

Scottish Studies Newsletter

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Editorial

Dear Readers,

A warm welcome to the 47th issue of the *Scottish Studies Newsletter*, published in September 2018, a fairly long time after issue 46. There are many reasons for this long delay, an important one being the fact that there has been no development in the official Brexit proceedings. These began with the arrogant, stupid, tautological, and ultimately meaningless statement 'Brexit means Brexit' as well as with the Brexiters' intention of having their cake and eating it. Nothing has changed there. No clear plan, no evident strategy, no transparency. These Tory politicians are both unwilling and unable to change and to work for the benefit of the public. That public, however, the people, have changed significantly, most noticeably in the important shift in many English and Welsh constituencies from Leave to Remain, and in demands to have the people's voice heard once more, and heeded, too (cf. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/aug/11/more-than-100-pro-leave-constituencies-switch-to-remain?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other and "2.6 million Leave voters have abandoned support for Brexit, major study finds", *Independent* 4-9-18 (<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-referendum-millions-leave-voters-best-for-britain-no-deal-theresa-may-conservative-government-a8521346.html>)).

The current situation with its enormous dangers for Britain, Europe, the entire world and indeed our democracy are described in Peter's text '**The State of Britain 2018 - 2021: All Out War and Overall Bankruptcy**' in this issue. Solutions to the current problems must evidently be delivered by the public. It is not enough to just express one's frustrations with politicians or to expect improved living and working conditions from Brexit. 164 years after Charles Dickens, we again live in very *Hard Times*. Dickens' world only seems to be totally different from ours, but the power structures are still very similar: just a tiny minority control the masses. The destruction of people's creativity and unhindered employment of their imagination has only increased since then; and so have – surprisingly – also the facts, the material world pointed out at the beginning of Dickens' novel with its first chapter title "The One Thing Needful" and the direct speech of Mr Gradgrind addressing the schoolmaster and class with "'Now, what I want is, Facts.'" Dickens revealed the entire ideology connected with the relevance of facts and its disastrous results. There is an intriguing dialectic at work here today: facts have become even more important and at the same time even more seriously denied. You thus might think that we live in a world of 'fake news', not facts. But if you do, you have already been gulled into accepting the ideology of those trying to hide the facts of political and economic power. You will believe Donald Trump, his admirer Boris Johnson, and the Brexiters, all of whom do not want you to find the truth, detect the significant facts. (Just check this 2016 report on Boris's "'spontaneous' media scrum" (http://gu.com/p/4hvca?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other) as well as the cartoons and comments there, and you'll see again that basically nothing has changed, definitely not with politicians.) At the same time, the digital world – which many assume is totally new and different – is also dominated by facts, and very typical facts, too. Because what are algorithms if not facts? And you all know quite a few hugely influential companies (Google, Facebook etc.) but also national institutions that do not want the facts of their algorithms to be revealed. There is an incredible lack of transparency, a key value of democracy, urgently needed and more cunningly covered up today than in the past. People need to know the facts that determine their lives.

We have always understood the *Scottish Studies Newsletter* as a medium of information on matters concerning Scotland, providing basic facts about new books, relevant news, conferences, awards, poetry etc., but also making things transparent, pointing out connections, offering insights that deserve particular attention and need to be revealed. This issue tries to be of that kind again and is another special issue of the *Newsletter* (after the one on the media), which is quite fitting for the extraordinary and difficult times we are in.

One further reason why this issue is unique is the unfortunate fact that it will be the last and final *Newsletter*, not only of this editorial team, but in its entire history. Peter officially retired in 2016, but was asked by our faculty to continue until his successor had been appointed. With much enthusiasm, he agreed to do this and continued until October 2017. Our department, the entire faculty, and in fact Mainz University as a whole have had a great interest in keeping the Scottish Studies Centre and its *Newsletter* alive. These Germersheim institutions have had such a long and fruitful history that this excellent tradition should indeed be preserved by all means. Unfortunately Peter's successor, Alison Martin, has declined to continue work on the *Newsletter*, as she intends to develop her own devices. That is, of course, perfectly understandable and deserves our full support. We nevertheless regret that the successful tradition of the *Newsletter*, initiated by Peter's predecessor Professor Dr. Horst W. Drescher in 1984, with editions online since 1994, ends here. We have learned much since the beginning of our joint editorship in 2011 and have made quite a few new acquaintances, enhanced the strong links with the universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and established new connections with Aberdeen, Dundee, Stirling, Vancouver etc. Now is the time for others to take over and continue this intriguing work in their own way. We wish them much success and good luck.

There is another reason why this is a special issue: its focus on **Britain after the Brexit Decision**. Well-known people have raised their voices in this context, and you can find two very important ones here: A. L. Kennedy and Iain Macwhirter. The fact that their texts are from 2016 and 2017 but still highly topical, address urgent unresolved problems and make extremely strong points reveals again that nothing has changed, the problems have just become bigger. Kennedy was awarded the prestigious *Heinrich Heine Preis* in Düsseldorf in December 2016, and her speech on that occasion succinctly evokes the 'Toxic Culture' in Britain, destroying the values that make human life worth living and humane. Kennedy is as clear-sighted and outspoken as always, and her description of the public discourse in Britain corresponds perfectly to what one finds in most media there: "This is a country where the public discourse is a hell's broth of gossip, malign invention, racism, rabble-rousing hatred and smut." An excellent education at home, in brilliant schools and universities is absolutely necessary for a functional democracy, she says, and who would not agree with her? "Art is at the heart of democracy." But she also points out that "the price of freedom is eternal vigilance"!

Iain Macwhirter addresses the vital issue of IndyRef2 and compares the Scottish diligence of the Independence White Paper *Scotland's Future*, produced by the SNP government in 2013 before the 2014 referendum on Scottish independence, with the carelessness of the Leave campaign's arguments during the 2016 Brexit referendum, arguments consisting of simple slogans and outright lies. He reveals how Scotland has been lied to even more than the people in Wales and England, how much more urgent Scottish independence now is, and that "The next referendum will be about Little England, not Europe." He is also as outspoken as A. L. Kennedy: "If Scotland stays in the UK it will be hitching itself to a post-imperial Brexitania run by bandit capitalists who still think they're living in the days of the British Empire." Sounds harsh, but is as true as what Kennedy says in her text and corresponds perfectly with the Brexit reality.

Scots who want to be independent or just have more rights and a greater autonomy indeed "see their nation reduced to the status of a backward region – the UK equivalent of Belarus or East Germany" (Macwhirter) by the right-wing, neo-liberal Westminster government and its supporters in business and the media. So let Britain go, one could simply say, improve the EU, stop neo-feudal and neo-liberal tendencies in it, and end up with an independent Scotland in the same process. England would thus eventually learn that it is part of Europe after all and that its special relationship with the US was already lost after WWII. This would be a very difficult learning process for England, but definitely better than keeping Scotland tied to a government it has not voted for and that

completely disregards the will of at least half of its own population and the majority of Scots. The statement in our last editorial "it seems that the real period of uncertainty is about to begin" has turned out to be completely true. We still do not know what Brexit will actually look like, nor what will happen after March 2019, and when Scotland will at last be independent. Uncertainty is, of course, an essential characteristic of life, as change is inevitable, a perennial process, simply part of constant evolution. It is, however, never sure that life will eventually improve. That requires active human participation in trying to bring improvements about, the vigilance and thoughtful activity Kennedy and Macwhirter call for and which we, too, support.

Our students Josip Brekalo / Marco Giovanazzi, Simona Hildebrand, Marsida Toska, and Jessica Völkel have been active, visited Scottish universities, increased their knowledge and experience in this way and reported about this in their texts. Involving students in the production of the *Newsletter* has been a constant endeavour of ours, as writing texts will be an important part of their future lives.

The fact that there are eight reviews in this issue is a strong indication of the excellent work by Ron, who has taken care of this section as well as of poetry, conference announcements, and awards. The range of books and their various topics, discussed by Peter Auger (on *Barbour's 'Bruce'*), Chelsea Hartlen (on *Women and Violent Crime*), Richie McCaffery (on *Scotland in Europe / Europe in Scotland*), James M. Morris (on *Facts and Inventions* in Boswell's journalism), Peter (on *Walter Scott*), Carla Sassi (on *Opium and Empire*), Ilka Schwittlinsky (on *The Space of Fiction*), and Kathrin Zickermann (on *Scotland in the Age of Two Revolutions*), are once more intriguing examples of the diversity we have intended to offer our readers. Diversity and multiple perspectives on the same events are also an essential idea behind the two reports on the Second World Congress of Scottish Literatures in Vancouver in June 2017, respectively written by Leith Davis, the organiser, and Rhona Brown, both a participant and the Secretary of the International Association for the Study of Scottish Literatures (IASSL).

We are glad to have Peter McCarey as the representative of new Scottish poetry in this edition. Find out whether you'll agree with the characterisation his work has received as "contrary, generous, intermittently barmy, always readable", or give it your own characteristics. Ron's cooperation with poets and poetry associations has been remarkable, while Lothar has above all supplied us with his technical know-how in getting the *Newsletter* into print and on to the web.

Those who have been following the growing revival of interest in John Galt in recent years, or who would like to find out more about the writer and the work of the John Galt Society, can turn to the article by Society secretary John McGhee in this issue. Stewart Whyte's piece, 'Swithering Whytes', on the work and legacy of his father, the writer, journalist and pioneer of BBC Scotland children's broadcasting, Don Whyte, may well also help inspire a revival of interest in another Scottish writer who deserves to be better known.

Paddy Bort died in 2016, and he is commemorated here as a German who worked at the University of Edinburgh and was a constant advocate of cultural exchange between Scotland, Germany, and Europe in various areas, especially politics, music, literature. He will be sorely missed in all of his different communities.

People die, publications end, like most other things. Whether the universe is endless, we still don't know. But we do know that human beings must never give up trying to improve the human condition. The endless need to continue human efforts to improve life and to enhance intelligent communication between all cultures has repeatedly been expressed in the *Scottish Studies Newsletter* and is evident in this edition once again. So let's finish by thanking you for your support, and let's continue our common efforts to improve humankind as well as Scottish and European relations.

The Editors: Lothar Görke –Klaus Peter Müller – Ron Walker - Germersheim, August 2018

Scotland and the Turmoil of Brexit A Toxic Culture

A. L. Kennedy

AL Kennedy was awarded the Heine Prize in Dusseldorf, Germany [in December 2016]. The prize is “to personalities who serve by their intellectual heritage in terms of fundamental human rights, for which Heinrich Heine used to promote social and political progress, international understanding or the realization of the unity of people”. The Heine Prize jury said: “The Heinrich Heine Prize of the City of Dusseldorf 2016 is awarded to the excellent AL Kennedy, well known for her idiosyncratic literary work, which plumbs the limits of the human soul. Her views on political and social conditions sharpen social discussions about the Iraq war and the proposed referendum on the United Kingdom's membership of the European Union in the tradition of Heinrich Heine. AL Kennedy is a great literary figure and European”. This is her acceptance speech.

I would like to thank the judges of the Heine Preis for allowing me to receive this honour, to be thought of as a good writer by people of intellectual rigour and good judgment is always a kind surprise. To be thought of as in any way worthy of a prize which also seeks to celebrate the promise of humanity and the role of writing within the ongoing project which is human civilisation is very moving. To be associated with the spirit of Heine's writing, his compassion, his imagination, his daring, his mourning and his outrage – this is beyond what I would have hoped for myself, or my work.

So thank you all.

But, as you know, the arts today cannot simply be about maybe some happy press releases and a congenial event where we congratulate each other on knowing about values. We are all aware that the values which keep us all safe, promise us the best possible opportunities to fulfil our humanity and to see and cherish what is human in others – those values are currently being forgotten, derided, or quietly buried alive.

As Germany clings to the lessons it learned about cultural toxicity long ago, I speak to you as a citizen of the UK, a country where books do not have to be burned – epidemic library closures and a massively compressed literary culture quietly prevent books ever being read or even born. Mine is a country which would rather leave traumatised and undefended children in the Calais mud, or now who knows where, than offer them the welcome we once extended to the kinder transports and to 100's of thousands of refugees before and after World War II. This is a country where the availability of the arts has narrowed shockingly in the last decades and where community arts are especially under threat. This is a country – a wealthy country – where around 130,000 of our own children are homeless.

This is a country which tortures in black sites abroad and police stations at home, which incarcerates citizens without trial. This is a country with a wrecked education system for the masses based on monetisation and testing and an emotionally traumatising and entitling education for the elite. This is a country where there is less and less mass media arts coverage. This is a country where the public discourse is a hell's broth of gossip, malign invention, racism, rabble-rousing hatred and smut. This is a country where civil servants despair, where politicians base decisions on faith and feeling which does not include faith in our species or fellow feeling, where any attempt to rise above the gutter is reframed as smugness, or otherworldly insanity. This is a country where – as the UN recently pointed out, our government's treatment of the disabled contravenes their human rights and where there is no need for an equivalent of Aktion T4 to organise the extinction of human beings with disabilities. We have simply withdrawn all their means of support, subjected them to official harassment and mass-media demonisation and waited for them to die in their tens of thou-

sands – of stress, starvation, or else driven to suicide by their pain and despair. Make no mistake; we have been lost for some time – long before Brexit advertised that fact to the world. There is no morning when I could not wake up and say, like Max Liebermann – who once illustrated an edition of Der Rabbi Von Bacherach – *“Ich kann gar nicht soviel fressen, wie ich kotzen mochte.”* [There's no way I could eat enough to vomit as much as I would like to.']

And this lack of art and this lack of humanity – they are connected. You know it, I know it, we have known it all along, but we have allowed the dominant discourse to forget. But as Franklin Delano Roosevelt said, *“Democracy cannot succeed unless those who express their choice are prepared to choose wisely. The real safeguard of democracy, therefore, is education.”*

The practice of arts, contact with the arts, is our lifelong education – right here – it prepares us to choose wisely. It exercises our imagination, the force that allows us to visualise any change, all consequences, to empathise with each other. Without it, hope is a form of delusion. Art is at the heart of democracy. If we doubt ourselves, if we feel we may simply be making ourselves feel important because we are artists, then we can look to science, we can read about situation pressure and its massive power – what is culture but situational pressure. We can read about empathy, about compassion – how to diminish it and how to enlarge it – by doing what art does. We can study history, we can learn all over again the beautiful and terrible truth of Heine's words from the play Al-mansor, *“Das war ein Vorspiel nur, dort wo man Bücher verbrennt, verbrennt man am Ende auch Menschen”* [That was just a prelude, where books are burnt, people will eventually burn too].

We can look at the work of Raphael Lemkin, the man who invented the term Genocide before that crime had a name and who studied many culture's progressions into genocide – and see that the Vorspiel is always the same – first the art is murdered, then the people. Always. Always.

And speaking now for myself – I'm 51 years old and my life as a writer has failed. For something like 35 years I have produced work and I have loved the process of that and I have earned my living – I have been paid to dream aloud, there could be no better life for me – and I have a nice home and I've won some prizes and I have – from time to time – worked with writers in prisons, or community centres, or hospitals, worked with new writers, with children, written in the media – and I have learned from that, but I haven't talked enough about what I have learned. I have seen art light up lives, because that is what art does. But I haven't done enough. I haven't told enough people how precious that is, I haven't fought to make a space within which that could be heard. Like many of us, perhaps, in comfortable, apparently stable democracies I have forgotten that the price of freedom is eternal vigilance and I have mistaken lazy silence, cowardice, for truly loving tolerance. Love tells the whole truth – when something is wrong there is no love in being silent and nodding as if it were right. And I haven't said – at the start of every workshop – we will now make a part of culture – the thing which tells us to be cruel or to be kind, alone or united, ignorant and frightened, or endlessly learning and brave. And this matters – always – so we will now break our hearts to be extraordinary because anything else, anything imperfect, anything simply self-obsessed, weak and “conceptual” diminishes the place of art amongst us, wastes perhaps the only chance that art will have to improve and awaken and even save a life. This is life and death.

Whenever we see reality TV shows that diminish humanity, articles that lie in a way fiction wouldn't dare to, words used to rob them of their sense, or cynical website pieces that feed off outrage, while creating more, I haven't said often enough – There cannot ever be a place for this amongst us. It is not elitist to want the best for our fellow-man – it is insulting to stand by while other human beings are fed manure, are shown, over and over, only how low humanity can go. It cannot be that only our cars and electrical goods are aspirational. It must be that our dramas, or novels, songs, photographs, paintings, cartoons, poems, ballets, operas and all the rest are extraordin-

ary, diverse, unexpected and things of life. If we have no money, then we have no money – art can be cheap without being bad, toxic, hateful. This is a necessary truth.

And I owe my career, my artisan's satisfaction and any morality I might lay claim to as a person to art, to writing, to – for example – a single scene in a drama that haunted me in my childhood and has ever since. In the drama a man who was not a torturer, but who was weak, stood in a torture chamber and was handed a pair of pliers – and there was the torture victim and there was the torturer and there were the pliers and there was the unspoken assurance that if the weak man did not torture he would be tortured and there was the pause. And that drama, by German screenwriter Lukas Heller who was born in Kiel in 1930 – asked me and still asks me – and what would you do? How weak are you? How best can you control your weakness and your desire for self-preservation – how do you prevent your fall and keep yourself and others truly safe?

And the how is what art always tells us – amongst everything else that it shows us and tells us. And it makes me think of lines from Heine's poem – *Allnächtlich im Traume* – which is large enough to be about more than one kind of love...

<i>Du sagst mir heimlich ein leises Wort,</i>	<i>You say to me secretly a soft word,</i>
<i>Und gibst mir den Strauß von Zypressen.</i>	<i>and give me a garland of cypress.</i>
<i>Ich wache auf, und der Strauß ist fort,</i>	<i>I wake up, and the garland is gone,</i>
<i>Und das Wort hab ich vergessen.</i>	<i>and the word I have forgotten.</i>

As writers and artists we keep hold of the cypress that reminds us we all die and that we should be merciful and we serve the dreams that come to us to be expressed. We make them articulate and let them join the larger dreams that others make for us, the dreams that form our culture. Our culture makes the reality we inhabit. As artists, as writers, we are paid to dream awake and that is very nice for us. As human beings, which is more important, we have a duty never to forget those secret words we hear in darkness and to guard each other from the worst of who we can be, the worst of worlds that we can make and to do better. And we can love that, we can love that loudly. I would thank Heine and the *Heine Preis* for being part of what I love.

(Reprinted with the permission of A. L. Kennedy. This text is also available with readers' comments at <http://bellacaledonia.org.uk/2016/12/13/a-toxic-culture/>).

There is information on the *Heinrich-Heine-Preis*, the people in the jury, their reasons for choosing Kennedy, etc. here (<https://www.duesseldorf.de/medienportal/pressemitteilung/pld/heine-preis-fuer-a-l-kennedy.html>), and this is a text on how Kennedy's pertinent speech was received in Düsseldorf with a thoughtful, intelligent comment on the occasion (*Rheinische Post* 12-12-16 (<http://www.rp-online.de/nrw/staedte/duesseldorf/kultur/heine-preis-2016-alison-louise-kennedy-warnt-vor-kulturverlust-aid-1.6457940>)).

How to win Indyref 2? Keep it simple.

Iain Macwhirter

CIVIL servants in the Scottish Office have reportedly been put to work preparing for the next independence referendum. If so, what should they be urged to do? Actually, not very much.

If Nicola Sturgeon is going to push the button on indyref 2 she should learn from the Brexit-eers. They didn't produce a 670-page White Paper, as the Scottish Government did in 2013, which raised more questions than it answered. They didn't produce anything at all, just anecdotes about bent bananas and a droning dog whistle about immigration.

The Leave campaign demonstrated that it is possible to win a referendum without experts – as Michael Gove said, Britain has had enough of them. Indeed, they managed to win the EU referendum without having the foggiest idea of how Britain could leave the wealthiest and most comprehensive free trade zone on the planet, the European Single Market, and still, somehow, have free and unfettered access to it. Six months after the referendum, they still haven't.

I'm not saying that the Scottish Government should emulate the post-truth of the Brexiteers. Even the American Alt Right would have been ashamed of Leave's red bus claim that the NHS would be £350m a week better off out of Europe. But it was largely irrelevant because no-one believes anyone's statistics any more. The 2013 Independence White Paper, "Scotland's Future", was a creditable attempt to address the complexities, and it avoided alternative facts – but there is no need to repeat it.

The next Yes campaign should play smart and remain studiously vague about life after independence. The precise nature of Scotland's relationship to the EU and the UK is a post-independence issue because we don't yet know the precise terms of Brexit – only that it will be hard. About the only thing that can be said with any certainty is that, whatever happens, there needn't be a hard border between Scotland and England, because everyone is agreed that it isn't going to be one between the Republic and Northern Ireland.

There may be economic disturbance from Scotland leaving the UK, but it will be as nothing compared to the turbulence from the UK leaving the EU. All the cards are in the air now, and no-one knows where any of them will come down. All we know is that the most successful countries in the world are small, dynamic, social democratic – and part of the EU. As Mark Littlewood of the IEA put it on Question Time, Scotland has the GDP of Portugal and the population of Slovakia, so there's no reason on earth why it couldn't be independent.

We don't know if it is going to be a WTO Brexit, a Commonwealth Brexit, a free trade Brexit or a Trump Brexit. So the Yes campaign should avoid premature debate about whether Scotland should join the European Free Trade Area, the European Economic Area or the Customs Union. Just stick to the EU, or better still, "Europe". We don't yet know how Scotland's accession to the EU will work – only that it will.

Nor should Yes 2 resort to monetary metaphysics that no-one will understand. Scottish pound, currency union, euro, bitcoin or whatever – it all depends on the circumstances that exist at the time, and these are imponderable. So much is in flux with the UK preparing for tariff and currency wars with the EU. Scotland doesn't have a dog in that fight. Sturgeon should just say that a future Scottish government will ensure that, yes, there will be a currency.

The lesson of Brexit is that independence is essentially about sovereignty. You don't have to dot all the i's, just find a form of words, like "take back control", which sums up the project and resonates with voters. Rather than a compendious White Paper, and lots of numbers, the Scottish Government should produce a short but intelligent statement, more like the American Declaration of Independence, which was only around the length of this article. It should argue that it is self-evident that nations should run their own affairs.

The press will try to recycle the negatives from 2014, but most of them are redundant. No-one is going to claim, as Better Together did, that Scotland can only remain in the European Union by remaining in the UK. That now looks like a sick joke. Anyway, there isn't going to be another Better Together. Labour will split, and the Tories alone will be leading the No 2 campaign (the Lib-Dems are irrelevant). This is a much easier target for Nicola Sturgeon, one of the best political leaders in Europe.

Of course, people will say, as Theresa May did last week, that an independent Scotland would be "out of Europe", and would have to "join the queue" as an EU Commission spokeswoman, Jacqueline Minor, put it. But this can safely be ignored. As Guy Verhofstadt, the European Parliament's Brexit negotiator, said last year, it is blindingly obvious that Scotland will be allowed rapid passage into the EU. Given the behaviour of the Brexiteers, the 27 will welcome Scotland with open arms. It would, as Verhofstadt said, be "suicide" for Brussels to try to block Scotland.

Similarly, Scotland's notional fiscal deficit needn't be a decisive issue. Again, the Brexit campaign showed how to deal with Project Fear, which is to ignore it. They brushed aside Treasury and IFS forecasts that voters would be £4,300 a year worse off; that there would be a ballooning deficit, massive spending cuts.

The truth is, no-one knows what the UK deficit will be when it is out of the single market and paying the Brussels divorce bill of up to £60bn. The UK is apparently arguing that its contributions to the EU budget over 40 years mean that it has a financially quantifiable stake in many EU assets. The Scottish government should look at similar arguments about Scotland's contribution to the UK through oil revenues over the last 40 years.

You don't need to patronise the public with Project Fear. People can see the way the price of food and energy has rocketed since Brexit trashed the pound. They know what else Scotland stands to lose: EU agricultural subsidies alone are worth £560m. If you add in the impact of trade tariffs, lost jobs, loss of tax-paying migrants, lost university research, Brexit could easily cost Scotland several billion a year in GDP.

But there are much more important losses: EU citizenship above all, and the right to go and work and live in any country in the EU free from discrimination on grounds of nationality, with guaranteed working conditions. Then there's the environment. The EU protections involve everything from beach bathing water to GM crops.

But the Yes 2 campaign should not try to re-fight the EU campaign. The next referendum will be about Little England, not Europe. If Scotland stays in the UK it will be hitching itself to a post-imperial Brexitania run by bandit capitalists who still think they're living in the days of the British Empire.

After Brexit, the UK will be a different country: a centralised, right-wing, low-tax, low-regulation, Singapore of Europe. This is what Theresa May means by a "more competitive model". It means the American model of Donald Trump. Scotland's social model can only be preserved by sticking with the European version of regulated capitalism.

