

Euthanasia debate in New Zealand: Churches response and conscience vote

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In 1995 New Zealand had a brief, but exciting debate, about the addition of legalised euthanasia to the country's laws. A parliamentarian tried to introduce the *Death with Dignity Bill 1995*, to allow voluntary euthanasia in special cases. The proposed Bill was terminally ill from the beginning and was mercifully killed by a decisive margin in Parliament. The main opponents of the bill were the Christian churches, with a significant contribution from the Catholic Church. «The formal input of non-Catholic organized religion was negligible but the impact of some Christian parliamentarians upon the outcome was not. The *Death with Dignity Bill* was an excellent illustration of the way the religious influence can sometimes play a telling part in the formation of public policy in New Zealand»¹. I will examine how the individual consciences of some Christians parliamentarians helped to defeat a bill which was going to go ahead in front of the churches' opposition. The response of the Catholic Church was tempered by the weak reaction of the other Christian churches, some of which became immersed some of them in a secular discussion about the issue. Underlying the topic, we have an example of how politics and religion work in a Western country, in a society close to the beginning of the third millennium. I will start with an brief summary of the history of the Christian faith in New Zealand, to give a better understanding to the background of the debate.

¹ REX J. AHDAR, «Religious Parliamentarians and Euthanasia: A window into the Church and State in New Zealand», *Journal of Church and State* 38 (Summer 1996), 569.

I. SOME INFORMATION ABOUT NEW ZEALAND

Whenever I go to Europe, people ask me where do I live, and when I say New Zealand, the second question is usually: Where is it? I remember that the first time I tried to explain it, quickly I gave up and said: close to Australia (dwarfed by the neighboring continent it looks closer, but it is still more than a two hour flight). I must say that when I used to live in Europe—out of my ignorance—if somebody mentioned New Zealand, I thought immediately in a country somewhere in the southern part of the planet.

Situated in Oceania or the Antipodes—from an European perspective, opposite of Spain—, New Zealand is a Western country with a modern and flourishing economy. The population lives on the two main islands, with more than 3 million people—mainly white descendants from the British Islands—, in an area slightly larger than the United Kingdom (268,676 sq. km.). Thirteen percent of the country's population are Maori—indigenous people present at the time of the arrival of the Europeans—, and a significant population of Pacific Islanders. A constitutional monarchy, with one house of Parliament, but without written constitution, New Zealand looks at Europe as its ancestor, and at the same time has its mind partly in the Pacific Islands.

Called by the Maoris «Aotearoa»—the Land of the Long White Cloud—it is a country of spectacular natural beauty with long, deserted beaches, glacial mountains, rich green forest and pastures. «New Zealand is a compact land, a land of contrasts. There are sub-tropical rainforests and crystal clear lakes and rivers, thermal activity, and volcanoes (active, dormant and extinct) dotted around the islands. Green rolling hills covered with sheep, and seemingly endless forests, are quite often just an hour's drive from barren, rugged mountains and semi-desert areas. In the South, permanent snow covers many mountain tops and glaciers reach down into rainforests and wilderness areas. Magnificent fiords scratched into mountainous terrain contain thundering waterfalls and large peaceful lakes. The kaleidoscope is every turning and presenting new patterns. Whatever you taste or mood, somewhere in New Zealand you are sure to find your paradise on earth»². This is why New Zealand is called «God's Own Country».

The Christian churches came fundamentally to evangelise the New Zealand natives, the Maoris. It is generally agreed that the Maoris came from the Polynesia, the first ones arriving in New Zealand around the year 950 AD. Their name comes from an extinct large flightless bird they used to hunt called Mōa. They «are generally acknowledged to be intellectually and physically the finest aboriginal race in the South Sea Islands. Their magnificent courage, their high intelligence, their splendid physique and manly bearing, the stirring part they have played in the history of the country, the very ferocity of their long-relinquished habits, have all combined

² *New Zealand at Cost*, Sydney, 1995.

to invest them with a more than ordinary degree of interest and curiosity»³. A well ordered tribal society, led by hereditary chiefs, they developed their own culture and art, even though before the arrival of the Europeans they had no written language.

