

Scottish Studies Newsletter

No. 44, October 2014

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Send in your comments, news, etc. to lgoerke@uni-mainz. or walkerro@uni-mainz.de, please.

Editorial

Dear Readers,

Now we know what the Scottish people, i.e. those allowed to take part in the 2014 referendum, think about whether Scotland should be independent or not. This edition of the *Newsletter* will, therefore, have a special focus on this result. You'll find foreigners' comments on the outcome by some of our students, Stefanie Brenneisen, Romina Meffe, Andrea Schlotthauer, and Melanie Sommer as well as by some of our staff, Ilka Schwittlinsky, Miriam Schröder, and the editors. Ron Walker, of course, is not a foreigner, he is Scottish, but could also not vote, as he lives here in Germersheim. Ian Duncan provides a US-American opinion, whereas J. M. Y. Simpson, Ian Campbell, Gerard Carruthers, and Deirdre Forsyth speak from Scotland itself.

There are two more Scottish voices on the referendum in this issue, very important ones: Alan Bissett's 'Vote Britain', written some time before 18 September, and David Greig's 'To a Yesser', created a few days after the result. Both creative writers have kindly allowed us to reprint their texts on this occasion. Two further students, Katharina Leible and Sherry Ishak Bakeer Abadeer, have written comments on 'Vote Britain', expressing their different opinions about this text, where Katharina Leible speaks as a Bavarian (which is an outsider's opinion in Germany, but for Bavarians all Germans are outsiders, sometimes almost foreigners, too), and Ishak Abadeer writes as a person now living in Germersheim, but originally coming from Egypt.

There are two equally important and intriguing voices from England, providing views on an unexpected but vital issue resulting from the referendum and its consequences: the threat of the abolition of human rights in the UK. The cartoonist Martin Shovel and the actor and comedian David Schneider have generously granted us permission to reprint their creations in this *Newsletter*, and we are particularly grateful for this, as they not only highlight an essential current problem but do this in a medium we have so far not yet been able to employ.

In this way, we have a great variety of voices and opinions, and the discursive discussions of the referendum result are highlighted by four texts expressing the views, ideas, and emotions of four well-known creative people with regard to this enormously relevant event in Scottish history. We are grateful for the generosity of Alan Bissett, David Greig, Martin Shovel, and David Schneider, and see their contributions as wonderful examples of what has developed in Scotland during the referendum campaigns: more and more people working together in creating a more humane and equal society, everyone contributing as best as they can. The political awareness and involvement of the people have evidently increased significantly.

What has happened in Scotland and is still taking place there possesses an enormous relevance beyond that nation's borders and once more concerns not only Britain but all of Europe, even the rest of the world. Some of the key questions that have been asked and need to be answered are: will Britain become more federal, more democratic, too, or will it dissolve in a few years' time after all, perhaps precisely because it has been clinging to its past for too long and in a too narrow-minded way? That a fairly strong movement called 'The Common Weal' has developed in Scotland is, of course, partly connected with that country's religious and social past. But it reflects ideas and desires shared by many people around the globe today, the yearning for greater freedom, more democ-

racy, i.e. the concrete involvement of the people and not just politicians in all decisions, the creation of a more open, transparent society. These have been key elements of the development in Scotland, brought into the limelight not by politicians but by the people themselves.

There is more information on all of this in the '(New) Media on Scotland' section, where we have some particularly intriguing sub-sections, especially the one expressing the ideas of intellectuals, artists, journalists, and scholars on Scottish independence. You'll find stimulating ideas there by very different people, such as Noam Chomsky, David Hare, David Greig again, Irvine Welsh, Neal Ascherson, Ian Bell, and Seumas Milne, two of Peter Müller's favourite journalists, as well as the one he has not quite sifted yet, Simon Jenkins, but who has very sound opinions in his texts mentioned there.

Whenever possible, we have made the names of the authors in this section explicit, as they are, of course, pretty relevant. We briefly thought about arranging this information alphabetically, but then left the chronological order that normally determines these sections. In all of the cases, it is interesting to keep in mind 18 September as the day of the referendum, in order to compare opinions and ideas expressed before with those after this day.

Directly following the sub-section by intellectuals, artists, etc. is the one with the financial sector speaking about independence and its attitude to it. The contrast between these two groups is very illuminating and simply confirms Noam Chomsky's immediate response to what he thinks about Scottish independence: "Capitalism won't like it." Do you have any good reasons for this? Is it perhaps connected with what the Common Weal and many other grass root organisations stand for? Just the fear on the part of business and finance of too much transparency and democracy? You'll certainly have better answers. Tell us what they are.

The cut-off date for including material in '(New) Media on Scotland' was 31-9-14. It is, however, very intriguing to see how fervently the discussions go on and on. For excellent reasons, of course: nothing has been solved with the referendum result, which is why Peter Müller claims the need for fast and essential changes in his comment. Seumas Milne, one of the really good journalists mentioned in 'Intellectuals, artists...' has illuminatingly described the enormous danger England is now in: "Cameron's Conservatives are replaying Thatcher and Blair. But it's a past we need to escape from" (*Guardian* 2-10-14, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/oct/02/tory-tax-cuts-war-iraq-cameron-thatcher-blair>). He is absolutely right. The 1.6 million Scots who voted Yes and many more in Scotland, even many saying No, as well as millions of people in many other places (Hong Kong and Germersheim are just two small examples) have rejected a nostalgic and distorted view of the past and have a better future in mind. The forces against creating this future are, however, enormously strong. But didn't little David do something big, great even, against an overpowering Goliath? This requires a strong will, pertinacity, and endless struggles, but the objectives are worth it. And Scotland has been setting a wonderful example.

In this ongoing discussion, Iain Macwhirter, the columnist, writer, and Rector of Edinburgh University from 2009-2012, is as good in his descriptions of the current situation as Milne etc. He repeats David Hume's warning "We can't leave Scotland's future in the hands of the politicians" in the *Herald* article on 28-9-14 mentioned below, and he is sometimes as forthright as is necessary in these struggles: "The F word can achieve a lot of good in powers battle" (*Herald* 2-10-14, <http://www.heraldscotland.com/comment/columnists/the-f-word-can-achieve-a-lot-of-good-in-powers-battle.1412238401>). See also his posts at <http://iainmacwhirter.wordpress.com/>. He describes how the Tories, Labour, and Liberals are already reneging on the promises they made, "politicians who promised a qualitative change in Scotland's relations with the UK; home rule, not just the phasing out of the Barnett Formula and its replacement with income tax." This will not be tolerated in Scotland, where "Public discontent is very real and should not be ignored. If the political parties do not deliver on the spirit, as well as the letter, of their vow to the Scottish people then they will be seen as betraying the democratic process. And we all know where that leads. Scottish voters in their tens of thousands are voting with their party cards. Public discontent is very real and should not be ignored." Precisely. This is why the discussions are definitely not over, and the *Newsletter* will con-

stantly observe and record what is going on. For this, we need your support, so send in your contributions.

The *Newsletter* has the usual sections, too: book reviews by David Broun and Cathryn Spence; New Poetry, featuring a poem by Vicki Husband; new publications on Scottish issues; the Scottish Awards; and conference announcements. In addition to all this, Miriam Schröder has written an extensive report on the 'The First World Congress of Scottish Literatures', which took place in Glasgow this summer, and which has been another excellent example of how things are moving forward in Scotland without neglecting the past, but with enormous improvements for today and the future.

Do contribute to this, get involved, too, send us your comments on the situation in Scotland, in the area you are from, discuss the issues you find relevant, and in this way help improve the quality of the *Newsletter* and our understanding of Scotland and the world.

The Editors

Lothar Görke – Prof. Dr. Klaus Peter Müller – Ron Walker

Germersheim, October 2014

Scottish Independence Referendum 2014 – Results by area –

Constituency	Ballots for	Ballots against	For (%)	Against (%)	Lead	Valid ballots	Turnout (%)
Aberdeen City	59,390	84,094	41.4%	58.6%	17.2%	143,484	81.7%
Aberdeenshire	71,337	108,606	39.6%	60.4%	20.8%	179,943	87.2%
Angus	35,044	45,192	43.7%	56.3%	12.6%	80,236	85.7%
Argyll and Bute	26,324	37,143	41.5%	58.5%	17%	63,467	88.2%
Clackmannanshire	16,350	19,036	46.2%	53.8%	7.6%	35,386	88.6%
Dumfries and Gallo- way	36,614	70,039	34.3%	65.7%	31.4%	106,653	87.5%
Dundee	53,620	39,880	57.3%	42.7%	14.6%	93,500	78.8%
East Ayrshire	39,762	44,442	47.2%	52.8%	5.6%	84,204	84.5%
East Dunbartonshire	30,624	48,314	38.8%	61.2%	22.4%	78,938	91.0%
East Lothian	27,467	44,283	38.3%	61.7%	23.4%	71,750	87.6%
East Renfrewshire	24,287	41,690	36.8%	63.2%	26.4%	65,977	90.4%
Edinburgh	123,927	194,638	38.9%	61.1%	22.2%	318,565	84.4%
Eilean Siar	9,195	10,544	46.6%	53.4%	6.8%	19,739	86.2%
Falkirk	50,489	58,030	46.5%	53.5%	7%	108,519	88.7%
Fife	114,148	139,788	45.0%	55.0%	10%	253,936	84.1%
Glasgow	194,779	169,347	53.5%	46.5%	7%	364,126	75.0%
Highland	78,069	87,739	47.1%	52.9%	5.8%	165,808	87.0%
Inverclyde	27,243	27,329	49.9%	50.1%	0.2%	54,572	87.4%
Midlothian	26,370	33,972	43.7%	56.3%	12.6%	60,342	86.8%
Moray	27,232	36,935	42.4%	57.6%	15.2%	64,167	85.4%
North Ayrshire	47,072	49,016	48.9%	51.1%	2.2%	96,088	84.4%
North Lanarkshire	115,783	110,922	51.1%	48.9%	2.2%	226,705	84.4%
Orkney Islands	4,883	10,004	32.8%	67.2%	34.4%	14,887	83.7%
Perth and Kinross	41,475	62,714	39.8%	60.2%	20.4%	104,189	86.9%
Renfrewshire	55,466	62,067	47.2%	52.8%	5.6%	117,533	87.3%
Scottish Borders	27,906	55,553	33.4%	66.6%	33.2%	83,459	87.4%
Shetland Islands	5,669	9,951	36.3%	63.7%	27.4%	15,620	84.4%

South Ayrshire	34,402	47,247	42.1%	57.9%	15.8%	81,649	86.1%
South Lanarkshire	100,990	121,800	45.3%	54.7%	9.4%	222,790	85.3%
Stirling	25,010	37,153	40.2%	59.8%	19.6%	62,163	90.1%
West Dunbartonshire	33,720	28,776	54.0%	46.0%	8%	62,396	87.9%
West Lothian	53,342	65,682	44.8%	55.2%	10.4%	119,024	86.2%
SCOTLAND	1,617,989	2,001,926	44.7%	55.3%	10.6%	3,619,915	84.6%

– Totals –

Choice	Votes	%
X No	2,001,926	55.30
Yes	1,617,989	44.70
Valid votes	3,619,915	99.91
Invalid or blank votes	3,429	0.09
Total votes	3,623,344	100.00
Registered voters and turnout	4,283,392	84.59
Voting age population and turnout	4,436,428	81.67

The source for these figures is *BBC News*
(<http://www.bbc.com/news/events/scotland-decides/results>).

There is an intriguing prediction / poll result on James Kelly's pro-independence blog 'SCOT goes POP!' (<http://scotgoespob.blogspot.co.uk/2014/10/snp-extend-lead-to-103-in-scot-goes-pop.html>), "which takes account of all subsamples from the last seven days (four from YouGov, one from ComRes, one from Populus and one from Ashcroft)":

Scottish voting intentions for the May 2015 UK general election:

SNP 38.4% (-1.5)
Labour 28.1% (-2.2)
Conservatives 17.1% (+1.5)
Liberal Democrats 7.1% (+0.3)
UKIP 4.9% (+0.5)
Greens 2.7% (+0.3)

The referendum result is clearly not final. But then we've always known that Scotland – like all human nature, and that includes societies, too – is naturally involved in the process of evolution.

About Freedom and Taking a Stand
Stefanie Brenneisen (Mainz/Germersheim)

I can't say I'm not disappointed by the result of the independence referendum in Scotland. I am neither Scottish nor do I live in Scotland, yet the vote for independence was something that interested me greatly. It's not just because of my course of studies but because the topic of independence and freedom concerns us all. The turnout of this election gives me hope that people do care about politics and are aware that they have a voice/vote to express their opinion. I think a lot of people don't realise how lucky they are to even have the chance to vote on something like independence. The

freedom to vote is something that people in privileged countries seem to almost take for granted, and some even choose not to vote because they think their vote does not matter or because they simply don't care. And that is what disgusts me the most: not caring. In my opinion, if you don't vote you don't have the right to complain about politics. You get upset when things like tax increases are decided by your government, because to you it feels like that concerns you directly as you will definitely notice that you have less money in your bank account each month. But what about things like the TTIP? Sounds complicated, so you probably don't want to waste your time on it. Either way, the politicians will decide about these issues and they certainly won't ask you. You have to make your voice heard, even if your government does not want to listen to you. The politicians are only few, so if more people cared about those things, we could change a lot more in our countries. Make the voices of the people be heard with demonstrations, signature campaigns, and referendums like the one in Scotland.

I find it sad that here in Germany we don't have referendums on important things that concern everyone living in Germany. Why let only a few politicians decide? Politicians that are by no means more qualified to make those decisions than you and I are, politicians that are influenced by lobbyists – just like we are daily via the media – and more interested in money and power than in representing the opinion of the people. We are educated people and we can make our own decisions – or at least we like to think we can and we are made to believe that – so why are we not given the chance to decide on politics in a more direct way? Because people who are in power like to remain in power and if we could make the decisions, their power would be diminished greatly and a lot of things would go differently in this country or at least I would like to believe so.

I would have liked to see an independent Scotland showing the rest of the world that change can be a good thing. So why did the Scots vote "no"? Is it the Stockholm syndrome? Have they been ruled so long by the English that they have come to like them? The Scottish people of today were born in a country ruled and also protected by the United Kingdom. Is it this protection that makes most of the Scots want to stay in the UK? I think it is. Security and protection are something we all want and are rather reluctant to risk. We live by society's rules without questioning this much because everyone does it and it has always been this way. If you dare to defy society's expectations you will have to pay a price and you will stick out like a sore thumb. Ask yourself this: Are you truly free? I don't think we can be truly free, we are influenced by the media, politicians, society and our upbringing. In order to be truly free you would have to cut off all ties with society, your family and live like a tramp. Actually you would also have to erase your memories because you have already been conditioned by society. That seems a little extreme and probably not what you want to do with your life, when you consider that you would have to give up all commodities that society has brought you. There is something you can do, though, and that is to be involved in your personal and in political decisions, and to question what others tell you (especially politicians and the media). Don't let others decide for you.

The Scots were promised more powers by Westminster after a "no" vote on independence which may have contributed to some people's decision to vote "no". Staying in the UK and getting more powers – sounds like a great deal, but is it? Let's say the UK were a prison, a really good prison, with health service, food, windows, day parole and safety guaranteed for the prisoners. So you have the chance to get out of prison but you don't know what is waiting for you outside. What will you eat, what will you do if you get sick, how will you earn money, etc.? And then the prison governor says: well if you decide to stay, we will give you more privileges, you will get more windows, you can make more decisions, all you have to do is stay. So what do you do? Scotland has decided to stay.

(Stefanie Brenneisen is a student of English and Italian at Johannes Gutenberg-University Mainz, Faculty of Translation Studies, Linguistics and Cultural Studies in Gernersheim and would be pleased to get your comments at brennes@students.uni-mainz.de.)

A "Naw" for Scottish Independence – How a Foreigner Experienced the Referendum

Romina Meffe (Germersheim/Mainz)

The 18th September 2014 was a fundamental day for Scotland – the decision whether the country would remain a part of the Union or become an independent state. The referenda in 1979 and 1997 had done their work, and as the positive results were a good start, the Scottish National Party wanted more. Scotland should become a sovereign state. And even though the foreign media did not pay too much attention to what was happening in Scotland, the campaigns in the country were strong and insistent. Long and promising speeches, manifestos, and campaigners who went door to door to convince the Scottish people. A divided nation.

Edinburgh on 17th September: Everything seems to be as usual in the streets of Scotland's capital, where I had lived for a year and was on a visit again. Me, right in the middle of everything, a potential YES voter (if only I had stayed here), trying to figure out what the Scottish nation wants. Busy people on their way to work, children in their school uniforms, everything just as on every other day. Only a few things may lead to the assumption that something unusual might be happening. Big and small "YES" or "NO, THANKS" stickers in the windows, on lamp posts or walls. People wearing badges stating their opinion. Scottish flags with YES or NO written on them hanging out of windows. And many little groups of people everywhere that stop pedestrians on their way. "Will you say YES tomorrow?" or "Do you know why you should vote YES?" or "Vote YES for a better future for Scotland!" And next to every YES-group there is also a NO-group. "We are better together – vote NO!" and "Love Scotland – vote NO" were the most prominent slogans. And while most people thank them telling that they already know their answer, many of the groups forget about their task of convincing people of 'their' answer as they start to argue with each other. And on almost every TV channel you see Alexander Salmond or Alistair Darling holding a speech. Scotland before the big day.

Edinburgh on 18th September: THE day. Everybody appears to be up earlier than usual. The city seems to be in a hurry. Polling stations open their doors to welcome the voters and the campaigners make sure that no station gets left behind. Huge YES- and NO-groups mark the entrance of every polling station in the city giving out balloons and badges and with that their last piece of advice to the citizens. Everybody coming out of the station seems to be relieved. The duty is done, now it is time to wait and see. All day people hurry to give their answer to the question 'Should Scotland be an independent country?', and by the time the stations close at 10pm, 84.59% of all Scots eligible to vote have made their decision. But the day is not over yet. The count begins and with it a long night in many Scottish living rooms.

Edinburgh on 19th September: Just after midnight, and many Scots seem to be wide awake following the count. Clackmannanshire is the first electorate to announce their answer at 1.29am and is followed by the Orkneys at 2.01am (both with a NO). More and more electorates follow with the same answer, until Dundee brings back a little hope to the supporters of YES at 3.55am, together with West Dunbartonshire at 4.06am. More NOs follow, but Glasgow as the biggest electorate votes YES at 4.53am. Still uncertainty. Only at 6.03am with the NO vote from Fife it is all clear and over. With 55.3% on the NO side Scotland remains part of the Union. It was an exciting eventful night, but the people in Edinburgh seem to prefer a silent victory. No parties on the street, no cries of joy, just happy, quiet British citizens. On TV Cameron makes promises to Scotland and Alexander Salmond announces his resignation. The NO stickers in the windows disappear (the YES voters keep them up, still proud of their decision), a discussion about the future can be heard here and there, and some sad supporters of Scottish independence can be seen on the streets still wearing their badges. And then everything goes back to normal. A usual day in the usual Scotland.

(Romina Meffe is a student of English and Italian at Johannes Gutenberg-University Mainz, Faculty of Translation Studies, Linguistics and Cultural Studies in Germersheim, and would be pleased to get your comments at rmeffe@students.uni-mainz.de.)

Scotland Said No. Federalism Instead of Dissolution?

Andrea Schlotthauer (Mainz/Germersheim)

The defeat of the proponents of independence is not surprising, as opinion polls have been indicating this outcome ever since the signing of the Edinburgh agreement in October 2012. However, it was a close-run thing – the Yes Scotland campaigners were successful in encouraging many people to go to the booths and vote for an independent Scotland. Although they didn't achieve their ultimate goal, the Nationalists have gained enough support to enforce a reform of the kingdom. In the long term, some compromise has to be found to ameliorate a growing discontent with the UK government north and south of the border.

During the months before the referendum, the Scottish First Minister, Alex Salmond, led an enthusiastic and optimistic campaign to win voters over to the Yes side. In order to alleviate fears of radical change, he promised that close ties to England would be preserved and cultural institutions like the BBC continue to be shared as well as the monarchy and the currency. He argued that a Yes vote would even be beneficial for the Scottish-English relationship, as it would "foster mutual respect".¹

He also pointed out that Scotland needed to become independent in order to "take its rightful place as a responsible member of the world community" (ibid.). This argument refers to the fact that Scotland is, on an international level, seen as a part of Britain and Britain is used as synonym for England. Even within the UK, Scotland is treated like a region. Scottishness often simply disappears behind the label 'Great Britain'.

Furthermore, Salmond stated that Scotland and England didn't share common values any longer, as England's course of privatisation and centralisation wasn't something the Scots could identify with. In the case of a Yes vote, Salmond promised to strengthen social-democratic principles. Another point of divergence which he highlighted was EU membership: while the Eurosceptic party UKIP enjoys broad support in England and a withdrawal of the UK from the EU seems possible, Scotland is in favour of the European Union, and not only because Scottish farmers receive EU subsidies. If the Scots were freed from the centralistic restrictions imposed by Westminster, Salmond argued, they could finally unlock their full potential and creativity and improve the living standard of the people.

His arguments sound reasonable: Scotland is a country with a distinctive history, culture, and national identity; London doesn't make the best decisions for Scotland's needs; Scotland suffers from restrictions, while profits from the Union have decreased during the last 70 years. Why shouldn't Scotland leave the UK and determine her own fate?

The Better Together advocates have argued that, in a globalized world, nationalism is inappropriate and that England as well as Scotland would lose their international significance after a separation. This argument is, however, not supported by the facts. It was affirmed before the referendum that the so-called 'residual UK' would keep its seat in NATO and the UNO and that five million fewer inhabitants wouldn't make a great difference. As to Scotland, the country has so far not even played any role on the international stage and, therefore, could only gain from an opportunity to do so. For instance, had they voted for independence, the Scots would have taken on the role of a "beacon of progressive opinion", as Salmond emphasized (ibid.). They'd have served as an example for other areas with separatist tendencies, like Catalonia.

In order to convince the voters to stay in the Union, the British Prime Minister David Cameron chose the emotional approach. On his visit to Scotland, he claimed that Scotland and England had a long history, that they were like a big family, and that it would be wrong to break those old bonds. He even said, pathetically, that he would be "heartbroken" in the case of a Scottish Yes vote.² Considering the social and political implications of the issue, that argument is not substantial.

¹ Salmond in his Hugo Young lecture in January 2012, available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q3X3PaFB1IE>.

² Cameron during his visit to Scottish Widows offices in Edinburgh on 10 September 2014, available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zsLgVfsf9oU>.

Moreover, the parties opposing independence promised, in the case of a No vote, more decision-making powers for Scotland within the secure and stable framework of the successful and long-established Union. The Unionists argued that the UK needed a slow and careful change, as a violent rupture would be damaging to both sides. In that context, they especially referred to the economic situation and the fact that Scotland receives a high level of social expenditure from the UK government.

The latter is perhaps the argument that prompted the majority of Scots to say no. They feared financial loss, instability, chaos and an insecure future. The Scots are, seen from that perspective, not exactly the nation of 'Bravehearts' as the cliché would have it. Their decision rather confirms a lack of self-confidence. They sacrificed self-determination and the chance to improve their situation for fear of not being capable of doing so.

That's the Scottish dilemma. They are unsatisfied with the situation as it is, they would favour change, but they are scared. The English population also has an ambivalent attitude. Despite the majority claiming they'd prefer Scotland to stay, they are not in a very accommodating mood.

For instance, the Future of England Survey 2014 found out that English people want the UK government to reduce public spending in Scotland to the average UK level. Furthermore, the majority believes that Scottish MPs should be prevented from voting on English laws in the future. This second issue has been dubbed the 'West Lothian Question' and concerns the structural asymmetry caused by devolution: while Scottish MPs in Westminster can vote on English politics, the English have no influence on issues discussed in Holyrood.

Summed up, neither Scotland nor England is willing to continue as before. Change is inevitable, and there are two reasonable long-term solutions: one is the dissolution of the kingdom, with Scotland declaring herself an independent country. Political activity so far has been directed to this end. But now, a slight majority of Scots have refused this option as their new political reality.

The second option is the reform of the Union into a federal state. To achieve this, each member state would need its own parliament which decides on national affairs. Currently, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland have their own regional parliaments, but England does not. Westminster could continue to serve as the central UK government and decide on supranational issues. This system would ensure equal power relations between the countries. So far, this possibility has not been discussed with much fervour in political circles. Before the referendum, Cameron only promised more devolution and more decision-making powers for the Scottish parliament. This, however, wouldn't solve the problem of the West Lothian Question.

The future of the UK remains uncertain. It will be difficult to find a solution that is satisfactory to both England and Scotland. If no acceptable compromise is found, it is even possible that the SNP may succeed in re-activating the campaign for independence and there will, eventually, be another referendum. After all, it took the Scots two attempts to make up their minds on devolution as well. It will be interesting to see how things develop.

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Which Way To Go, UK?

Melanie Sommer (Mainz/Germersheim)

So they have decided. On September 18th, over 3.6 million Scots went to the polls and answered the question 'Should Scotland be an independent country?'. We all know the outcome of the referendum and have heard the arguments made for and against Scottish independence over the last two years. There is no point in musing over whether Scotland would eventually have been better off as an independent state. The more interesting question is what is going to happen to the UK now, as one thing is certain: irrespective of its outcome, the referendum on Scottish independence has facilitated and stimulated a much needed debate on the future of the UK as a whole.

