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General Characteristics of the Tax System

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a brief overview of the tax system in Japan. In general, a tax system presents certain significant features which have a close bearing on the workings of the economy in which it operates. What, then, are the general characteristics of the Japanese system? To answer this question, three important areas must be covered before beginning to consider major issues.

First, a brief description is given of the evolution of the prewar and postwar tax systems. Second, three main features in tax levels and structure are explored. Lastly, several notable aspects of tax process and administration are examined as a preliminary step for further analysis.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Modernizing the Tax System

The origin of a modern tax system in Japan can be dated to 1887, when the national government instituted an income tax. Although this took a truly modern form only in 1940, Japan is thus counted as a pioneer in the use of the income tax. However, since the Japanese economy was at that time still underdeveloped, the income tax played only a minor role in total national tax revenues (say, 1.5 per cent in 1888).

Before the income tax became predominant in the tax system as a whole, the main revenues for the national government were raised first from a land tax, and then from indirect taxes. In fact, the land tax accounted for the largest share of national taxes until 1908, after which time the primary source was revenues from indirect taxes, mainly on alcoholic beverages and tobacco. Only after 1935 did income tax on individuals and corporations became the most important single source of total revenues. In short, before the Second World War the Japanese government relied mainly on indirect taxes, deriving more than two-thirds of its total revenue from them.

In 1940 an overall tax reform was carried out to prepare for the wartime economy. The whole tax system was thoroughly overhauled, resulting in the modern tax system, based mainly on direct taxes. Although individual and corporate incomes had been taxed together by a single form of income tax, in 1940 separate taxes were imposed for each type of income. Since then, individual and corporate income taxes have coexisted in the tax system.

The individual income tax was a schedular tax, under which different sources of income were levied by different tax rates. It was supplemented by a progressive

comprehensive tax which applied to an individual's aggregated income above a specific amount. On the other hand, the corporate income tax was imposed on corporate income at a flat rate of 18 per cent. Moreover, the commodity tax was introduced in 1937 mainly to collect revenue for wartime expenses, and the tax on alcoholic beverages was also simplified in 1940. The relative share of indirect taxes, however, began to decline as a result of the 1940 tax reform.

Evolution of the Postwar Tax System

The process of developing the tax system in postwar Japan was initiated by the USA. In 1947, several important reforms were undertaken under the influence of the US occupation authorities. The schedular tax on individual income was replaced by a unified tax on an aggregate basis with graduated tax rates. Furthermore, a turnover tax, which was levied on the basis of the sales amount at every stage of transaction at the rate of 1 per cent, was enacted in 1948 to collect necessary revenues.

In 1949 a tax mission headed by Carl S. Shoup came to Japan with the task of reorganizing the tax system as a whole. The Shoup Mission recommended a tax plan intended to achieve a complete overhaul of the Japanese system. Essentially, the Shoup recommendations placed more importance on direct taxes, mainly income taxes on individuals and corporations. Thus, the entire tax system was fully reconstructed producing epoch-making change. However, the ideal tax system achieved by the initiative of US influences was of temporary duration: many of the taxes were abolished or modified soon after their enactment. Hence it is necessary briefly to describe the post-Shoup evolution of four major taxes.¹

First, and most importantly, comprehensive income taxation has been replaced by a combination of a comprehensive tax and a schedular tax. This hybrid system was produced as a result of modifying the global income tax approach of the Shoup proposals. For example, instead of aggregating most incomes with progressive tax rates, some incomes (e.g. capital gains or interest income) are not now subject to global income taxation but are taxed at reduced flat rates, separate from other incomes. This special treatment is due to a number of tax concessions intended to stimulate saving and investment and to improve the welfare level among specific taxpayers.

Second, the corporate income tax was a split-rate system until March 1990, but it has now become a uniform one in which a single rate is imposed on a whole corporate income. The old system was quite similar to that used in West Germany, in which retained profits and dividends are taxed at different rates. Also, numerous special tax measures have made the corporate income tax extraordinarily complicated.