II. THE CHRISTIAN FAITH IN NEW ZEALAND

Terra australis incognita was for many centuries a topic of speculation in Europe, about the need of some territory to give balance to the land masses of the Northern Hemisphere. European trips started in the 16th century and there are claims that some Portuguese or Spaniards were the first to look upon the Islands. In 1642 the Dutch man Abel Tasman was sent to discover the unknown continent for the purpose of trade. Even though his touch with the land was brief, due to a bloody clash with the Maori, he left on the maps the name of the land «Nieuw Zeeland». Despite this find no one was interested in this part of the world until Captain Cook and a Frenchman De Surville, in 1769, almost simultaneously, without being aware of the other's presence, rediscovered New Zealand for scientific purposes.

After the scientific voyagers came the commercial exploiters, mainly whalers and sealers who used the land as a supply base. At the beginning of the 19th century small settlements started to grow around the coastal line. The Bay of Islands, in the northern part of the North Island, became a major port for the South seas. In the late 1820's this part of New Zealand gave birth to the first permanent site. With sailors, old convicts from Australia, and adventurers this place became known as the «Hellhole of the Pacific».

Samuel Marsden was the first missionary to arrive in 1814. With the help of the London-based Church Missionary Society, he established the first mission stations among the Maori. Without an organised religion, the Maori had some religious and superstitious beliefs. These were sympathetic to the new religion, although the numbers of Maoris who were baptized was really small. In 1823 the Wesleyans came, and even though at the beginning the two Protestant churches co-operated in their mission, they started fighting when they tried to work in the same areas. But they were united again with the arrival of the Catholic Church.

In the South Island there were some attempts at creating ideal Protestant cities. Dunedin grew from the enthusiasm engendered in Scotland by the Free Church, a breakaway of the official church and started as a Presbyterian Scottish colony. Christchurch was influenced by the Tractarian movement and was founded by pilgrims looking for a new Zion (with the Cathedral in the middle and planned with symmetric lines) and they tried to a decent Anglican city, often said «more British than the British».

³ *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1911.

III. THE ARRIVAL OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

In 1828 the first Catholic settler Thomas Poynton, an Irishman, arrived in New Zealand, with his Australian wife. Poynton and the other Catholics, most of them Irish, looked to Sydney for their spiritual needs and eventually they asked for a priest. With the enthusiasm of Bishop Polding, the request went as far as Rome. In 1835 Vicariate Apostolic of Western Oceanica was created and in the following year Jean Baptiste Francois Pompallier, from the newly approved order of the Marist Fathers, was appointed its Apostolic Vicar. It took two years for him to arrive to New Zealand with his three Marist companions. The first Mass was celebrated in Thomas Poynton's house in the Hokianga region. In 1838 it was estimated that there were around 50 Catholics among the English speaking population. These Catholics, although without much practicing faith, rallied round the new bishop, the first one of any Christian church to arrive in New Zealand.

Like the Protestants, the Catholic missionaries worked hard for the conversion of the Maori. They made epic expeditions across the length and breadth of the land, and protected the Maori from the exploitation at the hands of Pakeha (white man in Maori). A colourful episode of one missionary expedition was described as follows: «Alternately amazed and amused by the open bickering between Anglican, Wesleyan and Roman Catholic missionaries, the Maori were left with but one way in which to determine whose was the superior atua (god). So it was that according to total Tradition, Te Heuheu Tukino III decided to put two local missionaries to the test, and promised his family's and his tribe's allegiance to whoever won. The trial was simple - each was to bare his posterior and sit on a bed of redhot coals. Whoever had the more powerful atua would last the longer. Prudently the Anglican missionary, the Rev. Richard Taylor, declined to participate, leaving the way clear for his rival, Father Lampila, merely to make the gesture of lowering his trousers to be declared the winner. In this unlikely way Catholicism is said to have come to Waihi and have been embraced by the Te Heuheu family»⁴.

Until 1860, with the arrival of the Maori land wars, the Maori missions were flourishing. During those years of war, 1860-80, the Maori kept their territory closed against all white men, and the Catholic missions almost disappeared. Once the peace came, the missions began to rebuild steadily, especially with the help of the arrival of the Mill Hill Fathers.

