

Edited by Jennifer Smith and  
D. Michael Jackson

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School of Political Studies, Queen's University  
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# Contents

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# Acknowledgements

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5 bXf`f`đ bYU ž-bg]h] hYcZ-blhf[ cj Yfba YbHU FYU]cbg  
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# Foreword





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# Contributors

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# 1

## introduction

Jennifer Smith

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Ei YbñI b]j Yfg]m'ħY7UbUX]Ub'Għ XmcZDU'Ua Ybh; fci d'UbX'ħY
x\bgcb]G'entā U; fUXi UY'GWcc`cZDi V]Wdc`]WñUihYI b]j Yfg]hYg'
cZGg UHWYk Ub'UbXFY] ]bUk YfYW!gclcbg'fg'cZħYy Ybh'ħ]gVcc\_ ]g'
Ub'ci h'Wa YcZħYWbZfYbW'

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h Ya Yf]g'cZUWbg]li hcbU'a cbUFWnj Yfg' gUfydi V]Wb[ cj Yfba Ybh'
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]gUdfYgg]b[ bYYXZcf'g' WUb'YZcfh'F"A UW'fy[ cf'8 Uk gcbñg'

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h Y]l YW]j Y'ħ Yg]UbXUFX]ħ h'Vcc\_gi gYX]b'i b]j Yfg]hYg'lcXUmXc'bc
Xk Y`cb'ħ Yg' VYWZ]Zħ YmVch Yf'k ]ħ ]hUu`"K cfgYžħ Yg]Wb]h]h]cb'
h U]h]gd]UX]lc ]h]gZcWgYXcb'ħ Yf'Yfj Yf' dck Yfg'cZħ Y7fck bžUg' VYW
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h`YfYUXYf`]g]bj ]hXlc Wbg]XYf h`YfYUqcbg\jd`Vlk Yb`h`Y7fck b`UbX`  
Vj ]`g`V]m]b`h`Ya UHf`g`cZ`]h`f[ nã\cbci fg`UbX: ]fghB Uqcbg`H`Yb`  
h`YdYfgd]W]j Yg\]Zg`h`h`Y7fck b`]b`5i g`fU]UUbXB`Yk`NYU`UbX`]b`Ub`  
YZcfhlc [ ]j Yh`YfYUXYf`UWa`d`fU`h`j`Y`cc\_`Uh`h`Y]bg]h`h`qcb`H`YUf]W]g`  
]b`h`Y`UbU`g`Y]cb`Yb[ U] Yh`YfYUXYf`cb`]gg`Yg`h`UhdYfd`Y`h`Y7fck b`  
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Dfcj ]b`W]g`7`UbUXU`g`7`ca`dci`b`X`A`cb`U`f`W`ñ`U`h`c`f`g`8`"A`]W`U`Y``U`W`g`c`b`  
UbX`@`h`X`U`A`"<`U`j`Y`f`g`h`W`f`Y`a`]b`X`i`g`h`U`h`h`Y`7`UbUX]U`b`7`fck`b`]g`b`c`h`i`  
W`b`U`b`Y`X`lc`h`h`Y`b`U`q`c`b`U`[`c`j`Y`f`b`a`Y`b`h`V`i`h`]g`U`g`c`j`Y`f`m`i`a`i`W`d`U`f`h`c`Z`h`Y`  
dfcj ]b`W]U`Y`d`Y`f`Y`b`W`"⇒b`X`Y`X`Z`h`Y`m`i`g`Y`h`Y`d`f`U`g`Y`I`dfcj ]b`W]U`7`fck`b`I`]b`  
h`Y`f`g`h`X`m`c`Z`h`Y`Y`j`c`i`h`c`b`c`Z`h`Y`]b`g`]h`h`qcb`U`h`h`]g` h`Y`

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UFYWfgcfrzlc gUhi Y`YUgh`B chgc`6Ybc|h]g`⇒b ]h`YdfcVgh YVU]g`cZh Y  
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hYa gYj YgZca`cf[ Ub]nXYfY][ ]cb UbX`h Yb`Wa Ylc d`UmUfY][ ]ci gcf`  
ei Uj]fY][ ]ci gcf`Y]b`h YgYbgYcZV]bX|b|`dYcd`Ylc[ Yh Yf Ya chcbU`nz  
Yj Yb]fUbgdcf]b| hYa z`ck Yj Yf V]YU`nz`cble U`][ \ Yf d`UbYcZM ]ghbW`  
< YUg`gzk \ UhUfYh YWbj Yb]cbg]h Uhg`ci`X[ cj Yfb`h ]ga cXYfb`gYW`Uf`  
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g` [ [ Yg]k Uhg]c fYUbYh YWYfU]cb`cZh Yh fYg]Uhi ]cfm`c`XUhg]h Uhi  
dYf]U]b`lc Wbg]hi hcbU`XYj Ycda Yb]UbX`XYZbWZbUa Ynz`7UbUXU8Unz`  
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h |g'gh|Ubx|UFX|]b'h Y|a d'Ya Yb|U|cb'cZ|fYU|Yg'k |h : |fgh|B U|cbgž|Ubx  
\|g|g|UW|Uf|cb'W'Zcf'h Y| [ cj Yfba Ybhlc'Xc'g"

DYhf'6cnW|Ubx|B cY'7cl žk \cgY Ufh|Wg|UfY [ fci dYX|]b'h YZci fh  
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7UbUXU`Ug`W`Ub]`YX`W`b`g]X`Y`F`U`m`Z`ca`h`Y`e`i`Ug]!`W`b`h`F`U`n`Y`X`g`L`H`h`U`h`  
k`Ug`Y`b`j` ]g`U`Y`X`]b`%`\*+i`U`b`X`g`c` \ U`g`h`Y`d`f`c`j` ]b`W`U`j` ]VM`f`Y] U`c`Z`U`W`8`U` ]X`  
9"Ca` ]h`a`U`Y`g`h`Y`]a`d`c`f`L`U`b`h` \ ]g`r`f`]W`d`c`]b`h`h`U`h`U`h`c`i` [ \ `7`U`b`U`X`U`g`  
Z`X`Y`U`h`c`b`k`Ug`W`b`W]j`Y`X`U`g`U` \ ] \ `m`W`b`h`F`U`n`Y`X`Z`ca`c`Z` [ cj Yfba Yblz`  
h`Y`d`f`c`j` ]b`W`g`]b`Y`f`]h`X`W`A`Y`g`j`Y`g`c`V`M`h`Y`g`h`U`i`d`f`Y`X`U`h`X`7`c`b`Z`X`Y`U`h`c`b`  
U`b`X`a`c`b`U`F`W`]W`Z`ca`g`c`Z` [ cj Yfba Ybh`c` [ ]j`Y`h`c`g`Y`g`c`V`M`h`Y`g`]b`g`]h`!  
h`c`b`U`Y`i`d`f`Y`g`c`b`i`f`Ca` ]h`%`-%z`(+%L`H`h`Y`i`ei`Y`g`]c`b`c`Z`c`k`h`c`f`Y`W`b`W`Y`  
a`c`b`U`F`W`m`L`b`X`Z`X`Y`U`]ga`z`U`W`b`g`]h`i`h`c`b`U`Z`ca`d`]c`b`Y`f`Y`X`V`n`7`U`b`U`X`]b`  
%`\*+i`g`U`g`Ca` ]h`z`i`O`Q`Y`U`b`g`k`Y`f`k`U`g`h`c`W`Y`U`Y`U`Z`X`Y`U`h`c`b`c`Z`W`a`d`c`i`b`X`  
a`c`b`U`F`W`]Y`g`Y`U`W`d`f`c`j` ]b`W`c`Z`k` \ ]W`k` ]h`]b` ]hg`i`f`]g`X`]W`]c`b`a` ] [ \ h`W`U`j`a`  
h`Y`g`L`h`h`c`f`m`L`b`X`d`f`Y`c` [ U`h`j`Y`d`c`k`Y`f`b`Y`W`g`g`L`f`h`c`f`Y`U`n`Y`]h`g`W`b`g`]h`i`h`c`b`U`  
c`V`Y`W`]j`Y`g`i`f`Ca` ]h`&S`+z`&+L`

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ci`g`Z`X`Y`U`!`d`f`c`j` ]b`W`U`X`]g`U`f`Y`a`Y`b`l`g`c`j`Y`f`h`Y`f`f`Y`g`d`Y`W`]j`Y`d`c`k`Y`f`g`H`Y`  
X`Y`]b`Y`U`h`c`b`c`Z`Y` ]g`U`h`j`Y`d`c`k`Y`f`g`V`Y`h`Y`b`D`U`f`]U`a`Y`b`h`U`b`X`h`Y`d`f`c`j` ]b`W`g`  
k`U`g`f`Y`U`g`c`b`U`V`m`V`W`U`f`]b`h`Y` z`U`h`c`i` [ \ `b`c`h`W`W`U`f`  
Y`b`c`i` [ \ `h`c`d`f`Y`Y`b`h`Z`Y`e`i`Y`b`h`Z`X`Y`U`!`d`f`c`j` ]b`W`U`h`]h`]U`h`c`b`"C`b`h`Y`c`h`Y`f`  
 \ U`b`X`z`h`Y`X`Y`]b`Y`U`h`c`b`c`Z`d`f`Y`c` [ U`h`j`Y`U`b`X`Y`i`Y`W`h`j`Y`d`c`k`Y`f`g`k`U`g`b`c`h`g`c`  
W`W`U`f`-h`k`U`g`i`d`h`c`h`Y`W`i`f`l`g`h`c`g`c`f`h`]h`c`i`h`U`b`X`h`]g`h`Y`n`i`X`]X`z` ]Y`b`Y`U`m`  
U`g`Y`f`h`b[ `h`Y`W`!`c`f`X`]b`U`h`z`b`c`h`g`V`c`f`X`]b`U`h`z`g`L`i`g`c`Z`h`Y`d`f`c`j` ]b`W`g`]b`h`Y`  
Z`X`Y`U`h`c`b`"K` \ ]Y`i`X`]a`Y`b`l`g`c`Z`h`Y`d`f`c`j` ]b`W`U`g`d`Y`f`]c`f`W`i`f`l`g`U`b`X`h`Y`  
G`d`f`Y`a`Y`7`c`i`f`h`c`Z`7`U`b`U`X`U`h`b`X`Y`X`]b`h`]g`X`]f`Y`W`]c`b`z`]h`k`U`g`h`Y`xi`X`]W`U`  
7`ca`a` ]h`h`Y`c`Z`h`Y`d`f`]j`m`i`7`c`i`b`W`f`7`D`7`L`]b`@`c`b`X`c`b`h`U`i`a`c`g`h`Z`c`f`W`Z` `m`i`  
U`g`Y`f`h`X`d`f`c`j` ]b`W`U`W`!`g`c`j`Y`Y`] ]b`h`h`

\*A`U`c`f`m`h`Y`b`c`h`g`z` \ c`k`Y`Y`z`h`U`h`h` ]g`i`D`W`cb]U`N`a`c`X`Y`k`U`g`f`Y`d`U`W`X`V`n`i`U`a`c`f`Y`V`U`!  
U`b`W`X`Z`X`Y`U`]g`h`Y`a`]b`k` \ ]W`h`Y`d`f`c`j` ]b`W`g`Y`a`Y`f` ]X`U`g`W`!`Y`e`i`U`i`b`]g`]b`U`b`W`g`]W`N`a`c`X`Y`  
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bchUdYfgcbU` fYdfYgYb|U|j YcZh YCgj YF| | b/Z fh Yfa cfYzh YE i Yb`  
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`|Yi`HbUhl|`cj`Yfbcf`Z`Ya`U|b|U|bYXzk`UgW`|Yl`Hbglj`Yk`|h`h`YX|j`|g|cb`cZ`  
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žk Ug`Ug`a i W`U`  
`UbXa`U`\_`fi`|b|`Ug` \UX`VYb`b|b`YmUfgYU`|Yf`"@cfX`  
K`Ugcb`g`UHX`h`U|h`Y`I`cVWM`cZh`Y`@B`5`Q5`Wk`Ug`bY|`h`Yf`lc`k`YX`  
h`Ydfcj`|bWg`|blc`cbYbcf`lc`g`VcfX|bU|Ydfcj`|bWU` |`cj`Yfba`Yb|g`lc`U`  
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Î`U`|Yi`HbUhl|`cj`Yfbcfzk`\Yb`U|dc|bhXz`|g`Ug`a`i`W`UfYdfYgYb|U|j`YcZ`  
<`Yf`A`U`Yghz`cf`U`di`fdegYgcZdfcj`|bWU` |`cj`Yfba`Yb|Ug`h`Y;`cj`Yfbcf`  
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7fck`b`X|X`|bYXX`|bW`XYh`Yf| | \hlc`U|dc|bhE`i`Yb|g`7ci`bgY`Ug`\UX`  
VYb`UgYf`h`X`g|bW`% +&Vmh`Ydfcj`|bW`cZC`b|f|c`UbX`WbUfa`YX`|b`U`  
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h`|gXU|h`z|b`UddYU`|b|`h`YC`b|f|c`XYM|gcbzh`Y`U|hcfbYmi| YbYFU`cZ7U|`  
Y`U`WU|a`YX`h`U|h`Y`@|Yi`HbUhl|`cj`Yfbcf`cZC`b|f|c`Xc`Yg`bchYb|fYmi`  
fYdfYgYb|h`h`Y`7fck`b`|b`fYgdYWM`cZh`Y`dfYfc| U|j`Yf| | \hcZh`h`Y`7fck`b|`  
f|V|X`z`z`(%&E`H`Y`>D7`X|gU`fYX`Î`H`Yf`@cfXg`|dg`A`Qc`bchYb|fU|b`  
UbnXci`V|h`U|h`YDF`|U`YbhcZC`b|f|c`\UX`U`d`YU`h`cf|lmi`c`|`|j`Yh`Y`  
@|Yi`HbUhl|`cj`Yfbcf`dck`Yf`lc`WbZf`dfWXXYbW`VmdU|h`bhi`dcb`g`W`  
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 YUf`m|b`h Y h k Ybh|Yh` Wbhi fm`Df|a Ya |b|ghf`g`k YfY`UVY`h`i`gY`h`Yf`  
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 `|Ua` Ybhz`Ug`k`Y` `Ug`h`Ya` YX|U`h`c`Wa` a` i`b|W`h`h`Yf`dc`|W`g`"9j` Ybhi`U`n`  
 |bhf|`cj` Yfba` YbhU` WbZf`Yb`Wg`UbX`Vi` fYU` WUMY`gd`f`cj` |XYX`Z`fa` U`WU`b`!  
 bY`g`Z`f`ZXYFU`!`d`f`cj` |b|WU` fY`U`|`cb`g`"h`Y`fc`Y`c`Z`h`Y`|`Yi` hmbUhl|`cj` Yfbcf`Ug`  
 ZXYFU`U` Ybhk` Ug`W`|`dg`X`Y`j` Yb`a` cf`Yei` |W`n`h`U`b`h`U`c`Z`h`Y`|`b`g`f`i` a` Ybhi`  
 cZf`Y`g`Y`j` U|cb`c`Z`f`enU` Ugg`Ybhi`G`n`h`Ya` |X|h`k` Ybh|Yh` Wbhi` fm`h`Y`|`Yi` hmb`!  
 Uhl|`cj` Yfbcf` \`UX`W` |` \`hi` d`|b`Z`W`U`b`X`d`Y`f`W`d`h`cb`h`c` h`h`Y`Y`|`U`XY`U`b`|`h`cb`  
 |b`h`Y`%` -` &` `>7D7`XY`g`|`cb` h`Y`d`f`cj` |b|WU` fY`d`f`Y`g`b`h`U`j` Y`  
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K \U`h`X|X`b`ch`WU`b|`Yk` Ug`h`Y`Z`XYFU`|`cj` Yfba` Ybh`g` `cZ`h`Y`  
 `|`Yi` hmbUhl|`cj` Yfbcf`"h` \`Ug`Uk` Ung`V`Y`b`U`Y`U`ci` g`m|`i` U`F`Y`X`d`f`Y`c`|`U`h`j` Y`  
 cZ`h`Y`d`f`|a` Ya` |b|ghf`k` \`c`Z`f`a` U`b`m`X`Y`W`X`Y`g`z`i` g` U`n`b`U`a` Y`X`g` d`d`e`f`h`f`g`  
 cZ`|`g`c`k` b`d`U`f`m`|`g`U`f`Y`k` U`F`X`Z`f`d`U`g`h`Y`j` |W`g`c`f`~`c`n`U`h`n`b`h`h`Y`U`f`m`n`Y`U`g`  
 cZ7cbZXYFU|cbz`k` \`Yb`h`Y`c`Z`U`W`c`Z`|`Yi` hmbUhl|`cj` Yfbcf`k` Ug`f`Y`U`h`j` Y`m`i`  
 d`c`k` Y`Z` `z`|`h`k` Ug`h`Y`f`Y`Z`f`Y`g`Y`b` Ug`a` cf`Y`d`f`Y`g`|`|`c`i` g`z`k` c`f`h`g`Y`|`b|`z`U`b`X`  
 W`U`F`U`M`f`|`n`Y`X`V`m`|`|` \`!`d`f`c`U`Y`U`d`d`c`|`b`h`Y`g`"5` Wbhi` fm`U`h`f`z`k` |h`h`Y`c`Z`U`W`  
 `Y`g`g`W`j` Y`h`X`z`|`h`k` Ug`b`c`|`Y`f`U`g`X`Y`g`f`U`V`Y`U`a` c`b|`h`c`g`Y`k` |h`dc`|`h`W`U`a`









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fYgf|WX`|b`Î h Yei U|ImcZUj U|UVY|b|\ci gYUXj |W`cb`Wbg|li HcbU`  
a UHf`g`Ugk Y`Ug`Ubi bXYfg`UbX|b| `cZ|a dcfHUbhdF`WXYblg|b`dfcl`W`i`  
ffcnW`SS, Z`%`L": i fl`Yfa cfYž|b`h YdUgž|bX|j |Xi UgUddc|bHX`lc`h Y  
dcgl|cbg`cZ| cj Yfbcf`| YbYFU`cf`|Yi HbUbh| cj Yfbcf`k YFY`ÚbUWU`mi  
|bXYdYbXYbh`H`|g`|g`bc`cb| Yf`h Ybcfa `UbX`gca Yk ci `X`gUhh Uhh Y  
fYg`h`Ug`Yb\UbWXfU`h Yf`h UbX|a |b|g`YX`h Yfc`Y`H`YFYUYa cbYUfmi  
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cZZXYfUjcbi`fCa ]h`%--z&&E"-b`7UbUXE1 Q`Q`Yh Yf`cf`bchh]bgjcb`  
Vhk Yb`fydi V]Wb]ga`UbXZXYFU]ga` ]gYbXYa ]Wgbchh Ydc]bhi`gUhg`  
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DcYnYfž; "UbX"? "7cUhg"&\$\$\*"Ī5 Vcf|[|]bU DYcd YgUbXh Y7fck b`|b`7UbUXU`  
7ca d`Y|b|`h Y7UbUX|Ub`9l dYf|a Ybhĭ `b`

ž< ">"A |WY a Ubb UbX`7"XY`7 YFWž  
YXg`Hfcbhc. I blj YfglmcZHfcbhc DfYgg'

Fca bYřD`% - - " "Hfcbhc. I blj YfglmcZHfcbhc DfYgg'

Fi ggY`žD< "UbX"@Cgg|bžYXg" &\$\$, " "Hfcbhc. `I blj YfglmcZHfcbhc DfYgg'

Ghk Y`ž`H`&\$\$&" "Hfcbhc. I blj YfglmcZHfcbhc DfYggž`f`H`Y`C`g`ccXY< U`@Uk`C`V`M`h`

Í %) + " "Hfcbhc. I blj YfglmcZHfcbhc DfYgg`  
FY "YXžHfcbhc. 7cdd`7`U`\_`D|]a Ubž%, \*"

Ga |hž8`9"% - %Ī9a d|fYž7fck b`UbX`7UbUX|Ub: YXfU|ga Ī`  
LL=J. " "

Í %-) " "Hfcbhcž  
6i ZUcz@cbXcb. I blj YfglmcZHfcbhc DfYgg'

Í % - - " "Hfcbhc. I blj YfglmcZ  
Hfcbhc DfYgg'

Í &\$\$+ " "Hfcbhc. `I blj YfglmcZHfcbhc DfYgg'

Í `&\$\$`ĪFY|Y Ua |b|b|`h Y7UbUX|Ub`7cbg|h| hcb`Ī`FYa U`g`tc`h Y7ca a cb|  
k YU`h`DUf`|Ua YbHfřm5 gg`V`U`h`cbžFY| |bUž%` `i` `ni&\$\$`

Ga |hž, "% - %#% +% "Hfcbhc. < i bhf FcgY7c`  
B Yk`YX|hcbžYX"7Uf`6Yf| Yf`Hfcbhc. I blj YfglmcZHfcbhc DfYgg'

Hk ca Yř5 " &\$\$\* " "GnXbYmH`Y: YXfU|cb DfYgg'

JUdřA " &\$\$- "ĪCZg`cfžVi hVi |h|bĪ "%| B`cj`Ya`Vfž5`%`  
J|dcbXžF`7"% - %` "5`V`bni

BMGU|YI blj YfglmcZB Yk Mf\_ DfYgg'



# 3

myth And misunderstanding:  
the Origins And meaning of  
the Letters Patent Constituting  
the Office of the g

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H\YF\g'a i W'a |g| bXYfg|UbX|b| U'ci h\h YU h'cf|]micZ\h Y; c| Yfbcf; Yb!  
YFU''9| Yb'a U'bidc |]h|W|bg|Xcb|]ig|Ya 'lc'\_bck 'h U'h Y'U'U'U h'cf|]micZ  
h Y'g|U'h'k U'g|f|U'bg|Zff|YX'Z'ca 'h Ya cb|U'W'lc 'h Y; c| Yfbcf; YbYFU' |b| h Y  
@]H|f|g|DU|h|b|hc|Z% (+z|h Y'Y'W'ma U\_|b| '7|U'b|U'X|U'g| c| Y'fba Y'bh|]b|X|Y'd|Y'b|X|Y'bh  
c|Z; f|Y'h|6|f|]U|]b|f|' U'\_gcb '&S'S\*Z%' S'E'

H'i Y'z|h Y'Y |g'a i W'a |g| bXYfg|UbX|b| 'g| f'fci b|X|b| 'h Y | c| Yfbcf | Yb!  
YFU'U' h'cf|]m'ck Y'j Y'z|h Y'f'Ya U|b|XY'f'c|Z|h Y'g|U'h'a Y'bh|]g'Z|U'g'Y'U'X  
f'j Y'U'g|U'W'a a cb'a |g|W|b|W|d|h|cb|U'ci h\h Y'di f'dc|g|Y'U'b|X|Z' b|W|]cb|g'c|Z|h Y  
"K Y''V|Z'cf|Y% (+z'7|U'b|U'X|U'g| c| Y'fba Y'bh\ U'X'V'W'a Y  
|]b|X|Y'd|Y'b|X|Y'bh|c|Z; f|Y'h|6|f|]U|]b|g|h'fci [ \ U'g|f|Y'g'c|Z|U|]Y| Ya Y'bz'a c|g|h  
bc|h|U'm|h Y " -b|X|Y|X|Z|g|b|W'h Y'f'Y'g'c' i |]cb'c|Z  
h Y |a d|Y|U' W|b|Z|f|Y'b|W'c|Z% &'z|h Y'G'c|j Y'Y|] b'\ U'X'U'W'X' |b' f|Y'U' |]cb'lc'  
7|U'b|U'X|U'b'a U'H|f'g'cb'h Y'U'X| ]W'c|Z\ |g'7|U'b|U'X|U'b'a |b|g|h'f'g' U'cb|Y'Z'U'X  
c|Z|U'U'g'Z'ca 'h Y'6|f|]h|g' | c| Y'fba Y'bh|k Y'Y' U'f| Y'm|f|Y'X| W'X'lc' d'U'h|b| '  
a Y'g|Y'b| Y'f'Z'f' C|H|k U'k \ Y'b' |]h|W'a Y'lc' h Y? |b| 'Y| Y'f|g|]b| 'h Y'f'c'n|U'  
d'f'Y'f'c| U'j Y'Z'f'\ |g' U'f| Y'g|h'Y'U'a "

-b|h Y'k Y'Y\_g'Y'U'X|b| i d'lc' \ Y'f'X|Y'd|U'h| f|Y'Z'ca F|X|Y'U' < U'z; c| Yfbcf'  
; YbYFU'A |W|U'f''Y>U'b| |U' Y'U'b|]b|h'f| ]Y'k 'lc' 'a U' |U'h|]b|Y'z'k \ Y'f'Y'g'Y  
V| ]h' |h' d'cb|h Y'7' U'\_gcb|j ]Y'k 'c|Z|h Y . I'Z'ca % (+z'k |]h k \ U'h  
k Y'W' 'h Y' Y'H|f'g' d|U'h|b|Z'Q'Y'g'c|j Y'Y|] b' W|b|Z|f|Y'X'h Y'f'Y'g'c|b|g|V| ]h|Y'g'  
c|Z|h Y' Y'U'X'c|Z|g|U'h|U'X'U'c'Z|h Y'f'Y'g'c|b|g|V| ]h|Y'g'U'f'Y'h' c'g'Y'c|Z|h Y' Y'U'X'c|Z  
g|U'h| f| z|B' c|j Ya V'f' &S%'S'Z'S (E'H'Y|]b|h'f| ]Y'k U'g' |]b|W' X|X|U'b' Y'f'cb|Y!  
c| g'f|Y'Z|f|Y'b|W'lc' h Y | c| Yfbcf | YbYFU' V'W'a |b| 'h Y'W'a a U'b|XY'!|b|W|Y|Z  
|b| % (+z|U'dc|g|h|cb' \ Y'X'V'n|g' W'W'g|j Y | c| Yfbcf|g| YbYFU' g|b|W%' S) "H'U'h  
h Y'k c'a c|g|h'f|W'bh'c' X'Y'f'g'c|Z|h Y'c|Z|W'c|Z|h Y | c| Yfbcf | YbYFU' \ U' Y  
g' W' U'U'k Y'X'i bXYfg|UbX|b| 'c|Z|h Y |]g'W| g'Y'Z'f' W|b|W'f|b'z  
Y'g|Y'U' n|g|b|W'h Y'm|Ya d'c'n|Y'X'h Y'X'c|W'a Y'bh|lc' a U'f| ]b|U' |n|Y'h Y'f'c' Y'c|Z  
h Y'G'c|j Y'Y|] b"

-b Y'g|Y'b|W'z|h Y W|b|g|h| h'h Y'c|Z|W'c|Z|h Y | c| Yfbcf'  
[ YbYFU' U'b|X'U'g'c' f|Y| i 'U'h' h Y'X'Y'Y| U' |]cb'c|Z|h Y'f'c'n|U' d'f'Y'f'c| U'j Y' H'Y'm  
k Y'Y'h Y'W'a |]b|U' |]cb'c|Z|U'cb| 'd'f'c|W'g'k \ Y'f'Y'n|g' W'W'g|j Y | c| Yfbcf'g'  
[ YbYFU' k Y'Y| ]j Y'b|]b|W'U'g|b| 'U'| ]m|lc' U'W|]b' h Y'd' U'W'c|Z|h Y'G'c|j Y'Y|] b'  
U'b|X'Y' Y'f'Y'g'Y'h Y'f'c'n|U' d'f'Y'f'c| U'j Y'k |]h'c| h|X|f'Y'W|W'bg| 'h|]cb'k |]h' h Y  
\_ |b| 'c'f'ei Y'b'c|Z|h Y'X|U'h'5'g'k Y'g'U' g'Y'z'k \ |]Y'a i W'U' h'cf|]m|k U'g'  
X'Y'Y| U'h|X'V'n|h Y? |b| 'lc' h Y | c| Yfbcf | YbYFU'Z'h |g|k U'g'X'cb|Y|]b' h Y'Z'f'a '  
c|Z|b|U' |b| 'Y |g|U' |]cb|z|U'X'd|U'h|W' U'f'U'Y'U'g'c|Z|h Y'f'c'n|U' d'f'Y'f'c| U'j Y'k Y'Y  
c| h| A' U'Y'U'g' k Y'Y

dfYfc[ UHj Y" ð'k f]h]b[ 'UcI hH Yh Yb' bYk `miUXcdhX' zF"  
 A UWfY[ cf'8Uk gcb' bchXh UzYj Yb'k ]h' h' ]gXYy[ U]cb' cZdck YfgZh Y  
 [ cj Yfbcf[ ' YbYFU' k Ug'g]`' Î bch]b' ei ]h' h' YgLa Ydceg]hcb' Ug' h' YGcj Yf!  
 Y] [ b' ]b' fY] UFX' h' h' Y' Yl YfVgY' cZWFH] b' dfYfc[ UHj Y dck Yfg' fB Uk gcb'  
 % (, z%8 SL'

ðbXYXZh YdfcWggVnk \ ]W'gca YcZh YYYa Yblg'cZh YfentU' dfYfc[ U  
 Hj Y\ Uj YVYb XYy[ UH'XVmh YGcj YfY] [ b' h' h' Y] [ cj Yfbcf[ ' YbYFU' g'fj Yg'  
 Ug'Uk ]bXck ]b' h' h' YWb]h]bi ]b[ ' dchbW'icZh YdYfgcb' cZh YGcj YfY] [ b'  
 UbXh YGcj YfY] [ b]g'cb[ c]b[ ' fc' Y] ]b' gca YYYa Yblg'cZh Y7UbUX] Ub'g'UHz  
 k Y` V'ncbX'a YfYgna Vc' ]ga' 'cf' g'VU' UbX'W' h' fU' 'a UHf'g'

H' ]g'WUdhf' k ]`' Y Ua ]bYh YXy Ycda YbzYj c' i h'cb' UbX'cdYfU]cb'  
 cZh Y "K \ Yh Yf' VmUW]Xyhbicf' VmXYg] [ bZUb' cj Yf' m  
 gla d' ]g]Wj ]k' 'cZh Y '\Ug'Xy YcdYX' @]h' Y UH' b]h'cb' \Ug'  
 VYb [ ]j Yb' h' h' cg' YYYa Yblg'cZh YfentU' dfYfc[ UHj Yh' U\ Uj YVYb XYy!  
 [ UH'X' h' h' Y] [ cj Yfbcf[ ' YbYFU' cf' \ck' h' Ym' Wa Y' h' 'VY' h' Y' i bZ' f' h' bU' Y'  
 ]a dfYgg]cb' ]g' h' U' h' Y g] [ b] UYXUg] [ b] U' W' b' h' V' YU\_ k ]h'  
 dfYj ]ci g' d' fU' ]W] b' h' f' a g' cZh Yfc' YcZh Y [ cj Yfbcf[ ' YbYFU' zk \ YfYUg'  
 ]b ZUMh' Ymk YfYei ]h' 'gla ]' U' f' h' h' Y

]gg' YX' g]bW%' %' H' YWUb[ Ygk YfYa cfYU\_ ]b' h' d' f' c] ]g'cb'  
 ZcfU ž ]Ubcb! ' Y] ]g' UH' X'a Yubg' h' Ub' Ub' cj Yf' h' Xy] g' f' Y' h' f' Ubg' Zf'  
 U` cZh YGcj YfY] [ b] Yf' Yg' d' cbg] V] ]h' Yg' h' \ ]g' d' YfgcbU' f' Yd' f' Yg' b' h' Uj Y] b' h' Y  
 Xca ]b]cb' " H' YZUM' f' Ya U]bg' h' Uz] b' UXX] h'cb' h' h' YU' d' c] b]a' Yb' h' cZ] h' fU  
 g' Yb' U' c' f' g' i bXY' g' Ym]cb' & ' cZh Y ž h' Yf' YWb]h]bi Y  
 h' ' Y] ]g' h' W' f' U] b' Y' Ya Yblg' cZh YfentU' dfYfc[ UHj Yh' U' \ Uj Yb' Yj Yf' VYb'  
 Yl YfVg' X' Vm' h' Y] [ cj Yfbcf[ ' YbYFU' " B' Yj Yf' h' Y' Ygg' Ubi a V' f' cZ] [ cj Yfbcf' g'  
 [ YbYFU' \ Uj Y' i g' X' h' Y h' ' Yl d' UbX' h' Y] f' ck' b' fc' ' YZU] ]b[ ' h'  
 fYU] n' Y' h' U' h' Y] f' U' h' cf] ]m] g' f' YU' Y] h' X' U' Y] Yj YZ' h' YfentU' ' n' Y] g' c' fc' YZ' c

' (

; Ycf| YJ =hfUbgZffYX'U`h YXi hYg'cZ< YUX'cZGUY'cZ7UbUXUlc`h Y  
; cj Yfbcf; YbYFU UbXh YbYk `7ca a |gg|cb'cZ5 ddc|bla YbhfYZffYXlc`  
h YCZÚWcZh Y; cj Yfbcf; YbYFU UbX7cc NfY` lc YbYFU, YbYFU!







hc`dfyglXYdYfgebU`micj Yf`a Yfh]b[ g`cZhhYdf]j mWi bW/zhh YfYk Ug`bc`  
`cb[ Yf`U`]ghicZV`g`h UhhY[ cj Yfbcf`[ YbYFU`k Ug`fYei ]fYX`hc`k ]h`c`X`  
UggYbhicZ`UbX`fYZfYbW`hc`h`YdfYfc[ Uhj YcZa YfW`ik Ug`a cj YX`hc`h`Y`

"K ]h ]b`h`Y` ]hk Ug`WUf`mg`Yhici hh`U`i`

h`Y`\\`\\`m`W`b`h`b`h`ci g`dfYfc[ Uhj YcZa YfW`ik Ug`cb`n`ic VY`Y` YfW`g`Y`X`V`mi`  
h`Y`[ cj Yfbcf`[ YbYFU`]b`W`d]h`U` W`g`Y`g`cb`h`Y`U`X`j ]W`c`Z`h`Y`df]j mWi bW/z`  
UbX`Z`c`f`Y`gg`Y`f`c`Z`b`W`g`U`d`U`X`cb`W`i` X`cb`m`i`V`Y`[ f`U`b`h`X`]Z`h`Y`[ cj Yfbcf`  
[ YbYFU`\\`U`X`h`Y`W`b`g`Y`b`h`ic`Z`cb`Y`a` ]b]g`Y`f`c`Z`h`Y`7`f`c`k`b`"