On the eve of the referendum, the leaders of the country's three major parties, David Cameron, Ed Miliband, and Nick Clegg, jointly signed and published a pledge for devolving more powers to Scotland. Whether one perceives this action as dupery or as a sincere promise, it is generally believed that it spurred No-votes, as several crucial issues were addressed, such as a legal guarantee for the Scottish government's independence and sovereignty over Scottish welfare spending. For many Scots, this promise constituted a less radical and probably more secure way of gathering more decisive powers for their government without the unpredictable challenges that would have come along with independence.

The promised Scottish devolution, however, trails several crucial questions that will likely have significant effects on the political structure of the UK as a whole. Up front is the so called 'West Lothian Question', the issue of the unfairness of a system that allows Scottish MPs the right to decide over English matters in Westminster, while denying their English counterparts the same right in the Scottish Parliament. David Cameron and the Mayor of London, Boris Johnson, are only two of many political heavy weights supporting and claiming 'English votes for English laws' as a consequence of the referendum. Two possible scenarios are put forward, one being the suggestion that Scottish MPs in Westminster are not allowed to vote on matters concerning England any more, thus creating a quasi-English parliament within the UK parliament. The other suggestion is to establish devolved English government, which currently does not exist in the political structure of the UK. While the Welsh and Northern Irish independence movements have negligibly little support, with the Scottish government gaining more devolved powers, the calls for an equal devolution in Wales and Northern Ireland will certainly intensify.

It is evident, that the Scottish decision to stay in the union is by no means an outcome that consolidates the status quo. Further devolution is certainly the plan of the day, but it might not stop there. Welsh First Minister Carwyn Jones is a prominent supporter of a federalist UK, an idea, which is gaining momentum, as it would see the regional governments not depending on the mercy of Westminster to obtain more powers. A then necessary written constitution would also consolidate and clarify the respective jurisdictions once and for all, preventing the possible withdrawal of devolved powers under the current un-codified constitutional law.

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A Chance for the Entire UK Ilka Schwittlinsky (Mainz/Germersheim)

After many months of campaigning, the Scottish Independence Referendum has finally taken place. For me as an outside observer the most astonishing aspect of the referendum was the massive turnout on election day. Participation rates of upwards of 80%, in some parts of the country even 90%, are something we in Germany can only dream of. The number of young voters or voters who hadn't taken part in an election in years but voted in this election or actively participated in one of the two campaigns was incredible. The next few weeks and months will show whether this level of engagement in the political debate can be sustained, now that the referendum is over, and whether Scottish and British politicians will manage to involve the broad bases of both campaigns in the discussion over the additional powers that were promised to the Scottish Parliament after a 'no' vote. But the referendum campaign, just like the first Obama campaign in 2008, is for me a very positive sign. Something finally seems to be happening; the people seem to be waking up to the fact that not voting does not change anything and doesn't hurt the politicians and political parties that they object to either. So in this, at the very least, the Scottish referendum was a resounding success.

As well as sustaining the people's interest, another challenge facing Scotland in the coming weeks will be to heal the rift in the population. As tends to happen with yes/no-decisions, the campaigns have created two big and opposing groups within the population. In this case the situation is

aggravated by the broad support for both camps and the close result of the referendum. In order to move forward and get those further powers promised, the debate, in my opinion, needs to move beyond winners and losers and arguments over who said or did what during the campaign and focus on what the referendum has actually achieved, namely making Westminster politicians so afraid of losing Scotland that they made sweeping promises to the country just to keep it in the union.

I don't want to judge whether the Scottish people made the right or wrong choice. Nevertheless, I think the outcome of the referendum – with the promise of more powers not only for Scotland, but also for Northern Ireland, Wales and England – even if it is not full independence for Scotland, is a big chance for the whole of the UK. The discussion about the kind of state that people want to live in that has been going on in Scotland for the last year and more should now become a nationwide discussion, everywhere in the UK, if people don't want this chance to pass them by. I think most people would agree that the UK system of government is far from perfect, but now that the option of change, of more powers for the different countries within the union, is on the table, there is a very real opportunity for positive change. The 'no' in the Scottish referendum therefore isn't the end to me; it's the beginning of a whole new process, one that would never have occurred without the SNP pushing for Scottish independence and forcing the Westminster government to agree to a referendum.

A Referendum for Europe

Miriam Schröder (Mainz/Germersheim)

So now it's over. The referendum that has occupied so much of our thoughts and emotions has finally taken place. The people of Scotland have looked into their hearts and minds and decided that the nation should remain a part of the UK. Has the chance of a lifetime come and gone? Perhaps. Was this referendum a success even if it has not brought about Scottish independence? Definitely. Whether or not Scotland would have been better off as an independent country we will now never know. But the referendum, and by that I mean not only the actual vote but more importantly the debates that have taken place during the campaigns, has set crucial processes in motion. The people in Scotland were forced to think about what they believe would be best for the future of their nation, and the referendum has hence induced debates about the future of the UK as a state in which power is very unevenly distributed and in which, consequently, the concept of 'representation of the people' needs to be reconsidered.

This has relevance beyond the borders of Scotland and the UK. As we have seen, the referendum sparked numerous declarations of sympathy in other European regions, most prominently in Catalonia but also in the Basque country, Bavaria, Flanders or northern Italy. To varying degrees, these European regions, amongst others, are also demanding independence or more autonomy. What all of these claims have in common is a deeply felt discontent regarding the ways in which the people are governed. People feel they are the sport of geographically and emotionally remote politicians who care more about the well-being of banks and corporations than they do about the well-being of the people whose vote put them into power. If this is a problem within countries such as the UK or Germany, it is only intensified on a European level, where the centralised European institutions remain, at best, abstract if not irrelevant organisations to many European citizens. At this point in time, we do not see a 'Europe of the Regions'.

In this respect, the referendum was as important for the rest of Europe as it was for Scotland. This is because Scots are not the only ones who need to think about the future of the state or nation in which they live and try to change it for the better. It should be a quotidian endeavour for all of us. The overwhelming turnout in the Scottish referendum tells us that voters do care about politics if they feel that their vote can make a difference. This should tell us something about the low turnouts in other elections. At the same time, the European ideal is to unite the people, to overcome differences, to bring together cultures despite their diversity, in order to ensure peace for future generations. While it is unsure whether another border within Europe would have helped that ideal, the rift within the UK and Scotland continues to exist, intensified by the YES and NO campaigns. Consid-

ering repeated reports about Scots having been verbally and physically attacked prior to the referendum because of their political opinions and also considering the fact that still almost half of all Scots are not represented by the outcome of the referendum, it seems that the European ideal matters to Scotland now more than ever. Before the nation can set its course for the future within the UK, it first needs to heal this rift. Scotland has helped Europe in pointing out the importance of adequate representation and self-determination on all kinds of administrative and governmental levels. Perhaps the European ideal can now help Scotland on its way into the future.

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A Victory for Grass-Roots Democracy, Civic Participation, and Self-Determination

Lothar Görke (Mainz/Germersheim)

'Should Scotland be an independent country?' was the question that a total of almost 4.3 million Scots aged over 16 answered in a referendum held on 18 September, 2014, a referendum that will change the political landscape in GB, even though the *Yes Scotland* pro-independence campaign missed its target by an unexpectedly large margin of about 10% against the *Better Together* pro-Union campaign.

Not completely unexpected, but so much the more pleasing – and encouraging – was the turnout of 84.6% which was unusually high for a ballot in the United Kingdom, a real lesson in democracy for all other democracies on this planet – and maybe the most important and far-reaching long-term result of this referendum: its democratic awareness-raising effect – not only in Scotland, but Europe– and worldwide, i. e. in Spain (Catalonia and the Basque country), Belgium (Flanders), Italy (Veneto, South Tyrol), Tibet – and, most recently, even in the former British colony Hong Kong – where the people do not want to be patronized by anyone any longer.

From both points of view, this referendum was the biggest milestone in recent European history since the fall of the Iron Curtain 25 years ago that finally lead to German reunification.

To put it in a nutshell: since it was 10% of the Scottish electorate that were still undecided and / or tipped the balance in favour of *Better Together* – a full 35 years after the last failed referendum in 1979 – one can only conclude that the Scots are still not ready for complete independence – or will never be ready for it at all. So, one can only hope that Westminster will keep all their panic promises without delay – and that it will not take another 35 years (or, in Cameron's words: a generation) until the next referendum.

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A Stark and Unsettling Choice

Ron Walker (Mainz/Germersheim)

My personal reaction to the Referendum can be summed up as surprising; surprising to myself, that is. Long before the day itself arrived, the dominant emotion for me was weariness; a satiated, jaded feeling caused by a surfeit of the usual political ingredients: endless empty rhetoric, hollow promises, cynicism and arrogant disregard – all of it leaving a disagreeable aftertaste of apathy.

Of course, this might just have been me. The significance of what was about to happen was something I had of course been aware of, intellectually at least, for some time. But did the fact that I live away from my home country, in Germany, and have done for more than twenty years, mean that apathy was in play? Was the fact that I could not vote enough to make me content to watch, cynically and disinterestedly, from afar?

As referendum day came closer, it became very evident that this was definitely not the case. This thing that was about to happen was a big deal; a momentous decision was about to be made,

and the potential consequences, whatever way the vote went, were beginning to affect me in ways that I had not expected. Cynicism was still there of course; the unseemly last-minute rush to the north of the three main party leaders saw to that, as did the threats of dire consequences liberally strewn between their declarations of love and affection for their neighbours. Then again, there was also the slightly intimidating in-your-face, rabble-rousing, flag-waving of a minority of nationalists. But, for me, beyond the cynicism, something very different, and very unsettling, was taking over.

In spite of (or maybe because of) the long term nature of the campaign, the end came suddenly, and I believe the starkness of the choice did unsettle. I suspect that there were many people who felt this, who, undecided what to do, agonised over the enormity of the choice until the very last minute. Now that the dust has settled, the outcome may prove to have been the best for all concerned.

Such a conclusion admittedly demands liberal application of optimism. But it seems, for the time being at least, that Scotland has been infused with a new sense of political engagement, a meaningful debate has been engendered, and people made to feel that something significant has happened. Politics, in spite of the rhetoric, may in fact have taken on a new quality. But, and it is a big but, will it last beyond the moment – Yes or No?

Rational Difficulty

J.M.Y. Simpson (Honorary Research Fellow University of Aberdeen)

The difficulty with me, as I suspect for many others, is that this referendum has been so emotional that I can't feel that it is a case that can be argued rationally. For the past 70-odd years I have been convinced that Scotland ought to be an independent country but cannot produce any facts in support of this feeling. I suspect that such is the case with supporters of both Yes and No sides. What kind of facts 'could' be produced? Politicians and economists produce predictions in favour of their particular point of view, but these predictions are contradictory: they remain only predictions or, perhaps, hopeful guesses.

The campaign has been praised in some quarters for being conducted in a civilised way. However, I have to say that I find some of the utterances on both sides somewhat distasteful. What also strikes me is how ignorant UK media and English politicians are about Scotland. But, of course, on pointing this out, I myself could be accused of bias.

"Beautiful Country. But You Have a Problem!"

Ian Campbell (Edinburgh)

"Beautiful country. But you have a problem!" was the refrain last week in Italy when people found out I was Scottish. Interesting, because the media in the Veneto were alert to what was going on in Scotland, and the First Minister's face looked out from the newspapers in the morning. Separation and local independence are hot topics in northern Italy – to say nothing of Catalonia which was much mentioned – and though I was not in Scotland for the Big Event, having voted beforehand, I was given an insight into the importance people out of Scotland attached to it.

In the event, we are still a United Kingdom, and I think this reflects interestingly on Scottish Studies, and on this journal which has consistently offered an informed outsider's perspective. For decades I (like many others) have taught Scottish literature from within an English department, a deliberate decision in Edinburgh, and one which resulted in several positives. One was that the people who taught Scottish literature were also indispensable in English, Canadian teaching, in drama, in theory. Another was they were likely to create courses which interpenetrated different literatures, particularly in contemporary studies, though they also shaped views of Romanticism or Enlightenment or Mediaeval / Renaissance which made clear the indispensable presence of Scottish authors alongside English ones. The idea of teaching Romanticism without Scott became absurd. The idea

of teaching Carlyle as 'Scottish' or 'English' likewise. Courses at every level could be, and were, offered where Scottish authors appeared alongside non-Scottish.

From the point of view of teaching literature, the outcome of the referendum should be to strengthen this trend in Scottish Studies, to contextualise them against the rest of the UK and against other literatures, to normalise the idea that knowledge of a country's own literature is a right and a necessity – while normalising also the provision of the means to measure a country's own literature against neighbours and contemporaries, to provide the knowledge to enable a critical measurement. If Scotland remains part of the larger fabric of the UK, then the need to make its literature known, taught, read applies to that larger fabric and carries implication for the broadcast and print and internet media. And beyond Britain, the world. 2014 has been the year of a world congress of Scottish literatures, as well as the year of *Waverley*, and Scott celebrations continue. Post-referendum, Scotland's literatures are as vital as ever, and not just in Scotland.

The Nation without Nationalism

Ian Duncan (Berkeley)

Ten days before the Independence Referendum, on 8 September 2014, *The Daily Mail* began the drumbeat: "10 Days to Save Britain!" The ensuing week saw a flurry of broadsheet editorials, almost all exhorting us we were Better Together, and a northward stampede of senior politicians – Prime Minister David Cameron, Nick Clegg, former Labour Prime Minister Gordon Brown, opposition leader Ed Milliband, and even (for superfluous bathos) UK Independence Party leader Nigel Farage. The Prime Minister sounded a plaintive, not to say masochistic, note in his plea for Union (10 September): "If you're fed up with the effing Tories give them a kick, and then maybe we will think again. This is totally different." Totally different? (And has anyone given him a kick yet?) The *Guardian* editorial (12 September) appeared to agree: "Nationalism is not the answer to social injustice." But if nationalism isn't, or wasn't, the answer to social injustice, it seemed at least for a while as though the nation might be. For in some ways the Independence Referendum was only incidentally, contingently, about Scotland. Scotland was the mask – vivid, expressive, somber, or joyous, or fierce as the occasion invited – rather than the bare face of this remarkable event. Early in the campaign, many of us applauded the SNP's strategic insistence on a civic rather than an ethnic conception of nationality – on the 'nation without nationalism', as Julia Kristeva put it back in 1993. No Braveheart, no 'Wha's like us', but social justice and civil rights. Irrespective of their origins, people living in Scotland – paying rates and taxes, voting for local councils, attending local schools, with a practical stake in life there – were the ones who got to vote: not Scots by blood, and certainly not the Scottish diaspora. I want to think, with others, that what was at stake was a popular defence of social democratic governance, founded with the postwar welfare state, against the neoliberal oligarchy camped at Westminster (or rather, in the City of London). The contest was over forms of polity, more than race or culture, and it was poignant to see that supposedly archaic edifice, the nation, raised again as a bulwark against the deluge of algorithm-driven finance capital that is everywhere inundating human forms of political and social life.

I like to think I would have voted 'Yes' had I been resident in Scotland, while keenly aware of how easy it is for me to say that – to strike what may be largely a sentimental pose – from the other side of the planet. Living and working in Scotland, I might have been more risk averse, and worried more about the hard issues of currency, borders, EU membership, and so on. But risk must accompany real change, and we need to grasp the means of delivering ourselves from the actual chaos that increasingly constitutes the global status quo. In any event 'Yes' fell to 'No': who can say what event or revelation might have produced a different outcome? I wish at least the margin of defeat had been narrower, to strengthen the drive for change in the deliberations over British statehood that must surely follow. Meanwhile, to be sure, we can all take heart at the democratic awakening the referendum inspired – 97% of the population of Scotland registered to vote and 84.6% voted, statistics unheard of in this supposedly disenchanted late epoch of the Free World. Alex Salmond himself

said it was more important that so many voted than whether they voted yes or no; it would be encouraging to think so. All depends on what happens next. We may hope that democratic awakening will spread to the rest of the British Isles, that England shake itself up and become something better than the quiescent hinterland of an extraterritorial stronghold of corporate finance on the Thames. And we will see what other masks a reawakened democracy may put on: old masks that bear a still potent magic, like 'Scotland', or ones we haven't imagined yet.

'The 45' and Now What?

Gerard Carruthers (Glasgow)

Following Scotland's referendum, a new label has been minted: 'The 45', with lyrical resonance from an older rebellion, is a badge defiantly proud of the defeated 'Yes' showing in the ballot. A year ago many nationalists hoped that they could achieve above 40 per cent and this was comfortably achieved; anything smaller effectively would have killed nationalist aspirations for several generations at least. The smart money was always on 'No', probably at an even higher percentage than its eventual 55 percent.

In panic, in the final week before the poll, the unionist parties promised increased powers to the Scottish parliament. The precise formation of these powers remains to be seen. The Prime Minister wants to align greater devolution for the Scots with similar developments in England and runs the risk of alienating some elements of the Conservative Party as well as encouraging the continued rise of UKIP. Labour suspect David Cameron's yoking of Scottish and English powers is an attempt to dis-empower its (Scottish heavy) parliamentary power in Westminster. The insipid Liberal Democrats may well soon be a complete irrelevance throughout the United Kingdom, even as – ironically – their long-held dream of a more federalist constitutional structure might actually come to pass. But nothing has quite changed as yet on the British political scene and all we've had recently, perhaps (and for the foreseeable future), is the continuing skilful management of a ferment that has been perennial within and around the British Union for at least the past thirty years.

What all the above means is that – once again – Scottish nationalism swells with pride but not (for the moment) any greater power. What effect does all the brittle political uncertainty that one may project over the next several years have to do with culture and literature? Probably not very much other than to give Scots plenty to write about. They've never lacked such material in the past in any case. Business as usual?

How Do I Feel About the Result?

Deirdre Forsyth (Glasgow)

How do I feel about the result?

Gutted; sad; disappointed; proud of Glasgow and the turnout.

Angry about the intervention of Gordon Brown, whose comments about the NHS have since been discredited by the Labour Party (vote Labour to save the NHS).

Angry about the promises of the three leaders of the main UK parties which do not seem to be worth the paper they weren't written on.

Angry that the so-called Scottish banks have threatened to move to London, even though they are there already.

And really hopeful for the future.

Edinburgh Festival in Referendum Year 2014

Deirdre Forsyth (Glasgow)

Going to the Edinburgh Festival this year, I decided to visit as many of the Scottish plays related to the referendum as I could cope with, and here is my diary with impressions and opinions gained in August.

4 August: I went to the opening day of *All Back To Bowie's* in the tent in St Andrew's Square. This was an hour long talk show hosted by David Greig, with an interview, a polemic, some music, and a comedian. We were lucky to have Nicola Sturgeon, who is such a good speaker. The main memory I have is her comment that all of life is uncertain, including marriage, a new house, and, of course, voting.

I have quoted that often since.¹

But maybe the best was former chief superintendent of police John Carnochan. He was talking about male violence. He had been involved with the setup of the Violence Reduction Unit for Strathclyde Police force. He was modest, yet so impressive. I could have listened to his speech all day.

We also had music from a duo called White and McKay!, and a funny woman as well, and all in an hour.

Then we went along to Alan Bissett's play, *The Pure, The Dead and The Brilliant*.² This play lasted an hour and was about four imaginary beings (or are they): the bogle, the selkie, and the ban-shee, and their leader (maybe) Black Donald. He argued that if they did not vote No they would disappear in an independent Scotland. This scenario enabled the four of them to rehearse the arguments for and against. In the end they voted Yes (well 3 of them did), and lo and behold they did not disappear, but actually became human. It was funny, and most of the audience voted Yes at the end.

On Thursday 14th, I went to *The Pitiless Storm*, a one man play performed by David Hayman. He was a trade unionist from Glasgow rehearsing his speech in thanks for the award of an OBE. He starts as a No, and during the course of his thoughts and memories he gets visibly upset and much of his private life is revealed. So during this process he ends up changing his speech and decides that he will vote Yes. It was a super performance, and he said in the wee talk afterwards that its inspiration had come from his own knowledge of those men whose whole lives had been altered by the economic policies of UK governments over the last 40 years.³

Then on Saturday 16th, it was the marathon – Rona Munro's trilogy *The James Plays*, starting at noon and ending at 10.45 pm. I liked *James the First* best.⁴ It started with James in prison in England as a contemporary of Henry 5th. He had been there for 18 years.

When he gets back to Scotland with his English bride whom he had seen from his prison walls and composed poetry for, he finds hostility from the Stewart cousins who had been ruling for all that time. Blythe Duff very good as regent consort, especially hated him, and the more so when he

¹ Podcasts and more available at <http://www.allbacktobowies.com/>. Cf. also http://www.thestand.co.uk/fringe/show/129/all_back_to_bowies; and the reviews at <http://www.edinburghspotlight.com/2014/08/review-david-greig-and-the-barnett-consequential-all-back-to-bowie%E2%80%99s/>; <http://www.britishtheatreguide.info/reviews/all-back-to-bow-stand-in-the-sq-10401>; <http://www.scotsman.com/scottish-independence/all-back-to-bowies-set-to-tackle-scottish-referendum-at-edinburgh-fringe/>; <http://bellacaledonia.org.uk/2014/07/28/back-to-bowies/>.

² You can watch it at <https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=TeQw4k5RMMA>.

³ Hayman's last speech in the play can be watched here http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y1V_jCbTq-c. Cf. also http://www.theskinny.co.uk/fringe/308633-the_pitiless_storm_assembly_rooms; and the reviews <http://www.edinburghspotlight.com/2014/08/review-%E2%80%93-the-pitiless-storm/>; <https://www.list.co.uk/event/418413-the-pitiless-storm/>; <https://tickets.edfringe.com/whats-on/pitiless-storm>.

⁴ Cf. <http://www.eif.co.uk/jamesplays#.VCU73VdZTgk>; <http://www.eif.co.uk/news/2014/james-plays#.VCU76VdZTgk>, and for the first play <http://www.nationaltheatrescotland.com/content/default.asp>.

executed her sons and husband, although he had promised not to. Anyway, James I became a king who wanted the best for his country and started it on a route of more democracy.

James II was a troubled person from his childhood, when he was hidden to keep him safe and had nightmares, which were enacted with puppets. It was clever, but a bit long.

James III's story began with him as the father of teenage boys and with his marriage to his Danish wife, played by Sophie Grabol. He seemed to be more interested in his favourites (maybe a euphemism for male lovers) than in his sons, and eventually the Queen really took over ruling, although she pretended he was still involved.

There were very strong roles for women in all three plays. The writer, Rona Munro, says that it is a period of history that is virtually unknown, so this is a drama and has been written as human stories which balance contemporary and modern themes.

I really enjoyed the day, but it was long, and I did not get home till 2am!⁵

Then on Sunday 24th, the last day of the Fringe, I went to two shows which had relevance to current affairs in Scotland. The first of these was *The Fair Intellectual Club* by Lucy Porter about a trio of young women in Edinburgh in 1717, who started a club to encourage the development of their intellectual powers, and published a pamphlet with its rules and constitution. This play was funny and gripping. We loved it, and so wanted these young women to carry on learning and interacting even when (shock) they got married.⁶

Then later that day I went to *3000 Trees*, a play by George Gunn. This is his idea about the last few hours in the life of Willie Macrae, whose suicide / murder is a mystery still. This play suggests the involvement of MI5/6, something always supposed, but who knows. It was good and, of course, provided no answers.⁷

An analogy for the referendum? Who can give answers until we are there and trying to get the country we really want.

Vote Britain

Alan Bissett

People of Scotland, vote with your heart.

Vote with your love for the Queen who nurtured you, cradle to grave,
Who protects you and cares, her most darling subjects, to whom you gave
the glens she adores to roam freely through, the stags her children so dearly enjoy killing.

First into battle, loyal and true. The enemy's scared of you.

⁵ Cf. also <http://www.nationaltheatre.org.uk/series/the-james-plays> and Michael Billington's review <http://www.theguardian.com/stage/2014/aug/11/edinburgh-festival-review-the-james-plays-rona-munro-sofie-grabol>.

⁶ Cf. <http://www.lucyporter.co.uk/news.php>; <http://www.thefairintellectualclub.co.uk/>; Lyn Gardner's review <http://www.theguardian.com/stage/2014/aug/13/the-fair-intellectual-club-play-lucy-porter-review>; and a clip at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p024jcqx>.

⁷ For Gunn's play, cf. <http://www.edinburghguide.com/festival/2014/edinburghfringe/3000treesgryphonwestendreview-14701>; <http://www.wow247.co.uk/blog/2014/08/23/3000-trees/>; watch it online for £10 at <http://3000trees.com/pack-ages/>; and also the intriguing Bella Caledonia clip with the producer Marc MacNicol and director Libby McArthur speaking to BellaVision about the play at <http://bellacaledonia.org.uk/2014/06/16/3000-trees-speak-to-bellavision-about-new-play-inspired-by-willie-macrae/>, plus this review <http://www.edinburghnews.scotsman.com/what-s-on/theatre/review-the-3000-trees-1-3508327>. Further comments etc. on the Edinburgh Festival are available at <http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/edinburgh-festival/edinburgh-festival-2014-scottish-independence-and-rise-of-female-comics-dominate-lineup-9626637.html>; <http://www.yesscotland.net/news/edinburgh-festival-fringe-goes-indyref>.