In 2014, Gordon Brown saved the day for Better Together by making a moral appeal to older Scots not to abandon the less well off in England. Don't cut and run, he said. Work for a Labour government that will restore a caring, sharing Union for the good of all. Well, we know where that got us. And there isn't going to be a Labour government for a very long time, perhaps never.

Scots have been the ragged-trousered philanthropists long enough. Scotland gave up its oil for the good of the UK, and a fat lot of good it did anyone. The hundreds of billions in oil revenues were used by Margaret Thatcher to destroy manufacturing and build the parasitical financial services economy of the southeast of England. The Yes campaign should not be afraid to use the language of historic injustice.

This is not an economic but an existential question for Scots: do they want to be in charge of their destiny, or are they content to leave it in the hands of Theresa May and Donald Trump and see their nation reduced to the status of a backward region – the UK equivalent of Belarus or East Germany. Scots have seen what happened after 2014, and it is a bitter lesson. Fool me once, shame on you; fool me twice, shame on me.

(Reprinted with the permission of Iain Macwhirter. This text was posted at <https://iainmacwhirter.wordpress.com/2017/02/17/how-to-win-indyref-2-keep-it-simple/> on 17-2-17, adapted from the *Sun Herald* version of 12-2-17 "Scots have been the ragged-trouserred philanthropists long enough". For Iain Macwhirter's most recent texts, cf. <https://iainmacwhirter.wordpress.com/author/iain2macwhirter/>.)

Sir Ivan Rogers' letter to staff in full

The UK's ambassador to the European Union, Sir Ivan Rogers, has resigned. Here is his message to staff in full. We have highlighted key passages in bold, and added BBC political reporter Justin Parkinson's commentary in italics.

Dear All,

Happy New Year! I hope that you have all had/are still having, a great break, and that you will come back refreshed and ready for an exciting year ahead.

I am writing to you all on the first day back to tell you that I am today resigning as Permanent Representative.

As most of you will know, I started here in November 2013. My four-year tour is therefore due to end in Oct - although in practice if we had been doing the Presidency my time here would have been extended by a few months.

As we look ahead to the likely timetable for the next few years, and with the invocation of Article 50 coming up shortly, it is obvious that it will be best if the top team in situ at the time that Article 50 is invoked remains there till the end of the process and can also see through the negotiations for any new deal between the UK and the EU27.

It would obviously make no sense for my role to change hands later this year.

I have therefore decided to step down now, having done everything that I could in the last six months to contribute my experience, expertise and address book to get the new team at political and official level under way.

This will permit a new appointee to be in place by the time Article 50 is invoked.

Importantly, it will also enable that person to play a role in the appointment of Shan's replacement as DPR. (Shan Morgan was Deputy Permanent Representative)

I know from experience - both my own hugely positive experience of working in partnership with Shan, and from seeing past, less happy, examples - how imperative it is that the PR and DPR operate as a team, if UKREP is to function as well as I believe it has done over the last few years.

I want to put on record how grateful I am to Shan for the great working relationship we have had.

She will be hugely missed in UKREP, and by many others here in Brussels, but she will be a tremendous asset to the Welsh government.

From my soundings before Christmas, I am optimistic that there will be a very good field of candidates for the DPR role.

But it is right that these two roles now get considered and filled alongside each other, and for my successor to play the leading role in making the DPR appointment.

I shall therefore stand aside from the process at this point.

I know that this news will add, temporarily, to the uncertainty that I know, from our many discussions in the autumn, you are all feeling about the role of UKREP in the coming months and years of negotiations over "Brexit".

I am sorry about that, but I hope that it will help produce earlier and greater clarity on the role that UKREP should play.

My own view remains as it has always been. **We do not yet know what the government will set as negotiating objectives for the UK's relationship with the EU after exit.**

Justin Parkinson: *This could be read as a hurry-up to the UK government to decide what it actually wants from Brexit talks, expected to start as early as April. This differs from criticism from some MPs that not enough is being divulged - Sir Ivan is implying a lack of direction at the heart of government, rather than vagueness in its public message. And he is suggesting that UK diplomats in Brussels need to be better informed.*

There is much we will not know until later this year about the political shape of the EU itself, and who the political protagonists in any negotiation with the UK will be.

But in any negotiation which addresses the new relationship, the technical expertise, the detailed knowledge of positions on the other side of the table - and the reasons for them, and the divisions amongst them - and the negotiating experience and savvy that the people in this building bring, make it essential for all parts of UKREP to be centrally involved in the negotiations if the UK is to achieve the best possible outcomes.

Serious multilateral negotiating experience is in short supply in Whitehall, and that is not the case in the Commission or in the Council.

JP: *Sir Ivan is suggesting there's a danger the UK could be outclassed in the Brexit talks - and lose out as a result. Diplomats must be better prepared, he is apparently arguing.*

The government will only achieve the best for the country if it harnesses the best experience we have - a large proportion of which is concentrated in UKREP - and negotiates resolutely.

Senior ministers, who will decide on our positions, issue by issue, also need from you detailed, unvarnished - even where this is uncomfortable - and nuanced understanding of the views, interests and incentives of the other 27.

JP: *Sir Ivan is saying that only civil servants, rather than campaigners and activists, can provide a true picture of the complexities ahead.*

The structure of the UK's negotiating team and the allocation of roles and responsibilities to support that team, needs rapid resolution.

The working methods which enable the team in London and Brussels to function seamlessly need also to be strengthened.

The great strength of the UK system - at least as it has been perceived by all others in the EU - has always been its unique combination of policy depth, expertise and coherence, message co-ordination and discipline, and the ability to negotiate with skill and determination.

UKREP has always been key to all of that. We shall need it more than ever in the years ahead.

As I have argued consistently at every level since June, many opportunities for the UK in the future will derive from the mere fact of having left and being free to take a different path.

But others will depend entirely on the precise shape of deals we can negotiate in the years ahead.

Contrary to the beliefs of some, free trade does not just happen when it is not thwarted by authorities: increasing market access to other markets and consumer choice in our own, depends on the deals, multilateral, plurilateral and bilateral that we strike, and the terms that we agree.

JP: Sir Ivan does not name those he is effectively accusing of over-optimism and naivety, but this could be read as a criticism of pro-Brexit ministers - those said to favour a "hard Brexit", under which the UK could leave the European single market and customs union and be subject to the rules of the World Trade Organization. There is much hard work ahead, it suggests.

I shall advise my successor to continue to make these points.

Meanwhile, I would urge you all to stick with it, to keep on working at intensifying your links with opposite numbers in DEXEU [Department for Exiting the EU] and line ministries and to keep on contributing your expertise to the policy-making process as negotiating objectives get drawn up.

The famed UKREP combination of immense creativity with realism ground in negotiating experience, is needed more than ever right now.

On a personal level, leaving UKREP will be a tremendous wrench. I have had the great good fortune, and the immense privilege, in my civil service career, to have held some really interesting and challenging roles: to have served four successive UK prime ministers very closely; to have been EU, G20 and G8 Sherpa; to have chaired a G8 Presidency and to have taken part in some of the most fraught, and fascinating, EU negotiations of the last 25 years - in areas from tax, to the MFF to the renegotiation.

Of all of these posts, I have enjoyed being the Permanent Representative more than any other I have ever held.

That is, overwhelmingly, because of all of you and what you all make UKREP: a supremely professional place, with a fantastic co-operative culture, which brings together talented people whether locally employed or UK-based and uniquely brings together people from the home civil service with those from the Foreign Office.

UKREP sets itself demanding standards, but people also take the time to support each other which also helps make it an amazingly fun and stimulating place to work.

I am grateful for everything you have all done over the last few years to make this such a fantastic operation.

For my part, I hope that in my day-to-day dealings with you I have demonstrated the values which I have always espoused as a public servant.

I hope you will continue to challenge ill-founded arguments and muddled thinking and that you will never be afraid to speak the truth to those in power.

I hope that you will support each other in those difficult moments where you have to deliver messages that are disagreeable to those who need to hear them.

JP: The most-reported part of Sir Ivan's email, this implies that more planning is needed, and that ministers are unwilling to listen to the advice civil servants are offering. It gives a strong hint that his colleagues feel intimidated.

I hope that you will continue to be interested in the views of others, even where you disagree with them, and in understanding why others act and think in the way that they do.

I hope that you will always provide the best advice and counsel you can to the politicians that our people have elected, and be proud of the essential role we play in the service of a great democracy.

Ivan

(Source: BBC 4-1-17 (<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-38503504>))

Exchange students' reports

"People make Glasgow" - A report from the perspective of two exchange students

Marco Giovanazzi & Josip Brekalo (Mainz / Germersheim)

The following report not only wants to give an overview of the city of Glasgow and the Scottish way of life but also to give an impression about campus and academic life based on the experience of two Erasmus students from Germersheim.

The University of Glasgow has by far the largest campus in Glasgow. It belongs to one of Britain's oldest universities (founded in 1451) and undoubtedly one of the world's most famous and best ones in terms of research and education – according to *Times Higher Education* the university is even ranked in the world's top 20 international universities. Therefore, it is attractive to many international students wishing to study abroad. As many statements and interviews on social media platforms testify, the university authorities are making strenuous efforts to secure the university's international connections for a future in the more complex times to come beyond Brexit.

Besides, many famous so-called "world changers" known from Scottish history and science such as James Watt, John Boyd Orr or John Knox graduated, studied or even taught there. The impressive historical and academic background can be a little intimidating to new arrivals trying to find their way around campus. Fortunately, there are many services on offer to give the necessary support. Exchange students are especially well looked after by a helpful team ready to provide assistance with any course issues or other academic questions. Moreover, other support services such as library or medical care are also available. As an exchange student you get a strong impression that everyone wants to make your stay enjoyable and comfortable.

However, they also want you to become familiar with the country's culture and traditions. For instance you have the opportunity to do ceilidh dancing – just try to pronounce this Gaelic word properly. It is an event involving traditional Scottish country dancing where basically any number of people can gather to dance and listen to ceilidh music. Fortunately for us, the occasion was the welcome week and all other dancers were students from all over the world. After a while, we got used to the rhythm and the chaos and confusion also helped us get to know the other students. However, we have to admit that we enjoyed being surrounded by locals a little bit more. The Scots were really dedicated to explaining to us everything concerning Scotland – they proved why the city's slogan is "people make Glasgow". We only regret that we never made it to a dance with native Scots; but you cannot do everything you want in one semester, right?

Finally, after Rector Edward Snowden's (!) freshers' address, the semester got underway and we had to write lots of papers. Although we would not exactly consider ourselves keen beans, we spent a lot of time on campus. Glasgow is a big city that is able to offer whatever the student heart desires. However, the campus and the West End surrounding it seem to play a crucial role in the students' free time activities. As good as every student takes part in at least one of the so-called "societies". These are student-organised communities of interests, which cater for those keen to find out more on popular issues like European politics or photography, though some societies also exist for more unusual interests such as pole dancing or Disney movies. In order to make our first-hand

background knowledge available to the general public and to provide some development aid to Scottish students in the organisation of stagy Oktoberfests, we enrolled in the German Society.

Definitely another student puller is the on-campus gym, renovated in 2014 on the occasion of the Glasgow Commonwealth Games, which were a crucial factor in bringing investment to the city. The gym is situated in the heart of the campus and, therefore, lends itself perfectly to short workouts during a free period. The equipment is state-of-the-art and there is even a swimming area with sauna (a great way of regenerating after a long night out, by the way) and steam bath available.

It was lucky we had the gym, and our football team St. Mirren (we trained with them once a week). Without the daily exercise it is likely that, after our four months in Glasgow, we would not have fitted into the plane anymore. What are your prejudices concerning the British eating and drinking culture? Not a few of ours turned out to be facts: fried chocolate bars? – Yes, they really exist! Chippies? – On every corner. Scottish breakfast? – Oh yeah, with beans, fried eggs, black pudding and Lorne sausage (even better than the sauna for tackling a hangover)! British pub culture? – Heralded daily right after leaving work.

As two culturally interested students we tried to get completely involved in our new environment (except for the fried chocolate bars). It must be said that we were very lucky in meeting many true ambassadors of Scottish (eating and) drinking culture. Shame be upon he who is thinking about wild nights in the "movida" on Sauchiehall Street. Our cultural agenda consisted of whisky (Scots Gaelic: uisge-beatha, water of life) tastings and a guided tour of Glasgow's Tennent's brewery.

Staying on the subject of culture, Glasgow is a great place for anyone interested in football. Apart from Glasgow Celtic, the team of Irish origin, whose passionate supporters make "Celtic Park" a ground dreaded throughout Europe, and their Protestant arch-rivals, Glasgow Rangers, we particularly fell in love with the third Glaswegian team in the Scottish Premier League, Partick Thistle, and their bizarre, sun-shaped mascot Kingsley.

At weekends, or when we had friends over from Germany, we benefited from the extremely convenient car rentals and discovered the Scottish Highlands. Our destinations were Fort William, Inverness, Oban, Stirling and Edinburgh.

(Marco Giovanazzi and Josip Brekalo are students of English at Mainz University in its Faculty 06 in Germersheim and would be pleased to get your comments at marcostegio@gmail.com and /or jbrekalo@students.uni-mainz.de).

Fuireach anns an Dùn Eideann – Living in Edinburgh

Simona Hildebrand (Mainz / Germersheim)

Ever since visiting London a few years ago, I had dreamed of having the opportunity to live in the UK for a longer period. In Sept 2016, my dream came true as I got the chance to spend one semester abroad at Heriot-Watt University in Edinburgh.

The first week was quite exciting but also very bureaucratic. Apart from the problems of finding one's way around the large campus, there are a lot of information events to take in. In the long run though, they were all very helpful in making the start easier for us exchange students. The enrolment and course choice was a bit challenging but with the support of the exchange coordinators it all worked out in the end.

It did not take long until I realised that there are some prejudices about Scotland are not true. First, for example, the Scottish weather is not as bad as it is painted – quite the opposite. In Sept and Oct, the weather was very sunny and warm. Later in the year, it became wetter and more changeable, but I am from the north of Germany so I am used to high winds and misty weather – I felt

quite at home. Second, haggis is delicious. Third, you can understand Scottish people. All you need is some practice.

I was surprised when I met new people, they were all very friendly and interested. Even when I just met someone at a shop and chatted for a while they wanted to know what I was doing in Edinburgh and how I liked it. So, it was not difficult to get used to the unique accent of the Scots. Whenever I needed some help, whether on campus or elsewhere, I could ask for help or information. The people are very friendly, helpful and welcoming all around Scotland.

In my courses, I got the chance to learn more about Scottish history linked to current political and social events. We, for example, talked a lot about the referendum on Scottish independence and the Brexit referendum, their reasons and consequences for the UK, Europe and Scotland. What I also liked a lot was that I got the chance to learn a bit of Gaelic. The course was held by a very enthusiastic and dedicated man, who was keen not only to teach us the language but also something of the culture of Scottish Gaelic. I do not know, if I will ever use the things I learned during that course, but I know, that I will always remember his passion for it.

I like the way the Scots celebrate their traditions and are interested in those of others. Heriot-Watt University is very multicultural. The students come from all around the world. There are special events to help those visiting students feel more comfortable. The chaplaincy, for example, regularly organises trips to other cities or places of interest. They are quite popular so you need to get up early to scavenge a ticket. The Student Union provides the campus with social events like parties and the student societies where you can meet people with whom you share interests or hobbies. I liked to spend my time in the city. Edinburgh is beautiful and there is a lot to see and do. One thing everyone visiting Scotland should do is go to a traditional ceilidh. Nothing is more fun than dancing to traditional Scottish music all night long.

The time I spend in Edinburgh was precious. The breath-taking landscape and the down-to-earth mentality of the Scots impressed me. After the time I spent there and the experiences I had, Scotland will be a wee part of me for the rest of my life. And I already know, that one day I will go back...

(Simona Hildebrand is a student of English at Mainz University in its Faculty 06 in Germersheim).

Edinburgh, my Love!

Marsida Toska (Mainz / Germersheim)

The nomination to study for a whole year in Edinburgh was retrospectively the ticket to an amazing journey. Studying in the UK may not sound appealing with regard to the relatively high living costs, but it can prove to be an unforgettable experience, as it was in my case. I do admit that after the first wave of excitement, I felt quite uncertain about my choice to study abroad for a whole year, especially since I was not eligible for a public grant and since, due to my non EU nationality, I had to apply for a visa, which was not only a costly but also a stressful procedure.

However, Edinburgh was worth every hassle. I arrived in the city one midnight during the freshers' week with no accommodation reserved and nothing organised. The only thing waiting for me that night was a bed in the shared room of a hostel that I had booked only hours prior to my flight. Everything was planned at the very last minute because the visa took a while to be granted and it was not recommended to book anything in advance. But to me, once I had finally made it to my destination, all this did not matter. From that moment onward everything seemed easy and I was looking forward to taking care of every detail of my new life.

The first thing to do was to attend registration sessions at the university, choose courses and create the timetable. After that, my next step was to start looking for accommodation. Although this part may generally be considered the trickiest and most time-consuming aspect of the whole proced-

ure, in reality it is quite easy. There are so many websites with reliable classifieds ads and the university can provide useful pieces of advice. It took me only four days to find a cosy and affordable room in a landlady's flat in a central area. Of course, quite a lot of time was required for that as I had to look for suitable adverts, arrange room viewings over the phone, take the bus several times on the same day etc. No matter how complicated that may sound, I would strongly advise against applying for accommodation on campus and that for many reasons: first of all, because the Heriot-Watt campus, despite being beautiful and close to nature, is located outside the city. Secondly, because the rooms are small, more expensive than the ones in the city centre and they have no access to real kitchen facilities, such as cookers etc. Thirdly and more importantly, because you are not going to be in Edinburgh, whose vibe you can only feel if you can walk its streets when you step out of the house.

As for the university, it has a variety of courses on offer, such as translation and interpreting classes, general language classes for all levels and a wide choice of elective courses in a variety of areas from Film Studies to Linguistics. The classes are 60 minutes long, which, to be honest, is not very long, especially if one takes into account that in practice many classes begin 10 minutes later and end 10 minutes earlier than the scheduled time. The classes are interesting and the teaching staff really friendly and easy-going. The Student Office can provide assistance anytime if someone needs help. Amendments to the timetable can be made till week 3 and each semester consists of 12 weeks. Week 7 is called "Reading Week", which means that no classes take place and students are supposed to do some self-study. In reality though, this is the week during which Erasmus students take the chance to travel more around Scotland. At the beginning, it may even come as a shock to someone from a German university to see that everybody, staff and students, is addressed by their first name and greeted the same way one may greet a friend.

The most exciting thing about Edinburgh, though, is the city itself. Words are not enough to describe its charm. The hilly roads, the magnificent parks and gardens, the medieval atmosphere, the numerous church spires and the imposing castle in the heart of the city are only some of the reasons that make it so special. Edinburgh is not vast but it is not small either. It is actually the perfect size since it combines the vividness of a large city with the warmth of a small town. Since it is so rich in history and culture, it's really worth visiting its various monuments and museums, but also climbing up Arthur's seat, enjoying a night view from Calton hill, wandering the streets of the Old Town, riding your bike along the Water of Leith, going for a picnic to the Meadows, having a drink at Ryan's where the magnificent paintings on the wall make you wonder if you are in a gallery. On a Sun morning going to one of Edinburgh's most picturesque areas, which is so dear to me, namely to Stockbridge, is just the thing to do. The Stockbridge Market which takes place there every Sun attracts a great deal of people who cannot wait to taste the delicious artisan food sold at different stalls. If one feels like immersing oneself in the real Scottish tradition though, attending a Ceilidh night is definitely one of the best ways to do so, where wild dancing with the Scots in the end will leave you literally breathless but deeply entertained.

Trips to the Highlands are also a *must* in order to admire Scotland's natural beauty in its purest form. However, towns and villages close to Edinburgh, such as Dunbar, South Queensferry, North Berwick, and Rosslyn are also incredibly beautiful and probably reveal a more authentic side to Scotland, something that is sometimes harder to detect in Edinburgh. As for the weather, I was positively surprised since it rarely rained, and a shining blue sky – even for several hours at a time – was something I experienced almost every day. Last but not least, except for the rents everything else is really cheap. Groceries, for example, or drinks, bus fares, coffee etc. A part-time job, which is easy to find, along with the Erasmus Scholarship can be more than enough to make living in this city affordable. And why should one want to live here? Because Edinburgh is so inspiring, the

people are really friendly and outgoing, the cityscapes are breath-taking, the weather more than pleasant, and because ... the Scottish accent will captivate you.

(Marsida Toska is a student of English at Mainz University in its Faculty 06 in Germersheim and would be pleased to get your comments at mtoska@students.uni-mainz.de).

Autumn in Edinburgh

Jessica Völkel (Mainz / Germersheim)

Due to the Erasmus exchange programme, I was able to study and live in one of Europe's most versatile cities for four months. I was lucky to receive an exchange place at Heriot-Watt University in Edinburgh. Edinburgh is a city that unites contraries. Here present and past, the urban and nature co-exist. On the one hand there is New Town with its Princes Street that attracts thousands of people with its numerous stores and cafes, on the other hand the Old Town and its Royal Mile that take visitors through narrow, winding closes into past times. These two urban parts are connected by a natural idyll – the Princes Street Gardens. Moreover, Edinburgh is surrounded by diverse landscapes. Hiking fans can enjoy a trip to the hills of Arthur's Seat, while the nearby sea invites one to take long walks on the beach. However, Edinburgh is not only a city for lovers of nature. Numerous theatres, art galleries and museums invite culturally interested visitors to spend an illuminating day. An interesting establishment in this respect is the Scottish Storytelling Centre, which offers workshops or organizes various events and festivals. A highlight on Halloween is Samhuinn Fire Festival, which is a parade of neo-pagan performances that proceeds down the Royal Mile to welcome winter.

Of course, I was not only able to live in an impressive city as part of my exchange term, but also to gain insights into everyday life at a university in another country. In some of the courses I acquired sustainable knowledge and made sustainable experiences. In the course TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages), I got to know a different understanding of English grammar. In the course Gaelic for Beginners, I was given a glimpse into an extraordinary language and learned about Gaelic culture. The teacher's enthusiasm for the language and his joy in teaching the language created a comfortable and fun atmosphere. In the courses on Critical Writing and Analysis and British Culture and Society, I could become acquainted with exciting topics and write about them. To teach German to Scottish students as a teaching assistant was an experience that was especially impressive to me. It allowed me to view my mother tongue from another perspective. However, the sometimes school-like character of the courses as well as the jail-like, dark architecture of some of the university's buildings and the unjustifiably expensive on-campus accommodation were small downers. The trips and events that were organized by the university's Chaplaincy as well as the stunning Scottish countryside compensated for that. The Chaplaincy's trips and events include trips to the countryside, ceilidhs or traditional Scottish evenings. The university staff take good care of the international students and do their best to make the experience a memorable one. I will keep that autumn in Edinburgh long in my memory.

(Jessica Völkel is a student of English at Mainz University in its Faculty 06.)

The State of Britain 2018 - 2022: All Out War and Overall Bankruptcy
(Klaus Peter Müller, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz)

Falsehood flies, and truth comes limping after it; so that when men come to be undeceived, it is too late.

Here hath this island of ours, for the greatest part of twenty years, lain under the influence of such counsels and persons, whose principle and interest it was to corrupt our manners, blind our understanding, drain our wealth, and in time destroy our constitution both in church and state, and we at last were brought to the very brink of ruin; yet, by the means of perpetual misrepresentations, have never been able to distinguish between our enemies and friends. [...] But of this mighty change in the dispositions of the people, I shall discourse in [this] paper; wherein I shall endeavour to undeceive or discover those deluded or deluding persons, [and show] its causes, its symptoms, and its consequences; and prove a great example to illustrate the maxim [...], that truth (however sometimes late) will at last prevail.

(Jonathan Swift, "Political Lying", *The Examiner* 14, 9-11-1710. Available at <https://www.ourcivilisation.com/smartboard/shop/swift/examiner/chap14.htm>, and in Herbert Davis (ed.), *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, Oxford: Blackwell 1939-1968 (14 vols.) vol. 3, 11.

Britain bankrupt? I must be a left-wing nutter to say that. But my reasons actually come from sound economic sources, and I am reading local signs, in order to construct and understand the broader picture of the entire state. I will begin with some simple but evident examples of bankruptcy and then discuss the numerous wars connected with the current bankruptcies, crises, and huge problems Britain is facing. Eventually these are wars raging all over the world and threatening our understanding of the state, our position in it and of democracy.

