



Copyright Statement

The digital copy of this thesis is protected by the Copyright Act 1994 (New Zealand). This thesis may be consulted by you, provided you comply with the provisions of the Act and the following conditions of use:

- Any use you make of these documents or images must be for research or private study purposes only, and you may not make them available to any other person.
- Authors control the copyright of their thesis. You will recognise the author's right to be identified as the author of this thesis, and due acknowledgement will be made to the author where appropriate.
- You will obtain the author's permission before publishing any material from their thesis.

To request permissions please use the Feedback form on our webpage.
<http://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/feedback>

General copyright and disclaimer

In addition to the above conditions, authors give their consent for the digital copy of their work to be used subject to the conditions specified on the Library [Thesis Consent Form](#)

THE 'JESUS NUT':

A STUDY OF NEW ZEALAND MILITARY CHAPLAINCY

by

Mary Alison Tagg

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (Theology)
at the University of Auckland

2000

ii

CONTENTS

Abstract	v
Acknowledgements	vi
Introduction	1
Part 1 Military Chaplaincy: Historical and Contextual Review	6
Chapter 1 History of the Church in the Military	7
Chapter 2 New Zealand Development	19
Chapter 3 Military Today	35
Chapter 4 Chaplaincy Today	50
Part 2 Chaplains Today: An Empirical Investigation	63
Chapter 5 Survey: Section I	64
Chapter 6 Survey: Section II	71
Chapter 7 Survey: Section III	91
Chapter 8 Survey: Chaplains in War and Peace	123
Part 3 NZDF Chaplaincy: Possibilities and Options	140
Chapter 9 Religious Ministry or Secular Care	141
Chapter 10 Chaplaincy Open to All Religions	151
Chapter 11 Civilian Chaplaincy	160
Part 4 Church and Military: A Critical Relationship	176
Chapter 12 Issues and Ideology	177
Chapter 13 The Relationship of Military and Church	194
Chapter 14 Spirituality and the Military Context	213

Part 5 Conclusions and Recommendations	227
Chapter 15 Conclusions	228
Chapter 16 Recommendations	249
Appendices	257
1. Abbreviations	258
2. A Note on Terms	260
3. Development of social services in New Zealand	265
4. The Chaplain on Active Service	274
Bibliography	277

ABSTRACT

Since the earliest days of the Christian Church, ordained ministers and priests have accompanied soldiers into battle. The religious presence in the war machine has been the subject of many debates, particularly those involving the conflict of ethics presented by the representatives of a gospel of peace and love participating in a profession of violence and killing.

New Zealand is a secular country with a relatively well-developed system of secular pastoral care services. However the New Zealand Defence Force continues to request the churches' involvement in the military and those churches which respond continue to participate in work which appears contrary to their teaching. This study examines the relationship of church and military. It investigates the place of the church in the New Zealand Defence Force through an examination of the appropriate literature and other relevant information, and an empirical survey of the work and views of current, and some retired, chaplains.

The global military scenario has changed in recent years with the development of war technology. The New Zealand military focus is now largely directed towards policing New Zealand's economic zone and the preservation of independence of smaller neighbouring island states, while its active service role is one of participation in international peace-enforcement and peacekeeping. This thesis considers these changes and looks at the possible effects they may have on the future of military chaplaincy within the secular, multicultural context of the New Zealand state. The study concludes with a rationale for the presence of the Christian Church in the New Zealand Defence Force and presents issues which the current chaplaincy-providing churches need to consider if they wish to continue to provide effective chaplaincy for the military.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to the many people who have assisted me with the work of this thesis. In particular I would like to thank my supervisors, Rev. Dr. Philip Culbertson and Rev. Dr. Douglas Pratt, for their willing and cheerful availability and help. I could not have asked for more encouragement than I have received from them and together they have made this work a pleasure and absorbing interest for me. My special thanks to Rev. Dr. Frank Glen, who started me on this topic and gave me not only encouragement but the use of his extensive library on military chaplaincy. Thanks also to Rev. Dr. Allan Davidson for his encouragement and valuable criticism.

Special thanks are due to the chaplains who responded to the questionnaire. Their interest and willingness to further the development of chaplaincy in the New Zealand Defence Force speaks for their belief in its value. Judith Bright and the staff of the Kinder Library have been most helpful and patient with their 'older' student and my sincere thanks to them for all they have done for me.

My thanks also to my daughter, Evelyn Dunstan, for her help with diagrams, to Ben Hall for much patient untangling of the computer, to Marilynn Smith of Indianapolis for her assistance with United States research, and to my husband and Lois Westwood for putting up with me and encouraging me over these past two years.

Mary Tagg
March 2000

INTRODUCTION

The New Zealand Army Journal of July 1989 contains a story which serves as an analogy for the religious ministry in the military which is the subject of this study:

For some unknown reason, military helicopter crewmen seem to delight in pointing out to their not so enthusiastic passengers, a particular part of their vehicle's anatomy. This device, so one is told, serves to stop the main rotor blade from unfixing itself from the drive shaft. Actually the picture is a little more graphic than that. Remember that the main rotor is the bit which holds the helicopter up in the air, and in one sense, the body of the aircraft hangs off it. Thus this clever device supposedly prevents the body from separating from the blades and, (along with the bodies of the occupants), falling suddenly to earth. They call it the 'Jesus Nut'.

The writer continues:

...Generations of application have established the military structure...that greater entity which is the sum of spirit, professionalism, commitment and so on. However we would all acknowledge that the component parts are people...Where, then, is the 'Jesus Nut' for the Military structure? Where is that article of faith? (Caltrom 1989)

This study sets out to examine the 'Jesus Nut' of the New Zealand Defence Force (hereafter NZDF): the New Zealand military chaplaincy. As the 'Jesus Nut', the chaplaincy does not hold the NZDF together structurally or physically, but in terms of spirituality, values and ideology the chaplaincy contextualises and humanises the military. Without such a humanising influence, the military becomes an impersonal and brutalising machine. The difference between military brutality and military assistance can be seen today in the differing effects of the Indonesian militia and the UN military peacekeeping forces on the population of East Timor. So the purpose of the study is to examine the relevance of religious ministry in the present armed services, how it operates, and what particular value

this ministry has for the military in the context of the secular New Zealand state.

Interest in New Zealand military chaplaincy originated from two previous studies of New Zealand chaplains, the first of which examines the work of chaplains in World War II.¹ The second study is based on the diary of a New Zealand prisoner of war padre in the prison camps of Italy and Germany.² From these two pieces of research the question arose as to why New Zealand, which is a secular state with no constitutionally designated official church-state relationship, should have clergy working within its defence forces.

Some countries, such as the United Kingdom and Germany, do have an official church-state concordat. This means that the presence of clergy in the military has political relevance. But in the United States and Australia, as in New Zealand, there is no official church-state relationship, yet still in both countries there are, as in New Zealand, clergy working within the military. Why are clergy needed as part of the military? What particular function does the church serve in an institution which trains its personnel in the work of killing and violent death? This study is an examination of present New Zealand military chaplaincy, the 'Jesus nut', to ascertain its place in the NZDF and its value to both military and church.

Structure of the thesis

Part 1

To determine the worth of this 'Jesus nut', it is first necessary to look at the design and function of the military structure. It is also important to look at the

¹ Frank Glen (1996) University of Waikato unpublished PhD. thesis: *The New Zealand Army Chaplain at War 2NZEF 1939-1945*.

² Mary Tagg (1997) University of Waikato unpublished M.Phil. thesis: *The Prisoner Padre: The Impact of War on a New Zealand Cleric*.

'nut' itself to see the place it has in the military 'helicopter' and how it has come to be incorporated in this machine. Part 1 of this study therefore investigates the development and design of both the NZDF and the NZDF chaplaincy. Chapter one focuses on the origins and history of military chaplaincy from the time of Constantine. Chapter 2 is concerned with the development of the NZDF chaplaincy and chapters 3 and 4 examine the changing roles of the NZDF of today and the structure of the present New Zealand military chaplaincy.

Part 2

It is not possible to determine if a particular piece of machinery is of any use unless one examines the components of that piece to see what they are composed of and how they work. Part 2 of the study examines the chaplains themselves and their work - the material of the nut - and how the chaplains operate to fulfil the required functions. A questionnaire was sent to chaplains and, although not all responded, useful information on their work and opinions was obtained. Part 2 of the study reports the responses to the three sections of the questionnaire and chapter 8 gives relevant material from tapes and papers obtained in interviews with chaplains.

Part 3

The NZDF is currently the subject of public debate as to its future role, organisation and equipment. Thus Part 3 looks at the future of chaplaincy. The function and operation of the nut cannot be modified for an updated machine unless different materials and designs are considered. Some options for future directions of chaplaincy present different possibilities for the work and personnel of chaplaincy in the new NZDF machine.

Part 4

Part 4 explores why and how the military helicopter, the NZDF, will continue to need a 'Jesus Nut'. The issues of

military chaplaincy and the specific relationship of the military and church are examined and the value of religious spirituality in the military is discussed.

Part 5

The conclusions determine what that 'Jesus Nut' must be and do if it is to be 'the article of faith' which will yield appropriate spiritual support to the machine of the NZDF in its future work. A final chapter relates to the survey questionnaire to give comment which may be helpful in structuring future chaplaincy.

Methodology

The thesis combines research of appropriate literature and other information together with an empirical study of chaplains and their work through a questionnaire survey. The relevant discussion is a reflection and investigation of what these together bring out.

Most of the chaplains approached were very willing to contribute their thoughts on chaplaincy and their work in the military. Some, however, expressed concern about their remarks being identified in any way which might lead to their being individually associated with comment that could be seen as critical of either their churches or the military. This is noted in chapter 5 and in order to preserve the chaplains' request for anonymity, quotations made by the chaplains in chapters 5 to 8 are not given under name references.

Appendices

There are four appendices:

Appendix 1 Abbreviations

In military literature it is the practice to use abbreviations rather than full terminology for ranks, status, operations, personnel and organisations. This has been followed herein. But, to assist readers, the full

title is given initially in the text before the military abbreviation is used. A list of the commonly used abbreviations is also given at the end of the study. Unless otherwise specified, the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV) of the Bible has been used.

Appendix 2 Discussion of terms

For the purpose of this study it is useful to clarify and define some of the terms used. There are distinctions in the training and work of counsellors and ministers which create differences in their roles. These differences are considered in the Discussion of Terms.

Appendix 3 Development of social services in New Zealand.

It is also helpful, when considering religious and secular spiritualities, to understand how secular counselling services in New Zealand developed from church pastoral care organisations. New Zealand trends have been influenced by Rogerian non-directive therapy and the work of Rev. Dr David Williams and therefore have a strong spiritual orientation. Appendix 3 gives a brief history of the development of these services and the influences which have shaped them.

Appendix 4 contains notes on the Geneva Conventions which govern the situation of chaplains in war. The Conventions are not given in full, but the notes may be helpful in referring to the situation of chaplains in war.

Bibliography.

Not all the works included in the bibliography are directly referred to in the text. Some are referred to in Appendices. But because this study included researching a range of subject areas such as military, war history, psychology and counselling, and current affairs as well as theology, representative works are included as relevant background.

CHAPTER 1

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN THE MILITARY

The Beginnings of Chaplaincy

Throughout history military men have shown a recognition of the need to rely on, or at least not offend, the deities in which they believed. Rameses II (11th century BCE) named his formations for the principal gods of Egypt... (NZDF Chaplains' Handbook 1990:para.202)

The connection between religion and the military is apparent in early pre-christian history when people called on their gods to support them in battle against their enemies, both for conquest and in defence. Holy men, or priests, were called on to forecast the omens before a battle, or to make sacrifices to ensure the gods would give victory. The Hebrew Bible narrates the support of God in battles such as Jericho, when God's chosen people were successful through divine direction. Jorgensen (1961:1.4) quotes the first official statement concerning the chaplaincy as that given in Deuteronomy:

Before you engage in battle, the priest shall come forward and speak to the troops, and shall say to them: "Hear, O Israel! Today you are drawing near to do battle against your enemies. Do not lose heart, or be afraid, or panic, or be in dread of them; for it is the LORD your God who goes with you, to fight for you against your enemies, to give you the victory." (Deut 20:2-4).

For the state to justify war the reason for war should be a righteous cause. So God's support is sought and the priest is often consulted as to the prospects of victory or defeat before battle, as in the story of Jehosophat:

But Jehosophat said, "Is there no other prophet of the LORD here of whom we may inquire?" (1Kings 22:7)

The New Zealand Defence Force (hereafter NZDF) Chaplains' Handbook (1990) notes that the Assyrians had 'the earliest

fighting organisation of great efficiency, complete with the emperor's life-guards and baggage trains to army chaplains...though the precise nature and role of these "chaplains" is not certain.' (NZDF Chaplains' Handbook 1990:para.203).

While there were christians in the Roman army during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (Swift 1983:37; Harnack 1981:75), the development of Christian chaplaincy as an accepted institution within the state military began when Constantine invited the bishops of the church to march with the Roman army:

...some of whom he judged it right to take with him as companions, and as needful coadjutors in the service of God...(the bishops) cheerfully declared their willingness to follow in his train, disclaiming any desire to leave him, and engaging to battle with and for him by supplication to God on his behalf.' (Eusebius *The Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine*, Chapter 56, in Schaff & Wace 1952-7:1.554-555).

On the eve of the battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312CE, Constantine is said to have been granted a vision of the Cross superimposed on the sun with the words 'in this sign you will conquer', a motif which today forms the military chaplain's insignia.¹

Constantine, as emperor, followed the Roman tradition whereby the gods were deities of the state (Sordi 1986:133f). The state of Rome looked after the gods and so therefore the gods would look after Rome.² Constantine saw it as his duty to forge a relationship between a strong

¹ Chaplain's Handbook 1990:para.202; Haigh 1983:18; Sordi 1986:134f all give this story. Schaff & Wace 1952-7:1.490 say 'the trophy of a cross of light in the heavens, above the sun, and bearing the inscription, Conquer by this'. Sordi 1986:134 gives the Edict of Milan 312CE for the official adoption of Christianity as the state religion.

² Sordi 1986:133f and Harnack 1981:103 both give this. The British Empire pre-WWII could be said to relate similarly to God with its slogan 'For God, for King and for Country'.

religion and the state, and he believed that Christianity was the best source of spiritual power and strength for the Holy Roman Empire. Both the state and the christian church were henceforth about the business of God and the extension of his kingdom on earth (Harnack 1981:103; Swift 1983:83f). A partnership developed between state and church in which they shared common interests (Sordi 1986:134f). With the patronage of Constantine, Christianity could, and did, expand throughout the empire. Christ's kingdom on earth was seen as a real possibility (Swift 1983:83f). The church utilised this powerful alliance to further its own goals for the welfare of the nation and the spreading of the Gospel. Schaff & Wace (1952-7) translate Eusebius' Oration 16 as follows:

...one God was proclaimed to all mankind. At the same time one universal power, the Roman empire, arose and flourished, while the enduring and implacable hatred of nation against nation was now removed: and as the knowledge of one God, and one way of religion and salvation, even the doctrine of Christ, was made known to all mankind; so at the self-same period, the entire dominion of the Roman empire being vested in a single sovereign, profound peace reigned throughout the world. And thus by the express appointment of the same God, two roots of blessing, the Roman empire, and the doctrine of Christian piety, sprang up together for the benefit of men (*The Oration of Eusebius Pamphilus in praise of the Emperor Constantine, chapter 16:4-5*, in Schaff & Wace 1952-7:1.606).

Although the church benefitted under the rule of the Roman empire, the situation of christians serving in the military needed to be clarified. Swift considers that Eusebius makes a distinction between the duties of clergy and laity in the army of the time:

For Origen, as we have seen, praying for the success and safety of the imperial armies was the most that any Christian was allowed to do. The injunction against bloodshed and killing applied equally to all the faithful. Eusebius implies that spiritual support in the form of prayer is appropriate for the clergy, but that the Christian soldier on the battle line is expected to do his part no less than his pagan colleague.

It is easy to see that this distinction between clergy and laity introduces a new element into the problem of reconciling the peaceful counsels of the Gospel with the requirements that the empire be defended against attack. What it suggests, in brief, is that for some Christians who are charged with particular responsibilities and who play a particular role in the Church, the principle of pacifism is absolute; for others with different responsibilities and a different role to play it is not (Swift 1983:88).

Augustine agrees with Eusebius on the division of the work of priests and laymen in the army. In Letter 189 to Count Boniface, he quotes 1 Corinthians 7:7:

Do not think that it is impossible for any one to please God while engaged in active military service... but 'every one', as the apostle says, 'hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that'. Some, then, in praying for you, fight against your invisible enemies; you, in fighting for them, contend against the barbarians, their visible enemies. (Schaff & Wace 1968:1.553)

Volz comments on Augustine's reply to Boniface:

You do not need to fear that someone in military service will be unable to please God, David was a soldier, and God blessed him: Cornelius was likewise blessed. Your primary aim should be peace; war should be fought only out of necessity in order to ensure that God will remove the cause and allow all to live in peace. The ultimate goal of a soldier should be seeking peace (Volz 1990: 153-4).

Culbertson links prayer with war in a 1990 lecture to students when he says 'One form of warfare is prayer, that is fighting against the invisible enemy. Another form of warfare is its literal sense, fighting against armed warriors.'³

The Just War

The endorsements given by Augustine and Eusebius to the division of Christian responsibilities could be considered to be principles on which to base practical rules for those

³ Lecture to D.Min. students Summer 1990 for School of Theology, Sewanee, TN.

fighting a just war. Bainton, in his discussion of the attitudes of the early church fathers on war, concludes that:

The war must be just in its disposition, which is Christian love, and this is not incompatible with killing, because love and non-resistance are inward dispositions. Augustine said 'If it is supposed that God could not enjoin warfare because in after times it was said by the Lord Jesus Christ, "I say unto you, resist not evil..." the answer is that what is required is not a bodily action but an inward disposition...Love does not preclude a benevolent severity, nor that correction which compassion itself dictates. No one indeed is fit to inflict punishment save the one who has first overcome hate in his heart. The love of enemies admits of no dispensation, but love does not exclude wars of mercy waged by the good' (Bainton 1961:96-7).

Augustine is explicit in his directive in Letter 189 to Boniface that war must be just and its purpose should be peace:

...when faith is pledged, it is to be kept even with the enemy against whom the war is waged, how much more with the friend for whom the battle is fought! Peace should be the object of your desire; war should be waged only as a necessity, and waged only that God may by it deliver men from the necessity and preserve them in peace. For peace is not sought in order to the kindling of war, but war is waged in order that peace may be obtained...Let necessity, therefore, and not your will, slay the enemy who fights against you... (Schaff & Wace 1968:1.554).

The question of whether or not there are circumstances which justify war has been an ongoing debate since the earliest days of Christianity. It is not the place of this thesis to resolve that debate. But it is important to note that while the patristic writers differed in their opinions on war and Christian participation in war, as do church leaders today, many of the early Christian leaders recognised that Christians have a duty to serve the state, and if they do so in war it might not be possible for them to avoid killing.

Ambrose says quite plainly that 'the kind of courage which is involved in defending the empire against barbarians, or protecting the weak on the home front or allies against plunderers is wholly just'...(Swift 1983:98).

Swift points out that Cyprian, while considered a pacifist, did not hesitate to say that:

It is the task of a good soldier to defend the camp against traitors and enemies of the emperor. It is the task of a glorious leader to preserve the standards entrusted to him...(Swift 1983:49).

Clement of Alexandria was another who did not expect a soldier to give up his profession if he was a christian:

...Christ, through the mouth of John commands soldiers to be content with their wages (Swift 1983:51) ...If you were in the army when you were seized by the knowledge of God, obey the Commander who gives just commands. (Swift 1983:52 on Clement's *Exhortation to the Greeks* 10:100.2)

It is from Ambrose and Augustine's acceptance of war under certain circumstances, particularly that of war to achieve peace (Swift 1983:98-113; Bainton 1961:89-100), that the debate on the just war has developed and continues today.⁴ Bainton (1961:139) notes that Luther later accepted this view that the object of the just war is peace, an opinion that is important to keep in mind when considering NZ's present military peacekeeping role.

Responsibilities of chaplains

If christians could acceptably be soldiers and fulfil their obligations to the state by fighting in a war, then the church also had a duty to minister to those who served in the military. So priests would pray for the soldiers and the army while the laymen would do the fighting (Swift 1983:88). This is the tradition which is still followed today. Not only does the christian religious presence in

⁴ Abercrombie (1977:107-109) discusses the position of the military

the state military date from the early days of Christianity but, because of the priest's role, it has remained primarily a tradition of spiritual ministry within the military.

The patristic church was prepared both to accept its responsibility within the military and to utilise the political power this gave it. As greater numbers of Roman soldiers became christians, so the number of chaplains increased. By 742CE the Council of Ratisbon gave recognition to military service as a proper work of the priest (Jorgensen 1961:1.5). The spiritual ministry thus expanded and the military chaplaincy came to have a missionary role recognised by the state.

Chaplains also undertook other functions in addition to their religious ministry. Clergy, being the only learned men, were drawn into the civil service of the Frankish kingdoms and thereby also into the military (Bainton 1961:104). As the clergy could read and write they were able to maintain communications and act as paymasters and keepers of records. The Chaplains' Handbook comments that they 'often filled high administrative positions in military affairs such as "Keeper of the Keys" which involved the payment of military and naval bills' (NZDF Chaplains' Handbook 1990:para.211). The most common service rendered by chaplains, other than their primary spiritual role, was medical care. Both doctor and chaplain might be said to have the same problem with war, in that war kills and maims, and both doctor and chaplain are there to heal the body and the soul.

The Crusades

The medieval period saw the rise of the crusades when men went to battle for their faith, carried religious insignia on their equipment, and took vows in associations such as the Knights Templar. Candidates for the knighthood, prior

chaplain today in the context of current pacifist views, just war

to being commissioned, spent the whole night in vigil before an altar (NZDF Chaplains' Handbook 1990:para.205). During the period of the crusades, knights, bishops, priests and laymen, inspired by common goals, all undertook the functions of combatants. Glen comments that:

Pope Urban 2nd in a passionate address at the council of Clermont on 5th November 1095, declared that it was a Christian's duty to'...exterminate the vile (Islamic)⁵ race from the Holy Land'. (Glen 1996:39)

Glen considers that the crusades, wherein the clergy participated as combatants, were a departure from the earlier position of strict non-combatant participation, which he labels the Eusebian model of chaplaincy (Glen 1996:35). In the Eusebian model, the function of the clergy was a purely spiritual one whereby they were charged with maintaining the ordinances of worship and offering prayers for victory. It was the place of the laity, or the citizen soldiers, to fight the enemies of the nation.

The crusades were seen as righteous wars in which a chaplain could justifiably bear arms in the fight against the infidel, the enemies of Christ.⁶ Bainton (1960:103) makes the comment that 'The barbarians militarized Christianity' and points out that the Augustinian requirement that clergy and monastics should abstain from taking arms was frequently broken during the crusades. He cites the case of the Archbishop of Mainz who '...killed nine men with a club rather than a sword because the Church abhors the shedding of blood...' (Bainton 1961:104). Mosheim (1826:2.131) says that clergy often carried weapons and led the fighting men: '...while whole legions of bishops and abbots girded the sword to their thigh, and went as

⁵ theory and Niebuhr's church-state relationship.

⁶ Brackets are Glen's. The quote is from Armstrong (1988:3).

⁶ Swift (1983:96) discusses the differences in thought found in the eastern and western christian writers on the moral limits surrounding the *ius belli* and the *ius in bello*.

generals, volunteers, or chaplains into Palestine'. The NZDF Chaplain's Handbook (1990:para.206) may be more accurate in saying that while the clergy generally did accompany the troops into battle, they did not lead them, nor did they carry swords: 'If the priest did carry a weapon, it was usually a mace which was a defensive weapon capable of putting an antagonist out of the battle without killing him.' But whatever the weapon, and however it was used, Glen designates the chaplain who participates in the fighting in terms of the 'crusader' model of chaplaincy, and he demonstrates this aspect of chaplaincy in some of the WWI and WWII New Zealand chaplains (Glen 1996:57ff).

Since the crusades, however, the relationship of church and military has remained predominantly that of the Eusebian model. The churches have continued to be invited by the state to accompany and minister spiritually to the army. The means of worship have been provided by the state through the military, and the clergy have not usually participated in the fighting. This is the present state of the relationship of military and church in New Zealand. The NZDF Chaplains' Handbook (1990:para.207) considers that the modern concept of the chaplain's role probably originates from the days when armies were raised by feudal levy and the local parish priest often accompanied the men recruited from their parishes.

English military chaplaincy

The first record of chaplains appearing on payrolls occurs in the reign of Edward I in the late 11th century (Smyth 1968:4). These were called *capellani*. There were two classes of *capellani*: a chaplain of the senior class who ministered to the king and his entourage and was known as *capellanus magnificus*; and the chaplain of the junior class who ministered to the troops and was known as *capellanus vulgaris* (NZDF Chaplains' Handbook 1990:para.208). From this time references to chaplains in historical records are more frequent and their participation is noted in battles

such as Agincourt and Crecy. By the time of Henry VIII it appears that an establishment of chaplains was recognisably similar to that of today's chaplaincy (NZDF Chaplains' Handbook 1990:para.209).

In England, with the break from the Roman Church, the official religion of the state became that of the new Church of England. As the King was its supreme head, the Church of England had an important place in state affairs and continued its relationship with the army as an essential part of the military. In the reign of Elizabeth I, an army standing order listed essential staff to be attached to regiments as follows:

A regiment hath officers also, whose charges belong equally to all companies, and who are called Officers of the Staff - a Surgeon, a Quartermaster, a Provost Marshal, a Preacher or Chaplain, and a Hangman (NZDF Chaplains' Handbook 1990:para.213).

The New Model Army of Cromwell in 1643 had regimental chaplains who held prayer services daily. These chaplains were 'such men as had the fear of God before them and made some conscience of what they did' (NZDF Chaplains' Handbook 1990:para.214; Haigh 1983:19). Underhill (1950:2) notes that Regimental chaplains were established in Cromwell's army and that they were led by a Presbyterian, Master Bowles. But it was not until after the restoration of Charles II in 1662 that the Articles of War of that year recommended all chaplains to read orderly prayers daily to the troops. Regimental chaplains were abolished in 1796 in favour of Brigade chaplains who serviced a larger number of men, and the position of Chaplain-General was created, the holder of that office being paid twenty shillings a day (Haigh 1983:20).

Although the chaplain is usually considered as a cleric who has no parish duties, the pastoral-social role of the

chaplain also dates from the early days of Christianity and the establishment of the diaconate as a complementary practical ministry of Christian service of helping and caring (Cross 1958:376). Glen (1996:62) suggests that deacons may well have accompanied their bishops when Constantine invited clergy to march with him against Persia (see also Cross 1958:376f).

As noted above, the chaplain provided other services concerned with the welfare of soldiers such as paymaster and medical aid. The welfare role of chaplains in the military became prominent in the 19th century, when the consequences of the poor medical and living conditions of the soldiers fighting in the Crimean War raised protest from the British public. Extensive social work among military families in the vicinity of military camps was undertaken, largely at the instigation of the Chaplain General, with the assistance of the Anglican and Methodist Churches. The development of hostels for single soldiers, the temperance movement and improved conditions of service all prompted reforms in the British Army. The Chaplains' Department, which had included Anglican, Roman Catholic and Scottish churches, now also recognized the Methodist Church as an accepted denomination. The Methodists brought organised Bible studies into military life (Sellers 1900:7-18).

Conclusion

There is a very long tradition and history of specialist clergy serving in the military. The principal work of chaplains has always been to bring a spiritual ministry to those in need on the battlefield. But their role has also included the work of comforting and aiding the wounded and sick and assisting with a range of non-military tasks which concern the welfare of the soldiers.

Bainton, in his article 'The early Church and War' (1946), points out that objectivity is difficult for Christian scholars and that although studies agree in the main with regard to data, they differ on interpretation. As examples of this, he considers that pacifists have painted Constantine as the serpent who beguiled the Church into political and military power, while on the other hand the Catholic Church has glorified the zeal of the early martyrs. He notes the different positions taken by leaders in the early church such as Clement of Alexandra's commendation of the humanity of the code of war; Origen's social division whereby emperors and armies should fight while christians should be exempt, in order to pray; and Eusebius' division of christian conduct whereby laity might participate in just wars but clergy should not.

Whatever the opinions and views of the Church and laity on the place and value of clergy in the military, it must be admitted that, in the past, military chaplaincy has brought benefit to church, military and state in the mutual acceptance and endorsement it gives to two otherwise apparently totally opposed and powerful public institutions. It is through the presence of the chaplaincy in the military that the church has had a legitimate right of influence on the state war organisation and it is through the chaplaincy that the military has gained the sanction of religion for the work of necessary or unavoidable war undertaken in the service of the state. But the benefits each has brought to the other go further than this. Part 4 looks at how the institutions of military and church relate to each other and discusses their similarities and relevance.

CHAPTER 2

NEW ZEALAND DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

The New Zealand military chaplaincy has developed from the British Army chaplaincy tradition, which in turn uses symbolism and ceremonial derived from the English church. During the European colonisation of the Pacific area the English church influence of the London Missionary Society, together with the influence of other missions, brought a strong Christian church orientation to many of the Pacific Islands (Williams 1837:iv-vi; Turner 1884:3) which is still evident today. But despite the work of missionaries and churches, this influence is not apparent to the same extent in present-day New Zealand. Although New Zealand society and state today accept the worth of Christian attitudes and values, there is no one specific state church and the country is considered a secular state. In order to clarify the present situation of religious military chaplaincy in the New Zealand Defence Force, it is important to see it within the context of New Zealand's development into the secular south-Pacific state it is today.

The European settlement

New Zealand's first European settlement was mostly that of explorers, whalers, traders and timber millers from Australia, and English missionaries (Belich 1996:124-46). Samuel Marsden, the Anglican Chaplain of New South Wales, established the Church Missionary Society in the Bay of Islands. The Wesleyans had a dozen small mission stations and by 1845 were also well established (Belich 1996:135). The first British Official, James Busby, was appointed Resident in 1833 to maintain control, encourage trade and assist settlers and missionaries (Sinclair 1980:51; Belich 1996:135). An English plan for settlement of New Zealand established the New Zealand Company in 1839 and William

Hobson was appointed as Lieutenant-Governor. In 1840, despite a small French settlement in the South Island, formal sovereignty over New Zealand was acquired by the British Crown (Sinclair 1980:50f; Belich 1996:180f).

This brought New Zealand under the guiding influence of British traditions in the government, law and the military. The majority of the settlers came from the British Isles. Between 1831-81 the European population of NZ increased from fewer than a thousand people to half a million (Belich 1996:278-314). There was no one predominant church religious tradition throughout New Zealand although there were religiously based settlements in Otago, Canterbury, Waipu and Albertland, as well as the Church Missionary Society groups in the North Island. The Otago Association settlement scheme was taken over by a Lay Association within the Free Church of Scotland but had to face competition from other churches. The Otago gold rush of 1861 brought a wide range of settlers, including Irish Catholics, Chinese and commercial interests (Davidson & Lineham 1987:91-3). The Canterbury settlement, designed by Wakefield as a Church of England settlement, did not develop as planned owing to slow sale of land and the hostility of settlers to the Canterbury Association. The West Coast gained a strong Catholic population of miners during the gold rush, Nelson inherited low church Anglicans and, with Taranaki, a significant percentage of Methodists (Davidson & Lineham 1987:92ff).

Secular state

Davidson & Lineham (1987) show the effects of New Zealand's isolation and distance on denominational religion:

Repeatedly ship-board life broke down old patterns of piety and sectarian commitment. Cloistered together, the settlers quickly established communal relationships on an essentially secular basis. It was a secular comradeship, where no-one saw himself or herself as separate from other settlers. Such was the character of the new communities as they

were established, although there were some regional variations. (Davidson & Linehan 1987:93)

The denominations of New Zealand faced considerable obstacles as they sought to develop viable institutions, for they received very little enthusiastic support from settlers. They found themselves dependent upon the support of quite small groups of dedicated and generous laity (Davidson & Lineham 1987:104). Davidson & Lineham also quote a comment on New Zealand settlement from *The Canterbury Papers No.3* (London 1850) which states:

The Church will have no connection with the State, clergymen no power whatever over laymen, save only that moral influence which ministers of all denominations will be equally free to acquire by the moral means of persuasion and example. (Davidson & Lineham 1987:97)

New Zealand was considered a Christian country because its major religious groups were denominations of the Christian church. The predominant denominations in 1861 were Church of England, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian and Wesleyan Methodist (Davidson & Lineham 1987:103), but there was no single official or national church throughout the country (Breward 1990:Preface). Consequently there was no church-state connection with central government. Nor was there any formal identification of any particular denomination with government, although the Church of England acted as a de facto establishment church through the English monarch's nominal position as official Head of State and Armed Services. Webster & Perry in *What Difference Does it Make?* (1992:28f) and *The Religious Factor in New Zealand Society* (1989) discuss at length the development of a tradition of secularism in New Zealand. As well, Elsmore notes:

The country's policy states there is no established church in New Zealand and a variety of religions are practised... (Elsmore 1995:99)

Mol makes a more specific statement:

...the actual religion of the New Zealanders ...has increasingly less to do with the professed religion of the churches. The framework of meaning

which motivates even the average churchgoer seems to be informed by the secular values of scientific humanism or materialism rather than Christian salvation (Mol 1972:377).

And Donovan comments of the Maori view of religion in New Zealand that they:

...were well able, soon after contact with Christianity, to distinguish the Message from the messengers. The Maori...will accept that Christianity is an integral part of his fellow Maori's life, but that each will also have his own brand of religion... (Donovan 1990:11).

The first New Zealand military chaplaincy

During the New Zealand Land Wars of the 1860's when fighting broke out in the South Auckland area, the large build up of Imperial regiments saw four chaplains of the Royal Army Chaplains' Department brought from England to New Zealand (NZDF Chaplains' Handbook 1990:para.217). In March 1860, when the first Taranaki War broke out, the Venerable H.Govett, Archdeacon of Taranaki, was appointed bishop to the Imperial Forces by Col. C.E.Gold. During the Waikato campaign, Governor Grey asked Bishop Selwyn to serve as chaplain and the British War Office granted Selwyn permission to appoint three others, Revs Lloyd, Ashwell and Morgan. The Revs Norrie and Reid from Presbyterian and Methodist churches respectively were also appointed, although it was not until 1881 that Methodist ministers in England were acknowledged to have full status as commissioned chaplains in British Imperial and Colonial Forces (Glen 1966:8). A total of twenty-three chaplains served with the Imperial and Colonial Forces, but in late 1864, with the close of the Waikato war, this form of chaplaincy fell into disuse (NZDF Chaplain's Handbook 1990:para.218-226).

Religious service to the military did, however, continue. Honorary chaplains, usually local vicars and ministers, served the volunteer and Armed Regulars during the period

1870-1911.¹ In 1901 the Australasian General Conference authorized the New Zealand Methodist Conference to provide officiating chaplains to Her Majesty's ships visiting New Zealand (Glen 1966:8).

Apart from the Land Wars of the 19th century, New Zealand has never known war within its own territory, but the country has been involved in a number of wars overseas, initially because of its ties to England. The development of chaplaincy in the New Zealand military at the time of the South African War is described by Glen:

...the major denominations of New Zealand were sectarian and divided, no national body existed to supervise or administer chaplaincy. The volunteer unit commander chose the chaplain, generally a clergyman known to him, or any minister willing to put the time into the task. Lack of unity coupled with the inadequacies of selection was reflected in the two years it took (until the 8th contingent in February 1902,) for the first New Zealand chaplain to go to South Africa (Glen 1996:48).

Territorial Force chaplaincy

As a result of the South African war, the Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist and Roman Catholic churches agreed finally to the establishment of the Territorial Army Chaplains' Department and this was formed under the 1911 Defence Act. A Defence bill presented to Parliament on 2nd December 1909, which was pushed through in two weeks, had provided for a compulsory part-time force where civilians would be given basic military training without the objectionable features of conscription. The scheme provided for 27,000 Territorials between the ages of eighteen and nineteen to be available for training each year and 2700, from ages twenty-one to thirty, to pass into the reserves annually. An Amendment to the bill implemented these recommendations in 1910, and in 1911 the New Zealand Staff Corps and New Zealand Permanent Staff were set up under the

¹ The Chaplains' Handbook (1990:para.227) uses the term Regulars. Glen (1966:47) calls them Armed Constabulary.

Defence Act and the Chaplains' Department was formally established (Clayton 1990:79-80).

Chaplains' Department

The change in emphasis in the Defence Act meant that the Defence Department could approach the national bodies of the major church denominations for men to be appointed to serve as chaplains, instead of individual unit commanders contacting the local vicar. This was the beginning of the development of the Chaplains' Dominion Advisory Council (now known as the Chaplains' Defence Advisory Council or ChDAC), which first came into being as the Chaplain's Department. Initially this department comprised representatives from four denominations: Church of England, Methodist, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic. A little later it was extended to include representatives of Salvation Army, Baptist, Associated Church of Christ and Congregational denominations (NZDF Chaplains' Handbook 1990:para.230). Each denomination was separately responsible to the military authorities and no one denomination had authority over chaplains of other denominations (NZDF Chaplains' Handbook 1990:para.229).

At the outbreak of World War I (hereafter WWI), a widely held view in New Zealand was that the British Empire was '...the largest instalment of the Kingdom of God that has yet arisen among men...' (Methodist Conference Minutes 1915:117), but church support was largely motivated by understanding the effects of war and the need to minister to the individual. Undertaking religious and pastoral care in the context of the dangers and hardships of military life was important. The first three chaplains to go overseas sailed in August 1914 with the 1400-strong New Zealand-Samoa Expeditionary Force. By the end of 1918 over 130 New Zealand chaplains had seen service with the New

Zealand Expeditionary Force (hereafter NZEF²) in Samoa, Egypt, Gallipoli, Palestine, France and Greece and on the two New Zealand hospital ships (Haigh 1983:46). Haigh gives an idea of the chaplains' dedication to the care of their men in his quote from a soldier's letter written at Gallipoli:

...He [the chaplain] wanders up and down the beach all day long helping the wounded and has a cheery word for everyone; takes absolutely no notice of the shells and bullets. I asked him, 'But where do you sleep?' He said just wherever he dropped - didn't care as long as he was with his boys... (Haigh 1983:51).

The NZEF had no Senior Chaplain-in-Charge during the Gallipoli campaign. But in July 1916, Rev J.A.Luxford, a Methodist, was appointed Senior Chaplain to the New Zealand Forces (Glen 1966:18). His appointment, made without the consent of three of the four major denominations was not acceptable and Brigadier General G.S.Richardson, commanding NZEF bases in England, was appointed to organise the work of the chaplains. A regular soldier, Richardson called the chaplains of the major denominations together and a workable system was drawn up whereby a board of four senior chaplains met once a month, its chairmanship rotating every three months (Haigh 1983:61).

After WWI the New Zealand Army was affected by a government policy of rapid financial retrenchment. The immediate effect of budget cuts was a reduction in the size of the Army. Major-General Chaytor's report of 1921-22 made several far-reaching proposals which advocated that a small, but highly trained corps of officers and non-commissioned officers be maintained to carry out

² The New Zealand Expeditionary Force is referred to in military literature as the NZEF. In WWII the 2nd NZEF or 2NZEF were the New Zealand forces in Europe and North Africa. New Zealand troops in the Pacific employed as garrison troops in the defence of Fiji, Tonga and Norfolk were initially also the 2NZEF. From 1942 they were known as the 3rd Division in amphibious landings on Japanese-held islands and are referred to in the literature as 2NZEF IP (Underhill 1950:115).

administration and Territorial Force training. This force was to consist of one Division and three Mounted Rifle Brigades, and Heavy and Anti-Aircraft Batteries (Clayton 1990:105-6).

Chaplains' Advisory Committees (ChAC)

In 1921, the New Zealand Chaplains' Department, which still existed on a Territorial basis with no full-time chaplains, was brought under the control of the New Zealand Adjutant-General's office. Three District Chaplains' Advisory Committees were set up, Northern, Central and Southern. These were comprised of civilian clergy from the various denominations who gave their time voluntarily (Haigh 1983:104).

The pastoral role of military chaplaincy increased in importance with the inclusion of the Young Men's Christian Association (hereafter YMCA) and, in 1938, the Anglican Church Army in the military welfare structure. Both organisations had been active in WWI and in the inter-war years had been involved with Territorial camps and peacetime military training. The Church Army pioneered a diaconal ministry at Narrow Neck Military Camp (Dodson 1946:59). Glen points out that as welfare workers the YMCA and Church Army personnel:

...neither intruded on the role of the ordained chaplain nor took up arms against an enemy, but existed solely to serve their fellow men, friend or foe, of any race, creed or colour (Glen 1996:62).

The ministry of the 2NZEF chaplains was affirmed in the defined duties of ordained chaplains under the King's Regulations (Underhill 1950:ix). But their pastoral and spiritual functions were less clear when described as '...more or less free to do their spiritual work in their own way.' (Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand *The Outlook* 23.6.43:no page number).

Chaplains' Dominion Advisory Council (ChDAC)

The strong wave of pacifism in the years following WWI affected the recruitment of young chaplains, so that on the outbreak of World War II (hereafter WWII) most Territorial Army chaplains were either over age or physically unfit for active service. In 1939 a full-time administrative chaplain was appointed to co-ordinate the activities of the three Chaplains' Advisory Committees. In 1942 the district committees were superseded by a Chaplains' Dominion Advisory Council (ChDAC³) to facilitate the recruitment of clergy (Haigh 1983:104). The total number of chaplains in the initial complement of the Chaplains' Department of 2nd NZEF was fifty, but only eight of these had seen service in WWI and only one, Rev. F. H. Buck, as a chaplain with the Canadian Forces.⁴ In the 1914-18 NZEF there had been occasions when chaplains had been instructed not to go into the front line, but most 2NZEF chaplains went into action with their units.

Interdenominational chaplaincy

Glen (1996), Smyth (1968) and Haigh (1983) all describe the interdenominational shift in the 2NZEF whereby less emphasis was placed on specific denominational aspects of worship in favour of more ecumenical Battalion and Unit services. Although chaplains were appointed according to the comparative numbers of denominations represented in the services, prior to WWII the chaplain serviced his own denomination. Smyth considers that General Montgomery put a high premium on spiritual values, quoting him as saying:

The most important people in the Army are the Nursing Sisters and the Padres - the Sisters because they tell the men they matter to us - and the Padres because they tell the men they matter to God. And it is the men who matter (Smyth 1968:230).

³ The Chaplains' Dominion Advisory Council is now the Chaplains' Defence Advisory Council, but retains the initial form ChDAC.

⁴ Haigh (1983) says (105) that of the eight of the initial complement of WWII chaplains, only one, Rev. F.H. Buck, had seen service as a chaplain in WWI. But he lists Rev. H.T. Peat, a Methodist chaplain in both the WWI list (99) and the WWII list (169). Peat served in the Pacific in WWII as did Rev. K. Liggett, another WWI chaplain.

Under the new system, chaplains of different denominations were still appointed in proportion to the overall percentage of military adherents to each denomination. But the chaplain appointed to a unit was expected to service all personnel of that unit, regardless of his or their denomination, although Masses for Roman Catholics and Eucharists for Anglicans were taken by appropriate chaplains (Smyth 1968:230; Haigh 1983:105). This pattern of chaplaincy developed further in the 2NZEF(IP), the 3rd Division in the Pacific theatre.

Training of chaplains

Smyth (1968:244) notes the British Army institution in 1942 of the 'Chaplain's Hour', a scheme by which every Unit would receive religious instruction from its chaplain for one hour a week. In this, the chaplain exchanged preaching for teaching and gained opportunity for the religious and moral education of troops. The Chaplain's Hour scheme was adopted by other military commands, including New Zealand, and became a familiar part of the New Zealand chaplain's work. Later, in England, a 'Battle School' for chaplains was developed to give chaplains specific training for military service (Smyth 1968:244ff). In 1942, a four-day Training School for New Zealand chaplains was held at Trentham Military Camp and a second school was held in 1943.⁵ Eighty chaplains passed through the two New Zealand schools, forty in each. Lecturers were drawn from former WWI senior chaplains and Army officers. Subjects taught were map reading, first aid, military law, gas precautions, army organization, drill and familiarisation with weapons. Senior denominational chaplains took lectures on ministry in the military situation, church parades, the function of the Unit chaplain on active service, and chaplains' private devotional conduct. Chaplains were selected to attend these

⁵ Glen (1996) describes the Chaplains' School in a note on p.575. Two of the lectures on ministry in the military situation, given by

schools in the same way that they were appointed, i.e. in proportion to the percentage population of their denomination in the services.

The teaching role of chaplains gained emphasis in WWII. Soon after VE Day, the New Zealand Chaplains' Department organised a moral leadership school at Riccone in North Italy in June 1945. Sixty students, selected by their commanding officers as showing leadership potential, attended the first school. Some 450 attended the school before 2NZEF left Italy, and the moral leadership courses continued to be run by the Chaplains' Department with J-Force in Japan (Haigh 1983:21).

New Zealand military engagements since WWII

New Zealand's international military involvement since WWII shows a very clear change in the country's military role and an accompanying shift of focus in the perception of New Zealand's military needs and place in world affairs. After WWII, it was initially assumed that the Middle East would remain as New Zealand's major area of assistance towards Commonwealth Defence, but in the early to mid-1950's this changed as South East Asia became New Zealand's primary area of strategic and trade interest (Clayton 1990:153). Britain's entry to the European Economic Community moved much of New Zealand's trade from the United Kingdom to the Pacific-Asia markets. The consequent changes in the economic and political relationship of New Zealand and Britain meant that New Zealand moved from military alliances based on British foreign policy to those of political concern in Asian and Pacific regions relevant to New Zealand trade. This change has been reinforced through closer ties with Australia and the United States as New Zealand's main allies in case of possible attack, representation for a nuclear-free Pacific and, as a United

Nations member, support for United Nations' (hereafter UN) policies of peacekeeping missions.

From March 1946 to October 1948, New Zealand troops were stationed in Japan as part of the occupying forces (Clayton 1990:175). The New Zealand Government's initial response to the call from the UN on the invasion of South Korea in June 1950 was to despatch two frigates to serve in Korean waters. However the continued deterioration in the situation made the provision of ground forces crucial and the New Zealand Government announced it would provide one artillery regiment for service with UN ground forces. The 16th Field Regiment of seventy officers and 974 other ranks⁶ went into active service in January 1951 (Clayton 1990:135-6). By the time the last residual members of K-Force were withdrawn in 1955, of the total of 3,794 soldiers who served, seventy-nine had been wounded and thirty-three died (Clayton 1990:136).

In late 1955 New Zealand was asked to assist in combatting Communist guerillas conducting terrorist operations in Malaysia. A squadron of the Special Air Service (hereafter SAS) was flown to Malaysia to become part of the British Far East Strategic Reserve. The Squadron spent two years on active service in Malaysia and was replaced in late 1957 by the 1st Battalion New Zealand Regiment, with thirty-eight officers and 702 other ranks. The 1st Battalion was itself replaced by the 2nd Battalion in 1959, which conducted operations against terrorists along the Thai border, so that New Zealand's infantry presence was retained in Malaysia. In 1964 it was reformed and based in Malacca and in 1969 was deployed to Singapore where it remained until 1989 (Clayton 1990:141-2).

New Zealand's involvement in the Vietnam War initially consisted of a small detachment of Royal New Zealand

⁶ Other ranks (OR) is the term given to all military personnel who are not of commissioned officer rank.

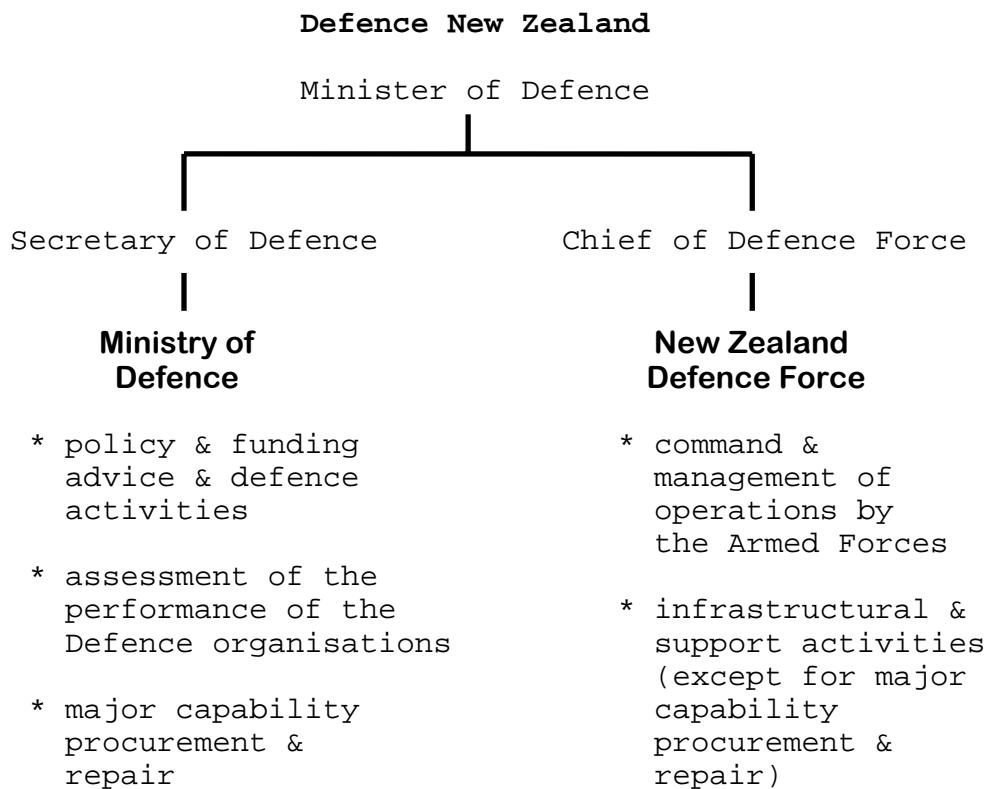
Engineers sent in a non-combatant capacity to undertake reconstruction tasks in and around the town of Thu Do Mot. A small administrative headquarters was set up in Saigon. In 1965 the Holyoake Government sent 161 Battery Royal New Zealand Artillery to South Vietnam in a combat role under the United States Army command. The Battery was reassigned in 1966 to serve with Australian Artillery Field Regiments in support of Australian and New Zealand infantry units which, from 1967-71, formed the ANZAC infantry Battalion. The New Zealand presence in South Vietnam was increased in 1967 with the addition of the New Zealand Services Medical Team, in 1968 by the deployment of 4 Troop New Zealand SAS, and in 1970 and 1972 by New Zealand Army Training Teams. When New Zealand's combat elements were finally withdrawn from South Vietnam in December 1971, a total of 3890 New Zealand troops had served in South Vietnam (Clayton 1990:146-50). Each of these forces, J-Force, K-Force, Malaysia and Vietnam, included chaplains who accompanied and served overseas with the New Zealand troops.

The change to military defence and surveillance

Public reaction to the Vietnam war caused a re-conceptualization of New Zealand's military role. By 1972, compulsory national service had become selective and the Kirk Labour Government finally ended it. Regular Armed Forces and Territorial service became voluntary. A Defence Review was issued in 1978, followed in 1979 by another reorganisation of the army. The Command structure was abolished and replaced by a Land Force and Task Force regional headquarters. Five years later in 1983 another Defence Review was issued and a Ready Action Force established, comprising a deployable battalion group of about 1200 Regular Force soldiers. This review also committed the army to maintaining the SAS squadron in a state of readiness against possible terrorist attacks (Clayton 1990:156).

Since then defence policy has been re-examined several times. In 1986 the Corner Committee considered New Zealand's defence needs and in 1989 a resource management review was made under Derek Quigley (Clayton 1990: 158). In response to these reviews the Ministry of Defence has been radically altered with the Defence Forces and the civilian Ministry of Defence being split [Fig.1]. The Defence Forces are concerned with operational matters while the Ministry reviews policy (Clayton 1990:158). The recent 1998 *Inquiry into Defence Beyond 2000*, also chaired by Quigley and presented to the Forty-fifth Parliament, examines how New Zealand can best continue to maintain a Defence Force which will contribute effectively to the wider national interest, while stressing that the primary task of the military remains the preservation of the security and integrity of New Zealand and the promotion of security and stability in the South Pacific.

Figure 1



Peacekeeping and police role

New Zealand has always strongly supported the UN. An important part of its support has been its continuing contribution to UN peacekeeping activities. This is particularly important in later considerations of chaplaincy as the change of New Zealand's military role from that of training for war, to that of a police role enforcing peace and controlling aggressive activity, could mean that churches should consider reviewing their policies on war and the military.

The New Zealand Army has been involved in eleven UN peacekeeping initiatives, and two non-UN initiatives: the Commonwealth Monitoring Force in Rhodesia and the Multinational Force in the Sinai. New Zealand was first involved in peacekeeping when three military observers served with the UN in 1951 in India and Pakistan. New Zealand Army officers have been sent with UN Military Observer Group Forces to supervise armistice agreements in the Middle East (Israel, Gaza, Syria, Egypt, Lebanon) and in the Congo (Zaire), Yemen, Iran, Iraq, with a UN Transition Assistance Group in Namibia and the UN Afghanistan Co-ordination office in Pakistan (Clayton 1990:165ff). Teams of engineers, drivers and training teams have been posted to UN Multinational Force Observers since 1986; and under the auspices of Mutual Aid Programmes New Zealand regularly sends soldiers on operations, exercises, projects and courses to Antarctica, United Kingdom (hereafter UK), Norway, the Cook Islands, Papua-New Guinea, Moscow, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Malaysia and other countries, and assists with Civil Defence emergencies and community groups. New Zealand's most recent peacekeeping missions have included Bougainville and Bosnia.