That's why we send you over the top with your och-aye-the-noo Mactivish there's been a murrdderr jings! crivvens! Deepfriedfuckinmarsbar wee wee dram of whisky hoots mon there's a moose loose about this smackaddict

Vote, Jock. Vote, Sweaty Sock. Talk properly.
Vote with those notes we scrutinise in our shops.
(might be legal tender but looks dodgy to me)

Vote for the Highland Clearances. Baaaaaaaaaa.
Vote for nuclear submarines in your water.
Vote for the Olympic Games you didn't vote for
(but you'll pay for it, you'll pay for it).

Vote Conservative. Vote Lib Dem. Vote Libservative. Vote Condabour.
Vote with the chip on your shoulder.
Vote Labour. New Labour. Old Labour. Scottish Labour.
(Get back in line, Scottish Labour, HQ in Solihull will issue their commands shortly,
Just keep the vote coming in from up there thanks goodbye,
Subsidy junkie).

Vote for any argument you construct in your defence being 'anti-English'.
Vote for Scots who make their career in Scotland being 'unambitious'.
Vote for enjoying your own culture being soooooooooo parochial.
Vote God Save the Queen and that bit about us crushing you all.
Hush. There there.

Vote for Scotland being refered to as a 'region', like, say, Yorkshire? Or East Anglia?
Vote for our voices dominating your media, but in no way telling you what to think.
Take a drink. Go on, son, take a drink.

Vote for oil revenue, which we ensure flows directly from us into you.
Vote for being told you're the only country in the world that could not possibly survive and that without us you'd fall to pieces like children abandoned in the wild, caked in faeces.

Vote Daily Mail and Rupert Murdoch and
illegalimmigrantskilledPrincessDiana and
London London London most exciting city in the world darling
(Glasgow *is* a very violent place, is it not. Do you have art?)

Vote with your heart. Vote Empire. Vote tradition.
Vote for our proud shared history of
enslavingothernationsandstealingtheirnaturalresources
Bringing Wealth and Prosperity to the World!
being on the right side just *once* and that's only because it was against yer actual fucking Hitler

Vote for the #ScottishConspiracy at Westminster
(who really runs the show here eh – Blair, Brown – got your own in that time, we aren't allowed to vote in Holyrood but there's Archie McPhee pulling wee strings in our parliament when we wouldn't even *think* about interfering in how you run your own affairs but while we're at it, this referendum eh? A so-called referendum, is it? Have it *now*, make sure it looks like *this*)
Vote for very, very, very rich people patronising you.

Vote for Glasgow having the highest knife-crime rate and lowest life expectancy in Europe due to our generosity. You may thank us at your leisure.
Vote for the absence of your history in our schools.
All Brits together.

Vote for our shock at your ingratitude!
Vote for us saying 'Eh? Eh?' when you open up your porridge mooth.
Vote for bafflement about why you want the England football team to lose.
We always want the Scots to win (except in referenda).

Vote for psychopathic villains with your accent in a soap opera.
Vote for tuition fees and student loans, ensuring that the brightest of your working-class (since you still insist upon the term, although Our Leaders had it banned) will one day rise and take their place in this great land.

Vote for us deploying strategic references to Braveheart to dismiss you all.
Vote for Robert Burns being called by Paxman 'sentimental doggerel'.
Vote for The Iron Lady. Such a *strong* leader, gave this country *backbone* (you didn't really want the unions, industries or council homes, just made the place look tatty)

Vote for a deregulated banking class, lionising of the hardworkingwealthgeneratingjobcreatingentrepreneurs
who you will in no way refer to as 'greedy, selfish bastards'. Give them your taxes.

Vote for foreign wars.
Yes, sadly, some of you will die. But you will return to a hero's welcome
Jock
the Union Jack, proud symbol of integrity and honour, draped across your coffin
while your mother, dabbing at her eyes, recalls the words she learned in school
in Kircudbright
'There is some corner of a foreign field that is forever England.'

Vote with your heart.

(Courtesy of Alan Bissett, 'Vote Britain', 13-01-2012, his "contribution to the debate on Scottish independence", <http://alanbissett.com/2012/01/13/my-contribution-to-the-debate-on-scottish-independence/>.)

Does the End Justify the Means? – Yes Vote: Key to Self-Determination?

Katharina Leible (Mainz/Germersheim)

The first reading of Alan Bissett's poem 'Vote Britain' evokes many overwhelming impressions. His mastery of stylistic and rhetorical devices and his ability to convey deep convictions is impressive. However readers tend to be divided; either one feels a strong passion and understanding for the poem's objective which is, in this case, to motivate readers towards a Yes vote for an independent Scotland, or one rejects this aim and is offended.

Thinking about 'Vote Britain', I wanted to look behind its irony and conviction, in order to work with the text on a rational level. In my opinion, Alan Bissett's methods of convincing the voters to vote Yes in this poem are contradictory to his own statements about why a No vote would be wrong.

The referendum on independence in Scotland surely is a matter of strong emotions. First of all, however, it is a crucial political decision that should be made on the basis of an individual interpretation of facts. This opinion must certainly be derived from feelings about these facts, but such feelings are based on personal experiences and attitudes, they should not be based purely on the reading of emotionally exciting texts. As already mentioned, Alan Bissett's words capture his feelings about the referendum. They are the feelings of a talented writer, but such emotional conviction may also result in readers blindly believing these words.

The facts alluded to in the poem are used for impressionistic effect. Its message is not spelled out directly. The poem works emotionally, and its major effect happens in the subconscious.

The Highland Clearances were not carried out exclusively by the English. Many of the landowners who enclosed what had once been common lands were Scottish. Due to the Curriculum for Excellence, Scottish history is on its way back into Scottish school teaching (Duncan 2009), and Gaelic is now recognised as a mainstream subject of the curriculum which "provides young people with valuable resources to develop a sense for Scotland's culture and identity." (Scottish Government 2014) In the case of independence, Scotland would still be a small country dependent on the big ones. Memberships in the EU and NATO probably wouldn't be as negotiable as it appears with regard to the "nuclear submarines in your water", given that NATO's approval of any application for membership by an independent Scotland is not guaranteed, especially if Scotland "takes steps that disrupt NATO's nuclear strategy." (Vandiver 2014)

I personally, as someone who grew up in Bavaria, accompanied by lifelong, old traditionalist discussions about independence – undoubtedly sometimes expressed just for the sake of reminding others of how different Bavarians are – support the wish for independence and self-determination.

"Self-determination" is a key term, often used by Alan Bissett. In an interview, when asked what might happen to the Scottish identity should Scots vote Yes on independence, he said: "If we're responsible for our own successes and our own failures, we've got nobody to blame but ourselves so it will force us to grow up as a nation." (Borowiec 2014). How can a country be self-determined if the voters are not?

With this poem Alan Bissett wanted to stir up the conscience of the people. He wanted them to take the chip off their shoulder. He wanted them to stand up for a Yes vote. This is for me a contradiction, as the poem leaves the impression that a Yes vote is the key to self-determination.

Self-determination, however, starts with a decision made in spite of the certain knowledge of risks and based on the willingness to accept the consequences. Without the voters' self-determination, the nation would not have it either as there would still be enough institutions left to blame for failures, even if they were then Scottish. As already mentioned, many emotions can be released while reading this poem. It provokes discussions about the necessity of remembering that stereotypes and their relation to historical events, is something that is always going to charge the debate with strong emotions. But such stereotypes do not trigger the desire to get answers to open questions and to form an opinion based on facts – in other words, to make a self-determined decision.

Therefore "Vote with the chip on your shoulder" is contradictory for me. "A turnout of 84.5% as a whole and a new record for any election held in the UK since the introduction of universal suffrage in 1918" ("Astonishing! Turnout" 2014) indicates that the Scots have already taken the chip off their shoulders. Self-determination will not necessarily be derived from a Yes vote; it may well be derived from the desire to vote.

Undoubtedly, Alan Bissett wanted to provoke attention with this poem as well as with his satirical play *The Pure, The Dead and the Brilliant*. He wanted to make the Scots think about their fear of standing up for themselves. The well-written and creative drama about bogles, banshees, demons and selkies who are involved in the independence referendum debate and become real after a Yes vote, further supports my point of view about the poem's relevance to the political stage. For me, the emotional level is not enough.

This poem is meant to be an appeal for self-determination and political engagement. When he writes "Vote with your heart", Alan Bissett is right, but he forgets one essential detail that is necessary to achieve the heart's desire. He forgets the head.

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Scottish Independence in the Political Game

Sherry Ishak Bakeer Abadeer (Mainz/Germersheim)

Let's face it: politics is a game and it is all about playing it right. I grew up in a dictatorship and a country that has been unstable for four years due to many political movements, which gave me an opportunity to deal with politics intensively and observe it at a close range. Thus I have learned never to trust politicians. And while many people in my country (Egypt) believe the West is a perfect prototype of democracy, I see that this is an illusion. Everywhere there is nothing but the illusion of true freedom; although – to be honest – people's votes in so-called 'democracies' do get them the government they choose or, more specifically, the one the majority chooses, and this forces the government to be considerate of the nation (to a certain extent). But one must understand that the story does not start here. There is a whole process that happens to direct – more specifically manipulate – this choice in a certain way. Even serving the country and fulfilling the national duty can be used to gain power, as it results in a strong economy and re-election. So has the world really changed? There are no more colonies, but powerful countries intervene in the political affairs of the others. There are organizations like NATO, the UN and the EU, yet in the end no one dares do something certain countries oppose. It is the same old game, yet it is dressed in the beautiful and nevertheless fake cape of democracy. And what is underneath stays underneath.

One of the most important political movements this year is Scottish independence. I have never been to Scotland, nor have I ever known a lot about Scotland except in the last 2 years of my life during the independence debate. A very interesting piece of art concerning the debate is Alan Bissett's controversial contribution to the independence debate. A piece where he, by his own admission, expresses his anger against British rule.

This angry tone seems to have struck quite a lot of people leading to the classic allegation against separatists, namely nationalism. Bissett promotes pride and the Scots' sense of identity by challenging "how the Scots see themselves BY challenging how others see [them]" (<http://bellacaledonia.org.uk/2012/06/08/a-short-dialogue-concerning-vote-britain-a-poem-by-alan-bissett/>). So beware of nationalism. Don't you ever read history? The world has learned its lesson in World Wars II and I, taught at a German school, learned almost nothing else in history classes but the shame nationalism has brought upon the country.

So what exactly is nationalism? Nationalism is commonly understood as another form of pride, and pride estranges people in a world that is (seemingly, at least) coming more and more together. In a video Bissett states: "This is not a nationalist movement. This is a movement for self-determination. Scottish nationalism, as we understand it, is bound up with that one thing: the right of the Scottish people to make their own decisions." (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=INrCdJycQI>) Thinking deeper about the essence of nationalism, I came to the following conclusion: a country determining its own destiny is not a bad thing. Nationalism is not a country asking to be independent. It is when a nation starts claiming superiority. That is why, the way I see it, the world is actually drifting apart. Yes, it is true that communication is now easier. The world shares certain ground rules. Negotiations happen more often. But looking at this cultural and political closeness from a political perspective, I see that it is not happening for the sake of peace and international understanding, but for the sake of the economy and hegemonic rule. Hence the one pole of the world, the dominant countries, is getting stronger and the other weaker, proving that hierarchy is still there. It just does not reveal itself in the direct way it used to.

And the truth is, England and Scotland are not equivalent. It is worth mentioning that Scotland has been allowed more devolution in the last years than it had had for centuries. But although in comparison to earlier times the circumstances have improved, I find myself using the word 'allowed', highlighting the relationship between England and Scotland again. So, as it turns out, it is nationalism that makes a country like England claim it can rule other countries better than they could. And what I am trying to do here is not picturing the Scots as pure innocent victims, since I cannot guarantee that no separatist feels any kind of supremacy or hatred towards England. I am merely pointing out how common notions can be misleading, especially when it comes to notions about political groups.

This is a point where I can give advice based on my own experience: hopeful people striving for change, whether good or bad, are dangerous in the eyes of those in power. Where I come from, the voice of the young ones who wanted to change the country for the better is despised now: a success after four years of hard work against them. Of course this is not the same situation, but some rules of the game are shared by the players and are not up to the individuals. If I had been a Scottish separatist, I would have been careful of how they would try to gradually kill my vision.

What I found very interesting and also kind of funny about the debate was how the phrase "independence would cause uncertainty about..." was used to scare people. I find myself asking: what do people expect? The country would go through such a major transformation like independence and everything would be just fine? This reminded me of a novel I read years ago by Kevin Brooks (*Lucas* 2002), where he says that "[people would] rather have a monster they know than a mystery they don't". Of course independence would cause uncertainty! Such a change is huge and destabilizing, for a while at least. The question is whether it is worth it or not. That is another thing I like about Bissett's text. It tells people why independence is worth every effort, but not by drawing a picture of a perfect future as some politicians on both sides did, and not by making promises, but by reminding them of everything they do not want to be, thus indirectly implying what they do want to be. And if they want that, it is worth it, in his opinion, and in mine, too.

"Vote for our voices dominating your media, but in no way telling you what to think" is one of the reasons for independence Bissett mentions in his poem. This is the most questionable verse to me and the one that drew my attention the first time I read the poem. I started thinking whether independence would get Scottish voices to be heard. Are the media actually the voice of the public? Here is a point where I think that independence is about limiting control to the country's own authorities because it is better than being used by someone else, the least of two evils in other words. Because the truth is that had not Scotland been of some kind of use to England, they would have just let it go. No nation wants to be dragged down just to avoid being 'heartbroken'. So I am not denying the fact that Scotland has been used by England, but that does not mean that an independent Scotland would not be used, too. And that is not because Scottish politicians are bad, but because this is, regretfully, how things work.

So what would an independent Scotland look like? It might become more powerful and wealthy, which would of course be a huge step towards success. But in the end, it would join the countless countries playing this game, living the illusion of democracy and craving for the true one – the daydream.

(Sherry Ishak Bakeer Abadeer is a student of German and English at Mainz University in its Faculty 06 and would be pleased to get your comments at sishakab@students.uni-mainz.de.)

To a Yesser
(After Hopkins)
David Greig

Yesser are you grieving
Over all the media leaving
The news, that thing of man, you
With your fresh thoughts dazzled, can you?
Ah! As the activist grows older
We come to such sights colder
By and by, nor spare a sigh
Though piles of mulched white papers lie;
And yet, I will weep, know why:
Though no longer referending:
The national question's never ending,
But no leaflet caught, nor tweet expressed,
What your heart made of it, that moment
'Yes!'.
It was the moment you were born for
It is that passing that I mourn for.

(Courtesy of David Greig, 'To a Yesser', 23-9-14, <http://www.front-step.co.uk/>).

**What an Achievement! Now Change Is Due – Fast and Essential Change,
or: Let's Support a Common Weal Scotland**
Klaus Peter Müller (Mainz)

The Scottish referendum seemed to have ended with a disappointing, even though actually predictable result. Nobody could really expect a Yes vote from the majority of the Scottish people. Not yet, anyway. Scots have usually waited long, thought long, and suffered even longer before eventually beginning to act, and then to fight not for something abstract and political, like independence, but rather for their concrete and practical freedom. Walter Scott gave one important explanation why things always take rather long in Scotland: "the Scotch are not a people who speedily admit innovation, even when it comes in the shape of improvement."¹

The improvement an independent Scotland could be for its people will, therefore, still take some time to materialise. It has now, however, become a conscious project in many people's minds, developed in connection with the referendum. One of the key results of this entire process has been the enormously important awareness that the referendum has in fact been about direct personal things, not something of relevance to people in high, far away positions, who have in their majority rather been against Scottish independence. National and even more so international media have been full of praise for what the Scottish people have achieved, the high degree of political awareness that has been accomplished, and the vast insight into the enormous number of key problems that need to be faced now.²

It is absolutely certain that momentous changes will take place in the UK, not only in Scotland. David Cameron's first public speech on 19 September committed him and the current Westminster government to such changes, the consequences of which nobody can actually predict. One of his several promises was to give an answer to the West Lothian question, and everybody who knows its dimension is instantly aware of the fact that such an answer requires fundamental structural and constitutional changes. An answer will put an end to the Britain we have known since 1707.

Can this be achieved before the next general election in 2015? Definitely not. So will politicians not do what they have always done, namely forget about difficulties, and try to return back to business? Definitely. Only – the public will not allow them to do so. The Scottish public is already alerted to the possibility that the Tories will want to renege on their promises. There were even rumours that the votes had been tampered with, but Douglas Daniel has written a convincing rejection of this idea and rightly pointed out that many more important things need to be dealt with now.³

What these things and key current problems are, what the indyref has revealed, what has become very evident during and after the referendum will be dealt with here in this text addressing **ten key results, consequences, and problematic issues of the referendum**, essentially connected with it, and **which need to be dealt with now**. There are certainly more, but these are enough at the moment. They are also all of them intricately connected with each other, which one should keep in mind.

The first essential issue is that 1) **(big) business, the oligarchy, and the establishment** have clearly been in support of keeping the Union.⁴ This group has been confronted with a great number

¹ It was, of course, not really Scott who said this, but his narrator Frank Osbaldistone in *Rob Roy* (in Ian Duncan's Oxford World's Classics edition 1998, 344). Honest, though often also ignorant and impetuous young Frank may, however, express here something very close to Scott's own idea of Scotland, many of whose novels after all show precisely how long it had taken until Scotland was in the shape Scott liked and represented.

² I'll present the response in Austrian, German, and Swiss media to the referendum in greater detail in Neil Blain / Gerry Hassan / David Hutchison (eds.), *Scotland's Referendum in the Media: National and International Perspectives*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 2015.

³ <http://wingsoverscotland.com/our-man-on-the-scene/#more-61970>.

⁴ For the establishment, cf. Owen Jones, *The Establishment: And How They Get Away With It*, London: Allen Lane 2014. Check also Crouch's discussion of oligarchy, kleptocracy etc. in Colin Crouch, *Making Capitalism Fit for Society*, Hoboken: John Wiley 2013, and Michael Sandel *What Money Can't Buy. The Moral Limits of Markets*, London: Allen Lane 2012. Two key issues in this context are justice and

of 2) **artists, creative writers, scholars, and intellectuals** who have been in favour of independence. You'll find many examples of their positions in the '(New) Media on Scotland' section of this *Newsletter*. Why is there this division and divergence of opinions? Simply because the people in the second group know nothing about money and the economy? Clearly not. Everybody in charge of a household, his or her own purse, knows very well what is economically sound and what not. And what economists and the financial world understand of what they are doing and how well they can predict the consequences of their activities became clearly evident to everybody in 2008, the financial disaster.

One important result of that calamity which we are still struggling with and which must also be seen in connection with the Scottish referendum is the enormous amount of 3) **the national debt**. This is a disaster not only in Greece or far away countries in Africa etc., but in the UK and Germany, too. It is something that has been produced by both the financial world, the bankers, and the politicians who irresponsibly keep on spending more money than they actually have. In order to stop this, we require financial and political systems that are aware of their responsibility to the world they live in, their local communities, and that act accordingly.⁵

The financial world regarded the Scottish referendum as useful for 'financial gambling'.⁶ Its digital technology has often turned an at least partly serious business into a casino, where much depends on bets and mere chance. Much more, however, depends on a disgusting degree of criminal activity. Criminal? You don't believe this? Have you already forgotten the financial crisis of 2008, or the Libor scandal, the manipulation of the London Interbank Offered Rate? These events should have made everybody aware of the state of this world and that controlling it is absolutely necessary. Yes, banks have paid some 6 billion dollars in fines for this, but how much more have they gained? And they have not stopped their criminal activities either: Barclays, Citigroup, HSBC, JP Morgan Chase, the Royal Bank of Scotland, the Swiss bank UBS, the Dutch Rabobank, and the Deutsche Bank are now accused of having manipulated the exchange rates for years. Can you imagine what that means? I must admit, I have only a vague idea, and even the explicit figure of 5.3 billion US dollars turnover every day in this market is beyond what I am familiar with. But that is precisely the problem, our lack of understanding, where even so-called experts often don't get what is going on.

This whole new affair is quite evidently another disaster. Especially as it is once again taking place without many people becoming aware of it and without any competent and efficient control. Just five banks hold 60% of the exchange rate trade. Many of them are already negotiating their fines with the British control system, the Financial Conduct Authority (FCA). Fines are not enough,

morality, and it is more than appropriate that the last chapter in Sandel, *Justice: What's the Right Thing to Do?*, NY: Farrar, Strauß & Giroux 2009, is on "Justice and the Common Good". Sandel's Justice course at Harvard is available at <http://www.justiceharvard.org/>.

⁵ "The UK national debt grows at a rate of £5,170 per second!" (<http://www.nationaldebtclock.co.uk/>) Even the conservative *Telegraph* 22-07-14 is aware of this problem: "Our rocketing national debt pile is the British economy's Achilles' Heel" (<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/economics/10984230/Our-rocketing-national-debt-pile-is-the-British-economys-Achilles-Heel.html>), and the situation was worse again on 24-09-14, when "the UK [was brought] in line with European accounting standards" (<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/economics/11117335/Just-how-big-is-Britains-debt-mountain.html>). The BBC made things pretty clear: "In a party political broadcast last year, David Cameron claimed that 'we are paying down Britain's debts.' As you will soon see, we most certainly are not." (<http://www.bbc.com/news/business-25944653>). One way of confusing people is "that politicians may say the budget deficit is coming down. But, at the same time, national debt is rising." (<http://www.economicshelp.org/blog/334/uk-economy/uk-national-debt/>). Cf. UK Government debt in comparison to other countries (<http://www.tradingeconomics.com/united-kingdom/government-debt-to-gdp>). That debts are decreasing is a myth nourished by finance and politics, but it's not true, says *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (from now on *NZZ*) 06-10-14, "Der Mythos der globalen Entschuldung" (<http://www.nzz.ch/finanzen/der-mythos-der-globalen-entschuldung-1.18397655>). Another myth = lie the Tories like to spread is that Labour always borrows more than they do (<http://www.taxresearch.org.uk/Blog/2014/10/09/labour-borrowed-371-billion-in-five-years-to-2010-the-coalition-will-borrow-572-billion-by-2015/>).

⁶ *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (from now on abbreviated as *FAZ*) 15-09-14 "Zocken um die Schottland-Frage" (<http://www.faz.net/-i27-7twwc>).

though. And state control often does not work, as the US Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) as well as European agencies have repeatedly shown.⁷ Things are so disastrously and outrageously bad that the financial system has in fact always profited even from the crises it has been responsible for. This is totally unbelievable, but absolutely true. This happened after 2008 and is happening now. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung*, which is very far from being a progressive left-wing paper, has succinctly described what we have had for far too long: "Banken kassieren ihre Retter ab" ('Banks make a killing of their saviours').⁸

Neither fines nor the institutions meant to control the financial sector have improved this system, where a fundamental change is absolutely necessary. Mario Draghi, president of the European Central Bank, has such a low opinion of his Bank that he has already assigned the US financial services company Blackrock with the task of buying Asset Backed Securities (often called 'junk bonds') from other banks, and he intends to give the French BNP Paribas and the Deutsche Bank the same assignment. So he is setting foxes to keep the geese. But as we have already become aware of the enormous criminal energy in this market, one can just as well use the other expression: he is setting thieves to catch a thief. The enormously vital change that is necessary here as well as in all other areas of our society and that has become evident in connection with the Scottish referendum is precisely what this article is addressing.⁹

The difference between the two groups represented by finance and art is determined by their values, and the values of the second group are those that do not count much or even not at all in the first, but are precisely what the media have praised the Scottish public and in particular the independence movement for, namely concern for other people, the community in which one lives, democracy, i.e. active participation of everybody in relevant decisions, political, economic, social, educational, or of any other kind.¹⁰

⁷ For the figures and the news of this affair, cf. *FAZ* 11-10-14, "Banken. Die Rechnung, bitte!" ('Banks. The bill, please!') (<http://www.faz.net/-gqe-7uy7y>). Check <http://www.fca.org.uk/> for what the FCA has got to say about this as well as about other criminal activities in the financial market. Cf. also the *Independent* 11-10-14 (<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/business/news/fca-libor-probe-closes-in-on-six-banks-9787370.html>). Andreas Dombret, a member of the board of the German central bank, discusses "The fundamental rules for new regulation", *The Banker* 01-10-14 (<http://www.thebanker.com/Reports/International-Meetings/View-from-IMF-World-Bank/The-fundamental-rules-for-new-regulation>).

⁸ "Banken kassieren ihre Retter ab", *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung* 12-10-14, 31, and at (<http://www.faz.net/-gv6-7uzr1>).