K ]h`h`h`g`zh`f`Y`Y`g`Y`d`U`F`U`Y`X`c`W`a` Y`b`g`W`a` Y`]b`ic`V`Y`]b[. h`Y`  
XY`U`b]b[ h`Y`c`Z`U`W`c`Z`h`Y`[ cj Yfbcf`[ YbYFU`/h`Y` U`d`c`|b`h`]b[ U`  
d`Y`f`g`c`b`h`c`h`Y`c`Z`U`W`c`Z`[ cj Yfbcf`[ YbYFU`UbX`Ya`dck`Yf]b[ `\\`a`h`c`U`m`i`U`g`  
g` W`/UbX`h`Y`

;

Origins of the 1947 Letters Patent

H\Ycf[[ ]bg'cZh Y



fYdfYgYbHuj Yk ]h fYgdYwMlc h'cgYa UHfghY? ]b[ 'k Ug\ ]a gYZbch]b' Udcg]hcb'hc dYfZfa I'fA UWYbn]Y? ]b[ '8]fñ- 'GdHá Vf%' -L'UbX' ? ]b[ 'k Ug]bW]bYX'hc U fYZVi hibchcb'hAYVUg'cZ'Uk 'cf'Wbj Yb]hcb'' I'=A UWYbn]Y? ]b[ Qg]X'hc'\ ]a 'hUh]hik ci 'X'g]a i 'UH'=h ci [\h'h Y df]XY'cZ'h YWi blfmi]b ]lg'bU]cb\ccX'Á dUf]W'U'f'miUf' < 'A Ñj ]gh hc '7UbUX'Z'h YfYg'ci 'XVYUX]hcbU'df]XY]b\U ]b[ 'h YdfcWá U]cb' ]gg] YX]b'h YbUa Y'cZci f'? ]b[ I' f]V]X'E"K \Yb'h Ydf]a Ya ]b]ghf'hc'ci h Y]gg] Yhc W]bYh]hik Ug'h Ya ]b]ghf'cZ' ghWz9fbYgi@Udc]bh'Zk \c' Úg]hd'fcdcgYX'h Uh]hg'ci 'XVY'h Y? ]b[ 'k \c'g] bYX'h YXcWa YbhUbX'h YfYg'hcZ'h YW]bYh'Z'ck YX'g ]h'U'h ci [\ 'h'fYk Ug'ga Y' ]b[ Yf]b[ 'WbWfb'h Uih Y[ cj Yfbcf[ 'YbYU'a ][\ 'h'Z'Y \ ]g'g]h g'YggYbYX'Vmih Y ? ]b[ 'VY]b[ [ ]j Yb'h Y'YUX]b'h ]g'fc'Y"=i]g]b]h'fYg]b] 'hc'bc'h'h Uh'h Y X]gW'gg]cb'cZk \c'g'ci 'X'g]b'h YdfcWá U]cb'k Ug'bchU'Y] U'cbYVi hi fU'h Y'cbY'Z'W'gYX'cb'h Y'gna Vc ]W]a dcf]hUbW'cZ'h Ya ca Yb'h

H Y]gg] Y'g'cZ'h Y[ cj Yfbcf[ 'YbYU'Ñg'dck Yf'g'UbX'h YU'gYbW'cZU k YfYV'ci [\ 'hi d]b'h Y< ci gY'cZ7ca a cbgcb: Yfi Ufmi %+Z% (+žk \Yb'Df]a YA ]b]ghf'@ci ]g'G'h'@U fYbhk Ug'Ug' YX]Z'h Y6f]hg'á' W'i bW'cZ'g'U'k ci 'X'U'icb VY'U'Z'cZ'h Y? ]b[ ]b'fYU]cb'hc '7UbUX]b' UZU]fg'Xi f]b[ \ ]g'Y' h'b'X'Y'X'j ]g]h'hc 'Gci h '5 Z]W]UbX'Gci h Yfb'F'cX'Y'g]U' G'h'@U fYbh'fYd' ]YX'h Uh'h Y? ]b[ k ci 'X'Wb]h]bi Yhc U'W'Z'f'7UbUX'k \ ]Y U'f'c'U'k'UbX'h Uh'h Y X]X'bc'h'Udd'm'hc '7UbUXU'

K \ ]Y'h Y]bmi ]b[ Xca 'cZ=V'UbX'g'Ya g'UdYW' ]U'Y' Ua d'Yhc X'f'Uk 'Z'ca ž'h Yg]h U]cb'h Uh'f'cg'Y'h YfYV'Wá YU'W'i gY'cZ'W'b'W'fb'Z'f'A UW! Ybn]Y? ]b[ ]b'fYU]cb'hc 'h Y'dcgg]V' ]h'm'h Uh'7UbUXU'g'? ]b[ ž; Ycf[ YJ =ž W'i 'XVY'W'd'h fYX]b'h Y'Y'j Yb'hcZ'Ub ]bj Ug]cb'cZ6f]h]b' V'm'h Y; Yfa Ubž k \ ]W'k Ug'Uj Yf'm'f'YU'h'f'Y'h'Z'ca %' - hc % ( &'8 Yg]h'Ug' W'gg]Z 'dc ]W'h cZ'b'Y' h'fU' ]m'X'U]b[ 'V'U'W'hc 'h Y: ]f'gh'k cf'X'K Uf'8 Yba Uf\_ k Ug]bj U'Y'X'cb'5 df]' -ž% ( \$UbX'W'd]h 'U'h'X'U'a cgh]a a YX]U'h'm'hc Uj c]X'V'cc'X'g'YX'' H Y'g' ff'Yb'X'f'W'i g'X'U'g] b]U'W'b]h'd'f'c'V'Ya Z'f'8 Yba Uf\_ Ñ'g]g]f' ]b[ Xca ž =W'UbX''7'f]g]h]b'L k Ug]b'Z'U'W'? ]b[ 'c'Z'k c'g'd'U'f'U'h'W'i blf]Y'g'8 Yba Uf\_ UbX=W'UbX'f'bc'h'i b ]\_ Y; Ycf[ YJ =]b'f'Y'U]cb'hc '7UbUX'U'5 i g]f'U]U'Z'b'Yk 'NYU'UbX'Z'Gci h '5 Z]W]UbX'h Y=f]g'á: fY'Y'G'U'h'f'h ]g'U'f'f'U] Ya Yb'h U'X'V'Y'b' U'f'f] YX'U]b' % % 'k \ Yb'Ub'

HAY? ]b[ 'cZ=Ubx\Uj ]b[ VYb Wdli fYXVnHAY; Yfa UbgzhAY5 'h ]b[ ' dUgYX'hk c'fygc`i hcbgI ]bj Yg]b[ 'h Y=Ubx]WWW]bYhk ]h 'h Ydck Yf` cZh Y\YUX'cZgUH'G\`f]g]Ub LQUbX'XWUf]b[ 'h Uh=Ubxk ci 'X\Yf! gyZdYfZcfa 'h YXi H'Yg\ ]h Yf'c Wff]YX'ci hieb\Yf VY\UZVm8Yba Uf`\_ ' f@UWn%- , % SE'FYU]n]b[ 'h UhWW]bYhk UgUW/a Vf'ga YVcXm'h fci [ \ ` k \ ]W'lc Yl YW/h'h YXi H'Yg'cZh Y\YUX'cZgUH'Z]b`i bY% (%hAY5 'h ]b[ ' YVWXUfY] YblzG Y]bb'6^ fb'ggbz'k \c k ci 'X`Uhf` [ c'cb'lc VWWa YhAY U'fg'dfYg]XyhcZ=Ubx"l bXyf`hAY Ubx'hAY=Ubx]W

Wbg]li hcbzU`cZh ]gk Ug]`Y] U`UbxWbg]li hXUj Yfm]Xni Vi hzk ]h bc'a YWU]ga 'lc U`ck hAY\_]b[ Xca 'lc Z bW]cb]b'h Ydfc`cb[ YX` UGybW#]bWdUW'hicZh Y\YUX'cZgUH'zh YfYk YfYbc`ch Yf`cd]hcbg"

=h'k Ug'h YgyX]j Yfy'gyf]Yg'cZy Yb'g'h U'h`YX'lc`h Y [cj Yfba YbhcZ 7UbUXU'XfU]b[ 'bYk` 'Zcf'hAY [cj Yfbcf` [ YbYU""5 `cg'icZ Za ]]Uf`U [i fy'gk Ug]bj c'j YX]b'h YdfcWgg? ]b[ ; Ycf [YJ =^]g'df]j UY` gYWMUf'nzC]f 5 `Ub @UgW`Yg'z'k \c \UX'gyf] YXUg'gYWMUf'nic hAY [cj Yfbcf` [ YbYU`cZ7UbUXU'Zca '%`%' ) /K ]`Ua `@ncb`A UWYbn]Y? ]b[ /@ci ]g` G'h@u fybh`@ghf'6"DYUf'gcb/hAY [cj Yfbcf` [ YbYUz@cfX5 `M UbXYf/Ubx` \]ggYWMUf'nzA Ucf!; YbYU < ". "; "@Ygcb"

HAYk Uf`Uj ]b[ 'Wa Ylc Ug] WggZ `WbW'g]cbzh YWW]bYhk Ug]b U

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fYj ]Yk 'fA UWYbn]Y? ]b[ '8]Ufñ& 'A UFW'%' (+L"Hk c`XUng`Umz`@Yghf`  
DYUfgeb`k fchY'lc`; YbYU`@YgcbzYbWc]b[ 'hYXfUzi 'UbX`  
gYY\_]b[ '5`Y UbxYfñ]bZcfa U`Wa a Yblg"DYUfgeb`k Ybhcb`lc`Y d`U]b`  
hUhY`Y 'UbX` k YfYlc VYWbge`]XUhxUbX`  
fYggj YX'i bXYf`hY; fYUhiGYU`cZ7UbUXLÉh UihYXcWa YblgfyUVMX`  
h YdfYgMhWbg]h hcbU`dcglhcb`UbX'dfUM]WUbX'h UihYXcWa Yblg`  
k ci`XVYqz pñQ † XhUh h]h X X X





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6Y| jbb|b| 'j|b%'\*\*z|lcgY\c'X|b| 'h'YcZUWcZ| cj Yfbcf'| YbYUzdf|a Y  
a |b|g|mf' UbX'W|YZ'1 g|W'k YFYU lca U|W' mUW'fXYX'h'Y|h'Y'f| | \ h  
< cbc| fUVY' i dcb' Ugg| a |b| 'cZUW'Ch'Yf'7UbUX|Ubg'Wb'WY| |j Yb'h'Y  
|h'Ycb'h'YUX| |W'cZ'h'Ydf|a Ya |b|g|mf'

-b%'\*+'h'YE i Yb'U' fYX'lc'h'Y| cj Yfbcf'| YbYU'cj YfgY|b| 'Z h' fY  
WUb| Yg'lc'h'Y7UbUX|Ub'UV'YcZdfYWX'YbWz'k |h' h'Yg'la Ydfcj |gc'h'U  
h'Y'Gcj YFY| |b'k'ci 'X'bc|b'YX'lc' VY'Wbg' 'h'X'ch'Yf'h'Ub' |b'f'YU'cb'lc'  
WUb| Yg'h'U'U'h'fYX'h'Y' d'cg|h'cb'cZ'h'Y'Gcj YFY| |b''H' |g'g'la Y'm'U'U'g'  
k |h'Y'g'X'h'Y'W'U'cb'cZ'h'Y'c'f'X'f'cZ'7Ub'UX'U'Ub'X'h'Y'Gcj YFY| |b'g'W'bg'Yb'h'  
Z'cf'h'Y'W'U'cb'cZ'h'Y'c'f'X'f'f' |Ub'X'|b'X'YX'h'Y'Yb'h'f'Y'7Ub'UX|Ub' \ cbc| fg'  
g'ng'Ya' h'U'k'ci 'X'X'Y'Y'cd' |k' U'g'g'ci | \ h'Ub'X'i' |h'a' U'h'm'g| |b|U'Y'X'|b' \ Y'  
g| |b|b| 'h'Y' 'W'bg|h' |b| |j' U'f'ci' g'7Ub'UX|Ub'c'f'X'Y'g'z'X'Y'W'U'  
|h'cb'g'Ub'X'a' Y'X'U'g'g'lb'W%'\*+'

H'Ya' c'g|h'g| |b|U'W'bh'WUb| Yg'lc'h'Y'Y'Ya' Yb'lg'cZ'h'Y'f'c'U' d'f'Y'f'c| U'h'j' Y  
X'Y'Y| U'h'X'lc'h'Y| cj Yfbcf'| YbYU'Z'cf'Y' Y'f'V'g'Y'cb'V'U'Z'cZ'h'Y'E i Yb'Ub'X'  
|b' \ Y'f'b'U'a' Y'k' Y'Y'f'Y'U'h'X'lc' 'Y' h'f'b'U' f'Y'U'cb'g'' H'Y'g'Y'WUb| Yg'W'a' Y|b'  
%+) Ub'X%'++ f'Y'g'd'W'Y'j' Y'm'U'U'h'a' Y'k' \ Y'b'h'Y'f'c'Y'cZ'h'Y'Gcj YFY| |b'k' U'g'  
V'Y|b| |b'W'U'g|b| 'm'ei' Y'g'h'cb'Y'X'Ub'X'a' U'f| |b'U'|n'Y'X'V'm'Z'X'X'f'U' 'V' f'Y'U' W'U'g''  
H'Y'U'f'g'h'g'Y'c'Z'WUb| Y'g'k' U'g|b|h'U'h'X'V'm'A' |h'W'Y' 'G' U'f'd'X'i' f|b| \ |g'h'a' Y'U'g'  
g'Y'W'U'f'c'Z'g'U'Y'Z'cf'Y' h'f'b'U' U'Z'U'f'g''G' U'f'd'k' U'b'h'X'lc' g'Y'h' Y'f'Y'g'd'cb'g'V'|  
|h'm'Z'cf'h'Y'U'd'f'c'j' U'cZ'h'Y'U'd'c'j'bl'a' Y'b'h'c'Z'7Ub'UX|Ub' 'U'a' V'U'g'U'c'f'g'Ub'X'  
a |b|g|mf'g'lc'Z'cf'Y| |b'W'i' b'f|Y'g'z'g| |b'U'i' f'Y'cZ'h'Y'f' 'Y'h'f'g'c'Z'W'X'Y'b'W'Ub'X'  
h'Y'U'd'f'c'j' U'cZ'h'Y'U'd'f'c'g'X'U'd'c'j'bl'a' Y'b'h'c'Z'Z'cf'Y| |b'U'a' V'U'g'U'c'f'g'Ub'X'  
a |b|g|mf'g'lc'7Ub'UX'U'f'U'f'U'h|b| 'h'Y' E'X'Y'Y| U'h'X'lc'h'Y| cj Yfbcf'

[ YbYU' f'G' U'f'd'lc' 'H'i' X'Y'U' z'8'S' B'cj' Ya' V'f'%'+'S'' H'Y'g'Y'Y'a' Yb'lg'cZ'h'Y'  
f'c'U' d'f'Y'f'c| U'h'j' Y' \ U'X' \ |h'Y'f'lc' V'Y'b' X'g'W'U'f| Y'X'V'm'h'Y'Gcj YFY| |b'z'k' |h'  
|b'Z'cf'a' U'W'bg'Yb'h'g'ci | \ h'j' |U'h'Y'Y' f'U'a' z'Z'cf'a' U'U'j' |W'h'b'X'f'Y'X'Ub'X'h'Y'b'  
h'Y'Z'cf'a' U'X'c'W'a' Y'b'lg'g'Y'b'h'Z'cf'h'Y'E i Y'b'lg'g| |b'U'i' f'Y' H'Y'Y'b'h'f'Y'd'f'c'W'g'  
lc'c' 'V'Y'k' Y'b' (, 'Ub'X'+&'c'i' f'g'lc' 'W'a' d'Y'h''B'Y' Y'h'Y'Y'g'z'h' |g'k' U'g'b'c'h'  
ei' |W'Y'bc'i | \ 'Z'cf'G'U'f'd''K' |h' h'Y'W'bg'Yb'h'c'Z'f'c'j' a' Y'a' |b|g|mf' 'H'i' X'Y'U' z'  
G'U'f'd'X'f'Y'W'X'h'Y'7Ub'UX|Ub' \ | \ 'W'a' a' |g'g'cb'Y'f' |b'@cb'X'cb'lc'g'd'Y'U' k' |h'  
h'Y'E i Y'b'lg'g'f'j' U'h'g'W'U'f'f'z'G'f' A' |W'U'Y' '5' X'Y'U'b'Y'z'cb' h'X'Y'Y'Y' U'cb'cZ'  
h'Y'g'Y'X'i' |h'Y'g' 'h'k' U'g'f'Y'c'f'f'h'X'W'U'W'cb' : V'f'i' U'm'i' z%'+'h'U'z'k' \ |Y'5' X'Y'U'b'Y'  
X'X'b'c'h'd'Y'f'g'c'U' m'g'Y'U'm'j'g'g' Y'k' |h' h'Y'g'Y'WUb| Y'g'z'Y'h'ci | \ h'h' U'z'U'g'  
h'Y'g'Y'a' U'h'f'g'lc'i' W'Y'X'j' Y'm'X'f'Y'W'm'i' d'cb' h'Y'E i Y'b'lg'g'c'Y'U'g' \ Y'U'X'cZ'  
g'U'h'z'|h'k'ci 'X'V'Y'V'g'h'Z'h'Y'df|a' Ya' |b|g|mf'k' Y'Y'lc'g'd'Y'U' X'f'Y'W'm'k' |h'  
h'Y'E i Y'b'X'i' f|b| \ Y'f' |a' d'Y'b'X|b| |j' |g'h'lc' '6'f'|h'g' '7'c'i' a' V|U'

H'i' X'Y'U' X'X'b'ch'V'f|b| 'i' d'h'Y'a' U'h'f'k' |h' h'Y'E i Y'b'X'i' f|b| 'h'Y'67'  
j' |g'h|b' 'i' b'Y%'+'z'U'h'ci | \ \ Y'X'X'g'd'Y'U' lc' '5' X'Y'U'b'Y'U'v'ci' h'h'Y'd'f'c'g'X'  
WUb| Y'g'Ub'X'5' X'Y'U'b'Y'U' U'j'b'Y' d'f'Y'g'Y'X' \ |g'd'Y'f'g'c'U'j' |Y'k' h'U'z'k' \ |Y' \ Y'  
h'ci | \ h'h' U'h'Y'E i Y'b'k'ci 'X' \ U'Y'bc' |g'g' Y'k' |h' 'U'bc'cZ'h'Y'd'f'c'g'X'  
WUb| Y'g'z'Y'k' U'g' \ Y'g'h'U'bh'lc' W'a' a' Y'b'h'i' d'cb' h'Y'd'f'c'g'U'lc' \ U'Y' h'Y'Y' |cj' !  
Y'f'bcf'| YbYU'g| |b' 'Y'h'f'g'c'Z'W'X'Y'b'W'Ub'X'f'Y'W' " < Y'k' Y'b'h'Z' f'h'Y'f'lc' b'c'h'  
h'U'z'j' W'g'Y'g'c'Z'a' Y'f| Y'b'W'c'f' |f'Y'U'i' f| Y'b'W'h' h'Y'Y'k' U'g'bc' d'f'c' \ |V|h'cb'cb'  
h'Y' |cj' Yfbcf'| YbYU'g| |b|b| 'h'Y'Y'h'f'g'c'Z'W'X'Y'b'W'F'Y'U'X|b| V'Y'k' Y'b'h'Y'







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ZUFh Uih Y7fck b Wi `XVYi gYXVmgYdUFUhgglc gUih Uh7UbUXUk Ug  
bchYj Yb Ub ]bXYdYbXYbhWi blfmUbXg]``\UXlc [ c lc @cbXcb lc \Uj Y  
WfH]b'a UHf'g'Uldfcj YX"H Yh Ycfmk Ug'h Uh|Zh YdfcdcgX'WUb[ Yg'  
k YfYa UXZbc'g W'WUJa `Wi `X'VYa UXZUg'U`hYZ bWlc'bg'cZh Y  
7UbUX]Ub`7fck b Wi `X'VYi WWhX']b'CHUk U"HAYE i Yb k Ug'bchcd!  
dcgXlc h YWUb[ YZVi hg\Yk UbhX'h Ycddeffi b]mlc U'ck `5i gfU]U  
UbXB Yk 'NYUbX'lc Wbg]Xf'gja ]'U'WUb[ Yg"@f] Yf'h Yb'a Yik ]h 'Gf'  
D\]'d'A ccfYZh YE i Yb]g'df]j Uh'g'WWhf'ncb'CWtVf'%zk \Yb'h Ym  
X]gWggX'h YgLa Ya UHfZUbXbYk gcZh YE i Yb]g'WbgYbhk UgfYUhx'  
lc h Y[ cj Yfbcf[ YbYU"

=b\]g`YHf'cZ8 YWa Vf'& lc A ]WUY D]HUYXZWF\_`cZh Ydf]j mWi bWZ  
A ccfYwbUfa YXhUk< Yf'A UYgm\UXbc ]gg Yk ]h h Y[ cj Yfbcf[ YbYU'  
Y YfVg]b[ h YZ`ck ]b[ YYa Yb]g'cZh YfcmU dfYfc[ Uhj Ycb\ Yf V\UZ

U: H\YdhY hY` \YfhYhY` YUZ

\ A ccf c A ccf R t t t c AcA # A cc

hc'h Y[ cj Yfbcf[ YbYU"G Va ]gg]cbg'cZ\ YFUX]W fUbg'h Uh]bW XYh Y  
fcnU Wck b Wbl]bi Ylc VYa UXYX]fYWmhc h YE i Yb Zcf WbgYbhc i gY  
h YWck b"H Y Wbg]h ]b[ h Y7< 5 gk h YWU]cb'cZ  
U7UbUX]Ub ]Æ · b[



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h YÚbU UV]hf' ]b'g W'a UHfg"K ]h ci h h ]g'UM] ]hžU[ cj Yfbcf' [ YbYU'  
W'i `Xz]b`h`YI hfYa YZXYWXYbchlc`UWdhUdf]a Ya ]b]ghf'g'Uj ]W'lc`  
Uddc]bhUg Wggf'lc F]XYU < U`UbX'fYa U]b' ]b'cZ'W'Z'f` ]Z'

5 g\UgVYyb bchXZ`h`fY]gbch ]b[ `dfy Yb]b[ h`YE i Yb Z'ca ~~WYbASIXZ~~ VYyb

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@UWāH; "%-, "

"5 bb'5 fVcf. '

I bIj YfgIhcZA ]W[| Ub DfYgg'

A YggLa cfYz6"&\$\$\*"

"HfcbIc. I bIj YfgIhcZHfcbIc DfYgg'

Ga ]hž8'9"Hfcc

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**The Crown  
and  
Parliament**



# 4

## the Crown And the Constitution: Sustaining democracy?

David e. Smith

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U c Vm; cfXcb FcVflgcbžh Yb Ua Ya Vf cZlY

UgXya cbgfUHXVmiH YWbj Ybhcb'h Uidc`jHw`U hcf]lm]ga cbcde`!  
 ]nYXVmiHcgYk`c W'a a UbXhYg ddcflhcZhY< ci gYcZ7ca a cbgZ`Ug`  
 VYb`gfcbl`mj c]WX`fFi ggY`UbX`Cgg]b`&SS`E`-b`h`fbZ`h`g`cflhcXcl`  
 ]bhfdYU]cb`Ug`YbYUHX`]lg'ck bi bcfhcXcl`fYgdcbgYfdChf`&SS`E`  
 @\_YhY9b[ `]g`zhY7UbUX]Ub`Wbg]li hcbU`Zefa i`U`]b`g`h`Y`di`V`  
 `]Wfc`h`Y`Y`W`Hj`Y`dck`Y`h`fci`[`\`DUf`]Ua`Ybh`-h]g`Zcf`h`]g`fYUgcb`h`U`i`  
 DUf`]Ua`Yblz`gdYU`U`miH`Y`<`ci`gY`cZ7ca`a`cbgZ`Ug`h`Y`]bX]gdi`H`V`Y`  
 U`h`cf]lm]c`a`U`Y`UbXi`ba`U`Y`[`cj`Y`fba`Y`bhg`"H`U`ia`U`ma`Ya`V`f`g`c`Z`h`Y`  
 di`V`]W`b`X`f`Y`d`f`Y`g`Y`b`H`j`Y`g`c`Z`h`Y`a`Y`X`]U`]b`&SS`g`Y`a`Y`X`lc`V`Y`W`b`Z`g`Y`X`  
 U`V`ci`h`h`]g`V`Y`X`c`W`Z`ci`b`X`U`]c`b`c`Z`d`U`f`]Ua`Y`b`H`f`m`[`cj`Y`f`ba`Y`b`h`k`U`g`f`Y`U`H`X`  
 V`m`g`W`c`U`f`g`U`g`U`a`U`H`f`V`c`h`d`Y`f`d`Y`]b[`U`b`X`X`]g`i`f`V`]b[`"D`Y`f`U`d`g`Z`V`i`h`]`h`  
 g`c`i`X`b`c`h`U`j`Y`V`Y`b`j`]Y`k`Y`X`U`g`g`f`d`f`]g`b[`.]b`h`Y`a`]X`g`h`c`Z`k`U`h`e`i`]W`m`i`  
 k`U`g`U`V`Y`Y`X`U`I`W`b`g`]li`h`c`b`U`W`]g`g`i`-d`g`c`g`F`Y`]X`f`Y`d`c`f`h`X`h`U`h`I`U`Z`c`Z`  
 7`U`b`U`X`]U`b`g`f`%d`Y`f`W`b`H`V`Y`]j`Y`h`Y`d`f`]a`Y`a`]b`]g`H`f`]g`X`]f`W`m`i`Y`W`M`X`V`m`i`  
 j`c`h`f`g`i`f`d`g`c`g`F`Y`]X`&SS`E`<`c`k`h`]g`j`]Y`k`W`b`V`Y`Y`X`]b`U`W`i`b`f`m`i`h`U`i`  
 Z`c`f`a`c`f`Y`h`U`b`%`S`m`U`f`g`U`g`U`X`f`Y`g`d`c`b`g`V`Y`[`cj`Y`f`ba`Y`b`h`i`b`X`Y`f`U`W`b`g`!`  
 h`i`h`c`b`U`a`c`b`U`f`W`m`]g`U`di`m`n`Y`'

K`Y`b`]h`]g`g`]X`Z`U`g`h`Y`f`]Y`b`X`g`c`Z`h`Y`7`U`b`U`X`]U`b`7`f`c`k`b`U`j`Y`g`U`X`Z`h`U`i`  
 h`Y`d`i`V`]W`U`X`h`Y`a`X`]U`h`Y`X`lc`V`Y`V`H`f`]b`Z`efa`Y`X`U`V`ci`h`h`Y`" h`Y`a`c` h`



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(%cZHY Ī`fl YXFU`7ci fh&SS-ždFU)" /Gc`m`  
&S%L"A cfYcj YfZDfcZggcf< YFXgdfcdcgU`]g`bchUg'a cXYghUg`]hia Uni  
UhÚfghUddYU"=hk ci `X[ ]j Yhc`cbYWUa Vf`cZHY`Y[ ]g`Uj YVfUWU  
dck Yf`h`U`\Ug`]g`cf]W`mfYghX`k ]h`h`Yl`W]h`j`Y`Gj`žh`YdfcdcgU`  
\Ug`h`YUj`Ublj`ž]b`]]\hcZHY: YXFU`7ci fhg`XW]g`cbžh`U]hk ci `X`  
fYxi`WVi`hbchp`7ci`h`c`p`h`Y`b`cl`h`A`7`ci`fl`h`Y`\Ug` A`Z` \Ug`h`Y`h`Y: Y

Xyca ]bU]cbU`Yxi W]cb`]b`Udfcj ]bW`I` ]b`g W`Ub`UffUb[ Ya YbhcZ  
fYgdcbg]V`]hYgh`YUgnX]g]bW]cb`dfYg a YXlc`Y ]g`VMk Yb`Y ]gUhj`Y  
UbX`Y YW]j Ydck Yfg`]b`h`Y7UbUX]Ub`Wbg]li hcb`]g`bch]a a YX]U]mi  
UddUFYb]5f, Wbg `b`ch`v`g]`cc`

\*&

h YU hcV|c| fUD\mk f]Hhb Vm\ Yf'dfYXWggcfz5 Xf|YbbY7`Uf\_gcbzgdYU\_g`  
hc`gla ]`Uf`WbWfbg`cb`\Yf`dUfhUci hDU `A Ufh|bzk `c`YX`Ua ]bcf|]mi  
[ cj Yfba YbhUZMf`h`Y&&S( `YWM|cbzgYY\_]b[ `Ub`YUf`mX|ggc`i`hcb`hc`h`Y`  
' , h`DUf`]Ua`Ybhif7`Uf\_gcb`&&S\*`z%`&E'

7ca dUFYX`hc`7UbUX|Ub|Vcfb`[`cj`Yfbcf`g`[`YbYfU`g]bWV%)`&Zcf`hc`  
J]gW`i`bh6nb[ ]b%`&`Zcf`h`Uia`UhmZ`h`Ya`cgfYWbh[`cj`Yfbcf`g`[`YbYfU`  
\Uj`YVYb]j`Yfma`i`W`WbhfY|gU`Y]b`a`Uhmf`g`h`U`i`UfY`Vni`Ubm`XYU`b]h]cb`  
Wb|g]h`hcbU`"H`YX|gW`gg]cb`h`U`h`U`g`hU`\_`b`d`UW`\`Ug`VYb`Ug`bU]cbU`  
]b`WUFUMf`Ug|h`\`Ug`VYb`d`Ufh`g`b`z]b`h`Yg`b`g`Y`h`Unk` \ ]`Y`h`Y`YUXf`g`c`Z`  
h`Ycd`dcg|hcb`d`Ufh`Yg`\`Uj`YX|gU`f`YXk` ]h`h`YUXj`]W`h`Ydf]a`Ya`]b|g]h`f`  
\Ug`c`Z`f`YX`h`Y[`cj`Yfbcf`[`YbYfU`z`di`V]WbX`a`YX|Ucd`dcg|hcb`\`Uj`YVYb`  
fcchX`]b`WbWfb`Zcf`dfYgYf`]b[`XYa`c`WU`H`Wj`Ui`Yg`UbX`]a`]h]b[`df]a`Y`  
a`]b|g]h`f`]U`dck`Yf`fl` &&S%Z5`%E`5`d`Vh]hcb`g]`bYX`Vmi`  
%S`U`M`X`Y`a`]W`U`M`g]b[`h`Ydf]a`Ya`]b|g]h`f`c`Z`i`b`X`Y`a`]b|b[`ci`f`g`h`Y`a`  
c`Z`X`Y`a`c`W`U`H`W`]`cj`Yfba`Ybh`]a`UmbchVY`WbW`glj`Yy`]X`b`W`c`Z`d`cdi`Uf`  
i`b`f`Y`g`z`V`i`h`z]b`h`Yk`cf`X`g`W`i`h`z]b`h`g`h`z`Vi`h`z]b`

cZb

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ŪmĪdUfĪhĪ UĪci [ \ ]hbŷf Yf XcYgĪ gŷYa gbchĪcc Yl U [ YFUHXZk \ YĪYf  
h Yh fYUĪWa Yg Zca UbbY Uĵcb]ghgŷbĪa YblžgŷWggĪcb'a cj Ya Yblž  
cf WbĪĪbYbĪU ]bĪĪ[ fUĪcb"8cYg'h Y7fck b'a U\_Yh UhdchĪbĪU'fYUžcf'  
XcYg]h'ja ]h]Ī85 h7cbZXYfUĪcbžĪh Y7fck b k UgY dYWXĪc gfYb[ h Yb'  
h YWbĪfŷmYĪcj Yf Īja YY YWĪĪj Ydck Yf ]b'Ī Ydfcj ]bWgk UgZci bX'Īc'  
VYW!Yeī U k ]Ī "Y[ ]gUĪj Ydck Yf"5gUWbgYeī YbWžĪh YWbWdhcZĪh Y  
dfcj ]bWUg'Ub'UXa ]b]gfUĪj Yi b]ĪhUbX'h Y ]Yi ĪbUbĪ[ cj Yfbcf' Ug ]lg  
Y YWĪĪj YcZŪWf X]gUddYfYX"=b ]lg'd'UWžUg'h Y> X]WU'7ca a ]ĪYcZ  
h YDfj m7ci bW'gUjXfk ]Ī Ya d\UgUgUXXYLĪ ŪQ Y8ca ]b]cb[ cj Yfb!  
a Ybhg\ci X'VYj YghX'k ]Ī 'g W'Ā 'dck YfgždfcdYfĪmUbX'fYj Ybi Yg'Ug'  
k YfYbYWgUfmiZcf'Ī YXi YdYfZcfa UbWcZ]lg WbgĪĪh ĪcbU'Z bWĪcbgž  
UbX'Ā .



