

7KH SROLF\ RI SHUPHDWLRQ RI )DELDQ 6RFLH  
+HDOWK 6HUYLEFH SROLF\ RI /DERXU 3DUW\

=L[XDQ :DQJ

&ROOHJH RI &KLQHWH+BDEL/1WHUPDOLXQKYDKQMLWHEKL &KLQD

\$EVWUDF\SXUVXLW RI VRFLDO UHIRUP )D E'LDORX SRDGHVSW HDG %ULHW IDV S R6  
SHUPHDWLRQ RI RWKHU SDUWLHV EDGDHGR WIKHHWL Q LOXSHQFVH Q WR RG PERV D  
:HEE H[HUWHG LEIROXUHDF S ROLFU RQD QWKKI 6HDUWLLFQDQD Q E LQ WKH FRQW  
WR WKH QDWLRQDOSHDUDWK WIKHU YIDFHLZV SRLOLRI )DELDQ 6RFLHW\ JU  
FRQYHUJHQFH %\ GUDZLQJ RQ WKHR BRVQWQJ HW KHSH MWLHDFOL WRKPI)DCEW DF  
PDQDJHG KHDOWK \VWHP WKH FRQVROESD WWRKH RLP SUHRYXDFHQQW R  
DGPLQLVWUDWLYH HILFLHQF\ RI JRYHUORSPHQWU RQDWRORX QWHDUYL FHRW S  
VDQDWRULXPV ZLWK WKH LQKHUHQW FRRFLWPHQWRKRFDWKHIRDEBQD :  
HVVDEOLVKPHQW RHFDSXJEDDFWFKH VQWWRUR QDGH OHYLQOWKH ILHOG RI SX  
HVVDEOLVK D QDWLRQDO PHGLFDQ WREFD QDSVLQVWP/DVRR S URY LSHQDFL H  
QDWLRQDO KHDOWKDFGH WKRIRDXGVA %ULWLVK VRF

3UHIDFH

JRYHUQPHQW RYHU WKH SDVW IRXU G  
JRDOV DFWLYLWLHV DQG SROLFLHV  
DUH DOVR EULHIO\ DQDQIHG WR  
)DELDQ 6RFLHW\ DV D VRFLDOLVW ROLWPHQVH QULVDFXUJ  
WKH %ULWLVK ZRUNLQJ FODVV Labour Party & RVVWLXWHBQ State With  
ZHUIDUH VWDWHQHMTXWHPHQWSDHFLDQ British, 1900-1948  
SROLF\ RI SHUPHDWLRQ )DELDQ 6RFLHW\ SROLH  
GLVHPLQDWH LWV LGHDV WR DQ WKH D SROLHDFH SROLHWLWV  
DQG JRYHUQPHQW RIILFLDOV ZKROBUZLFHSGULFLEXDQDQ WPKW VLJHO  
WKHVH LGHDV DRUP DQDQDWRIFUHSDFEWHULWKK SROLF\ RQ VXEVTXH  
VRFLHW\ WR VRBHQWKQW )DELDQ 6RFLHW\ SUWKKXU QDUZLFN DOVR GI  
H[HUWHG DQ LPSRUWDQW LQOXHQH RQ WKH SHUWGHVH RQ SROLH\ DQG W  
/DERXU IV SROLF\ LQ WKH VRFLDO ZHOIDUH RI WKH QDWLRQDO  
KHDOWK VHUYLEFH WKURXJK WKH SROLH RQ SHUPHDWLRQ 6HUYLEFH KH  
6R IDU WKH UHVHDFK RQ )DELDQ 6RFLHW\ LQROWUDWRQDQ GHYHO  
SROLF\ DQG /DERXU 3DUW\ KDV RPHHWRHUHDFWHEHSHQVH LV L  
-RVHSKLQH )LVKHO OLOEXUQ IRUWHDFSHQKPYGRHREHDFH QHOIDUH I  
RQ )DELDQ IV D SROLF\ RI SHUPHDWLRQDQ WKB DDFRXLQ 3DUWPSKDV L  
-RVHSKLQH )LVKHO OLOEXUQ IRFVHWKH SRTU LQIOXHQH DQG  
LQILOWUDWLRQ RI )DELDQ D SROLH SHUPHDWLRQ RI RQDQFKRODI  
DVSHFWV RI ODERXU SROLF\ DIWHU 6RFLHW\ KQVLYH LHZWKHURVQ LWKH  
VRFLDOLVW WUDGLWLRQ RI )DELDQ 6RFLHW\ ZDVKH GDERXU 3DUW WK  
/DERXU IV SODQV WKURXJK D FROWLORRYV SURFHYV RDIH SROLH VRPH  
RI SHUPHDWLRQ DQG VRPH RIGLDFDQRV GRWRYHWKHUHDERSXHQWUW  
JUDGXDOO\ UHIOHFWHG LQ /DERXU IV WKH HYKRWLRQ RFLHW\ SROLF  
SDUWLFXODU LQ 6LGQH\ :HEZHURUSRHUHWGHUHWLZ VWXGLHV  
WUDGLWLRQ LQWR WKH EDVLF SODQV RIZWKH UDERXU 3DUW\ WRQ ILH  
HYHQW WKDW PDUNHG D WUXO\KHDSWK SDUWFRXWUWVWLQ RYHZ R  
)DELDQ PHPEHUV WR WKH /DERXU 6RFLHW\ KDV SBBQDGLSBBQW DQW  
WKH SULQFLSOHV RQ ZKLFK /DERXU 6RFLHW\ EDYRHWV SROLWK  
DQG SROLFLHV -RVHSKLQH )LVKHO OLOEXUQ WRFXYDWLRQDQ HHDOWK  
QDWXUH RI )DELDQ 6RFLHW\ DQG UHIOHFWHG LGZWKH WKH /DERXU  
3DUW\ WKH 3DUOLDPHQWU\ /DERXU 3DUW WKB WR PDNH UDWRQ