Third, an accession tax on transfer of wealth at death proposed by the Shoup Mission was replaced by a combination of inheritance and gift taxes. Fourth, in contrast to the general trend of modifying direct taxes, the whole system of indirect

¹ For a general discussion, see e.g. Pechman and Kaizuka (1976), MOF Tax Bureau (1991), and Aoki (1986).

		Source of tax revenues in Japan and seven major countries, 1995 (%)
	Ē	lable 1.1

Sweden

	Japan	USA	UK	Canada	France	Germany	Italy
Income	36.6	45.8	36.9	45.9°	17.6	30.1	35.1
Individuals	21.4	36.3	27.4	37.3	13.9	27.3	26.2
Corporate	15.2	9.4	9.5	8.1	3.7	2.8	8.7
Social security							
contributions ^a	36.3	25.1	17.7	16.8	45.7	39.4	32.0
Goods & services	15.1	17.9	34.7	25.5	27.3	27.8	27.3
General	5.2	8.0	19.0	15.2	17.4	17.3	13.9
Specificb	6.6	6.6	15.7	10.3	6.6	10.5	13.4
Death and gift	1.9	1.0	9.0	0.0	0.8	0.3	0.2
Property	9.7	10.2	6.6	10.5	4.4	2.5	5.5
Other	0.4	0.0	0.2	1.3	4.2		I
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
 Include taxes on payroll, if any. Include taxes on specific goods and services and those on use of goods and performance of activities. Unallocable items are omitted. 	ny. ds and services d.	s and those on	use of goods a	nd performance	of activities.		
Notes: Tax revenues include social security contributions, as well as national and local taxes.	ocial security co	ontributions, a	s well as natio	nal and local tax	es.		

31.3 24.3 15.1 9.2 0.2 2.7

Source: Calculated from OECD, Revenue Statistics of OECD Member Countries, 1965-1996.

taxes has remained unchanged for a long time since the time of the Shoup recommendations. There had been no general consumption tax in Japan until April 1989, and indirect taxation depended mainly on selective excise taxes.

As a result of the evolving postwar tax system, what significant characteristics can we observe from the present tax system of Japan as compared with those of other major countries? As seen in Table 1.1, the Japanese system has several features different from those of other countries.²

Japan depends more on revenues from taxes on income, and places greater emphasis on the corporate income tax, which is the highest among OECD countries. Social security contributions (equivalent to the payroll tax) play an equally important role in raising revenues, in spite of heavier reliance on income taxes. The relative share of social security contributions has increased very sharply during the past decade or so. Among major advanced countries, Japan is the only one that did not impose a general consumption tax until 1989, and so its relative share was at the lowest level in 1995 even after the adoption of VAT. Thus, taxes on goods and services derive from specific excise taxes (e.g. alcohol, tobacco, or petrol taxes). Minor sources of revenue are obtained from death and gift taxes, while the property tax, a main source of local government revenue, occupies a relatively higher share in the totals.

In 1995, of total tax revenues collected in Japan, 36.6 per cent came from individual and corporate income taxes, 36.3 per cent from social security contributions, 15.1 per cent from taxes on goods and services, 9.7 per cent from the property tax, and 1.9 per cent from inheritance and gift taxes. The USA raised total tax revenues in relatively similar proportions from each source. Japan's tax structure and that of the USA, with their heavier reliance on income taxes and social security contributions, should be compared with those of many European countries where a much larger share of revenues is obtained from taxes on goods and services.

MAIN FEATURES OF TAX LEVEL AND STRUCTURE

Low Tax Burden

It is difficult to judge whether taxpayers in any one country are burdened to a greater or lesser degree than those in other countries. Since many taxpayers believe that they are personally overburdened and overtaxed, we need some objective yard-stick. Perhaps the best tool is an international comparison, which is frequently used by economists. The relevant question is, Is the Japanese tax system required to raise more revenue than are tax systems in similar countries overseas?

