PART II

THE CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION, FUNCTIONS, AND ORGANISATION OF THE CHIEFS OF STAFF COMMITTEE IN DEMOCRATIC STATES.
A study of the evolution of the three-fold concept of military planning reveals beyond doubt that the planning of experts furnishes the key to the two subsequent stages inasmuch as it provides the basis for the formulation of higher defence policy with the approval of the political power concerned, and once this has been achieved, it becomes the function of the expert planners to see to the implementation of their approved plan by directing the commands which function under them. This expert defence planning, which in a modern State is the function of the Chiefs of Staff Committee, has a two-fold aspect. In seeking the approval of the political authority the Committee comes in direct contact with the highest political organs of the State. Again, when it is required to implement the approved plan, the Committee functions as an exclusive military organ issuing orders to commands and lower formations. This dual aspect of the Chiefs of Staff Committee, firstly as a part of the political organisation, and, secondly as a part of the military mechanism of the State, is studied both in democracies, whether federal or unitary, having a written or an unwritten constitution, as well as in dictatorships of the present century, some of which have sprung and disappeared and others which exist today. Thus Part II of this...
this work concentrates on the constitutional position, functions and organisation of the Chiefs of Staff Committee in democratic States only, dealing with unitary types in Chapter III and the federal types in Chapters IV and V.

The distinction between unitary and federal is important in so far as defence being always a federal subject, the planning connected with it is exclusively the concern of the Central Government as opposed to the governments of the federalising States. Again, as a federal constitution is invariably a written one, the existence of the Chiefs of Staff Committee is quite often statutory. In unitary States, however, particularly of the English type, which have an unwritten constitution, the Chiefs of Staff Committee has no locus standi in the constitutional machinery as it forms a part of the over-all Executive of the State. These and other subtle distinctions can best be examined by studying the organisation of the Chiefs of Staff Committee in unitary States first, to which Chapter III is devoted.
CHAPTER III

THE POSITION AND FUNCTIONS OF THE CHIEFS OF STAFF COMMITTEE IN THE UNITED STATES OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, NEW ZEALAND, SOUTH AFRICA AND PAKISTAN.

THE UNITED KINGDOM

Lloyd George's significant comment "switching is not strategy" on the method of initial separate planning of the three armed forces appropriately summarises the functional origin and necessity of the Chiefs of Staff Committee, without which the British Prime Minister could not have a correct strategic appreciation of problems connected with the defence of the realm. Though Lloyd George set up this committee for tackling a temporary problem - the Chanak Crisis of 1922 - it was the report of the Salisbury Committee which established it on a permanent footing. As the Salisbury report examined the entire problem in great detail no description of the Chiefs of Staff Committee can be regarded as complete without a reference to it.

THE SALISBURY REPORT AND THE CHIEFS OF STAFF COMMITTEE.

In 1923 the organisation of Imperial Defence was scrutinised by a Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence, under the Chairmanship of Lord Salisbury. The most important recommendation of the Report related to the development, on a permanent basis, of the Chiefs of Staff Committee. The Report sought to consolidate the Chiefs of Staff Committee ...
Committee and to increase its status and the range of its authority and observed that "In addition to the functions of the Chiefs of Staff as advisers on questions of sea, land or air policy respectively, to their own Board or Council, each of the three Chiefs of Staff will have an individual and collective responsibility for advising on defence policy as a whole, the three constituting, as it were, a Super-Chief of a War Staff in Commission. In carrying out this function they will meet together for the discussion of questions which affect their joint responsibilities."

The object of this new Chiefs of Staff Committee, therefore, was to provide the Committee of Imperial Defence (of which it became a permanent Sub-Committee) with a combined military opinion from all the three Services for political consideration, to advise on all military matters and to prepare joint plans for war. The difficulties of competing Service claims were now much lessened by the joint opinions and responsibility of the Chiefs of Staff Committee, the members of which were appointed by warrant by the Prime Minister. The phrase "Super Chief of War Staff in Commission" was criticised at that time but there is nothing Hitlerite in the phrase because, like all English institutions, this one too is democratic to the very core inasmuch as it is a Council of three Chiefs who in turn represent the three Service Councils, namely, ...

1 Command Paper 2029 of 1924.
namely, the Board of Admiralty, the Army Council and the Air Council. The democratic principle of rule by and of 'Councils' is thus extended to the sphere of inter-Services cooperation.

The Chairman of the Committee of Imperial Defence was to be the *ex-officio* Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff Committee. The Salisbury Report further recommended that the Prime Minister should appoint a Deputy to assist him in matters connected with the Committee of Imperial Defence and the Chiefs of Staff Committee. The Prime Minister usually presided over both, though sometimes appointing a Deputy, until 1936, when the Minister for Co-ordination of Defence became permanent Deputy Chairman of both the bodies. In practice, the Chiefs of Staff were left alone, to a great extent, to deal with their problems, which were mainly those of operational planning, unless the Prime Minister or his Deputy or the Chiefs of Staff themselves thought that the presence of a political head was necessary at any particular meeting.

The Chiefs of Staff Committee represented a great advance in the field of unification in defence matters, and a tradition of teamwork was soon established. It did not become merely a passive body examining only the suggestions made by the political heads, but itself invited the attention of the government to any aspect of defence which in its opinion required investigation. It not only prepared reports for the Prime Minister, as requested by him, but initiated reports on its own which it considered necessary. Its recommendations often ...
often led to initiation of investigation into other sectors of defence preparation. For example, if the Chiefs of Staff gave an opinion as to the size of the forces necessary for certain tasks, then this opinion became the basis of subsequent study by the Manpower Sub-Committee concerned with military recruitment and industrial labour, and the Principal Supply Officers Sub-Committee concerned with the supply of materials and industrial capacity.

For years before the war of 1939, therefore, the Chiefs of Staff bore the responsibility for planning, assisted by joint Service organisations, which worked out the details under the direction of the Committee of Imperial Defence with its strong Ministerial representation. The Chiefs of Staff were also responsible for the preparation of a comprehensive annual review of the military situation as a whole in the light of opinion tendered by the Foreign Office as to the general international situation. This important duty ensured that the Cabinet, the Committee of Imperial Defence and the Foreign Office were kept up to date in their knowledge of the defence preparations, and that the Chiefs of Staff were able to plan on a global basis with some familiarity with current diplomatic problems. The organisation, on the outbreak of war in 1939, was thus capable of easy conversion at a moment's notice into a system of government control in war, based upon a War Cabinet advised by the Chiefs of Staff Committee with its own inter-Services planning and intelligence organisations.

Experience ...
Experience showed that, for the proper exercise of their joint responsibilities, the Chiefs of Staff required a further staff of their own in addition to the Secretariat of the Committee of Imperial Defence. In 1927, therefore, a Joint Planning Committee was set up, in the office of the Committee of Imperial Defence, as a Sub-Committee of the Chiefs of Staff Committee. This Committee provided, in effect, a form of General Staff for all Services on the German model, but in an entirely flexible manner as demanded by the Parliament. It consisted of selected officers of all the three Services (normally graduates of the Imperial Defence College) living and working together, and learning to think, not in terms of separate Service requirements, but in terms of a single task. The Joint Planning Staffs of this Committee consisted of the three Directors of Plans at the Admiralty, War Office and Air Ministry, who divided their time between their own Ministries and the Joint Planning Offices. The strategical Planning Section, under the direction of the Chiefs of Staff and the Directors of Plans, kept the general military situation under constant review, and prepared appreciations from time to time with recommendations as to the action to be taken. The Executive Planning Section examined the means by which plans, which had been prepared, should be put into effect. The Future Operational Planning Section concentrated on future operations, even if these were outside the range of current practical...
practical politics. Thus they were not bound by any limitations as to the forces, equipment, transport and other resources immediately available, but could plan campaigns on a purely theoretical basis.

In 1938, a Joint Intelligence Sub-Committee was set up as a further Sub-Committee of the Chiefs of Staff Committee. In its early stages, it consisted of the three Deputy Directors of Intelligence of the three Services, but by 1939 it came under the Chairmanship of a representative of the Foreign Office and was joined, during the war, by the Deputy Director-General of the Ministry of Economic Warfare. The organisations and functions of this Sub-Committee were on the same lines as those of the Joint Planning Staff. It was responsible for collecting all information about the enemy and preparing appreciation of probable enemy action in the future. The Joint Planning Committee and the Joint Intelligence Sub-Committee worked closely together and both were regularly summoned to discuss problems with the Chiefs of Staff.

The organisation of Joint Planning, during the World War, can be seen from the following diagram, showing its composition in 1942:

Chiefs ...
Liaison officers attended from the Ministries of War Transport, Economic Warfare and Home Security and from the Political Warfare Executive.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER DEFENCE PLANNING ORGANISATION WITH REFERENCE TO CHIEFS OF STAFF COMMITTEES DURING WORLD WAR II.