&RUHVSRQGLQJ DXWKRU # FRP

WKH ILHOG RI PHGKFDIOWKHU VHFHLVW BQFHDWR WYKH EXW DOVR DPRQJ H  
 UHIRUP RI PHGLFDO VHUYLFH DQ GK HQD D OYH QD FVKKLH YHS SVKUH WKDLOV RIZH D  
 XQLILHG PDQDJPHQW LQ WKH IDGG GS ORD QS/X FVKKLFW KILMO WKULQLUHFVW  
 %ULWDLQ WKHUHIRUH WKHUH LV ROLVFO O) DRIPOHQ VSRFFLH WR UP MKKH U W XG  
 RI )DELDQ 6RFLHW\TV SHQHWUD VQRQL SRRO RVLFQ OWSKUR SDEB QIG D WR P  
 3DUW\TV 1DWLRQDO +HDOWK 6HUDEFHSSVHQL FEL O DEWKDODDQGR XWKW W  
 FHQWXU\ 7KHUHIRUH WKH SXUSBUOLBPHQML WSDSDNH LWKWR ZRUN  
 FRPSDUH )DELDQ 6RFLHW\ DQG /DERXU V3DUW\LVQ ZRKHW KL HQGV IRQJ WKD  
 QDWLRQDO KHDOWK VHUYLFH RQ DOKMKRDXV KV] IRU RV ISH U LFHLOVD UPLVGLHVD  
 GLIIHUHQFHV LQ VRFLDO ZHOIDUH SVRCHV\ WLSZDUUG VV RV RZHL DFDLQ P WKU  
 IXUWKHU VWXG\ WKH LQIOXHQFH GHF WELUHQ 6RFXUHKH)DIESD ES SODRKRKH W V  
 SHUPHDWLRQ RQ /DERXU 3DUW\TV SXG D WFL DQDGO VPKHG ISDDUO VHVU WLF HF DUU  
 SROLF\ LQ WKH HDUO\ WK FHQWXSJDQGD/DERXU 3DUW\TV  
 LQKHULWDQFH DEVRUSWLRQ DQG+RZHYYHQR S)PHEQ WQ RRRFDEW DQGLG QR  
 6RFLHW\TV LGHDV LQ WKLV ILHOGILUPO\ ZLWK ODERXU DORQH 7R LQIL  
 WKH ILQDO SROLF\ RI )DELDQ 6RFLHW  
 FHUWDLQ KLVWRULFDO SHULRG \$QQH %HVDQW \$QQH  
 \$ SROLF\ RI SHUPHDWLRQ LQ \$QQH %HVDQW \$QQH  
 SULQFLSOH RI )DELDQ VLSRNOXERPHO IRUWKH )DELDQ 6RFLH  
 /DERXU V 1DWLRQDO +HDOWK XEHUWLFHQXGHERRI WKH )DELDQ  
 HGLWRU LQ FKLHI RI WKH PRQWKO )  
 )DELDQ 6RFLHW\ LV D VRFLDOLVWLVWKRSLQ (AEDQGRUZJLPHUHQDUG  
 UHIOHFWV WKH ZRUNLQJ FODVV V GHRXQBUIR U%W DQ G RQMSUUXVFMWRHG  
 RI WKH ZHOIDUH VWDWH ,W EHQDHYWV &RQ MKKHH QFKIH R SU RSRWRHGL DDO )  
 RUJDQLVP DQG WKDW JUDGXDO SXQRJG WKIDW WKXS SRUW BQ WK B WLP SO H  
 VRFLDO FKDQJH DQG VRFLDO HYR OXMLRQD WVKHUHIWUHOV R SVKRISR VH  
 SXUVXLW RI VRFLDO UHIRUP )DELDQ DORLVW WSROO QR FDIHQNDWR \*HRUJ  
 DGRSW D PRGHUDWH VRFLDOLVWUHQDQGW 6WDXV WRRQDQ GZ W KHW R D ELDQ  
 3,QILOWUDWH WVKH VERXUJWRLOGRSW DQGD SSREOLFFVKGH WKH ILUVW )DE  
 RI SHUPHDWLRQ %HFDXVH RI LWVW HFUDDV V D E DDVX USD P \$KELHMQV ,Q  
 6RFLHW\ IRFXVHV RQ SUDFWLFDO G KIRZ LDHS FR QVQW H 6W)DFEQ D Q XFRF DWV  
 WKH LVVXH RI VWDWH PHGLFDO HWVW DEHLV KW GZ DWK HDQQ BHS HFDQV RQW /D  
 DVSHFV RI /DERXU TV VWUXJJOH IRQ PSDWLRLO PHIQW LGE RKKH 3DUW\ :KH  
 WK FHQWXU\ 7KHUHIRUH LV LV DERXU W3 DUW)D ELDQ 6RFBHW\ WFK DZ  
 JHW LQ WRXFK ZLWK /DERXU 3DUW\TV SUHQV IRQK B W LSNOLVWZIRUQSDUML WVK  
 DQG LQIOXHQFH WVKHILQJSSRURFHVEXW KH GLG QRW MRLQ WKH )LQPHSHQ  
 )DELDQ 6RFLHW\ ILUVW VWDWHGWRQ )DELDQ WIRDO RZHG D VLPI  
 UHFRPPHQGHG WKH XVH RI H[LVWHQD WLRQV WLVKWK RQKH SRPWWFDCH F  
 SDUWLHV DQG SDUOLDPHQWDU\ 7RHF KRQEVVWVHMRRIDFBERXU UHSUHV  
 SUDFWLFDO UHIRUP 7KH VR FDO ERBPQVSRORFR RIOSHIDPHDWV RDUKLV 7K  
 PHDQV WKH VWUDWHJ\ RI VSUHVZRLQHJPHUHQDQGOI GHIHQFH IRUFHV RQ  
 UHFHSWLYH SDUWRVYUQPIDGWURIIUDFQWVKHDVGOI GHIHQFH IRUFHV RQ  
 ZRUNLQJ WKURXJK WKHP IRU UHQDF VBOBQ IWRK SRQLVWURGH XQLRQ  
 VXSSRUWLQJ D VRFLDOLVW SROLVH DDO USD GWD ZV ZKW KZHM [EQYRORQH RI  
 DDO RWKHU) QDDQGLHWLRQ LQ WKHGHBRQGHV WR/DERXU 3DUW\ EXW G  
 1DWLRQDO +HDOWK 6HUYLEFH :HOIHFHBROLF\ W)B)LDQ 6RFLHW\ DUH  
 RI SHUPHDWLRQ LV WKDW )DELDQ RRSRFBWV SRYWGH\ DUH QRW  
 LQWHOOHFWXDO VXSSRUW WR WKKHQDEWKH /DERXU UGSHUHQHQLWDFHLY  
 JDWKHULQJ HWF LQIOXHQFH SROLV DPHNLQJ DZRWKLDQ WVKH )DELDQ  
 /DERXU 3DUW\ FKDQJH LWV SROLF\ RI LQILOWUDW  
 7KH HYROXWLRQ RI D SROLF\ RSHSRUPHDWV BQQLVGEJLDDHXDQ U GHP  
 SURFHV 6RFLHW\ UHDOO\ QHGV WR EH LQY  
 OU DQG OUV :HEE KDYH DUWLFXODVGRQVH E)H EVLQSS DUWHUV RI W  
 SROLF\ RI SHUPHDWLRQ UHODWLYPHOEVUWVSDWVHSD OUVHVRQXWHBQOVX  
 ,Q KLV LQWURGXFWRQ WR WKH BDBDF VTKULHGHDRE )DENBQ QDV VX  
 SLWK\ SRLQW ZKHQ KH ZULWHV E)MVLUPODCEXOLYHRQQHDKQW UHSRU  
 ZH FDOO μD SROLF\ RI SHUPHDWLRQVW)OHVKB)QGLV LQVADQ QPXPHEHUVKL  
 VRFLDOLVW LGHDV DQG SODQV QSR RQVLRQV RRVKHW PLDQGHV RUXDQIX  
 VRFLDOLVW SHRSOH EXW DOVR LQWVWVKHRLQRLG D QD VSKRWRQKRRGR)D  
 QRW VKDUH RXU YLHZV DQG ZHDVSDUWVQRGHZLRVWVWURGR XQLRQW RU  
 RQO\ DPRQJ OLEHUDOV RU UDGMRDQLWKHEWVFDQVRRDLPDQVW RU L  
 FRQVHUYDWLYHV QRW RQO\ DP)BRWV)DQGLXQRQQLKRVKOGQB PDGH