Effects of military change on chaplaincy

Many of the post-Vietnam missions have involved only very limited numbers of New Zealand military personnel. The availability and use of UN support services on such

missions has meant that New Zealand support personnel, such as medical or chaplaincy staff, are not necessarily required. However, when larger numbers of New Zealand troops have been deployed, such as on the Bougainville and Bosnia missions, chaplains have been included. The Bosnia force was initially sent without a chaplain, but the troops requested chaplains and three were sent.⁷ In Bougainville two New Zealand chaplains had considerable influence in the successful peace negotiations⁸.

The recent shift to smaller, highly trained and specialised professional military units which can be quickly moved and deployed for peace-keeping, surveillance, and emergency situations, means the role of the chaplain is changing. Chaplains are not always needed to accompany New Zealand military personnel on overseas missions, particularly if deployment is for a brief time only, as New Zealand troops may call on UN support services if these are available. Alternatively, the increasing specialisation and technological development in the military means that it is even more important to have a chaplain who is part of this specialised group and aware of and able to cater for the particular needs, stresses and traumas of long-term peacekeeping forces and modern technological warfare. These implications for future chaplaincy will be discussed more fully in a later section.

⁷ Three of the chaplains mentioned the Bosnia mission with regard to the request for chaplains. Two chaplains surveyed were those sent to Bosnia.

⁸ The two chaplains asked to preach in Bougainville were among those surveyed. Several others commented on the contribution this made to the peace negotiations.

CHAPTER 3

NEW ZEALAND MILITARY TODAY

Introduction. Change in warfare

The world has not been at peace since WWII. Morrison (1981) gives the estimate that twenty to twenty-five million people have died in warlike activity or the consequences of warfare since WWII. After the Vietnam war, with its useless sacrifice to ideological differences (Gettleman 1965: 456ff), the debates on the justice of war and the role of the military in the containment or spread of conflicts became world-wide arguments (Clouse 1991; Barclay 1984). Also, the methods and weaponry of warfare have altered greatly in the latter half of the twentieth century. The intensive bombing techniques used in WWII changed military strategy. The atom bomb led to international development of nuclear arsenals, and the post WWII technological advances in rocketry changed the ways in which attacks could be delivered.

The development of computerisation, space-age materials and electronic equipment mean that war is not now necessarily resolved in either clear victory or definite defeat. War can be a no-win, on-going problem of political brinkmanship, as with an Iraq or Kosovo, or it can be a short devastating exchange, as in a Gulf War, with the advantage going to the more technologically advanced side. In the event of a nuclear conflict between super-powers, war could also mean annihilation for all humanity. Or it can be military action by a third party to enforce peace between two warring factions, as in Ireland or Bougainville, until negotiation can reach an agreed settlement.

Effects of modern warfare

If modern technology has altered the nature of power and the style of warfare, the effects of war have also changed.

Prior to WWII, troops met on a battlefield, with little civilian involvement in the killing other than those caught up in the immediate battle area. In WWII, as a result of development of air warfare, the effects of war changed with the high number of civilian casualties in the blitz and massed bombing raids. Civilians far away from the scene of land or sea battles were killed and injured. In present and future wars and confrontations there is likely to be considerably less military personnel loss than in previous major conflicts, but vastly more civilian loss and destruction. Volti (1995) traces the effects of the development of weaponry throughout the centuries and estimates that in the third year of WWI bombs dropped on England from German planes killed 1300 and injured 3000. He contrasts this with WWII when US air attacks on Japanese cities, before the A-bomb, left 260,000 killed and 412,000 injured. The single Hiroshima bomb killed over 50,000, injured as many more and destroyed half the city (Volti 1995:223). Although modern weapons such as the new generation laser-guided bombs, smart rockets and cruise missiles can be used with extreme accuracy, because of their power and devastating potential they can be highly destructive of both military and civilian targets.¹

The power and the availability of modern weaponry (Beaglehole 1993:8-13) can mean that if one side has a technological advantage, wars can occur and be decided very quickly, as in the six-day Gulf war. On the other hand, if opposing forces have equivalent capacity or resources, a war may drag on for years in stalemate, political brinkmanship or long-term policing situations such as Northern Ireland and Kashmir. In modern high-tech warfare, the soldier may spend most, if not all, of his or her military service life in training for a situation which

¹ Reuters (NZ Herald 31.5.99 B1) reports the damage done by dozens of missiles in Belgrade and Serbia and the heavy civilian toll. Sutor (no date:41) *Christians and the arms race* discusses the effect

never happens, or is over in a matter of days or even hours. Another result of the impact of technology on war is that the soldier of the future may never even see a battlefield, the target aimed at, or the death and devastation he or she initiates.

In this way, nuclear warfare would be a culmination of an important trend of military technology. Increasingly sophisticated weapons have opened the psychological distance between the warrior and his victims. In the past, the inhabitants of a village might be slaughtered by troops wielding swords and axes; today the same thing can be accomplished by dropping an incendiary bomb from an altitude of 40,000 feet. The result is the same (or worse), but soldiers, sailors and airmen, as well as the engineers who have designed their weapons and the political leaders who sent them into battle, are removed from the fray.... In modern war one kills at a distance, and in doing so he does not realize that he is killing (Volti 1995:224).

Escalation and extermination

The destructive power of nuclear weapons has brought another meaning to war. It may not be possible to limit a war to a dispute between two or more parties. The fallout effects of nuclear and biological weapons mean that human beings now have the potential to destroy their entire world. Countries and people not involved in a war may yet suffer the consequences of war.

...we are living in a new military age. No previous generation has ever had to live on the edge of total destruction...even the language of war is changing Genocide was coined in 1944 to describe the extermination of a race. 'Omnicide' is being used now to describe the extermination of all life on planet Earth (Suter 1984:1).

Because of this, the need to prevent nuclear war has become a major political concern. Archdeacon Youens emphasises the preventative role of defence in a postscript to Smyth:

With the unprecedented advance of science and technology, particularly over the past two decades, and with the ever-escalating horror of

on civilians of the use of missiles in war, which he calls 'the "overkill" of modern weapons'.

thermonuclear missiles, the whole concept of large-scale warfare has changed and is changing. Despite the considerable moral tensions to which the present situation gives rise, the main purpose and task of our Defence Services is to help prevent nuclear war and maintain the greater peace...There are, however, three paradoxes. The first is, that in order to prevent war the Defence Services have to be highly competent and trained to wage war. Secondly, there has been forged a weapon which we believe will never be used, but we shall never know what might have happened if the weapon had never existed. And thirdly, as far as the Defence Services are concerned, the more we succeed in this task the less we are needed (Smyth 1968:341).

The work of the military chaplain will change accordingly. An article in the *NZ Defence Quarterly* (Barber 1997:19. 26-30) discusses the work of New Zealand chaplains on the battlefields of WWII, and illustrates some of the differences in today's chaplaincy with two inserts. One describes the counselling work of a woman chaplain and the other the tasks of a chaplain on current manoeuvres and deployment. In the future, most of the chaplain's time will probably be spent on base and in the training situation. Active battle deployment may be either the intensity of brief fierce engagements or exhausting long-drawn out months of peacekeeping patrols and the constant expectation of face-to-face fighting which may or may not eventuate. With the development of computerised missiles and virtual reality technology, the chaplain's deployment situation could also be that of a tense but quiet bunker or submarine remote from the actual scene of the war. But these battle sites may well be far more traumatic psychologically than those of previous wars (Phare 1994:6.2-6).

New Zealand defence interests

James (1994:4.2-6) discusses the 1991 White Paper on Defence which admits that direct risk to New Zealand's sovereignty is low. He links New Zealand's defence with that of Australia which is not only New Zealand's direct defender and closer to the troubled areas of South-east

Asia, but is a major buyer of our manufactured exports and one of our biggest markets. The New Zealand economy is closely involved with the Australian economy and stability in the South Pacific is important to both countries (*NZ Herald*:3.12.98 A17,A20; TV1: 30.8.98, Ralston, *Backchat*). As a small country, New Zealand does have an interest in the security of other small countries and many of the island nations of the Pacific look to New Zealand for support. Policing New Zealand's fishing resources requires both sea and air surveillance and the ability to enforce rules in one of the biggest exclusive economic zones in the world (*NZ Herald*:30.12.98 A1). Further afield, New Zealand's trade routes in South East Asia must be kept open and New Zealand has a prime role to play in the Antarctic.

New Zealand military have had only very limited participation and experience in battle situations since Vietnam, and the country has had no extensive war involvement since WWII. But the military must of necessity be always ready for possible war. Despite the fact that the New Zealand military now spend almost all their time in training in peaceful situations and the threat of aggressive war on New Zealand territory seems remote, recent events in East Timor indicate the Defence Force should be ready for war and the training and care of personnel must reflect this.

Peacekeeping

The involvement of the New Zealand military in international peace-keeping work is a further development which may alter the focus of chaplaincy. With the Gulf war and the threat of not only nuclear, but also biological weapons, or genocide such as in Rwanda, there is an increasing imperative to enforce political and international control through the UN forum. The UN must rely on member countries to supply troops and resources for the military presence it needs in peacekeeping situations. This has meant a new military role with the emergence of

international military forces working together to control militant countries (Beaglehole 1993:2.8-13). Although New Zealand has no direct political or economic concern in current international conflicts, it needs to keep its credibility high with the UN countries by supportive action as well as in words calling for peace. Support for UN causes, and for those of Australia and the United States, is necessary, as New Zealand would need the help of the UN and these allies in the event of any direct attack on New Zealand territory. Therefore, because of its membership in the United Nations, New Zealand has accepted limited military involvement in a number of international events such as Bougainville and Bosnia, in which it has no direct economic or national concern.

To maintain all these commitments New Zealand needs not only a well-trained, but also a versatile, military force. The training and preparation of peacekeeping forces means further change in the military and chaplaincy roles. The chaplain accompanying a peacekeeping force may be deployed with the troops for many months of active service. WWII chaplains and soldiers faced exhaustion, death and the dangers of front-line war. Peacekeeping troops today still need to be trained for attack, retaliation and guerilla tactics in aggressive or defensive war, but the personnel of the peacekeeping force face a wider variety of different situations. Sudden combat action and intervention may be needed or troops may face the sustained tension of lengthy inactivity, waiting indefinitely with uncertainty and readiness for immediate action. As in the Bougainville mission, where two chaplains were asked to preach to strongly religious local communities (see Survey, Sect.III, Question 1), it is important for the chaplain to know something of local language and customs. The chaplain's work will also include pastoral care of soldiers who have to cope with the trauma of watching the civilians they are sent to protect, slaughter each other.

Peacekeeping requires different skills from war. Rules of engagement for battle require identification of the enemy, confirmation that the unit has come under fire from the enemy, and that the alternatives of the mission require that the unit fight or return fire (British Army Chaplains' Handbook 1988:1ff). In peacekeeping there are no rules of engagement and diplomacy is required to keep warring factions apart.

'Peacekeeping', the former United Nations Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold said 'is not a job for soldiers, but only soldiers can do it' (NZ Government *Inquiry into Defence* 1998:15).

Peacekeeping is a police role which uses means alternative to that of firepower wherever possible. But it is work that can be as psychologically damaging as WWI and WWII were to many. Phare (1994:6.2-6) relates Colonel Roger Mortlock's experiences with post-traumatic stress disorder, as it is now called by psychologists, which was previously known as battle fatigue, shell shock or war neurosis in WWI and WWII. Mortlock first suffered from this as a platoon commander in Vietnam, and again later as commander of an unarmed UN Observers' mission in Angola for eleven months in 1992. This was a seven-day a week job, during which he and his team slept when they could in headquarters which were in the firing line between government and rebel forces. Rolfe (1999:162) discusses post-traumatic stress disorder and points out that there is as yet little overall understanding of the range of effects it can have on individuals and how or when it will become apparent, and no certainty that counselling will be effective in treating it. Similarly, there appears to be no relevant study of the effects that the presence of chaplains may have in peacekeeping trauma situations where post-traumatic stress occurs in troops.

Peacekeeping can undermine other functions of a military force in that it blunts the aggressive element and stifles the expression of military field skills. Peacekeeping does little to develop the defensive or aggressive elements in

an army, so that when faced by an invading army bent on aggression, new skills will have to be learned in short time and possibly at enormous cost. James (1994) expresses concern about New Zealand's operational readiness and the Whitmore Lecture (1986 NZ Army Journal Special Edn.) warns of failure to heed the lessons of the past. Rolfe (1999:188-190), in discussing the future of the New Zealand military needs, sounds a warning about the use of military for civil duties at the expense of operational military readiness:

Two of the uses for the armed forces are '(a) to perform any public service; or (b) to provide assistance to the civil power in time of emergency'. Most activities in support of or with the community are undertaken in terms of subsection (a) of section 9 of the *Defence Act*...Although the armed forces do have to concentrate on their operational role, and effectiveness in that role cannot be allowed to diminish because of community tasks, they also understand that without wide community support they will not, in peacetime, receive the resources to enable them to maintain any real operational effectiveness. The programme of community activities is one way of ensuring that community support remains. The programme is accepted and carried out because the armed forces have the capacity to do the tasks...In future, however, if the kinds of rationalisation of personnel, bases and equipment is carried on at the same rate as it has been in the past, the armed forces are not likely to be able to respond as society expects them to be able to.

Future New Zealand military development

From mid-1993, the Army began to modify its command structure on future needs, both for overseas and peackeeping deployment and for more serious threats which might develop in New Zealand's geographical area. In 1992 a Land Force Reserves review found the structure to be awkward and mismatched for its required tasks. From the sale of assets such as Papakura Camp, funds have been recouped to allow the army to re-structure and re-equip its troops with a high degree of flexibility and readiness for

different forms of action [See Figure 2]. Deployment overseas requires the army to have one readily available force, with another to sustain and reinforce the first if necessary, and a third in training. Territorial forces and reserves provide the nucleus of units required to sustain long term action. Air and naval forces are similarly reconstructing and updating and with the changes come changes in support personnel requirements such as the work of psychologists and chaplains (Rolfe 1993:1).

The New Zealand Government defence review, *Inquiry into Defence Beyond 2000 - The Interim report of the Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Committee* (hereafter *Inquiry*) submitted to Parliament in November 1998, discusses New Zealand's future strategic needs and defence capabilities. The *Inquiry* considers that security is more than defence and has international implications. It sees New Zealand's position in relation to possible military threats as similar to Australia's and quotes Australia's policy as stating that: 'For the foreseeable future Australia is not likely to face the direct use of armed force against it' (*Inquiry* 1998:9ff), although East Timor means Australian defence is now a priority. The *Inquiry* notes non-military threats such as pandemics, high birth rates, ethnic tensions, refugee flows, illegal migration, environmental degradation, narcotics, search and rescue, transnational crime, international terrorism and surveillance of fishing zones. It sees poverty and political instability as of more immediate concerns. It takes the attitude that the NZDF plays a significant role in foreign policy and by participation in international crises such as Bosnia and Bougainville, New Zealand can be seen to be a good international citizen and good neighbour in the South Pacific.

The *Inquiry* also looks at how Australian strategic priorities differ from New Zealand's, in that Australia is more concerned with Asia and the Indian Ocean and does not

have the same close relationship with the peoples of Polynesia that New Zealand has. It discusses the revolution in military affairs, the impact of technology and the type of defence force New Zealand requires. It rates readiness, deployability and sustainability as most important for forces equipped and trained to deal at short notice with low level conflict. The *Inquiry* concludes that there are two aspects to sustainability - personnel and equipment - and stresses the need for:

...a more sophisticated approach to personnel planning, especially in relation to maintaining an adequate pool of personnel with particular skills, who may be needed only in small numbers, but who are essential on operations (*Inquiry* 1998:22).

Chaplaincy is not specifically dealt with but the *Inquiry* apparently assumes it is an integral part of the Defence Force by the continued inclusion of chaplaincy in the Defence Force personnel requirements listed in Appendix 7:70 in the Personnel division under the Chief of Defence Staff [See Figure 3].

Rolfe (1999:191ff) considers that New Zealand's armed forces today are barely capable of achieving the limited security goals. He agrees that the review provides an investment programme for both operating and capital expenditure for the next twenty years, but points out that the operating budget is for five years only and the capital expenditure will require specific government decisions (Rolfe 1999:192). He discusses New Zealand's defence needs in terms of operational competence:

Operational competence is central to the Army's self-definition. For many years...the Army defined its competence in terms derived from the needs of allies; first Britain and later the United States. In the 1990s that approach changed...The concept under which operational training is carried out by the Army is of 'directive' control rather than 'directed' activity. The former relies upon subordinates responding to the immediate situation with an understanding of the overall plan instead of having to report changes in the situation to a

superior and wait for new orders. This kind of approach relies heavily on training and a clear set of priorities agreed between commander and subordinate at every level. The Army hopes that by encouraging flexibility and innovation it will be able to make up for any deficiencies in numbers and equipment (Rolle 1999:125ff).

Some defence planners suggest New Zealand should focus available funds on particular military roles instead of trying to support a wide range of military capabilities on limited funding. Strategic Studies lecturer, Ron Smith (1998) warns about over-reliance on such a 'niche' defence:

It is now customary (even in defence circles) to aver that New Zealand faces no direct threat. This is a dangerous habit of thought. It is still a very uncertain world. Despite the evident harms of war and the equally evident benefits of peace, the incidence of political violence shows no sign of diminishing. There are burgeoning populations and major social, political, racial and religious divisions. How can we be certain that sometime in the future a conflict arising from these factors will not impact seriously on our interests or even directly on our security here at home...If we are prudent we insure our houses against the possibility of a calamitous event... Effective defence insurance is just as important...

The New Zealand Government is reported as having agreed (*NZ Herald* 23.2.99 A3) to increase the army's battle readiness with a rapid-reaction battalion and has dismissed a parliamentary committee's call to downgrade the navy and airforce. The government has also retained the separation of Defence Force and Ministry of Defence.² In announcing the government's response to the *Inquiry* the Minister said:

We need to retain a balanced force wide enough to give New Zealand a range of options, rather than a niche force which may not meet our future needs (*NZ Herald* 23.2.99 A1).

² The Ministry of Defence, under the Defence Secretary, is responsible for policy, funding advice and defence activities. The NZDF, under the Chief of Defence, has the command and management of operations by the Armed Forces. Thus in New Zealand, the Government very clearly controls the decisions to use military force, while the trained professionals of the NZDF have command and management of military personnel and operations once their use has been decided by the Ministry (See Figures 1 & 3).

But this may change again. The final report of the two-year *Inquiry* came under attack in parliament on 30 August 1999 (*NZ Herald* 31.8.99 A1;A11,A13) when the Government was accused of isolating itself from the need to forge a more affordable but more sharply focused Defence Force. David Dickens is critical of the *Inquiry* and the parliamentary defence committee's proposals because there is no analysis of funding and because its arguments hinge on the claim that resources are spread too thinly to achieve credibility across all military capabilities. Dickens considers it contains some interesting ideas, but that most have not been tested and some are obviously impractical (*NZ Herald* 31.8.99 A13).

Whatever is decided for the future development of the NZDF will ultimately depend on the government's ability to finance it. Whether funding is more effective for New Zealand's needs if directed to a niche force, or spread across a wider range of capability is still uncertain. But one thing is certain. If sufficient government funding is not forthcoming for the future military development that is decided, chaplaincy may well be one area of expenditure which will come under financial scrutiny as to its value to the military.

Conclusion

Brigadier Bret Bestic, in his discussion of the Defence Review, makes a point which is worth noting as relevant to chaplaincy:

None of the armed forces operates in isolation, and none is immortal. As the requirements change, so must the organisations that respond on our behalf. Defence is part of foreign policy, not a self-contained entity (*NZ Herald* 8.12.98:A13).

If chaplaincy is needed as an integral part of military, particularly in the areas of morale and emotional and spiritual health of the Defence Force personnel, then chaplaincy should be maintained and its particular

contribution should be determined and fully utilised. While chaplaincy is a theological concern, it is also a military matter so it is not only as part of the church, but also as part of the military that chaplaincy must be viewed, within the practical situation of the needs of the NZDF.

CHAPTER 4

CHAPLAINCY TODAY

Introduction

As New Zealand moves into the new millenium it is developing as a multicultural Pacific nation with a strong interest in its Maori heritage and Asian-Pacific affairs. The military is changing accordingly in focus and training. Is the present chaplaincy relevant to New Zealand's future military needs? What is the chaplaincy structure, how does it operate and how adaptable is it to the changing military?

The chaplain's parish

During the 1970's and 1980's, New Zealand chaplaincy tended to be centred on the chaplain's office and the chapel. The NZDF 5110 draft *Chaplaincy Towards 2100* (1997 hereafter NZDF 5110) considers that although this works well, it tends to detract from the operational focus of chaplaincy and reinforces the idea that chaplains exercise their ministry only within their base or parish and with the majority of personnel at home, rather than with those on operations. Operational deployments and exercises could be seen as being additional to the chaplain's pastoral role rather than being an essential part of it. Thus some of the importance of the environment where chaplaincy occurs is lost and the chaplain is seen only as either a parish priest or minister, or as a welfare officer.

This loss of operational focus was highlighted when chaplains were deployed to Bosnia. Approximately 50% of all available chaplains were not deployable because of physical or medical unfitness, family and personal issues, age or the nature of the chaplaincy appointment held such as that of a Territorial or Officiating chaplain, where the minister held a parish appointment to which the chaplaincy

was secondary (*NZDF 5110 1997:9.27*). To ensure operational readiness the key inter-related areas of chaplaincy must be kept in balance.

The chaplain's mission

The mission of the NZDF Chaplain Services as given in the Mission statement of the *NZDF 5110* is: '...to minister to the spiritual and pastoral well-being of the NZDF military personnel, especially in operational situations...' (*NZDF 5110 1997:3.6*).¹ The focus is threefold:

- a) To ensure that the spiritual and pastoral need of all NZDF personnel and their dependents are provided for by attending to their spiritual, moral, social, and community needs.
- b) To advise commanders at all levels on pastoral, cultural, and religious issues, in so far as they affect morale, and the pastoral well-being of NZDF personnel and their dependents.
- c) To support through chaplain service programmes the operational readiness, the sustainability, post operational recovery, and the training goals of the NZDF.

The mission of the chaplain can be summed up in these words:

To minister to the spiritual and pastoral well-being of the NZDF military personnel, especially in operational situations (*NZDF 5110 1997:3.7*).

If chaplaincy is to be effective in its special role then, like the military it services, it must have an operational focus and readiness for deployment. The *NZDF 5110* comments that the appointment of Regular Force (RF) chaplains in the army and airforce did not occur in peacetime until after WWII, although navy chaplains were appointed between the wars. It stresses the need for full-time, trained, deployable chaplains and continues to say that the New Zealand experience parallels the development of chaplain services in Australia: '...in regard to the importance of having chaplains present in times of tragedy in both times of war and peace.'

¹ This statement is based on CDF Minute 109/1996 dated 7 Oct.1996.

The draft considers that to have suitable, deployable, full-time chaplains available for operational troops could mean some changes are needed in the present chaplaincy structure:

The present structure of the Chaplain Services is designed to ensure that pastoral ministry is available for all NZDF personnel. The level of acceptance of NZDF ministry is dependent upon the skills of the individual chaplain and the quality of the service provided. Although chaplains have been designated as having a 'war role' (ie. their task is to be with service personnel no matter where they serve), in the past, that aspect of the role has not been articulated (NZDF 5110 1997:1.4).

Chaplaincy structure [Figures 4 & 5]

The provisioning of chaplains for the New Zealand Armed Services is currently co-ordinated through agreement between the churches (and other faith groups which may appoint chaplains in the future) and the NZDF. The Chaplains' Defence Advisory Council, known as ChDAC, is the co-ordinating religious body [See Figure 4]. ChDAC has six members - one representative from each of the main Christian denominations: Anglican, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist and Salvation Army. The main responsibility of ChDAC is the recruitment, appointment and spiritual care of chaplains for the Regular Force in all three services, Army, Navy and Airforce. ChDAC members are known as Senior Denomination Representatives and, for administration purposes only, hold the honorary status of Chaplains Class 2.² ChDAC members are not necessarily full-time chaplains.

There are, in addition to ChDAC, three Chaplains' Advisory Committees (ChAC), one for each Task Force Regional Headquarters and one for Support Command. These committees are also comprised of representatives from the main

² Chaplains are ranked in the Army as Class 1 Colonel; Class 2 Lt.Col.; Class 3 Major; Class 4 Captain, for salary purposes and hold equivalent rank in the Air Force. Navy chaplains bear no rank but hold class for salary.

denominations and are responsible for the recruitment of Territorial chaplains for their respective Task Forces and the maintenance of pastoral oversight to ensure efficient service to units by Territorial Force chaplains.

Figure 5 overleaf shows the working structure of NZDF chaplaincy. At New Zealand Defence Force Headquarters, under the line of command of the Chief of Defence Staff (CDS) and belonging to the Personnel Branch, is the Principal Defence Chaplain (PDC), who is appointed as Chaplain Class 1 by the CDS and ranks as a full Colonel or equivalent. The PDC's primary tasks are to guide the strategic development of NZDF chaplaincy and to act as religious advisor to the Chief of Defence Force. The PDC has right of direct communication with individual Chiefs of Staff for advice on the co-ordination and supervision of all aspects of the spiritual and moral welfare of service personnel and their dependants (*NZDF DM65 1979*:para.108-9). After consultation with Senior Denominational Chaplains and Principal Chaplains of the three Services, the PDC recommends the posting of all Regular Force Base chaplains, Territorial and RNZVNR Chaplains and Officiating Chaplains.

Directly under the PDC are three Principal Chaplains , one for each Service: Principal Chaplain Navy (PCN), Principal Chaplain Airforce (PCF), and Principal Chaplain Army (PCA). Principal Chaplains are responsible, as religious advisors to the Chief of Staff of the Service, for the supervision, co-ordination and readiness of the chaplains in that service for routine and operational requirements. Principal Chaplains are Base chaplains (*NZDF DM65 1979*: para.109).

At each principal Command or Formation HQ where there is more than one chaplain on a base,³ and where such an appointment would facilitate communication, a chaplain will be appointed as Co-ordinating Chaplain (*NZDF DM65 1979*:

³ 'base' is used inclusively to refer to ships, camps, units and Bases.

para.110). Co-ordinating Chaplains are expected to work as facilitators of collegial teams, sharing out the responsibilities and keeping each other informed of interrelated matters.

Appointment of Regular Force chaplains

Ministers may volunteer or apply to become military chaplains, or they may be asked by their church to consider becoming chaplains. The ratio of denominations in each Task Force is normally: Anglican 4; Roman Catholic 2; Presbyterian 2; Methodist 1; Other Denomination (OD) 1⁴ (NZDF DM65 1979:para.301). Clergy of any recognised religious denomination may be candidates for commissions as chaplains in the New Zealand Armed Forces. Candidates may apply for appointment as chaplains, or may be asked by their church to apply. A candidate should have completed three years full-time parish ministry and should be ordained or fully licensed to officiate on behalf of his or her denomination, eligible for ecclesiastical service anywhere, and hold good standing the particular denominational church. Appointment is made on recommendation by ChDAC and by a Service Selection Panel.

The *NZDF Chaplain's Handbook* (1990:paras.301-302) specifies ten appointments as available for Regular Force (RF) full time chaplains and twenty-eight appointments as the proposed strength of Territorial Force (TF) chaplains. It gives full information for chaplains on their expected duties and work as well as very helpful material on the military protocol, training and deployment.

Initial appointment of Regular Force chaplains is for four years, confirmed after a probationary period of one year. Engagements may be reviewed each four years. Base or Regular Force chaplains are full-time appointments paid by

⁴ OD. Other Denominations. ie. Presbyterian, Methodist Salvation Army or Baptist. In this case Presbyterian and Methodist are included in the ratio, so OD would refer here to Salvation Army or Baptist.

the NZDF. Chaplains are appointed as Class 3, Class 2, or Class 1, for salary and allowances, according to seniority.⁵ Army and airforce chaplains carry official equivalent rank, but navy chaplains are commissioned only as 'Chaplain' and carry no rank other than class for salary purposes. Navy chaplains are considered to be the equivalent rank of whatever navy personnel they may be addressing or speaking with, and thus are always 'equal' to their personnel, whether officer or rating.

Territorial Force chaplains

In order that a reserve of chaplains is readily available if there is an expansion in the military in the event of national emergency, additional clergy are recruited as Territorial Force (TF) and RNZVNR⁶ chaplains. Appointment and conditions are similar to those of the RF chaplains and the role of the Senior TF Chaplain is that of advisor to the Task Force Commander and he or she is an associate member of the ChAC. TF Chaplains must complete 20 days of training a year, fourteen of which are at annual camp and the remainder either in or out of camp training.

Officiating chaplains

In service establishments where chaplains representing all three denominational groups⁷ are not appointed, the deficiency may be remedied by the appointment of Officiating Chaplains (OF). OF chaplains are clergy who serve on bases for specific purposes such as to ensure denominational coverage, to meet particular needs not met by the RF chaplains or to provide ministry when the incumbent is temporarily absent from the base or when there are vacancies. OF Chaplains may be full-time ministers in civilian parishes or retired ministers willing to be available for service when needed for the necessary aspects of ministry such as taking religious services, officiating

⁵ See Note 2.

⁶ Royal New Zealand Volunteer Naval Reserve.

at funerals and visiting the sick. OF chaplains are not uniformed chaplains, but wear an OF Chaplain's badge for identification. They are not required to participate in military training or manoeuvres, although they may be asked to give moral and ethical instruction to personnel. They are paid a remuneration entitlement for hourly attendance or daily allowance (*NZDF DM65 1979 para.901-5*)

Because of the requirements of canon law in the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches, ministers of other denominations cannot administer the sacraments to RC or Anglican personnel. Where a base has sufficient personnel of differing denominations, it is usual to appoint a Roman Catholic (RC) or Anglican priest and an OD (Other Denomination) minister - Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist or Salvation Army. New Zealand military chaplaincy does not currently include religious representatives from Jewish, Muslim, Mormon or Hindu faiths. Nor are the Pentecostal churches represented. If the base has only one RF chaplain, OF Chaplains of the required denominations may take mass for RC, or eucharist for Anglican, service personnel.

The chaplain's work

The military regulations governing the current duties and responsibilities required of chaplains are fully and clearly set out in detail in the Chaplains' Department Handbooks for Army, Navy and Airforce. They are also set out in less detail in the *NZDF DM65*. *NZDF 5110 (1997)* Annex A gives the chaplain's work in a more succinct statement which includes future directions in chaplaincy:

1. Military chaplains are ordained and licensed or otherwise fully authorised to officiate on behalf of, and to be in good standing with, their particular denominations. Their task as ministers of religion is to serve the Christian Church and the New Zealand Defence Force(NZDF) to which they are called. God's spirit strengthens chaplains to

⁷ RC, Anglican, Other denomination.

carry on the gospel and mission of Jesus Christ, to which they are committed.

2. The function of military chaplains is to assist the military commanders to fulfill its [sic] overall welfare and responsibilities for those under command.

3. Insofar as military chaplains are advocates for peace and justice, which they see as God's will for all people, they are not to be seen as an endorsement of either a particular or general view of war.

4. Military chaplains have responsibilities in the following areas:

- a. To protect and encourage the free exercise of religious belief and practice by all members of the NZDF.

- b. To attend to the pastoral needs of military personnel and their families in conjunction with other NZDF helping agencies.

- c. To recognise the uniqueness of the military communities, and to assist people to live effectively within the constraints of military requirements.

- d. To provide advice to command on matters of religion, and general welfare in the life and work of the NZDF.

- e. To familiarise themselves with both the ethos and the operating system military systems [sic] in which they exercise their ministry.

- f. To offer friendship and advice to all personnel, employed in the NZDF.

- g. To function as chaplains in accordance with military, civilian and international law.

- h. To work in conjunction with other welfare agencies.

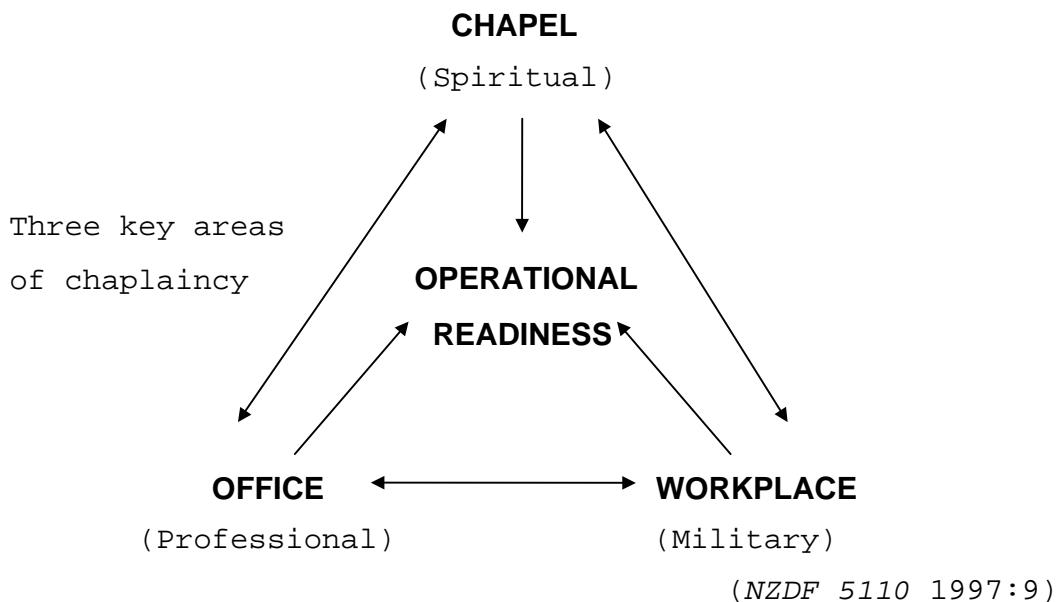
Operational deployment

These duties and aims say little about deployment or operational readiness which is a concern of the NZDF 5110 (1997) draft. However five issues are delineated in the draft which are seen as important to ensure operational readiness:

- a. The tripartite nature of chaplain ministry which is composed of three interrelated areas of ministry: the chapel, the spiritual basis of the chaplain's activities; the office, the place for personal preparation and counseling; and the workplace - the situation where the

troops are, which includes their homes and off-duty locations. Operational readiness must be central to these:

Figure 6



- b. Training, which emphasises the three aspects of military operations, professional competence in pastoral skills and theological and spiritual development.
- c. Ministry development, including on-going professional training.
- d. Medical, physical and spiritual fitness for operations.
- e. A deployment plan to be prepared by PDC and PCs (NZDF 5110 1997:9-11).

Chaplaincy for the future

While the section on chaplaincy structure and operational readiness is comprehensive and practical, the NZDF 5110 (1997) draft document omits any direct reference to one important role the chaplain fills when deployed on overseas or active service work. On operational service the chaplain provides a link with home for the troops, a link with religious life through their presence, and a link with peace through the non-combatant role. All of these Smyth

considers important functions of the chaplain (Smyth 1968: 243) although the draft only makes the statement that:

The chaplain must be with the troops in the Area of Operations (AO). In an era when few service personnel have had experience of war, the role of the chaplain in the AOs, and the special role that chaplains play among prisoners of war and during times of deprivation should not be overlooked by planners and decision makers in the NZDF (NZDF 5110 1997:9).

In looking to the future structure of chaplaincy, the draft NZDF 5110 (1997) reflects the present structure of the NZDF chaplaincy and lists features of chaplaincy under 3 headings: Strategic (Principal Defence Chaplain); Operational (Principal Chaplains); and Tactical (Base chaplains, Reservist, Territorial, and Officiating chaplains). It does not consider any possible changes in the present arrangements of the contributing churches and their representation on chaplaincy committees, councils and appointments. For a chaplaincy of ten proposed RF positions, and twenty-eight TF appointments, the present numbers of chaplains holding senior administrative positions through denominational, service and base coordinating positions seems to make a somewhat top-heavy organisation. Currently, in addition to the Principal Defence Chaplain (PDC), there are six denominations represented on the Chaplains' Defence Advisory Council; three Chaplains' Advisory Committees each with representatives from the denominations; three Principal Chaplains, one for each service; Senior Denominational chaplains; Principal TF and OF chaplains, and Co-ordinating chaplains [See Figure 5]. This invites the comment that there seem to be few chaplains available to do the actual work with the military personnel. A more streamlined structure of chaplaincy with less overlap is a perhaps a matter which should be considered by military, chaplains working in the system and the churches who contribute to chaplaincy.

The draft has one other omission. It does not consider changes in warfare as discussed in chapter 3 and how these are likely to affect chaplains. Future wars are less likely to involve great numbers of military casualties or prisoners of war but, as noted, are much more likely to involve huge civilian casualties. Peacekeeping will present different stresses and tensions and more face-to-face conflict than major air or naval strikes and the role of chaplains on peacekeeping and policing missions may change as they deal with not only troops but also civilians.

Conclusion

As the military upgrades and restructures its operations and resources towards future possible needs, so the chaplaincy, as part of the NZDF, should also consider what demands are likely to be made on it and how prepared the churches involved, the present chaplaincy structure, and the chaplains are to meet these. The results of the lack of readiness, and its effects on chaplains suddenly precipitated into war, can be seen in the diaries, stories, and reports of WWII chaplains (McDowall 1966; Haigh 1983; Goes 1951; Forsman 1992; Thompson 1976; Underhill 1950, etc). Their training in the military was brief and they had little or no religious preparation for the work they would have to do in war. That WWII chaplains reacted so well, is to the credit of their faith, but the trauma suffered was far greater than it should have been, had these men been prepared for the situations they would face. Part 2 of this study looks at the work of the present chaplains and how they see chaplaincy in relation to the military and its worth to the future NZDF.

PART 2

CHAPLAINS TODAY: AN EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION

CHAPTER 5**THE SURVEY SECTION I****Introduction**

Part 1 examined the development of military chaplaincy and the present day structures of NZDF and current chaplaincy. Although New Zealand is a secular country, the present NZDF chaplaincy developed from the British military tradition. The church presence has always been accepted as part of the New Zealand military. The service which chaplains gave in previous wars in which New Zealand has been involved and their value on the battlefield is well documented and established in military histories, diaries and reminiscences.

The developments in technology since WWII and the changing focus of the NZDF to a defence and policing role make it important to look at the work that chaplains currently do and to find how they themselves see their present and future relationship to both their churches and to the military. The particular services which chaplain ministry once rendered to troops in battle may no longer be so relevant in the context of today's high technological warfare. Also, the dilemma that religious participation in the military has caused the christian churches in the past could be avoided if chaplaincy were to be replaced either by secular welfare and counselling services, or by a civilian chaplaincy operated by churches willing to service the military. It is to the future, not the past, that the churches and the military should be looking in determining the value and role of military chaplaincy.

This part of the study reports and comments on chaplains' responses to a questionnaire on their work and views. Because of the changes in warfare and New Zealand's military, political and social development since WWII, only

current or very recently retired chaplains were questioned. While the views of retired older chaplains are important because of their war experience, which younger current chaplains do not have, the comments of those who currently serve in the NZDF in present peace-time military, policing, disaster emergency, peacekeeping and hi-tech situations seemed to be more apposite in looking at future chaplaincy development. The context for New Zealand military today is different from that in which WWII chaplains served.

As well as the questionnaire, taped interviews were made of discussions with eleven chaplains to enable further opinions to be gained on topics not covered in the questionnaire. A number of papers and articles by chaplains were given to the researcher, and these have also been drawn on for relevant comment.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire was designed to gather information and comment from chaplains on the work they do in the military. The aim was to gain a wide view of current chaplaincy practice, its strengths and its shortcomings. Therefore questions were open and invited qualification and elaboration of answers. The questions were phrased such as to allow chaplains the opportunity to comment as fully as they wished on the issues they were questioned about, and to allow them the freedom to express opinions and comments which they might consider important but which were not covered specifically in the questionnaire. The researcher was setting out to find what present military chaplains thought of their work, and thus could not be familiar with all the possibilities which chaplains in the military might consider important. To allow the chaplains freedom to express themselves rather than present them with forced choice questions seemed to be the best way of finding attitudes and ideas which might otherwise have been omitted.

The Structure of the Questionnaire

The Questionnaire was divided into three sections. Section I was concerned with personal information; Section II with values, attitudes and ideas; Section III with practical issues. Some topics are considered in both Sections II and III as they involve both attitudes and practical application. With the responses to both sections overlapping in this way it seemed more likely that the topics and items of prime importance to chaplains would show up more clearly if chaplains responded to differing questions about these.

The sample

Forty-nine questionnaires were sent out to all chaplains listed as currently serving in full-time Regular Force chaplaincy, part-time Territorial Force Chaplains, NZ Volunteer Naval Reserve, Officiating Chaplains, Principal Denominational Chaplains and Chaplains' Defence Advisory Council members (ChDAC). The implications of this variety of chaplaincy positions and rankings, in a service which has only about fifty members, will be discussed further at a later point in the study. Because the total number of chaplains is not large, three recently retired RF chaplains were also included in the survey.

A total of thirty-seven chaplains responded. Six of these declined to answer the survey on the grounds that, as OF or TF chaplains, they did not feel they had sufficient experience, knowledge of, or familiarity with the military situation to reply adequately to the questionnaire. One OF chaplain replied that although he was on the list as an Officiating chaplain, he had in fact never been called on to serve as a chaplain in any capacity and had no contact with the military, so he did not feel qualified to answer. These responses could indicate that ministers involved in part-time chaplaincy may not always fully understand the work and needs of the military establishment and personnel that they service. It could also indicate that these

ministers regard their chaplaincy as of minor importance in relation to their parish ministry. One other declined to respond directly by referring the investigator to the senior chaplain of the denomination, who was among those who did respond. Thus the relevant number of chaplains replying to the questionnaire is thirty.

The small number in the sample makes it difficult to attain statistical meaningfulness in respect to contrasting opinions. Therefore it seemed more suitable to treat the questionnaire as an instrument to collate the ideas, opinions and views of serving chaplains on issues relevant to current chaplaincy, rather than undertake a quantitative statistical survey of differences between army, navy and airforce chaplains, between full-time and part-time chaplains or between the religious denominations in chaplaincy. Accordingly the survey has been used qualitatively to indicate majority opinions and chaplains' descriptions of, and comment on, their work and the areas where they feel chaplaincy is most valuable or where attention should be given to improve the effectiveness of chaplaincy. Where there is any notable difference in answers or opinions expressed by members of the three Services, those of the different denominations, or RF, TF and OF chaplains, this is discussed in the presentation of the findings.

Although the sample is small, it does cover sixty-one percent of the total chaplains involved with the military and it includes chaplains who have differing amounts of military contact. Regular Force (RF) chaplains are those who are uniformed, full-time chaplains in the military. The military pay their salaries, accommodate them and cover all costs of their work.

Territorial Force (TF), NZ Volunteer Naval Reserve (NZVNR) and Officiating (OF) chaplains are part-time chaplains.

Territorial Force and NZVNR chaplains give military service in the same way that all Territorial Force personnel do - as part-time military who undertake regular annual military training programmes of twenty days per year, fourteen of which are at annual camp. TF chaplains spend the remainder of their time working in their normal peace-time parishes as civilian ministers and priests. They provide military-trained civilian personnel who can be called on to supplement the regular military forces in emergency should the country need.

Officiating (OF) chaplains are parish ministers who can be called on by the military to perform religious offices and services when a minister or priest of their denomination is needed. They are not part of the military and do not wear uniform, but wear an identifying lapel badge and are paid expenses for work they may do for the military base.

The sample also covered the three services, Army, Navy and Airforce. Because of the small total number of NZDF chaplains, this further reduced the possibility of accurate statistical assessment of possible differing views of chaplains in different services.

As noted in the Introduction to this study, there was a reluctance by some chaplains to respond to the survey because of both military and church criticism rebounding personally on them and their work. Most felt strongly that chaplaincy should be open to discussion and that better understanding and acceptance of the work of military chaplains was very much needed, not only in the participating churches and the military but also by the public. Some openly expressed the wish to feel free to give honest criticism of the attitudes they encountered in their churches and the military, but there was an overall insistence that the researcher should not release information which would lead to identification of

individual chaplains, as this could be detrimental to either their church situation or their military appointment or both.

While church cooperation was forthcoming for the survey, in that church records were willingly made available, there was little or no cooperation from the military. Originally it was hoped that a similar survey of the military experience of chaplaincy might be done, but this had to be abandoned. This, together with the above comment from the chaplains, begs the question: "why the reluctance?". A survey of military chaplaincy work is not likely to breach NZ defense security in any conceivable way. Nor should either military or churches have problems with religious chaplaincy that the public or church membership should not be made aware of. Problems cannot be resolved or answered unless they are first delineated and considered.

Section I

Section I consisted of five questions requesting personal information: name, military rank or class, church affiliation, contact information, and previous military service or experience prior to entering chaplaincy.

Sample by Service: Of the thirty who answered the questionnaire, the breakdown of Service - Regular Force, Territorial, NZVNR, and Officiating chaplains - is as follows:

Army: Seventeen. [RF nine; TF five; OF three, one of whom had served a number of years previously as RF.]

Airforce: eight. [RF six; OF two.]

Navy: five. [RF two; NZVNR two; OF one.]

Gender:

Five women, twenty-five men.

Two differences between male and female chaplains were apparent:

1. None of the women chaplains were concerned that they might be identified by their responses. All who expressed concern about confidentiality of identity were male chaplains.
2. At the time of the survey, no women chaplains were included in the Chaplains' Defence Advisory Council.

Sample by Religious denominations:

Anglican: eight; Presbyterian: eight; Roman Catholic: seven; Baptist: four; Salvation Army: two; Methodist: one.

Previous military experience:

Fifteen reported military training or some previous military experience which varied from short or part-time Cadet Corps or Compulsory Military Training for National service, to time served in Regular Force military prior to entering ministry. One reported a father in the military. The remaining fifteen reported no previous military experience or contact.

To ensure that confidentiality is maintained, it is not possible to differentiate the sample further by age, ethnic origin or years of service as this could effectively identify particular chaplains responding. The sample did include some long-serving chaplains who had experience in active service or overseas deployment, as well as clergy who had no such experiences. Where responses indicated differences of opinion between chaplains of different church denomination or between different military Services, these are discussed in the commentary as relevant to the issues under consideration.

CHAPTER 6**THE SURVEY SECTION II****Introduction**

Section II deals with substantive issues of attitudes and values. The chaplains' responses to the questions are given below in summary and quantified with respect to the numbers of chaplains giving similar or varying responses. Qualitative comment is added in regard to interpretation of the statements and elaborations given by the chaplains.

Section II Questions

Questions 1-5 are personal. They deal with reasons why individual ministers entered military chaplaincy, what experience or training they had for military life, work and functions which they received either on or after entry, and their attitudes to chaplaincy.

Question 1. Did you receive any training for chaplaincy?

Twelve replied: none, other than theological or seminary training.

Fifteen received a short one to three week special officers' training course. Four of these noted that they did not have this course until four to twelve months after being appointed as chaplains.

Three had four- to five-month special officer's training courses.¹

This response indicates that training for chaplaincy is not in fact standard practice. Some receive it, some do not, and the comprehensiveness of the training seems to vary considerably. The NZ Chaplains' Department Handbook (1990) does give full and clear instruction on military

¹ The special officers' training course is for specialist personnel employed by the military for non-fighting duties and who accompany troops on deployment such as chaplains, doctors, nurses, PE instructors, psychologists and dentists.

requirements, behaviour, administration and traditions, and on the chaplain's duties and how these should be carried out, but the detail and complexity of the military life is such that the contents of this and the Defence Manual, DM65, would take considerable time to assimilate fully. Training on officer courses - when ministers receive this - covers practical military exercises and skills, but may be of little use if not taken until months after entry.

Question 2. Please briefly outline why you became a military chaplain?

Of the thirty respondents: Five felt called by God to minister to the Armed Services.

Eight had an interest or some experience in the military which they had enjoyed, or previous similar chaplaincy or counselling experience.

One enlisted 'by accident' at a military display occasion.

One responded N/A.

Fifteen were asked by their churches or bishops to take on military chaplaincy. Of these, three used the word 'told', two used 'pressure', 'pushed', and one agreed to accept chaplaincy 'after six phone calls'.

The variation in responses here raises several issues. As half the respondents were asked, or experienced some church pressure, to take chaplaincy it could indicate that churches are having difficulty filling requests for chaplains.² It could be that the churches view military chaplaincy as in some sense against the Christian ideal, or hold ambivalent attitudes to ministry in the military. It could also indicate that chaplaincy, as noted by a number of the chaplains, is sometimes viewed as a dumping ground for incompetent ministers who are pressured to take this

² Webster & Perry (1989) comment on the difficulties churches have in filling parish requirements. Filling military chaplaincy requirements could add more pressure to the churches' problems of insufficient candidates for ministry.

work as a way of removing them from mainstream parish appointment.³

Questions 3, 4 and 5 were concerned with chaplains' attitudes to war and ministry in the military.

Question 3. *Do you believe that war can be justifiable and in what situations would you consider it so?*

Eighteen answered Yes. Six answered No. Four responded that war should be a last resort in defence against aggression and two considered the question inappropriate in that wars are declared by governments, not the military. One added that any church or public disagreement over a decision to go to war should be addressed to government, not the military.

Of those who answered Yes, most qualified their answers by saying that war is justifiable in defence of justice, to preserve freedom, to defend human rights, in self-defence of home and family if attacked, to save innocent lives, or when other means of conflict resolution fail. One responded 'Yes', but added that 'pacifism is only possible in an ideal world'. One responded that 'war is futile and should only be used as a very last resort'.

Of the six who answered 'No', two responses were unqualified. Two respondents added the comment 'except under attack'; one added 'the more powerful the might, the more likely peaceful outcome'; and one 'but war is a reality of human life'.

From these responses it would appear that most chaplains, whether or not they consider war justifiable, accept that war, as a human activity, will inevitably happen in various

³ Six chaplains commented specifically on this in discussion tapes. All were, or had been in, senior full-time chaplaincy positions.

circumstances and that it is acceptable to retaliate when human life and freedom are endangered by aggressors. Apart from the two unqualified negative responses, all indicated that chaplains consider there are circumstances such as defence, or when all other means of settling disputes fail, in which warfare must be accepted as the only, if regrettable, outcome.

A retired WWII chaplain, in a taped interview (13.7.98), gave a perceptive response which is relevant here. When asked if he thought war was justifiable, he replied:

...I know it's idealistic but I look on the army as a sort of high police force...there must be some physical restraining force...my ideal would be some sort of disciplinary force under the UN which could be sent into places where there is trouble and say 'stop or else...' In that sense I think the use of force is essential...I tried for many years to be a pacifist but I ended up by joining the Territorials. I don't see any way for a person to evade being part of a country at war...For me at least, the pacifist point of view was illogical, although I didn't once criticise pacifists - we are not judgemental, we hated war, and a person who's served in battle hates war far more than anybody else...

Question 4. As the roles of the chaplain (as minister of God) and that of the military (as training people to kill) appear to be ethically conflicting, what is your rationale for supporting/not supporting military chaplaincy?

Twenty-one respondents took the view that the military are people and the church should be wherever there are people. People are what matter and military personnel have the right to receive the spiritual support and pastoral care of the church, as do all others. Military chaplains minister to people just as parish ministers do. Four respondents added the rationale that the chaplain has a role in war as the 'conscience' of the military and has the responsibility to see that the laws of armed conflict

are kept. Other responses included comments that the chaplain's role is to support 'those who accept their government's request'; that the 'people who deal with the responsibility for defence and protection need our special care'; and that 'chaplaincy is not an attitude to war. We must be where people are'; 'the people matter, not their profession'. A fairly full statement from another chaplain expressed this opinion clearly:

Chaplains are the only people who can support those training to kill and destroy. No other institution is equipped in such a way. This does not mean chaplains support killing. It does mean chaplains honour the call to minister to this particular sector of society.

One response showed a strong commitment to ministry: 'Jesus said "Follow". We mightn't like it - but even to death. So I live in the tension of following this peacemaker into a non-peaceful area'.

Of the nine remaining respondents, four specifically stated that they considered there was no conflict of ethics in military chaplaincy and two of these added that 'there is a time for killing', 'killing to protect is OK'.

Five stressed the peacekeeping or policing role of military, one adding that 'in a perfect world military (are) not needed but this is not an "ideal" world', and another considered that 'strong christian values mean strong military keepers of the peace'. One made the important point that chaplains who have not seen active service might not realise that '...peacekeeping means face to face combat.'

This question had a consistent response in that none of the chaplains considered work in the military meant an insuperable conflict of ethics. The overall attitude of the chaplains was that the work of a chaplain is to minister to

people in all situations; that war, although regrettable, is a fact of human life; and that military chaplaincy does not necessarily imply endorsement of war.

Question 5. *What is your reaction to personnel being sent into battle with a very high risk of being killed?*

The uniformity of attitude in the responses of twenty-nine of the chaplains to this question indicated that while they considered this a tragedy, deeply regrettable, a horrible necessity, they recognised that personnel in the military accept this risk as a part of war and therefore part of their job. The one exception to this view was the response 'unethical'. Several qualified their answers with 'horror', 'personally horror - but if in the military they must know the risk'. One responded with an expressive 'Oh shit!'