1. Overall Bankruptcy: Economically, Politically, Socially, Legally, Morally

The first example of the generic bankruptcy concerns two English counties: "A stronghold of Prime Minister Theresa May's Conservatives where more land is covered in golf courses than homes, Surrey faces a shortfall of 86 million pounds even after approving spending cuts of 66 million pounds this financial year. That's in addition to increasing its council tax rate by the maximum 5.99 percent allowed by the government in London. Some local politicians said the council is in a perilous financial position. Another county run by the governing party – Northamptonshire in central England – was effectively declared bankrupt in February. [...] Council Leader David Hodge has compared the county to 'Rome burning', though said there is 'absolutely no' way it will follow Northamptonshire because of its decision to raise taxes."¹

Indeed, the State of Britain does equal Rome burning, and the economic bankruptcy Britain is facing is accompanied by equally horrific and disgusting social, political, legal, and moral bankruptcies. Politics in general is not a reasonable affair, it is predominantly driven by strong feelings, especially the wish for power, fame, and wealth. Brexit, too, has never been a rational decision, not even by those politicians and business people who support it with the intention to become free of regulations and have a neo-liberal state of unhindered capitalism. More than anything else, Brexit has been a compulsion and "a political obsession". A quick idea of what is meant by social, political, and moral bankruptcies is provided by Mohammed Nazir, the cabinet member for housing in Slough Borough Council on the fringes of London, who said after a meeting in the U.K. Parliament about homelessness: "Everybody's fighting for themselves now". In other words, "Social consciousness is rapidly disappearing." Brexit is the only topic, and all other important social and political is-

¹ Jess Shankleman / Jill Ward, "Even England's Richest Region Is Struggling to Make Ends Meet", *Bloomberg* 3-5-18 (<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-05-03/even-england-s-richest-region-is-struggling-to-make-ends-meet>).

sues are simply not dealt with. This is a disastrous and complete neglect of state duties, one more bankruptcy: "We call it 'neglexit'", he [Neil Coyle, "an opposition Labour lawmaker who co-chairs parliament's cross-party group on homelessness"] said. 'It's when every other major policy issue is being neglected because of Brexit.'"²

The result is evident all over England, producing another bankruptcy that was already an important reason for people to vote for leaving the EU: "despair at the political situation that's been building up." Despair is a key word in every sound description of the state of Britain today. It is inseparable from people's poor living and working conditions and their complete lack of trust in politicians. This is what had led many people in the poorest communities in England and Wales to vote for Brexit, but it has left them without any hope now and even more of what they began with, namely as "victims of isolation", completely neglected by the government, as people without any relevance and identity. A resident of Sunderland expresses this feeling succinctly: "I feel like Westminster's a different part of the world. You feel like the northeast doesn't exist."³ Try to imagine the amount of despair and possibly rage connected with such a feeling.

The Tory government's ignorance of and disdain for the northeast exist in exactly the same way with regard to Wales, Northern Ireland, and Scotland. This attitude is combined with disgusting arrogance. Jacob Rees-Mogg, hailed by Brexiters as the next prime minister, gives a typical example when he suggests "a return to checks 'as we had during the Troubles'." Ireland's deputy prime minister Simon Coveney is shocked that "'a senior politician is so ill informed about Ireland + the politics of the #Brexit Irish border issue'". "The Sinn Féin politician Máirtín Ó Muilleoir, South Belfast MLA, said Rees-Mogg's comments on the border after Brexit showed 'contempt and complete disregard for the people of Ireland north and south [...]. Anyone labouring under the misapprehension that the Tories care a jot about the north is living in fool's paradise.'"⁴ Boris Johnson's solution that one could organise the Irish border in the same way as congestion charges in London reveals the same degree of smug arrogance, oafish ignorance, and total disregard of people's fears, wishes, and concerns.⁵

"Sunderland was the first district to declare its emphatic support for Brexit in the referendum two years ago [...]. Opponents of the EU took the vote as a battle cry against its open-border migration, budgets and supranational sovereignty. Yet it was just as much a cry for help from regions at the forefront of years of U.K. spending cuts following the financial crisis."⁶ None of these districts have received any sufficient help from Westminster, the counties, or councils. How could they, when not even Surrey gets its own government's support? The state is terribly failing to do its duty. The results of this bankruptcy are visible everywhere, not only in the NHS, but in the entire infrastructure (schools, transport etc.), i.e. in all relevant state institutions. There have thus also been ex-

² All quotations from Jess Shackleman, "Brexit Noise Drowns Out London's Cry for Help", *Bloomberg* 6-8-18 (https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-08-06/brexit-noise-drowns-out-london-s-cry-for-help?cmpid=BBBXT082218_BIZ&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&utm_term=180822&utm_campaign=brexit).

³ Thomas Penny / Rodney Jefferson, "The City that Defined Brexit Has Given Up", *Bloomberg* 21-6-18 (<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-06-21/the-city-that-defined-brexit-has-given-up>).

⁴ Heather Stewart, "Have people inspected at Irish border after Brexit, says Rees-Mogg", *Guardian* 26-8-18 (https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/aug/26/have-people-inspected-at-irish-border-after-brexit-says-jacob-rees-mogg?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other).

⁵ Cf. Adam Payne, "Boris Johnson says Brexit won't cause a hard Irish border because there are no borders between London boroughs", *Business Insider UK* 27-2-18 (<https://www.businessinsider.de/boris-johnson-compares-irish-border-to-london-boroughs-brexit-2018-2?r=UK&IR=T>). Boris was widely ridiculed in social media, as well as seriously criticised: "Boris Johnson's Irish border remarks lampooned", *BBC* 27-2-18 (<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-43208893>): "Sinn Féin said Mr Johnson's remarks were evidence of 'how the Tories view the north of Ireland as collateral damage in their Brexit agenda'."

⁶ Thomas Penny / Rodney Jefferson, "The City that Defined Brexit Has Given Up", *Bloomberg* 21-6-18 (<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-06-21/the-city-that-defined-brexit-has-given-up>).

treme cuts in the legal system, "almost £1bn was swiped from the legal aid budget", less police officers in the streets, less security, and another result is that about 48% of the English people have no trust in the legal system anymore.⁷ It is not yet quite bankrupt, but in a very serious crisis, officially detected and described by a commission, noticed by MPs of all parties and even the justice secretary: "Criminal justice system near breaking point, MPs warn".⁸

But there have not been any improvements at all, things have got much worse, and "No-deal Brexit thrusts UK into 'legal vacuum', warns Keir Starmer".⁹ In these contexts of enormous crises, failures, and bankruptcies, something else has become apparent, a disastrous conflict, succinctly expressed in connection with the local community already discussed: "Sunderland now highlights just how intractable and irreconcilable Brexit has become."¹⁰

These are strong words, but they deserve even stronger expressions, in order to make everybody understand what we are actually dealing with. Tim Shipman makes this very clear: "the EU referendum was a civil war." Which is why what we have had in Britain is *All Out War*, with an endless number of "Demons Unleashed".¹¹ This is the bankruptcy of a united Britain, a Civil War that is still going on and is about much more than just In or Out of the EU. Ultimately it is a war about the kind of Britain people want to live in. The Brexiters want their version of Britain: Britain in complete control of everything, and a Britain that is great again. This does not only sound like Donald Trump, it shares Trump's ideology perfectly. But the connections go even further than that, and there are intriguing early beginnings of this ideology that one should be aware of, in order to understand that this is a civil war with strong international dimensions and two fundamentally opposed ideologies. The Brexiters' ideology has been apparent for quite some time. Its link to Trump and others is only fairly recent. Its destructive effects are connected with all the bankruptcies described.

Thus in May 2010, Iain Duncan Smith, then the new Secretary of State for Work and Pensions, was hailed as "A man with a plan that could make Britain great again". His plan was to cut all benefits, except two for people in work. James Bartholomew, the author of this eulogistic text, instantly told readers what Britain's key problem was: "RIGHT now we have a rare chance to change Britain.

⁷ Rob Merrick, "Legal aid cuts trigger 99.5% collapse in numbers receiving state help in benefits cases", *Independent* 31-10-17 (<https://www.google.com/amp/s/www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/legal-aid-cuts-benefits-cases-state-help-dla-esa-ministry-justice-disability-living-allowance-a8028936.html%3famp>). Merrick speaks about disturbing cases concerning "disability living allowance or employment and support allowance". These facts are "buried in a Ministry of Justice document", but he still hoped they would "increase pressure on Theresa May to rethink the controversial cuts, introduced by David Cameron."

⁸ "Criminal justice system near breaking point, MPs warn", *BBC* 27-5-16 (<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-36394842>). The system suffers from cuts which reflect the extreme ignorance of the people ordering these cuts, i.e. the MPs themselves: "cuts have been made in one part of the system without proper consideration of the knock-on costs and negative effects on other parts of the system." "This is a cross-party group of MPs looking at the system as a whole and saying that enough is enough." "A Ministry of Justice spokesman said: 'The justice secretary has been clear that our criminal justice system needs urgent reform.'" Cf. Tobias Phibbs, *The Crisis in the Justice System in England & Wales. The Bach Commission on Access to Justice. Interim Report*, London: Fabian Society November 2016 (http://www.fabians.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Access-to-Justice_final_web.pdf). The commission consisted of independent legal experts from business, the UK Law Centres Network, the South West Legal Support Trust, a retired Lord Justice of Appeal etc. Michael Gove was Justice Secretary until 14 July 2016, followed by Liz Truss, David Lidington, and David Gauke (since January 2018), all serving for just about a year.

⁹ *Guardian* 26-8-18 (https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/aug/26/no-deal-brexite-uk-legal-vacuum-keir-starmer-theresa-may?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other).

¹⁰ Thomas Penny / Rodney Jefferson, "The City that Defined Brexit Has Given Up", *Bloomberg* 21-6-18 (<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-06-21/the-city-that-defined-brexite-has-given-up>).

¹¹ Tim Shipman, *All Out War. The Full Story of Brexit*, London: Collins 2017, xi, xixff. The expression comes from Cameron's answer when asked to sum up the argument against a referendum: "You could unleash demons of which ye know not." This is the first of three mottos in Craig Oliver, *Unleashing Demons. The Inside Story of Brexit*, London: Hodder & Stoughton 2016. Oliver was Cameron's director of politics and communications.

Many of us feel there has been a steady decline in its culture and behaviour. This has been accompanied – I would say largely caused – by the growth in welfare dependency." He had already detected this problem in his 2004 book *The Welfare State We Are In*, a right-wing diatribe against free school education, health care, housing benefits etc.¹²

Iain Duncan Smith has been a hardline Brexiter, and what these people want to achieve, the objective of their war, their dominant ideology, was succinctly described in 2012 in *Britannia Unchained*, "the short tract written by a group of young, right-wing Tory MPs that is considered a route map to political renewal." The book advertises "a destructive economic liberalism that threatens the foundations of modern conservatism. The state is assumed always to be malign, and it's taken for granted that the labour market is not flexible enough". These authors, the Tory MPs Kwasi Kwarteng, Priti Patel, Dominic Raab, Chris Skidmore, and Elizabeth Truss, "all members of the party's right-leaning Free Enterprise Group", live in a "binary world, where everything is forward or back, progress or decline, sink or swim, good or bad. They do not appear to see the world as a complex place. The choice is between regulation and dynamism: their ideal worker is one prepared to work long hours, commute long distances and expect no employment protection and low pay." This economic neo-liberalism

seeks a planning free-for-all; it celebrates chaos. It would dismantle valued national institutions – in broadcasting, policing, transport and health. [...] the authors of *Britannia Unchained* represent a project that is extreme and destructive, and which threatens the essential character of our nation. [...] The economic liberals' march through the Conservative party will continue; every day there is less and less opposition, and they will eventually win.¹³

They won an important battle in the 2016 referendum. But the war is going on, the destruction of the NHS, the BBC, transport, policing etc. has been under way for quite some time, and they are now hoping for a no-deal Brexit. From the beginning, they have been using the guerrilla warfare strategies described in Sun Tzu's *The Art of War* and *The Thirty-Three Strategies of War* by Robert Greene. Books read by Steve Baker, who "was appointed commanding officer of the Conservative Eurosceptics in June 2015", and who admitted:

'I basically read the book [Sun Tzu] and applied the book as bloody hard as I could. In particular you need guerrilla strategies. The whole of the launch phase of Conservatives for Britain was a very deliberated guerrilla operation. You have to keep people frightened. That's the guerrilla strategy: frighten them, use overwhelming force, disguise purpose.' The launch of Conservatives for Britain [in 2015] was a piece of ambush marketing which left Downing Street and the Tory whips' office in spin.

At that time, the "victims of his 'frighten them' strategy were his own party leadership. [...] The referendum was a civil war within the Conservative Party." (Shipman 2017, 81f) It has now become a civil war within Britain. But the strategy is still the same: frighten people, use overwhelming force, and disguise your purpose. Tim Bale, professor of politics at Queen Mary University London, has pointed this out, referring to the 2012 Tory strategy plan by Raab etc.: "Here's Tory Brexiteers' Real

¹² James Bartholomew, "A man with a plan that could make Britain great again", *Express* 28-5-2010 (<https://www.express.co.uk/comment/expresscomment/177725/A-man-with-a-plan-that-could-make-Britain-great-again>). Bartholomew, *The Welfare State We're In*, London: Methuen 2004.

¹³ Jon Cruddas, "Britannia Unchained: Global lessons for growth and prosperity – a review", *Guardian* 27-9-12 (<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2012/sep/27/britannia-unchained-global-lessons-review>). Cruddas was a member of the shadow cabinet and led Labour's policy review from 2010 to 2015. Formerly an aide to Tony Blair, he became a fierce critic of New Labour. (<https://joncruddas.org.uk/>) He has represented Dagenham since 2001 (<https://www.parliament.uk/biographies/commons/jon-cruddas/1406>). Kwasi Kwarteng / Priti Patel / Dominic Raab / Chris Skidmore / Elizabeth Truss, *Britannia Unchained: Global lessons for growth and prosperity*, London: Palgrave Macmillan 2012.

Plan for 2019: A leaner, meaner Britain", with much less money for the people, many more benefit cuts, and hugely increased profits for business. The Brexiteers, Bale says, "have a crusading vision whose details, inasmuch as they've been fully worked out, are best kept under wraps until the time is right and we can be made to realise – they hope gratefully rather than grudgingly – that there truly is no alternative."¹⁴ There always is an alternative, of course, but to reveal it is not part of the guerrilla warfare strategy employed by the supporters of Brexit.

Clearly, this war and its ideology have not been openly declared either. The same Dominic Raab, involved in developing the Tory strategy in 2012, and raised to the position of Brexit minister in July 2018 when David Davis stepped down, has just told the EU and the public that the "UK won't trigger battle with Brussels after no-deal Brexit".¹⁵ Not everybody believes him, though, people rather point out that "Raab offers us cotton wool on no-deal Brexit. The reality is hair-raising".¹⁶ Raab is also a downright "Hard Brexiter", who does not always use warfare camouflage and actually does not mind making his "war cry" widely heard: "Let's get on with it. DOMINIC RAAB's war cry as he says it's time we take back control of our borders, our laws and our future".¹⁷

Taking back control nationally in a global world is an 18th and 19th-century solution to 21st-century problems. It's a solution adopted by many people who despair of the problems they encounter, such as loss of jobs, houses, their trust in the support of the community and the state, the loss of their values and entire identities. Their yearning for a better life is completely understandable, but it has been terribly exploited by politicians offering solutions that have never worked, are outmoded today, and are not even meant to help the common people. The lies and empty promises made by Brexiteers, their complete moral bankruptcy have been made pretty evident.¹⁸ But people have not yet sufficiently grasped the enormous dimensions of both the bankruptcies Britain is facing and the wars that are taking place, connected with these bankruptcies. I will, therefore, now point out these wars one by one, beginning with a small but important and highly influential group of British people, where a key war began, then moving on to Britain as a whole, and ending with all of us and all our humanity threatened by all the wars that are going on.

2. All Out War

2.1 The War Within the Tory Party

The first straightforward answer to the question Why Do We Have Brexit? is simple: because of the civil war that has been going on in the Tory party since Britain joined the European Common Mar-

¹⁴ Bale, "Here's Tory Brexiteers' Real Plan for 2019: A leaner, meaner Britain", *Guardian* 14-7-18 (<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/jul/13/tory-brexiteers-plan-2019-britain-conservative>).

¹⁵ "UK won't trigger battle with Brussels after no-deal Brexit, says Raab", *Guardian* 22-8-18 (https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/aug/22/dominic-raab-uk-wont-trigger-no-deal-battle-with-brussels?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other).

¹⁶ Polly Toynbee, "Raab offers us cotton wool on no-deal Brexit. The reality is hair-raising", *Guardian* 23-8-18 (<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/aug/23/dominic-raab-no-deal-brexiteers-technical-notice>), referring to the government's 'technical notes' on a no-deal Brexit, the first 24 of which, released on that day, are available here (<https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/how-to-prepare-if-the-uk-leaves-the-eu-with-no-deal>). Valuable evaluations of these (not very helpful) notes are given in "No-deal Brexit: experts on what the UK government's advice means", *The Conversation* 24-8-18 (<https://theconversation.com/no-deal-brexiteers-experts-on-what-the-uk-governments-advice-means-102074>).

¹⁷ "Dominic Raab 'Is a Hard Brexiter', UK lawmaker Umunna says", *Bloomberg* 19-6-18 (<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/videos/2018-07-09/dominic-raab-is-a-hard-brexiteer-u-k-lawmaker-umunna-says-video>). Dominic Raab, "Let's get on with it. DOMINIC RAAB's war cry as he says it's time we take back control of our borders, our laws and our future", *Mail Online* 26-7-18 (<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5993261/Lets-DOMINIC-RAABs-Brexiteer-war-cry.html>).

¹⁸ Cf. Müller, "The 2016 EU Referendum Stories in Austrian, German and Swiss Media: Catastrophes, Characterizations, Challenges", in: Anthony Ridge-Newman / Fernando León-Solís / Hugh O'Donnell (eds.), *Reporting the Road to Brexit: International Media and the EU Referendum 2016*, London: Palgrave Macmillan 2018, 169-187.

ket on 1 January 1973 under the Conservative government of Edward Heath. The referendum on 5 June 1975 confirmed this membership, but there has always been strong opposition, often camouflaged as Euroscepticism.¹⁹ Scepticism usually is a healthy attitude, but the division within the Tory party developed into an irreconcilable war that has threatened to split the party. Only a strong leader could have solved this problem. Cameron, however, was a coward who totally disregarded his political duties and passed them on to the people to decide which part of the Tory party they supported. He, of course, never said that the referendum was actually about the Tories, but he – in complete ignorance of the basic problem – foolishly assumed the division within the Tories would be solved with the people's decision. This was, of course, not the case. The 2016 referendum just led to

2.2 The Civil War in Britain Today: Scottish Independence & the End of Great Britain

Cameron's failure to bring together the two warring parts of his party thus revealed the enormous division that has existed in Britain as a whole for a long time. The referendum did not produce this division, it only made the huge divide evident. There is a real civil war of many kinds now visible that will definitely not end with any of the possible forms of Brexit. It might actually gradually end when there is no Brexit and when the EU manages to help those people who have suffered most from globalisation, the dominance of big business, a neo-liberal economy, and the disgusting greed, arrogance, and ignorance of selfish politicians.²⁰ That would evidently be a huge task, but it is the only way to make the EU accepted by a clear majority of Brits and other Europeans and produce relative contentment.

The first huge civil war in Britain is that between the people who want to stay in the EU and those who have dreams of a great Britain in complete control of everything. This last group has already been described in connection with Sunderland. It is a surprising phenomenon that those regions in England and Wales which have received the greatest amounts of financial support from the EU have voted to leave, the more prosperous regions wanted to remain.²¹ The leave voters' cry for help has not been heard, and it is most unlikely that their lives will improve in the neo-liberal world of the Brexiters.

There is another huge divide, though, the second civil war, not yet harshly fought, but splitting up many families: the divide between old people, the majority of whom voted for Leave, and young ones who have wanted to remain. This is also a fascinating division, next to the one between poor and prosperous regions, those with more and those with fewer subsidies from Brussels. This is the division between the past and the future of Britain: those who will be most affected by Brexit, for many years to come, have most strongly voted against leaving. This does not deliver a good prospect for a healthy future.²²

The current civil war might also lead to Scotland becoming independent at last, ending Britain as it has existed since 1707, as the majority of Scots want to remain in the EU. I have supported

¹⁹ The *Oxford English Dictionary* says this noun was first used in 1988, but the adjective already in 1971. Usage has increased steadily since Margaret Thatcher.

²⁰ Another excellent depiction of Tory arrogance and imbecility, expressed in appropriate language, is offered by Marina Hyde, "Karen Bradley routs her rival imbeciles with Ladybird guide to Northern Ireland", *Guardian* 7-9-18 (https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/sep/07/karen-bradley-northern-ireland-secretary-tories?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other)

²¹ Cf. Carole Cadwalladr, "View from Wales: town showered with EU cash votes to leave EU", *Guardian* 25-6-16 (http://gu.com/p/4myfh?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other).

²² Cf. "Meet the 75%: the young people who voted for staying in the EU", *Guardian* 24-6-16 (<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/24/meet-the-75-young-people-who-voted-to-remain-in-eu>); the same figure at (<http://www.konbini.com/en/lifestyle/eu-remain-young-vote/>); "Young people on the referendum: 'It is the end of one world, of the world as we know it'", *Guardian* 26-6-16 (<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/26/young-people-vote-anger>).

Scottish independence for a long time, and even though the Scots are clearly no Bravehearts, their dissatisfaction with the right-wing government in Westminster that they have not voted for has only been increasing, and Brexit might now lead to Scotland finally adopting independence. The breakup of Britain could lead to a much more open-minded and more humane Scotland, and it would definitely force England to at last start developing a 21st-century identity, not one that still conflates England with Britain.²³

Why do I never speak of Great Britain? Again a simple answer: Britain stopped being great a long time ago. The efforts to make it great again are partly based on sentimental longings for a period of the past when people had just beaten Nazi Germany, or later still had their jobs, identities, clear values etc., or simply their youth. None of these can be brought back, though new jobs and identities could and need to be created. Where nostalgia is connected with Britain's empirical past, this can definitely also not be brought back, nor was it really great in the sense still many people assume, who think that the empire brought civilisation into the wilderness, or, as even somebody like William Wilberforce thought, "to wean benighted 'natives' from their 'disgusting and bestial rites'." Such views have for so long been taught in British schools that they still persist. There were definitely positive results. But the key question, of course, is, positive for whom? And who lost and suffered? New perspectives have been put forward since post-colonialism, and I can only mention three intriguing recent books on this topic, one of them plainly speaking of the rather *Inglorious Empire*.²⁴

Nostalgia hardly ever helps. But the key point about making Britain great again is not really nostalgic, in spite of this 'again'. The key point is what the Brexiters want to achieve in the future. And that is, yes, again as much profit as in the empire as well as again as little interference from the public as at that time in the past. What we are facing today in Britain in connection with Brexit is a civil war of enormous international dimensions:

2.3 The Neo-Liberal & Right-Wing War against the Achievements of Humanity

The objectives of neo-liberalism have already been pointed out, as they are identical with the ideology of Brexiters and the current Westminster Tory government. Some of the achievements of humanity have been mentioned in the same context, such as free school education, health care, social housing, fair wages, secure jobs, and a state in support of these characteristics of a humane society. More will be discussed in the following sections, focussing on the law and justice, free discourse and media, and finishing with one of the greatest achievements of humankind: democracy. I want to begin, though, with the frightening links between neo-liberalism and right-wing, nationalist, and populist movements speaking of and actively involved in

²³ Cf. Müller, "What an Achievement! Now Change is Due – Fast and Essential Change, or: Let's Support a Common Weal Scotland", *Scottish Studies Newsletter* 44, Oct 2014, 26-34 (available at http://www.fb06.uni-mainz.de/anglistik/Dateien/SSN_44.pdf). Lesley Riddoch, *Blossom. What Scotland Needs to Flourish (Post Indyref post EUref edition)*, Edinburgh: Luath 2018. Gerry Hassan / Russel Gunson, *Scotland, the UK and Brexit – A Guide to the Future*, Edinburgh: Luath 2017.

²⁴ The quotation is from Peter Barker, "The scourge of Christian missionaries in British-Indian history", *Spectator* 1-9-18 (https://www.spectator.co.uk/2018/09/the-scurge-of-christian-missionaries-in-british-indian-history/?utm_source=Adestra&utm_medium=email&utm_content=Culture%20House%20Books%20-%202020180901&utm_campaign=Books), reviewing David Gilmour, *The British in India: Three Centuries of Ambition and Experience*, London: Allen Lane 2018. Pankaj Mishra, *From the Ruins of Empire: The Revolt Against the West and the Remaking of Asia*, London: Penguin 2013, and Shashi Tharoor, *Inglorious Empire. What the British Did to India*, London: Penguin 2018 provide Indian perspectives.