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7UbUXUgWbg]h hcbU`XYa cWUw0 \cQg\ci `X`Ybg fYhYj chfg[ Yh  
0\UQWUbWĪ`G[ b]ÚWbhrczbc`[cj Ybcf`[ YbYUŃĪ dUfmĪ`Ya Yf[ YX"

UbX'9i [ YbY: cfgYrā>F"A U`cfmiUbX'DYMF Fi ggY`|b'7UbUXU'H'Ya Yf|hi  
 cZħ Yf'k cf\_`XcYg'bcifYei |fYW'a a YbhVWM gY|h|g'bcU|gg Y'K \U  
 XYgYj Yg'bc|W |g'h Uih'Y dUfhcZħ YWbg|h| ħcb'ħU|g'h Y7fck bġ  
 W'a dcbYbhcZDU' ]Ua Ybh\Ug`cb| `VYb`XYa YX'Ug'ZcfY| b'lc'dcdi `U'  
 i bXYfgUbx|b| UbXXYgYj |b| `cZgdYU|ggYfYUa Ybh'H'YfYa UmVY'i gh  
 W gYzcf'ħ |ghfUX|ħcbz'dcdi `U'| bcfUbWcZħ YWbg|h| ħcbġdfcj |gcbg'  
 fZcf'Y Ua d'YZVY|YZħ Uih'Ydf|a Ya |b|ghf |g'YWMXLV|b| `cbYcZħ Ya "  
 Bck |ħgUbx|b| `ħUih'd`UbUħcbzħ YWbgYei YbW'cZħ |g'|bhfdYhj Y  
 hfUX|ħcb|g'hc YghU|g' |b'a UhfYgWbg|h| ħcbU UX|j |gcb Vhk Ybh'cgY  
 k \c'fY|bg|XfYg'UbX'ħcgYk \c'fYci |g|XfYg'

ħ|gh YgdYU|ghk \c'Ubgk Yfgbcħħ Ya cghUWbYVi hfUħ Yf'ħ Ya cgh  
 VUg|WcZWbg|h| ħcbU`ei Ygħcbg K \UħWbg|h| ħg'UXYZUhcZU| cj Yfb!  
 a Yb|S'K \Yb'ħ YfY |g'UXYZUz'k \Uicd|ħcbg'XcYg'U| cj Yfba Ybh'\U Y3  
 K \YfYbc'dUfmigWfYg'Ua Ucf|ħmicZg'Ug'UhiU| YbYfU`YWM|cbz'k \|W'  
 dUfmZ'fa g'U| cj Yfba Yb|S'K \UħWbg|h| ħg'g' ZUMbh| fci bXg'Zcf'U  
 df|a Ya |b|ghf'hc'gW'fYUg'YbhZ'ca ħY| cj Yfbcf | YbYfU'hc'UfYei YghZcf'  
 UX|gg' i ħcb'cf'dfcfc| Uħcb'cZdU' ]Ua Yb|S'ħ YUbgk A'ġ | A 'a ] Ugg'f



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7fck b h Uhlggl b]UWbh": fca h ]gdYfgdYWlj Yz]h]gUf[ i UvniXWwdhj Y  
 ]b h Ydfcfc[ U]cb Wb]fcj Yfgnic ZcWgUhh]cbcb h YdYfgcbgžcf Yj Yb  
 cZUWgžcZh Y[ cj Yfbcf[ YbYfU UbXdf]a Ya ]b]ghf"H YXWwdh]cb "]Yg]b  
 h ]g "]a ]h]b[ X]gWgg]cb'lc'h cgyI dUfhYg] ca ]hg'h Y]bbcj Uhj YZUi fY  
 cZk \Uh\UgVYyb \UddYb]b[ k ]h fY UFXlc h Y[ cj Yfbcf[ YbYfUžk \]W  
 ]g'h YYa Yf[ YbWžci ]g]XYcZh Yk U'g'cZDU "]Ua YbhUbX'h YhfUX]hcbU  
 cf[ Ub'cZWa a i b]W]cbž' ]Yh Ydf]bha YX]UžcZh Ydi V]WUg'Ub'Yb!  
 [ U YX'dUfh]W]Ubh]b'h YXYWU]"H'h YXY[ fYY'h Uih ]g]g'h YWgž'h Yb  
 Uf[ i a Ybh'g'h Uia U\_]b[ UbXi ba U\_]b[ cZ[ cj Yfba Yb]g'UfYdfYfc[ Uhj Yg  
 cZh Y< ci gYcZ7ca a cbgUbš b A 7c[ ê A ca ]a cbi Ub'ca h Ybc

VUX ]g' XWUW "Al cZ]gXWZAW XWU] ]g ]gXWU] "cZ XWU]g

hFYdUfHg'cZDUf]Ua YblžcbWgc WcgM\_b]hžk ci `XVWw a Y`Ygg'gc"HAY  
 a cj Ya Yblicj Yf]ja Yh U\Ug'gYb`WM]bYhg'dUFU'Zca`hY7ca a cbg'  
 UbXdf]a Ya ]b]gYf'Zca`WM]bYhk ci `XVYZ`ck YXž]b]h ]ggWbUf]cZVmU  
 [ fck ]b] gUWVYhk Yb'df]a Ya ]b]gYf'UbX[ cj Yfbcf[ ]bYFU"K ]h Ud'c!  
 [ ]Yg'hc K ]`]Ua`K cfXgk cfhžcbYWb'cb`ngUmĀ6U Y'ch'Hci`g'ci`Xgh  
 VY`j ]b[ `Uih ]g`ci f:7UbUXU\Uh`bYX'cZh Y'Ī`Cf'dY\Udg'bch'cbY  
 cZh YZk`7UbUX]Ubg'Zca`hY7cbZXYfU]cb'dYf]cX'hc'fYZf'hc'6U Y'chi  
 k U'g'5`Y U'bXYf'7Ua dVY`ž\ja gY'ZU: Uh Yf'cZ7cbZXYfU]cbžk`cž]b U  
 `Yhf'hc'Gf`>b5"A U'XcbUXžg W]bWing a a Uf]nYX\]gcd]b]cb'cZ

j Ubei ]g\]b[ ]hgc'a i W Ug]hglbXg]b'h YVfYUWzgc'hc'gdYU\_zUbXVMfg'  
h YVfi bhicZh YUHUW'cb'VX'UZcZh YdYcd'Y"=h]g]b'h UhfYgdYMH Uh  
h YfyU]cbg\jd'VMk Yb'h Y7fck b'UbX'h Y7UbUX]Ub'Wbg]hi hcb'\Ug'  
VWwa Ya Ub]Zgh]b'fYVbhMfUg]b'Ua UbbYf'\]h Yf'hc' i bUW'bck 'YX] YX'  
UbX'h Y]a d']W]hcb'cZk \cgYXj Ycda YbhfYa U]bg]g]'i b'Wf]U]b"

K \Yb'Ghd\Yb< UfdYf'gci [ \hUWbX]XUH'hc'fyd'UWA ]WUf'`Y>Yb Ug'  
[cj Yfbcf [ YbYfUz\Yk Ugfydcf]Xhc'\Uj YfgUV]g\YXU]g'WMMWa a ]hY'  
hc'gYUFW'Zcf'WbX]XUH'g'k \c'k ci 'X'dcggYg'Wbg]hi hcbU'\_bck 'YX] Y  
UbXVYbcb!dUfhgUb'f/i ffm85%\$E'B YX: fU\_b\_gzUWbg]hi hcbU'U'hc]h'z  
dfUgYXh Yf'bk'f' d'fcWgg'UbXf'fYWa a YbXYXh Uh]hVYa UXydYfa UbYb'  
]b'Uk'f' <ck'h UhcVWwa ][\hVYUWwa d'lg'YXz\YX]XbchgdYWZ'h'Ch'z  
h Yfyk Ug'h Yg'bg'Y'h UhUdfWXYbh\UX'cW'ffYX'UbX'h Uh\YbWZcf'h'  
h Ybca ]bU]cb'cZ]bX]j ]Xi Ug'k ]h' Wc'gy'dUfhgUb'UHUWa Yb]g'hc'h Y  
[cj Yfba YbhcZh Y]XUm] 'Ug'\UX'cb'cWU]cb'\UddYbYX' ]b'h Y dUgh]'  
k ci 'X'bc]b]Z hi fYVYhc'YfUHX": fca'h ]g'dYfgdYW]j Yzh YfyU]cbg\jd'  
VMk Yb'Z'fa U'UbX'dc ]h]W'Yl YW]h] Yg'\UX'hc' UXY] fYUHMfYXzUbX' ]b'  
Ua UbbYf'ei ]h'X]ZfYbhZ'ca W] blf]Ygk \YfYh UhfYU]cbg\jd'g]b]ZUM  
fY]i 'UH'X'Vmg]Li h'Uk'"5 h]h Yg]a Yh]a Yh Uh7UbUXUg'byk' [cj Yfbcf'  
[ YbYfU'k ]h'W]h'Xy]g]b]U]h'Y'fa U]h]h]h]Wccg]b[\Ub'Y'g'd'Y]h'Y'z'Y'Y'X'Y'Y'Y'  
Xy]g]b]U]h'Y'fa U]h]h]h]Wccg]b[\Ub'Y'g'd'Y]h'Y'z'Y'Y'X'Y'Y'Y'  
h'fci [\ 'U]g'W]h'Y'W]cb'VnUW'`Y] YcZY'W'f'g'W'a d'cgYXcZa Ya Vfg'  
cZh Y

9j Ułż< "J"UbX9"5": cfgYm%- S"  
 UbX i bUWfXl YX fYdf]bhlcZ< "J" 9j Ułż  
 fR^YX'Z% \*+L:UbX'9"5": cfgYm  
 %\*, 'fYdf]bhlc[ Yh Yf'k ]h 'UbYk ]bfcXi Wjcb'Vni  
 8f": cfgYmGnXbYm'@Y[ U'6cc\_g"

QSS-Q 7 - &S"

: `UbU UbZ'H' &S- "ÎCb'mij chf'g\Uj Yh Yf[ \hlc XW\X'cb h YWU]hcb  
 : `Ubi Ufrã5% "  
 : cfgYmã9% \*S'Î9l Hbglcb'cZ\h Y@Z'cZ@Y[ ]gUf fyg'î`  
 Y&fL \*S(Î% "  
 ; fUbUgh]bZ>'@%' - \*F'Yj ]Yk cZ  
 zVni8Uj ]X'9"Ca ]h` " \hd.##k k k "  
 WfUcb`]bY'Wa #a Ya Vyf#gYUFW#3UM]cb1XYHJ`g/ dU ]Y1 S/ gcflSW'1`  
 HH@9/ gcÅ  
 < YUXZ5 " &S%&S"Î; ]j Yh Y< ci gYh YU hcf]hmî` " %>Ubi Ufrã  
 5% "  
 < YUga Ubz8 ">%, ) "ÎEi Ybñdfyfc[ Uj Yî` " &`C'W'Vf"  
 < ]W]b[ z>F"UbX9"H YggA cfgY' &S&S"  
 B Yk Mf\_ .7Ua V]Xl YI b] YfglmDFYgg"  
 < ]Wg'6" &S- "Î@Yg'A mi: Uh Yfg'cZ7cbZXFU]cb H' XA Y.5fY'h Y; cj Yfbcf`  
 ; YbYUñg'FYgyfj YDck YfgUQUZ] i UFX'cZ8 Ya cWUMñ` & fg a a Y#  
 : U`L \*Sî+S"  
 -dgg'FY]X" &S("ÎGfU[ \hU\_ ]b[ : fUgM'gfl\_ YgZUf'cb'h Y\` )`Î`  
 "%&: Wfi Ufrã5 ("`  
 Í `&S%&S"Î-b`h YK U YcZ7cbg]h ]hcbU`7f]gg B Yk `G fj Ym8 Ya cbg'fUhg'h U  
 7UbU]Ubg@UW'6]gW bXYfg]UbX]b[ cZCi f7ci blfmñg'DUf ]Ua YbHfmGng]hã`  
 G fj Ym`%` 8Y'Wa Vyf' &S, " \hd.##k k k "Xca ]b]cb"W#8ca ]b]cb-bg]h hY  
 8Y'Wa VY%): UM a "dXZ  
 ? Ya d'cb" &S%&S"ÎH YDfcZgg'fgñ@YHf'5 [ U]bg]h YDf'cfc[ U]cb'cZDUf ]Ua YbHî`  
 `fV'c[ E" \hd.##\_ Ya d'cb'k cfXdfYgg'Wa #&S%&S#S%#%#h Y.  
 d'fcZgg'fg' YHf!U ]U]bg]h Yd'f'cfc[ U]cb'cZDUf ]Ua YbH  
 ? i `]g'zB" &S%&S"ÎDFYgXYbhU`j chYHgg'A Yf\_Yñg'U ]b[ `WU]hcb`]b; Yfa Ubrñ`  
 "%&`i bYz5)  
 @U Ugg zD' &S%&S"Î5 Wwi bHU] ]hmZcfB U]cbU`8YZbW`A ]b]ghf]U F YgdcbgV] ]hã  
 A ] ]Hfm7ca a UbX'UbX'DUf ]Ua YbHfmCj Yfg] \hî` =DD'Gi Xmbc"(zA UFW"  
 A cblfYU. =bg]h h'Zcf F YgUFW'cb Di V]WDC ]Wñ  
 @]MfUm5 FW] Yg7UbUXLã; ` &5 zc`b5 "A UMcbUXDUfYfg'5 `Yl UbXYf7Ua d!  
 VY`h`A UMcbUXz+A UFW% , , z, ' (-)!, "  
 Í `A; ` %z9 (\*z9gW]hFY]X'dUfYg'z] c`&` f7cbg]h ]hcbU`-gg YgUbXFcnU ]hYz  
 % ( & % \*SÉ`  
 Í `A; ` S25 & z9i [ YbY: cfgYmDUfYg'fU`Y) +##+7cffYW]cbg'hc Î7UbU]Ubg]UbX`  
 h Yf; cj Yfa Ybh Hk UFXgUB Yk `7UbUXLã` 765 fYdcflzb"X"O + Q  
 @]dHU\_z5"

+&

Í 88%\$Í Gbck WU`b| dfchhg\ck gXYa cWUWia UHfghc 7UbUXjUbgí`  
% 3bi Ufn

# 5

## the Constitutional Role of the governor general

patrick J. monahan

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df]a Ya ]b]ghf3GwWbXzk Ug: cj Yfbcf; YbYU>UbnUWwdHbWcZDf]a Y  
A ]b]ghf< UfdYfng&SS, fYei Yghic'dfcfc[ i YDUf]Ua YbhWbglghbkh ]h  
YgUV]g\X'Wbg]hi hcbU'df]bVd YgSH]fXZg\ci X'h YFYVYUXX]hcbU  
cf bYk `Y[ U fYgf]W]cbg]a dcgX'cb'h YUM] ]hmcZh Ydf]a Ya ]b]ghf'lc  
fYei Yghic'cMU]b Udfcfc[ U]cb'cZDUf]Ua Ybh]b'h YZ li fY3

< ci gY" ÷ b' gli U|cbgk \ YfYh Ydc` ]hW' XnbUa ]W|g'Ua V|[ i ci g'cf i bWf!  
H|bžUdf|a Ya ]b|g|f'a UmU|h'a dh|c' W|b| 'hc' cZUWUbXfYZ gY'Y|h Yf'hc'  
· · · · ·  
hA      hc      hf



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[cj Yfbcf' [ YbYFU'''CbYcZHY]a dYFUj Yg'Zf'U [cj Yfbcf' [ YbYFU' ]g'lc'  
Ybg fYWbl}bi ]miUbX'

Df]a YA ]b]ghf< UfdYf]gfyei Yghlc`dfcfc[ i Yh Y< ci gYi bh]`UfY>Ubi

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&Ss "H Ydf]a Ya ]b]ghf Ugc ]bX]W hX'h Uicb 'Ubi Ufm& 'h Y[ cj Yfb!  
a Ybik ci 'X]blfcXi W



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a ]blgkf`k ci `X\Uj Y]a a YX]Uymgi [\hX]gg`i hcb`cZ\hY< ci gYUbx  
U[ YbYU`YW]cb"  
-b`hYVfWa gUbwghUi

h Ya gYj Yg" A cfYcj Yfzh YXYUnik ci `X'dfcj ]XYUb`cddcfli b]hnic [ Ujb`  
 UWUfYf`i bXYfgUbx]b[ `cZh Y`\_ YmgUM] ]hnicZh YdfcdcgXWU]hcb`  
 [ cj Yfba Ybh` =Zh Y dUfhYg`lc` h YWU]hcb`k YfYUVYlc`a Ujhu]b`h Yf`  
 Ww a ]ha Ybhlc ]hxi f]b[ h YdYf]cXcZdfcfc[ Ujcbzh Unk ci `Xgfyb[ h Yb`  
 ]lg`Y[ ]ha UWUbx]f[ ]`hlc` Zcfa` h Y[ cj Yfba Ybh]ZA f`< UdfYg[ cj Yfb!  
 a Ybhk Ug`XYZUHX`Uhh Y YbX`cZ>Ubi Ufm`Cb`h Ych Yf` \UbX` ]ZUg` Uhf`  
 Yj Yblg`XYa cbgfUHXZh YWU]hcb`ZU a YbhXZh Uhlc`k ci `X'dfcj ]XY`  
 h Y[ cj Yfbcf` [ YbYU`k ]h` ]a defhUbhYj ]XYbW`lc` ]bZcfa` UbmXW]gcb`  
 g`Ya ] [ \h`Uj YVYb W`YXi deb`lc`a U`YUhh Y YbX`cZh Y>Ubi Ufm&SS` "  
 HAYUhfBUhj YgWbUf]cz]bj c`j ]b[ `h Y[ cj Yfbcf` [ YbYU]g`fYZ gU`lc`  
 dfcfc[ i YZc`ck YXVnh Y`\_ YmX]ga ]ggU`cZh Ydf]a Ya ]b]ghf UbXUfY!  
 ei Ygh`A f`8]cb`lc` Zcfa` Zca` 8]cb`c` YbX` 1` ` `c`

° Y` ` `lc` Y` a ]ggU` `c` HAYUhfBUhj YgWbUf]cz]bj c`j ]b[ `h Y[ cj Yfbcf` [ YbYU]g`fYZ gU`lc`  
 Y Y Y

, &

g ddefhX VmiVeh < ci gYg cZDUf]Ua YbhiUg k Y`Ug U`hMb dfcj ]bWU`  
`Y[ ]g`Ui fYg`%G W`





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WUdhf\YdYX'hc [ i ]XY'h Ydc`h]W' UMcfg]b'h YX]gW/gglcbg'h Uhtc\_`  
d'UW]a a YX]UHy'z`ck ]b[ 'h YA Um&S\$'YWM]cb`UbX'h U'h YX'hc`h Y  
Z'fa U]cb`cZU'WU]h]cb[ 'cj Yfba Ybh%'5`Z`'XfU'ZicZ'h YA Ubi U`k Ug'  
di V]g'YX]b`8Y'Wa Vf`&S\$'UbX'Z'`ck ]b[ UdYf]cX'cZdi V]W'Wa a Yblz'  
]hk ]`'VYUddfcj YX'Vmh`Y [ cj Yfba Ybh]Ug'k Y`'Ug'Vmh`Y < ci gY' < ca Y  
5ZU]fg'7ca a ]hY'

-b'a nij ]Yk'zh`fY'k ci`X'VY'Wbg]XfU'Yj Ui Y]b`Xy'Ycd]b[ 'Ub`U`!  
h'cf]h]Uj Ygci fWX'cWa YbhcZ'h ]g\_ ]bX]b`7UbUXU'5`7UbUX]Uj Yfglcb`cZ  
UWM]bYha Ubi U`k ci`X'bc'hV`Y' U`m]bX]b[ zVi`hk ci`X'a YfY'mfYg]U'Y'  
h`Y] ]g]b[ 'Wbg]h] h]cbU`fi`Yg'UbXdf]b]Wd`Yg'z'k \ ]W'a YUbg]hk ci`X'bc'h  
]bj`c`j YU'Wbg]h] h]cbU`'a YbX'a Ybh]UbX'bc'hYb[ U`Y'h`Y'Wbg]h] h]cbU`  
'a YbX]b[ 'Z'fa i`'Uff'i gY`'UbX'A ]'bY`&S\$%zdUfUg`&%(i`&%+L'

5 h'h`Y`g`a`Y`h`a`Y`z` ]hk ci`X'WUf]Zmh`Y`fc`Yg`UbX`fYg]cbg]V] ]hYg`cZ  
U`'h`Y`dc`h]W' UMcfg]b`g]h] U]cbg'k \ fY'h`fY ]g`g'a`Y`ei`Yg]h]cb`Ug`lc`  
k \ Y'h`f`h`Y [ cj Yfba Ybh]Wb]h]bi`Yg'lc`Yb`cmh`Y`Wb`UX`Yb`W`cZ`h`Y` < ci`gY'  
cZ'7ca a`cbg%'`h` ]g\_ ]bX'cZ'WUf]h]m]cb`h`Y`Z`bX`U`a`Yb]U` [ fci`bX'fi`Yg'h`U`h  
Udd`m]b]h`h`Yg`Y\_ ]bX'g'cZg]h] U]cbg'k ]`'Ugg]g]h`Ydc`h]W' UMcfg]b`Ugg]gg'  
]b[ '\`ck`'Vg]h]c`UddfcUW`h`Yf`'Wbg]h] h]cbU`fYg]cbg]V] ]hYg`'`hk ci`X'  
Ug`'fY]h]fU'h`Y`X`Yg]fU] ]h]m]cZ'fYg`'j ]b[ 'a`U`h]f'g'cZ'Wb`UX`Yb`W`h`fci [ '\`  
Uddfcdf]U'Y`UbX`'h`a`Y`midc`h]W' d'fc`Wgg]g`UbX`'bc'h`Vmh`Y`Y`fY`gY`cZ  
dYf'g'cbU`X]g]W]h]cb`Vmh`Y [ cj Yfbcf [ 'YbYFU`": i`f'h`fz]hk ci`X`U`j`UbW'  
h`f`Ubg]d`f`Yb`W`z`X`Y`a`c`WU]WUW`i`b]U] ]h]m]bX`di`V]W`bX`Y`g]U`bX]b[ z`UbX`  
fY]b`Z'f`W`h`Y`Y [ ]h`a`U`m]c`Z`ci`f`Y` ]g]b[ 'dc`h]W' ]bg]h] h]cbg'z`b]W`X]b[ '  
h`Yc`Z`W`cZ`h`Y [ cj Yfbcf [ 'YbYFU`cZ'7UbUXU'

F eFer en Ces

7Ua Yfcbz8`" &S`-"I`i`h`a`U`Y`n]h`Y`G`n]h`a`K`cf`\_`Y`X`i`-b`  
z`Y`g`'D`F`i`gY`'UbX`@`'G`cgg]b`'H`f`c`b`l`c`I`b]j`Y`f`g]m]c`Z`H`f`c`b`l`c`D`f`Y`g`'  
: fUb`\_g`7`'9`G`' &S`-"I`H`e`D`f`c`f`c`i`Y`c`f`b`c`h`c`D`f`c`f`c`i`Y`8`]X`h`Y` ; cj`Y`f`b`c`f` ; YbYFU`'  
A`U`Y`h`Y`f`] [ \h8`Y`g]cbz3`-b` z`Y`g`'D`F`i`gY`'  
UbX`@`'G`cgg]b`'H`f`c`b`l`c`I`b]j`Y`f`g]m]c`Z`H`f`c`b`l`c`D`f`Y`g`'  
< Y`f`X`z`5`" &S`-"I`H`Y` ; cj`Y`f`b`c`f` ; YbYFU`g`'g`d`Y`b`g]cb`c`Z`D`f`]U`a`Y`b`h`8`i`h`m`8`c`b`Y`  
c`f`U`D`f`]`c`i`g`D`f`Y`W`X`Y`b`f`3`-b` z`Y`g`'D`F`i`gY`'  
UbX`@`'G`cgg]b`'H`f`c`b`l`c`I`b]j`Y`f`g]m]c`Z`H`f`c`b`l`c`D`f`Y`g`'  
< c [ ] z`D`' &S`+"` " )`h`Y`X`'H`f`c`b`l`c`'7`U`f`g`Y`"  
I`' &S`-"I`D`f`c`f`c` [ U]cb`UbX`h`Y`D`ck`Y`f`c`Z`h`Y` ; cj`Y`f`b`c`f` ; YbYFU`I`'  
'&.`%'`i`&S`"  
A`c`b`U`Ub`z`D`' &S`+"` " " `Y`X`'H`f`c`b`l`c`I`b]j`Y`f`g]m]c`Z`H`f`c`b`l`c`D`f`Y`g`'

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%`GY`-V]X`z`d`" " "  
%`h`Y`]g]g`Y`cZ [ cj`Y`f`ba`Y`bh`z`fa`U]cb`]g`c`b`m]cb`Y`ga`U`d`U`h`ic`Z`h`Y`W`b]b`Y`ha`U`bi`U`g]b`'  
B`Y`k`N`Y`U`b`X`Ub`X`h`Y`i`b]h`X`?`]b]X`ca`z`k` \ ]W`X`Y`U`k`h`h`h`Y`Z`'`f`U`b]`Y`c`Z]`]g]b] [ cj`Y`f`b`!  
a`Y`b`h`id`U`M`W`g`z`c`V] [ U]cbg`UbX`Y`d`Y`W`U]cbg`'D`f`Y`g`a`U`m]U`7`UbUX]b`'a`U`bi`U`k`ci`X`V`Y`  
g`a`]U`f`n]L`a`V]h]ci`g]b`]h`g`g`W`d`Y`'

,)

Fi ggY`zD'UbX7"A ]'bY"&S%"Ī 5 X1 g]b[ ĩc UB Yk 9fUcZDU`]Ua YbHfni cj Yfb!  
a Ybh'FYdcfñicZUK cf\_g'cd'cb'7cbg]li ĩcbU'7cbj YbhjcbgĪ'8 Uj ]X'5gdYf'  
7YbhYZf'7cbg]li ĩcbU'F][\lgZl b]j YfglmicZH'fcbłcž: YWfi Ufñ  
HFYa VUz; "&S%"Ī@]a ]]b[ ĩh.Y; cj Yfba YbhgDek Yf'lc Dfcfc[ i YDUF`]Ua YbhĪ'  
' ' f&Lfb]c





dck YfgUFY]bXYXU]j YUbXk Y` ]b`7UbUXUUbXh Uh h fYgh` fYa U]bg`  
U`Y] ]hja UYX]gW]hcb`Zcf`U[ cj Yfbcf`lc`fYZ`gYUxj ]W]b`WfWa`g]LbWg`  
g`WUg`h`cgY`Zci`bX]b`&SS,"

H`YU]g]WYei ]fYa`Yblgc`ZYg]cbg]VY[ cj Yfba`Ybha`Yub`h`Uh`7UbUX]Ub`  
[ cj Yfbcf]g`[ YbYU`UFY`bcfa`U`micV][ UhX`lc`UMcb`h`Y`UXj ]W`di`hile`  
h`Ya`Vmh`Yf`Ufg]ia`]b]g]Yfg`UbX`W]bYg`"A`cXfb`bcfa`g`cZX`Ya`cWU]W`  
[ cj YfbUbW`Xc`bchYUg]`mWi`blh`bUbW`Ub`Udde]bhX`cZ`U]U`g`Vg]hi`h]b[`  
dYfgcbU`'i`X]`a`Ybh]b`d`UW`cZ`h`YXY]g]cbg`a`UXYVmY`W]X`dc`]h]W]bg`"  
5`bX`m]Z`h`fYa`Ung]h`VYc`W]g]cbgk` \`Yb`U[ cj Yfbcf`a`Uhd]fcdYf`m`Uj`Y`  
Uf][ \`h`zcf`Yj`Yb` \`Uj`YUXi`h`zlc`fYZ`gYh`YUXj ]W`cZ`X]gcf` \`Yf`a`]b]g]Yfg`"

7UbUX]Ub`gWc`Uf`micd]b]cb`cb`h`Y`fYg]fj`Y`dck`Yf`lc`fYZ`gY`UXj ]W`  
a`Uhd]VY`[ fci`dYX`]b]lc`U`h`YUg]h`fYY`[ YbYU`W]M]`cf]Yg`"5`a`]bcf]hmicZ`  
7UbUX]Ub`W]bg]hi`hcbU`gWc`Ufg]Uf`i`Yg`h`Uha`cXfb`[ cj Yfbcf]g`[ YbYU`  
\`Uj`YUvg`i`h`m]bc`X]gW]hcb`UhU`lc`fYZ`gYh`YUXj ]W`cZ`Udf]a`Ya`]b]g`  
h]f`k` \`c`Yb`eng`h`YWb`U`Xy`bW`cZ`h`Y`<`ci`gY`cZ`7`ca`a`cbg`"H`Ymg]Uhd`h`U`  
cb`mik` \`Yb`U[ cj Yfba`Ybh` \`Ug`W]Uf`m`cg]h`Y`Wb`U`Xy`bW`cZ`h`Y`<`ci`gY`z`  
Wb`h`Y[ cj Yfbcf`[ YbYU`fYZ`gY`lc`UMcb`W]b]Yh`UXj ]W`<`Ybf]`6fi`b`di`h`  
Zcfk`UFX`h`]g`d]cg]hcb`lc`h`Y`fYbW`dfYgg`Xi`f]b[`h`Y`&SS,`W]bg]hi`hcbU`  
W]g]g]f]bfi`b`&SS,`E`6m`W]b]f]Ug]z`ch`Yf`gWc`Ufg`Wb`WXY`Udck`Yf`lc`fYZ`gY`

lc U W]b]f]Ug]z`lc W]b]f]Ug]z lc lc`

W]b]f]Ug]z`

6m W]f]Y]gY W]b]g]hZ`li`h`Q`6m fYZ`gY` 6m fYZ`gY`

6



- 8 -

cZ\YfUX|hcbUj Ybi YUhF|XYU < U"" 5 bX'lb'8S%\$ZE i YVW@|Yi HbUbi  
; cj Yfbcf'D|YffY8i WYgbYfYZ gYX'DfYa |Yf'7\UfYgh'UXj |Wlc'UddYUf'  
VZcfYUBU|cbU'5 ggYa VmWa a |HhYlc'





[cj Yfba YbhiWi `X`VY`Zcfa YX`Zca `h`Y`cddeglhcb`dUfhYg`k Ug`WUf`mi  
 ]bX]W]H]X`k \`Yb`Ua`Ucf]lmcZA Dg`g[ bYX`dY]h]hcbg`gYbhc`h`Y[ cj`Yfbcf`  
 [ YbYfU`cb`8`YWA`Vf` (žgU]b[ `h`Uih`Ynik`ci`X`VY`j`ch]b[ `]b`Zj`ci`f`cZ  
 8]cb]g`a`ch]cb`h`Uih`A`h`]g`<`ci`g`Y`Ug`cgh]Wb`U`X`Y`b`W]b`h`]g[ cj`Yfba`Yblž  
 UbX]g`cZ`h`Y`cd]b]cb`h`Uih`Uj`]UV`Y`U`h`f`b`U`h`j`Y[ cj`Yfba`YbhiWb`VY`Zcfa`YX`  
 k`]h`]b`h`Y`df`Y`g`b`h`<`ci`g`Y`cZ7`ca`a`cbg`i`A`cgh]a`dcfh]b`h`r`h`h`Y`Y`k`Ug`U  
 k`f]h]h`b`U`f`Y`Ya`Yb]h]g[ bYX`Vni`h`Y`Y`U`X`Y`g`c`Z`U` `h`f`Y`c`d`d`e`g`l`h`c`b`d`U`f`h`Y`g`  
 H`Y`@]V`f`U`g`U`b`X`B`8`D`k`Y`f`Y`W`a`a`]h]X`h`c`U`a`]b]a`i`a`c`Z`S`a`cb]h`g`Ug`  
 W`U]h]cb`W]b]Y`h`d`U`f`h`b`Y`f`g`z`U`b`X`h`Y`6`c`W`E`i`f`v`f`W]g`k`Ug`W`a`a`]h]X`h`c`g`d`  
 dcfh]h`Uih]cj`Yfba`Yb]hcb`U`W`b`U`X`Y`b`W]j`ch]g`Z`f`U`a`]b]a`i`a`c`Z`%`a`cb]h`g`  
 H`c[`Y`h`Y`f`h`Y`g`Y`d`U`f`h`Y`g`W`a`a`U`b`X`X`%`g`Y`U`g`c`i`h`c`Z`\$`ž`Y`b`c`i`[\`Z`f`U`W`U`f`  
 a`Ucf]lmi`6]U`Y`X`cb`h`Y`g`Y`g]b]bYX`dY]h]hcbg`U`b`X`U`f`Y`Ya`Yb]h`U`cb`Y`ž`h`Y`Y`  
 k`Ug`X`Y`a`cb]g`f`U`V`Y`Y`j`]X`Y`b`W`h`U`h`U`j`]U`V`Y`[cj`Yfba`YbhiWi`X`VY`Zcfa`YX`  
 h`c`f`Y`d`U`W`h`Y`7`cb]g`Y`j`U`h`j`Y`g`5`g`Z`c`f`a`Y`f`[cj`Yfbcf`[`YbYfU`9`X`G`W`f`Y`m`f`  
 W`a`a`Y`b`h`X`U`h`h`Y`h]a`Y`ž`I`=Z]h]g`g`Y`a`b`ž`Z`c`f`a`U`U`b`X`k`f]h]h`b`ž`=W`i`X`c`b`m`i  
 g`d]Y`U`Z`c`f`a`ng`Y`Z`=X`W`f`h]b`m`Z`Y`c`V`]]Y`X`h`c`d`f`c`W`Y`X`U`W`f`X]b[ `ni`f`7`6`7`  
 B`Y`k`g`ž`&S`S`E`=b`X`Y`X`ž`h]h]g`U`F`X`h`c`h`]b`\_`c`Z`a`c`f`Y`W`b`W`Y`h`Y`j`]X`Y`b`W`h`U`h` @Z` ]`  
 U`b`m]cj`Yfbcf`Wi`X`k`]g`h`c`U`j`Y`h`c`g`Y`h`Y`X`c`i`V`g`U`w`c`i`h`h`Y`j`]U`]]lmcZ  
 U`b`U`h`f`b`U`h`j`Y[ cj`Yfba`Ybhi`

H`Y`B`8`D`U`b`X`6`c`W`W`a`a`]h]X`h`Y`a`g`Y`j`Y`g`h`c`h`]g`U`f`f`U`b[`Y`a`Y`b`i`ž`\_`b`c`k`]b[`  
 Z` ``k`Y`h`U`h`h`Y`@]V`f`U`D`U`f`h`k`ci`X`c`X`U`Y`U`X`Y`g`a`]d`W`b`h]g]b`h`Y`b`Y`k`  
 a`a` @Z` ]` k`@` ]` \\`Y`a`g`Y`ž` ]` ]` \`Y`a`g`Y`

@Z ]

\`Y`a`g`Y`

5 bni[ cj Ybcf ZM]b[ h YdfcgdYMcZUbYk WU]hcb[ cj Yba YbhWb'

YYWwXdc`h]WUbgg\ci`XbchVYfYUHX`\_YbU [ \hmgWcc`W]XfYbk \c`  
bYXUgYj Yb!k YY\_`ha Yci h`=Zh fYYdc`h]W`dUfhYg`h Uihc [ Yh Yf`c`X`  
UWUf`a Ucf]hm]b`h Y< ci gY g] [ b`UW`Yw]cb`cZXCw a Yblg`d`YX] ]b[`  
h Ya gYj Yg`h`a U\_ ]b[ `UWU]h]cb` [ cj Yfba Ybhk cf\_`zh Yb`h Ynia i ghVY  
HU\_YbUhZUWj Ui YVnh Y [ cj Yfbcf [ YbYU""5 bmg VgYei Ybh'i X] a Ybhcb`  
h Yk ]gXca`cZCfa ]b[`h UhWU]h]cbzcf`cb`h Y`Uhf`g`WggYgcf`ZU]i fYg`  
cZh UhWU]h]cbz`g`ci`XVYa UXYVmYwMcf`g`Uih YVU`chVcl`"

=h]g`ja dcfHUbz`Ug`k Y`z`h`VUf`]b`a ]bX`h`Uh`h`Yg`Y`Y`Yblg`i bZ`XYX`  
k ]h`]b`h`YU`f`gh`fYYk YY\_gcZDUf`]Ua YbhYg`a ]b[`U`h`h`Y [ YbYU`Y`W`  
h]cb`"H`Ybcfa U`g`UbXUF`]b`Ua ]bcf]hmg]h U]cb`]g`h`Uh`h`Y]bW a Vbh  
 [ cj Yfba Ybh`Ug`Uf]] \h]c`a`YhDUf`]Ua Ybh]c`f`m]c`k ]b`]h`W`b`U`X`Y`b`W`  
=Z]hZU]g`h`k ]b`h`Uh`W`b`U`X`Y`b`W`cf`cgYg`]hk ]h`]b`U`j`Y`f`mg`c`f`h`d`Y`]c`X`c`Z`  
h]a`Y`z`h`Y [ cj Yfbcf`]g`Vci bX]c`U`ck`U`b`ch`Y`f`d`U`f`m`i`Y`U`X`Y`f`h`c`f`m]c`Z`fa`U`  
 [ cj Yfba Ybh`=h]g`W`i`WU`h`c`U`d`d`f`W`U`h`h`Uh`h`Y`g`U`b`X`U`F`i`g`U`n`i`f`Y`Z`f`f`Y`X`  
h`c`]g`h`Uh`h`]g`Y`U`X`Y`f`U`g`h`Y`c`d`d`e`f`h`i`b]h]c`try`h`c`Z`fa`U [ cj Yfba Ybh`H`Y`  
`L`Y`p`y`c`c`X`c`Z`g`W`g`g`a`i`g`h`V`Y` \ ] \ `h`c`U`d`c`]b`h`U`b`ch`Y`f`d`]a`Ya`]b`]g`h`Z`V`i`h`

h`c`" N`

Xydfj YhY [ cj Yfba YbhcZh YWbg]li hcbU`Y [ ]ha UWik \ ]W`Uck YX`  
Zca `gYwf]b[ `h YWbUXYbWcZh Y< ci gY`

⇒b`&\$\$, žh Y [ cj Yfbcf [ YbYU`k UgZWXk ]h` U [ cj Yfba Ybh]bg]b[ `   
cb`Ub`i bdfWXYbhX`gl !k YY\_ `g` gdYbg]cb`cZDU`]Ua Ybhc`mh`fYY`   
k YY\_g]blc`]hg`]Zždi fYmhc`Uj c]X`WfH]b`XYZU`G` W`UfYei Yghk Ug`   
Wbg]XfYXVm`h`Yj Ugr`a Ucf]hmcZcVgfj Yfglc VYUZ bXUa YbH`VfYUW`   
cZWbg]li hcbU i bXfg]UbX]b[ gh`UhU [ cj Yfba Ybha i gh`chfmc Uj c]X`   
XYZU`h`Vmig`gdYbX]b[ `dUf`]Ua Ybh`G` W`U`a cj Yk Ug`i bdfWXYbhX`   
]b`h`YdUghWb]q`h` h` h` 1 Uk` ik` cj Yfba`

cj Yfba`

F eFer en Ces

6fUh]YfZF""% - - " " " fX

YX"B Yk Mf\_ .Cl ZcfXI blj YfglmDfYgg'

6fi bYz < " &S, "IA JWUj`Y>XUb`bNU DUg`Y 7\c]l 'I' " ( '8 YWa Vf`

&S, "5 WggYX`cb`]bY`Uh\`hd.##k k k "WVYdfYggY`W#cd]b]cbg#Zfi a g#`

`UdfYggY#&S, %&S( #S%, S+&% !a ]WUY`Y!`YUblUdUg`Y!Wc]l`d\`d

767`B Yk g" &S, "I: cfa Yf'; ; `Guhg< YK ci`X`G ddfci7cU]hcb'I' `8 YWa !