One chaplain made the comment 'intensely moved by their willingness to do this - a deep sense of compassion for such personnel carrying out the wishes of the people via government'; another added 'the cost of freedom and peace'; and 'self-sacrifice is a part of total service'. Several indicated their own responsibility to share this risk with their troops: 'you are part of a team and you go with your people'; 'a horrible necessity - pray God we won't have to'; 'I salute their courage. If I was asked to go, despite my fears I would'; 'a chaplain accompanies soldiers in the risk journey'; 'I would be with them - I would be scared shitless'. One chaplain drew the parallel of risk in the fire and police services, and two made the point that commanders and officers take the responsibility for this very seriously; another one pointed out that 'the Rambo mentality is not expected in combat'.

In their comments the chaplains all showed awareness of the acceptance of self-sacrifice if this is asked of military personnel, and that the reality of war, and what it implies for the soldier, is understood. No chaplain expressed any indication in the phrasing of the response given that he or she might not be with the soldiers. The use of 'we' in many responses identified the chaplain as implicitly thinking of him or herself as a part of the team of soldiers.

Questions 6 - 10 asked the chaplains' opinions of what present-day military chaplaincy requires of its ministers. Questions 6 and 7 were key questions in that question 6 asked what personal qualities are of value in military chaplains and question 7 attempted to gain some indications of what chaplains thought was the specific value of religious chaplaincy in the military.

These questions did not require single responses. Chaplains were encouraged to write and comment as fully as they wished, and in all cases in questions 6-10, apart from some few single item responses, each chaplain responded with several factors he or she felt were important.⁴

Question 6. Of your own personal qualities, what factors best help you fulfil your role as a chaplain?

Eighteen chaplains listed people skills as important factors: friendliness, openness, ability to mix well and get along with people, sincerity, interest in people, love for people, feeling of empathy, interpersonal skills, caring and accepting people, non-judgemental, willingness to listen, understanding

⁴ Questions 15 to 21 of Section III are also concerned with the needs of chaplaincy, but the Section III questions were oriented towards practical issues such as training for chaplaincy and particular skills required in chaplaincy work. The Section II emphasis is on the qualities required in a good chaplain and the reasons for chaplaincy.

of people, concern for individual needs, interest in and respect for people, concern for others, helpfulness, sharing and compassion, ability to encourage others.

Fifteen listed spiritual and/or religious qualities: faith, strong personal faith, Christian faith, experience in ministry, ability to lead worship, awareness of being a minister of the word, ability to put the gospel simply, faith in my priesthood, deep and unshakeable spirituality, deep sense of priestly vocation, integrity, knowing God, ministry to those who need, belief in God, belief in God's work in the military.

Four listed a sense of humour. Two listed fairness and a sense of justice.

One listed 'a deep sense of the Defence Force as part of society'.

Four listed practical skills - teamwork, ability in facilitation, sense of order, knowing military functions, ability to identify with military life, analytical thought, ability to cope with physical demands, sense of structure, counselling skills and adaptability, and one listed ability to work with other denominations.

One felt willingness to learn from others had been important.

One OF chaplain responded 'Not Applicable' to the question.

While chaplains felt their spiritual ministry was important, people skills rated even more highly. It is

important to note here that the chaplains who had war experience all answered by giving spiritual qualities but those who rated practical skills only were all chaplains who had no war experience. In considering this response with the literature of war experiences of chaplains, which emphasise the importance of the chaplain's spiritual faith, the response to the questionnaire may indicate that the spiritual importance of the chaplain is not fully recognised or utilised in peace-time chaplaincy when a chaplain is more important for interpersonal ministry, pastoral and counselling skills. The war situation appears to be the factor which brings the spiritual importance of chaplaincy to the fore. This is apparent also in the responses to question 7.

Question 7. In what ways do you consider chaplaincy of value in the military situation?

The responses here were notably consistent. Three chaplains said that chaplaincy was of 'immense value - the most vital asset troops have'; 'great value'; 'just try and imagine what it would be like without them! vitally necessary', but did not give specific factors. Others elaborated their responses and from these, three major points emerged:

1. The spiritual role of the chaplain. Twenty-two responses indicated this was seen as the prime value of chaplaincy. Responses again expressed this in varying ways: 'as the parish priest - understand and reassure spiritually'; 'soldiers need God as society does'; 'no atheists in foxholes'; 'bringing God to a profession which seems against Jesus' teachings'; 'spiritual support'; 'spiritual sustenance'; 'chaplain offers that spiritual dimension that counsellors don't'; 'God's representative in a system which trains and prepares for the unspeakable'; 'reminder we are human and need God'; 'human counter to dehumanising

aspects is a reminder of God's love'; 'God - a human face'; 'personal spiritual support'; 'sense of perspective and values - human and humane view'; 'military personnel need spiritual support'; 'to share the gospel with people who might not otherwise hear'; 'man is a spiritual being - no society is excluded from the gospel'; 'in conflict this (spirituality) would be one of the most meaningful aspects of the clergy' .

2. The trust chaplains have, through which they can cross boundaries of rank and authority and keep confidence, was the second most frequent response, indicated in some form by seventeen of the chaplains: 'can speak to Command on ethical issues'; 'can cross borders and jump the chain of command - an incredibly privileged job'; 'voice to Command'; 'people trust the chaplain and confide'; 'can keep the situation honest and can speak to individuals and issues'; 'accepted by Command'; 'liaison between the soldiers and the hierarchy'; 'chaplain is a release valve - confidential'; 'chaplains can't be compromised'; 'friend, advocate, listener'.

3. The third major factor, listed by fifteen respondents, was the place of the chaplain as an integral part of the military. Notably, this response occurred predominantly in the replies of chaplains who were or had been Regular Force chaplains, living and working daily within the military situation. Of the thirteen OF, NZVNR and TF chaplains only three noted this as of major importance in their responses. The responses were variously phrased but the identification of the chaplain as part of the military was quite clear: 'the reassurance that the chaplain is always there'; 'personnel turn to the chaplain because he understands me, he completed the pack march with me'; 'the chaplain stands with the troubled'; 'you are

part of the system'; 'secular services are not identified with the military'; 'able to work within and alongside all'; 'the military has its unique culture and the ministry is part of it'; 'chaplain is with the troops no matter what happens'; 'padre identifies and communicates and lives with his parishioners'; 'outside the command structure to people in a unique and demanding environment'; 'an outsider on the inside'; 'I can network a very wide cross-section of Defence staff'.

The responses to this question indicate that chaplains recognise that the spiritual aspect of their work is most important. The soldiers trust the chaplain who brings the spiritual message and this trust is reflected in the soldiers' willingness to do the work required in war and the officers' readiness to accept the chaplain's comment. The extent of the chaplain's spiritual and moral influence in the military is based on the chaplain's acceptance as an integral part of the military community and the understanding this participation gives to the chaplain. The difference in the responses from RF and part-time chaplains could indicate that full-time chaplains are much more aware of the value of the chaplain because they are part of the military than are those who minister to the military on a part-time basis only.

Question 8. What difficulties do you find with military chaplaincy that you would like to see improved?

Of the seventeen full-time chaplains, only two reported 'no problems'. The remaining fifteen listed items which indicated two major concerns: lack of church support for military chaplaincy; and lack of military understanding of the chaplain's role. The full-time chaplains' responses to this question were notable for their homogeneity as all fifteen identified the same two problems.

To the first of these, responses were phrased: 'greater church emphasis needed on the spiritual care and ministry to service personnel'; 'more pastoral care for chaplains from Chaplaincy Dept. and church - a lonely job'; 'denominationalism from churches gets in the way (service people couldn't care less about denomination)'; 'communication, both inter-church and inter-army. Church ethos sets churches against each other.' 'pastoring from Chaplains' Dept is not happening, honesty with Army'; 'no particular denominations in chaplaincy and therefore no link to outside church'; 'chaplain's image within church (those who can, have parishes - those who can't, become chaplains) and their image in military (God botherers)'.

Shortcomings of the military that were noted were: 'administration of chaplaincy can get caught in the military way'; 'training from the military not happening'; 'christian understanding can no longer be assumed and many commanders don't understand the role of the chaplain'; 'Command sometimes sees chaplains as another "branch" - rather than as a priest and therefore want accountability to Command rather than church'; 'some see chaplain as only religious - others as only a social worker. There is a need to be both educative and experiential'.

The above items were almost all the problem areas chaplains perceived. Two chaplains did however make a pertinent comment in saying that: 'in peacetime it's hard to train a chaplain for active war service needs'. The only other areas of concern specified were rank and secular services. Rank was a matter of concern to two RF chaplains in that they felt that rank could 'get in the way' (cf. Question 22 Section III of the Questionnaire). Three other chaplains

experienced difficulties with social workers and psychologists in the services who, they felt, tended to isolate chaplains and take over much of their pastoral work. As one phrased it: 'chaplains are being relegated to spiritual functions only'.

Responses to this question also showed a distinct difference between full-time RF chaplains and those whose chaplaincy is part-time - TF and OF:

Of the thirteen part-time chaplains, five responded that they had no problems; three others responded that the question was not applicable; and one listed "getting to know new recruits" as the only problem experienced in chaplaincy. One part-time chaplain reported that "rank" was the only problem and one did not answer. One chaplain made the revealing comment that chaplaincy work took only two hours per week. The OF chaplain with previous RF service responded that RF chaplaincy did mean the chaplain gained a better understanding of the problems of chaplaincy and a better ability to resolve them.

The difference between full-time and part-time chaplains as to problems they do or do not experience raises important questions. Do the part-time chaplains find few or no difficulties in their work, because they are not sufficiently involved in military chaplaincy to get to know the personnel or the military situation thoroughly? Do they service the military without understanding much of its culture and way of life? The response of the OF chaplain with RF experience would indicate this could be so. Or is the response the result of little interest in the chaplaincy part of their work as parish ministers? Does it show a lack of contact with the military they service? The response of only 'two hours a week' could be indicative of either or both of these.

The perceived needs of chaplains will be taken up again later as it occurs also in Section III of the questionnaire where the concern is with practical issues which chaplains think could be improved.

Question 9. What is needed to attract good ministers into military chaplaincy?

Of the twenty-nine chaplains who responded, twenty-one felt the work of military chaplains needed better recognition from the churches:

'(church) recognition of their (chaplains') work'; 'full recognition'; 'higher profile'; 'a sense of value of good chaplains by the church'; 'church support'; 'better networking and advertising - chaplaincy is a relatively unknown area to ministers'; 'education into what chaplaincy is about and how this is the church in the world'; 'the church to stop regarding their clergy to have left ministry when entering military chaplaincy'; 'church to encourage and support career chaplain ministers in a specialist ministry to military'; 'not a soft option - a ministry to people'; 'good ministers not parish dropouts' 'a smaller gulf between church and chaplaincy'; 'see it as a ministry to people'; 'a change of climate in which the church addresses real issues of power in the world, its uses and abuses'; 'accurate information for clergy about the challenging opportunities and satisfactions in chaplaincy'; 'a change in the selfish attitudes of senior churchmen'.

Fifteen respondents felt that the military should give more recognition to chaplaincy: 'recognition that chaplaincy is a vital part of the military'; 'military recognition of their worth'; 'opportunity to minister without undue restrictions'; 'a greater show of support for military by government'; 'a status within the services'; 'a deep sense by NZDF that chaplains

are needed and why'; 'a clear role for chaplains (within military)'.

Thirteen chaplains included statements indicating that chaplaincy needed to improve its image: 'more challenge by good chaplains who find fulfilment'; 'a more unified chaplaincy department and communication'; 'chaplaincy needs to clean up its act before recruiting and give a clear forecast of what chaplaincy is offering and the many opportunities for sharing faith and encouraging others'; 'a sense of calling by God and opportunity to contribute to others'; 'military chaplains don't discuss what they do with colleagues outside so chaplaincy is a relatively unknown area to ministers'; 'good publicity and info about the call of chaplaincy (needed)'; 'a more collegial chaplaincy and effective promotion campaign'; 'maybe some of us have to talk a bit more openly with Theological Colleges and Church leaders so that some of the narrower views of military chaplaincy can be buried once and for all'.

An issue listed by nine chaplains was training for chaplaincy. Both theological and military training was listed. 'proper training'; 'professional profile - short, intermediate and long-term goal setting and planning'; 'opportunity for regular updating and refreshment'; 'effective training package'; 'more lateral theological education and wider exposure to military operations eg. UN work'; 'a wide training program - hard to train a chaplain for active service in peacetime'; 'sound pastoral training and selection from those with "people" background'; 'must have the right qualities and right calling - good ministers may not make good chaplains'.

Only three chaplains directly mentioned pay and conditions of work: 'better pay'; 'good remuneration';

'pay, status, a clear cut job description'; and one commented on selection of chaplains: 'a fair and thorough selection process'.

Job satisfaction was included by eight with comments: 'a sense of doing a worthwhile job'; 'a real vocation from God'; 'maturity, a love for people'; 'a call by God'; 'a sense of calling by God - opportunity to contribute to spiritual care'; 'a ministry to people'.

The responses indicated some strong underlying feelings about the lack of church and military interest in chaplaincy. It is evident from the responses that chaplains feel the churches ignore military chaplaincy and down-rate it against other types of chaplaincy. Military chaplaincy has always posed a problem for the church. The difficulties for the church are the issues of the justice or righteousness of war and the church connection with the military being seen as a condoning of militarism. These issues would seem still to be obstacles. The responses indicate that chaplains feel that their work among the military is a particular ministry which should be fully recognised and supported by their churches. The criticism of lack of military recognition of chaplaincy possibly comes from the context of New Zealand secularity. Chaplains also felt that chaplaincy itself needs to present a better image to the churches, military and public and to develop more professional training and support systems for its chaplains.

Question 10. What aspects of chaplaincy would you consider differ in peace time chaplaincy and war, or in military peace-keeping situations?

In the responses to this question, twenty of the chaplains indicated awareness of the life and death reality that military chaplaincy is concerned with in war. Peacekeeping is viewed also as different from the parish situation and peace time chaplaincy. Two

declined to comment because they felt their lack of war experience made it inappropriate to do so. One did not answer. Five chaplains considered there was little difference to chaplaincy in peace or war; two regarded the difference as affecting soldiers' dependents and chaplaincy work with them. There was no significant difference of response between those chaplains who had experienced war service, peace-keeping service, or peace time only work. One response is worth quoting in full:

The day I became a Military Chaplain, an Officer made the comment, "You will not see many soldiers in Church from Sunday to Sunday, but should a Soldier ever find himself 'snuggled' into a fox hole with nasty little pieces of lead flying over their heads, then you, Padre, are going to be an extremely popular figure. There is no such thing as an Atheist in a fox hole!" In Peace-time, when everything is going alright, God is pretty remote. Things of a Spiritual nature take on far, far greater urgency in wartime as soldiers come face to face with the cold harsh reality that they are away from home - or that they could die today! However, whilst on recent Peace-keeping duties the chaplains were seen through new and very respectful 'eyes' by many of the younger troops especially as we worked with both troops and local people. Suddenly chaplains were really relevant. I don't expect to attain the same respect or high profile in peace-time situations. Indeed if we were limited to just carrying out spiritual work in a peace-time camp setting, I believe the role of the chaplain would evaporate!

Another respondent phrased this in a different way:

Peace Time: God is put on the back burner, so to speak. War Time: God becomes a top priority (the real thing). Peacekeeping: God becomes a top priority (the real thing)'.

These responses show an important aspect of military chaplaincy. Except for the atypical population and culture of the military, peacetime chaplaincy would appear to be very similar to any civilian parish ministry. But in war or peacekeeping deployment, chaplaincy focusses on the soldiers and their particular needs in the operational setting, and it is then that the religious bond between

chaplain and troops becomes extremely important. Many of the problems of chaplaincy may well be caused by lack of understanding of this difference: that the need for chaplaincy and God is not fully realised until the stress of the life and death situation and basic meaning of the military work becomes an actuality.

Question 11. Briefly outline what you perceive as your church's policy on military chaplaincy.

Six Roman Catholic chaplains reported that the church supports military chaplaincy as a necessary ministry and accepts that the church must be where there are people. There are people in the military and the spiritual care of the NZDF is as important as the spiritual care of any other group. One added that the military are seen as keepers of the peace and the church makes a commitment to provide priests. Another commented that a shortage of priests does not make military chaplaincy a peace-time priority. One Roman Catholic chaplain did not respond to the question.

The Salvation Army chaplains made similar positive response: that the military are people with needs and are an important part of the church's work in caring for all and that the Salvation Army aligns itself with the NZDF.

Four Baptist chaplains reported that Baptists do not like wars, but see the NZDF, like police, as an unhappy necessity. One of these added that the Church does not have a policy but that the Baptist churches are encouraged to care for their chaplains personally and represent them in advocacy. Another commented that the Baptist churches are pleased to provide chaplains and proud of their record. A third reported total support from the church for a valid ministry.

One Presbyterian marked the question 'not applicable'. Three responded that the churches officially recognise and support military chaplaincy as a valid ministry where needed. Three responded that their church had ambivalent views of chaplaincy with diverse opinions as to the validity of the military role of NZDF. One considered that the church 'grudgingly acknowledges a need for military peacekeeping'.

Of the Anglican chaplains, only one considered the church strongly supportive of chaplaincy but qualified this by saying 'but weak on action'. Others responded: 'don't think the Anglican church has a policy'; 'don't know that we have one. Many clergy believe it to be a huge conflict of interest'; 'officially recognises military chaplaincy but many think it should not'; 'some diocese strongly pacifist, others supportive'; 'low on list of priorities'; 'support rarely beyond lip service - military chaplains are seen as not really part of the church because the church doesn't pay for them'; 'the church needs to be more supportive'.

The one Methodist chaplain responded that the church has a strong pacifist element and it is difficult to recruit chaplains.

The most consistent perception of positive church support came from the Roman Catholic and Salvation Army chaplains. Presbyterian and Anglican chaplains reported diverse opinions in both these churches with Anglicans reflecting a more pessimistic view.

The impression gained from the responses is that Presbyterian chaplains did not wish to criticise their church, but felt a distinct lack of church support for military chaplaincy. Anglican chaplains were more forthright in criticism of their church. It was expected there might be denominational differences in the responses

to this question. Chaplains responded to it in terms of what support they felt their church gave to them as chaplains. With the exception of possibly the Methodist church, the chaplains felt that their churches at least officially supported military chaplaincy. Where difference did show was in the extent or depth of interest and support their churches showed to chaplaincy.

There is an underlying reservation in many of the answers to Section II questions. As noted in chapter 5, the chaplains did not wish to appear too critical of their churches, but at the same time they felt the need to be honest. Several said as much in talk or interviews. The constraint in some of the replies could be a reflection of the chaplains' wish that they should not be individually identified in the survey. There is a strong sense in their answers that they feel their work is of importance, but that their churches tend to undervalue it and do not understand the particularities of military life or what chaplaincy can mean to it. There is also a distinct difference in the responses of full-time and part-time chaplains. The full-time chaplains see the differences of military life from other careers and vocations more clearly than do the part-time chaplains, probably because they live within it and therefore have a greater appreciation of what military life is.

CHAPTER 7**THE SURVEY SECTION III****Introduction**

Section III of the questionnaire covered practical issues. Chaplains were not restricted to one answer where a choice of possible responses was given, nor were they asked to rate items in order of importance. The purpose of this section of the questionnaire was to gain as wide an understanding as possible of chaplains' views on what was important and worthwhile in chaplaincy and where improvements could be made in chaplaincy work. Therefore, when alternatives were given, the relative value of the response was the number of chaplains who listed a particular item. In this way additional information which chaplains might give could also be noted and comment given in the responses could give insight into the chaplains' reasons for choosing the particular responses they gave.

Section III

Question 1. *On overseas service should a chaplain accompany troops? Why? or Why not?*

This produced a unanimous 'yes' response. Two chaplains added qualifying statements: 'generally yes, perhaps depending though on the number of troops sent and whether they will be part of a multinational force'; 'if 3 months or more'. Most others gave reasons such as: 'vital'; 'they're (the troops) what you're there for'; 'if appointed to a unit (the chaplain) must be with them'; 'it's his (the chaplain's) role'; 'critical spiritual time'. Two chaplains added that Bosnia and Papua-New Guinea peacekeeping forces were both initially sent overseas without chaplains and chaplains were specifically requested and sent later.

The unanimity of the response shows that chaplains consider their prime reason for being with the military is to accompany the troops and be with them wherever they are deployed. They see the chaplain sharing the life of soldiers wherever they are, not emulating a parish minister in a church situation. The responses to question 2 reinforce this. The two qualifying comments could indicate awareness that multinational forces may already have chaplains accompanying them, or that a very short term deployment may not need the work of a chaplain.

Question 2. Do you consider a chaplain should a) accompany troops into battle; or b) remain with medical teams; or c) remain behind the lines? Why?

Seven chaplains responded a). Comment given: 'with soldiers is the important thing'; 'as part of a unit should be with the unit'; 'as long as it does not prejudice the mission'; 'that's what they're trained for'; 'if he/she withdraws to safety what credibility does the chaplain have?'

Six responded b). Comment given: 'could be a liability in battle'; 'not into battle, not trained for it'; 'depends on circumstances'; 'with personnel at med station on ship'; 'chaplain does not carry weapons and could be in the way'.

None responded c) only, but c) was used with a) and b).

Three responded a) and b). Comment: 'Where needed'.

Ten responded a),b) and c). Comment: 'all relevant'; 'wherever needed'; 'but unarmed'; 'where needed' .

One responded b) and c). Comment:'modern battle makes a) unrealistic'

Three responded with no choice but made the following comments: 'false divisions. Chaplains need to move around all sections'; 'up to the individual'; and from a naval chaplain: 'chaplains not permitted in combat - agree with this'.

The responses to Questions 1 and 2, when considered together and compared with WWII chaplaincy literature, give some interesting insights. All chaplains considered that the place of the chaplain is with the troops and all accepted the responsibility to be with their troops whatever the service requirements. But the actual position of the chaplain in the active service situation produced some difference of opinion. Stories of chaplains in WWII highlight the value of the chaplain in the front line position, but while twenty of the current chaplains gave responses which included the battle situation, ten made choices which would remove the chaplain from the front line to the lesser risk of medical stations or behind the war lines. Some of the reasons given were sound, such as 'could be a liability in battle'; 'not trained for it'; 'chaplains not sufficiently trained in the art of war and could be a hazard to others'. These responses could be open to argument if the chaplain accompanies troops on training missions prior to war situations and thus has the necessary training. Although some chaplains have been on peacekeeping missions, only four of those surveyed have experience of war. These four all opted for a).

The comment that 'modern battle makes a) an unrealistic choice' is very relevant. Future battles will not have the same 'front line' situations as WWI and WWII. The use of remote control, computerised guidance systems, nuclear missiles and virtual reality technology have altered the techniques and strategies of warfare, although face-to-face combat will still be part of war in guerilla, local wars and peace-keeping situations.

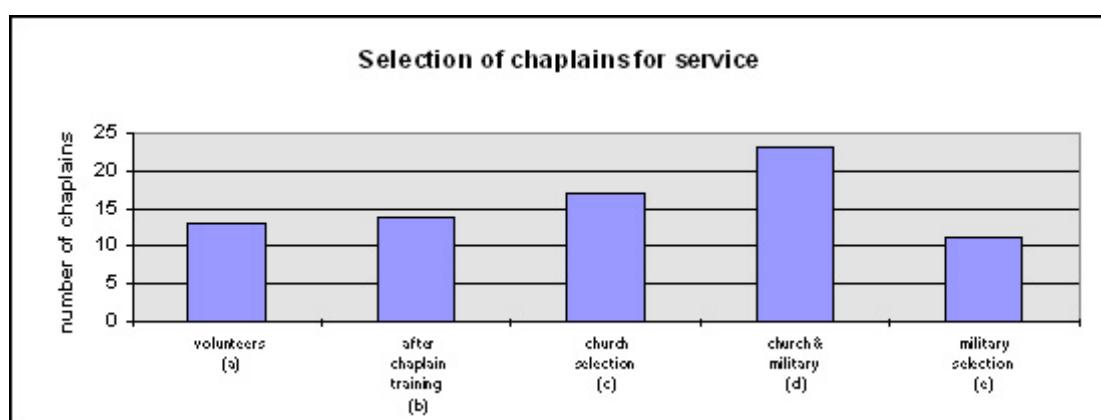
Questions 3, 4 and 5 concern chaplaincy appointment: question 3, appointment procedure; question 4, full or part-time chaplaincy; question 5, church and ethnic representation.

Question 3. How should chaplains be selected and appointed? You may choose more than one response.

- a) Volunteers only;
- b) after specific courses in chaplaincy;
- c) selection by church from ordained ministers;
- d) appointment by church with approval from military;
- e) by military on application from the intending chaplain.

Twenty-three chaplains selected d) appointment by church with approval from military. Seventeen ticked c) selection by church; and fourteen ticked b) after training course in chaplaincy. Thirteen ticked a) volunteers only; and eleven ticked e) appointment by military after application from intending chaplain. One (OF) did not reply to this question.

Figure 7



While there was no marked variation in preferences from RF, TF and OF chaplains, breaking the responses into Army, Navy and Airforce categories showed that most Army chaplains preferred d) the current system (fourteen); followed by c) church selection and b)

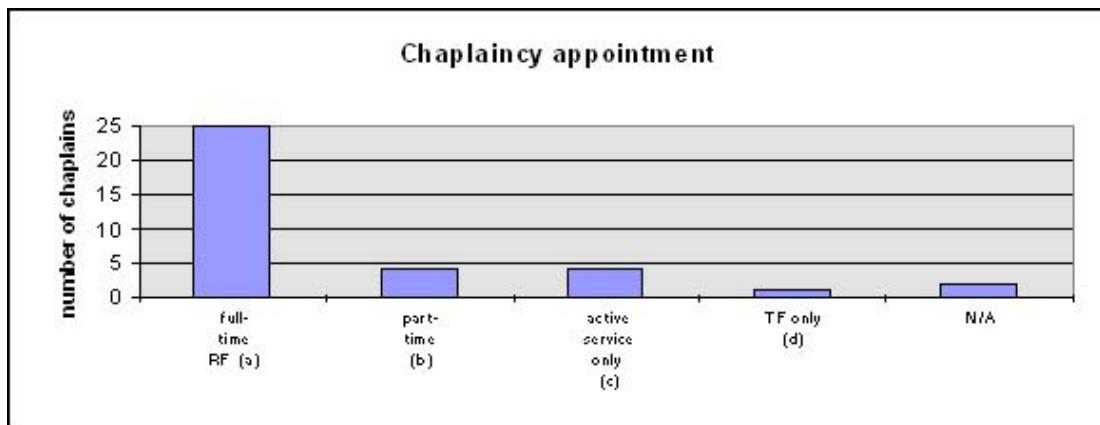
after training - both nine each. Airforce chaplains also rated d) as the preferred option (five), together with e) military selection after application, (also five). Navy chaplains similarly rated d) as the preferred option together with a) voluntary appointment (both with five).

These responses indicate that chaplains are generally satisfied with the current system of chaplaincy appointment by the church with military approval of the candidate. The majority of army chaplains rate church approval in the selection process as most important, while airforce chaplains consider military approval more important and navy chaplains prefer voluntary application approved by church and military. It is interesting that army chaplains rated pre-chaplaincy training as their second highest choice with church approval (ten), while this was rated lowest by airforce (two) and second lowest by navy chaplains (three).

Question 4. *Do you consider chaplaincy should be: a) full-time appointment; b) part-time (ie. only specific duties); c) active war/overseas service only (ie. bases in peace time served by local parishes with chaplains in reserve for active service); d) NZ Territorial service only.*

Twenty-four chaplains selected the full-time option. Three chose b) and c). One gave no response to this question, one considered the question 'too involved'; and one selected all four options adding the comment that 'civilian chaplaincy could work well'.

Figure 8



When this response was broken into full-time chaplains and part-time chaplains a significant difference was apparent. All full-time RF chaplains chose the full-time option, but all except one of the TF and two OF chaplains, who are part-time chaplains, also selected the full-time option.

Six of the OF and TF chaplains added comments qualifying their choice: 'a place for TF also'; 'can be both full-time and part-time'; 'also part-time' (two); 'also part-time for volunteer TF units'; 'plus part-time as necessary'.

Two full-time chaplains and two part-time chaplains also added that there could be appropriate use of chaplains under all of the options.

This question produced an unexpected response in that TF and OF chaplains might have been expected to give more weight to part-time chaplaincy, but instead the majority selected full-time chaplaincy. Comment given for the overwhelming preference for full-time chaplaincy is best summed up by one chaplain's statement that 'chaplaincy should be a full-time appointment, parish clergy would simply not have the time to devote to military chaplaincy as well as fulfil their parish duties.' The preference for full-time chaplaincy, even from part-time chaplains, raises the possibility that part-time chaplains may feel that in some respects they do not fully serve or know their

chaplaincies or the base personnel. This may be because they do not have the time in chaplaincy work that full-time chaplains do. Or it may be that because they do not live within the military they do not entirely comprehend the military situation and its particular needs.

Question 5. Should chaplains of suitable Church affiliation/ethnic background be appointed as far as possible in proportion to: a) the religious affiliation of Service personnel b) the ethnicity of Service personnel.

Eighteen chaplains answered 'yes' to a) appointments being proportionate to religious affiliation, and fourteen answered 'yes' to b) ethnic background of troops. Eleven responded both a) and b). Most qualified their answers 'generally' or 'ideally yes'. Several expressed the reasons for their qualifying statements: 'the problem with this (religious affiliation) is the 95% in the forces who have no religious affiliation.' Of the five chaplains who responded 'not important' and 'no', one reported: 'I have no idea what religious affiliation the staff I work with have - and unless they ask me for the services of a particular minister/priest/pastor /whatever, I need never know'. Another said of church denomination that it is 'becoming less and less necessary'. Three chaplains pointed out that sensitivity to ethnic background is required within the NZDF so is not an issue, and six made the point that their churches generally have problems finding enough ministers and priests of other than european ethnicity, so cannot spare them readily to the chaplaincy.

The ecumenical or non-denominational nature of much of the military chaplain's work is a dominant theme throughout the literature on military chaplaincy. It is possibly an

important factor in the churches' disinclination to give more prominence to military work. Military chaplains do not proselytise and therefore do not add greatly to church member numbers. In an age when secularism is rising, the particular Christian strengths each denomination sees itself as representing do not stand out in the interdenominationalism of military work.

Question 6. *What particular abilities, skills and attributes do you consider important in a chaplain?*

Twenty-one rated people skills: friendliness; social skills, ability to relate to people; ability to mix with people. Faith, and the ability to express and explain it, was the next most frequently rated attribute with fifteen chaplains giving this. The difference between the two most frequently occurring responses and the third was marked. Only five chaplains listed each of: listening, humour, pastoral care and integrity. Experience and maturity were given by four.

A range of other qualities and abilities were noted but these were each noted by only one or two chaplains: Leadership, initiative, patience, ecumenical understanding, confidentiality, adaptability, intelligence, compassion, counselling skills, diplomacy, administrative skills, physical prowess, non-judgemental.

This question parallels question 6 of Part II, with the difference that in Part II chaplains were asked which of their own qualities were most useful to them in chaplaincy work, while Part III asks which qualities (not necessarily their own) they rate as important in chaplaincy work. The response was almost identical. The qualities chaplains found of worth in themselves, are also those which they see as most important in chaplaincy.

Questions 7,8 and 9 concern the relationship of religious and secular services in the military and the ways in which these may differ.

Question 7. What do you consider chaplaincy specifically contributes to the military beyond the secular counselling and social services available today?

Spiritual support and recognition of values were the choices of twenty chaplains. Understanding of military pressures was the choice of seven chaplains. It was expressed often in terms of pastoral care and counselling in the military as being 'different from what others provide even if they do overlap'. The final three chaplains listed 'conscience for the military'.

The responses to this question were quite clear-cut. Spirituality and values are the most important contributions chaplaincy makes to the military life. This question could very profitably have been expanded by asking chaplains how the specific religious spirituality and values the church contributes benefits the military in ways that the spirituality of counsellors, educators and moral instructors doesn't.

Several chaplains commented that chaplains can be deployed whereas counsellors are not deployable. One perceptive response included the explanation that 'chaplains offer a spiritual input either by talking "God talk" or simply being known as the "God botherer" who has a "hotline" to God.'

Question 8. What present chaplaincy services do you feel could be better or more effectively handled by professional secular counselling and social services?

Fourteen responded 'none'; seven responded 'unable to comment' or 'do not know'. These seven responses were all from OF or TF chaplains. Nine responded that secular services had more value in specialist areas such as rape, drug and alcohol abuse and clinical psychology. Eight chaplains made the point that specialist services providers cannot be deployed as chaplains can. The comment that chaplains understand the military culture and are part of it was also made by eight. One chaplain considered that counselling and welfare work was better carried out by secular services than chaplains and one commented 'chaplaincy should never be confused with counselling or social work'.

That seven part-time chaplains replied that they were unable to comment or did not know, raises again the question of whether or not part-time chaplains, who have less contact with the military life, fully understand or experience the work of chaplaincy to the military.

Question 9. What present secular and welfare services do you consider would be better handled by chaplains?

Eight OF and TF chaplains were 'unable to comment' and six other chaplains responded 'none' or 'very little'. One chaplain commented that chaplains would not be able to cope with the workload if they had to also do all specialist social work and counselling. Four chaplains pointed out that chaplains are of most value in the 'first aid' sense and should refer cases requiring in-depth work to relevant specialists. Three airforce chaplains noted that there are no social workers in the airforce; all social work needs are handled by chaplains. Four chaplains considered immediate counselling and workplace support should be the chaplain's work although extended in-depth

counselling needs specialist training. One responded that the chaplain is 'the first point of contact and therefore best to undertake the counselling unless specialised help is needed'. One responded 'marriage counselling' and one responded 'the pastoral care of personnel - first aid stuff'. One commented that the 'military is a closed shop and chaplains work within this and know it'. An unexpected response was that of a navy chaplain who did not want to comment 'because of friction'. The navy has social workers and in a taped interview the researcher was given to understand that there is some difference of opinion between them and chaplains.

The responses to these three questions all indicate that RF chaplains have several advantages over OF and TF part-time chaplains. They can be deployed when specialists are not; they work full-time with the military personnel and thus know their circumstances and are also on the spot to pick up problems and give immediate help; and, as they work and live within the military, they know the situation and the difficulties personnel face. As it was part-time chaplains who could not respond to these questions, it would appear that they either did not have the experience within the military, or they did not spend the time in their chaplaincy duties to know and appreciate the work of full-time chaplaincy and what it involves. This assumption is given some validity by the comment of an OF chaplain, who had previously been a RF chaplain, that 'RF chaplaincy experience meant [he] understood chaplaincy work far more thoroughly than [he] would have if [he] had only had OF experience'.

Questions 10, 11, 12 and 13 concerned the parish and pastoral work of chaplains.

Question 10. *Do you think personnel on base should be serviced by neighbouring churches as ordinary parishioners, rather than have appointed chaplains?*

Only two respondents (both TF) answered 'yes' to this question. Fourteen chaplains replied 'no'. Reasons given were that: the 'military is a closed shop'; 'ministry in the military is a specialised ministry'; 'although this is being done on one level by TF chaplains - the minister's first priority is still to the parish, so the base personnel would always come off second best if the decision came to choosing between the demands of the two'; 'most (military) are not church people, many have never been to a church. We are the church in the world - with no strings attached. Anyway few clergy would put up with them!'

Thirteen responded: 'both - it depends'. Comments to this response were: 'most base personnel attend local churches already, if religious. But local clergy/churches do not have an understanding of some of the peculiar needs of military personnel'; 'OK for church-related personnel and yes, it can happen now by Officiating Chaplains. But (military) personnel and families are a sub-culture requiring a chaplain for minister'; 'yes - encourage soldiers to be a part of local communities, but on the other hand the sense of togetherness/oneness engendered by worshipping together has advantages in the military life' A number of other chaplains elaborated their responses similarly.

One TF chaplain gave 'no opinion'.

The comment given in the responses to this question showed chaplains recognise the specialised nature of military life, the reality of the military culture and the need for

it. They also accept the need for chaplains to understand and be able to relate to this in their chaplaincy work.

Question 11. *Should the chaplain's work include pastoral work with families of service personnel - a) those families living on base; b) all families as needed; c) families of personnel on overseas duty.*

The response to this was almost unanimous. Twenty-seven responded 'yes' to all choices. One marked the question 'N/A', one gave no response, and one responded 'depends'.

Where the responses were qualified: 'all families as needed', 'all of these' were frequent qualifications. Some chaplains elaborated: 'the biggest bulk of problems affecting a person's work is usually with regard to family issues. It makes sense then that chaplaincy should include the domain of families'; 'yes, because the families are part of what the soldiers do'.

The chaplains' views are quite clear. Military life includes the families and dependants of service personnel and affects families regardless of whether or not they live on the base or outside it and whether or not active service is involved. The military culture brings its own particular problems and the need is for pastoral care from chaplains who understand the specific pressures and culture military work entails.

Question 12. *What specific duties and services should chaplains be required to undertake? Please feel free to qualify your answers.*

- a. *Formal Church parades*
- b. *Voluntary only services*
- c. *Burials/Marriages/Baptisms*
- d. *Hospital/sick visiting*
- e. *Welfare work*
- f. *Counselling work*

g.Evangelical work

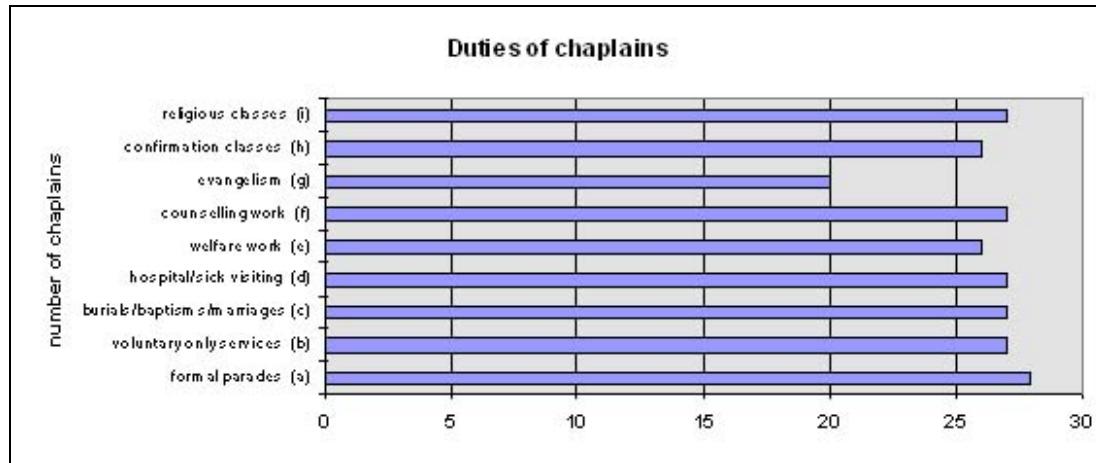
h.Preparation for Confirmation

i.Giving religious talks/study classes

j.Other:

One chaplain did not answer this question.

Figure 9



a) was chosen by twenty-eight chaplains. b),c),d),f), i), were selected by twenty-seven chaplains. e),h), by twenty-six; and g) by twenty.

Other duties and services included: character guidance and moral development, noted by eight; chaplains' hours by four; officer development, life skills by five; military exercises by four; sports and social activities by three; visiting work sites and families by four.

Qualifications to items in this question were: 'marriages and baptisms only if asked'; 'evangelism - only with own denomination' and 'appropriately'; 'formal parades - only on particular occasions'.

Chaplains give themselves a full pastoral programme of work. It should be remembered that in addition to their pastoral work, chaplains also have military commitments and are expected to participate with the troops in field exercises and training programmes. If the above duties and

the military duties are conscientiously undertaken, chaplains can be seen to have a full-time occupation.

Question 13. *Do you consider a chaplain should minister to:*

- a. Those of his/her own religious affiliation only? Why?*
- b. All personnel in his/her base unit regardless of affiliation? Why?*
- c. Some affiliations only (define).*

One chaplain gave no answer. Three marked a) but made the qualifications that the chaplain should try to find others a chaplain or church of their own persuasion, and chaplains can be made available now to personnel of minority denominations.

Twenty-six chaplains replied that chaplains should minister to all personnel regardless of church affiliation. Comment given is exemplified by the following statement: 'I see the chaplain's ministry to all God's people. It's an ecumenical ministry. You are seen as the chaplain who represents the work of God to them, therefore you represent them to God (on their behalf). We are there to represent God, not denominations.'

The other comments given in response to the question confirm the above response: 'affiliation to denomination is the chaplains' - it is not the soldiers'; 'most troops have no denominational affiliation'; 'the padre is seen as chaplain to all'; 'chaplains minister to people first - denominations second'; 'chaplain is not in competition with other chaplains but in cooperation'; 'does God discriminate his love?'; 'you are the padre - when a soldier calls, you come'; 'in the military as a Christian - not an Anglican'.

The response to this question has particular significance for the churches. Denominational differences can mean that although some churches may be in favour of military chaplaincy, others may be ambivalent about their ministers working to assist those of other denominations. If chaplaincy is to become a civilian church-financed service in the future, the churches must consider the impact of the answer chaplains gave to this question. Would churches be willing to finance a chaplaincy which served denominations other than their own?

The attitude of the chaplains is very clear - military chaplaincy is ecumenical. It is an area of church work where the terms 'christianity' and 'God' are more relevant than a specific denominational creed such as Presbyterian, Anglican, Catholic etc., or a particular doctrine such as Islam or Judaism. Chaplaincy in the military not only expresses a central christian ideal in that it is ministry to those who are training to fight, kill and engage in activities directly contrary to the philosophy of christian love, it is also a ministry to all - not a denominational ministry limited to adherents of a particular creed or belief. Hospital, industrial, even prison chaplains are also called on to bring God's love, healing and forgiveness to all. But while they may similarly be ecumenical in their work with all who need them regardless of affiliation, they do not express the extent of christianity that is expressed by the military chaplain's acceptance of those who not only need forgiveness for past actions but may be called on to deliberately kill in future.

In the responses to questions 7 through 13, there was a small difference shown in the responses of full-time and part-time chaplains. Full-time chaplains mostly responded in terms of the military's particular need for the church and often stressed the military sub-culture and the special relationship between military and church, while the part-

time chaplains, who have less contact time in the services, tended in the main to view military chaplaincy as any other religious servicing of parish work and did not comment on the military need.

Question 14. *What specific support, if any, do you think churches should give to their chaplains?* a. *Spiritually*
b. *Practically.* c. *To families/dependents of chaplains.*

Three chaplains, all part-time, did not answer this question.

Twenty-six of the twenty-seven who responded chose category a) spiritual support. Their responses are categorised as follows:

Twelve wanted involvement opportunities with their churches. Seven asked for retreats. Nine asked for spiritual support from their churches rather than 'demands'. Other requests included continuing theological training opportunities, study and sabbatical leave provisions and recognition that chaplains are in ministry and not outside it. A specific request from six was that their churches should treat them as other ministers and not marginalise them, and five others included a request for acknowledgement of the value of chaplaincy. One chaplain stated: 'The overall impression I am given is that I do not work for the church, I am not paid by the church, and I don't answer directly to the church, therefore I am "outside" the church and its staff don't quite know how to deal with me...or worse: don't want to deal with me!'

b) Practical support from churches: nineteen selected this. In commenting, ten asked for more frequent and regular contact with their churches and church events and news. Three asked for friendship and interest from their fellow parish ministers. One asked for the

invitation to join in church functions, and three asked that chaplains be 'requested rather than demanded' to do work for local churches or presbyteries because the pressure to attend church meetings could sometimes interrupt essentials of their chaplaincy work, although they welcomed the church interest and contact. Three chaplains asked that seniority allowances, church beneficiary funds and pension schemes be revised to include chaplains; as one respondent phrased it: 'Allow Church Beneficiary funds to be transferable into the military scheme or the church to pay chaplains the annual seniority allowance which they give to all other ministers. At the moment military chaplains don't get this!'

Three asked for salary revision and discussion of work conditions.

c). Support for chaplains' families and dependants: Twenty responded to this. Thirteen of these requested church contact, pastoral care and personal interest for their families. One asked for 'friendship'. Two asked that their families be accepted as part of the denomination; two felt that it is important their families do not feel isolated; one that the church should make them feel welcome; one that the church invite them to church groups and activities and three that the church give pastoral care to chaplains' families when the chaplain is deployed overseas. One responded that the 'Church does little for clergy families'.

Ten respondents marked this not applicable or left it blank.

It was evident from the responses to a) that many chaplains feel military chaplaincy is regarded as a cinderella service that is not really considered as part of their churches' proper work. The response to this question was

extremely strong and many comments were too forthright to quote here as they could identify respondents by particular occasions cited. One noted that when he was to speak at a church occasion, two fellow ministers present walked out. Others gave similar examples or commented that they had been called 'warmongers' or 'militaristic' by their colleagues. There was considerable overlap to b) practical support, where the need for acceptance and participation in the life of their churches was again expressed.

c) showed that chaplains not only feel they themselves are isolated from their church, but that their work in the military also isolates their families from the church.

Questions 15 - 21 have a similarity to Section II Questions 6-10. But in Section II the emphasis is on the personal qualities successful chaplaincy demands of its ministers, while Section III is concerned with the practical physical, military, counselling, pastoral and theological training and support that chaplains consider is needed from their churches and the military.

Question 15. *What would you consider the major needs of chaplains to be?*

Two chaplains, TF and OF, did not answer.

Twenty-two chaplains responded that a major need is to avoid isolation. They would like more contact and support from senior and other chaplains, from their denominational churches and their peers and colleagues in ministry. Isolation was also a factor in the response given by three further full-time chaplains who listed a need for more counselling supervision of their caseloads.

There were few other needs expressed. One chaplain listed 'a sense of vocation'; one listed 'thorough

training in military knowhow'; one listed 'to balance military and parish needs' and one listed 'finances'.

There was a marked difference between RF and TF, OF chaplains in that responses of thirteen full-time chaplains indicated that their workload was an intense and heavy one, two commenting that so far from chaplaincy being a 'soft option' in ministry, it is a difficult one, but does have its rewards.

In this response the chaplains again expressed a sense of isolation in their work and a need to feel part of their church. The sense of isolation was reiterated in the responses of two chaplains who felt a need for their church to understand the nature of their work as military chaplains and six who expressed the need to feel that chaplains are appreciated and make a contribution of worth. It could also be the basis for one chaplain's additional request for 'trust and transparency in the chaplaincy department'. The additional comments by RF chaplains on their work-load would also indicate that church colleagues who have no chaplaincy experience have little understanding of the work of military chaplaincy as an area of ministry.

Question 16. Do you consider a Chaplain needs additional/special training for overseas work with Peace-keeping Forces? If so, what do you suggest?

Twenty-two chaplains responded 'yes' - chaplains have a need for peacekeeping force training. Most said that they would like an understanding of the local people, society, language, customs and problems of the area they would be sent to. Five of these indicated that the chaplain should be included in the pre-deployment training given to troops. As one chaplain pointed out, there is usually pre-deployment training for troops prior to going overseas, and chaplains should attend that. Chaplains are expected to keep up with what is

going on in the military situation and possibly because of this, three chaplains responded that they did not see the need for peacekeeping training. One responded 'depends'. Four others, OF and TF, made no response to this question.

Eleven were concerned that chaplains should have discussion and preparatory help on the specific problems deployment brings to soldiers serving away from home. One noted 'battlefield first aid, heavy licence truck driving, weapons training and language skills', and three listed diplomacy skills. One chaplain's reply was particularly perceptive: 'Yes - How to quickly orient oneself with the structure there and adequately prepare oneself in terms of taking the necessary and appropriate resources'

It is apparent in the responses to this question, that there is deployment training but, as shown in Section I on training on entry to chaplaincy, although training is available, not all chaplains receive it, are given the opportunity to take it, or know about it.

Question 17. *What counselling/welfare training should a chaplain have?*

Two chaplains did not comment. Eleven chaplains responded that basic competency level in counselling is needed, and most also stated that this is sufficiently covered in theological courses and pastoral training. Two answered: 'church based training and parish experience'. One responded 'as in the Chaplaincy Manual'. Three responded: 'whatever they feel they want to take'. Two noted 'relationship training' and nine responded that chaplains should have 'as much as possible' or 'full professional course'.

Other comments ranged from: 'to the point where the chaplain may hold a degree' to 'it is important for chaplains to have at least basic counselling and listening skills - and a large amount of common sense! Chaplains are not counsellors, however, and should not be too highly trained in this field because whilst a degree of counselling is involved, it is not our primary focus.'

There is considerable variation of opinion as to the depth of counselling training chaplains should have. This variation may depend on the amount of pastoral counselling training ministers receive in their theological training and the amount of time they give as chaplains to counselling work with military personnel. There was no apparent difference of opinion between RF and TF or OF chaplains, other than two OF chaplains who did not respond.

Question 18. What sociological training should a chaplain have in the understanding of and communication with different ethnic groups in the NZ military?

Six responded that theological pastoral training was adequate; one responded 'as much as possible'; one gave no comment; one responded N/A; one replied 'dependent on the individual'; one considered that the Chaplaincy Manual provided sufficient information.

Sixteen considered a basic course in sociological training on ethnic differences would be helpful in various areas: one specified language training; one 'taha Maori'; one 'Maori' and one 'ongoing Maori seminars'.

Four chaplains made an unexpected response in that they said 'None', each giving as a reason that: 'Military is a separate culture within culture and

comes first'; 'military culture transcends different ethnic cultures'; 'the military culture is a culture of its own'; 'any cultural training should be training in the military life and society'.

This is a response which merits consideration as it expresses the chaplains' awareness that military work as something more than a job or career. Military life is, as Dixon (1976) analyses it, a way of life with a culture of its own. He holds that those who choose service in the military accept that its culture supersedes any ethnic culture. This concept of the military culture will be considered in a later chapter which deals with the military's need for the church.

Question 19. Is specific theological training needed by military chaplains beyond the present training for ordination in the ministry?

- a) *If so, what topics should be covered in such training?*
- b) *If not, are there any specific skills or training which should be included in all ministry training, to equip ministers to undertake chaplaincy duties if required?*
- c. *What specific military training should chaplains have, if any?*

Eight chaplains responded 'none' to a), that no additional theological training is necessary if chaplains are competently trained for ordination. One made the comment that 'most trained ministers are trained with the ability to work with all kinds of people and to interact...' and added 'b) being a leader and team worker, and c) specialist Officer training'. One added that 'some specific teaching on military chaplaincy should be a part of all theological courses'.

Two did not respond to the question.

Eight also responded 'none' to item c) what specific military training should chaplains have. These were not all the same chaplains who responded 'none' to item a).

Twenty responded that training could be helpful. The range of topics suggested was wide. Seven respondents listed pastoral care skills: three listed 'counselling'; two listed 'people' skills: two listed trauma and grief counselling. Other topics given were: clinical pastoral experience, two; and crisis intervention skills, two.

Five listed leadership training and two listed ministry outside the church. Specific military situation problems, personnel management skills and practical training in chaplaincy for theological students were also listed individually.

Theological topics given were: theology of warfare, five; issues of war and peace, three; ethics of war and peace, two; in-depth ethics and just war teaching, two. Morality of war; conflict of conscience and integrity of the minister; ministering to non-religious people who know nothing of the Christian faith; and 'specific military situation problems' were also listed.

The two who did not respond to the question at all and five of the eight who responded 'none' to item c) what specific military training should chaplains have, if any? were all part-time OF or TF chaplains.

Of the remaining twenty who responded positively to c), three noted the five-month Officers' Training Programme (which they stated is compulsory in the Navy) as giving an

understanding of the environment military chaplains work in and four chaplains asked for a Specialist Officers' Course or full basic military training with refreshers and basic training for deployment. Other topics chaplains listed as important were: military customs and traditions; weapons driving¹; military policy, military history; methods of conflict, Laws of Armed Conflict; command structures.

Practical skills training responses included topics such as: map reading; how to survive in the field and personal safety; technical work of the groups the chaplain is with in the field eg. logistics, infantry, transport; three asked for training for Heavy Transport licence; four chaplains considered active service battlefield craft was important if chaplains were not to be a nuisance in combat situations; and two suggested pistol training for personal defence. From these responses it is evident that chaplains feel the need to understand fully the work their soldiers are being trained to do and that they themselves feel the need to know how to behave and where they may be useful in the combat situation.

Some chaplains also listed training which would help them assist medical teams: First aid; advanced medical aid; psychological warfare course; crisis intervention counselling; and work with civilian populations in war zones.

Question 20. Should a chaplain have some basic training in the physical symptoms of early psychiatric breakdown and battle fatigue (traumatic stress syndrome)?

Two chaplains did not answer. Three said this was not needed although one qualified this by adding 'but if in the battle zone'. Twenty-five responded 'yes' to the question. This included three who reported that

¹ ie. driving heavy artillery and weapons carriers.

they have had training in this in the Army, and a Navy chaplain who reported that 'we don't get training programmes' which is a direct contradiction to the statement in Question 19 given by three other chaplains.

The comment from one chaplain as to the importance of training for chaplains in the early recognition of traumatic stress syndrome gives the reason :

...most important we are the first to pick it up.
We are the ones with the troops the most. We provide the support.

Training in early recognition of possible suicide was also added by several chaplains.

Question 21. What other specific things would you consider should be included in training for military chaplaincy?

Thirteen chaplains responded: 'no comment'; 'none' or 'can't think of anything'. The remaining seventeen gave various responses. Their lists given included the following: advanced counselling; personality profiles; self-awareness and self-esteem courses; group dynamics; conflict resolution; youth development; physical fitness training; organisational skills; order of command and Command structure 'which are covered in the Specialist Officers' Course attended by all new chaplains'; early recognition of psychiatric illness; family counselling - particularly with regard to deployment; issues of life and death; family issues including separation; relationship counselling; coping with stress; post-traumatic stress; first aid; military field skills; map reading; critical incident management and debriefing; time management; personal and family finance management; ministering to non-religious people and ministry of the church to the

soldier. Two commented that the Chaplaincy Manual is 'comprehensive'.

