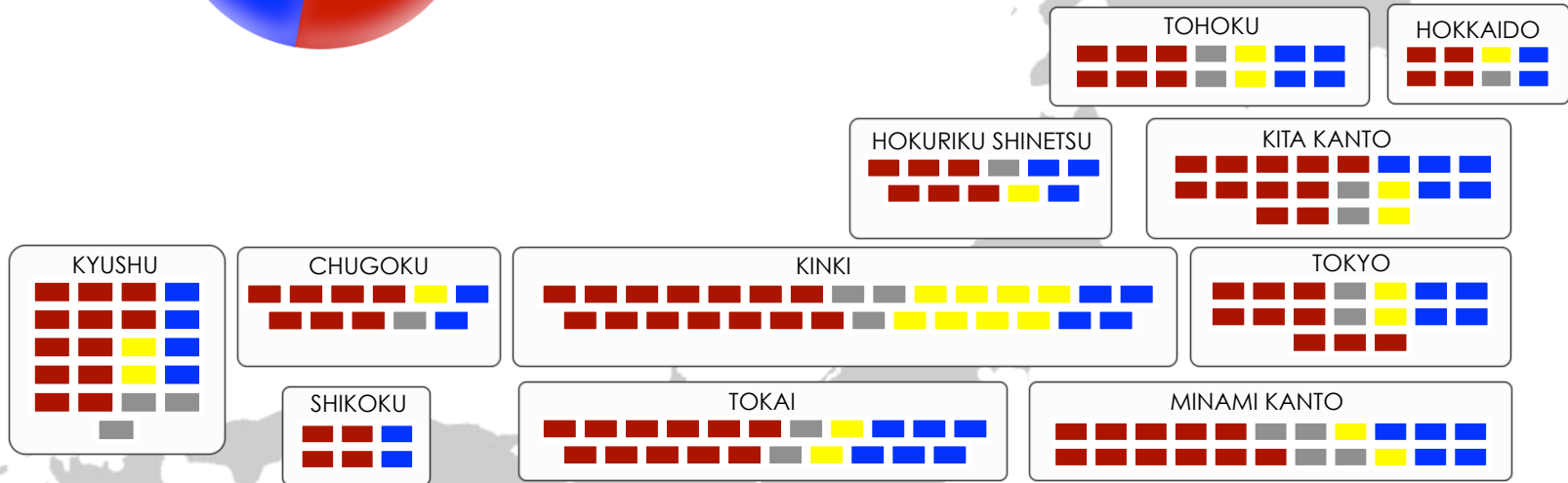
- LDP, Komeito
- DPJ
- JRP (Ishin)
- Other



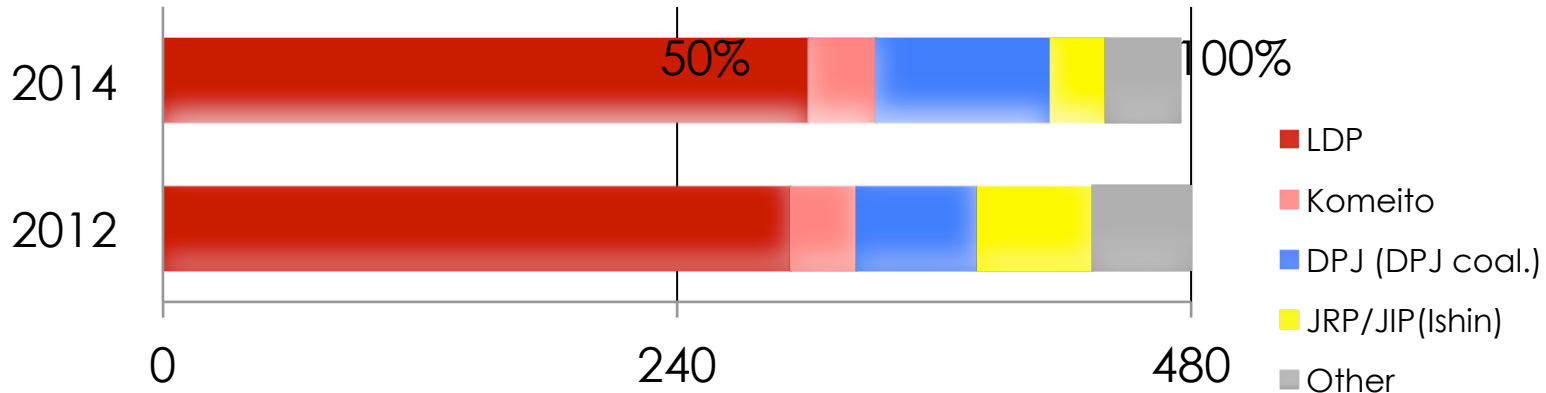
2014 Prediction: Proportional Blocks



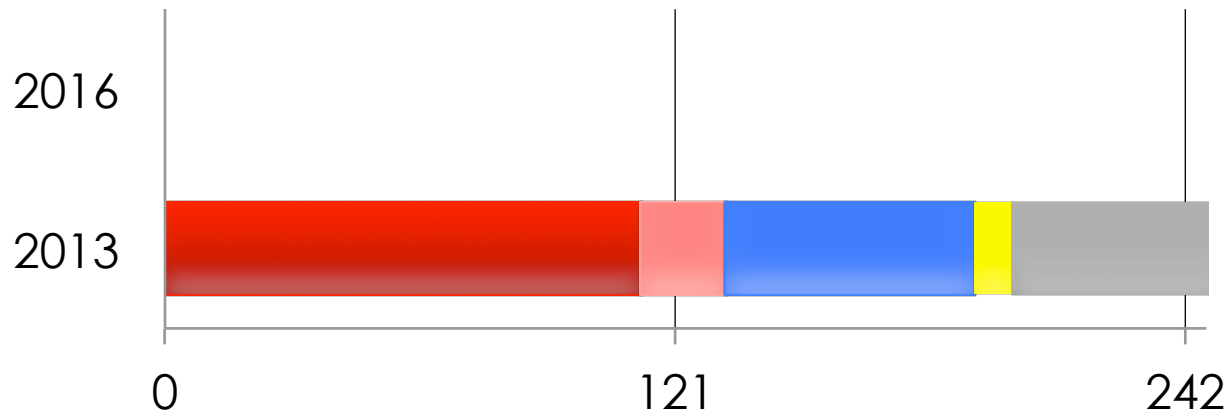
- LDP, Komeito
- DPJ
- Ishin
- Other



GR Japan, K. K.



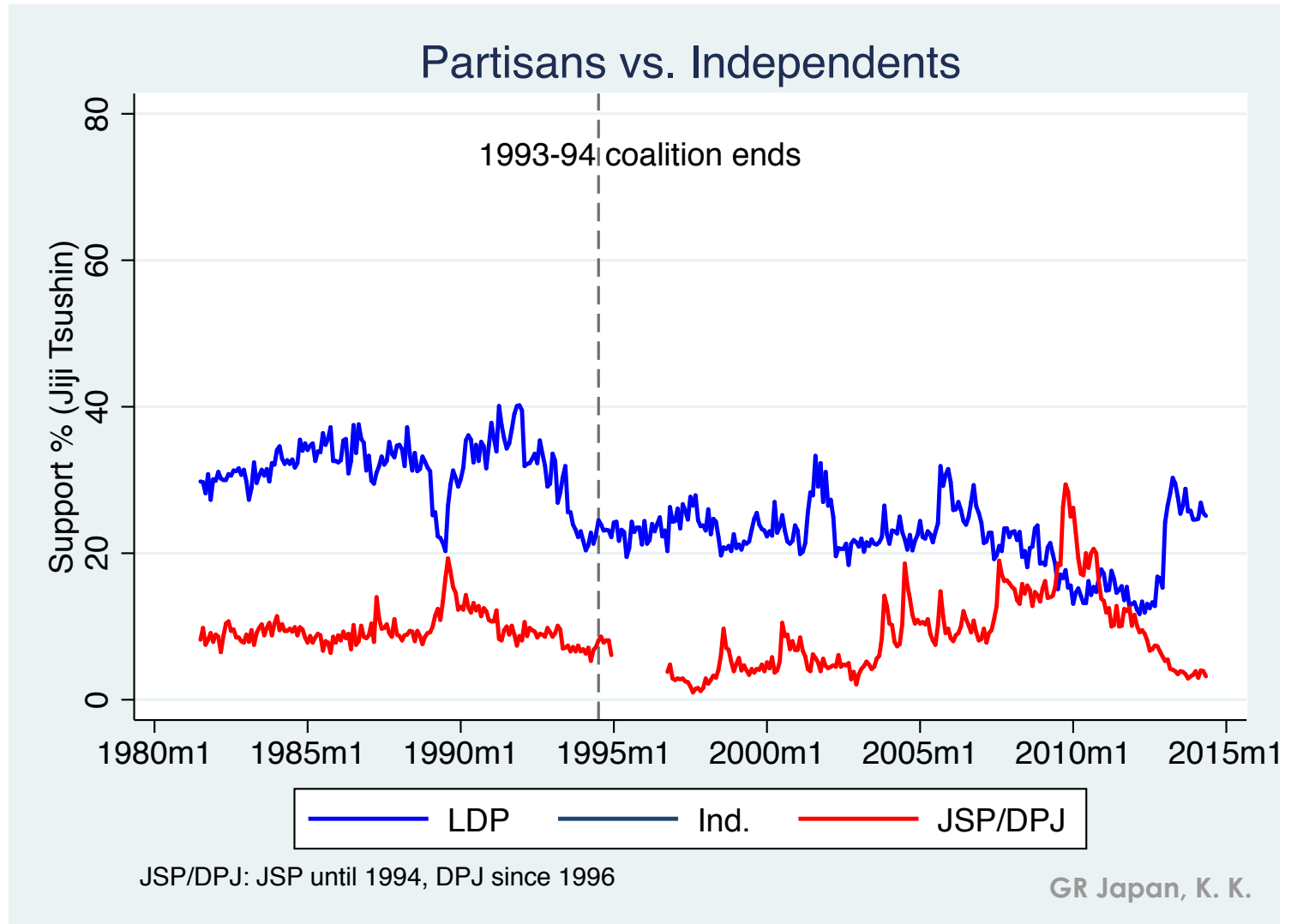
Number of Seats in the House of Representatives (480 seats)