At the outbreak of the War in 1939, a War Cabinet was set up which met daily and took all decisions itself instead of the Committee of Imperial Defence considering the proposals first and the Cabinet deciding later. The post of Minister for Coordination for Defence was based upon the Committee of Imperial Defence system of preparation for war to deal with such problems as the relative strengths of the Services, the cost of defence and the coordination of war plans. As such, it was useful, since the Minister had authority, as Chairman of the Committee of Imperial Defence and the Chiefs of Staff Committee, to preside over and coordinate the activities of the Service Ministers in regard.....
regard to Service problems and other matters connected with preparations for war. However, when the Committee of Imperial Defence was replaced by the War Cabinet, with the Prime Minister as coordinator and Chairman and with the Service Ministers in the Cabinet, the office of Minister for Co-ordination of Defence which had been created in 1936 became redundant, and was finally abolished in April 1940. Neither, then, nor at any time during the war, was any effort made to define the duties and powers of the Minister of Defence, and it was left to the Prime Minister himself to develop a system of working, necessary to provide the drive without which no successful warlike operations could be properly conducted. The War Cabinet remained small, varying in number from five to eight for the remaining period of the war.

Before the outbreak of the World War in 1939, the Committee of Imperial Defence had studied the question of government control in wartime. It had listed four possible variants of supreme control in war as, firstly, an ordinary peace-time system of Cabinet government, secondly, a Cabinet government with a War Committee of limited powers, thirdly, a Cabinet government with a War Committee of strong, but not unlimited powers and, fourthly, a War Cabinet of complete and unfettered executive authority. Basing its views largely upon the experience of World War I, the Committee had recommended that the only possible ...
possible system, in the event of a major war, was that of a supreme War Cabinet.

Even during such a war, however, the British government could not act contrary to law. It could exercise only the powers conferred upon it by common law, by the prerogative, or by statute. Such powers are derived from Acts of Parliament and the regulations and orders made thereunder.

It is true that by the Emergency Powers Defence Act of 1939 His Majesty in Council was enabled to make all such orders as might be necessary to secure the public safety, the defence of the Realm, the maintenance of public order and the essential supplies and services, for the efficient prosecution of the War. Yet, even so, the Parliament could always revoke the powers which it had given. That it still retained its ultimate control over the executive was shown by the fact that, in May 1940, it forced out of office a government in which it no longer placed its confidence. The plea that the Cabinet was acting on the advice of the Chiefs of Staff was rejected by the Parliament and Mr. Chamberlain had to accept full responsibility for the uninspired conduct of the war.

At the outbreak of war, in accordance with the plans laid down before, the Committee of Imperial Defence disappeared, and was replaced by a War Cabinet, served by a single Secretariat embodying the former staffs of the Cabinet office and of the Committee of Imperial Defence. Into the hands of this War Cabinet now passed all responsibility for the co-ordination of the dispersed activities of the government. The new Cabinet...
Cabinet, replacing the peacetime Cabinet of some twenty-three members, was a small body of nine members, consisting of the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Foreign Secretary, the Lord Privy Seal, the three Service Ministers and a Minister without Portfolio. It was based upon the War Cabinet of 1917 to 1938, having the same powers in so far as it had full authority to act without consultation of the Cabinet subject to no control except that of Parliament.

DEFENCE COMMITTEE SET UP BY MR. CHURCHILL

When Chamberlain's government fell in 1940, the new Prime Minister soon set up a Defence Committee which operated in two sections. Firstly, the Defence Committee (Operations) dealt with strategic matters, being composed of the Prime Minister, the Deputy Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary, the Minister of Production, the Service Ministers and the Chiefs of Staff. The object of this Committee was to enable the Prime Minister, with his essential advisers, to consider any current military problems, to review the military situation and future operations, and to report the outcome of such deliberations to the War Cabinet. As the war progressed, a tendency grew up for fewer meetings of this Committee and more of the Chiefs of Staff Committee. Secondly, the Defence Committee (Supply) dealt with all problems of supply of equipment to the forces. It also met less frequently later in the war, when a Minister of Production and a Joint War Production Staff had been set up.

THE ROLE ...
THE ROLE OF THE CHIEFS OF STAFF IN WORLD WAR II.

In the course of the war various changes took place affecting the position of the Service Departments. The Service Ministers continued to be closely associated with the conduct of the war by reason of their membership of the Defence Committee. But the Chiefs of Staff became the corporate authority and issued to the commanders in the field unified operational instructions and strategic guidance on the conduct of the war. The responsibility for the day to day administration of the Services remained with the Service Departments which followed up the central directives issued by the Chief of Staff with detailed instructions to their respective commanders on such matters as the composition, equipment and movement of the forces under their command and the maintenance of reinforcements and supplies.

The responsibilities and duties of the Chiefs of Staff organisation underwent great changes during the course of the war. In the first place, the Chiefs of Staff, as professional advisers of the War Cabinet, carried a heavy burden of responsibility for the preparation of appreciations on the strategic situation and of strategic war plans. Although this function had fallen within the peacetime duties of the Chiefs of Staff, it now assumed great importance. Furthermore, forces drawn from all the three Services were engaged in joint operations on a vast scale all over the world. It was, therefore, essential that orders issued to the commanders of such forces should be drawn up on the basis of a single ...
single strategic plan framed by a single body. The Chiefs of Staff shouldered this responsibility. The need for a central authority was emphasised later in the war when it became the general practice to appoint a Supreme Commander of all arms in each theatre of operations. It thus became the practice for executive orders to be issued by the Chiefs of Staff, subject to the authority of the Prime Minister or the Defence Committee of the Cabinet.

The composition of the Chiefs of Staff Committee, over the meetings of which the Prime Minister sometimes presided, remained unchanged except for the addition in 1940 of the Chief Staff Officer to the Minister of Defence, who was also the military head of the Secretariat of the War Cabinet.

The Chiefs of Staff Committee met daily, the members having been previously briefed by their respective Service Departments for the business of the day. Each of the Service Chiefs of Staff thus had a dual responsibility, firstly, as head of his Service to his particular Minister, and, secondly, as a member of the Committee, to the Cabinet. The Chiefs of Staff Committee bore to the Cabinet the responsibility for the actual day to day conduct of the war and the direction of military operations, as well as for the expression of a joint opinion on all matters affecting those operations.

As no Ministry of Defence was ever created during the war, the Prime Minister acted as the
Mini step of Defense also. He used the Military Secretariat of the War Cabinet which had previously served the Committee of Imperial Defence as his staff. The duty of this Secretariat was to ensure co-ordination and continuity in the work of the various departments, and to make easier the working of the inter-Service machinery. It did not advise the Minister of Defence, but ensured that he had before him the advice of those who would be responsible for any subsequent action which might be taken.

SUPREME WAR COUNCIL OF THE ALLIED MACHINERY IN WORLD WAR II.

At the outbreak of war, a Supreme War Council was established by the British and French governments, on the same lines as that of 1918. The Prime Ministers and other representatives of the two governments were able to meet frequently in the early months of war. No organisation similar to the one established in Versailles during the Great War was considered necessary since air travel made sudden meetings practicable.

On the entry of America into the war, there was need for a single professional body which could speak authoritatively to the United States military chiefs on behalf of all the three Services and this responsibility devolved upon the Chiefs of Staff. The strategic direction of the war was largely determined by a series of conferences between the United Kingdom and United States Chiefs of Staff, who prepared their combined plans on the basis of the political directives issued by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of the U.K. The more important...
strategic conferences were attended by the Chiefs of Staff in person.

COMBINED CHIEF OF STAFF OF WORLD WAR II.

Between such major conferences, the system of the Combined Staff (as it was called when both the British and American staffs were present) was continued by the maintenance in Washington of a British Joint Staff Mission. This was vital since, although the respective British and American Chiefs of Staff kept to their own theatres and responsibilities, there were certain vital fields of operation where instructions were issued by the Combined Chiefs of Staff to a Supreme Commander-in-Chief, who commanded all the forces of both the nationalities in the theatre.

The Combined Chiefs of Staff were given undivided responsibility to advise the associated governments upon war policies in all areas. There was, of course, no fusion of the national staff organisations. The British or American Staff would prepare plans which would then be examined by the Combined Staffs in joint session in Washington, though matters of the greatest importance would be reserved for the periodic meetings of the Chiefs of Staff in person. The Combined Staff in Washington worked with a combined Secretariat and combined offices and planning staff of the two countries.

Many combined agencies were set up under its supervision. For example, the Munitions Assignment Board operated with Sub-Committees in London and Washington to pool the munitions resources of the two...
two nations. Each Sub-Committee ascertained the requirements of the group placed under it (the British Empire and the European allies under London, and China and South America under Washington). If these requirements could not be met from existing stocks, the other Sub-Committee was asked to help in making good any deficiencies. Through a similar arrangement in many fields of supply and transport and through the Combined Chiefs of Staff, the closest cooperation was maintained between the British Empire and the United States throughout the war.

It is difficult to set out the entire machinery of Government control in World Wars but an attempt is made to bring out the salient features in Appendix "A" to this Chapter, which is a chart prepared on the basis of information culled from various sources.

DEFENCE PLANNING AT VARIOUS STAGES IN THE PRESENT SET UP.

The system described above worked with great efficiency and smoothness during the war years. At the end of World War II, however, the view was taken that it had developed beyond the limits of strict constitutional authority. It was felt that the perfect unity of direction in strategic matters developed during the war should be retained but that this could not be done without some constitutional recognition of the changes which had been brought about. It was considered vital to have a Ministry with both time and authority to formulate and apply a unified defence policy for all the three Services.

Therefore ...
Therefore, a Ministry of Defence was created and a Command Paper issued in October 1946 summarising the proposals relating to the new set up.