Vf`5 WggYX`>`Ubi`Ufm&S`-`Uh\`hd.##k k k "WWW#`a`cV]`Y#hl`h#gcfns`

bYk gWbUXU\`la`'3#Ydh#\`la`#gcfn#&S, #%&#S`#dUf`!gWfYmY\`la`

7\`YUbfZ`"UbXF`H`WY`%+\*"" &X`YX`H`fcbtc.`

A`W`fUk`!< ]`Fm`fgcb"

I`'&S`S`I`H`Y`F`cnU`DfYfc[`U]j`Y`UbX`h`Y`@]Yi`hbUbhi;`cj`YfbcfgI`

%

7`U`\_`gcbz5`" &S\*"" "Hfcbtc.`J`\_]b[`7`UbUXU`

7fc`\_`Uhz>`%`-`("I`@h;`cj`"K`cb`h`C?` ;`fUhz`Zca`?`ck`Ug`\_]I` " &`

8`YggYfi`Xz8`5`" &S`-`I`H`Y;`cj`Yfbcf;`YbYFUZH`YDf]a`YA`]b]gM`UbXh`YF`Yei`Ygi`

hc`Df`cfc[`i`YI` " fL`.(`S)`("

:`c`f`g`Y`z9`"%"`(" "Hfcbtc.`

'Cl`Z`c`f`X`I`b`l`j`Y`f`g`l`m`D`f`Y`g`g`'

<`Y`U`F`X`z5`"%"`-%`" "Hfcbtc.`Cl`Z`c`f`X`I`b`l`j`Y`f`g`l`m`

D`f`Y`g`g`'

I`' &S`%`I`7`cb`U`W`Y`A`]`g`g`Y`X`h`Y`A`U`\_`'cb`7`cb`g`h`i`h`cb`U`7`cb`j`Y`b`h`cb`g`U`b`X`:`]`l`Y`X`

9`Y`W`j`cb`8`U`h`g`I`' %`f`h`E`

<`c`[`]`Z`D`&S`" " "Hfcbtc.`7`U`f`g`k`Y`"

I`' &S`%`I`D`f`c`f`c`[`U`]`cb`U`b`X`h`Y`D`c`k`Y`c`Z`h`Y;`cj`Yfbcf;`YbYFU`I`

'&`"

A`U`'c`f`n`z`>`F`"%"`,"` "F`Y`"YX`H`fcbtc.`;`U`Y`

A`U`g`U`z;`"%"`,"`

'Cl`Z`c`f`X`'Cl`Z`c`f`X`I`b`l`j`Y`f`g`l`m`D`f`Y`g`g`'

A`U`g`l`W`h`z`@`" &S`%`I`7`Ub`U`7`U`b`l`Y`c`Z;`cj`Y`f`ba`Y`b`h`C`W`f`K`]`h`ci`h`U;`Y`b`Y`FU`

9`Y`W`j`cb`I`' ("

A`cb`U`b`z`D`>`" &S\*"" " " fX`YX`H`fcbtc.`=fk`]b`@`U`"

F`U`X`c`7`Ub`UXU`&S, "I`@`Y`g`7`cb`g`Y`f`U`h`f`g`7`cb`h`Y`5`h`l`e`i`Y`b`h`I`5`j`U`]`U`V`Y`U`h`h`d.##`

k`k`k`"F`U`X`c`!`W`b`UXU`W`#`b`c`i`j`Y`Y`g`#`D`c`]`h`e`i`Y`#`&S,`#`%`&#`S`#`S`%`W`U`]`h`c`b`l`a`U`F`X`]"

g`l`a`

I`' &S`%`I`@`Y`@]Yi`hbUbhi;`ci`j`Y`f`b`Y`f`F`Y`Z`g`Y`X`Y`H`f`a`c`l`]`b`Y`f`I`5`j`U`]`U`V`Y`U`h`h`d.##`

k`k`k`"F`U`X`c`!`W`b`UXU`W`#`b`c`i`j`Y`Y`g`#`D`c`]`h`e`i`Y`#`&S`%`S`#`S`#`S`(#`S`S`&`X`i`W`Y`g`b`Y`S`

X`Y`d`Y`b`g`Y`g`l`a`

F`c`V`f`h`z`9`" &S`-`"I`9`bg`f`l`b[`7`cb`g`h`i`h`cb`U`K`]`g`X`ca`'8`i`f`l`b[`I`b`W`b`j`Y`b`h`cb`U`

H`j`a`Y`g`I`' " &f`h`E`

F`i`g`g`Y`z`D`<`"UbX`@`"G`c`g`l`b`z`Y`X`g`" &S`" " "Hfcbtc.`

I`b`l`j`Y`f`g`l`m`c`Z`H`f`c`b`t`c`D`f`Y`g`g`'

G`U`j`Y`z`>`!`A`" &S`%`I`@`Y`@]Yi`hbUbhi;`ci`j`Y`f`b`Y`f`8`f`.,[`i`Y`g`c`b`5`X`c`]`b`h`I`' "

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&SS,`"=hk`Ug`dfcfc[`i`YX`h`c!`UbX!U`U`Zk`YY`g`Uhf`cb`8`Ywa`Vf`(`z&SS,`"  
G`cfhmlUhf`h`Yg`Ygg]cb`cdYbYXz`]bUbWA`]b]ghf`:`U`Yfm]bX]W`hX`h`U`  
`Yk`ci`X`dfYgYb]h`Ub`Yw`bca`]W`dXU`hZ`U`\_]bX`cZg`Uhf`cZ`h`Y`w`bca`mi`  
fYdcf]z]b`h`Y`<`ci`gY`cZ7`ca`a`cbg`cb`B`cj`Ya`Vf`&`"Cb`h`Y`a`cfb]b[`cZ`  
h`Y`&`h`z]b`fYg]cbgY`lc`fi`a`c`fg`h`U`i`U`Y`f`h`k`Ug`bchd`Ubb]b[`lc`g]a`i`U`Y`  
h`Y`w`bca`mi`UbX`k`Ug`d`Ubb]b[`lc`Y`ja`]bU`Y`di`V`]W`bX]b[`lc`dc`]h`W`  
dUf]Yg`Zcf`Y`W`]cb`Y`dYbYg`z`h`Y`cd`cg]h`cb`dUf]Yg`VY`Ub`X]g`W`gg]cbg`  
cb]j`ch]b[`bc!`w`b`U`X`Y`b`W]b`h`Y`[`cj`Y`f`ba`Y`b]h`UbX`cb`Z`ca`]b[`U`W`U]h`cb`  
h`U`h`Wi`X`g`f]j`Y`Ug`U[`cj`Y`f`ba`Y`b]h]Z]b]j`]h`X`lc`Xc`gc`"@Uhf`h`U`h`X`U`z]a`!  
a`YX]U`Y`m`z`c`k`]b[`h`Y`w`bca`]W`dXU`hZ`h`Y`@]Vf`Ug`c`]bYX`k`]h`h`Y`  
[`cj`Y`f`ba`Y`b]h`lc`U`ddfcj`Y`U`a`ch`cbz`Ug`Ua`Y`b`X`Y`z`Zcf`Ub`U`X`X`f`Ygg]b`fYd`mi`  
lc`h`Y`g`d`Y`Y`W`Z`ca`h`Y`h`f`cb`Y`":`cf`h`Y`U`f`gh]a`Y]b`h`Y`(\$`h`DU`]Ua`Yb]z`Ug`  
h`Y`[`cj`Y`f`ba`Y`b]h`c`i`gY`Y`U`X`Y`z`U`h`k`]`z`b`ch`X]a`a`YX]U`Y`m`z`h`Y`7`ca`a`cbg`  
`U`X`j`ch`X`w`b`U`X`Y`b`W]b`h`Y`[`cj`Y`f`ba`Y`b]h`f`b`Y`f`m`&SS`z`(\*`L`H`]g`a`]Y`g`cb`Y`  
k`Ug`g`cfhml`lc`dfcj`Y`Y`bcfa`ci`g`m]g[`b]U`W`b]h`;`]j`Y`b`h`Y`cd`cg]h`cb]g]b]h]b!`  
h`cb`lc`X`Y`Z`U`h`h`Y`[`cj`Y`f`ba`Y`b]h`g]j`Y`f`U`X`U`g`U`hf`cj`Y`f`h`Y`4`g`h`d`f`Y`g`b]h`X`  
Y`w`bca`]W`dXU`hZ`h`Y`j`ch`cZ`w`b`U`X`Y`b`W`fYdfYgYb]g`h`Y`[`fYU`h`gh]h`U`]W`  
Vi`b`X`f`]b`h`Y`<`ci`gY`g]b`W`Df]a`Y`A`]b]g]h`f`7`U`f`\_`Z]Y`X`lc`gY`h`U`h`]g`  
7`cbg]f]j`U`h]j`Y`[`cj`Y`f`ba`Y`b]h`k`ci`X`V`Y`X`Y`Z`U`h`X`cb`U`W`b`U`X`Y`b`W`a`U`hf`cb`  
8`Y`w`a`Vf`%`z`%`+`"

Cd`cg]h`cb`dU`f`m]U`\_g`W`a`]bU`h`X`cb`8`Y`w`a`Vf`%`z`&SS,`z`k`]h`h`Y`h`f`Y`  
`Y`U`Y`f`g`di`V`]W`m]g[`b]b]b[`Ub`U`W`f`X`k`\\]W`k`Ug`lc`U`gh]i`b]h`i`b`Y`"S`z`&S`%`"  
H`Y`@]Vf`Ug`UbX`h`DU`f`Ug`i`b`Y`U`g]e`YU`%`

UbX'h UhDUf]Ua Ybhk ci `XVYg a a cbYX'ZcfUbYk 'gYgg]cb'cb>Ubi Ufm  
&ž&\$\$- "< UfdYf' ]bX]WYX'h Uh\Yk ci `Xk cf\_ ]b'h Y]bhf]a 'te Vi ]XU  
WbgYbg' gcb Ub YWbca ]WdUWU Y'

HAYg'cfmYbXgk ]h hAY@]VfU dUfmWUb] ]b[ ]lg`YUXf'cb 8 YWa Vf'  
%\$zh YWU] ]hcb'g' VgYei YbhimZU' ]b[ 'UdUfUa ]XfYW]a ]bU]cbgZUbXhY  
7cbgYfj Uhj Y[ cj Yfba YbhUfi dhimfY Yfgb[ ]lg'Vi X] YHfmiWi fgY'HAY  
&X' gYgg]cb'cZh Y ( \$' DUf]Ua YbhicdYbYX'cb>Ubi Ufm&ž&\$\$- "5 bYk '  
gdYWW'Zca 'h Yh fcbYk Ug'fYUX'UbX'dUggYX'ei ]W'mi: ]bUbWA ]b]ghf'  
: 'U YfhdYfYgYbhXUvi X] Yhk \ ]W'WbH]bYX'Wbg]XfUYXYU'WgdYbX!  
]b[ ]b'fYgdcbgY'lc h YXYdYb]b[ 'YWbca ]WYWgg]cb Vi hbc HU\_ 'cZd'Ubg'  
lc''Y] ]g'Uf'Ub'YbX'lc' di V]WYWM]cb 'UbUbV]b[ 'Zcf'dc' ]hW' dUfHYg''HAY  
Vi X] YhdUggYX'cb: Yfi Ufm ž&\$\$- žk ]h @]VfU g' ddcf'f'ZUMf hAY[ cj Yfb!  
a YbhU' fYYX'lc [ ]j YfY[ i 'Uf'YWbca ]WYdcf]gcb h Ydfc[ fYgg'cZg]a i 'i g'  
gdYbX]b[ 'f] Udm&\$\$- ž' E''HAYh'fYUhc' h Y[ cj Yfba Ybhk Ug'cj Yf''

Df]cf'lc' h Y&\$\$, 'dfcfc[ U]cbžh YfYk YfYcb'mlk c'ch Yf' ]bg'UbWg' ]b'  
bU]cbU' dUf]Ua YbhUfm\ ]g'cfm]b' k \ ]W' hAY [ cj Yfba Ybh'g' UHh'a dh'lc'  
g'vi hXck b' dUf]Ua Ybh'fU]g'X'Wbg]h' h]cbU' Wb'f'c] Yf'gn'CbY ]bj c] YX'  
dfcfc[ U]cb/h Ych'Yf' X]ggc' i h]cb''=b'%' + žh YDUWU'WGWbXU' Yfi dh'X''  
5''Y] U]cbg'k YfYa UXY'h UhDf]a YA ]b]ghf' A UMXcbUX'UbX'ch'Yf'7cb!  
g'fj Uhj Ya ]b]ghf'g' UXUWdh'X'a cbYmZca 'Gf'< i [ \ 5''Ub'lc' \ Yd hAY  
7cbgYfj Uhj YdUfmU] \ h hAY

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lc 7UbUX|Ub'DUM|WF U|k UnifYdcfhX"DfYggj fYa ci bhX'cb'A U|XcbUX  
UbX\Yfyg| bYX'cb'B cj Ya Vf) ž%+ ' "A UW|Ybn|YZ'fa YXU| cj Yfba Ybhi  
lk c'XUhg`Umžk \|W'h Yb k cb'Ub'YYW|cb'W`YX'Zcf'>Lbi Ufm&&ž%+("

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XŸa cWUWŸhUbXYbn]b[ X]ggc`i hcbVWM gYXYbn]b[ 'dfcfc[U]hcbh'fck g'  
 hŸYei Yg]hcb'cZWbÜXYbWVUW]lc hŸY< ci gYlc'fYgc`j Y' 8]ggc`i hcbžcb'  
 hŸYchŸYf`UbXždi lg'Ub'YbX]lc hŸY< ci gYUbXžUg]b hŸY? ]b[!6nb[ UZU]fž  
 WŸi`X'g] bU'Ub'YYWcfU'g'ck !Xck b'VYk Yb' hŸYdf]a Ya ]b]ghf'UbX'  
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 < UfdYf]g' Uxj ]W'UbX' dfcfc[ i ]b[ 'DUf' ]Ua YbdUXnhŸY' A ]b]ghf hŸYŁ  
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VnifYUgcbg"7UW]bYhXWUhg`YUX]b[ 'lc' [ cj Yfba YbhXW]g]cbg'UfYgWWh'  
H\Ydf]a Ya ]b]g]f'a U\_YgW]bYhUbXch YfUddc]b]a YbhgUbXX]ga ]ggYg'  
W]bYha ]b]g]f'gk ]h'ci hi[ ]j ]b[ '

WUa VY" ] \lg'cb UbX'cZ'Z'-h]g'h YM YW/hj Yh Uh[ cj Yfbg]b UWWfXUbW  
 k ]h h Yk ]`cZh YdYcd'Y"=bj YmfUFYWgYgzk \fY]h]gi bWUf'k \Yh Yf'  
 h Y [ cj Yfba Ybh Yb'eng' h Y WbUXYbW cZ h Y WUa VYfz h Y [ cj Yfbcf'  
 [ YbYFU'gfc'Y]g'lc XYMY\ck 'lc VYU\_ 'h Y]a dUggYgc' h UhfYg'cbg]VY  
 [ cj Yfba Ybh Wb Z bW]cb"K \]Yh YWbg]XfU]cbg'h Uci [ \hlc [ c ]ble'  
 h UhXY]g]cb'a UmVYXWUUV'Yk \Uh]gbchXWUUVY]g'h Uhg' YZUbX'g'Y  
 UcbYZ\Ug'UWbg]h] hcbU Xi hmlc XYMY"G Y]g'h Yi a d]fYk \c'a i gh  
 \_Yd'h Y] Ua Y] c]b] "

< Yf'XYM]g]cb' ] Ubg' Y] ]ha UmhZ'ca 'h YZM'h Uhig'Y]g'bY hfU"'G Y  
 ]g'i b]ei Ymid'UWX'lc'a U Yh YW' VMM gYh YWbg]h] hcb'a U Yg'\f'  
 h Ya cghX]g]bhfYg'hX'd'Umfz dY\Ud'g'h Ycb'mX]g]bhfYg'hX'd'Umfz]b'  
 h Ydc ]hW' [ Ua Y"=Zg' Yk YfYlc' [ ]j YfYUg'cbg'zh'cgYfYUg'cbg'k ci 'XVY  
 g' VYMLc' ]bhfdYU]h]cbz'UbX'k ci 'XVYdi hlc' dUfh]g]b'i gY'Vmh Ydc ]h  
 ]W]bg" h YfYUg'cbg'k ci 'Xdfca dhgdYW'U]cb Ug'lc' k \Yh Yf' h Ymk YfY  
 \Yf' fYU' fYUg'cbg'Zcf' h YXYM]g]cbz'k \Yh Yf' h YmiUMi U' mifYUMX'\Yf'  
 lfi Ya chj U]cbz'cf'k \Yh Yf' h Ym\]X'gca Yj ]W]fY] U'V]Ug'"Gca Yk ci 'X  
 h ]b\_ h YfYUg'cbg'g'Zg'fj ]b] "CbYg]XYcf'h Ych Yf'k ci 'XU] i Yh Uh h Y  
 fYUg'cbg'k YfYUg'X'cb'dc ]hW' Ug'cdcdg'X'lc' Wbg]h] hcbU Wbg]XfU  
 ]hcbg'"S YdYbX]b] 'cb'k \Yh Yf' h YfYUg'cbg'UXcdhX'h Ydf]a Ya ]b]g]M'g'  
 fU]cbU'Zcf'fY'WMMX' ]h' h Y] cj Yfbcf' [ YbYFU'k ci 'X'UbX'\Yf'g'Z]b'Ub'  
 UXj Yf'U]U' d'cg]hcb'j ]g'!j ]g'Y]h Yf' h Ydf]a Ya ]b]g]M'cf' h Y' YUXYf'  
 cZ h Ycdcdg]hcb'"=Z h Y] cj Yfbcf' [ YbYFU'gci [ \hlc' U] c]XU'cZ h ]g'Vm  
 a U\_ ]b] h YfYUg'cbg'g' ZUM]bhmi] YbYFU Ug'lc' VY]bbeWci g'zcbY] fci d'cZ  
 dUfh]g]b'g'cf' h Ych Yf'k ci 'XW]h]W'h Yh YfYUg'cbg'Zcf' UW]b] WbXcfz'Zcf'  
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7U6XU'DUf]Ua Ybh'< ci gYcZ

< |Wgž6" &SS- U'Î@|YgA ni U\ Yfg'cZ7cbZXYFU|cb'He'XA Y.'5 fYh Y; cj Yfbcf  
; YbYFUŃF Ygfj YDck YfgUGUZ| i UFXZcf 8 Ya cVUWŃĪ  
Q.\*S"

Í &SS- V'Î; i |X|b| h Y; cj Yfbcf; YbYFUŃDFyc[ U|j Yg 7cbg|h hcbU 7cbj Yb!  
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" &%`>bi Ufm`5 WggYX`cb`|bYU`h\hd.##W`a a i b|hYg`WbUKU`  
W`a #chLk UŴh`nYb`#Vc| g#h Y| U| cmY`#UfW|j Y#&S\$`#S`#&#XYUf!| cj Yfbcf!  
[ YbYFU!k Y| YHcdYb!`YHf`gUgd "

" &SS- "Ī Ī bfUj Y`|b| U7cbg|h hcbU 7f|g|Ī %`>bi Ufm`5 WggYX`  
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@|VfUf`LbX5 fW|j Yg7UbUXU`& C WcVfĪ ( B`cj Ya Vf`% Q`"  
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**The Crown  
and Civil  
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# 8

## StAte CeremoniAl: tHe ConstitutionAl monArCh's LiturgiCAL Authority

paul benoit

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H\Ya cbUFW]W`Wbg]li hcb`]g`h YWbg]li hcb`cZXYj YcdYXfYUgcb. U``  
ch Yf Wbg]li hcbgVYcb| h`ck Yf|fUXYgcZh YXyj Ycda YbhUbXfYU]nU  
HeWcZYUgcb &(P0 BdP0 W•P0 •P0 Đp0 MP0 %P0 P0 ~P0 7QP

a Ya VYfg'cZgcVWmiUbX'a U\_Yi d'k \Uhk YW'' ]lg[ cj YfbUbW''H YgY  
Wbj Ybhcbg'UFY'cZlk c'gcfhg'gca YdYfHJb'lc'h'YZ bWJcb]b[ 'cZ[ cj!  
Yfba Ybh'UbX'UFY'a YUbh'lc'ZUW]HUY'h'YfYgc'i Hcb'cZ]gg' Yg'ch'Yfg'  
dYfHJb'lc'h'YW'hi fU'' ]Z'cZgcVWmiUbX'fYj YU'gca Yh]b[ 'cZUgcVWmi  
X]g]bWj YWUFUMF"

H'Y'UHf'UFYUg]a dcfHbhUg'h'YZfa Yf''-bXYXZ\ ]g'cfm\ Ug'g'ck b'  
h'U[ cj Yfba Ybh'Ygc'i Hcbg'Wb'cb'm[ c'gc'Zf]b'Ybg'f]b[ 'h'YW' Yg]cb'  
cZgcVWmiA cfY]g'fYei ]fYX'cb'h'YdUfHcZUW'i blfm'g'W]h'Ybg'h'Ub'Zf!  
a U'Wa d' ]UbW'k ]h' ]lg'YbUWA Ybg/h'fY'a i gh'VYUXYdYfz'g' V'Wmj Y  
Yb[ U Ya Ybh'Zcf'UgcVWmi'lc' VY'g'fcb[ 'UbX'i b]h'X''K ]h'ci h'h'YW'hi fU'  
Wbj Ybhcbg'h'UhUddYU'lc'h'Y'g'Ybg'Yg'UbX'lc'h'Y' \YUf'h'h'fY'k ci 'X'VY  
bc''Uf[ Y'f'di fdcg'Y'Zcf'k \]W'a Ya VYfg'cZgcVWmik ci 'X'VYd'fYd'UFYX'lc'  
gUW]U'Wz'bc'h]b[ 'lc'Wa dY'h'Ygd]f]h'UbX']bgd]fY'bcVY'X'Y'X'g"

H'Ya cbUFW'zi bXY'ci f'Wbg]h' Hcbz\ Ug'Wbj Ybh'cbU'fc'Yg'lc'd'Un]b'  
Vch'UFYUg''-bh ]g'WUd'hf'zk Yk ]'' VY'Wb'Wb'lfU]b[ 'cb'h'YW'hi fU'fU'h'Yf'  
h'Ub'h'Y[ cj Yfba YbHU' ]'cb'h'Ya cbUFW'g'g' V'Wmj Y'Yb[ U Ya Ybhk ]h'  
Vj ]'gcVWmi'fU'h'Yf'h'Uc'V'W'V'Wmj Y'Yb[ U Y'W'W'c^a 1 Z

the monArCh's liturgicAl Authority

< Yf'A UYgmg|b|YXUhc| f'cZ7UbUXUUh YYbXcZ: bYUbXh YVW| ]b|  
 b|]b| 'cZ: 'm&S\$%\| \| \hXh YV YVgYcZ\ Yf'W'li fU UgX|g|bWZca  
 \Yf| c| Yfba YbHU U hcf|hm~bXYXza ]' ]cbgcZ7UbUX|UbgZca X|ZfYbhi  
 dUf|g'cZh YW| blfmk YfY| ]j Yb'h Ycddeffi b|]mhc'k |]bYgg'X|fYVmiH Y  
 Ei Yb|g'dYf|gcbU |]bj c|j Ya Yb|]b W| ]'gcVWmHfci [ \h Ycf| Ub|nU|cb'  
 cZXcnYbg'cZ Y| Yblgzh Ym| chU| 'la dgYcZ\ Yf' Wffn|]b| 'ci h\ Yf'a cfY  
 g' VYW|j Yfc'Yg'CbYcZhcYfc'Ygž=g\U' Uf| i Yzk Ug' |]i f| ]W. |]bXYXz  
 Xi f|]b| \Yf' hci fzh YE i Yb \UX'cW|gcb' h' Wffmci hUZefa 'cZk cfg\ |d'  
 cb VYUzcZh Ydi V]W

ā ghUgcb'h Y| c|j Yfba YbHU |g|XyZk YWb X|g|]b| i |g\ VYk Yb'h Ya cfY  
 dUf|]W'Uf'fc'Y'h Uih YE i Yb'd'Ung'Ug'cbYcZh Yh fYYVcX|Yg'cZDU' ]U  
 a Yb|f|h YE i Yb| ]b|DUf' ]Ua Yb|U'UbX'h Ya cfY i b|j YfgU' fc'Yg' Yd'Ung'  
 Ug'Ya VcX|a YbhcZh YGHU'UbX' ]|g'gcj YfY| ]b|mf|h YE i Yb| ]b|7ci bW|Z  
 gcžcb'h YW'li fU |g|XyZWb k YX|g|]b| i |g\ VYk Yb \Yf'a cfYdUf|]W'Uf'  
 fc'YUg'h YZcbhcZU' \cbci fgžVYg'ck |]b| 'a Uf\_gcZfYW| b|]hcb'cb W|]nYbg'  
 k \c' \Uj Ya UXYUb'ci |g|UbX|]b| 'Wb|f|]i hcb'hc'h Yk Y'!VY|]b| 'cZh Yf'  
 W| blfm|f|gk \Yb'h YE i Yb i b|j Y|YX'UgW' dli fYcZc gW' DYf'gcbzh Y  
 'Un'd|]b|gž ]b' CHk U'UbX' \Yf'a cfY i b|j YfgU' UbX' ]li f| ]W' fc'YUg'  
 a YX|Ucf' VYk Yb'gcVWm|UbX'h YfYUa 'cZgd|f|]i Uj Ui Yg'

K \Yb k YfYZf' h' < Yf'A UYgmg |]i f| ]W U hcf|hm|]g'ci 'XVYi bXYf!  
 g'cXh Uh YZfa 'cZk cfg\ |d'g' YWff|Yg'ci h|gg'W'UfzbcgUMYX"~b~Ygg'  
 Y UHX'Zg\ ]cbžgW'Uf'k cfg\ |d' Wb' ]bW XYUfUb| YcZY Yb| m

āUbc|h V|h gYW|f W|h Zg\|c 'g 1 b

Yn  
 ]g

%&&

k YFck YX'lc ; cX'UbX'h Yh ]b[ g'h Uhk YFck YX'lc '7UYgF"K \ ]'Y  
]b' hfUX]hcbU' gc VMhYg'h YFk Ug'Uj Ug' — K Y] YafAk' ` 'gc a ''



%&`

)E

"5 XX]b[ hc h YWU`Yb[ YgZMB[ `

h Ya U]bhYbUbWcZdi V]Wk cfg`d`]b K Yghfb'gcV]M]Ygk Ug'h YZM  
h Uzk ]h h Y[ fck h `cZwa a YfWUbX`V]Ygza U= wza a YfW g

# Rousseau And the Way Forward

Fci ggU k UgdYf\Udgh YUfghc gYWMF`m\hYX]`Ya a UZUMb[ K Yghfb`  
 a Ub"K \]`YcbYWi `Xgh]` UbX'dYcd`Ycb h\Ya Uf[ ]bg'cZK Yghfb'gc VmMi  
 Zf'k \ca `h YgUMYXk Ugh]` UfYU]mZcf'a cgh\i a Ub`V]b[ g`lj ]b[ ]b`  
 h\Ya YWub]W`mLXj UbWXgc WmYgcZ\hYK Ygh]h Yj Yfmbchcb'cZdi V]W  
 k cfg\jd\UXVWVa YdfcVYa UjW"

h Yf' [ fck ]b[ 'gYbgY cZU]YbUjcbz h' fYwbbYwYa chcbU`nã UbX`lc`VY  
gd]f]h U`mfY YbYf [ ]nX3Cf h' di h h YWU`Yb [ Y]b'a cfY`]h f [ ]W hfa g`  
`ck k U`gcbYh [ ]j Ydi V]W dYgg]cb h'a Ub`g]bbYf` ]Z]b Ua UbbYf h U  
k ci `XWdli fYh YUk Ygca Yei U]hrcZh YfUX]hcbU fY][ ]ci gWY a cbm  
k ]h ci h]bj c`\_]b[ 'h YYYa YbhcZZU`cf`hffcf` h`Uik U`g`cZhb`a ]b[ `YX`  
k ]h ]h3K `Uik ci `XVYh YgU YX`Yei ]j UYbhcZZY]b[ `cj Yfk `Ya YX`  
cZg`XXYb`mUbX]b[ `cbYgY`Z]b`h`Ya ]XgicZUb Yf h`ei U`Y`ZUhg`bUa ]zcf`  
Ub Yl d`cg]cb`cZgca Ygcfh`Vi h`k ]h ci hZY]b[ `h`UicbYg` ]Z]g]b`XUb[ Yf3

H YUbgk Yf h' h YgYei Yg]cbg`Un]b h`UhfUX]hcb`cZcYf m h`Ugci [ `h  
h' W`h] UYUj YfmX]g]bWYa chcbU`hcbYI` h`Yg`V]a`Y`

H Y dfeWgg`cZfYUb]b[ `h`Y`fY][ ]ci`g`Yl`dYf]YbW`UbX`W`h] U]b[ `h`Y`  
g`V]a`Y`k`U`g`VY]i`b`k`]h` ;`fYU`\_`XfUa`U`k` \ ]W` ]hgY`Zk`U`g`Xf]j`YX`Zca`  
g`WYX` ]h`f [ ]mUbX`a`cfYgdYU`W`m`Zca` `WcfU`gcb[ ]b[ `cbci`f`c`Zh`Y`  
[ cX`8]cbng`g` `b` \ ]g` z5 f]g`chY`Yl`d`U]bYX` \ ck` `h`Y`dcY]W`a`cXY`  
cZfYdfYg]bU]hcbz`h`fci [ `h`Y`XYd]W]cb`cZ [ fYU`Y] Yb]g`UbX`cZ`i`a`U`  
VY]b[ ]g`\_ ]Yci`fgY] Yg`g`Zf]b[ `i`bX`Y`f] YX`nã`Wb`fYU`Y`ci`f`fUk` `Ya`c!  
]hcbg`Vf]b[ `h`Ya` ]b]c`Z` ``Yf`Wb]g]ci`g]bYg`Z`UbX`dfeXi`W`h`cgY`ZY]b[ ]g`  
cZYa`dU`h`m]c`bY`W`g]f`m`Z`f`Ub`Y`h` ]W`g`c`W`m`n`5`b`c`V`g`W`fY;`fYU`\_`k`f]h`f`  
c`Zh`Y`%#`W`b]i`fm`5`8`z`k` \ c` ]g`fY`Z`f`YX`h'`U`g`@cb[ ]bi`g`X`Y]`ch`X`U`k` \ c`Y`  
h`fYU]g`Y`h'`h` ]g`d`g`n`W`c`c [ ]W`d`f`c`W`g`"5`g` \ Y`di`h] ]z`h`Y`g` V]a`Y`k`U`g`b`c`h`  
g` `a`i`W`U`Z`fa`U`g`m`Y`c`Z`c`Y`f`m`U`g]h`k`U`g`U`h`c`b`Y`h`U`h`U`X`U`g`d`Y`U` ]Z`W`  
cb`h`Y`U`X]YbW.