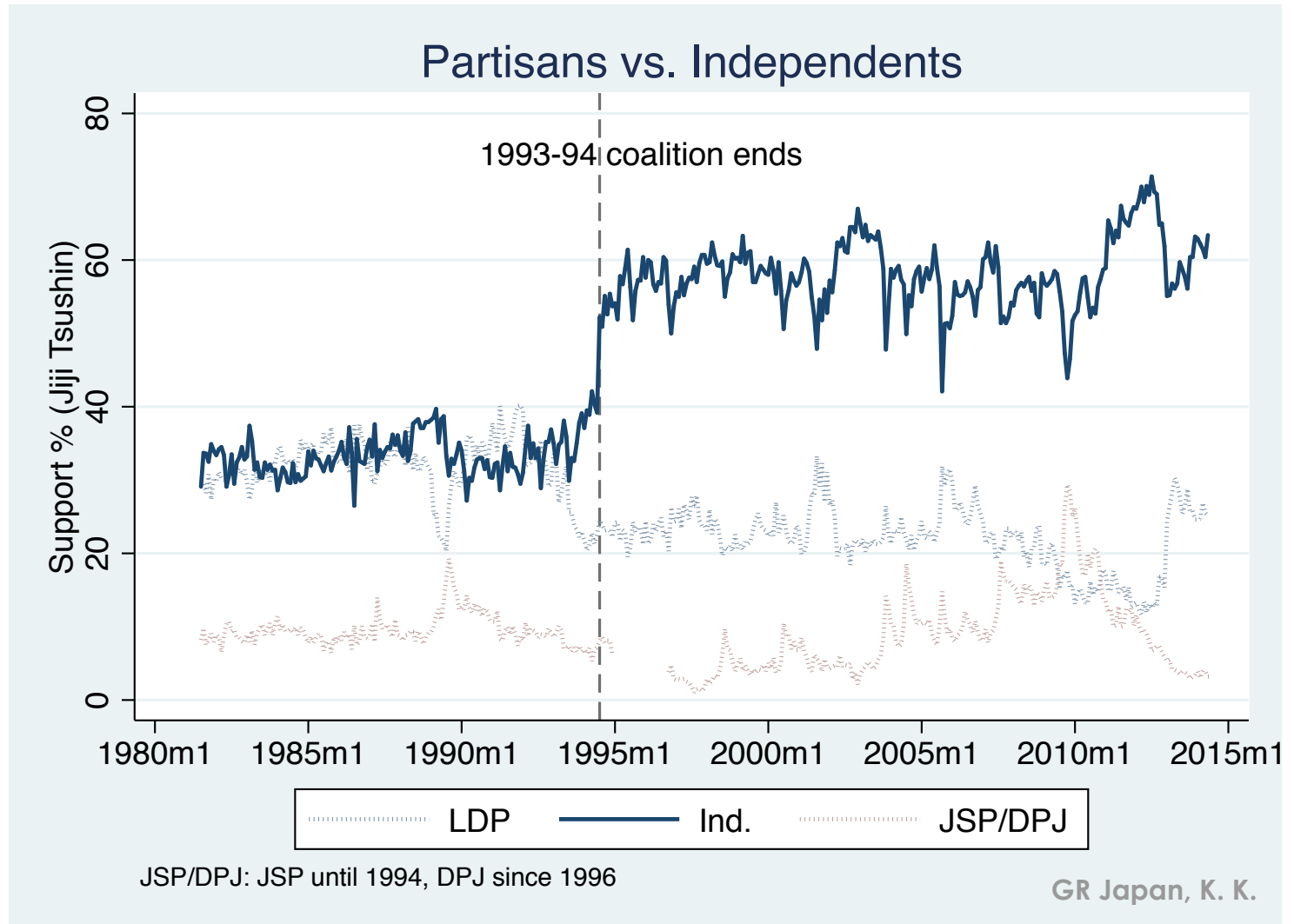
House of Councillors Seats (2001:247, 2004-2013: 242 seats)

Point 1: Independent voters

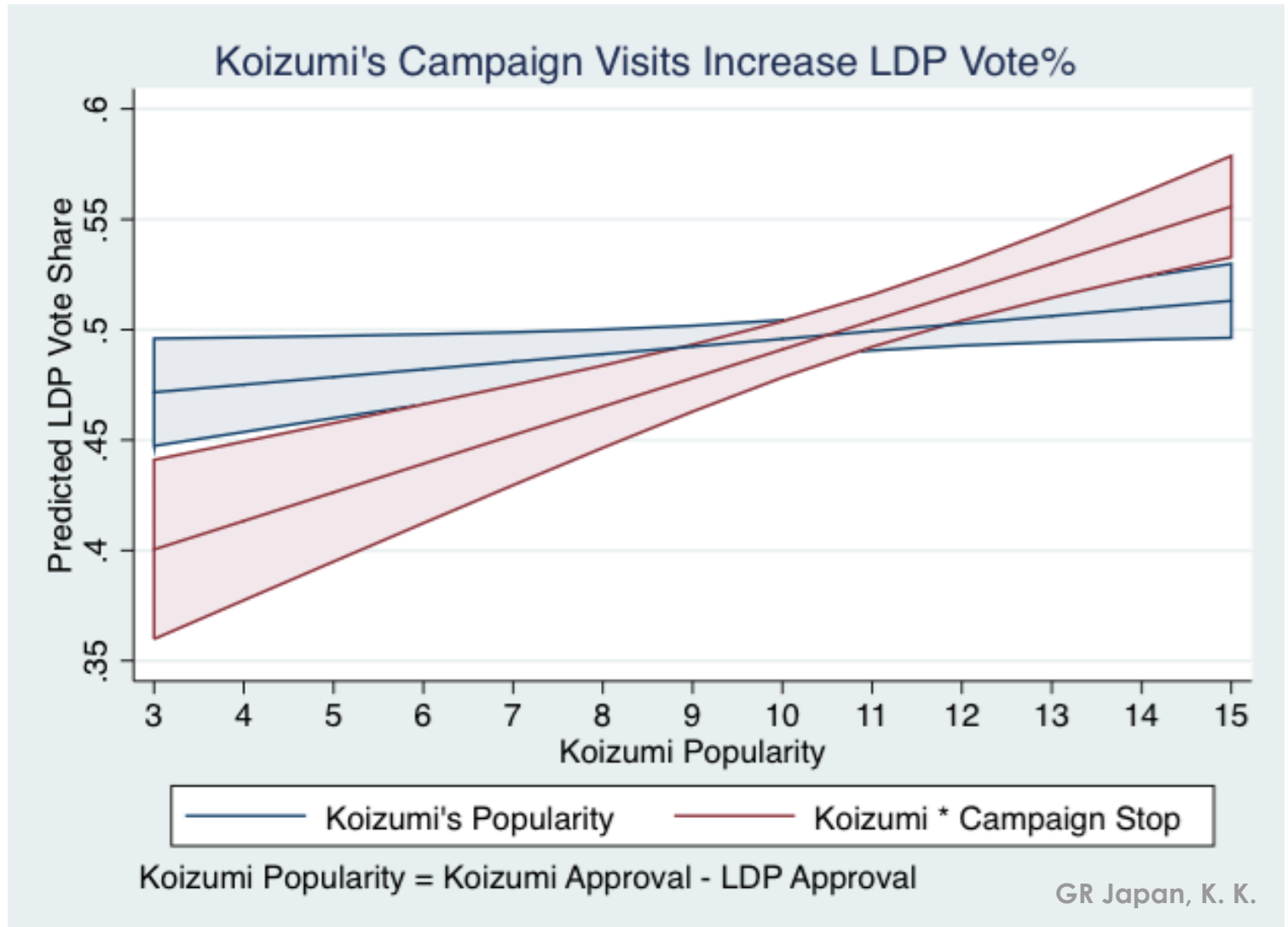
Support for LDP bouncing back



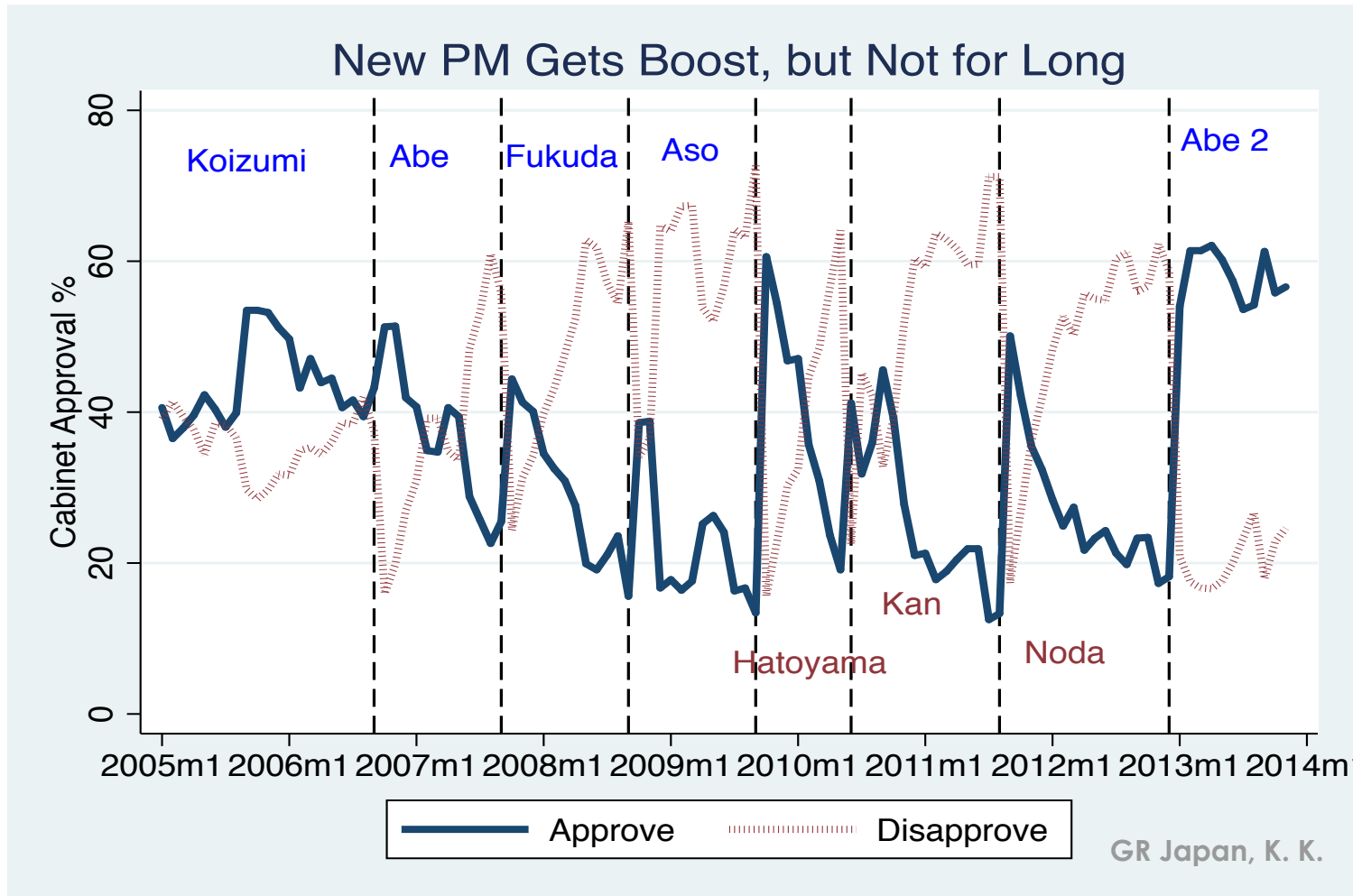
....but independents are by far the largest group