⁹ Draghi is also criticised in "Europäische Zentralbank kauft zwei Jahre lang Bankkredite", *FAZ* 02-10-14 (<http://www.faz.net/aktuell/wirtschaft/eurokrise/ezb-kauft-abs-und-covered-bonds-13186548.html>), in Switzerland and Germany ('Draghi endangers Greek reforms' <http://www.nzz.ch/finanzen/draghi-gefaehrdet-griechenlands-reformen-1.18397718>) and (<http://www.nzz.ch/finanzen/standpunkt/die-strategie-der-europaeischen-zentralbank-ist-abenteuerlich-1.18397722>), where Hans-Werner Sinn, the renowned head of IfO, the Munich institute of economic research (<http://www.cesifo-group.de/ifoHome/CESifo-Group/ifo/ifo-Mitarbeiter/cvifo-sinn-hw.html>), says 'The ECB strategy is hazardous'. Cf. also *Financial Times* 10-10-14 (<http://ftalphaville.ft.com/2014/10/10/2002862/draghis-true-alternatives/>). The *FAZ* 07-10-14 even set up a 'banking fines feed' showing how much which banks have been fined on various occasions: "Bankenstrafen-Ticker. Amerika macht Druck auf die Deutsche Bank" (<http://www.faz.net/aktuell/wirtschaft/unternehmen/bankenstrafen-die-groessten-zahlungen-im-ueberblick-12852517.html>). Moyers give a good short description of the fraud tradition (<http://billmoyers.com/content/bill-black/>).

¹⁰ Cf. e.g. *NZZ*, 19-09-14: "Erfolg auch im Scheitern" about the Scottish success in spite of the failure of the Yes campaign. The values of business are evident in its response to the referendum result: "Erleichterung an den Finanzmärkten", *FAZ* 19-09-14 (<http://www.nzz.ch/wirtschaft/erleichterung-an-den-finanzmaerkten-1.18386817>) ('Relief on the financial market'). Liz Murray has a forthright comment: "Big business bypassed democracy in the Scottish referendum", *Our Kingdom power & liberty in Britain* 03-10-14 (<https://www.opendemocracy.net/ourkingdom/liz-murray/big-business-bypassed-democracy-in-scottish-referendum>), and Martin Rowson a wonderful cartoon 'A nation... um... reborn?', *Guardian* 19-09-14 (<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/cartoon/2014/sep/19/martin-rowson-cartoon-scottish-independence-result-david-cameron>), showing a business man victoriously waving the English flag with the inscription 'English Laws for Global Corporations'.

4) **The parties** and 5) **the people** create key issues as well, because they live in different worlds, too. These are – not surprisingly – the worlds already distinguishing business and art or scholarly people. The public have disliked, despised, and even hated politicians since the expenses scandal, but they now see even more clearly how far away from common values, common sense, and ordinary behaviour politicians are. The **Tories**, hardly ever much liked in Scotland, now deservedly represent everything people despise. Cameron's suggestion that the West Loathian question needs an answer fast has been called a "kneejerk absurdity", as the question is simply too complex. Very sensible suggestions and comments have been made by the public on this topic, emphasising that what is really required now is local government with responsibilities to deal with all matters in the respective areas.¹¹

This, however, will not be easily achieved. The **Labour** party is as much against this as the **Tories**, and Labour now are clearly behind the SNP in public opinion as well as in membership figures in Scotland.¹² When will Ed Miliband at last step down? Ian Fraser (@IanFraser), the author of the excellent book *Shredded: Inside RBS, the Bank that Broke Britain*, Birlinn 2014 (cf. the New Publications section below), pointed out in a short tweet on 24-9-14 what the climax of Ed Miliband's address at the party conference in Manchester had been: "'Let's make it happen, together.' Oh dear; Ed Miliband closed his speech with former RSB slogan." Indeed, the party, which a year ago created the slogan 'One Nation' without being aware that there are at least four nations in the United Kingdom, has not yet woken up to any of the enormous changes that are now due and that the Scottish referendum has brought to the fore. That is why the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* spoke of an extremely weak party conference in Manchester, "Labour ohne Leidenschaft", i.e. Labour without any passion, an impression confirmed by several British papers.¹³

Labour's problem is not just Miliband, of course, but the entire party's ideology. Alan McGee (in fn. 12) expresses the people's opinion succinctly when he says that "Labour are seen as traitors because they stood shoulder to shoulder with the Conservatives", and Labour supporters are now "burning their cards". Labour will get support again only when they remember for what and whom the party had been established. Clearly not for neo-liberal or even backward-minded conservative politics. But Labour must not repeat their out-dated slogans and ideas of former times either. They must speak, think, and act with the people today.

The **Liberal Democrats** (with 43,451 members in July 2014) actually do not deserve any comments at all, as nobody has helped the Conservatives more than they have. The **UK Independence Party** (with some estimated 48,000 members¹⁴) deserve even less attention, but they are successful and, therefore, also dangerous. Nigel Farage, however, is even completely right in his evaluation of the Westminster parties when he says that "the Westminster class would not be able to

¹¹ For the "kneejerk absurdity", cf. (<http://gu.com/p/4xp9t>). The public comments deserve close attention. You can find them, too, in the section '(New) Media on Scotland' under 'Intellectuals, artists, scholars, selected journalists'.

¹² The SNP now is the third biggest British party after Labour with 189,531 and the Conservatives with 174,000 members (<http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2014/07/exclusive-tories-announce-tens-thousands-increase-membership-party-conference>). Cf. Alan McGee, "SNP Membership Now at 100,000 Members!", *Huffington Post* 05-10-14 (http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/alan/snp-membership-now-at-100000-members_b_5935416.html): "The SNP membership is up by 75,000 since the vote and already people across Scotland are planning for how we can obtain independence as quickly as possible. When 71% of teenagers vote yes, it is only a matter of time... and how. If anyone seriously believes this matter is finished, it isn't, far from it. The yes camp are more energised than ever and will make this happen with the help of the Tories down south who seem hell bent on helping us." See also Kevin McKenna, "Labour in Scotland is dying. Does anybody care?", *Guardian* 27-09-14 (http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/sep/27/labour-in-scotland-dying-does-anyone-care?CMP=tw_t_gu).

¹³ *NZZ* 23-09-14 (<http://www.nzz.ch/international/labour-ohne-leidenschaft-1.18389523>). Cf. also the *London Evening Standard* 23-09-14, "Evening Standard Comment: Ed Miliband's Modest Pitch to the Nation" (<http://www.standard.co.uk/comment/comment/evening-standard-comment-ed-milibands-modest-pitch-to-the-nation-9751178.html>).

¹⁴ Ukip MEP Amjad Bashir in his 2014 national conference speech (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uyCAiRisX_E).

recover. [...] We have a career political class of college kids who have never had jobs in their lives with absolutely no connection to ordinary people and how they are struggling. We need new people. We need change, real change."¹⁵ We do indeed, but Ukip's change is as backward as that of the Tories.

The most recent opinion poll about the Scottish results expected in the general election in May 2015 is relevant in this context, as it again reveals the effects and repercussions of the independence referendum:

Scottish voting intentions for the May 2015 UK general election

SNP 41.0% (+5.2)

Labour 27.4% (-4.0)

Conservatives 17.6% (-0.1)

Liberal Democrats 7.2% (+2.1)

UKIP 3.4% (-2.1)

Greens 2.8%

I have not yet found this on YouGov, only detected a strong British = English centred-ness there.¹⁶ The chart, however, indeed reveals the result to be expected next year: Labour losing and the SNP winning even more support. Some of those who voted No in the referendum will still support the Conservatives, but how many will actually stay with them after the abyss Cameron has opened up? And how many will try to support the general public, the people, Scotland as a whole?

For there is one other thing that is certain: 6) **the division** between business and creative people, between politicians and the public, between Yes and No voters **cannot and must not persist**. All of these groups will have to determine what is best not only for themselves individually, but for everybody and the nation at large. 7) **The Common Weal** must be taken into account, and this is much more than the organisation of the same name, speaking of itself also as 'all of us first' (www.allofusfirst.org). This is a wonderful idea, with origins in Scripture, the Reformation, and thus with a strong Christian background. The idea, however, is of importance today quite regardless of people's religion and expresses a yearning for overcoming the selfishness of contemporary business and cultures and putting a new emphasis on a humane society with freedom, equality, and democracy as key values. The Common Weal has a nice emblem for this:



Information on 'The Common Weal' is provided by Ash Regan-Denham in conversation with Referendum TV (<http://www.referendumentv.net/reftv-in-conversation-with-ash-regan-denham/>), the station that intends to launch as Broadcasting Scotland on St Andrew's Night. It sees itself as part of the grass roots movements demanding more voices being heard and directly involved in media,

¹⁵ Farage quoted in "Ukip wins first parliamentary seat with former Tory MP Douglas Carswell", *Guardian* 10-10-14 (<http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/oct/10/ukip-wins-clacton-first-parliamentary-seat-douglas-carswell>).

¹⁶ The chart is from *SCOT goes POP* 11-10-14 (<http://scotgoespop.blogspot.co.uk/2014/10/snp-soar-to-41-in-scot-goes-pop-poll-of.html>). Check what you find at <http://yougov.co.uk/pages/scotland/>. The **Green Party** (some 7,000 members) should at least be mentioned here, see also *Bella Caledonia* 11-10-14 (<http://bellacaledonia.org.uk/2014/10/11/a-tale-of-two-defections/>).

politics, and all areas of social life. These movements deserve to be strengthened by us, and I mean them, the common people, when I say let's support a common weal Scotland.

The key ideas and intentions of the 'Common Weal' organisation are presented here <http://allofusfirst.org/the-key-ideas/>, and it is also eloquently described by Robin McAlpine at <http://vimeo.com/107370979>. One can only hope that they will succeed and improve people's lives significantly and efficiently. My first direct encounter with them was somewhat odd: I just wanted to order some of their stickers, bags, etc., in order to show my support in this way, too. But when I then gave them 'Germany' as my address, they said 'we don't ship to Germany'. They charge £10 for shipping and evidently don't know that this would also pay for a parcel to Germany. They wouldn't need a new mail service either, the Royal Mail would do, even though it has been privatised and not become any better or cheaper. They'd just have to write Germany instead of England (where I eventually had it sent) onto the parcel. Where do they think Scotland is? On the moon? This is such a stupid, parochial behaviour that one can only tell them to drop it quickly and start becoming really productive of effects. They have exciting plans, but they need to be very careful, intelligent, down to earth, and, yes, very efficient.

A Common Weal Scotland would be a society in balance, fair, just, democratic. Not without strife, but with much more tolerance for different opinions than we have had so far. Yes, "Another Scotland Is Possible" (<http://www.mixcloud.com/Barrastinian/another-scotland-is-possible/>), and it is absolutely necessary to create it. Scotland could set a wonderful example for all other countries in the world. More and more people will inevitably become aware of this, but they should also be conscious of the fact that the forces against it are enormous. Which is why the Common Weal project must be very careful to avoid the traps the establishment and big business will set up for them. The people in power will definitely want it to fail. Which is why it needs and deserves everybody else's support.

"Now is the time to act (again)", says James Kelly, thinking of people submitting ideas to the Smith Commission that was established to discuss the new powers to be devolved to Scotland.¹⁷ And this is indeed the eighth certainty, conclusion, and problematic issue: 8) **Now is the time to act**. Peter Arnott, "First thoughts on the Smith Commission (that's your future, by the way)", agrees and thinks the key question is once again "Do you devolve power down from the crown, or up from the people?" The answer by the people in power is clear, "hence the apparent unthinking and terribly British assumed authority and mandate for Lord Smith and the Unco Guid."¹⁸ The people, however, "still feel sovereign [...], we still feel that our future is up to us." The conclusion Arnott draws is evident, evidently true, and unavoidable: "Just as the 'English votes for English laws' debate fundamentally undermines the principles of Union, so the top down committee to decide Scotland's future decides no such thing. It is yet another titled, bureaucratic caricature of the unsustainable present. [...] The greatest reality is that Scotland has already changed forever." That is why the people should "treat these talks [in the Smith Commission] primarily as a rehearsal for the real thing. A lot of interesting stuff will come up...and we will need to be talking about it. That's our role in the new Scotland, after all." A complete constitutional change is unavoidable, and "while we may be less than confident in that reality being recognised and coped with by his Lordship and the assembled wisdom of Scotland's politeratti, we do know that reality wins eventually."¹⁹

Arnott is right in almost everything he says here, but this last point is simply not true, because eventually only that reality wins that people fight for. Otherwise the silent majority will get the reality other people construct for them. And the reality the current UK government is trying to estab-

¹⁷ James Kelly, "Now is the time to act (again): make your own submission to the Smith Commission", *SCOT goes POP* 08-10-14 (<http://scotgoespop.blogspot.co.uk/2014/10/now-is-time-to-act-again-make-your-own.html>). The Commission's guidelines for submissions are available here (<https://www.smith-commission.scot/news/guidelines-submissions-10-october-2014/>).

¹⁸ For those who do not know this Scots expression, cf. (<http://www.britannia.org/scotland/scotsdictionary/u.shtml>) and read the Burns poem mentioned there.

¹⁹ Peter Arnott, "First thoughts on the Smith Commission (that's your future, by the way)", *Bella Caledonia* 08-10-14 (<http://bellacaledonia.org.uk/2014/10/08/first-thoughts-on-the-smith-commission-thats-your-future-by-the-way/>).

lish has got one further significant element as a result of the referendum: 9) **the threat of the abolition of human rights**. I have sincere hopes that this will wake up many No voters to what the Tories are actually doing to the people. Yes, Kevin McKenna is right: "If Scotland declines, we can only blame ourselves. The Tory party conference exposed all the malign policies Scotland could have escaped from with a yes vote".²⁰

But, he continues, we have now lost the opportunity to blame the Tories for the evils around us, now we indeed have to act ourselves and change the world we live in. What is at stake should be evident to everybody today, and for those who still don't see the dangers, Nick Cohen makes them obvious: "Tory wreckers out to destroy their own human rights. [...] The Conservatives' threat to scrap the Human Rights Act emphasises how extreme the party has become. [...] The conservative party is a dangerous party. Driven by the raging cultural warriors of the right, half out of its mind with fear of Nigel Farage, it no longer conserves but destroys with as little thought for the consequences as a brattish public schoolboy trashing a restaurant." This is an entirely fitting image and an appropriate description of the Tories, the current UK government.²¹

Even the former conservative justice secretary "Kenneth Clarke lambasts Conservatives' human rights plan", as does "Simon Hughes, the Liberal Democrat justice minister, [who] said: 'The Conservatives don't care about the rights of British citizens – they care about losing to Ukip. These plans make no sense: you can't protect the human rights of Brits and pull out of the system that protects them.'"²²

Vince Cable, the current business secretary of the Liberal Democrats, also says that the Tories lie, and he in particular accuses Tory chancellor George Osborne "of lying to the British people by claiming that a future Tory government could deliver an overall budget surplus in the next parliament without raising taxes. [...] Business secretary accuses chancellor of dishonesty and says Tories are obsessed by spending cuts".²³ What Cable is saying here is not only that the Tories lie, which is not really new, but that their politics are driven by passion, by obsessions even. Which is also not new, but people often forget this, especially those who think that the Tories are good because of their 'rational' economics. There is nothing rational about them, just the obsession to stay in power. Which is just one more good reason to support the Scottish passion for equality, justice, more democracy, especially as it also has a great rational basis. Yes, I am aware of my optimism and idealism in this respect, but not to support this movement would mean to give up all human values and the desire to create a humane society.

So this is the situation Scotland, the UK as well as Europe, and the world are now in. Pretty challenging, you could say, or simply agree with the responses made by Amnesty International or

²⁰ McKenna in the *Observer* 05-10-14 (http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/oct/05/scotland-declines-only-blame-ourselves?CMP=tw_t_gu). This is another important text, so, please, read it.

²¹ Nick Cohen, "Tory wreckers out to destroy their own human rights", *Observer* 4-10-14 (<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/oct/04/tory-wreckers-out-destroy-human-rights>).

²² Both in "Kenneth Clarke lambasts Conservatives' human rights plan", *Guardian* 03-10-14 (<http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/oct/03/kenneth-clarke-lambasts-conservatives-plan-quit-european-human-rights-convention>).

²³ "Tory pledge to balance budget without raising taxes is a lie", *Guardian* 06-10-14 (<http://gu.com/p/427bf>).

Liberty 80.²⁴ You could also ask "Human Rights: What have they ever done for you?"²⁵ Or you could be as outspoken and apposite as John Wight, who plainly sees that "The Tories Have Declared War on Society – Now Society Must Declare War on Them". Do read this text, it is so true, and it reminds people once again of how long the Tories have been allowed to pursue their disgusting, totally inhuman politics. Nye Bevan, the former Labour minister for health said in 1948 that "no amount of cajolery, and no attempts at ethical or social seduction, can eradicate from my heart a deep burning hatred for the Tory Party that inflicted those bitter experiences on me. So far as I am concerned they are lower than vermin." Wight then continues with his description of Britain in 2014: "The reality of Britain in 2014 is as stark as it gets. We are now a society that has been dragged back to the nineteenth century in service to a political creed which stands as living proof that not all sociopaths are behind bars. The relentless assault on people guilty of the 'crimes' of unemployment and poverty is something that social historians will record years hence in horror that such a level of injustice could even be imagined, much less countenanced.

When it comes to the proposal to scrap the [Human Rights Act](#), it is chilling to consider that Nuremberg in the 1930s was probably the last time an audience in Europe cheered a leader's pledge to remove human rights protections. Such historical parallels are lost on those for whom human rights legislation is an inconvenience rather than a necessary check on untrammelled political power, however."²⁶

It must now be evident what is at stake in our time and that our political awareness and active involvement are necessary. It is not enough to just 'Mock the Week'²⁷ or indulge in any other forms of popular entertainment that the BBC and all other mass media offer, because things really are as Noam Chomsky already described them in 2011 when he asked 'Who Owns the World?' – and remember here also what Bevan said about cajolery and social seduction in 1948: "As long as the general population is passive, apathetic, diverted to consumerism or hatred of the vulnerable, then the powerful can do as they please, and those who survive will be left to contemplate the outcome."²⁸

Yes, it is up to you to decide who owns the world, who or what determines your life. It's your life, you've got only one. So make the most of it, and don't allow greedy, selfish people to decide what it is like. In this context, Scotland has the potential of setting an excellent, valuable example. My edition of *Scotland 2014 and Beyond – Coming of Age and Loss of Innocence?*, Frankfurt: Lang 2014 (*Scottish Studies International* vol. 39) will be out soon and highlight Scotland's relevance and prospects in greater detail.

²⁴ Cf. Isabella Sankey, "Legally illiterate", *Liberty 80. Protecting Civil Rights, Promoting Human Rights* 02-10-14 (https://www.liberty-human-rights.org.uk/news/latest-news/legally-illiterate?dm_i=C3V,2UX2Z,9QLO6B,AD1SJ,1): "Today the Conservatives unleashed their long-awaited plans to repeal our [Human Rights Act](#) (HRA) and replace it with a so-called 'British Bill of Rights' (BBR). The proposals are legally illiterate, politically provocative and designed to put us on a collision course with the Court of Human Rights and likely lead to the UK's ultimate departure from the Convention on Human Rights and the Council of Europe. They will also further destabilise the Union." Amnesty International's response to Cameron's plans (<http://www.amnesty.org.uk/press-releases/human-rights-act-moves-we-allow-cameron-rip-away-safety-net-our-peril#>). 'The Human Rights Act' (<http://www.equalityhumanrights.com/your-rights/human-rights/what-are-human-rights/human-rights-act>). Cf. also where the Tory's Human Rights would put the UK within Europe in a Venn diagram (in the *Mirror* 03-10-14 <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/ampp3d/one-echr-diagram-explains-exactly-4371327>).

²⁵ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h5PRBsZhr8E&feature=youtu.be&app=desktop>.

²⁶ White in the *Huffington Post* 06-10-14 (http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/john-wight/2015-election_b_5937980.html?utm_hp_ref=mostpopular).

²⁷ Cf. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b006t6vf>.

²⁸ Noam Chomsky, "Who owns the world?", *TomDispatch.com. A regular antidote to the mainstream media* 21-4-11 (<http://www.tomdispatch.com/archive/175382/>). This is an often quoted passage, the relevance of which is now beginning to dawn on people. Recent confirmation from the US is just one example (<http://www.examiner.com/article/survivors-will-be-left-to-contemplate-the-outcome>). Glenn Greenwald, *No Place to Hide: Edward Snowden, the NSA, and the US Surveillance State*, New York 2014 another. Chomsky's entire text as a pdf-file (<http://www.capitaloffense.info/chomskyessay.pdf>).

Now it is time to move on to two English voices expressing their views on where Britain stands. Martin Shovel is a cartoonist living in Bristol, a creative mind with his special understanding of what to make of 'David Cameron vows...'.²⁹ David Schneider is an actor, writer, and comedian, born in London, with his own IMDB site, and a typical (?) 'Scotland's Facebook Movie' on his homepage, who has created an equally typical and expressive 'British Bill of Rights'.³⁰ No further comments required, only serious or, as in the two following texts, seriously funny activities.

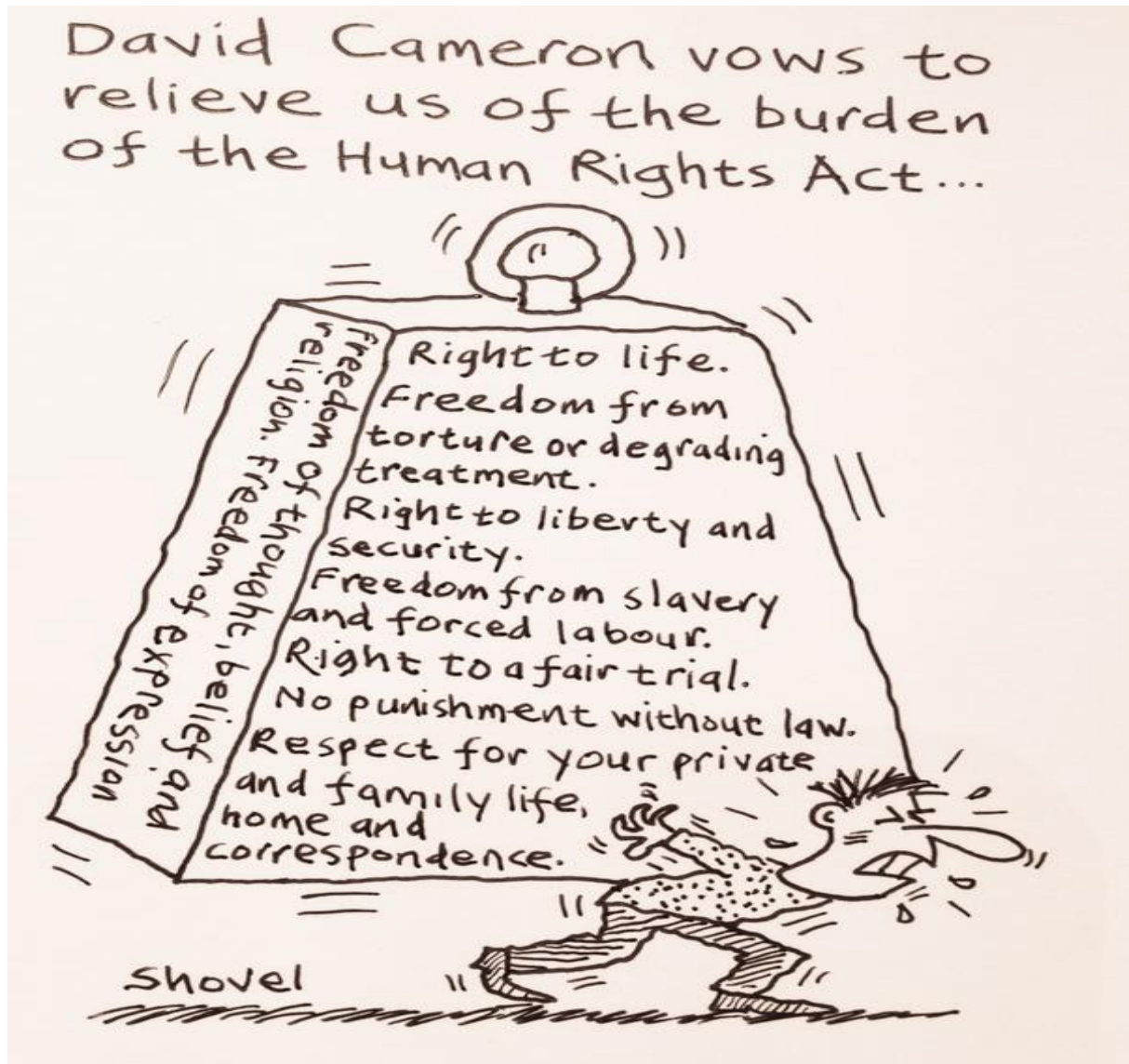
I was about to end here, but that would have been too much of a 'Mock the Week' ending and would have let people too easily off with a laughter, and nothing else. What one should be aware of when one speaks out in support of a Common Weal Scotland, however, is that this means much more than replacing some people by some others. It would be no help for Labour at all to have Miliband's deputy Harriet Harman in his shoes. Not only does she have all the negative characteristics of today's politicians, but also would the shoes be the same. One last thing must be clear now: the changes we have been talking about require to 10) **change the whole system**. A Common Weal Scotland would be something completely new, something that has not yet been created.³¹ Which is why it requires so much intelligence, creativity, ingenuity, strength, persistence, resilience, and constant humane activity, and why Scotland could become so important.

²⁹ Cf. <http://www.shovel.co.uk/>; and Shovel, "Musings on cartoon thinking, comedy and speech writing", *Creativity Works creative approaches to communication* 27-05-14 (<http://www.creativityworks.net/musings-on-cartoon-thinking-comedy-and-speechwriting/>).

