

U.S. OCCUPATION IN IRAQ AND JAPAN: A BRIEF COMPARISON

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11.948 The Politics of Reconstructing Iraq

Spring 2005

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June 2006

GOAL OF OCCUPATION IN JAPAN

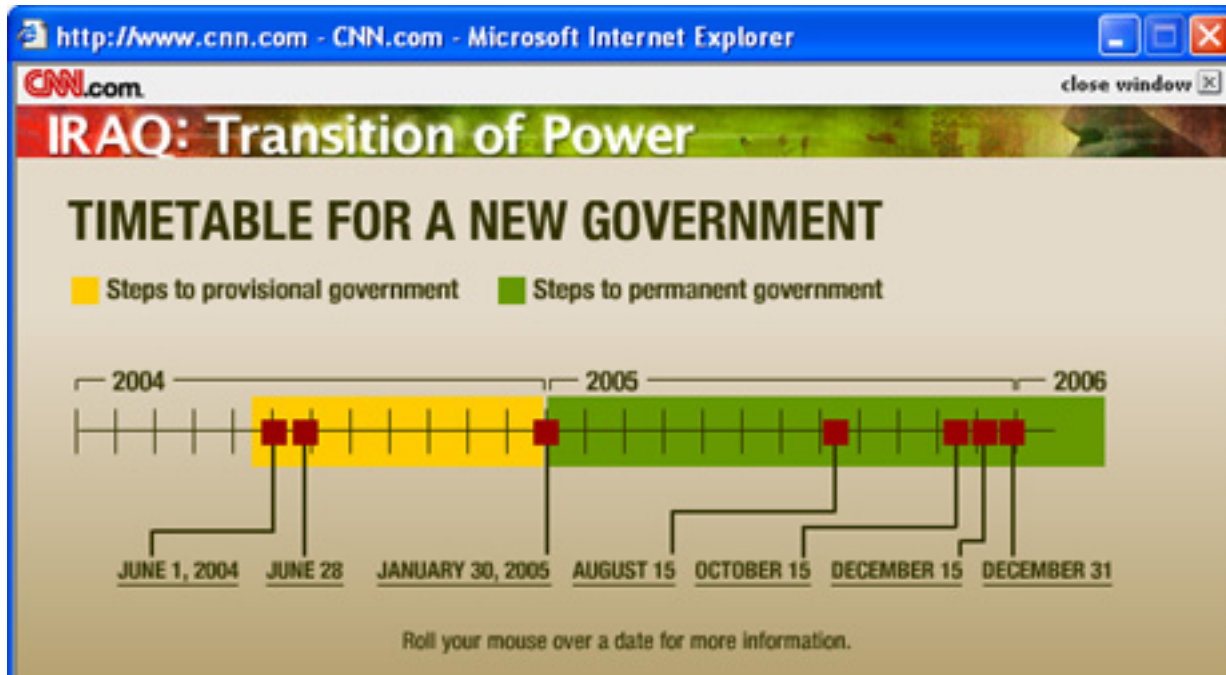
To ensure that “the present economic and social system in Japan which makes for a will to war will be changed so that the will to war will not continue.”

Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson

GOAL OF OCCUPATION IN IRAQ

“Among the key policy objectives laid out by the Bush Administration in conjunction with the war in Iraq was the economic and political reconstruction of the country. Discussion and debate within the United States government and abroad have been ongoing regarding the strategy to reach these ends utilizing reconstruction aid funds and the effectiveness of aid implementation.”

US Embassy



June 1, 2004

Iraqi Governing Body is dissolved and new government leaders are named.

June 28, 2004

Power to govern is handed to Iraq's interim government and the Coalition Provisional Authority is dissolved.

January 30, 2005

Elections for a transitional National Assembly take place. The National Assembly will draft a permanent constitution.

August 15, 2005

Deadline for National Assembly to draft a permanent constitution.