This question produced varied responses. It was noticeable that very few repeated ideas others had put down and those who responded to the question mostly gave a list of 6 or more items. Some of the items repeated items given by others in response to earlier questions.

An unusual feature of the response to this question was that thirteen chaplains had no comment to make or responded 'none' or 'can't think of anything'. This may have been because they considered that they had already indicated all that they felt was needed in training for chaplaincy, or it may have been a reflection of the comments two chaplains gave:

How is one to be prepared to be PDC if you haven't formed senior contacts and knowledge? And the PDC position is supposed to rotate. It's been Air then Navy - now Air again - Army no one given a chance to stay long enough to take office.

Many suggestions have been put forward and many of these need implementation - they are documented.

These comments suggest some underlying dissatisfactions with the present chaplaincy system and a reticence on the part of chaplains to express their dissatisfactions. The lack of reply could also indicate that chaplains feel there is little they can do to develop chaplaincy more effectively. One chaplain commented that 'the training opportunities we have available are brilliant as set out in Annex B' (NZDF Chaplaincy Manual 1990); and another '...specialist Officers' Course attended by all new chaplains'. But when taken alongside the response of other chaplains to previous questions, it is evident that while some chaplains are receiving satisfactory training and opportunities to extend training, others, as commented previously, are receiving little or no training. There appear to be some differences in the training opportunities

available in different services. The responses indicating good training were almost all from airforce and navy chaplains. The army chaplains appear to have little or none.

Some chaplains feel that the theological courses in ministry provide sufficient theological, pastoral and counselling training for military work. But others seem to feel that chaplaincy is an area of ministry where it is necessary to have special training (eg. military and counselling) courses, or continue ongoing training in a range of related subject areas from specific counselling such as relationship, marriage and trauma to military deployment and peacekeeping skills. The variety of responses to these questions could be indicative of individual chaplains' attitudes to their work and whether they see it as an area of ministry similar to parish ministry or industrial chaplaincy, or whether they view military chaplaincy as a particular specialised field within a very specific culture.

Questions 22-24 deal with relationships with military personnel.

Question 22. *What rank, if any, should a chaplain hold? Courtesy rank; Full rank (ie. in terms of military authority) No rank (ie. as Navy). Reasons for choice.*

Three chaplains had no comment. Courtesy or equivalent rank was the choice of six army and three airforce chaplains. Full rank was the choice of two army chaplains. No rank was the choice of all five navy chaplains and also the choice of three army and three airforce chaplains.

Three army and two airforce chaplains answered 'doesn't matter'. Two of these added the comment that each service should follow its own tradition.

The question of rank was an important one in that army and airforce chaplains hold courtesy rank and wear the appropriate rank on their uniform, while navy chaplains carry class equivalent to rank for salary purposes, but wear only the lapel cross and on their officer-style uniforms. Naval chaplains are addressed as 'chaplain', and are considered to be the equivalent rank of whatever service personnel they talk to at any time. Thus a Naval chaplain is of Admiral rank when addressing an admiral, Captain rank when talking with a captain and seaman rank when talking with a seaman. The cross is used by Officiating chaplains in all three services and OF chaplains are not required to wear uniform. In talking with chaplains, there appeared to be a preference among navy chaplains for no rank, while army and airforce chaplains strongly preferred courtesy rank. However the responses on the questionnaires showed some differences of expressed opinions.

Comments were interesting. One chaplain, not a navy chaplain, who chose the 'no rank' option, made the point that 'Jesus could never be a chaplain General. Totally incompatible with the office of clergy'. One who chose 'full rank' responded that 'full rank does help the army system' and one considered that 'rank is necessary for ease of work overseas'. One chaplain opting for 'courtesy' rank gave as a reason the comment that 'wearing military rank is a sign of the military approval of the chaplain and how important the chaplain is in the military'. The navy tradition of no rank was described by one navy chaplain: 'it gives amazing freedom and flexibility, the chaplain can challenge the organisation - you do not call anyone "Sir" - you are a servant of the Church not the military'.

The navy chaplains' choice of no rank was expected. What was unexpected was that not all army and airforce chaplains felt rank was necessary. Two chaplains who responded 'doesn't matter' did express the opinion that chaplains

must have some indication in their uniform of who they were, that they need to be 'recognised' and made the recommendation that all chaplains should wear the lapel cross.

Question 23. *How can the chaplain best develop a good relationship with the troops?*

Only one respondent did not answer this. The twenty-nine who did gave varied comments. Twenty-seven gave replies which indicated active involvement with, and availability to, military personnel as most important: 'sharing experiences'; 'getting out and about with them and not hiding in either the office or the mess'; 'being available at all times of the day and night'; 'projecting an open, approachable user-friendly attitude'; 'being friendly and approachable'; 'by recognising his/her part in the unit and working with them'; 'being with them in their work, taking an interest in what they are doing'; 'be around, be seen, be friendly'; 'by joining with them in appropriate activities, by being available, open and sensitive'; 'by being with the troops'; 'shared experience without any suggestion of superiority or aloofness'; 'by being open and approachable - just being a friend'.

Six chaplains considered that 'being a good priest and minister' was important. One of these added the comment 'by living an honest, sacrificial life style - not by being one of the boys'. Three commented that the chaplain should be 'seen to be a minister with a spirit of service'.

Three chaplains listed 'being a good example', one phrasing this as: 'practise what you preach and stand for'; three listed 'keeping confidence'; and five 'being a listener'.

Four listed sincerity; one listed 'treat the soldier with respect'; and one listed 'being an advocate'.

Question 24. How can the chaplain best develop a good relationship with officers?

Twenty-four responded with 'personal contact'; 'involvement' and 'availability and approach-friendly'. Six of these had already listed the same factors in answer to question 23, so their answer to question 24 was 'same as 23'. Five considered being a good listener is important; one responded 'sincerity' and seven listed 'keeping (or) respecting confidence'.

In Questions 23 and 24 involvement and approachability rated highly. Items which showed up in replies to Question 24 and which were not listed in replies to Question 23, were: 'sounding board' given by six; 'understanding of roles' given by two; 'understanding command responsibility' and 'respecting the order of command' given by four; three responded: 'support', 'support for young officers', 'info of troops morale and concerns'; and 'professional in dealings' each noted by two. Only one chaplain responded 'be an example'. One chaplain's very thoughtful and thought-provoking response is worth quoting in full:

I believe the military want you to be a good chaplain. Whilst it is easy to become one of the officers - it becomes dangerous when you don't keep yourself a little apart. A part of and apart from is difficult to achieve. But once you are seen as sort of "staff officer religion" you lose that independent status as one of their team. When this happens you cannot speak out about injustices - nor can you criticise an unfair system. Chaplains must keep their distance. So many want to become more military than church.

Conclusions.

Section III of the questionnaire produced some interesting and unexpected responses. As noted previously, the term 'military culture' is used to express the inclusive life

of the military and the implications of this will be discussed more fully later. But it is of value to note here that in questions 7, 10, and 13 it appears that full-time chaplains have a much more extensive appreciation of the military culture and what it means than do part-time chaplains.

Interdenominationalism features also. It is apparent from chaplains' responses that ecumenism is an important feature of military chaplaincy. Question 14 shows again a feeling in military chaplains that they are not fully accepted always as ministers in their denominational churches. There is also stress on their sense of isolation from their fellow ministers, and this is more marked in full-time, as against part-time, chaplains.

As the questionnaires were mostly available before all of the taped interviews were done, questions on responses such as the above, or elaborations and clarification of chaplains' responses were able to be asked of those chaplains interviewed after the bulk of questionnaires were received. Because of this, some clarifications of chaplains' views, as expressed in the questionnaires, can be made in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 8**CHAPLAINS IN WAR AND PEACE****Introduction**

In addition to the topics covered in the questionnaire, eleven audiotapes were made of chaplains discussing topics they felt to be of value. Seven papers and articles which chaplains had written were given to the researcher. This material is worth considering because it elaborates many of the responses made to the questionnaire. It also has value because these chaplains included several retired chaplains, not surveyed in the questionnaire, whose experience of chaplaincy included war service. Whatever the future of New Zealand's probable or possible military needs, the basic reason for any military force is that it be prepared to act and to fight when required, so the war context must be considered. Few of the chaplains surveyed in the questionnaire have had war-time or even peace-keeping experience. Although the majority felt full-time chaplaincy is needed, it was noticeable that some had difficulty in explaining why they felt chaplaincy so important and why their services, with the exception of religious ceremony, could not be equally well handled by secular agencies or civilian part-time chaplaincy. The comment from chaplains who have had war experience gave some insight into the difference the war situation makes in chaplaincy.

The taped interviews also allowed the interviewer to request clarification on topics and responses in the questionnaire which prompted further investigation. The written papers often reinforced or extended the questionnaire answers and, with the tapes, provide a number of valuable confirmations and insights. Comments and taped

discussion are grouped here around seven relevant topics brought up by both the chaplains and the interviewer.¹

The need for the church in the military

When talking about the place of the military in the community or State, the chaplains interviewed stressed that it is important to remember that those who choose to work in the military must be prepared, if called on, to risk their lives in the service they undertake. Military service is unique in the community because it requires its personnel to be prepared to face both the potential risk, and the inflicting, of violent death. One senior chaplain wrote of the military:

The task of the NZDF is to solve political problems by the use of violence, and to protect the vulnerable and powerless...The NZDF is established by the Defence Act. This Act places considerable authority and responsibility upon the individuals generally and upon Officers in particular. Further, the Act places all in uniform under the Armed Forces Discipline which means there is a responsibility to both obey orders but to disobey illegal commands.... The authority established means that troops can be ordered into a situation where lives are at risk and that some individuals may become casualties...Troops can be ordered to kill or protect individuals or the lives of those in Unit for political ends. The military is required to undertake actions which are contrary to the cultural standards of the society it serves to achieve a greater good while using methods which in themselves do not advance that good... There is an old military axiom which says 'Officers should feed their horses first, men second, and themselves last'. This order of priority still stands (the horses have been replaced by equipment). It is expected that, if at some point the Military will demand everything (including life itself) of its troops, there is an obligation to look after the welfare of those same troops [Chaplain A].

Those interviewed all emphasized that the chaplain is not concerned with the rationale for war: that is the concern

¹ As noted earlier, confidentiality has been respected so the chaplains quoted in this section of the survey are designated by letter, not by name.

of the state. The chaplain is not in the military to serve the state's ideals, but to serve God and God's people everywhere.

A chaplain who has served in all three armed services described the independence of the chaplain's role:

The Church's outreach and concern is for all people, so it is as necessary in the Armed Services as it is in any other community. The existence of military chaplains is not an endorsement of either a particular or a general view of war any more than school chaplaincy is an endorsement of a specific view of education. The Military, concerned for its valuable human resource, sees the chaplain as an essential part of the team...The chaplain needs to understand as fully as possible the military way of life and the particular system and ethos within which he works [Chaplain B].

Another had this to say:

Although the growing secularization is reflected in Chapel attendances and the appalling ignorance of religious matters, there is yearning after answers regarding matters relating to life and death...understanding why you are in the NZDF is important...[Chaplain C]

Death is a corollary to the work of the military. The church is in the military because it also is concerned with death and the possible meaning death gives to life. It is not the decision for war that military chaplains are concerned with but the needs of the men and women who accept military service and risk death, their own and that of the people they fight.

The chaplain's work

A 1997 paper written by a senior chaplain defines the chaplain's task as:

- a. To be the spokesperson for the church in the military environment.
- b. To provide pastoral and spiritual ministrations to as many as will avail themselves of the service.

c. To be an advisor to Command on the spiritual and moral welfare of the troops...[Chaplain A]

A long-serving chaplain made a very perceptive statement of the difference between the military chaplain and the parish minister:

Chaplaincy carries something that's more basic in Christianity than the churches often do, in that the chaplain is essentially the 'man of God' and denomination is not the essential thing because the chaplain is there to minister to all - therefore chaplaincy is free of something that can be a difficulty in the parish and between churches... There's an aura of sacrifice in a way when a minister goes into the chaplaincy, in that he or she is surrounded by weaponry and people whose aim is to actually fight...Wars are the affairs of men. The church is God's...we actually go to where people are.. [Chaplain C]

The chaplain goes to all military personnel. The chaplain's role is one of outreach, to take God where he is needed in the carnage and tragedy of war. One explained the chaplain's place in war as:

...difficult to understand when there is no experience of what war can really be like...Peacetime chaplains don't see how vital their role is. The chaplain is the only person in the killing machine who is not involved in killing. Therefore he [sic] is the only one who can cross the barrier for the soldier [Chaplain B].

The chaplain and war

A Vietnam chaplain wrote of war experience:

It was just being there. The only one the commanding officer can ever talk to...It's a pointing to other values even in the midst of grotesqueness. The chief role of the army padre was standing as a symbol of hope during a time of chaos...The chaplain is a long-term investment with a long-term payoff [Chaplain G].

When questioned on tape, the chaplains' attitudes to war brought a unanimous response. While some commented that war was never good, all said, as noted above, that they were not concerned with the justness of war or its rationale but

were concerned to minister to their flock, spiritually and in pastoral care, whatever the circumstances might be. All saw their work as chaplain as that of ministering to people who needed the church and the love of God.

The chaplains are not part of the action but they are, because they're there. There's always that thing about the life and death scenario but people tend to change the subject when you say that because they're unlikely to be involved in life and death situations [Chaplain H].

Another who also had war experience commented that 'soldiers have to have some means of dealing with the effects of war'. This chaplain felt the spiritual need of soldiers would increase over time as increasing peacekeeping work for the military 'might mean more face-to-face combat which', he said, 'is harder on the soldier'. An ex-Vietnam chaplain said of the effects of war that 'the propaganda machinery is particularly hard to deal with', and one related the occasion during the Falklands War when an Argentinian and a Royal Navy chaplain stood together to take the service and oversee the burial of the dead of both sides.² This chaplain's comment on war reiterated again that 'wars are the affairs of men, the Church is God's'. A WWII chaplain said of the military:

We don't criticise those involved in the military service as contrary to the Christian ideal - they (pacifists) seem to forget that it's not the soldiers that make the wars...A favourite phrase (during the war) was 'Padre, the only medal I want is an RSA badge'...[Chaplain B]

It is in war that the spirituality of the chaplain has its greatest impact on the soldiers involved in the conflict. The spiritual need in time of war is apparent to a chaplain who served in Vietnam:

² Two other chaplains also referred to this. A similar incident in the Falklands War is related by Johnstone & Hagerty (1996.299). It may be a variant of the same story but gives the British and Argentinian chaplains jointly celebrating Requiem Mass for 37 Argentinian dead.

...one of the things I noticed was that in peacetime New Zealand getting people to be interested in the spirituality that the church offers is not easy - attendance at chapel services was pretty small...But in Vietnam I found that attendance at church services was very good and that the soldiers seemed to appreciate what the church had to offer...[Chaplain D]

For the military, the ultimate reality is war. Nothing short of the war situation conveys fully the reality the military must be trained to face, which is to believe in their country and society sufficiently to be prepared, if necessary, to die defending its right to exist. Chaplain A phrased the role of the NZDF as: 'The task of the NZDF is to solve political problems by the use of violence, and to protect the vulnerable and powerless'. He continued to describe the place of the christian minister in the NZDF:

The concept that is most helpful but easily misunderstood is that the Chaplain is the 'Godman'. There is an expectation that the chaplain will bring 'a word from God and word to God'. That the chaplain will be the dispenser of God's forgiveness and give assurance that in the midst of the carnage and hell of War God is there, that God is with the soldier...There is life beyond this action...This incarnational understanding of chaplaincy means recognising that there is no where [sic] God is not. That in the totality of life God is despite the vulgarity, crudity and tragedy... The time waiting for an operation to begin is a deeply personal time when thoughts of home, survival, what lies beyond the operation, dealing with a mixture of emotions (fear being uppermost), seeking assurance that he will be alright. In this reflection there is indeed no atheist, but the God sought and acknowledged may not be recognized within the framework of the traditional christian expressions... Conflict on any scale will challenge our beliefs and wipe aside those that do not speak to the situation faced. The soldier is no fool to be won over or comforted by platitudes...from the mouths of non-combatants. ...The concerns relating to life and death are real [Chaplain A].

When asked about the future of war chaplaincy, one chaplain said that future wars are likely to be short sharp

engagements with no POWs taken, but with civilians as the main casualties. Although he considered that aspects of the chaplain's work could change, he felt the presence of the chaplain in war would still be essential:

...the format of war has changed but not the needs of the individuals in it. The needs are basic and constant therefore the spiritual needs remain constant...[Chaplain K].

The chaplain and peacekeeping

The same attitude applied to questions on peacekeeping deployment although there are differences between the active war situation and peacekeeping. In peacekeeping the dangers are not so apparent and the needs not so urgent. Two chaplains with peacekeeping experience gave their views:

If the church is going to be where people are, the chaplain ought to accompany soldiers who are going into situations where New Zealanders have a peacekeeping role because even in the peacekeeping role, there are dangers involved and when people are away from family and in a strange situation they appreciate the presence of the chaplain as someone who isn't so tied up in the military machine who they can talk to in a confidential way [Chaplain L].

The chaplain's task is to make sense of the situation that he/she and the soldier find themselves in. There needs to be a distinction made between ecclesiology and spirituality. It is easy to do things to encourage people to come to chapel, after all that will boost the numbers (yes even in chaplaincy success can be measured by bums on pews). The chaplain must go out to the troops where they are; ie. open the church and let the people out. The soldiers see the chapel and the chaplain as theirs, but in terms of the supply store: you only go there when you want something...The chaplain is an Ambassador (2Cor 5:20) in that he [sic] goes with the authority of Christ to the men and women of the NZDF...[Chaplain M]

Another chaplain who had peacekeeping experience, but no war service, clarified some of the differences between war and peacekeeping:

(peacekeeping)...that suits my christian role... peace-keeping missions. The Bosnian one wasn't as much value, I think, as the Bougainville one was...the situation was ideal for us, whereas in Bosnia it was a much different situation of a much longer duration...Because it was a first deployment of a significant number of troops overseas since Vietnam a lot of people were dying to go. You have to understand the military. You spend an awful lot of your life training for something that may or may not ever eventuate - so everyone was dying to go and each corps, each trade group was wanting to get their people over there - you could put political reasons but they weren't looking so much at the actual mission so much as looking at saying well we've got people over there...Peacekeeping - the danger is sometimes there but mostly not - it's a difficulty - our soldiers are generally trained for a combat situation and peacekeeping's not that, it's different. Suddenly they have to go into a situation which is hearts and minds - to go to the local people and persuade them, not fight them. It's more of a pacifist role conducive to my way of thinking than combat [Chaplain E].

This makes a statement about the military which is compatible with pacifist ideals. But it is possible only because it describes a situation of negotiation, not combat. War produces different feelings and emotions in the participants than in the peacekeeping forces who stand between them. The resolution of the situation depends on the skill of the peacekeepers' control of the emotions and feelings of the warring factions while negotiation proceeds. The peacekeeping forces must, if need be, take military action and fight both sides in order to hold opposing parties to a negotiation situation. They must fight to keep peace between others. They are not fighting for the survival of their own national culture, values and society.

The statement also makes another important point. The military train for a situation which everyone hopes will

not eventuate. The underlying frustration of military life is apparent in the comment: 'You spend an awful lot of your life training for something that may or may not ever eventuate - so everyone was dying to go...' It could be said that this frustration might be apparent in other walks of life, such as police, civil defence or fire services, who also train for physical danger situations. But those services are concerned primarily with rescue and safety, not aggressive action. Aggressive war action, for NZ forces, is a less likely occurrence but carries a much greater risk to the participant. The frustration of endless training for a career which quite likely will have no application is unique to the military. The opportunity to put at least some of the learned skills into practice is highly sought, as the chaplain continued '..it gives them a focus for their training.'

The chaplain's pastoral work

The chaplain's work involves teaching classes in moral education::

The tragedy of war is that war brutalises...No-one is immune from its effects least of all those who wage war. Therefore it is important that principles of loyalty, obedience, duty, honour and integrity are fostered. Each serviceman is totally dependent upon others for survival. It is vital that both self-discipline and group cohesion are developed as essential features of military life... These moral principles are as necessary in times of war as they are in peace. During peace the principles establish trust and confidence within the Units, while in war they serve to prevent the excessive use of force. New Zealand is a signatory to the Laws of Armed Conflict...it is too late to try and establish the required values once hostilities start. For this reason, during every recruit course...the chaplains will present lectures on character development or moral leadership [Chaplain I]

When asked about the complementary pastoral and caring roles of social workers and counsellors in the military, the chaplains' responses indicated generally very good relationships with psychologists and counsellors. Most had

little to say but considered that the psychologists and counsellors working with military attended to their work cooperatively and professionally, expected chaplains to be equally cooperative and professional and were happy to liaise whenever needed, or whenever it was of benefit to their clients and parishioners.

One chaplain, who was a trained and qualified counsellor as well as an ordained minister, sounded a note of warning on chaplains' taking on too much counselling work:

One of the dangers in chaplaincy is that chaplains see themselves as counsellors, and I believe that in these days, if people are going to do counselling they must be trained for it. I don't think chaplains have been necessarily trained for it, but we have training in pastoral relationships, but there may be a need to refer people for more intensive counselling and the chaplain must have the understanding to know when that is necessary [Chaplain K].

Older chaplains expressed great admiration for the work done by YMCA and Church Army personnel in WWII. But none of those who had recent experience of working with social workers were impressed by them, except the chaplains on one base who considered that the Housing Officer did a fine job and shared an excellent and valuable relationship with the base chaplains. The main criticism chaplains gave of social workers was that the social workers tended to see themselves in competition with the chaplains and did not forward or refer clients to chaplains when often the chaplain was needed.

One chaplain commented that:

Chaplaincy is much more interesting than a parish where you only have your own denomination. Padres get all - the padre is "Padre", a part of the service, one of them who can share it all and knows it all...[Chaplain F].

and Chaplain E explained the chaplain's pastoral relationship with military personnel: '...the term "Padre" expresses the relationship...' and Chaplains M and J both

said that: 'Military chaplaincy is exciting - a tremendous job of work to be done'. They added: '...but the church doesn't have the money to do it'; and '...the church could do much more for chaplains.'

Perceptions of church attitudes

This group of chaplains expressed similar uncertainty as to the attitudes of their churches as did those who answered the questionnaire. Their main comment indicated that many ministers have little understanding of military chaplaincy and that misconceptions about the chaplain's work are common. The following opinion comes from a senior chaplain with many years' experience:

Church and parishes do not understand chaplaincy and Armed Forces - I've had a lot of sniping by the church about military chaplaincy... In a lot of cases there was a prejudice...with people from the church very critical... I know that I've been very very misjudged by the church, criticised by the church for what you have to do...there is that element that doesn't believe you should be in chaplaincy... I remember a meeting...and a navy chaplain was explaining what was going to happen [at a commemoration ceremony] and one of the ministers got up and walked out because he [the navy chaplain] was present...I know one of the people when I first came into Presbytery said he'd never go to an induction of a chaplain...Military chaplaincy has broadened my horizons enormously ...other people's failures, whatever they are, you can accept them [Chaplain I].

Chaplains considered that one of the areas of misunderstanding is the interdenominational nature of military chaplaincy. Churches are looking for increase in their own membership and see their military chaplains as not recruiting members and thus possibly neglecting the work of their denominational church because chaplains do not proselytise. The church sees the chaplain giving service and counselling to all who come, regardless of the clients' affiliations, and this often appears to be contrary to the church's rulings. The following incident, related by a chaplain, explains the pressure the chaplain

can be under and the misunderstanding of the churches as to the need for an interdenominational approach to chaplaincy:

...an --- chaplain...he ended up doing baptisms and his own church jumped on him and said 'you don't do that, that's not for us, get someone up' and one of the [other denomination] churches jumped on him and said 'you're not going to do that to our folk get someone up'. Now here that's easy to do, you can get someone up, but when you're in --- [overseas] you can't' [Chaplain C].

The chaplain taking baptisms or funerals for military of another denominational church has a problem that the denominational churches do not always understand. It may be possible to call in a minister of the required denomination, but in many military service situations it may be impossible to obtain a suitable minister when needed. The chaplain does not ignore the dying soldier's needs because the soldier is of a different denomination. The interdenominational focus of chaplaincy is important in the military, but it can also isolate the chaplain from his or her own church.

Not only does church prejudice, as shown above, isolate the military minister, but the work situation also imposes a certain isolation as the chaplain works apart from others of his or her own persuasion. While there may be another chaplain on base, the second will not be of the same denomination as the first. Several chaplains commented: 'Loneliness one of the things a chaplain has to face.'; one making the observation that: 'the loneliness of the calling means that chaplains of different denominations on base must find their support from each other, which enhances their ecumenical understanding.' The churches could well use the expertise of the chaplains to increase their own understanding and interdenominational relationships.

When questioned about the criticism that chaplaincy is a dumping ground for unsatisfactory and incompetent ministers, this group of chaplains all agreed that the

criticism is a frequent one and has been used by churches and ministers. But they also agreed that a minister can be even more lazy and useless in a parish than in the military and that successful and worthwhile chaplaincy requires ministers of the highest calibre:

Yes, a lot of people would put their incompetent ministers in there - and that's a problem. I think we should now try and get the very best people to stay there for years - though I don't think you should ever stay in the army too long. I found that when you start to come out you start to realise how protective the army is...because it's a society that looks after its own [Chaplain I].

The response from chaplains to the criticism that military chaplains forget their church calling and become just a part of the military machine is unanimous and blunt. Chaplains are well aware of this criticism and direct in their reply that chaplains cannot fulfil their expected work in the military if they lose their prime allegiance to their priestly calling:

I'm not the military's servant I'm the servant of the church... How can you speak out about anything unjust or challenge anybody when you've become too involved? ...you actually need to withdraw a bit, and be of it but not be of it [Chaplain H].

The only ones who can jump the chain of command and challenge are the chaplains. They're the agents of peace within the structure [Chaplain N].

The chaplains see their place in the military as a very particular one:

The chaplain has a special role...he's allowing the commanding officer to have a sounding board...it can be lonely too because you need to be in the middle - you are but you're not...when Jesus was baptised there was a sense in which he was identifying with the people he'd come to save...he didn't have to, but He said 'I need to...' like he put his uniform on [Chaplain O]. You quite often think well, 'I can't go along with this' and you'd go and say: 'Well, I'm not happy with it...' You do have to obey orders, but you've made your point. There's a basic loyalty, or responsibility or accountability there which is important. A chaplain is responsible to his or her commanding officer for the performance of his or

her chaplaincy duties, but he or she is responsible to his church for the exercise of his ministry...it's actually the church that commissions you and gives you that authority [Chaplain C].

In coping with criticism from their own churches and people, and in accepting the loneliness of their work in the military community, chaplains show qualities of adaptability, strength and humility which many ministers could well profit from. They also display an understanding and tolerance all too seldom seen in many parishes.

The chaplain has to expect the unexpected...you have your disappointments...waiting for things to happen...and to accept a response from people even though we expect it would be the other way about...[Chaplain F].

You have to have flexibility and that appreciation that your faith is of value and you'd like to share it with people [Chaplain O].

Where does your work start and end off? The edges are rather blurred and we as chaplains are quite clear that you can't operate a religious ministry without being concerned about the people in emotional and practical things...to care for people in the same way whether they come to church or not...[Chaplain H].

Ethnic diversity in the military population

As already noted, the question of sensitivity to ethnic differences among military personnel produced an unexpected response in the questionnaire. As a very large proportion of military personnel are non-european, it was expected that ethnic awareness would be a prime concern of the chaplains. However, chaplains considered that their ministry training in ethnic awareness and Maoritanga was basically sufficient and were not greatly concerned with differences of ethnic background. They did comment that sensitivity to, and awareness of, different cultural heritage is fully accepted in the military. The chaplains who were interviewed were asked to clarify this response.

Oh, it's great...particularly in the army which is about sixty percent Maori. We regard it as a

blueprint for the rest of society, because everything's bi-cultural - there's no bar to you in the army because of race and a lot of our people in leadership positions are Maori. In the army we've got a mix - it's a real strength. It enriches all our lives here, that we can value people for what they are - it's great [Chaplain E].

The explanation most gave was, as in the questionnaire, that the minister should always accept all people as individuals and in doing so accepts their ethnic, sociological and educational differences and values. Chaplains interviewed also saw this as strongly emphasised in chaplaincy because military chaplains accept all personnel who come, regardless not only of ethnic and social difference, but also of religion and denomination. One chaplain said:

Chaplains are not really concerned with ethnicity because the church must view each person as individual within his or her own background. Chaplains accept ethnic differences and values and the strength of the church remains as it is, universal to all regardless of race or ethnicity or socio-economic background [Chaplain L].

Other comments were, as in the questionnaire response, that those who enter the military accept the military culture as predominant over their individual cultural and ethnic backgrounds. One chaplain wrote that: 'the military is required to undertake actions which are contrary to the cultural standards of the society it serves'; and in another paper on the work of the chaplain the writer stated: 'In order to train, control and safeguard its personnel, the military has a culture of its own and it is within this military culture that the chaplain works.'

Several chaplains interviewed commented on the close relationship of the military culture and the church and one wrote at length on the use of christian religious symbolism by the military. The military culture will be examined later in this thesis. But as ethnic awareness is important in New Zealand's bi-cultural heritage, it should be

considered here. The taped interviews clarified three points:

1. A soldier is required to respond to military order, no matter what his or her ethnic or cultural background dictates. If the soldier does not respond as ordered, the safety and lives of the whole unit may be at risk. The action cannot be stopped while a Muslim gives prayers as required by the faith. Neither can leave be granted from the battle for attendance at a tangi. Military directives must always supersede ethnic or any other requirements. If the candidate for military service cannot accept the priority of the military culture, he or she should not apply.
2. In the peacekeeping situation, military serve with forces of other ethnic groups. The priority which all military personnel understand is that of the military order and response, and the particular immediate behaviour it requires. Again, the safety of the personnel and the effectiveness of the force in battle depend on this and all trained military personnel comprehend the need for it.
3. Acceptance or rejection of the priority of the military culture in active service war or defence, can mean not only the life or death of the soldier or the unit, but also of the homeland, its people and its right to have its own cultures. The future of the soldier's ethnic culture and values may depend on his or her acceptance of the supremacy of the military culture in time of conflict.

It is this unique and universal feature of military life, which chaplains understand when they talk of having to work 'within the military culture'. Cultural and ethnic differences may be acceptable on the base in the peacetime situation. But in the war zone or the emergency, the military way must take precedence and the training given is oriented to this.

Conclusion

Part 2 gives the New Zealand chaplains' views and comments on their work. While more might have replied to the questionnaire, it was noticeable that some were hesitant to respond because they were uncertain how their churches might react and how the military might react. This could be important because it poses the question: Why, if chaplaincy is of value to both military and church, should both parties - military and church - seek to avoid open discussion and scrutiny? The military is a closed institution, in that much of its work is not open to public scrutiny. Often there is good reason for this, particularly if work means that weaponry and training could be prejudiced if the details were known to possible enemies. But as the New Zealand political situation currently involves a 'user pays' system, where the public has some right to know what its taxes are spent on, government departments such as NZDF are more open to question. A concern of this thesis is, in part, the value of the service the public is paying for in military chaplaincy.

The churches currently provide chaplains who receive their remuneration from the public purse, through the military. It is evident that the churches have some problems with military chaplaincy. The churches may not really support military work for their ministers given the present New Zealand pacifist trend. It is also uncertain which denominations would be prepared to continue in military chaplaincy if chaplaincy became a church based and funded ministry. In Part 3, this study considers the possible options for future chaplaincy which are open to both the military and the churches.

PART 3

NZDF CHAPLAINCY: POSSIBILITIES AND OPTIONS

CHAPTER 9**RELIGIOUS MINISTRY OR SECULAR CARE**

The major problem the christian churches have always had concerning their involvement with the military is that the churches' teaching of christian love, forgiveness and acceptance is implicitly opposed to the concept of war and conquest by the use of force and arms. The commandment 'Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you...' (Matt.5:44) would seem to enforce the premise that christians should not partake in war or training in martial skills.

Critics of church participation in military chaplaincy would not deny military personnel the right and opportunity to receive religious ministrations if they so desire. The differences of opinion are predominantly as to the way in which such religious ministrations should be given (United States Interfaith Committee of the Churches and the General Commission on Chaplains 1972:10).¹ Most would respond that military personnel should have the opportunity to attend the church of their choice, and many would say that the church does not need to go into the military situation in order for this to happen. There are alternatives to the current chaplaincy system within the military which could satisfy the need for military personnel to have suitable access to religious ministrations if they wish, and for the New Zealand churches to remain independent and outside their present formal inclusion within the military structure. This part of the study will look at alternatives to the present religious chaplaincy.

One of the most frequently expressed reasons for military chaplaincy is that the church should be where people are

¹ Later (p.162ff) referred to as Interfaith Committee.

and people are in the military. The majority of the survey chaplains gave this as a reason for continuation of chaplaincy. As noted earlier, chaplains of all denominations are not represented on every military base, but the present system of Officiating chaplains means that a minister of denominational choice from a neighbouring parish can be called upon when needed for a formal occasion. Extension of the Officiating chaplaincy could therefore be a consideration for future chaplaincy to both accommodate increasingly varied denominations and non-christian faiths and to remove the chaplaincy from full military inclusion.

Although the military is a state service and New Zealand is a secular state with no official religion, religion is still a recognized part of New Zealand life. This is formally expressed in the New Zealand parliament with the prayer given at the start of the session. The opponents of military chaplaincy are happy for the church to undertake ministry not only in churches and parishes, but as chaplains in industry, hospitals, prisons, police, universities and other public and governmental institutions. Why should it not do so in the military?

In the survey, chaplains were strongly in favour of continued full-time Regular Force chaplaincy. The NZDF has changed considerably over the past decade and even if chaplaincy is to remain a full-time Regular Force ministry within the military, it will need to change and adapt if it is to minister effectively to the needs of the future NZDF. The recent changes which advances in technology and science have made in conduct of warfare, and the changes in the roles of the NZDF to peacekeeping and defensive policing, mean that military personnel themselves are much less likely to suffer death or injury in war. The chaplain's role in future military operations could possibly be limited to religious chaplaincy in peacetime military

bases. In this, chaplaincy need not differ greatly from chaplaincy in other institutions such as schools and industry. New Zealand has a small military and does not contribute large numbers of troops to peacekeeping engagements. As part of any multi-national force, New Zealand military personnel overseas who need a chaplain's help can make use of chaplains who accompany larger contingents. Therefore if NZDF Chaplains are not needed for deployment, they may not need to be so fully involved in military training and life, and could work within the military base much as they would within any other chaplaincy.

If chaplains are to be deployed on active service engagements in future, their work is still likely to change in its focus. Peacekeeping and policing work today is very different from the front-line situations of WWI and WWII. The chaplain's work is more likely to be concerned with the soldiers' reactions to the death and injury they themselves have to inflict on civilian populations, the emotional effects of atrocities uncovered, and maintaining soldiers' peak efficiency over long periods of time when little action occurs. If full-time chaplaincy is to continue, then it is important that these changes in military work are considered in determining the future focus of chaplaincy. Criticisms that assume that the military chaplain condones killing and brutality,² may not be relevant in today's peacekeeping and international police work.

In addition to its peacekeeping role, the military also has a very positive charitable and relief role in society.

² Wettge (1973) considers that the US Army Field Manual '...levitates the chaplain with the duty to immortalize killing as the politics of God and the diakonia of the nation...'. The Interfaith Committee (1972:8-9) says 'They [the critics of present chaplaincy] do insist that chaplains almost universally allow themselves to absorb the ideology and the values of the military establishment. Thus chaplains soon reach the point where they cannot adequately provide moral guidance to the people whom they serve.' Cox (1972) and Clouse (1991) give this criticism, and Bourke (1999: 268-305) also discusses it.

It provides a trained, expert force of personnel always prepared to act immediately in times of crisis and disaster. When civilian emergency services break down or cannot cope with a situation, the armed services are called in to rescue and restore order in the trauma situation, even at the risk of their own lives. The New Zealand Government responded to the Papua-New Guinea tsunami devastation in July 1998 by sending troops and medical aid to assist in cleaning up the mess, rescue injured, bury the dead and rebuild local services. Similar relief work in the Waikato floods was undertaken at the same time in New Zealand by trained military personnel. The military has not only an expertly coordinated and experienced internal organisation, it is also equipped to respond immediately to a very wide variety of specialist work which may have to be undertaken in emergency. The *NZ Herald* (2-3.5.98) makes a relevant comment on the Bougainville peacekeeping force: '...the public saw a 'new Age' uniquely New Zealand force at work, trained not just to use weapons but their minds as well...' The future military chaplain is likely to be more concerned with the humanitarian saving of lives and keeping the peace than with war.

The secular option

The social changes in New Zealand in the 150 years of its European history have been profound. Davidson & Lineham (1987:366) point out that after a long period of apparent stability, the churches have been caught up in the post-WWII social change, and today church activities play little part in the lifestyle of many people. The chaplains report that the majority of military personnel have no church affiliation or contact other than the ministry the chaplains give. Secularisation in New Zealand is one major factor which many writers see as responsible for the weakening of the church's role in society. Webster & Perry (1989:16) comment on the growth of secularity in New Zealand:

New Zealand is formally a secular state and the fact that New Zealand 'still reflects in its ethos so much of the Christian past of its European ancestors tends to hide the fact that New Zealand has in some respects moved further in the direction of a secular or religiously neutral state than has been the case with most states of Western Europe'...New Zealand divested itself of church establishment earlier than other countries, and views it as a mark of freedom to depart from Christian orthodoxy...

The relationship of state and church is examined by Geering in his article 'New Zealand Enters the Secular Age' (Nichol & Veitch 1983:167):

...while the Anglican Church was the established Church of England with the monarch as its titular head, and Presbyterianism was the established church north of the Tweed...no one of these religious bodies ever became the established church of New Zealand...In practice, it is true, the Anglican Church, partly because it has always been the largest of the Christian denominations, has tended to be treated as if it enjoyed the same relation to the nation as its mother church does to the English nation...In fact, however, there is no state church and no official relation with any religious body...In the Secular Age it is necessary for the state to be religiously neutral.

Geering comments on the secular nature of the New Zealand state by reference to the 1877 Education Act which set up a free, secular and compulsory educational system: 'It was partly because there was no Established Church of New Zealand that the issue came to a head...' (Nichol & Veitch 1983:167)

What effect will increasing secularity have on the future of New Zealand military chaplaincy? The military is a state institution. If it is advantageous for the state to be religiously neutral, it can be argued that the military should also be religiously neutral, as is the state school system. If so, the churches would have no place in the state military forces.

While mainstream churches have declined in membership, secular pastoral care has advanced. A century ago psychology was a very new discipline and there were no professional

counselling services other than those offered by the church through the minister's confessional advice. But over the past hundred years counselling and psychology have developed and expanded to become recognised sciences³ which could take over much of the chaplain's pastoral work in the military.

In addition to this, New Zealand in the 1990's has moved away from the social welfare state to a market-oriented economy which encourages service organisations to be financially self-supporting and autonomous. This has meant that many counselling organisations have now become independent of their original state or church affiliations.⁴ The proliferation of counselling, psychological and social services and the move to independently organised, professionally operated and self-supporting organisations have together encouraged the proliferation of training courses. Professional training of counsellors, psychologists and social welfare personnel is now widely available at universities and tertiary institutions. Independent secular and privatised state counselling and therapy services now offer a great range of qualified specialist personnel and clinics capable of dealing with trauma, distress, injury, death and dying, grief, family, social, drug, matrimonial, sexual and psychopathic problems and conditions. They are used by private individual people, businesses and organisations and state institutions such as schools, government departments, universities and hospitals.

The recent expansion of professional secular counselling and social services means that the emotional and social needs of the military could be effectively serviced by secular personnel. New Zealand's economic changes and the current reorganising of the New Zealand military towards a smaller, more specialised and less expensive defence force with a predominantly peacekeeping emphasis, raise the possibility that the chaplain's work in pastoral care could be replaced

³ Appendix 2 gives the historical development of counselling, psychological and welfare services in New Zealand.

⁴ Presbyterian Support and Lifeline are two organisations which are independent from their church origin.

more economically by extending the use of professional counselling and welfare services contracted only as required. In a secular state such as New Zealand, the use of secular services in the state military would seem logical, particularly as these services are already used by the NZDF. Currently the Navy employs a few social workers to attend to a range of services such as accommodation for navy families, financial and family advisory work.

In modern warfare, the psychologist already has a specialist place in the military in the development and analysis of training, strategy and action programmes. Major R J Taylor (1977) outlines the work of PSYOPS under three categories: 1) Psychological action which is the planned use of support activities to reduce an enemy's prestige and influence and to increase friendly influence and attitudes in potentially hostile or neutral countries. 2) Psychological warfare which is the use of communications, media and other psychological means designed to bring pressure and influence to attitudes and behaviour of hostile groups. 3) Psychological consolidation or actions designed to foster the maintenance of order and security.

Tinsley (1988) explores the military work of psychologists further by pointing out that there are difficulties in training soldiers for war. Battle casualties often result from the effects of battle stress. He gives the example of the use of active and passive night vision devices which mean modern warfare is now a twenty-four hour, all-weather, non-stop activity which thus disrupts normal sleep-eat patterns and does not allow any relaxation from tension. Psychologists can reproduce these situations in training programmes. It is more difficult, however, to simulate the effects of fear, whereby seventy-five percent of people confronted by sudden danger can be expected to be ineffective for an appreciable time. Tinsley discusses how inaction intensifies the fear response and combat exhaustion, whereby two to three percent of casualties may be psychiatric casualties, and also comments on the expected decrease in efficiency of soldiers after the first

ninety days of combat. He believes that stress will increase in the modern war situation.

This will mean increased need for psychiatrists, clinical psychologists and stress and trauma counselling specialists. Still more psychologists, full-time counsellors and social workers would need to be employed to take over the additional pastoral work which chaplains presently do. This would increase the cost of health and welfare services for the NZDF, but the disbanding of religious full-time chaplaincy should financially compensate.

Counselling work in New Zealand has been strongly influenced by its religious origins and the pioneering work of David Williams (1986). ⁵ Many counselling services in New Zealand acknowledge the human quality of spirituality which both church and military recognise as inherent in life. In this, the secular services retain the religious understanding of the need for spiritual welfare without the restrictions of religious doctrine. In discussing the development of person-centred counselling, Brian Thorne (1998:68-69) highlights the problem many people today have in relating church teaching to the problems of their everyday world. He makes the comment that:

It is my contention that in our own century the rapid development of consciousness and of knowledge has made it increasingly impossible for many people - especially those of great intellectual and moral integrity - to obey either of these great commandments [Thorne is referring to Matt.22:37-39]. The God of the Church has become incredible and the command to love oneself...utterly impossible in the light of the multitudinous complexes...guilts and anxieties with which modern men and women seem increasingly beset.

Although it could mean changes in some of the religious traditions embodied in military ritual, the disbanding of religious chaplaincy in the military and its replacement by secular pastoral care and counselling would not only resolve the conflict of ethics for the churches, but would also, as

⁵ See Appendix 2

noted, be consistent with the secular character of the state in New Zealand.

In addition to the ethical problem some churches have with chaplaincy in the military, there is the practical difficulty all churches have in providing chaplains for military service. The *NZ Herald* 21.7.98 reported that census figures show the mainstream churches are declining in membership numbers and ministers are coming into the churches at older ages. This means increasing difficulty in filling not only parish needs but also military chaplaincy requirements which have age limits for appointment of RF and TF chaplains. The churches may not be able to continue to supply ministers needed in civilian parishes to a military chaplaincy in which most of the personnel have no declared church affiliation. Also military personnel, with few exceptions, are between eighteen and forty years of age. Elderly chaplains and ministers are not able to fulfil the physical training requirements, nor are they so likely to be compatible in age-group interests with their military parishioners. Against this, the chaplains report that they have full work-loads and their pastoral ministry is widely used by military personnel. Increasing numbers of secular counsellors and welfare personnel may be needed in future to handle the pastoral needs of the military if the churches cannot supply enough suitable ministers.

Counsellors and psychologists may or may not be agreeable to full-time work and training as part of the military if they are required to be available for deployment. This could pose a similar ethical problem to that of the churches as many counsellors may also hold anti-military views about participation in war, which could be said to be at variance with the Rogerian ethic of caring and forgiveness.

The replacement of chaplaincy by secular services would appear to be advantageous for the churches in that it would remove the churches from formal involvement in a profession which appears to conflict with the Christian gospel of love and peace (Clouse 1991; Cox 1972). But it would not resolve the pacifist arguments against military work which are apparent in

the general New Zealand population and not confined to church members. It could isolate the military establishment from the churches entirely, as parishes adjacent to the military base may not be willing to accept as members people who are involved in professional military careers.

If the present chaplaincy were disbanded and replaced by secular pastoral services, military bases requiring the service of a minister for formal military religious observances, could call on a suitable civilian minister in a local parish, as was done in pre-WWII New Zealand chaplaincy. Service personnel could attend local parishes if and where they so wished and the church could then remain independent of the military situation. Church connection with the military would only be that of individual churches whose congregations and ministers were willing to admit military personnel as parishioners, and the attendance at formal military occasions of those ministers willing to assist in such events.

There is, however, a further consideration to be taken into account and that is the military invitation to the churches to supply chaplains. Regardless of the presence of employed secular psychologists and counsellors in the military and the high proportion of military personnel who have no church affiliation, the NZDF continues to invite the churches' presence and participation. What does the military need the church for and what does the specific religious presence of the church mean in the modern profession of soldiering and technological warfare? If the churches should decide to withdraw from military chaplaincy they should first consider what chaplaincy means to both the military and the churches themselves. This will be discussed in Part 4.

CHAPTER 10**CHAPLAINCY OPEN TO ALL RELIGIONS**

If both churches and the New Zealand military consider that there is need for religious chaplaincy in the Defence Forces, and want to continue it, there is one option which would maintain the neutral focus of the New Zealand secular state and improve the supply of chaplains to the military. Those churches, which are currently involved in supply of military chaplains to the NZDF, have the option of opening chaplaincy to include other religious groups.

New Zealand is a multicultural society which has a history of religious neutrality in its secular state organisations. Also, most New Zealanders pride themselves on their acceptance of racial, ethnic and religious differences. Opening military chaplaincy to include other christian denominations and non-christian faiths would mean a measure of political neutrality with the representation of all religious groups who might want to participate, in that the state would show no bias to any one religion. In accepting the participation of other faiths, the mainstream churches would only be practising the tolerance many now preach in regard to other aspects of New Zealand life.

The draft NZDF document 5110 *Chaplaincy Towards 2100* (hereafter NZDF 5110) makes allowance for other denominations to apply at any time for representation if there are members of their group in any of the services sufficient to justify the appointment of a chaplain. It includes the following statements on the Chaplains' Defence Advisory Council functions and the possible inclusion of non-christian faith groups:

- 2.e. Other denominations may apply at any time for representation on the Council if members of their following in the Services justify the appointment of a chaplain. Representation may be either in

their own right or in combination with other denominations at the ratio of one Chaplain per 400 Service personnel of a denomination or a combination of denominations.

10.b. That the agreement between the Churches (and other faith groups which may appoint chaplains in the future) and the NZDF for the provisioning of chaplains will remain.

10.c. That in the foreseeable future the majority of chaplains will continue to be appointed by the churches of the Chaplains' Defence Advisory Council (ChDAC) although appointments may be made from other faith groups.

The chaplains report that the majority of the military personnel they serve have no declared church affiliation at all. At the same time, although the mainstream Christian churches in New Zealand are subject to declining rolls, the pentecostal churches and other religious groups have been numerically increasing in recent years (Webster & Perry 1989; Donovan 1998a; Hill 1982; *NZ Herald* 21.7.98). If their memberships continue to grow, some of these groups, such as the Church of the Latter-day Saints, which has a considerable Maori and Polynesian following, and the pentecostal churches, may possibly request chaplaincy representation.

A significant proportion of military personnel are Maori. Rolfe comments on the emphasis in the armed forces on military professionalism predominating over racial identity but also says that 'The armed forces will have to continue to place emphasis on its Maori dimension' (Rolfe 1999:161). As well, there is an increasing diversity of Polynesian and other ethnic groups and immigrants in New Zealand, with their own cultures and beliefs, which will probably mean that in future there will be increasing numbers of military personnel of other than European origin.

One of the problems noted in current chaplaincy is the shortage of ministers interested in or available for military work. Although the military population is mainly

Maori and polynesian, there are currently few Maori and polynesian mainstream christian denomination chaplains in the military. More are needed. There is a growing emphasis on the heritage of Maori spiritual values in New Zealand life and culture, and Maori language is used by most mainstream churches. Glen discusses the importance of the chaplain's spirituality in the Maori Battalion in WWII and points out that 'Maori history amply illustrates that they are a warrior race which contains within its culture a strong emphasis of religion and military tradition' (Glen 1996:280). Given the high proportion of Maori and Polynesians in the military, there is no reason why the Maori Ratana and Ringatu churches, the Samoan Congregational and Methodist churches, the Assemblies of God, Seventh-day Adventists and Latter-day Saints should not consider applying for inclusion in chaplaincy.

Increasing immigration from Asian countries is creating further cultural and religious diversity in New Zealand and recent years have seen the establishment of Buddhist, Islamic and Hindu centres of worship. The inclusion of chaplains from these groups in the future NZDF chaplaincy could well be a possibility if sufficient numbers of military personnel should be members of these religions. In the United States, four major religious groups are now identified in the military chaplaincy and the Chaplain Corps has four authorized insignia: cross, tablets, wheel and crescent for Christian, Jewish, Buddhist and Muslim chaplains respectively (Crocker 1988).

Donovan (1990) highlights the variety of religions now followed in New Zealand. The growth and development of Baha'i, Buddhism, the Associated Pentecostal Churches of New Zealand, Hindu, Judaism, Pacific Island churches, Islam, Latter-day Saints and the Maori churches are well discussed. Donovan comments on the development of religions in New Zealand:

Until well into this century, religious scholarship in the West has been dominated by men who were confessionally and professionally committed to mainstream Christianity and its official institutions. The rise of the modern study of religion has provided a fresh vantage point... (Donovan 1990: 253)

He continues with a statement which is pertinent not only within New Zealand, but also to the role the NZDF is taking in its peacekeeping commitments:

...Official religious pluralism is something which our laws themselves, for over a decade, have recognised. The Human Rights Commission Act 1977, in particular, imposes strict duties of religious tolerance and non-discrimination in areas such as access to employment, housing, and education... In modern societies throughout the world, followers of faiths even with long-standing traditions of enmity and suspicion towards one another increasingly find themselves working together. They share common concerns for peace, improved community relations, refugee resettlement, disaster relief, ...political freedom, national independence, and so on. Experiencing the benefits of cooperation and the satisfaction gained through mutual respect, those involved in such common endeavours are invariably under pressure to reassess some of their historical and ideological differences. (Donovan 1990: 255)

Gilles Kepel takes this further with comment on postmodern religious development which the New Zealand chaplaincy should consider if it is to develop its peacekeeping skills:

Movements for the reaffirmation of religious identity have undergone a considerable change between 1975 and 1990... These movements have arisen in a world which has lost the assurance of scientific and technological progress since the 1950s. Just as the barriers of poverty, disease and inhuman working conditions seemed to be yielding, the population explosion, the spread of AIDS, pollution and the energy crises burst upon the scene - and all of these scourges lent themselves to presentation in apocalyptic terms... During this same period the great atheistic messianic ideology of the twentieth century, communism... went into its death throes... (Kepel 1994:191)

Many churches are becoming much more accepting and tolerant of other faiths and philosophies. The Community of Saint Luke, a Presbyterian church in Auckland, gives as its aims:

- a nurturing, challenging community, which values continuity as well as change, exploration and creative opportunities
- a place where all who come are accepted and respected
- a community ready to use the skills and experience of all its people
- a community which values everyone's freedom to search for the deep resources of the Spirit, to make their own response, and to find a fulfilling life (St Lukes News, March 1999:11).

On page 9 of the same Newsletter is a report of a project the church has undertaken in Thailand which says: 'the project makes no distinction about who it helps - Buddhist or Christian'.

Churches in New Zealand are changing. Many now see other religious views as relevant. Geering, in Nicol & Veitch (1983:185), believes that while the future prognosis for the mainline churches in New Zealand is not a bright one and the trend today is towards the abandonment of traditional forms of belief, this will be balanced by a '...return to the certainties and forms of earlier religion, Christian and non-Christian'. It is possible that New Zealand may be moving away from its history of secularity towards a multi-faith future. If this should be so, it may not be long before the christian churches involved in chaplaincy find they are under pressure to consider the entry of chaplains of other faiths.

But not all churches share such views. Donovan notes that:

...some faiths and churches (Sikhs and Baha'is, for instance, and Quakers, Unitarians and Theosophists) have long taught ideals of religious tolerance and universalism; co-operation with other faiths poses few problems for them. For most of the Christian churches, however, and particularly some of the alternative ones, anything other than strict exclusivism towards other religions will involve considerable

rethinking of their traditional views (Donovan 1990: 256)

A Massey University survey on school religious education, reported in the *NZ Herald* (20.2.1999 A8), supports Donovan's comment. It notes that, of both churchgoers and public, seventy-nine percent of those surveyed want religious education in schools. But while mainstream churchgoers want a christianity-only programme, the general public wants an all-faiths curriculum. The report continues to give a warning to the mainstream churches' attitude. It points out that the number of New Zealanders of non-Christian faith is growing, with over 30,000 Buddhists, more than 14,000 Muslims, and over 6000 Jews, Sikhs and Baha'i. Chaplains, as clerics who understand the inter-denominational nature of military work, may well see the value of extending chaplaincy to other faiths, but the traditional mainstream churches themselves may not be so accepting of this innovation.