³⁰ Cf. <http://daveschneider.co.uk/> and <http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0773768/>.

³¹ John Burnside, the Scottish poet and novelist, a harsh critic of the SNP, not a wholehearted supporter of a Yes vote, who also does not mention the Common Weal, has nevertheless expressed this very clearly: "Schottland braucht, was jedes Volk braucht: ein neues System, nicht eine heroische Illusion, die die hässliche Mechanik des 'Business as usual' theatralisch verdeckt", *FAZ* 25-09-14 (<http://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/burnside-schottland-braucht-politischen-wandel-13171630.html>). ('Scotland needs what every other country needs: a new system, not an heroic illusion simply providing a theatrical masque for the ugly mechanics of 'business as usual'.) Cf. him also in the *Guardian* 19-7-14 (<http://www.theguardian.com/books/2014/jul/19/scottish-referendum-independence-uk-how-writers-vote>), and in the *London Review of Books* 11-09-14 (<http://www.lrb.co.uk/v36/n17/lrb-scotland/reflections-on-the-independence-referendum>) with many other intriguing voices.

Martin Shovel cartoon 'David Cameron vows...'



(Courtesy of Martin Shovel from
<https://twitter.com/MartinShovel/status/518497248733585408/photo/1>.
 Cf. @MartinShovel on Twitter and <http://www.shovel.co.uk/>.)

A BRITISH BILL OF RIGHTS

- 1) We recognise that the primary human right is the right of the Conservative party to do whatever it takes to win an election.
- 2) We therefore recognise the right to bang on about the sovereignty of parliament even though it has sovereignty anyway otherwise prisoners would have the vote. Which, to be honest, they'd have if they were likely to vote Tory.
- 3) We recognise the right of the Daily Mail to dictate all our policies.
- 4) We hold as inviolable the right to shaft the rule of law and undo 50 years of protection for the weakest in society in order to appear UKIPer-than-thou.
- 5) We recognise the right to leave the European Convention of Human Rights (ECHR) because we're Better Together with the virtual dictatorship that is Belarus. #bettertogether
- 6) We acknowledge the right to encourage Putin to do what the hell he wants because if we don't give a stuff about ECHR, why should he?
- 7) Though we grudgingly admit that the rights to life and not to be tortured should be universal, all other rights (fair trial, freedom of expression, freedom of religion etc) will be "qualified" rights, only available to those who "fulfil their responsibilities to society", i.e. vote Conservative. Everyone else can go screw themselves. In Strasbourg.
- 8) Have we mentioned we're also going to give everyone a big tax cut?

@davidschneider

(Courtesy of David Schneider

(<https://twitter.com/davidschneider/status/518395363422912512/photo/1>).

Cf. @davidschneider on Twitter and <http://daveschneider.co.uk>.)

New Scottish Poetry

Vicki Husband's poems have been widely published in literary magazines including [*Gutter*](#), [*Magma*](#), [*Northwords Now*](#), [*Iota*](#), [*The Rialto*](#) and [*The SHOp*](#), and have won prizes in the [*Mslexia poetry competition*](#), the [*Edwin Morgan international poetry prize*](#) and the [*Pighog / Poetry School pamphlet prize*](#). Born in Edinburgh, Husband completed a MLitt at Glasgow University in 2010, and went on to be mentored by Alexander Hutchison on the [*Clydebuilt poetry apprenticeship scheme*](#). She is a member of the St. Mungo's Mirrorball network of Glasgow poets. She blogs at vickihusband.wordpress.com.

Jean's Theory of Everything

She asks them to leave the door open and from her bed calls
the garden in. A brash wind is the first guest bringing a party
of others: soil, leaves that frill the skirting, smells and rubbish
make themselves at home. The roof gives up, lets the rain join in
and through frail panes the sun sits a while, empty handed.

Slugs traipse all night across her floor. She thinks they're fat
and what a waste of time making a marathon trip only to be burst
by the beaks of birds, to slouch to sticky puddles. Seeds scatter
themselves like poor punctuation, taking root in the rug. Soon
green shoots poke through, and worms doing morning yoga.

By winter the lens of her eye has a coating of ice, giving her
a convex gaze. Now she can see the microcosm of things:
parasites living on the hairs of mice, and the architecture
of skin. Nature is a grafter, she grants it that; its work
cut out just keeping tabs on all those leptons and quarks.

She feels much better when gravity lifts, like a hospital blanket
it was too heavy and not very warm. On discovering she is curled
around other dimensions, her vertigo disappears and it explains
that recent trouble with word search. She's also comforted to learn
her tinnitus was actually Cosmic Microwave Background Radiation.

Jean networks with dark matter and finds him to be a nice chap
holding down a job. She has yet to meet dark energy but no wonder,
the expansion of the universe is a thankless task. She can empathise
with this as she moved house many times before her fifth child
was born. Then Jim had the op and the extension was built.

Now she's on the Nomenclature Committee, as the physicists lacked
an adult approach. She feels like the Queen every time a quantum
discovery sails off with the title she gives it. Inspirations include
martial arts and founding members of the W.I. She considers
her other poor selves working dead-end jobs in alternate universes.

At night she could watch the nebulae for hours. She prefers them
to soaps and feigns shock as they sow their stellar seed into space as if
it never happened in her day. Constellations flick past like an album

of old photographs; she reminisces about light when it was young.
It is around this time Jean conceives her Theory of Everything.

[With thanks to Colin Waters of the [Scottish Poetry Library](#)]

Have Your Say ...

Forward poetry prize judge Jeremy Paxman caused something of a stir recently by claiming that poetry has "rather connived at its own irrelevance". Today, he claimed, poets talk to one another rather than the public. Read the full article: [Jeremy Paxman says poets must start engaging with ordinary people](#).

We would very much like to have readers' thoughts on this. What do you think of the opinions expressed? Why not broaden it out and let us know what you think about poetry today, in general, or Scottish poetry in particular.

Can poetry or literature in general still be the solace of humankind? (Cf. the intriguing series on BBC Radio Scotland 'A History of Scottish Literature', with the third episode called 'The Solace of Mankind', where you'll "hear how Burns took up the Scots tradition and gave birth to a world wide cult - the American writer Ralph Waldo Emerson saying that his songs were 'the property and solace of mankind'." (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b04l3s56>).

Send your thoughts on this to Ron Walker: walkerro@uni-mainz.de.

A selection of your responses will be featured in our next issue.

(New) Media on Scotland

(compiled by Stefanie Brenneisen, Nora Goepel,
Sherry Ishak Abadeer, Katharina Leible & Melanie Schrandt)

Subsections:

- **The referendum / independence issue** (general issues & questions answered by BBC correspondents & BBC referendum round-ups)
- **Intellectuals, artists, scholars, selected journalists on independence**
- **The financial sector on independence** (and financial issues)
- **Politicians on independence**
- **Comments on Alex Salmond's resignation**
- **As Others See Scotland**
- **Creative Scotland**
- **Other topics**

Reports in chronological order (beginning with the most recent articles).

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[Simon Jenkins, "Scotland has been promised devo supermax, but divorce will still happen", *Guardian* 09-09-14:](#) "London is spooked and is suddenly doling out more powers to Edinburgh, but I wouldn't trust an inch of what is on offer."

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[Annette Zoch, "Wir Schotten haben nie ein WM-Finale verloren", *Süddeutsche Zeitung* 07-09-14:](#) "'Bleischaden'-Dirigent Bob Ross ist stolzer Schotte - und für die Unabhängigkeit seiner Heimat. Seine englische Ehefrau hat er auch schon überzeugt. Im Interview erzählt er, wieso die Schotten in der EU bleiben wollen und was das alles mit Pandabären zu tun hat."

Bob Ross, the conductor of the brass ensemble 'Bleischaden', is a proud Scot and supporter of independence. He has already convinced his English wife of the advantages of Scottish independence. In this interview he explains why Scotland wants to stay in the EU and what all of this has to do with panda bears.

[Noam Chomsky interview, "Noam Chomsky on Scottish Independence: Statehood and Power", *Bella Caledonia* 06-09-14](#)

[Sarah Boyack, "Scotland needs not independence but devolution – from Holyrood too", *Guardian* 05-09-14:](#) "The SNP has removed powers and funding from local councils. It's time for a double devolution."

["Media Spotlight: Shredded – Inside RBS, The Bank That Broke Britain – Ian Fraser", *Mortgage Strategy* 03-09-14:](#) "At the height of the financial crisis, one UK bank in particular was singled out for harsh criticism for the role it played in the crash. That bank was the Royal Bank of Scotland."

[George Manbiot, "Scots voting no to independence would be an astonishing act of self-harm", *Guardian* 02-09-14:](#) "England is dysfunctional, corrupt and vastly unequal. Who on earth would want to be tied to such a country?"

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[People speaking, "'I'm the only Yes in the village': speaking to swing voters and activists in the Scottish Borders", *New Statesman* 02-09-14:](#) "Along the Anglo-Scottish border from Dumfries to Berwick, activists and swing voters give their opinions on the Scottish independence question."

["Peter Jones: All heat and no light in indy debate", *Scotsman* 02-09-14:](#) "As the referendum looms, rational discussion has been displaced by unchecked emotions on both sides, writes Peter Jones."

["Andrew Wilson: Independence chance is fleeting", *Scotsman* 31-08-14:](#) "The tears came, suddenly and unexpectedly. I was sitting in my car, having just posted my referendum vote into the Royal Mail box in my village."

[Ian Bell, "We're not together ... English voters have abandoned us", *Herald* 31-08-14](#): "Until last week, there was a very good chance you had never heard of Douglas Carswell, the man chosen by voters in Clacton as the Tory to convey their views to Westminster."

[Peter Preston, "In Scotland or Catalonia, the pitch is for difference without much difference", *Guardian* 29-08-14](#): "Keep the pound, keep the BBC, EU directives as usual: the idea is for bracing, defining change you won't greatly notice."

[Ian Bell, "Better Together campaign exposed by Comeback Kid", *Herald* 27-8-14](#): "Televised political debates might not have much effect on the voting public, but their impact on those who comment on TV debates is fascinating."

[Ian Hamilton, "Do you realise just how foolish the UK looks?", *Independent* 26-08-14](#): "The people of Scotland aren't fighting for a political cause — they're fighting for national existence, and against Britain's ruling elite."

Alexander Menden, "Der kreative Akt", *Süddeutsche Zeitung* 16-08-14

Dieser Artikel geht auf die Inszenierung von Rona Munros James Plays beim Edinburgher Festival sowie auf andere dort abgehaltene Veranstaltungen zum Thema Referendum und die Meinung der Autorin Val McDermid zur schottischen Unabhängigkeit ein.

The article addresses the presentation of Rona Munro's James Plays at the Edinburgh International Festival as well as other events held there concerning the referendum. It also deals with the author Val McDermid and her opinion on Scottish independence.

"Dürften am 18. September nur Schriftsteller, Maler, Schauspieler, Musiker über die Zukunft ihres Landes abstimmen, stünde das Ergebnis allerdings jetzt schon fest - eine Zukunft als eigenständige Nation wäre dem Land sicher."

If only writers, artists, actors and musicians were allowed to vote on the future of their country on 18 September, the result would already be settled – the future as an independent nation would be certain.

[Suzanne Moore, "I envy the Scots. If only we English could also shake up our democracy", *Guardian* 25-08-14](#)

[Ian Bell, "The Anglophobia that never was", *Herald* 24-8-14](#): "It all sounded ominous. 'English backlash'; 'Scots will pay a heavy price'; 'English reject': no matter the ending, the independence referendum would be tear-stained. Salty tears, too, familiar to those greetin'-faced Jocks."

[Ian Bell, "The No camp is losing out in this carnival of democracy", *Herald* 23-08-14](#): "If you had the good fortune to be Blair McDougall, director of Better Together, what kind of referendum campaign would you really like to run?"

["Impolitic: on Jim Murphy, oil, and political comedy", *Herald* 22-08-14](#):

"Coverage appeared this week on social media of Jim Murphy being heckled by Yes supporters and he did well, standing his ground."

[Ian Bell, "Currency question is not frightening off the voters", *Herald* 20-08-14](#): "You wouldn't think it from their studied silence, but the weekend's opinion polls must have induced some puzzlement among those on the No side in the independence argument."

[Martin Kettle, "Yes or no, things could get nasty after the Scottish referendum", *Guardian* 20-08-14](#):

"Despite what politicians want us to believe, the English may not be inclined to reward Scots if they vote to keep the union."

["Author James Robertson: SNP would cease to exist five years after a Yes vote", *Herald* 18-08-14](#)

[Simon Jenkins, "The case for Trident is absurd. Scotland may help us get rid of it", *Guardian* 15-08-14: "Prestige, not defence, is the only reason to keep this £100bn albatross. We may yet give thanks for Alex Salmond's posturing"](#)

["Alexander McCall Smith: I'm sad that Scotland is now a divided country", *Herald* 14-08-14](#)

["British celebrities urge Scots to vote No", *Scotsman* 08-08-14](#)

["Rebel, rebels: How Bowie's message inspired fun show", *Herald* 06-08-14:](#)

"Three things largely missing from the independence referendum debate, an observer might report, are: humour, doubt and self-deprecation. Instead there are, in general, daily furious blasts of invective from the Yes and No campaigns and some nasty, intemperate internet sparring."

[Ian Bell, "Talking of hard facts, exactly what happens if you vote No?", *Herald* 06-08-14: "If the long argument over independence has had a sub-text, it has been the demand for information."](#)

["Exploration of identity should not be limited to the national' – Scottish artists wrestle with independence issue", *Guardian* 04-08-14](#)

[Martin Kettle, "Scottish independence: Remember 2014, the last golden summer of the old Britain", *Guardian* 30-07-14: "From the vantage point of 2024, the referendum's yes vote can be seen as the beginning of an unravelling, and a terrible waste of time."](#)

["Staying in Union would not adversely affect our distinctive culture", *Guardian* 29-07-14:](#)

"I am confirmed in my decision to vote No by the fact that, after 300 years of Union, Scotland still has a lively literary and musical culture."

[Ellie Mae O'Hagan, "Why Welsh should be taught in British schools", *Guardian* 22-07-14:](#)

"Regardless of what happens in the Scottish independence referendum, it's time to end the English domination of Wales and Scotland."

[Colin Kidd, "Scottish independence: literature and nationalism", *Guardian* 19-07-14:](#)

"Edwin Morgan left £1m to the SNP, JK Rowling has donated the same amount to Better Together. To what extent does Scottish literature point in the direction of going it alone?"

["Robert Burns should not be held up as a defender of the Union", *Herald* 18-07-14:](#)

"Burns wrote: 'I have long said to my self, what are the advantages Scotland reaps from this so called Union, that can counterbalance the annihilation of her independence and her very name?'"

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[Ian Bell, "We are the people. We might not know what that means, but we should be excited", *Herald* 22-06-14](#)

[Alasdair Gray, "London rule can't deliver a better Scotland", *Guardian* 19-06-14: "I was once optimistic about the UK's direction, but it's now clear Scots need representatives with independent minds."](#)

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"Barack Obama made a dramatic intervention in the Scottish independence debate yesterday when he said America wanted a 'strong, robust' and 'united' Britain."

["Swedish foreign minister: iScotland would lead to Balkanisation of UK", *Herald* 04-06-14](#)

["Alex Salmond: how an iScotland could stop pandering to fears of immigration", *Herald* 03-06-14](#)

["Cameron: we've got a consensus on more devo powers if Scotland votes No", *Herald* 02-06-14](#)

["Ruth Davidson: Time for change at Holyrood", *Scotsman* 01-06-14:](#)

"Don't expect a No victory to keep the status quo. It will be the opportunity to make Holyrood truly accountable, writes the Scottish Conservative leader Ruth Davidson."

["Film and TV in an independent Scotland", *The Scottish Government* 21-05-14](#)

["Modern, efficient tax system for Scotland", *The Scottish Government* 21-05-14](#)

["General Assembly: Queen calls for referendum unity", *Scotsman* 18-05-14:](#)

"The Queen has urged Scots to come together to resolve 'divisions' stemming from the referendum in her first intervention into the debate on Scotland's future."

["David Cameron: Scotland and UK have more oomph together", *Guardian* 15-05-14:](#) "PM kicks off Scottish tour with promise of more devolution as he seeks to bolster flagging anti-independence campaign."

["Leanne Wood: Plaid Cymru Leader on independence", *Scotsman* 04-05-14](#)

["Scottish independence: Scotland 'committed' to EU, says Salmond", *BBC News* 29-04-14](#)

["Salmond and SNP bid to win over islanders", *Scotsman* 14-04-14:](#)

"Alex Salmond has pledged to 'boost economic returns' to Scotland's islands amid calls for greater autonomy and even their own referendums on independence after a Yes vote."

["SNP conference: Salmond attacks 'negative and depressing' No campaign", *BBC News* 12-04-14](#)

["Sturgeon: it's now or never for a weapon-free Scotland", *Herald* 05-04-14:](#)

"The independence referendum is the only real chance to rid Scotland of nuclear weapons, Nicola Sturgeon has told CND supporters."

["John McTernan: White paper damns civil service", *Scotsman* 04-04-14:](#)

"Scotland's Future wasn't a government publication, it was an SNP manifesto, and its production was an abuse of public funds, writes John McTernan."

Comments on Alex Salmond's resignation

["We must thank Alex Salmond for his part in shaping the UK", *Herald* 22-09-14:](#) "As a committed supporter of home rule and one who voted No, I recognise the enormous debt that our nation will owe to Alex Salmond and those in the Yes campaign in the decades ahead."

[The Herald, "Promises to Scots that must be kept", *Herald* 22-09-14:](#) "Alex Salmond may be set to retire as SNP leader and First Minister, but to the pro-UK parties, he has already become the spectre at the feast."

["Nicola Sturgeon backed by former SNP leader Gordon Wilson to replace Salmond", *BBC News* 20-09-14](#)

[Ian Bell, "Salmond: He will be missed", *Herald* 19-09-14](#): "Had you walked in his shoes, you wouldn't blame him. Had you lived his life, you might begin to understand. But when you pour your existence into the single answer to a single question, choices become simple."

["The Alex Salmond story", *BBC News* 19-09-14](#): "He is the man who took a rag-tag bunch of political misfits to the brink of achieving their dream of an independent Scotland."

["Alex Salmond resignation: Politicians react to first minister's statement", *BBC News* 19-09-14](#)

["Scottish referendum: Salmond to quit after Scots vote No", *BBC News* 19-09-14](#)

["Salmond: I quit as First Minister and SNP leader", *Herald* 19-09-14](#)

As Others See Scotland

["How Scotland's 'No' vote resonates around the world", *BBC News* 19-09-14](#)

["Scotland independence referendum: the view from Catalonia", *Guardian* 11-09-14](#): "Catalans campaigning for their own independence vote are inspired by what they see in Scotland - no matter which way the vote goes on 19 September."

["Scotland's what?' US caught napping as Scots prepare to vote on independence", *Guardian* 09-09-14](#): "From nuclear to Nato, an independent Scotland would have several policy ramifications, but the official US reaction seems to be: no response at all."

["As Others See Us: International Press on the Indyref Poll that Shocked the World", *Herald* 08-09-14](#): "For two years independence has been a slow-burner, a news story simmering in the corner of foreign section; little more than curiosity provoking the occasional photo of Mel Gibson."

["As Others See Us: How the Yes campaign has become a global model", *Herald* 31-08-14](#): "To its enemies at home, Scottish nationalism is 'thuggish'. To its friends abroad, it is inspirationally peaceful."

["What The Worlds say about modern Scotland", *Herald* 17-08-14](#):

"The Worlds came to Glasgow with a smile, then held a mirror up to Scotland to give us something to reflect on."

["Scottish independence: Europeans with an eye on Edinburgh", *BBC News* 24-07-14](#):

"Voters will go to the polls in September to decide whether Scotland should become an independent country. But what other Europeans are pressing for independence and how closely are they watching Scotland?"

["Britain is an old, declining empire, says official Chinese newspaper", *Guardian* 18-06-14](#):

"People's Daily takes swipe at UK's 'eccentric acts' as Chinese premier visits London."

["Scottish independence: What Canada thinks", *BBC News* 16-06-14](#)

["Pope Francis: my fears over national division", *Herald* 13-06-14](#)

["Scottish Independence: What do the English think?", *BBC News* 23-04-14](#)

Creative Scotland

["Cultural celebration sure to set tongues wagging", *Herald* 07-09-14:](#) "On September 17, on the eve of arguably the most significant democratic vote in Scottish history, the National Theatre of Scotland (NTS) will stage Blabbermouth, a 12-hour celebration of Scottish culture."

["How Scotland shook off the 'kilted straitjacket'", *BBC News* 28-08-14:](#)

"What is Scottish national identity and how is it expressed in art and music, literature and theatre?"

["Made in Scotland: Album celebrates nation's music ahead of independence referendum", *Independent* 26-08-14:](#) "Made in Scotland: Album celebrates nation's music ahead of independence referendum."

["Plenty of food for thought at international book festival", *Herald* 04-08-14:](#)

"While Game of Thrones author George RR Martin, Martin Amis and Haruki Murakami will pull in the crowds to Charlotte Square when the Edinburgh International Book Festival opens on August 9, political discourse is likely to be central to many of the talks and debates in the tented square."

["The arts funding row in Scotland - and why it matters to the rest of the UK", *Guardian* 09-07-14](#)

["The Great Yes, No, Don't Know, Five Minute Theatre Show", *Herald* 24-06-14](#)

["Edinburgh film festival calls crisis summit", *Scotsman* 11-06-14:](#)

"A Summit has been called to address claims of a major crisis in Scotland's film industry - on the day the industry's biggest annual event kicks off."

["The Duchess, the Highland Clearances, the housekeeper ... and a story to make you weep",](#)

[*Guardian* 25-05-14:](#) "I had come to the Staffordshire Record Office to try to piece together the ghost of a story - a story in which a vulnerable servant fell foul of an immensely powerful regime."

["Moira Jeffrey: 'Glasgow has lost its beating heart'", *Scotsman* 24-05-14:](#)

"It is almost impossible to quantify the collective shock amongst the arts and architecture community worldwide after the terrible fire at the Mackintosh Building at Glasgow School of Art."

["Glasgow School of Art: The history of a Mackintosh masterpiece", *BBC News* 23-05-14](#)

["Scottish war poetry fights for both sides in the independence battle", *Guardian* 13-05-14:](#)

"A century on from the first world war, its poetry sheds intriguing light on the questions of nationhood awaiting an answer in this autumn's referendum."

["YouTube artist on Turner Prize list", *BBC News* 07-05-14](#)

["The man who created The Kelpies", *BBC News* 05-05-14:](#)

"For the past eight years, Glaswegian sculptor Andy Scott has been working on the biggest project of his life. The Kelpies are two 30m-tall horse heads made of steel, now standing alongside the Forth and Clyde Canal near Falkirk."

["Creative Scotland launches 10-year plan to 'unlock potential'", *BBC News* 09-04-14](#)

["The Pure, the Dead and the Brilliant", *Indiegogo*: "This campaign is to raise funds for a play written by Alan Bisset, to be staged at Edinburgh Fringe 2014, which aims to rally for a Yes vote in the referendum."](#)

Other Topics

["Newsnet Scotland and Bateman Broadcasting set to join forces", *News Net Scotland* 25-09-14: "Plans for a new independent Scottish media platform took a step closer this week with news that Newsnet Scotland and Bateman Broadcasting have held talks aimed at merging both outlets."](#)

["How the BBC muzzled a professor who cast doubt on its impartiality", *Ian Fraser* 30-08-14](#)

["Closed shop at the top in deeply elitist Britain, says study", *Guardian* 28-08-14: "Elitism so embedded in Britain that it could be called social engineering, social mobility commission concludes."](#)

["Scottish NHS fails to meet government targets", *BBC News* 26-08-14](#)

["Brown: Scottish pensioners are £409 a year better off in UK", *Herald* 11-08-14](#)

["Qualified immigrants are just what Scotland needs", *Herald* 24-07-14: "Fears about low-skilled immigrants coming to Scotland and claiming benefits are wide of the mark, according to the latest analysis of the immigrant population."](#)

["Scotland 'willing to accept' Palestinian refugees", *Scotsman* 19-07-14](#)

["First Scottish satellite has 'successful' launch", *BBC News* 08-07-14](#)

["£230m obesity and diabetes drugs cost 'harms NHS'", *BBC News* 06-07-14](#)

["Glasgow a friendly city? True enough, but this was not always its reputation", *Guardian* 27-06-14](#)

["Battle of Bannockburn's 700th anniversary celebrated – in pictures", *Guardian* 27-06-14](#)

["10-year low for Scots moving south", *Herald* 26-06-14](#)

["More people reporting rape and sexual crimes in Scotland", *BBC News* 19-06-14](#)

["Social media mass surveillance is permitted by law, says top UK official", *Guardian* 17-06-14: "Charles Farr's statement marks first time government has commented on how it exploits the UK's legal framework to operate mass interception."](#)

["Councils charging terminally ill for care", *BBC News* 16-06-14](#)

["NHS to spend £9m on agency staff as 1,500 jobs go unfilled", *Herald* 12-06-14](#)

["Forced marriage: No prosecutions in Scotland under new law", *BBC News* 12-06-14](#)

["Why is Glasgow the UK's sickest city?", *BBC News* 05-06-14](#)

["So, just what is the point of the monarchy these days?", *Herald* 04-06-14](#)

["STV Glasgow TV station goes on air", *BBC News* 02-06-14](#)

["Ukip are still England's little problem", *Herald* 01-06-14](#)

["Going off the rails: The Edinburgh trams saga", *BBC News* 29-05-14](#)

["Scotland 'becoming more ethnically diverse'", *BBC News* 27-05-14](#)

["European election: UKIP wins first Scottish MEP seat", *BBC News* 26-05-14](#)

["Lost in the fire: Mackintosh library has gone", *Herald* 24-05-14](#): "The 'iconic and unique' library at Glasgow School of Art has been lost in the fire which swept through the world-renowned building."