October 15, 2005

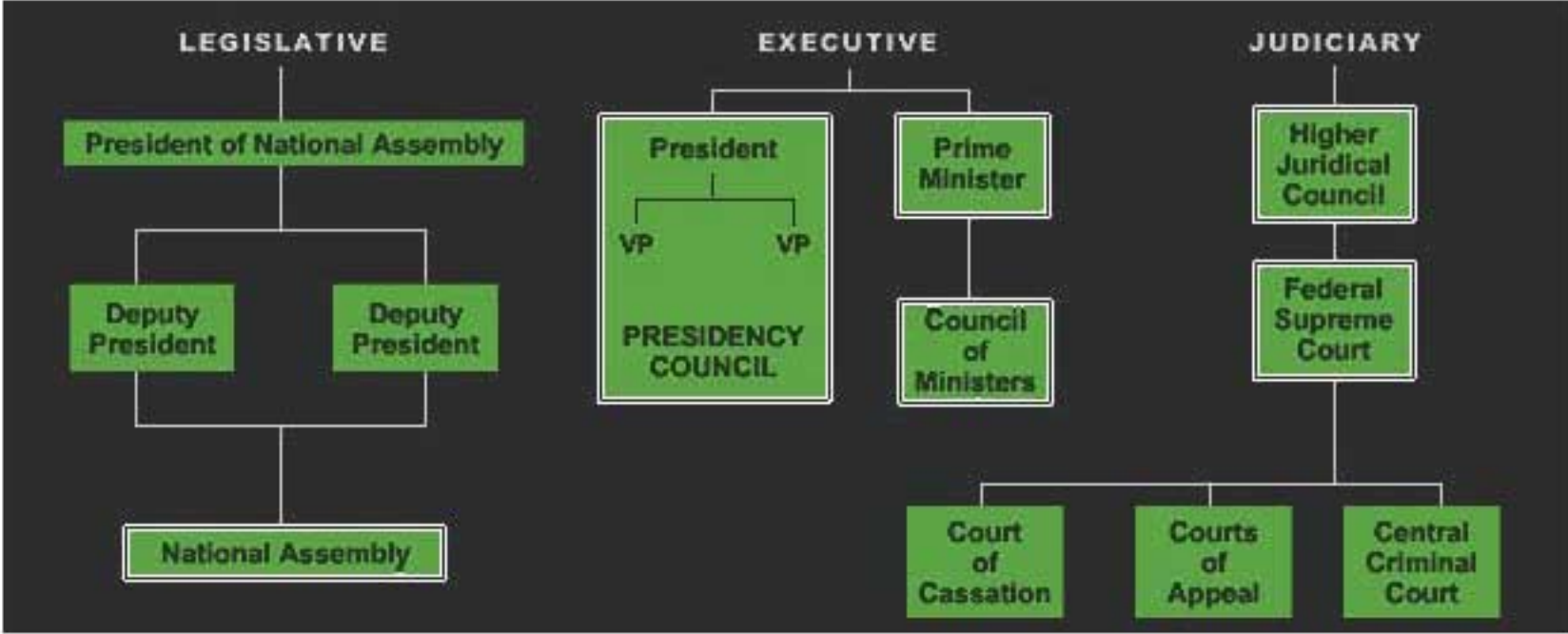
Deadline for draft or permanent constitution to go to Iraqi people for approval in a general referendum.

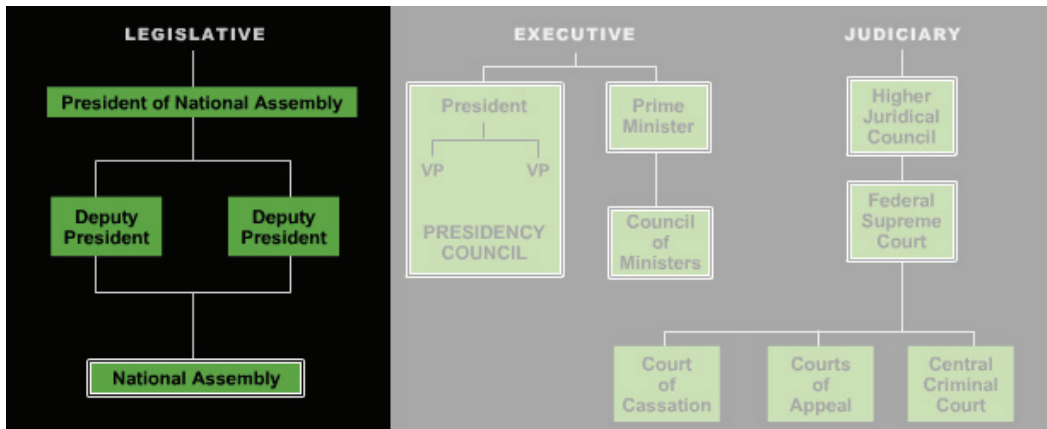
December 15, 2005

If constitution is approved, elections for a permanent government to be held by this date.