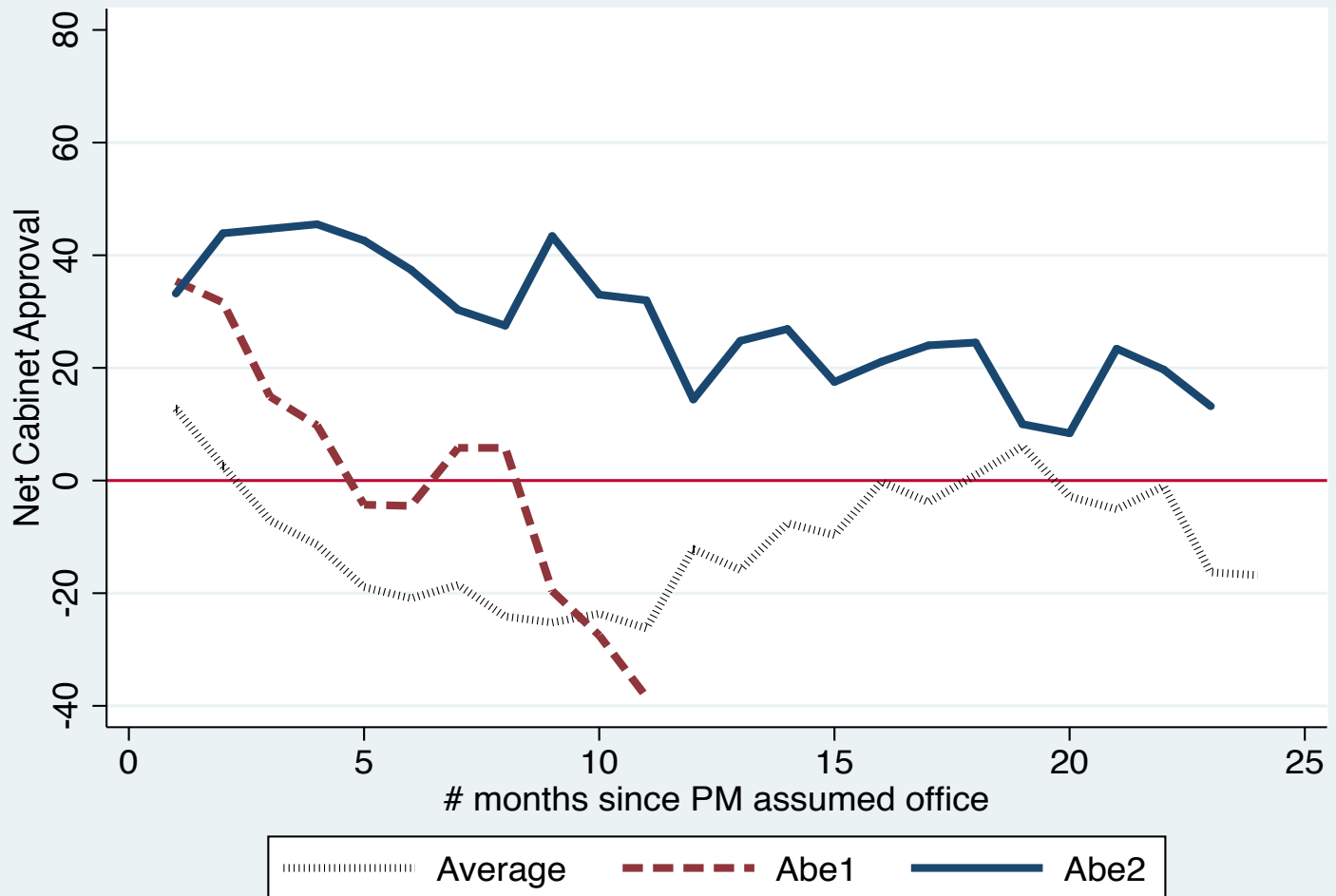
Impact of campaign visits by popular PM



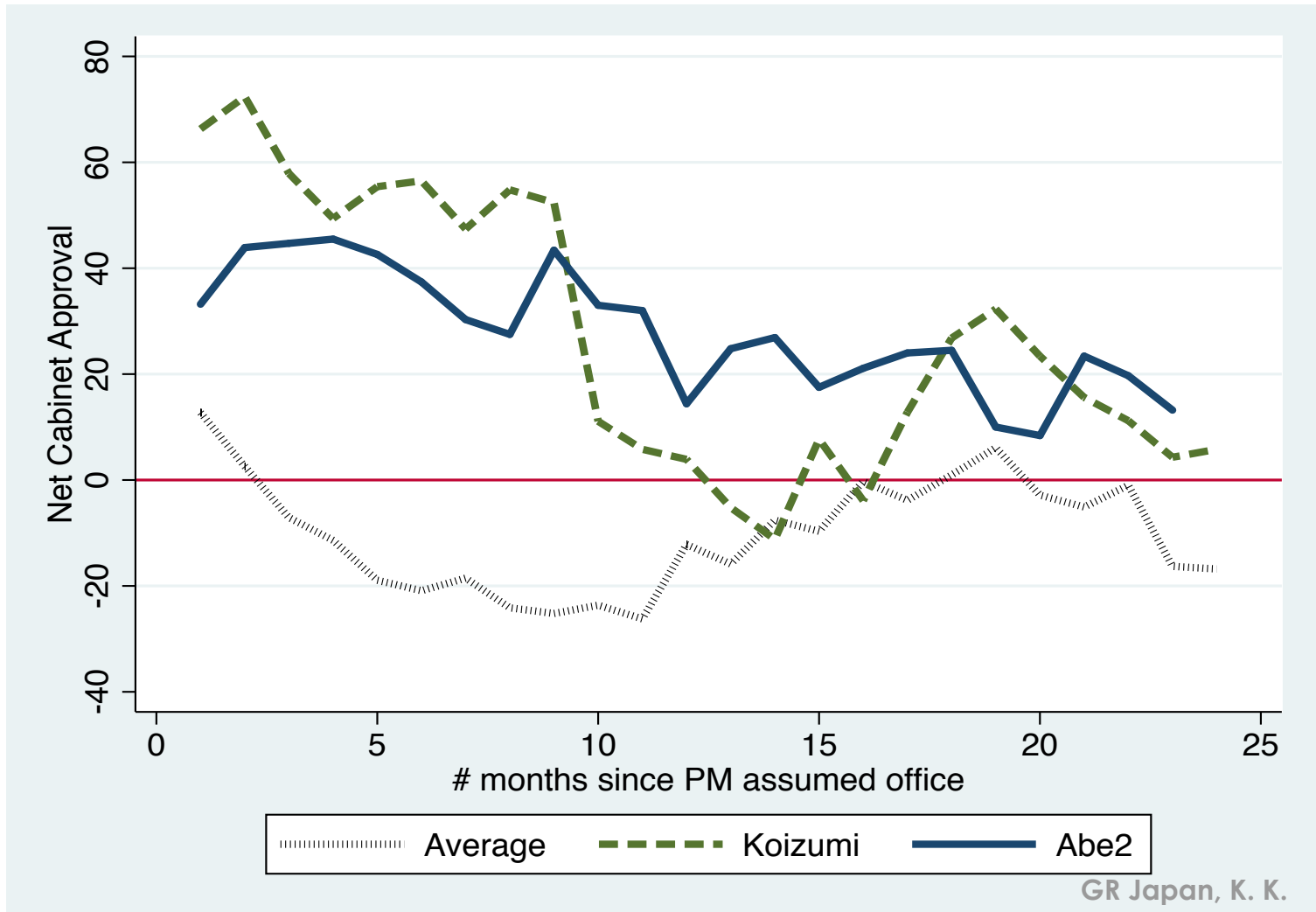
A common pattern.....