["In the line of fire: Sarah Smith on stepping into the hot seat", *Herald* 24-05-14](#): "Interview: Sarah Smith on returning home to host the high-profile show that will replace Newsnight Scotland."

["Land ownership reforms proposed", *BBC News* 24-05-14](#)

["Video: firefighters tackle blaze at Glasgow School of Art's Mackintosh building", *Herald* 23-05-14](#)

["European elections: Party-by-party guide", *BBC News* 23-05-14](#)

["Scots children among least active in world", *Scotsman* 21-05-14](#)

["Alex Neil no confidence vote rejected by MSPs", *BBC News* 21-05-14](#):

"Scotland's health secretary has survived a vote of no confidence in parliament, sparked by a row over NHS cuts in his constituency."

["Church of Scotland vote moves closer to ordaining gay ministers", *BBC News* 21-05-14](#)

["Scotland's richest 100 enjoy 19% wealth rise, according to Rich List", *BBC News* 18-05-14](#)

["Armed officers used in Highlands more than 100 times in year", *BBC News* 13-05-14](#)

["Health of the NHS comes under fire", *BBC News* 08-05-14](#):

"Sometimes parliamentary questions are tough. Sometimes they are pimps. Let me draw your attention to one of the latter."

["Prosecutors demand stronger law against domestic abuse", *BBC News* 08-05-14](#)

["Holyrood offered powers to offset housing benefit changes in Scotland", *BBC News* 02-05-14](#)

["Scotland's population hits new high", *BBC News* 30-04-14](#)

["Church of Scotland 'struggling to stay alive'", *Scotsman* 29-04-14](#):

"Kirk membership has dropped by almost 50,000 in the past three years, more than 320 a week, according to new figures."

Education Scotland

(compiled by Stefanie Brenneisen, Nora Goepel,
Sherry Ishak Abadeer, Katharina Leible & Melanie Schrandt)

["Why Facebook, Google, and the NSA Want Computers That Learn Like Humans", *Mothers Jones* September/October 2014:](#)

"Deep learning could transform artificial intelligence. It could also get pretty creepy."

["Expansion of Gaelic schools hit by lack of fluent staff", *Guardian* 23-09-14:](#)

"The rapid expansion of Gaelic school education is providing a major challenge, Scotland's largest local authority has warned."

["Edinburgh University makes into world's top 20", *Scotsman* 16-09-14](#)

["Tiffany Jenkins: Stop treating students like kids", *Scotsman* 12-09-14:](#)

"Banning organisations from freshers' events means we are denying youngsters the chance to formulate their own views, writes Tiffany Jenkins."

["Private school fees soar in Scotland", *Scotsman* 06-09-14:](#)

"Private school fees in Scotland have rocketed by 20 per cent to £10,431 a year in the past five years, a report claimed."

["Fears of academic exodus", *Herald* 01-09-14:](#)

"Scotland's major universities are preparing for an exodus of some of their most accomplished scientists if there is a Yes vote for independence, with some academics already ready to move."

["Scottish independence: Councils bar 'Yes' and 'No' campaigns from schools", *BBC News* 21-08-14:](#)

"The official referendum campaigns are being barred from the majority of schools in Scotland ahead of polling day, BBC research has found."

["SQA defends high failure rate in new National 5 exam", *BBC News* 18-08-14:](#)

"The qualifications agency has defended one of the new exams after an unusually large number of candidates failed."

["Early learning is so important", *Herald* 18-08-14:](#)

"Professor Bronwen J Cohen states that the SNP offer a high quality Early Childhood Education and Care (EHEC) system following EU practice."

["Students can face challenge to keep debts under control", *Herald* 17-08-14:](#)

"School leavers heading off to college or university have good reason to be excited about the future, but they also face new financial responsibilities, and it takes discipline – starting with a careful choice of bank account – to stop debt spiraling out of control."

["Edinburgh cheaper university city than Glasgow", *Scotsman* 14-08-14:](#)

"Edinburgh is one of the most affordable large universities in Britain, while studying in Glasgow costs more according to a report of the biggest 20 universities in Britain."

["Record 30,000 win places at college or university", *Scotsman* 06-08-14:](#)

"More than 30,000 applicants have been accepted into a Scottish university or college."

["Scottish education: why don't the sums add up?", *Guardian* 05-08-14:](#)

"Gill Wyness asks how Scottish higher education participation rates are so high when inequality of school attainment is rife."

["Exam pass rate down for first time in eight years", *Scotsman* 05-08-14:](#)

"Mary Scanlon, a Scottish Conservative education spokeswoman, claimed schools had not been offered enough support to implement the new exam subjects over the past year."

["Universities are urged to tackle gender segregation on courses", *Herald* 01-08-14:](#)

"Universities and colleges have been told to increase the number of women on courses traditionally dominated by men, and improve female representation at management level."

["Education should be about progress, not prostituted as a means to earn more", *Guardian* 29-07-14:](#)

"Universities [being allowed to buy graduates' student loans](#) is another blow to society's collective forward motion."

["University boards must be forced to appoint more women, says NUS", *BBC News* 28-07-14:](#)

"Scottish universities should appoint more women to their governing bodies or be forced to do so, according to the National Union of Students."

["Exam reform delayed by 'significant numbers' of schools", *BBC News* 24-07-14:](#)

"Dozens of schools across Scotland are delaying the introduction of new Highers in popular school subjects, according to BBC Scotland research."

["Migrants 'more likely to have degrees' in Scotland", *BBC News* 23-07-14:](#)

"Migrants to Scotland are generally more qualified than people born in the country, or who have lived in Britain for more than 10 years, figures show."

["Video: the assassination of Michael Gove", *BBC News* 15-07-14:](#)

"Michael Gove's departure from the Department for Education is the biggest shock of this reshuffle. Tory MPs have been even more surprised by it than they were William Hague's leaving the Foreign Office."

["Growth of Gaelic education hailed a success", *Scotsman* 08-07-14:](#)

"The demand for Gaelic education rose according to the Bòrd na Gàidhlig's annual report for 2013/14."

["No logic in seeing science as a boy's game", *Scotsman* 26-06-14:](#)

"In a society where children – and girls in particular – are being put off science by parents, teachers and role models, it's vital to move away from the traditional view of science to active learning, girls are expected to take responsibility for the careful acquisition and application of scientific knowledge from an early age to understand that 'science is for everyone'."

["Scottish independence: Tuition fees warning", *Scotsman* 25-06-14:](#)

"An independent Scotland could no longer charge English, Welsh and Northern Irish students university tuition fees if it stays in the European Union, education experts have warned."

["Private education is unfair ... even in Edinburgh", *Herald* 22-06-14](#)

["Spending on Scottish schools fails to keep up with inflation", *BBC News* 19-06-14:](#)

"Most councils in Scotland have cut spending on education in real terms, according to a major report."

["Gordon Brown: Scots want 'UK-wide school system'", *Scotsman* 17-06-14](#): "Gordon Brown cited surveys which show more than 50 per cent of 14 to 17 year-olds in Scotland want UK-wide education system with common UK exams and qualifications."

["Record level of school leavers achieve 'positive outcome'", *BBC News* 17-06-14](#)

["PE targets met by 96% of schools in Scotland", *BBC News* 17-06-14](#):

"The vast majority of schools in Scotland are meeting physical education targets, according to the Scottish government."

["The Age Gap: preparing children for the world of work", *Herald* 15-06-14](#):

"After years of talk in Britain about bringing in a German-style apprenticeship system and of the need to give young people more vocational training opportunities, the pendulum finally appears to be swinging, north of the Border at least."

["Impact of poverty to education revealed in report", *Herald* 13-06-14](#)

["All schools must promote 'British values', says Michael Gove", *Guardian* 09-06-14](#):

"Education secretary seizes on Ofsted reports finding a culture of fear and intimidation in some Birmingham schools."

["Schools failing to prepare pupils for work", *Herald* 09-06-14](#)

["Fresh attack on tax breaks for private schools", *Herald* 05-06-14](#)

["UK statisticians: Scotland is the most highly-educated country in Europe", *Herald* 05-06-14](#)

["New plan to reduce youth unemployment by 40%", *BBC News* 03-06-14](#):

"Scotland's vocational education system must be improved if youth unemployment is to fall, according to a new report."

["Leading scientists warn Yes vote will hit research", *Herald* 23-05-14](#):

"Universities in Scotland are sleepwalking into independence without realising the grave impact it will have on research funding, according to leading academics."

["Degree courses 'not value for money', say many students", *BBC News* 21-05-14](#):

"A third of students in England, who pay up to £9,000 in tuition fees, say their degree course is poor or very poor value for money, a study indicates."

["St Andrews 'is best Scots university'", *Scotsman* 12-05-14](#)

["Call for action to tackle child poverty attainment gap", *BBC News* 07-05-14](#):

"More needs to be done to help children from the poorest families do well at school, according to a new report."

["Independence 'would allow Scots research to thrive'", *Scotsman* 06-05-14](#)

["Taking education to a higher plane", *Herald* 06-05-14](#):

"On the face of it, Scotland benefits greatly from being part of a UK-wide system for funding scientific research."

["Numeracy level falls across Scottish schools, survey shows", *BBC News* 30-04-14:](#)

"The number of primary school pupils doing well in maths has dropped, according to official figures."

["Westhill Academy head Derek Thompson lands GTC Scotland role", *BBC News* 30-04-14:](#)

"The head teacher of Westhill Academy in Aberdeenshire has been elected as the new convener for the General Teaching Council for Scotland (GTCS)."

["Scotland's future: Higher Education Research in iScotland", *Herald* 30-04-14:](#)

"Following the publication of the Scottish Government's proposals on Higher Education Research after a Yes vote, Professors Murray Pittock, Bryan MacGregor and Joe Goldblatt give their opinions on the plans."

["Thousands of pupils sit new National 5 exams", *BBC News* 29-04-14:](#)

"Thousands of students across Scotland have sat the first exams for the new National 5 qualifications."

["Free tuition in Scotland benefits wealthiest students the most – study", *Guardian* 29-04-14:](#)

"Report estimates lack of fees, plus cuts in grants to poorer students leave middle-class families £20m a year better off."

["Exam guinea-pig generation", *Scotsman* 26-04-14:](#)

"They have been called the guinea-pig generation. All year, the first cohort of fourth-year pupils to sit the new Curriculum for Excellence exams have found themselves at the centre of a firestorm as parents, teachers and educationalists raised concerns about the way the transition has been handled."

["Scots universities quit CBI over No vote backing", *Herald* 21-04-14:](#)

"The backlash against the CBI's decision to support the campaign to keep the UK together has continued, with two leading Scottish universities withdrawing from the business body."

["Teachers are on the verge of crisis over new exams", *Scotsman* 12-04-14:](#)

"Scotland's teachers are on the 'verge of crisis' over soaring workloads and confusion about the new national exams to be sat by pupils later this month, education secretary Mike Russell was told yesterday."

Scottish Award Winners

Literature

The [Edwin Morgan Poetry Award](#) of £20,000 went to Niall Campbell from South Uist for his debut collection *Moontide* (Bloodaxe) which draws heavily on the myths, seascapes, wildlife and weather of his home.

The [Wigtown Poetry Competition](#) main prize of £2,500 was won by Polly Atkin for *A Short History of the Moon*.

The winner of the [Deanston Scottish Crime Book of the Year](#) for 2014 is Peter May. His novel *Entry Island* (Quercus) beat off strong competition from an impressive shortlist of his fellow crime writers, including Christopher Brookmyre and Louise Welsh. The award was presented at the [Bloody Scotland Festival](#) in Stirling on September 20th.

Britain's oldest literary awards, the [James Tait Black Prizes](#), are awarded in the categories Fiction, Biography and Drama. Jim Crace took this year's fiction prize for his novel *Harvest*, about the disintegration of a remote community in England. Recipient of the Biography award was Hermione

Lee for her biography of English novelist Penelope Fitzgerald – *Penelope Fitzgerald: A Life* (Chatto & Windus). For the Drama winner, see below.

Winner of the [Kelpies Prize](#), awarded annually to the best of new Scottish writing for children, was Lindsay Littleton for *The Mixed-Up Summer of Lily McLean* (Floris Books – Kelpies).

[Grampian Children's Book Award](#) winner was Dave Cousins for *Waiting for Gonzo* (OUP).

The two finalists for the £10,000 [Dundee International Book Prize](#) are Rachel Fenton from New Zealand and English writer and performer Amy Mason. The winner will be announced this month.

Theatre

The [James Tait Black Prize](#) for Drama in 2014 has gone to a play dealing with the consequences of war and the nature of love. *Cannibals* ([Guardian review](#)) is writer Rory Mullarkey's first full-length play.

[CATS - Critics' Awards for Theatre in Scotland](#) 2013-14 winners included: The Cats Whiskers Award for outstanding achievement to [Imagine Festival](#), Scotland's international festival of performing arts for children and young people. Best male performance went to Adam Best (Raskolnikov), *Crime and Punishment* - Citizens Theatre, Liverpool Everyman and Playhouse and Royal Lyceum Theatre, Edinburgh. Best Female Performance winner was Blythe Duff (Ciara), *Ciara* - Traverse Theatre Company and Datum Point Productions.

Best ensemble was *Crime and Punishment* – Citizens Theatre, Liverpool Everyman and Playhouse and Royal Lyceum Theatre, Edinburgh. Best Director went to Dominic Hill for *Crime and Punishment*. Best New Play was *Ciara*.

The [National Theatre of Scotland](#) and [National Theatre of Great Britain](#) at the EIF (Edinburgh International Festival) took a Herald Angel Award for playwright Rona Munro's *The James Plays*.

Creative Scotland

The [Creative Place Awards](#) aim to honour the work and creativity of community cultural life. Winner in under 2,500 residents' category was Helmsdale, which picked up a prize of £50,000. Helmsdale's Paradigm North project is to be complemented by Serendipitous North, which will map the creative connections that exist within the remote community and make visible the often unseen and unrecognised creativity of the community's inhabitants while supporting the development of significant new work across multiple art forms. The under 10,000 residents' category winner (£100,000) was Peebles, which plans to use the award to support an imaginative set of activities, events and installations featuring art and artists within the context of work, study, tourism, leisure and play. Falkirk came out on top of the under 100,000 residents' category (£150,000). The community plans to use the Award to support a project called Acts of Discovery aimed at offering audiences a fresh look at the area and its culture. Based on the themes of people, routes and pathways, Acts of Discovery will build on and complement Falkirk's cultural offering by enhancing existing 2014 cultural activity.

New Publications April – September 2014

(compiled by Stefanie Brenneisen)

Baker, Patrick, *The Cairngorms: A Secret History*, Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd 2014 (paperback £9.99)

Secret Histories of the Cairngorms is a series of journeys exploring barely known human and natural stories of the Cairngorm Mountains. It looks at a unique British landscape, its last great wilderness, with new eyes.

History combines with travelogue in a vivid account of this elemental scenery. There have been rare human incursions into the Cairngorm plateau, and Patrick Baker tracks them down. He

traces elusive wildlife and relives ghostly sightings on the summit of Ben Macdui. From the search for a long-forgotten climbing shelter and the locating of ancient gem mines, to the discovery of skeletal aircraft remains and the hunt for a mysterious nineteenth-century aristocratic settlement, he seeks out the unlikeliest and most interesting of features in places far off the beaten track. The cultural and human impact of this stunning landscape and reflections on the history of mountaineering are the threads which bind this compelling narrative together.

(<http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Cairngorms-The-A-Secret-History.html>)

Bartie, Angela, *The Edinburgh Festivals: Culture and Society in Post-war Britain*, Edinburgh: EUP 2014 (paperback £19.99)

The Edinburgh Festival is the world's largest arts festival. It has also been the site of numerous "culture wars" since it began in 1947. Key debates that took place across the western world about the place of culture in society, the practice and significance of the arts, censorship, the role of organised religion, and meanings of morality were all reflected in contest over culture in the Festival City.

The Edinburgh International Festival of Music and Drama sought to use culture to bolster European civilisation, for which it was considered for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1952. The Church saw culture as a "weapon of enlightenment", the labour movement as a "weapon in the struggle", and the new generation of artistic entrepreneurs who came to the fore in the 1960s as a means of challenge and provocation, resulting in high profile controversies like the nudity trial of 1963 and the furore over a play about bestiality in 1967.

These ideas – conservative and liberal, elite and diverse, traditional and avant-garde – all clashed every August in Edinburgh, making the Festival City an effective lens for exploring major changes in culture and society in post-war Britain. This book explores the "culture wars" of 1945-1970 and is the first major study of the origins and development of this leading annual arts extravaganza.

(<http://www.euppublishing.com/book/9780748694051>)

Bissett, Alan / Alasdair McKillop, *Born Under a Union Flag: Rangers, the Union & Scottish Independence*, Edinburgh: Luath Press Ltd 2014 (paperback £8.99)

Questioning how British and Scottish identities fit into supporting Rangers, *Born Under the Union Flag* provides the first solid exploration of the relationship between sport and national identity. Well-known and informed contributors from both sides of the independence debate, including Harry Reid, Iain Duff, and Will McLeish, all lend their disparate viewpoints this book, showing just how nuanced – and difficult – the discussion really is. A must-read for anyone interested in Rangers, the history of Scottish football, or the independence debate.

(<http://www.luath.co.uk/books/new-books/born-under-a-union-flag-rangers-the-union-scottish-independence.html>)

Boardman, Steve / Julian Goodare (eds.), *Kings, Lords and Men in Scotland and Britain, 1300-1625*, Edinburgh: EUP 2014 (hardback £75.00)

Late medieval and early modern Scottish history has seen much recent work on "kingship" and "lordship". But the 15th century and the 16th century are usually studied separately. This book brings them together in a fitting collection in tribute to Jenny Wormald, one of the few scholars to bridge this divide. Inspired by Jenny's work, the contributors tackle questions including: How far can medieval themes such as "lordship" function in the late 16th-century world of Reformation and state formation? How did the Scottish realm fit into wider British and European patterns? What did it mean for Scotland to be a "medieval" kingdom, and when did it cease to be one?

The volume contains detailed studies of particular episodes alongside thematic pieces which cover longer periods, while some chapters also range beyond Scotland. It takes stock of the continuities and contrasts between medieval and early modern Scotland, and challenges traditional demarcations between these two periods. (<http://www.euppublishing.com/book/9780748691500>)

Bonnyman, Brian, *The Third Duke of Buccleuch and Adam Smith: Estate Management and Improvement in Enlightenment Scotland*, Edinburgh: EUP 2014 (hardback £45.00)

Henry Scott, the third Duke of Buccleuch (1746-1812), presided over the management of one of the largest landed estates in Britain during a time of dramatic agrarian, social and political change. Tutored and advised by the philosopher Adam Smith, the Duke was also an important patron of the Scottish Enlightenment, lauded by the Edinburgh literati as an exemplar of patriotic nobility and civic virtue, while his alliance with Henry Dundas dominated Scottish politics for almost forty years. Combining the approaches of intellectual, economic and landscape history, this book examines the life and career of the third Duke, focusing in particular on his relationship with Adam Smith and the improvement of his extensive Scottish estates.

By examining the influence of one of the eighteenth century's foremost philosophers of improvement upon the career of one Scotland's largest landowners, this book explores the various influences - intellectual, economic, moral and political - which helped shape Scotland's distinctive agricultural revolution. In its exploration of the cultural as well as the economic roots of improvement and in its assessment of previously unappreciated aspect of Adam Smith's career, this book will appeal to both specialist scholars and general readers interested in the Scottish Enlightenment, estate management and the culture of improvement in eighteenth-century Scotland.

(<http://www.euppublishing.com/book/9780748642007>)

Bort, Eberhard, *The Annals of the Holyrood Parish: A Decade of Devolution 2004-2014*, Ochtertyre: Grace Note Publications 2014 (paperback £15.00)

On 18 September 2014, the Scots are to vote on their country's future. "Should Scotland be an independent country" is the question which will be put before them. *Annals of the Holyrood Parish* describes in ten chapters the "Decade of Devolution" that has led up to this decisive moment, from the "rainbow parliament" of 2003 which, a year later, moved into Enric Miralles' new parliament building at Holyrood, to the absolute majority of the Scottish National Party, covering elections, parliamentary bills, the ups and downs of parties and politicians, and what the Scottish people and the Scottish media have made of it all. A fascinating chronicle unfolds which charts the devolution journey so far, throws light on both campaigns – for and against independence – and sets the scene for "Scotland's date with destiny".

(<http://www.gracenotepublications.co.uk/the-annals-of-the-holyrood-parish-a-decade-of-devolution-2004-2014/>)

Browne, Sarah, *The women's liberation movement in Scotland*, Manchester: MUP 2014 (hardback £65.00)

This is the first book-length account of the women's liberation movement in Scotland, which, using documentary evidence and oral testimony, charts the origins and development of this important social movement of the post-1945 period. In doing so, it reveals the inventiveness and fearlessness of feminist activism, while also pointing towards the importance of considering the movement from the local and grassroots perspectives, presenting a more optimistic account of the enduring legacy of women's liberation.

Not only does this book uncover the reach of the WLM but it also considers what case studies of women's liberation can tell us about the ways in which the development of the movement has been portrayed. Previous accounts have tended to equate the fragmentation of the movement with weakness and decline. This book challenges this conclusion, arguing that fragmentation led to a diffusion of feminist ideas into wider society. In the Scottish context, it led to a lively and flourishing feminist culture where activists highlighted important issues such as abortion and violence against women.

(<http://www.manchesteruniversitypress.co.uk/cgi-bin/indexer?product=9780719087295>)

Bueltmann, Tanja, *Clubbing Together: Ethnicity, Civility and Formal Sociability in the Scottish Diaspora to 1930*, Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd 2014 (hardback £70.00)

This book provides the first global study to capture the wider relevance of the Scots' associationalism, arguing that associations and formal sociability are a key to explaining how migrants negotiated their ethnicity in the diaspora and connected to social structures in diverse settlements. Moving beyond the traditional nineteenth-century settler dominions, the book offers a unique comparative focus, bringing together Scotland's near diaspora in England and Ireland with that in North America, Africa, and Australasia to assess the evolution of Scottish ethnic associations, as well as their diverse roles as sites of memory and expressions of civility. The book reveals that the structures offered by Scottish associations engaged directly with the local, New World contexts, developing distinct characteristics that cannot be subsumed under one simplistic label—that of an overseas "national society". The book promotes understanding not only of Scottish ethnicity overseas, but also of how different types of ethnic associational activism made diaspora tangible.

(http://www.liverpooluniversitypress.co.uk/index.php?option=com_wrapper&view=wrapper&Itemid=11&AS1=bueltmann)

Bulmer, Elliot W., *A Constitution for the Common Good: Strengthening Scottish Democracy After 2014*, Edinburgh: Luath Press Ltd 2014 (paperback £9.99)

This book not only makes a vital contribution to Scotland's current and on-going constitutional debate, whatever the outcome in September 2014, but also engages with fundamental questions of constitutionalism and democracy that are of enduring relevance to both citizens and scholars around the world.

(<http://www.luath.co.uk/books/new-books/constitution-common-good.html>)

Burnett, Allan, *The Story of Scotland: Inspired by the Great Tapestry of Scotland*, Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd 2014 (paperback £9.99)

In this book, specifically designed for younger readers, bestselling children's author Allan Burnett tells the story of Scotland through the Tapestry itself—a thing of wonder, full of magic and adventures and mysteries. In addition to opening windows into key moments in history and introducing some of the most significant people who have shaped the nation, the book also celebrates the lives of ordinary Scotsmen and women over the ages. From saints, soldiers and Vikings to kings and queens, Arctic whalers and footballers, this is an amazing journey through the story of Scotland.

(<http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Story-of-Scotland-The.html>)

Campbell, John Lorne, *A Very Civil People: Hebridean Folk, History and Tradition*, Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd 2014 (paperback £10.99)

In his long scholarly career, the late John Lorne Campbell published sixteen books and a large number of research articles in the field of Celtic studies. Taking as its title the words of Edward Lhuyd (1660–1709), whose original work on the Highlands and Islands Campbell has done much to reinstate, *A Very Civil People* is the only volume of his essays and short articles. Written for the most part between 1935 and 1975, it reflects the full range of his interests and his own diverse and thorough scholarship.

Working from within the tradition, with a sound knowledge to the language, its evolution and cultural milieu, Campbell saw himself as "setting the record straight" on Highland and Hebridean history. Here he writes authoritatively on the history, language and literature, oral narrative and tradition, poetry and song of the Hebrides, but his methodology, interpretations and conclusions offer lessons for the wider study of Highland, Scottish and British history.