² OECD (1987, 62) classified OECD member countries into three categories geographically, by using the percentage distribution in question: those in (1) northern and central Europe, which rely on general consumption taxes; (2) OECD non-Europe, which rely on income (individual and corporate) taxes; and (3) Mediterranean Europe, which rely on social security contributions and consumption taxes. In accordance with this classification, Japan and the USA belong to category (2).

One measure of the tax burden is provided by tax levels i.e. the ratio of tax revenues (including social security contributions) to GDP. Table 1.2 lists this ratio for 24 OECD countries for the years 1970, 1980, 1990, and 1995. Although the level and timing of increases change from country to country, the highest tax levels are to be found, as expected, in the Scandinavian countries, followed by other European countries, such as Belgium, France, and Luxemburg.

In this comparison, Japan came third to last of 24 countries in 1970. In fact, apart from Spain and Turkey, Japan was ranked lowest among the major advanced countries. The same holds for 1980. However, this ratio in Japan rose, exceeding that of the USA and Australia in 1990, but it was still ranked among the lower group around the 30 per cent level. In 1995, it had declined again to the 20 per cent level, reflecting successive tax reductions, although its rank remains the same.

Table 1.2 Tax levels in OECD countries: tax revenues^a as a percentage of GDP, selected years

	1995	1990	1980	1970
Denmark	51.3	48.7	45.5	40.4
Sweden	49.7	55.6	48.8	39.8
Belgium	46.5	44.4	44.4	35.7
Finland	46.5	45.4	36.9	32.5
France	44.5	43.7	41.7	35.1
Luxemburg	44.0	43.4	42.0	28.0
Netherlands	44.0	44.6	45.2	37.1
Austria	42.4	41.0	40.3	35.7
Norway	41.5	41.8	42.7	39.3
Greece	41.4	36.5	29.4	25.3
Italy	41.3	39.2	30.4	26.1
Germany	39.2	36.7	38.2	32.9
New Zealand	38.2	38.1	33.0	27.4
Canada	37.2	36.5	31.6	31.3
UK	35.3	36.4	35.3	36.9
Spain	34.0	34.4	24.1	16.9
Switzerland	33.9	31.5	30.8	23.8
Ireland	33.8	34.8	33.8	31.0
Portugal	33.8	31.0	25.2	20.3
Iceland	31.2	31.4	29.2	27.0
Australia	30.9	30.8	28.4	24.2
Japan	28.5	31.3	25.4	19.7
USA	27.9	26.7	26.9	27.4
Turkey	22.5	20.0	17.9	12.5

^a Social security contributions are included.

Source: As Table 1.1.

As is evident from such an international comparison, the Japanese tax system imposes a lower burden on taxpayers, as does that of the USA, among major industrialized countries.³ Perhaps this is one of its most salient features, which deserves wider attention.

Heavier Reliance on Direct Taxes

Tax structure is another important element of the tax system of a country. Past trends in the variation of tax structure are seen in Table 1.3, in which we compare the percentage distribution of tax revenues (excluding social security contributions⁴) by source at both national and local government levels. The dominance of income taxes since 1950 was maintained and even accelerated until fiscal 1990. In 1990 approximately 70.7 per cent of total national taxes was collected from individual and corporate income taxes, and 63.7 per cent of local taxes came from the same sources. In contrast, the relative importance of taxes on consumption has continued to decline for the past decade or so. Taxes on wealth, which are used more prevalently by the local governments, increased their relative share until 1990. However, substantial changes have recently taken place in both national and local taxes, switching from income taxes to taxes on consumption.

The Japanese often use the ratio between direct and indirect taxes⁵ as a crude measure of investigating a change in tax structure (simply referred to as the 'direct–indirect taxes ratio') in Japan. In Figure 1.1 this ratio is depicted for national and local governments, respectively for selected years over a 60-year span.