The present position has thus to be examined under the following broad headings -

(A) The machinery for formulation of higher defence policy and its link-up with

(B) The key organisation (of Chiefs of Staff) for expert military planning and strategic appreciations which feeds (A) above.

(A) THE MACHINERY FOR FORMULATION OF HIGHER DEFENCE POLICY.

The position of the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister in relation to the Armed Forces

Under the new organisation, the Prime Minister retains supreme responsibility for defence, whilst the Minister of Defence is specifically charged with full responsibility for the apportionment in broad outline of the available resources between the three Services in accordance with the strategic policy as laid down by the Defence Committee of the Cabinet. This includes the framing of general policy to govern research and development and the correlation of defence production programmes. He also settles all questions of general administration on which a common policy for the three Services is desirable and is responsible for the administration of inter-Service Organisations, such as the Combined Operations Headquarters and the Joint Intelligence Bureau. The Defence Minister brings up his proposals for the purpose of apportionment of resources before the Defence Committee and the Cabinet and then presents the Cabinet's
decisions to Parliament to which he is responsible for answering all questions on matters of common to the three Services or the Ministry of Supply.

The Defence Committee of the Cabinet

The main forum for Ministerial discussion of defence policy is the Defence Committee of the Cabinet. The Prime Minister is the Chairman of this Committee which performs the functions carried out before the war by the Committee of Imperial Defence. Working under the authority of the Cabinet itself, since such problems involve the collective responsibility of the Cabinet as a whole, it deals with the 'preparation of all plans for transition of the country from peace to war', and 'reviews current strategy'.

The Prime Minister is assisted by the regular members of the Defence Committee, the composition of which is flexible, but usually includes the Minister of Defence, the Lord President of the Council, the Foreign Secretary, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the three Service Ministers, the Minister of Labour and the Ministry of Supply. Such other Ministers and officers, as may be required, are invited to attend meetings of the Committee according to the subjects under discussion. The Chiefs of Staff are in attendance, and are further required to be always available, with the Deputy Secretaries, both civil and military, of the Cabinet acting as joint secretaries. The Deputy Secretary (Military) is also Chief Staff ...

1 Command Paper No. 6923 of 1946.
Staff Officer to the Minister of Defence. When the Prime Minister is not able to attend meetings of the Committee, the Minister of Defence acts as Chairman in his place. In this capacity he is able to exercise general supervision over the preparations made for national defence through the various Sub-Committees of the Defence Committee.

The Defence Committee carries out its task of preparing plans for mobilizing the nation's resources in war through a system of Sub-Committees working under its general authority and supervision. These Sub-Committees are mainly constituted at the official level, as were the similar Sub-Committees of the Committee of Imperial Defence, and include representatives of the Services and Civil Departments, with experts from outside government service when necessary.

The Defence Committee, however, differs from the Committee of Imperial Defence in one important aspect. The latter was a purely advisory body with no other power than making recommendations to the Cabinet or the Departments. The Defence Committee, however, though it submits its recommendations to the Cabinet on the most important issues, is itself competent to take executive decisions by virtue of the powers delegated to it by the Cabinet, so that a mass of current business can be carried through without adding to the burdens of the Cabinet.

/The Defence ...
The Defence Minister and the three Service Ministers

It is necessary here to describe in some detail the functions of the Minister of Defence who acts as the central pivot of higher defence planning just as the Chiefs of Staff are in regard to expert military planning. These functions are prescribed in para 26 of the Command Paper on Central Organisation for Defence (Cmd. 6923 of 1946). It states that apart from his duties as Deputy Chairman of the Defence Committee, the Minister of Defence is responsible for the following functions:

"(a) The apportionment, in broad outline, of available resources between the three Services in accordance with the strategic policy laid down by the Defence Committee. This will include the framing of general policy to govern research and development and the correlation of production programmes.

(b) The settlement of questions of general administration on which a common policy for the three Services is desirable.

(c) The administration of inter-Service organisations, such as Combined Operations Headquarters, the Joint Intelligence Bureau and the Imperial Defence College."

The division of responsibilities between the various Ministers has been readjusted under the new organisation. The Minister of Defence is now the sole representative of the Services in the Cabinet, though Service Ministers are normally invited to attend whenever questions of defence are discussed. In Parliament he is second only to the Prime Minister, the spokesman of the government in all matters of defence, and answers questions on subjects common to all the Services. The Service Ministers ...
Ministers are responsible for executing through their own departments the policy directed by the Cabinet and the Defence Committee. Since they are members of the Defence Committee and other inter-Service Committees, they share the responsibility for the framing of defence policies. They remain accountable to the Parliament for the administration and maintenance of their Services and for the departments through which they administer them.

The Permanent Secretary, the Chief Staff Officer and the Chairman of Defence Research Policy Committee.

The Minister's principal advisers are
(1) the Permanent Secretary; (2) the Chief Staff Officer; and (3) the Chairman of the Defence Research Policy Committee. The Chief Staff Officer is the Deputy Secretary (Military) to the Cabinet and also a member of the Chiefs of Staff Committee, so that he serves as a link between the Chiefs of Staff and the Ministers. He is responsible for getting the advice of the Joint Staffs on any matters on which the Minister of Defence wants information.

The duties of the Chief Staff Officer are summarised below:

(a) He is an additional member of the Chiefs of Staff Committee and attends all meetings of the Chiefs of Staff. When the Chiefs of Staff Committee wish to get approval of the Defence Minister to their recommendations he puts these up to the Defence Minister, who may refer important decisions to the P.M.
(b) He checks whether the Chiefs of Staff Committee and other Committees appointed to consider the higher defence problems of the country are proceeding smoothly.

(c) He is the Secretary of the Defence Committee of the Cabinet.

(d) He is also a Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet and attends to all business transacted by the Cabinet on defence matters.

(e) He is responsible for the staff of the Chiefs of Staff Committee Secretariat and Joint Planning and Intelligence Staffs. The staff is found by the three Services. The Services provide their best officers as it is in their interest to do so.

The Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Defence, though not a member of the Chiefs of Staff Committee, is of great importance and is often consulted by the Chiefs of Staff particularly in matters requiring coordination with other Civil Ministries and in matters involving production, supply, etc. Apart from the overall financial control of the Treasury, the Permanent Secretary being the Chief Accounting Officer answerable to Parliament, exercises financial control within the Ministry. There are three Permanent Secretaries of the various Service Ministries who are also important but the Permanent Secretary of Defence who is responsible for overall coordination holds a key post in the Defence set up.

The Chairman of the Defence Research Policy Committee is now almost a permanent member of the Chiefs of Staff Committee. Though he is officially not recognised as such, he attends a majority of the meetings which the Chiefs of Staff hold, since in the context of modern warfare science has an extremely important role to play.
An organisational chart of the Defence Ministry in its broad outline is given below:

MINISTER OF DEFENCE

- Chiefs of Staff Committee
- Service Ministers' Committee

- Chief Staff Officer to the Minister
- Permanent Secretary
- Deputy Secretary
- Chairman, Defence Research Policy Committee

- Production
- Joint Planning and Intelligence Staff
- Inter-Service Organisation
- N.A.T.O. Finance

- Defence Research Policy Staff.

- Secretariat of Chiefs of Staff Committee
- Joint Operations Intelligence Bureau
- Combined Imperial Operations HQ
- Joint Imperial College

Much of the planning work and coordination of policy which falls to the share of the Ministry is handled by its various Committees. The Chairman and Secretaries of these Committees are normally found by the Ministry in view of its central position in the field of defence and its responsibility for the correlation and allocation of defence resources.

(B) THE KEY ORGANISATION FOR EXPERT MILITARY PLANNING AND STRATEGIC APPRECIATIONS - THE CHIEFS OF STAFF COMMITTEE.

The Chiefs of Staff system, as the supreme coordinating organ of the three Services, remains as ...
as it was developed during the war. It is based upon the principle that in the preparation of joint plans, those officers who will be responsible for their execution, should also be responsible for preparing them; this avoids the great disadvantage of a Supreme General Staff which tends to lose touch with the executive departments. Therefore, the actual members of the various Committees and staffs functioning under the Chiefs of Staff remain under their respective departments and only a small body is seconded to the Ministry of Defence as a permanent Secretariat for the Chiefs of Staff Committee.

The Chiefs of Staff of the three Services are collectively the professional military advisers of the government. It is in this collective capacity that they constitute the Chiefs of Staff Committee which is the subject of this study examined from the viewpoint of its composition, functions and organisation.

COMPOSITION

Originally the heads of the three Services were members of this august Committee, but a fourth member was added in 1940 by Mr. Churchill to represent him with a view to bringing about greater coordination between the Prime Minister, who was also the Minister of Defence, and the Chiefs of Staff. The addition was that of General Ismay as Chief Staff Officer to the Minister of Defence. Thus the present composition is as follows:

(a) ...
(a) First Sea Lord
(b) Chief of the Imperial General Staff
(c) Chief of Air Staff
(d) Chief Staff Officer to the Minister of Defence.

Again, the two officers frequently consulted and asked to attend meetings of the Chiefs of Staff Committee are, as stated before, (i) Chairman of the Defence Research Policy Committee and (ii) the Permanent Secretary to the Defence Ministry. Though neither are official members, the Chairman of the Defence Research Policy Committee is invited to attend all important meetings of the Chiefs of Staff and has almost become a de facto member since he alone can guide the military experts as to what is possible of achievement in the scientific world to assist defence planning. In that respect the Scientific Adviser can be regarded as an important wheel of the modern mechanism of the Chiefs of Staff Committee in England.