December 31, 2005

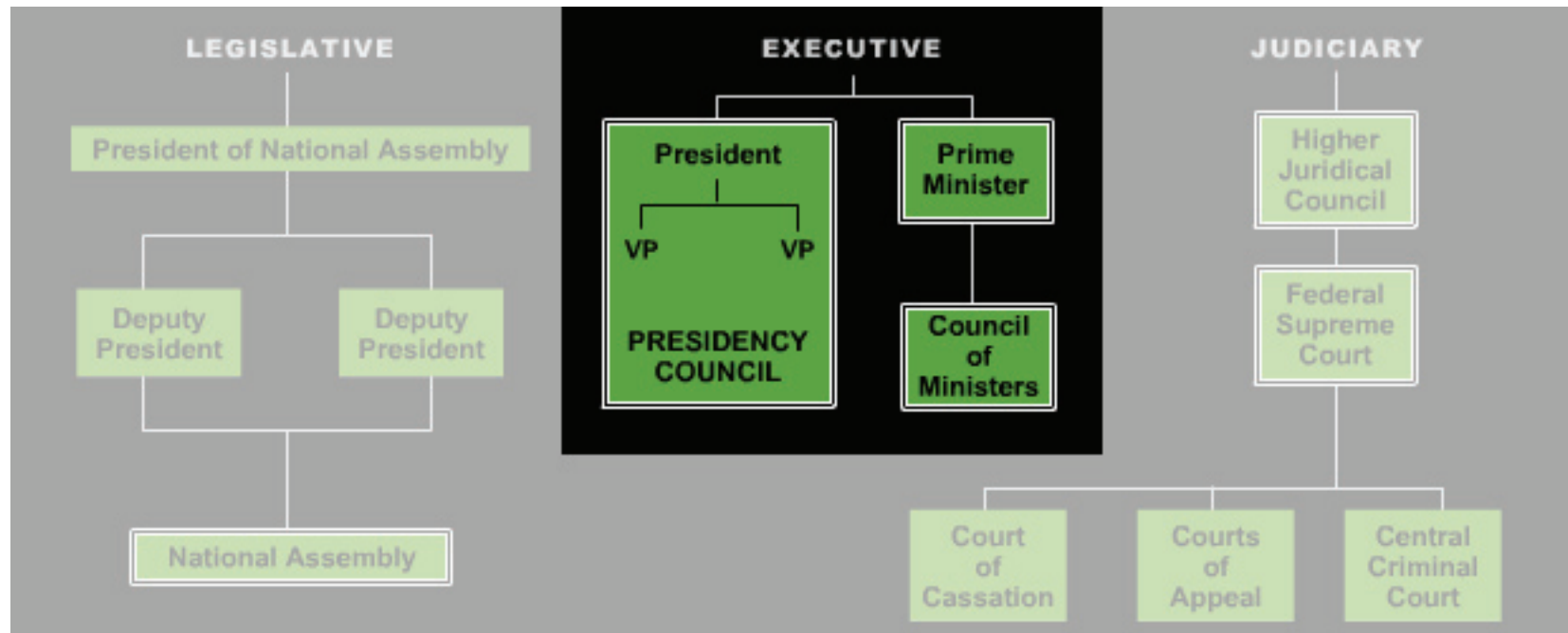
New government to assume office by this date.





National Assembly

275 members, the National Assembly will serve as Iraq's legislature. Electoral law requires at least 25 percent of the body to be women. Once in place, the National Assembly will elect its own leaders and the state's Presidency Council.