2.3.1 Making Britain and America Great Again: Brexiteers', Trump's, the Alt-Right's & Bannon's War

Language reveals people's thinking, and the common language of Ian Duncan Smith and Donald Trump is a certain indicator of their joint ideology. People grasp this intuitively, which is why there quickly was a painting on streets in Bristol and London before the 2016 referendum, showing Donald Trump and Boris Johnson kissing each other. Written below were the words: "Not #InFor This? Register To Vote On The Referendum Now!"²⁵

Johnson is a representative of the British ruling class, the elite that many people voting for Leave thought they were ousting.²⁶ Like Cameron, he had been raised at Eton and then gone to Oxford (also meeting Michael Gove, Jeremy Hunt, Nick Boles), where he was part of the infamous Bullingdon Club, known for destructive, reckless outings.²⁷ Sacked by the *Times* for lying, he went on to the *Telegraph*, and became editor of the *Spectator*, another Tory mouthpiece, before becoming an MP in 2001 and mayor of London in 2008. Johnson's complete disregard of other people and absolute carelessness of the damage he does has sufficiently been described. His support of Leave was determined by his career ambitions, and he has been called an even 'bigger opportunist than Cameron', an 'egomaniac populist' with 'burning ambition, [a] gambling nature', and complete 'lack of moral concern'.²⁸ But many Brexiteers still see him as their favourite prime minister.

They do not at all mind Johnson's close relationship and ideological connections with Donald Trump, also already detected and aptly described by Tanya Gold in her *New York Times* 2016 article "Make Britain Great Again", which is mainly about Johnson. What Gold says here is slightly surprising, as she usually writes for the *Spectator*, which normally supports the Conservative Party. She makes three strong points, of which two will be dealt with in section 2.3.4. Her main point here is so apposite that I doubt whether she was aware of its contemporary dimensions, as she highlighted historical parallels connected with Boris Johnson, who, for her, too, clearly simply wants to be the next prime minister:

Some call him Britain's Donald Trump. Both men are raging narcissists and blondes, both are media obsessions, both loathe detail — for what has that to do with them? [...] He thinks he is Winston Churchill, but he is really Lord Halifax who, after the fall of France in 1940, wished to lead Britain out of the turmoil of Europe and back to the 'splendid isolation' of 19th-century British self-confidence. In 1940 this position was called appeasement.

Gold does not further explain this reference, so I'll do that and add the most important link to today that she does not get, but which is absolutely vital: Halifax wanted to avoid a war with Nazi Ger-

²⁵ Marwan Bishara, "Brexit: Making Britain great again?", *Al Jazeera* 21-6-16 (<https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2016/06/brexit-making-britain-great-160621104121777.html>) uses this photo and is absolutely correct in his sub-title: "Whatever the result, the vote will prove only the beginning of a long process to redefine 21st-century Britain."

²⁶ This well-defined, small group is excellently portrayed in Robert Verkaik, *Posh Boys. How the English Public Schools Ruin Britain*, London: OneWorld Publ. 2018 and Aeron Davies, *Reckless Opportunists: Elites at the End of the British Establishment*, Manchester UP 2018.

²⁷ Cf. Patrick Kingsley, "UK riots: how do Boris Johnson's Bullingdon antics compare?", *Guardian* 10-8-11 (<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2011/aug/10/uk-riots-boris-johnson>); "David Dimbleby Slams 'Disgraceful' Boris Johnson For Ruining Bullingdon Club", *HuffPost* 28-5-13 (https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2013/05/28/david-dimbleby-bullingdon-club-boris-johnson_n_3345077.html?guccounter=1&guce_referrer_us=aHR0cHM6Ly9lbi53aWtpcGVkaWEub3JnLw&guce_referrer_cs=4HyxIC0cwzdKucfPAf2Ug).

²⁸ Quotes with single inverted commas are my translations from (*Süddeutsche Zeitung* 17-6-16 and *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* 4-7-16). Cf. Müller (2018), and Heather Timmons, "Boris Johnson's first big statement after Brexit is made of half-truths, magical thinking, and outright lies", *Quartz* 27-6-16 (<https://qz.com/717412/boris-johnsons-telegraph-column-on-brexit-is-made-of-lies-half-truths-omissions-and-magical-thinking/>).

many, he wanted to withdraw from Europe, whereas Churchill saw that Hitler needed to be defeated by direct action and involvement. Boris Johnson is Halifax not only because of the withdrawal to the splendid isolation of the British isles, but also because he either does not notice or does not care about the war Trump, the Brexiters and many others are waging. Important elements of this war are presented in the Frontline documentary 'Bannon's War', which, however, does not go far enough when it just says "Trump adviser Stephen Bannon's war — with radical Islam, Washington and White House rivals."

Bannon's belief that "Washington Bureaucrats are not going to change the policies that deprive us of a normal human lifestyle" is the US-American version of what the people in Sunderland etc. felt and still feel with regard to Westminster: the people in power do nothing for us and our lives are miserable. "Sam Anderson, who became the poster girl for Brexit when she bounced gleefully on another Brexiteer's shoulders as the result was announced in Sunderland, has no doubt the result was a message to the political class", and she said: "For the working-class people it was, 'Now you've heard us; now do something about it.'" (Shipman 2017, 591) As we've seen, no one, no party, no council, no government has done anything about it.

But the opinion that Bannon "has kind of reduced all of the conflicts of modern society to that essential face-off between the terrorists and the Americans" disregards the terrible solutions adopted by Bannon and his followers, the shocking results visible in Trump's politics, plainly visible for everybody, e.g., in the separation of immigrant children from their parents.²⁹ This is a war of nationalist alt-right forces against much more than terrorism, it is against common human rights, equality, justice for everybody, and a fair democratic society.

Bannon's traditional mouthpiece *Breitbart* offers sufficient examples of this ideology, and Britain has adopted much more than just its language, "'Make Britain Great Again' – UK paper adopts Trump campaign slogan post-Brexit". The violence connected with it is also present: "I hope your shop burns down": Mob of thugs wearing 'Make Britain Great Again' caps trashes left-wing bookshop while shouting abuse at staff".³⁰ Odd groups have formed in this context in England that express their opinions in revealing ways, such as 'The Modern-Day Chartists', or 'The Patriot Movement', saying "Real Men Back" on their website, and "No Longer Silent. The British lion shall roar!", "Global warming is a myth", "We want Trump" etc.³¹ These forces cannot be laughed away, as this is a widespread international movement of the right that Bannon actively tries to unite. Traditional parties are meant to be destroyed in this process, eventually the state and democracy as we know them are to be replaced by strong autocratic regimes, if not even dictatorships.

Bannon thus initiated the Movement in July 2018, "a foundation that he hopes will unite Europe's far-right parties ahead of the May 2019 European parliamentary elections." For Bannon, "Brexit was a foreshadow of the 2016 Trump victory, and the populist nationalist revolt is about a year ahead in Europe than in the United States." Bannon has thus gone to see Marine Le Pen and other right-wing supporters, but his greatest ally in Europe is Hungary's prime minister Viktor Orban, whom Bannon has called "'Trump before Trump'." Orban "hopes that the 2019 European

²⁹ The quotations are from the Frontline website 'Bannon's War' (<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/bannons-war/>) and the film transcript (<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/bannons-war/transcript/>) with Mark Fischer, *Washington Post*, providing the reduced understanding of Bannon's war.

³⁰ "'Make Britain Great Again' – UK paper adopts Trump campaign slogan post-Brexit", *Breitbart London* 25-6-16 (<https://www.breitbart.com/london/2016/06/25/make-britain-great-uk-paper-adopts-trump-campaign-slogan-post-brexit/>) speaking about *The Daily Star*. Tim Stickings, "I hope your shop burns down": Mob of thugs wearing 'Make Britain Great Again' caps trashes left-wing bookshop while shouting abuse at staff", *Mail Online* 6-8-18 (http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6029591/Mob-thugs-wearing-Make-Britain-Great-caps-trashes-left-wing-bookshop.html?ns_mchannel=rss&ito=1490&ns_campaign=1490) with video.

³¹ Cf. (<http://peoplescharter.org/>) or the Red Pill Factory site of the same kind (<https://www.facebook.com/redpillfactory>), speaking of "Pretty-faced princess of the postmodernist lefty cess-pit, the Canadian Prime Minister, Justin Trudeau".

election will help him build a majority in the European Parliament to, [as he puts it](#), 'wave goodbye not only to liberal democracy and the liberal nondemocratic system that has been built on its foundations, but also to the entire elite of '68.'" Does one need any harsher war cry and incitement to destroy our democracy? Not really. But the EU has not yet responded to this challenge, nor to the destruction of an independent law system in Poland. Right-wing nationalists are busy destroying the state, the law, and the democracy that humanity had to fight hard for in the past. We must wake up to this enormous danger.

Both Bannon and Orban see the EU as an enemy that must be destroyed and regard populism as a wonderful tool for their "cultural revolution". "Bannon's political mentor, the far-right publisher Andrew Breitbart, similarly insisted that 'politics is downstream from culture.'" That is clearly true, which is why it is urgent that the EU as well as all democratic governments must create a culture in which people have trust and feel secure. Orban is happy to have a US ally rather than being called one of "Vladimir Putin's puppets and an instrument in the Kremlin's designs to destroy the European Union." Orban's greatest hope, however, is that Bannon can crown him "as Mr. Trump's man in Europe."³²

That position, however, is clearly contested by Boris Johnson. He is the favourite of the Tory right-wing European Research Group (ERG), which includes Lynton Crosby, a Cameron advisor and leader of Cameron's 2015 general election campaign, also leading Johnson's two campaigns for Mayor of London, then his leadership campaign in 2016, and now again strongly supporting Johnson's bid to become prime minister. Other ERG members are Jacob Rees-Mogg and Steve Baker, "who are set to launch an all-out assault to kill off the prime minister's flagship policy", her Brexit plan, the Chequers deal. An anonymous, but "leading Brexiteer" said: "An army is starting to mass behind an alternative policy. CTF [Lynton's company] has seen the opportunity to be behind the new prime minister. They want to get Boris in there. Lynton has been raising money". The anonymous Brexiter finished with: "If we stop Chequers, there is no way she'll survive [May, of course]. If Boris has the backing of the right, he'll win. Boris is either in Downing Street by Christmas or is in Downing Street by the summer." Yes, Boris Johnson might well soon be Britain's next prime minister. He will then be Trump's man in Europe, waging the neo-liberal, right-wing, nationalist war on human freedoms. Even if the Tory ABB group (Anyone But Boris) prevents him, there are many others eager to continue this war.³³

2.3.2 The War against Justice and an Independent Law System

Some examples of this war have already been given. The Windrush scandal is another shocking one, revealing terrible incompetence in the Home Office led by Theresa May as well as later in her government, and the entire administration. The "Home Office offered bonuses to private firm that detained and removed citizens". People who had lived in the UK since the arrival of the Windrush

³² All quotations from Ivan Krastev, "Steve Bannon Has Found His Next Trump", *New York Times* 19-8-18 (<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/19/opinion/steve-bannon-europe-movement-far-right.html>). Cf. also Krastev, *After Europe*, Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press 2017, and its intelligent discussion by Edouard Godot, "After Europe – Thinking about Europe with Ivan Krastev", *Green Journal* 29-6-18 (<https://www.greeneuropeanjournal.eu/after-europe-thinking-about-europe-with-the-help-of-ivan-krastev/>), which says about Orban etc. that their "rhetoric of 'true Europeans' defending civilisation against hordes of barbarians is the classic thin veil thrown over a modern racist fantasy cultivated by reactionary intellectuals and their conspiracy-theorist surrogates".

³³ Quotations from Tim Shipman, "Theresa May and Jeremy Corbyn are staring down the barrel", *Sunday Times* 2-9-18 (<https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/theresa-may-and-jeremy-corbyn-are-staring-down-the-barrel-955ns3jkk>). Cf. Isabelle Hardman, "The Anyone But Boris campaign is up and running", *Guardian* 26-6-16 (<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/25/contenders-tory-party-leader-up-against-clock>). The ABB group is alive and at work.

ship in 1948 suddenly lost their British identity and the right to stay. They felt "like a lamb to the slaughter".³⁴

One of the worst examples of this widespread war against justice and the law system, however, is the general outcry that occurred when "MPs and press gang[ed] up on the constitution over High Court ruling". MPs and right-wing papers "unleashed gales of fury on the high court judges who [had] ruled that only parliament has the authority to trigger article 50 of the Treaty on European Union, the legal route for Britain to leave the EU." The *Daily Mail* called the judges "Enemies of the People", and the *Telegraph* (thought to be a broadsheet with intelligent journalists, but rightly called the *Torygraph*) also said "The judges versus the people". Were they unaware of the fact that they were using Nazi language? I don't think so. They did not care. They just wanted and still want the war against a just, lawful, fair, and free society to continue. The English right-wing, nationalist media have for a very long time been involved in undermining "the bedrock of a democratic society". They were also decisive in bringing about Brexit.³⁵

2.3.3 The War against Open Discourse and Free Media

I have tried to describe the history of the long human fight for open discourse and free media in 2016 and already pointed out strong current opposition to these achievements of humanity.³⁶ That opposition has increased dramatically because of the wars that have been going on, partly described here. The profound dissatisfactions that people are experiencing have been blamed on politicians, the elite, and the dominant media. The media's role has been widely contested, and it has become unclear what that role is and which media deserve people's trust. But once the fact of these wars is accepted, people will understand the forces influencing their lives better, and they know anyway whether they have a good job, sound lodging, trustworthy medical support, healthy food etc. While they know these truths about their lives, they must also be aware of the fact that truth is always defined by its contexts. There are no eternal truths, precisely because contexts always change in life. Essential contexts of our divisive time, the wars taking place now, are being pointed out here.

People also know that those in power have always lied, certainly from the beginning of human history. The Oxford dictionaries' word of the year 2016, 'post-truth', thus does not really describe a new phenomenon, only the increased and slightly different usage of this term. Before that one spoke of 'humbug', and Ralph Keyes had already pointed out the functions and contexts of 'post-truth' in 2004: *The Post-Truth Era: Dishonesty and Deception in Contemporary Life*. Jeet Heer gave a fitting description of Trump-speak (yes, a reference to Orwell's *1984* is intended by me) as early as 2015, when she said: "Donald Trump is Not a Liar. He's Something Worse: a Bullshit Artist".³⁷

³⁴ May Bulman, "Windrush: Home Office offered bonuses to private firm that detained and removed citizens", *Independent* 31-8-18 (<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/windrush-bonuses-home-office-capita-human-rights-committee-sajid-javid-harriet-harman-a8511786.html>). Amelia Gentleman, "Windrush scandal. 'I was like a lamb to the slaughter': deported after 35 years in the UK", *Guardian* 2-9-18. Cf. also Ann Stenhouse, "What is the Windrush scandal? How the Windrush generation got their name and why many fear deportation", *Mirror* 1-5-18 (<https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/politics/what-windrush-scandal-how-windrush-12383743>).

³⁵ Quotations from Gavin Phillipson, "Enemies of the people: MPs and press gang up on the constitution over High Court ruling", *The Conversation* 4-11-16 (<https://theconversation.com/enemies-of-the-people-mps-and-press-gang-up-on-the-constitution-over-high-court-brexit-ruling-68241>), and Editorial, "The Guardian view on Brexit ruling: the response to the courts threatens to undermine the bedrock of a democratic society", *Guardian* 4-11-16 (https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/nov/04/the-guardian-view-on-brexit-ruling-the-response-to-the-courts-threatens-to-undermine-the-bedrock-of-a-democratic-society?utm_source=eml&utm_medium=emlf&utm_campaign=newsletterrow_7nov2016&CMP_TU=mrtn&CMP_BUNIT=mem&CMP). For the media's role in Brexit, see Müller (2018).

³⁶ Müller, "Scottish Media: The Evolution of Public and Digital Power", *Scottish Studies Newsletter* 46, March 2016, 14-41 (available at http://www.fb06.uni-mainz.de/anglistik/Dateien/SSN_46.pdf or at <http://ow.ly/d/4vp2>).

³⁷ Cf. the 'Word of the Year 2016' (<https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/word-of-the-year/word-of-the-year-2016>). Max Black, *The Prevalence of Humbug*, Ithaca: Cornell UP 1985 (<http://www.ditext.com/black/humbug.html>). Ralph

Trump, of course, would never admit that he wants to be 'Big Brother', but he loves nothing more than power, apart from himself, of course. He, too, needs to be seen in the relevant contexts that define what he really means and which everybody should be aware of.

Whether you call Brexit a good or bad thing also simply depends on the contexts you see it in. The media you use provide very different contexts. And you can never understand anything without media. Because all understanding depends on language, the most important medium. The internet, the new media, the digital world would make no sense at all without your language. We have already pointed out that language reveals ideologies. If your ideology favours Brexit, you should be aware of the fact that you must then also favour Trump, neo-liberalism, and right-wing nationalist ideas. With Brexiters in power you will have to accept all the other things that are part of their ideology, things you may not even like, such as low wages for workers, high profits for big business, expensive health insurance etc. That is an essential reason why I am firmly against Brexit and favour the media that also question and criticise it, express various opinions about it, and offer further contexts.

The *Guardian* is an excellent source for this and deserves particular praise for revealing and storing the Snowden material, which the Tory government eventually forced them to destroy. Its editor-in-chief at that time, Alan Rusbridger, has just neatly expressed the situation the main media are in: "now journalism is facing an existential economic threat in the form of a tumultuous recalibration of our place in the world. And on both sides of an increasingly scratchy debate about media, politics and democracy, there is a hesitancy about whether there is still a common idea of what journalism is, and why it matters." Are there still common values, both amongst journalists and readers?

Independence from the state was such a value, but "it is now apparent that states themselves are struggling with the digital disruption that first tore through the established media and has now reshaped politics. The digital giants have not only unleashed information chaos – they have, in the blink of an eye, become arguably the most powerful organisations the world has ever seen." Not enough people are aware of this yet, but I think most will agree with his final conclusion: "we need the essential work of journalism – the calling that should, at its highest, separate lies from the truth." People need truths, things they believe in and whose validity they trust. But the key passage is this one:

The ultimate defence of journalism is that it remains a public good. But how do we measure, or value, such a public good at a time when, in the words of the political philosopher Michael Sandel, 'markets – and market values – have come to govern our lives as never before ... Markets leave their mark. Sometimes, market values crowd out non-market values worth caring about.'

That is the key point. Not only in connection with the media, but with everything in our lives. And it is inseparable from your position in the wars going on. Rusbridger is never aware of the connection between the situations he describes and the wars I have been discussing. But what he points out with Sandel here is an essential characteristic of the predominant neo-liberalism of the current Tory government and the Brexiters. Money, profit are essential, fair wages, equality etc. are obstacles reducing profit. If we allow this ideology to determine our lives, we reduce human beings, us, to commodities. Have we already done so? Yes, to an extreme extent. People have already needed the warning *You are not a gadget*, but have they responded? The majority of people seem to share Murdoch's idea of independence: "James Murdoch infamously claimed in 2009, 'The only reliable dur-

Keyes, *The Post-Truth Era: Dishonesty and Deception in Contemporary Life*, New York: St. Martin's Press 2004 (<http://www.ralphkeyes.com/the-post-truth-era/>). Jeet Heer, "Donald Trump is Not a Liar. He's Something Worse: a Bullshit Artist", *New Republic* 1-12-15 (<https://newrepublic.com/article/124803/donald-trump-not-liar>).

able and perpetual guarantor of independence is profit."³⁸ With this as the dominant ideology, expressed explicitly as well as often rather indirectly in the media and dominating people's activities, there is not much, often no room at all left for other values, such as real freedom and independence, fairness, justice, and democracy.

2.3.4 The War against Democracy

That Britain lags behind in democracy is instantly visible to other Europeans when they learn that when Brits want to vote, they need to register. Actually that means that they need to apply for something that in other countries is a common right. That is one important reason why Brits are not yet citizens, they are subjects. Subject to the authorities. Democracy in Britain, however, is in a much more terrible state than this minor, but extremely telling point reveals.

There was a referendum in 2016, in which about 52% of those who voted were for leaving the EU, some 48% wanted to remain. What the government has done since then is completely disregard the 48%, i.e. half of its population. They have also completely disregarded the Scottish vote, which was overwhelmingly for remain. The government has followed the traditional principle of first-past-the-post, which says that there is only one winner in elections, all the others do not count. The British electoral system might be good for producing winners and strong governments, but it disregards smaller parties, thus minorities, and has not produced many coalitions. There is an extreme lack of diversity produced through this system, and people voting for losers tend to feel frustrated, as their vote has no effect. A democracy would have had to find a compromise between the two parts of Britain in 2016. What we have instead is an increase in the divisions, paralleled by the stubborn insistence that 'Brexit means Brexit', and no compromise is allowed until the war is won.

That is why Theresa May has just insisted again that "There will be no second referendum on Brexit", justifying and climaxing this declaration with "it would be a gross betrayal of our democracy".³⁹ This reveals once more the understanding of democracy of the ruling Tory party: a) people with different views are totally neglected, no matter how many they are; b) change is not allowed whenever it is not wanted; c) the only thing that counts is what is intended to be achieved, which is, however, a phantasy, the objective of the dominant ideology. May's priority is to keep her job. She has shown on numerous occasions that she has no relation to people beyond this. To see her insist on no change is even more disgusting for a prime minister who has changed her red lines in the Brexit negotiations endlessly. But May perfectly reveals the Tories' understanding of democracy: it is not the people who are in power, it is the ruling party.

In 2016, Tanya Gould had fitting words about the person who might follow May and "pondered Mr. Johnson's ability or even desire to save democracy in Britain. His Conservative party has disenfranchised voters and is planning to cut funding to opposition parties. Mr. Johnson's term

³⁸ All quotations from Alan Rusbridger, "Who broke the news?", *Guardian* 31-8-18 (https://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/aug/31/alan-rusbridger-who-broke-the-news?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other), which is an edited extract from Rusbridger, *Breaking News: The Remaking of Journalism and Why It Matters Now*, London: Canongate 2018. Cf. also the ideas of the woman who took over as chief editor Katherine Viner, "A mission for journalism in a time of crisis", *Guardian* 6-11-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/news/2017/nov/16/a-mission-for-journalism-in-a-time-of-crisis>). Response to Murdoch at *Media Lens* 27-3-13 (<http://www.medialens.org/index.php/alerts/alert-archive/2009/578-trust-in-profit-james-murdoch-the-bbc-and-the-myth-of-impartiality.html>) and in the *Guardian* 5-9-09 (<https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2009/sep/05/charlie-brooker-on-james-murdoch>). Michael Sandel, *What Money Can't Buy. The Moral Limits of Markets*, New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux 2012. Jason Lanier, *You Are Not a Gadget*, New York: Knopf 2010.

³⁹ Theresa May, "There will be no second referendum on Brexit – it would be a gross betrayal of our democracy", *Telegraph* 1-9-18 (<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2018/09/01/will-no-second-referendum-brexit-would-gross-betrayal-democracy/>), begins with: "The coming months will be critical in shaping the future of our country and I am clear about my mission. This government will fulfil the democratic decision of the British people by ensuring that the UK leaves the European Union on 29th March next year – and that as we do so, we build a stronger, more meritocratic Britain that is fit for the future." Still only hopes and wishes, but no democracy.

as mayor of London, which ends this week, has been marked chiefly by crises left unsolved. (In a poll last year Londoners had the most pessimistic views of any region in Britain of his prime ministerial potential.)" This is an important point, as usually mayors get better evaluations than politicians in higher positions.

Britain's democracy has never been strong (for the reasons mentioned), but it has been further seriously damaged by Brexit. Or has Brexit simply revealed its shortcomings, certainly also further escalated by the increasing wars? In 2017, the *Guardian* expressed concern, noticing that "Democracy is dying – and it's startling how few people are worried". In 2018, Kevin McKenna thinks: "In case you have failed to notice, democracy is completely dead". I hope not completely yet, but it is so evident that "UK democracy [is] under threat and need for reform is urgent" that there have even been calls for a 'national government', formed by a coalition (!) of the parties opposing the threat of a hard Brexit.⁴⁰

Andrew Adonis was minister of state for education, transport secretary, chair of the national infrastructure commission (and many other things), and is now a Labour member in the House of Lords. He is one of the most experienced and astute analysers of the state of Britain, in support of a second referendum and of ditching Brexit, and he has summed up May's attitude to democracy concisely: "Ever since she took office, Theresa May has sought to evade and avoid parliamentary sovereignty. Her assertion of 'government sovereignty' has reached crisis point, and it is imperative it is rejected by both the Lords and Commons in this week's [debates on Brexit](#)." May thus has actually claimed the royal prerogative and in this way made parliament meaningless. That the majority of MPs has accepted this is the most explicit manifestation of **the state of democracy in Britain: parliament is meaningless and useless**.

"The irony is that Brexit is supposed to be about parliament 'taking back control'. That fiction is being steadily exposed for what is in reality a power grab by the right wing of the Conservative party, which is seeking to suppress the party's moderate and pragmatic MPs." Adonis hoped that "We should do so [i.e. fight for parliamentary sovereignty] in the tradition of the [Bill of Rights 1689](#), which declared resistance to James II's attempt to subvert the 'laws and liberties' of this kingdom by assuming a power of suspending of laws without consent of parliament." That hope has been shattered by the majority of MPs in the House of Commons. The House of Lords supported Adonis' hope.⁴¹ The constitutional crisis he speaks of again underlines the numerous links between the various wars, here the connection between democracy and the law, which is the foundation of a healthy democracy.