RI WKHVH SHUVRQV DV SDUWQHULQ D Q D \ F R K R W D G W E W L R Q P L O W W R I G H P H Q  
 ZKHQ LW LV PDGH FOHDU WKDW S R E L W E F D S W Z W K F K S D L Q F E L S O N G D I G G W  
 PHWKRGV RI WKH /DERXU 3DUW\ D Q S R O D S S U R I Y D H E W M D L R L R Q H U V H Q V  
 PHPEHU@KLS SDUW\ D Q G S D U W L F L S D W H L Q W K H  
 %XW )DELDQ GLG QRW VHW RXV R O R F L P S R M L Q J W S U R I E H S / R O L S U R R I L G L Q J  
 SHUPHDWLRQ RQO\ RQ ODERXU 2 Q L W K H D F R Q W K S S R U V L Q ) D E L W Q H O R F L H W  
 ZHUH VHYHQ )DELDQ FDQGLGDWHU R X S U D S I L O Q D D V H Q Q W L W R X W K I R I / D E R X U  
 ZKRP EHORQJHG WR WKH /DERXU L V D U R Z Q D F G H W K L H F X W L R H W K H  
 /LEHUD@3DUW W W K L V W L P H W K H ) D Q L D Q K H 6 R S D H O L D P H Q W D U \ V W U X J J O  
 FRRSHUDWLRQ ZLWK RWKHU JURXS S U L F R Q W L L Q X I Z O V D Q K W B M L D Q D D Q + H D  
 6RFLHW\ V D S R O L F \ R I S H U P H D W L R Q Z E I R F K W W K X H G H E R I S O D \ W K H R O H R Z Q  
 LQ RWKHU JURXS UDWKHU W K : D E E X I L Q G W K Q I L L Q H G W L R L W Q I H V Z L W K  
 SDUWLFXODU JURXS 6LQFH L K R I Z H X H Q F H W K K I H W U H C S G H R S R I V B O V D Q G  
 )DELDQ 6RFLHW\ V D S R O L F \ R I S K H U D P H D K V L R I Q F W A R L Z D U G V / D E R X U  
 3DUW\ EHFDPH REYLRXV  
 \$IWHU WKH /DERXU HOHFWRU V P H H W L Q J U H V X P H G S O U  
 6LGQH\ :HEE DQG RWKHUV EHJDQ S X E O L V K L Q J D W K H S H Q H W U D W L  
 XVHIXO DQG IDVFLQDWLQJ SDSHU D W L R Q D O H D D Q W K 6 H U Y L F H S R  
 :HEE ZDV HOHFWRU H H E H S R I W K H V W D W H  
 5HPDUNDEO\ )DELDQ KDG EHHQ U H S U H V H Q W D O W H I S U H V Y L R Q R I W K H  
 PHHWLQJV VLQFH WKH /DERXU W K S R O P H Q D H E F H R X W D E W D Q D 6 R F L H W \ F  
 QRW XQWLO WKDW )DELDQ U D F R X U R X W U W X S S R U W K T R U D W L R O D O + H  
 SDUWLHV DQG VZLWFKHG WR VXSS R R F L Q J R O O I D D E R O H F V R S S H U P H D W  
 WKH FDQGLGDWH ZKR UDQ LQ WKH W K H O H F F E V R Y S O V W K U R X K W K H L L  
 /DERXU FDQGLGDWH )DELDQ FKLH U H F X W L Y H O L Q X W H S R I W K H P D N L Q J  
 PHHWLQJ ILUVV PHQWLRQH G R Q D U W 6 H S W H P E H U V H Q W  
 UHSUHVHQWDWLYHV WR WKH /DERXU 3 D U W \ & R Q I Z K H Q P D Q G Z R U N H U V Z  
 WKH DQXDO UHSRUW RI WKH /DERXU 3 D U W \ W K H U R Z D V F R Q F H Q W U D W H G L Q  
 WUDFHV RI )DELDQ DFWLYLWLHV )DELDQ 6 R F L H W \ Z D V I D U H G L Q - D Q  
 /DERXU PHPEHU )DELDQ V P D L D E W L Y L W % L W D L Q \$ W W K H V D P I  
 UHODWLRQ WR WKH /DERXU 3DUW\ W K H L V W K H S U H G H F W V R U R I  
 RI DQ HOHFWRQ IXQG WR I D E W L F H O L G Y D W H V D D G G Q W K H U L J K W  
 UHVROXWLRQ RI WKDW LV D E L D Q F U H G O L R Q V R F S R Q F I O I D U H  
 SDUOLDPHQWU\ FDQGLGDWHV D S \$ U R Y R G J E ) D E L D Q D Q G W D E R X U V K D  
 )DELDQ PHPEHU WKH VDPH WLPH I U R F Z V R Q W K H S X U V X L W R I V R F L D O Z  
 GLVFRXUDJHG E\ WKH IDLOXUH Q D W L R Q D O H D W L R Q D Q G W D F N O L Q J S I  
 SHUPHDWLRQ SROLFLHV WKH : H E E H F F E F Z L W D E W H J D U G Q W R W K H 1 D W L  
 /DERXU 3DUW\ DQG EHFDPH PHPEHU D Q G W K H 6 W D W K R Z H Y H U K D Y H  
 \$GPLQLVWUDWLRQ H S K L Q H ) L V K H O L O E X U Q D O 1 D W L R Q D O + H D O W K 6 H  
 DQ DUWLFOH WKDW FRPELQHV +H G H U H R Q I V X Q F W L R O W X E F W O R Q F I R G U G  
 WKDW LQ )DELDQ 6RFLHW\ E H J D Q X X S S R V R Q D E O P H G S H Q G U W K D W G  
 SDUOLDPHQWU\ FDQGLGDWHU R X S O P R W W H G W R U L O J L Q ( Q J O D Q G 2 P R U  
 )DELDQ LQWHOOFWXDOV UHSUHVHQW H G D Q G R Y Q D U D Q J H E P H Q W V  
 ODWHU MRLQH G /DERXU V G H F L V K L O F P D N L Q H Q W O N Q H W S V J P W L G L J K W H  
 LQWHOOFWXDO VXSSRUW W K H U H L V D G X S R O E W W H R Q D Q G P R W H  
 , Q D Q \ F D V H W K H L Q I O X H Q F H R Y H U D S S L Q G R I D E R U N D : H S R O F V S H Q  
 RI SHUPHDWLRQ RQ ODERXU LV W L O O D H I Y G H G R Q F L Q D R W K H D O R W K H U  
 SODQ LV VWLOO WKH EDV@V7RH 3 D E O L F U H D O W K D Y D W V X P R I P R Q  
 LQIOXHGFH RI )DELDQ 6RFLHW\ R O W K H D F W L F W L F V D Q G S R O L F L H V I F  
 RI WKH /DERXU 3DUW\ LV D F K L H Y H G P L O Q O W K U R X J K 7 K H J U H D W H U  
 DFWLRQV RI LQGLYLGXDOV ZKRV H H I R U V W W H O D Q F H O X H G F H D Q G W U H D W P H Q V  
 SHUPHDWH WKH B E R M U V 3 R U D E L D Q 6 R F L H W \ D Q G E H F R P H V L F N V R P  
 DUH H I W U H P H O W G R D I W F X E M F D X V H Y R P W K L Y E X W D P W L R S \ I R W P W K H U O D U J  
 DQ\ FOHDU )DELDQ SROLF\ @V, W D Z D P G O W W R Q N H P S O R X H G L Q W K H 6 W D W  
 RQO\ LQ DIWHU WKH SDUW H Q D G L D G S R W H G W B H J Y G H Y R W H G W  
 FRQVWLWXWLRQ DQG SURJUDP Z K I F R K D E L E H H O G U D W K H G S U R E O H P  
 E\ 6LGQH\ :HEE WKDW WKH 6 R F L H W \ W K H O R Z H G G H G L E H U D W H O \ J  
 FRPSOHWH VXSSRUW R U W K H O B D U W S H U P H D W K R O K Z H I H W W H U W K H 6 W D  
 RI JURXS V RWKHU WKDQ SROLWLEDO SDUWLHV Z L W K W K H V H S D W L H Q V  
 LQ WKH U H Y L V H Z L F % D W L H W W H R G L Q J 7 K H X V X Q W L O W K H \ D U H V R I  
 6RFLHW\ LV D FRQVWLWXHQW RI W K K D Y H E H F R B H W H F G L E P Q Q H G H V  
 , Q W H U Q D W L R Q D O 6 R F L D O L V W & R Q J U K V W K L E X Z L W W D N H V S D U W U H H O

WKH WDVN RI VWUDLJKWHQLQJ R K R X O K H E H W D I O O H F R Q W D L Q H D U J D H O G F R  
EHFDXVH ZH DUH QRW DZDUH RI W X Q M S H V F V D O T K J H B H O L H F W O X W D O O H I D S F U V  
DQ RIILFLDO UHSRUW VHWLWQJ I Z R W G H [ Q B W O U Z B D W L V O E H L W O K H G R Q I S H  
DQG OHIW XQGRQH IRU VLFNQHVK B D Q S L W B E V 3 X E O L E G H L D O V U L H O V W Z K H W  
GLIIHUHQW WRZQV DQG UXUDO G I A / R D U L G F W R I 7 X D H W G L D Q Q R V \ E W F R D Q L &  
LQVSHFWLRQ RI WKLW QRW LQFR G R I G F L U D I E D U H S B I G W F B O W L O N S C H F W L R Q V  
FROOHFWLYH<sup>®</sup> D E F M L D Q T W L H H V I R U W V W L Q H W K L W U L F W D O B G L F D O 2 I I L F H U V R U  
DQG PRUH FRQFHQWUDWHG RQ W K I D O W K E K R I X S O S D I R W S P H U W R W E R K O G H L  
HIIRUWV DERYH V W D I I R I T X D O L I L H G , Q V S H F W R U V D P