Presidency Council

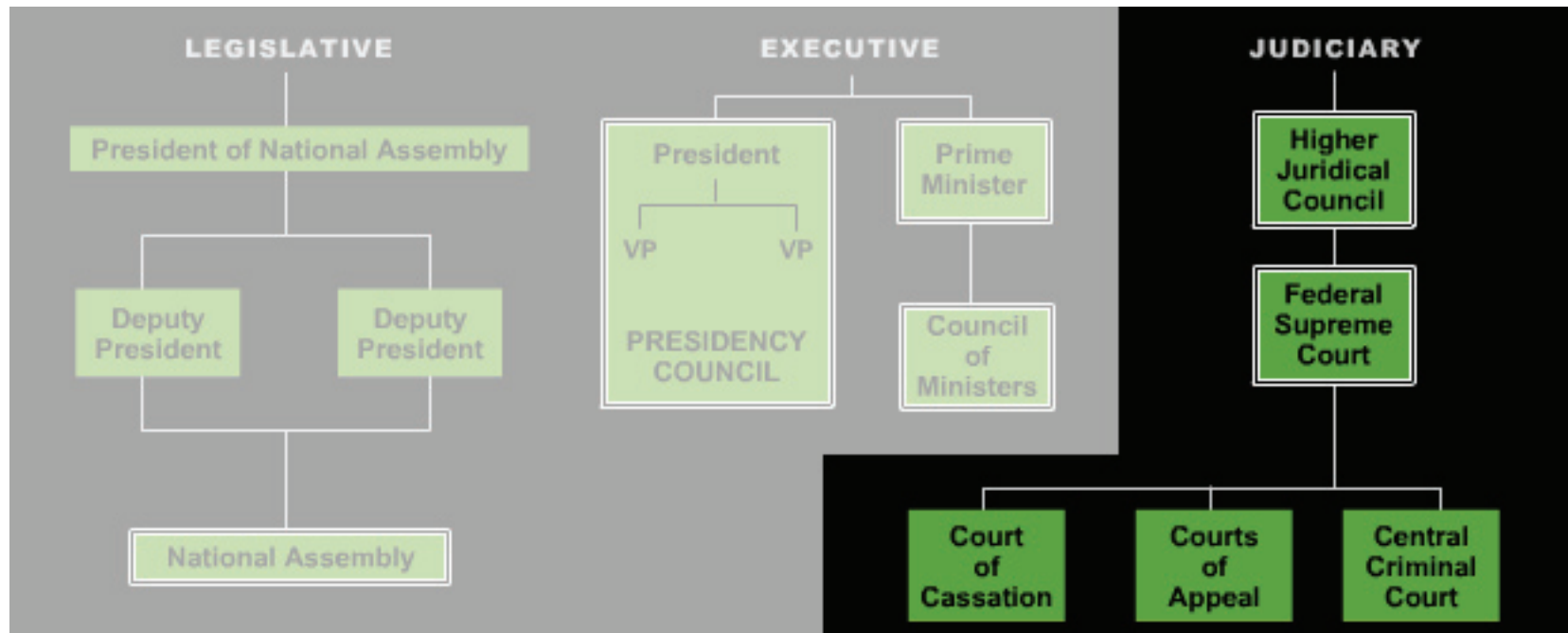
The Presidency council consists of the President and two vice presidents. The president is the commander in chief of the Iraqi military and appoints the country's Prime Minister.

Prime Minister

The Prime Minister controls the day-to-day activities of the government and makes recommendations to the Presidency council on members of the Council of Ministers.

Council of Ministers

The Council of Ministers represents the various departments within the government (e.g., Health, Justice, Transportation, Foreign Affairs). Each ministry may nominate deputy ministers, ambassadors and other staff.



High Judicial Council

The Higher Judicial Council will oversee the federal judiciary and its budget. The council will consist of the Federal Supreme Court's presiding judge and the presiding and deputy judges of several lower courts.

Federal Supreme Court

The Presidency council will appoint the nine members (including one presiding judge) of the Federal Supreme Court, who will make judicial decisions by simple majority. Lower courts include the country's Central Criminal Court, Courts of Appeal and the Court of Cassation.