During the years 1840 to 1850, the European population rose from about 2,000 to 22,000. By the time of the first Maori census in 1858, the white men outnumbered them with 59,000 pakehas. The European Catholics were slightly over one-seventh of the whole. At the beginning their spiritual care was carried out along with the mission

⁴ *Mobil New Zealand Travel Guide*, Wellington, 1984.

to the Maoris, but when there was some concentration of Europeans, they pressed for the arrival of a resident priest, and to establish a church and a school. This opened the door to other religious congregation and the arrival of priests, mainly from Ireland.

The second half of twentieth century, like us any other Western countries saw a big increase in schools, priests and religious. After the Second Vatican Council the trend has slow down dramatically, but the growth of the Catholic population has been keeping pace with the New Zealand's population, around 15 percent of the whole.

IV. RELIGIOUS BELIEFS IN TODAY'S NEW ZEALAND SOCIETY

It can be said that New Zealand does not have an established church. Due to the British colonization the Anglican church had a «quasi-establishment role», tempered by a commitment of the New Zealand identity to a religious equality. On the 26th of May 1854, the first day of Parliament, a resolution was passed stating that «the House distinctly asserts the privilege of a perfect political equality in all religious denominations». This decision came about after some Parliamentarians wanted an Anglican minister to say an opening prayer. Today's practice is that the Speaker of the House says a daily opening prayer⁵. This «episode does support the view some have espoused that the state was committed to a form of non-specific, non-sectarian Christianity»⁶.

The way this country has been formed, with immigrants mainly from Britain, who had desire to find a place to live in peace and harmony, brought to fruition a society wanting to avoid conflict. This factor was shared too in the religious arena, with the exception of the issue of public education, especially during the second half of this century.

It is stated in the Education Act 1877 that education has to be free, compulsory and secular. Two main points of conflict arose with that Act. One was the desire by the Protestants to have religious instruction in the public schools. The second one was the fight of the Catholics to get public funds for their schools. Some agreements (today's Catholic schools are integrated into the system without losing their identity) and the indifference of today's society has brought to an end to these battles.

⁵ There is an established prayer, set as an example without being compulsory for the Speaker: «Almighty God, humbly acknowledging our need for Thy guidance in all things, and laying aside all private and personal interests, we beseech Thee to grant that we may conduct the affairs of this House and of our country to the glory of Thy Holy name, the maintenance of true religion and justice, the honour of the Queen, and the public welfare, peace, and tranquillity of New Zealand, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen».

⁶ REX J. AHDAR, *op. cit.*, 570.

We can not say that people in New Zealand are particularly religious. Except for the Maori and the Pacific Islanders, the religious beliefs are more close aligned to those of Northern Europe than Australia or United States. Even though with many churches in the country, New Zealand has a low level of religiosity. The church attendance and daily prayer is only 12 percent of the population. «It would be misleading to imply that the New Zealanders are a very religious people—some of them go to church when they are christened, many when they marry, and more when they die. The prevailing religion is a simple materialism. The pursuit of health and possessions fills more minds than thoughts of salvation»⁷. The significant figures of abortion and divorce accord with those of Western countries. According to the 1990 statistics, against 60,000 births, there were 11,000 abortions. In 1990 9,036 marriages were dissolved, pushing the divorce rate (numbers of divorces per 1,000 existing marriages) past the 12 per 1,000 mark. Cohabitation before marriage and increasing numbers of people not marrying has resulted in the general marriage rate falling to 22.05 per 1,000 (in 1971 the level was 45.3).

We can say broadly that New Zealand is a Protestant country, with many different churches. It is not uncommon to find family churches or different branches from break away pastors. The census of 1991 revealed that 66.2 percent belong to a Christian church, with the Anglicans being the largest one (22.1). The next ones were Presbyterians (16.3), Catholics (15.0) and Methodists (4.2). The Catholic Church is not large enough to have a serious impact on the New Zealand society. Due to this fragmentation, to the size of the Catholic Church and to the influence the views of the secular world have over the Protestants churches, we can say that New Zealand is a neo-pagan country with few Christian customs. «Modern New Zealand is a secular state with little semblance of a “civil religion” to fall back on. The churches’ role today in influencing public policy appears to be fairly marginal. For example, a combined church statement in 1993 on social justice issues, which was critical of the government’s policy on housing, welfare, and the like, generated little interest and, it seemed, even less response from the government»⁸. In the recent election on the 12th of October 1996, the Christian Coalition, formed by two small parties the Christian Heritage and the Christian Democrats, did not pass the required 5 percent threshold in order to gain seats in Parliament.