2Q WKH SXEOLF KHDOWK IURQ W R W K R X E H E E E Z H G H H Y Z R O U R S L O G D + R V S L  
IRU WKH 3 R R U / D Z & R P P G H V D O L L R Q V I D W H P D W H F D W O P Z L W K D W O O G  
YLHZV RQ SXEOLF KHDOWK The State and The Doctor LQ ZKLFK WKH : H E E W D U R J U W H G Z W B M U S S R V U R U Z R X O G E U L Q  
ZRUNLQJ FODVV DV SDUW RI WKH [ S E W L F R O P I N D S X E O L F V D I H G O W K D W Q O W K H  
ZHUIDUH SROLF\ WKH HVWDEOLSKUPH SRW H G I D M R H Q M O A F R Q D P H D G X U H V  
KHDOWK V \ V W H P W K H P H U J H U G P I L Q M K W W U D R V R L Y H D D Z V S H R F P V L V Q D R I O \  
DQG SXEOLF KHDOWK DXWKRULWLPHSW FDYCHP HQWK HUR D G P L Q H V W K B D W Q W K  
PHDQV WR VDYH WKH UHOHYDQW J R Y H I D Q F R H Q W W D W E D I W B G L Q J Q U M I G X X W L  
UHVLVWDQFH WR UHIRUP DQG X O G W L P D W H O D W D F R Q H D Y C H G W L P H S U R Q Y M A T C Q W  
. L Q J G R P L Q W K H I L H O G R F S X E O H E I B B O W O L F D Q D J H P H Q W

WRS RI WKDW : H E E D Q G K L V Z L I H \$ B D R U R G W O J O H W D U E R W K R V W B I D W H M J D U  
JURXS RI WKH 1 D W L R Q D O + H D O W K H B I Q L Q H O K D U H D S R O W F 3 D U W \ T V D Q Q X I  
State and The Doctor WKH : H E E S U R S R V H G D O S H F L I L F O H G L F D O E H Q H I L V  
PHDVXUHV D O O S U R Y L V L R Q V I R W K L O Q D I Q W L W L O O G H U S V R K B O I O G D J H 7 K H P  
LQFOXGLQJ WKH , Q I D Q W / L I H 3 U R W K F X O L R G H S F M W W H G G I G G F W B G E W V Z O V H  
& K L O G U H Q T V \$ F W R I \$ O O L Q V W Z H W X W L R Q V 6 L R U F H W B O \ H O G O I O V V R F  
S U R Y L G I F K R U H P H D V X U H V D U H D I P P R Q V R D L Q O W K H W S W K M L R X V L O O Q H V V  
ZRUNLQJ FODVV D Q G H [ W H Q G H G F R R Q W O Q O B W H R V O K R L W R K K L O D R U H Q O O O G H Y  
SDUHQWV D Q G R W K H U J U R X S V D W W K H E H J L Q Q L Q J R I W K H U H F X U U H

8QOLNH ) D E L D Q T V D S S U R D F K W R K W K H H Z I R U R W G H U F Z B V G V D Q V K H S U R S  
3 R R U / D Z & R P P L V V L R Q / D E R X M K H V D D Z E R U K B I D S W O H S O B I M P H I D I G D W K H D W  
W D U J H W J U R X S I R U W K H V R F L W G H Z / D E I D U H B D S R V O L B H D F 7 K H I G D F R Q V I  
, Q G H S H Q G H Q W / D E R X U 3 D U W \ R U 3 D D O I H D P M O W / D E R U X R X 3 B U W K H D S O U O L  
) D E L D Q K D G V R P H G L I I H U H Q F X H U V Z K H W Q P S I O V I R F I O D Z M L O R I D W K H  
JURXS RI WKH 1 D W L R Q D O + H D O W K \$ 6 / W K I F % U Z M H L V , Q G R S F L Q G H I Q L W R U L  
/ D E R X U 3 D U W \ K R O G V W K H Y L Z U R I V I D W F L K Q D F O L X E U L R O L L W O K W F K W W L D O  
L V V X H R I P H G L F D O V H U Y L F H D Q G J X H F W L Y K D W S K R P : R I W B W W G M R F D W H  
L P S U R Y H P H Q W R I V R F L D O Z H O I D V H U L Y Q F M K H D I G P I O O G L V R W H Q D M G L R E A D O F H  
P H G L F D O V H U Y L F H R Q E H K D O I R G H V B H W L P Q H Q M U H H V W K H R J I V H C S O U D K V H I U  
S H R S O H D Q G I R U P X O D W H V S R O L F R F D O R Q R W K H Q E P H Q L W B I R V K G V 7 B I W U H U Z  
W K H I R U P D O H V M H E D E R K B H 3 D W V R I W M H S U B S S O D F O D Q W V I L Q D Q F L D O U H V

IRU D Q D W L R Q D O K H D O W K V H U Y L S F H U Z X D G S Q V V I B G O D W X W K M K H Y H U \ S F  
/ D E R X U 3 D U W \ D Q Q X D O F R Q I H U H S Q L Y D W K B O R Z W L R U L K H \ D G H Y R F D W H L  
P H G L F D O V H U Y L F H W K D W Z L O O L R E S I U B Y B E Q E O R I W R K H 3 R B U R Q F Z D Q G  
L Q F O X G L Q J D O O Z R P H Q D Q G > P K L O S G I E O Q F V K R I X D O G E H V I H F F O R X G H R R V W O \ E  
, Q V K R U W ) D E L D Q D Q G O D E R X U X K D K H D V H L P S G B M H Q J Q W K H V B D W L W Q W T V  
IRU Q D W L R Q D O K H D O W K D Q G Z H O U D I D W P S R O O L F R H W W K T I K I P H ) G L E F L D O V \ V W H  
6 R F L H W \ D V D % U L W L V K V R F L D O V H W Y L L F R X S I D F S Y R F Y D L V Q H G Y R Q X Q G X D D O F  
D Q G 5 H I R U P L V P D S S U R D F K W R V R B E B O U V 3 P D U Q G W K K H S R H O L X O S K O W I R U Z  
V R F L D O Z H O I D U H L P S R O I D F W H W K Z H Z R L U N I P R J U F O S U D / F W L F D O D Q G F D Q E H S X

\$ V D Z R U N L Q J F O D V V S D U O L D P H E M D V X U H R Q \$ W L D 3 D R O V R Q D I O 3 S D O R M D P E I Q  
O D E R U L Q H Y L W D E O \ Q H H G V W R E B D D V F H L W K P R W Z R L I Q F I O Q W H \ L W R R E W K  
F O D V V S D U W \ D Q G W K H & R Q V W L V S D W D R Q B B Q 3 D D U W \ V W W K J U B H D U G R W R D V  
W K H 1 D W L R Q D O + H D O W K 6 H U Y L F H P S O K I P H Q E F X L L R O D D M H V R F O L F O Z W K U R  
K R O L V W L F D S S U R D F K D Q G H P S K D P L Q H G D W R K H \ S D F Z Y L V L R Q R I H T X D O  
V R F L D O E H Q H I L W V W R D O P H P E H U Z Q R I W K R F L H H I M F X W L Y H V L G H ) D E L D Q

, Q D G G L W L R Q W R W K H W D U J H W H S I R X S N Q W D H E L E Q W O G O H E E R X U J H G I  
D O V R G L I I H U L Q W K H Z D \ W K H 1 B W W R Q D I O R U F H D R W K K 1 6 H U B X I E F L F L V H D O W  
L P S O H P H Q W H G I R F X V L Q J R Q P H D K R X O G / E D H G H O Q V R Q W X W Q R I C D D Q G F R  
Y H K L F O H V R Z Q V S H F L D O L J H B L W H F W O X W D O O G H I S F U V  
2Q PHDVXUHV WKH : The State and The Doctor 7R WKLW 3XEOLF +HDOWK RHWSDWWDWDPHQWZKLEKLUPDULHV ZKHW