Again, another important feature relating to the composition of the Committee is that though the first three mentioned above are members of the Chiefs of Staff Committee, they are also simultaneously members of the Admiralty Board, the War Office and the Air Council respectively and are responsible for the policy and planning Section of each Service. The link up of the First Sea Lord, the Chief of the Imperial General Staff and the Chief of Air Staff with their respective Services in regard to which they possess expert military knowledge and proficiency is a significant feature of the institution of the Chiefs of Staff and needs to be mentioned in detail even though it may be a slight digression involving a brief description of the three Service Ministries.

The organisation ...
The organisation of the administrative machinery for the three Services is based on a system of Councils which is in keeping with the democratic traditions of England. The relationship of the Service Councils with the Chiefs of Staff Committee cannot be understood unless the skeleton of the Service organisation which embodies the following three basic ideas is described:

1. Parliamentary Control
2. Professional Advisers and the expert set-up under them
3. Link up of (1) and (2) with the higher political organs of the State.

The Board of Admiralty

Take, for example, the Board of Admiralty.
In order to fully appreciate the position, an organisational chart in its broadest outline is given below:

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PARLIAMENTARY LORD (M.P.)

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<th>PARLIAMENTARY LORD</th>
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(DIRECTORATES)

| (A) (Parliamentary Representation) |
| (B) Secretary |

| Deputy & Asstt Secretaries. |
| (C) Professional Advisers & Experts. |
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Parliamentary Control ...
Parliamentary Control

The broad basis of parliamentary control is to be found in the First Lord who is the Minister in charge of the Navy and is a Member of Parliament. Before the creation of the Ministry of Defence he was an important member of the Cabinet as well. His appointment is made by Letters Patent constituting the Board of Admiralty and the First Lord is made responsible to the Crown and Parliament "for all business of the Admiralty". He, therefore, answers questions in Parliament connected with the Navy. The second Parliamentarian who is a member of the Board is a 'Parliamentary and Finance Secretary' who acts as the Deputy of the First Lord. If the latter is a member of the House of Lords, then the Parliamentary and Finance Secretary is invariably a member of the Lower House. The Civil Lord is the third Parliamentary representative in the Board and is in charge of engineering works such as building of barracks etc. Again, the Permanent Secretary is a member of the Board as well as its Secretary. He is also the Chief Accounting Officer and, therefore, answerable to Parliament and to the Public Accounts Committee. Thus the Parliamentary control is not only exercised by M.Ps. who sit on the Board but also through (i) the Treasury, (ii) Public Accounts Committee and (iii) Secretary, as the Accounting Officer appointed by the Treasury.


The Board of Admiralty has five Sea Lords at the top level who are concerned with matters relating to -...
relating to

(1) POLICY

(2) PERSONNEL

(3) MATERIAL

(4) SUPPLIES AND TRANSPORT

(5) NAVAL AIR ARM

As policy matters require careful examination and since British possessions extend all over the world, strategic considerations on a vast scale have to be carefully born in mind in the formulation of naval plans. There are, therefore, as many as three Assistants to the First Sea Lord known as the Vice and Deputy Chiefs of Naval Staff.

It is not necessary to describe here the vast organisation of Directorates which functions under the Sea Lords but it is necessary to state the relations between the First Lord and the First Sea Lord.

The First Sea Lord is the Chief Sailor of the Nation and is responsible for strategic planning, naval intelligence, size and shape of the Navy, naval operations, etc. He is the most important professional member of the Board of Admiralty.

Though the First Lord who is a politician is the Chairman of the Board, his position is somewhat
prime inter pares since the Sea Lords are equally important members. The notes exchanged between the First Lord and the First Sea Lord convey an idea of equality. Mr. Churchill has brought out the relation of these two important Officers in his classic work "The Second World War". He says that "the First Lord submits notes to his naval colleagues for consideration, for criticism and correction". Again, Churchill, as First Lord

---

of the Admiralty, refers to Admiral Dudley
Pound, the First Sea Lord, in the following
terms: "Now we meet as colleagues upon whose
intimate relations and fundamental agreement
the smooth working of the vast Admiralty
machine would depend." ¹

The Link up with the Higher Organs

It is the First Sea Lord, as the head
of the planning organisation in the Admiralty
Board, who is selected ex-officio to represent
the Navy in the Chiefs of Staff Committee.
This is the direct link up of the expert
planner from his Service to the coordinating
organ of the Chiefs of Staff Committee.
Similarly, the First Lord who is a politician
is linked with the higher political organ of
the State, namely, the Defence Committee of
the Cabinet of which he is a member. However,
none of the Service Ministers are members of
the Cabinet itself which is logical since their
specialised portfolios refer to a particular
service and there is a Defence Minister co-
ordinating the three Services who is of course
a member of the Cabinet apart from being a
member of the D.C.C. also. In any case, both
the expert planner and the politician of the
Service set up are directly linked with the
higher military and political organs of the
State.

Army Council

The Secretary of State for War who is the Chairman of the Army Council, is a Member of Parliament, and, before the creation of the Defence Ministry, was also an important member of the Cabinet. He is assisted by a Parliamentary Under Secretary of State who acts as the Vice President of the Army Council. These two Parliamentarians represent at the top level the principle of parliamentary control over the Army.

The Members of the Army Council are:

1) THE CHIEF OF THE IMPERIAL GENERAL STAFF with two Deputies.
2) ADJUTANT GENERAL
3) QUARTERMASTER GENERAL
4) PERMANENT UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.

The diagram below illustrates in broad outline the above organisation:

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (M.P.)

PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (M.P.)

CIGS A.G. Q.M.G. Permanent Army Council
Under Secy (PUS) Secretariat.

*Vice *Deputy
Chief Chief

(*Also equal members of the Council)

Note: CIGS = Chief of Imperial General Staff
A.G. = Adjutant General
Q.M.G. = Quartermaster General.

It is ...
It is again the Chief of the Imperial General Staff as the head of the planning organisation in the Army who represents that Service in the Chiefs of Staff Committee.

The Service Minister is a member of the Defence Committee of the Cabinet though not a regular member of the Cabinet itself.

**Air Council**

The Air Council is the youngest of the three being established in 1918 by the Air Force Act of 1917 which also constituted the Air Council "for the purpose of administration of matters relating to Air Force and the defence of the Realm by the Air." The chart given below gives in broad outline the organisation of the Air Council:

**SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AIR (M.P.)**

**PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AIR (M.P.)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chief of Air Staff</th>
<th>Air Member for Personnel</th>
<th>Air Member for Tech. Services</th>
<th>Controller of Supplies (Air), Min. of Supply</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Vice Chief</em></td>
<td><em>Deputy Chief</em></td>
<td><em>Chief Member for Supply</em></td>
<td><em>Permanent Under Secy (Air)</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(*Also equal members of the Council)

The Air Council is responsible for executing the constitutional task assigned to the Air Ministry and the civil department of the Permanent Under Secretary emphasises the constitutional responsibilities ...
responsibilities with a view to keep the vessel on an even keel. The role of the RAF in national defence is determined by Her Majesty's Government and the constitutional responsibility of the Secretary of State for Air is to the Parliament for the administration and efficiency of the Royal Air Force. There is also the statutory responsibility of the Air Council under the Air Force Constitution Act. The task of the Air Ministry may be defined as the operation, maintenance, administration and development of the Air Force with its Reserves and Auxiliaries and to constitute an efficient fighting force in accordance with the policy laid down by the Cabinet and approved by the Parliament. The Permanent Under Secretary is responsible for ensuring that this constitutional position is made known to the Air Members as well as to the political head who are changing from time to time.

In conformity with the other two Services, it is the Chief of Air Staff who heads the planning organisation of the Air Force and represents the Service in the Chiefs of Staff Committee. The Secretary of State for Air is a member of the Defence Committee like the other two Service Ministers and thus the link of the Service set-up in respect of the organs responsible for both policy and plans is clearly established with the higher defence organs of the State, namely, the Chiefs of Staff Committee and the Defence Committee of the Cabinet.

Thus the expert planners of the three Services are members of the supreme planning body of the armed forces.

The task ...
The task of Coordination among Service Ministers.

It is essential to state here that the three Service Ministers in relation to the Defence Minister create a problem in regard to inter-service coordination which is rather difficult to solve. The problem arises in war time when the three Service Ministers have to be constantly kept informed of the decisions taken at the highest level particularly when the Chiefs of Staff Committee makes recommendations through the Defence Minister for immediate decisions. Each member of the Chiefs of Staff Committee has a dual allegiance. This allegiance is firstly to the Service Minister, since the Chief of Staff of each Service is either a member of the Board of Admiralty, or the Army Council or the Air Council of which the Service Minister is the Chairman. Again, as a member of the Chiefs of Staff Committee, allegiance is due to the Defence Minister.