V. THE *DEATH WITH DIGNITY BILL* 1995

A number of factors contributed to the birth of this Bill. Apart from the work done in New Zealand by the Voluntary Euthanasia Society, and the trend in the

⁷ K. SINCLAIR, *A History of New Zealand*, Penguin, 1959.

⁸ REX J. AHDAR, *op. cit.*, 571.

international arena towards its legalization, in the early 1900s a well known case of a man who killed his friend—a permanent tetraplegic caused by an accident—at his request, became a topic of conversation for most New Zealanders⁹. There was also at the time of the debate a former parliamentarian dying of terminal cancer who supported the Bill. But what gave a big push to its legalization was the decision of the Northern Territory of Australia to approve voluntary euthanasia with the *Rights of the Terminally Ill Act* 1995. Even though it is the least populated territory in Australia, with less than 250,000 people, the media gave significant coverage to the news¹⁰, because New Zealand normally looks at Australia for comparison¹¹.

It is not surprising that the Northern Territory has the worst palliative care of all the states of Australia. In New Zealand there are available many of the safeguards that protect patients from the spectre of prolonged dying as a result of intrusive medical treatment¹². The hospitals offer patients and their relatives informed choices about treatment. There is no bar to life ending peacefully without excessive medical treatment and there is no bar to withdrawing treatment that is regarded futile and intrusive. Apart from that New Zealand has one of the best systems of palliative care in the world.

In August 1995 a parliamentarian introduced the Bill as a «private members bill», urged by a private poll from his own electorate, showing 79% of support to a question asked. A private members bill is not initiated by the government or the opposition, and historically these bills do not have much influence in New Zealand politics. The vote was proposed as a conscience vote, free from party discipline¹³. The Bill proposed a referendum as to whether or not voluntary euthanasia should be legalised under specific terms set out in the bill.

The Bill was similar to the one in the Northern Territory of Australia, but had a broader scope: it allowed for requests not only for persons who are terminally ill, but also for those who are incurable ill and for those whose pain and suffering are unacceptable. The Bill only sought active euthanasia¹⁴, voluntarily induced death. The main two arguments defended in the Bill were the need to give individual choice to the patients and the concern for those whose suffering could not be relieved by medicine.

⁹ The judge gave him nine months' imprisonment saying that he had no choice but to give him the least punishment. He appeared again in the news a few years later when he was killed in an road accident.

¹⁰ At the time when the New Zealand Bill was being debated, the South Australian Parliament defeated a similar Bill by a vote of 20 to 12.

¹¹ It is interesting to see that the media did not discuss the defeat of voluntary euthanasia legislation in two Australian states, in the Australian Capital Territory and in South Australia.

¹² The *Bill of Rights Act* 1990 provides there is a right to refuse medical treatment.

¹³ The conscience vote has been traditionally left in New Zealand for those issues of moral or ethical nature. These votes are rare; in fifty years, from 1936 to 1985, the conscience vote only took place on forty-one occasions.

¹⁴ As oppose to passive euthanasia, which signifies the withdrawal of necessary treatment for the patient's life.

VI. THE RESPONSE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

Even though some speculation about the Bill was heard before its introduction, the sudden way the news about the Bill broke to the media—it was promoted in July 1995, and its debate occurred in August—, did not allow much time for the Christian churches to organise opposition to the proposal. Perhaps the reason for speed was to minimise any opposition which was the same tactic used in Australia¹⁵. The lack of time to prepare some serious response was felt through those weeks of debate, where the media was mostly left on its own, centering the debate on emotional issues.

The Catholic Church had been in the forefront of the Euthanasia debate for some time now. In 1993 the New Zealand Catholic Bishops Conference issued a statement «Care of the dying and Euthanasia». In relation to the Bill her response was the quickest and the strongest one: two bishops reaffirmed the Magisterium of the Church of the recent Encyclical *Evangelium Vitae*. The Rector of the national seminary wrote a letter for the members of Parliament, using the *Vatican Declaration on Euthanasia*. Both, two Catholic magazines, *The New Zealand Tablet*, and *New Zealandia* published articles against euthanasia, and dedicated editorials to this issue. The Knights of the Southern Cross, prepared an information pack for distribution to members of parliament and the public.