: cf`h`Y`f`i`Y`g`V]a`Y`b`U`i`f`U`m`Y`Y`U`h`g`i`g`i`d` ]Z`X`k` ]h`U`g`b`g`Y`c`Z`d`f`c`i`X`  
Y`U`h`U]h`c`b`z`k`Y`U`Y`U` `Y`X`k` ]h` `c`m`L`b`X`d`f]X`z`U`g]Z`k`Y`U`X`ci`fgY] YgdfcXi`W`X`  
h`Y`j`Y`f`m`h` ]b[ `k`Y` `Y`f`X`f`@cb[ ]bi`g`%+`-`E`

@cb[ ]bi`g`Wdli`fYX`h`Y`Y`g`Y`b`W`c`Z`h`Y`g`V]a`Y`k` `Y`b`z`h`c`k`U`f`X`g`h`Y`Y`b`X`  
cZ` ]g`k`cf`\_`z`Y`X`Y`W]VYX`h`Y`Yl`dYf]YbW`U`g`h`Y`ZY]b[ `c`Z`W]b[ `b`c`h`i`g`h`  
g`d`Y`W`U`r`c`f`g`M`h`Y`U`Y`f`W`a`d`Y]h`c`f`g`U`h`g`ca`Y`C`n`a`d]W`U`a`Y`g`c`Z`h`Y`[`c`X`g`

H ]g`U`c`j`Y`U` `h`U`h`B`U`i`f`Y`U`g`i`X]Y`X`a`U`b`U`z`h`U`f`b`

4 ghUg]a dcfHbhmz]h\UXUgc lc`cZzf UbUHfBUhj Ylc h YdfYH]bYggUbX`  
d`YUg]b[ `g dYfUWU]hmcZh YFcWw/UbX` "6ch h Y9b[| \hnb!  
a YbHbXh YFcWwZzfU` h Yf]a dfYggj YUW]y Ya YblgZ\UX]bX]fWmim  
XfUk b UHhb]cb lc h YYa chcbU` [ Ud`YZhVmh Y] fUXi U`X]gUdYUfUbW`  
cZk cbXY`UbX`YbWUbla YbhZca` h Yk cf`X`

5 g`Udfcl mZcf`h YfY][ ]ci g`Yl dYf]YbWZh Yg V]a Yk Ug]b`YMX]blc`  
U` Ug`YMG`cZW`h fYXi f]b[ `h Yg`WbX`UzcZh Y%`h Wbhi fm9Xi WmX`  
a YbUbXk ca Yb`gci [ \hlc`dcY]WYbch` gh YUbYUf]g Vi hich Yf Zca g`  
cZW`h fU`Yl dfYgg]cbzg WUg[ UFXb]b[ z]bhf]cf XYg[ b UbXWUzg`Gca Y  
gci [ \hlc`Yl dYf]YbWZh Yg V]a YX]fYmimVmh fb]b[ `cbWU U]b lc bUi fYz`  
Vi hibck `]b ]lg[ fUbXVghUbX`a cgh`Yl hYa YZca g`5 g`YMG`cZci f`d`UbYi  
k \]W`YfYlcZfY`UKVYb`h`ci [ \hcZUgZcfV]XX]b[ `cf`XUb[ Yfci g`k YfY  
bck `XY]VYU`mgci [ \hici h]b`cfXY`lc fY]Yl dYf]YbW`cf`Yl dYf]YbWZcf`  
h YUfgh]a Yh UhgYbgYcZhf cf`UbX`Uk Yzk \]W`UdYUfYXlc` \Uj YVYb`  
Vub]g`YX`Zca`ch`Yf`fYUa g`cZ`i a Ub`Umj ]hm`I`9l hYa Ylci f]ga I` [ ch  
i bX]fk Um`cWUbgza ci bh]bgz[ fYUk UHfZU`g`Wi`XU`a cj Ya cXfb`  
a Ub`Ya chcbU`miUbX`y c`Yei Ug]fY][ ]ci g`ZY]b[ gzk \]Y`Yd]b[ `h`Y  
hff]Z]b[ X]a Ybg]cb]b`WW`Gk ]hmY`UbXVWVa Yub`UhfUmj YXYg]bU  
hcb Zcf`h`cgY`cb`lci f`]b`9i fcdY`

H YgyX]fYmZYa chcbU`Yl dYf]YbWgcZbUi fYgYf YXUgUlc] WgcbYZcf`  
dcYgZUgh Ymg]fcj Ylc UW]y Yh Ygl`a Yi d`]Z]b[ YZMg]b`h`Yf`k cf`\_gcZ  
fydfYgYb]hcb`"6i h]hk Ug]b`h`YdfZca ]b[ `Uf]za cfYh Ub`h`Y`]hUfmi  
cf] ]g Uzh Uh`Yg]ff]b[ `cZYd Ya chcbgVgh`Yb]h]gYZlc`Yl dfYgg]cb`"  
H YUfYZXUbWza i g]WbX`cdYU` a i g]W` . . . . . A . . . . . A . . . . .

%& .

Cb`h`Y`cbY`U`bX`z`k`Y`U`bX`d`c`Y`g`U`bX`d`]\`c`g`d`Y`f`g`g`W`U`g`@`Y`g`g`b`[`  
fk`c`k`U`g`]`b`U`i`Y`b`W`X`V`m`i`f`\_`Y`z`G`W`]\`Y`z`;  
c`Y`h`Y`z`G`W`Y`]\`b`[`U`b`X`<`Y`]\`Y`z`  
k`c`g`e`i`[\`h`i`c`h`U`Y`h`Y`W`U`g`g`W`]\`i`a`U`b`]\`g`h`f`U`X`]\`h`c`b`h`c`]\`g`b`Y`h`g`h`U`Y`c`Z`  
X`Y`j`Y`c`d`a`Y`b`h`C`b`h`Y`c`h`Y`f`z`a`c`j`]\`b`]\`h`Y`g`U`a`Y`M`]\`W`g`k`U`g`U`b`c`h`Y`f`[\`f`c`i`d`  
`Y`X`V`m`i`g`W`h`]\`b`\_`Y`f`g`U`g`<`Y`X`Y`f`z`h`Y`G`W`Y`]\`Y`V`f`c`h`Y`f`g`z`U`b`X`:`  
]\`W`h`z`k`c`g`e`i`[\`h`U`g`l`a`d`Y`f`U`b`X`a`c`f`Y`Z`c`f`W`Z`\_`Y`l`d`f`Y`g`g`c`b`U`b`X`k`c`[\`U`j`Y`V`]\`f`h`h`c`h`Y`  
U`b`X`f`c`a`U`b`]\`V`a`c`j`Y`a`Y`b`h`5`W`c`g`Y`U`b`U`n`g`]\`g`c`Z`h`Y`X`]\`Z`f`!  
Y`b`W`V`Y`h`k`Y`b`h`Y`g`Y`h`k`c`W`f`f`Y`b`]\`g`c`Z`h`c`i`[\`h`z`k`]\`j`W`U`f`Y`c`Z`h`b`W`b`Z`g`X`z`  
]\`g`z`b`X`U`a`Y`b`h`U`]\`Z`k`Y`U`f`Y`h`c`i`b`X`Y`g`h`U`b`X`U`b`X`W`]\`h`W`m`j`U`i`U`h`h`Y`V`U`g`g`  
c`Z`a`c`X`Y`f`b`d`i`V`]\`W`W`Y`a`c`b`]\`U`"

-b`h`f`m`]\`b`[`h`c`W`d`h`i`f`Y`h`Y`]\`b`h`]\`f`U`h`j`Y`d`c`k`Y`f`c`Z`h`Y`f`Y`]\`]\`c`i`g`Y`l`d`Y`]\`Y`b`W`U`b`X`  
h`c`W`b`j`Y`m`]\`h`i`c`a`c`X`Y`f`b`a`Y`b`U`b`X`k`c`a`Y`b`V`n`k`U`n`c`Z`g`V`]\`a`Y`d`c`Y`f`m`]\`G`W`]\`!  
`Y`f`g`U`k`h`Y`W`U`Y`b`]\`Y`]\`b`h`f`a`g`c`Z`d`f`c`X`i`W`b`]\`d`c`Y`f`m`h`U`h`k`c`i`X`Y`a`V`c`X`m`i`  
c`f`f`Y`U`]\`n`Y`U`b`]\`X`Y`U`"<`Y`W`Y`X`h`]\`g`\_`]\`b`X`c`Z`d`c`Y`f`m`i`\_`]\`b`h`Y`g`b`g`Y`h`U`]\`h`i`  
k`c`i`X`W`a`V`]\`b`Y`h`Y`V`Y`g`h`c`Z`b`U`j`Y`d`c`Y`f`m`]\`W`b`h`f`Y`X`]\`b`b`U`i`f`Y`z`k`]\`h`h`Y`V`Y`g`h`  
c`Z`g`b`h`a`Y`b`h`U`d`c`Y`f`m`]\`W`b`h`f`Y`X`]\`b`a`U`b`]\`g`Z`Y`Y`m`c`d`Y`f`U`]\`b`]\`b`h`Y`W`M`]\`h`k`U`g`  
i`d`h`c`h`Y`d`c`Y`z`h`Y`g`U`]\`z`h`c`I`W`Y`U`h`U`b`]\`X`m`i`h`U`h`U`g`c`f`Y`U`]\`n`Y`g`Q`f`Y`a`V`c`X`]\`Y`g`Q`  
h`U`d`U`g`c`f`U`]\`b`b`c`W`b`W`]\`b`h`c`g`Y`g`V`W`M`X`h`c`W`h`i`f`Y`U`b`X`h`c`U`h`Y`W`b`X`]\`!  
h`c`b`g`c`Z`h`Y`a`c`g`h`U`M`j`Y`U`b`X`d`U`g`g`c`b`U`h`]\`j`]\`b`]\`z`h`Y`a`c`g`h`W`a`d`f`Y`Y`b`g`j`Y`  
h`]\`b`\_`]\`b`]\`z`h`Y`a`c`g`h`c`d`]\`g`h`]\`W`h`X`U`f`z`U`b`X`h`Y`a`]\`]\`Y`g`h`c`W`U`f`Y`U`b`Y`a`Y`b`h`z`]\`b`  
U`k`c`f`X`z`U`b`]\`X`m`i`h`U`h`Y`U`X`g`h`c`\_`h`Y`a`U`b`V`]\`b`[`k`c`b`c`k`W`b`b`c`  
`c`b`]\`Y`f`Y`i`f`b`h`c`\_`\_`I`f`G`W`]\`Y`f`&`&`-`b`c`h`Y`f`k`c`f`X`g`z`U`b`Y`k`f`Y`W`b`W`]\`U`  
h`c`b`]\`U`X`h`c`V`Y`U`W`]\`j`Y`X`V`Y`h`k`Y`b`a`U`b`]\`g`]\`b`b`Y`f`Z`Y`Y`X`c`a`U`b`X`h`Y`Y`]\`]\`Y`b`W`g`  
c`Z`U`]\`]\`m`i`\_`U`b`X`U`e`!`3`A`Y`]\`b`b`Z`h`]\`]\`A`]\`b`b`Y`f`\_`]\`b`a`Y`f`Y`X`]\`Z`h`Y`a`f`b`@`

cZ U`X`m`i`  
U`>c`Z`U`b`X`1`U`q`]\`Y`b`]\`Z`g`X`]\`Z`f`Y`b`X`]\`  
U`X`h`c`]\`Z`c`f`b`]\`]\`]\`m`i`U`...`

B YcWggVgUf[ i YXhUh]b[ c]b[ 'VUW'hc'cbYg'fcbg'UbX'fmb[ 'hc'  
i bWj Yf'Udi fYY dfYg]cb'cZh YgYZfca Ub]W



A FrAmework For StAte CeremoniAl

6mli fb|b| 'lc'dcYgUbXd\|`cgcd\Yfg'cdYU|b| 'k |h |b'h YbYcWUgg|W`  
\i a Ub|ghfUX|hcbzk \c| fUdd`YX|k c`Wbli f|YgU| c k |h |h YgLa YgcWU`  
WU`Yb| Yg'h Uhk YZUW'lcXUz`k Y`cdYlc` \Uj Yg'ck b` \ck `UW`Hj U  
hcb`cZh Yg V|a Y|g'h Y\_`Ymlc`Zc'gM|b| `UgYbgYcZWa a cb`di fdcgY`  
UbX`Zci bX|b| `Ub`Yh |W`mVUgYX`Wa a i b|hm`H`Y Zcfa U`gfi W`fY Zc`  
UW|y| |b| `h UhdcYh|WZZYMWb Ugc`gMj YUgUZUa Yk cf\_`Zc'cf| Ub|n|b| `  
g|U'WY'a cb|U""`=|gUgfi W`fYh Uh|gXnbUa |W'a cj |b| `h fci [ \ `h fY`  
X|g|bWg|U Ygcf'a ca Yblg": cf UdfeXi W|cb`lc`VYg V|a YUbXUW|y| Y`  
h UhUk Ygca Yzi d`|Z|b| YZZMz|h`Ug'lc i bZ`XUcb| `h YZc`ck |b| `|bYg`  
: |fgzh YgM|b| "

- i` H`Yy Ybhg`ci `XWU`n`ia Uf\_`UMFYU`Zca`dYcd`Yg`XUhlc`!XUmdfY`  
cWdU|cbg`UbX`h`YX|j |g|cbg`cZk |`UbXUa V|h|cb`h`UhWUfUMM|nY`  
Vj |`gc`VMm`
- i` =hg`ci `XUddYU`lc`UgVfcUXUb`U`X|YbWUg'dcgg|V`Za`U`|b| `|h|fi`m`i`  
di`V|W`
- i` =hg`ci `XWY`|a`dfYgg| Ygc`Ug'lc`hf| [ `Yf`UgYbgYcZUk`Yf|fYcZZUfZ`  
Ub`Ya`ch|cb`h`Uh`Wa`Yg`b`U`i`fU`m`lc`W`|XfYbz`Vi`hia`cfYX|ZUW`h`m`lc`  
U`Xi`|g`k`|h`j`YfmgYhYX`a`Yb`U` \`U|lg`"
- i` =hg`ci `XW`WfU`h`h`Ybc`VYXYXg`c`ZcfX|bUfm`i`a`Ub`VY|b|`gI`h`Y`  
gY`U`f`XYf|j`U|h|`Yc`Z`h`Yg`UW`X`W`YfU|cb`c`Z`h`Y`|j`Ygc`ZgU|blg`cf`c`Z`  
h`Ya`ngM|Yg`fY`U`X`lc`g`dYfb`U`i`fU`VY|b|`g`"

GWbXzh YfUbgZfa U|cb"

- i` K |h |h YVci bXU|Yg| g U`mXYU|b| `h`Y|f`gY`ZVi`ffYX`fUfYa`bUblcZ`  
8|cbng| gZdUf|WdUblg|b`h`YWfYa`cbm`fYa`cj`YXVn`h`YbcV|`|mrcZ`  
h`YXYX`UbX`Wa`Ylc`dUfU`YcZ|lg`Ygg`Mh|U`|`ccXbYggZ`U|`ccXbYgg`  
h`Uh|g`Z`hlc`|`YVYnc`bX`cfX|bUfm`Y|`g`h`b`W`UbX`h`Uh|g`V`g`ck`YX`cb`  
\i a Ub`VY|b|`g`Ug`U`g|f|h|U`|`|Zicf`V`Ygg|b| "
- i` H`Y`|a`|lg`c`Zcb`Yg`dYf`gcbU`UbX`gc`WU`Y|`g`h`b`W`U`f`Y`f`U`b`g`W`b`X`Y`Z`U`g`  
cb`Y`Z`Y`gZ|Zcb`m`Zc`f`Ua`ca`Yb`z`h`U`b`g`c`f`h`X`c`b`lc`U`|`|`Yf`d`UbY`"
- i` 5`b`Yh`|W`Wa`a`i`b|`m`z`b`c`i`f|g`YX`Zca`U`Wa`a`cb`|`ccXbYggZ`|g`Yg`  
H|V|g`YX`Ua`cb|`U`h`cgY`dUf|WdU|b|`z`k` \`|W`|g`ei`|h`X|ZM`Yb`z`cb`  
h`YcbY`UbX`Zca`h`Y`Wa`a`i`b|cb`cf`a`ng|W`|b|cb`gc`i`|`h`i`U`M`f`  
|b`g`U`M`X`f`Y|`|`c`i`g`W`f`Ya`cb|Yg`c`f`z`cb`h`Y`ch`Yf`Z`ca`V`|c`c|`|W`Wa`!  
a`i`b|h`Yg`V`U`g`YX`cb`d`ng|W`U`Z`b|h`Yg`"

H|hXzh Ydfc`cb| U|cb"

- i` < Uj |b| `|`|a`dgYX`h`Yf`ck`b`|j`Yg`k`|h`|b`U`|`fU`b`X`Y`f`G`U`h`b`U`f`U`h|`Y`Z`  
dUf|WdUblg`YU`Yh`YWfYa`cbmk`|h`U`|`fYU`M`f`g`YbgYcZdi`fdcgY`UbX`



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h i g V h f Y e i j d d Y X d g n W c ` c [ ] W ` m i c W b Z c b h k \ U h j Y f ' a U h f ] U `

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h j W d U b l g ' a U m V Y Y b W i f U Y X ' h Y a i ' U h ' h Y a ' h c h Y Y l h b h d c g g l V Y "

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d U f h j W d U b l g ' Y U Y h Y W f Y a c b n k ] h U g Y b g Y "



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fYdfYgYbUj YfY YfgVUWVf]YUmfc \Y'df]Yghmfc`Yk ]h`hYZc`ck ]b[`  
dfUmf. ÎHUhYVYgg]b[`cZ; cX'a UnifYgicb`nei f`Wi bgYg`cf ÎHUh  
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CZ7UbUXU`g]h i lcfm`c`]XUgzh fYUfYcZUdi V]WbUi fYUbX`cWU  
gcbgcZGUnz]b`h YgYbgYh Uh`YndYfH]b`h`h`YWi blfmgWbg]h hcbU`  
Xy Ycda YbUbxXYzbW. 7UbUXU8 UnifWYfUHx>i`m%ZJ]Wcf]U8 Uni  
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UbX'a i gWdYzfa YX Vm\Yf YUX]b[ 'Ufhgg" H Y `]Yi hbUhl[ cj Ybcbf`  
cZGg\_UHwYk Ub]g Wbhb]U[ U Uzk \ ]W hcc\_ d'UW ]b F Y ]bU ]b & S S ) z  
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Cf]] ]bU`mYgU]g`YX'lc`a Uf\_`h Y V]fhXUmicZE i Yb`J ]wcf]U ]b`%% z  
h YA Um& `c` ]XUm\Ug`bck `VwWa Yh YcZU]U`c` ]XUmicZh Yfy]] b]b[ `  
a cbUW`I bZfhi bUHm]h]g`U`c` ]XUm]h U\Ug`cgia cgicZ]]hg`dUf\_`Yz  
VwWa ]b[ `bchia i W'a cfYhUb UXUmicZk cf\_`k ]h `cWUg]cbU`UfYk cf\_g`  
]b`h Yy ]b]b[ `Zcf`h YVbYUicZh Ynei b[ "9j Yb`k cfyZ`h Yy ]b]h]g`bchi  
WYWFUHX ]b`h Ydfcj ]bWcZE i fWwZk \ ]W`Ug`WcgYb`lc WYWFU`8c`!  
`UFXXYg`Cfa Yu l ]bg]hUXZUbX`Uga cfYcj Yf`hfUbgZfa YX`h YZUg]hXUmicZ  
Gh`c`b`h YGud]hgZk \ ]W`cWwfgcb`i bY&(z]]b]lc UbU]cbU ]ghWYWFU]cb"

6Y]b[ `h Yc`XYgicZh YhfYYa Ucf`Wj ]Wc` ]XUngZ ]Wcf]U8 Um]ci `X`  
Vh YcWw]cbZcf`a Uf\_ ]b[ `h Ya cg]a dcf]h]h]U Yg]b`7UbUXUg`Wbg]!  
h ]cbU`Xy Ycda Ybh`i` gh]gcb`i` m(z5a Yf]WbgYb`cmWa a Ya cfU]b[ `  
h U]XUm]b`%+\*`k \ Yb`H`ca Ug`>ZZf]gcb`a UXY di V]W`h Y8 YWUfU]cb`  
cZ`bXYdYbXbWzUg`k Y`Ug`%, +zh Ym]Uf`Xi f]b[ `k \ ]W`Ug`UhgZUmfmi  
Wbg]h] ]cb`Vik Yb`h YX]]ZfYb]h]Ug`UbX`h YbYk `ZXYFU`Yb]h]mk Ug`  
ZUa YXU]UbU]cbU`Wbj Yb]cb ]b D \ ]UXYd \ ]Uzg`g`ci `X7UbUX]UbgVY`  
WYWFU]b[ `hk c` ]a dcf]h]h]m]Ufg`Zca `h Yg`Ua YfU` `bXYXzh`Y`

`cZ%+( `UbX`h Y` `cZ%-`%z] Yb]g`k \ ]W`VfUWYzUg`  
]hk YfYzh`Y5a Yf]Wb`XUhgZUFYUf] i Umia cfY]a dfYggj Y`H`cgY`k c`  
5 Vg`bchcb`mVwWa Yh YZci bXU]cbg`Zcf`U`g` VgYei YbhWbg]h] ]cbU`  
Xy Ycda Yb]gVi hfYU]m]XUdc` ]W]V`%`f]g]b`XU]cbg]V` `W` `W` W`

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Yj Yblg`h`Wl` X`g`fj` Ylc` YXi` W`hY7UbUX]Ubg`z`nci b[ UbXc`X`zbYk` mUff]j` YX`  
UbXk` Y`!Yg`hU` \]g` YXzcZ`h` YU` fY`a` Yblg`h`Uk` YFYUW]Yj` YXUbX`h`U`h` Uj` Y`  
VW`a` Y`h` Y`i` bXYfd]bb]b[ g`Zcf`ci` f`j] ]b[ `hc[ Y`h` Y`"H` Ym` \Uj` Y`a` UXY`Zcf`  
UdYUWZ` `UbXcfXYf`mgc`W`h`z`UbXcbYk` ]h` [ ccX[ cj` YfbUbWdfUW]Wg`

Remember An Ce d Ay

Cf][ ]bU`mYg`hU` \]g` YX`hc`a` Uf`\_`h` Y`YbX`cZ`cg]` ]h`Yg`U`h`h` Y`YbX`cZK` cf`X`  
K`Uf`-z`F`Y`a` Y`a` VfbW`8`Um` \Ug`bck` `VW`a` Y`U`X`U`h`c`d`Um` ]jdU`

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dUggYXVmh Y7UbUX]Ub Ww]bYhg] b]ÚYX]hgU h cf]nU]cb`cZh YWYU]cb`  
cZh YA YXUZÚbU'fcmU'Uddfcj U'k Ug`XYá YX`bYWggUfmhc'a U\_Yh Y  
\cbci f'cZÚWU"

6mh YZU`cZ%'' 7ca a ]gg]cbYf'A UGf]Yb`VWwá YWbWfbYX'h UzUg`  
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I bXf!GWWUfmcZGHŽ9d\ fUja '< "7c`Ya Ubžlc`ÚbX'ci hih YfYUgb`  
Zcf'h YXYUñ5 g]hhi fbYX'ci hžh Y8ca ]b]cbg`CZÚW\UX' " .... ÚbNXX` . .







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CfXYf`UbXžcb`UXj ]Wžh YGcj YfY[ b`Wi `X`Uddc]bhUbmIdYfgcbž]bW X!  
]b[ Ua Ya Vf`cZh YF cnU: Ma ]hžUgUfY[ i`fM`i `U`Ug`

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ð·h`YfYUa`cZfYw[ b]n]b[ `j c`i bhYfgžcb`mCbhF]cžEi YVWUbX`  
 Cg\_UHWYk Ub`\Uj YVYyb`UMj Y%`H`lg`g`Ub`fYU]b`k` \]W`h`Yj`U]ci`g`  
 dfcj ]bWU`cbci fgghYa`gcf ]bXYXh`YbU]cbU`gghYa`Wi`XY`dUbXž  
 YgdYU`mi[ ]j`Yb`h`Y`\ ]\`j`Ui`Yh`Uh7UbUX]Ubg`d`UW`cb`j`c`i`bh`fmgf`!  
 j ]W`h`Y`Wj ]`X]j ]gcb`cZ`h`YA`G8`g`k`Ug`]bh`b`X`Xž`]b`dUfž`h`c`fYw[ b]nY`  
 j`c`i`bh`fmgf`j ]W`h`U`h`X]X`b`c`h`a`Y`h`h`Y`V`U`f`Z`c`f`U`X`a` ]gg`cb`h`c`h`h`Y`C`f`X`Y`c`Z`  
 7UbUXU`m`ž`U`g`k`Y`\Uj`Y`g`Y`b`ž`h`Y`d`f`c`[`f`U`a` ]g`X`c`f`a`U`b`h`

A UbnfYhfYX`a`Ya`Vf`g`c`Z`h`Y`7`U`b`U`X]U`b`:``c`f`W`g`U`b`X`j`U`]ci`g`d`f`c`h`W`j`Y`  
 g`f`j ]W`g`c`Z`h`W`a`d`U`b`h`U`h`Y`m`U`b`X`h`Y`f`W`a`f`U`X`Y`g`U`Y`b`Y`Y`f`W`b`g`X`Y`Y`X`  
 Z`c`f`h`Y`C`f`X`Y`c`Z`7`U`b`U`X`U`]b`f`Y`w[ b]h]cb`cZ`h`Y`f`g`f`j ]W`:`G]b`W`h`Y`Y`U`f`  
 %, Sgh`Ya` ]]h`f`m`U`b`X`d`f`c`h`W`j`Y`g`f`j ]W`g`^`U`j`Y`V`Y`b`U`a`c`g`h`b`h`f`Y`m`g`i`h`  
 ci`h`c`Z`h`Y`C`f`X`Y`c`Z`7`U`b`U`X`U`C`j`Y`f`h`Y`d`U`g`h`h`]f`m`i`n`U`f`g`h`Y`Y`

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# 10

## the honour of the First Nations – the honour of the Crown: the unique relationship of First Nations with the Crown

David Arnot

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What Are the treaties?

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\UgVYWa YU'Uf| YdUfhcZci f'dfcZgg|cbU'UbXXca Yg|W|j Yg'5 WbhfUM  
]gUbU fYya YbhVMk Yb'lk c | fci dgcZdYcd Yte Xc'h |b| gZcf YUW'ch Yf"  
H ]gU fYya Ybha UmVY|b'k f|h|b| 'cf'j YVU'zLbX|h]a UmVybY|h Yf"A Umri  
WbhfUMg'UFY|a d'jYX'fUfYgU fUbhYl dYMG'nci 'lc'dUmZcf'h Ya YU'nci '  
cfXYf"K \Uij Yf'Z'fa 'UWbhfUMHU Yg'z|hYa VcX|Yg'Ub YYa YbhcZa cf!  
U]hmUbX'a i ghVYVUgX'cb'fci gh'H YWi flg'a Um|bj U|XUH'UWbhfUM  
h.Uh|bj c'j Yg'g'Ufd'dfUM|Wza ]gYdfYg'bh|hcb'cf'ZU Xzcf'Z|h'fYg' ]g'  
]b'i b'f ghYbf|Wa Ybhc'f'i bgUhgZUM'cfmdYfZ'fa UbW"6ch WbhfUMg'UbX'  
hfYUhg'Wb \Uj YWa a YfVU'cf'bcBWa a YfVU'c'VYmj Yg'



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Î HfYUnî ]g'a cfYZfYei Yblmî gYXlc ]Xybh]ZmUZcfa U VbYUWU`U fY!  
a Ybhc f`WbhfUMiVYk Yb`Wi blf]Yg" H\YBcfh`5a Yf]Wb` : fYYHFUXY  
5 [ fYYa YblUbX'h YdfcdcgYX[ `cVU`fYUmilc`Wh[ fYb\ci gY[ UgYg`fY  
Z bW]cbU`Y Ua d`Yg"Î DYUW`fYU]Ygî `cb`h Ych Yf`\UbXZ`Xc`bchYb`cmi  
g W`V]`UmfU`g ddcfh]Zh YniUfYk f]Hb`Vni`Yj ]Mcf`UbX`]a dcgYX`cb`  
h Yj Ubei ]g`YX" H\YfYZcfYz]b WgYg`g W`Ug`h Y%%`fYUmicZ` ` ` h`Ymi ]bh



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H Ybi a VfyXlfYUyg'k YfYa Yubhlc`]b]hUf'Ub'cb[ c]b[ ``]Ugcb'Vf!  
lk Yb': ]fghB U]cbg'UbX'h Y7fck b'Zcf'Ug'`cb[ 'Ug'hYg b'g\]bYg'h Y  
k Ufmg'Uck 'UbX'h Y[ fUgg[ fck g"H Ymk YfYbcha Yubhlc'VY'UbX'gUYg'  
Vi hUgfi W fYZf'YgUV]g\]b[ 'dc`]hW'zYw'bca ]WbX'g'WU Ugg'WU]cbg'  
Vmk Yb': ]fghB U]cbg'UbX'bYk Wa Yfg"H Ydfca ]gYg'a UXYVm7fck b'  
bY[ ch]Uc'fgfYUWfX: ]fghB U]cbg'k cf`Xj ]Yk g'UbX'd\`]c'gd\]Yg'

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 h YgU\_YcZ\h YGcj YfY] b"H ]gWbj Yb]cb\ Ugfcclg]b dfY]B cfa Ub 9b[ !  
 `UbXZUH\h Yk\ Yb`Yj YfminYca Ub'gk cfY dYfgcbU`U`Y] ]UbW]h' h Y\_]b[ .  
 UbX'UbncbYk \c'k Ug'WUf[ YX'k ]h'gdYU\_]b[ 'cf'UM]b[ 'cb'VY\UZcZ\ja .  
 VcfYUb UVgc`i hY'dYfgcbU`fYgdcbg]V] ]hmc`"YbX'WYX]h' h Y\_]b[ ]g[ ccX  
 bUa Y"G'ci `X\`YZU` ]b'h ]g'fYgdcbg]V] ]hmcf`W] gY'Ya VUfUgga Yblz\Y  
 k Ug'fYei ]fYX'h'Ub'gk Yf'dYfgcbU`mhc`h Y\_]b[ 'k ]h' \ ]g` ]ZY'UbX'Zcfh bY`  
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 Vi hUfYU`dYfgcbk \cgYdck YfgUbX'dfYg] ]Yk YfYX]fY'WimXYdYbXYbhc'b`  
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H\ ]g`df]bWd`Yh Uih Y7fck b]g` \cbci f` ]g`Uhd U Yk \ Yb`h Y7fck b`Yb]f`g`  
]b]c` hYU]g`k ]h` : ]fciB U]cbg`Xung`VbY`U` ]cgnic`h`Y`g`d]a`Y`7ci`fhi` ]b`  
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[ c`i`bfYw[ b]nYX]b`h`YZ hi fY`fYU]Yg`UfYdUfhcZh`Y7cbg]hi`hcb`UbX`  
a`i`ghVY`cbci`fYX"

: ]fghB`U]cbg]U`YU`U`m`h`YgLa`Yj`]Yk`cZ`cbci`f`Ug`h`Yf]VU`dYcd`Y`  
k`c`]b`U]hX`6f]hU]b`k`Yb`h`YB`cfa`Ubg`Uff]j`YX" `f]VU`YUXfg`ck`YX`  
h`Yf`g]U`i`g`UbXU`h`cf]h`m`h`h`Yf`cb`Yg]m]LbX[`ccXbLa`Yg`fYU]Ygk`YfY`  
a`UXY`VYk`Yb`dYcd`Y`UbX`VYk`Yb`ZLa`]`]Yg`UbX`gYw`fYX`VmidYfgcbU`  
\`cbci`f`9j`Yfm]bX]j`]Xi`U`k`UgdYfgcbU`mVci`bX]h`i`d`c`Xh`YU`fYYa`Yblz`  
UbX]h`cbci`f`UbX`fYbYk`h`Y`]j`]b[`fYUWY`Ug`

UbX` U`X`b`h`c` fYbYk` UbX` fYbYk` fYbYk` fYbYk` l`c` `A` ` fYbYk` fYbYk` fYbYk` fYbYk`



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ZXYU]ga žXYa cWUW]Wbg]li hcbU]ga `UbXh Yfi `YcZ`Uk ždfchW]cb`  
cZa ]bcf]hYg" `b XYgW]V]b[ `h YgYdf]bVd`Yg]b[ `YbYUZh YWi fhg]UX