With the increasing public interest in other religions, the effects of immigration and the high proportion of Maori in the military, the mainstream churches may have to reconsider their situation in the military. The development of the Auckland Council of Christians and Jews in 1986 and the 1989 formation of a branch of the World Conference on Religion and Peace in New Zealand emphasise the recent growth of inter-faith relationships. Such organisations also provide the means through which inter-faith discussion of inclusion of other faiths in military chaplaincy is possible.

As religious pluralism continues to develop in New Zealand, the churches and the military cannot reasonably refuse chaplaincy access for ministers and priests of other faiths whose adherents also work and live in the military. Military culture, broadly speaking, may be based on

christian ideals of loyalty, service, sacrifice and death,¹ but military chaplaincy may have to reorient its symbolism and rituals to include the philosophies of other religious beliefs. This does not need to be a major difficulty:

What concerns...is not the ultimate truth of a religious assertion, but the question of why people hold a given belief. Why, for instance, have some people selected the idea of reincarnation out of a range of possible means of dealing with death?...In searching for answers, we must look at the particular religious beliefs and their relationship to social processes and to historical and ecological factors (Howard 1996:306).

Other major faiths also prize the qualities and ideals esteemed by the military and hold beliefs in life after death, whether it be the Islamic paradise or Buddhist and Hindu karma and rebirth. These are not necessarily contradictory to the traditional military use of christian language and ideas:

While the precise aims and methods of religious practices may vary from one setting to the next, there are features that are common to most religious systems...(Howard 1996:316).

Sacred history myths may serve as charters for interest groups and as justifications for particular institutions in a society. They link the present social order with a sacred past and condition behavior toward desired ends (Howard 1996:312).

The chaplains reported that their workloads are heavy and that they give pastoral care and counselling to a wide variety of personnel of differing religious and non-christian backgrounds. Introducing religiously qualified and pastorally trained personnel from other faith groups would relieve some of this workload. Under present military regulations, personnel with affiliation to religions or denominations not currently served by Regular Force or Officiating chaplains are free to attend, where possible, their own churches and religious observances outside the base. If some of these religious groups were included in

¹ Dixon (1976) discusses the religious symbolism in the military

chaplaincy as Officiating and, if numbers of military personnel warrant, as Territorial or Regular Force chaplains, the current situation of mainstream Christian church chaplains would be little changed except for the additional pastoral service these ministers would provide.

As the survey chaplains emphasised, chaplains are not permitted to proselytise. Military chaplaincy can therefore be seen as a waste of church time and effort as it brings very few new members. The churches need more membership to both increase their funds and their numbers of candidates entering ministry. Chaplaincy, whether to industry, hospitals, or military, costs the churches and their parishes in either money, personnel or both, depending on who pays the salaries of chaplains. A chaplaincy which included a greater range of religious faiths and churches could ease the problems of supplying the personnel required for military chaplaincy and spread the cost. But the question of whether Pentecostal, Latter-day Saints and other churches or religious groups would agree not to actively seek denominational converts in the military needs investigation.

The draft document NZDF 5110 *Chaplaincy Towards 2100* also includes this clause:

10.d. That it is unlikely that Regular Force Chaplains will be appointed from non Christian organisations because of the smallness of their numbers in the NZDF.

At the present time neither the total numbers of personnel in the Armed Services, nor the numbers in the NZDF affiliated to religious denominations other than possibly those affiliated to Maori and Latter-day Saints churches, are sufficient to warrant an immediate increase in the number of full-time chaplains appointed to the military. What could be a practical consideration is the appointment of additional Officiating or Territorial Force chaplains

from other than the mainstream churches. This would give the current chaplaincy an opportunity to reconsider its structure to include future multi-faith development. It would also give other religious groups an opportunity to participate in serving the military should they wish to do so.

The implementation of such a chaplaincy on the Officiating chaplaincy system would, however, have the disadvantage of being outside the military base. The military are highly mobile and a stable parish structure within the base is important. The personnel, wherever they are based, will always know where the chaplains' office is situated and what services and help they can obtain there. If a multi-faith chaplaincy were to be developed through the use of outside religious congregations it would not be possible to have such immediate pastoral care available as is currently possible with full-time base chaplains. Also the fact that a RF chaplain is part of the military establishment means that the chaplain understands the particular systems and military codes which an external part-time military cleric may not.

The options of civilian chaplaincy, to be discussed in chapter 11, explore the possibility of using the Officiating chaplain system as a basis for civilian chaplaincy. A civilian chaplaincy serviced by the churches outside the military environment could be more easily adaptable to the inclusion of other faiths. But the same practical difficulties which will be noted in the discussion of civilian chaplaincy would also apply to an external multi-faith civilian chaplaincy. Any extension of the present Regular or Territorial Force chaplaincy, presently funded through the military, rests on the willingness of the government, and ultimately the taxpayer of New Zealand, to fund such extension. In assessing the possible extension of chaplaincy, the opinions of the military as to the value they place on chaplaincy must also

be considered as it is the military which must ask for the funding.

CHAPTER 11**CIVILIAN CHAPLAINCY**

A frequently expressed criticism of military chaplaincy is that the chaplain becomes so much a part of the military culture that his or her primary loyalty is given to the military rather than to the church the chaplain serves (Wettge 1973). If chaplaincy to the military were to be entirely operated through the churches as a voluntary, church-based ministry to the military, similar to hospital and industrial chaplaincies, such a chaplaincy would retain its focus on the rightful perspective - that of the church. It would also allow those churches which disagree with ministry in the military to withdraw from a practice that produces dissent among their members.

An examination of what other countries have done in respect of military chaplaincy may well be of value to a consideration of the New Zealand context. In the United Kingdom, where the Church of England is the official state church, chaplaincy is an accepted part of the military. But in countries which do not have an official state church, religious personnel to minister to the needs of the military are not necessarily an integral part of the armed forces. Cross (1958:246) notes that since 1905, when church and state were separated in France, no chaplains have been appointed in the French Forces.¹ Pacifists and churches opposed to militarism often argue that a state-church-military connection can mean the church is open to abuse by the state and military. An example of this is given in Nicol & Veitch (1983:296) of the situation in South Africa where a dominant church connection with the state was used to validate the policies of apartheid. Other countries have

¹ Glen (1998) however, states that there are 'a few' chaplains in the French military today.

also used churches to help enforce political policies.² Germany recognises the Evangelical Church of Germany (EKD³) as the state church. Because of the misuse of the German churches by the Nazis, which Herman (1946) discusses in his study of the German churches under Hitler, chaplaincy was reorganised after WWII into a civilian chaplaincy to remove it from military control (Glen 1998).

In Australia and New Zealand where Church and state are independent of each other, chaplaincy is maintained by the military as an integral part of its care for its troops. These chaplaincies inherited what might be defined as an imperial form of chaplaincy from the old British empire (Glen 1996). This tradition recognises the need for ministry among the armed services. The churches are invited to provide ordained clergy to undertake the ministry which is then financed by the state via the defence budget. The chaplain holds commission, wears uniform and is under military authority.

The United States military chaplaincy provides a relevant comparison⁴ as the military organisation and chaplaincy in the United States is similar to those of New Zealand and Australia with the difference that it now includes three other major religions: Islam, Buddhism and Judaism.⁵ In the United States in 1972, an Interfaith Committee of the major Christian churches was formed to consider two proposals for the replacement of military chaplaincy by a civilian chaplaincy, organised and funded by the churches, which would be independent of military control. One proposal was put forward by an interfaith study group which included the Jewish community. The comprehensive and

² Morley (1980) discusses the situation of the Vatican during WWII, Sheils Ed. (1983) Vol.20 looks at the Waldensian and Dutch churches, and Herman (1946) studies the Nazi relationship with the German church during WWII.

³ Evangelische Kirche Deutschlands.

⁴ Williams (1972) discusses the historical development of United States chaplaincy.

⁵ Crocker (1988)

thoughtful working paper on the two-year study is reported in full in the Spring 1972 issue of *The Chaplain*, under the title: 'Armed Forces Chaplains: All Civilians? A Feasibility Study'. The other was a proposal presented separately by the Presbyterian church which was also considered by the Interfaith Committee and reported in the same issue of *The Chaplain*.

The United States Interfaith study: a civilian chaplaincy

Debate on a possible abandonment of military chaplaincy came to the fore in the United States in the late 1960s. In the aftermath of Vietnam, Christian churches were strongly criticized for their moral failure to condemn publicly the military atrocities of Vietnam. An Interfaith Committee comprising members of the Episcopal and Protestant Churches, Jewish Welfare Board, the RC Military Ordinariate, and the General Commission on Chaplains, was set up to produce a review and analysis of military Chaplaincy.

There was no suggestion in the Interfaith Committee's review that religious service of the military should be dispensed with entirely. It was essentially an investigation of military chaplaincy with discussion as to whether chaplaincy should be an individual church matter rather than a state service.

The reasons put forward for a shift of chaplaincy from military to an exclusively civilian chaplaincy were two:
1. That a military chaplaincy was a basic violation of the Constitutional separation of church and state, in that military chaplaincy is a government funded establishment of religion, and thus an unlawful use of tax dollars. Some religiously committed people advanced the same argument on the grounds that the separation of church and state is a religious tenet which an ecclesiastical body is not free to alter.

2. The second reason given was that the chaplain is an integral part of the military establishment. He or she holds military rank or grade. He or she wears the uniform of one of the armed services, acknowledges military authority and is paid by the Government. Some critics of military chaplaincy went so far as to assert that military service overtly interferes with the freedom of proclamation of chaplains and that chaplains allow themselves to absorb the ideology and values of the military establishment to the point where they cannot provide moral guidance on issues of war to the military they serve. In order to save chaplaincy from this moral corrosion, critics proposed that the church denominations must divorce chaplaincy from military control and chaplaincy must come entirely under the direction and control of ecclesiastical authorities. Chaplains would not wear uniform, or carry commissioned rank⁶ and would be under church, not military, control.

These reasons could also apply to New Zealand which is established as a secular state in its government and public services⁷. It has no official state affiliation with any specific religion or church other than the predominantly Christian ethic inherited from its early European settlers. This might, however, be debateable, as the New Zealand state, in contrast to the United States, has no formal written constitution and recognises the Queen of England as the official Head of State. It could therefore be said to have a loose claim to a state religion based on the monarch's position as Head of the Church of England.⁸

There was fairly general agreement among American churches that the church has a responsibility to service military as

⁶ Zahn (1969: 25-50) discusses this argument in his study of RAF chaplains.

⁷ eg. The NZ Education Act of 1877 designates public schools as free, secular and compulsory.

⁸ Geering (1983, 167) makes the point that the Anglican church in New Zealand has tended to enjoy the same relationship as the mother church has in England.

well as civilian personnel. The main point of debate was whether the churches should be fully responsible for all chaplaincy to the military, through a civilian chaplaincy fully funded, operated and controlled by individual churches, or whether chaplaincy should continue within the military setting and control, with the state, via the military, paying the costs and salaries of chaplains.

The civilian proposal was for a chaplaincy fully controlled and funded by an interfaith committee.⁹ The theological feasibility of an interchurch combined chaplaincy was considered under a number of headings. These ranged from the use of civilian clergy to be incorporated into the military structure as Civilian Auxiliary chaplains (a similar system to that of Officiating chaplains in the New Zealand chaplaincy); through the West Point system of civilian chaplains selected by a Board of military officers; to the situation of an all-civilian chaplaincy in a period of military mobilization or hostilities.

The committee looked at how a civilian chaplaincy might function in an all-professional military establishment. The religious problems covered included analysis of different types of military situation and installations such as ships at sea; active war deployment, and deployment on overseas bases under the Status of Forces agreements and limitations on military activities which have to be negotiated with foreign countries in peacetime.¹⁰ The committee considered the difficulties of civilian clergy working outside military installations and garrisons. Military problems were also examined such as the difficulties military commanders could face with civilian personnel who refused to conform to military directives, used military vehicles

⁹ This type of chaplaincy operates currently in East Germany until 2003 when it will come under the present German civilian chaplaincy.

¹⁰ Under such agreements host countries can impose limitations on military activities including the activities of chaplains, for example, their right to perform valid marriages. The freedom of

on chaplaincy work, engaged in subversive activities, as well as the impossibility of a commander taking responsibility for a civilian chaplain insistent on entering a dangerous combat area.

The study included costing of the options considered which, though out of date now and inapplicable to the New Zealand situation, showed clearly that the civilian chaplaincy options were more expensive overall, both in terms of salary and equipment, and in terms of numbers of clergy required. If a fully civilian chaplaincy was instituted, all these costs would fall on the participating churches. Comparisons made with other organisations servicing the military, such as the Red Cross, were discounted as not valid because, for example, the Red Cross is one single organisation which can service all military bases and active missions without overlap, whereas the churches are differing organisations and each would undoubtedly wish to have representation in the various military establishments.¹¹

The committee pointed out that civilian chaplaincy would mean that personnel of differing religious affiliations could have more direct access to clergy of their particular creed. But it also pointed out that because of the increase in denominations servicing a base, the numbers of personnel attending each service would be smaller and there would be a tremendous overlap of religious servicing. In New Zealand this could be a major problem as the relative personnel numbers in the military are very much smaller than in the United States and clergy of different denominations servicing a base would each have very few adherents. American military bases have much larger populations and there are many more bases. It would also mean that far more

civilian clergy in such cases can be even more circumscribed (Interfaith Committee 1972:18).

¹¹ In the Australian Defence Force, the Salvation Army does not commission chaplains but runs the 'Red Shield' organisation which is similar to the New Zealand YMCA.

clergy would be involved in chaplaincy, an added burden on New Zealand churches already short of ministry candidates.

One serious omission in the United States study was that there was no discussion, or detail given, of a possible operational structure whereby the churches could cooperate in chaplaincy, apportion chaplains, and allot time, duties and finance. The committee admitted this and pointed out that it was in the areas of administration, planning and supervision that the United States military chaplaincy in WWII failed most notably. It was also noted that the one experience the United States has had with a part-civilian chaplaincy in the 20th century - the civilian chaplains who served with certain units of the American Expeditionary Force in France in WWI - was an experiment which collapsed in chaos. This weakness in the presentation of the proposal, which is apparent in most other discussions of civilian chaplaincy in the military, is that it is assumed that there would be agreement between churches and denominations as to allocation and duties of clergy and the provision of finance for chaplaincy work. That is not necessarily the case in practice.

The Presbyterian Proposal

The same edition of *The Chaplain* reported on a second chaplaincy proposal which had been brought forward by the United States Presbyterian Church. The 177th General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of the United States of America presented a comprehensive study of military chaplaincy in May 1965 with a proposal to move to a totally civilian chaplaincy. Two alternatives were considered: the first was the assumption by the denominational church of all the costs and responsibilities of the chaplaincy, and the second involved a compromise sharing arrangement under which the denominational church would provide the salaries, housing, and hospitalisation costs of clergy, while the Government, through the

military, would provide travel, equipment and other buildings.¹²

The first alternative would mean a civilian chaplaincy based entirely outside the military installation, operating without government or military control or assistance. Each religious body would function quite independently and could choose to provide, or not to provide, chaplaincy ministry to the military. The costs of each chaplaincy would be fully the responsibility of the church operating it.

In this alternative, the civilian chaplains would have access to the base only with the consent of the commander, and would not accompany troops on manoeuvres or, without the consent of the commander, initiate any moral or religious education programmes or take part in military ceremony. The possible success of this alternative would depend very heavily on the attitudes of both the base commander and the churches involved, and could also result in a plethora of differing religious groups competing with each other for priorities and rights of access to the base personnel.

The second alternative involved the turning over of all chapels and religious facilities at each military base to civilian chaplains procured, salaried and administered by the cooperating religious bodies. Such an arrangement would demand interchurch agreement and organisation, as well as significant control over the religious program and the upkeep of the buildings by the military commander or a designated officer.

The study admitted that the commanding officer might or might not be sympathetic to the civilian chaplains' programmes, and could determine which religious bodies would be allowed to operate on the base. The difficulties

¹² The opposite arrangement applies in the current NSW police

of this type of chaplaincy are discussed by Glen in his examination of New Zealand chaplaincy which was similarly structured during the period 1870-1911 (Glen 1996). The commanding officer would have authority to regulate the publicity given to the activities of each civilian chaplain, establish standards of maintenance of buildings used, fix rentals for the use of facilities and equipment, and have the authority to refuse access to people whose activities might be deemed prejudicial to the welfare of military personnel or the work of the installation.

This proposal does not discuss or account for deployment of chaplains on active service in either war or peacekeeping; access to classified information or installations; pastoral care or integration of chaplaincy with military psychological or counselling services; or religious representation on military and ceremonial occasions. Again it assumes that the churches will voluntarily agree on participation, finance and the cost and use of sharing the facilities.

The Interfaith Committee found itself unable to recommend either of the proposals 'for the reason that it has been unable to find any (proposals) that do not suffer by comparison with the present (military chaplaincy) arrangement' (Interfaith Committee 1972:14). There are however, in both proposals, some similarities to the New Zealand system of Officiating chaplains whereby ministers from nearby parishes are appointed to service military bases and establishments which do not have chaplains of all three major denominational groups (RC, CofE, OD). Officiating chaplains are entitled to remuneration and travel for their services and undertake special duties such as military ceremonies when requested. Also in New Zealand, as in the United States, military personnel who are of religious affiliations not represented by military clergy,

chaplaincy.

do have the right to seek the services of priests and churches of their persuasion outside the base. The United States civilian chaplaincy proposals were that chaplains would be fully funded by their churches and their contact with the military would be limited to religious observances as required. The civilian chaplains would not have the opportunity for contact or work with military personnel outside their specific affiliation.

New Zealand Officiating chaplains remain parish ministers but are appointed to their chaplaincy by Defence Headquarters on the recommendation of ChDAC and with the approval of the requisite ecclesiastical authority (NZDF DM65 1979: para.901). The United States proposals differed in that participating churches should individually appoint chaplains and designate the work they could undertake in the military establishment. The question of possible deployment of chaplains does not appear to have been resolved in any of the United States options considered. If civilian chaplaincy is to be considered a valid option, there must either be chaplains trained and available to go on operations with military forces, or the forces must go without a chaplain.

A civilian chaplaincy utilising the officiating chaplaincy system could possibly function in New Zealand if the churches continued to appoint and work through an organisation similar to the present ChDAC, with representation from each church or religious group. Such an organisation would oversee civilian chaplaincy and liaise with the military. But the churches would first have to reach agreement on providing chaplaincy services and the costs they would be prepared to accept. Suitable parishes would also have to be prepared to accept chaplaincy duties and provide ministers. In view of comment of the chaplains surveyed in this study, the outlook is not reassuring.

Neither is the additional expense of a civilian chaplaincy likely to be enthusiastically received by the churches.

The German Civilian chaplaincy

In 1998 Glen compared the organisation, character and theological structure of the German Chaplaincy with the New Zealand Defence Force's Chaplaincy (Glen 1998, 1999a, 1999b¹³). He noted a close association between United States chaplains and those of the NATO nations, which has strongly influenced not only German post-war chaplaincy reconstruction, but has to some extent affected New Zealand chaplaincy through its peacekeeping contacts. Glen comments that New Zealand geographic isolation is also reflected in many cultural and intellectual areas, including theological tradition and thought, and gives this as a reason there has been little concern with military chaplaincy (Glen 1998:6).

The traditional relationship between the church and the military changed with the collapse of Nazi Germany. The German church, which wanted to distance itself from any suggestion of supporting armed force as a means of extending Government policy, felt the chaplaincy could not be reconstituted in the pre-WWII tradition. Catholic and protestant (both Reformed and Lutheran) churches united in consultation to consider a chaplaincy which reflected new insights learned. The Free Churches of Germany, less than four percent of German Christians, declined to participate and are not represented in the chaplaincy.

Dr. Hermann Kunst, the first post-war German Evangelical (Protestant) Military Bishop, took a prominent part in developing the theological framework for the new chaplaincy. It is divorced from political influence and is modelled on the New Testament sacramental ministry with the emphasis on grace and compassion. It reflects the Lutheran theology of 'God's Permissive Will' and God's total

¹³ Glen presented a Post-doctoral dissertation on the German civilian chaplaincy to the University of Waikato in Feb.1998 and further to it, an article in *Candour* Feb.1999 and a lecture in May 1999.

sovereignty in war and peace (Glen 1998:10). The churches accepted the theological basis that the Church could not deny pastoral care or the sacraments to those who elected or were conscripted to serve in the Armed Forces. They eventually produced an agreement, 'The Church's Concordat of March 1957', undertaken with the West German State. The main principles given are as follows:

1. Clergy are accepted and recognized as civilian clergy working as full-time chaplains within the Armed Forces.
2. Chaplains are not required to wear uniform during normal parish duties. The uniform of a private soldier, with a simple lapel cross, and the national emblem on the sleeve is worn on training exercises, during operations and when deployed. Chaplains do not carry rank.
3. The chaplain is outside the command structure of the military organization and not subject in any way to the authority of a military officer. Although a chaplain may well be advised by an officer [sic].
4. Chaplains are within the authority of military deacons, and the national leadership of Catholic and Protestant military bishops who, with the state, supervise the chaplains.
5. Where practical, a parish structure is recognized as the ideal situation in the military installation, from which a more complete ministry can be centred. A parish structure gives the opportunity for normality in what is not always a normal arena.
6. Parishes and chaplains are integrated into the armed forces where both contribute to a better quality of pastoral care, worship and teaching. Civilians, where possible, ought also be associated with the life of a military parish.
7. The church is free to conduct its ministry within the theological framework of Christian belief regardless of any variants of political or social policies current within Germany or the Armed Forces at any particular period.
8. The State must recognize that the operating principles which constitute the Agreement are the choice of the German Churches and the key to their willingness to work within the military community.

The Concordat concludes, in item 9, that in the discussion of these principles the German Church is making a statement that the German military is part of society, and ministry

within normal society does not necessitate a special 'religious' branch under the authority and control of the military (Glen 1998:14-15).

The Articles of the Agreement based on these principles, which was signed between the Church and the West German State, has been published by the Catholic Military Bishop General and the Evangelical Military Deacon in Bonn in various editions since 1957. It established how the German church and state work together in the Armed Forces. There are currently twenty-nine Christian denominations of the former West German state which are party to the Agreement.

The Articles of Agreement set out extensive regulations governing the authority which permits the Church to exercise ministry within the military, and the ways in which this is carried out.¹⁴ They include sections on military law, the role of the chaplain, the parish organization within the Forces, regulations on moral guidance, worship and services, naval regulations, the relationship between military commander and chaplain, chaplain's duties and responsibilities and pastoral care. Advice on a variety of particular concerns includes the employment of chaplains' assistants and an ecumenical declaration of co-operation on worship and pastoral care between Catholics and Evangelicals. Chaplains are not under military command but under the discipline of the Military Deacon and are free to exercise a parish ministry within the military environment.

The major difference between the German chaplaincy and the current New Zealand chaplaincy is that the church has accepted the armed forces into its own care. It is church based, rather than military based. The German churches maintain a normal parish structure within the armed services, which includes the military culture. The churches

¹⁴ See Figure 10, p175.

hold the right of appointment and clergy discipline and the clergy roles remain those of civilian clergy. The state provides only the financing. Parish buildings, chapels and residences are erected at the expense of the state but are owned by the church, while the military provides the cost of maintaining the chaplaincy and parish structure.

Glen makes a number of worthwhile observations concerning the practice of the Agreement, and contrasts its operation with that of the New Zealand WWII chaplaincy. He also discusses at some length the dilemma posed by the reunification of Germany and the theological implications of the inclusion of the East German State, which since WWII has been without the Christian ethos (Glen 1998:37ff). This has resulted in the East German church becoming part of quite a different theological framework until 2003 when it will come into line with the existing agreement.

In commending the German model as a future alternative for New Zealand chaplaincy, Glen's analysis of the German chaplaincy does not consider whether the secular New Zealand state, particularly in a period of 'user pays', would consider assuming the cost of such a comprehensive chaplaincy which allows the church, rather than the state, the operational authority. What limitations would the New Zealand state and military impose on church authority and work in the military? Would the New Zealand churches accept these? Would the New Zealand churches be prepared to cooperate in operation of the chaplaincy to the extent that the German churches do?

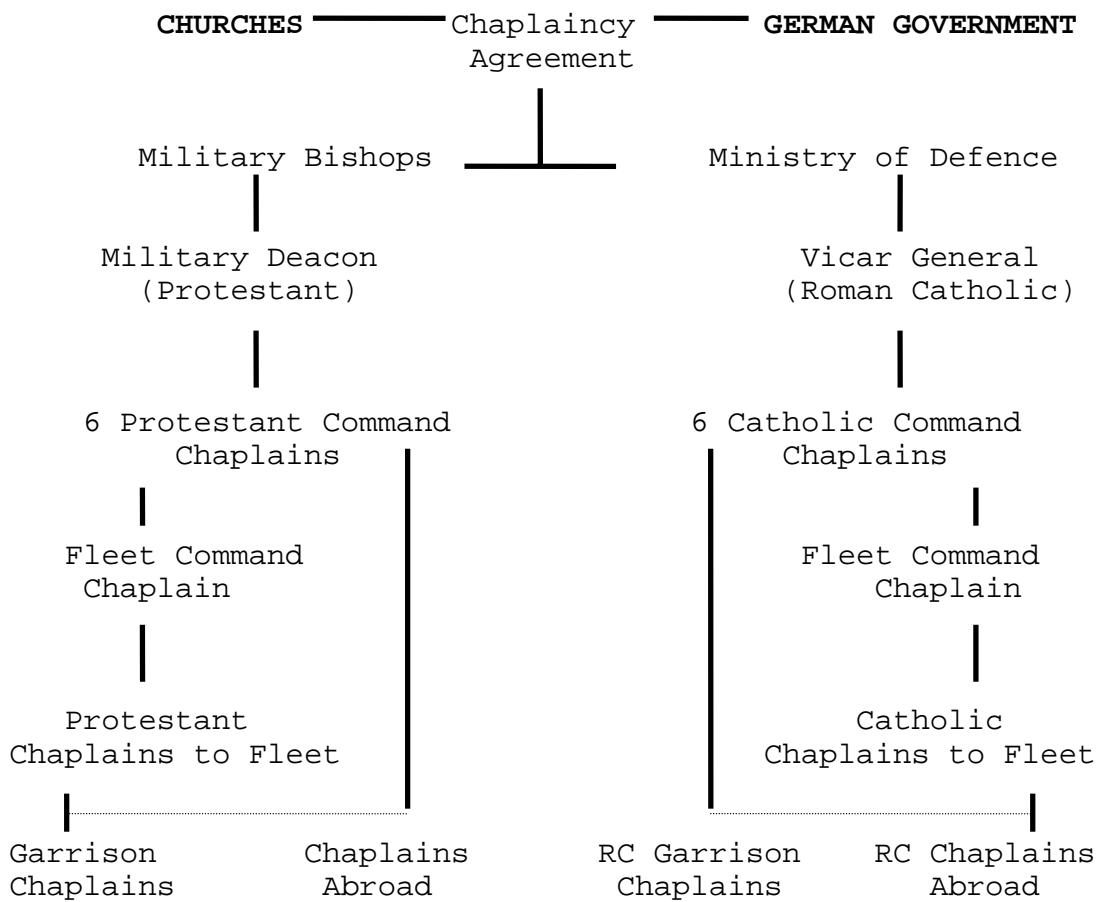
Two further reservations should be made if the German model is to be considered for New Zealand. First, the political, geographic and historic backgrounds of the two countries are very different. A military, and consequently a military chaplaincy, which might serve one well and be suited to its needs, will not necessarily suit the other. Germany is a

country with a long history of militarism. It is situated in the centre of a continent which has suffered for centuries under invasion and war. New Zealand is a small South Pacific Island state with very limited experience of war on its own territory, but a vivid memory of its men dying and mutilated overseas in other nations' battles. Apart from its proximity to Antarctica, New Zealand has little strategic value. Its remoteness from the great populated areas and its small population mean it has little power or real influence in world affairs and Pacific atomic testing by other countries has encouraged a strongly pacifist attitude in the New Zealand population.

The second reservation also concerns New Zealand's small population. The numbers of personnel in the NZDF are very small when compared with the numbers in the United States and in the German military. The expense of setting up and operating a chaplaincy such as the German model which includes some twenty-nine denominations in its establishment of about two hundred and twenty full-time chaplains would not be economically feasible for a New Zealand chaplaincy which requires only twenty-five to thirty full-time chaplains to serve its small armed forces.

Figure 10.

THE GERMAN CHAPLAINCY SERVICE



Establishment: Approx. 220 Chaplains including 10 Navy

(Glen 1999a:54)

PART 4

CHURCH AND MILITARY: A CRITICAL RELATIONSHIP

CHAPTER 12**ISSUES AND IDEOLOGY**

Chapter 1 discussed the debates and opinions of the early church fathers on the position of christians in the military and chapter 9 noted that opinions still differ today. The difficulty with the Just War and christian pacifist arguments is that they can never be resolved as they depend on individual interpretations of the Bible (cf. Barclay 1984). Some theologians 'prove' them, some 'disprove' them (Clouse 1991), according to their reading and interpretation. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the institution of chaplaincy has been of value in the past to both church and military. More recently, the value of the chaplains in WWI and WWII is well documented in war histories, diaries and stories.¹ But future chaplains will need to be prepared for a different military scenario. The future envisaged for New Zealand's military is that of defence and police work with peacekeeping assignments as part of United Nations multinational forces.

Further military upgrading is planned for the NZDF (*NZ Herald* 2.8.99 A16; 28.7.99 A15). If chaplaincy is to effectively service the future NZDF, it will need to consider the changes in the strategy and technology of war. Technology is not only changing the way in which wars are fought, it is changing the relative situations of military and civilian personnel in the war zone. The physical risk and danger is now much greater for civilians than it is for troops. One missile may kill several soldiers, but is more likely to kill hundreds of civilians.

¹ Examples can be found in Underhill 1950; Haigh 1983; Clifford 1989; Thompson 1976; Harker 1992; Thornton 1956; Smyth 1968; Raw 1988; Parker 1955.

The recent changes in the NZDF make this a relevant time for the New Zealand churches to rethink their involvement in the military. If chaplaincy is to continue in the military there may need to be changes to the present organisation and structure of Armed Forces chaplaincy to allow for the development of peacekeeping, policing and rapid deployment readiness as well as the servicing of increasing numbers of women personnel and multi-cultural groups now included in the NZDF.

Technology and the 'Just War'

Nuclear and technological developments since WWII have altered the philosophy, strategy and effects of war. Suter comments that:

The traditional divisions among Christian thinking no longer have the same impact or validity. The Just War doctrine, for example, would not apply to a nuclear war because the doctrine is based on the selective punishment of evil doers. In a nuclear war, all would be killed....As for the ultimate good which should come from a war, nothing of any use would be left.(Sutor Undated. cf. Cox 1971:75; Boettner 1940; and Clouse 1991).

There are no winners in total annihilation. All are losers.

Today, many church and civilian critics of chaplaincy see the issues as fundamentally those of the morality of war itself. The argument is that war and participation in it are intrinsically immoral. By participating in chaplaincy to the military, the churches, as the religious bodies providing the chaplains, recognise the military and so implicitly sanction and condone the act of war (Cox 1971). Wilkinson (1981 84:700.256) quotes Edwyn Hoskyns' assessment of war:

War is a far more terrible thing to the Christian than it is to the ordinary pacifist; for it is the place where human pride receives its most obvious blow, and where sin becomes most clearly evident...It is the soldier with his weapons of destruction who reminds us how insecure our achievements in the end are.

The inability of the United Nations to enforce peace in the Middle East or control Hussein's militarism through negotiation² has widened the debate on the morality of war. The debate is further complicated by the development of military peacekeeping. Peace-enforcement and peacekeeping, as in the Gulf War, can mean retaliatory and interventionist war to control or stop offensive invasive war.

As the traditional Just War arguments cannot now be so clearly upheld within the context of nuclear and biological war, so also right and wrong are subject to qualification and opinion. The question of which side is 'right' came to the fore with the international implications of Vietnam (Gettleman 1963) and continues today in long-term internal conflicts, policed by peacekeeping forces, such as those in the Balkans, Middle East and Northern Ireland where right and wrong can be debated according to the views and concepts of the participants. The views of the opposing sides may also differ from the views of the peace-enforcers as the logic of different religious and national groups can vary and conflict according to their differing philosophies, ethics and spiritual orientations. For example, for the Westerner there is no logical reason for chador but for the Shi'ite Muslim there is. So also, there are different opinions on the concept of the suffering of God, which arose after Hiroshima and which accepted war as an integral part of the human religious experience (Kitamori 1966; Bainton 1961; Fasching 1992).

All or any of the above concepts may or may not be acceptable to the New Zealand churches and chaplains asked to serve in the military. War may be the failure of mankind to live by the Christian ethic or it may be the failure of mankind to recognise the United Nations Bill of Human Rights. But whatever the philosophy, war, in human terms,

² New Zealand Herald 14-15.11.98:B1

remains an extension through arms of a failed effort to achieve political compromise.

The control of aggression by the use of force

The problem of war is a basic one which arises from the aggressive nature of humans and while the christian churches have not generally condoned the use of force, they have in the past accepted the need for it in certain circumstances. In his study of aggression, Russell Geen makes this comment:

Most societies sanction violence to some degree. Down through the centuries some have been in fact 'warrior states' whereas others, though relatively more peaceful, have maintained that some violence is necessary for social order and defence against external threats (Geen 1990:24).

New Zealand has in the past participated in war for the protection of social order and for defence as in WWII when New Zealand troops fought with the British against the Nazis in Europe and with the Americans in the Pacific.³ Although New Zealand currently does not need to defend its territory with military action, it may have to at some future time. Currently the New Zealand government recognises its international responsibilities by being prepared to defend the social order of the UN rulings in putting troops on standby for UN action overseas (*NZ Herald* 13.11.98 A1; 14-15.11.98 B1).

In today's world economic sanctions may have the desired results against aggressive states. But they often also result in extreme hardship for those who are least able to bear it, or who least deserve it. Sanctions are slow to show effects and they do not necessarily stop aggression. Churches may preach the gospel of peace and love, but in an age of rapid change and technological development there may not be time for the practicalities of conciliation to reach satisfactory consensus and agreement between warring states

when one or another gains a superior weapons capability. The long-standing India-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir exemplifies this with the race to gain atomic status. As in Kosovo, Christian principles may not be acceptable to non-Christian factions and the Christian church cannot impose its philosophical ideal by force or it negates its message in the same way that the Orthodox Serb faction has earned condemnation for the ethnic cleansing.

There is little really effective non-military intervention that can be taken quickly against countries and factions which disregard the rights of other states or ethnic and religious groups, and who do not agree to negotiate or to submit to independent arbitration. The prospect of war escalating into universal annihilation, a fear expressed during both the Cold War and the Gulf War, makes it imperative to have some international means of controlling belligerent states. For any political situation to become quickly out of control and involve the whole world, all that is needed is one nuclear explosion. There may not always be a choice between war or peace. As noted previously, the choice may be that of war now or global annihilation tomorrow. At what point does the church say 'no' to aggression? 'At what point does the pacifist response become unnecessary martyrdom and at what point does a society defend its right to exist?'⁴

Soldier or civilian?

The advance of technology⁵ poses another important implication for the churches in their consideration of war and aggression. The distinction between soldier and civilian has effectively disappeared:

³ Shiels, J W ed.(1983) *Studies in Church History* Vol.20 'The Church and War' presents a range of studies tracing the Christian reaction to war from St Augustine to Zimbabwe in the 1970s.

⁴ One of the chaplains interviewed on tape, who had war experience, used this phrase.

⁵ The Herald 20.8.99 reports on the development of virtual reality simulation techniques to be used to train US military.

Yet once again technology has altered the rules of war...The terrifying power of modern weaponry has eliminated completely the distinction between soldier and civilian...Wars of the past, whatever their horrors, at least left some room for individual valor; a nuclear war produces depersonalized, push-button destruction on a massive scale (Volfi 1995:224).

In push-button warfare who is the true 'killer'? Is it the person who pushes the button when ordered to? Is it the person who designed and constructed the computerisation or the missile? Or is it the politician who gives the orders for the missile and the button and has thus created the 'war'?

Neutrality

Neutrality in war is not always possible. Policies of tolerance and non-participation can mean ignoring the danger of potential destruction until it is out of control. Appeasement did not work with Hitler; will it work with Hussein? The churches need to consider the problems and dangers imposed on people when they try to maintain neutrality between two warring factions.

One such situation occurred during the Zimbabwe war 1976-7 when priests in charge of missions tried to keep the schools and missions open and independent of the war through agreements with both local guerilla forces and Government Security troops. Although the mission priests had the support of both guerilla forces and government troops, they had to eventually close the mission because of the extreme pressures and torture inflicted on them by both guerillas and government troops in attempts to exact information about each other's movements (Ranger 1983:443-461). In 1943 the Rev. Francis Douglas, a New Zealand missionary priest working in the Philippines tried to continue his missionary work under the Japanese. But because he heard the confessions and attended the guerillas in the mountains, he was taken as a spy, tortured and either died as a result, or was otherwise killed. Many of

his congregation were also interrogated and never seen again (TV1:19.5.99).

Neutrality often rebounds on the would-be non-combatant. During WWII, the Vatican maintained a neutral position and because of this was able to facilitate contact for prisoners of war on both sides (McDowall 1996). But there was also strong criticism of the Vatican for its lack of action against German aggression⁶ and particularly over the Jewish concentration camps.⁷ Neutrality can be seen as condoning evil. While humanity exists the defensive response to attack remains a necessary response for the safety and existence of the individual human organism and for the cohesion of society. Are church members, in professing love for all, content to sit by while their own children are slaughtered? When and how should they act defensively? It is acceptable for the church to seek peaceful solutions and discourage unwarranted use of force, but the state is responsible for the protection of its people and should ensure it has the means whereby it can do so.

Can the church separate itself from war?

Wilkinson (1981) in his discussion of the paradox of military chaplaincy asks: 'Is it more scandalous to bring the worlds of war and Church together in worship or to keep them apart?' He notes that an interdenominational survey, *The Army and Religion* (1919) reported:

...that it was one of the greatest grounds of complaint of the soldiers against the Churches that 'they did not prevent the war'. An officer commented: 'One thing the common man cannot abide, and that is cant. And the Churches to him are the embodiment of cant.'

Wilkinson continues with the following argument:

...it is our duty to do as citizens in support of the State things which it would be inappropriate

⁶ Glen (1996:157-159) relates how New Zealand catholic chaplains handled this.

⁷ Morley (1980) discusses Vatican diplomacy and the Jews 1939-43 and the lack of action shown on behalf of Jews but help given to converted Jews.

to do as Churchmen in support of the Church and its cause. The soldiers are therefore quite right when they say that war is not Christian, but they would be quite wrong if they went on to say that therefore Christians ought not to fight. The duty to fight is a civic duty which, if the cause is good, Christianity accepts and approves, but it is not a duty which has its origin in Christianity as such (Wilkinson 1981:253-4).

He comments that Jesus himself was subversive, 'the everlasting irritant, the square peg in the round hole'.

The churches are not backward in becoming involved in contentious social issues and battles. Ministers have no hesitation in joining in protest marches and demonstrations which may become violent, such as the New Zealand anti-apartheid demonstrations of the 1970s, or in rebuking governments from pulpit and through media over what are perceived as social injustices. The use of military force is a contentious issue, particularly in an era of nuclear and biological weapons. The church may protest against the use of nuclear arms or military intervention, but so far, in the 2000 years of its existence, the christian church has not come up with any positive, workable international alternative to the problem of defensive war or the use of force in international peacekeeping. If there is no other way to force persistently quarrelsome and belligerent parties to compromise, the military, as enforcers of peace, must be retained by the state and by the United Nations, just as the police are needed within the community.

In New Zealand it can be argued that the military is a state service and the New Zealand state is secular and has no official religion. But many New Zealand state secular organisations, such as hospitals and prisons have religious chaplains. Although the state is secular, it does recognise that New Zealanders have a right to religious faith and provision is made for this. It is expressed formally in the New Zealand parliament with the prayer given at the start of the session. Fitzgerald (1989:8) notes Ghandi's saying

that 'Those who say religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means'.

Military or militarist?

The New Zealand military and government have given thought to New Zealand's position as a Pacific state and to the future needs and responsibilities of the armed services. But there has been very little from the New Zealand churches as to their views on military change. In the survey, the chaplains were strongly in favour of continued full-time regular force chaplaincy, but some chaplains reported difficulties with their church colleagues because they are seen as representing a militarist position which should not be accepted by the christian church. The World Council of Churches' *Report on Militarism* (1977:13) takes a strong stand against militarism and calls for christians to:

...engage in a self-emptying (kenosis) which sets aside presuppositions, pride and arrogance... necessary because militarism is so antagonistic to the spirit of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

The report continues to ask christians to make an:

...active commitment to a task of action/reflection, whose purpose will be both an understanding of militarism and action which confronts and combats it.

This directive requires some clarification of the meaning of militarism and military if it is to be applied correctly and if the situation of chaplains within the armed services is to be accurately understood by church colleagues. Collins Dictionary (Hanks 1979:935) makes a clear distinction between the two terms:

militarism: 1. military spirit, pursuit of military ideals. 2. domination by the military in the formulation of policies, ideals etc. esp. on a political level.

military: 1. of or relating to the armed forces, warlike matters etc. 2. of, characteristic of, or about soldiers. 3. the armed services.

If the term 'militarism' is used in its second sense, the World Council of Churches' statement is aimed at politicians, states and governments, those who formulate the policies, not the armed services. The armed services do not make the decision for war, the state does. Soldiers are at all times the employees or servants of the state and are bound to do the state's bidding. The church and chaplains work among the armed services personnel. Volti (1995) gives an example of where the military stand in relation to the state:

The president [Reagan] publicly announced the program [Star Wars] only five days after informing his science advisor, while the joint chiefs of staff, the secretary of state and the secretary of defense got only two days notice...the day-to-day shaping of technological policy tends to be the business of Congress...(Volti 1995:284)

As the 'business of Congress' it is clear that it is government or opposing political factions which make the decision for war and in so doing they may, or may not, be militaristic. If governments make the choice for war, it is to governments that the anti-militarist causes should be addressed. The military, as the servant of the state, accepts the consequence of government decision. In the knowledge of the soldier's personal acceptance of the responsibility to defend and protect the community and obey the state's decision when ordered to, even if it means his or her individual sacrifice and death, could any christian honestly deny that soldier the right to God?

The paradox of chaplaincy

Because of the control exercised by the military on the work of chaplains and because the chaplain works and often lives within the military community and is paid by the military, it can be argued that the chaplain can very easily lose his or her vocation and spiritual commitment 'to become, in time, a spokesperson for a perverted christianity of military culture' (Harper 1957:194).

Wettge's (1973) article 'The Greening of the Military Chaplaincy', reviews a 1973 United Church of Christ Task Force report which presents a strong case for a move to a fully civilian chaplaincy on the grounds that the church has no power over military chaplaincy. The United Church of Christ report stresses the conflict of church and military ideals and concludes that: 'should the mission of the churches conflict with the mission of the Army, it is the church purposes that will be modified in order to resolve the conflict' (Wettge 1973). Burchard (1967) also discusses the problem of conflict of roles in the military chaplain, as does Zahn (1969) in his study of role tension in RAF chaplains.

However, the chaplains surveyed considered this fear unrealistic (Section II questions 4 & 7 response 1)⁸, and the interviewer was frequently referred to the previously quoted military regulations which stipulate clearly that the chaplain's first allegiance is to God and to the church:

Para.324: The chaplain is first and foremost the spiritual contact of all those he serves. His role is to bring God to man and lead men to God. He cannot do this unless he is a man of God, in practice as well as in theory....

Para.327: The chaplain's first loyalty is to the Divine Master: from this other loyalties flow... (*NZDF Chaplains' Handbook* 1990).

⁸ Three chaplains surveyed commented that civilian clergy expressed the opinion that because chaplains wore military uniform and were part of the military, they were therefore controlled by the military and lost religious focus as ministers. Another chaplain reported that a number of fellow ministers had said they would consider military chaplaincy more positively if chaplains were dressed as civilian ministers. A further chaplain commented that civilian colleagues did not realise that the military chaplain frequently wears official clerical garb and many invariably wear the clerical collar. A comment made on tape was that fellow ministers 'didn't show much faith in their military colleagues' religious convictions!' These comments emphasise the need for more church understanding of chaplaincy work in the military.

Wilkinson elaborates this and points out that the very existence of military chaplains is a paradox, and their role is replete with ambiguities. But he continues to say:

I believe that the paradox of the military chaplain should be seen as a particular expression of the whole paradoxical business of being a Christian who has to try to live in history with the aid of an eschatological Gospel...Military chaplains also face tensions which are common to other types of chaplains...(Wilkinson 1981).

Role conflict is not unique to military chaplaincy. It is a problem for all churches, ministers and chaplains, one which most ministers face in their daily lives. The civilian minister in the parish faces secular influences specific to the parish he or she works in, whether they be the poverty and crime of a difficult area, the distractions and affluence of a wealthy social parish or the ethnic pressures from a racially mixed parish. The industrial chaplain can face conflicting pressures from militant workers, unionists and employers and the hospital chaplain can be caught between the needs of the patient, the needs of the medical treatment and the needs of the family. Churches perpetually face conflict within their groups, whether it be through social, ethnic, or sexually oriented differences. Groups within a parish or a church can become so antagonistic that the church eventually splits. Although military chaplains have to contend with the intensity, restrictions and controls of military life, they do not, for example, have to be concerned with their parishes' financial needs and stability.

The chaplain as the church's agent for peace

The NZDF 1150 draft *Chaplaincy Towards 2100* makes a clear connection between church and state through the military and its chaplaincy:

17. At present chaplains enter the NZDF with the support of their Church and remain under its discipline for the exercise of their ordination/accreditation vows. Chaplaincy,

therefore is an institution of both the State (ie. NZDF) and the Church and the chaplain needs the support of both. Both the Church and NZDF need to understand this partnership and the possible areas of tension. When this partnership becomes unbalanced misunderstandings are likely to arise. It is also important for the chaplains to understand this unique relationship and to appreciate that they have two distinct but complementary lines of accountability (NZDF 5110 1997:17).

Military chaplaincy is one area in the secular New Zealand state in which the church has a recognised, formal place and authority. At any time the churches can make their views on war and the military publicly known, but it is through the military chaplains who hold the right 'to be the spokesperson for the church in the Military environment' (Hall 1998) that the churches have the official right to influence the state's conduct of warfare. The New Zealand churches, in following the World Council of Churches' recommendation to:

...urge their laity who are in scientific, industrial and military professions to be engaged in dialogue and study for Christian responsibility and the issues of militarism as it relates to their professional involvements (World Council of Churches 1978:19.c.7)

should ensure they include their military chaplains as important personnel in such consultations. The chaplains are of both the church and the military and therefore could be said to be the churches' own experts on the military and its work. The chaplains have an important role to play as the churches' experienced advisors on the military. But it is clear from the comments of the chaplains⁹ that churches do not necessarily value their expertise and so far from considering their value, their colleagues can ignore or even refuse to listen to them.

One of the survey chaplains wrote that: 'the Christian church could be said to work positively for peace through

⁹ Survey. Section II Questions 7,9,11 and Chapter 8.

its representation in the military. The presence of the chaplain in the military is a perpetual reminder to the military that their role is to preserve peace wherever possible and that force, if it must be used, should be used and not abused'.¹⁰ The chaplain stands for the Christian ideal of peace on earth. The one possible justifiable rationale for war is the restoration and preservation of peace between nations and the chaplain's presence exemplifies this. Without the chaplain, this objective is easily forgotten.

The Interfaith Committee (1972) study noted that one of the most important assets of chaplains in the military is the privilege their priestly calling gives them which allows them to confront military commanders and officers if they feel the situation, conflict or orders are not being conducted justly or with consideration for the welfare of the soldiers:

The experience and expertise a military chaplain acquires over the years are likely to equip him, all else being equal, to help military personnel resolve problems arising from their military circumstances rather better than a civilian could. His very identification with the Forces is an asset... (p.16)

The senior chaplain in a headquarters is the consultant and advisor of the commander on all matter pertaining to religion and morals. A civilian chaplain cannot be a staff officer; he cannot for that reason function ex-officio as the commanding officer's consultant and advisor... (p.41)

Studies such as those of Zahn (1969:117ff) and Jorgensen (1961), and stories of chaplains at war together with the comments of the surveyed chaplains all indicate that while chaplains obey the military establishment's rules and fulfil their prescribed military duties, an important part of their work and place in the military is their right to challenge the military on matters of morality, justice and

¹⁰ The chaplain gave this as a quote with which he expressed firm

judgement and to provide a sounding board for military command. The NZDF *Chaplains' Manual* (1990) defines the situation for New Zealand chaplains:

Para.404: The CO is responsible for the welfare of all ranks under his command. To assist him in the spiritual and moral welfare of his unit, the CO relies on his chaplain...

Para.407: The CO will expect the chaplain to draw his attention to problems affecting the unit....

The chaplains in the survey see this as an important responsibility of their chaplaincy work and take the privilege seriously (Section II Question 7). While the chaplain cannot overrule the orders or commands of a senior officer, the quiet question or comment often gives an officer the opportunity to rethink. Through this act the chaplain can bring a measure of justice and humanity to the military. But to do so effectively he or she must be an accepted and trusted part of the military and have the understanding to know when and how to best use this privilege. It 'might be said of the chaplain, that like Christ, he or she hates sin but loves sinners' (Harper 1957:196).

Military peacekeeping

Military work is not always that of negative destruction or armed intervention. The peacekeeping orientation of today's NZDF highlights the need for churches to clarify their involvement in the military. The churches proclaim a gospel of peace to humanity and this can be apparent in military peacekeeping assignments. Three chaplains related the Bougainville story of the two New Zealand chaplains who made major contributions to the peaceful settlement of the issues, when they were invited to preach to the strongly religious local populations of both sides. The chaplains, in accompanying troops on peacekeeping missions, actively represent the churches' concerns that disputes be peacefully resolved wherever possible.

agreement.

Ecumenism

As noted, military chaplaincy does not add much to formal church membership numbers as chaplains are not permitted to proselytise or use the military as a captive clientele in amassing denominational converts. The churches should remember this restriction on their chaplains before making the criticism that military chaplaincy does not significantly add to church membership.¹¹ Chaplains are in the military to serve the needs of the personnel in an ecumenical ministry. Instead of measuring the success of their chaplains by the possible numbers of church adherents to be gained from the military, the churches should perhaps look to their chaplains to further interdenominational understanding. Military chaplaincy is one area of church work which is consistently ecumenical. The chaplains surveyed (Section III Question 13) felt their work with all denominations was worthwhile. Because of their need to work very closely and cooperatively with other denominational chaplains, the ecumenical skills and experience they gain could, if utilised by the churches, be of great benefit to both the denominational churches individually and the Christian church as a whole. The chaplains' work with military personnel of all persuasions and philosophies also broadens their understanding of non-Christian faiths and gives them the skills to communicate and develop interfaith relationships.

Conclusion

Military chaplains have much to contribute to their churches if their churches wish to benefit by chaplaincy. The interdenominational ministry they participate in, the multicultural community they work in and the understanding they have of the military life, work and needs, together give them not one but several fields of expertise from which the churches could well learn. The chaplains in the

survey have indicated that they need to know if their churches support them and what help and recognition they can expect. If participating churches are not willing to assist chaplains in military work, then it may be the time to open chaplaincy to other religious organisations which are prepared to respond to the military request for religious servicing.

In return for the benefits chaplains can bring to the churches, they themselves have expressed a need for better and more consistent training, not only in ministry but also in military and peacekeeping work. They have asked that so far from churches regarding chaplaincy as a dumping ground, the best ministers should be encouraged to take chaplaincy at some stage in their ministry. The churches should perhaps consider that some understanding of military chaplaincy should be a part of all ministry training. Chaplaincy positions and personnel need consideration. The number of Maori and Pacific Islands chaplains is disproportionately small when compared with the numbers of military personnel in these groups. Also, it is noticeable that no woman has yet been appointed as PDC and only one is a senior chaplain.

Consideration should also be given to the administrative organisation of ChDAC. As noted in chapter 4, there appears to be a very high proportion of senior chaplaincy positions within a numerically very small NZDF chaplaincy. The appointment to positions of authority (ChDAC; ChAC; Senior Denominational Chaplains; and Senior base chaplains) includes all except a few chaplains. There may be too many chiefs and not enough Indians for an organisation which is to be part of a streamlined and more cost-effective military.

Before conclusions on future directions for chaplaincy can be assessed, the present relationship of church and

¹¹ One chaplain commented 'success is counted by the numbers of bums on pews'.

military must be considered. It has been noted that the military continue to invite the churches to participate in chaplaincy. Is this an outdated tradition or is there a specific need for the church in the military? In what ways do these two apparently incompatible organisations relate and interact?