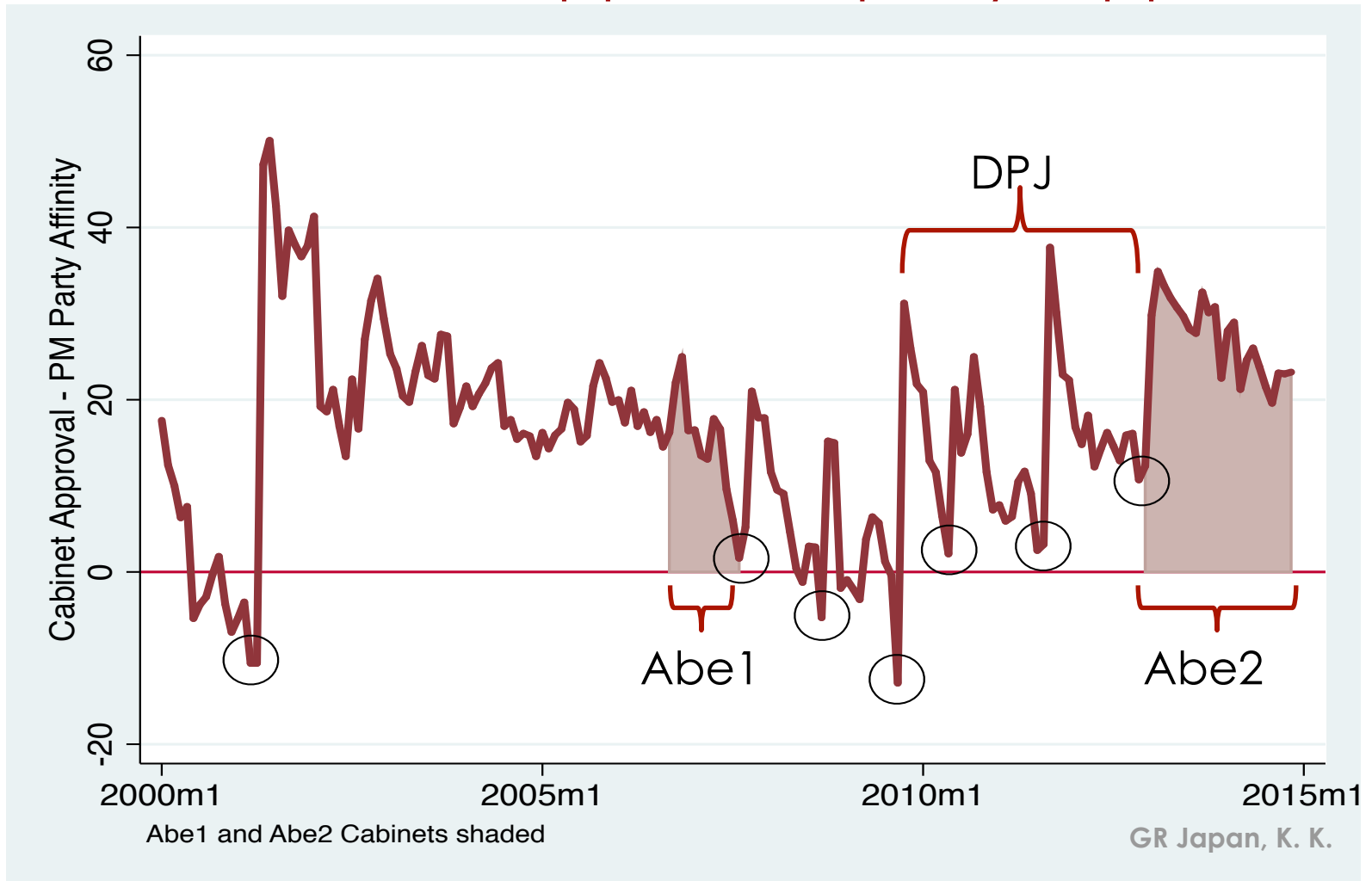
....but Abe still holding on strong



Abe is keeping up on par with Koizumi

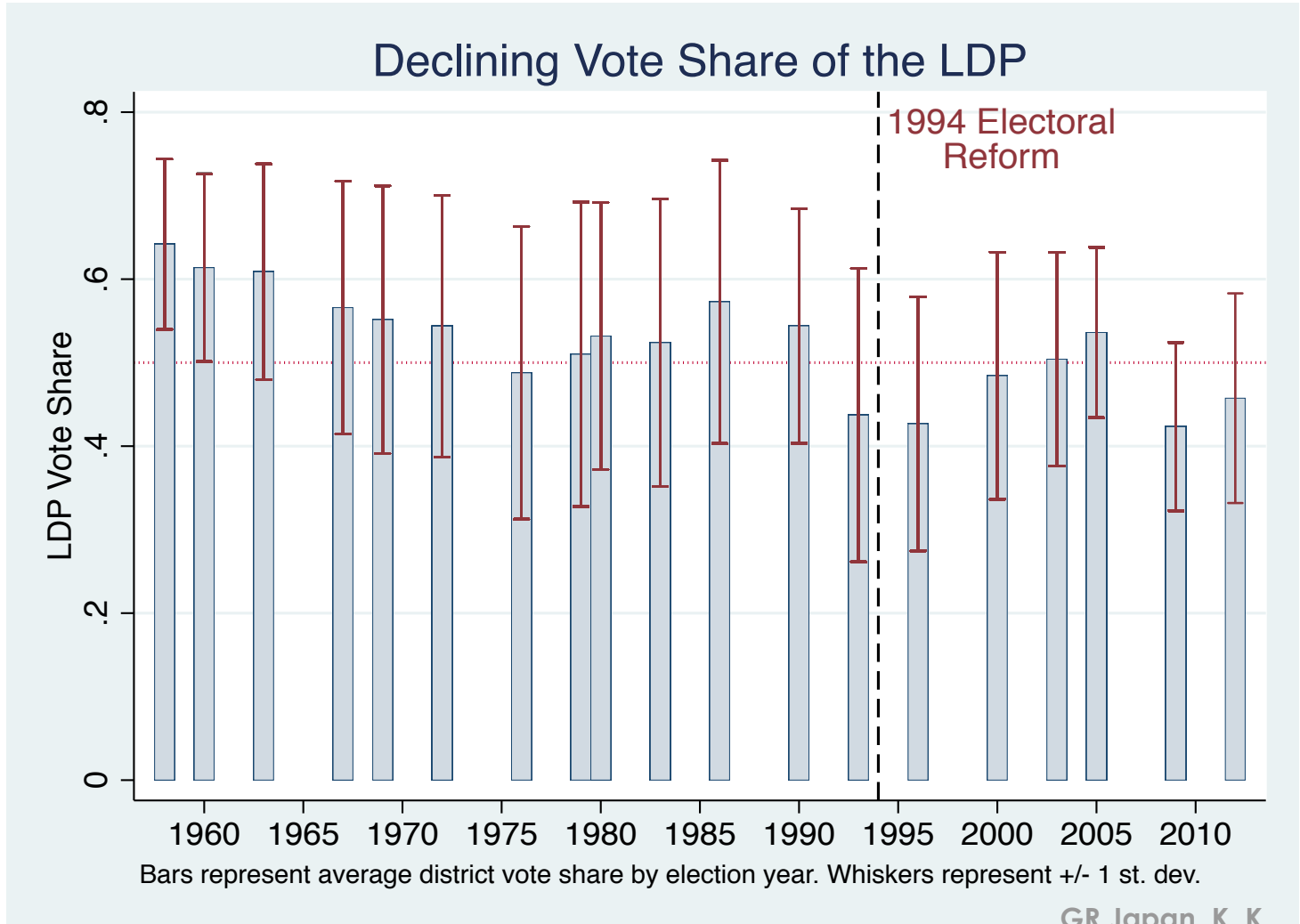


PM survival: Cabinet approval - party support

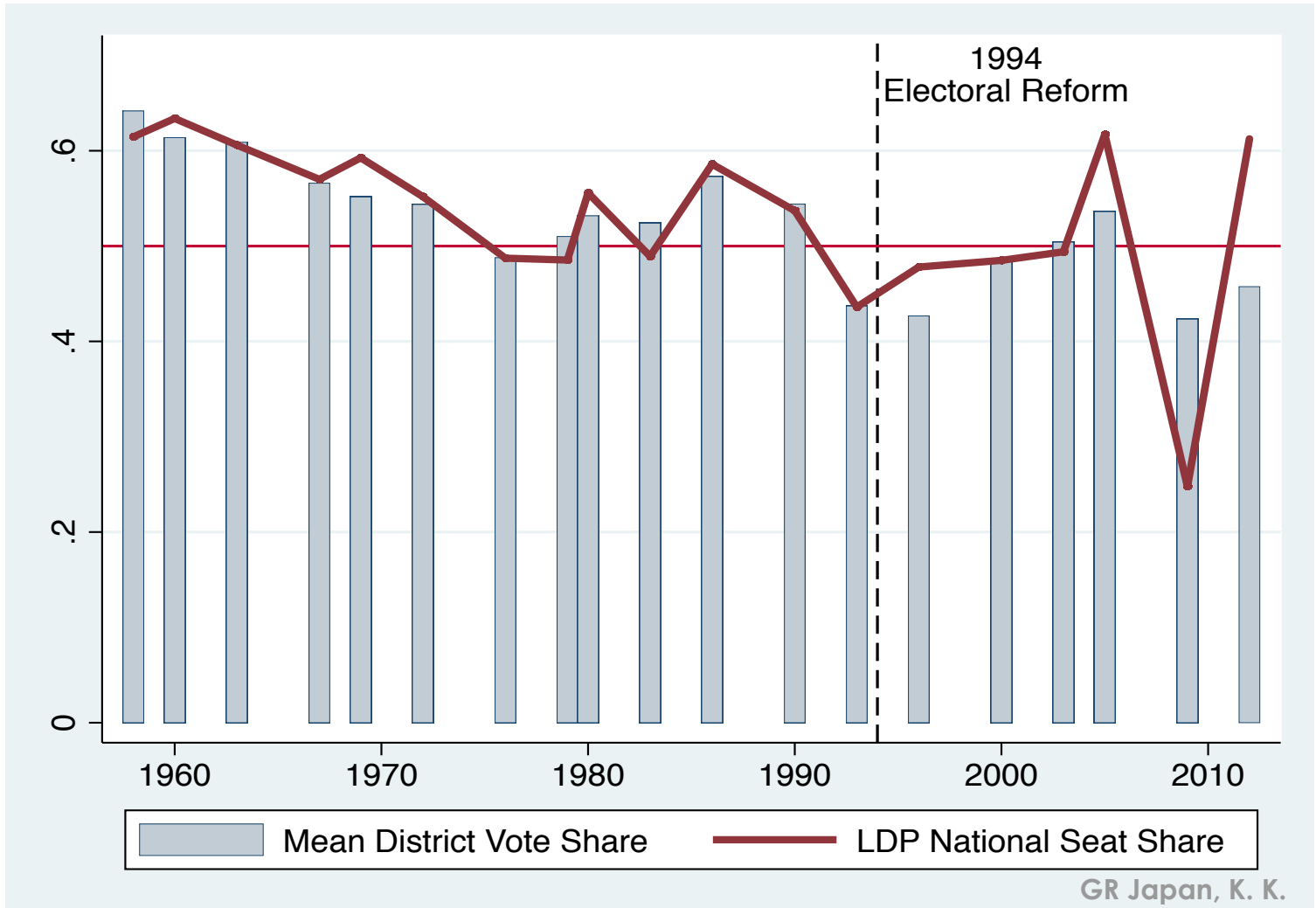


Point 2: Opposition coordination

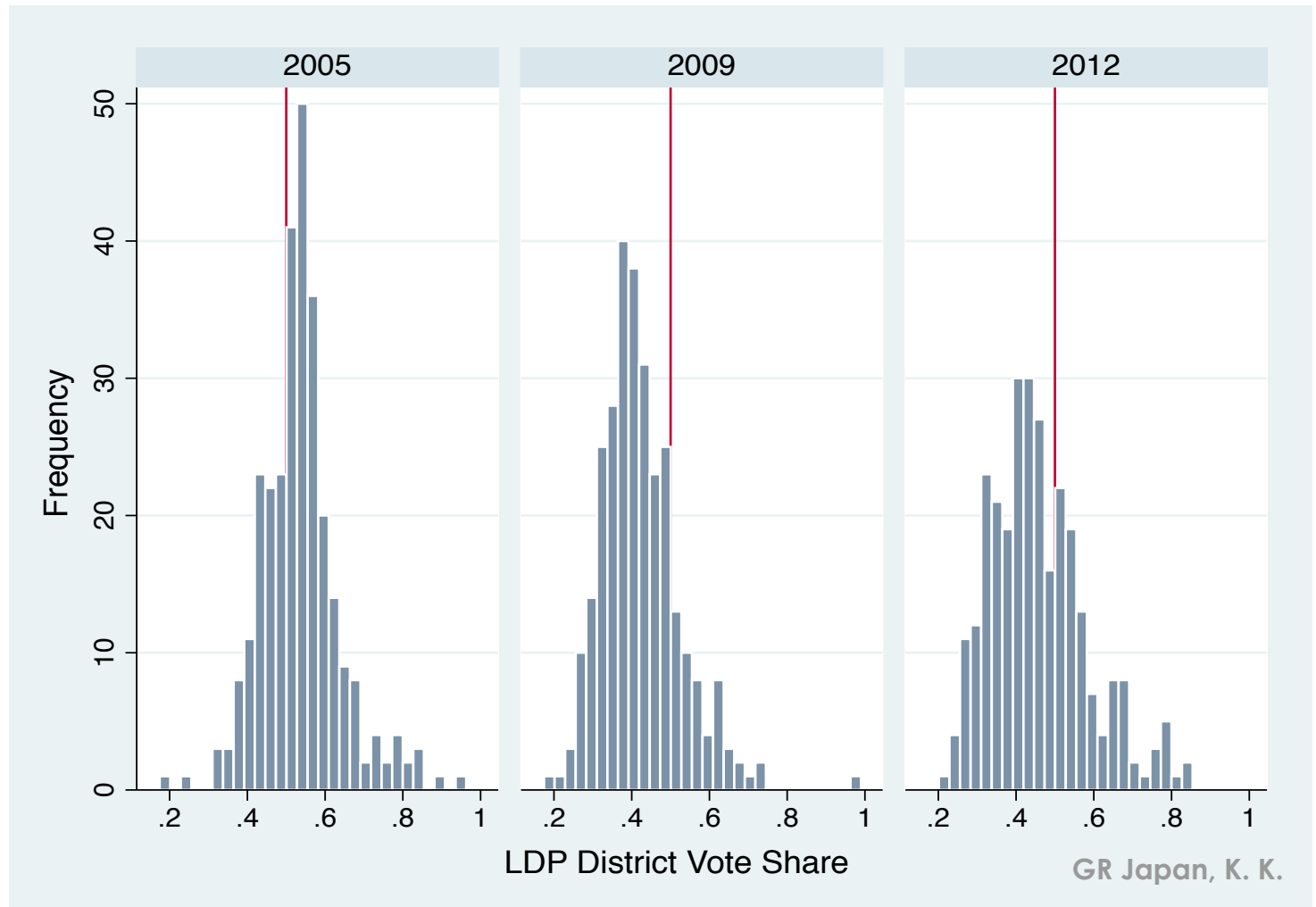
LDP fails to win majority in most single constituencies



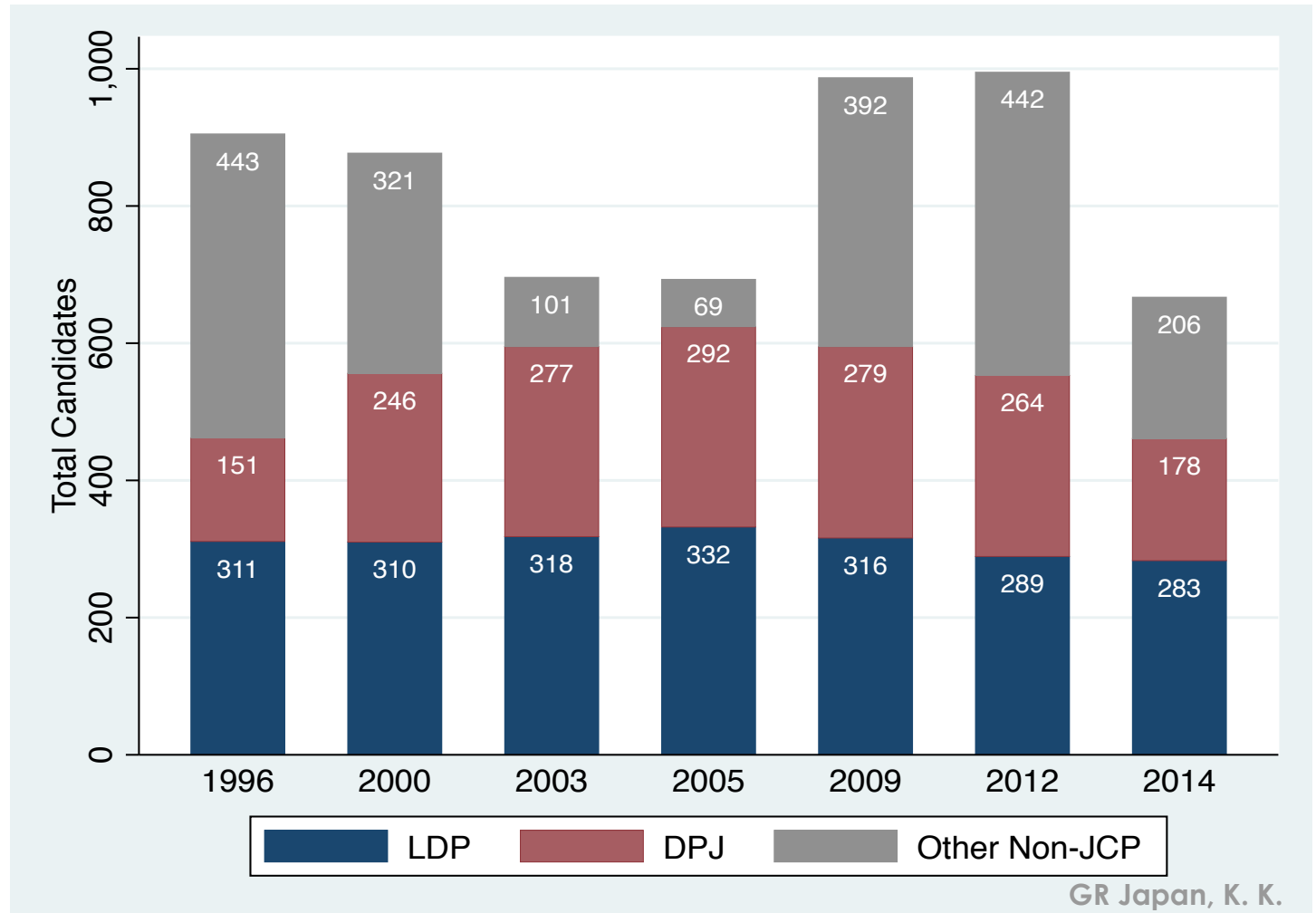
Continues winning seats despite declining vote share