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HOW JAPAN DIFFERS FROM IRAQ:

LEGITIMACY

- Legitimate war
- Legitimate, unconditional surrender from an intact government that remained intact after the surrender
- Legitimate economics (*no real appearance of war profiteering*)

SOCIAL COHESION

- No ethnic, regional, religious factions as found in Iraq

CLEAR OBJECTIVES FROM OUTSET

- Potsdam Declaration clearly announced terms of surrender by US, UK, and China
 - “United States Initial Post-Surrender Policy Relating to Japan”
 - Comprehensive military directive elaborating on the postsurrender policy
- (First two documents were almost immediately made public documents, while the third remained secret until November 1948)*

NO OPPOSITION/HOSTILE REACTIONS TO OCCUPATION FROM WITHIN

- “Revolution from Above”
- Americans depicted as godlike, omnipotent, “gifts from heaven”, MacArthur’s orders received from the “hand of God”
- “We express our deepest gratitude that the occupation of Japan by the Allied Forces, dedicated to liberating the world from fascism and militarism, has opened the way for the democratic revolution in Japan.” *Tokuda Kyuichi, Communist Party leader*
- Kato Esturo, *Okurareta Kakumei* (“*The Revolution We Have Been Given*”)

WHAT HAPPENED IN JAPAN:

REBUILDING FROM WITHIN

- No Marshall Plan for Japan. Burden of reconstruction fell mostly on the Japanese themselves.

- Occupation resulted in abolished military, forbiddance of war-related military production, huge population of planners, capitalists, managers, engineers, skilled work

manufacturers began heavy construction equipment production, large electronic companies like Hitachi and Toshiba that subcontracted for the military moved to the manufacturing of consumer goods. This shift gave rise to companies like Honda and Sony.

- Eco

‘PRO-STATE, ANTI-FOREIGNER’

- 1949, Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) created for the explicit purpose of expediting Japan's export-oriented productivity. *(later in the 70s Americans denounced it as a perfect example of Japan's unfair trade practices.)*

- Japanese government introduced legislation restricting foreign influence over the domestic economy. Wanted to achieve “self-sufficiency”, “state-in, foreigners-out” policy of the 1970s and 80s.

WHAT'S HAPPENING IN IRAQ:

RECONSTRUCTION PRIORITIES

OCTOBER 2003

(CPA's original priorities as approved by Congress)

22% □ , customs personnel)
67% aimed at improving infrastructure to stabilize country through job opportunities and stimulating the economy (electricity, oil production, water and sewerage, transportation, telecommunications)
~10% for technical assistance, small scale grants in areas such as democratization, civil society, microenterprise, education, economic policy, health, etc.

NOVEMBER 2003

Agreement to accelerate the hand-over of sovereignty to Iraqis led the Administration to revise plans in January 2004:

Broad categories remained nearly the same, except for the oil sector, where emergency supply efforts were cut by nearly \$200 million. However, a number of funding changes were made within sectors. The most significant change was an increase in the democratization effort — from \$100 million to \$458 million — reflecting the more intensive plan to prepare Iraqis to takeover. Increases were made as well in funding for border enforcement (from \$150 to \$300 million) and the civil defense corps (from \$76 to \$200 million).

SEPTEMBER 2004

32% security

51% infrastructure

16% democratization

Sector	Prior Allocation	September 2004 Re-Allocation	Obligations as of 12/15/04	Exp.
FY2004 Supplemental (P.L. 108-106)				
Security and Law Enforcement	3,235	5,045	2,995	976
Justice, Public Safety, and Civil Society	1,033	1,121	572	105
Democracy	451	832	576	162
Electricity	5,465	4,350	2,455	515
Oil Infrastructure	1,701	1,701	795	92
Water and Sanitation	4,246	2,311	882	39
Transport and Telecommunications	500	499	243	21
Roads, Bridges, Construction	367	359	184	27
Health	786	786	420	13
Private Sector	183	843	322	50
Education, Refugees, Human Rights, Governance	259	379	170	37
Administrative Expenses	213	213	29	29
Total FY2004 Supplemental	18,439	18,439	9,643	2,066
FY2003 Supplemental (P.L. 108-11)		2,475	2,418	1,768
TOTAL IRRF		20,914	12,061	3,834

Sources: Section 2207 Report, October 2004. Department of State, *Iraq Weekly Status Report*, December 15, 2004.

RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAMS

Restocking of ministries following massive looting after initial invasion

Rehabilitation of health facilities (training of health care providers, immunization for children)

Establishment of neighborhood councils in 445 locations

~2,000 grassroots projects conducted through USAID grants (\$92 mil) to provide community action groups

Provision of school materials, inventory and renovation of schools

STATUS OF RECONSTRUCTION:

Only a few hundred of the 2,300 construction projects identified by the Project and Contracting Office appear to have been completed.