In peace-time, the system functions smoothly but in war when immediate decisions have to be taken it is difficult for members of the Chiefs of Staff to keep the Service Ministers informed concurrently with the pace with which vital decisions are taken. It often happened in the last war that by the time a decision was conveyed to the Service Ministers, several more important decisions had already been taken. This is an inherent defect in a system in which representatives of Parliament have to be introduced at all stages which is essential....
is essential for the working of a democracy. This defect can also be regarded as inherent in an organisation which has become so vast that it is difficult to be controlled even at the top level by a single individual. It may be possible in a dictatorial set-up but is neither desirable nor probably feasible in a parliamentary democracy where civilians from the Parliament as well as the Secretariat have to be associated with those in uniform for the taking of decisions.

The link up of the Chiefs of Staff Committee with the Service Councils and Service Ministers is a feature noticed only in all federal organisations of defence. In such organisations, each Service has a Ministry of its own complete by itself headed by a politician who is a Member of Parliament. In addition, the federating centre, as it were, is provided by the Defence Ministry which has a separate Defence Minister coordinating the activities of the three Services and keeping in close touch with the Service Ministers. This system prevails in Australia and USA also. In the case of the latter, the Service Secretaries are of course not members of the Congress. However, in a unitary type of defence organisation which exists in India and Canada, there is a single Ministry and no separate Service Ministers exist. The Chiefs of Staff Committee is of course there since it is an essential feature of any modern defence set up. . . . .
defence set up and its members are the expert planners of each Service.

THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE COMMITTEE AND THE DEFENCE MINISTER.

The Chiefs of Staff Committee has, according to Admiral Lord Chatfield, one of the Service Chiefs as its Chairman, and "this duty is to be taken by the Services in turn regardless of seniority." Though originally the Chairmanship went by rotation it had been established now by convention that seniority of service on the Committee would determine the right to take the chair. Again, in accordance with the White Paper, Command 6923 of October 1946, "the Chiefs of Staff are to meet under the Chairmanship of the new Minister of Defence whenever he or they may so desire." However, the Defence Minister rarely presides and Mr Churchill has defined the relationship between the Defence Minister and the Chiefs of Staff during the last war, in the following words:

"It is my practice to leave the C.O.S. alone to do their own work, subject to my general supervision, suggestion and guidance. For instance, in 1941 out of 462 meetings of the C.O.S Committee", Mr Churchill continues, "I presided at only 44 myself."

Thus, in peace-time, the Defence Minister would hardly preside and the chairmanship of the Chiefs of Staff Committee would be left to one of its members who would rarely be a prince inter partes. This body has clearly a corporate existence and the three Chiefs, "equal in status and in no way subordinate...
subordinate to one another" take decisions as a whole and the chairman has no special vote or veto. It is said that the Chiefs of Staff seldom disagree. A settled and agreed solution is a good achievement but not always. It can be interpreted that if they never disagree, their recommendations would more often then not be a matter of compromise which is the lowest common denomination between incompatible ideas. It can be argued, therefore, that this would not be a method which could win wars. It has accordingly been suggested that the Chiefs of Staff Committee must have a permanent Chairman of its own. He would be the pinnacle of the policy-planning pyramid at the expert level. This conception of a "supreme" among the three Service Chiefs of Staff had found a place in the defence mechanisms of countries like Japan, Italy and Germany before 1939. The institution of the Joint Chiefs of Staff has also a Chairman to preside over the three Service Chiefs, as in Canada, USA and France. England has, however, worked successfully without a 'supremo'. The obvious difficulty is as to who would fill the post of the permanent Chairman. He could not be a Service Chief as the Service aspect is already proportionately represented with due regard to the three Services on the egalitarian principle of one Service one Member. A civilian chairman might be selected but he would be a non-expert director of an expert....
of an expert body which combination may not be desirable. A politician (Minister) has always the right to chair the Committee. This is accepted as an organisational necessity born of the principle of civilian control over the armed forces but the politician can hardly be the day to day chairman of a busy expert body as the one functioning in U.K. The Chiefs of Staff are, therefore, left to deliberate and in the preparatory stage of plans they have the advantage of knowing the views of the Prime Minister or the Minister of Defence through the Chief Staff Officer, who is the fourth important member of the British Chiefs of Staff Committee.

Though England is famous for her conventions of the Constitution on which important institutions have come to rest, the Chiefs of Staff Committee is not a body entirely based on convention, as it has a recognised status in that a warrant for each member of the Committee is signed by the Prime Minister himself. This clearly indicates that the appointing authority who is the Prime Minister is also the dismissing authority, and hence the responsibility for the defence of the country is unequivocally fixed on the Prime Minister who alone is answerable to the Parliament for the conduct of the war.

CONSTITUTIONAL
CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION.

This description would not be complete without a mention of the constitutional principle involved in the last war when the Chamberlain Government resigned in 1940. In the debate in the House of Commons on 7th/8th May that year, Mr. Churchill defended the action of the Government over Norway and declared that they acted on the advice of their responsible Service experts, but at the same time added "Ministers are not sheltered by the fact that they accept their experts' advice. On the other hand, they are very unsheltered if they over-ride their advice." A Member of Parliament is reported to have said "the Chiefs of Staff will lose this war; we politicians bear all the responsibility but the COS have all the power." The Prime Minister told the House of Commons about the working of the war machine with its innumerable Committee meetings and mentioned that the Chiefs of Staff Committee which "conducted the war from day to day and in its future outlook", did not recommend any amphibious operations being undertaken. Nevertheless, the Prime Minister accepted all responsibility saying "I take constitutional responsibility for everything that is done or is not done, and I am quite ready to take the blame when things go wrong, as they very often do, and as they are very likely to do in the future."

To be ...
To be constitutionally dependent "on a Committee of Experts who like all Councils of War can be relied upon to shrink from responsibility - if there is any possible risk or failure - is a dreadful handicap to labour under." Admiral of the Fleet, Sir Roger Keyes has, therefore, criticised this aspect of the Chiefs of Staff Committee which has been described as an irresponsible and almost irremovable body advising a highly responsible Prime Minister and a Cabinet highly responsive to public opinion. This is certainly not the whole truth because the members of the Chiefs of Staff can be dismissed by the Prime Minister and are theoretically certainly removable. They are also responsible to the government of the day for the professional advice they tender on all matters pertaining to the defence of the country.

FUNCTIONS.

The two main objects for which the Committee of Imperial Defence agreed to constitute the Chiefs of Staff Committee in 1923 were, firstly, "to advise the Committee of Imperial Defence on all military matters and to prepare plans for war;" and, secondly, "to obtain from the three Services a combined military opinion for political consideration." It was the duty of this Committee to watch over defence in all its aspects, to call the attention...
attention of the government to any side of the problem, to prepare any reports on defence needed by the Prime Minister and to initiate any report of their own they considered necessary. Such were the general outlines of the functions of this Committee prior to 1939. During the war, the Chiefs of Staff Committee was so used and employed on high problems of strategy by Mr. Churchill that it took a definite shape and form. Thus, in 1946, the crystallised position of the Chiefs of Staff Committee was presented to the Parliament in the White Paper, Command 6923, which lays down that the Chiefs of Staff would remain "responsible for preparing strategic appreciations and military plans and submitting the same to the Defence Committee of the Cabinet." They have direct access to the government of the day as they rank as expert professional military advisers of the government. The White Paper lays down the relations of the Chiefs of Staff with the Defence Minister and the Defence Committee of the Cabinet in the following words:

"On all technical questions of strategy and plans it is essential that the Cabinet and Defence Committee should be able to have presented them directly and personally the advice of the Chiefs of Staff as the professional military advisers of the Government. Their advice to the Defence Committee or the Cabinet, will not, therefore, be presented only through the..."
through the Minister of Defence.
However, before any major strategic plan is submitted to the Defence Committee he (the Minister) will usually discuss it with the Chiefs of Staff, though not with a view to acting as their mouthpiece in the Defence Committee."

The members of the Chiefs of Staff Committee have a dual role. In operational and strategic matters they are responsible to the Defence Minister and the Cabinet. However, in administrative matters relating to their Service they are responsible to their Service Ministers. In peace they are responsible for the appreciation of strategic military plans and for advising the government on the forces necessary to be maintained. In war they are responsible for the direction of military operations subject only to the over-riding authority of the Cabinet. Each Chief of Staff is individually the professional head of his Service and the chief military advisor to his Service Minister. On the other hand, in the collective aspect he is the member of a body which symbolises in its efficient working the complete unification of the three Services. In fact the most important function which this Committee performs in modern warfare is to establish at the very highest stage the planned integration of the three Services so necessary for success in any operation which these days is invariably a three-dimensional one. In this collective capacity, when they advise on defence policy as a whole, they have to forget completely their parochial Service outlook. It would indeed be fatal ....
fatal if they were even unconsciously stitching together the plans of each fighting Service instead of focussing all resources on a single unified plan.

Again, in the constitutional set up, the highest political significance is attached to the fact that it is through the Chiefs of Staff that the Prime Minister or the Defence Committee of the Cabinet direct the day to day conduct of the war. It is a well-known disciplinary principle that after the first shot is fired, an officer in uniform obeys only his superior officer. The question then arises as to the channel by which the civilian head of the Government of the day can direct the conduct of the war. The Chiefs of Staff as heads of the three Services are constituted in the legitimate position of authority to issue orders to the commanders in the battlefield, and it is, therefore, through the Chiefs of Staff that the Defence Committee of the Cabinet and the Prime Minister supervise the operations in the theatre of war. The chain of responsibility in war can, therefore, be illustrated as in the following diagram:
A) (B) (C) AND (D) above: In The Supreme Commander in a theatre of war or a Commander in Chief of a Service in a particular theatre of war would take:

(i) orders from the Chiefs of Staff;

(ii) remain ultimately responsible to that body; and

(iii) remain answerable to the Chiefs of Staff in every detail of command.