Obviously, the relative weight of direct taxes moved upward until 1990. In particular, the shift from indirect to direct national taxes in the 1980s progressed markedly since the prewar period. It was widely acknowledged in Japan that the reliance on direct taxes was excessive. By definition, taxpayers felt the burden of direct taxes more strongly than other taxes and were inclined to avoid and evade them. Consequently, many Japanese taxpayers had complaints about the fairness and reliability of the tax system. Such an excessive reliance on direct taxes was partly responsible for the tax reforms, and as a result the relative share in direct taxes began to fall in the 1990s.

³ Kay and King (1986, 224) also attempted to classify selected OECD countries into three group: (1) Holland and the Scandinavian countries, (2) other Western countries, and (3) a somewhat heterogeneous group including Japan and the USA.

⁴ Revenues from social security contributions are generally not included when studying tax policy issues in Japan. In fact, tax data do not include social security contributions, mainly for two reasons: (1) social security contributions are not treated as part of the general account of the national government, and (2) they are administered mainly by the Ministry of Health and Welfare, not the Ministry of Finance. Thus, we are likely to neglect them in analysing tax issues because of the lack of combined data.

⁵ At the national level, direct taxes are composed of individual and corporate income taxes and inheritance and gift taxes, and the remainder are all classified as indirect taxes including miscellaneous ones. The same holds true for local taxation.

 Table 1.3
 Sources of tax revenues, by source, selected years

	Fiscal year	ır							
	1950	1960	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000^{a}
National taxes									
Taxes on income	54.4	53.6	64.3	67.2	69.5	70.1	70.7	60.5	56.5
Individual	38.8	21.8	31.2	37.8	38.1	39.4	41.4	35.5	36.9
Corporate	15.6	31.9	33.0	29.4	31.5	30.7	29.3	25.0	19.6
Taxes on consumption	43.4	42.2	30.9	26.8	25.2	21.9	22.0	29.4	36.9
Taxes on wealth	2.2	4.2	4.9	0.9	5.3	8.0	7.3	10.1	9.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Local taxes									
Taxes on income	44.9	49.6	55.6	54.8	57.1	58.1	63.7	52.7	45.9
Individual	38.9	15.4	20.1	26.3	27.6	28.7	31.1	30.5	28.5
Corporate	0.9	34.1	35.5	28.5	29.6	29.4	32.6	22.2	17.4
Taxes on consumption	18.1	23.3	24.5	20.0	19.2	17.1	12.3	14.7	21.7
Taxes on wealth	36.9	27.1	19.9	25.1	23.7	24.7	24.0	32.6	32.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
^a Preliminary figures.									
Note: The classification of taxes in this table is rearranged according to the OECD criterion, but social security contributions are excluded.	in this table is	rearranged ac	cording to the	OECD criterio	n, but social sec	urity contribut	ions are exclud	ed.	
Source: Tax Advisory Commission Shuyo Sanko Shiryoshu), Feb. 2000	Commission, Tax Report on a Sweeping Tax Reform (in Japanese), Oct. 1986, pp. 18–19; and MOF, Primary Statistics of Taxation (Zeisei a), Feb. 2000.	on a Sweepin	ıg Tax Reform ((in Japanese), (Oct. 1986, pp. 1	.8–19; and MO	E, Primary Sta	tistics of Taxaı	ion (Zeisei

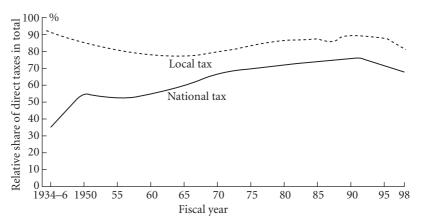


Fig. 1.1 Trends in the relative shares of direct and indirect taxes, 1934–1998 *Source*: As Table 1.3.