CHAPTER 13**THE CONNECTION OF MILITARY AND CHURCH****Introduction**

Although chaplaincy is both an ecclesial matter and a pastoral concern, it is, as noted previously, also a military matter. The military is often seen as a rigidly conservative and traditional organisation and it continues to request the Christian churches to provide chaplains and religious servicing to military personnel, despite the secularity of the New Zealand state and the availability of secular pastoral care services which military personnel also use. Is the military request to the churches then, only an anachronistic tradition or an outdated convention continued as a relic of the days of British imperialism and New Zealand's subservience to an English monarch? Or does the relationship of church and military extend further than the provision of pastoral care and the formality of religious sanction? The contribution the church makes to the military must be more important than that of religious sanction and ceremonial or political support if the military is to justify the expense of chaplaincy to the state.

Although the chaplains surveyed are agreed that religious chaplaincy has an important place in the military, it could be said that they might uphold chaplaincy because they are paid to do an easy job. But the military would not be prepared to pay for this service and continue to invite the churches to participate unless chaplaincy has some very definite value and benefit for the military organisation and its personnel. To assess the value of the chaplain and what religious chaplaincy specifically brings to the military, it is necessary to look at the military culture and determine the relationship of military and church and

what need the military has for the religious presence which other pastoral care services do not fulfil.

Organisation of military and church

Military service is an encompassing career, more inclusive of personal and family life and more intensive in its comradeship than other vocations (Trower 1985) and it is one which breeds strong and life-long friendships and loyalties.¹ Military personnel present an atypical population in their age range and hierarchical structure and in the culture and discipline of the military life (Trower 1985; Dixon 1976). They are, with the exception of the Police Armed Offender's Squad, the only section of the national population deliberately trained by the state for the purpose of armed killing. As Hall (1998) points out: 'The military is required to undertake actions which are contrary to the cultural standards of the society it serves to achieve a greater good while using methods which do not advance that good.' Thus the church would initially appear to be the total opposite of the military because of its gospel of love and forgiveness.

But because of its structure, values and ideology the church is the only social organisation which has sufficient similarity to the military culture to be able to fully comprehend the needs of the military culture and the understand the relevance of the questions military personnel will have about the nature of their work. Both the military and the church can be defined as 'total institutions' (Hutcheson 1975:35; Dixon 1976). That is, both not only demand the attention of their practitioners in their work life, they are invasive and commanding of the private lives of the individuals within them (Johnson 1966:300f). On entering the military, a soldier becomes part of military life in the fullest sense. The military will decree not only the soldier's work, but his or her behaviour, appearance and, to a large extent, will control

the soldier's private life. This control may not only include the priority of military orders and separation from home and family, but can often include family living on the base. The soldier, sailor or airman must undergo extensive and rigorous training in which he or she is subject to a complex system of orders, behaviours and rules for almost every occasion. He or she must respond without question, must wear correct uniform or dress and observe and take part in specific rituals and formalities within a hierarchical structure which will regulate personal life and behaviour as well as military work. If the soldier is called on to serve actively, family and dependants must be put aside and the soldier must obey (Dixon 1976:220). Service to the nation comes first and is the prime loyalty (Abercrombie 1977:9).

Similarly, a minister called to serve God and the church enters into a life within an institution which will take precedence over all other aspects of living and family. Religious institutions, like the military, are governed by hierarchical structures which have developed highly complex systems of canon law, rituals and formalities which direct the life and work of the minister and set specific standards for his or her behaviour and daily living (Malony & Hunt 1991). The institution requires the minister's obedience to the articles and tenets of the church² and Bible and expects its practitioners to put their ministry first, above personal or family wishes (Abercrombie 1977:94). Although there can be a measure of religious freedom, the ethical imperatives remain - the service of God comes first and is the prime loyalty (Abercrombie 1977:8).

Patriarchal structure

¹ For example RSA and POW Associations.

² Roman Catholic Canon Law, Westminster Confession and Thirtynine Articles are examples.

Both church and military are predominantly patriarchal institutions (McBride 1995:111-113; Dixon 1976). Hutcheson (1975:39) points out that until this century, the church has had a strongly paternalistic influence upon the parish. Although both church and military are changing with the admission of women to their ranks, the church has had a tradition of male leadership from the time of Christ and the military has until recent times been strongly masculine in its style and authority. While women have always been accepted as members of the church and have entered religious teaching, nursing and contemplative orders or become deaconesses, it is only in recent years that they have been ordained to the priesthood and not all Christian churches are yet prepared to accept women as priests or permit their advancement to higher clerical orders. In the military, women have served in the armed forces in clerical, nursing and catering roles, but it is only since WWII that women have known acceptance as fighting members of the services and, as recent publicity shows (TV 30.8.98 '*60 Minutes*'), they are still not always fully accepted. Phillips (1966:152-170) elaborates on the entrenched New Zealand male identity in the military and links this with the New Zealand colonial male pioneer image. Bourke (1996:179) comments that 'the male body required physical discipline not solely for the sake of a state threatened with military and economic collapse: it also required discipline in the pursuit of social harmony.'

It could be argued that changes in the place of women in society will affect the paternalistic traditions of both military and church. This could be so, but whether or not future military and church structures remain predominantly paternalistic, a hierarchical structure is likely to remain in both.

Leadership and command

It is from needs of leadership and command that hierarchy is established. Military hierarchy has a chain of command, as do many social organisations (Ghiselli & Brown 1955). In the military, orders are transmitted and actioned from commander to officer to NCO and to troops. The effective functioning of the organisation requires the group's acceptance of individual responsibility to the progressively higher authority. Without this, the group becomes a separate sect, guerilla cadre or aggregation of individuals without a common responsibility (Ghiselli & Brown 1955:448), and coherent strategy becomes impossible. The church also has a similar command structure, whether it be from pope through bishop to priest, from archbishop to bishop to vicar, or from assembly to presbytery to session. Church and military are similarly authoritarian in their members' obedience and responsibility to the higher command structures.

Leadership, command and duty are qualities required in both the parish minister and the soldier. The commands of God and of the general must be obeyed. Both the minister and the military officer are expected to show leadership, to take command and to exemplify duty. Smyth quotes General Montgomery's analysis of leadership and its spiritual base:

...I do not believe that today a commander can inspire great armies, or single units, or even individual men, and lead them to achieve great victories, unless he has a proper sense of religious truth; he must be prepared to acknowledge it and to lead his troops in the light of that truth. He must always keep his finger on the spiritual pulse of his armies; he must be sure that the spiritual purpose which inspires them is right and true, and is clearly expounded to one and all. Unless he does this he can expect no lasting success. For all leadership, I believe, is based on the spiritual quality, the power to inspire others to follow; this spiritual quality may be for good, or evil. In many cases in the past this quality has been devoted towards personal ends and was partly or wholly evil;

whenever this was so, in the end it failed. Leadership which is evil, while it may temporarily succeed, always carries within itself the seeds of its own destruction. (Smyth 1968:231)

In the military, obedience and conformity to orders and authority is essential for the work and welfare of the army and its efficiency and success in battle. The chain of command and authority is set out precisely in the military regulations and the rules are also clearly defined.³ While the minister may not always appear to have such an overtly rigid code of authority, he or she is in fact governed very definitively by the code of the church, the prelates and seniors in the church, by the church government and administrative system and, above all, by allegiance to God through biblical command and precedent. In both church and military, the codes include taboos and moral expectations which extend into personal living (McBride 1995:143; Abercrombie 1977:108; Bouscaren & Ellis 1957).⁴

Ritual

In their adherence to rituals and rules, military and church are conservative and are governed by tradition. The precedents laid down are ones which have been instituted and confirmed by long application. Military systems have adapted and developed over centuries and although there have been many changes in the styles of warfare and weaponry, conformity to the system is always essential (Dixon 1976:276). It is through the maintenance of traditional systems and orders that the control of aggression and obedience to the command structure is established. The churches have moved with changing social developments and the needs of their communities, but the religious traditions of the sacraments and biblical

³ Dixon 1976 comments fully on this. The chain of command and authority is set out fully and clearly in the NZ Defence Force manuals.

⁴ Bouscaren & Ellis 1957:105, Section 4, Obligations of Clerics, is an example.

authority are basic to the meaning of the church's existence (McBride 1995:128).

Both institutions maintain traditional representational elements in their rituals, regalia and symbols. The military has its flags, salutes, procedures, uniforms and medals, while the church has bread and wine, cassocks, candles, altars and liturgy.

Hall (1998) in an unpublished paper, *The Gospel and the Military*, details the symbolic elements of the church which come together in the military:

This association [the military and church] is reflected in the language that is used (eg. Mission for operations, doctrine meaning philosophy of action; and God is soon let know when things don't go right). Other indications include:

- a) The chapels are located in strategic places on camps and bases, and are viewed as sacred buildings not to be used for secular or profane activities.
- b) The chaplains are valued as essential members of the commander's staff.
- c) Standards and Colours are dedicated before presentation to Units.
- d) The Standards and Colours carry the traditions and battle honours of the Unit and symbolize the values of justice, righteousness and truth. The Standards and Colours commemorate the cost of the Unit's traditions.
- e) The Standards and Colours are laid up in church buildings to fade into dust as those who have served under them have faded into dust.
- f) The bugle calls of Last Post and Reveille are reminders:
 1. of the need to pause from our activity to remember those who have gone before; and give thanks; and
 2. of the resurrection and of the hope of all meeting again.

g) The firing of three volleys over a grave or at a commemoration service is to ward off the evil spirits but in the name of the Trinity.

h) Prayers are normally said on a ceremonial parade.

i) The dress uniform has the buttons arranged in the form of a cross...

The religious elements of military ritual are also carried into civilian ceremonials such as Anzac Day when those who gave their lives for their country are remembered. The tomb of the Unknown Soldier is considered as a holy place and often holds a perpetual flame of remembrance.

Conformity and discipline

Conformity to tradition is used by both military and Church to teach and implement the needed self-discipline and obedience to orders (Dixon 1976). Without conformity to the tradition of sacraments, creeds and biblical teaching, the Christian churches as such would cease to exist. They would become individual philosophic societies. Without conformity to command and rule, learned and reinforced by the tradition of salutes, parades and uniforms, the military would be incapable of cohesively fighting an enemy with any great likelihood of success⁵. For their respective authority and conformity, military and clergy are dependent on the institution they serve which, by its nature, demands the obedience of its personnel to its creed together with the self-discipline to always put that authority first.

Communities

Military and church can also be considered atypical populations with respect to their communal identity and ethos. The church is identified with a group of people within its local and national community, who share only the same spiritual and religious creeds and philosophy (Webster

& Perry 1989; Webster & Perry 1992). The military are an atypical group in their society because their training in armed conflict contravenes the social codes which protect the individuals in that society. They are also an atypical group with regard to age, the military population being predominantly between the ages of eighteen and forty, with only a small percentage of senior rank in an older age bracket.⁶

Personal choice

The similarity between the organisations of church and military becomes clearer when we contrast them with business (Fromm 1959; Johnson 1966). Businesses may often be run on the model of hierarchical structures, but they can also be successful without these, such as co-operatives and franchises. Businesses may require the conformity of staff and discipline during working hours, but do not control the private lives of their employees outside the work place to the extent that both military and church do.

While many professions such as law, medicine, accountancy and teaching require extensive, specific, in-depth training and hold strict professional ethical codes, there are more open personal choices of areas of work and specialty in other professions than there are in military and church. The military do have choice of service, but within their service of army, navy or airforce, personnel are more likely to be directed to particular fields of work according to their abilities as assessed by their seniors,⁷ than in other careers or professions where the specific

⁵ Dixon 1976 makes this point. Jordan (1969) in discussing the American Civil War comments on the effects of lack of discipline in the Confederate troops as a major failing.

⁶ Dixon 1976. The age range of 18-40 was confirmed by chaplains interviewed for the survey. It is one of the difficulties for churches in that they need to provide chaplains suitable to the age range of military at a time when entrants to ministry are older.

⁷ During WWII psychological ability assessment testing developed with the USA military use of the Army Alpha and Beta scales. It could be argued that psychological assessments are used by Consultant firms

type of work to be done is stipulated in the initial application. Church personnel may have choice in their options of working in parishes, chaplaincies or social services, but many are governed as to parish and church appointments by the directives of their bishops and prelates or the call of a particular parish. Pressure on clergy to take up or set aside particular work can also be much greater than in other professions, through the injunction that it is the Will of God that a position be accepted or a behaviour ruled as sinful. The particular denomination of the church may also impose personal constraints on its clergy, as the Catholic position on celibacy.

The mission

Both ministers and military personnel are people with a mission. Both professions use the term 'mission' in the same way. The minister's mission is to obey God and take the message of the gospel wherever he or she goes and to minister to the needs of others.⁸ The soldier's mission is to obey the commander's order and to carry out the task given in the service of his or her country, as required by the state.

The soldier engages in war, a physical conflict in which he or she is on the 'right' side against an enemy who may seek to destroy the homeland, the state and the values the soldier serves. Retribution, in the form of killing the enemy, is justified by the enemy's wish to destroy not only the soldier, but all that he or she fights for and guards as worthwhile and right (Kitamori 1966; Ellis 1997; Clouse 1991).

screening business candidates, but this is after the candidate has made the choice to apply for a particular type of job.

⁸ The importance of mission for the chaplain is clear in many stories of padres of WWI and WWII. McDowall's (1966) War Diary is a good example with the strong emphasis on duty and mission which is apparent through it. Page 121 gives an example.

The minister also is engaged in a war, but it is a spiritual war against the forces of evil in the world. The minister therefore is also on the side of 'right' and the battle is a continual one against the temptations of evil and sin which will destroy the world. As Harnack says:

The Roman Clement not only regarded all Christians as warriors of God, but he looked with satisfaction and pride on the Roman military and regarded the obedience and the ordered ranks of the army as patterns for the Christian congregation (Harnack 1963:40).

Thus both the soldier and the minister are dedicated to a cause which embraces war and challenge - the one physical, the other spiritual. The soldier's flags, martial music and formal parades are important in keeping the meaning of conflict and battle always before him or her, just as the minister responds to the spiritual battle hymns such as 'Onward christian soldiers...' which employ the imagery of battle and the retribution to be inflicted on the enemy:

Therefore take up the whole armour of God, so that you may be able to withstand on that evil day, and having done everything, to stand firm. Stand therefore, and fasten the belt of truth about your waist, and put on the breastplate of righteousness. As shoes for your feet put on whatever will make you ready to proclaim the gospel of peace. With all these, take the shield of faith, with which you will be able to quench all the flaming arrows of the evil one. Take the helmet of salvation and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God (Eph.6:13-17).⁹

Service and sacrifice

In carrying out their respective missions both minister and soldier are required to give service and sacrifice. Church and military both stress service in their training, and the ideal of sacrifice is a basic precept, dedication to a cause that transcends self (Abercrombie 1977:108-124). In both professions there is a sense that clergy and military are special people - 'set apart' from others by their work

and particular service. Military take the oath of allegiance and are thus 'set aside' in a service that transcends the self through their willingness to lay down their lives, if need be, for the protection of their country and people, and for their comrades. It is no accident that the Army, Navy and Air Force are called 'The Services'. Doctors have the responsibility to save life, but they are not asked to risk their own lives for others or for their professional beliefs. The service of the military is to the state and its people and involves an acceptance of the risk of death in the carrying out of that service. This is the ultimate sacrifice which may be asked of military. The memorial on Omaha Beach, Normandy, bears the inscription: 'No mission too difficult - No sacrifice too great'.

Ministers are those who are called of God to serve their communities. Clergy, at ordination, dedicate their lives to the service of God and of their fellows, to bring the word of God to all they meet and to care for others in all circumstances. God takes precedence in their lives and their first loyalty is to Him. It is only necessary to read the stories of the martyrs to understand the dedication and sacrifice that religious faith and service can require. The minister's message is transcendental in its emphasis on belief in God and the 'hereafter', and loyalty to God transcends all else, even if it means martyrdom for that belief (Abercrombie 1977:146). In service to the state and in service to God, both professions stress that service comes before self.

Strength and fitness

Physical and mental strength and fitness have been stressed in both professions (Dixon 1976; McBride 1995). The soldier, for obvious reasons, must keep in fighting readiness and ensure that he or she is physically capable,

⁹ Refer also to Harnack (1963) who discusses Paul's spiritualizing of the military.

strong and alert. Military training involves extensive physical effort and preparation, so there is the emphasis on physical fitness, health and, in the past, on manly strength. The concept of manliness, discussed earlier in this chapter in the context of patriarchal structure, is changing with the increasing numbers of women in the military and women are now accepted as having equivalent physical abilities and endurance.

The minister's training is in spiritual strength, the strength to resist temptation and the evils of the world of sin. But early in the 20th century, the New Zealand Bible Class movement and YMCA emphasised the spiritual strength of the Christian as linked with both body and mind in their philosophy of healthy body and healthy mind, the '*Four Square*' ideal of the Presbyterian Church Bible Class magazine of the 1920's and 1930's. The connection of sport and healthy physical living was important for Christian youth who would be spiritually strong.¹⁰ Today the trainee minister may be encouraged to participate in sports which will give him or her contact and interest with parishioners but the 'healthy body = healthy mind + healthy living' equation such as that of *Four Square* still has a very strong emphasis, possibly an even stronger emphasis, for both men and women in today's sporting world.

There is a recent change in the military which brings it closer to the church. Phillips (1966) discusses the 'hard man' concept which was symptomatic of the New Zealand perception of the ideal man, and makes the point that intellectualism raised queries about masculinity. While clergy have always been accepted as intellectuals, the soldier has been seen as the personification of the New Zealand male and officers often as '*backroom boys who learn from the book rather than from the hard lessons of experience*' (Phillips 1966:173), an anti-intellectual

attitude. This has changed in post-WWII military with the development of technology and the necessity to have skilled and qualified soldiers to handle complex, sophisticated planes and equipment. Intellectual ability in the military has become a sought-after quality. Advertisements intended to attract young men and women into the services now feature the attraction of military payment for University fees and qualifications (*NZ Herald*. 26-1-99).

Virtues and values

Harnack makes a comment on the relationship of religion and war which is worth noting because of the virtues stressed in both:

Yet war is one of the basic forms of all life, and there are inalienable virtues which find their highest expression at least symbolically in the warrior's calling: obedience and courage, loyalty unto death, self-abnegation and strength (*virtus*). No higher religion can do without the images which are taken from war, and on this account it cannot dispense with "warriors" (Harnack 1963:27-28).

Loyalty, honour, integrity, courage and dedication are valued highly by both military and church. The minister is expected to be honourable and trustworthy in his or her life, both in church and personal dealings. The secrecy of the confessional is of prime importance and the word of the minister is accepted as truthful. The minister swears allegiance to God. The soldier swears allegiance to the state. The military inculcate loyalty to the officer, the unit, the platoon and to one's comrades in arms in the mateship ideal on which the soldier's life may ultimately depend in battle (Dixon 1976; Phillips 1966:213). Truth, loyalty and dedication to the cause are essential as the wrong decisions will be made, the battle lost and the price in lives will be high, if the truth of the battle situation is concealed or misreported or the soldiers leave their posts for their own ends. The chaplains in the survey voiced the priority of the military culture in saying that

¹⁰ See Philip Culbertson (1999) 'Men's Quest for Wholeness: The Changing Counselling Needs of Pakeha Males'. Unpublished manuscript on Muscular Christianity

regardless of Maori or Pakeha heritage, or other ethnic allegiance, the military culture is predominant in the lives, conduct and moral codes of soldiers (Survey Sect.III Qu.18; also chapter 8 on taped interviews).

Former Brigadier Roger Mortlock said in a 1999 television interview: 'The first thing that went through my mind was protecting my men...Loyalty is the very crux of the military profession...' (TV1 21.2.99 *60 Minutes*). The mutual loyalty of officers and soldiers has saved many lives. Mortlock's statement and a comment made by Vietnam veteran Hini Komene of Mortlock's platoon (TV1 23.1.99 *Holmes*) show the depth of the bond between those who serve together in war. The chaplain knows a similar bond and, in living and working with the soldiers, can understand the military community as no outsider can. Ministers are expected to hold values of loyalty to God and church and codes of behaviour which may supersede any pre-existing cultural loyalty. Regardless of ethnicity, their first loyalty is to God and their church. It is in his or her position as the representative and servant of God, dedicated to God's cause and truth, that the integrity of the minister is rooted (Malony & Hunt 1991:137).

Ignatieff (1998:109-164) discusses the codes of a warrior's honour and its moral source in detail, as does Bourke (1999). Ignatieff defines honour as 'both a code of belonging and an ethic of responsibility' (117). He relates it to the Hague Convention of 1907 and the revision of the Geneva convention of 1906 which codified the law of war on land and sea and laid down the rules for the treatment of prisoners of war, and adds the following comment:

But law's dominion over war has always been uncertain. The decisive restraint on inhuman practice on the battlefield lies within the warrior himself, in his conception of what is honorable and dishonorable for a man to do with weapons. In the words of the British military historian John Keegan, 'there is no substitute for honor as a medium of enforcing decency on the battlefield, never has been and never will be. There are no

judges, more to the point, no policemen at the place where death is done in combat' (Ignatieff 1998:118).

Bourke (1999:50) in discussing honour in warfare, quotes a sniper as saying that '...a clean hit was an accomplishment...' which indicated that '...the warrior never abused the power of life and death.'

Courage and valour are encouraged by both military and church. The soldier is rewarded in concrete form by medals and citations for bravery in battle. The clergy may be rewarded by appointment to senior positions which carry the titles of elevation. Such rewards differ from those attained in other professions in that they are not the result of study or advanced learning, nor are they applied for, as in business, teaching or the legal profession. They are awarded as an indication of the respect and worth the recipient has earned. Leadership in the military results in promotion to higher ranks.

Role conflict

In both professions, military and chaplaincy, there is a basic role conflict which each individual must personally resolve in order to function satisfactorily in the service (Burchard 1967; Zahn 1969; Malony & Hunt 1991:89). Military and church are alike in that they both focus on life and death as central concerns. In the military the concern is with the physical life-death conflict of war, that of killing or being killed, which conflicts with the human teaching and instinct to preserve life.¹¹ The officer in the military must care for the troops, but must also order them into the life-threatening situation. The soldiers must obey the order to deliberately kill, or they may themselves be

¹¹ Bourke discusses military killing and the expectations soldiers have of war '...Whether killing was symbolic or tangible, the expectation of blood-letting was part of the experience of all soldiers on active service...' (Bourke 1999:3). Mortlock's resignation from the NZDF demonstrates the conflict in the soldier (TV1 21.2.99 *60 Minutes*).

killed. The church is concerned with issues of spiritual life and death. For the chaplain, the underlying conflict is that of preaching a gospel of love and enacting a ministry of caring, to those who train to kill and those who order the killing.

Death

Both professions eulogise death, the military in war memorials, parades and flags and the church in the liturgy of the eucharist and the memorials to the saints. The eternal flame, Anzac Day, and inscriptions of names in national and local war memorials signify an immortality in the military remembrance of the dead. An immortality of sorts is gained through the sacrifice of life for country. The eucharist celebrates the sacrificial death of Christ and signifies the divine victory over death which is the basis of Christianity (McBride 1995:128). The soldier's life and fight is the physical counterpoint to the spiritual life and fight of the chaplain, and if the aim of one is to kill in the name of justice and freedom, the aim of the other is to bring reconciliation in eternal life and love in Christ. For both the greatest sacrifice given may well be that of life itself. The military is concerned with the present life and death situation, the here and now; the clergy with death and the life of the hereafter in the Resurrection.

Aggression and control

War draws on instinctual primal energies (Morgan 1961:107-120). The human instinct of aggression is perhaps the most important attribute in the soldier (McBride 1995:81), but it is vital in the military that the basic emotions are controlled and directed:

...emotions are both constituted and regulated by rules, and they require appropriate procedures for skilled performance. For example, if a constitutive rule of anger is broken, the emotion will not be counted as an instance of true anger, but of some other emotion or condition (cruelty, say, or sadism). If a regulative rule of anger is

broken, the response may be considered appropriate in kind (e.g., a manifestation of anger)...Too often, emotional control is viewed primarily as a matter of inhibition, and rules of emotion are regarded primarily as regulative. But control implies flexibility, not simply inhibition, and rules enable as well as regulate...Modern technology presents many challenges (e.g., weapons of mass destruction...) (Ekman & Davidson 266-269).

The soldier must have the controlled aggressiveness to not only fight but to kill other people. If the soldier cannot knowingly kill by firing the gun or dropping the bomb when ordered, he or she may undertake other military work in support services, but is useless as part of the fighting force.

Uncontrolled aggression however, is equally useless to the military. More than that, it is dangerous to the whole company and to the state.¹² To be of use in the military situation aggression must be strongly and definitively directed and subject to an absolute control.¹³ The soldier's training is towards this purpose of control. Therefore he or she is surrounded by orders and subjected to the protocols, commands and rituals which require unconditional disciplined behaviour and are inculcated, repeated and tried till the responses of the trainee are immediate and reflexive (Dixon 1976). It is only with such control, that the aggressive instinct can be directed and utilised in planned and deliberate killing with the certainty that the soldier will react exactly as and when the commanders need. The soldier must obey the officer and, above the officer, the state he or she serves. The soldier's aggression is centred on physical conflict, and if the military requirement is to incapacitate or kill, the soldier must be prepared to immediately obey that order even if it requires his or her own life.

¹² A current example of this is the uncontrolled aggression of the militia in East Timor (NZ Herald 10.9.99 B1 & 13.9.99 B1) which could bring UN intervention and sanctions affecting Indonesia.

¹³ Glen (1996:296ff) discusses the effectiveness of controlled and directed aggression in the NZ Maori Battalion in WWII.

The minister is also involved in the learned control of aggression. If the soldier's physical responses are trained for controlled specific use of the aggressive drive, the minister's responses are directed towards forgiveness and the turning of the other cheek, the non-violent counter to aggression which also involves a learned control of the human reflex to retaliate when hurt either physically or emotionally (Morgan 1961:111).

The basic motivational drive of the minister is that of love. It is the love of God and fellow human beings which has called the minister to the service of the church. The theological training for ministry is long and arduous and like that of the soldier it involves self-discipline and submission to the discipline, authority and rituals of the church. The minister must, like the soldier, learn to handle conflict in the spiritual war within him or herself and the temptations he or she is personally subject to, as well as the eternal battle of good against evil in the world. It is not what the minister personally wants that matters it is the will of God.

Conclusion

The military is a unique organisation within society as it is the only organisation which, with the formal approval of the state, trains its personnel in the arts of killing and destruction which are otherwise unlawful. This sets the military apart from the rest of society and its reason for existing is that it puts service to the society above the rights and existence of the self. In this the military has a transcendental aspect. The church also understands and relates to the transcendental. No other profession parallels the military in the way the church does, and no two professions could understand each other as church and military can. Church and military are the opposite poles of similar structures, values, disciplines, and qualities and like the poles of the magnet, they complement each other.

They can be seen not as opponents, but as partners in the service of humanity.

CHAPTER 14**SPIRITUALITY AND THE MILITARY CONTEXT**

In war the soldier and God are well sought. In peace neither are cared for. (Anon.Military.proverb)

This chapter considers the nature of religious spirituality and the military need for it. In their counselling, a counsellor, a psychologist and a chaplain must all operate with awareness of, and sensitivity to, the client's spiritual orientation. All accept in their counselling that there is a spiritual component in human beings. However, there is a difference in their understanding and application of spirituality in their work. The counsellor and psychologist acknowledge and work within the client's spiritual framework. But their own personal spiritual understanding may or may not have a religious basis and may or may not, according to the requirements of the particular counselling situation, be apparent to the client. The counsellor's and psychologist's religious orientation is peripheral to their professional role and purpose which is to assist and facilitate clients to work out their problems with a logical rationale and caring understanding that is relevant to the client's philosophy and way of life. The minister's spirituality is central to his or her work.

Hall in NZDF 5110 (1997:2) defines spirituality as: 'that dimension of human experience which explores meaning both within an individual's life and in their personal relationships'. Halmos (1965:18) discusses the elements of the counsellor's spirituality as qualities of compassion and love for people. This caring love, in Halmos' definition, is a therapeutic healing power whereby the counsellor should cherish and nurture the client. Through this nurturing and personal involvement with the client, the counsellor counter transfers to the client his or her

personal faith in the triumph of love over hatred which communicates to the client a positive, personal value and a concern for the welfare of others (Halmos 1965:49-105).

The minister in the pastoral counselling situation should also ideally have these qualities. But the minister's religious spirituality has a different focus. Hall (NZDF 5110 1997:2) in discussing the religious nature of chaplaincy considers that '...spirituality is not the same as religion. Religion is an expression of and a vehicle for the expression of spirituality'. Hall does not go far enough in his definition, for religious spirituality is much more than an 'expression' of spirituality. Religious spirituality is central to the chaplain's profession and work as a minister. The chaplain is the 'God botherer' (Thompson 1976) who is in the military specifically because of his or her religious spirituality (Chaplains' Handbook 1990: paras. 323; 327, 1004). The chaplain is a minister of God and God is the basis of religion and spirituality. The chaplain brings spirituality and God into the military situation. The chaplain is expected to bring into the military situation a transcendental understanding and spiritual point of reference. This is quite clear in the military regulations which state that the chaplain's first loyalty is to God and the church. (NZDF DM65; Survey III:7)

There is a further difference between the counsellor's spirituality and the religious spirituality of the minister of God, which is that the secular counsellor's spirituality is based on values and qualities which have significance for the client's present situation and future life. The minister's spirituality is also concerned with the individual's present and future life, but the christian minister's spirituality is based on the hope, faith and meaning of the 'Good News' of life in Jesus Christ. Religious spirituality reaches further than the client's present situation and life. It is transcendent in that it

reaches past death to a life, existence or meaning in God that is beyond this world.

Spirituality, in the religious sense then, is the individual's relationship with God¹ which has a personal meaning beyond life. It is how each person perceives and conceptualizes God and the meaning this perception gives to his or her individual existence. In battle the relationship of the self to the transcendent has to be resolved if the soldier is to come to terms with death, killing, injury and survival in war. Culbertson (1995) gives four categories of spirituality and says that:

The category entitled "the Search for Integration" emphasizes primarily the connectedness of all that is within one and the relationship of that connectedness to the whole cosmos, including or not including a transcendent being or power".

The chaplain's religious spirituality is central to his or her vocation and mission in the military. It is openly apparent to all by the insignia the chaplain wears. That insignia proclaims the presence of Christ who gives meaning to death and represents God's continual love and care in all aspects of the soldier's life and death. While God is with them, the troops facing battle will never be alone in their fear and need (Survey II:7).

Ambassadors for God

Chaplaincy in the military is more than a practical healing, counselling and caring role. It is also an exemplary one, i.e. it is a manifestation of God present in the military and war situation. As an exemplar, the chaplain illustrates that God chooses to share the life of the military in peace and in war, and by that sharing,

¹ Cross (1958:1281) defines Christian spirit as '...the intelligent and immaterial part of man or the human soul in general, whether untied with the body in life or separated from it in death... not subject to the limits of time, space, and a bodily frame. In this sense God Himself is said ...to be spirit...'.

understands and experiences the soldiers' situations, and their fears, with them:

...in Christ God was reconciling the world to himself, not counting their trespasses against them, and entrusting the message of reconciliation to us. So we are ambassadors for Christ...(2 Cor.5:19-20; Survey III:2a).

The soldiers do not have to rationalise or express their feelings. They do not need to make an appointment to discuss their fears. God is with the soldiers in all aspects of their military life, is part of it and fully comprehends their needs, emotions, questions and fears even in the carnage of war and violent death: '...even there your hand shall lead me, and your right hand shall hold me fast...' (Ps 139:10). God's love and care extends much further than the counsellor's. In the front line of battle the chaplain's presence identifies this and so brings an immediate response to those needs and a value to human existence and death in a perception of personal meaning beyond death. In the chaplain, 'The Man is the Message'.²

Counsellor and psychologist are not models or examples for the client to follow. They are facilitators and may set up models which the client wishes to emulate. They can help a dysfunctional, stressed or emotionally traumatised person to recover a sense of balance and function in life. But they do not represent God. It is the chaplain who exemplifies, in his or her role and presentation of faith, what God means, in both peace and war.

The presence of military chaplains in the armed services is a public statement in itself. The 1972 United States study of military chaplaincy, in rejecting proposals for a change

² Bob Grinder, who was Prison Chaplain at Auckland Maximum Security prison for over 20 years, told the researcher that chaplains were officially appointed to New Zealand prisons when war veterans, who could not adjust post-war, asked for religious chaplains to be available for them in prison. Grinder used the phrase 'The man is the message' to describe his prison work. Two of the military

to civilian chaplaincy, made the point that the presence of chaplains as part of the military is a strong reminder that the establishment addresses, to itself and others, that there is something

...transcendental about human life'. It is the military establishment's recognition 'that the ultimate issues of existence are not determined by military orders'. A ministry by civilian clergymen would not begin to say this with equal force. In part this would be true simply because a civilian clergyman would not be in a position 'to serve where the needs are greatest - on the battlefield, in medical aid stations,...under fire and in evacuation vehicles' (Interfaith Committee 1972: 45).

The chaplain in war

The chaplains who responded to the survey saw the chaplain's presence with the troops in the daily life and training on the base and alongside the soldiers in battle as vital to effective chaplaincy. Several part-time chaplains who declined to answer the questionnaire stated that they felt they did not know enough about, or have enough contact with the military to do so effectively. This could imply that these chaplains did not understand fully the need for religious spirituality in the military because they had no military experience of chaplaincy in war. In the literature and stories of war, the chaplain's presence in the war situation, and the faith in God shown through the chaplain's own behaviour, are the things which soldiers comment on, which impress them and provide strength and the will to survive.

The young man of today can think, he can appreciate, and he is definitely prepared to criticize. He wants to know what is going on, and what you want him to do - and why, and when. He wants to know that in the doing of it his best interests will be absolutely secure in your hands (Smyth 1968:230).

chaplains surveyed also used this phrase to describe military chaplaincy.

Soldiers must face their own individual mortality and that of their comrades, and they also need to come to terms with the death they inflict on others. The church proclaims a gospel of love and the reality of a transcendental hope. But without life there is no meaning to love for humanity. Military work involves training personnel to deal out premeditated death and destruction, not only in a face-to-face situation with enemy soldiers, but often on a large scale in which civilians are the main casualties:

The NZDF has come to understand through its own operational experience, and that of other services, that individuals who possess a strong belief system enhance the sustainability of operations, by increasing survivability when under extreme pressure...and by enabling individuals to deal with the aftermath of their experiences (NZDF 5110 1997:1).

Training personnel to risk situations of deliberate and violent death, and to inflict it on others, brings with it a questioning of the meaning and relevance of life as well as the relevance of death. At some stage the soldier will ask questions about what he or she does. 'Why live to kill and die? What does death mean? What is it all for?' Death and war bring with them the question of why we live and what we live for. The soldier seeks meaning and understanding as to the value of his or her personal existence, the meaning and value of the existence of those he or she will kill and what human existence means in the framework of living and dying:

...life's meaning is an unconditional one... That unconditional meaning, however, is paralleled by the unconditional value of each and every person. It is that which warrants the indelible quality of the dignity of man...Confounding the dignity of man with mere usefulness arises from a conceptual confusion that in turn may be traced back to the contemporary nihilism transmitted on many an ...analytical couch...Nihilism does not contend that there is nothing, but it states that everything is meaningless (Frankl 1984:176).

Thorne (1998:46-47) expresses this in terms of human powerlessness and although he is concerned with human

companionship, paralleled in the mateship and loyalty soldiers have to each other, his reference to the companionship of God is a relevant one for the chaplain:

The acceptance of powerlessness of which I speak is recognition of our own limitations and at the same time acknowledgement of the infinite resources by which we are surrounded. Unfortunately, however, there is nothing we can do by straining or striving to lay hold of these resources...I believe, that most of us do not apprehend God directly - we cannot bank on this direct companionship with God...it is in acknowledging the infinite value of such companionship that we are enabled to accept our powerlessness and thus make ourselves accessible to the infinite resources by which we are surrounded.

The soldiers in the war situation understand their powerlessness as individuals. They must function as part of the unit and are dependent on each other. But their deaths and the deaths they cause are all individual deaths, and in coming to terms with death each person is alone with God. Death in war has to have meaning for the warrior. The soldier has to be able to identify with whatever 'God' personally means, with what death and life mean, and also with the cause for which he or she fights, kills and is prepared to die. A survey chaplain phrased it: 'chaplaincy carries something that's more basic in Christianity than the churches often do...' (chapter 8). War deals in the basics of life and death. War means not only danger and possible death to the soldier; it means the soldier must seek to kill or incapacitate others, often innocents caught in the strife. Are the lives of those the soldier kills meaningless? There must be an ideal or belief to fight and kill for which is greater than both the soldier's life and the lives the soldier takes.

The message that the chaplain represents in war is vividly conveyed in war histories, diaries and experiences.³ Viktor

³ Examples in the Bibliography include Burton 1935; Clifford 1989; DeChardin 1965; Forsman 1992; Haigh 1983; Hargest 1945; Kippenberger 1948; McDowall 1966; Parker 1955; Smyth 1965 and Underhill 1950.

Frankl (1984:54) gives an example of the depth of religious need in the most appalling of war circumstances in his analysis of the concentration camps:

The religious interest of the prisoners...was the most sincere imaginable. The depth and vigor of religious belief often surprised and moved a new arrival. Most impressive in this connection were the improvised prayers or services in the corner of a hut, or in the darkness of the locked cattle truck...

As one survey chaplain commented, an officer said to him: 'There is no such thing as an atheist in a foxhole!' (Survey II:10). This may not be so easily recognised in times of peace, when the reality of war is remote; but the very existence of armed services means nations and communities accept that war is a part of human life and wherever there are human beings, war is always a possibility. Wherever there is war, God is there also, and it is in war that the spiritual relevance of the military chaplain is most clearly seen. It is the spiritual presentation of God in all life and death which is the essence of the chaplain's work in a profession of fighting and killing.

One of the chaplains⁴ who had experienced war told a story of a badly wounded Gurkha soldier he was asked to attend. Another Gurkha told the chaplain the wounded man was distressed because he was not in touch with his people and homeland. The chaplain found one of his fellows who had a small bag of Nepalese soil, and he gave this to the wounded man and asked God's blessing. The man clutched the soil as the chaplain prayed in a language different from his own, to a god different from his own, and later recovered to fight again. The reason for his will to fight, and to recover from injury, lay in the spiritual meaning that the soil of his homeland conveyed and the blessing given with it. The men of the Maori Battalion in WWII related

⁴ Chaplain "G" (Chapter 8).

similarly to their belonging in the land.⁵ The tomb of the Unknown Warrior in Westminster Abbey carries an inscription which gives the soldier's cause and the reason he has given his life for that cause:

Thus are commemorated the great multitude who during the Great War of 1914-1918 gave the most that man can give Life itself For God, for king and for country, for loved ones, home and empire for the sacred cause of justice and the freedom of the world.

The personal cause lies in the beliefs and belonging of the person, but the reason for that cause lies in the belonging with God for, in order to willingly and deliberately face death and inflict it on others, the reason must be more important than life.

The secular counsellor may look for motives and reasons in clarifying the relationship of a person to the cause he or she is prepared to fight for, but the chaplain expresses it at the higher level of the person in relation to God. To confront one's own mortality is to confront the reason for life and existence and that is only found in God. The chaplain and church, regardless of creed or denomination, have a universality in their representation of the religious and spiritual needs of humanity, particularly those of life and death. The Hebrew faith brings the promise of God to his chosen people. Islam brings the hope in Allah's will and purpose. The Christian church brings faith in the meaning of life and death through the message of the resurrection in Christ. Williams (1986:170f) expresses the christian relationship of the life of the flesh and the spirit by quoting the promise of Romans 5:10-11:

For if while we were enemies, we were reconciled to God through the death of his Son, much more surely, having been reconciled, will we be saved by his life. But more than that, we even boast in

⁵ Glen (1996:278ff) discusses this in his chapter on the Maori Battalion.

God through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom we have now received reconciliation.

McQuade (1995:17), in his book *Wartime Memories: Stories of Men, Women and Children in World War II*, includes the story of the New Zealand chaplain, Fr.Kingan of 26th Battalion, who on the night prior to the battle of El Alamein, walked in the dark along the ridge, past each of the 842 men dug-in ready for battle, paused and placed a hand on the shoulder of each as he passed saying 'God bless you my son.' For many of those men that blessing would be their last or only contact with the church. But for those men, facing their own mortality and preparing to inflict death on the others, it conveyed the power of their individual relationship with God.

The promise

God's promise of hope is conveyed in and through the ministry of the chaplain. The soldier's sacrifice will not be in vain:

For God so loved the world that he gave his only Son, so that everyone who believes in him may not perish but may have eternal life (John 3:16).
No one has greater love than this, to lay down one's life for one's friends (John 15:13).

St Paul gives the soldier's response:

I appeal to you therefore, brothers and sisters, by the mercies of God, to present your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, which is your spiritual worship (Rom.12:1).

The chaplain's role is the work of putting the soldiers in touch with their own spirituality and the recognition of their own mortality and what it means to them. Jonathan Walker in *The Blood Tub* (1998:11) gives an example of this in the account of the battle of Bullecourt:

The shells passing over my head made one steady hiss. I heard later that the French fired 176,000 rounds and in the last ten minutes, they were firing 46 shells a second...As wave after wave attacked, casualties in Gough's 7th Division mounted. Amazingly, the men remained steady, which

was due in no small part to the work of the chaplains, who moved among the Battalions waiting in their 'jumping off' trenches. The Rev.Hon. Maurice Peel...told the waiting men to pass along the words, 'remember this, God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten son'. Hard-bitten soldiers, fixing their bayonets, found themselves repeating it down the line. Peel then got permission from Gough, which was rare from a commander at this stage of the war, to go over the top with his men in order to comfort the wounded in no man's land. The fifty-year-old Peel, armed only with a walking stick and a Bible, went over with the first wave...

Secular or religious spirituality?

New Zealand is a secular state and, as the chaplains comment, the majority of military personnel may have no contact with any religious organisation or person other than the chaplain on the base. But the secular age may be passing as scientists and philosophers are already developing a world view in which transcendence may be important and which the next generation may develop further:

...the belief is that modern society is on a steady and irreversible course towards increasing secularization, and that this is to be welcomed since it enables us to put the wars of religion behind us and to create a society in which the conflicting truth-claims of the religions do not tear society to pieces...Rational planning, forecasting, and organizing would create a world in which there was no place for God....The first thing to be said about this belief is that it appears to be a myth...the strongly conservative and evangelical elements in the Protestant Churches have undergone a remarkable renaissance ...Religious belief has become a serious factor in public politics...these movements are not mainly among the marginalized and disadvantaged sections of society...the evidence leads to the conclusion that secularization will not usher in a post-religious era. Instead, it will repeatedly lead to a resupply of vigorous otherworldly religious organizations... (Newbigin 1989:211-213)

C.Leon Sims (1998:251) discusses the effects of post-modern development on hospital, prison and industrial chaplaincy and relates post-modern thinking to research in science:

If the universe is spatially unbounded, perhaps it is limitless in worth as well...If we could be taken backstage into the physical recesses, might we not find harmony hidden there as well - earth joined to heaven, man working with God? ...Scientists themselves are beginning to suggest that our haven may be nowhere in the space-time manifold since that manifold is itself derivative and relative, [so] our final move may be into a different dimension of reality entirely.

Even an atheist hopes for meaning in life and seeks a rational explanation of death. If a person has no hope or sees no meaning in life, then he or she has nothing to live for, to love or to fight and die for. Sims continues:

The chaplain carries the faith, which the other may have covered over and forgotten, that...one may be born anew... It is faith in an attribute of the human spirit gifted and empowered by God. Further the chaplain...will be able to tolerate the negativities in his or her client, organization, and world, enfolding them within an emerging whole (Sims 1998:259).

The church and the military

We have looked at the contribution the church makes to the military. Chapter 1 noted the contribution the military made to the early church through the opportunity the military connection allowed for the church to spread the Christian gospel and the influence and political power this gave the church. But what does the military contribute to the church of today? The military connection gives the church an opportunity to look at the meaning of its own spirituality. While the minister sees and must understand death and mortality in the parish and in chaplaincies such as hospital ministry, it is in the deliberate situation of war and the preparation for premeditated death that the power of religious spirituality can be seen most clearly. The chaplain's spirituality represents a transcendental hope and faith in a meaning beyond life and death that can give the soldier in the field, or the one facing the red button in the silence of the concrete bunker, the courage and will to do the necessary work and to survive or die. Religious spirituality can give shattered communities the

will and spirit to re-create their lives. Religion sees meaning in existence, in our relationship to a creator-God whose purposes are being worked out in history. It also sees meaning in death. In the military, the church, in the person of the chaplain, is the link between the soldier and the meaning of what the soldier is and does. The chaplain is also a link between the military and its particular society. The existence of the military in any society indicates that that society holds a belief that its particular ethic or choice of way of life is right for its people and is worth defending.

The opening words of the Bible, "In the beginning, God.." are critical for all religions. They answer questions that people have been asking from time immemorial. Was there a beginning? If there was a beginning was there a creative agency? If there was a creative agency was there a purpose in that creation? If there was such a purpose does it involve our destiny? If we have such a destiny, can we understand its meaning and cooperate in its achievement? If we do so cooperate can we expect to see the results of the creative plan in an eternal life? To all these questions the Bible answers yes.....(Williams 1986:19-20).

The chaplain, not the counsellor, is the person to respond to these questions. Military work asks questions that only the church can fully respond to. No matter what the soldier's motives for initial enlistment may have been, in working in a profession that has the death of the enemy as its ultimate outcome and the soldier's own death as a possibility, all soldiers who go to war must at some stage reconcile themselves with what they do, the cause for which they do it and their individual relationship with what they perceive as God. The soldier may enter the military for the training in skills that are later transferrable to civilian occupations. He or she may look for adventure or job security and hope that war will not eventuate. But in the present world, war is always a possibility, and perhaps even more precipitately so today than fifty years ago. If, and when, the decision comes from the state, the military, no matter what the wishes or hopes of the individuals

within it may be, must answer that summons. Sooner or later the soldier must face the meaning of what he or she does and the church must be there to ensure that it is faced. If it is not, war loses any justification for peace and human rights and becomes only brute conquest.

The *NZ Herald* (27-28.3.99:B4) gave prominence to the prayer and reading of United States chaplain Lt. Frederick McGuffin on board the USS *Philippine Seas* off the coast of Croatia, prior to NATO's missile strike against Serbian ethnic cleansing of Kosovo. The ship's captain, Robert Jenkins presented the crew's feelings about the attack:

...The crew is serious about what they're doing...They do not consider this in a light way...Anybody who does this for a living does it to maintain peace. When military action is called upon, the crews who are assigned to the job go out and do the best they can...The bottom line is that a peaceful solution any time, any place, is always preferred over a military one.

This is not the talk of war-mongers. It is not militarism. It is the attitude of armed services personnel who hope for a peaceful solution but accept the responsibility to act against oppression when their government and people ask it of them and to give their own lives if need be, to protect the human rights of others. The man speaking is one who is in touch with his own spirituality in God and it is this that gives him the humanity to seek peaceful resolution and the acceptance to do what is necessary and not kill for the sake of killing.

PART 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

CHAPTER 15**CONCLUSIONS****Introduction**

Chapters 13 and 14 discussed the relationship between the church and military, the similarities they share in their organisation, values and aims and the nature of the religious spirituality inherent in the military. In considering future options for chaplaincy in the NZDF this study has looked at four possibilities: continuation of the present system of chaplaincy in the military; the replacement of chaplaincy by secular welfare and counselling services; the opening of chaplaincy to include other christian and non-christian religions; and the replacement of current military chaplaincy with a civilian church-based chaplaincy.

Two of these options, the replacement of chaplaincy by secular services and the replacement of the present military chaplaincy by a civilian chaplaincy, would necessitate some extensive changes for both military and church. The other two options, continuation of the present military chaplaincy system and the opening of chaplaincy to other faiths and denominations, require little or no adaptation of the present chaplaincy organisation. However all, except perhaps the continuation of the present chaplaincy, require considerable rethinking by the churches of what chaplaincy is and does. Some weaknesses in present chaplaincy were noted in the survey of chaplains. These indicate that if present chaplaincy continues, the churches still need to give thought to their military chaplains, to recent changes in NZDF focus, and to church attitudes to the church-military connection.

Reasons for chaplaincy in the military

Several points emerge from both the literature and the survey which are important if military chaplaincy in New Zealand is to be of ongoing value to both the churches and the military.

1. Chaplaincy has its greatest value in the active service situation. Although the chaplain contributes much to the care of military personnel in peacetime, it is in war and active service that the chaplain is most needed. The chaplains' response in the survey showed that accompanying the troops in war is seen as one of the two most important reasons for chaplains to be in the military and that full-time chaplaincy is essential. Because chaplains are deployable they must have military training so that they understand the work of military and do not prejudice themselves or their troops in battle or active service peacekeeping. They also need preparation for what is likely to be required of them as ministers in war. Chaplains surveyed had no doubts about the value of chaplaincy in war and the deployment of chaplains in active service and peacekeeping situations (Survey III 1,2 & 4). Apart from qualifying statements, such as that of the navy chaplain who noted the chaplain was not permitted in combat¹, their response was that they would accompany their troops into the war situation but would not themselves fight.
2. The other justification for military chaplaincy that the chaplains gave is that the church should be wherever there are people. The military are people who need God's care as much as, perhaps even more than, any other group. Ministers serve God and take God's word to people everywhere, in all walks of life.
3. The military is a sub-culture within society and has a structural, social and traditional milieu of its own. The

¹ The chaplain's place on a warship in battle is at the medical station.

on-base parish provides stability in this highly mobile and specialized culture. All new personnel coming into a base know what the chaplain does, how best to utilise him or her, and where and when the chaplain may be located and available. The chaplains are themselves military personnel and therefore know the specific life and needs of the military culture. Help and pastoral care does not have to be sought out in an external parish of strangers where the minister may or may not be available and may not know or recognise the problems peculiar to military life. The chaplains were clear about these reasons for chaplaincy (cf. Section III of the survey, Questions 7,10 & 13).

4. Full-time chaplaincy is important. Even part-time chaplains agreed with this. The chaplain needs to be seen to be part of the military, so that he or she has the understanding of military ways, difficulties, personnel and protocol. Because of this understanding and the chaplain's place within the military, the chaplain's right to question and advise officers can be accepted, helpful and useful. At best, the chaplain questions and advises from a position of knowledge of the military needs and processes, not from personal opinion or ignorance. The full-time chaplain knows the personnel, their work and their status within the military hierarchy so is able to approach the relevant people to help in any situation (Sect II 7; Sect III 24). It is because military chaplains know the military requirements as well as the personnel in their units that they can effectively address the moral limitations on the use of force. The chaplain is a counterforce to the tendency towards brutalization, cynicism and contempt for human life that combat preparation tends to entail. The church, through the chaplain, could be said to take 'an active and positive role in the control of inhumanity in the last ditch need for force when peaceful means of settling disputes fail' (Interfaith study 1972:45ff. See also Sect III 10 of the Survey).

5. Good quality ministers with high levels of ability and understanding are needed: military chaplaincy presents profound challenges. It is no job for an incompetent minister. This is apparent not only in the survey and in the war literature but also in talk with chaplains in the course of this study. The researcher formed the opinion that, as a group, military chaplains are outgoing, warm and responsive and impressive as men and women of ability, understanding and tolerance. A chaplain must have good people skills, be able to relate to all and to respond quickly and suitably to the needs of people in situations which can include extreme trauma, danger and violence. The chaplain must be a leader in spiritual matters and sure in his or her faith, yet at the same time be able to accept orders, work positively and cooperatively with officers and troops, with ministers of other denominations and faiths, and even, at times, with the enemy. The chaplains are often totally alone in their chaplaincy work and must be able to work constructively and cope with solitariness, yet keep the connection with and honour the precepts of their denominational church. Other requirements of good chaplaincy involve counselling skills which are sufficiently well-developed that a variety of needs can be handled and the chaplain can quickly assess and refer on when expert specialist treatment is required. Organisational ability is important and the ability to cope with frustration both in the protocol of military life and in the extended training of personnel who seldom experience the situations they train for. These qualities are not found in all ministers, but they are all needed in the military chaplain.

6. Military chaplaincy is ecumenical. The chaplain should be able to give spiritual and counselling help to people from a wide range of religious faiths and denominations, without imposing his or her own denominational beliefs.

Chaplains of different denominations need to work together harmoniously. It was noticeable in the survey that whatever chaplains felt about their work and whatever criticisms they made, they were complimentary of their colleagues in other denominations and denominational differences did not disrupt their chaplaincy work. Several commented that they gained better understanding of, and respect for, other denominations and faiths because of their work in the military, and that the churches could learn much from military ecumenism.

7. The chaplain needs to be a person of strong faith. Chaplains are in the military first and foremost for their spiritual ministry (Chaplains' Handbook 1990: paras. 323; 327; 1004). This is the most important aspect of their work and it is work which no one else can do (Sect II questions 6 & 7). The chaplains did not find any ethical conflict between their Christian beliefs and their work with military and none were in doubt as to where their loyalty lay. Military ministry demands a spiritual strength and certainty that few other professions require.

The options

Chaplaincy needs the above requirements and qualities if it is to be of worth to both church and military. In considering the options for future directions of chaplaincy it is also important to see where the main difficulties arise. There are many aspects of chaplaincy which, while they do present difficulties, are problems which can be overcome. The problems some ministers and churches have with chaplains wearing uniform and thus being seen as condoning military action is not an insuperable one. It can be solved by either the use of civilian clothing, military uniform without rank, or the promotion of a better understanding among the clergy of the reasons why a uniform which indicates that the minister is part of the military, is of value in promoting the work of the church. The work

the chaplain does in moral education classes could be handled equally well by secular personnel, or full-time, part-time or civilian chaplains although it needs a person who knows and understands the military culture. Aspects of pastoral work, such as housing for families, marriage, alcohol and drug addiction and other specialist counselling work, can be, and frequently are, handled by secular or civilian staff. The use of secular civilian counselling specialists is more suitable and effective when personal in-depth or long-term work is needed. Other problems are less easy to resolve and these need to be considered under the separate options.