In separate theatres of war where there is no 'Supreme', the allegiance is to the Chiefs of Staff but through the respective Service Chiefs and the concerned Ministry. The Chiefs of Staff are in turn responsible to the Prime Minister and the Defence Committee of the Cabinet from whom they take orders. The Prime Minister is ultimately responsible to the Parliament and thus the agency which works as an effective lever for the
Proper exercise of parliamentary control over the armed forces is the Chiefs of Staff Committee in conjunction with the Prime Minister. It is true that an outstanding Prime Minister like Mr. Churchill may on certain occasions correspond directly with Generals in the theatre of war, but it would be most rare and would not be completely at the back of the Chiefs of Staff who would be apprised sooner or later of the exact position.

Again, though the Chiefs of Staff command the 'supremos' and C-in-C in various theatres of war, it is significant that none of the members of the Committee carry the designation of C-in-C. According to the true democratic tradition of England, the supreme control cannot be vested in one individual but in a Council and it is the Council of each Service having civil and political representatives that takes decisions in pure Service matters. Again, it is the Committee of the Chiefs of Staff whose plans are approved by the Defence Committee of the Cabinet and orders are then issued to the C-in-C in the various theatres of operation to implement the same. The designation of C-in-C in a Conciliar machinery is an anathema and hence the planners, though required by the Cabinet to implement their plans by ordering the C-in-C, are themselves designated as Chiefs of Staff only. It is in keeping with this tradition that India has also recently changed the designation of the three C-in-C into Chiefs of Staff.

THE ORGANISATION....
THE ORGANISATION.

The Chiefs of Staff Committee is assisted by a network of Sub-Committees of which the most important are (1) the Joint Planning Staff; and (2) the Joint Intelligence Committee aided by the Joint Intelligence Bureau. These two Committees work directly under the Chiefs of Staff, who also take constant assistance from various Committees on the administrative, planning, production and scientific research side. For example, the Defence Research Policy Committee tenders advice on operational questions to the Chiefs of Staff. Similarly, the services of the Joint Administrative Planners are constantly used by the Chiefs of Staff Committee.

The Secretariat of the central machine is, therefore, formed by the Joint Staffs for (1) Planning; (2) Intelligence; and (3) Administrative Planning.

The Joint Staff has been progressively re-organised and expanded in the light of war experience. It consists of specially selected officers of the three Services who live and work together in the same offices. Thus they learn to think and act in terms, not of three separate units assisting one another for a common end, but of a single fighting unit animated by the same spirit and the same conception of a single task. At their service for information and advice are the three Departmental Staffs of the Navy, Army and Air Force.
The organisation of this Staff, and the composition of its constituent parts are shown in the following chart which dates back to 1942. (As the details of the set-up which existed in 1942 have been given in Command Paper 6351 and since they have not been materially altered, they are reproduced below):
THE JOINT PLANNING STAFF is under the
direction of the three Directors of Plans of the
Admiralty, the War Office and the Air Ministry.
These officers divide their time between their own
Ministries and the Joint Planning Centre. Each
of the Planning Sections shown in the chart
consists of specially selected officers who work as a
team in every sense of the word. They share not
only the same tasks but the same office. They not
only meet together but sleep in the same building.
They are available for consultation at any hour of
the day or night.

The duties of the various Sections as defined
by the Command Paper of 1945 are as follows:

(a) The Strategic Planning Section, under
the direction of the Chiefs of Staff,
keeps the general situation under constant
review and prepares appreciations of the
situation from time to time, with
recommendations as to the action that we
should adopt.

(b) The executive Planning Section is charged
with concerting ways and means of putting
into effect plans which have been approved.

(c) The Future Operational Planning Section
is not concerned with current work, but
concentrates on the preparation of future
plans, even though these may not be
immediately within the range of practical
politics. Thus they are not rigidly
bound by limitations of the forces,
transport and other resources immediately
available.

The Joint Planning Staff is, of course,
primarily concerned with military plans, but in
"total war" other considerations, political, economic,
etc., have to be taken into account. Consequently,
the Foreign ......
the Foreign Office has a permanent representative on the Joint Planning Staff, while the Political Warfare Executive and the Ministries of War Transport, Economic Warfare and Home Security each have liaison officers who are called for consultation when required.

THE JOINT INTELLIGENCE SUB-COMMITTEE consists of a representative of the Foreign Office (Chairman), the Directors of Intelligence of the three Service Departments and the Deputy Director-General of the Ministry of Economic Warfare. These officers work on the same lines as the Directors of Plans mentioned above, i.e. part-time in their own Ministries and part-time as a team. They have under their supervision the joint staffs of the three Services, the Foreign Office and the Ministry of Economic Warfare as shown in the chart. These work on exactly the same lines as the various sections of the Joint Planning Staff. Broadly speaking, it is the responsibility of the Joint Intelligence Sub-Committee to collate and assess all information about the enemy, and, in particular, to prepare appreciations of the most likely course of enemy action from time to time.

The Joint Planning Staff and the Joint Intelligence Sub-Committee work hand in hand and both of them are regularly summoned to discuss problems with the Chiefs of Staff.

The most distinguishing feature of the organisation is that the planners are not permanently recruited......
recruited as in the German system but are actual Directors of Plans of the Service Departments, responsible for carrying out the approved policy. It is indeed a cardinal principle of efficient and effective planning not to divorce planners from the machinery responsible for their execution. When planning is done by a permanent body, which has nothing to do with the execution of those plans, it is often divorced from practical considerations and becomes, more often than not, impracticable in execution. The German system failed because the planning staffs of the Obkommando der Wehrmacht were not drawn from the Headquarters of the three Services. "The cleavage between planning and execution" is reported to have "set up dangerous antagonisms and entirely nullified any theoretical advantages of the German system."
France in the Fourth Republic, unlike England, has a written Constitution with an elected President and a bicameral legislature comprising the National Assembly (the Lower House) and the Council of the Republic (Upper House) empowered to legislate on all matters relating to defence.

THE POLITICAL ORGAN OF THE STATE RESPONSIBLE FOR HIGHER DEFENCE PLANNING.

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC.

Executive authority over the armed forces is vested under Section 53 of the Constitution in the President of the French Republic. It is the duty of the President to see that national defence is properly carried out since he is given the title of 'Chief of the Armed Forces' (Chef des armées) and presides over the meetings of the Supreme Board of National Defence and the Committee of National Defence. The President is not a mere nominal figurehead in relation to the armed forces since he has a military secretariat to assist him in discharging his functions as President of the Committee of National Defence of which the Prime Minister is a member.

COMMITTEES.

It is necessary to briefly describe the two Committees which assist the supreme executive authority (President of the Republic) in the discharge of.....
THE SUPREME BOARD OF NATIONAL DEFENCE is a consultative body consisting of nominated persons, whether Members of Parliament or not, appointed on the ground of their competency to advise the government in defence matters. This Board has a very wide scope of subjects on which to tender advice since all bills relating to the general organisation of Defence as well as plans relating to industrial equipment and problems of scientific research and armament programmes are discussed by it. It consists of some Ministers, important civilians as well as members from the public who might be taken into confidence. However, it cannot take decisions and hence is not a very important organ in the defence structure.

THE COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL DEFENCE is a body which takes decisions and consists of those members of the Cabinet who are concerned with defence projects or plans and includes the Prime Minister who is the Vice President but takes the chair in the absence of the President. The fact, however, remains that the President is the Chairman of this Committee which is equivalent to the Defence Committee of the Cabinet in U.K. or in India. It is described in France as a "specialised Inter-Ministerial Committee" (Comité Interministériel Specialisé). All matters which require coordination regarding the defence of the French Union are submitted to the Committee of National Defence. The Minister for French Territories Overseas ....
Overseas who correspond to the Minister for Colonies in UK as well as the "Minister for Associated States" who is like the UK Minister for Commonwealth Relations are both members of this Committee.

**President of the Council of Ministers (Prime Minister)**

The President of the Council of Ministers who is the equivalent of the Prime Minister in UK, is also entrusted with certain functions in respect of 'Military Services' under Article 47 of the new Constitution. The President of the Cabinet has to ensure the execution of laws, nomination of persons for appointment in the civil and military services and the proper direction of the armed forces and coordination of the activities of national defence.

The Prime Minister is assisted by a number of Committees and organisations which are best explained in the chart given as Appendix B to this Chapter. It is sufficient to indicate here the main organs which are constituted to help him in accomplishing this task:

**1.** The Prime Minister is assisted by a "Committee of Scientific Activities for National Defence" which is a consultative body placed at that level because of the importance attached to Defence Science Research in modern warfare. This Committee consists of leading scientists who tackle subjects...
subjects from biological warfare to new designs of equipment and weapons.

(ii) He is also assisted by an Intelligence Service known as the SDECE. It includes counter-intelligence. The Prime Minister has to be kept well informed of the latest position both internal and external and the Intelligence Service is, therefore, directly responsible to him.