5 `h ci [ \ `h YgY i bXYf`n]b[ `df]bVd`Yg`UfYbch`Y d`]W]hima UXY`dUfhcZh Y  
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XcWa Yblg[ cj Yfb]b[ fYU]cbgVtk Yb h YZXYFU UbXdfcj ]bWU [ cj Yfb!  
a YblgVi hUgc ]b hfYU]YgUbXch Yf ]bgfi a YblgYgUV]g ]b[ h YVUg]W]b\_g  
Vtk Yb '5 Vcf][ ]bU dYcd YgUbXh Y7fck b"-b Vf]YZI hfYUmZXYFU]ga i ]g  
Ub ]bh[ fU dUfhcZh Y7UbUX]Ub Wbg]h hcb f7UbUXU% - \*Vz% (E

H Y df]bVd Yg cZZXYFU]ga 'UFY W]hW' hc Ub i bXYfgUbX]b[ cZh Y  
hfYUmifYU]cbg\ d Ugk Y` Ug h Y7UbUX]Ub Wbg]h hcb "H Ydf]bVd YcZ  
XYa cWUWmY ]g]g'hc gYW/fYh Y`Y ]h a UWhcZfydfYgYb]h]j Y ]bg]h hcbg'  
Y YVUg]b[ 'h Y f][ \ hlc 'W` YW]j Y gYZXYMfa ]bU]cb`cb` VY UZcZgYZ  
XYMfa ]b]b[ ]bXj ]Xi Ug "H Ydf]bVd Yg cZwbg]h hcbU]ga UbXh Yfi `Y  
cZ`Uk `Uj YdUfhW`UF fYj UbW ]b`][ \ hcZh Y` XYM]g]cbz  
k \ ]WUW]U]Yg h Uh Y7fck b`UgbchWbXi WmX] ]gYZ]b UWfXUbWk ]h`  
]hg`Y] U`UbX`Wbg]h hcbU Xi hYg'hc fYgdYMH YhfYU]Yg`H YUdd` ]W]cb`  
cZh Ydf]bVd YcZdfchW]cb`cZa ]bcf]hYg] ]bW X]b[ h YdfchW]cbg`cZ  
gW]cb` ) ž]g`gYZj ]XYbh'

H Y i f]gd fi XYbW cb hfYUm]bh fdfYU]cb ]b WgYg`g W`Ug`  
g`ck g`h UhXYgd]h`h YZUMh UhY ]g]b[ 'hfYUmif][ \ ]g`Uj YVYb`  
[ ]j Yb Wbg]h hcbU d fchW]cb`VnigYW]cb` ) fW`cZh Y`

zh Yf][ \ ]g]f]g]b[ i bXYf h YhfYU]YgUFYbchik \ Uh h Yma UnigYa `cb`  
h YZUWcZhfYUmXcWa Yblg"K \ Uhk Ug fYWfYX]b UhYUmih] ha UnVY  
]bWa d`Yh UbX Yj Yb`a ]g`YUX]b[ `Ug`U[ i ]XYhc `h Y]bh]h]cbg`cZh YdUf!  
hYg`H Y Wbg]h hcbU]ga `df]bVd YfYei ]fYg`h UhU` [ cj Yfba YbhU]cb`  
Wa d`mk ]h h Y`Uk `UbXh YWbg]h hcb`"E Z `U` `h ]g`a cghY Ya Yb]fM  
Y dYU]hcb`cZwbg]h hcbU`Uk zh Y[ cj Yfba Ybia i ghUha ]b]a i a `VY  
UVYhc`\_bck k`Uh'

UO [cj Yfba]Ybh aigh [aig hY / cZ

HAYG dfYa Y7ci fhcZ7UbUXU]b hAY fi

·&S(LWgY\Ug'a UXY]hWUf h UhfyU]Yg'gYj Ylc fYWbWY: ]fgh  
B U]cbg\ dfY]Y ]gh]b[ i 'gcj YF] [ bmk ]h 'h YI Ugg a YX' 'gcj YF] [ bmicZ  
hAY7fck b"Hni g'zcb'Ub ]gg' Y' \_ Ygcj YF] [ bñgca Yh ]b[ j ]H\`Ug'VYb'  
g'hYX'Vi hbYk 'ei Yg]cbg\ Uj YUf]g'b"=h]g[ c]b[ 'lc'VY]a dcfHUbZcf hAY  
fYUmidUf]Yg'lc fYUW'Ub' i bXYfg'UbX]b[ 'cb\`ck 'hYfYU]Yg'fYWbWYX'  
gcj YF] [ bhYg'z'UbX'Z fh Yfzk \ Uh]h ]g' fYWbW]U]cb' ]a d' ]Yg'Zcf'Z li fY  
[ cj YfbUbW'UffUb[ Ya Yblg" H Yg'Y UY dc ]H'W' 'ei Yg]cbg'UbX' fYei ]fYU  
df]bVd`YXZWFYZ `dc ]H'W' fYgc' i hcbzUg'h YG dfYa Y7ci fhcZ7UbUXU  
a UXYWUf' ]b hAY "

HAYG dfYa Y7ci fligja i 'HbYci g'mi` ]b\_YX' hAY dfY]Y ]gh]b[ 'gcj YF!  
Y] [ bmicZ hAY: ]fghB U]cbg'lc 'h YfYWbW]U]cb' UW]Y YX' ]b hAYfYU]Yg'"  
H ]g' i X]WU' cVgYj U]cb' dc]blg'h Yk Umlc' Ub' Yl Ua ]bU]cb' cZ'h YfYUmi  
fYU]cbg\ ]d U'g'cbYcZdc ]H'W' fYWbW]U]cb'"=hUgc' g' [ [ Yg'g'h UhfyUmi  
]a d' Ya YbH]cb' Wb' VYh Yj Y\ ]WYk \ ]W' di hgX]g'Wgg]cb' cZgcj YF] [ bmi  
k ]h ]b' U'ZUa Yk cf\_ 'h Uh Ya d\ UgnYg' g' Uf]b[ žUW'a a cXU]cb' UbX'  
a i li U] ]miU'g'cddecg'X'lc i b] U]fU]ga' UbX' g'YdUfU]cb'" HAYF] ]g'Yj Yb Ub'  
Yl ]gh]b[ 'h YcfYH'W' VU]g'Zcf' h ]g'ZUa Yk cf\_ 'cZifYhmi' Ub ' ]g' "

%,

WUf'h Uh7fek b'WbghUjblg'UFYUdUfhicZh YZUa Yk cf\_ 'cZg VgWjcb'  
) fL'5 gh YWi fhicVgYj YX]b'

GWjcb') W'gZcU1 ghgYhYa YbhZcf5 Vcf][ ]bU'dYcd'Yg"-hfYbci bWghY  
c'Xfi 'YgcZh Y[ Ua Yi bXYf'k \ ]W'h Y7fek b'YghU]g' YXWi flgcZ'Uk UbX'  
Xb]YX'h cgyWi flgh YU h'cf]mhc'ei Yghjcb'gcy YFY][ bWUa ga UXYVn'h Y  
7fek b'fl % - Sz' ' E'

7fek b'gcy YFY][ bhrz ]bW X]b[ 'dfcj ]bWU' gcy YFY][ bhrz ]g'WbghUjbyX'  
i bXYf'g VgWjcb') fL'Vni]lg'cV][ Ujcbg'lc': ]fghB Ujcbg'dYcd'Yg" H'Y  
Wi flg\ Uj Y1 f]gX]Wjcb'lc'ei Yghjcb'h Y7fek b]g'UWjcbg": fYXca 'g]b!  
WUgYXk \ Yb'h Y7fek b ]gcV][ YX'lc'cVgYj YWbgh]h h'cbU" ]a ]hUjcbg'  
cb ]lg'dck Yf/gWjcb") fL'ZU'gk ]h ]b'h ]ghfUX]h'cb'fbcffck g'88S+E'

ConClusion

H' XUhz'h Y7UbUX]Ub[ 'cj Yfba Ybh\ Ug'bchZcfa i 'UHXUdc ]Wjlc' [ i ]XY  
]lg'cZU]Ug' ]b'h Y ]a d'Ya Yb]h'cb'cZhfYU]Yg'cfz'lc' di h]h]b'h'fa g'h Uh  
7UbUXUa ] \ ]ha cfYWa ZcfhU' m'Ya VUWZ'lc' fYWbWYh'YX]j Yf[ Ybhj ]Yk g'  
cb'h YhfYU]Yg'cZ'h Y7fek b'UbX: ]fghB Ujcbg'"-hWb'VYUf[ i YX'h Uh'h Y  
UfYUXmWb]h]bg'g' W'Udc ]WjVWj gY]hWa !  
a ]hYX'h Y7fek b'lc' Ua Yh'cX'cZUWi ]f]b[ : ]fghB Ujcbg'UbXgk ]h'h Yf'  
]bZcfa YXZ'W'Wmj YWbgybh'H ]g'k Ug'WUf'mUa Ucf'gci fW'cZ7fek b'  
dc ]Wjlc' \ Yb ]ha UXY'h Ybi a VfyX'hfYU]Yg" H' YdfcWUa Ujcbz'ck Yj Yfz  
X]Xbchj [ [ Ygh'ck h'YhfYU]Yg'cbW'a UXYz'g'ci 'XVY\cbci fYXZ' U'YX'  
cf ]a d'Ya Ybh'X'DYf\Udg]h]gh'a YZcf'UbYk 'dfcWUa Ujcb"

H'YZXYFU' [ cj Yfba Ybh'ck U]bck 'YX] Ygh'Uh'h Ydc ]WjgcZ'h YdUgh  
k YfY\Ufa Z' UbX'h Uh'h YWb]h]bi Ujcb'cZ'h YgYdc ]WjgXYa UbXgfyWb!  
W]Ujcb"-b fYWb]h'XWjYgZ'h YZXYFU' [ cj Yfba Ybh'Uga UXYUj UbWg]b'  
UXXfYgg]b[ 'g' W'WbWdlg'Ugh'Y]b\ YfYbhf][ \ h'lc' gYZ[ cj Yfba Ybh'UbX'lc'  
fYWbW]Ujcb'k ]h' fYgd'Wjlc' fYg]Xybh]U' gWcc'g" Cj Yf'h Y'Ugh (S'm'Ufz'  
h'YZXYFU' [ cj Yfba Ybh'Ug]bWUjg]b[ 'm'Ya dU]h ]nYXk ]h' : ]fghB Ujcbg'  
X]gh]Wmj YW'h fU'UbX'gc'WjU'WUFUmf]g]Wz'h Yf'f][ \ h'lc' dc ]h'W'  
U'lc'ba mik ]h ]b'h Y7UbUX]Ub' ZXYfUjcb'UbX'h Yb'YX'Zcf'Yw'bc'a ]W  
Xy Ycda Ybh'g'c'h Ym'Wb'Z' `midUf]VdUy' ]b'h Y7UbUX]Ub' Yw'bc'a n'  
7cb'h'a defUf'mZXYFU' dc ]Wjlg'UgYXcb'h Y]a d' ]W'fYW[ b]h'cb'h UhdUgh  
gfU] ]YgcZdfca ch]b[ W'h fU'Ug]a ]Ujcb'cZ: ]fghB Ujcbg'cf Wb]Ub]b[ '  
h'Ya 'lc' fYgYj Yg'UfYbc' 'cb[ Yf''Y] ]ha UY"

8 Ygd]h'h YgyUWbck 'YX] Ya Ybh'z'h YbUjcbU' dc ]h'W' d'fcWggYg\ Uj Y  
Z]YX'lc' WffYw: ]' ' ' h'lc'] 'bc' Yag'g'c]

c] A h

CbY

HYUfYgZVniH Ylf' bUhi fYzUFYU fYya Yblg" C bYdUfmiHc Ub U fYya Ybhi  
Wbbchi bXYfHU Yub 'bj Ygh[ Uqcb'cZ]hg'cV[[ Uqcbgk ]h ci hWbgjXYf]b[ .  
Z `mUbxZU]f'niH Yj ]Yk g'cZh Ych Yf' dUfmiHh ]g]gYgdYMU` mifi Y[ ]j Yb`  
h YgdYMU fYUqcbg\ d' h UhY ]ggVYk Yb h Y7fck b UbX: ]fghB UqcbgZ  
UbX'h YcV[[ Uqcbg'cZh Y7fck b' h' XYU` \cbci fUvmik ]h : ]fghB Uqcbg'  
]b fYUqcb' h' h' Yf' f[[ \lg" K \ ]Yh Y< cbci f' cZh Y7fck b' ]g' Uk Uhg' U  
gU\_Y]b' h' YZ `U` a YbhcZhfYUmif[[ \hg'g WZ `U` a YbhWb Ug' ]bj c' j Y  
UUXi WUfmiXi hZUg'ghUHXVniH YG dfYa Y7ci fhcZ7UbUXU'

=h]g'UddUFYbhih Uidc ]WYg' UFY bYXX' h' U h cf]nY h Y cZUMUg' cZ  
Vch' dUfhYg' : ]fghB Uqcbg'UbX'7fck b' h' h' i bXYfHU\_YU`c]bhidfcWgg'cZ  
XYHfa ]b]b[ 'k \Uh' YhfYUqYga Yub UbX'cZ]a d' Ya Ybh]b[ 'h Yf' UbX]b]g"  
H ]g'dc ]Wia i ghVYbUW]b[ zbc hfYg'f]Wij Y`-hia i ghU h cf]nY cZUMUg'  
h' i bXYfHU\_YhfYUmija d' Ya YbhUqcb X]gWgg]cbg]b UfYgdYMU` `a UbbYf"  
-hia i ghia UbXUH' g'f]ci g'Y d' cfUqcb' UbX' bY[ chUqcbg" 9UW' gXYa i gh  
XYj Ycd'cVWij YgUbX[ i ]XY]bYgZcf UdfeWgg'h Uhk ]`dfcXi WdfUWUW`  
Ug'k Y` Ug'df]bVd`YX'ci hWa Yg'

=bXYdYbXYbidfcj ]bVU' hfYUmWa a ]gg]cbgZ'g W' Ug'Gg' UHWk UbYg'  
CZUW'cZh YHFYUm7ca a ]gg]cbYfZ\ U YUW]H]W' fc`Yh' d' Um]b' h' ]g'Y!  
YfVgY" 6mZcg'f]b[ 'X]Uc[ i YUbX' i bXYfg'UbX]b[ z'h YmWb` \Yd' h' Vi ]X'  
h' Yf'i gh' h' Uh]g' h' YZ' i bXUqcb' Zcf' UfYbYk YX' hfYUmifYUqcbg\ ]d" 8 ]fYW  
fYUqcbg\ ]d' Vi ]X]b[ ]b' U' bY' h' U' Z' fi a z' k ]h' ci h' h' Y ]bh' f]j Ybh' cb' cZ  
h' ]fX' dUfhYgZ'g W' Ug' a YX]Uc' f' g' cf' UfV]h' U' c' f' g' ]g' g' dY]cf' h' 'Ubnich' Yf'  
a Yh' cX' H' Yf' Yg' `hg' \ U Y[ fYUhf' j Ui YUbX' UfYZf' a cfYbXi f]b[ 'h' Ub'  
Ubnh ]b[ ]a d' c' g' X' cb' h' Yd' UfhYg' g' la d' m' YW' g' Y' Vch' g' X' Yg' \ U Yd' ]X' YcZ  
ck bYf' g' ]d" 8 ]g' Wgg]cbg'cZh ]g' \_ ]bX' UfYUg' c' i h' Ymb' YWgg' UfmiHc Uxj UbW  
h' c' UfX' g' hfYUmija d' Ya YbhUqcb' h' Uh' Yj Yf' n' eb' YWb` `]j Yk ]h' "

H' Y' V]Z fW]h' cb' cZ' h' Y' 7fck b' ]bi ce i | 'eZ' i fW]h' | UbXWb

HJ\_Yb`h Ydcg|hcb`h Uh|hik Ug`bchUdUfmilc`h YlfYUjYg`zgbW`h Ydfcj !  
|bW`X|XbchY |ghUih Y|ja YU`Vi hcbYcZ`h YlfYUjYg`k YfYbY| ch|UH`X`  
7cbg`ei Ybhm|h`Ugbc`dc`|W`Z`Ua Yk cf\_`lc`a UbXU`dUfH`WdU|cb Vm`h Y  
7fck b |b f| |`hcZ`Ug`UWYk Ub |b X|g`W`gg|cbg`lc`Y Ua |bYUbX`|a d`Ya Ybhi  
h`YlfYUjYg`UbX`h YlfYUmifYU|cbg`|d`

H |g`dcg|hcb`cZ`bcb!dUfH`WdU|cb`WbbchVY`g`gU|bYX`|Z|hVW`a YgU  
VUf|Yf`lc`lfYUm|a d`Ya YbH|cb`"H`YdfcW`gg`cZhfYUm|a d`Ya YbH|cbz  
h`YfYc`fYz`|bW`Xy`g`|bW`Ug`|b|`h`YUk UfYbYgg`UbX`U`Hf|b|`h`Ya |bXg`YcZ  
[`cj Yfba YbhcZ`U`U`g`z`k`c`|`U`Y`V`V`Y`b`U`X`j`|g`X`h`Y`m`|`U`Y`b`c`f`c`Y`lc`d`U`m`i  
|b`|a`d`Ya`Y`b`h`|b|`h`Y`lf`Y`U`j`Y`g`"`H`Y`U`m`i`a`d`Ya`Y`b`H`|`c`b`a`i`g`h`|b`W`X`Y`b`c`h`  
c`b`m`i`a`U`\_|b|`|`U`f`|`Y`X`Y`W`|g`|c`b`g`U`h`|`|`|`|`Y`g`z`V`i`h`h`Y`U`M`j`|`H`Y`g`c`Z`U`c`Z`  
U`M`U`g`|b`V`ch`Z`X`Y`U`b`X`d`f`c`j`|b`W`U`|`cj`Y`f`b`a`Y`b`l`g`"`H`Y`g`c`Z`U`M`U`g`a`i`g`h`  
V`Y`Y`b`W`i`f`U`Y`X`lc`U`d`d`f`W`U`H`h`Y`d`c`h`b`h`U`|`a`d`U`M`c`Z`h`Y`f`U`M`|c`b`g`i`d`c`b`  
h`Y`f`|`|`h`g`U`b`X`|b`H`Y`g`g`c`Z`H`Y`U`m`i`|f`g`h`B`U`|c`b`g`U`b`X`lc`f`Y`W`|`b`n`Y`h`U`h`  
H`Y`U`j`Y`g`U`f`Y`U`|`cj`Y`f`b`a`Y`b`h`k`|X`Y`f`Y`g`d`c`b`g`|V`|`h`n`z`b`c`h`i`g`h`h`Y`f`Y`g`d`c`b`g`|V`|`h`m`i`  
c`Z`5`V`c`f`|`|b`U`5`Z`U`f`g`U`b`X`B`c`f`h`Y`f`b`8`Y`Y`c`d`a`Y`b`h`7`U`b`U`X`U`c`f`d`f`c`j`|b`W`U`  
5`V`c`f`|`|b`U`U`Z`U`f`g`X`Y`d`U`f`a`Y`b`l`g`"`H`Y`U`j`Y`g`W`b`c`c`b`|`Y`f`V`Y`W`a`d`U`f`a`Y`b`h`  
U`|n`Y`X`|b`h`Y`g`f`i`W`i`f`Y`c`Z`|`cj`Y`f`b`a`Y`b`h`c`f`h`Y`h`|b`\_|b|`c`Z`d`i`V`|W`g`f`j`U`b`l`g`"  
5`W`U`b`|`Y`|b`U`d`d`f`c`U`W`k`c`i`X`b`Y`W`g`g`|H`Y`c`Z`U`M`U`g`c`Z`U`c`X`Y`d`U`f`a`Y`b`l`g`  
V`Y`W`a`|b|`Z`m`U`k`U`f`Y`c`Z`h`Y`f`Z`b`X`U`a`Y`b`h`U`W`b`g`h`i`h`c`b`U`c`V`|`|`U`|c`b`g`"  
H`|g`|b`j`c`j`Y`g`b`c`h`|b|`Y`g`g`h`U`b`U`W`U`b`|`Y`|b`h`Y`W`h`i`f`Y`c`Z`|`cj`Y`f`b`a`Y`b`l`z`  
U`|`Y`b`Y`U`U`W`b`c`k`Y`X`|`a`Y`b`h`h`U`h`f`Y`U`m`i`a`U`H`f`g`d`Y`f`j`U`X`Y`U`c`|`cj`Y`f`b`a`Y`b`h`  
V`i`g`|b`Y`g`g`h`U`h`Y`j`Y`f`n`h`|b|`|`cj`Y`f`b`a`Y`b`l`g`X`c`a`i`g`h`V`Y`j`|`Y`k`Y`X`h`f`c`i`|`|`h`Y`  
H`Y`U`m`i`f`Y`U`|c`b`g`|d`"Y`b`g`"

H`U`W`|`Y`Y`g`W`U`W`U`b`|`Y`a`c`f`Y`k`c`f`\_|`U`g`lc`V`Y`X`c`b`Y`|b`H`f`b`U`m`ilc`|b|  
h`|`f`U`h`h`Y`lf`Y`U`m`i`f`Y`U`|c`b`g`|d`|b`lc`h`Y`Z`X`Y`U`b`X`d`f`c`j`|b`W`U`g`n`g`h`a`g`"  
=k`c`i`X`\_|`Y`lc`g`Y`U`|`cj`Y`f`b`a`Y`b`h`|`i`|X`Y`|b`Y`h`U`h`k`c`i`X`f`Y`e`i`|f`Y`Y`j`Y`f`m`i`  
a`Y`h`|b|`U`Y`b`X`U`lc`V`Y`|`b`k`|h`h`Y`e`i`Y`g`h`c`b`c`k`k`|`h`|g`U`Z`Z`W`i`|f`g`h`B`U`  
h`c`b`g`U`b`X`h`Y`f`H`Y`U`j`Y`g`35`H`Y`U`m`i`d`Y`g`d`Y`W`i`j`Y`k`c`i`X`h`i`g`V`Y`W`a`Y`|b`h`|`f`U`  
lc`U`c`|`cj`Y`f`b`a`Y`b`h`d`f`c`|`f`U`a`g`U`b`X`d`c`|`W`g`z`U`b`X`W`b`V`Y`U`W`|`Y`j`Y`X`k`|`h`c`i`h`  
X`Y`Y`c`d`|b|`U`V`f`c`U`X`Y`f`H`Y`U`m`i`d`c`|`W`i`U`|`h`i`U`Y`g`|g`U`W`U`b`|`Y`|b`U`h`h`i`X`Y`"

K`|`Y`b`h`Y`lf`Y`U`j`Y`g`U`f`Y`g`c`k`b`lc`|`U`Y`V`V`Y`b`X`|g`c`b`c`i`f`Y`X`c`f`|`|`b`c`f`Y`X`V`m`i`  
h`Y`7`f`c`k`b`z`U`b`X`H`Y`U`m`i`f`|`|`h`g`U`f`Y`g`c`k`b`lc`|`U`Y`V`V`Y`b`Y`Y`j`U`h`X`lc`W`b`g`h`!  
h`i`h`c`b`U`g`h`i`g`|b`h`Y`c`f`m`i`h`|`|`b`c`f`Y`X`U`b`X`a`U`f`|`b`U`|n`Y`X`|b`d`f`U`M`U`W`z`g`f`Y`m`i`  
h`Y`f`Y`|g`U`X`i`h`m`ilc`Y`b`|`U`Y`|b`b`Y`|`c`h`|U`|c`b`g`lc`d`U`W`h`Y`g`Y`f`|`|`h`g`|b`h`Y`f`  
d`f`c`d`Y`f`d`U`W`":`U`i`f`Y`lc`X`c`g`c`k`c`i`X`f`Y`d`f`Y`g`b`h`d`f`c`Z`c`i`b`X`X`|g`f`Y`g`d`W`f`m`i`"  
X`|g`h` ...



%&

6mWbUgZ]b h YWbM hcZh YfYUjYgZYa UbXZcf]a d`Ya YbUjcb`  
cZufYXm`Y U`midfchMMXf][ \lg]gVUGYX i dcb`df]bVd`Yg`cZWbg]h !  
hcbU]ga UbXhYfi `YcZ`Uk `UbX`a i ghVYbZcfWUVYVmh`YWi flg`H`Y  
WbW X]b[ `k cfXg`cZhYa Ucf]lmi` X] a Ybh]b` gUHY.

I `ha UYn`h]g`h`fci [ \ `bY[ ch]UHX`g`h`Ya Yb]g`k ]h [ ccX`Z]h `UbX` [ ]j Y  
UbXHU `Ycb U`g]X]g`fY]bZcfWXVmh`Y` X] a Yb]g`cZh ]g`7ci flzh`Uk Yk ]`  
UW]j Yk \ U`g]UHX]b` žUhdUFU" %žlc VYUUV]Wli fdcgY  
cZg" ) fl`i `i h YfYWbW]Ujcb`cZh YdfY]l ]ghbW`cZ5 Vef][ ]bU`g`V]H]Yg`  
k ]h `h Yg`j YfY][ blmicZh`Y7fck b`i `@mii g`ZUW]h`k YUFYU``\ YfY`c`g`U`ifYWbW]Ujcb`





**The Crown in  
ComParative  
Per sPeCTive**



# 11

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%4,

cb`mibcb!fyj c`i hcbUfnij Yfglcbg`cZfYdi V]Wb]ga `k YFYgdcI gYX`UbXz  
 gca Yk \Uhg fdf]glb[ `mZcf W`cb]Yg\cg]b[ U`Uf[ Y=f]g\ X]UgdcfU`]hk Ug  
 [ YbYU`mgYhYfgcZ9b[ ]g\ cf GWhg\ UuW[ fci bXk \c Xfcj YfYdi V]Wb`  
 gYb]ja Yblzbc=f]g\ `5i gfU]UbgfA W`YbbU%- , z% %E`8i f]b[ `h YUf`mi  
 &S` Wbli frãW]h]Vga `cZh Y7fek b WbHfYXcb`h Y]a defhU]cb`cZ6f]hg`  
 [ cj YfbcfgUbXh YdyfW]j YXgcWU Y]hga Ya UbU]b[ Zca ; cj Yfba Ybh  
 < ci gY` : cf`a i W`cZh Y&S` Wbli fmi`h Yd`Uzfa g`cZgU]Y`VfUbWYg`cZ  
 h Y5i gfU]Ub @UvcfDUfmi5 @DL]bW XYXh YcVYW]j YcZUc`]g\ ]b[ `h Y  
 cZUWcZ[ cj YfbcfZM hbY]h Yf`Uih YZXYfU bcf`gU]Y`Y Y X]Xh YdUfmi  
 di fg Yh ]g`cVYW]j Yk ]h `UbnigYbgYcZgYf]ci g`Wa a ]ha Ybh`5 h]hg%- %  
 bU]cbU WbZfYbWZ\ck Yj Yfzh Y5 @DUxcdhXUdfc!fYdi V]Wg]UbWUbX`  
 ]b`8YWa VYf`cZh UhmYU`DU ``? YU]b[ `g WYXYX`6cV< Uk \_YUgdf]a Y  
 a ]b]gYf`? YU]b[ žcZ=f]g\ `XYgWblz\ UX`VW`a YWbj ]bWX`h Uih YW`!  
 h] U]cb`cZUgfc]b[ Yf`5i gfU]Ub`gYbgYcZbU]cbU` ]XYbh]mbYWgg]hUX`  
 h YUdc]bla YbhcZU`cW W]nYb Ug\ YUX`cZgU]YzUbX`h UhUgy YfUbW  
 cZWbg]h] hcbU hYgk ]h `6f]h]b`k ci `X[ fYUhm]gg]h\ ]gZcfY] ]b`dc ]W  
 df]cf]hmcZWgYf`Ywbcã ]W]bX`dc` ]hW` Yb[ U Ya Ybhk ]h `5 gUff YU]b[ `

&SSSE`H`Y5i gfU]Ub FYdi V]Wb`A cj Ya Ybhf5 F`A cj Y 1 1` Ybh ` M  
 &SSS ` AE `SS`fp YU]h]n g Yb[ U Y5]U `&SSS 1

fYdi V]Wb Wi gY"HUhWi gYk UgUgc UggghXVnhYg ``]YXdi V]Wb U Y  
cZgca Ya Ya VfgcZhYfcuZa ]mXi f]b[ hYYUf'mUbX'a ]X!%- \$g"

5 hci [\ ? YU]b[ \UXdfca ]gYX'UWbg]li hcbU'Wbj Ybhcb'hc dfY!  
dUFYh Yk UnZcf UfYZfYbXi a ž\g[ cj Yfba Ybh'cgicZ'W'hc hY@]VfU!  
B U]cbU'DUfhof žf " dBU]g' dU fUX' \]g' .



% S`

dfcdegU`]bW XYX`U di V]Wx]g]\_YcZY]hg`UbX`X]gfi gicZhYa Yx]U  
flch`

VniDU `? YUhb[ 'UbX'di V]g\YX]b %- ( \UX'fyj YUYXUX]gi fv]b[ `m'ck `Yj Y`cZZLa ]]lF]hmk ]h`h`Ygfi W fYcZh Ydc`]hW`gngha Ug'Uk \c`Yz k ]h`VUFYm% dYfWbhUVYlc ]Xbh]Zrh Yfc`YcZh YE i Yb]gfYdfYgYbhU hj Yfz ]j ]V]l dYflg; fci d %- (L'Gm% -- h`YfYdcfhWFX'k ci `Xdcgg]Vmi \Uj YVYb'a cfYbWi fu ]b[ "

H`Ya cfYUFXYbhdfehU cb]gg`Zcf`Ua ]b]a U]ghfYdi V]Wg ZfYX`U gYbgYcZ`YhXck b UZf`h`YfYZfYbXi a zUbXUk YU`YbYX5 FA zbc`cb[ Yf`WU]fYXVniA UW`a H fbVi `zfYgc`j YXlc YbWi fu YX]gWgg]cb`cZa cXYg`h`Uk ci `XUW`a a cXU`X]fYMY`W]cb`cZh YdfYg]XYbh`Gi hZcf`Df]a Y A ]b]ghf`< ck UFX`h`Y ]gg` Yk Ug`bck `cZ`h`Y bU]cbU`Uj YbXU`UbX`\]g [ cj Yfba Ybh` h`Y UQ

FYdi V]WbgfYj lj YXh Yf\cdYgZcfWbgjli hcbU WUb[ Y]b`UHY&SS+`  
k ]h hYYWjcb'cZU@Ucf[ cj Yfba Ybh`YXVm? Yj ]bFi XX"H\Yf\cdYg`  
fYWj YX'UZ fH Yf`Vccgi]b`5df]`&SS, žk\Yb`hYbYk`df]a Ya ]b]ghf`  
Wbj YbYX`Uhk c!XUmĪHk YbhmĪHk YbhmĪG a a ]hĪ`cZĪh YVYghUbX`h Y  
Vf][\hYgĪ VhYbghc`Yd`Ja`XMYfa ]bYdc]Wdf]cf]hYgZcf`5i gfU]Ug`  
gVU`UbX`Wbca ]Wdfc[ fYgg"B chg fdf]gb[ `nāh Y[ fci d`XYg[ bUHX`c`  
XlgWgg`h Ygfi W fYcZ[ cj Yfba Ybhk YfYbYU`mi bUb]a ci g]b`W`]b[`  
Zcf`UfYdi V]WFi XX`k Ug`gna dUh YhWc`h Yf`fydfhVi h]bX]WnX`h U  
`Yk ci `Xbcha cj YZcf`Wbgjli hcbU WUb[ YXi f]b[ hYUfghhfa`cZ`lg`  
[ cj Yfba Ybh`B cf`X]X`Yg VgYei YbhmicZf`UbmYbWi fU Ya Ybhlc`h Y  
fydi V]Wb`a cj Ya YbhĪh U`Yk ci `X[ ]j Yh Ya Uhm`][\`df]cf]hmXi f]b[`  
`lg`gWbX`hfa "Fi XX`k Ug`XYdcgYXUg@Ucf`YUXf`Vm`]g`ck b`dU`]U  
a YbUfmW Wg]b`i bY&S%SZVi hĪh YfYk Ugbc fYUgcb`lc`g ddcgYh U`]g`  
g Wggcfz`i`]U

Ei Yb|b'6fnW\Ugi bXfHU\_YbWbglXYfUVYcj YfgUghfUj Yzga Y|a Yg'  
 hc'a Yhk |h 5i gfU|Ub'gfj |WdYfgcbbY |bk UfncbYgZi hUgc fYdfYgb!  
 HU|cbUj |glg|b\Yf WdUM|miUg 'cf YZZWij Y\YUkcZgHUj"HyYa cgh  
 fYWbhcZ\YgYa Vfc|YXhY|cj Yfbcf|YbYfU|b Wb|fcj YfgnVWU gYhY  
 Fi XX|cj Yfba Ybhi bk |gYmU`ck YXUbUbc| bWX|HbYfUmcZgHUj |glg'  
 hc'b|bY5Z|Wb Wd|HUg|c VY|b|f|dfYhX'UgUdc |H|W'a |gg|cb'cb VY\UZ  
 cZ\YZZXfU |cj Yfba YblzY|d |W|h|mc Wbj Ugg'g ddcfhZcf 5i gfU|Ug'  
 V|X'Zcf UGYWf|mi7ci bW'gYUhf |z%&: Yfi Ufm&SS- z%z&E"

8 |gdi h'cj Yf'ck bYfg\|d'cZ\Yh|hY| \YUkcZgHUj |cc\_UWf|ci ghi fb| Z

% (

h Y7fck b k ci `XfYa Ujb`|bHUMUhgUHY`Yj Y"Dfyg a UWrñ|ZubXk \Yb U  
ZYg\ UHYa dh|g'a UXYlc Wbj Yfhlc Ufydi V]Wdf|cf U fYYa Ybhk ]``\Uj Y  
VYb`gci [\hZca h YgUHYdfYa ]Yfglc `Y|lgUHYUa YbXa Ybglc h Yf`ck b`  
Wbg|li hcbg" 8 i f|b[ `h Y%-, Ì-- XYUhgž gY YFU`dfYa ]Yfg`|bX]WAX`  
h Uih Ymk ci `X'bchia cj Ylc`

· a cj`Y` · bch bch Ybch

HfU]bYX]b`h`Y`Uk`cf`Za` ]]U`k`]h`h`Ya` UW]bYfmcZ[`cj`Yfa`Yblžk` ]``  
ZY`Yblh`YX`h`ei`Yg]cb`g`Va`]gg]cbg`

% \* .