Districts where LDP won a majority



LDP saved by proliferation of opposition candidates



	Actual LDP winners, (Win%)	Simulated LDP winners, if non-JCP had coordinated	# non-LDP, non-DPJ candidates per district
1996	175 (59.9%)	120 (41.1%)	(2.24)
2000	191 (67.7%)	159 (56.4%)	(2.09)
2003	177 (62.1%)	168 (59.0%)	(1.50)
2005	234 (80.1%)	233 (79.8%)	(1.41)
2009	68 (23.4%)	62 (21.3%)	(2.33)
2012	237 (82.3%)	124 (42.9%)	(2.36)
2014	?	?	(1.28)

	Actual LDP winners, (Win%)	Simulated LDP winners, if non-JCP had coordinated	LDP vs. DPJ-Ishin (151 districts)
2012	237 (82.3%)	124 (42.9%)	63 (41.7%)
2014	?	?	[21 DPJ-Ishin] [26 DPJ-Fut Gen] [3 DPJ-Life]

Election Issues

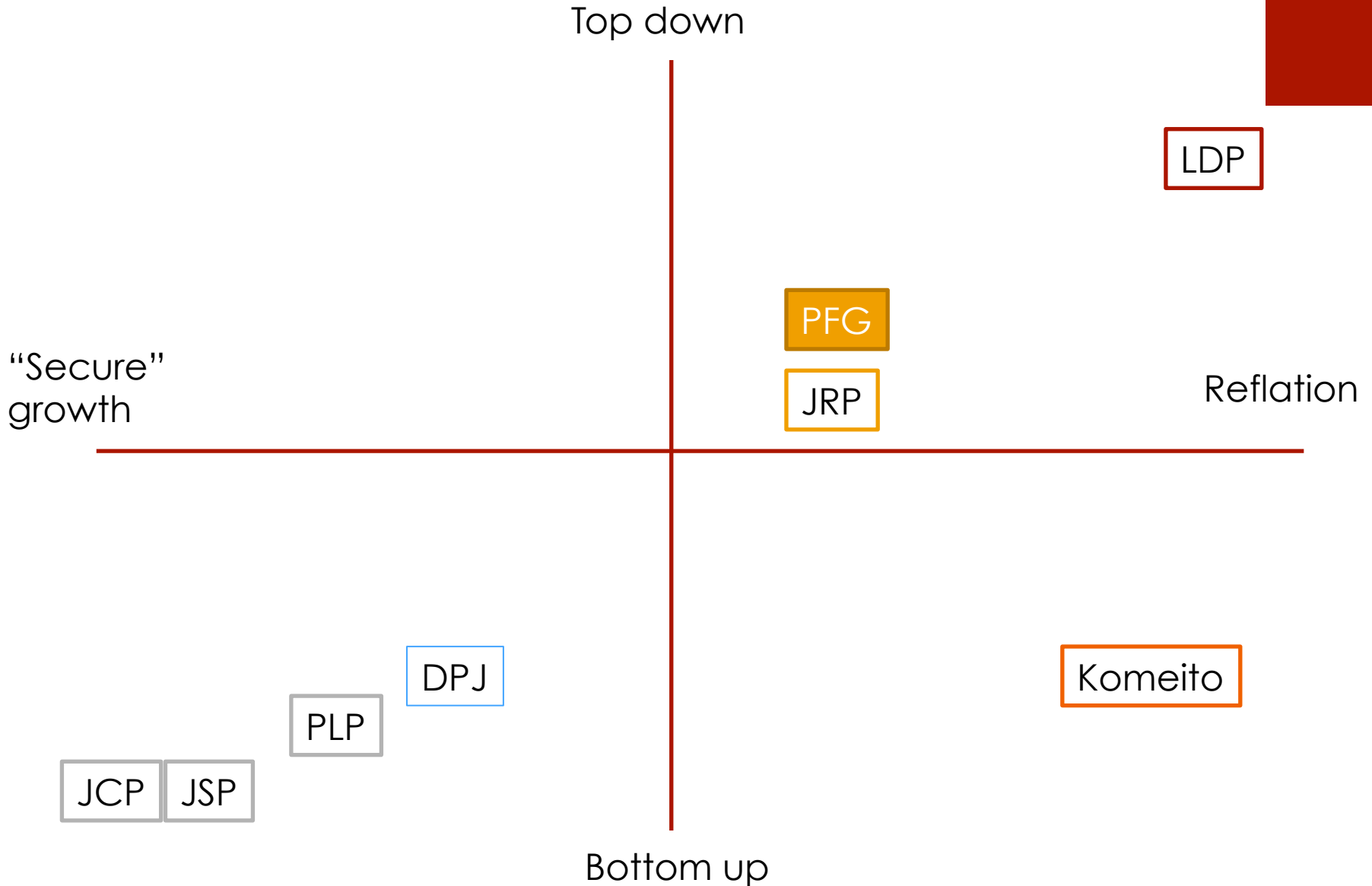
■ Divisive issues (goal issues)

1. Nuclear power
2. Collective self-defense
3. Constitutional amendment

■ Competence issues (means issues)

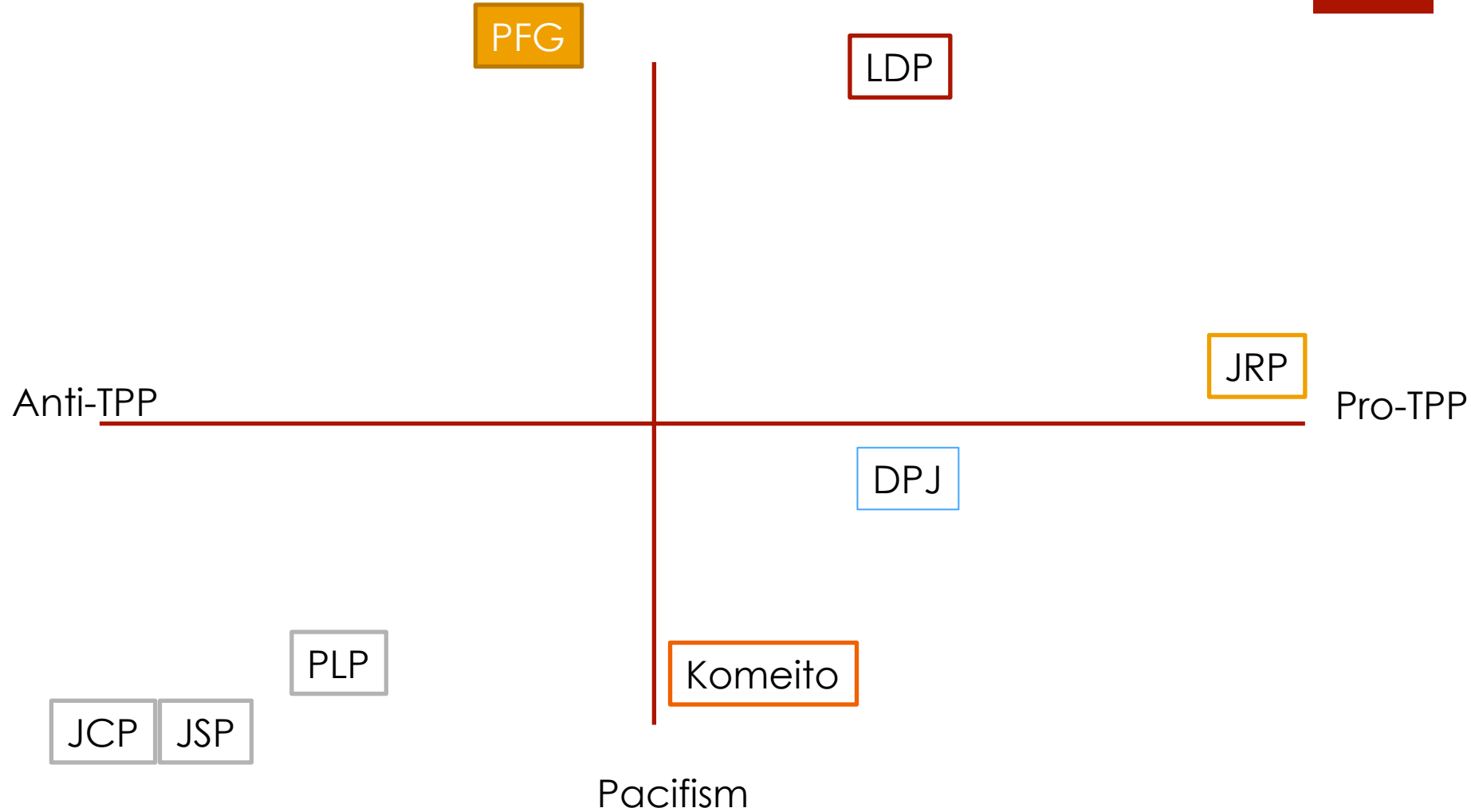
1. Prosperity
2. Sustainable social security and welfare system
3. Regional revitalization
4. Promotion of women's participation in the workforce

Economic growth



Foreign Policy

“Proactive pacifism”



Political Parties

LDP



Key Promises

Economy

Boost corporate profits, to reduce unemployment and lift wages, creating a virtuous economic circle, especially in the regions. **Postpone sales tax hike** and introduce lower consumption tax for daily necessities in April 2017; stimulate private sector consumption; **lower corporate tax below 30%** in the next few years; support for SMEs and funding for mid-stage growth companies; structural reform in agriculture, employment, healthcare, energy, real-estate estate; diversify employment options, ease restrictions on skilled foreign workers and **promote women in the workforce**; promote technological innovation; **promote tourism, transportation and communication infrastructure**; primary balance surplus by 2020.

Social Welfare

Use all of the increase in consumption tax take for social security. Improve childcare, healthcare and nursing care support by 2017; **build a sustainable social security system and aim for 50% of basic pension to be provided by the state**; promote participation of women and elderly in the workforce.

Nuclear Power and Energy

Secure safety and **restart reactors as crucial part of the base load energy generation**. Three-stage reform of electricity sector; work on redefining the future energy mix; diversify energy sources, source countries and routes; reduce nuclear dependence; promote development of new energy sources; introduce energy consumption management.

National Security and Foreign Policy

"Proactive pacifism". Collective self-defense; Defense Ministry reform and new mid-term defense plan; strengthen Japan-US Alliance and revise security guidelines; protect Japanese territories such as Senkaku and Ogasawara islands; improve relations with China, South Korea and Russia and strengthen cooperation with the US, Australia, India and ASEAN countries; strengthen cyber-security; join TPP but protect certain areas.

Domestic policy and electoral reform

Regional revitalization and constitutional reform. Self-reliance of regions and improved efficiency in agriculture, forestry and fisheries; education reform and introduction of ethics classes; political and administrative reform to correct the disparity in the value of votes; electoral system reform in four years to introduce voting rights from 18; referendum on changing the constitution.