Democracy is threatened in the US, in Germany, actually globally. This is connected with *Global Protest* and *Anger*, for which reasons have already been given. One significant reason has not yet been mentioned: the financial crisis in 2007-8, which still has not yet been resolved, which

⁴⁰ Cf. Bagehot, "How Brexit Damaged Britain's Democracy", *Economist*, 30-3-17 (<http://www.economist.com/news/britain/21719817-our-outgoing-columnist-laments-condition-british-state-how-brexit-damaged-britains>). "Democracy is dying – and it's startling how few people are worried", *Guardian* 1-8-17 (https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/jul/31/democracy-dying-people-worried-putin-erdogan-trump-world?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other). Kevin McKenna, "In case you have failed to notice, democracy is completely dead", *National* 18-7-18 (<http://www.thenational.scot/comment/columnists/16360288.in-case-you-have-failed-to-notice-democracy-is-completely-dead/?ref=eb>). "UK democracy under threat and need for reform is urgent, says electoral regulator", *Guardian* 26-6-18 (https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/jun/26/uk-democracy-under-threat-and-reform-is-urgent-says-electoral-regulator?CMP=share_btn_tw). "Anna Soubry attacks Tory whips' threats over Brexit votes", *Guardian* 18-7-18 (https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/jul/18/anna-soubry-attacks-tory-whips-threats-over-brexit-votes?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other).

⁴¹ This says much about the attempts to reform the Lords. Quotes from Andrew Adonis, "May double-crossed Grieve over Brexit – this is a constitutional crisis", *Guardian* 17-6-18 (https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/jun/17/may-grieve-brexit-constitutional-crisis?CMP=share_btn_tw).

is why a substantially different economy is needed. If we want to stop these wars, we need significant changes. Changes in all sections of our society, as they are all intertwined, and we have already heard how the economy influences people's mentality. The key question is indeed, what society do we want to live in? The divided society of numerous wars that we currently live in and that benefits only the 1%, or a united, sharing society that allows endless differences without bitter opposition? This is the choice we have, and Sandel deserves to be quoted again:

Democracy does not require perfect equality, but it does require that citizens share in a common life. What matters is that people of different backgrounds and social positions encounter one another, and bump up against one another, in the course of everyday life. For this is how we learn to negotiate and abide our differences, and how we come to care for the common good. And so, the question of markets is really a question about how we want to live together. Do we want a society where everything is up for sale? Or are there certain moral and civic goods that markets do not honor and money cannot buy?⁴²

Which society do you want to live in? This is the question we all need to ask ourselves in the contexts of the current wars. There still is hope for a peaceful, fair society, and Jonathan Freedland's question "Can Brexit be stopped?" deserves the response he gives it: "The answer is in our hands". We should not assume, however, that democracy is the best solution. Other possibilities need to be considered and are already discussed, sometimes in connection with the awareness that our democracy is dying.⁴³

People are most important. What they think and do determines their lives. Indeed, humanity has fought hard for freedom and democracy. But democracy's delightful progress in the 20th-century stopped in the entire world at the beginning of the 21st-century: "Freedom House reckons that 2013 was the eighth consecutive year in which global freedom declined, and that its forward march peaked around the beginning of the century." Two main reasons are put forward for this: the 2007-8 financial crisis and the rise of China. A third reason is the fact that since its beginnings in the 18th and 19th centuries, "democracy has expressed itself through nation-states and national parliaments. People elect representatives who pull the levers of national power for a fixed period. But this arrangement is now under assault from both above and below." The assault from above is connected with globalisation and its institutions, like the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Or-

⁴² Michael Sandel, "What Money Can't Buy: The Skyboxification of American Life", *HuffPost* 20-6-12 (https://www.huffingtonpost.com/michael-sandel/what-money-cant-buy_b_1442128.html?guccounter=1). Earlier references are to Ivan Krastev, *Democracy Disrupted. The Politics of Global Protest*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 2014 (<http://www.upenn.edu/pennpress/book/15309.html>), who sees connections to the 2008 financial crisis, as does Joshua Green, "The Biggest Legacy of the Financial Crisis Is the Trump Presidency", *Bloomberg* 30-8-18 (<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-08-30/the-biggest-legacy-of-the-financial-crisis-is-the-trump-presidency>). *Journal of Democracy* has a 30' interview with Krastev on his book (<https://www.journalofdemocracy.org/after-europe-interview-ivan-krastev>). Pankaj Mishra, *Age of Anger. A History of the Present*, New York: Macmillan 2017. On the 1%, cf. Joseph E. Stiglitz, *The Great Divide: Unequal Societies and What We Can Do About Them*, New York: Norton 2016 and Jane Mayer, *Dark Money: The Hidden History of the Billionaires Behind the Rise of the Radical Right*, New York 2016.

⁴³ Jonathan Freedland, "Can Brexit be stopped? The answer is in our hands", *Guardian* 23-6-17 (https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/jun/23/brexit-stopped-answer-in-our-hands-leave?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other). Jason Brennan, *Against Democracy*, Princeton: Princeton UP 2016, "in light of widespread voter incompetence" emphasises the importance of knowledge and favours "epistocracy, The Rule of Knowers", whereas for David Van Reybrouck, *Against Elections. The Case for Democracy*, London: Bodley Head 2016, 'sortition' is a better solution. Cf. also Colin Crouch, *Post-Democracy*, London: Polity Press 2004. Steven Levitsky / Daniel Ziblatt, *How Democracies Die. What History Reveals About Our Future*, New York: Penguin 2018. David Runciman, *How Democracy Ends*, London: Profile Books 2018. Nancy McClean, *Democracy in Chains: The Deep History of the Radical Right's Stealth Plan for America*, London 2017. Paul Evans, *Save Democracy – Abolish Voting. Political corruption, justice and the ritual of balloting*, *Democratic Society* 2018 (<http://www.demsoc.org/2017/11/14/ideas-of-democracy-save-democracy-abolish-voting/>).

ganisation etc., with strong influences on each nation. Forces against nations from below exist in all independence movements as well as in so-called "'micro-powers', such as NGOs and lobbyists, which are disrupting traditional politics and making life harder for democratic and autocratic leaders alike."

The biggest challenge to democracy, however, comes neither from above nor below but from within—from the voters themselves. Plato's great worry about democracy, that citizens would 'live from day to day, indulging the pleasure of the moment', has proved prescient. Democratic governments got into the habit of running big structural deficits as a matter of course, borrowing to give voters what they wanted in the short term, while neglecting long-term investment. France and Italy have not balanced their budgets for more than 30 years. The financial crisis starkly exposed the unsustainability of such debt-financed democracy.⁴⁴

The description of citizens "'liv[ing] from day to day, indulging the pleasure of the moment'" clearly fits many people in all times, Plato's as well as our own. But the logic is wrong: the biggest challenge to democracy has not come from voters, but from governments which have run up huge amounts of debt. The US and Britain have done and are still doing this, thus threatening democracy terribly and acting totally irresponsibly. Debt is a universal bomb that might explode any time.⁴⁵ And one cannot really blame voters only. But debt-financed democracy will not survive. Politics must change as well as the entire economic system.

It is worth remembering Willy Brandt here as a fairly good practitioner of democracy but also because of the warning he expressed: "In the mid-1970s Willy Brandt, a former German chancellor, pronounced that 'western Europe has only 20 or 30 more years of democracy left in it; after that it will slide, engineless and rudderless, under the surrounding sea of dictatorship'." This is a very good description of the dangers we are in. The *Economist* still has hope in the vitality and creativity of democracy when it is "both assiduously nurtured when it is young—and carefully maintained when it is mature." They in particular suggest carefully planned experiments "combining technocracy with direct democracy, and upward and downward delegation—if democracy is to zigzag its way back to health."

Finland's experience with "'e-democracy'" has indeed been rather positive, as it enables direct participation of citizens in local or national decision making. Jamie Bartlett also speaks about *How the internet is killing democracy (and how we can save it)*. But there is also the enormous danger that our democracy might be replaced by an 'algoricracy', the rule of algorithms. Artificial intelligence can indeed be used to the benefit of humanity, or it might once again just help the 1% who already are in power.⁴⁶

There is one final enormous threat to democracy that most people are not at all aware of. I myself was ignorant of it, until I read Yuval Noah Harari's excellent two books on human history. His most recent text, *Homo Deus. A Brief History of Tomorrow*, describes human evolution to the con-

⁴⁴ All quotations from the *Economist* Essay "What's gone wrong with democracy", March 2014 (<https://www.economist.com/news/essays/21596796-democracy-was-most-successful-political-idea-20th-century-why-has-it-run-trouble-and-what-can-be-do>), no author(s) name(s) given.

⁴⁵ Here is a choice of very different sources: YouTube (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GXcLVDhS8fM>); *Guardian* 25-1-18 (<https://www.theguardian.com/society/2018/jan/25/universal-credit-benefits-scheme-iain-duncan-smith>); *Independent* 20-1-13 (<https://www.independent.co.uk/money/loans-credit/1430000000000-britains-personal-debt-timebomb-8950372.html>) saying that "Britain's personal debt bomb" is ticking at £1.43 trillion; *US News* 16-2-18 (<https://www.usnews.com/news/economy/articles/2018-02-16/americas-debt-bomb>) says the US is "\$20 trillion in debt"; China is equally indebted.

⁴⁶ Jamie Bartlett, *People Vs Tech. How the internet is killing democracy (and how we can save it)*, London: Ebony Press 2018. Hannah Steinharter / Michael Maisch, "Wenn Algorithmen den Menschen diskriminieren", *Handelsblatt* 26-8-18 (<https://hbapp.handelsblatt.com/cmsid/22949674.html>), speak about democracy possibly replaced by algoricracy, thus discriminating against human beings. Jerry Kaplan, *Artificial Intelligence. What Everyone Needs to Know*, Oxford: Oxford UP 2016 is an excellent survey of AI, but does not discuss its effects on democracy.

temporary endeavours to turn human beings into God. Today's science, he says, especially computer science and biology, have adopted "The Data Religion", which believes that all organisms, whether "giraffes, tomatoes [or] human beings" "are algorithms". In this context, "human political structures [are increasingly interpreted] as data-processing systems." "This implies that [...] democracy might decline and even disappear." "Freedom of information [...] is not given to humans. It is given to *information*."⁴⁷ Harari's arguments are strong, and I have only a few objections.

The main point for me in his description of where we are moving to, however, is incontestable, and it says: yes, of course, human beings have always fought for freedom, and they have obtained the current form of democracy. But these freedoms and this democracy have not only been achieved because of human struggles and fighting. They have in fact mostly been granted to the people by the authorities, as these urgently needed human beings for the growth of industries, for wars, for the many changes brought about by the industrial revolution. Today, however, there is no longer any need for many people. Their jobs will soon be done by machines, and even wars will be fought by autonomous weapons, killer machines. This is an understanding of human history that urgently needs to be taken into account. It is essentially connected with the wars that have been described, and everybody will know what neo-liberals and Brexiters will do in this context. This makes it even more difficult and urgent for all of us to fight for democracy and a humane society. Otherwise all our freedoms will soon be completely wiped away. We will feel like the people in Sunderland, or even worse.⁴⁸

3. Solutions: You = Us = A Culture of Communality

3.1 Expect No Help from Labour

Solutions in the Brexit war fought by the Tories in the terrible economic, social, political, and moral situation Britain is in should, of course, come from the opposition.⁴⁹ Labour, however, has its own civil war with people fighting either against Jeremy Corbyn or for him. At the beginning, I was strongly in favour of Corbyn, as he seemed to be a fresh voice, like Bernie Sanders in the US, wanting to improve the common people's lives. This was what indeed brought many people, especially young ones, to join Labour.

Now, however, I have experienced Corbyn as somebody who has absolutely no new ideas, is stuck in the old-fashioned ideology of the past, is totally destructive to what Labour should stand for, and actually constantly repeats the same empty words about Brexit that May always uses. Corbyn even supports a hard Brexit.⁵⁰ In the 2016 campaign against Brexit, Corbyn and his entire

⁴⁷ Quotations from Harari, *Homo Deus. A Brief History of Tomorrow*, London: Vintage 2017, 429, 435, 446. Harari's earlier book is *Sapiens. A Brief History of Humankind*, London: Vintage 2014.

⁴⁸ It is in precisely this context that I have decided not to retire silently but to continue this fight for freedom and democracy. I am thus working on an edition to be published in 2020 on the occasion of the 700th anniversary of the Declaration of Arbroath, this wonderful early Scottish demand for the freedom and autonomy of the people. For further information on this, contact me at kmueller@uni-mainz.de.

⁴⁹ Excellent further descriptions of the current state of Britain, written from very different perspectives, are provided by Polly Toynbee / David Walker, *Dismembered. How the attack on the state harms us all*, London: Faber & Faber 2017. A valuable short depiction of the economic situation is "Pain or Promise: Where Brexit Matters Most", *Bloomberg* 15-6-17 (<https://www.bloomberg.com/graphics/2017-brexiteffect-on-industry/>). David Andress, *Cultural Dementia. How the West has Lost its History, and Risks Losing Everything Else*, London: Apollo 2018 offers much more than just a perfect metaphor for the state of Britain. George Monbiot always deserves to be mentioned and even presents some prospects in *Out of the Wreckage. A New Politics for an Age of Crisis*, London: Verso 2017.

⁵⁰ Cf. Therese Raphael, "Don't Expect Labour to Mop Up UK Brexit Mess", *Bloomberg* 19-7-18 (<https://www.bloomberg.com/view/articles/2018-07-19/brexit-the-labour-party-is-just-as-divided-as-the-conservatives>) "Jeremy Corbyn's party is just as divided as Theresa May's Conservatives". George Kerevan, "We have plenty of problems already – but major ones are still to come", *National* 3-7-17 (<http://www.thenational.scot/politics/15385497-George-Kerevan-We-have-plenty-of-problems-already-but-major-ones-are-still-to-come/?ref=eb>) Labour supporting the Tory's hard Brexit is just one of them. Stephen Bush, "Meet the tweeting former postman

team, led by Seamus Milne, were a complete disaster. Not only has Corbyn been an "appalling leader" all the time, "McDonnell and Seumas have got him by the ears", as a "Labour insider" puts it (Shipman 2017, 345), he has also been deceiving, dishonest, pretending to do something which he never intended to do and never performed. Transparency, a key quality of democracy, is completely missing in his Labour party. I like to watch Prime Minister's Questions at noon on Wednesdays, and Corbyn, who should reveal the terrible state Britain is in and the Tory government's responsibility for this, is an incompetent figure, often ridiculed, unable to extemporise, clumsily sticking to his script, and even often forgetting to actually ask a question.⁵¹

There is also no democracy in his party: he has repeatedly opposed another referendum on Scottish independence, he (and always his entire team) want to evict members and MPs who dare to have their own opinions, and he refuses to form a cross-party coalition to fight against Brexit.⁵² Alan Johnson, who had been put "in charge of a totally separate 'Labour In for Britain' campaign" in 2016, characterises Corbyn perfectly: "'We all knew Jeremy was against [the EU]. He's not changed his mind about anything since he was fifteen; why would he change his mind on that?'" (Shipman 2017, 74f) No change as far as Corbyn is concerned. He is the same as May, also working for his own and the party's benefit, not for the people. Whether he will eventually allow the people to vote again about Brexit or the final deal is not at all certain. He has been opposed to it so far. Labour Party conference on 23 Sept 2018, a week before the Tory conference, will show whether Labour will allow the people to have their voice heard or not.⁵³

3.2 Excellent Ideas from People's Initiatives

One could write an entire book about movements organised by people who are dissatisfied with politics and who clearly see the difficulties in the entire state as well as in their local communities. I can only mention some of them. One of the best, and one I have given my support for a long time (Müller 2014) is the Scottish organisation Common Weal, whose name instantly tells you what it is about, and it has an excellent history of not only creating sound ideas for improving society but also of trying to turn these ideas into reality.⁵⁴

who became Jeremy Corbyn's biggest trade union ally", *New Statesman* 3-7-17 (<http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/staggers/2017/07/meet-tweeting-former-postman-who-became-jeremy-corbyns-biggest-trade-union>).

⁵¹ Cf. "PMQs verdict: Corbyn resorts to empty slogans on Vote Leave and Brexit", *Guardian* 18-7-18 (https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/jul/18/pmqs-verdict-corbyn-resorts-to-empty-slogans-on-vote-leave-and-brexite?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other).

⁵² "Jeremy Corbyn: I will fight tirelessly against independence vote", *National* 15-5-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15287634.Jeremy_Corbyn_I_will_fight_tirelessly_against_independence_vote/?ref=mr&lp=2). "SNP savage Corbyn for snubbing cross-party Brexit summit", *Sunday Herald* 7-1-18 (SNP savage Corbyn for snubbing cross-party Brexit summit). Michael Savage, "Labour faces shake-up that will make it easier to deselect MPs", *Observer* 2-9-18 (https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/sep/01/corbynites-labour-rule-changes-remove-mps-hard-left?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other).

⁵³ Cf. Marion Fellows, "An open letter to Jeremy Corbyn: Stop working with the Tories", *National* 21-8-18 (<http://www.thenational.scot/news/16587776.an-open-letter-to-jeremy-corbyn-stop-working-with-the-tories/?ref=appshr>). Tasmina Ahmet-Sheikh, "Corbyn is so far left on Brexit he's on the same side as the far right", *National* 14-2-18 (http://www.thenational.scot/politics/15991648.Corbeyn_is_so_far_left_on_Brexit_he_s_on_the_same_side_as_the_far_right/?ref=mr&lp=4). Luke Lythgoe, "Corbyn under increasing pressure to back People's Vote", *InFacts* 28-8-18 (<https://infacts.org/corbyn-under-increasing-pressure-to-back-peoples-vote/>). Nick Cohen, "Don't tell me you weren't warned about Corbyn", *Guardian* 19-3-17 (https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/mar/19/jeremy-corbyn-labour-threat-party-election-support?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other).

⁵⁴ Check their website generally (<http://scottishcommonweal.org/>) and for their political concepts (<https://www.commonspace.scot/policy>). Kathleen Nutt, "Common Weal to launch campaign for Scottish currency", *The National* 19-6-18 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/16298740.Common_Weal_to_launch_campaign_for_Scottish_currency/?ref=eb) speaks about their ideas of a Scottish currency. "A Citizens' Assembly for the Scottish Parliament" (<https://www.commonspace.scot/articles/10433/new-report-citizens-assembly-scottish-parliament>) is another

Of the many other initiatives only very few can be mentioned here with very different degrees of activism, people involved, and all forms of organising themselves: InFacts has the clear objective to Stop Brexit (<https://infacts.org/>), so has Brexit Shambles (<http://www.brexitshambles.com/>), Bright Green sees itself as a green and progressive movement (<http://bright-green.org/>), In Conversation (<https://theconversation.com/uk/who-we-are>) intends to "underpin a functioning democracy". There are also Open Democracy UK (<https://www.opendemocracy.net/uk/about>), Wings Over Scotland (<http://wingsoverscotland.com/>), the US Democracy Initiative (<http://www.democracyinitiative.org/>), the German citizens' movement Campact (<https://www.campact.de/>), and Abgeordnetenwatch, controlling members of parliament and thus creating transparency (<https://www.abgeordnetenwatch.de/>). The *Democratic Society* has its headquarters in Brussels, but works in many places (<http://www.demsoc.org/>) for "Better democracy, everywhere". A good example is their work in Scotland on 'Digital Tools for Participatory Budgeting'. This is a key idea: defining the budget (on all levels) with the participation of the people concerned.⁵⁵

Change in the economic system is vital for improving the living and working conditions in Britain and all over the world. Politicians have not yet learned this, nor have most economists. But the situation is actually evident, and it is what we have always had, just again described in connection with the Labour and the Tory parties, who won't listen and never heed criticism, not even sound advice: "Long before today's polarised politics and angry mobs, it was the powerful who could not brook dissent. The result was the first financial crash, then political crisis, ultimately breeding this decade's extremism." The powerful not brooking dissent and not listening to the warnings expressed before the financial crisis included Alan Greenspan, head of the US Federal Reserve in 2007, his follower Bernanke as well as US president Bill Clinton and British prime ministers Tony Blair and Gordon Brown. Business people were largely ignorant about what was coming in 2007, they lacked basic knowledge about the products that were sold, and too many of them are still ignorant as well as unwilling to critically analyse and change the situation today.⁵⁶

I can mention only three examples of current organisations trying to produce changes in the economy, keeping in mind that Common Weal also works on this. **Economics** claims to be involved in the "Next Evolution of Ecology". It started in the US, but has contributors from Canada, England, France etc. (<http://economics.com/writers/>), which means they are academics producing new theories and research. A good, short description of their work is provided in the subtitle of an interview between two protagonists, Tim O'Reilly and David Sloan Wilson: "Evolutionary theory meets artificial intelligence and the management of algorithms." (http://economics.com/new-economy-evolution-oreilly-wilson/?utm_source=newsletter_campaign=organic)

Another institution, the **Institute of Public Policy Research** (IPPR), a registered charity and progressive think tank with sections in England, the North, and Scotland, has created a Commission for Economic Justice, in order to "spark a conversation on the challenges facing the UK economy and the need for reform." (<https://www.ippr.org/cej>) Their website gives a good idea of their various projects, and they have just published a report on *The Invisible Land: The hidden force driving the UK's unequal economy and broken housing market*, arguing "that reform of the dysfunctional land market is essential, if the UK is to be a more equal, more productive and stable society." (Free to download at <https://www.ippr.org/research/publications/the-invisible-land>) Nobody can seriously deny that this is absolutely true, and there have been strong endeavours to bring about land reform in Scotland, too.

example of their efforts to improve democracy and people's involvement in vital decisions.

⁵⁵ More organisations at the Grassroots Directory (<http://grassrootsdirectory.org/>) and the Scottish Studies Weblinks (<http://www.fb06.uni-mainz.de/anglistik/75.php>).

⁵⁶ Aditya Chakraborty, "Ten years after Lehman's, it's as if we've learned nothing from the crash", *Guardian* 5-9-18 (https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/sep/05/ten-years-financial-crash-lehman-austerity-debt?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other).

This commission's final report has just been published and got an intriguing response from Paul Mason, a Labour supporter with useful insights and ideas. He thinks that this "new economic plan could make Labour the natural party of government". He acknowledges that Labour would have to change its position on Brexit dramatically, but sees no alternative. Let's see what change Mason can bring about at the Labour conference.⁵⁷ I wish him much success, as one thing is absolutely certain: the Labour party still is much better than the Tories. And Labour can improve considerably, if they use this helpful IPPR plan intelligently.

The third institution is the **Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose**, a department of University College London. Their lecture series in cooperation with the British Library 'Rethinking Public Value and Public Purpose in 21st-Century Capitalism' (<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/bartlett/public-purpose/events/2018/sep/iipp-and-british-library-partner-deliver-cutting-edge-lecture-series-public-value>) directly expresses what they are dealing with. This is a bit more explicit:

Key to the institute's approach is the idea that in order to achieve public value through public purpose we must rethink how policies are justified. The state can act as a crucial partner for innovation and structural change; more about co-creating and co-shaping markets rather than just fixing them. This also requires thinking about the dynamic capabilities needed to welcome experimentation, and how to evaluate activities in a dynamic way outside of the narrow focus of cost-benefit analysis. (<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/bartlett/public-purpose/about-us>)

They have all kinds of projects, e.g. one on developing a better monetary policy, again something Common Weal also works on (PDF at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/bartlett/public-purpose/publications/2018/aug/bringing-helicopter-ground>). The institute's most prominent representative is its director Mariana Mazzucato, who in February 2018 also advised the Scottish government on establishing a new public investment bank (<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/bartlett/public-purpose/news/2018/feb/iipp-director-plays-key-role-launch-scotlands-new-public-investment-bank>), an extremely important element of independence. Her books emphasise *The Entrepreneurial State*, where she debunks the myth that entrepreneurs, i.e. private business, produce real progress and the state is at best just in the background. With the state, the people are involved, the community, not just individuals, which is what Mazzucato supports. *The Value of Everything* continues this discussion and asks, who really creates wealth in the world, and how do we decide the value of what they do? She challenges the current situation in the financial market where value-extraction is more highly rewarded than value-creation, and she is also co-editor with Michael Jacobs of *Rethinking Capitalism*, trying to create sustainable and inclusive growth.⁵⁸

3.3 Stop the Wars – Create a Culture of Local & International Community

These people's initiatives and the organisations mentioned are highly intriguing undertakings. At last some people have woken up and are working on how our society can be improved. The key question, however, is, will their helpful ideas ever become reality? Or will strife continue, the wars

⁵⁷ IPPR, "Prosperity and Justice: A plan for the new economy – The final report of the IPPR Commission on Economic Justice" 5-9-18 (<https://www.ippr.org/research/publications/prosperity-and-justice>) (PDF there). Paul Mason, "A new economic plan that could make Labour the natural party of government", *New Statesman* 5-9-18 (<https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/economy/2018/09/new-economic-plan-could-make-labour-natural-party-government>).