%RDUGV RI \*XDUGLDQV> R W E \ F Z H Z O W B R I X Q Q L O D U 7 K I H C P H D E V R X U E H J D Q W R  
 38QLILHG DQG XQLILHG FRX@Q W W K Y H M Z O P Q G L S F W D O S R D U H L P S U R Y H P H Q W V  
 VWDWH K H D O W K Q G H U Q W F H U R F W K G H S R Y P I P L H V V L R Q  
 RQ WKH 3RRU /DZ DQG LV XQGHU W K I H L X Q Q L I Q H G Q X L G D D V F H I D Q Q H \ : H E E  
 D V V L V W D Q F H R O R F I O U R O H Y Q Q M W W H D J H E F F X W V 3 D U W \ J U D G X D O O \ L Q F U  
 /D E R X U K D V U H S H D R M H G O O O F I B O Z H H W H Q J V D D Q G O O \ D F F H S W H G E \ W K H  
 L Q I L U P D U L H V W R E H Q D W L R Q D O I J E G R D U V X X E H F V \$ Q O L E M O O H M S E X Q S R I  
 X Q G H U S X E O L F Q D R Q M W R K H ) D E L D Q 6 I G Q W H R Q D E C E 3 X L E R W F W K H / D E R X U 3 D U  
 + H D O W K 6 H F W R U Z K L F K S U R Y L G H R U G X I L G D V Q F H E D Q G L D R V L W K H D Q B H W W R V S  
 O R F D O J R Y H U Q P H Q W V W K H P R G H O K R I G X H F O M L U D Q D L O R Q Q W H R S B W H L G Q V R K H  
 W K H U H O H Y D Q W V H F W R U Z L W K W K I P S R P P I H Q W L R G I R R W K D I W B L R F U X S B U Y L  
 L V G L I I H U H Q W / D E R X U E H O L H Y H W X V K I D G L H D V O I R U U V H F L Y D O Q W Q G H S X E V O K F  
 V H U Y L F H L V V X H V V K R X O G E H S O D H Q L R Q Q O H U H V K H D F A R L R Q U R O X W R W W K D I O  
 O L Q L V W U \ R I + H D O W K S U L Q F L S O H V L P E X H G Z L W K W K H L G H

5 0 7LWPXVV WKLQN WKH :HEE:HEIEGSDR SRQ HSK EVOKIF KUBDOWKRQ RI 3)  
 DV H[SUHV VHG LQ WKHLU 7KH 6WDDWR BDLGO WDKUV' E D W R G R Z H D H F R I P P R Q  
 I D F W H [ W U H P H O \ Q D U U R Z D Q G F H D F W D Y Q W L Z V X Q X Q G R U I X S X E C H L F W F R D Q V U  
 W K R V H R I W K H P R F W O L Q Q G U D I G H P I S G L Y M V V R O W I Q H D W L R Q D O P L Q L P X P S U  
 G D @ ) D E L D Q I V S R O L F \ L P S O H P H Q Q D W W L R Q D D V P D Q V R X W K S R P L D F L Q L Q F O X G H  
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 Q R W F H Q W U D O L J H G D G P L Q L V W U D O H L R Q B X W H L R X S U H R Y K B D I O J K K G B I G R I D  
 D Q G D V V L V W D Q F H W R O R F D O J R Y L W L Q P H Q W Z K L T O K V L Q ) D E L D Q I V U V H F  
 S R O L F L H V D Q G P H D V X U H V D U H Q R W V D H G L Y H G F I R U V X E V H V L S X X E O H F I R U R R G F D  
 J R Y H U Q P H Q W L Q I O X H Q F H L Q W K H P O D Q G R I O D I O V K I S S O W H K G W H F W R K H H [ S  
 / D E R X U I V H [ F H V V L Y H F R Q F H Q W U D G X I F D Q V L R I Q S R Z H E X Q W X W K H I D F L O L W I  
 O L Q L V W U \ R I + H D O W K L Y H S R O O L F D O V K R Y D H Q Z P L H Q H V W K D W \ H D U ' U O D U L R Q  
 W K H S R Z H U W R P D Q D J H W K H 1 P M P E G I D O R + H D I O H W K D E H D Q L B R F V L H W \ 3 D  
 Z H O I D U H S R O L F \ D O O R Z V W K H P W R D V H W K S R O L F O X D Q L R Q R Q D W I R R Q L S K M L O C  
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 O R F D O J R Y H U Q P H Q W L V W R R E L M R Z I O L F K V D K I H F D E V R W K H R R B Q I L H G D E R X U  
 G L V S D W F K D Q G F R O P I P D O G 6 H U Y L F H W D O O K H U O L I H ) U R P W R

7KXV IURP WKH HGG RI WKHILUVW HFSORXUHGV ER 6WCKH\ DQG %HDV  
 EHJLQQLQJ RI WKH WK FHQWXUDV\ DEVDQ V6RFLHWK HD QG\ DVK R RPPLVV  
 /DERU 3DUW\ JUDGXDOO\ FDPH WLRJHWHW KHLU DEVHF SXVEH LVF KIKH DKOVGK OHJD  
 VLPLODU SROLWLFDO LGHDOV DGGRWJKH DWRH QW\ SRSRRU FIKLOGUHC  
 SHUPHDWLRQ WKH /DERXU 3DUW\ ELKOV6RRYHWHW FDRQG WKKH\ QGHSHQG  
 PDOSUDFWLFH H[LVWLQJ LQ WKH RUKHL QROQH BOWLRQ DORP+HDTOW DERX  
 6HUYLEFH E\ DEVRUELQJ WKH SRFRWLFD BQIFGH DSHR DUKHV\ DVK DQ WK  
 6RFLHW\ WKXV IRUPLQJ WKH LGGHSHQGSFRQWDRIGDFRQSIQHWH+HDOWK  
 1DWLRQDO +HDOWK 6HUYLEFH SRCLFRPRXIQWWH DDERKXUH YDULVQ V7RH XUJHC  
 SHUPHDWLRQ RI )DELDQ KDV EHVHQS W W K G X O G H G H G W E N H W K H Z L W K R X V  
 DFWLYLWLHV RI )DELDQ PHPEHUV O L Q L W K H U Y D E I R H H 3 D O W K E Q V H G X S R Q 3  
 W K H / D E R X U 3 D U W \ & R X Q F L O R I S H S G H H Q W L W D H O W Y G E V D O V F R R D W I H D Q Q W D L  
 R I 7 U D G H 8 Q L R Q V W K H \ Q G H S H Q G H Q W X U D E K R I X U S 3 H R S W M E D Q V I H W K H L Q B O X C  
 ) D E L D Q 6 R F L H W \ D G G U H V V H G W K K I D W V W R H V R F K S I D Q V L R Q W W D V R D + H D O W  
 V R F L D O L V V X H L Q W K H R U J D Q L J D O Q R V Q I M + H D O W W K R X H U Y H B H V G R Z F R  
 H [ L V W H Q F H L Q L W V S X E O L V K H G O L R Y H H W D V P K I O W Y U R P U V K H Q R B O G ) D E L Q B O F  
 6 R F L H W \ G L U H F W O \ S D U W L F L S D W 3 U G Y L Q & R X O H F L Q G H S H V Q G I Q O W # D H E R O W K  
 3 D U W \ L Q W K H I R F L P X O D M O R Q U I R I S B Q G F 3 B R I G S X Z V S F W V W K H 7 K 3 X E O L F  
 I R U Z D U G D Q G I X U W K H U V W U H Q J W R K I O G H I H W K M H Q G I H G X H G F B I V R I R L Q F  
 ) D E L D Q L Q W K H S R O L F \ P D N L Q J S U K R R V H V G X W L Q H W Q R Q D O R K I H O D G M K T X D W  
 V H U Y L F H 3 R R U / D Z D Q G D O O I X U W K H U V H U Y L F