Secular services to replace religious chaplaincy

The secular option looked at the use of psychologists, counsellors and welfare workers instead of chaplains and noted that the military already make use of these specialist personnel and that their work currently overlaps the work of the chaplain to some extent. But there are important differences in the work of counsellors and psychologists from that of chaplains.

Counselling and in-depth psychological treatment may require many hours or weeks of work. Psychologists and counsellors need time for specialist in-depth work with individuals. Their work is more similar to that of the doctor than the priest, in that they treat the problem until such time as the client no longer needs help. Their work is finite. It is also predominantly individual work although the counsellor may often work with small groups of people who have similar problems. The chaplain can also work as counsellor on a particular problem with an individual or small group. But the chaplain's work area of concern is much wider than the counsellor's. The chaplain reaches the larger community through both preaching and teaching roles. The continuous nature of pastoral care means that the chaplain sees the client in everyday life

and work and is aware not only of the needs of that individual but also of the needs of the family and the wider military community the client interacts with. The chaplain's pastoral work is ongoing and continues after the specific counselling is no longer needed.

The ordained minister is the only one who can take formal religious services and administer the sacraments. Secular personnel can take over some of the work of chaplaincy, but ordained clerics are still needed to service the military either in or outside the base, even if only for official military religious occasions. The military see a need for the ministration of the chaplain and much of the essential military culture and tradition is based on Christian religious spirituality. As noted [chapter 9], counsellors and psychologists today recognise the spirituality of the client, but recognition of the client's spiritual orientation may not be sufficient in the war situation or in the preparation for it. The understanding of life and death within the context of a transcendental framework of meaning which religion gives is basic to understanding military work, and it is the church which provides this meaning in the soldier's life. Harper (1957:195) says:

...the situation of the serviceman is a difficult one: his domestic life uprooted, his freedom curtailed, his immediate community restricted ...the gospel must speak to what is timely here as well as to what is timeless...how to account for the fact that almost any chaplain who makes himself available is besieged by more men seeking help with personal problems in a month than most ministers receive in a year?...He can interpret the vocation of a soldier or sailor or airman not as the royal road to glory but as the tragic necessity of international police action...

Chaplains are deployable and are needed to accompany troops in times of war. How well would chaplains react and perform in a war situation if they have never had previous contact with and understanding of military work? Would ministers who have no concept of military life and no wish to be

involved in war volunteer for the work? Some of the WWII studies point out difficulties chaplains faced in going to war unprepared. War today does not leave time for lengthy calling up of volunteers or suitable training for them. It can erupt suddenly or be over in a matter of days but is nevertheless just as traumatic.

Soldiers can be trained to cope with many aspects of battle stress and emotional fatigue. But Tinsley (1988) and Taylor (1977) in their discussions on battle trauma, do not distinguish between the effect of the emotional reaction to the real, as against the simulated or practiced, war situation. In peacetime training, soldiers know that their lives do not depend on their response. There may be risks involved in training exercises but the soldiers and their fellows will not be killed or kill, and innocent civilians will not be harmed. War is extremely difficult to simulate. Battle exercises remain exercises, and even a hi-tech virtual reality simulation is known to be simulation or practice.² In the wars of tomorrow, when the pilot directs the unmanned plane and fires the weapons from a control station 2000km away, the effects of the resultant devastation on the pilot may be even more traumatic because of the unreality of the pilot's situation and the delay in realisation of what has happened. The stories of the men who flew the *Enola Gay* to drop the bomb on Hiroshima illustrate this realisation (Thomas & Witts 1978).

Counsellors and psychologists are, like the chaplain, concerned with death, but their counselling deals mainly with the natural dying process or the grieving and trauma suffered by relatives and friends after the violent or accidental death of others. The chaplain deals with the premeditated death of war which seeks meaning before the act to allow killing to take place, as well as during and

² Orson Scott Card (1985) makes this a feature of his novel *Ender's Game* where children who think they are playing games are in reality fighting a war.

after. Bourke (1996:213) gives descriptions of what death can be like in war:

...What was wretched about death in war was not (according to Arthur West) the fact that men had been killed, but that wartime corpses were so 'limp and ,mean-looking: this [was] the devil of it, that a man [was] not only killed, but made to look so vile and filthy in death, so futile and meaningless'...War promised men the kind of death that 'removed [their] stomach[s], and left [them] a mangled heap of human flesh'. Death was obscene...and putrifying buttocks exposed. Men were roasted alive...bodies continued walking after decapitation; shells burst and bodies simply vanished...their jaws dropped and out poured so much blood. Aeroplane propellers sliced men into pieces. In death, white soldiers turned blackish and black Senegalese soldiers turned whitish. Bodies lay forever unburied, eaten by the dogs, birds and rats...

Can any training prepare soldiers for the reality of this? It is necessary, if humanity is to retain its rights and freedoms, that some people must be prepared to face such situations and if spiritual belief and comfort can help them do so, then they should have that. Warfare is changing but not improving. With nuclear potential it becomes even worse. Bourke comments (1999:77) on the 'invisible enemy' of modern technological warfare and the increasing confusion, loneliness, fear and loss of needed aggression noted in combatants. The chaplain has trained with the soldiers, is in the war situation and experiences and risks it with them. The chaplain knows the trauma the troops must face and faces it with them, so can give the needed response.

An argument for the use of secular services rather than religious ministry in the military is that work in the military presents a situation of ethical conflict for the chaplain. The minister preaches a gospel of love but the warrior's life is dedicated to the art of violent warfare. Bourke (1999:69-102) in her examination of how best to train soldiers to kill, looks at the role of the chaplain in war training. She discusses the chaplaincy studies of

Burchard (1967), Zahn (1969) and Abercrombie (1977), and makes this observation:

Writing from perspectives which were hostile to the armed forces, both Burchard and Zahn imagined that chaplains and the religious establishment possessed a different interpretation of moral actions to military officers and their institution. As this chapter has suggested, it was possible that there was no perceived difference of ethical belief between religious and military hierarchies. This argument is supported by a survey of chaplains carried out by Clarence L. Abercrombie in the 1970s. At one point, he asked both civilian and military chaplains to indicate how each of thirty value-laden attributes would be evaluated by, first, an ideal military officer and, second, by an ideal Christian clergyman. Although the chaplains did disagree on specific points, every clergyman saw clerical and military values as almost identical. In other words, they genuinely did not perceive any conflict in their roles (Bourke 1999:301-302).

Bourke's opinion supports Dixon's (1976) analysis of the military and the responses of the surveyed chaplains in this study, none of whom felt conflict in their role as minister to the military.

The early church fathers accepted there was a place for the priest in war and, as chapter 12 notes, there is a difference between militarism and military. The presence of the church in the military is not a conflict of ethic but a constant reminder to both military personnel and civilians that the church works for peace - even in war. In East Timor (*TV3 6pm News 16.9.99*), militarist militia have killed people who democratically voted for independence. New Zealand military were sent to help enforce the transition to peaceful independence. The policing troops may have to fight Indonesian militia in order to do this.

Psychologist, counsellor and minister each have specific roles in the care and training of military personnel. While their work can overlap in some areas, there are differences in their roles which need each of the three

specialists. The exception would be the appointment of an ordained minister with specialist counselling qualification, or a counsellor with religious ordination and parish experience who might fill the roles of both counsellor and chaplain. Even so, because of the extent of pastoral work, religious servicing, training, deployment, educational and counselling work and the time involved, one person could not adequately handle the work. The replacement of chaplains by counsellors does not gain anything in terms of fewer personnel or less public expense but it would leave the military without the ministry so integral to it.

A move to replace chaplaincy with secular-only pastoral care has little to recommend it. Counselling and psychological personnel already have a recognised place and value in military work in the training, care and rehabilitation of soldiers, but the military organisation has spiritual needs which only the ordained minister can adequately fill. The present arrangement utilises both secular and religious personnel and for the most part they work well together and respect each others' place and value in the military.

Civilian chaplaincy

The reasons for the rejection of the USA proposals for a civilian chaplaincy can be largely applied to any similar New Zealand proposal. As discussed, the United States studies did not present any defined proposals for a possible structure or administration of a civilian chaplaincy, although funding was examined. The expressed concerns of the United States Interfaith Committee were that the withdrawal of institutional religion would have the psychological effect of religion's abandonment of the military establishment and that a civilian minister would have difficulty in achieving the same degree of rapport with military personnel which a military chaplain has:

There is an undeniable feeling on the part of military personnel that someone in their uniform

is closer to them, serving under the same commander and under the provisions of the same regulations, and therefore more likely to better appreciate their problems (Interfaith Committee 1972:50).

The German study gives a model for development of a civilian chaplaincy and a means by which it could be funded but the criticisms made in chapter 12 stand. If a similar chaplaincy were to be considered for New Zealand, cost estimates would need to be made and the question addressed as to whether or not a secular New Zealand government would be prepared to fund a chaplaincy to the military which included buildings built and furnished by the state but owned, controlled and used by churches. If the mainstream churches had the control, how would other denominations and possibly non-christian faiths fare as regards use of the facilities? The New Zealand state currently pays for base chapels through the military and the military accept the responsibility for control, maintenance and use by chaplains and the buildings remain base property.

Alternatively, if a civilian chaplaincy was to be funded and operated by the churches without state or military cost, how would the New Zealand churches respond? Would a denomination, which had no chaplain of its own persuasion appointed to the base, be willing to contribute to the funding of chaplaincy on that base? The United States studies showed that the civilian options considered were all more expensive to operate than the state-funded military chaplaincy. Should funding and chaplaincy appointments be assessed on New Zealand percentage denomination numbers, on the percentage of denominational adherents on base, or are they to be voluntary from churches prepared to pay and give ministers time allocation for chaplaincy work? If, as under the German chaplaincy, each base is considered a parish, which New Zealand denominations should operate that particular parish? Should all churches have access to all bases and the right to hold

services and pursue pastoral work in competition with each other? If the German model is to be considered, it must be remembered that New Zealand has a very much smaller population and military than Germany, so that a full-time civilian chaplaincy may not be viable in New Zealand as it is in Germany which supports approximately 220 chaplains compared with New Zealand's twenty-three present full-time chaplains.

Military training is essential if a chaplain is to be able to work in the active war situation. If civilian chaplains are to be appointed to the NZDF, are they to be full-time chaplains trained as military, as in Germany, so that they will be suitable for deployment, or is a civilian chaplaincy to operate only on base? If chaplains train as military and are full-time chaplaincy appointees to a base parish, there seems to be little difference from the present system other than some variation in the religious groups servicing the base. Military agreement and some degree of military control would still be required so the pacifist arguments concerning churches and ministers as controlled or manipulated by the military would still apply.

The major difficulties for a New Zealand adoption of civilian chaplaincy are:

- 1) There is no state church in New Zealand and the state and military are unlikely to be prepared to pay fully for a chaplaincy which is under independent religious control. There is, however, some precedent for part-payment through government, in that the government has in the past met about 50% of the costs of hospital chaplaincy. The Justice Department appoints a senior Prison chaplain and clergy working in prisons are considered part of the state welfare system. They are classed as temporary public servants, but are under the discipline of their own churches. Police chaplains are also state-funded, but this chaplaincy is

based on availability and call and is not full-time (Glen 1999b). A similar system to any one of these could be a possibility for military chaplaincy but with present New Zealand privatisation policies and budget constraints on public spending, continuation of state funding of these chaplaincies could well be under threat.

2) If civilian chaplaincy were to be fully church-based and funded, the denominations would have to agree on funding, access and control of shared chaplaincy work. The present chaplaincy structure could be used as the basis for a church-based chaplaincy, but problems will arise if, and when, other faiths seek entry to chaplaincy, particularly if religious groups such as Latter-day Saints and other non-christian faiths ask to be included. The NZDF could also disagree with independent church funding, control and operation of the chaplaincy organisation and any possible civilian chaplaincy must have the support of the military or it loses its viability.

3) A civilian chaplaincy, structured and operated similarly to the present NZDF Officiating chaplaincy, would be possible but this would have some shortcomings. It would take chaplaincy out of the comprehensive pastoral service that full-time Regular Force chaplains currently give to all troops and their dependents. It could not provide military-trained chaplains for deployment in war, peace-enforcement or peacekeeping and it would not receive the confidence of military in the chaplain's right of question. It could down-rate the church's religious value to an optional choice external to the base, which comparatively few military would currently use (Survey Sect.III 10,13).

4) The German model may not be viable in the New Zealand political and social climate. As noted in chapter 12, New Zealand has a very different geopolitical background and situation from that of Germany in its geographic isolation,

pacifist ideal and secular state. In terms of numbers of military, New Zealand's small defence force may not be suited to the German model church-based chaplaincy.

A change from military-based to a church-based civilian chaplaincy might satisfy church dislike of the military association. But as discussed, this would be expensive, may not be suitable for New Zealand's small military force, could produce both military and church opposition and would require a great deal of change from the present system.

Present chaplaincy continued, or extended to other faiths

The current situation in East Timor is relevant to discussion of both these options. The New Zealand peacekeeping force in East Timor has been labelled a 'peace-enforcing' force rather than 'peacekeeping'. New Zealand and Australia have moved closer to war than at any time since Vietnam.³ The chaplains who accompany the Australian and New Zealand forces should have relevant knowledge of the religions and cultures of the area so that they can approach the indigenous peoples with understanding and respect for their ideals and beliefs. The NZDF orientation to increasing military intervention in peacekeeping or peace-enforcement work demands understanding of other ways of life and different religious faiths. The military chaplain's work is ecumenical. The multicultural nature of international military police work requires that the chaplain be ecumenical in the widest sense. New Zealand chaplains today must be prepared to work with those of non-Christian faiths for the cause of peace.

Chapter 12 concluded that if present chaplaincy is to successfully continue, peace-enforcement and modern warfare require some re-thinking by the churches concerned in chaplaincy. Chapter 10 discussed New Zealand's increasing multi-cultural development. The inclusion of other

³ TV3 6pm News 16.9.99

christian denominations and non-christian chaplains is possible within the present chaplaincy structure but, as with civilian chaplaincy, the problem of the small numbers in the New Zealand's military may not warrant appointment of additional RF chaplains. There is the provision now for military adhering to other faiths to utilise suitable groups outside the base where possible. The appointment of suitable people from such groups to the Officiating or Territorial chaplaincy would give recognition to such groups and give them the opportunity to work with the military. In the case of Territorial appointment, it would mean non-christian chaplains trained and ready if required for active service. The increase in pentecostal church membership in New Zealand and the high proportion of Maori and polynesians in the New Zealand military, have both been considered in earlier chapters. The only impediment to the appointment of other churches is the agreement of the mainstream churches, the military, and the current chaplaincy to their inclusion.

The churches in the past half century have moved towards cooperative work with other groups⁴ and military chaplaincy provides one of the best working examples of successful interdenominational church relationships. While the chaplain remains a minister in his or her own denomination, the facilities are shared, and religious and pastoral care are given to all regardless of race or creed. The chaplain is in the military to bring God to all who need God's love and care. When a country is at war, it is important that the people should be united and the armed services need to be united in their work. The denomination may be important, but God is more important than denominational adherence and the chaplain, as noted previously, is the 'man' of God. In the military, the churches have the opportunity to show a

⁴ Council of Christians and Jews and World Council of Churches are examples of interfaith organisations.

unity and universality in their common mission of the sharing of God's love with all.

There is opportunity in the NZDF to extend this. There would, however, need to be some changes in the structure of ChDAC and in the work of Principal chaplains and ChAC members so that other christian and non-christian representation is possible without overloading the chaplaincy organisation. If chaplains are to continue to work in an ecumenical spirit with the inclusion of some non-christian chaplains, then the structure has to recognise the work and contribution of such new appointees and their beliefs.

The opening of chaplaincy to other christian and non-christian churches, means comparatively little alteration in the present New Zealand system. As noted earlier, there are no current RF Methodist or Church of Christ chaplains. If churches no longer wish to participate in military chaplaincy, there is a place for invitation to other churches to join in chaplaincy if they so wish. The possible entry of such churches could mean an easing of the present shortage of suitable chaplaincy candidates with no great increase in cost to the military and the New Zealand taxpayer.

The future

Present uncertainties as regards the future directions of the NZDF⁵ and possible changes that are still being debated mean chaplaincy has an uncertain future. It is clear that New Zealand cannot afford to spend great amounts of public funds on chaplaincy, so future changes must be considered in a framework of reasonable costs. For the present, the current system works well and changes such as introducing

⁵ The *NZ Herald* 20.9.99 A14 editorial 'Ill-equipped for war' says: 'The essence of defence is being prepared for the unthinkable' and warns that New Zealand's obsolete military equipment is a danger the country has neglected for too long. New Zealand is not immune from war.

other religious groups if, and when, variation in the military population may justify the inclusion of some of these, would not increase costs significantly as little alteration to the present system would be needed. The main requirement would be the need for the present chaplaincy churches to give thought to some changes to the chaplaincy hierarchy and organisation so that other groups can be accommodated.

Church attitudes

If military chaplaincy is to continue and to develop successfully within the NZDF the churches need to clarify their attitudes to military chaplaincy. The chaplains need to know whether or not they have the support of their churches for the exacting and important work they undertake. Military chaplaincy presents the churches with a challenge in that it is an area of religious work where it is essential they work together in interdenominational harmony.

The christian churches should give thought to where they stand in relationship to modern war and to peacekeeping and peace-enforcement. Church efforts to secure peace have not been outstandingly successful in 2000 years of talking ideals. War remains widespread throughout the world. Pacifism is an ideal, but is it practical to rely only on this? War, the United Nations forum, wars to enforce peace, have not proved to be very effective answers either. None are ideal solutions and all have shortcomings. In a technological nuclear age the world needs some means of enforcing human rights and responsibilities. Until an adequate non-military answer is found, the church has to come to terms with the politics of today's world and the realities of modern weaponry. The alternative is annihilation. It is worthwhile to work for peace, but there is no indication that education, discussion or international relations will take effect swiftly enough to prevent further holocausts or genocides. While there are

humans there will be crimes and there will be war. The churches rightly preach a gospel of love and forgiveness, but they must, nonetheless, face the reality of war and political and social dissention. A realistic appreciation is called for:

...Although in all three conflicts [WWI, WWII, Vietnam] influential churchmen opposed specific acts of war (most famously, obliteration bombing and the atomic bomb during the Second World War), and although specific religious bodies ...consistently saw themselves in opposition to the military authorities, the attitude of religious men and women to war generally consisted of regretting the need for armed aggression, while at the same time applauding engagements in 'just' war. (Bourke 1999:176)

Even without offensive war, military do have a function to fight and kill in defence and peace-enforcement, and this has to be accepted, particularly in defence. The East Timor situation shows it is not realistic to suppose that New Zealand will never come under attack. While armed invasion is not immediately likely, the current situation raises the possibility that both Australia and New Zealand could at some future time find themselves needing defence against retaliation from an Indonesia for example. The church should decide at what point Christians refrain from submitting to attack or stand by while international atrocities are committed and at what point they should fight to save New Zealand lives and international freedom. When do retaliation and armed intervention become legitimate?

The church should look at its place in the military as that of an agent of peace within the war machine. If the church dissociates itself from the military it loses the right and the ability to influence the conduct of the military. East Timor today clearly shows how important it is to ensure that the military do not become militaristic. It is the 'Jesus Nut' of the chaplaincy which brings the church influence into the military that contextualises and

humanises the war situation. Regardless of whether or not war is just or evil, war is human, a human failing, and there may be situations where there is no alternative. The chaplaincy in the military is a reminder and an acceptance of human weakness and the human need for God in all life and death. Without this influence the military can all too easily become an inhuman and brutal machine.

Catholic and Salvation Army are the denominations which seem clear about participation in military chaplaincy. Their response is that the church must be wherever there are people⁶. Other denominations seem uncertain. If the military is necessary for the safety and freedom of the people, someone has to accept the responsibility of doing the work. TV3 6pm News of 16.9.99 reported that the New Zealand government ordered a contingent of up to 1000 troops and support personnel to East Timor. The bulletin reported that the troops may be engaged in 'peace-enforcing' rather than peacekeeping. It ended with the comment that the mission is the most dangerous New Zealand has undertaken in recent years and that 'some may pay the serviceman's highest price.'

The churches should not withhold their acceptance of those who undertake the military work. Those churches which are uncertain about the ethics of military chaplaincy should perhaps reconsider their Christian mission, decide which particular situations it applies to, and withdraw from military chaplaincy if they cannot reconcile it with their teaching. The churches which accept chaplaincy in the military should give their full support to their chaplains and ensure that their chaplains are the best and most competent ministers available. The chaplain should be a minister with understanding and experience of the military as well as of the church because the churches need to look

⁶ This comment was made to the researcher by Cardinal Williams on 26 May 1998, and the same comment was made later the same day at Salvation Army headquarters, Wellington.

to the expertise of chaplains for direction and advice on how best to consider the military role in any conflict. To fight evil is the work of the Christian. In this imperfect world it may be necessary to use physical force and sophisticated weapons to fight evil:

...I am more sure of my duty in trying to win this war than I am that Christ was right in every part of all that he said, though no one has ever said so much that was right as he did...

It was a nightmare experience looking down on the flaming city beneath. I felt sick as I thought of the women and children down there being mutilated, burned, killed, terror-stricken in that dreadful inferno - and I was partly responsible. Why, Padre John, do the Churches not tell us that we are doing an evil job? Why do chaplains persist in telling us that we are performing a noble task in defence of Christian civilization? I believe that Hitler must be defeated; I am prepared to do my bit to that end. But don't let anyone tell us that what we are doing is noble. What we are doing is evil, a necessary evil perhaps, but evil all the same (Bourke 1999:303).

As the chaplain quoted in the survey (Sect II Qu.3) said: '...a person who's served in battle hates war far more than anybody else...'

The church is needed in the military. The necessity for military force is not an exhibition of the strength of a country or its people. It is the example of humanity's greatest weakness and need, the need to survive and, when called upon, to kill or be killed. The gospel of the churches is love, but faith and hope are essential for human survival. There is nothing to live for, or to give love to, if there is nothing to hope for and no faith in a reason for existence. The churches cannot deny God when humanity needs God most.

CHAPTER.16**RECOMMENDATIONS: A PRACTICAL WAY FORWARD****1. Activating appropriate military training of chaplains**

The surveyed chaplains make a number of specific points which churches, military and intending chaplains should consider. It is apparent from the chaplains' comments that present training for chaplaincy is erratic. Some chaplains reported good training and airforce chaplains appear to have extensive and ongoing training. But others appear to have had little or no opportunity for training and the extent of training courses taken seems to vary considerably. However the draft NZDF 5110 (1997) gives a section on chaplain qualification and training¹. This revised Outline of NZDF Chaplain Training Requirements, which is given at the end of this chapter, is comprehensive. It includes chaplain specialist, theological and military training under the headings of Initial Training, Intermediate Training and Advanced Training to Year Five and Beyond, as well as Resettlement Training on Retirement.

It would seem that, if these training requirements were currently being followed, the chaplains would not have listed in the survey many of the items they did as deficiencies requiring attention. That training is not being consistently given is clear in responses such as requests for 'instruction in protocol', 'to know specific military behaviour', 'Geneva Conventions', 'chaplain's specific duties and responsibilities' and 'something of the training of troops' (chapter 6). The items the chaplains requested include active service preparation, social customs and language of peacekeeping assignment communities, and specialised in-depth counselling training.

All these topics are included in the revised outline. What is not clear is whether this outline for chaplaincy training has been presented to ChDAC and the military as a preliminary discussion document for chaplaincy development, whether it is officially actioned, or whether it has been accepted but is too new to have affected the surveyed chaplains.

The outline does have a bias to peacetime base and defence chaplaincy. Although it includes topics such as laws of armed conflict; military ethics; defence issues; overseas exchange; field ministry and deployment (annual exercises); care of those separated by deployment and dealing with trauma (grief, battle), it omits any reference to training for modern war situations or current NZDF needs. Topics in relevant specialised subjects such as hi-tech warfare; simulation training; civilian casualties; peacekeeping; diplomacy skills and long-term military work where troops do not see any action, should also be included. Current and future chaplains may well need to deal with such situations. In contrast, Rev. W.J. (Willie) Walker's 1915-17 and 1940-41 notes and lectures used at Trentham in 1942 and 1943 for WWII chaplains included relevant skills and needs which addressed contemporary realities that the WWII chaplains could expect to encounter. Some of these were: use of protective anti-gas equipment, chaplaincy work without lighting or power and in mud and trenches, first aid help, sickness and injury in war and front-line (active service) chaplaincy. They covered the situations chaplains might be expected to face in their work in WWII. Chaplains entering military work today should be prepared similarly for the situations modern war and peace-enforcement work may entail.

The revised chaplain training outline appears, therefore, to be complementary to the specialised niche capability

¹ See Figure 10, p256.

NZDF envisaged by the *Inquiry into Defence* (1998) Report, in that it is concerned predominantly with the chaplains' work on the base and in peace-time military. It does not include anything which would prepare chaplains for the realities of war such as aggressive attack or defence, guerrilla warfare, hi-tech, remote-controlled, biological or atomic missile war, or peace-enforcement. WWII diaries and reports of chaplains indicate how unprepared many were for the realities of war in spite of the Territorial Force chaplaincy work they had undertaken during the inter-war years (Underhill 1950; McDowall 1966). The responses of the surveyed chaplains indicate that there is similar lack of preparation today, as well as the apparent inconsistency in military training.

Comments of some Officiating chaplains to the effect that they did not answer the survey because their chaplaincy work took only '2 hours a week' or 'they had no experience of chaplaincy work' indicate that OF chaplains do not appear to have any effective military chaplaincy training at all, unless they have previously been in RF or TF chaplaincy. As TF and possibly OF chaplains could be called on to serve in a military emergency, this prompts the recommendation that all chaplains, including those who are OF and TF, should undertake some military training and regular up-dating so they have both the understanding of the military they minister to and the ability to serve in action situations if needed.

2. Theological training for chaplains

The theological sections of the outline include an introduction to the philosophy and theology of military chaplaincy in the 'Initial Training Year One' section, and defence and church relationships under Defence Issues in Initial, Intermediate and Advanced Training sections. But there is nothing on the ethics of war, Christian attitudes to war, spirituality in war or the pastoral and theological

value of military chaplaincy. It is possible that the NZDF assumes that most, if not all, of this has been covered in the chaplain's theological training for ministry, or will be taken up by denominational chaplaincy conferences. Again, in view of the chaplains' responses as to how they became military chaplains and what previous knowledge and experience of military life they had, it is also probable that either the wide choice of theological papers available means that few trainee ministers would opt for topics which might be more suitable for intending chaplains, or that there are no suitable courses available.

War is not a concern which features in theological course outlines of the Auckland University Consortium for Theological Education, other than that included indirectly in papers on church history and political movements affecting the church. In chapter 15 it was noted that the churches could well benefit from bringing military chaplaincy into more prominence in church affairs. The same might be said concerning the inclusion of military chaplaincy in theological course studies. There are some sections of courses which deal with hospital chaplaincy, such as the Joint Board of Studies Paper 715.101 on the Pastoral Situation which includes 'The Ministry of Hospital Calling', but military chaplaincy involves very different issues and work scenarios. Some understanding of specifically military chaplaincy, the practical and spiritual requirements, death in war, pacifist and just war debates, the impact of modern technology on warfare and the problems of peace-enforcement and peacekeeping, could be of benefit to ministers in the parish as well as those who might at some stage take up military chaplaincy. If government decisions are made concerning New Zealand's military participation in any future war or United Nations peace-enforcement mission, it is important that churches should be able to comment with proper understanding of what is involved.

3. Church involvement in military chaplaincy

Ministers are trained comprehensively in pastoral care, theology, counselling, religious education, cultural awareness, biblical studies and church history. Their training is oriented towards civilian parish ministry in a multi-cultural country. The military has a culture of its own and is set apart from society because of its ethos and the work it does. Parish ministry may provide ministers with good skills for pastoral care and counselling in chaplaincy, but the negative and misinformed attitudes chaplains can encounter from their churches indicate that the church training does not satisfactorily prepare either parish ministers or intending chaplains for the specialised work involved in the military situation. Neither does it encourage ministers to think realistically about the human situation of war. It is interesting to note that industrial chaplaincy is included in the revised outline of chaplaincy training, while military chaplaincy is not included in any of the theological courses for ministers.

Precisely because military work can, when required, involve the apparently anti-christian task of killing, it would be of value to ministers of all denominations if theological training institutes were to include at some point in their course material discussion of the ethics of, and reasons for, war and the possible alternatives and outcomes, and the place of the church in the military.

Chapter 15 advocates that churches should re-consider and up-date their thinking on war, peacekeeping, peace-enforcing, the effects of modern technological advances, computerised weaponry and population pressures. It is important also to consider not only the christian attitudes to war, but also those of other religions and philosophies which dominate the thinking and behaviour of cultures within which the United Nations, and so our armed forces

and chaplains, may need to operate. As noted, the efforts of peacemakers are not always successful. In spite of the United Nations forum, wars continue and military are needed.

4. Responsibility for chaplain training

The Chaplains' Defence Advisory Council has, with the additions suggested above, a sound outline of military and theological training requirements for chaplains. The military provide officer training for chaplains, but not all receive it. The churches train their ministry students comprehensively for civilian ministry, but need to give attention to the needs of those who may enter specialised ministry such as military service. If military chaplaincy is to properly fulfil its role and be of value to the NZDF, New Zealand soldiers, and the churches willing to participate in chaplaincy, it is the responsibility of ChDAC to ensure that both the military and the churches carry out fully the needed training and preparation of military chaplains.

5. The future needs of the NZDF

Part 3 looked at the future options for chaplaincy which were assessed in chapter 16. Whatever the military and the churches decide for future chaplaincy directions, the future peacekeeping role of the NZDF, the changing population of New Zealand and the predominance of Maori and Polynesian personnel in the NZDF, all point to a future need for chaplaincy to include religious groups other than the present mainstream Christian churches. The military and churches should consider how this may best be done. The present OF chaplaincy does, as discussed, provide a possible avenue whereby this could be initiated. ChDAC could request the views of other groups as to their willingness to participate in chaplaincy. It could also explore the possibility of appointing more Polynesian and Maori ministers to OF and TF chaplaincy positions.

6. Church support for chaplains

Above all, the churches need to support their military ministers much more actively in their work. They need to ensure that all their ministers, whatever their personal views on war and the military life, at least understand the spiritual needs of those who serve their country in military work. They should give their full support to ministry colleagues who serve both church and country and who represent the peace of God in the midst of war.

It is the responsibility of the churches to see that their intending ministers are well-educated in the problems they will face in the ministry. Ministry in war and in the military has long been an important and valuable part of the churches' mission and it should not be ignored in times of peace. With increasing need for peacekeeping forces and combined United Nations peace-enforcement in a world of sophisticated weaponry and potential global annihilation, the churches and theological institutes cannot afford to avoid the issues involved.

... Since Auschwitz we know what man is capable of...Since Hiroshima we know what is at stake.
(Frankl 1984:179)

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1**ABBREVIATIONS****1. Military Terms**

In the military literature, journals and manuals, it is usual to use abbreviations. Those used throughout this study are given below:

ANZAC	Australian and New Zealand Army Corps
CAS	Chief of Air Staff
CDF	Chief of Defence Force
CGS	Chief of General Staff (Army)
ChAC	Chaplains' Advisory Committee
ChDAC	Chaplains' Dominion Advisory Council; now Chaplains' Defence Advisory Council
CMD	Command
CNS	Chief of Naval Staff
CO	Commanding Officer
CofE	Church of England; often used in place of 'Anglican'
DM	Defence Manual
HQ	Headquarters
J-Force	New Zealand Force Japan World War II
K-Force	New Zealand Force Korea
LF	Land Force
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NCO	Non-commissioned officer

NZDF	New Zealand Defence Force
NZEF	New Zealand Expeditionary Force World War I
2NZEF	2nd New Zealand Expeditionary Force World War II
2NZEF(IP)	New Zealand Expeditionary Force in the Pacific theatre World War II
OD	Other Denomination
OF	Officiating Chaplain
OPS	Operations
PC	Principal Chaplain
PDC	Principal Defence Chaplain
PSYOPS	Psychological operations
RC	Roman Catholic
RF	Regular Force
RNZVNR	Royal New Zealand Volunteer Naval Reserve
SA	Salvation Army
SAS	Special Air Service
SPT	Support
TF	Territorial Force
WWI	World War I 1914-1918
WWII	World War II 1939-1945

2. Church Organisations

NCC	National Council of Churches
WCC	World Council of Churches
YMCA	Young Mens' Christian Association
YWCA	Young Womens' Christian Association

APPENDIX 2**A NOTE ON TERMS**

Chaplain: 'Chaplain' is derived from the word chapel, first found in Marculfus (7th Century). The original chapel was a temporary structure in which the kings of France housed the cape (L. *capella*) of St Martin, when carrying it on their campaigns as a sacred relic. By an extension of its use, the word chapel was applied to shrines containing other relics, and then to a variety of buildings which in various ways were less than churches. Originally a chaplain was an ordained priest who had charge of a chapel and who performed non-parochial religious duties. The term chaplain is now used to describe certain clerics who work outside the parish context. Chaplains are appointed to monarchs and ecclesiastical dignitaries and are also appointed to serve in various institutions such as colleges, prisons, hospitals and armed services (Cross 1958:263-4).

The term has a military connotation through its original reference to St Martin (d.397) the patron saint of France. The son of a pagan, Martin served in the army until, after he had given half his cloak to a beggar at Amiens, a vision of Christ impelled him to baptism and the religious life. In 360, together with Hilary of Poitiers, he founded the monastery of Liguge, the first in Gaul. He became Bishop of Tours in 372 (Cross 1858:864).

1. Minister: 'Minister' derives from the Latin: *Servant*, and may be defined as a person officially charged to perform spiritual functions in the Christian Church (Cross

1958:904). Harrison (1960:355) quotes 1Cor.12:28 as describing the work of ministers: 'And God has appointed in the church first apostles second prophets, third teachers...'. Eph 4:11-13 extends the definition to include the work of ministry:

...some would be apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers, to equip the saints for the work of ministry, for building up the body of Christ, until all of us come to the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of Son of God, to maturity, to the measure of the full stature of Christ.

2. Counsellor: a counsellor is: '...a person who gives counsel; an advisor. A person trained to give guidance on personal, social and psychological problems.' (Allen 1990:262).

3. Psychologist: a person who holds an advanced degree in psychology from an approved institute of higher education whose training is directed towards helping individuals solve psychological problems (Belkin 1988:43). The psychologist is used in the military as a specialist whose work may be designing suitable educational and training programs, and in assessing capabilities of military personnel for particular work and training. A psychologist may also work, as part of a medical psychiatric team, with personnel who require in-depth therapy and treatment.

4. Social worker: a person who has received training in social services work, who may or may not have qualification and training in either counselling or psychology (Belkin 1988:43). The social worker is also concerned with the well-being of the individual and the giving of counsel and advice. But the social worker's involvement is not with the spiritual, personal, emotional or psychological welfare of the client. The social-worker's sphere of interest is centred in the social and physical situation within which the client lives and interacts with others.

5. Counselling: is the process of assisting and guiding clients, especially by a trained person on a professional basis, to resolve personal, emotional, social or psychological problems. Harrison lists the word 'counsel' as '...indicating the deliberative process whereby wise decisions are rendered...' and gives a large number of biblical references (Harrison 1960:142).

Belkin (1988:9ff & 43) gives lengthy discussion of the differences and similarities of counseling, psychotherapy, psychiatry and social work and their various specialties. He points out that it is:

...not the theory which distinguishes one helper from another, but rather a matrix of factors involving, among other variables, the personalities of the client and helper, the setting, the problems presented and underlying conflicts, the length of time available for treatment, and the client motivation.

Belkin clarifies the differences between the sphere of work of psychologists, counsellors and social workers in a way that is helpful for this study. He notes that a counsellor is not usually a psychologist but does have specialised training in helping individuals solve role area problems.

Halmos (1965:2f) describes the similarities and differences between psychologist, counsellor and social worker:

This century has seen the development of a new professional activity practised by people of widely varying training and expertise. Psychiatrists, lay and medical psychotherapists, clinical psychologists, social caseworkers of several kinds, and some others, have all learnt to share the assumptions and values of the new philanthropic expertise of helping through caring-listening-prompting...the practitioners of this expertise 'counsellors'... [counselling] has usually been taken to mean a comparatively brief period of meetings...during which a professional worker tries to help a client to sort out his educational, vocational, and adjustment problems by discussion, clarification, advice, and possibly also by referral to agencies which may give material or administrative help of some

kind...at its best, 'counseling' will also include an attempt at the clarification of motives and will, therefore, shade into a kind of 'brief psychotherapy'.

The secular counsellor or psychologist is not usually an ordained minister, although there are some ordained ministers in New Zealand who are qualified professional counsellors and work in secular practice outside the ministry.

6. Minister as counsellor: Training for ordination as a minister or priest in mainstream Christian churches in New Zealand includes a course in pastoral counselling as this is seen as an important aspect of the ordained minister's work. Thus the chaplain, who is a minister of God working outside the usually traditional understanding of the parish, is also, by virtue of the minister's pastoral and teaching role, a counsellor in that he or she gives pastoral as well as spiritual guidance. The chaplain's role as counsellor does not usually include in-depth or long-term counselling of psychological problems because the chaplain has religious duties and is less likely to have either the time or expertise required for in-depth psychological work.

Emotional and psychological problems frequently affect the lives of those who work, associate or live with the affected person, so that the work of the social-worker, counsellor, minister and psychologist may overlap. The counsellor helps the individual with his or her emotional or psychological problem, but the social-worker may also be needed to assist with the practical home, financial or work situation and living conditions which affect others in the counselee's group. The psychologist is consulted when there are serious emotional problems requiring specialist and in-depth treatment and long-term therapy.

In this study, the chaplain has the function of the priest or minister. Both chaplain and the counsellor have a counselling function, although the counsellor's is likely to include more extensive and in-depth work than the chaplain's. Both chaplain and counsellor, in that the giving of counsel is a helping role concerned with the well-being of the client and the resolution of personal, psychological and practical problems, can legitimately also act as social-welfare personnel if they have knowledge of the social agencies available for practical help. The counsellor, psychologist and social worker are all concerned with the client's emotional and physical welfare, but they do not include religious servicing in their work.

APPENDIX 3**DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL SERVICES IN NEW ZEALAND**

The chaplain's work includes pastoral care, counselling and welfare as well as religious duties. Because the chaplain's pastoral work can overlap the work of secular counsellors, psychologists and welfare personnel, it is worthwhile to note the development of these secular services which are also used by the military. The social services of caring, helping and concern for people, which today are carried out by both religious and secular systems, originate from the church, and owe much to the Christian ethic they are founded on.

Psychological Services

Psychology, as a study, is not directly descended from the church but counselling has developed from both psychology and church pastoral care. As a science, psychology was not separately recognised prior to the late 1800's, but as the study of human behaviour, it has been part of philosophy since the days of the ancient Greek philosophers. Human behaviour was assessed through the use of natural observation. Human needs and social problems were considered and investigated by the application of moral philosophy in methodical and logical debate (Morgan 1961:7).¹

Behaviour is influenced by situations and people cannot always control their lives. They may need help and guidance not only in practical difficulties but also in the

¹ The ruins of Galen's Greek medical school at Asklepion in Turkey include a theatre for psychodrama.

emotional problems they experience. In the late 1800s the introduction of scientific method and experimentation to the study of human behaviour became the basis for the new science of psychology developed in Leipzig, where Wilhelm Wundt set up a psychology laboratory in 1879. This was closely followed in USA in 1883 by William James at Harvard (Morgan 1961; Belkin 1988). The first methodology was known as structuralism - whereby psychologists began the search for mental elements into which they hoped all mental content could be analysed. Further different systems followed. Functionalism (Dewey and James) sought to study the functions of behaviour and mental processes; behaviourism (Watson) examined the components of learned behaviour through the study of conditioned reflexes. Freud's theories of psychoanalysis, which developed from medical practice, dealt with the causes and classification of mental disorders. The laboratory work of Pavlov, Watson, Skinner and other behavioural psychologists developed methods by which human responses and behaviour could be investigated and assessed by objective and scientific means (Belkin 1988:14). Freud's work is particularly important, not only for his theory of personality but also for the development of methods of treatment. It is predominantly from the work of Freud, Adler, James, Hall and Rogers that present counselling theory and methodology has developed.

The first psychology laboratory in New Zealand was set up by Professor T.A. Hunter of Victoria University College in 1908. Hunter, with Canterbury University College's James Shelley who pioneered psychology courses in New Zealand in the 1920s, set up a psychology clinic in 1926 to work with behaviour problems and backward children. The Education Department Psychological Service was established in 1953 and counselling became part of University courses throughout the country (Winterbourne 1974). Today professional psychologists are employed in the military as specialists in training methods, advisors on military

tactics and as therapists attached to medical teams (Taylor 1977).

Counselling Services

From the earliest days of christian ministry, counselling has been recognised as an integral part of the pastoral role of the minister, who listened to problems and advised and taught people how to apply the christian ethic in their everyday lives. Paul's epistles give examples of christian counselling, and the letters and sermons of the early church fathers are full of counsel or 'advice'

Winterbourne (1974:1-2), in his history of New Zealand Guidance Services, notes that guidance practices in New Zealand owe a great deal to the United Kingdom National Institute of Industrial Psychology and especially to Cyril Burt. Burt's work combined psychology with American ideas of guidance as a continuous and unitary process.

Counselling represents the fusion of many influences. It brings together the movement toward a more compassionate treatment of mental problems begun in mid-nineteenth century France, the psychodynamic insights of Freud and psychoanalysis, the scientific scrutiny and methodology of the behavioral approach, the quantitative science of psychometrics, the humanistic perspective of client-centred therapy, the philosophical bases of existentialism, and the practical insights and applications that evolved from the vocational guidance movement. ...the profession of counselling is not some well-established entity, but rather it is a dynamic movement still in its developing stages (Belkin 1998:19).

Counselling services in New Zealand originated from three main avenues of work: vocational and psychological guidance in the education system, marriage guidance, and the introduction of counselling techniques in the pastoral work of clergy. The YMCA and YWCA first developed vocational guidance in New Zealand in 1913 with the aim of encouraging

undecided primary school leavers to continue their education at secondary schools. The need for increasing vocational and psychological guidance services was fuelled by the depression of the 1930's.

Client-centred counselling, which is the most widely practised counselling process used in New Zealand today, was developed in the United States by Carl Rogers. Rogers delineated the qualities of an effective counsellor in what he referred to as 'the conditions for therapy' (Belkin 1998:63). Empathy, genuineness and unconditional positive regard outweighed all other considerations in contributing to therapeutic efficacy in the counselling process. The importance of this for pastoral work in the church was that:

...there appears to be a substantial evidence that relationships rated high in a sensitively accurate empathic understanding and high in genuineness as perceived by the patient, were associated with favorable personality changes and reduction in various forms of pathology...[Belkin 1998:64)

In the mid 1950's Rev. Dr. David Williams, lecturer and later principal of Trinity Methodist College, went to Chicago on a Fulbright scholarship and brought Rogerian non-directive, non-judgemental counselling back to New Zealand churches.² Williams was energetic in lecturing to students and churchmen, and also took a series of seminars for chaplains. His writings are compiled in his book *How Should We Live?*, edited and posthumously published in 1986. Although Williams and his followers were opposed by some High Church Anglican and Fundamentalist groups, counselling became an important component in the pastoral training of theological students for its practical application of the love of God and the teachings of Christ. The Methodist and Presbyterian churches were perhaps foremost among the New Zealand churches in adopting Williams' ideas for

² Information on David Williams is from Dr.J.J.Lewis.

counselling work and in training clergy in the new pastoral counselling techniques. The Presbyterian church, under its social services umbrella, the Presbyterian Social Services Association, set up a range of counselling services available to all people, regardless of church affiliation.³

Marriage Guidance, another area of counselling, had its origins in England after WWI. Family life had been shattered by the First World War and as the nation plunged into depression, personal relationships suffered further. Many people turned to the church for support and their need inspired a Methodist minister, Dr David Mace, to set up a service to help people in marriage difficulties. WWII delayed the momentum of the movement he founded, but after the war the pastoral needs of returning soldiers and their families intensified. Men returned to children who didn't know them, to homes where they had no place, to resentment from women who had managed everything during their absence and who had themselves changed. Many men were invalided back physically disabled and mentally and emotionally crippled (Daly 1990:6).

Increasing social orientation of the New Zealand churches encouraged the development of further counselling services in child, alcohol and drug abuse, and crisis counselling. In the secular social welfare state, government and public institutions began offering similar counselling services and people with problems could be referred to church or state services for counsel and therapy according to their needs and wishes. Counselling practice continued to develop within the churches to become an important part of theological training in pastoral care. Both theological colleges and universities now offer professional

³ Information on the history of PSSA is from Sr. Rouie Mercer who worked in PSSA for many years.

counselling and psychological training to ordination and degree standards.

The religious influence is apparent in that both psychology and counselling recognise that there is a spiritual dimension in life essential to mental and emotional wellbeing.⁴ Lifeline, an interchurch Rogerian counselling service originating circa 1956 at the Sydney Central Methodist Mission,⁵ expresses the relationship of the churches' spiritual and pastoral care ministry to secular psychological methodology in its Objects:

- a. To recognise that the Church has a special duty to all who are distressed and in emotional turmoil.
- b. To serve in this special field as an agent of member denominations.
- c. To encourage the development of counselling and psychotherapy work as a vital part of the total ministry of the Church.
- d. To embody the recognition that obscure motivations, hidden tensions and unconscious antagonisms are ever present in the field of human development and to seek to foster the understanding that psychological insights and therapeutic measures may be valuable practical resources in the healing and helping services of the Church and to this end to invite co-ordination with the medical profession.
- e. To keep in close touch with the Pastoral Care and Pastoral Counselling movements in New Zealand and in other parts of the world.
- f. To set up professional standards and institute training courses for key pastoral and social work appointments in the Church and other approved fields and in particular in the fields of telephone Counselling and Pastoral Counselling ... (Lifeline Constitution 1991).

⁴ Halmos (1965), Culbertson (1998) and Thorne (1998) all discuss spirituality in counselling. Spirituality is a taught component in the Auckland University M.Ed (Counselling), the AUT Masters in Psychotherapy, and the training program of HD&T.

⁵ Information on the development of Lifeline is from Bruce Macky, the current Auckland Director.

Social Welfare Services

Although there are no social welfare officers currently employed in the Army, there are in the Navy and there is provision for welfare and social workers in all the services.

It is also from the early church that organised social welfare work began with the diaconate. The institution of the diaconate in the early Christian church is traditionally seen as the formalising of the church's service of welfare. Paul's mention of Phebe (Rom.16:1 and I Tim.3.10-12) and the designation of deacons and deaconesses are often referred to as the first formal descriptions of the church's welfare role. Deacons were a 'separate class of church officers, charged chiefly with material duties' (Cross 1958:376-7). The original office of collecting and distributing alms gave the deacons great power but it also gave rise to abuses. Nicaea curbed the powers of the deacons and the Council of Toledo in 633 and Trullan Synod of 692 stressed their hierarchical inferiority to the priesthood (Cross 1958).

The deaconess was a woman of the church who was charged with certain duties and devoted herself to the care of the sick and poor of her sex. Thurston (1989:28) comments that Acts:

..stresses Christianity among women and slaves, who were receptive to a message of spiritual, if not literal, liberation...

She goes on to discuss the origins and development of religious orders for women as the response to the curtailment of the freedom of women by patriarchal norms. The predominant aims of the early orders include:

..obedience, prayer, 'good works,' making clothes in their homes for those in distress, and visiting and laying hands on the sick, as well as fasting and praying for them. The widows are strictly forbidden to teach or to baptize (Thurston 1989:98).

She notes that they are also called upon to serve the church community with good works and care of the sick, and that Origen allowed them a teaching function (Thurston 1989:99-104). Although the Christian church has not encouraged women to enter the ordained priestly or presbyterial ministry until recently, women have always been involved in religious social service.⁶

While social work, and care of the poor, sick and needy has always been an important part of the church's service to the community, there have been many secular philanthropists and community organisations and people who have given care and help to those in need. Beggars and vagrants were common in the middle ages, and the problems of destitution and vagrancy influenced the Tudor parliament to pass the succession of Acts known collectively as the Poor Laws.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, philanthropic societies in England were catering for a range of needs. The social changes of the industrial revolution meant an increase in the population drift from country to cities with a consequent increase in homeless in search of work. Church societies and secular rescue organisations began to proliferate and by 1848 the need for co-ordination was apparent. The Reformatory and Refuge Union, whose main concern was the prevention of crime and the relief of destitution, was founded in 1856, and in 1858 a special fund was opened for the purpose of assisting worthy asylums and homes. A Handbook of Penitentiaries and Homes for Females was funded, possibly the first Directory of Moral Welfare Work (Hall & Howes 1965:20-24). Social assistance and rescue work of one kind or another was becoming widespread.

⁶ cf. the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union - an organisation for women which was formed to assist church missionary enterprises; the League of Mothers; the Mothers' Union; and Church Women United.

In New Zealand, social legislation advanced under a strong Liberal Party whose Labour minister, William Pember Reeves, emphasised equality and co-operation as the remedy for poverty, and advocated the nationalization of the sources of production and the processes of industry (Sinclair 1980:171-3). Philanthropists such as James Dilworth and the Dingwall family endowed orphanages and schools. In 1894 Reeves introduced the first compulsory system of state arbitration after the strike of 1890, which led to wage increases and better safeguards for workers. New Zealand women were vocal in campaigning for social improvements. In 1893 New Zealand women gained the franchise and in 1898 pensions for the aged poor were introduced (Sinclair 1980:180-3).

The YMCA and Church Army supplied welfare services to the troops in WWI and WWII. In the inter-war period, the depression and the rise of the social welfare state encouraged the unification of many of the welfare, unemployment, education and health services operating under the churches (Webster 1981) into a secular government-run Social Welfare Department. This was developed on the Christian philosophy of both Michael Savage and Walter Nash (Nash 1944), who saw New Zealand as a country where the state cared for its people and attended to their needs.

Although church social work continued, the state Department of Social Welfare dealt not only with the relief of the indigent but also with family concerns and housing, the unemployed, welfare of children, solo parents, the sick, mentally and physically handicapped and elderly. As the department expanded and services proliferated, professional training for social workers also developed. With the political and economic changes in the 1980's and 1990's, many of these functions have been developed by independent organisations and have become business oriented.

APPENDIX 4**THE CHAPLAIN AND ACTIVE SERVICE**

For information, brief relevant excerpts are included here from the Chaplains Handbook 1990 (chapter 10 and Annex A to chapter 10) which govern the work of chaplains on active service.

Geneva Conventions

The Geneva Conventions for the Protection of War Victims dated 12 August 1949 consist of four separate Conventions. The 1949 Conventions were a revision of those of 1929. In so far as Chaplains of the Armed Forces are concerned the Convention provides that they, once war is declared:

- a. Shall have no authority to renounce the rights conferred upon them by the Conventions.
- b. If in a neutral country shall be regarded as protected persons.
- c. Shall be respected and protected in all circumstances
- d. Shall wear on the left arm a water-resistant armlet bearing the Red Cross on a white ground
- d. Shall carry (in addition to their personal identity disc) a special identity card bearing the Red Cross emblem...and shall show in what capacity he is entitled to the protection of the Geneva Convention (Annex A to Chapter 10)

Under the terms of the Geneva Conventions, Chaplains, like the Medical Service, have the right to special consideration as non-combatants either during hostilities or as prisoners of war. The Conventions give Chaplains the status of 'Retained Person'. Whilst the Conventions do not prohibit the carrying of weapons by Chaplains, to do so would seriously jeopardise this status. New Zealand

Chaplains are expressly forbidden to carry weapons of any kind.

Dimensions of the work and duties of the work of the chaplain on active service (Excerpts from chapter 10).

Preparedness

The chaplain [sic] is required to be a source of strength and inspiration to all ranks especially during times of stress...The chaplain is as subject to stress as other men, but a deep personal communication with God will sustain him [sic] and help him sustain others. His prayerfulness will allow him to reach the real needs of the sick and wounded, the frightened, the dejected and the lonely.

His [sic] personal prayer life will keep him aware of the human condition and will be reflected in church services that represent the realities of life and are an inspiration to those attending.

Role

The role of the RNZChD on active service is to provide spiritual and moral welfare to all members.

Duties

- a. advise the commander and staff on all aspects of moral and spiritual welfare;
- b. provide pastoral care for all members, especially the sick and wounded; and
- c. bury the dead with dignity.

Counselling

Counselling is probably the most arduous of the Chaplain's tasks. Some of the problems will come from the stress brought on by fear, tiredness, a troubled conscience or anxiety about loved ones...Feelings of fear and guilt, fatigue, boredom and loneliness...can result in:

- a.aggression towards peers;
- b.insubordination to superiors;
- c.heavy drinking and other drug abuse;
- d.seeking the service of prostitutes, not only for physical relief but also for emotional support; and
- e. brutality to enemy prisoners and the civilian population.

Location.

The chaplain needs to be located where he [sic] knows what is happening and can be of use to the whole unit, especially the casualties. It is therefore usual for him to remain with the Administration Company near the Regimental Aid Post...A friendly relationship with the Medical Officer ensures that each appreciate the professional abilities and specific field of work of the other, where possible they work together to the mutual benefit of both. When established, such a relationship makes a significant contribution to the well being [sic] of a Unit.