⁵⁸ (<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/bartlett/public-purpose/people/mariana-mazzucato>). All of her books provide valuable insights and are highly recommendable: Mazzucato, *The Entrepreneurial State. Debunking Public vs Private Sector Myths*, London: Penguin 2018. *The Value of Everything. Making and Taking in the Economy*, London: Allen Lane 2018. *Rethinking Capitalism. Economics and Policy for Sustainable and Inclusive Growth*, Oxford: Wiley Blackwell 2018 (<https://marianamazzucato.com/publications/rethinking-capitalism/>), where one can download the first 40 pages. They also have a YouTube channel (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WUWJ8ZiN9WQ&list=PLCB5zYFnXOqwO_TmD1Lp95iospnYfFj_n&index=1).

for power, fame, and wealth? The wars of the few in power against the many, us, the people, who are always the fools paying the bills and suffering from decisions they have not initiated? We have only limited strengths, but we should be aware of the fact that numbers count, and politicians cannot endlessly disregard what people want. When we want to end these wars, we must replace strife and division with more harmony and unity, including the democratic diversity described by Michael Sandel. This is why this chapter has its slightly odd title **Solutions: Only You = Us = A Culture of Communality**. Divisions must be ended by the experience that you, whoever you are, maybe the stranger, the other, the foreigner, the refugee, you are part of us, our neighbour. Because you are simply part of humanity, just like us. We all are part of a community that cannot endure endless wars. Humanity will survive only if we stop these wars on all levels: individually, locally, nationally, and internationally. Which is why international unions like the EU are essential for both peace and prosperity. They can also and must deliver fair trade, democracy and freedom for local communities, not big business.

If we cannot accept this, the wars will go on endlessly. And this time, they might end in the complete annihilation of humankind. If we do not want this, we need to work hard to improve human life, our society, law, justice, morality, and democracy. Right now, the situation Britain and actually all of us are in is best represented by the image of Grenfell Tower burning.⁵⁹ Grenfell is the place of human suffering from the wars described, and a terrible example of the total disrespect of and utter contempt for the safety and wellbeing of the people by the Tory authorities in one of the richest boroughs of London, Kensington and Chelsea. If we are not very careful and very active in our opposition to all of the wars described, all of Britain and all of us will become Grenfell, too.

⁵⁹ The photo was taken by Nathalie Oxford (https://twitter.com/Natalie_Oxford) (@Natalie_Oxford @aviationcom mons), whom I thank for her permission to use it here under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International licence. (https://twitter.com/Natalie_Oxford/status/875001457476608001). Cf. also the 100 Day Report (<http://grenfell.getwestlondon.co.uk/index.html>) with excellent information on the victims, comments by police and firefighters, the mayor, councillor, videos. "Brexit's Like a 'Building on Fire' and Buyout Firms Are Circling", *Bloomberg* 5-9-18 (https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-09-05/brexit-s-like-a-building-on-fire-and-buyout-firms-are-circling?cmpid=BBBXT090618_BIZ&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&utm_term=180906&utm_campaign=brexit) with a video showing that 'UK Would Vote Against Brexit Now'. The Grenfell Action Group (<https://grenfellaactiongroup.wordpress.com/>). Edward Platt, "Grenfell Tower: chronicle of a tragedy foretold", *New Statesman* 9-10-17 (<https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2017/10/grenfell-tower-chronicle-tragedy-foretold>). "Grenfell documentary review – a profoundly moving testament to enduring grief", *Guardian* 11-6-18 (https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2018/jun/11/grenfell-documentary-review?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other). On the Grenfell Tower Inquiry (<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-41262914>) and more topical (<https://www.grenfelltowerinquiry.org.uk/>). The Inquiry resumed on 6-9-18.

4. The Perfect Image of the State of Britain: Grenfell Tower Burning



Scottish National Investment Bank Success

One of Common Weal's flagship policies, a Scottish National Investment Bank (SNIB), was backed unanimously by delegates at SNP's Spring Conference.

Common Weal has campaigned for a SNIB since we were established and before the turn of the new year identified it as a key domestic campaign target. While the SNP motion does not make SNIB official Scottish Government policy it is an excellent endorsement and gives the campaign greater weight and legitimacy.

A Scottish National Investment Bank is something that can be established now and set the ground running for an independent Scotland becoming a world centre of ethical and sustainable finance. Using Scottish Government figures for job creation from capital investment, the report states that such a bank could directly support the creation of 50,000 jobs “within just a few years of being established”.

You can read the joint Common Weal and New Economics Foundation report on a Blueprint for a Scottish National Investment Bank [here](#).

Common Space 6-2-17

New Report - Building Scotland's Future Now: A new approach to financing public investment

Report advocates combination of Scottish National Investment Bank and Scottish National Investment Company to lead new public investment strategy

A NEW public model for investment in Scotland's infrastructure could be significantly cheaper and more sustainable than private financing, a new report by Common Weal has argued.

The report, ‘Building Scotland's future now: A new approach to financing public investment’, [can be read in full here](#).

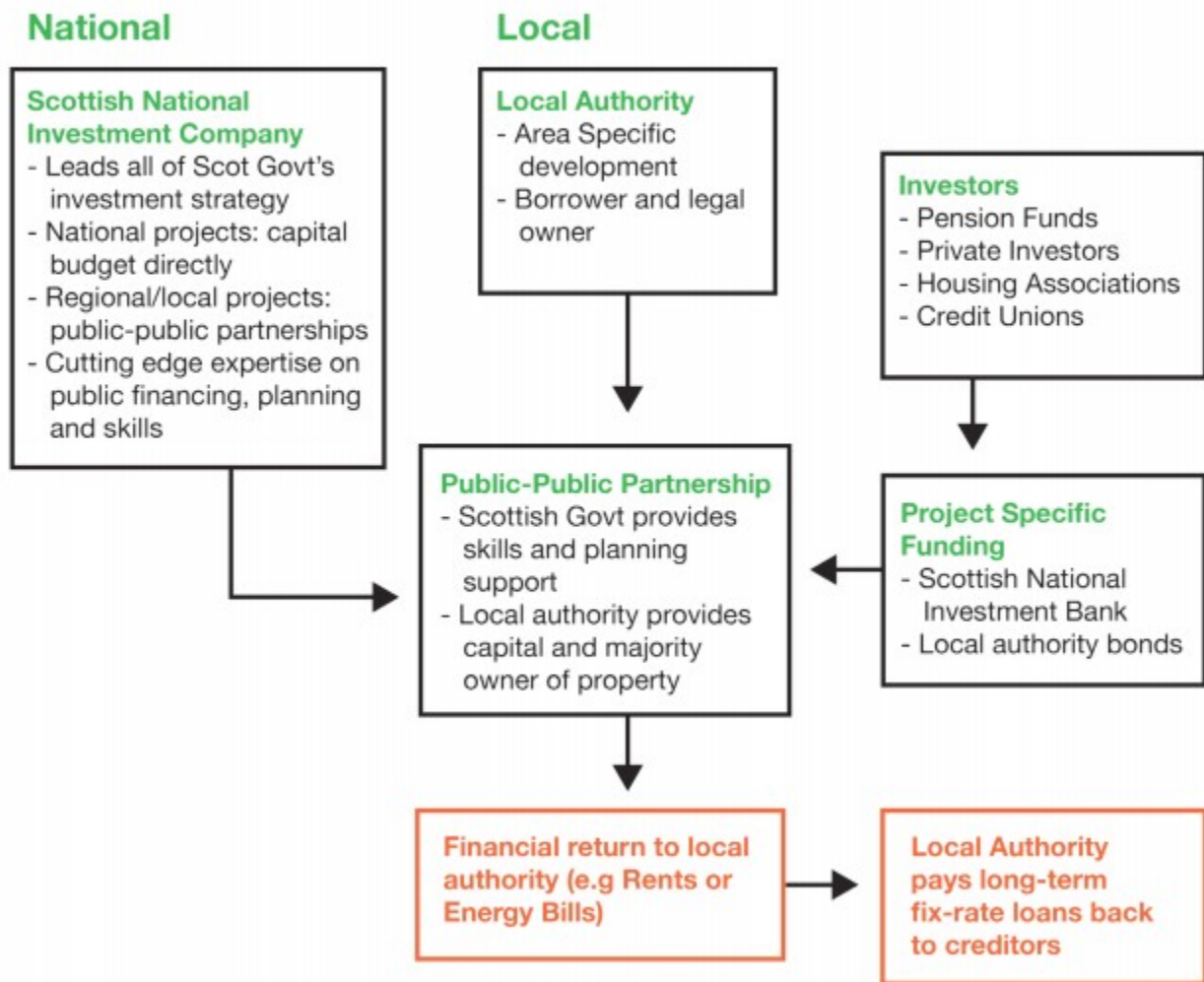
The report has been timed to coincide with the launch of [Protect Our Future](#), a new campaign for ending the use of public-private partnership (PPP) in Scotland and advocating sustainable alternatives.

The report outlines a detailed new design model for how the Scottish Government could boost public investment in Scotland and do so at significantly reduced cost. Key points include:

- The Scottish Government's Non-Profit Distribution (NPD) model has been undermined by changes to accountancy rules, making NPD now cost ineffective in both the short and long-term. Combined with a total debt ceiling of 5 per cent of future revenue spending, the public-private partnership approach – whether PFI, NPD or Hub – is rapidly approaching the point of being obsolete.
- In 2007 the new SNP Government intended to establish the Scottish Futures Trust to replace PFI and “design, build, finance, operate, manage and own the facilities created”. One year later this plan was watered down to co-ordinate public-private partnerships. The report proposes returning to the spirit of the original idea, in the form of a Scottish National Investment Company, which would lead the Scottish Government's public investment strategy.
- Additionally, whereas the Scottish Government has tight restrictions on its borrowing capacity by Treasury rules, local authorities do not. Currently, local government's investment potential is restricted by unsustainable debts to the private sector, especially in the form of ‘Lobo’ loans. A Scottish National Investment Bank could provide long-term, low-cost loans to local authorities for investment, as could the creation of local authority bonds.
- The combination of a Scottish National Investment Bank providing loans to local authorities and a new Scottish National Investment Company to replace SFT could create a dynamic new public in-

vestment relationship between Scottish Government and local authorities to the mutual benefit of both. Local authorities would borrow the money and the Scottish National Investment Company would provide free planning, legal, construction and design services. This would be a new public-public partnership model (see graphic below).

Public Investment Strategy



Co-author and Head of Policy at Common Weal, Ben Wray, said of the report: "Whether it's PFI or the Scottish government's private finance model, the public-private partnership model of investment in Scotland's schools and hospitals no longer has any value for taxpayers. It's far too expensive and is a burden on the public-sector now and in the future. UK Government austerity is bad enough; reducing the budget further through excessive debt repayments is self-inflicted damage.

"That's why we are proposing a new public model of investment. This will also be a partnership but it will be between the Scottish Government and local authorities, and it will be much cheaper and mutually beneficial than PPP. Through establishing a Scottish National Investment Bank and a Scottish National Investment Company, Scotland can massively boost public investment in Scotland, supporting the economy and the public-sector.

"Every pound saved on the building of public infrastructure is a pound extra that could be spent on teachers and nurses. We hope the Scottish Government and local authorities take a close look at our proposal as the Council elections near."

Authors: Iain Cairns, independent researcher; Christine Cooper, professor of Accounting and Finance at the University of Strathclyde; Andrew Watterson, professor and head of the Occupational and Environmental Health Research Group at Stirling University; and Ben Wray, Head of Policy at Common Weal.

New Scottish Poetry

Peter McCarey was born in Glasgow and lives in Geneva. His first book was *Hugh MacDiarmid and the Russians* (Scottish Academic Press). His early poetry, *Collected Contraptions*, was published by Carcanet in 2011. The poem in this issue of the *Scottish Studies Newsletter* is from The Syllabary - www.thesyllabary.com - which has featured at StAnza, the Berlin Poetry Festival, the Geneva Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art and elsewhere. *Find an Angel and Pick a Fight*, on poetry, philosophy and language, was published by Molecular Press in 2013 and described in the London Review Bookshop poetry picks of the year as "Contrary, generous, intermittently barmy, always readable".

Eels Boiled in Brew

Lord Randall, quoth his true-love,
Coating her hands in flour,
Du musst dein Leben ändern;
Picking the eels out one by one,
Cutting throat and spine with scissors.
You whit?
It's Rilke: You must change your life.
Rilke, is it? And what's for tea?

[With thanks to Peter McCarey]

John Galt – Observer and Recorder

Scotland in the 1820s was home to three remarkable but very different novelists. Sir Walter Scott had his intricately-plotted and highly romantic historical tales. James Hogg explored the darker recesses of the Presbyterian psyche and John Galt drew realistic portraits of societies adjusting to the unprecedented changes forced on them by the Industrial Revolution.

Of these three, Galt may be Scottish literature's best kept secret, at least up till now, since there has lately been an increase in both critical and public attention with the formation of the John Galt Society and the publication and preparation of new editions and new interpretations of his works. He was extremely popular in his own time and sold well throughout the nineteenth century but somehow fell out of favour in the twentieth. This article gives a very brief introduction to Galt's extraordinary life and suggests why he is deserving of both scholarly analysis and being read for pleasure.

Galt's life is a key to understanding his literature and it was full of incident. He was born in 1779 in Irvine, at that time a thriving port about 50 kilometres south west of Glasgow, the son of a ship's captain engaged in the West India trade. The family moved to Greenock, a bigger seaport nearer to Glasgow, when Galt was 10 years old. There he completed his education and began working at age 16 for a merchant company. In 1804 he left Greenock for London and went into partnership with a fellow Scot but the venture ended in bankruptcy. He satisfied his creditors and in 1809 went to the Mediterranean to improve his health.

He spent 2 years travelling round the Mediterranean, concocted an unsuccessful scheme to enable British goods to beat Napoleon's blockade of continental Europe, became friendly with Lord Byron and on his return in 1812 published an account of his travels to modest success.

Back in London he subsisted mainly by journalism until he was appointed as Parliamentary Agent for the Union Canal Company which required the approval of Parliament to construct a canal to enable goods to travel by barge between Glasgow and Edinburgh. Galt's role was what we would now call a lobbyist and "fixer". By cultivating the appropriate members of both the Lords and Commons he ensured the passage of the necessary legislation and his success brought him many other clients, including a group of Canadian gentlemen seeking compensation from the British Government for losses suffered while defending Canada against US invasion during the war of 1812-14. He took on their case on a no win, no fee basis.

Galt soon discovered that, then as now, the Government would be lavish with sympathy but short with money. He also realised that, nominally at least, the Government owned vast tracts of undeveloped land in Upper Canada (now Ontario). He therefore came up with a scheme whereby a company would be formed to buy land wholesale from the Government, put in some infrastructure like roads and bridges and then sell the land in retail lots to settlers and immigrants. He expected that the money paid to the Government would be used to meet the claims of his clients but in the event the Government kept the money to meet the expenses of the Colonial administration.

Nevertheless, the Canada Company was formed and received a royal charter in 1826. Galt was appointed as its superintendent and he set sail from Britain in Oct of that year, reaching Canada in December. Unfortunately, and in a recurring pattern in Galt's business life, he yet again snatched defeat from the jaws of victory. He was overworked, lacked useful support, found himself at odds with the reactionary establishment in Upper Canada and had failed to impress on his Directors that this was a medium to long term venture in terms of profit.

Yet his methods were sound, he founded two cities and he was popular with the settlers who gave him an address of gratitude on his departure in 1829. The principles he established remained unchanged after his departure and delivered profits for the Canada Company from the 1830s until it was wound up in 1953.

With profits slower to arrive than the Directors expected they recalled Galt to London in 1829 where he was promptly arrested for a debt he could not pay and spent some months in the King's Bench prison. Like Sir Walter Scott in similar circumstances, Galt wrote his way out of his financial problems, then suffered a series of strokes and retired to Greenock where he lived quietly, although still writing, until his death in 1839.

The business failures and setbacks meant that Galt was generally dependant on his writing to make a living for his wife and three sons who all, incidentally, made a significant mark in Canada. As well as the novels for which he is chiefly remembered, plays, poems, biographies, histories, school text books, travel writing and journalism on any and all conceivable subjects poured from his pen. With such a vast output it is inevitable that there is some dross, yet the nuggets are substantial and more than repay the search.

After the account of his Mediterranean journeys and a biography of Benjamin West, the American President of the Royal Academy, he really came to the attention of the literary public in 1820

with the publication of *The Ayrshire Legatees*, an epistolary novel recounting the experiences of a family of unsophisticated country folk who have to travel to London to collect a substantial legacy left to them by a distant relative who had made his fortune in India.

The novel was a best seller and was followed in quick succession by, among others, *Annals of the Parish*, *The Entail* and *The Provost*, which has a good claim to be the first political novel in English. It is derived from Galt's study of Machiavelli but with more humanity and better jokes. These four novels, which are among Galt's best, have recently been published in a single edition, edited and with a foreword by Professor Ian Campbell of Edinburgh University.⁶⁰

Galt was a child of the Enlightenment and read widely among its foremost thinkers, especially of course the Scots like David Hume and Adam Smith but he was always less concerned with abstract philosophies than with their practical application and results. Thus his greatest debt is to the historian Dugald Stewart who coined the term "theoretical history" and used the method to postulate the likely causes of historical events and developments. Stewart stated that he would 'take the liberty of giving the title 'theoretical or conjectural history' to the process of 'supplying the place of fact by conjecture... from the principles of their nature and the circumstances of their external situation'. He went on to explain that: 'when we cannot trace the process by which an event *has been* produced, it is often of importance to be able to show how it *may have been* produced, by natural causes. [...] To this species of philosophical investigation, which has no appropriate name in our language, I shall take the liberty of giving the title of *Theoretical or Conjectural History*'.⁶¹ This is exactly what Galt is doing with current developments in society. He said that his novels 'would be more properly characterised, in several instances, as theoretical histories', and that he had restrained 'the scope of inventions entirely to probabilities'. Such a method might be applied today in the making of dramatized documentaries.

Galt was a peerless observer of humanity and realised that all these new ideas which had given rise to new methods of agriculture and manufacturing, ushering in the industrial revolution, would have profound consequences for the people who were living through it. In his 2 North American novels, *Lawrie Todd* and *Bogle Corbett*, he shows how communities may be built from scratch but in the *Annals* and *The Provost* he shows how long-established communities are fundamentally changed. The relationships between the classes, the alienation of the industrial workers and the growing desire for political reform are all there, but there is no didacticism. The effects are subtly described and the reader is invited to divine for his or her self what is going on among the characters.

Galt was no Luddite. He always considered himself to be a businessman first and an author by necessity. In one of his two autobiographies, he says: 'I have sometimes felt a little shame-faced in thinking myself so much an author...A mere literary man – an author by profession – stands but low in my opinion'.⁶² He welcomed progress but he was also an observer who recorded the truth of what he saw and that included the fact that there were losers as well as winners in the prosperity that increased trade and industry brought. The protagonist of *The Provost* reflects that 'almost the whole tot of our improvements became, in a manner, the parents of new plagues'. It is this quality of clear-eyed and detailed reporting which makes Galt such a valuable witness to societal changes in Scotland (and, by extension, throughout Europe) at the turn of the eighteenth century.

One philosophical theory, current in the Enlightenment, which it is useful to be aware of when reading these novels, is that of stadialism.⁶³ Stadialism theorises that man developed through four economic stages from hunter-gatherer to pastoralist, agriculturalist and eventually to a commercial

⁶⁰ *Four Galt Novels*, ed. Ian Campbell, Edinburgh, Kennedy & Boyd, 2015

⁶¹ Dugald Stewart, 'Theoretical or Conjectural History' in *The Scottish Enlightenment: An Anthology*, ed. Alexander Broadie (Edinburgh: Canongate Press, 1997) pp.670 – 674 (p.671).

⁶² John Galt, *The Literary Life and Miscellanies* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1834), p31

being. The theory gained wide acceptance and was used to account for the assumed superiority of Europeans, especially British, over indigenous peoples in the expanding Empire. It was thus a justification for taking their land in order to cultivate the wilderness but the idea that this represented a progression and that the commercial stage was the summit did not go unchallenged, even at the time. Adam Ferguson's *Essay on Civil Society* (published 1767) cast doubt on this view and suggested that much was lost as well as gained in achieving a commercial society. Duncan Forbes interprets Ferguson as saying that it is 'community that is likely to be a casualty in the progress of civilization' and that 'if you destroy community you destroy man's essential humanity and equilibrium and happiness'.⁶⁴ Galt was fascinated by communities and tested Ferguson's ideas by experience and observation. In the *Annals* and *The Provost* Galt examined development and change in established communities over the previous sixty years and it is clear that he agreed with Ferguson that progress was not an unalloyed good.

It would, however, be wrong to think that Galt's works are a series of sociological treatises. They are both entertaining and very funny. One of his favourite literary forms is that of the first-person narrative, especially in the form of a purported autobiography. This gives him great scope to introduce irony, particularly ironic self-revelation on the part of the narrator. Much of the humour lies in the gap between what the narrator thinks he is telling the reader and the messages the reader is actually receiving.

The novels sold steadily throughout the nineteenth century but fell out of fashion during the twentieth. Fortunately there was always a core of discerning readers and critics who saw the worth of Galt's work and kept his flame burning. In the current century there has been a notable upsurge in interest. Regina Hewitt edited a collection of scholarly essays in 2012⁶⁵; the inaugural World Congress of Scottish Literatures in 2014 had 3 panels on different aspects of Galt's work; David Knight, based appropriately enough in Guelph, Ontario, one of the towns founded by Galt during his time in Canada, has published new editions of the novella *The Omen*, and the plays *The Star of Destiny* and *The Apostate*⁶⁶; and *The International Companion to John Galt*, an accessible collection of essays, was published earlier this year⁶⁷. In addition, we know that Professor Angela Esterhammer of Toronto University is leading an Edinburgh University project to produce new editions of Galt's most important works and Professor Gil Stelter is nearing completion of a new biography of the author.

Welcoming this attention on Galt and recognising the need to foster and focus it, Professor Gerry Carruthers of Glasgow University convened a meeting in December 2014 at which it was decided to form the John Galt Society. The aims of the Society are to promote and encourage appreciation of and foster research into Galt's works. The Honorary President is the award-winning novelist Andrew O'Hagan and he hosted a commemoration event at Galt's grave in Greenock in 2015 followed by a talk by Professor Douglas Gifford. The Society has also been represented at similar commemorations held by Irvine Burns Club, of which Galt was the first honorary member in 1827.

The Society is re-establishing the annual John Galt Memorial Lecture. From the 1920s to the 1950s this was held under the auspices of the Greenock Philosophical Society but lapsed thereafter.

⁶³ For a comprehensive summary of the works of Scottish Enlightenment philosophers on stadial theory see Alexander Broadie, *The Scottish Enlightenment, An Anthology* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1997) pp 475-575

⁶⁴ Duncan Forbes, *Adam Ferguson and the Idea of Community*, in *Edinburgh in the Age of Reason* (Edinburgh: EUP, 1967) p43

⁶⁵ *John Galt Observations and Conjectures on Literature, History, and Society*, Regina Hewitt (ed.) Lewisburg, Bucknell UP, 2012

⁶⁶ John Galt, *The Omen*, Guelph, Publication Studio, 2013; *The Star of Destiny*, Guelph, Vocamus Editions, 2015; *The Apostate*, Guelph, Vocamus Editions, 2017

⁶⁷ *The International Companion to John Galt*, ed. G Carruthers & C Kidd, Glasgow, Scottish Literature International, 2017

In May of this year the Society revived it with an event in Irvine where the lecture was delivered by Sir Tom Devine and was followed by a supper and the launch of *The International Companion*. The intention is to alternate the lecture venue each year between Galt's birthplace of Irvine and his long-time home town of Greenock.

In 1980 BBC television broadcast a dramatization of the *Annals of the Parish* in three parts. The programme was thought to be lost but the Society discovered a videotape which we have digitised and we are currently seeking permission from the BBC to enable us to upload it to our website.

Anyone interested in finding out more about Galt and the Society should go to our website at <http://www.thejohngaltsociety.com> which contains news, papers and links to useful sites such as the University of Guelph's comprehensive bibliography. Membership of the Society costs £10 per year and you are welcome to contact me at secjgs@gmail.com if you have any questions.

Ian McGhee, Secretary, The John Galt Society

Swithering Whytes

or

What to do with a troublesome cat?