(iii) The organisation for carrying out inspections in North Africa and in the armed forces installations is also directly linked with the Prime Minister which is indeed a unique feature of the French system. No one can deny the necessity for carrying out regular inspections in the armed forces with a view to maintaining efficiency and discipline and checking corruption, but it is rarely that the Prime Minister himself is directly associated with such an organisation. The fact that this prevails in the French system indicates the importance that is attached to inspections.

(iv) To assist the President of the Council of Ministers (the Prime Minister) in the discharge of the above-mentioned duties, a permanent Secretariat General of National Defence is organised to function directly under him. The equivalent in the Indian set up of this Secretariat would be the Military Wing of the Cabinet Secretariat.

(v) Minister for National Defence: In accordance with Article 54 of the new Constitution,

the President....
the President of the Council of Ministers is empowered to delegate his powers to the Minister for National Defence. The Minister is a member of one of the two Houses of the French Parliament and is associated with the sub-committee of the Council of the Republic which deals with defence matters. He has a vast organisation under him which is explained in the chart at Appendix 'D' to this Chapter. He is assisted by a Secretariat for National Defence, which has three big Sections dealing with the Army, Navy and the Air Force.

PERMANENT SECRETARIAT GENERAL FOR NATIONAL DEFENCE. This is an important secretariat organization attached to the President of the Cabinet or the Prime Minister and its real function is inter-ministerial and inter-allied coordination in the field of national defence. It not only furnishes secretariat machinery for the various Boards and Committees of National Defence but also performs the duty of notifying to the Services concerned the decisions that have been taken. Again, it assists the President of the Council in his work of inter-ministerial coordination of the various measures calculated to carry out national defence such as the planning of mobilisation, financial and economic problems of ....
problems of war, psychological warfare, scientific researches and sending of instructions to the Institute of Higher Studies for National Defence. The secretariat is also responsible for following up the implementation of the decisions taken by the various Committees in which the President of the Cabinet had participated.

The secretariat further prepares the general directives to be issued to the armed forces in accordance with the recommendations made by the Chiefs of Staff when the decisions have been taken by the Committee of National Defence. It further directs military missions to foreign countries and draws up plans of researches on intelligence.

On the international plane, its function is to initiate negotiations relating to national defence and to study the plans submitted to international or inter-allied organisations. It closely follows the work of French delegations to various inter-allied military Committees.

(vi) The most important organisation assisting the President of the Council, or the Prime Minister, in the performance of his duties relating to defence matters is the Chiefs of Staff Committee. This Committee is also linked directly with the Minister for National Defence and consists, as usual, of the three Chiefs of Staff who are the heads of the respective Services and a permanent Chairman who is of the rank of a General. It is
through this Committee that orders are passed
to the commanders in the theatres of operations.
As this Committee is responsible for expert
military planning, it is described in detail below.

THE EXPERT MILITARY PLANNING ORGANISATION
OF THE CHIEFS OF STAFF COMMITTEE.

The COMMITTEE OF CHIEFS OF STAFF is an
important coordinating body which takes decisions
at its level and submits the same to the Minister
for National Defence or the President of the
Council; it is presided over by a permanent Chair-
man and is assisted by a secretariat organisation
which is known as the "Armed Forces Combined
General Staff". The permanent President of the
Chiefs of Staff Committee is known as the "Major
General of the Armed Forces" who has under him
the Chiefs of Staff of the Army, Navy and Air Force.
The functions of the Chiefs of Staff Committee are
many, some of which are enumerated below:

1. Issue of policy directives in the sphere
   of higher inter-Services military
   instruction.

2. Coordination in the inter-Services sphere
   (mobilisation, transport, communications etc)

3. Direction of technical studies and
   researches.

4. Issue of policy directives on matters of
   Military Intelligence.

5. Issue of instructions to the commanders of
   the theatres of operations and to inter-
   Service commanders.

The Combined ....
The Combined General Staff, which functions under the Chiefs of Staff Committee and its President, has a network of Committees such as Joint Planning, Joint Intelligence, etc. In fact, the set up which is found in the United Kingdom or in any other democratic country is reproduced in France under the name of Combined General Staff.

As is clearly illustrated in the diagram at Appendix B, the Chiefs of Staff Committee is directly linked with the Minister for National Defence and has direct access to the President of the Council of Ministers.

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE CHIEFS OF STAFF COMMITTEE IN RELATION TO THE COMMANDERS IN VARIOUS THEATRES OF OPERATIONS.

There are Commanders-in-Chief in the various theatres of operations and in theory they are directly under the President of the Republic who is the chief of the Armed Forces. However, an effective control is exercised by the President of the Council who works through the Chiefs of Staff Committee in giving them directives and orders from time to time. In the chart at Appendix B, the last column gives the details of the organs of execution. These commanders are directly linked with the three Service Headquarters and come under the Chief of Staff of the respective Service. Thus the Minister for National Defence or the President of the Cabinet exercises complete control over the Commander-in-Chief.
Commander-in-Chief concerned through the agency of the Chiefs of Staff. There are no less than five kinds of commanders to command the armed forces located in the various theatres:

1) There are Commanders of Allied Land Forces in Overseas Territories of which the Governor of the Colony concerned is the local head. Under this category come Commanders of Land Forces in (a) Madagascar; (b) French West Africa; (c) French East Africa; and (d) New Caledonia.

2) Commander-in-Chief of the theatre of operations. This appointment is only made in time of war and at the present moment there is a Supreme Commander in French Indo-China.

3) There are also Commanding Officers of five Air Regions within France.

4) There is a Commander-in-Chief of French North Africa.

5) There are three Commanding Officers in respect of the three Naval Zones, namely (i) Mediterranean; (ii) Atlantic; and (iii) English Channel.

This is the regional organisation of the defence forces and though the President of the Cabinet has overall control there are other Ministers who are also concerned, such as the Minister for French Territories Overseas when directions are issued and decisions are taken in regard to the development of armed forces in the overseas possessions of France.

NEW ZEALAND ....
THE GENERAL SET UP.

The comparative simplicity of defence problems of the small island of New Zealand are met by a defence structure which is neither large nor complicated. There is in existence a unitary type of defence set-up with the Minister of Defence in charge of all the three Services. It appears the work of coordination is undertaken by the Defence Committee of the Cabinet and the "Defence Secretariat" which works under the Prime Minister's Department. As usual, the Prime Minister is the Chairman of the Defence Committee. There are, of course, a number of inter-Service Committees and the Ministry of Defence is itself a coordinating body. The various organs of defence mechanism may now be examined in detail.

DEFENCE COMMITTEE

1. In 1938 a Council of Defence was constituted which has now taken the name of the "Defence Committee". This supreme controlling body consists of the Prime Minister who is the Chairman, the Attorney General and the Ministers of Defence and External Affairs. In accordance with the correct democratic practice, the Chiefs of the Naval, the General and the Air Staff, and Secretaries of the Treasury...
Treasury and of the External Affairs attend meetings of the Committee "in a consultative capacity." The main function of the Defence Committee is to keep the defence policy and organisation constantly under review including "questions of cooperation and defence with other countries of the British Commonwealth and military questions arising as a result of New Zealand's membership of the United Nations."

THE CHIEFS OF STAFF COMMITTEE

As usual, this Committee in New Zealand consists of the three Service Chiefs of Staff and is responsible for advising government on defence policy and strategic questions. It has under it a Secretariat organisation and is assisted by a network of inter-Service Committees dealing with the usual subjects of operational planning, intelligence, communications etc. For purposes of coordination there is also the Principal Administrative Officers' Committee which consists of the senior Personnel and Supply Officers of each of the three Services. It has also a representative of the Treasury. This Committee often divides itself into sub-committees to consider ad hoc questions like medical arrangements or provision of clothing etc.

DEFENCE SCIENCE (POLICY) COMMITTEE.

Though New Zealand is a small country and

there may not....

1. New Zealand Year Book.
there may not be very many scientific problems to confront them, there is a Defence Science (Policy) Committee which consists of the Chiefs of Staff and the Secretary of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research. Thus, Defence Science activities in New Zealand are guided by an Executive Committee where the user Services are represented by their Chiefs of Staff. The importance of science in defence matters is, those days, paramount and it is of some significance to note that even New Zealand has two Advisory Committees namely the Advisory Aeronautical Research Committee and the Defence Science Advisory Committee on which the Services, non-government scientists and Government members are represented.

In accordance with the U.K. set-up, the Defence Science (Policy) Committee is served by the Joint Plans Committee and its technical sub-committees which are responsible for the planning and implementation of defence science projects. There is a Scientific Adviser to the Armed Forces who coordinates and directs research activities. A regular Defence Science Secretariat operates within the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research. Further, in order to build up a group of scientific workers with an incentive to Service requirements, the "New Zealand Defence Scientific Corps has been constituted. Recruitment is made to this Corps from the ......
from the personnel of one of the three Services on a Short Service Commission basis for 5 or 6 years. In this period they undertake post-graduate studies for 2-3 years and then work on problems related to Defence requirements. Thus New Zealand presents the most modern mechanism for both policy and expert planning. The latter is most adequately and appropriately at every stage of planning coordinated with the scientist in order to achieve the best results. The Chiefs of Staff Committee is thus constantly fed by the latest scientific inventions to enhance the value of its expert planning.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION.