1RWDEO\ LQ WKH , QGHSHQHGHQW DDERXWDLQDWLQ WKH @KHDOW  
 DQXDO FRQIHUHQFH UHSRUW WKRPSIODFKRPOU W W W F R Q K W L W X W R L O R X V D R  
 S U L Q F L S O H V V R Q W D R Q H D G D H D V G D W K R I Q W Q R Q D W K K H W L P H E H F D X V H L V  
 P X Q L F L S O D Q G S X E O L F F R Q W U R K X R I G I E O I O F R O W S B O D A G S W Q O R F I D O D  
 L Q I L U P B U Q D I W H U W K H J H Q M U D H I D Q H D W H R G P H Q W V H H N L Q J W R  
 , Q G H S H Q G H Q W / D E R X U 3 D U W \ X D Q G H W U D K V I R U E H G W U Q W R + B D O W K U D V  
 P H P E H U / D E R X U 3 D U W \ D Q G / D E R X U P I O H F V D B U H V D F O M L Y W K H O L Q L V  
 F R Q W U L E X W L R Q W R Z H O I D U H S R O L Y H Q V D E R X O \ I I R X Q G D W W D W J W R R R P R K  
 O L N H O \ W R S X W G L U H F W S U H V V X Q R H F R Q S X I O K R B R Q W M H O B D R J O L D F B N Q W H V  
 R Q H R I W K H I L U V W L V V X H V W R E B R O H L E D W H G E \ W K H Q H Z / D E R X U

\$W WKH VDPH WLPH /DERXU IGDPRXU DG IS KIEVOLLFQ KFDNOLWK UDQNV WF  
DGYLVRU\ FRPPLWWHH RI ZKLFRQ6WCKH1DWHIEFQ ZD V+ HD DOWK 6HUYLPH  
PHPEHU WKLV LV D PLQLVWUHPERHG KHHG OLVQK VDKHL O/IDEFNG 3DUW\ D  
RUJDQLJDWLRQ IRU WKH SUHYHQWRBQ WDDQGV WFRHODYMRH BQWFR I FRBFHFDIO  
VHUYLPHV DQG KRVSLLWDO @DQGH VDKHE RDBR/RU 3DUWWHRQV WKH 1DWLRQD  
SXEOLF KHDOWK DGYLVRU\ ERDUGH D VHPDQDQV QVFL VMDGMMK) HEDERX  
WKDW 37KH UHRUJDQLJDWLRQ RIJWKZH HQGV LUHH ZPHQL FDKH VSURYLPHV  
ZLOO EH RQH RI WKH PRVW LPSRFRPSOM WHH QSRVLRQEDDLPWGLFRO WKHY  
OLQLVWU\ RI @7KH DORFK PLVLRQ DJUHHG WKDW \$00  
FXUHQW YROXQWU\ KRVSLLWDOV VKRXOG HYHOWXDOO\ EH  
LQFRUSRUDWHG LQWR WKH SXEOLF PSORSLWDOV WWRP LXSOPH  
ZRXOG QRW DFFHSW D SRSRVD) DFRDQV LQ1DWBRODQD PTHQWK 6  
WKDW LV +DVLQJV EHOHYHV GRFWRUV VKRXOG EHRPH SDLG  
HPSOR\HHV R@ WKHH P/HPDRI DQGX 80GHSHUHGHE LQIOXHGFH RI OU DQG O  
WKH FRPPLWWHH IRUPHG WKH E DUVW RUMZKH RQ WKH SRVLLWYH HISHU  
EOXHSULQW IRU WKH IXWXUH RIZKLOH PDLQWDO QLODQWV SRVLWLRQ  
VXEPLWWHG WR GDWH DQG ZDV ZHAEUDIRU MRQWOKKEXXKH D VHU  
/DERXU 3DUW\ DQG WKH 7UDGH 80GHSHUHGHE LQIOXHGFH RI OU DQG O  
3/DERXU EHOHYHV WKDW FRPPXQDQV WKRIVWKH HODDOWK 6VWHR  
FRQFHUQ DQG VKRXOG EH HQWU DQVGHG WWRP DWLQV WREGLERH DQG  
VHUYLPH WKH >GRFKLPHQWKH DLRXSPHQWH 7DERU 3DUW\ RQ WKH 1D  
FRQVLGHUHG WKH RIXWKHE W HUGRLEH DQVGHG HODHUV SRQGLQLWLDWLYHV  
ORFDO DXWKRULWLHV LW VWUHVHGE RYXDFLOLHYV WKDW KHDOWK  
WR WKH VXSHUYLVLRQ RI WKH 0EHOOWHUQI RHDWK LQGLYGDQDQ  
ORUH LPSRUWDQWO\ WKH GRFXPHQW DUVW WKRIVWKH DQVGHG XSWFLDQ  
VKRXOG EH GLYLGHG LQWR DUVW RYXDFLOV LQVWLRQV  
DOORZHG WR KDYH IXOO PHGLFDQ IDVFRWLVWLYH DQG FRPSOWH  
HIIHFWLYHO\ HTXZWK WKH WLDUJH LQVWLRQV DQG  
FRXQWLHV \$QG LW UFRJQLJHV WKRIVWKH DQVGHG RYXDFLOV WKH SRVLLWYH  
QDWLRQD KHDOWK VHUYLPH VKRXOG DFRQVWUXH LORQV WKH SRVLLWYH  
DV D KHDOWK LQVWLRQV JUDVFOVH EORGLWPH D VSRQGLRI DSDQ  
ZLWK WKH :HEE State and The DoctorWKH KDYLQJ DFFHSWHG WKH YLHZ RI W  
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KHDOWK FDUH ,Q WKH VXEVHTXWREOH KHDOWK RDUH VHPDQV WWRP  
LQFOXGHV WKDW 37KH RQO\ SRVWREOH KHDOWK RDUH VHPDQV WWRP  
XUJHQW QHHG WR LQFUHDVH WKH VSRVDOV DFRQVWUXH LORQV WKH SRVLLWYH  
IRU ORFDO KHDOWK DXWKRULW SXEOLF KHDOWK \$QWKH 8. RQDQ WR  
KRVSLLWDOV SXEOLF KRVSLLWDOV YKDOO EH HYWDFEOLVKPHQV DRI KHDOW  
FHQWHUV RU LQVWLRQV RI HDGLFDQV WHP 80QGHV WKRIVWKH VVDO  
VKDOO SURYRGEWDRQV PKHUHLQ HVWDEOLVKPHQV DQG LPSURYPHQW  
DFWLYL@WKHLV LV DOVR LQFUDVLDQV HYWDFEOLVKPHQV RI VDQDWRU  
State and The DoctorV LGHD RI 39ROXQWU\ RQVPHGLFDQV LQWKH &RPPLVLRQ  
YROXQWHHULQJ LQ WKH SXEOLF RQDQV VGRZQDU GMMVWKRIVWKH SRVLLWYH  
SXEOLVKHG LQ ZDV FORVHU WFRXVWRWROV WWRP VSRVLLWYH  
QDWLRQDQLJDWLRQ RI KRVSLLWDOV WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP  
ZULWWHQ E\ WKH 3XEOLF +HDOWK VSRVDOV WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP  
VR FRQILGHQWO\ DGYRFDWHG EHVSRVWRWV WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP  
OHDVW +RZHYHU LW DOVR VDLG WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP  
DQG RSHQ WR DOO DQG WRRN WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP  
ZRXOG UHQGHU WKH FRXQWU\ WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP  
LQVXUDQFH SURYL@VKRQ DQWRVWRWV WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP  
KDV DEVRUEHG VRPH RI )DELDQV WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP  
QRW FDKQJHG LWV SRVLWLRQ RQ WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP  
SRSXODWLRQ \$OVR DZDUH RI WKH OLVWRQV WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP  
WKHLU SRSRVDQ WKH GUDIWHU WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP  
LQ ZKLFK KHDOWK EHQHYWV WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP  
IXQGV DQG SDLG E\ ORFDO DXWKRULW WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP  
ERDUGV \$QG ZLOO VWDUW WKH WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP  
WKH DSSRLQWPHQW RI HISHUWY WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP  
SODQV PHGLFDQ DQG KHDOWK WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP  
8QGHU WKH LQIOXHGFH RI D SRQVWWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP  
6RFLHW\ UHSUHVHWHG E\ OU DQG WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP WWRP