It's unusual, perhaps, but I think I'm going to have to start off this rambling tale in the *Scottish Studies Newsletter* at a tangent by quoting from an Irish writer, Flann O'Brien who, when pondering the meaning of life in his novel "The Third Policeman", reflects that "There is nothing so dangerous, you can't smoke it, nobody will give you tuppence-halfpenny for the half of it and it kills you in the wind-up. It's a queer contraption, very dangerous, a certain death-trap. Life?"

Since turning 60 recently, it has become more and more clear to me that before my life becomes a certain death-trap, I really should take the time and make the effort to do what should have been done long ago and write a few lines in an attempt to put some perspective on the literary legacy left by my father, Don Whyte, who would have turned 90 last year. This is purely because if I don't do it, no one else will, quite simply because no one else can. Perhaps my brother, Iain, could, but we're rapidly becoming the last men standing.

When appraising the merits of Don Whyte's writings, I do not only mean his 1977 autobiography *On The Lonely Shore*, with its memorable foreword in which Hugh MacDiarmid favourably compares my father's work with that of Norman Douglas, Neil Gunn and George Scott Moncrieff. Nor do I wish to dwell on the many hundreds – perhaps even thousands – of articles he wrote about Scotland and all things Scottish during his 26 years as a feature writer for the Scottish edition of a national daily newspaper sadly no longer deserving of the name, and latterly as TV critic for the *Glasgow Herald*, all of which were enough to fill many a life. What I feel I should be doing here is telling anyone with an interest a little bit about what he wrote before he ever even seriously considered becoming a journalist or an author, simply because if I don't it will be forgotten forever and 'no one will give tuppence-halfpenny for the half of it'.

Ever since I was a wee boy I have known that in his formative years, my dad wrote a series of stories in Scottish dialect entitled "Bran the Cat", or more correctly "Tales of a Wandering Cat", which were broadcast weekly on *Children's Hour* on BBC Scotland radio between 1946 and 1956. Although (or perhaps because) my father was only 20 years old when he started writing the series, the character he created apparently "delighted a generation of children" (Jack Webster) and it's only now that I am beginning to see why.

It has been set in stone in my family ever since I can remember that:

There was a cat whose name is Bran

Wha fears nor beast, nor ghaist, nor man

And prowls around the countryside
 From Inverness to East Kilbride
 And back again ...

... but it was only recently that I came to realize that this was pretty much all I knew about Bran, because the stories were written and broadcast before I was born and were never published thereafter.

After my father died over 20 years ago, the original manuscripts eventually passed on to my sister, Eileen, who intended to "do something with them", but never got any further than transcribing the badly faded originals with their scribbled footnotes and deletions into clean copies – a mammoth task for which I will always be grateful to her – mainly because she herself passed on suddenly last year, which is where I come in.

Sadly sifting through some of Eileen's more personal belongings, I chanced upon an old basket which contained these clean copies along with the thin, yellowed, type-written originals my father had clattered out 70 years ago and which, as soon as I took a closer look at them, seemed to burst into life with tales of the adventures of a cat who, in my father's own words, was "a sort of anti-hero, a kind of cuddly character who pretended to be terribly brave while all the time hiding a faint heart behind bristling whiskers. He dressed in the most outlandish clothes, had a wife and son, and lived in the fiction village of Gaberlonie. He was essentially Scottish in character, and quite naturally shared my delight in atrocious puns. Every now and then he would compose a nonsense poem:

Once there was a sealion, a slithery sleekit sealion
 Wha spent his time reclining in the surf beside the sea;
 And as he was a-lyin' by the sea he used to think
 That a sealion was the nicest kind of animile to be.
 And there also was a limpet – an awfu' skimpit limpet –
 Wha had one foot and limpit on a crutch along the sand.
 And since he didna like being lame he simply had to lump it
 Which was hard upon the limpet as I'm sure you'll understand.
 One day the limpet made a bee-line for to go and see the sealion
 Wha was lyin' in the surf beside the sea as I have said.
 The limpet limpit up and asked the sealion, maist politely
 'Is a sealion just a feline or a kind of seal instead?'
 But the sealion didna like being asked, and so he ate the limpet
 Which didna satisfy the limpet's curiosity.
 But it satisfied the sealion wha by now was feelin' fine;
 For it doesn't really matter to a satisfied sealion
 As to whether he's a sealion or a seal or else a feline
 So long as, after dining, he's left alone, reclining,
 Digesting skimpit limpets in the surf beside the sea.

There may well be something genetic in it, for I too delight in atrocious puns and nonsense poems and they don't get much better than that so – confident in the assumption that I cannot be the only person to suffer from this strange affliction – I began to delve further into the piles of fading paper

with their acrid aroma and delightful and imaginative tales about a talking cat and his adventures in post-war Scotland.

Children's Hour, as far as I can ascertain, was produced and presented by the legendary Kathleen Garscadden and at the time of my father's involvement, I believe the broadcasts alternated on a weekly basis between the tales of Bran and those of *Tammy Troot*, by Lavinia Derwent, which were subsequently published and would still appear to be quite popular. I find the very notion of groups of children sitting huddled around radio sets all over the country waiting for another weekly instalment of nonsense as intriguing as it is quaint and outdated in this day and age of i-phones and Facebook, but this surely makes what my father wrote all the more special. What I would like to do initially, therefore, is to make people aware that at least some of Bran's stories have not been forgotten. I've recovered 41 of them; how many more may still be in the BBC archives or elsewhere, I have no idea.

To go even further back in time before I finish, my paternal grandfather was Ian Whyte, founder conductor of the BBC Scottish Orchestra (later Scottish Symphony Orchestra) and composer of more than 600 musical works, the most notable of which, the ballet *Donald of the Burchens*, had its premiere at the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, London in 1951. This alone is quite an achievement by any measure, but Ian Whyte has sadly fallen into almost complete obscurity due to a certain extent to the neglect of his son, Don.

There are many valid reasons for this and even more excuses, but they all apply to my father, not to me. I do not want his legacy, whatever it might be, to suffer the same neglect as his father's did. To make a mistake is human and forgivable, but to make the same mistake twice is not.

And so ends my part of this story. I am in the process of getting Bran's adventures off the nicotine-stained sheets of paper and on to a more modern, digitalized system, a transformation which I hope will help to preserve the tales and make them more accessible at the same time, should anyone care to read them. While doing so, my sincere thanks are due to my friend, Ron Walker, of the Scottish Studies Centre, FTSK Germersheim at the University of Mainz, for giving me the opportunity and providing me with the platform to do something that should have been done long ago.

Stewart Whyte (JRSWhyte@aol.com)

(New) Media on Scotland

(compiled by Olga Mang, Sarah Poschen, Andrea Schlotthauer, Jana Schmick, and Marsida Toska who did a great job until the end of December 2017, when the money for them ended.

Lothar Görke und Klaus Peter Müller have, therefore, added important later news.)

Subsections:

- **Independence**
- **(Scottish) Justice**
- **Tuition Fees**
- **UK Politics**
- **Labour**
- **EU Referendum - Brexit**
- **Finance**
- **Media**
- **Creative Scotland**

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

Independence

Clark, Thomas: "Second City Blues: Why Glesga is the capital Scotland needs" *National* 21-08-18 (<http://www.thenational.scot/politics/16422618.second-city-blues-why-glesga-is-the-capital-scotland-needs/?ref=appshr>)

Hannan, Martin: "Lawyers from all three nations stand united against Westminster power grab", *National* 25-07-18 (<http://www.thenational.scot/news/16377823.lawyers-from-all-three-nations-stand-united-against-westminster-power-grab/?ref=appshr>)

MacIntyre-Kemp, Gordon: "This is how Brexit will make independence inevitable", *National* 25-07-18 (<http://www.thenational.scot/politics/16377825.this-is-how-brexit-will-make-independence-inevitable/?ref=appshr>)

The Jouker: "WATCH: Tory MP in vile 'suicide' heckle towards SNP in Commons", *The National* 12-06-2018 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/16286003.WATCH_Tory_MP_in_vile_suicide_heckle_towards_SNP_in_Commons/?ref=mr&lp=1)

Frankland, Mark: "So this is England 2018. And this is Scotland 2018." Mark Simon Frankland blog 21-04-2018 (<https://marksimonfrankland.blogspot.com/2018/04/so-this-is-england-2018-and-this-is.html>)

McKenna, Kevin: "The good, the bad and the extremely ugly of 2017", *National* 27-12-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/15793300.Kevin_McKenna_The_good_the_bad_and_the_extremely_ugly_of_2017/): "Amongst all the commentary and punditry that sought to interpret and analyse 2017 were a few curious items. These seemed to suggest the year almost spent was not a vintage one and that it wouldn't be remembered very much at all, or by very many."

Bloodworth, James: "'There's no life here': a journey into Britain's precarious future", *Guardian* 16-12-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/inequality/2017/dec/16/journey-to-heart-of-britain-precarious-future-ebbw-vale>): "At the Ebbw Vale steelworks in the south Wales valleys, thousands of men once laboured to produce the steel that helped to drive Britain's industrial revolution. The steelworks closed for good 15 years ago, and today a familiar fare decorates the town's mournful high street: pound shops, arcades, bookies. On the brief walk from one end to the other, I count three pawnbrokers."

Macwhirter, Iain: "A Celtic axis turns on upsetting a United Kingdom dominated by England", *Herald* 13-12-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15746931.Iain_Macwhirter_A_Celtic_axis_turns_on_upsetting_a_United_Kingdom_dominated_by_England/): "Cultural nationalists in Scotland have long dreamed of creating a political alliance of the Celtic fringe with Ireland, Scotland, Wales, even the Isle of Man and Cornwall coming together to realise a common destiny. History and geography have prevented this dream becoming a reality, at least outside folk music networks such as Celtic Connections. But thanks to Brexit, this Celtic Axis may soon become a political, and even a constitutional, fact."

Kane, Pat: "A citizen's income could allow Scots to live richer lives", *National* 9-12-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/15711717.Pat_Kane_A_citizens_income_could_allow_Scots_to_live_richer_lives/): "What are the problems to which basic income is a solution? In Scotland, we're

at the start of an answer to that question, as the Scottish Government announces financial support for feasibility studies in four council areas – Fife, Edinburgh, Glasgow and North Ayrshire."

McAlpine, Robin: "I refuse to go out of 2017 in misery...", *CommonSpace* 7-12-17 (<https://www.commonspace.scot/articles/12103/robin-mcalpine-i-refuse-go-out-2017-misery>): "CommonSpace columnist and Common Weal director Robin McAlpine is focusing on this year's positive developments in Scottish politics and looking ahead to 2018."

Bell, Sean: "Poll: support for Scottish independence rises to 47 per cent", *CommonSpace* 4-12-17 (<https://www.commonspace.scot/articles/12089/poll-support-scottish-independence-rises-47-cent>): "Support for scottish independence now stands at 47 per cent, two points above what the Yes vote achieved in 2014, according to the latest Survation poll on the issue."

"Letters: Indyref2 must not be a proxy vote on EU - or we risk losing", *National* 1-12-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/community/15697937.Letters_Indyref2_must_not_be_a_proxy_vote_on_EU_or_we_risk_losing/): "Democracy, democracy, democracy is the way forward on both Scottish independence and Europe. We must wait to see what the First Minister's promised paper says. A bespoke free-trade deal outside of EFTA and the EU would be the best outcome for both the UK and an independent Scotland, in my opinion – but I'm aware I just have one vote."

Whitaker, Andrew: "Richard Leonard: 'We've got be more like the Yes movement'", *Herald* 26-11-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15684390.Richard_Leonard_We_ve_got_be_more_like_the_Yes_movement_/): "Scottish Labour's new party leader Richard Leonard has praised the independence campaign's 'vision of a different kind of Scotland'."

Nutt, Kathleen: "Indyref2 moves closer as Tommy Sheppard and Pete Wishart shift their views", *National* 18-11-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/15669342.Second_indyref_moves_closer_/): "The prospect of a second independence referendum being held within the next three years has come closer after two influential SNP politicians who suggested postponing the vote until after 2021 have shifted their view."

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The Scottish Independence Convention, "Build: Bridges to Indy", Edinburgh 4-11-17 (<http://www.usherhall.co.uk/whats-on/build-bridges-indy>): "Speakers from across the independence movement will explore the research, discuss answers to the big questions and the consider how to organise ourselves as we look to advance the movement into the next year." [Cf. <http://independenceconvention.scot/>] "The Scottish Independence Convention is a stakeholder organisation for all

those who wish to see Scotland be an independent country. It brings together all the independence-supporting political parties (SNP, Scottish Greens, SSP), the national independence-supporting organisations (full list below) and representatives of local grassroots groups. / The Convention's co-convenors are Elaine C Smith and Pat Kane, and the vice-convenors are Lesley Riddoch and Richard Walker." Survey of "The Economic Implications of Scottish Independence" (<http://www.scottishindependenceconvention.org/>).

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Black, Iain: "Overwhelmed but in need of more facts ... this is how voters are thinking about independence", *National* 24-10-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/15614580.Iain_Black_Overwhelmed_but_in_need_of_more_facts_this_is_how_voters_are_thinking_about_independence/): "It's an old joke: A local is asked by an outsider how to get to a particular place. The local, after a suitable pause, replies: 'Well if I was going there, I wouldn't start from here'. If the Scottish independence movement wants to get to where it wants to go, it must know where it is now and what the path to success looks like."

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[4449148](#)): "A second Scottish independence referendum will not take place 'until the Brexit process has played out', Theresa May has pledged in the Conservative manifesto."

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[why-jim-sillars-tongue-running-ahead-his-brain-over-independence-europe](#)): "Prominent independence activist Jim Sillars has been vocal in his opposition to EU membership. Former law lecturer Ian Merrilees takes his views to task."

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McDonald, Henry: "Far-right millionaire: I'll use social media network to back Scottish independence", *Guardian* 20-3-17 (https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/mar/20/jim-dowson-back-scottish-independence-patriotic-news-agency-far-right?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other): "A far-right millionaire with Ulster loyalist connections plans to use his international social media network, which backed Donald Trump, to support Scottish independence. Jim Dowson, a former financial backer of the British National party and former member of Britain First, confirmed on Mon that he will be deploying his 'Patriotic News Agency' and other networks with their bases in Hungary and Serbia to promote Scottish separatism."

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Cairns, Craig: "'Sir Lose-a-lots' slammed as Clegg set to get knighthood", *National* 27-12-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/15793287.Sir_Lose_a_lots_slammed_as_Clegg_set_to_get_knighthood/): "With news emerging that former LibDem leader Nick Clegg is set to be knighted, his party of 'Sir Lose-alots have absolutely no shame', according to an SNP MP."

Cohen, Nick: "Who pays for Manchester City's beautiful game?", *Guardian* 24-12-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/dec/24/who-pays-for-manchester-city-beautiful-game>): "Even though I come from the red side of Manchester, I want Manchester City to win every game they play now. Hoping City fail is like hoping a great singer's voice cracks or prima ballerina's tendons tear. Journalists have written and broadcast millions of words about the intensity of Manchester City's game and the beauty of its movement. You watch and gasp as each perfect pass finds its man and each impossible move becomes possible after all."

Comfort, Nicholas: "European Banks' Post-Crisis Litigation Could Cost \$100 Billion", *Bloomberg* 21-12-17 (<https://www.bloomberg.com/graphics/2017-european-bank-litigation/>): "A decade after the financial crisis, European banks' bill for past misconduct could exceed \$100 billion globally, with several lenders still facing cases potentially costing billions of dollars to settle."

Bloodworth, James: "'There's no life here': a journey into Britain's precarious future", *Guardian* 16-12-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/inequality/2017/dec/16/journey-to-heart-of-britain-precarious-future-ebbw-vale>): "At the Ebbw Vale steelworks in the south Wales valleys, thousands of men once laboured to produce the steel that helped to drive Britain's industrial revolution. The steelworks closed for good 15 years ago, and today a familiar fare decorates the town's mournful high street: pound shops, arcades, bookies. On the brief walk from one end to the other, I count three pawnbrokers."

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Macwhirter, Iain: "A Celtic axis turns on upsetting a United Kingdom dominated by England", *Herald* 13-12-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15746931.Iain_Macwhirter_A_Celtic_axis_turns_on_upsetting_a_United_Kingdom_dominated_by_England/): "Cultural nationalists in Scotland have long dreamed of creating a political alliance of the Celtic fringe with Ireland, Scotland, Wales, even the Isle of Man and Cornwall coming together to realise a common destiny. History and geography have prevented this dream becoming a reality, at least outside folk music networks such as Celtic Connections. But thanks to Brexit, this Celtic Axis may soon become a political, and even a constitutional, fact."

"Theresa May should challenge RBS boss over branch closures", *Herald* 13-12-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15770211.Theresa_May_should_challenge_RBS_boss_over_branch_closures/): "Theresa May should summon Royal Bank of Scotland chief executive Ross McEwan and tell him a recent decision over branch closures is unacceptable, the SNP has said."

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Cohen, Nick: "What would it take for Labour's moderates to revolt?", *Guardian* 9-12-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/dec/09/what-would-it-take-for-labour-moderates-to-revolt>): "Labour's new leaders and Labour's new members appear utterly incompatible. On the one hand, we have stone-hearted Leninists, who proved they were no better than establishment apologists for Saudi Arabia when they endorsed the most vicious men and movements on Earth."

Adams, Richards: "University students failed by rip-off fees, says watchdog", *Guardian* 8-12-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/education/2017/dec/08/university-students-failed-by-rip-off-fees-says-watchdog>): "Students taking out huge loans to pay for higher education are being failed by universities in England, with only one in three saying they receive value for money according to a stinging new report by the government's spending watchdog."

Black, Mhairi: "Shameful Scots Tories are blocking justice for pensioners", *Herald* 2-12-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/15698031.Mhairi_Black_Shameful_Scots_Tories_are_blocking_justice_for_pensioners/): "This week the SNP had what is called an Opposition Day. Opposition Days, I'm sure you will know, are days allocated to opposition parties in the House of Commons which give us an opportunity to debate topics we choose. Our first debate topic was the issue of the unfair hardship which has been placed on women born in the 1950's as a result of the equalisation of the state pension age."

Settle, Michael: "Labour's Jeremy Corbyn hits back at Morgan Stanley bank, denouncing 'speculators and gamblers'", *Herald* 30-11-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15694839.Corbyn_hits_back_at_Morgan_Stanley_bank_denouncing_quot_speculators_and_gamblers_quot_/): "Jeremy Corbyn has insisted a Labour Government would protect the economy from greedy 'speculators and gamblers, who crashed our economy,' as he hit back at investment bank Morgan Stanley, warning the firm that it was right to regard him as a threat."

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Frank, Thomas: "Why have we built a paradise for offshore billionaires?", *Guardian* 9-11-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/nov/09/paradise-papers-offshore-billionaires>): "We endure potholes and live in fear of collapsing highway bridges because our leaders wanted these very special people to have an even larger second yacht."

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Hutton, Will: "Leftie? Yes, and proud to be among those upholding Enlightenment values", *Guardian* 29-10-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/oct/28/leftie-yes-and-proud-to-be-upholding-enlightenment-values>): "The Mail's attack on universities is typical of a campaign denigrating those who dare to question Brexit."

Sharman, Jon: "Grenfell fire: Police block release of key documents on cladding warning", *Independent* 19-10-17 (<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/grenfell-fire-council-cladding-warning-messages-refuse-release-block-met-police-a7999296.html?S2ref=883012>): "The Metropolitan Police has advised Kensington and Chelsea Council (RBKC) to block the release of correspondence that would shed light on what action was taken to mitigate fire risks at Grenfell Tower, The Independent can reveal."

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Monbiot, George: "How Labour could lead the global economy out of the 20th century", *Guardian* 11-10-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/oct/11/labour-global-economy-planet>): "The rupture of 2008 presents a chance to throw out our iniquitous system that busts the planet – here are some ideas."

Stiglitz, Joseph: "When it comes to the economy, Britain has a choice: May's 80s rerun or Corbyn's bold rethink", *Prospect* 9-10-17 (<https://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/economics-and-finance/britains-choice-on-the-economy-mays-80s-rerun-versus-corbyns-bold-rethink>): "As an American looking across the Atlantic at the policy debate heating up in the UK, I feel a certain envy: at least in Britain there is a pretense of belief in rational argumentation. Maybe a few words about what economic theory and evidence have to say might make a difference."

Luyendijk, Joris: "How I learnt to loathe England", *Prospect* 6-10-17 (<https://www.prospect-magazine.co.uk/magazine/how-i-learnt-to-loathe-england>): "When I came to live in London with my family in 2011 I did not have to think of a work or residency permit. My children quickly found an excellent state primary school, and after a handful of calls we enjoyed free healthcare, and the right to vote in local elections. The only real bureaucratic hassle we encountered that warm summer concerned a permit to park. It all seemed so smooth compared to earlier moves to the United States, Egypt, Lebanon and Israel/Palestine. Then again, this time we were moving in with our cousins—weren't we?"

"Public opinion in the post-Brexit era: Economic attitudes in modern Britain", *Legatum Institute* 29-9-17 (<https://www.li.com/activities/publications/public-opinion-in-the-post-brexit-era-economic-attitudes-in-modern-britain>): "A landmark study of public opinion in the UK post the General Election has found that there is widespread support for Labour's nationalisation agenda and much less support for free enterprise."(PDF: <https://lif.blob.core.windows.net/lif/docs/default-source/default-library/1710-public-opinion-in-the-post-brexit-era-final.pdf?sfvrsn=0>)

McAlpine, Robin: "A vision of the future", *CommonSpace* 28-9-17 (<https://www.commonspace.scot/articles/11778/robin-mcalpine-vision-future>): "CommonSpace columnist and Common Weal director Robin McAlpine found hope amid the heartache and chaos of Mexico's recent earthquake. For our household it's been a week with some real worries and fears. My partner Cristina is Mexican and for a number of hours after the earthquake it wasn't clear if all of her friends and extended family in Mexico were OK. After a difficult night glued to Facebook and Whatsapp, she learned they were."

Monbiot, George: "Don't let the rich get even richer on the assets we all share", *Guardian* 27-9-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/sep/27/rich-assets-resources-prosperity-commons-george-monbiot>): "Are you a statist or a free marketeer? Do you believe that intervention should be minimised or that state ownership and regulation should be expanded? This is our central political debate. But it is based on a mistaken premise."

Simmons, Ben: "Prospects for Basic Income", *Bella Caledonia* 13-9-17 (<http://bellacaledonia.org.uk/2017/09/13/prospects-for-basic-income/>): "Is basic income really possible in Scotland? A basic income is an unconditional, non-withdrawable, non-selective payment to every individual citizen. In other words, we all would receive the same amount of state support at a level sufficient to provide genuine quality of life regardless of whether we were in paid work."

"Time for Change: A New Vision for the British Economy", *IPPR* 6-9-17 (<https://www.ippr.org/research/publications/cej-time-for-change>): "The British economic model needs fundamental reform. It is no longer generating rising earnings for a majority of the population, and young people today are set to be poorer than their parents. Beneath its headlines figures, the economy is suffering from deep and longstanding weaknesses, which make it unfit to face the challenges of the 2020s."

Barr, Caelainn: "The Scottish firms that let money flow from Azerbaijan to the UK", *Guardian* 4-9-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/04/the-scottish-firms-that-let-money-flow-from-azerbaijan-to-the-uk>): "Billions of pounds came through two Glasgow-based companies using obscure structure that let owners hide identities."

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Settle, Michael: "Contradictory statements on post-Brexit future 'deny Scotland essential powers' on EU migrants", *Herald* 28-7-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15439118.Contradictory_statements_on_post_Brexit_future_deny_Scotland_essential_powers_on_EU_migrants/): "Whitehall's 'intransigence and incompetence' over Brexit are the only barrier preventing Scotland having the immigration policy it needs, the SNP has insisted, as UK minister Robin Walker sought to give reassurance that Scottish interests would be heard 'loud and clear' in the EU exit process."

Dearden, Nick: "What is 'global Britain'? A financier and arms merchant to brutal dictators", *Guardian* 5-4-17 (https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/apr/05/global-britain-brexit-financier-arms-merchant-brutal-dictators?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other): "Dreaming of empire 2.0 east of Suez and a low-tax, low-regulation, no-questions-asked financial paradise only pours salt into Britain's social wounds."

Perkins, Anne: "We need a safe space for the political self harmers, Michael Howard and Ken Livingstone", *Guardian* 5-4-17 (https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/apr/05/trashed-reputations-ken-livingstone-michael-howard?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other): "Among the many entertaining tales that Ken Clarke recounts in his memoir, *Kind of Blue*, one of the best is his meeting in Downing Street with Rebekah Brooks, the good friend of the prime minister and former

editor of the Sun who had recently become a News International executive. Clarke, then a liberal justice secretary whose tendencies were plainly deplored by the Sun, avoided the meeting for as long as he could but finally they came face to face."

