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"To Provide for the Common Defense"

The official theme of the Department of Defense for the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution reflects the mission of the DoD as stated in the Preamble to the Constitution. Central to the DoD Bicentennial of the US Constitution Logo is the triquetra (try'kwee tra). Traditionally, the triquetra represents equality, unity, and eternity. The DoD triquetra symbolizes the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of our representative government "of the people." The Pentagon is symbolic of the DoD support to our government and the American people.

gton and Napoleon

—models of civil-military relations

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In the last quarter of the 18th Century, revolution sweeps France and the American colonies of Great Britain. Both revolutions stem, in substantial part, from the economic drain of the first, truly-global war, which the two superpowers had fought from 1756 to 1763.

The revolution in the American colonies, which had been part of the prizes in this war, occurs first and, in part, inspires the second, in France. The course of civil-military relations, a key constitutional issue in these two

revolutions, takes different directions and sets courses for the new United States and for France that carries them both into the middle of the next century and perhaps alters their courses forever.

Two men—George Washington and Napoleon Bonaparte—were both symbols of and key players in the events that set these courses. As the United States celebrates the 200th anniversary of its Constitution—the oldest surviving written one—Washington and Napoleon offer instructive examples for all military people.

One incident in Washington's tenure as Commander and Chief of the armies of the Continental Congress shows the model of civil-military relations he

envisioned and helped mold. The United States and the Free World still benefit greatly from his actions.

By October 1782 many Americans believe the war with England is practically over. Many officers fear for their futures. During the war, the officers seldom receive pay, and their civilian careers wither. Many Americans want neither to maintain a regular army, which they regard as costly and a threat to liberty, nor to pay to help officers reestablish civilian lives.

A group of officers in Philadelphia writes two manifestos, threatening Congress. Washington knows the merits of the officers' complaints but wants to avoid seeing their reputation for

War Powers Authority and President Washington

Upon Washington's inauguration, the United States faced the gaps left in the Constitution concerning the war powers authority. The country faced such questions as:

- During a revolt, does the president appear in the field or stay at the seat of government?
- Can the president grant pardons in order to bring a quick end to the revolt?
- Can the president wage war on Indians without the consent of Congress?
- What relationship does the president have with the House and Senate in treaty making?

During his eight years as president, Washington provided a collection of precedents on these and other questions. He controlled American communication with foreign governments and determined the when and how of treaty negotiations. He established the beginnings of American military policy but always kept in mind the concerns of Congress.

There were times when he chose to fight without seeking

the consent of Congress, such as the Northwest Indian Wars of the 1790s and the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794.

Washington's stirring Farewell Address to the country not only cautioned against sectional differences and foreign entanglements, but also encapsulated his philosophy of government.

In relinquishing the reins of power for the last time, he reminded his fellow citizens that "the Unity of government which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main Pillar in the Edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home; your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very Liberty which you so highly prize."

The size of the Army grew during his presidency from 840, when he took office, to 7,108 when he left. Congress gave the office sweeping powers in matters of military and foreign policy.

During his eight years in office under the Constitution, the war powers were split between the executive and legislative branches much like it is today. These divided powers are not similar to those sketched out by the framers of the 1787 Constitutional Convention who were mostly concerned with the division of powers between the state and federal levels, not congressional and executive levels. ●●●

patriotism and sacrifice ruined. He foresees that a nation born in a rebellion against the suppression of a permanent, aristocratic army can easily fail to maintain an army strong enough to let the nation survive.

Washington calls a meeting of the officers to hear a letter he says is a promise from Congress to pay the officers. Before reading the letter, Washington reminds them of their reputation for loyalty and sacrifice. He then puts on the glasses that he had recently started to wear as a result of his declining sight. As he does, he apologizes to the officers and excuses himself as having grown old and blind in service to his country. The gesture shames the officers, who know that Washington has sacrificed more and longer than any of them.

Washington then leaves the meeting. Within 30 minutes, all of the officers swear loyalty to the commander-in-chief and disavow any threats to Congress. The crisis passes, and the new United States begins its life of independence with confidence in the loyalty of its officer corps and with the principle of democratic, civilian control of national policy firmly established.

Two incidents in Napoleon's rise to power similarly show and set the course

of French constitutionalism. The French Revolution had begun in 1789. The other monarchs of Europe watch the bloody course of events with horror and agree to act together to crush what they see as the bloody cancer of democracy. By 1796 Napoleon, who had been a lieutenant of artillery at the beginning of the revolution, rises to command the armies in Italy.

Like the American Congress, the supreme civil authority of government, the Directory, had established a poor record of paying its soldiers. In May, 1796, without consulting the Directory, Napoleon decrees that his troops would receive half their pay in cash. This act cements the loyalty of the troops to Napoleon, himself.

By 1797, the majority of the Directory determines that the military effort in Italy would be to gain territory to trade for territory on the Rhine in peace negotiations. For several months, Napoleon's troops had been tiring of war. Napoleon believes that a lasting peace would thwart his personal ambitions. Despite brilliant maneuvering, Napoleon finds himself caught in a dangerous position in March.

Acting without any authority from the Directory—Napoleon negotiates an

armistice with Austria. The terms contradict the policy of the Directory. But news that peace is imminent, combined with public desperation, ties the hands of the majority in the Directory.

Hoping for a change of government, the British and Austrians drag out negotiations. Taking advantage of a massacre at Verona, Napoleon issues an ultimatum and forces the Venetians to install a puppet, French government. With the minority in the Directory dependent on him for support, Napoleon organizes troops in Paris for the minority to stage a *coup d'etat*.

In September troops surround the governmental offices, arrest the moderate Directors, and expel 200 legislators. The Austrians see they will have to deal directly with Napoleon if they are to have peace.

The resulting treaty gains France territories beyond its natural frontiers and gives Napoleon popular credit for both military and diplomatic brilliance. It also assures future wars to serve Napoleon's goal of establishing a French empire and becoming its head. Over the following two decades, wars bleed France nearly dry, and France fails to achieve representative government for almost another century. ❧

Lessons Learned in the Revolution

Since both militia and Continentals played roles in winning the war, the Revolutionary experience provided ammunition for two diametrically opposed schools of thought on American military policy: the one advocating a large Regular Army, the other reliance on the militia as the bulwark of national defense.

The real issue, as Washington fully recognized, was less militia versus Regulars—for he never believed the infant republic needed a large standing army—than the extent to which militia could be trained and organized to form a reliable national reserve.

The lesson Washington drew from the Revolution was that the militia should be "well regulated," that is, trained and organized under a uniform national system in all the states and subject to call into national service in war or emergency.

The lesson had far greater implications for the future than any of the tactical changes wrought by the American Revolution. It balanced the rights of freedom and equality, proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence, with a corresponding obligation of all citizens for military service to the nation.

This concept, which was to find explicit expression in the "nation in arms" during the French Revolution, was also implicit in the American, and it portended the end of eighteenth century limited war, fought by professional armies officered by an aristocratic class.

As Steuben so well recognized, American Continentals were not professional soldiers in the European sense, and militia even less so. They were, instead, a people's army fighting for a cause. In this sense then, the American Revolution began the "democratization of war," a process that was eventually to lead to national conscription and a new concept of total war for total victory. ❧