Centralized Tax Collections

Attention should also be paid to the relative proportion of national and local taxes. Japan is centralized to a degree comparable to that of the UK, and local governments are given only limited fiscal responsibility and powers over their fiscal activities. Under a centralized fiscal system, unitary taxation is generally prevalent throughout the country (see Chapter 18). This is quite different from the decentralized systems of federal nations such as the USA, Canada, and Australia.

Table 1.4 summarizes the relative share of total tax revenues of the national and local governments for selected years since 1950. In 1998 the total tax ratio (not including social security contributions) amounted to 24.5 per cent, of which 14.5 and 9.6 per cent were allocated respectively to the national and local governments. More than 60 per cent of total taxes is collected by the national government, but its relative share has steadily declined for the last three decades. This ratio of tax share is of course not applicable to the allocation of public expenditures to different levels of government, in accordance with the workings of intergovernmental fiscal transfers.

It is also interesting to compare collection costs (i.e. administrative costs in the public sector) at two different levels of the government (see Chapter 4 for an international comparison). As seen in Figure 1.2, collection costs of national taxes constantly moved at a much lower level than those of local taxes during the period 1965–98, although two lines show the declining trends over the long run until fiscal 1990. It is thus conjectured that tax administration at the national level has been performed more efficiently by enlarging automation and computerized procedures with an unchanged number of staff.

The problem lies in the costs of collecting local taxes by prefectural and municipal governments. The collection of local taxes costs over twice as much as that of

Table 1.4 Tax revenues as a percentage of national income, by level of government, selected years

Fiscal year	Level of gover	Total	
	National	Local	
1950	16.9 (75.1)	5.6 (24.9)	22.5 (100.0)
1955	12.8 (71.1)	5.2 (28.9)	18.0 (100.0)
1960	13.6 (70.8)	5.6 (29.2)	19.2 (100.0)
1965	12.4 (67.9)	5.9 (32.1)	18.3 (100.0)
1970	12.7 (67.5)	6.1 (32.5)	18.8 (100.0)
1975	11.7 (64.0)	6.6 (36.0)	18.3 (100.0)
1980	14.2 (64.1)	8.0 (35.9)	22.2 (100.0)
1983	15.0 (63.3)	8.7 (36.7)	23.7 (100.0)
1984	15.3 (63.1)	9.0 (36.9)	24.3 (100.0)
1985	15.1 (62.7)	9.0 (37.3)	24.1 (100.0)
1990	18.2 (65.2)	9.7 (34.8)	27.9 (100.0)
1995	14.5 (62.0)	8.9 (38.0)	23.3 (100.0)
1998	14.9 (60.7)	9.6 (39.3)	24.5 (100.0)

Notes: Social security contributions are excluded. Figures in parentheses are percentage distributions.

Source: As Table 1.3.

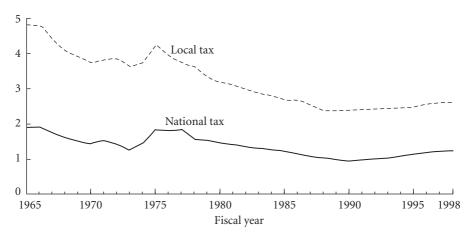


Fig. 1.2 Trends in tax collection costs, 1965–1998

Note: Costs are calculated per ¥100.

Source: National Tax Administration, Annual Reports (Kokuzeicho Tokei Nenpo).

national taxes. Why are costs so much higher in the collection of local taxes? One reason often mentioned is that tax offices of local governments perform less efficiently; tax revenues cannot be collected in proportion to the larger numbers of tax officials. Given this situation, it is often proposed that the two administrative

mechanisms be merged to improve the efficiency level of tax administration and to lower total costs of collecting taxes as a whole.

In summary, the most salient features of the Japanese tax system are that (1) the tax burden is relatively lower among major industrialized countries; (2) heavier reliance is placed on direct taxes; and (3) tax collection is centralized.