The position of the other Christian churches was weaker and their line was more of expressing concern about the new legislation than attacking the Bill directly. Some conservative churches were clear in their attitudes, and they could express their views, sometimes through the radio, but other churches instead proposed a much bigger debate and consultation. The official newspaper of the Methodist and Presbyterian churches titled their front page article: «No easy choice in debate on euthanasia».

VII. THE OUTCOME OF THE DEBATE

After the introduction of the Bill, the Parliament sat on two evenings, on the 2nd and 16th of August. The vote took place in the second session with ninety parliamentarians out of ninety nine present. The Bill was defeated by a big margin, 61 to 29. Some of the parliamentarians clearly changed their position during the debate, and decided to oppose to the Bill, thanks to the speeches and information received. It is important to say that the parliamentarian who introduced the Bill was an unpopular with his colleagues, due to his personal approach to many issues. It is possible his intention was to use the Bill to regain his popularity¹⁶.

¹⁵ In December 1996, the lower house of the Federal government of Australia overturned the decision of the Northern Territory. It is expected the upper house will ratify this decision in February 1997.

¹⁶ Few months later he had to resign from Parliament due to some irregularities.

Twenty-eight members of Parliament spoke during the two sessions. Only eight of them spoke in favour of the introduction of the Bill; nonetheless all of these speeches but one—who promoted the Bill—spoke against euthanasia. Their purpose of supporting the Bill was along the lines of giving the New Zealand society the opportunity of public discussion and a referendum on the issue. Even though the parliamentarians could have attacked euthanasia on a rational basis, many of them expressed that their opposition to the Bill on the basis of their religious beliefs, which were mainly Christians. The argument that often arose in the debate was that Christian life is a gift from God and we do not have the power to create life or the right to end it. In a secular society like New Zealand, religious beliefs are better voiced through secular ways than the well established churches.

It is interesting to see that the Maori perspective was defended by one of the members of Parliament. Maori believe that all natural things have a life principle and that every human life is a precious gift. Death and dying are considered natural and normal processes. Any person has a genealogy which links one with the past, present and future, being part of a collective group. The elderly are valued and respected because they are a living link between past and future—the bridge between life and death, between one generation and another.

During the debates some members talked saying that they were following their own private electorate polls. Many expressed their concern as how those polls were conducted, because the way the question was asked, had an influence in the outcome of the poll. Others stated that it is difficult to use the term public opinion, because public confusion sometimes reigns, as many people believed that the withdrawal of life support systems was still illegal¹⁷. Quite a few of the members of Parliament stressed that they were following their own private consciences, without being depending in that issue on the collective conscience of their local electorate.

VIII. CONCLUSION

At the end the Bill to legalize active euthanasia was defeated¹⁸. The impact of the Christian churches in the outcome of the debate is debatable. But «regarding the

¹⁷ The New Zealand High Court in 1993 affirmed that physicians could, in some occasions, withdraw life support systems, without going against the criminal law.

¹⁸ Even after the debate, the same parliamentarian tried to start a collection of signatures to support a referendum about the issue, but it had to be withdrawn by the Voluntary Euthanasia Society because the poorly rate of signatures. Promoters of referenda issues have to persuade at least 10 per cent of registered voters (232,000 electors) to sign a petition before a referendum can be held, with a twelve month period to gain the necessary signatures. Once this threshold has been crossed, the referendum must be held. However, even if a referendum is supported by more than 50 per cent of the voters, the result is not binding on the government of the day.

impact of the churches on a sensitive public moral issue, the *Death with Dignity Bill* illustrates that a small number of devout members of Parliament operating in the conscience vote setting can have an influence and achieve an outcome which the churches may not be able to—whether due to the exigencies of time or because of their own indecision regarding the merits of the issue. The conscience vote mechanism gives the members of Parliament the opportunity to let their religious colors show free of the usual stern dictates party discipline. Members of Parliament on these occasions may find profitable to speak with a secular voice and resort to pragmatic, technical arguments to win over their colleagues and defeat a measure»¹⁹.

In a secular society, where the influence of the Christian churches is tepid and their reaction is often diminished by internal divisions, where the conflict of religion and politics are things of the past, the well formed conscience of few parliamentarians can make a difference on issues where Christian values are at stake. The individual consciences of some Christians parliamentarians helped to defeat a Bill which appeared likely to go ahead in spite of the churches opposition.