]b U; cj Yfba Ybhc ci gY%h YgUHY[ cj Yfbcfg^Uj Y[ Ua YfYX]b ]bZcfa U`  
WbZfYbWcb Ub ]ffY[ i `UfUlg]b fYWbhXWXYgZMi h^h YcZUjU gWMLF!  
]Yg^fmlc`a YhUh]bhfj Ug^cZUddfcl ]a Uh^mY[ \^hYb`a cbh gZUbX^h Ym  
Uk Ung]bj ]h^h Y[ cj Yfbcf`[ YbYUng^gWMLFmlc`c]b h^h Ya "

J YfmZk `cW`mfYMi ]hX^gUHY[ cj Yfbcfg^Uj YVYb`UZ`]UhX`k ]h U  
dc`]hW`dUfmUh^h Y]ja YcZ^h YfUdde]bla YbhUbX^a cgh^Uj YVYb`UYfrc`  
WUja `gca YZa ]`]Uf]hmk ]h Wbg]h hcbU`a Uhhf^gcf`k ]h h^h Ya UW]bYfm  
cZ[ cj Yfba Ybh^h YdUhhfbc`ZfYMi ]h Ybh^Ug^VYb`gca Yk \UhX]ZfYbhi  
Zca h UhX]gWfb]VY]b 7UbUXU`A cgh[ cj Yfbcfg]b h YdUgh^h fYXWXYg`  
\Uj YVYb`i X[ YgZg]b]cf`a ]`]hfm^ZUWf^gcf gYb]cf UWXYa ]Wg`Hk c`cZ^h Y  
gl k ca Ybk \c^Uj YcWw]d]YX; cj Yfba Ybhc ci gYUhgUHY`Yj Y^Uj YVYb`  
gYb]cf`Uk mYf^gZcbYUb UWXYa ]WcbYUW`Yj Y^YUXZcbYUX]d`ca UzUbX`  
h Ygl h`Uvi g]bYggk ca Ub!Wa a i b]hm`YUXY`Cb`nbcY a UY[ cj Yfbcf`  
\Ug^VYb`Xfuk bZca h Yk cf`XcZwa a YWZUbXbc ]bX[ ]bci g5i gfU!  
]Ub \Ug^VYb`Udde]bhX`g]bW^h Yg^cfhhbi fYcZGf`8ci [ `UgB ]Wc`g]b`  
Gci h`5i gfU]UXi f]b[ `h^Y%+Sg`Gy YFU`[ cj YfbcfgZdY^Udg^a cgZUFY  
VY]Yj YX`rc`UWbck`YX[ Ydf]j Uh^mi^h UhUMbXcba YbhcZa cbUFWmVmi  
5i gfU]U]g]bYj ]hVYZUbXcbYcZ^h YfWffYbhi a VYzGci h`5i gfU]Ug`  
FYUF!5Xa ]fU? Yj ]b`GWFWZXYWUFYX` ]a gYZ]b ]bhfj ]Yk`Uh^h Y]ja YcZ  
\]gUdde]bla Ybhrc`VYUfydi V]Wb"

C] b h Y fCj hY k Y m hlc \ Y





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HAYWffYbhid V]Wa ccX'XcYg' bchiUWfX'\][\`df]cf]lmic`h'YUF`mi  
 UUbXcba YbhcZa cbUFWnřVi hiUWUf`a Ucf]ImicZ5i gfU]Ubg`Uj Y  
 Wbg]hbmYbXcfaY'h Yj ]Yk`h`UWUb[ Yg`ci`X'cWwf`Uih`Yl d]fmi  
 cZ`h`YEi YbñgfY][ bžUj ]Yk`g`UFYX`Vmi`h`YWffYbhid]a Ya ]b]g]m]za cgh  
 @Ucf]g]U]dfYa ]Yf]z]U]z]fa Yf@]YfU`df]a Ya ]b]g]m]f]UbXVma Ubñg]b]cf`  
 @]YfU`dUf`]Ua Yb]f]U]bg`"6i h'í g`ck`h`Yg`y`YfUbWk`ci`X'WY`UbX'YXž  
 dc`]h]W`miUbX`Wbg]h] h]cbU`nř]g`Ubch`Yf`a`UHM`"HAY6f]h]g`fi`Yg`cZ  
 g`Wgg]cb`dfYg]bhX]Z]U]W`h]Yg]z]V]W]g]Y]b`h`Y]Y`YbhcZ`h`YEi`Ybñg]XYU`h`  
 cf`UX]W]h]cb`h`Y]f`Y]Z]W]m]cb`5i`gfU]U]g]Ub`U`hca`U]W]Y]Y`U]h]cb`cZDf]bW  
 7`U`Yg`h`h`Y5i`gfU]U]b`h`fcbY`"6i`h]cbY`Wb`Z]f`m]g]Z]Y`midfYX]W]h`U  
 7`U`Yg`ñg`Wgg]cb`k`j`bchVYUW]d]h]VY`h`U`Uf]Y`dfcdcf]h]cb`cZ`h`Y  
 5i`gfU]U]b`di`V]W

5i gfU]U]bg`gYa`g]h]g]YX`k`]h`h`Y7fck`b`Ug`Ud]j`chU`]bg]h]h]cb`]b`  
 h`Y]f`K`Y]g]a`]bg]m]f]X]f]j`YXdc`]h]nř]Yb`]Z]f]Y]U]j`Ym]Z]k`ã`A`W`VY;`j`W]f`"5

UFYbchXYgl[ bYX'le'a YUj fYh'Y ]bhbg|hmicZYa ch|cbg'cf`Wbj ]M|cbgž  
 Yj Yb`|ZdH'Yei Yg|cbg'di hlc`h'Ydi V]WUFY]bhY`]] Yblmk cfXYX'fk \]W`  
 \Ug'bchUk Ung'VYyb`h'YWgY'" 7YfhUj`m]hk ci `X'WY'i bZ'fli bUH' ]ZU  
 a Ucf]hmicZ5i gfu]Ubgžcf ]bXYX'Yj Yb UgjnYUVYa ]bcf]hřk YFYXYd`mi  
 i b\UdmU'Wei h'h'Y]XYbh]hmic'fc`YcZ'h'Yf` \YUX'cZg'UHY'Vi hk Y`Uj Ybc`  
 \UFY'j ]XYbW'h'Uh'h ]g'lg'm'h'h'YWgY'"=hk ci `X'g'Y'a` h'UhfY'U'hj YmZk`  
 5i gfu]Ubg`Uj YVWwa YX]gYbWUbh'Xk ]h`h'YWbg|h'i h'cbU'fc`YcZ'h'Y  
 7fek bUgi`h'a UH' ]i UFX]Ub`cZ'h'YXYa cWU]W'fcWgg'UbX'bc'k ]h`g'UbX'  
 ]b[ 'Gf`x`b'? Yff'g'X]ga ]ggU`cZDf]a YA ]b]g'f`K` \]h'Ua` ]b`B`cj Ya VY'  
 %+) žfYdi V]Wbg'cb Vch`g]XYg'cZ'h'YdUf'h'X]j ]XY`Uj YUW'd'h'Xk ]h'ci h'  
 W'a d`U]bh'h'YdfcdcgU`h'Uh]b`U'mia ]b]a U]gh'a cXY`h'Y`YUX'cZg'UHY'  
 g'ci `X'fYU]b`UW'gg'lc`h'YfYg'fj Ydck Yž]bW`X]b[ `h'YW'dU]W'mic`X]g'  
 a ]gg'h'Ydc`]h'W`Y'YW'hj Y'

K`m`Ug'h'YX'f]j YZcf'fYdi V]W]b`5i gfu]U`cgh]a dYi g3: ]fgh'ř'h'Y  
 a cgh]UM]j YdfcdcbYb'g'cZWUb[ Yk YFY'Y` \U`g'YX'UbX'X]g]'i g'cbYX'  
 Vm'h'YfYZ'fYbXi a`cggžk ]h`h'YUX'j cW'h'g'Zcf`Ua ]b]a U]gh'fYdi V]Wb`  
 a cXY'bc' dU]bZ` `m]k UFY'h'Uh'h'YY'W'cfU'h'k ci `X'b'YX'lc`VY'W'fY'Z` `mi  
 YXi W'h'X'lc`fY'W'h'Ydcdi `U'f'm]Z]j ci fYX'X]f'W'h'Y'W]cb`cZ'h'Y`YUX'cZ  
 g'UHY'": i fh'Yfa cfYž'VWU`gY'h'YXYUX']bYcZ'h'YW'b'h'bUf'nicZ'h'Y'ZXYFU  
 h'cbZcf`h'Y]bg'U`U]cb`cZ5i gfu]U]g'U'f'gh'd'fYg]XYbhk Uga ]ggY'žk ]h`bc`  
 ch'Yf` \]g'cf]Wá ]Yg'cbYXUH' ]a a ]bYblžU'mig'YbgY'cZi f[ YbW'h`Ug`" Ā



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FYdcfhcZGybUy7ca a ]hY" &SS("FYdcfhcZh YGybUy@Y[ U UbX7cbg]h hcbU`  
5ZUJfg7ca a ]hY" "7UbVffU'

FYdi V]V6 Xj ]gcfm7ca a ]hY"%-' "' "7UbVffU'

5i gfU]Ub; cj Yfba YbhDi V]g\]b[ 'Gyfj ]W'

Ga ]h.z8" &SS)"

"GnXbYm'A UWMUhdYgg'

Hk ca Ynz5 " &SS\*"

GnXbYm: YXfU]cb DfYgg'

I A F FYgYUW" &SS- "5WggYXcb]bYUh\hd##k k k "i a ffYgYUW"Wa "U #XcW`  
fydi V]W/ YX]U&SS- 4 bYdXZ

I bXYfk ccXZDz&S%" ÎFYUgcbgZcf Wa a ]gg]cb]b[ 'A f'6UfhYhlc Zcfa U; cj Yfb!  
a Ybhí '5WggYXcb]bYUh\hd##k k k "[ cj \ci gY]Lg[ cj "U #gdYWWYg

# 12

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bchglā d`mīh YgUā YEi YbžVi hUWā a cb`dYfWdhcb`cZk \Uhlhā YUbg`  
 hc VYUWbglh hcbU`a cbUfWnāUbX`a UbmīcZh Ydf]bWd`Yg]b\ YfYb]b`  
 Ua cbUfW]W` [cj Yfba Ybhc b`h Y6f]hg`a cXY`K Yg`UFYUVY]YZ]b`U  
 gng]ā `cZdUf`]Uā YbhfmiXā cWUWāgc`h Uihk YVch`Ybfi ghā YXUhlc!  
 XUml`cj Yfba YbhcZci f`fYgdWm] YWī blf]Yg`hc`dc`]h]WUbg`fYgdcbg]VYlc`  
 dUf]Uā YbhfUbxī`hā Uhf`mīc`h`YYWmfUh`K YUgc`g`UFYh YWbWdhcZ  
 h`YgdUfUhc`cZdck Yfz`k \YfYbc`glb[`YfUbw`cf`cf] Ub`cZ]cj Yfba Ybhf  
 ]g`Ybfi g]Xk ]h`a cfYdck Yf`cf`fYgdcbg]V`]mīh Ub`]hWb`fYUgcbU`mVY  
 Y`dYWmX`hc`Y`YfVgY`H`YgYfYVi hUj YfmZk`cZh`Yfbcfa ci g`fUb[ YcZ  
 gla ]`Uf]hYg`Vmk Yb`ci f`lk`c`Wī blf]Yg`

Gi hāh`YfYfYUgc`a Uf`\_YXX]ZfYbWg`Vmk Yb`7UbUXU`UbX`B`Yk`NYU  
 `UbX`C`b`h`Y`Wbglh hcbU`Yj`YzdYf`Udgh`Ya`cghVī`WU`]g`h`Uihk`Y]b`  
 B`Yk`NYU`UbX`c`bch`Uj`Y`Ub`YbhfYbWYX`Wbglh hcb`H`Uhlgbchgc`g`Uhl  
 h`Uihk`Y`Xc`bch`Uj`Y`U`Wbglh hcbžVi`hglā d`mīh`Uih`YfY]g`bc`Z`cfa`U`  
 XcWā`Ybhk` \]W`Wb`VY`g]X`hc`VY`h`Y`gci`fW`cZWbglh hcbU`dck`Yf`  
 ]b`B`Yk`NYU`UbX`5`g`U`Wbglh YbW`cZh`]g`g]h`U]cb`h`YfY]g`bc`Z`cfa`U`  
 `]a`]h]hcb`i`dcb`h`Yg`dfYa`U`mīc`f`gcj`YfY]]`blmīcZDUf`]Uā`Ybhf`5`h`ci`[`  
 B`Yk`NYU`UbX`g`UFYg`h`]g`X]g]bW]cb`k`]h`h`Y`I`b]hX`?`]b[`Xca`ž`h`YfY  
 UfYbck` `]a`]h]hcbgi`dcb`h`Yg`gcj`YfY]]`blmīcZh`Y6f]hg`DUf`]Uā`YbhfUg`U  
 Wbglh YbW`cZ]]g`a`Ya`Vf`g`]d`cZh`Y9i`fcdYU`I`b]cb`

B`Yk`NYU`UbX`bYj`Yf`Uwī`]fYX`Ub`YbhfYbWYX`Wbglh hcbžZc`]hik`Ug`  
 bYj`Yf`fYei`]fYl`]g`]b]b]b`w`Ymā` 1`f` ` Q` ` ` ` ` ` ]b`1` ` `

UbX'Yl YW'hj Y'H |g'dfcWggk Ug'UWYfUHX'Xi f|b| 'h'YfU'ndUfhcZ'h'Y  
h'k Yb'hj'Yh' Wb'h fmk \ 'Yb' B' Yk 'NYU'UbX'z'lc| 'Yh' Yf'k |h' g'y' YfU' ch'Yf'`cb| !  
Yg'HU|g' YX'6f|h'g' W'`cb|Yg'z'bc'hU'V'm'7'Ub'UXU'UbX'5' i' g'fU|U'z'k' YfY| f'Ub'hX'  
h'Y'g'U'i' g'c'Z'i' X'ca' |b|cb'g'i'

9UW' X'ca' |b|cb'`g' AYX'U'`Y| |UbW'lc'`h'Y'7'f'ck' b'`5'`h'ci' [ \ `h'Y'd'Yf|  
g'cb|U'W'h'cb'`c'Z'h'Y'7'f'ck' b'`k' Ug'`h'Y'g'ej' YfY| [ b'z'h'Y'7'f'ck' b' |b'W' X'Y'`h'Y'  
g'ej' YfY| [ b'g'UX'j' |g'f'g'U'g'k' Y'`" `b|h'U'`m'h' Yg'Y'k' YfY'df|a' Uf|`m'V'U'g'Y'`|b'`h'Y'  
I' b|h'X'? |b| X'ca' z'Vi' h'`U'f'f'`W'a' Y'lc' |b'W' X'Y'|b'X'j' |X'i' U'g'f'Y'g'|X'Y'b'h'`c'W'`m'  
C'j' Yf'`h'a' Y'Z'U'W'X'ca' |b|cb'V'Y| U'b'lc' X'Y' Y'cd' |l'g'ck' b'W'b'W'd'h'c'Z'h'Y'7'f'ck' b'`  
6'Y| |b'b|b| ' |b'`h'Y%' `S'g'h'Y'g'ej' YfY| [ b'`U'W'X'`|b'`f'Y'U'h'cb'`lc' B'Yk' `NYU'Ub'X'  
cb'`m'cb'`h'Y'U'X'j' |W'c'Z'B'Yk' `NYU'Ub'X'a' |b|g'h'f'g'`5' g'h'Y'E'i' Y'b'W'a' Y'lc' `V'Y'  
f'Y| U'f'Y'X'a' c'f'Y'Ub'X'a' c'f'Y'U'g'h'Y'E'i' Y'b'c'Z'B'Yk' `NYU'Ub'X'U'Ub'X'cb'`n|b'W'X'Y'b'h'  
U'`m'U'g'h'Y'g'ej' YfY| [ b'`c'Z'h'Y'g'Y'ch'Y'f'`w'i' b'f|Y'g'z'c' U'X|g'h'b'W'b'Yk' `NYU'Ub'X'  
7'f'ck' b'`Y'j' c'j' YX'`H'i' g'h'Y'cb'W'g'b| `Y|a' d'Yf|U'`7'f'ck' b'`g'ck' `m'Y'j' c'j' YX'  
|b'lc' U'a' i'`h'd' |W'h'c'Z'b'U'h'cb'U'`7'f'ck' b'g'`H' |g'a' Y'Ub'h'h'U'ic'V'| |U'h'cb'g'cb'W'  
i' b'X'f'U'`Y'b'V'n'h'Y'6'f|h'g'`7'f'ck' b'k' Y'f'Y'bc'k'`h'Y'f'Y'g'd'cb'g|V| |h'nc'Z'h'Y'B'Yk'`  
NYU'Ub'X'`7'f'ck' b'`H' |g'`W'b' `V'Y'|`i' g'f'U'X'k' |h' `f'Y'Z'f'Y'b'W'lc'`h'Y'7'f'ck' b'g'  
c'V'| |U'h'cb'g'i' b'X'f'`h'Y'f'Y'U'nic'Z'K' U'h'U'b| ]"5'`h'ci' [ \ `z'c'f'U'`d'f'U'W'W'`d'i' f|  
d'c'g'Y'g'g' W'c'V'| |U'h'cb'g'k' Y'f'Y'j' Y'g'h'X'`|b'`h'Y'a' |b|g'h'f'g'c'Z'h'Y'B'Yk' `NYU'Ub'X'  
[ c'j' Y'f'ba' Y'b'h'Z'A' U'cf| W'b'h'j'bi' Y'X'lc' `c'X'h'Y'g'ej' YfY| [ b'f'Y'g'd'cb'g'V'Y'Z'c'f' i' d|  
`c'X|b|`h'Y'h'f'a' g'c'Z'h'Y'f'Y'U'ni'`b'%, (z'z'c'f' |b'g'h'b'W'Z'A' U'cf| V'n'd'U'g'Y'X'h'Y'  
B'Yk' `NYU'Ub'X' [ c'j' Y'f'ba' Y'b'h'V'm'U'd'd'Y'U|b|`lc' E'i' Y'b'9' |n'U'W'h'`lc' i' d'`c'X'  
h'Y'd'f'c'j' |g'c'b'g'c'Z'h'Y'f'Y'U'ni'6'i' h|h'k' U'g'h'Y'E'i' Y'b'c'Z'B'Yk' `NYU'Ub'X'f'U'h'Y'f'  
h'Y'I' b|h'X'? |b| X'ca'`lc' k' `ca'`h'Y'm'U'd'd'Y'U'Y'X'`

H' |g'Y'j' c' i' h'cb'c'Z'U'X'g'h'b'W'b'Yk' `NYU'Ub'X'7'f'ck' b'`k' Y'b'h'`U'b'X'`|b'`U'b'X'  
k' |h'`h'Y'b'U'h'cb'U'|n|b|`c'Z'h'Y'c'Z'U'W'c'Z| c'j' Y'f'bc'f' [ Y'b'Y'U'`8' i' f|b|`h'Y'f'U'`m'  
d'U'f'hc'Z'h'Y'h'k' Y'b'h'j'Y'h' W'b'h' f'm'h'Y' [ c'j' Y'f'bc'f' [ Y'b'Y'U' k' U'g'g'Y'b' U'g'h'Y'`c'W'  
U' Y'b'h'c'Z'h'Y'6'f|h'g'` [ c'j' Y'f'ba' Y'b'h'`8' Y'gd|]h'Y'V'Y|b| [ f'Ub'h'X'U'a' Y'U'g' f'Y'c'Z'  
d'Y'f'g'cb'U'X|g'W'Y'h'cb'z'g' W'g'g'j' Y'U'd'c' |b'h'Y'g'k' Y'f'Y'Y' d'Y'W'X'lc' f'Y'Z'f' W'b'h'h'b|  
h'ci' g'a' U'h'f'g'lc'`6'f|h'g'`a' |b|g'h'f'g'c'f' g'Y'b|c'f' K' \ |h'U'`c'Z'U'U'g'`5'`h'ci' [ \ `h'  
|g'`|b'`V'Y| U'b'lc' U'h'bi' U'h'Z'ca'`h'Y%' &S'g'h'Y'Y'g'Y'b'h'U'`m'6'f|h'g'`b'U'i' f'Y'  
c'Z'h'Y'|b'g'h'i' h'cb'`d'Y'f'g'g'h'X'Z'c'f' U'g'`cb|`U'g'U'd'c' |b'la' Y'b'g'k' Y'Y'`|a' |h'X'lc'  
h'c'g'Y'k' `c'k' Y'f'Y'bc'h'cb'`m'V'c'f'z'Vi' h'U'g'c' X'ca' |W'Y'X'z' |b'`6'f|h'U|b'`5'g'k' Y'`  
U'g'f'Y'd'f'Y'g'Y'b'h|b|`h'Y'7'f'ck' b'z'h'Y'c'Z'U'W'c'Z'h'Y' [ c'j' Y'f'bc'f' [ Y'b'Y'U'`|b'`B'Yk'`  
NYU'Ub'X'`U'X'W'a' Y'lc' f'Y'd'f'Y'g'Y'b'h'z'lc' g'ca' Y'Y' h'b'z'h'Y'j' U'i' Y'g'U'b'X'U'h'i' X'Y'g'  
c'Z'U'd'U'h'W'U'f'`g' |W'c'Z'6'f|h'g'`g'c'V'm'f'U'bg'd'`U'b'h'X'`|b'lc' B'Yk' `NYU'Ub'X'z'  
b'U'a' Y'm'h'Y'U'f|g'c'W'U'W'h'

H'Y'U'f'g'h' B'Yk' `NYU'Ub'X'V'c'f'b' [ c'j' Y'f'bc'f' [ Y'b'Y'U'z'G'f'5' f'h' i' f'`D'c'f'f|]h'z'k' U'g'  
U'd'c' |b'h'X'|b' % \* +z'U'X'k' \ ) Y'h' |g'X|X'b'c'h'd'f'c'X'i' W'U'bm'g| [ b|U'W'b'h'j'a' a' YX|!  
U'h'W'U'b| Y|b'`h'Y'Z' b'W'c'b'g'c'Z'h'Y'c'Z'U'W'z'|h'X'X'a' U'f\_`h'Y'V'Y| |b'b|b|`c'Z'U'  
h'U'bg|h'cb' |b' |l'g'W'U'f'U'W'f' U'b'X'g'm'Y'`D'c'f'f|]h'k' U'g'U'b'Y'a' |b'Y'b'h'g' f| Y'cb'U'b'X'





UWbck `YX| YUgYbgYcZWa a i b]migd]f]hUbXUÚfa `hcgYWj ]Wj ]fhi Yg`  
hUh[ ]j YB Yk `NYUUbXUgYbgYcZ]Xb]hmiUbX`di fdcgY`H ]g`UgdYWicZ  
h YWwa a i b]mfc`Y]gbchcb`mXYa UbX]b[ žVi hichMhU`mdYf)`ci gžk ]h`  
]bWwa VYb]gVY]b[ fYei ]fYXtc hfYUXUÚbY`]bYVYk Yb h YV`UbX`UbXhY`  
dc`]hW`m]Wb]fcj Yfg]U`H YWfYa cb]U`fc`Yž]b`Wb]fUgž]g`Wb]gfU]bYX`  
VniB Yk `NYUUbXg`UW`cZUg]fcb[ `` cZ cZ `dYf]j Yf ` fYei ]

fYe

%,

k UgcZmb'gYb UgUb U`mU U]bghh YW'cb]U flbX`UHfL[ cj Yfba Ybh': cf`  
]hgUh YUghna Vc`]W`m]a dcfHbhh Uh YHYUmrcZK U]Hb[ ]k Ugg[ bYX`  
Vmh YA Ucf] W]YZgk ]h h YfydfYgYbHh] YcZh YE i Yb`]b % ( S'UbX'bchi  
k ]h h Y9i fcdYUb'gMhYfg'

K \]`gha cghW]hVga `cZhYa cbUWmizWgYg'cb`k \UhfYdi V]Wbg`  
W`h YI'gYZY ]XbhUvg fX]m'cZg`Uf]b[ `U`YUX'cZgUH'k ]h `Ubch Yf`  
W'i blfnzdYcd YgYya `hc`VYa cfYWbWfbYX'k ]h h YZZW]j YbYgg'cZh Y`  
dc`]hW`gngYa "Gna Vc`]ga `]gU`j Yfnik Y`zVi hih YgngYa `k cf\_gfYU`  
gcbUWm'ZZW]j Yn': cf'a cghdi fdcgYg'h Y5i ghU]Ub`YUX'cZgUH]g'h Y`  
[ cj Yfbcf[ YbYU Ubm Unk `]g AU' ~~SZgYh] QZZW]g Ydii fdfg]g~~! Y ! cZ

V]nUffYfXWUFUjcbf ħ Uhh YUfghA cbXUhcZi bYYUWmUFk ]`` bck VY  
\_ bck b UgFYdi V]W8 Unġ=Ua d`YUgYXlc bchYh Uhh Yfydi V]Wbg`Uj Y  
[ fU]ci g`mWbXYgWbXYXlc g` g`YbXh Yf Zghj ]hYgi bh` B Yk NYUUbX  
UW U`mVYWa YgUfydi V]WZ]ZhhUy Yf`cWVfg"

H YUxj YbhcZUfydi V]W]b`5i gfu]Ucf`7UbUXUk ci `X`a U\_YUB Yk`  
NYUUbXfydi V]W]Y]h Yf`a cfYbcf`Ygg`\_ Ym]b ħ Yg`cfh]hfa žUgk YUFY  
UX]g]bW]Wi blfm]bXgcV]m]Zci bXYXcb U]Wa dU]W]h Yb ħ Y7fck b`  
UbX`h YA Uef]`dYcd`Y"5 bnia cj Ylc`Ufydi V]W]b`B Yk` NYUUbX`k ci `X`  
fyei ]fYWfYZ` `Wbg]XfUjcb`cZh YZ ħ fyfc`YcZA Uef]`]b`gcV]m]bX`  
[ cj Yfba Ybh` =Zh Y dfchU]X` dfcWgg`cZg]h]b[ `UbX`X]gdi h]g`]g`U]mi  
dfYWX]blžg WUXWU]k ci `X`fyei ]fYa U]minUfg`cZYZcfhVYZcfYU]mi  
WbW gcb W]i `XVYfYUWYX"

StAtus oF the mOnArChy in nEw ZeAl And tOdAy

ħ B Yk NYUUbX`lcXUm]hWb`dfcVUVmVYg]X`h Uhh Yfy]gcb`miUg] U`  
fydi V]W]b`a cj Ya Ybh` ]Z]W]YX]hWbVYX] [ b]U]YXk ]h U` UL ħ Y]X

U1 b]cf`[ cj Yfba Ybha ]b]ghf WU`Yb[ YX`hYdf]a Ya ]b]ghf`lc`Z`ck ``

88&

hc·fYa ]bX'dYcd`YcZh]g" H\YfY

**Current  
Issues**





# 13

## ReFleCtions on the “CAnAdiAnizAtion” oF the Crown: A modest ProPosAl

JacqueS monet

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hoc

5gZcf'hY[ cj Yfbcf' [ YbYFUzk \cgYfc'Y\UgVYyb'lc'Yl'YfVgYh'Yfenu'  
 Îf][\hlc'VYWbg' hXZ'hYf][\hlc'YbWi'fU'YUbx'hYf][\hlc'k'Ufz' "Yh  
 i'gZ'Wg'cb'h'fYÏ'a'ca'Yb'lg' ]b'h'YfYU'cbg\ld'V'hk'Yb'h'Y[ cj Yfbcf'  
 [ YbYFU'Ubx'h'Ydf]a'Ya ]b]g'm' "H'Yg'Y'fY'h'Ya'Ubb'f'cZ'h'Y[ cj Yfbcf'  
 [ YbYFU'g'Udc]bla'Ybh'h'YXW'g'cb'cb'h'Y'Yb[ h'cZ'h'Y[ cj Yfbcf' [ YbYFU'g'  
 h'bi'fY/Ubx'h'YZ'fa'U'Î'j ]lg'h' Z'f'Wbj'Yfg'U'cb'V'hk'Yb'h'Y[ cj Yfbcf'  
 [ YbYFU'Ubx'h'Ydf]a'Ya ]b]g'm"

5 Vei hih'YUdc]bla'Yblz'UV]hlcZ\ ]g'cfm' "H'YUdc]bla'Ybh]g'a'UXY'  
 Vmih'YE'i'Yb'cb'h'YUx' ]W'cZ'h'Ydf]a'Ya ]b]g'm' "h'i'g'X'lc'V'Y'Vmih'Y'  
 Ei'Ybzh'Yb'Vnh'Y? ]b[ z'Ux' ]g'X'Vm'h'Ydf]a'Ya ]b]g'm' cZ; fYU'6f]U'j'bz'  
 \]a'g'Z'dfca' d'h'X'Vnh'Y'W'cb]U'g'W'U'f'm'@U'f'z'VY' ]bb]b[ k ]h' h'YUd!  
 dc]bla'YbhcZ'cf'X'6nb[ ]b% &zh'Y6f]hg' 'df]a'Ya ]b]g'm' h'b'X'f'Y'X' \]g'  
 Ux' ]W'lc'h'Y'G'j'fY][ b'U'Z'm' W'bg' 'H'U'cb'k ]h' h'Y7'U'bx]U' "5'X'W'X'Y'  
 'U'f'z' ]b%' %zk \Yb'cf'X'6'Y'g'V'f'c'i [ \k'U'g'Udc]bh'X'z'h'Ydf]a'Ya ]b]g'  
 h'f'cZ'7'U'bx'U'x' ]g'X'h'Y? ]b[ U'Z'm' W'bg' 'H'U'cb'k ]h' h'Y6f]hg' 'df]a'Y  
 a ]b]g'm'": ]bU'nz'U'bx'Y'f'g'b'W%) &zk \Yb'Df]a'YA ]b]g'm' G' ' @U'f'Yb'h'  
 Ux' ]g'X'h'Y'Udc]bla'YbhcZ'j ]b'W'bh'A'U'g'Y'z'h'Y'df]a'Ya ]b]g'm'g'cZ'  
 7'U'bx'U' \]j'Y'h'b'X'f'Y'X'h'Y'f'U'x' ]W'W'b'U'X'Y'h]U' 'n'lc'h'Y'G'j'fY][ b'k ]h!  
 ci'h'U'm'W'bg'g'h'bh'd'fc'W'g'cZ'W'bg' 'H'U'cb' " =b%+, z'Z'f' ]b]g'U'W'z'Df]a'Y  
 A ]b]g'm' H'i'X'YU' f'Y'W'a'a'Yb'X'Y'h'Y'Udc]bla'YbhcZ'A'f'G'W'f'Y'm'f'lc'h'Y'  
 Ei'Yb'U'Z'm' \Y'f]b[ 'cZ' ]g'b'U'a'Y'V'Y]b[ 'a'Yb]h'cb'Y'X' ]b'U'X' ]g'W'g'cb'V'm'U'  
 ga'U' [ f'c'i'd'cZ'd'Y'c'Y'k \c' \U'X'a'Y'h'V'm'W' ]b'V'X'Y'W'cb'U'U][ \hlc'c'h'U'k'U'  
 cb'Y'U'Z'm'f'cb'cb'z'U'bx'k \c' \U'd'Y'Y'X'lc'V'Y'h'Y'g'W'U'f'm'lc'h'Y[ cj Yfbcf'  
 [ YbYFU'z'U'g'Y]cf'W' ]b'Y'h'a' ]b]g'm' Z'ca' 'K'Y'g'h'f'b'7'U'bx'U'z'h'Y' ]Y' h'b'U'bh'  
 [ cj Yfbcf'cZ'U'5'h'U'bh]W'd'f'c' ]b'W'z'h'Ydf]a'Y'f'cZ'U'D'f'U'f]Y'd'f'c' ]b'W'U'bx'  
 U: f'Y'W'!7'U'bx]U' i' b]j'Y'f'g'l'm'd'f'c'Z'g'g'f'cZ'W'bg'h'i' h'cb'U' \]g'cfm' B'c'h'U'  
 V'U'X'W'a'a' ]h'Y'z' \U' ]h'V'Y'b'cb'Y'z'V'i' h'cb'U'd'f'Y'W'X'Y'bh'Y'f'z'c'k'Y'X'U'U'j' "  
 =b' &S% Df]a'YA ]b]g'm' < U'd'Y'f'X' ]X'W'U'Y'k \U' =\c'd'Y'k ]' g'h'U'd'f'Y'W'X'  
 Yb'h' < Y'Z'fa'U'm'W'Y'X'lc' ]h'Y'f'U'b'Î'U'x' ]g'cfm'W'a'a' ]h'Y'cZ'Y' d'Y'f'g' 'lc'  
 W'bg' 'h'k' ]X'Y'm'U'bx'd'f'c'X'i' W'U'g'c'f'h' ]g'h'cZ'W'b'X' ]X'U'g' "H' ]g'k'U'g'U'j'Y'm'  
 \U'd'm'd'f'c'W'X'i' f'Y'z'Y'W'a'Y'X'V'm'U'g'Y'f'c'i'g'W'a'a'Yb'U'c'f'g' "6'i'h]h' \U'g'lc'  
 V'Y'cb'm'U'U'f'g'h'g'Y'd' "K \c'k ]' W'cc'g'Y'h'Y'W'a'a' ]h'Y'z'by' h]j'a'Y3K ]' ]h'V'Y'  
 b'cb'd'U'f'h'g'U'3K ]' h'Ydf]a'Ya ]b]g'm' U'f'Y'lc'h'Y'f'Y'W'a'a'Yb'X'Y' ]g'8