TAX PROCESS

The Formulation of Tax Policy

The Japanese have generated a unique system to create a general consensus on tax policy. For convenience, we distinguish the Japanese type from the US–Western type in formulating tax policy.

In Figure 1.3, the two types are drawn as upper and lower pathways. Each process starts from a government inquiry which is initiated when the government admits the necessity for promoting any tax policy or reform. In the US–Western type, a task force or committee is usually established by the president, prime minister, or other authorities; several tax experts are appointed as members, and they are headed by an influential chairman.⁶

The task force or commission of inquiry generally undertakes a review of the whole tax system for five or six years, and then publishes a report to recommend a plan of structural tax reform for specific goals of tax policy. This report is virtually independent of political powers, at least while it is in preparation. In this sense, it can be considered a public report of an independent task force or commission. After the report is published, the government begins the legislative process in the congress or parliament. It should be emphasized, however, that there is a low degree of implementation of inquiry recommendations by the promoting government (see Kay 1987, 67–9).

Needless to say, the proposals contained within the report tend to define both gainers and losers, which causes a great deal of controversy by a variety of vested interests. In particular, it is very difficult to win public support for potentially unpopular policies, including tax increases. In general, governments lose their inclination to tackle the political problems of structural reform, and in turn the initial objective is likely to be frustrated. Therefore, under a tax formulation of the US–Western type, the possibility of implementing the tax reports is much poorer than might be expected.

In contrast, the Japanese government uses the tax commission on a more formal basis; that is, as a Tax Advisory Commission of the prime minister. After the prime minister submits the inquiry to the Commission, it starts the discussion with a review, public hearings, and analyses. In the case of long-range tax reform proposals, after an intensive study for a relatively shorter period, say less than three years, the

⁶ Typical examples include the Carter Commission in Canada in 1962, the Ashrey Committee in Australia in 1972, the Irish Commission in 1980, or the US Treasury case in 1984 (see Kay 1987). The Shoup Mission can be regarded as an example of this category.

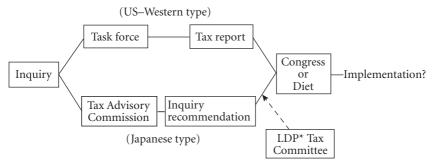


Fig. 1.3 The taxation process under Japanese and US–Western systems * Liberal Democratic Party (in Japan).

Commission presents its recommendation to the prime minister, not to the general public. What is of primary importance in the Japanese method is that tax recommendations differ from those undertaken in the US–Western type. As will be explained shortly, the Tax Advisory Commission contains representatives from many vested interests. Despite serious conflicts between each group, reconciliation is conventionally made before the Commission recommends a tax programme, since political pressure groups can resolve differences.

The Commission does encounter considerable difficulty and resistance in making reconciliations, and as a result a great number of political compromises are involved in the final tax proposals. This makes the contents of proposals difficult to understand readily. The greatest benefit from the Japanese method is that almost all inquiry recommendations can be relatively easily approved by the Diet, chiefly because political problems have already been resolved by the major interests. In short, the extent of implementation is much higher, in spite of many defects in the theoretical level of tax proposals.

This process, however, has changed with the intervention of the tax committee of the ruling party, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), as is shown in Figure 1.3. The LDP has its own tax committee, which makes tax recommendations every year, and it has become much more influential politically. The Tax Advisory Commission's recommendations, which were adopted virtually intact two decades ago, have often been altered by the different views expressed within the LDP. Thus, the Tax Advisory Commission is inclined to exclude engineering features of tax proposals (e.g. percentage of tax rates or the level of deductions) in order to avoid any possible conflicts with the LDP Tax Committee. Usually, its recommendations are merely made as a fundamental argument for tax reforms without supplying any concrete figures necessary to construct tax structures. The detailed framework of tax changes is politically decided by the LDP, not the Tax Advisory Commission. A typical example will be seen in the case of the land holding tax (see Chapter 13).