When active operations are in progress the Chaplain should be with the MO as he [sic] must consider his first duty is to the wounded or dying.

The Chaplain must know the operational plans so that he[sic] can arrange his own duties...The Chaplain should not only visit but STAY [sic} regularly with every sub-unit and minor unit.

A scattered Battalion [sic] will require ministrations at times other than Sunday. It may be necessary to conduct a short service or family prayers with small groups on any day at any time.

The Chaplain who fulfils his pastoral role will be to all ranks a sign of normalcy in an abnormal situation: a reminder of home and peace and an inspiration to maintain and strengthen a sense of personal dignity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abercrombie III, Clarence L. 1977. *The Military Chaplain.* Sage Library of Social Research Vol.37. Beverley Hills & London: Sage Publications.
- Adamson, Air Marshal Cary. 1999. 'If there's the will, we can do it.' *Returned Services Assoc. Review* 74:2,1.
- Allen, R.E., ed. 1990. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English.* 8th edn. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Allport, Gordon W. 1955. *Becoming: Basic Considerations for a Psychology of Personality.* New Haven & London: Yale University Press.
- Anderson, Eugene N. 1961. *Modern Europe In World Perspective: 1918 to the Present.* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Anglican Church in New Zealand. ANG055 *Records of the General Synod Military Affairs Committee.* ANG050008; ANG0600240; ANG0600247; ANG0600328; 1994/0091. Auckland: Kinder Library Archives.
- Armstrong, Karen. 1988. *Holy War: The Crusades and their Impact on the World Today.* London: McMillan.
- Aronis, Alex B. 1972. 'A Summary of Research Literature on the Military Chaplain.' *The Chaplain* 29:2,6-16.
- Attwood, David. 1991. 'Threats and Nuclear Deterrence.' *Studies in Christian Ethics* 4:1,40-57.
- Australian Defence Dept. c.1990. *Field Chaplaincy Manual.* Unpublished manual.
- Bainton, Roland H. 1946. 'The Early Church and War.' *Harvard Theological Review* 39:3,189-212.
- Bainton, Roland H. 1961. *Christian Attitudes Toward War and Peace: A Historical Survey & Critical Re-evaluation.* London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Baker, Chp. K.D. 1992. *A Theological Basis for Administration.* Australian Army 2/92 Chaplain Advanced Course, 23-30 Sept. 1992. Unpublished Paper.
- Baker, Chp. K.D. Undated. *Chaplain to the Military: Why and What?* Undated Australian Army paper.

- Barber, Laurie. 1989a. *War Memorial: A Chronology of New Zealand and World War II*. Auckland: Heinemann Reid.
- Barber, Laurie. 1989b. *New Zealand: A Short History Century*. Auckland: Hutchinson.
- Barber, Laurie. 1997. 'Canon's Mouth.' *New Zealand Defence Quarterly* 19, 26-30.
- Barclay, Oliver R., ed. 1984. *When Christians Disagree: Pacifism and War*. Great Britain: Inter-Varsity Press.
- Barth, Karl. 1939. *The Church and the Political Problems of Our Day*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Barth, Karl. 1957. *The Epistle to the Romans*. Trans. from 6th edition by Edwyn C. Hoskyns. London: Oxford University Press.
- Bartone, Paul B. & Morten G. Ender. 1994. 'Organizational Responses to Death in the Military.' *Death Studies*. 18:1, 25-37.
- Batt, Major W. F. 1969. 'The Difference between killing and murder.' *Practical Christianity for Officers of the Three Services*. 255, 6-7.
- Baum, Gregory. 1979. *The Social Imperative: Essays on the Critical Issues that Confront the Christian Churches*. New York, Ramsey & Toronto: Paulist Press.
- Beaglehole, John. 1993. 'Bottom Line Defence.' *New Zealand Defence Quarterly* 2, 8-13.
- Beck, Carlton E. 1966. *Guidelines For Guidance: Readings in the Philosophy of Guidance*. Dubuque: Wm C Brown Company.
- Belkin, Gary S. 1988. *Introduction to Counseling*. 3rd edn. Dubuque: Wm C Brown College Division.
- Belich, James. 1966. *Making Peoples : A History of the New Zealanders from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*. Auckland: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press.
- Bernardin, Cardinal Joseph. 1990. 'The Changing Nuclear Debate in the 1990s.' *Origins* 19, 30.
- Bettenson, Henry, ed. 1963. *Documents of the Christian Church*. 2nd edn. London: Oxford University Press.
- Black, Jan Knippers. 1977. 'Development and Modernization Theory: A Critical Review.' *Cross Currents* 27:1, 41-56.

- Boettner, Lorraine. 1940. *The Christian Attitude Towards War*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans.
- Bonhoeffer, Dietrich. 1950. *Letters and Papers From Prison*. Abridged edn. London: SCM Press, Fontana Books.
- Borrie, John. 1975. *Despite Captivity: A Doctor's Life as a Prisoner of War*. London: William Kimber & Co.
- Boswell, John. 1988. *The Kindness of Strangers: The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe From Late Antiquity to the Renaissance*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Bourke, Joanna. 1996. *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War*. London: Reaktion Books.
- Bourke, Joanna. 1999. *An Intimate History of Killing: Face-to-face Killing in Twentieth-Century Warfare*. London: Granta Books.
- Bouscaren, T.Lincoln & Adam C. Ellis. 1957. *Canon Law: A Text and Commentary*. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co.
- Bramson, Leon & George W. Goethals, eds. 1968. *War: Studies from Psychology, Sociology, Anthropology*. Rev. edn. New York & London: Basic Books.
- Breward, Ian. 1990. 'Preface'. in Dennis McEldowney, ed. *Presbyterians In Aotearoa 1840-1990*. Presbyterian Church of New Zealand. Wellington: A.H.Reed.
- Breward, Ian. 1993. *A History of the Australian Churches*. St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin.
- Brinsfield, John Wesley. 1997. *Encouraging Faith, Supporting Soldiers*. Washington DC.: Office of the Chief of Chaplains.
- British Army. 1931. *Convention Regulations*. British Army unpublished manual.
- British Army. *Chaplains' Handbook 1988*. Unpublished manual.
- British Army. 1988. 'Violence, War and Battlefield Behaviour.' Character Training Series No.21, Extract in NZ Defence Dept. *Chaplains' Handbook 1990*.
- British Army Staff College. *Chaplains' Study 1982*. Unpublished.
- Brown, John. Undated. Unpublished Memoirs World War II. Glen Historic Collection.

- Browning, Don. 1986. 'Fulfilment and Obligation in the Modern Psychologies.' *Anglican Theological Review* 68:4, 287-301.
- Bultmann, Rudolph, with contributions by G. Von Rad & G. Bertram. 1965. *Life and Death*. London: Adam & Charles Black.
- Burchard, Waldo W. 1967. 'Role Conflicts of the Military Chaplain' in J. M. Yinger, ed. *Religion, Society and Industry*. New York & London: MacMillan.
- Burson, Malcolm C, Celia A. Hahn, Douglas A. Walrath, Peggy Day & Diane Bowman. 1990. *Discerning the Call to Social Ministry*. New York: Alban Institute.
- Burton, Ormond E. Undated. *To Whom Shall We Go?* Auckland: Forward Books.
- Burton, Ormond E. 1935. *The Silent Division: New Zealanders at the Front 1914-1918*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson.
- Buzzard, Rear-Admiral Sir Anthony. 1969. 'The Christian Officer's Dilemma in Killing'. *Practical Christianity For Officers of The Three Services* 255, 1-3. London: Officers' Christian Union.
- Caltrom, C.R. 1989. 'The Jesus Nut: a Cameo on the Military Culture.' *NZ Army Journal* 8, 28-30.
- Card, Orson Scott. 1977. *Ender's Game*. London: Arrow Books.
- Carew, Tim. 1967. *The Commonwealth at War*. London: Cassell.
- Carrell, Brian. 1998. *Moving Between Times: Modernity and Post-Modernity, A Christian View*. Auckland: The Deep Sight Trust.
- Carrington, W. L. 1957. *Psychology, Religion and Human Need*. London: Epworth.
- Castle, Tony, ed. 1995. *Daily Readings With Pope John Paul II*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Catholic Bishops' Conference. 1997. 'A Consistent Ethic of Life: Te Kahu-O-Te-Ora'. *The Common Good* 5, 2-4.
- Chapman, G. Clarke. 1988. 'Theology of Deterrence and Nuclearism'. *Concilium* Feb. 1988, 89-94.
- Chapman, G. Clarke. 1994. 'What God Can Help? Trinity and Pop Religions of Crisis.' *Cross Currents* 44:3, 316-331.

- Christian Research Association (Aotearoa New Zealand)
re:Search. 19:1998; 20:1998. Auckland: CRA Publications.
- Church of England General Synod Board for Social Responsibility Working Party. 1988. *Peacemaking in a Nuclear Age.* London: Church House Publishing.
- Clarke, David. 1997. *St Lukes and the Baby Boomers 1995.* Unpublished M.Theology Thesis, University of Oxford.
- Clayton, Major G.J. 1990. *The New Zealand Army: A History From The 1840's to the 1990's.* Wellington: Public Relations of the New Zealand Army.
- Clebsch, William A. & Charles R. Jaekle. 1964. *Pastoral Care in Historical Perspective: An Essay With Exhibits.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey : Prentice-Hall Inc.
- Clifford, Joan, ed. 1989. *Thank you, Padre - Memories of World War II.* London: Fount Paperbacks, Collins.
- Clouse, Robert G., ed. 1991. *War: Four Christian Views.* Rev. edn. Madison, WI: InterVarsity Christian Fellowship.
- Coate, Mary Anne. 1989. *Clergy Stress: The Hidden Conflicts in Ministry.* New Library of Pastoral Care. London: SPCK.
- Cobb, John B. Jr, & David Ray Griffin. 1976. *Process Theology: An Introductory Exposition.* Philadelphia: Westminster Press.
- Colless, Brian & Peter Donovan, eds. 1980. *Religion in New Zealand Society.* Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- Collins, Canon L. John. 1996. *Faith Under Fire.* London: Leslie Frewin Ltd.
- Collins, Max Allen. 1998. *Saving Private Ryan: A Novel Based on the screen play by Robert Rodat.* Harmondsworth UK: Penguin Books.
- Collopy, Bartholomew J. 1977. 'Religious Establishment As Flawed Faith.' *Cross Currents* 27:2, 157-169.
- Connelly, Thomas L. & Barbara L. Bellows. 1982. *God and General Longstreet.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
- Cotton, Ian. 1995. *The Hallelujah Revolution: The Rise of the New Christians.* London: Warner.

- Cox Jr, Harvey G., ed. 1972. *Military Chaplains: From a Religious Military to a Military Religion*. New York: American Report Press.
- Cressey, Donald R., ed. 1961. *The Prison: Studies in Institutional Organization and Change*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston Inc.
- Crocker, LTC Lawrence P. 1988. *Army Officer's Guide*. 47th Edition. West Point: US Military Academy.
- Croom, A. S. Undated. *Christians and War: In Defence of the Christian Conscientious Objector*. Enid, Oklahoma: A. S. Croom Private Publication.
- Crosby, Philip. 1960. *Pencilling Prisoner*. Melbourne: Hawthorne Press.
- Cross, Frank L. 1958. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Culbertson, Philip, ed. 1997. *Counselling Issues and South Pacific Communities*. Auckland: Snedden & Cervin Publishing.
- Culbertson, Philip. 1997. 'Pastoral Theology and Multiculturalism'. *Anglican Theological Review* 79:2, 163-191
- Culbertson, Philip. 1998. 'The Shadow of the Transcendent: Valuing Spirituality in Psychotherapy'. *NZAP Forum* 4, 14-37.
- Culbertson, Philip. 1999. *Men's Quest for Wholeness: The Changing Counselling Needs of Pakeha Males*. Unpublished Manuscript.
- Culbertson, Philip & Arthur Bradford Shippee, eds. 1990. *The Pastor: Readings From the Patristic Period*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Cupitt, Don. 1989. *Radicals and the Future of the Church*. London: SCM Press.
- Daly, Jennifer M. 1990. *MG Reflecting: A Portrait of Marriage Guidance New Zealand 1949 to 1989*. Wellington: Marriage Guidance.
- Davidson, Allan. 1991. *Christianity in Aotearoa: A History of Church and Society in New Zealand*. Wellington: Education for Ministry.
- Davidson, Allan K. & Peter J. Lineham, 1987. *Transplanted Christianity: Documents Illustrating Aspects of New Zealand Church History*. Auckland: College Communications.

- Davies, Paul J. 1992. *The Mind of God: Science and the Search for Ultimate Meaning*. London: Simon & Schuster.
- Davies, S J. 1954. *In Spite of Dungeons*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Dewes, Katie. 1997. 'Nuclear Abolition: A Possible Dream?' *The Common Good* 5, 5-6.
- Dixon, Norman. 1976. *On The Psychology of Military Incompetence*. London: Pimlico Random House.
- Dodson, Francis. 1946. *Being the Story of the Church Army in New Zealand*. Auckland: Church Army Press.
- Donaldson, Christopher. 1980. *Martin of Tours: Parish Priest, Mystic and Exorcist*. London & Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Donnelly, Felix. 1981. *A Time To Talk: Counsellor and Counseled*. Sydney: George Allen & Unwin.
- Donovan, Peter, 1998a. 'Immigration Policy and the Churches'. re:SEARCH 19. Auckland: Christian Research Association (Aotearoa New Zealand).
- Donovan, Peter, 1998b 'Church Life Survey New Zealand 1997'. re:SEARCH 20. Auckland: Christian Research Association (Aotearoa New Zealand).
- Donovan, Peter, ed. 1990. *Religions of New Zealanders*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- Dorrien, Gary J. 1989. 'Liberal Socialism and the Legacy of the Social Gospel'. *Cross Currents* 39:3, 339-354.
- Dudley, Carl S. 1978. *Making the Small Church Effective*. Nashville: Abingdon.
- Dudley, Carl S. & Douglas A. Walbrath. 1988. *Developing Your Small Church's Potential*. Valley Forge: Judson Press.
- Duggan, Margaret, ed. 1978. *Padre in Colditz*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Edge, Spence & Jim Henderson. 1983. *No Honour No Glory*. Auckland: Collins.
- Ekman, Paul & Richard J. Davidson. 1994. *The Nature of Emotion: Fundamental Questions*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ellis, Marc H. 1997. *Unholy Alliance: Religion and Atrocity in Our Time*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

- Ellison, Craig W. 1983. 'Spiritual Well-being: Conceptualization and Measurement.' *Journal of Psychology and Theology* 11:4, 330-339.
- Ellison, Rev. John & Rev. G. H. S. Walpole, eds. 1908. *Church & Empire: Essays on the Responsibilities of Empire*. London: Longmans, Green & Co.
- Elsmore, Bronwyn. 1995. *Creedism: Religious Prejudice in New Zealand*. Palmerston North: Nagare Press.
- Evans, Michael & Charles Bremner. 1999. 'Blair: No compromise' *The Times* 21.4.99, 1.
- Farwell, Byron. 1981. *For Queen and Country*. London: Penguin Books.
- Fasching, Darrell J. 1992. *Narrative Theology After Auschwitz: From Alienation to Ethics*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Faulks, Sebastian & Jorg Hensgen, eds. 1999. *The Vintage Book of War Stories*. London: Vintage.
- Fitzgerald, Gerald Patrick. 1990. *Christ in The Culture of Aotearoa-New Zealand*. Dunedin: Faculty of Theology University of Otago.
- Flatt, Bill. 1988. 'Grief Counselling.' *Journal of Pastoral Psychology* 36:3, 133-145.
- Forsman, H. C. A., ed. 1992. *E.A. Forsman: Priest, Padre, Poet*. 1992. Private Family Publication.
- Frankl, Viktor E. 1984. *Man's Search for Meaning*. Rev. edn. New York: Washington Square Press.
- Freund, Julian. 1968. *The Sociology of Max Weber*. Trans. Mary Ilford. London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press.
- Fromm, Erich. 1959. *The Sane Society*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Funk, Robert W., Roy W. Hoover, & the Jesus Seminar. 1993. *The Five Gospels: The Search for the Authentic Words of Jesus*. New York: Polebridge Press, Macmillan Pub.Co.
- Furfey, Paul Hanly. 1980. 'The Civilian COs' in T. Shannon, ed. 1980. *War and Peace? The Search for New Answers*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books.
- Galvin, Ray. 1983. *The Peace of Christ in a Nuclear Age*. Auckland: G.W.Moore Ltd.

- Galvin, Ray. 1984. *Living Without Anzus*. Auckland: Belmont.
- Garrett, Richard. 1981. *POW: The Uncivil Face of War*. Newton Abbot, Devon: David & Charles.
- Geen, Russell G. 1990. *Human Aggression*. Milton Keynes, UK: Open University Press.
- Geering, Lloyd. 1983. 'New Zealand Enters the Secular Age' in Nichol, Christopher & James Veitch. *Religion in New Zealand*, 2nd ed. Wellington: Tertiary Christian Studies Programme of the Combined Chaplaincies and the Religious Studies Department, Victoria University.
- Geering, Lloyd. 1994. *Tomorrow's God: How We Create Our Worlds*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Ltd.
- General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. 1937. *The Church's Attitude to Peace and War*. London: Student Christian Movement Press.
- Gettleman, Marvin E., ed. 1963. *Vietnam: History, Documents & Opinions on a Major World Crisis*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Ghiselli, Edwin E. & Clarence W. Brown. 1955. *Personnel and Industrial Psychology*. New York, Toronto, London: McGraw-Hill.
- Gibellino, Rosino. 1988. *The Liberation Theology Debate*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books.
- Ginsberg, Robert, ed. 1969. *The Critique of War: Contemporary Philosophical Explorations*. Chicago: Henry Regnery Co.
- Glen, Frank G. 1966. *John A Luxford: A Biography*. Auckland: Wesley Historical Society (New Zealand).
- Glen, Frank G. 1973. *A Study of the Chaplain's Role related to Social & Religious Convictions of RAAF Personnel*. Unpublished Study.
- Glen, Frank G. 1996. *The New Zealand Army Chaplain at War: 2NZEF 1939-45*. Thesis (D.Phil), University of Waikato.
- Glen, Frank G. 1998. *The German Post War Chaplaincy Service And The New Zealand Defence Force Chaplaincy*. Unpublished Dissertation Paper, University of Waikato 1998.
- Glen, Frank G. 1999a. 'Military chaplaincy: A current German model compared with that of the New Zealand Defence Force (NZDF).' *Candour: A Magazine for Ministers* 9:1, 2-5.

- Glen, Frank G. 1999b. 'Church and State: The Place of Chaplaincy.' Unpublished lecture given at Hamilton Cathedral, 2.5.99.
- Goes, Albrecht. 1951. *Arrow to the Heart*. Trans. Constantine Fitzgibbon from the German *Unruhige Nacht*. London: Michael Joseph.
- Gold, Hyam & Alan Webster. 1990. *New Zealand Values Today: Research Directorate of the New Zealand Study of Values*. Palmerston North: Massey University, Alpha Publications.
- Goldstein, Arnold P. 1994. *The Ecology of Aggression*. The Plenum Series in Social/Clinical Psychology. New York & London: Plenum Press.
- Gordon, Donald C. 1965. *The Dominion Partnership in Imperial Defence 1870-1941*. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press.
- Green, Wren, Tony Cairns & Judith Wright. 1987. *New Zealand After Nuclear War*. Wellington: New Zealand Planning Council.
- Grof, Stanislav & Christine Grof, eds. 1989. *Spiritual Emergency: When Personal Transformation Becomes a Crisis*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.
- Guarino, Thomas. 1966. 'Postmodernity and Five Fundamental Theological Issues'. *Theological Studies* 57:4, 654-689.
- Guiness, Os. 1973. *The Dust of Death*. 3rd edn. Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press.
- Gurr, Robert. 1995. *Voices From a Border War: 1 Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment 1963-1975*. Melbourne: R.M. Gurr.
- Haas, Harold J. 1970. *Pastoral Counseling With People in Distress*. St Louis: Concordia Publishing House.
- Haigh, J Bryant. 1983. *Men of Faith and Courage: The Official Story of New Zealand's Army Chaplains*. Auckland: World Publishers Ltd.
- Hall, Donald E., ed. 1994. *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hall, Rev. Donald (Principal Defence Chaplain). 1998. *The Gospel and the Military*. Unpublished paper on Features of the New Zealand Defence Force.

- Hall, James A. 1981. 'Psychiatry and Religion: A Review and a Projection of Future Needs'. *Anglican Theological Review* 63:4, 422-435.
- Hall, M Penelope & Ismene V. Howes. 1965. *The Church in Social Work: A Study Undertaken by The Church of England Board of Finance of the Church of England*. New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Halmos, Paul. 1965. *The Faith of the Counsellors*. London: Constable & Co Ltd.
- Hankey, Donald. 1918. *A Student in Arms*. London: Andrew Melrose Ltd.
- Hanks, Patrick ed. 1979 *Collins Dictionary of the English Language*. Sydney, Auckland, Glasgow: Collins.
- Harak, G.Simon. 1994. 'Fighting the Hydra: Mininukes in the New World Order'. *Cross Currents* 44:1, 43-66.
- Harker, Jack S. 1992. *Soldier, Sailor, Priest*. Auckland: Challenge Communications Foundation.
- Hargest, Brig. James T. 1945. *Farewell Campo 12*. Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs.
- Harnack, Adolf. 1963. *Militia Christi: The Christian Religion and the Military in the First Three Centuries*. Trans. David McL. Gracie. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Harper, Alexander L. 1957. 'The Chaplain: A New Look'. *The Christian Century*. February 13, 194-196.
- Harrison, Everett F., ed. 1960. *Baker's Dictionary of Theology*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House.
- Harvey, Maj. Peter. 1969. 'The Relevance of Christ in Service Life.' *Practical Christianity For Officers* 255, 11-14
- Hatch, Edwin. 1880. *The Organization of the Early Christian Churches*. Bampton Lectures 1880. London: Rivingtons.
- Hayes, Denis. 1949. *Conscription Conflict: The Conflict of Ideas in the Struggle For and Against Military Conscription in Britain Between the Years 1901-1913*. London: Sheppard Press.
- Hebb, Donald O. 1960. *A Textbook of Psychology*. Philadelphia: W.B.Saunders Co.
- Henderson, Kenneth T. 1919. *Khaki and Cassock*. Melbourne: Melville & Mullen Pty Ltd.

- Herman, Stewart. 1946. *The Rebirth of the German Church*. London: S.C.M. Press.
- Hill, Michael. 1982. 'The Social Context of New Zealand's Religion: "Straight" or "Narrow"?' in Kevin J. Sharpe, ed. *Religion and New Zealand's Future: The Seventh Auckland Religious Studies Colloquium*. 23-46.
- Hillary, Richard. 1942. *The Last Enemy*. London: Macmillan & Co.
- Holst, Lawrence E., ed. 1985. *Hospital Ministry: The Role of the Chaplain Today*. New York: The Crossroad Publishing Co.
- Howard, Michael. 1996. *Contemporary Cultural Anthropology*. 5th. edn. New York: Harper Collins Publishers.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 1957. *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Hutch, Richard A. 1985. 'Who is it that we Treat?: The Interface Between Religion and Therapy'. *Journal of Pastoral Psychology* 33:3, 152-160.
- Hutcheson, Richard G. 1968. 'Parish of Transients: Military Mobility and the Chaplain.' *The Chaplain* 25:3, 26-31.
- Hutcheson, Richard G. 1975. *The Churches and the Chaplaincy*. Atlanta: John Knox Press.
- Ignatieff, Michael. 1998. *The Warrior's Honor: Ethnic War and the Modern Conscience*. London: Chatto & Windus.
- Interfaith Committee of the Churches and the General Commission on Chaplains, USA. 1972. 'Armed Forces Chaplains: All Civilians?' *The Chaplain* 29:1, 2-87. Special Issue.
- International Committee of the Red Cross. 1929. *Full Text of the Final Act of the Diplomatic Conference Geneva, 27 July 1929*. Geneva, Switzerland: International Committee of the Red Cross.
- International Committee of the Red Cross. 1949. *The Geneva Conventions of August 12 1949*. Geneva, Switzerland: International Committee of the Red Cross.
- James, Colin. 1994. 'A Force Still Fit to Fight'. *Defence Quarterly* 4, 2-6.
- James, A. Gordon. 1959. 'A Divided Church in a Divided World.' *Hibbert Journal* 58:1, 66-70.

- Johnston, Harry M. 1966. *Sociology: A Systematic Introduction.* 5th edn. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Johnstone, Tom & James Hagerty. 1996. *The Cross on the Sword: Catholic Chaplains in the Forces.* London: Geoffrey Chapman.
- Joint Board of Studies in Theology, University of Auckland 1998. *Course outlines and prescriptions in Biblical Studies.* Supplied by the Joint Board of Studies and the University of Auckland Calendar.
- Joint Board of Studies in Theology, University of Auckland. 1997. *Pastoral Care in Human Relationships.* Course Outline Paper 715.301.
- Joint Board of Studies in Theology, University of Auckland. 1998. *Pastoral Care and Gender Studies.* Course Outline Paper 715.302.
- Joint Board of Studies in Theology, University of Auckland. 1998. *Human Development and Pastoral Care.* Course Outline Paper 715.202.
- Joint Board of Studies in Theology, University of Auckland. 1998. *Introduction to the Pastoral Situation.* Course Outline Paper 715.101.
- Joint Board of Studies in Theology, University of Auckland. 1997. *Spirituality and Counselling.* Course Outline Paper 715.701.
- Jordan, Robert Paul. 1969. *The Civil War.* 1983 edn. Washington D.C.: National Geographic Society, Special Publications Division.
- Jorgensen, Daniel B. 1961. *Airforce Chaplains: Vol.1. The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units 1917 -1946.* Vol.2. *Air Force Chaplains 1947-1960.* Office of Chief of Air Force Chaplains. Washington D.C.: US Government Printing Office.
- Josaitis, Norman F. 1971. *Edwin Hatch and the Early Church Order.* Gembloux, Belgium: J.Duculot.
- Julien, Claude. 1990. 'Holy Wars: International Law and the Gulf Crisis'. *Cross Currents* 40:3, 291-301.
- Karnow, Stanley. 1983. *Vietnam, A History: The First Complete Account of Vietnam at War.* Reprint 1986. London: Century Hutchinson.
- Kee, Howard Clark. 1995. 'A Century of Quests for the Culturally Compatible Jesus' *Theology Today* 52:1, 17-28.

- Keegan, John. 1993. *A History of Warfare*. Auckland: Hutchinson Random House.
- Keith, Arthur Berriedale. 1916. *Imperial Unity and the Dominions*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Kenny, Anthony. 1985. *The Logic of Deterrence*. London: Firethorne Press.
- Kepel, Gilles. 1994. *The Revenge of God: The Resurgence of Islam, Christianity and Judaism in the Modern World*. English trans. Alan Braley. Cambridge UK: Policy Press.
- Kippenberger, H. K., ed. 1948. *New Zealand in the Second World War: Official History 1939-1945*. Vol.1. Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs.
- Kitamori, Kazoh. 1966. *Theology of the Pain of God*. London: SCM Press.
- Klassen, Randolph. 1969. 'The Christians in Battle'. *Practical Christianity for Officers* 225, 4-6.
- Kurtz, Ernest & Katherine Ketcham. 1992. *The Spirituality of Imperfection*. NY: Bantam.
- Lamberth, David C. 1977. 'Intimations of the Finite: Thinking Pragmatically at the End of Modernity.' *Harvard Theological Review* 90:2, 205-223.
- Laszlo, Ervin. 1991. 'Human Survival: The Responsibility of Science and Religion'. *Zygon* 26:4, 547-554.
- Leat, Diana. 1974. 'Counsellors, Clerical and Professional'. *Frontier* 17, 27-30.
- Leitenberg, Milton. 1977. 'Disarmament and Arms Control Since 1945.' *Cross Currents* 27:2, 130-139.
- Lifeline and Interchurch Counselling Service. 1991. *Rules and Constitution*. Unpublished.
- "Linesman". 1902. *The Mechanism of War*. Edinburgh & London: Wm Blackwood & Sons.
- Locke, Elsie. 1992. *Peace People: A History of Peace Activities in New Zealand*. Christchurch: Hazard Press.
- Longman, Tremper & Daniel G. Reid. 1995. *God is a Warrior*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing.
- Lord, Janice Harris. 1988. *No Time for Goodbyes*. Newtown NSW: Janice Harris Lord, Millenium Books.
- Lyall, David. 1995. *Counselling in the Pastoral and Spiritual Context*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

- McBride, James. 1995. *War, Battering and Other Sports: The Gulf Between American Men and Women.* Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press.
- McDowall, R. G. 1996. *1941-45 War Diary.* 1996 Annotated Ed. Unpublished. Auckland War Memorial Museum.
- McEldowney, Dennis, ed. 1990. *Presbyterians in Aotearoa 1840 - 1990.* Presbyterian Church of New Zealand. Wellington: A.H.Reed.
- McGowan, John F. & Lyle D.Schmidt. 1962. *Counseling: Readings In Theory and Practice.* New York: Holt Rinehart & Winston.
- McGrath, Alister. 1992. *Suffering.* Kent: Hodder & Stoughton.
- McKenna, Neva Clarke. 1996. *Angel in God's Defence.* Auckland: Tandem Press.
- McLeod, John. 1986. *Myth and Reality: The New Zealand Soldier in World War II.* Auckland: Heinemann Reid.
- McQuade, Peter, ed. 1995. *Wartime Memories: Stories of Men, Women and Children in World War II.* Auckland: Dolphin Press.
- Malony, H. Newton & Richard A. Hunt. 1991. *The Psychology of Clergy.* Harrisburg: Morehouse Publishing.
- Maritain, Jacques. 1950. *St Thomas Aquinas.* New York: Meridian Books.
- May, Rollo. 1980. *Psychology and the Human Dilemma.* Toronto: W. W. Norton & Co.
- Meldrum, Maj-Gen. B. 1990. *The New Zealand Army.* Wellington: Public Relations of the New Zealand Army.
- Merrigan, Terrence. 1997. 'Religious Knowledge in the Pluralist Theology of Religions'. *Theological Studies* 58, 686-707.
- Mesle, C. Robert. 1993. *Process Theology.* St Louis: Chalice Press.
- Methodist Church of New Zealand. *New Zealand Methodist Times.* Vols 31-36:1940-1946. Auckland: Methodist Church of New Zealand Divisional Office Archives.
- Methodist Church of New Zealand. *Chaplaincy Advisory Committee Minutes, Northern Command:* 25.1.1922; 19.7.1922; 12.10.1923; 23.10.1924; 2.8.1926; 17.10.1926; 17.5.1929; 18.3.1938;; 21.8.1939;

- 3.11.1939; 10.12.1939; 28.5.1940; 20.6.1940;
 13.2.1947. Auckland: Methodist Archives.
- Miller, Richard B. 1986. 'Christian Pacifism and Just War Tenets: How do they Diverge?' *Theological Studies* 47, 448-472.
- Mol, Hans, ed. 1972. *Western Religion - A Country by Country Sociological Enquiry*. The Hague: Mouton & Co.
- Moltmann, Jurgen & Karl-Josef Kuschel. 1966. *Pentecostal Movements as an Ecumenical Challenge*. London: S.C.M. Press Ltd.
- Morgan, Clifford T. 1961. *Introduction to Psychology*. 2nd ed. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Morley, John F. 1980. *Vatican Diplomacy and the Jews During the Holocaust 1939-1943*. New York: KTAV Publishing House Inc.
- Morrison, Philip. 1981. 'Warfare Today: Limits to Growth.' *Anglican Theological Review* 63:4, 472-7.
- Mosheim, Johann L. 1826. *An Ecclesiastical History Ancient and Modern from the Birth of Christ to the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century*. Vol.2. London: Thomas Davison.
- Moskos, Charles C. Jr. 1973. 'The Emergent Military: Civil, Traditional or Plural?' *Pacific Sociological Review* April, 255-280.
- Nash, Walter. 1944. *New Zealand: A Working Democracy*. London: J M Dent & Sons.
- National Council of Churches. 1982. *Future Contingencies: 4. Nuclear Disaster*. A Report to the Commission for the Future by a Study Group on Nuclear Disaster. Wellington: National Council of Churches.
- Navone, John. 1977. 'A Theology of Darkness, Terror and Dread'. *Theology* 80:677, 348-353.
- Newbigin, Lesslie. 1989. *The Gospel in a Pluralist Society*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B Eerdmans.
- New Zealand Catholic Bishops' Conference. 1997. 'A Consistent Ethic of Life'. *The Common Good* 5, 2-4.
- NEW ZEALAND DEFENCE DEPARTMENT (NZDF) :
- Chaplains' Handbook (Army)* 1990. Royal New Zealand Chaplains' Department.

Chaplains' Handbook (Army HQ) 1963. Royal New Zealand
Chaplains' Department.

DM65 Chaplains' Manual. December 1979. Ministry of
Defence Publication.

NZDF5110 Chaplaincy Towards 2100. (Draft) 1997.
Wellington: HQ Principal Defence Chaplain.

NEW ZEALAND GOVERNMENT:

Inquiry Into Defence Beyond 2000. 1998. Interim Report
of the Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade
Committee. Forty-fifth Parliament, New Zealand
House of Representatives.

NEW ZEALAND HERALD:

2-3.5.98. 'Strumming the way out of war.' Warren Gamble,
A15.

15.4.98. 'Demand for counselling.' Tom Clarke, C1

21.7.98. 'Modern face for churches.' Eugene Bingham,
Reuters, A11.

13.11.98. 'NZ troops on Gulf stand-by.' No writer, A1.

14-15.11.98. 'Showdown looms as patience ends.' Reuters,
B1.

25.11.98. 'Questionmark over war arsenal.' No writer,
A13.

26.11.98. 'Defence force bases may go.' Bernard Orsman,
A9.

3.12.98. 'Analysts work to unravel defence decision.'
Mathew Dearnaly, A17.

3.12.98. 'A serious defence tool.' Greg Ansley, A20.

8.12.98. 'Brigadier Bestwick on Quigley Report.' No
writer, A13.

18.12.98. 'Shipley pledges troops.' No writer, A1.

19-20.12.98. 'Comrade in arms under fire.' Greg Ansley,
A15.

30.12.98. 'Frigate lined up to confront poachers.' John
Armstrong, A1.

23-24.1.99. 'Cover-up costs Army job.' NZPA, A1.

23-24.1.99. 'Veteran wants ghost of Nam laid to rest.'

Karen Burge, A3.

- 25.1.99. 'Cover-up dismays veteran officer.' Bernard Orsman, A3.
- 26.1.99. 'Army graduates always a cut above the rest.' No writer, D5.
- 29.1.99. 'AirForce flies north to hand out flood relief.' Angela Gregory, A4.
- 6-7.2.99. 'Science finds God.' W. Mark Richardson, H1.
- 20.2.99. 'Support for religious education.' No writer, A8.
- 20.2.99. 'Last bomb took 29 years to explode.' Eugene Bingham, A22.
- 23.2.99. 'Rapid reaction battalion.' Mathew Dearnaly, A3.
- 27-28.3.99. 'Praising the Lord and passing the ammo.' Philip Puella, Reuters, B4.
- 30.3.99. 'Send in ground troops: generals.' Reuters AFP, B3.
- 31.3.99. 'Army takes main bomb call-out role.' NZPA, A7.
- 31.5.99. 'Nato rejects peace overture.' Reuters, A1.
- 17.5.99. 'War tools produced without big bang.' Andrew Stone, A11.
- 16.7.99. 'Civvie soldiers join the force.' No writer, A5.
- 28.7.99. 'Why our airforce needs fighters to fly a lot faster.' Carey Adamson, A15.
- 5.8.99. 'Joint force approach is right for our military.' Derek Quigley, A13.
- 2.8.99. 'Army campaign moves target.' Mathew Dearnaly, A16.
- 2.8.99. 'Church leader defies belief.' Reuters, B1.
- 20.8.99. 'Soldiers to train with movie magic.' No writer, Reuters. B2.
- 31.8.99. 'Smaller, sharper military say Mps.', A1. & 'MPs want defence tighter but tougher', Mathew Dearnaley, A11.

- 31.8.99 'Report on defence future fatally flawed.' David Dickens, A13.
- 7.9.99 'Hundreds die in savagery.' Atika Schubert, A1.
- 10.9.99 'Horror at killing of priests, nuns.' Reuters, A1.
- 13.9.99 'Militia files saved for possible UN proceedings.' Mark Dodd & agencies, B1.
- 17.9.99 'End to the century of megadeath.' James Rose, A13.
- 20.9.99 'Ill-equipped for war,' Editorial, A14.

Nicol, Christopher & James Veitch. 1983. *Religion in New Zealand*. 2nd ed. Wellington: Tertiary Christian Studies Programme of the Combined Chaplaincies and the Religious Studies Department, Victoria University.

Niebuhr, H. Richard. 1951. *Christ and Culture*. London: Faber and Faber.

Noll, Mark A. & David F. Wells, eds. 1988. *Christian Faith & Practice in the Modern World: Theology From an Evangelical Point of View*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans.

Oates, Wayne E., ed. 1959. *An Introduction to Pastoral Counseling*. Nashville: Broadman Press.

O'Brien, Roderick. 1993. *A Manual of Humanitarian Law for Religious Personnel*. Adelaide: Private publication available through the International Committee of the Red Cross, Geneva.

O'Connell, James. 1987. 'The Issues of Nuclear Weapons: Politics, Deterrence and Ethics.' *This Month October*, 361-368.

Ornstein, Robert E., ed. 1968. *The Nature of Human Consciousness*. San Francisco: Freeman.

Page, Martin. ed. 1976. *For Gawdsake Don't Take Me - Songs, Ballads, Verses, Monologues of the Reluctant Heroes*. London: Granada Publishing.

Parker, Wesley. 1955. *Over to You Padre - A Pacific Padre Looks Back*. Auckland: Uniprint.

- Parr, Alison. 1995. *Silent Casualties*. Auckland: Tandem Press.
- Parsons, Anthony. 1995. *From Cold War to Hot Peace: UN Interventions 1947-1995*. London: Penguin Books.
- Paskins, Barrie & Michael Dockrill. 1979. *The Ethics of War*. London: Duckworth & Co.
- Patrick, Bruce, ed. 1993. *The Vision New Zealand Congress: Waikanae, New Zealand, January 1993*. Auckland: Vision New Zealand.
- Patrick, Bruce, ed. 1993. *New Vision New Zealand: Calling the Whole Church to Take the Whole Gospel to the Whole Nation*. Auckland: Vision New Zealand.
- Patterson, Stephen J. 1995. 'The End of Apocalypse: Rethinking the Eschatological Jesus.' *Theology Today* 52:1, 29-48
- 'Penn', Christopher(Lawler, P.A). 1942. *What's Wrong With the War - The Answer*. Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs.
- Perrott, Alan. 1998. 'Christian without divinity.' *East & Bays Courier* 28.8.98. Auckland: Suburban Newspapers.
- Peters, Michael & James Marshall. 1966. *Individualism and Community: Education and Social Policy in the Postmodern Condition*. London: Palmer Press.
- Phare, Jane. 1994. 'Wounds That Leave No Scars'. *Defence Quarterly* 6, 2-6.
- Phare, Jane. 1997. 'Young Wives' Tales'. *Defence Quarterly* 2, 8-13.
- Phillips, Jock. 1996. Rev.edn. *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male: A History*. Auckland: Penguin Books.
- Pocock, Rev. F. L. 1986. *With Those in Peril*. Lewes, Sussex: Temple House Books.
- Powell, Alan. 1988. *The Shadow's Edge: Australia's Northern War*. Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University.
- Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand. *Four Square: A Bible Class Magazine*. Issues 1920-1927. Dunedin: Hewitson Archives.
- Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand. *The Outlook*. Issues 1930-1963. Microfiche. Dunedin: Hewitson Archives.

Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand. *Chaplains and Chaplains to the Forces Committee, PCANZGA/0003/27&28 O/S, 1941-1945*. Dunedin: Hewitson Archives.

Preston, Gaylene; Judith Fyfe, eds. 1995. *War Stories Our Mothers Never Told Us*. Auckland: Penguin Books.

Pritchard, Colin. 1977. 'Science, Faith and the Vision of a New Society' *Theology* 80:677, 331-340.

Quinlan, Sir Michael. 1987. 'The Ethics of Nuclear Deterrence: A critical Comment on the Pastoral Letter of the US. Catholic Bishops.' *Journal of Theological Studies* 48:3-24.

Ramage, Ian. 1967. *Battle For the Free Mind*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

Ranger, Terence. 1983. 'Holy Men and Rural Communities in Zimbabwe, 1970-1980' in Sheils W.J., ed. *The Church and War: Studies in Church History*. Vol.20, 443-461. London: Ecclesiastical History Society, Basil Blackwell.

Rankin, David. 1995. *Tertullian and the Church*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rankin, William W. 1990. *Confidentiality & Clergy: Churches, Ethics and the Law*. Wilton, NJ.: Morehouse Publishing.

Raw, David. 1988. *It's Only Me - A Life of Rev. Theodore Bayley Hardy VC.DSO.MC*. Gatebeck, Cumbria: Frank Peters Publishing.

Reed, Bruce. 1978. *The Dynamics of Religion: Process and Movement in the Christian Churches*. London: Darton, Longman & Todd.

Remak, Joachim, ed. 1969. *The Nazi Years. A Documentary History*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Richmond, Kent D. 1988. *Preaching to Sufferers: God and The Problem of Pain*. Nashville: Abingdon Press.

Roberts, Alexander & James Donaldson, eds. Reprint 1993. *The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to AD 325*. Vol.3, Tertullian. Vol.5, Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm B Eerdmans Co.

Robertson, E. H. 1962. *Christians Against Hitler*. London: S.C.M. Press Ltd.

Rogers, Carl R. 1970. *Encounter Groups*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Pelican Books.

- Rolfe, James. 1993. 'Towards 2000: The Army Shapes Up.' *Defence Quarterly* 1:18-22.
- Rolfe, James. 1999. *The Armed Forces of New Zealand*. St Leonards, Australia : Allen & Unwin Pty. Ltd.
- Roof, Wade Clark. 1993. *A Generation of Seekers: The Spiritual Journeys of the Baby Boom Generation*. San Francisco: Harper.
- Runcie, Rt. Hon. Robert A. K., 1989. 'The God of Battles and the Fight for Faith'. *Army & Defence Quarterly Journal* 119:2, 153-163.
- Ryburn, Ian. Undated. *Unpublished Memoirs WWII*. Glen Historic Collection.
- Saint Lukes' Church. 1999. *Community of Saint Luke News: March 1999*. Auckland: Parish newsletter.
- Sampson, Rev. 1991. *Spiritual Thought For Sunday - 2nd Brigade, 10th Division (Light Infantry)*. Unpublished book written for the Brigade.
- Sargant, William. 1957. *Battle For the Mind*. London: Pan Books.
- Schaff, Philip, ed. 1968-9. *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*. 1st Series. Vol.1 Augustine Letters.
- Schaff, Philip & Henry Wace, eds. 1952-7. *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*. 2nd Series. Vol.1 Eusebius. Vol.10 St Ambrose, Select Letters; Vol.14 The Seven Ecumenical Councils. Grand Rapids: Wm.B.Eerdmans.
- Sellers, Rev. W.E. 1900. *From Aldershot to Pretoria: A Story of Christian Work Among our Troops in South Africa*. London: Religious Tract Society.
- Sharpe, Kevin J., ed. 1982. *Religion and New Zealand's Future: The Seventh Auckland Religious Studies Colloquium*. Chaplains' Office, University of Auckland. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- Sheils, W.J., ed. 1983. *The Church and War: Studies in Church History*. Vol.20. Papers read at the twenty first summer meeting, and the twenty second winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society. London: Ecclesiastical History Society, Basil Blackwell.
- Sims, C. Leon. 1998. 'Towards a Post Modern Chaplaincy'. *Journal of Pastoral Care* 52:3, 249-259.

- Sinclair, Keith. 1980. *A History of New Zealand*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, Pelican.
- Skinner, B. F. 1972. *Beyond Freedom and Dignity*. London: Jonathan Cape.
- Smith, Peter Eccles. 1969. *Letters From A Viet Nam Hospital*. Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed.
- Smith, Ron. 1998. ' "Niche" Defence Too Big A Risk.' *Defence Quarterly* 23, 17.
- Smyth, Brigadier Sir John. 1968. *In This Sign Conquer: The Story of the Army Chaplains*. London: A. R. Mowbray.
- Sordi, Marta. 1986. *The Christians and the Roman Empire*. Trans. Annabel Bedini. London & Sydney: Croom Helm.
- Staples, Richard. 1998. *John Cain Mole: Airman World War II*. Christchurch: Orca Publishing.
- Stefflre, Buford, ed. 1965. *Theories of Counseling*. New York: McGraw Hill Inc.
- Stuart, W J. 1982. 'Secularization and Sectarianism: The Struggle for a Religious Future for New Zealand' in Kevin J. Sharpe, ed. *Religion and New Zealand's Future: The Seventh Auckland Religious Studies Colloquium*. 84-92.
- Sullivan, Martin. 1975. *Watch How You Go*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, St Pauls House.
- Sullivan, Matthew Barry. 1979. *Thresholds of Peace: German Prisoners and the People of Britain 1944-48*. London: Hamish Hamilton.
- Sun Tzu. *The Art of War*. c.BCE 512. James Clavell ed. 1981. 1995 edn. from 1905 Trans. P. F. Calthrop. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Sutor, Keith D. 1984. *Issues of the Eighties: The New World Information & Communications Order and the Arms Race*. Paper given at the Second Asian Peace Conference Amagi-Sanso, Japan. Sydney: Assembly Commission on Social Responsibility.
- Sutor, Keith D. Undated c.1985. *Christians and the Arms Race*. Board of Social Responsibility, NSW Synod, Uniting Church in Australia.
- Swift, Louis J. 1974. 'Augustine on War and Killing: Another View'. *Harvard Theological Review* 66:3, 369-383.
- Swift, Louis J. 1983. *The Early Fathers on War and Military*

Service: Message of the Fathers of the Church. Vol.19.
Wilmington Delaware: Michael Glazier Inc.

Tagg, Mary A. 1997. *The Prisoner Padre: The Impact of War on a New Zealand Cleric.* Thesis (M.Phil), University of Waikato.

Taylor, Ernest R. 1955. *Padre Brown of Gibraltar.* London: Epworth Press.

Taylor, Nancy M. 1986. *The Home Front. 2 vols. Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939-45.* Wellington: Government Printing Office.

Taylor, R.J. Maj. 1977. 'A PSYOPS Capability for the New Zealand Army'. *NZ Army Journal* 17, 43-47.

Teilhard De Chardin, Pierre. 1959. *The Future of Man.* Trans. Norman Denny. New York & Evanston: Harper & Row 1964.

Teilhard De Chardin, Pierre. 1965. *The Making of a Mind: Letters from a Soldier-Priest 1914-1919.* Trans. Rene Hague. London: Collins.

TELEVISION

22.3.98. TV1 *Assignment.* 'Scars of War.' Rod Vaughan.

30.8.98. TV1 *60 Minutes.* 'Women in Uniform.' Australian Navy.

30.8.98. TV1 *Backchat.* Bill Ralston on the churches.

26.11.98. TV1 *Assignment.*

23.1.99. TV1 *Holmes.* Susan Wood & Hini Komene.

21.2.99. TV1 *60 Minutes.* Cameron Bennett & Brig. Mortlock.

30.3.99 TV3 *News Review.* Maj. J. Bryant.

15.5.99 TV1 *Holmes.* Paul Holmes. Dominic Crossan & Paul Trebilco.

19.5.99 TV1 *Epitaph.*

12.9.99 TV3 *News 6pm.* Indonesian military of the TNI accused of massacre in Dare, Timor. Stephen Parker 4BC Australian News in Darwin.

16.9.99 TV3 *News 6pm.* New Zealand to send troops for peace-enforcement in East Timor.

The Economist. 24.4.1999. *Defining NATO's Aims.* Editorial 17-18.

Thomas, Gordon, & Max Morgan Witts. 1978. *Enola Gay.* New York: Pocketbooks.

Thompson, W. G. (Padre Bill). 1976. *The God Botherer.* Christchurch: Pumpkin Press Ltd.

Thorne, Brian J. 1998. *Person-centred Counselling and Christian Spirituality: The Secular and the Holy.* London: Whurr Publishers.

Thornton, Edward E. 1967. *Theology and Pastoral Counseling.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Thornton, Francis Beauchesne. 1956. *Sea of Glory: The Magnificent Story of Four Chaplains.* Kingswood, Surrey: The World's Work (1913) Ltd.

Thurston, Bonnie Bowman. 1989. *The Widows: A Women's Ministry in the Early Church.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

Tillich, Paul. 1951-57. *Systematic Theology.* 3 vols. London: Nisbet & Co.

Tillich, Paul. 1955. *The New Being.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Timothy, H. B. 1972. *The Early Christian Apologists and Greek Philosophy: exemplified by Irenaeus, Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria.* Assen, Netherlands: Van Gorcum & Co.

Tinsley, Capt. J. C. 1988. 'Training for the Psychological Stress of Modern Warfare.' *NZ Army Journal* 8, 34-38.

Trower, Ross H. 1985. 'Military' in Wicks, Robert J., Richard D. Parsons, Donald E. Cope, eds. *Clinical Handbook of Pastoral Counselling.* Vol.1, 440-451. Mahwah: Paulist Press.

Turner, George. 1884. *Samoa A Hundred Years Ago and Long Before.* 2nd reprint 1986. Apia: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of Samoa.

Underhill, Rev. M. L. 1950. *Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939-45: Chaplains.* War History Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington: Government Printing Office.

Volti, Rudi. 1995. *Society and Technological Change.* New York: St Martin's Press.

- Volz, Carl A. 1990. *Pastoral Life and Practice in the Early Church*. Minneapolis: Augsburg.
- Walker, Jonathan. 1998. *The Blood Tub : General Gough and the Battle of Bullecourt 1917*. Staplehurst: Spellmount.
- Walker, Rev.W.J.(Willie). 1915-1917 & 1940-41. Two Lectures to Chaplains' Training School Trentham. Unpublished. Glen Historic Collection.
- Weber, Max. 1947. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. Trans. A. M. Henderson & Talcott Parsons. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Webster, Alan C. 1981. *Beliefs, Role Definitions, Attitudes, Social Perceptions and Personality Orientations: A Study of New Zealand Clergy*. Palmerston North: Massey University Dept. of Education & the National Council of Churches in New Zealand.
- Webster, Alan C. & Paul E. Perry. 1989. *The Religious Factor In New Zealand Society*. Palmerston North: Alpha Press.
- Webster, Alan C. & Paul E. Perry. 1992. *What Difference Does It Make? With Responses from the Churches*. Norman E. Brookes & Margaret R. Martin, eds. Palmerston North: Alpha Press.
- Weinberg, Martin S. & Earl Rubington, eds. 1973. *The Solution Of Social Problems*. London & Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Westberg, Granger E. 1961. *Minister and Doctor Meet*. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Wettge, Ralph. 1973. 'The Greening of the Military Chaplaincy.' *American Report*. June. No page ref.
- Wheeler, John P. 1982. 'Theological Reflections Upon the Vietnam War.' *Anglican Theological Review* 64:1, 1-14.
- Whitmore Lecture 1986. 'Defence in the Eighties.' No author. *NZ Army Journal: October Special Edition*, 2-8.
- Wicks, Robert J., Richard D. Parsons, Donald E. Capps, eds. 1985. *Clinical Handbook of Pastoral Counseling*. 2 vols. Mahwah: Paulist Press.
- Wilkinson, Alan. 1981. 'The Paradox of the Military Chaplain.' *Theology* 84:700, 249-257.
- Williams, George H. 1972. 'The Chaplaincy in the Armed Forces of the United States of America in Historical and Ecclesiastical Perspective' in Cox, Harvey G. Jr, ed. 1972. *Military Chaplains: From a Religious*

- Military to a Military Religion.* New York: American Report Press.
- Williams, John. 1837. *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Seas Islands.* London: John Snow. Limited edition reprint 1995., Cook Islands Library & Museum Society.
- Williams, David O. 1986. *How Should We Live? A Christian Answer.* Auckland: College Communications.
- Wilson, Bryan. 1969. *Religion in Secular Society: A Sociological Comment.* Harmondsworth: Pelican Books.
- Winterbourne, Ralph. 1974. *Guidance Services in New Zealand Education.* New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington, Christchurch: Whitcoulls.
- Wood, F. L. W. 1958. *Political & External Affairs. Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939-45.* Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington: Government Printing Office.
- World Council of Churches. 1977. *Report of the Consultation on Militarism: Glion, Switzerland. Commission of the Churches on International Affairs.* Geneva: World Council of Churches.
- World Council of Churches. 1978. *Church and State: Opening a New Ecumenical Discussion.* Faith & Order Paper No.85. Geneva: World Council of Churches.
- Wright, Frank. 1989. *Invisible Network: The Story of Air Care.* London: Collins Fount Paperbacks.
- Wynne Mason, W. 1945. *Prisoners of War - Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939-45.* Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington: Government Printing Office.
- Yinger, J. M., ed. 1967. *Religion, Society and the Individual.* 9th edn. New York: Macmillan & Co.
- Yoder, John H. 1988. 'Armaments and Eschatology.' *Studies in Christian Ethics* 1, 43-61.
- Zahn, Gordon C. 1969. *Chaplains in the RAF. A Study in Role Tension.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.