South Africa has a unitary Constitution with a single Parliament and hence the question of division of legislative powers does not arise in relation to the location of defence, as is found necessary in federal constitutions like those of USA, Canada, Australia and India. However, the Head of the State is vested with the supreme command of the defence forces which is a feature of almost every written or unwritten constitution of the world. In accordance with Section 17 of the South Africa Act, 1909, the "Command-in-Chief of the Naval and Military Forces within the union is vested.....
is vested in the King or the Governor General as his representative."

THE GENERAL SET UP

The defence system of the Union of South Africa has been prescribed by the Defence Act No. XIII of 1912. This Act has been amended from time to time but the basic structure relating to the formation of Defence Forces and the Reserves has remained unaltered. The Act does not prescribe the higher defence mechanism but sets out the organisation of the defence forces by stating what shall be the permanent force and how it is to be supplemented by the citizen forces and by the volunteer reserves. The Act, however, does lay down the organisation and functions of the Council of Defence which till 1928 was presided over by the Minister of Defence and not by the Prime Minister. It has not been possible to obtain detailed information on the set up of the higher command but an attempt is made to describe the Chiefs of Staff Committee in relation to those organs with which it constantly comes in contact.

The Armed Forces are under the administrative control of the Government Department of Defence which is headed by the Minister of Defence who is of Cabinet rank. The Minister is assisted by various Committees of which the more important are -

(1) ...
(i) The Council of Defence; and
(ii) The Military Board.

(1) THE COUNCIL OF DEFENCE FOR FORMULATION OF DEFENCE POLICY.

In accordance with Article 29 of the Defence Act, 1912, the Governor General was empowered to set up a Council of Defence with functions as may from time to time be prescribed by him. The Second Schedule to the 1912 Act lays down the composition of the Council as follows:

(a) The Minister of Defence shall be the ex-officio President of the Council;
(b) There shall be 4 members appointed by the Governor General;
(c) The Secretary for Defence shall be the Secretary of the Council.

The functions of the Council were set out in the Act and were mainly those of advising the Governor General on proposals relating to the administration of the 1912 Act. It appears that as the Act had prescribed certain functions to be performed by the Governor General, it was made incumbent upon the Minister of Defence to lay before the House of Parliament "within 14 days from the commencement of its first session in any calendar year a report showing the manner in which the Governor General had exercised those powers during the previous calendar year, together with such recommendations of the Council of Defence thereon as the Council may desire.....
may desire to be recorded in that report."
This clearly indicates the enforcement of the principle of parliamentary control over the exercise of powers by the Governor General in relation to the armed forces.

(ii) THE MILITARY BOARD FOR EXPERT PLANNING was in existence in 1938 and it appears to be still functioning. It consists of the following:

(a) Minister for Defence as President
(b) 4 Members as follows:
   1) Chief of the General Staff
   2) Adjutant General
   3) Quartermaster General
   4) Director of Air Services.

(c) Secretary, Defence.
The Board meets when the Minister of Defence considers it necessary to obtain advice on important matters of policy. It may, however, be added that the Military Board has no executive authority. In fact both these bodies are essentially advisory in character.

It is clear that the Military Board consisting of the Principal Staff Officers of the South African Army could only be responsible for army planning. This is because South Africa, like India, had the Army as its principal armed force as the Naval and Air Forces were comparatively smaller Services. However, after 1938, with the development of the other two Services,

a Chiefs of Staff...
a Chiefs of Staff Committee in a state of further development was inevitably to come into existence. It is indeed significant that in view of South Africa's geographical position in a safe corner of the Southern Hemisphere, the problem of external defence has not arisen as much as of internal law and order for which the Military Board of the Army officers has furnished a complete answer. Hence the supreme importance of the Chief of General Staff for expert army planning.

CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF

The Chief of the General Staff is the senior-most officer of the Army and he does not combine the dual role of being the Commander-in-Chief as well. In accordance with Section 81 of the Defence Act, 1912, the appointment of a Commander-in-Chief is something reserved in time of war. In peacetime the planning is done by the Chief of the General Staff in consultation with the Military Board. The Chief of the General Staff also performs the function of overall supervision though matters of discipline are left to local heads of units and installations.

PAKISTAN ....

1 Section 81(1) of Defence Act, 1912, runs as follows:

"In time of war the Governor General may place any officer of the Defence Forces in Command of the whole or any portion of those Forces in the field."
PAKISTAN.

THE GENERAL CONSTITUTIONAL SET-UP.

When the Independence Act of 1947 created the Dominions of India and Pakistan, the basic constitutional structure of undivided India was provided by the Government of India Act, 1935. Both the Dominions continued to work it but on the 26th January 1950, India adopted the Constitution framed by her Constituent Assembly. Though Pakistan has also entrusted the task of framing her Constitution to a Constituent Assembly, the latter has not yet been able to finalise the new Constitution. The Government of India Act, 1935, is, therefore, still the basis of the political organisation of the Dominion of Pakistan. The institution of the Governor General as the head of the State has been preserved in Pakistan since it found a place in the Government of India Act, 1935. As the Governor General is the representative of the Crown and his appointment is made by the Queen of England on the advice of the Government of Pakistan, the armed forces of the State still carry the prefix "Royal" like the "Royal Pakistan Air Force" or the "Royal Pakistan Navy" which stands in sharp contrast to the dropping of this prefix in India. As the Government of India Act, 1935, is silent on the point of who exactly is the supreme Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, it may be legally inferred that the Governor General......
Governor General representing the Queen in the Dominion is also the head of the Defence Forces of the State.

As the constitution of Pakistan has not yet been framed, it is premature to categorise it as unitary and to discuss it in this Chapter. However, for the sake of convenience, the organisation for defence policy and expert military planning is briefly described below:

DEFECE POLICY PLANNING

The Prime Minister and the Defence Minister.

In view of the considerable importance attached to Defence immediately after Independence, the Defence portfolio was taken over by the Prime Minister himself. The successor of Mr Iqquat Ali Khan also held charge of the Defence portfolio in addition to being the Prime Minister. The position was, however, radically changed in 1954 when General Ayub Khan, the Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Pakistan Army, was appointed Defence Minister. The elevation of a man in uniform to the position of cabinet responsibility which is exclusively reserved to the elected representatives of the Legislature cuts at the very root of democratic form of parliamentary government as it exists in England today. It is important to note that the members of the Chiefs of Staff Committee in UK are only in attendance and at no stage participate as members of the Defence Committee of the Cabinet. ......

the Cabinet. As Pakistan has not yet had proper elections after 1947 the principle of governmental responsibility to the electorate has probably not been fully established. However, according to the accepted political theory a Service officer while functioning as the Commander-in-Chief cannot hold a cabinet rank unless he seeks election to the legislature, which he cannot as long as he holds an "office of profit" in the executive administration of the State. This aspect of the problem is discussed at length in Chapter XI of Part IV and need only be mentioned here to indicate that in view of the latest cabinet changes, it is difficult to describe the Government of Pakistan as essentially a parliamentary form of government in practice.

DEFENCE COMMITTEE OF THE CABINET.

It is gathered that analogous to the Defence Committee of the Cabinet in India there is also a similar Committee in Pakistan. The Prime Minister presides over the meetings of the Defence Committee of the Cabinet which has the three Commanders-in-Chief in attendance, along with a couple of Ministers of the Cabinet who are its members. The Finance Minister is, of course, a member of this body. The Defence Committee of the Cabinet in Pakistan is, therefore, the supreme controlling organ in respect of.....
respect of all Defence matters. As the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army is now elevated to the position of Defence Minister it is understood that the Deputy Chief of Staff is elevated to the position of a member of the Chiefs of Staff Committee and attends the deliberations of the Defence Committee of the Cabinet. Though the ordinary meetings of the Chiefs of Staff Committee may be attended by the Deputy Chief of Staff, the important ones are often presided over by the Defence Minister who combines in himself the office of the Commander-in-Chief of the Army as well. Thus, there appears to be a complete intermingling of expert planning with policy planning. In fact an expert planner is also raised to the position of a framor of defence policy. It may be a triumph from the viewpoint of the expert military planners though it is a most retrograde step from the viewpoint of proper functioning of a parliamentary democracy.

**EXPERT PLANNING ORGANISATION - JOINT SERVICE COMMANDERS' COMMITTEE.**

This body corresponds to the Chiefs of Staff Committee in India and has the three Service Commanders-in-Chief as its members and the Deputy Chief of Staff as its Secretary with Headquarters at Karachi. The functions of the Joint Commanders' Committee are almost the same as those of the Chiefs of Staff Committee already described....
The institution of the Deputy Chief of Staff, however, requires to be explained briefly since there are a number of committees that come under him.

**THE DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF AT KARACHI.**

The Army Headquarters of Pakistan is at Rawalpindi and hence its representative who is a Deputy Chief of Staff is stationed at Karachi where the Defence Ministry exists along with the other two Service Headquarters. The Deputy Chief of Staff, therefore, acts as a liaison officer and moves frequently between Karachi and Rawalpindi. Since he is the Chief of Staff of the Royal Pakistan Army, the Inter-Service Intelligence Directorate, the Joint Planning Committee and the Joint Intelligence Committee work under him. These Committees are usually constituted to assist the Chiefs of Staff Committee. Thus the Deputy Chief of Staff assisted by the usual Committees constitutes a small inter-service Secretariat under the Joint Commanders' Committee.