(<http://www.birlinn.co.uk/A-Very-Civil-People.html>)

Campbell, John Lorne, *Canna: The Story of a Hebridean Island*, Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd 2014 (paperback £14.99)

This is the definitive history of Canna, one of the most beautiful of all the Scottish islands. Fertile and with a sheltered harbour, Canna has played an important part in the story of the Hebrides.

After the Reformation the island was of considerable importance to the Irish Franciscan mission of the 1620s and also the Jacobite risings before it was swept up in the tragedies of depopulation and clearances of the nineteenth century.

Gifted to the National Trust in 1981, the island is currently undergoing something of a revival, with the creation of the St Edward Centre on Sanday, and the proposed developments of Canna House.

Recent archaeological surveys and historical research has uncovered much new evidence about the island. Hugh Cheape of the Royal Museum of Scotland, who has been intimately involved in the Canna project, has fully edited the book. New contributions both update and fill out the account of the island.

(<http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Canna.html>)

Campbell, Sandy et al., *On Being a Man: Four Scottish Men Speak Out*, Edinburgh: Luath Press Ltd 2014 (paperback £7.99)

On Being a Man brings together four men to consider the condition of Scottish men, reflect on their own backgrounds and experiences, and confront some of the most difficult issues men face. These include the changing roles of men in Scottish society and the role of work and employment.

(<http://www.luath.co.uk/books/new-books/on-being-a-man.html>)

Cawthorne, Mike, *Wild Voices: Journeys through Time in the Scottish Highlands*, Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd 2014 (paperback £9.99)

The journeys in this book are tales of adventure on foot and by canoe through some of the last wild places in Scotland. Each journey is haunted by the ghost of another writer – Neil Gunn, Iain Thomson, Rowena Farre – who has left behind the trace of his or her own experience of these isolated hills, glens, streams or lochs. Travelling in time as well as space, Mike Cawthorne gains a new perspective on burning contemporary issues such as land ownership, renewable energy, conservation and depopulation. On one level these are exciting and lyrical evocations of wild walks and nature in the raw, like the description of winter treks in one of Mike's earlier books, *Hell of a Journey*. On another level they explore the meaning of Scotland's surviving wilderness to wanderers in the past and its vital importance to us in the present day.

(<http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Wild-Voices.html>)

Coleman, James, *Remembering the Past in Nineteenth-Century Scotland: Commemoration, Nationality, and Memory*, Edinburgh: EUP 2014 (hardback £65.00)

At a time when the Union between Scotland and England is once again under the spotlight, *Remembering the Past in Nineteenth-Century Scotland* examines the way in which Scotland's national heroes were once remembered as champions of both Scottish and British patriotism.

Whereas 19th-century Scotland is popularly depicted as a mire of sentimental Jacobitism and kow-towing unionism, this book shows how Scotland's national heroes were once the embodiment of a consistent, expressive and robust view of Scottish nationality.

Whether celebrating the legacy of William Wallace and Robert Bruce, the reformer John Knox, the Covenanters, 19th-century Scots rooted their national heroes in a Presbyterian and unionist view of Scotland's past.

Examined through the prism of commemoration, this book uncovers collective memories of Scotland's past entirely opposed to 21st-century assumptions of medieval proto-nationalism and Calvinist misery.

(<http://www.euppublishing.com/book/9780748676903>)

Davidson, Roger / Gayle Davis, *The Sexual State: Sexuality and Scottish Governance 1950-80*, Edinburgh: EUP 2014 (paperback £24.99)

This valuable study fills a gap in our understanding of modern Scottish, and British, Society, providing as it does a vital perspective on Scotland's sexual history and its political and social context. It is unique in exploring the period from 1950 to 1980, covering the immediate post-war and Scotland's sexual "coming-of-age". It charts a steady political growth from a deeply moralistic policy framework towards a less judgmental, global and scientific context.

Davidson and Davis lead us through the Scottish sexual landscape leading up to the global crisis of HIV/AIDS, analysing post-war state policy towards issues such as abortion, family planning, homosexuality, pornography, prostitution, sex education and sexual health. Policy-makers, social historians, teachers and students alike will find this an invaluable resource on the study of sexuality and policy-making in modern society.

(<http://www.euppublishing.com/book/9780748694068>)

Dressler, Camille, *Eigg: The Story of an Island*, Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd 2014 (paperback £14.99)

Drawing on oral history, legend and song as well as written accounts, this is the story of Eigg and its inhabitants from the earliest times to the present day. Camille Dressler follows the changes in the islanders' lives from the tribal society of clan days to the development of crofting, the Clearances and depopulation, and the effect various landlords have had on the island in more recent times, right through to the historic community buy-out of 1997. This book gives a comprehensive and colourful picture of how the islanders reacted and survived, and shows how Eigg's cultural heritage captured the imagination of a community in transition seeking to preserve its island identity. This updated edition includes a vivid account of the islanders' achievements since the buy-out and of the challenges they have met in their pioneering venture.

(<http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Eigg-The-Story-of-an-Island.html>)

Foley, James / Pete Ramand, *Yes: The Radical Case for Scottish Independence*, London: Pluto Press 2014 (paperback £10.50)

An urgent and invigorating political intervention, *Yes* argues that even if the referendum result is "no", a progressive independence campaign will alter the political landscape. Written by leading activists from the Radical Independence Campaign, *Yes* will be a unique contribution to the referendum debate.

(<http://www.plutobooks.com/display.asp?K=9780745334752>)

Fraser, Ian, *Shredded: Inside RBS, The Bank That Broke Britain*, Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd 2014 (hardback £25.00)

At its zenith, the Royal Bank of Scotland was the world's biggest bank. It had assets of \$3 trillion, employed over 200,000 people, had branches on every high street and was admired and trusted by millions of borrowers and investors. Now the mere mention of its name causes anger and resentment, and its former CEO, Fred Goodwin, is reviled as one of the architects of the worst financial crisis since 1929.

In *Shredded*, Ian Fraser lifts the lid on the catastrophic mistakes that led the bank to the brink of collapse, scrutinizing the role played by RBS's directors who failed to check Goodwin's hubris, the colleagues who were overawed by his despotic leadership style, the politicians who created a regulatory free-for-all in which banks went virtually unsupervised, and the investors who egged Goodwin on.

As more and more toxic details emerge about the bank's pre- and post-bailout misconduct, which stretches from the ruination of numerous small businesses in the UK and Ireland to the criminal fiddling of Yen Libor, and from the alleged manipulation of global foreign-exchange markets to the wholesale "mis-selling" of US mortgage bonds, Ian Fraser examines what the future holds for RBS and whether it can ever regain the public's trust.

(<http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Shredded.html>)

More information on the book can be found in this article:

<http://www.mortgagestrategy.co.uk/news-and-features/media-spotlight/media-spotlight-shredded-inside-rbs-the-bank-that-broke-britain-ian-fraser/2013717.article>

Fyfe, Maria, *Women Saying No: Making a Positive Case Against Independence*, Edinburgh: Luath Press Ltd 2014 (paperback £7.99)

In a series of essays arguing for a NO vote at the forthcoming Scottish independence referendum, 14 women varying in age, ethnicity, political views and life experience – including Maria Fyfe, Johann Lamont MSP, Sarah Boyack MSP and Fiona O'Donnell MP – come together to make a positive case against independence. With contributions from leading current and former politicians and citizens, *Women Saying No* presents the arguments against independence, from a female perspective, in an attempt to widen the debate.

(<http://www.luath.co.uk/books/new-books/women-saying-no.html>)

Harris, Bob / Charles McKean (eds.), *The Scottish Town in the Age of the Enlightenment 1740-1820*, Edinburgh: EUP 2014 (hardback £120.00, paperback £30.00)

This heavily illustrated and innovative study is founded upon personal documents, town council minutes, legal cases, inventories, travellers' tales, plans and drawings relating to some 30 Scots burghs of the Georgian period. It establishes a distinctive history for the development of Scots burghs, their living patterns and legislative controls, and shows that the Scottish urban experience was quite different from other parts of Britain.

This is a collaborative history, melding together political, social, economic, urban and architectural histories, to achieve a comprehensive perspective on the nature of the Scottish Georgian town. Not so much a history by growth and numbers, this pioneering study of Scottish urbanization explores the type of change and the quality of result.

(<http://www.euppublishing.com/book/9780748692576>)

Hassan, Gerry, *Caledonian Dreaming: The Quest for a Different Scotland*, Edinburgh: Luath Press Ltd 2014 (paperback £11.99)

Caledonian Dreaming: The Quest for a Different Scotland offers a penetrating and original way forward for Scotland beyond the current independence debate. It identifies the myths of modern Scotland, describes what they say and why they need to be seen as myths.

(<http://www.luath.co.uk/books/new-books/caledonian-dreaming.html>)

Hunter, James, *On the Other Side of Sorrow: Nature and People in the Scottish Highlands*, Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd 2014 (paperback £12.99)

As environmentalists strive to preserve the scenery and wildlife of the Highlands, the people who belong there, and who have their own claims on the landscape, question this new threat to their culture that dates back thousands of years. In this sensitive, thought-provoking book, James Hunter probes deep into this culture to examine the dispute between Highlanders, who developed a strong environmental awareness a thousand years before other Europeans, and conservationists, whose thinking owes much to the romantic ideals of the nineteenth century. More than that, he also suggests a new way of dealing with the problem, advocating drastic land-use changes and the repopulation of empty glens – an approach which has worldwide implications.

(<http://www.birlinn.co.uk/On-the-Other-Side-of-Sorrow.html>)

Jones, Owen, *The Establishment: And How They Get Away With It*, London: Allen Lane 2014 (hardback £16.99)

Behind our democracy lurks a powerful but unaccountable network of people who wield massive power and reap huge profits in the process. In exposing this shadowy and complex system that dominates our lives, Owen Jones sets out on a journey into the heart of our Establishment, from the lobbies of Westminster to the newsrooms, boardrooms and trading rooms of Fleet Street and the

City. Exposing the revolving doors that link these worlds, and the vested interests that bind them together, Jones shows how, in claiming to work on our behalf, the people at the top are doing precisely the opposite. In fact, they represent the biggest threat to our democracy today - and it is time they were challenged.

(http://www.penguin.co.uk/nf/Book/BookDisplay/0,,9781846147197,00.html?strSrcHSql=the+establishment/The_Establishment_Owen_Jones)

More information on the book can be found in this article: <http://gu.com/p/4x33v>.

Keating, Michael / Malcolm Harvey, *Small Nations in a Big World: What Scotland Can Learn*, Edinburgh: Luath Press Ltd 2014 (paperback £9.99)

Keating and Harvey compare the experience of the Nordic and Baltic States and Ireland, which have taken very different roads and ask what lessons can be learnt for Scotland. They conclude that success is possible but that hard choices would need to be taken. Neither side in the independence debate has faced these choices squarely.

(<http://www.luath.co.uk/books/new-books/small-nations-in-a-big-world.html>)

Leith, Murray Stewart / Duncan Sim (eds.), *The Modern Scottish Diaspora: Contemporary Debates and Perspectives*, Edinburgh: EUP 2014 (hardback £75.00, paperback £24.99)

The authors explore historical perspectives, sociological and anthropological perspectives, issues of public policy and politics, (including the Scottish Government's diaspora strategy), and the development of business links with the diaspora. Chapters deal with the arts, language and sport, as well as the media and representations of Scotland in the diaspora. The concluding chapter, written by the editors, identifies future challenges in the relationship between Scotland and its diaspora.

The Scots form one of the world's largest diasporas, with around 30 million people worldwide claiming a Scottish ancestry. There are few countries around the globe without a Caledonian Society, a Burns Club, a Scottish country dance society, or similar organisation. This book serves to remind us of the continuing importance of those links for Scots both at home and abroad. It will be of interest to politicians, public policy makers and Scottish business, as well as to scholars and students of Diaspora Studies.

(<http://www.euppublishing.com/book/9780748681419>)

Leask, Nigel (ed.), *The Oxford Edition of the Works of Robert Burns, Volume I: Commonplace Books, Tour Journals, and Miscellaneous Prose*, Oxford: OUP 2014 (hardback £125.00)

This volume of Robert Burns's Commonplace Books, Tours Journals and Miscellaneous Prose Works is a major contribution to our understanding of the life and writings of one of the major Scottish, and British, poets of all times. To the extent that the Commonplace Books and other prose writings offer a glimpse into Burns's creative workshop, they record the self-conscious poetic development of a man who was endowed with none of the advantages of birth and education enjoyed by many other writers. Spanning nearly two decades of his sadly foreshortened life, they permit a new understanding of his unique relationship to the literary and social culture of late eighteenth-century Scotland, and help explain how and why this humbly-born Ayrshire farmer became a poet of world renown. The items included here have never before been published complete in one volume (some are published for the first time), and they are arranged chronologically in order to highlight the major creative stages of his life.

(<http://ukcatalogue.oup.com/product/9780199603176.do>)

Levitt, Ian (ed.), *Treasury Control and Public Expenditure in Scotland 1885-1979*, Oxford: OUP 2014 (hardback £60.00)

The book sets out to establish the Treasury view of Scottish claims for public expenditure from the establishment of the Scottish Office in 1885 to the failed referendum on political devolution in 1979. Drawn largely from previously unresearched (and partly uncatalogued) Treasury documents held at The National Archives (UK) it provides a unique appreciation whether its ministers and of-

ficials viewed public investment north of the border as economically "productive", designed to ensure equivalence in public investment between Scotland and England, or otherwise to placate Scottish interests (<http://ukcatalogue.oup.com/product/9780197265796.do>)

Lumsden, Christine, *Church and Society in Edinburgh 1850-1905*, Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing 2014 (hardback £57.99)

This study examines the relationship between denominational affiliation, class and gender in the city of Edinburgh between 1850 and 1905. The churches played a leading role in the movements for social and political reform, both locally and nationally.

(<http://www.cambridgescholars.com/church-and-society-in-edinburgh-1850-1905>)

Mann, Alastair J., *James VII: Duke and King of Scots, 1633–1701*, Edinburgh: Birlinn 2014 (paperback £25.00)

This book provides the first complete portrait of James as a Stewart prince of Scotland, as duke of Albany and King of Scots. It re-evaluates the traditional views of James as a Catholic extremist and absolutist who failed through incompetence, and challenges preconceptions based on strong views of his failings, both in popular belief and serious history.

Investigating the personality and motives of the man, this biography assesses James as commander, as Christian and as king, but also as family man and Restoration libertine – a prince of his time. Painting a picture of James from cradle to grave, from childhood to resigned exile, it brings him to life within his Scottish context and as a member of the royal line of Scotland. The journey from dashing young cavalry commander to pious prince in exile appears oddly incongruous given the political and personal trials that lay between. That journey was much more of Scotland than previous studies have suggested – indeed, James was in many ways the last King of Scots.

(<http://www.birlinn.co.uk/James-VII.html>)

Macmillan, Duncan, *Scotland's Shrine: The Scottish National War Memorial*, London: Lund Humphries Publishers Ltd 2014 (hardback £36.00)

First mooted in 1917, The Scottish National War Memorial was opened by Edward, Prince of Wales, on 14th July 1927. Intended to make the Memorial accessible to a wide audience, this unique and beautiful publication will give an account of its fascinating history. Tracing the Memorial's eventful history from its genesis through to its construction and its eventual opening, Duncan Macmillan discusses all aspects of the Memorial from its design to the individual artists that contributed to its creation. Including contextual links to other similar projects, this publication will provide the definitive account of this significant public monument, which continues to commemorate Scottish casualties of war.

(http://www.ashgate.com/default.aspx?page=637&calcTitle=1&title_id=19626&edition_id=1209349370)

Marsden, Richard A., *Cosmo Innes and the Defence of Scotland's Past c. 1825-1875*, Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd 2014 (hardback £72.00)

This analysis of Innes's work with sources, set within the intellectual context of the time and against the antiquarian activities of his contemporaries, provides a window onto the ways in which the "national past" was perceived in Scotland during the nineteenth century. This allows us to explore how historical thinkers negotiated the apparent dichotomies between Enlightenment and Romanticism, whilst at the same time enabling a re-examination of prevailing assumptions about Scotland's supposed failure to maintain a viable national consciousness in the later 1800s.

(http://www.ashgate.com/default.aspx?page=637&calcTitle=1&title_id=12460&edition_id=12843)

Maxwell, Jamie / David Torrance, *Scotland's Referendum: A Guide for Voters*, Edinburgh: Luath Press Ltd 2014 (paperback £5.99)

Maxwell and Torrance summarise the main arguments for and against before delving into the central issues at the heart of the debate, including economics, welfare and pensions, defence and

foreign affairs, and culture and national identity. They outline the way that Scotland is currently governed and review where the parties stand on the debate before concluding with speculative chapters on what happens after the vote, whether YES or NO.

(<http://www.luath.co.uk/books/new-books/scotland-referendum-guide-voters.html>)

Maxwell, Jamie / Owen Dudley Edwards, *Why Not? Scotland, Labour and Independence*, Edinburgh: Luath Press Ltd 2014 (paperback £7.99)

Why Not? Scotland, Labour and Independence is a passionate and often personal appeal to Labour voters (and other progressive Scots) to consider the social, economic and political gains that could be won with Scottish self-government. Bringing together a range of diverse voices – some from within the Labour Party, some from within the SNP, some from the non-aligned Left – it presents the social justice case for a Yes vote and argues that independence offers the clearest route forward for socialist and centre-left Scotland.

(<http://www.luath.co.uk/books/new-books/why-not.html>)

McKee Stapleton, Anne, *Pointed Encounters: Dance in Post-Culloden Scottish Literature*, Amsterdam / New York: Rodopi 2014 (paperback €47.00 / US\$66.00)

Pointed Encounters establishes the literary significance of representations of dance in poetry, song, dance manuals, and fiction written between 1750 and 1830. Presenting original readings of canonical texts and fresh readings of neglected but significant literary works, this book traces the complicated role of social dancing in Scottish culture and identifies the hitherto unexplored motif of dance as an outwardly conforming, yet covertly subversive, expression of Scottish identity during the period. The volume draws upon diverse yet mutually revealing texts, from traditional dance and music to Sir Walter Scott and contemporary Scottish women novelists, to offer students and scholars of Scottish and English literature a fresh insight into the socio-cultural context of the British state after 1746.

(<http://www.rodopi.nl/frameset/nt/rightside.asp?BookId=SCROLL+23&type=new>)

McLeish, Henry, *Rethinking Our Politics: The political and constitutional future of Scotland and the UK*, Edinburgh: Luath Press Ltd 2014 (paperback £11.99)

Former First Minister of Scotland, Henry McLeish is well placed to diagnose the crisis at the heart of Scotland and UK politics. In *Rethinking Our Politics* McLeish looks critically at the conditions which have created an increasingly divided and alienated public and forged Scotland's yearning for radical change. He rails against the stagnation of the union and makes a rousing and persuasive case for a complete overhaul of our political thinking, demanding that instead of making decisions on the basis of fear and insecurity, we rediscover the founding moral purpose of government.

(<http://www.luath.co.uk/books/new-books/rethinking-our-politics.html>)

Mitchell, James, *The Scottish Question*, Oxford: OUP 2014 (hardback £25.00)

The Scottish Question has been a shifting mix of linked issues and concerns including national identity; Scotland's constitutional status and structures of government; Scotland's distinctive party politics; and everyday public policy. In this volume, James Mitchell explores how these issues have interacted against a backdrop of these changes. He concludes that while the independence referendum may prove an important event, there can be no definitive answer to the Scottish Question. *The Scottish Question* offers a fresh interpretation of what has made Scotland distinctive and how this changed over time, drawing on an array of primary and secondary sources. It challenges a number of myths, including how radical Scottish politics has been, and suggests that an oppositional political culture was one of the most distinguishing features of Scottish politics in the twentieth century. A Scottish lobby, consisting of public and private bodies, became adept in making the case for more resources from the Treasury without facing up to some of Scotland's most deep-rooted problems.

(<http://ukcatalogue.oup.com/product/9780199688654.do>)

Moffat, Alexander / Alan Riach, *Arts of Independence*, Edinburgh: Luath Press Ltd 2014 (paperback £9.99)

Alexander Moffat and Alan Riach take a hard look at the most neglected aspect of the argument for Scotland's distinctive national identity: the arts. Their proposition is that music, painting, architecture and, pre-eminently, literature, are the fuel and fire that makes imagination possible. Neglect them at your peril. For Moffat and Riach, jobs, health and trade are matters of material fact that need to be enlivened by imagination. How can we organise society to help us approach what the arts have to give. Why have we been so poor at representing our arts comprehensively, both within Scotland and internationally? What can be done? How might things be different? The arts are of paramount importance in the modern world. Moffat and Riach take the argument out of the hands of politicians and economists and beyond the petty squabbles of party politics. (<http://www.luath.co.uk/books/new-books/arts-of-independence.html>)

Moffat, Alistair, *Hawick: A History from Earliest Times*, Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd 2014 (paperback £14.99)

As Hawick celebrates the 500th anniversary of the fight at Hornshole, the first stirrings of the defining traditions of the common riding, Alistair Moffat takes the narrative much further back into the mists of prehistory, to the time of the Romans, the coming of the Angles and the Normans. He recounts how Hawick got its name, where the old village stood, who the early barons of Hawick were and then charts the amazing rise of the textile trade, bringing the story right up to the present day. Beneath the familiar streets and closes lies an immense story – the remarkable and unique story of Hawick.

If this book shows anything, it shows that Hawick has changed radically over the many centuries since people began to live between the Slitrig and the Teviot. All that experience in one place has created and invented much and the future will turn for the better for a simple reason. Hawick's greatest invention is her people. (<http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Hawick.html>)

Moffat, Alistair, *Bannockburn: The Battle for a Nation*, Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd 2014 (hardback £12.99)

As 8,000 Scottish soldiers, most of them spearmen, faced 18,000 English infantrymen, archers and mounted knights on the morning of Sunday 23 June 1314, many would have had the result a foregone conclusion. But after two days' fighting, the English were routed. Edward II fled to Dunbar and took ship for home, and only one English unit escaped from Scotland intact. The emphatic defeat of much larger English force was the moment that enabled Scotland to remain independent and pursue a different destiny. This book follows in detail the events of those two days that changed history. In addition to setting the battle within its historical and political context Alistair Moffat captures all the fear, heroism, confusion and desperation of the fighting itself as he describes the tactics and manoeuvres that led to Scottish victory. The result is a very human picture of Bannockburn that recreates the experience not only of the leaders – Edward II and Robert the Bruce – but the ordinary men who fought to the death on both sides. (<http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Bannockburn-The-Battle-for-a-Nation.html>)

Olson, Ian A., *Bludie Harlaw: Realities, Myths, Ballads*, Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd 2014 (hardback £14.99)

In the summer of 1411, the ageing Donald of Isla, Lord of the Isles, invaded mainland Scotland with a huge, battle-hardened army, only to be fought to a bloody standstill on the plateau of Harlaw, fifteen miles from Aberdeen, a town he had threatened to sack. One of the greatest battles in Scottish history, described by hardened mediaeval chroniclers as "atrocious", "Reid Harlaw" left some 3,000 dead and wounded. Dismissed by Scott as a "Celt v. Saxon" power struggle, it has faded from historical memory, other than in the north-east of Scotland.

Written records in Latin, Scots, Gaelic and English are presented in their original form, and with transcriptions and translations. Two major ballads are analysed, one contemporary, and one fabricated over 350 years later – which is still sung. Lowland views dominate, because of the loss and destruction of Highland records, notably those of the Lords of the Isles themselves. The histories themselves fall into two groups – those written at or around the time, and those composed some 300 years later. These later accounts form the basis of most modern descriptions of the battle, but they tend to be romantic and highly imaginative, creating noble order where chaos once existed.

(<http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Bludie-Harlaw.html>)

Popiel, Alyssa, *A Capital View: The Art of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd 2014 (hardback £25.00)

Edinburgh boasts one of the most diverse collections of art of any city in Britain.

In this book, Alyssa Jean Popiel has selected a hundred works of art from the Enlightenment to the present day which depict the city and its surroundings, introducing the artists, discussing technical details, and offering fascinating historical and anecdotal information.

Including the works of artists such as Sir Henry Raeburn, Alexander Nasmyth, F.C.B. Cadell, Anne Redpath and John Bellany, *A Capital View* underlines the extraordinary breadth and range of this nationally significant collection, and is at the same time a magnificent celebration of one of the world's most beautiful cities.