Implications

Historical trends
Policy Implications

Emerging Political Trends

Pendulum won't swing back – first time since 1994

No more split majorities – anything should be possible for the government and Abe will claim a clear mandate

Policy competition will be within the LDP – the Policy Affairs Research Council will be even more critical

Prime Ministerial popularity increasingly important – strength and weakness at the same time

MIYAZAWA

HOSOKAWA

HATA/MURAYAMA

HASHIMOTO

OBUCHI

MORI

KOIZUMI

ABE

FUKUDA

ASO

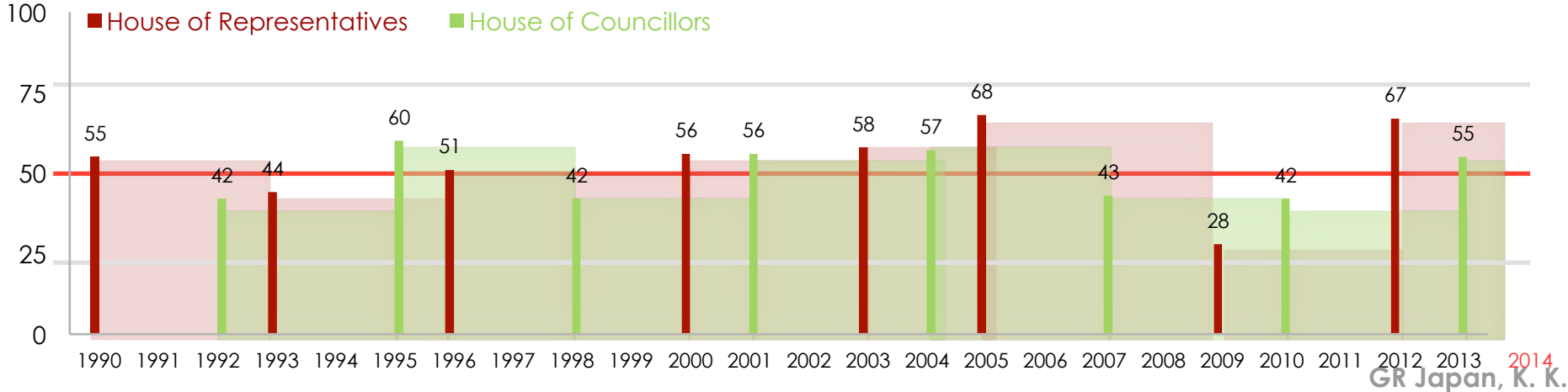
HATOYAMA

KAN

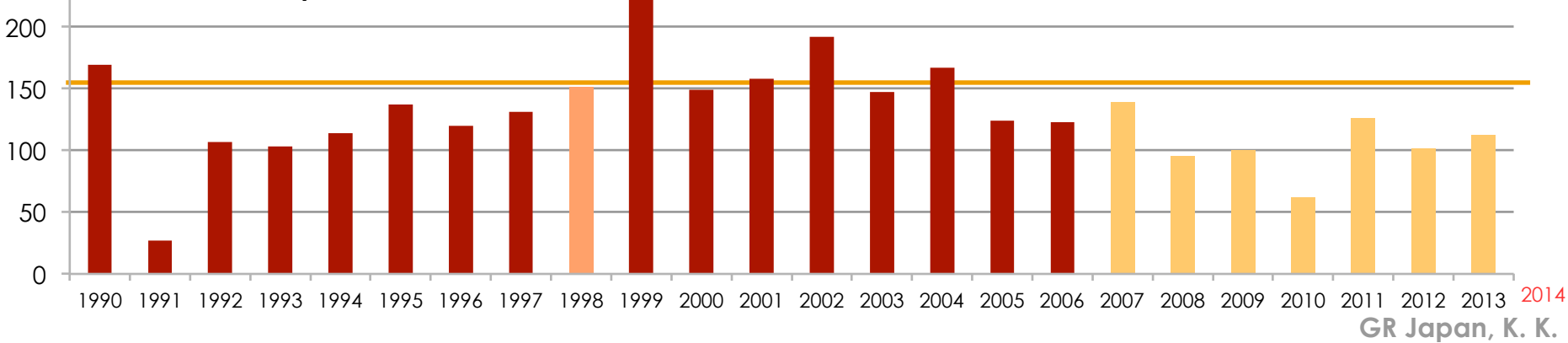
NODA

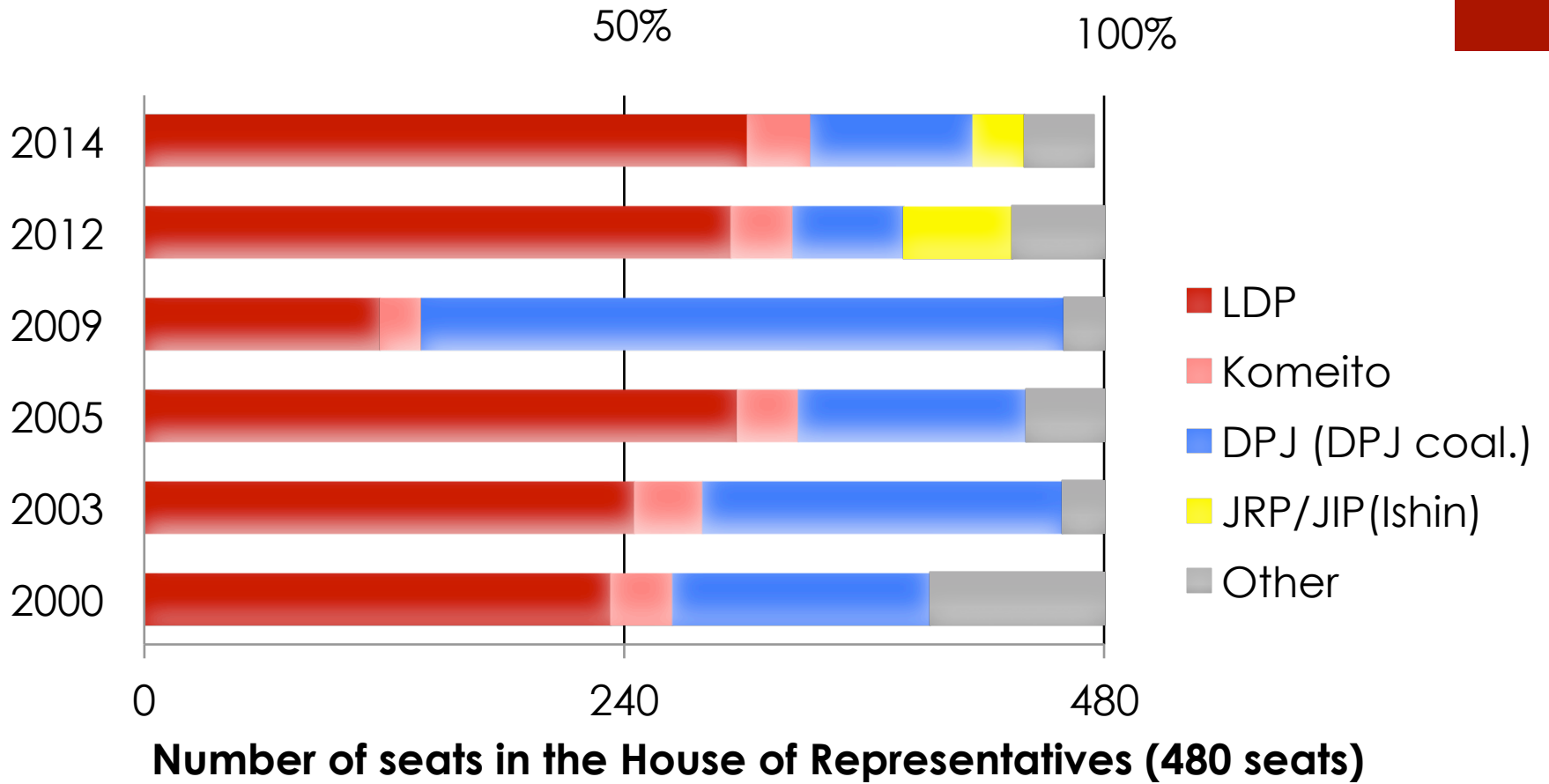
ABE

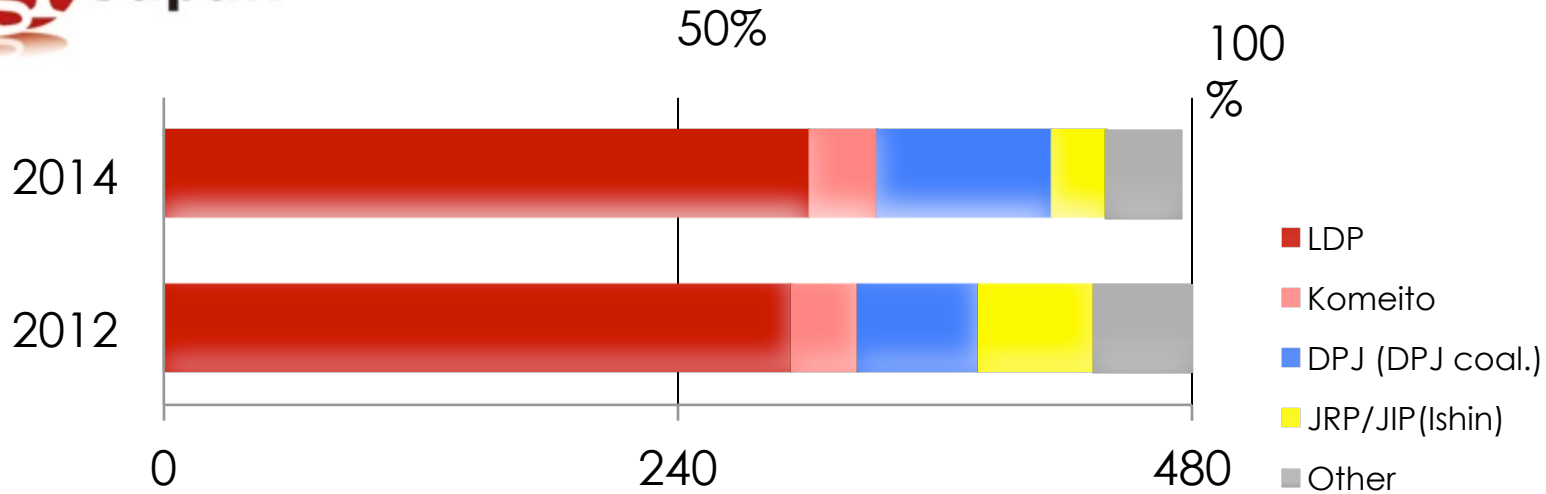
LDP share seats



Number of bills passed into law

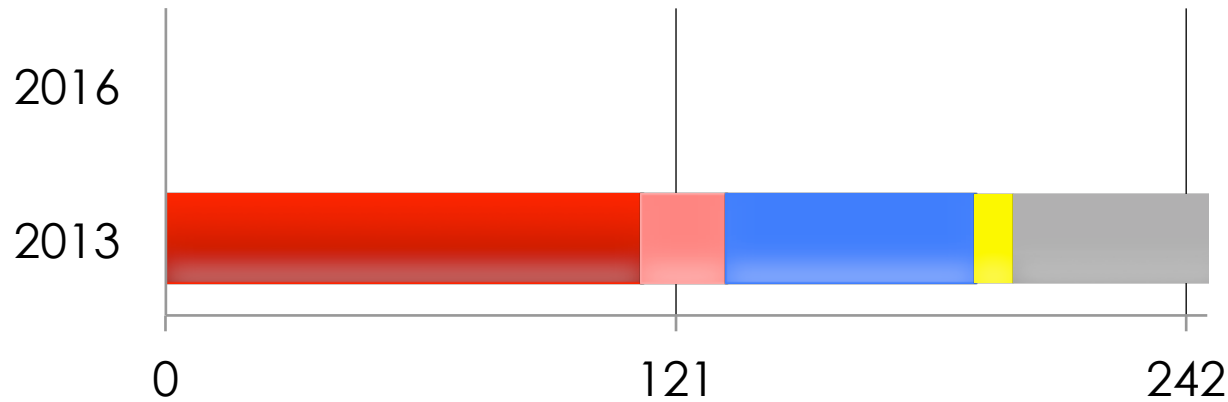






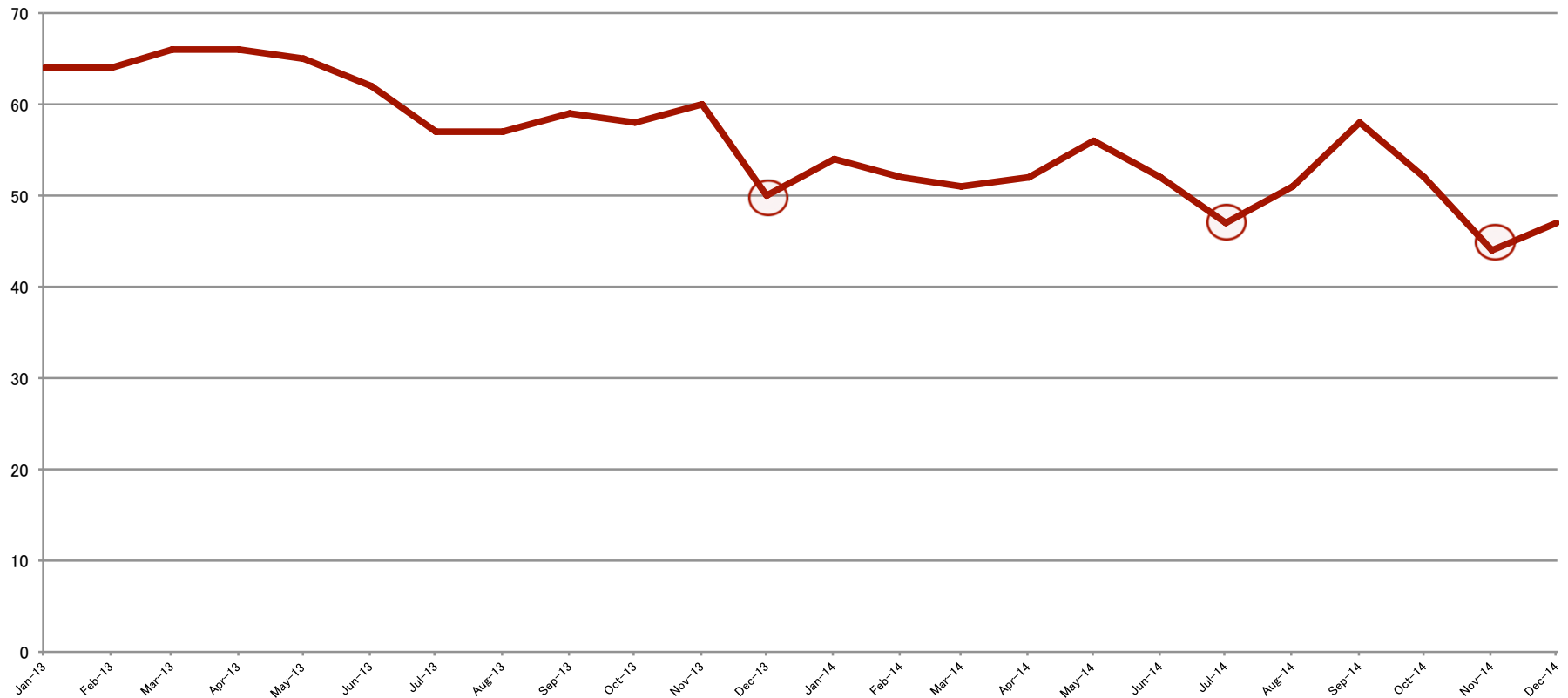
37

Number of seats in the House of Representatives (480 seats)



House of Councillors Seats (2001:247, 2004-2013: 242 seats)

Abe approval stable but not without bumps



Policy Implications

Political calendar

Prospects for Abenomics

Upcoming legislation

Prospects for constitutional amendment

Date	Event
14 December	House of Representatives election
15 December	Re-start of LDP Tax Committee
Mid December	Kyuden to submit supplementary document to NRA regarding the Sendai restart
16 December	LDP re-shuffle
24 December	Re-appointment of Abe as PM
25-26 December	Appointment of Ministers & Vice Ministers
30 December	Completing the FY15 tax reform proposal?
9 January	Cabinet Approval of Supplementary Budget?
19 January	Start of the Ordinary Diet Session
26 April	Unified local elections



Abenomics 1.0

Massive QE and bond buying to reach newly set 2% inflation target. Weakened yen welcome

Fiscal stimulus to kick-start economy

Third Arrow mostly missing targets but focus on regulatory reform zones, labor market reform

Power shift from MoF to METI. Corporation tax lowered and focus on growth strategy.

Passively waiting for Nuclear Regulation Authority to approve restart of nuclear reactors

Abenomics 2.0

QE to continue but more focus on measures to control yen depreciation. Depreciation likely to become new hot topic.

New stimulus package of ¥3 trillion to move ahead at full speed. 15-month budget likely again **but** postponed raise of consumption tax will lead to call for spending economies

“Regulatory reform menu” to be expanded. More focus on tourism and foreign investments. Electricity market deregulation to accelerate.

Continued importance of METI. Lowering of corporation tax likely to accelerate.

LDP likely to push for quick restart of nuclear reactors and to be successful

Important upcoming legislation 2015

- Budget, Budget, Budget
- Draft law to postpone raise of consumption tax
- Draft law to implement Regional Economic Revitalization Measures - together with tax measures
- Draft revision of Workers Dispatch Law
- Draft Law to Establish Integrated Resorts (I.R.) including Casino
- Women Empowerment Draft Law