The Role of the Tax Advisory Commission

The Tax Advisory Commission has long played a central role in assisting the formulation of tax policy and reform, although it is often criticized that its role has tended to be less important. It is impossible to understand the Japanese tax process without a detail knowledge of the Commission itself.

The Tax Advisory Commission was established by the government in 1953⁷ to review the whole tax system and to formulate annual tax changes as well as long-run tax policy. One of Japan's most prestigious committees, it consists of 30 regular members and about the same number of supporting members, all of whom are appointed by the prime minister. Usually, tenure for members is for three years. Members of the Commission are selected from a variety of people, including academics, tax experts, tax lawyers, journalists, former government officials of each ministry, representatives of big and small businesses, labour union leaders, and so on. Because of this diverse membership, the Commission can arbitrate conflicting issues among the vested interests who greatly affect tax policy.

The Commission's major objectives include the formulation of both short-run and long-range tax proposals. Annual tax revisions are prepared from a short-run standpoint by the Commission when the budget is compiled. Likewise, the Commission is responsible for the formulation of long-run policy on the structure of the tax system. Both types of tax proposals have had a substantial impact on general attitudes towards changes in the tax structure.

High-level staff of the tax bureaux in both the Ministry of Finance (MOF) and the Ministry of Home Affairs (MOHA) are deeply involved in the decision-making process of the Commission as its secretariat. In fact, they appear to have much influence on the Commission's recommendations in two respects: first, they are responsible for the recruitment of members to assist the Commission and the government; second, the necessary data are for the most part limited to that provided by the tax bureaux.

Therefore, the role of the staff of the tax bureaux is of great importance to the functioning of the Tax Advisory Commission. These staff members are the most enlightened and imaginative of government officials, and if necessary they could formulate tax proposals by themselves without the aid of any outsiders. In fact, before recommendations are actually made by the Commission, tax proposals are frequently discussed with the MOF and other ministries.

Why do the government and tax bureau staffs seek the assistance of the Tax Advisory Commission? Generally speaking, a consensus is reached in the movement between the government and the Commission. While the Commission is sometimes seen as 'hiding behind the government',⁸ the government's views also have been

⁷ This was not a permanent establishment, but a temporary committee whose term lasted for a couple of years. After 1960 it was replaced by the long-standing committee that still operates today.

⁸ We use the term 'Kakuremino' in Japanese. The government sometimes uses the commission as a screen in order to divert attention from its real motives.

altered as a result of conferring with the Commission's members. Thus, tax recommendations prepared by the Commission, which signify the government's approval, are instrumental in smoothing the way for the enactment of tax reform. Without them, the government would encounter obstacles in having any tax proposals implemented, chiefly because it is difficult to obtain public support of tax changes.

Strictly speaking, the Commission has not played a crucial role in short-run tax revisions for the past two decades or so. Attention should also be paid to the more influential role of the LDP tax committee, as argued before, which usually attempts to present tax proposals in the annual tax process. Around the end of the calendar year, the recommendations of the Tax Advisory Commission are transmitted to the prime minister for budgetary preparations; those of the LDP tax committee follow almost simultaneously. The final decisions are made by the cabinet based on these two recommendations. In the case of opposed views, it became the general tendency for the LDP Tax Committee to predominate over the Tax Advisory Committee in the tax process. Indeed, the powerful LDP committee often succeeded in significantly modifying the proposals of the Tax Advisory Commission.

Consequently, as noted above, the Tax Advisory Commission has tended to limit its proposals to the basic arguments in favour of the desirable direction for the long-term tax system and not to raise politically subtle issues of tax policy (e.g. any judgement regarding the value added tax rate). Also, it is of great importance to note that deliberation in the Commission has become open to the press since autumn 1998. This is a result of the recent movement to make official information open to the public.

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