(<http://www.birlinn.co.uk/A-Capital-View.html>)

Reid, Angus / Mary Davis, *A Modest Proposal: For the Agreement of the People*, Edinburgh: Luath Press Ltd 2014 (paperback £9.99)

"The history of parliament in the UK has a consistent theme: the refusal to accept any binding contract with the people. This unacceptable status quo goes for Holyrood as much as for Westminster. The time has come for people to challenge the power of the ruling class. We want to see the Scottish Parliament become an institution that it has so far failed to be: an institution committed to the sovereignty of the people. We want the people of Scotland to lead the rest of the UK by example, and ensure that the actions of a government are bound by shared political and ethical values. And we propose the first step: a modest proposal, for the agreement of the people. Are you with us?" Angus Reid and Mary Davis

(<http://www.luath.co.uk/books/new-books/modest-proposal.html>)

Revest, Didier, *Independence for Scotland! Independence for Scotland? Theoretical and Practical Reflections on the 2014 Referendum and its Possible Outcomes*, Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing 2014 (hardback £39.99)

In March 2013, Scottish First Minister Alex Salmond announced that the long-awaited referendum on Scottish independence would take place on 18 September 2014. More often than not, those in favour of an independent Scotland present their fight as a constitutional means to a socio-economic end. In the words of Alex Salmond himself: "Progress to independence. Not for its own sake, not 'let's be independent so we can hoist the Saltire'. Let's be independent so we can better the lives of the Scottish people." (quoted by Tom Peterkin, "Alex Salmond: 'I'd be a labourer if it wasn't for Mum'" – Scotland on Sunday, 16 January 2011) If, as suggested by the quote, breaking with the rest of the UK automatically means improved socio-economic performance, one consequently has to accept that there is only one constraint weighing Scotland down, and that it is the Union. However, is it all really that simple?

(<http://www.cambridgescholars.com/independence-for-scotland-independence-for-scotland-theoretical-and-practical-reflections-on-the-2014-referendum-and-its-possible-outcomes>)

Robertson, James / Jill Calder, *Robert the Bruce: King of Scots*, Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd 2014 (hardback £12.99)

In this exciting and visually stunning book, the most talented Scottish novelist of his generation teams up with Jill Calder, whose bold and colourful illustrations are a perfect complement to one of the most dramatic tales in Scottish history. In addition to the big set pieces from the Bruce story – not least of course the Battle of Bannockburn – and the other famous elements – such as the murder of the Red Comyn and Bruce and the spider – book is full of accurate historical detail and imaginative touches which offer a fresh and vital perspective on one of the great heroes of Scottish history. (<http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Robert-the-Bruce-King-of-Scots.html>)

Stevenson, David, *Highland Warrior: Alasdair MacColla and the Civil Wars*, Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd 2014 (paperback £14.99)

In 1644 James Grahame, Marquis of Montrose, stormed his way into legend with a series of astonishing victories over the Covenanters. At his side stalked a shadowy but terrible ally – Alasdair MacColla, who had a far more ancient agenda of his own. MacColla's aim was nothing less than the effective destruction of the power of Clan Campbell and its replacement by the older overlordship of the Macdonalds.

The author argues that it was in fact MacColla and not Montrose who was the true architect of the "Year of Victories", and that without his Highland ally, Montrose's blunders would have doomed him to disaster, thus presenting a compelling and radical reappraisal of Scottish history during the crucial years of the 1640s. As MacColla's actions were unwittingly to lead his people and culture to ruin, so his own career ended in chaos when, despite leading his own troops in a victorious charge, an incompetent general led him to defeat and death at Knocknass in Ireland. (<http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Highland-Warrior.html>)

Stevenson, Katie, *Power and Propaganda: Scotland 1306-1488*, Edinburgh: EUP 2014 (hardback £55.00, paperback £19.99)

Power and Propaganda is a thematic reflection on the political history of late medieval Scotland, that considers the ways in which power was expressed and renegotiated during a crucial period in the kingdom's history. It deals with themes including the nature of the power enjoyed by kings, how that power was maintained and how it was deployed; the interpersonal relations and struggles between kings and the elites within their kingdoms; and, the structures of governance through which power operated and was felt down to a local level.

Late medieval Scotland is especially fertile ground for an examination of all of these themes as two new dynasties – the Bruces and the Stewarts – were faced with the challenge of establishing their own legitimacy and authority.

(<http://www.euppublishing.com/book/9780748645879>)

Tomlinson, Jim, *Dundee and the Empire: 'Juteopolis' 1850-1939*, Edinburgh: EUP 2014 (hardback £70.00)

How did the people of Dundee respond to the challenges of being the most economically globalized city in the world in the years before the First World War?

The answer to this question is complicated by the fact that the aspect of globalization which impacted most directly on the ordinary inhabitants of Dundee was competition in the jute industry from Calcutta, a city within the British Empire of the early 20th century. Dundee had to cope not only with powerful low-wage competition in its staple industry, but the political reality that for decision-makers in London the fate of the British Empire in India was far more important than the economic well-being of a small Scottish city. The history of Dundee's response to these challenges combines global economic history with analysis of imperial relations, including how these issues were understood by ordinary Dundonians, as well as by politicians and policy-makers.

(<http://www.euppublishing.com/book/9780748686148>)

Torrance, David, *Britain Rebooted: Scotland in a Federal Union*, Edinburgh: Luath Press Ltd 2014 (paperback £7.99)

It is often assumed that federalism is somehow "alien" to the Scottish and British constitutional tradition but in this short book journalist David Torrance argues that not only has the UK already become a quasi-federal state but that formal federation is the best way of squaring the competing demands of Nationalists and Unionists. He also uses Scotland's place within a federal UK to examine other potential reforms with a view to tackling ever-increasing inequality across the British Isles and create a more equal, successful and constitutionally coherent country.
(<http://www.luath.co.uk/books/new-books/britain-rebooted.html>)

Young, Alan / George Cumming, *The Real Patriots of Early Scottish Independence*, Edinburgh: Birlinn 2014 (paperback £25.00)

The battle of Bannockburn (1314) gave Scotland a great hero in Robert Bruce but deprived Scotland of three other worthy "patriot heroes". This book tells the intriguing story of three members of the Comyn family who have been deprived of their rightful place in Scottish tradition because of Robert Bruce's success.

Bruce's ruthless rise to power and his sacrilegious murder of Scotland's chief political leader, John Comyn III Lord of Badenoch, in Greyfriars' Church in Dumfries in 1306 had to be "spun" to paint Bruce in a more favourable light in keeping with his status, and the victim (and his family) were mercilessly cast as traitors to Bruce and the Scottish "cause". *The Real Patriots of Early Scottish Independence* re-examines the murder and reconstructs the Scottish Independence movement before 1306. The conclusions are surprising – there was already a strong sense of national identity and political independence before the involvement of William Wallace or Robert Bruce – and Walter Comyn Earl of Menteith (d.1258), Alexander Comyn Earl of Buchan (d.1289) and John Comyn III Lord of Badenoch (d.1306) were pre-eminent as pillars of an independent Scottish monarchy, defining and protecting Scotland's integrity in times of political crisis. Fittingly, the Comyns led Scotland into the War of Independence in 1296.

(<http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Real-Patriots-of-Early-Scottish-Independence.html>)

Yule, Eleanor / David Manderson, *The Glass Half Full: Moving Beyond Scottish Miserablism*, Edinburgh: Luath Press Ltd 2014 (paperback £7.99)

There is a tendency in film, literature and other cultural output to portray the negative aspects of Scottish life. In *The Glass Half Full*, filmmaker Eleanor Yule and academic David Manderson explore the origins of this bleak take on Scottish life, its literary and cultural expressions, and how this phenomenon in film has risen to the level of a genre which audiences both domestic and international see as a recognisable story of contemporary Scotland.

(<http://www.luath.co.uk/books/new-books/glass-half-full.html>)

Book Reviews

Hadley Williams, Janet and McClure J. Derrick (eds.), *Fresche Fontanis: Studies in the Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing 2013 (xxii+506pp hardback £59.99)

This is the outcome of the Twelfth International Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Language and Literature held at Edinburgh in 2008. It is a magnificent showcase for the field, with twenty-five contributors evenly distributed across the period from the late fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries, and representing a range of disciplines.

There is also a healthy spread of experience, from the most senior and seasoned scholars to those fresh from achieving their doctorates. What is particularly impressive is the range of disciplines represented. There are, of course, a majority which are by scholars of literature in Scots discussing particular works. This includes new light on famous texts, such as Elizabeth Elliott's on *The*

Kingis Quair, W.H.E. Sweet and Julian Good with papers on Henryson's *Moral Fabillis*, Emily Wingfield on *Lancelot of the Laik* and the *Buik of Alexander*, J. Derrik McClure on the metre of Dunbar's *The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo*, Ryoko Harike on Bellenden's *Chronicles of Scotland*, and Kate McClune on John Stewart's *Roland Furivus*. There are also insightful discussions of less prominent works: Sarah Dunningan on Henryson's "take" on the Orpheus legend, William Ca-lin on the neglected *The Frieris of Berwik*, and Jamie Reid Baxter on the *Mindes Melodie* (probably by James Melville), and its interplay with Montgomerie's *Solsequium*. And there are important discussions of more general themes through literature, such as Anna Caughey on "conciliatory chivalry" in fifteenth-century romances and Joanna M. Martin's on the presentation of the family in poems in the Maitland manuscript collection.

But as well as these literary scholars, there are historians engaged with literature, too: Michael Brown on the patrons and kin of Gilbert Hay, drawing attention particularly to a bond between Gilbert and the head of the Hays, William Lord Hay, in 1450, which Brown argues convincingly was written by Gilbert Hay himself; Karen Jillings's discussion of Scotland's first printed vernacular medical work (Gilbert Skene's *Breve Descriptioun of the Pest*, published in 1568), and Steven Reid, introducing the *Dilitiae Poetarum Scotorum* (1637), which Reid has developed into a highly successful AHRC-funded project ("Bridging the Continental Divide": see <http://www.dps.gla.ac.uk/>). Janet Hadley Williams uses an historical document (an inventory of his moveable goods drawn up after his death) to great effect to illuminate Sir David Lyndsay's personal world. Sir David Lyndsay's *Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courtier* is discussed by Juanita Feros Ruys in the light of changes in ideas about the epistemological application of experience. As well as history, there is also performance studies, bringing theoretical insights to historical events: Sarah Carpenter's discussion of the marriage of James IV and Margaret Tudor, and above all John J. McGavin's tour de force on "spectatorship" in Scotland, "revealing a society extraordinarily active in nuancing what was seen and avoided".

There are also studies of Scotland's other literary traditions: Scotland's Latin literature is represented not only in Steven Reid's paper on the poetry of the *Dilitiae*, but its prose is the chief focus of Melissa Coll-Smith's study of the sources for the legend of St Margaret of Scotland. There are also two papers on Scotland's Gaelic literature: Wilson McLeod on sixteenth-century Caimbeul (Campbell) poetry as a source for ideas of sovereignty and Scottishness, and William Gillies's masterly discussion of a literary perspective on the Book of the Dean of Lismore. Gillies and McGavin are not the only seniors at the top of their game in the volume: there is also Priscilla Bawcutt's on scholarship on William Dunbar's poetry since the publication of her edition in 1999 (although dated 1998 by the publishers). In the first half she summarises recent advances in the field; in the second half, however, she subjects John Conlee's *William Dunbar: The Complete Works* (2004) to a patient but merciless analysis. This reminds us that all is necessarily well in the field of medieval and renaissance Scottish language and literature. The contents of this volume, however, are compelling testimony to its range, vitality and vigorous good health.

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Miscellany of the Scottish History Society, Volume XIV (Scottish History Society, 2010) Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer 2013 (Scottish Text Society, Sixth Series) (268 pp., hardback £40)

Miscellanies published by the Scottish History Society are delightful collections that are fun to read, bringing together as they do critical editions of important and previously unpublished manuscripts relevant to Scottish history. Volume XIV of the Miscellany is no different. This volume focuses on the early modern period, and contains editions of six manuscripts which date from the late-sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century. While ranging widely over the political, religious, social and environmental history of the period, there is an emphasis on religion, through the writings of the clergy, and the religious culture of the long post-Reformation period. Taken together, the miscellany provides a fascinating collection of disparate sources still waiting to be fully explored and appreciated.

The first entry in the miscellany, "Two Surveys of Vernacular Buildings and Tree Usage in the Lordship of Strathavon, Banffshire, 1585x1616", edited by Alisdair Ross, features two building surveys which were used as evidence in a court case between Alexander Gordon of Strathavon and the Grants of Freuchie between 1585 and 1612. "Essentially," writes Ross, "the Gordons had accused their Grant tenants of the wanton destruction of forest in the lordship of Strathavon" (1). The Grants ordered the surveys as a way of defending themselves against such accusations, and the result is two documents – one quite short, the other longer. Ross follows the transcriptions of these documents with sections explaining landholding in medieval and early modern Banffshire, a history of the Grant family in Strathavon, the breakdown in relations between the Grants and Gordons, whether the Grants were destroyers of woods, and an in-depth analysis of the two documents. In analysing the documents Ross dates the documents, uses the documents to determine architecture and building techniques, types of wood used, types of structures constructed, and amounts of wood used. Thanks to Ross's exhaustive engagement with the two sources, the potential these documents hold for environmental history is clear.

The third entry in the miscellany is the "Diary of the Convention of Estates, 1630", edited by Julian Goodare. The document, Goodare notes, "is a daily narrative of the proceedings in the convention of estates of 1630. [...] After the published acts of parliament it is the single most detailed source of information on this assembly. Because it concentrates on debates rather than decisions, it complements the official record well" (86). Goodare then provides context for the document, an explanation of the procedure followed during the convention, and an outline of the issues discussed. "The Diary," Goodare writes, "does not cover the whole range of matters shown by the official records to have been discussed, but, for that very reason, it can give a sense of which matters were most important" (93). This section reveals that the issues of taxation, religious policy, deep-sea fishing, and penal statutes were the most important topics dealt with by the convention. Three further, less-important issues, involving the dignity of baronets (associated with the Nova Scotia colonisation project), woollen manufactories, and law reform were also mentioned. The diary itself is short, only eight manuscripts (three of which are blank), or six printed pages, and does not appear to have been intended for publication. The tone is candid, brisk, and businesslike. Arguably all the more valuable for these characteristics, the diary provides an important companion to other, more official records.

The second, fourth, fifth, and sixth entries in the miscellany all have a religious focus, though all manifest this focus in different ways. The second entry, a manuscript by Henry Forrester, *The Paithe Way to Salvatione*, 1615, which has been edited for the miscellany by John McCallum, is a small bound volume which McCallum notes "appears to be unknown to historians of religion in early modern Scotland" (61) – much as its author, Henry Forrester, was, being a "relatively anonymous minister in the early seventeenth-century church" (61). After offering a brief discussion of *The paithe way*'s author and dedicatee, and a description of the manuscript and its contents, McCallum considers the purpose, audience, and context of *The paithe way*, arguing for the significance of *The paithe way* as one of the few examples of both ministerial communication with the laity and manuscript sermons and treatises found for the period before the National Covenant. Further, McCallum notes, the nature of the manuscript makes it of interest to religious historians. "Unlike many of the printed religious works from the period," he writes, "*The paithe way to salvation* clearly does not consist of re-worked sermons, since it ranges across the whole Bible [offering a series of testimonies and proofs that Christ is mankind's saviour] rather than offering an exposition of a specific text, or offering moral exhortation as an 'application' of the text. Neither does it take the form of a catechism with questions and answers" (64). As a result, McCallum argues, *The paithe way* indicates a flexibility and a range of unofficial means in how ministers sought to instruct the laity outside the official channels of sermon, catechism, and Bible reading.

The fourth entry in the miscellany, Sir David Home, Lord Crossrig, "A Narrative of the Rise, Progress and Success of the Societies of Edinburgh for Reformation of Manners", 1701, edited by Nathan Gray, is another example of a text which sought to exhort the common man to live better. Societies for the reformation of manners were early modern local organisations which tried to com-

bat moral degradation and impiety on the streets of Scottish cities by restraining and punishing vice through the passage and enforcement of laws against immorality. The Narrative attempts to solicit support for these societies. "Though [the Narrative] is a work of propaganda," Gray writes, "this does not detract from its historical significance. The document offers an understanding of how the reformers saw themselves and their role in post-revolutionary Scotland, and, more importantly, how they saw the role of their peers" (112). Gray then provides a brief biography of the Narrative's author, David Home of Crossrig and a history of the Societies for the Reformation of Manners before providing a note on the text which speaks to the themes which appear in the document. The text itself is a fascinating glimpse into what was considered immoral at the turn of the eighteenth century, and well as motivations for the forerunners of charity movements.

The fifth entry in the miscellany, edited by Jeffrey Stephen, is entitled "The Most Memorable Passages of the Life and Times of Mr J. B. Written by Himself, 1706". The "Mr J. B." of the title is John Bell, who was a graduate of Glasgow University, licensed by the Presbytery of Haddington in 1697, and ordained to the parish of Broughton in the Presbytery of Biggar later that same year. In 1701 he transferred to the parish of Gladsmuir. While Stephen notes that it was not unusual for ministers to keep a diary or write a memoir, he argues that "Bell's uniqueness lies in his emphasis on post-revolution church/state relations, in particular the incorporating union of Scotland and England in 1707" (139). In this, Bell's memoir may be particularly interesting for those struggling to make sense of events in the wake of the recent Scottish independence referendum.

The sixth, and final, entry in the miscellany, "John Erskine's Letterbook, 1742-45", edited by Jonathan Yeager, features nine letters written by Erskine, "the leading evangelical minister in eighteenth-century Scotland" to various correspondents. Erskine himself sent the letters to Bostonian Thomas Prince with the intention that they would circulate among American evangelical ministers (and, Yeager states, be printed in Prince's magazine, *The Christian History*, but this did not happen). The letters give a personal account of the Cambuslang and Kilsyth revivals, during which thousands of people gathered for communion services, as well as ministerial advice to his fellow divinity students at Edinburgh University which is, at times, touching when showing the bonds which existed between the writer and the recipients of these letters.

The six sources that make up this miscellany together provide an interesting collection of texts associated with early modern Scottish history. While mainly concerned with government and religion, they also provide information useful for a wide range of other historical perspectives, including those related to the environment, society, and criminality. Perhaps most importantly, though, this miscellany helps to bring to light just a small example of the body of unpublished early modern Scottish sources still waiting to be explored.

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Conference Report **The First World Congress of Scottish Literatures** **University of Glasgow 2–5 July 2014**

In July 2014, the first World Congress of Scottish Literatures took place at the University of Glasgow. Organised by Murray Pittock and his excellent steering group, it brought together scholars from all over the world working in the field of Scottish Studies and provided a forum for discussions about the state of Scotland's literature on the eve of the Scottish referendum on independence. In total, more than 180 papers were given over the course of four days. Along with a variety of panels, the participants were also offered ample time for discussion and networking as well as a leisure programme. The conference was supported by the College of Arts, the University of Glasgow, the Association for Scottish Literary Studies, the Robert Burns World Federation, Burns Scotland, the Scottish Historical Review Trust, Studies in Scottish Literature, and the Universities Committee for Scottish Literature. (Cf.

<http://www.gla.ac.uk/colleges/arts/research/scottishstudiesglobal/iassl/worldcongressofscottishliteratures/> and http://www.gla.ac.uk/research/news/headline_344629_en.html.)

During the First World Congress of Scottish Literatures, the International Association for the Study of Scottish Literatures was launched. The Association's aim is to extend and expand the reach of Scottish literature by growing Scottish Studies through collaboration, engagement and exchange. To this end, partnerships have already been established between Glasgow University and a number of universities and Scottish Studies departments and publications internationally. (Cf. <http://www.gla.ac.uk/colleges/arts/research/scottishstudiesglobal/iassl/>.)

The organisers of the conference put together an extensive programme, which was comprised of three plenaries as well as a large number of panels and roundtables focussing on specific themes. The opening plenary was held by James Robertson who posed the question 'Shall There Be a Scottish Literature?' The answer is yes, he claimed, for Scotland possesses a rich literary history which needs to be acknowledged and which is not done justice by subsuming it under 'English literature'. Yet he also cautioned that the future existence of Scottish literature must not be taken for granted. It must be worked for. The international nature of Scottish literatures was highlighted by the second plenary of the conference, given by Ann Rigney (Utrecht). In her paper on 'How Scott met the Mahatma: Reflections on World Literature', she examined the influence of Walter Scott on writers in India, such as Bankim Chandra and Abdul Halim Sharar. The connection between literature and history was a key concern of Ted Cowan's plenary paper 'Patriotism, Public Opinion and the 'People's Chair' of Scottish History and Literature at Glasgow'. He traced the developments leading to a greater visibility of Scottish history as opposed to British or English history, which also resulted in the founding of the Chair of Scottish History and Literature, the first of its kind, at the University of Glasgow. In addition, he sketched the debates surrounding the introduction of Scottish history as a mandatory subject in curricula.

The majority of the panels looked in detail at the works and lives of specific **Scottish authors**. These included: Robert Burns, Byron, John Galt, James Barrie, Robert Louis Stevenson, Tobias Smollett, Hugh MacDiarmid, and James Macpherson, among others. One panel dealt with 'Dimensions of Scott', another looked at Walter Scott's work in relation to twenty-first century eco-criticism, yet another put the works of Robert Burns and George Thompson into a Cambrian context, appropriately titled 'Scotching Welsh National Song?' There were also panels concerned with contemporary writers, namely Kathleen Jamie, Iain Banks and Alasdair Gray.

Many of the panels dealt more generally with **literary movements** rather than specific authors, and frequently discussed Scottish literature in relation to global culture and within a global context. As such, the panels discussed Modern literature, Scottish Romanticism, Reformation and counter-Reformation writing, Post-colonialism and Scottish literature as world literature. A strong focus was also given to the ideas (now more relevant than ever) of the Scottish Enlightenment. This was reflected in the Susan Manning Memorial Panel entitled 'The Scottish Enlightenment in Regions and Nations', the Kenneth Simpson Memorial Panel 'The Scottish Enlightenment and Literary Culture: Convergence or Divergence?' as well as a panel dealing more generally with theories of Enlightenment.

Next to this focus on literary movements, many papers and panels also revealed concern with **specific contexts, themes, or places** from which the literature under discussion originated. Issues and notions of place featured, for example, in panels on literature on the Scottish isles, on travel and location, or on Scottish literature interpreted from an archipelagic viewpoint. People, place, and time were at the centre of papers that dealt with history and landscape in Scottish novels, or with the narratives of present-day ethnic minorities in Scotland. Film and music were also examined, as was the connection between Scottish literature, architecture and urbanism. An outside perspective came in strongly in transnational panels as well as those concerned with Scottish literature in the South Seas and in the diaspora.

Genre issues were focused on in panels concerned with Scottish children's literature, the historical novel, the pastoral, Scottish balladry, and drama. **Historical events**, such as the Union of 1707, the Jacobite Risings, or more generally Scotland's wars and their representation in literature

came to the fore in a number of papers. There was also a focus on **theory**, with roundtables discussing what was 'Before Theory' and what came 'After Theory'. With regard to the issue of **language**, the panels offered insight into 'Scottish Literature and Translation', 'New Accents on the Study of Scottish Speech', Scottish Latin, and Gaelic. One panel asked whether the Scottish language could bridge the gap between the past and the present. With regard to taking an **editor's perspective**, a roundtable discussed 'Editing Scottish Texts in the Twenty-First Century'.

In addition to the variety of papers and discussions, networking and socialising is one of the main motivations for delegates attending conferences. The First World Congress of Scottish Literatures facilitated this by offering various networking opportunities, not only the regular coffee breaks but also, on the first night, a reception with a buffet and a musical performance by David Hamilton, Gilbert MacMillan, and Kirsteen McCue, accompanied by two book launches: Robert Crawford's *Bannockburns: Scottish Independence and the Literary Imagination, 1314-2014* and Murray Pittock's *The Road to Independence? Scotland in the Balance*. The second day saw a spirited poetry reading by Jackie Kay and Liz Lochhead as well as a reception in the beautiful Glasgow City Chambers, where the delegates were welcomed by city dignitaries. On the last night, the delegates were invited to a reception and an exhibition in the impressive Glasgow University Library Special Collections.

The First World Congress of Scottish Literatures was an intriguing and thought-provoking event. The fact that many of the delegates are internationally based was a particularly positive feature. As regards the papers, the majority were clearly focused on Scottish literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and its well-known authors. This seems to reflect the general focus of research in Scottish Studies. Considering the rich and lively contemporary literary scene in Scotland, this came as a bit of a surprise. This impression notwithstanding, with so many interesting panels taking place at the same time, it was frequently difficult to decide which panel to attend.

As many delegates thus surely missed a number of interesting papers they would have liked to listen to, or listened to a talk they would like to study in detail and see in print, a selection of excellent papers from the conference will be made available in 2015 in an anthology published in the *Scottish Studies International* series and edited by Klaus Peter Müller, Miriam Schröder, Ilka Schwittlinsky, and Ron Walker of the Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz in its faculty in Germany.

Miriam Schröder (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz)

Conference Announcements

Full details and links to the websites of the following conferences can be found in the web edition of the *Newsletter*: <http://www.fb06.uni-mainz.de/anglistik/73.php>

Scotland in Europe Conference II

15-17 October 2014, University of Warsaw, Institute of English Studies
ul. Nowy Świat 400-497 Warszawa: <http://www.scotlandineurope.angli.uw.edu.pl/>

ASLS Languages Conference 2014

Saturday 8 November 2014, Fore Hall, Main Building, University of Glasgow, Glasgow:
<http://asls.arts.gla.ac.uk/LangConf.html>

John Burnside Symposium

15 November 2014, University of Portsmouth, Portsmouth, UK: <http://www.port.ac.uk/centre-for-studies-in-literature/literature-events/john-burnside-symposium-2014/>

James Hogg and His World

2015 James Hogg Society conference

9–12 April 2015, Alumni Hall, Victoria College, University of Toronto, Canada:

<http://jameshoggblog.blogspot.de/>