- Draft revisions to enact the Cabinet decision on collective self-defense
- Draft Law to enact third (and final stage) of Electricity Market Reform

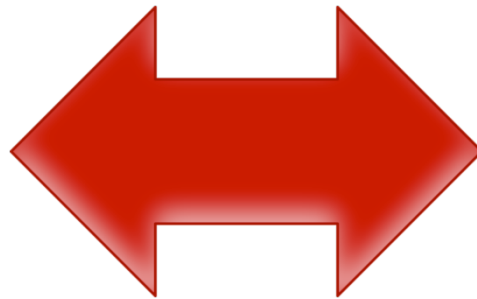


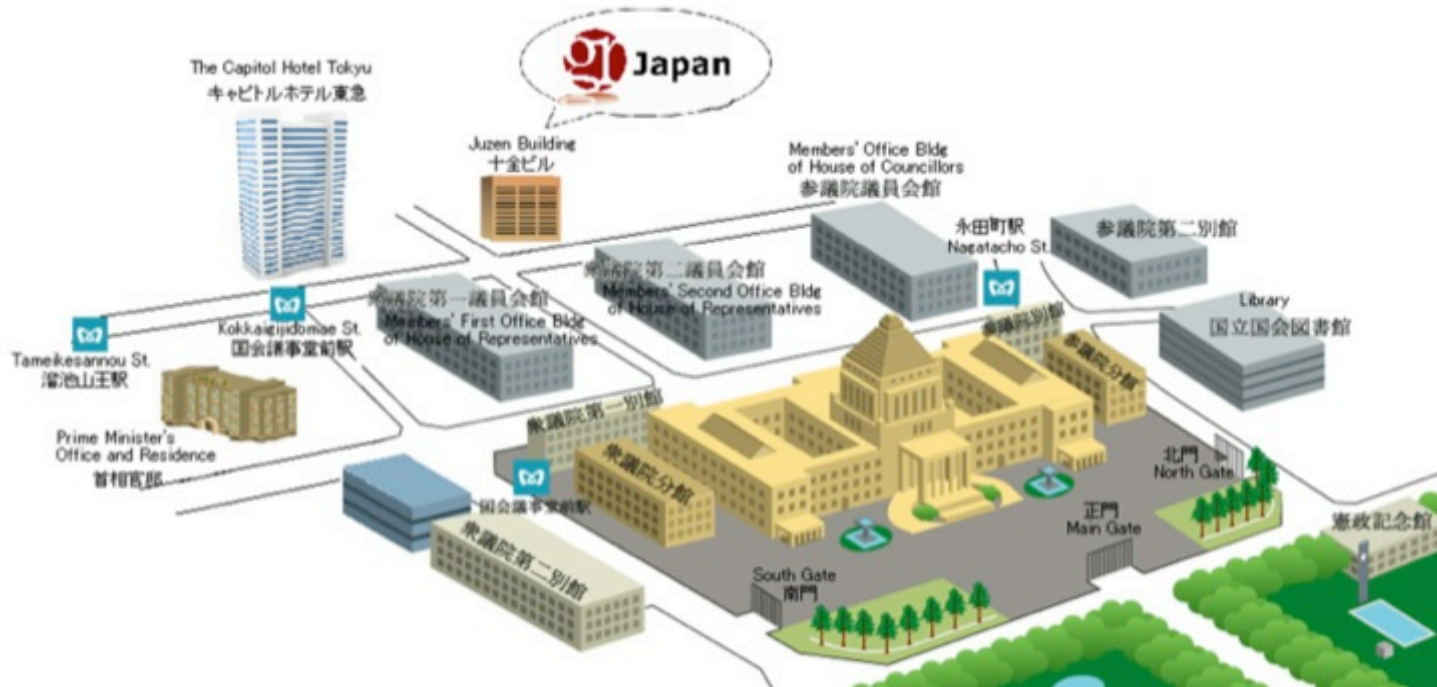
Prospects for constitutional reform

- Next national election not due until Summer 2016 - LDP could hold stable majority until 2018
- But LDP will not control a two-thirds majority in the lower house, nor a majority in the upper house.
- Komeito will continue to be cautious about constitutional reform/re-interpretation
- Abe is nevertheless likely to risk political capital to achieve what he believes is his life mission
- Discussions on constitutional reform most likely 2016-18



Continuing conflict between “old” Abe and “modern” Abe





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Appendix



Other Political Parties

DPJ



Key Promises

Economy and Trade

Reverse Abenomics. Rebuild sizeable and wealthy middle class; sustainable economic growth; delay the sales tax hike; lower consumption tax for certain products; tax breaks and cash allowances for low-income households; flexible monetary policy; measures to tackle rising fuel prices; measures to counter the excessive fall of the yen; lower corporate tax (if possible); support for SMEs; subsidies for farmers; stop wasteful public projects spending; investment in human resources; emphasis on research and new technologies; promotion of women in the workforce; emphasis on tourism; achieve primary balance surplus by 2020.

Social Welfare

Sizeable and wealthy middle class. Increased nursing, childcare and pension support and strong workers' protection both for regular and dispatch workers; unification of pension plans and introduction of minimum pension standard; the creation of "kodomo-en" childcare facilities and diversified system of childcare for working parents; same-level wages for the same type and amount of labor regardless of type of employment; increased minimum wage; consumption tax refunds for low-income families; improve healthcare system; increased financial support for higher education

Nuclear Power and Energy

Zero nuclear power by 2030. Focus on renewable energy, liberalization of the electricity sector; promotion of energy efficiency.



National Security and Foreign Policy

Defensive security policy and pacifism. Repeal Abe's Cabinet interpretation on collective self-defense; strengthening the Japan-US alliance while also improving Japan's defense capabilities; protect integrity of Japanese territories, waters and airspace, including the Senkakus and Takeshima

Domestic policy and electoral reform

Regional revitalization: Amend law on central-regional government relations, combined with regional revitalization through decentralization; introduction of a law on fiscal health; electoral system reform; administrative reform; civil servants system reform; postal service reform; delay in the enactment of the state secrets law until third-party oversight is strengthened.