Objectives in critical sectors, such as oil production and electric power generation, have not been met.

Electricity

Oil production reached a post-war peak in late September at 2.67 million barrels/day, and the goal is 2.8-3.0 million by December.

Most of the Iraqi police have not yet been trained.

The one consistent bright spot among reconstruction claims — a successful health program — was marred by reports that acute malnutrition among children has nearly doubled since the coalition invasion in 2003.

Iraqis voted January 30 to elect members of the new National Assembly from a list of 111 coalitions, parties and individuals, representing nearly 8,000 candidates.

GRAND AYATOLLAH ALI AL-SISTANI

Backer, United Iraqi Alliance

Although not on the ballot as a candidate, the influential Shiite cleric backs the United Iraqi Alliance, a Shiite-dominated coalition of political parties and individuals. He has called voting in the election “a religious duty.”

ADEL ABDUL MAHDI

Candidate, United Iraqi Alliance

Party: Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq

A Shiite and the finance minister in the Iraqi interim government, Mahdi is a trained economist who, after being stripped of his job, left Iraq in 1969 for exile in France, where he worked for several French think tanks, and edited magazines in French and Arabic.

AHMED CHALABI

Candidate, United Iraqi Alliance

Party: Iraqi National Congress

Chalabi is a secular Shiite and founder of the Iraqi National Congress, which comprises exiles, Kurds and Shiites. He was a key U.S. ally before the invasion of Iraq in 2003 but fell out of favor when his intelligence about weapons of mass destruction failed to pan out.

IBRAHIM AL-JAAFARI

Candidate, United Iraqi Alliance

Party: Dawa Party

Al-Jaafari, a Shiite Muslim, is one of two vice presidents in the Iraqi interim government. He is a member of the Dawa movement, which seeks to modernize Iraq’s religious institutions.

HUSSAIN AL-SHAHRISTANI

Candidate, United Iraqi Alliance

Al-Shahristani is a nuclear scientist who was one of six people chosen by the Grand Ayatollah al-Sistani to compile a list of candidates for the United Iraqi Alliance.

ABDEL-AZIZ AL-HAKIM

Candidate, United Iraqi Alliance

Party: Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq

Al-Hakim, a Shiite, was a member of the disbanded Iraqi Governing Council. He is the leader of the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq.

ADNAN PACHACHI

Candidate, Independent Democratic Gathering

Pachachi is a secular Sunni Muslim who had belonged to the disbanded Iraqi Governing Council. He was a foreign minister of the government deposed by Saddam Hussein’s Baath Party in 1968.

JALAL TALABANI

Candidate, Kurdish List

Party: Patriotic Union of Kurdistan

Talibani is a Sunni Kurd and the founder and leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, one of two main northern Kurdish parties that have joined to present a list of candidates for the election.

MASSOUD BARZANI

Candidate, Kurdish List

Party: Kurdistan Democratic Party

Barzani, an ethnic Kurd and Sunni Muslim, was a member of the former Iraqi Governing Council. He is a leader of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, one of two key northern Kurdish parties that have joined to present a list of candidates for the election.

AYAD ALLAWI

Candidate, The Iraqi List

Party: Iraqi National Accord

Allawi, a Shiite Muslim, is the prime minister of the interim Iraqi government. He is a former Baath Party member who was on the disbanded Iraqi Governing Council.

HAMID MAJID MOUSSA

Candidate, Iraqi Communist Party

Moussa, a Shiite Muslim, was on the former Iraqi Governing Council and leads the Iraqi Communist Party. He draws support from urban Shiites and Kurds.

NASEER AL-CHADERCHI

Candidate, National Democratic Party

Al-Chaderchi, a Sunni Muslim, was a member of the Iraqi Governing Council and is the leader of the National Democratic Party.

SHEIK GHAZI AL-YAWAR

Candidate, The Iraqis Party

Al-Yawar, a Sunni Muslim, is the president of the interim Iraqi government and was on the Iraqi Governing Council. He is the leader of a prominent Sunni tribe in northern Iraq.