¹⁹ REX J. AHDAR, *op. cit.*, 592.

Riassunto. Nel 1995 ci fu in Nuova Zelanda un breve, ma appassionato dibattito sull'introduzione dell'eutanasia nella legislazione del Paese. La risposta della Chiesa Cattolica venne svigorita dalla fiacca reazione delle altre Chiese cristiane, alcune delle quali erano coinvolte in una discussione di ispirazione secolare sul fondo della questione. Il disegno di legge a tal proposito, intitolato «morire dignitosamente», ben illustra come un piccolo gruppo di deputati religiosi, che hanno agito nell'ambito del voto secondo le proprie convinzioni morali, possa avere un'influenza e ottenere dei risultati che le chiese invece possono non essere in grado di raggiungere—vuoi a causa delle esigenze del nostro tempo, o a causa della loro stessa indecisione sul merito della questione. In tali occasioni i deputati possono trovare vantaggioso parlare dal punto di vista laico e attenersi a tesi prammatiche e tecniche per persuadere i loro colleghi e opporsi ad un provvedimento. Dietro tale tema e insito in esso, troviamo un esempio di come possano funzionare politica e religione in un Paese occidentale, in una società che si appresta a varcare la soglia del terzo millennio.

Résumé. En 1995, il y eut en Nouvelle-Zélande un débat, bref mais passionnant, sur l'introduction de l'euthanasie dans les principes de la législation du pays. La réponse de l'Église Catholique fut modérée par la

réaction timide des autres églises chrétiennes. La loi sur la «Dignité dans la Mort» montre qu'un petit nombre de parlementaires fervents croyants convaincus peuvent avoir une influence et obtenir un résultat que les églises sont incapables d'atteindre—soit du fait des exigences du temps, soit de leur propre indécision sur le bienfondé du problème. Dans de telles circonstances, les membres du Parlement pourraient plutôt choisir de s'exprimer dans un langage laïque et avoir recours à des arguments pragmatiques et techniques pour convaincre leurs collègues à s'opposer à un projet de loi. Ce qu'il nous est donné de voir, au delà de cet exemple, c'est une parfaite illustration du fonctionnement de la politique et la religion dans une société occidentale à l'orée du troisième millénaire.

Summary. In 1995 New Zealand had a brief but exciting debate about the introduction of euthanasia in its legislative core. The response of the Catholic Church was tempered by the weak reaction of the other Christian churches, immerse some of them in a secular discussion about the whole issue. The *Death with Dignity Bill* illustrates that a small number of devout members of Parliament operating in the conscience vote setting can have an influence and achieve an outcome which the churches may not be able to—whether due to the exigencies of time or because of their own indecision regarding the merits of the issue. Members of Parliament on these occasions may find profitable to speak with a secular voice and resort to pragmatic, technical arguments to win over their colleagues and defeat a measure. Underlying the topic, we have an example of how politics and religion work in Western country, in a society close to the beginning of the third millennium.

Inhaltsangabe. 1995 gab es in Neuseeland eine zwar kurze, aber leidenschaftliche Diskussion über die Einführung der Euthanasie in die Gesetznormen. Die Antwort der katholischen Kirche wurde durch die zögernde Reaktion der anderen christlichen Kirchen abgeschwächt. Das «Gesetz über die Würde im Tod» zeigt, daß eine kleine Gruppe gläubiger Parlamentsmitglieder Einfluß haben kann und zu Ergebnissen gelangen kann, zu deren Erreichung die Kirchen unfähig sind, sei es auf Grund der Erfordernisse der Zeit, sei es, weil sie keine bestimmte Entscheidung hinsichtlich der Richtigkeit des Problems erzielen können. In solchen Augenblicken könnten die Abgeordneten es interessant finden, als Laien zu sprechen und sich pragmatisch-technischer Argumente zu bedienen, um ihre Kollegen zu überzeugen und eine Gesetzesvorlage anzugreifen. Das unterschwellige Prinzip in dieser Sache bietet uns ein Beispiel dafür, wie Politik und Religion in einem westlichen Land wirken, und das in einer kurz vor dem dritten Jahrtausend stehenden Gesellschaft.