Political Parties

Komeito





Key Promises

Economy and Trade

Reduced tax rate. Reduced consumption tax rate for daily necessities with the rise of the general consumption tax from 8% to 10%; improve big corporation's profits and employment to stimulate growth; stimulate individual consumption; support mid and low income households; work for lower housing loan interest rates; work to raise the minimum wage; subsidies for energy expenses for energy dependent industries; promote women's participation in the workforce and aim for 30% of leadership positions to be occupied by women by 2020; regional revitalization by encouraging migration of people and businesses to the countryside and trying to secure skilled workers for those regions; reform of the Japan Agricultural Cooperatives and the Agricultural Committee.

Social Welfare

Emphasis on healthcare, childcare and elderly care. Improve pension, medical care and nursing care programs; support childrearing and provide free pre-school education for three years; distribute subsidies for electricity costs to nursing facilities; work on anti-cancer and rare diseases policies, regenerative medicine and preventive medicine.

Nuclear Power and Energy

Aim for zero nuclear power. Oppose construction of new nuclear power plants; limit use of reactors to 40 years; reduce reliance on nuclear power; promote energy conservation and use of renewable energy sources; improve relations with energy resource-producing countries.



National Security and Foreign Policy

Support the Cabinet decision on collective self-defense. Improve relations with China and South Korea; join TPP but protect crucial areas for the Japanese industry; work for FTAAP, FTAs with China and South Korea, RCEP and EPA; work for nuclear disarmament, non-proliferation and strengthening of the NPT; propose a treaty for abolishing nuclear weapons; promote human security foreign policy and 20% of ODA for human security policies; revision of US-Japan guidelines.

Domestic Policy and Electoral Reform

Electoral reform. Voting rights from the age of 18 by 2016; electoral system reform; strengthening oversight of political funds by revising the Political Funds Control Law; improving public accounts bookkeeping; agree to Constitutional amendment by "additions to the constitution", such as new human rights; support reinterpretation of Article 9, while respecting the Constitution's basic principles.

Political Parties

Japan Innovation Party (Ishin-no-to)





Key Promises

Economy and Trade

Abenomics cannot solve economic problems. Structural reform and regional revitalization to achieve economic growth; reform of the Central Union of Agricultural Cooperatives (JA Zenchu); electricity market reform and further liberalization; healthcare reform and implementing mixed medical care billing; converting consumption tax to local tax; sale of state shares in entities like JT, NTT, Japan Postal Holdings, etc; enactment of a “fiscal responsibility law”; strong liberalization to increase companies’ competitiveness in all sectors; promotion of women in the workforce.

Social Welfare

Structural reform in social and welfare sector to improve efficiency. Establishment of “revenue agency” combining the tax collection departments of the National Tax Administration Agency and the Japan Pension Service (linkage of tax with the social security system); improve use child nursery and kindergarten facilities by increasing competition in the sector; establish nurseries close to stations and offices; extensive social security system reform to set clear and appropriate criteria for benefits and financial burden (financial burden based on income)

Nuclear Power and Energy

Liberalization of the energy sector and electricity market expansion. Reduce overreliance on nuclear energy; phasing out of nuclear power; decommissioning of reactors and bankruptcy procedures for TEPCO; establish Japan as a country of natural energy sources.



National Security and Foreign Policy

Realistic foreign and security policy. Establish law for the defense of national territories and effective control over all Japanese territories (Senkaku, Ogasawara, etc); allow for collective self defense under certain circumstances and the current constitution; strengthen the Japan-US Alliance; submit the Senkaku issue to the ICJ; proactive in TPP, RCEP, Japan-South Korea-China FTA; resolve historical perception issues with Asian countries.

Domestic policy and electoral reform

Constitutional amendment and electoral and administrative reforms. 30% cut in number of seats in the Diet and the annual salaries paid to Diet members; ban political donations from corporations; self-reliance of regional areas and extensive administrative reform; insist on keeping the option not to raise the consumption tax if the economy is bad; civil servants reform; measures for dealing with the "politics and money" problem; Constitutional reform (articles 92, 67; 42; 90; 96) in order to change the government structure of the country; educational reform

Political Parties

Party for Future Generations (Jisedai-no-to)





Key Promises

Economy and Trade

Jisedai-mics. Support Abenomics, but propose course correction; decrease overdependence on monetary measures and the excessive devaluation of the yen and aim for exchange rate stability; delay increase of the consumption tax; abolish market entry restrictions for foreign companies and instead set post-entry regulations; propose state fiscal responsibility law: encourage new entry into the agricultural, healthcare and energy sectors; mid-term oriented strategic fiscal management; fundamental tax reform; decrease and simplify income tax (flat tax); reduce significantly the effective corporation tax rate.

Social Welfare

Welfare reform. Funding methods for public pensions to ensure sustainability; introduce mixed-billing and standardization for medical expenses not covered by insurance; partial amendment of the labor law and the introduction of same-level wages for the same amount of work despite the type of employment; reduce income tax for households with more children and introduce tax incentives and pension incentives to increase marriages and birthrates; limit public assistance to Japanese nationals and introduce a separate system for foreigners in need of assistance.

Nuclear Power and Energy

Decrease nuclear dependence but develop innovative nuclear technology. Diversify Japan's energy resource mix through innovation, e.g. methane hydrate; electricity market reform; diplomatic strategy for securing stable import of energy resources; the maintenance of leading nuclear technology.



National Security and Foreign Policy

Strong security posture. Adjust constitutional interpretation to allow for collective self-defense; clarify conditions for individual self-defense; propose a draft national security basic act; propose a draft law for the defense of the national territories (for grey-zone cases); strengthen the Japan-US Alliance and revise the guidelines; strengthen communication with foreign countries on questions of intelligence, territorial and history perception issues; clarify the truth about "comfort women" and protect Japan's honor; international parliamentarians league for the protection of Asian basin; strengthening security for the Tokyo Olympics.

Domestic policy and electoral reform

Constitutional reform. Constitutional reform to provide for national army, rearrange the emergency powers of the state, redefinition of the separation of powers; stricter immigration policies and reconsideration of the system of permanent residency for foreigners; focus on education emphasizing correct historical and national perceptions; administrative reform to strengthen regional structures; relaxation of the clauses for constitutional amendment.

Political Parties

People's Life Party (Seikatsu-no-to)



報道・研究資料用

生活者本位の国へ。

生活の党

● 脱原発。新エネルギー政策へ転換し自然エネルギー立国へ

● 消費増税凍結と内需拡大で景気を良くし国民生活向上へ

● 非正規雇用の是正と少子化対策で活力ある社会へ

シフト

生活の党
People's Life Party
政策/インプレット

生活の本拠
〒100-0014 東京都千代田区千代田 2-12-6 4階 141ビル
ホームページ <http://www.seikatsu1.jp/>



Key Promises

Economy and Trade

Rebuild the lost middle class and recover from the bankrupt Abenomics. Freeze the sales tax hike and introduce various measures to increase disposable income of households and SMEs to increase demand and improve the economic climate; promotion of women and the elderly in the workforce; oppose TPP; promote FTA with other countries.

Social Welfare

Employment stability. Reverse the increase of irregular employment workers and aim for more regular employment contracts; introduce same wage for the same type of work regardless of the type of contract; child raising support; free higher education; minimum pension; unified pension plans; improvement of the healthcare and nursing systems; anti-poverty measures;

Nuclear Power and Energy

Withdrawal from nuclear power. Oppose the restart of nuclear reactors or the construction of new reactors; new energy sources like solar, wind, thermal and water power generation; new energy policy based on the concept of local production and local consumption.

National Security and Foreign Policy

Oppose the Cabinet's reinterpretation of the constitution. Support the Japan-US Security Alliance; relocation of the Futenma base outside of Japan; promote friendly relations with China, South Korea and other Asian countries;

Political Parties

Japan Communist Party



Key Promises

Economy and Trade

Stop consumption tax increase to 10% entirely. Stop corporate tax reductions to reverse preferential treatment of wealthy households and big corporations; increase income tax, residential tax and inheritance tax; increase budget for SMEs to support R&D, market expansion and loans; withdraw from TPP negotiations

Social Welfare

Strong social and welfare policies. Reduce burden of medical costs and the health insurance system; reform the pension system without reducing pension amounts; ; review structural reform of the employment sector; set targets to reduce poor households; revoke reductions in child-raising allowances.

Nuclear Power and Energy

Zero nuclear power. No nuclear restarts; decommission nuclear reactors; stop immediately the export of nuclear technology; introduce renewable energy and power-saving schemes.

National Security and Foreign Policy

Repeal Cabinet decision on collective self-defense. Eliminate possibility of SDF troops being dispatched abroad to fight alongside US troops; stop construction of new US military bases in Okinawa; create peaceful diplomatic cooperation in North East Asia.

Domestic policy and electoral reform

Electoral reform and political reform: Amend rules for political donations and prohibit donations from corporations to avoid the “politics and money” problem; electoral reform to abolish combination of single-seat districts and proportional blocks / introduce proportional representation; voting rights from 18; Diet reform to ensure thorough Diet deliberation of bills; repeal state secrets law; renounce re-interpretation of the constitution on collective self-defense.

Political Parties

Social Democratic Party



Social Democratic Party
社民党Official Web

SHAMIN

衆議院選挙公約2014

平和と福祉はやっぱり社民党

(読者者に届出し、選挙運動中に配布する「選挙公約」のPDFファイル等は公示日以後に掲載いたします。)

衆議院選挙公約2014

平和と福祉は
やっぱり社民党

社民党の4つの約束

- アベノミクスによる生活困窮者を救済。暮らしの困窮を解消します。
- 選挙で争える国に再び1歩前進。平和憲法を守ります。
- 憲法を尊重し守ります。憲法改正の是非は国民の意思で決めます。
- TPP参加に賛同し、国民生活向上と経済成長を促します。

社民党

社民党の4つの約束

Key Promises

Economy and Trade

Return consumption tax to 5%. Oppose TPP and demand transparency in the negotiations; support regional production and 50% self-sufficiency for agricultural management by 2020.

Social Welfare

Remediate the increasing wealth gap due to Abenomics. Stop amendment of the Temporary Staffing Services Law and strengthen labor protection; create a pension which covers the basic minimum and restore various breaks for the elderly; support healthcare institutions and stop the privatization of public hospitals; reduce medical fees for the elderly and improve elderly care; anti-poverty measures; support for disabled groups and minorities; increase of child-care facilities;

Nuclear Power and Energy

Oppose reactors restart. End nuclear power dependence; electricity market liberalization; promote renewable energy sources, while in the transitional period promote use of LNG combined cycle and thermal power generation.

National Security and Foreign Policy

Repeal constitutional reinterpretation. Maintain pacifist constitution and purely defensive security policy; move the Futenma US army base outside of Japan and reconsider conditions of the Japan-US alliance; resolve territorial disputes with neighboring states through dialogue; resume the 6-Party Talks ; aim for Regional Northeastern Security Organization.

Domestic policy and electoral reform

Electoral and party reform. Voting right from 18 and eligibility for election from 20; prohibition of donations from corporations to political parties and groups; stricter political donations rules; electoral sector reform towards proportional representation;



Japan Nuclear Restarts

- Restart of Sendai No1 and No2 reactors after February 2015 because of the delay of NRA examination on detailed design and operational control.
- But, local governments approved the restart in November, and because the biggest political barrier was removed, the restart is now just a matter of time.
- Having Sendai restart as a “model case”, the government wants to hasten the restart procedures for other reactors.

The situation and Prospect of NRA examination

Reactor	Status	The assumed timing of Restart
Sendai 1, 2	Passed Basic Examination, Local government approval	This winter (after February?)
Takahama 3, 4	In this winter, will pass Basic Examination	Around the end of this fiscal year (March) or later?
Genkai 3, 4, Ohi 3, 4	At the final stage of Basic Examination	Around the end of this fiscal year (May) or later?
Ikata 3, Tomari 1, 2, 3	At the stage of setting earthquake assumptions	After Spring?
Kashiwazaki Kariwa 6, 7 Other 8 reactors	At the early stage of Basic Examination	No prospect so far