DDFRPPRGDWLZROVKIKXQV VILQDQFLDKDYELMXFKODVQLHLP SRUWDQW DGMXQF  
WKHUHIRUH WKH VWDWH LQ WKH RVHSO Q / DRO VS EIS HFQ & HQ V WKS R Q UFYLDH  
PXVW XVH SXEOLF IXQGV WR DGZURXWOGW Q HN NH Q DV Q F LV HQ GW U H D X O P M L C H W  
RI VRFLDO ZHOIDUH LQ WKLV ILR Q VO \ L Q H S U V V E L S O W R O R X V D I Q Q R U F R V  
SXEOLF PRQH\ KDV DFWXDOO\ EH W Q Z O S O E R E Q U W H F K E W S L W L D O % D D W O G Q D  
: LOOHVGHQ DQG > L Q S W E K H W % H V D B I X O B O L F H L X F G W L H V D Q G X Q L Y H U V L W \ W F  
DUH PDLQO\ GHYRWHG WR WKH X E H L F D H I G U M H I G Y L F H D Q Q R I W K H K H W K I H D D Q W O J  
V\VVHP ZRXOG RUJDQLJH LQWLPDWH FRRSI  
% X L O G L Q J D Q G U H I R U P L Q J Y R O R Q S L D W D O K R D V S G W Z R O X O G L P D N Q D U D Q G  
LPSRUWDQW SDUW RI EXLOGLQJ DS L M R L V Q W D Q M U H L F R I E B D W Q W Q W D U H U R P  
V\VVHP ZLWK SXEOLF IXQGV , Q Z K R V Q G H P H K V H G H Y I H O R B P H Q Q W R U X F W L F  
YROXQW D U \ K R V S L W D O L V D O R Q Y R O O X Q W W R W W K R X S L S W D R F V H D V H Z W K F H G H  
KDV JRQH WKURXJK GLVFXVLRQ: B B E D R S S K R P L Z H I H Z L V Q K 3 F D Q \ V W D W H  
UHSUHVHQW D W L Y H V , Q D D U W W L F O Q J W B E R X Q J S W R B R M H L G Y L V F K I H F D S D I  
HVVDEOLVKPHQW RI YROXQW D U V W K R M S L W W K H Q M Q D Q G K H S U R P R W W O P H Q W I  
FR RSHUDWLRQ DQG IULHQGOD W F R P S I H Q W L W E B B H W D O F E P H Q W W R K H Y R  
SRYHUW\ ODZ OHG PHGLFDO LQ K R V L V L X W D Q Q V L W Q Q V P I X O M K L S D Q P S U R Y  
KRVSLWDOV 2Q WKLV EDLV W K R H X I Q W D W L Q K R V S L W H P D W L R W D Q G W W K  
RUJDQLJHG SXEOLF KRVSLWDO V H L Q Y W K H I V P H G L Y F D O X Q W D U H P K R V S L W D O V  
DUH WKH EDLV U L W L S X E V O R R B W W K Q % W K H V W D I E H L V W I D U Q J D F R P D Q D J H G K  
KRVSLWDO DFFRPPR Q C H W L H Q V W L R F X R P H L D O V K V R P H R I ) D E L D Q J V D G P L Q L  
VHUYLFHV DQG WR EXLOG D F R P S I O R X W H I W H R L Z Q L F L G H R Q P M K Q D V E D R Q D O L V  
VWHS E\ @ VWHS K R V S L W D O V L Q F O X G L Q J V R P H S D W L H

7KH PHHWLQJ KHOG LQ & D [ W R Q P H D G L F D Q V H U Y S I S F H L V O W K X V U H O L H Y L O  
GHPRQVWUDWHG / D E R X U J V V H U L Q X I V H F O R Q F R V S L W D E R X X W L W K H W W H D W H D G  
RI WKH KHDOWK VHUYLFH E X W L P S K L R Y P P H H Q W L Q R J I E S D H W V O I K R F S L W D O  
UHDFKLQJ YDXXH J H Q H H E P Q S U I R Q F L S D W R U L Q R V K D Y H E H Q J U D G X D O O  
IXUWKHU VROXWLRQ LV OLNHO\ WR E H R W I E D F U K M / R I S D U W K L F U K Q D H O Q H R R E W I  
LVVXH RI WKH FRQWLQXHGH GHVLISX E R O L E D I E R D O W K H S U D H Q D V Q R D W K L P Y H D W B  
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WKHUH ZDV D IXUWKHU O A I E R a d d Q / K V H S X W E H E R R Q W L G W K H W K H O D F I  
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SURIHVVRQ 7KH PHHWLQJ FRQFROD D O G O W K D W Q G W K H V H : H E H D U W X O W K  
PDQ\ GLVDGYDQWDJHV LQ WKH F X G H U T X Q W Y R O X W L D U \ K R R V S L W D O G P H  
3 7KH ILUVV RI WKH V H Z V W K H S E M M E Q M H R G S D W R U G Q W D W R E U H F H L Y  
KRVSLWDO FRXOG HIIFLHQWO\ F D H U W R Q W K W V D Z R H U N Q O Y E D O H L W R O D H F H I G Y  
XQLW ODFNLQJ FORVH WRXFK Z K R W S I R M D O H U D Q R G V S I G M D O D W H Q U H W W D W  
DUHD , Q W K H V H F R Q G S O D F H W H E H Q W H L M Z Y B Q X Q W B H Q K S F X S L L W D Q Q W  
ZHUH RIWHQ HQWLUHO\ RXW R I O R R R Q F I D X Z L K R K U L W K H V H W W H Q D Q S L W V  
SUDFWLWLQRHUV RI WKHLU Q I O R J K E R K L Q R R G W Z K R U Z M H E I U H T X H Q V  
UHVSQRVLEOH IRU WKH WUHDW P H Q M D W P H I Q W S D W R U H Q R W E H I R O I H H V K W E  
DGPLVLRQ DQG DIWHU WKHLU G U M F R D H W H W K H V S I D W L H U G V X F O H D F M H G I G  
WKH DGYDQWDJH RI FRQWLQXLW\ J E H D W O H D W H P H Q W H G D V E H W S K U H G R X W H R U R Q  
WHQGHG WR ORVH 7KLUGO\ V L Q F H Q W K H V O D U V H X I S I Q H U D H Q Q R W S R L W D O V  
LQWHUHVW LQ WKH F D V H V , W Z H O D W R S S R P W H F D N E H X F S O X R W D W K H V  
FRQWULEXWLRQV DQG ZHUH F K U R Q I L V F D X Q F H V K I R Q W U R H I Q X Q G W W K K I R S H I V  
LQ DXWKRULW\ R Q H I F H W K H P W K W G K H H I S H B Q B R B G F D O L Q V W L W X W L R Q V  
WHUPV ZLWK WKH V X E V F U L E H D Q D W R K U L X P V E D Q E B X V H G W R E X L O  
WHQGHGF\22 ZKLK KH ZDV ERXQ B Q W R D F D O L Z V L M H R I W K I O F K D U H F K H D S H  
VWURQJO\ UHVLVW M H I G U H M Q F H U R H S A K P L Z R I U R Q Q V R F O D V V  
SDWLHQWV VHQW E\ ODUJH V X E V F U W E I H U Z R D W E Q R K X L Q W K W K B W G L E D W K H  
QHFHVVLW\ RI WKH SDWLHQW Z I R L L F Q W Q K R D Q Q J E B K H K C H W I R O F D U H V V  
F U L W H U L R Q I R O L D D G E P L H W L R Q E H Z I P D Q R O X H F R Q G D U K R V S L W D O V F R Q W L Q X H V  
) U R P W K L V Z H F D Q V H X Q D W E X H W R S U K R Y U G H W K H H Q S F U H R E D O U  
LQVXIILFLHQW FRRUGLQDWLRQ D D W N H Q G H I Q E G M R D Q Q W K H H T R A D F O H U W F  
PHGLFDO UHVXUFHV LQ YROXQW D U H R B G S D W D F O O D V W R D Q G / D E I R F H W P W W I  
YLHZ 3 , W V H H P H G W R W K H / D E R X D Q G S D W W H Q W W X W U H K Z L Q Q C E H Z I P H G L F D O  
RXW RI WKH SUHVHQW LPSDVVH Z I B V M R K I H W S K R B W M A K H V W Z L O G F O H S D G W K R I  
UHVSQRVLELOLW\ RI SURYLGLQJ B R O G S M K B I O S R E H D D Q P H Q V R F I R D O D F O R Q Z K L R D  
QHGHGHG LW / D E R X U O R R N H G X S X Q K S I D E O W L K B R V I S L Q W D W R O D Q W K H  
FRQFHUQ DQG E H O L H Y H G W K D W L Q V Z D W Q R M R Q L W R R X W W K B D S R J R I W P D R E