H'i'Yz]b'h'Y'f'f'Y'W'a'a'Yb'X'U'cb'g'Df]a'YA ]b]g'm'g'8 ]Yz'V'U'Y'z'D'Y'f'g'cb'z'  
 H'i'X'YU'z'a'i'f'cb'Y'z'7'f'f]Y'b'U'bx'A'U'f]b'W'c'g'Y'Z' ]W'c'i'g'm'U'bx'k' ]g'Y'm'  
 5'g'U'f'Y'g' 'h'z' \] \m'X'Y'g'f' ]b[ 'a'Yb'U'bx'k'ca'Yb'cZ'X'Y' ]W'cb'U'bx' ]b'h'!  
 f]m'k'Y'f'Y'W'c'g'Y' "H'Y'f'f'Y' ]c'i'g'U'W'a'd' ]g'a'Yb'lg'Y'bg'f'Y'X'h'Y'm'W'i'X'  
 Î'U'bx'X'X'Î'k'c'f'h' ]m'c'X'h'Y' \] \Y'g'h'U'bx'a'c'g'h'Y'W'Y'b'h'c'Z'U'W' ]b'h'Y'  
 'U'bx' "G'h'z'U'W'c' ]W'a'UX'Y'V'm'U'g' ]b[ 'Y'd'U'f'h'g'U'b'd'Y'f'g'cb' ]g'Y'Y'f'U'f' ]g'cZ'  
 V'Y]b[ 'a' ]g' b'X'f'g'c'X'U'bx'V'Y'W'a' ]b[ 'U'g'Y'f'c'i'g'a' ]g'U'Y' "f'b'Z'U'z'g'a'Y'  
 d'f'Y' ]c'i'g'Udc]bla'Yb'lg' \]j'Y'V'Y'Y'b'j'Y'm'i' b'Z'U'f'm'X'Y'g'W'V'X'U'g'a'UX'Y'c'b'  
 U'k \]a'z' 'cf'U'g'Udc' ]h'W'Î'f'Y'k'U'f'X'z' 'cf'U'U'j'U'g'Î'd'U'm'U'W'Î'lc'U'd'U'f'h'g'U'b'  
 W'c'bn'G'a' ]U'f'j'c'W'm'U'f'm' \U'g'U'g'c'V'Y'Y'b'i'g'X'U'c'i'h'h'Y'Udc]bla'Yb'lg'cZ'  
 ]Y' h'b'U'bh[ cj Yfbcf'g'h'Y'Z'U'f'h'Y'f'Y'V'Y]b[ 'cZ'Udc]bla'Yb'lg'h'U'k'c'i'X'  
 V'Y'i'bk'c'f'h'm'cZ'h'Y'cZ'U'W'U'd'f]a'YA ]b]g'm' < U'd'Y'f'g' d'f'Y'W'X'Y'h'g'h]b[ ]





=bgMUX'cZH Y 9UgiUbX'7YbfU'6'cWgžh Y 7]HLKYg' ]b' < U]ZU 'UbX' Ei YVWwi 'X'VYi g'X'cb'cWw]cbžfYW' ]b[ 'h Uihk c'a Ya Vfg'cZH Y Fcnu': Ua ]nž@cfX@cfbY]b' % +( 'UbX'h Y 8i \_YcZ7cbbU [ \h]b' % %ž k YfY]bgU'YXUh< U]ZU 'UbX'Ei YVWYgdYw]j Ymā

B YX'=Ybi a YfUH'h YUXj UbHj Yg'cZH U\_ ]bX'cZUf]h U35g'Ub Yj Ybhi 'Ug]b[ 'U'Zk 'XUng'k ]h '[ fck ]b[ 'gdYW'U]cb' ]b' h'Y'a YX]U'UbX'k ]h' dcdi 'U'Ub]WdU]cb'fk UHw]b[ 'Zcf'h Yk \ ]h' gā c\_ Yfz ]hk ]'' \ Y[ \ h'b' Uk UfYbYgg'cZH Y[ cj Yfbcf'[ YbYFUW]UbX'dfcj ]XYZca 'h Yg]UfhUa cfY XfUa U]WdfcU'YcZH YbYk ]bWa Vbh'5`gc' ]hk ]'' bchcb'mVf]b[ 'h'Y Ccj YfY[ b'hc'7UbUXUa cfYcZm'UbX'cb UfY[ i 'UfzdfYX]WU'VYZVU]g]Vi hi XfUk 'Uhh]cb'hc' h'Y'Y' YfVg'cZH Yfcnu' dfYfc[ U]j Yg]b'7UbUXU'fk ck' cZm' \ Ug'h ]g' \ UddYbYX'WZcfY3H'Y? ]b[ ŃĀ Fcnu'5gg'bh' ]b' % ' - /hk c' cdYb]b[ g'cZDF' ]Ua Ybh]b' ŪzmY[ \ h'YVg]h'U'U'Z'7U'U'U' b' ' 7UbU' h]b'7Ub



8&:

Ug'h YU X]ref [ YbYUžcf'h YWa a ]gg]cbYf'cZcZU`U`Ub[ i U Ygžcf'h Y  
df]j U`iWa a ]gg]cbYžcf'U Ub`

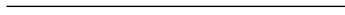




# 14

## Royal Assent: A Time For Clarity

Hugh Segal



=b'7UbUXZFcnU'5ggYbhlg'XYÚbYX'Ug'hAYÚbU'gU'YcZHAY`Y|lgUj;Y  
 dfcWgg'k\`YfY|b`UV|`VWVa Yg`Uk"HFUX|hcbU`nãhYVfYa cbm|lgYZ  
 |bj`c`j YghY|cj Yfbcf|YbYfUZUg'fYdfYgYbUj;YcZHAYgcj YfY|bžgYUHX  
 |b`hAYGybUHWUa VVfza Ya VVfg'cZHAY<ci gY'cZ7ca a cbg'k`c`UfY  
 g`a a cbYXlc`hYWUa VVf'UbXhYgYbUc'fghYa gYj Yg'H`i g`Y|lgUj;Y  
 a Ya VVfg'cZVch`ci gYgcZDU`|Ua Ybhk |hYgg'h|gU'gU'Y|b`hYybUM  
 a YbhcZU`Uk"=b'fif h`zhYVfYa cbm|lgYZ|gcZm'gdUfYmUHMXXUbXz  
 a cfYcZm`hUb bclzFcnU'5ggYbhlg'Y VVhXVmU'1 X|YcZHAYG dfYa Y  
 7ci fhcZ7UbUXU'=b

a cfVbZbc'fh AcZ' cZ aZcfYG lg bclz5ggYfrcm'ggYb'Vh

WUa VF"HAY k Ug'hYfyg 'hcZk c gYdFUH]bW  
XYblg]b'hY6f]hg' DU' ]Ua Ybh]b'hY% \*Sg'Hk ]WZA Ya Vfg'cZ'hY< ci gY  
fYZ g'Xlc 'YU Yh Yf g'Ug'lc UHhXFcU' 5 ggYbhUg'h YfYk Ug'U' YUHX  
XYUHYcb[ c]b[ k ]h.]b'hY< ci gYfYU]b[ 'lc V]'g'cb'hYCfXf'DUdY'

-b 7UbUXUZUHa dlhk YfYa UXylc g'fYUa ']bYh'YFcU' 5 ggYbhd'fcWgg"  
6]'G' ( k Ug]bl'fcXi WX]b'CW'VfZ&SS%Vnh'Yh Yb!@YUXf'cZ'hY; cj!  
Yfba Ybh]b'h'YGYbUH'Z'hY< cbcifUVYG\Ufcb'7Ufg]U]fg'H'YV]' k ci 'X  
\Uj Ydfcj ]YX'a i W'hYg'la YUHf'bu]j YUg'k Ug'V]b[ 'i g'X'i bXf'hY

]b'h'YI ? DU' ]Ua YbhUbX'k Ug'Ugc'j Yfmgla ]'U'  
lc'hYdfcWXi fYi g'XZc'f'a Ubm'n]Ufg]b'5i g'fU]U' -b'5i g'fU]UZUmf'hY  
; cj Yfbcf'; YbYfU' \Ug'UZU' YX\ ]g'cf\ Yf'gl[ bUi fY'lc UV]'z'Ua Ygg]U'Y]g'  
f'Ubg] ]H'X'lc'hYDf'Yg]XybhcZ'h'YGYbUH'UbX'h'YGDYU' Yf'cZ'hY< ci g'Z'  
k \c'h'Yb'bc]Z'h'Y]f'fYgdYW]j YWUa Vfg'h'U'Ugg'Ybh'Ug'f'Ubgd]fYX"6]"

G' ( 'k Ug'gi X]YX' ]b'gca YXYU] 'Vnh'YGH'UbX]b[ 'GYbUH'7ca a ]H'Y'cb'  
Fi 'Yg'Z'fcWXi fYg'UbXF] ]\hg" -hk Ug'h'Yb'g'Yb'Z'k ]h'c'Vg'fj U]cbg'UbXU  
Zk Ua YbXa Yb]g'Z'lc'hY< ci g'YcZ'7ca a cbgk \YfY]hg' Vg'Yei Ybh'mX]YX'  
cb'h'YCfXf'DUdY'f'k ]h' 'h'Ydfcfc[ U]cb'cZ'h'Y' +h' DU' ]Ua Ybh'

]b

H'Yf'Ubg]h'cb'lc Uk f]H'Yb'hd'fcWgg'YbUVYXV'm'Y] ]g'U]cb]b'&SS(z]gbch  
U]gg] Y'Yf'Y'H'Uk Ug'Ua cXf'b]nU]cbi H'X i Ub

i



8%

fc`YcZh YgUyUbxh Ylf]b]hmcZ7UbUXŃgdU`]Ua Ybhĭ < ci gYcZ7ca !  
a cbgŹGybUyUbX7fek b"=hfYŪMg\ck k YYa VFUWXUWĭ bHM] ]hmUbX  
g\UdYX7cbZXYfUjcb"=h]gbchUbUZhci [\h'=h]gdUfhcZk \c'k YUFY"

**15**

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% ' % Ek ]h ci hUfY[ b]b[ 'gcj YfY[ b\Uj ]b[ 'y Yf'gYi  
 Zcchcb'ci f'gc]": cf'Wbli f]Yg'k Y\Uj Yh'i g\UXUa cghii bi g' U'Í Ufa g'  
 'Yb[ h'Í 'Yl dYf]YbWcZlY YbUqcbU' ]b\_ 'k ]h 'h Y\YUX'cZg'UH' G]bW'hY  
 Ccj YfY[ b XcYgbc'h'lj Y\ YfY'k YgY'\ja 'cf\Yf'Ug'fYa chY'UbX'gca Yk \Uj  
 ZcfY[ bZ'UbX'cZ'Yb'h'fci [ \ 'h YmYg'cZ'h Y]b'h'fbUqcbU' dfYgg' H\YfYUfY  
 gca Yh'a Yg'cb[ ]b'h'fj Ug'Vh'k Yb'fentU'j ]gl'g ? ]b[ ; Ycf[ YJ =bYj Yf'Wa Y  
 VUW'lc 7UbUXU' =hk Ug'cb'n'k ]h 'h YW'ffYbhE i Yb'h'Uj ]gl'gk YfYa UXY  
 a cfYfY[ i 'Uf'nãU'h'ci [ \ 'h YfY\Uj YVYb' ]b'h'fj Ug'Ug'cb[ 'Ug'Uj Ym'Uf'g'  
 Vh'k Yb'h'Ya 'f% - +l &&S&Z &S) Ì %S' K Y g'ci 'X'VUf' ]b'a ]bX'z'h'ci [ \ž  
 h'UhVm&S%žk \Yb'h'YE i Yb'k ]''WY'WfUH' \*S'm'Uf'g'cb'h'Yh'fcbYž'g'Y  
 k ]''\Uj Y'Wa Y'lc '7UbUXU'cZ'U'U' mi&&i]h'a Yg'Xi f]b[ '\Yf'fY[ bZj ]gl'h'b[ '  
 i g'a cfY'cZ'Yb'h'Ub'Ub'mich'Yf'7ca a cbk YU'h 'Wi blf'm'fB YdU'f'a Yb'h'cZ  
 7UbUX]Ub < Yf]hU Y&S%S'

5 'h'ci [ \ \ Yf'j ]gl'g\Uj YVYb'fYU'j YmZ'f'ei Yb'ž'7UbUX]Ub' cZ'U'W

\$\$\$

Yi Ua d'Yzk \Yb'dUf]chga UbX'df]XYk YfYUh\Yf\Y[\ \h'ci f'Gcj YfY] b' k Ug'i bUVYlc'g\UFY]b'h Yk ]XYgdfYUX'Y Vh'a YbhiUg'gca YcbYk \c'VY! `cb[ g'hc'h ]g'Wi blfml'cc'z]bW'g\YX]XbchUhhbXh'Yy Ybh'`b'h YI b]h'X ? ]b[ Xca žg\YVb' hfUj Y'Ug'g\Yd'YUg'g'Ua cb[ 'fcnU'fYg]XbW'g'UbX'g\Y Y'YV'g'g'U`h'YUhf]Vi h'g'cZ\Yf'cZ'W'

### A hybrid System

`b'7UbUXUZh'YbYi hfU]h'z'g'U'V`]lmUbX'a cfU'U h'cf]lmUgg'WU'X'k ]h' h'Y7fck b'hu\_YUj Yfm'X]Z'fYbhZ'cfa h'Ub'h'Ym'Xc ]b'ch'Yf'W'bg]h' h'cbU' a cbUFW]Yg''9j Yf'glbW'ci f'U'f'g'h'7UbUX]Ub'V'cfb' [ cj Y'fbcf' [ Yb'YfU'Z'h'Y F] [ \h'c' cbc'i fUV'YJ ]b'W'bh'A Ugg'Y'z'k Ug'Uddc]b'h'X]b'%) &zk Y\Uj Yg'Yb' Ug'ck'g'ddUj Y]b'di V]W' b'X'Y'f'g'U'b'X]b] 'cZ'h'Ya cbUFW]g'W'bg]h' h'cbU' fc'YUg'cddeg'X'h'c'h'Y'fc'Y'cZ'h'Y [ cj Y'fbcf' [ Yb'YfU''Df]cf'hc' \g'Uddc]b'h' a Ybl'Z'U`df'Y ]ci g' [ cj Y'fbcfg [ Yb'YfU' \UX'V'Yb'Uddc]b'h'X'Z'ca h'Y6f]hg' i dd'Y'W'gg'g'Ub'X'U]g'c'W'U'h'`b'X'Y'X'Z'f'f'f'f'd5'd' `4z'A ]'



A CAVALIER tReAtment

HAYdf]bWdU Ux] ]gYf'hc'hY[ c] Yfbcfg[ YbYFU'h i gVWwa Ygh Yf'di ddYH  
a Ughfzk ]h'hYf]g'cZXFUk ]b[ \]a'cf\Yf'Wcgm'hc'h YUYX'cZdUfhgUb'  
dc`h]Wg'@Yhi'gfWw`h YfYWbhYd]gcXYcZ'h Ydfcfc[ U]cb'cZ'h YUfghgYg'  
gcb'cZ'h Y(S'h DUf']Ua Ybhc'b'8YWa Vf'(z&Ss, zk \Yb'h Ydf]a Ya ]b]ghf'  
UbX'\]gg]UZ\UX'hc'XYa cbgfU'h'hc'h Y[ c] Yfbcf'[ YbYFU'h Uih'Ymk YfY  
'g]U'YX ]b'k Ub]b[ 'hc'dfcfc[ i YDUf']Ua Ybhgc'gcb'UZmf'Ub'YYW]cb"  
H'YYI dYf]YbWUddUfYbhm'YZnUgci fH]hY]b'h Ya ci h'cZ'h Ydf]bWdU'  
Ux] ]gYf'hc'h YE i Yb]g'fYdfYgYb]U]j Y'K \Yb'h Ydf]a Ya ]b]ghf'XYW]XYX'  
cb'mUmYU'Umf'hc'fYei Yghdfcfc[ U]cb'cZ'h YgWwbX'gYgg]cb'cZ'h YgL'a Y  
DUf']Ua Ybl'zcb'8YWa Vf'' Sž&Ss- ž\YX]X'bchXc'k \UhWbj Yb]cb'UbX'  
dfc'hcW'fYei ]fYVmidUn]b[ 'UZ'fa U'j ]gh]hc'h Y[ c] Yfbcf'[ YbYFU'zVi h  
Wg] U'mid]WYXi d'h Yd\cbY'7Ub'cbY]a U ]bYU6f]h]g' df]a Ya ]b]ghf'  
Ug\_]b[ h'YE i Yb'hc'dfcfc[ i YcfX]gg'j Yh'Y< ci gYcZ7ca a cbgVmf]b[!  
]b[ i d'6i W]b[ \Ua DUUW3< Yk ci 'XVYfci bXm]W]h]W]hXZcf UgYf]ci g'  
VfYUW'cZWbg]h]h]cbU'Wbj Yb]cbz]ZbchUb UZZ'cbh'hc'h Y7fck b"=b'h ]g'  
Wi b]f'n]h Ya YX]UbchX'h YW] U]Yf'k Uih'Ydf]a Ya ]b]ghf'VY U] YXz  
Vi hUhf]Vi hX]h'hc'gc!W'YX'İ Wc'İ fYU]cbgV]k Yb\]a 'UbX'h YDA Cž  
cb'h YcbY\UbXz'UbX'h Y[ c] Yfbcf'[ YbYFU'cb'h Ych'Yf'

=b'7UbUXLž'h Ydf]a Ya ]b]ghf'Wb'hfYU< Yf'A UYgh]g'fYdfYgYb]U]j Y  
X]ga ]gg'W]U] YXZ]W]k YfQ' V]g' g'df]g]h]YQ' Vh'1'hY' 1 t ° 'df]aY

ci hj ]W!fY[ U Xi hYgVmbchWa ]b[ !c \ ]gcf\ Yf XYZbWUbxVmiXFU [ ]b[ .  
 h Yf'ZYh]b'g]h U]cbg'h U]fYdfcVYa U]WZf\ ]a 'cf\ Yfzh YmWb Ugc'  
 XWXYlc g'edj ]g]h]b[ ; cj Yfba Yb!< ci g'Ylc \ YUf h Y[ cj Yfbcf [ YbYU]g'  
 cd]b]cbgUbXUxj ]W' h]gUb UbV]bhd]fU]W]f'cchX]b h YdfYfc[ U]j YgcZ  
 h Y6f]hg\ 'gcj YfY][ b"5 bncbYk \ c'gUk h Y&SS\* U'a . zX]fY]M]X'  
 VniChd\ Yb: fYUgzk ]` fYa Ya V]f h YgWbYk \ YfY< Yf'A UYgmifYW]j Yg'  
 h YfYXX]gdUHW Vcl Yg'gYbh\ Yf Yj Yfmk YY\_ Vni h Ydf]a Ya ]b]g]f" H Ymi  
 Wb]U]b'g' a a U]YgcZVW]bYha ]bi hYg'XcWa Yb]g'g\ YfYUg'U]h]b]h]j Ymi  
 gcl h U]Xi f]b[ ' h Ydf]a Ya ]b]g]f]g'fY[ i `Uf j ]g]h'g\ YWb X]gWgg'h Ya .  
 k ]h \ ]a `UbX'cZ]f \ ]a `Uddfcd]U]YUxj ]WZh YZi ]hcZ\ Yf `cb[ 'Y dYf]!  
 YbWUbxh YdfcZgg]cbU]ga h U]\_Ydg\ Yf] ] cfc] g'mci hg]XYcZdU]hg]b'  
 dc ]h]g' b''° .



dfcdYf'mYj Ui Uq| 'hYWbg|hi hcbU'UbX'dc' |hW' |a dUmhUhg W'U  
 WUb| Yk ci 'X'WfU|b'm\ U Ycb'h Y |bg|hi hcb'cZhY'7fck b''H' d'fY!  
 hbX'h Uih YfYk ci 'X'V'bcby' |g'hc' | | bcfY'h Y YggYbhU' bYi hfU' bUih fY  
 cZhY'Gcj YfY| b'UbX' |lg' |b\ YfYbhd'fYc| Uq| Yg''H' YfY |g'bc' Xci Vh'h U  
 |Zh Yd'fYgcb' |c' VY'Udc|bhX'k YfY'WcgYb' VmiUj chZcZk \Uq| Yf' \_|bXZ  
 Ub' |a defhUhd'fYc| Uq| YcZhY'7fck b'k ci 'X'VY'cg|'H' Yg'Uih g'cZhY'  
 [ cj Yfbcf' | YbYU'k ci 'X'g' |d' |ffYf|Yj U' m|b|c' UfYdi V|Wb' d'fYg|X'YbhU'  
 a cXY'^ |g'g'Y'W|cb'k ci 'X'bc' 'cb| Yf' VYU' a Uhf' cZhY'Y| YfYg'Y'cZhY'  
 d'fYc| Uq| YVi hfU'h Yf'h YfYg' 'hcZUj chY'f'i ggy' '86%'Df|a Ya |b|ghf'  
 < UdfY' X'W'X'X' |c' Yb'f'i ghU'W'a a |h'Y'cZ'g| 'd'fYg'cb'g'hc' | YhU'f'W'a !  
 a YbXU|hcb'cb Ub' Udd'fcd'f|U'Y'WbX|XU'h' < ck Yj YfZ'h Y'W|hf|UfYa UjbyX'  
 Yi gj Yf'i f'f'i86%'

=b'ch Yf'k cfXgZ'k |h' h'Y'hfa' k \ |h'Y'X'Uk Unile' 'Ygg'hU' Uj Y'nYUgZ'  
 h'YdfYg| YcZh YcZU'W'cZh Y| cj Yfbcf' | YbYU' \ Ug'VYb'k UhfY'X'X'ck b'  
 UbX'd' UWX'U'h Ya Yf'W'icZ'g' W'ggj YWUb| YgcZ| cj Yfba Yb'h'c'Vj |ci g'nZ'  
 h' |g'W'i 'X'by' Yf' \ Udd'Yb' |b'; fYU'6f| |U|b''H' Y'6f| |hg' 'df|a Ya |b|ghf' Wb'  
 bY| h' Yf' |a |h'h' Y' Yb| h' cZh YGcj YfY| |b'g'fY| | b' bcf X'Yb'm\ |a' cf' \ Yf' |h' Y'  
 f| | \ h'ic' VY'W'bg' 'h'X'Z'h Yf| | \ h'ic' Uq| |g'Y'UbX'h Yf| | \ h'ic' k' Uf'b' |f' cf'g'Y'm  
 % ++z) % ) ( 'H' Yd'fY'Wd|hcb' W'YU'h'X' VmiU' 'h' |g' |g'h' Uih Ydf|a Ya |b|g'  
 hf' \ Ug'h Yf| | \ h'ic' X'W'X'Y'h Y' Yb| h' cZU| cj Yfbcf' | YbYU' |g' h'fa' Ug' \ Y'  
 g'Yg' U'hUbX'Z'f' fYU'g'cb'g' \ YbY'X' b'ch'g'd' Y'W'Z'f' Yg' |h| |b' h' Y'X|a |b|g' Y'X'  
 W'Y'X'V| |h'ic'Z'h Y' \ c' X'f' cZ'h YcZU'W' '6m'W|h|b| 'VUW' h' Y' Yb| h' cZ'h Y'  
 [ cj Yfbcf' | YbYU' |g' h'fa' zk Y' Uj Ycd'Yb'X'h Y'X'ccf' |c' g| 'Z' f'h Yf' df|a Y'  
 a |b|ghf|U' X'ca |bU|hcb'cZ'h Y'Udc|b|a Yb'h'g'X'i fU|hcb'UbX'g'U' | |m'h' Yg'  
 df|b'Vd' YgZ' |b' YfYb|b' h' Y'7fck bZ' \ Uj YVYb' h' f'Y'X'cb' h' Yf' \ YUX' |h|g'  
 bck h' Y'7fck b'h U|g'Yd' \ Ya YfU' UbX'h Ydf|a Ya |b|ghf' k' \ c' |b'W'f'U'h'g'  
 W'b|h'i |h'i

The bACKground oF An InCumbent in the Position oF  
 gOvErnor gEnErAl

5 bch Yf' |a defhUbhY'Ya Ybhd'fYh|bg'hc' h' YdfcZ'gg|cbU' VUW| fci bX'cZUb'  
 |b'W'a Vb'h' h' Y'X'ca |bU|hcb'cZ'h Ydf|a Ya |b|ghf' cZ'h YdfcW'gg'Z'f' h' Y'  
 Udc|b|a Yb'h'cZ'h Y| cj Yfbcf' | YbYU' Vf|b| g|h'Yj Yf'a cfY|b|c' h' Yd'Uf'h|g'U'  
 dc' |h'W' cfV| |h'Z'd'Uf'h'W' U'f' mk \ Yb' h' Y'Udc|b'h'Yg'U'f'Y'Z'fa Yf' dc' |h'W'U'bg'cf'

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cZ'h'Y ?



&&

UbXbcVcXmM dYmgh UhUg\UFYcZh YcZUW\c'XYfNgdfygbU ]bWa Yk ]''  
 Vi gXlc'a UjBUj b h YcZUW'H Y| cj Yfbcf [ YbYU'XYdYbXgYbhfYmcb'  
 di V]WU'UbU'U'g ddefz\YbWcbDU' ]Ua YblzUbXcb h Y|b]hUj YcZ h Y'  
 df]a Ya ]b]ghf k \c XYWXYgZUWfX]b| lc h Y| ]j Yb'dc ]hW W'Wa gUbWg'  
 UbXh YgYb]h] ]micZdi V]W'd]b]cbzk \Yh Y'cf'bc h c Wa a ]hUX]hcbU'  
 Yl dYbX]h fYg'lc h YcZUW'C b h YU'UbU'U'gXYZh Ybzh Y| cj Yfbcf [ YbYU'  
 ]g'Wa d'Yh'mXYdYbXYbh]b Yj Yfmk Urcb h Ydf]a Ya ]b]ghf'UbXcb h Y'  
 k ]''cZDU' ]Ua Ybl'H Ya cb]rcf]b| 'cZh Yi gYcZdi V]WZ bXgZUWgg]VY'  
 lc h Y|bWa Vblz]g]b h Y\UbXg'cZh Y| cj Yfba YbhcZh YXUñ

Under the Control of the Prime Minister

8cYg'h Yg'f]b\_ ]b| 'ghU g'cZ< Yf'A UYgmNg'fYdfYb]hUj Yzk \c' ]g'Yj Yf'  
 a cfYg VcfX]bU'hYlc h Ydf]a Ya ]b]ghf'UbXh YDA Czgyfj Yh Y|b]hYfgg'  
 cZh Y|bg]h] hcb h U]lgh YWfbYfg'cbYcZci f'7cbg]h] hcb3-g'h Y|bg]h'  
 hi hcb]fi 'mVY]b| 'gyfj YXk \Yb ]h]g'a UXYg VYm]c h Ydf]a Ya ]b]ghf'3  
 K ]''7UbUX]UbgfYgdYm]h YZfa 'cZh Y|f [ cj Yfba Yb]a cfY]Zh YmXYWXYZ'  
 Wbg]Xf]b| 'h YfY YbhYgg'Yfc]cb'cZh Ydcg]hcb'cZ] cj Yfbcf [ YbYU'Zh U'  
 h Y|bg]h] hcb ]g' Ygg'WYX]VY'h Ub'VZcfYZ\ Ug'VYb XfUk b' ]b]c' CHk U'  
 dc ]hW'UbX'lg'bc''cb| Yf'h Y'cWg'cZUbU]cb'

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Questionable Decisions At Rideau Hall

Handwritten text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.

5 VgYbWcZFcnU 5ggYbh

Main body of handwritten text, appearing to be a list or series of notes, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side.

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Ei YbñgdcffUjhVmi>Yub!DU `@Ya |Yi l `UgVYb'a cj YXlc UbchYf'k U`  
UbX|gbc`cb[ Yfj |g|VYhc`dYcd`Yk UHW|b[ h YWFYa cb|Yg'cb h'Yj |g|cb"  
K \Yb'h Yj Yfnd`UWgk \fYh Ygna Vc`gUbX\|g'cfncZh Y7fck b'g'ci `X  
Xca |bUHYfY|bghUXfYa cj YXUbXUFYUgYbhZca Z bW|cbghUhUFYhY  
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 Gcj`Y|Y|] b`h`Y|d|c|g|h|c|b`U|b`X|]X|Y|b|h|]m|h`U|h`Y`f`g|h|U`g`X|Y|a`U|b`X|g`H`Y|]X|Y|b|`  
 h|h|]m|c|Z|h`Y`G|c|j`Y|Y|] b`|g`Y`Y`b`d|f|c`V`Y|a`U`|]W|c|b`c|i`f`c`k`b`W`f`f`Y|b`W`h`C`b`h`Y`  
 &S`Xc`U`V`|`z`h`Y`Y`|g`U`d|c|f|f|U|h|c|Z|h`Y`E`i`Y`b`z`V`i`h`b`Y|h`Y`f`|`Y`f`b`U`a`Y`  
 U|b`X`|`Y`f`h|h`Y`b|c|f`h`Y`|]b|g|] b|]U|c|Z|f|c|n|U|h|i|U|d|Y|U|f`z`k`|`|]`Y`h`Y`d|c|f|f|U|h`g`c`Z`  
 G|f`K`|`Z`|X`@|U`f|]Y|f`z`G|f`>`c`b`5`"A`U`W`X`c|b`U`X`z`K`|`|]`U`a`@`"A`U`W`Y`b|n|Y`?`|b|`  
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 7`c`a`d`U`F`Y`h`|g`k`|]h`U`6`f|]h`g`|`d`c`i`b`X`"C`b`|]h|h`Y`E`i`Y`b`k`Y`U`f`g`h`Y`f`c`n`U`  
 X|]U`X`Y`a`U`b`X`b`Y`|h`i`c`|`Y`f`d`|]W`f`Y`U`d`d`Y`U`f`g`h`Y`W`d`|`Y`f`"  
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 f`Y`Z`f`Y`b`W`|c`h`Y`G`c`j`Y`Y|] b`"H`Y`h|h`Y`I`E`i`Y`b`c`Z`7`U`b`U`X`U`|`U`g`b`c`h`Y`Y`b`  
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 i`b`X`Y`f`h`Y` "B`c`k`c`b`X`Y`f`U`a`U`c`f|]m`c`Z`7`U`b`U`X|]U`b`g`  
 W`b`b`c`h`i`a`U`\_`Y`h`Y`X|]g`h`|]W`d`b`U`a`c`b|`h`Y`h|h`Y`g`c`Z`<`Y`f`A`U`Y`g`m`z`|]c`h`  
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# bibliography

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Yfba Yblz5 i h]bca m]bXhAYFcnu' Dfyc[ U]j Y'Í ·  
'fi Yfi Ufi"

A W \]bbYñ9"8S% "ÎHAY7cbg]h hcbU UbX'Dc ]h]W'5 g]Y]g]cZhAYCZUWcZ ·  
hAY; cj Yfbcf; YbYFU'Í · ' &žbc"&

Í 8S% "Î; ]l YX9Y]g]cb 8U]g]UbXhAY; cj Yfbcf; YbYFUŃDck Yf'lc; f]bh8 ]g ·  
gc' i hcb"Í · % žbc"%

A Yg]Ua cfYz6">"8S% "ÎHAY@]bYCj Yf'K \]W< YA i gh]b ch]DUg]Ń8Y]b]b[ h'Y ·  
CZUWcZ; cj Yfbcf; YbYFUz%+, 'Í · , \*žbc"" "

Í '0-, "Î]b'5 F]Ucfc'9X] Q]Í]b · ; YbYFUžbXh]UbX'hAY · ; f]bh'5 · 1 1

&

# E i YbŋDc`JWŋGh XjYg` F YWbhDi V JWŋhcbg

HAYE i YbŋDc`JWŋGh XjYg`Gf]Yg`gXYXJWŋXlc ħ Yl d`cfUĥcb`cZa Ucf di V]Wlc`JWŋ  
]gg Ygħ UhWbZcbh[ cj Yfa YblgUbXg`Wŋm]b`7UbUXUUbXch Yf`bUĥcbg`

A Ubi gWŋdlg Va ]ggcb"K YUfYd`YŋYXlc WbgjXf bYk`Vcc\_ dfcdcgUgUbX`a Ubi !  
gWŋdlg`DfY]a ]bUfmiYbei ]f]YgUfYk Y`Wa Y`5`g`Vj Ybĥcb ]gbcfa U`mfYei ]fYXZf`ħ Y`  
di V]Wŋhcb`cZub UWXYa ]Wcc\_"D`YUgYX]fYMei Yg]cbgcf`dfcdcgUgUlc ħ YDi V]Wŋ  
ĥcbgI b]hVniYa U`UhgldgfYgg4ei Yybg`Wŋcf`j ]għci f`k`Yg]hY`k`k`k`ei Yybg`W#  
gldg#Vcc\_gzcf`WbhUMi g`Vmd\cbYUff%L)` `!&% &

Ci f`Vcc\_gUfYUj U]UYZca [ccX`Vcc\_gcfYgY`Yfnc \YfZ]bW X]b[ ħ YE i Ybŋ  
I b]j Yf]g]mVcc\_gcfYfħ.##k`k`k`Wā di gVcc\_gcfY`Wā #E"A W]`!E i Ybŋ  
I b]j Yf]g]mDfYgg]għ Yl W`gj Yk`cf`XfYdfYg]b]h]j YUbXX]g]f]V ]cf`cZVcc\_g]b`ħ Y  
g]f]Yg`5`Z`WŋUc[ i YUbXcfXf]b[ ]bZfa Uĥcb`a`UñVYz`i`bXcb`ħ Y]f`k`Yg]hY`  
fħ.##a ei d`a W]`W#E

## GWcc`cZDc`JWŋGh XjYg`

zUW`>YXk UVUbXFcXf][ i Y@UbXfmfXg`L&S%`  
-(GB`:+, !%)` `!&-!,

< cb"9`]bcf`7Ud`Ubz8f`Hēa`6][ XUDYm]cbZa U]UA UW ]j YbzUbX`GUbXniG`YU`Ub`8S%`  
-(GB`:+, !%)` `!`%!

zUb`8`"7`U`z8Uj ]Xh]WzUbXF]WUfXJUb`@ccb`&S%`  
-(GB`:+, !%)` `!`%!

A Ymf`6i fg]m]bz`La Yg: f]XmfYgZ9f]b H`Yñ`UbXfC`Vmf]j ]bWmfQ` FcVfħ` FcVfħ`







