

The Political System of Internal Control in Japanese Army: The Constitutional Monarchy Regime in Interwar Japan

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This paper discusses the development and consequences of the military internal control system in the Imperial Japanese Army during the interwar period. In the introduction, the problems in the research on the civil-military relationship in the modern Japanese Emperor system were clarified from the re-examination of the preceding research. It was pointed out that there was still room for the study of power structure related to the military and politics of the emperor system. At the same time, it pointed out that the relationship between the government and the military was interdependent, and that the control system of the war minister supports this, and that bureaucracy, especially military bureaucracy, emerged in the trend toward expansion of the administrative power formed by this system.

The first chapter examines the development and consequences of Yusaku Uehara and the Uehara (上原派) group's plan for a Marshal in the early 1920s. In this way, the utilization of a Marshal as a closer presence to the emperor was conceived but this plan failed. However, this concept continued from the late 1920s to the early 1930s and became an undercurrent of the Kodo-ha (皇道派) group's plan in the early 1930s.

The second chapter shows that the Uehara group's plan for a Marshal was interrupted by the issue concerning the war minister in Keigo Kiyoura's cabinet and the process of its solution. It points out that Kazushige Ugaki, who became the war minister in the Kiyoura cabinet, denied the election of the war minister by the Marshal and three Army Chiefs (the war minister, the Chief of the General Staff, and the Educational Commissioner) Council (陸軍三長官会議), and strengthened the authority of War Minister for the necessity to cooperate with the party cabinet and the military.

The third chapter deduces Ugaki's opinion of the supreme command authority from the debate in the Imperial Diet in 1925. In other words, he sought to maintain the military internal control system and cooperation between the government and the military by strengthening the power of the war minister, and at the same time protecting the independence of supreme command.

The fourth chapter shows that a control system different from Ugaki's concept would appear from the factional strife between the Kodo-ha group and the Tosei-ha (統制派) group in the first half of the 1930s. The Kodo-ha group was planning to utilize officers from the Imperial family and the Uehara group's concept of Marshal. But this plan failed. However, Kodo-ha shifted to another plan under the control of the three Army Chiefs Council. On the side, the Tosei-ha group was planning a control system under the war minister, but this plan was different from Ugaki's concept. They aimed to establish a system

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of control by the war minister to realize the policies of the middle-ranking bureaucrats of the military. They ousted Kodo-ha and gained power.

The fifth chapter deals with the development and consequences of Ugaki Cabinet Campaign during 1931-1937. The Ugaki Cabinet Campaign had the following implications. First, this campaign was called for to revive the political and military coordination system formed in the 1920s. Second, this movement was aimed at the reestablishment of control and the neutralization of the Japanese army. Third, the reestablishment of the control system was achieved by an "army purge (肅軍)" after the February 26 Incident, but Kanji Ishiwara's policy vision and "army purge" was opposed by the Ugaki Cabinet. The Army leaders thwarted this with the enhanced authority of the war minister.

The last chapter summarizes Chapter I through Chapter V and shows that "regular procedures of constitutional government (憲政の常道)" were established in order to integrate the decentralized state structure, but after the end of the party cabinet era, the rise of bureaucrats and the enlargement of executive power occurred. In other words, it pointed out the need to dismantle the decentralized state structure and centralized authority.