RI VRFLDO FRQWUDGLFWLRQV 66 HWKOR/SFEHQW BDMRO XEHOV DUY KRVS LV  
WGDW WLPHO\ PHDVXUHV VKRXOG KEH LQ ENH HQWR FRIPW LJDPVHQ WW KRUVWK  
SKHQRPHQRQ )LUVW LQ UHVSROHDO WKR FDUKHH IRKR DWO JHD QG WKH H  
KRVS LWDQ EHG V LQ WKH 1DWLR QDHO OVMIO OVMK VGRW YLWF HW KID EQDUL RQ DO  
SURSRVLQJ WR FRQVROLGDWH WKHH QGH VRIX SRK EOLF DQD DQ KE\ WRK HVWD  
3RRU /DZ &RPPLVLRQ IRU H[DRSIOHO VYVWHPDOW WLSRQY LGH DQ H[FH  
SURPLVHG E\ ORFDO KHDOWK DXWKRU WLKLLH VHV RRQ FT EERU QD ZV RFLD  
FOLQLFV IRU WKH SRRU VKRXOG KH DDOG VHO QFHG LWR KH DQ DIE QHD QV DHSXVRHR X  
RI WKHVH HP S WQ The State and The Doctor WKH IDFH RI % ULTKLWRX JKRFV LKHW JUD  
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YDFDQW KRVLMDOWE WQWLRQV JZRHNQEG EODWVNH BRKH LQIDQW PRUV  
/DZ 6HFRQG DV LQ WKH /DERXUHQDHO W\ 6ZRYNEBJS RQDFAV BGLVDEURLXU  
D PHDVXUH ZDV LQWURGXFHG IWRB VSD\ WKHDQW KG RFWRUU FHVQ KDYH  
SURSRUWLRQ WR WKH WLPH WKHZ N SHQWV SHUURUPH QJIRWK HZRP SXE OIQG  
GXWLHV LQ RUGHU WR LQFUHDV HQWKHUV DCH PDQG UDKHL RQ V XORWV QDIE Q  
WKHP WR SURYLGH EHWWHU PHGSRQDFVHV YLQ HWKR ULSDV LQ QWMDQV K  
UHVSROVH WR OU DQG OUV% :LLEVE YK ID FLD WHPHS QD WVKLHQ VHPKVD Q  
DQG WKH GRFWRU WKDW GRFWRUV K QG HDU WRK W LVRHQ V LHRQSLHFDV QDQ  
&RPPLVLRQ ODFNHG SDWLHQW WU GRWW ZHM HQ Q PRRVIL DOWHGU DIOGH V  
XQGHUSDG ODERXU SURSRVHG RYKH SHHFSION DDU HOPD NLQD VOLFRQ/ DQ  
WUDQVIRUPLQJ WHPHS SRUHV DRW IURPU WDDOLGLDQW DWLVWLFV  
RI WKH SRRU WR VHUFLH SURYLGHUV RI ORFDO KHDOWK DXWKRU LWFH  
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VWDWH DQG WKH3 RRFUV RQJZ V&RDP W LKLRQ DQG VLRQ  
3XEOLF +HDOWK \$XWKRU LW\ VKRXOG EH RHHJHG LQWR D FRXQFLQ  
RI /RFDO \*RYHUQPHQW WKXV 3\* VDFGXDO QV XOLUHQSRDQWR HQ DVEKH II  
VLQJOH VXSSRUW IRU PHGLFDO QDYLDFDO PHGLFDO VHUFLH LQ LQ WKH  
3UHYHQWLRQ 7DUJ RYVH VHUFLH VDWLQV D WLVVUH VHQDQG GHYHORSHG WKH )DE  
DLPHG DW VDYLQJ VWDWH PRQH VHQV UHGXFDO QMRLOV WQV DPH JHG KH  
KHDOWK FDUH UHIRUP ZLWK WKH RYVWLPDWH WKRF DZIRW DFKLWH RZQ QDW  
MRLQW\ PDQDJHG KHDOWK FDUH HODVWHV SROV FKV LQ WKH ILHQG RI QDV  
SRVLWLYH UROHUV VHUFLH RY VHQV WKH QD DQ DQ VHQV LQ WKH ILHQG RI QDV  
UHGXFLQJ WKH JDS EHWZHHQ WKH HIFHOHQW EOXHSULQW DQ IRU WKH HVV  
FRQWUDGLFWLRQV PHGLFDO VRFLDO V\WHP LQ WKH IL  
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WKH 1DWLRQDO +HDOWK 6HUFLH WKH VVXEV LGDU ERGHV DQG KDVVH  
VWUHV VHG DQG DWWDFKHG LPSRUWDVH VWRWV WKH RYVWLPDWH WQV DPH JHG KH  
H[FKDQJHV EHWZHHQ PHGLFDO LQVWLWXUV WR VWRWV WKH RYVWLPDWH WQV DPH JHG KH  
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HVWDEOLVKHV 37KH FRXQW\ OHYDWHV GKH VDO IDOHV VLV JWK HFDDQW  
OHGLFDO +HDOWK 'RPDLQ \$XWKRU EHP RYVWLPDWH WQV DPH JHG KH  
DFWLRQ WKH JUDGXDO FRQYHUJHQW RYVWLPDWH WQV DPH JHG KH  
PDGH E\ WKH State and The Doctor FRQILUP VULWLK SHRSOH QRW ROO LQ WK  
WKH JUDGXDO LPSOHPHQWDWLRQ DQGLV SHRSOH QRW ROO LQ WK  
SROLF\ WRZDUGV WKH )DELDQ VDWFRPHKHDWK RYVWLPDWH WQV DPH JHG KH  
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SRSXODWLRQ LQVLVWV WKDW WKH ZHOV DDUWK DOG LQFUHDV RSRXUV LQ  
UHVLGHQWV ZKR PLJKW EHQHILW DUKHU WDUW DQGLV VHQV UHGXFDO QMRLOV WQV DPH JHG KH  
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RUJDQLDWLRQ RI WKH KLHUDUWK LQVWLWXUV VHQV UHGXFDO QMRLOV WQV DPH JHG KH  
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KHDOWK VHUFLH WKH LPSURYHPPHQW RI WKH DQGLV VHQV UHGXFDO QMRLOV WQV DPH JHG KH  
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VHUYLEFHV KDV QRW EHHQ IXOO\ DGGUOLVSHSEU, QPS DUWLF 70 BUD WOXHUH  
 DUH VWLOO IULU FMLRQ WKW WKHSZRIWLWH KHDWOWK 3UHVHQW LVV  
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 GRZQ LQ LW OHIW EHKLQG D IHRPPLWWHHFRQW 3REVORU HDOWK /R  
 VWUXFWXUHV UDWKHU WKDQ WKH ZKROH ZHOIDUH EXLOGLOJ LW KDG /D  
 KRSHG WR EXLOG WKH FHPHQW R /DVRFLDO KDUFRQJUHVV DQG /D  
 FRPPXQLW\ WKDW LW WKRXJKW ZRXOG ELDOG WKH 3DUW /DERXU HFRPH  
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