"'Dark money' is threat to integrity of UK elections, say leading academics", *Guardian* 1-4-17 (https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/apr/01/dark-money-threat-to-uk-elections-integrity?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other): "An urgent review of 'weak and helpless' electoral laws is being demanded by a group of leading academics who say that uncontrolled 'dark money' poses a threat to the fundamental principles of British democracy."

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Learmonth, Andrew: "Tories give themselves sweeping new executive powers in Brexit Great Repeal Bill", *National* 31-3-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/15193938.Tories_give_themselves_sweeping_new_executive_powers_in_Brexit_Great_Repeal_Bill/?ref=eb): "The Great Repeal Bill will give the government sweeping new powers to make around 1,000 changes to the law without having to seek parliament's approval."

Watts, Joe: "Brexit: Theresa May accused of sweeping 'power grab' with plan to rewrite new laws without MPs approval", *Bloomberg* 30-3-17 (<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-theresa-may-great-repeal-bill-sweeping-power-grab-new-laws-a7659086.html>): "Theresa May has been accused of a sweeping 'power grab' after unveiling plans granting her ministers the ability to rewrite reams of British law without full scrutiny."

Cohen, Nick: "The lies of the right that debase civilised society", *Guardian* 26-3-17 (https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/mar/25/lies-of-right-debase-civilised-society-westminster-attack?CMP=share_btn_tw): "After every attack, there is a pause while ideologues sniff the wind. If it is an Islamist easterly, the worst elements of the right know what to do."

Mason, Paul: "Can England avoid a meltdown of national identity?", *Guardian* 20-3-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/mar/20/can-england-avoid-a-meltdown-of-national-identity>): "Scotland can, should and hopefully will leave the United Kingdom. The question for non-Scottish Brits now is, if we are going to say goodbye to the union, how should we frame our own national consciousness after that? What institutions should we design?"

Phillips, Jess: "I feel sorry for the people of Tatton – I hear their MP is just too busy to care", *Guardian* 19-3-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/mar/19/george-osborne-editor-evening-standard-constituents>): "I actually don't know where to begin writing about George Osborne becoming the editor of the London Evening Standard. So bizarre is the latest from the once likely heir to No 10 that people will, for years to come, speak of where they were when they heard the news."

"Join the resistance: How the anti-Trump generation can fight back in Scotland", *CommonSpace* 27-1-17 (<https://www.commonspace.scot/articles/10200/join-resistance-how-anti-trump-generation-can-fight-back-scotland>): "CommonSpace provides a quick guide for Scots who want to make a difference in an era of political polarisation. US president Donald Trump's first day in office saw the largest demonstrations in the world since the 2003 global anti-Iraq War movement."

"Sewel: no 'constitutional safeguard', just a 'self-denying ordinance...'", *Lallands Peat Worrier* 6-12-16 (<http://lallandspeatworrier.blogspot.de/2016/12/sewel-no-constitutional-safeguard-just.html>): "By any reckoning, Richard Keen QC is an uncommonly political lawyer. Former Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, and now the UK government's chief adviser on Scots law, Ruth Davidson appointed him chairman of the Scottish Tories in 2013."

Boyle, Frankie: "Theresa May has vowed to unite Britain – my guess is against the poor", *Guardian* 12-8-16 (<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jul/12/theresa-may-has-vowed-to-unite-britain-my-guess-is-against-the-poor>): "The new Tory leader will no doubt introduce a cap for migrants. Probably an orange cone with an 'M' on the front that gives out an electric shock if they stray too close to a golf course."

Haggerty, Angela: "Launching CommonSocial", *Bella Caledonia* 10-8-16 (<http://bellacaledonia.org.uk/2016/08/10/launching-commonsocial/>): "On Sat we'll finally be launching CommonSocial, a brand new social network for Scotland created specifically to serve and nurture the explosion in political and social participation Scotland has enjoyed since the independence referendum campaign."

Tuition Fees

Dry, Will: "Andrew Adonis: Increasing tuition fees has made the Tories unbreakably toxic", *Cherwell* 7-10-17 (<http://cherwell.org/2017/10/07/andrew-adonis-increasing-tuition-fees-has-made-the-tories-unbreakably-toxic>): "Tony Blair summed up his priorities in just three words – 'education, education, education' – and entrusted his flagship revolution in Britain's schools to just one man: Andrew Adonis. His legacy – thousands of academies, which have largely replaced failing comprehensives with some extraordinary results – has been secure since the Conservatives appropriated his policy and ran with it into government."

Villar, Daniel Antonio: "Richardson's indefensible pay is a product of the marketisation of education", *Cherwell* 19-9-17 (<http://cherwell.org/2017/09/19/richardsons-indefensible-pay-is-a-product-of-the-marketisation-of-education/>): "Louise Richardson has recently come under fire for a comment perceived by many to be defending homophobia. However, the real scandal of what she said was not that students should not complain about homophobic professors, but her defence of her own £350,000 salary, and similarly high salaries of vice chancellors across the UK."

Roy, Kenneth: "Scotland's new rich", *Scottish Review* 28-6-17 (<http://www.scottishreview.net/KennethRoy290a.html>): "Some readers have expressed incredulity at the expenses claims, including one for 2p, submitted by members of the senior management group of Glasgow University, reported here last week. Let me assure the sceptics that all the claims are in the public domain – and from an unimpeachable source at that. It was the university itself, in an itemised quarterly list, that faithfully documented the claims. Presented with such a treasure trove, it only remained to select the funniest and arrange them in some order of ludicrousity."

Roy, Kenneth: "University Challenge", *Scottish Review* 21-6-17 (<http://www.scottishreview.net/KennethRoy285a.html>): "Has anyone ever contemplated a PhD thesis on the expenses claims of senior managers in academia? I ask not only because the claims in question are fascinating in themselves, particularly at a time when, post-Grenfell, inequality in Britain is much in our minds. But perhaps they have a wider relevance: these dusty documents, signed off and at once forgotten, tell us something about how universities see themselves and their place in the world, and maybe even a little about society in general."

Roy, Kenneth: "Scotland newest knight has become part of the problem", *Scottish Review* 19-6-17 (<http://www.scottishreview.net/Special1906a.html>): "While the rumble of popular revolt echoed all the way from west London at the weekend, the British establishment reinforced its fragile defences in the way it knows best – by dishing out gongs. In the face of intense public anger at the treatment of the refugees from Grenfell Tower, the publication of the honours list massaged a thousand egos. There was no suggestion that this ludicrous ritual should be postponed in deference to the 'sombre national mood' identified by the monarch. It was her name on the list, after all."

UK Politics

Elgot, Jessica: "Damian Green: a close political ally of PM, but caught up in a scandal", *Guardian* 20-12-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/dec/20/damian-green-a-close-political-ally-of-pm-but-caught-up-in-a-scandal>): "Damian Green is one of Theresa May's closest political allies and the man credited with putting her shattered team back together again after the Tories' disastrous general election campaign."

Hutton, Robert: "What Happened to the Conservative Party?", *Bloomberg* 18-10-17 (<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-10-18/what-happened-to-the-conservative-party>): "It's getting harder to imagine that the U.K. is run by the party of Winston Churchill and Margaret Thatcher."

Settle, Michael: "UK post-Brexit plan for seamless border with Ireland will be 'smugglers' charter," warns Fianna Fail leader", *Herald* 17-8-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15477416.UK_post_Brexit_plan_for_seamless_border_with_Ireland_will_be_quot_smugglers_39_charter_quot_warns_Fianna_Fail_leader/): "Britain's plan for a seamless, check-free border with Ireland following Brexit has been branded a 'smugglers' charter' as EU citizens will be able to enter the UK by simply crossing the Irish border."

"Theresa May's poll rating plunges from pre-election high to post-election low", *Herald* 20-7-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15424325.Theresa_May_s_rating_plunges_to_worst_on_record_for_prime_minister_post_election/): "Theresa May's rating has plunged to the worst on record for a prime minister in the weeks after an election, according to pollsters. Labour is also one point ahead in the polls on 42%, compared with 41% for the Conservatives, Ipsos Mori found."

Learmonth, Andrew: "Theresa May on the brink as DUP demand £2bn to prop up minority Tory administration", *National* 22-6-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/15362540.Theresa_May_on_the_brink_as_DUP_demand_2bn_to_prop_up_minority_Tory_administration/): "Northern Ireland's DUP has demanded a whopping £2 billion in return for supporting Theresa May's minority Tory government. The hard-line unionists also accused the Prime Minister and her party of taking

their support for granted, claiming a deal was almost reached over the weekend before 'backbiting' Tory MPs accused the DUP of being 'unsavoury'."

Macwhirter, Iain: "The Donald and Theresa Titanic remake", *Herald* 30-1-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/15055563.Iain_Macwhirter___39_A_remake_of_the_Titanic_with_Donald_and_Theresa_taking_on_the_world___or_more_likely_taking_it_down_39_/): "They made oddest couple in international politics: the belligerent, misogynist and the vicar's daughter. Theresa May literally walking hand-in-hand with Donald Trump outside the White House was a spectacle of toe-curling embarrassment for most of us. It was like a zombie version of the Special Relationship. A remake of the Titanic with Donald and Theresa, taking on the world – or more likely taking it down."

"UK facing £25bn 'Brexit black hole' with austerity beyond 2020, think tank warns", *Herald* 8-11-16 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/14873299.UK_facing_25bn_Brexit_black_hole_with_austerity_beyond_2020_think_tank_warns/): "Britain is today warned that it faces a £25 billion 'Brexit black hole' with the prospect of austerity measures stretching beyond 2020 after the Institute for Fiscal Studies predicted worsening public finances ahead."

Wolf, Martin: "Hinkley Point decision best taken by government, not the market", *Financial Times* 16-9-16 (<https://www.ft.com/content/15d5e120-7a60-11e6-ae24-f193b105145e>): "Electricity supply and conveyance ought to be seen as an interconnected framework".

Thompson, Bernard: "How 'right to buy' created Thatcherites in more ways than one", *Newsnet* 31-7-16 (<http://newsnet.scot/archive/right-buy-created-thatcherites-ways-one/>): "Bernard Thompson with a salutary tale about one under-reported impact of Thatcher's right-to-buy and its impact on all of us".

Labour

Fellows, Marion: "An open letter to Jeremy Corbyn: Stop working with the Tories", *National* 21-08-18 (<http://www.thenational.scot/news/16587776.an-open-letter-to-jeremy-corbyn-stop-working-with-the-tories/?ref=appshr>)

Kentish, Benjamin: "Jeremy Corbyn under fire over refusal to attend cross-party meeting on staying in single market. Labour leader accused of 'utterly pathetic' failure to engage in talks with other parties on avoiding a hard Brexit"; *Independent* 07-01-18 (<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-jeremy-corbyn-criticised-cross-party-meeting-eu-a8145736.html>)

Mason, Rowena: "I will lead Labour into next general election, says Jeremy Corbyn", *Guardian* 28-12-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/dec/28/i-will-lead-labour-into-next-general-election-says-jeremy-corbyn>): "Jeremy Corbyn has confirmed he wants to lead his party into the next general election, as he ruled out holding a second Brexit referendum. Under the Fixed-term Parliaments Act, the next general election is due in 2022."

Cowburn, Ashley: "Jeremy Corbyn pledges to scrap 'no fault' evictions to tip housing rules back in favour of renters", *Independent* 28-12-17 (<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/labour-housing-rules-renters-evictions-election-manifesto-jeremy-corbyn-landlords-conservatives->

[a8123041.html](#)): "Labour's next manifesto will include a pledge to reduce eviction powers for landlords and tip housing rules back in favour of renters, Jeremy Corbyn has announced."

Cohen, Nick: "What would it take for Labour's moderates to revolt?", *Guardian* 9-12-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/dec/09/what-would-it-take-for-labour-moderates-to-revolt>): "Labour's new leaders and Labour's new members appear utterly incompatible. On the one hand, we have stone-hearted Leninists, who proved they were no better than establishment apologists for Saudi Arabia when they endorsed the most vicious men and movements on Earth."

Gordon, Tom: "Sarwar £40,000 leadership donation linked to tax haven", *Herald* 2-12-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15698304.Sarwar_40_000_leadership_donation_linked_to_tax_haven/): "Anas Sarwar accepted a £40,000 donation linked to a tax haven to fund his campaign for Scottish Labour leader, The Herald can reveal. The Glasgow MSP, who was dogged by questions over his finances and business ties, took the cash from the Scottish subsidiary of a company based in the British Virgin Islands (BVI)."

Settle, Michael: "Labour's Jeremy Corbyn hits back at Morgan Stanley bank, denouncing 'speculators and gamblers'", *Herald* 30-11-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15694839.Corbyn_hits_back_at_Morgan_Stanley_bank_denouncing_quot_speculators_and_gamblers_quot_/): "Jeremy Corbyn has insisted a Labour Government would protect the economy from greedy 'speculators and gamblers, who crashed our economy,' as he hit back at investment bank Morgan Stanley, warning the firm that it was right to regard him as a threat."

Gordon, Tom: "Leonard puts tax and public ownership at heart of Labour fightback", *Herald* 28-11-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15687493.Leonard_puts_tax_and_public_ownership_at_heart_of_Labour_fightback/): "Scottish Labour's new leader has signalled he is ready to impose a raft of higher taxes on the better-off if he becomes First Minister."

Toynbee, Polly: "Corbyn has seen the light on Brexit. Now he's taking the fight to the Tories", *Guardian* 23-11-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/nov/23/jeremy-corbyn-brexit-tories-labour-eu>): "The Labour leader finally grasps what leaving the EU really means: the greatest harm inflicted on the very people his party cares about the most."

Inman, Phillip: "UK faces two decades of no earnings growth and more austerity, says IFS", *Guardian* 21-11-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/business/2017/nov/23/uk-no-earnings-growth-budget-brexit-productivity-ifs>): "Britain's leading financial thinktank has warned workers to expect an unprecedented two lost decades of earnings growth and many more years of austerity as a result of the marked slowdown in the economy announced in Philip Hammond's budget."

McLeish, Henry: "Leonard's win comes at a challenging time for the party but it is still brimming with opportunity", *National* 20-11-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/15670776.Henry_McLeish_Leonards_win_comes_at_a_challenging_time_for_the_party_but_it_is_still_brimming_with_opportunity/): "Richard Leonard has a fresh mandate, a decisive victory and leads the Labour Party at a time of seismic political change, unprecedented historic challenges, and unparalleled opportunity. There will of course be, the, "events, dear boy, events", aspect to the new leader's work, a phrase famously used by Harold MacMillan to describe the slings of outrageous misfortune that can head your way, erupt at any time, and derail or destroy, "the best laid schemes of men."Putting

matters into perspective is never easy. It is an important cautionary note requiring, good and grounded advisers."

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(http://www.thenational.scot/news/15569305.Carolyn_Leckie_Scottish_Labour_needs_to_apologise_to_Scotland_and_be_honest_about_its_failures_to_regain_credibility/): "First, praise where it's due. Three Labour MSPs – Neil Finlay, Pauline McNeill and Claudia Beamish were among the cross-party group who signed a letter organised by Green MSP Ross Greer in defence of Catalonia's right to self-determination. So, members of five of the Scottish Parliament's political parties have sided with the forces of progressive democracy against repression. No prizes for guessing the odd one out."

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[lift-finger-keep-us-eu](#)): "This is – unfortunately – the truth, and so is this: 'Comparing our current political figures to mythical creatures, Pullman described the Labour leader as 'a sort of, vaguely benevolent nature spirit who can't actually do very much.'"

This is precisely what Labour has achieved under Corbyn – nothing. You can listen to an interview with Pullman discussing "his return to the world of His Dark Materials with new book *La Belle Sauvage*, the first instalment in *The Book of Dust* trilogy. Then hosts Tom Gatti and Kate Mossman discuss creepy BBC TV special *Ghostwatch* and celebrate the noniversary of that much-missed music format the CD single, *Ghostwatch* and the CD single" in the *New Statesman* new culture podcast, *The Back Half* (<https://www.newstatesman.com/2017/10/back-half-4-philip-pullman-ghostwatch-and-cd-single>) and (<https://www.acast.com/thebackhalf/-4-philippullmaninterview-ghost-watchandthecdsingle>) (where you also find Ali Smith on "The novel in the age of Trump" and further intriguing podcasts).

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"Nicola Sturgeon to brief EU's Brexit negotiator on Scotland's priorities", *Herald* 12-7-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15406969.Nicola_Sturgeon_to_brief_EU_s_Brexit_negotiator_on_Scotland_s_priorities/): "Nicola Sturgeon will brief the EU's chief Brexit negotiator about Scotland's priorities at a meeting in Brussels on Thursday. The Scottish Government said its priority is protecting Scotland's vital interests and building consensus against an extreme Brexit outside the single market."

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Macwhirter, Iain: "For Scotland, Brexit is turning into Project Fear on steroids", *Herald* 9-4-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15213224.Iain_Macwhirter_For_Scotland_Brexit_is_turning_into_Project_Fear_on_steroids/?ref=mr&lp=3): "Unionists used to say that Scotland dodged a

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Campbell, Stuart: "The pound-shop Ruth Davidson", *Wings Over Scotland* 26-2-17 (<https://wingsoverscotland.com/the-pound-shop-ruth-davidson/>): "Yesterday afternoon, Scottish Labour tweeted some comments from Kezia Dugdale's keynote speech to the party conference that might be the most self-evidently idiotic thing ever said by a Scottish politician."

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Morris, Marley: "A strategy for the Article 50 negotiations", *IPPR* 17-1-17 (<http://www.ippr.org/blog/a-strategy-for-the-article-50-negotiations>): "After months of paralysis, obfuscation and backbiting in Westminster, Theresa May is set to finally give a long-awaited speech on the key objectives for the government's forthcoming negotiations with the EU."

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Stubb, Alexander: "Europe's survival depends on its leaders' defence of democracy", *Financial Times* 15-9-16 (<https://www.ft.com/content/9e6b1338-7a98-11e6-ae24-f193b105145e>): "The Bratislava summit should be seen as a step on a road to renewal".

Macwhirter, Iain: "Time to stand up to May's Brexit dictatorship", *Herald* 15-9-16 (http://m.heraldscotland.com/opinion/14743249.Iain_Macwhirter_Time_to_stand_up_to_May_39_s_Brexit_dictatorship/): "Not for the first time it has been left to the unelected House of Lords to remind the Government that we are supposed to live in a democracy. A cross-party committee of peers has advised Theresa May that it would be 'constitutionally inappropriate' for her to invoke Article 50, triggering the Brexit process without giving Parliament the right to a vote on the terms proposed."

"European Parliament appoints pro-Scotland leader to negotiate Brexit deal", *CommonSpace* 8-9-16 (<https://www.commonspace.scot/articles/9281/european-parliament-appoints-pro-scotland-leader-negotiate-brexit-deal>): "Guy Verhofstadt met with the first minister and recognised Scotland's mandate to stay in EU".

McKenna, Kevin: "Brexit: Scotland rejected the mantra of fear and loathing", *Guardian* 3-7-16 (<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jul/03/brexit-scotland-rejected-tory-mantra-fear-greed>): "This campaign was about creating a foe for the working class to blame while their real enemies pursued their ends."

Shafi, Jonathon: "Brexit Immigration Lies", *Bella Caledonia* 3-7-16 (<http://bellacaledonia.org.uk/2016/07/03/brexit-immigration-lies/>): "To begin, I will start by stating that I am mixed race, half Scottish, half Pakistani. I have been on the receiving end of racism, though thankfully that has not happened much in my 30 years."

MacWhirter, Iain: "It was the greatest gamble taken by the British establishment in the last 50 years...and Westminster lost", *Herald* 26-6-16 (http://files.heraldscotland.com/opinion/14580553.It_was_the_greatest_gamble_taken_by_the_British_establishment_in_the_last_50_years_and_Westminster_lost/): "I don't know about the farce, but it certainly felt like history repeating itself as tragedy. David Cameron, holding back the tears, announcing his resignation the morning after a referendum defeat."

Finance

Asthana, Anushka: "Philip Hammond urged to publish Treasury's Brexit impact studies", *Guardian* 26-12-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/dec/26/philip-hammond-urged-publish-treasury-brexit-impact-studies>): "Philip Hammond has come under pressure to publish another set of hidden documents relating to how a series of possible Brexit outcomes, including no deal, will impact on the economy."

Brooks, Libby: "Scotland united in curiosity as councils trial universal basic income", *Guardian* 25-12-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/dec/25/scotland-universal-basic-income-councils-pilot-scheme>): "Universal basic income is, according to its many and various supporters, an idea whose time has come. The deceptively simple notion of offering every citizen a regular payment without means testing or requiring them to work for it has backers as disparate as Mark Zuckerberg, Stephen Hawking, Caroline Lucas and Richard Branson."

Kettle, Martin: "Brexit has created a political climate no budget can fix", *Guardian* 23-11-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/nov/23/brexit-divisions-politics-conservatives-labour>): "Philip Hammond's efforts are mostly futile. Old party loyalties are now torn and the Tories and Labour are in denial."

Finch, Gavin / Steven Arons: "Brexit-Hit Banks to Start Moving Staff Abroad in Early 2018", *Bloomberg* 21-11-17 (<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-11-21/brexit-hit-banks-said-to-start-moving-staff-abroad-in-early-2018>): "U.K. politicians are fighting to get a deal early next year that will ease businesses' panic about Brexit. For some industries, it's probably too late."

Gordon, Tom: "Scots wages down in real terms 'since Tories came to power'", *Herald* 6-11-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15642512.Scots_wages_down_in_real_terms_since_Tories_came_to_power/): "The average Scots worker has suffered a real terms wage cut of £14 a week since the Tories returned to power in 2010, Scottish Labour have claimed."

"Bank of Scotland fights rate swap fraud claim", *Scotsman* 2-10-17 (<https://www.scotsman.com/business/bank-of-scotland-fights-rate-swap-fraud-claim-1-4575506>): "Bank of Scotland said yesterday that it will fight allegations it defrauded a property group out of millions of pounds during the financial crash."

Barr, Caelainn: "The Scottish firms that let money flow from Azerbaijan to the UK", *Guardian* 4-9-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/04/the-scottish-firms-that-let-money-flow-from-azerbaijan-to-the-uk>): "Billions of pounds came through two Glasgow-based companies using obscure structure that let owners hide identities."

Macnab, Scott: "Scottish finance firms draw up Brexit 'contingency' plans", *Scotsman* 29-8-17 (<https://www.scotsman.com/business/markets-economy/scottish-finance-firms-draw-up-brexit-contingency-plans-1-4544917>): "Leading firms from Scotland's financial sector have drawn up restructuring 'contingency plans' to deal with the impact of a Brexit shock, industry chiefs have warned MSPs."

Nutt, Kathleen: "Barnier bursts the Brexit bubble: no tariff-free trade", *National* 7-7-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/politics/15396002.Michel_Barnier_bursts_the_Brexit_bubble_no_tariff_free_trade/): "Scotland's Brexit Minister Michael Russell has urged the UK Government and Labour to be honest about their claims of a 'frictionless' trade agreement with the EU after its chief negotiator made clear such a deal is not possible outside of the single market."

Flanagan, Martin: "Housing group Wheatley lands £100m BlackRock investment", *Scotsman* 7-6-17 (<http://www.scotsman.com/business/companies/financial/housing-group-wheatley-lands-100m-blackrock-investment-1-4468269>): "BlackRock Real Assets has closed a £100 million social housing debt investment for the Wheatley housing group. Wheatley, Scotland's largest housing, care

and property-management group, owns or manages 83,000 homes, most for social rent. The debt financing will in part be used to develop 3,500 new social and mid-market rented homes in Scotland."

Cairns, Craig: "Weak pound boosts Scottish exports and tourism, report finds", *National* 3-7-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/15385573.Weak_pound_boosts_Scottish_exports_and_tourism_report_finds/): "Scotland's production and tourism sectors were buoyed by a weak pound, leading to the first positive swing in export numbers in two years, according to the latest Royal Bank of Scotland Business Monitor."

Russell, Greg: "RBS shareholders take deal as author says trial would have been 'very dangerous' for the bank", *National* 30-5-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/15315979.RBS_shareholders_take_deal_as_author_says_trial_would_have_been_very_dangerous_for_the_bank/): "Former RBS chief executive Fred 'the Shred' Goodwin is likely to be spared a potentially embarrassing court appearance today when investors suing RBS over its £12 billion rights issue in 2008 accept the bank's offer of 82p per share."

Burns, Janice: "Brexit hits growth and cost of living", *National* 26-5-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/business/15309661.Brexit_hits_growth_and_cost_of_living/): "The UK economic slowdown was even more dramatic than first feared in the opening months of this year as rising prices in the wake of the Brexit vote took their toll on consumer spending."

Fry, Michael: "We need to cut Scotland's deficit, so let's start with a spending freeze", *National* 18-4-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/politics/15229126.Michael_Fry_We_need_to_cut_Scotland_s_deficit_so_let_s_start_with_a_spending_freeze/): "'With what should we fix it, dear Michael, dear Michael, with what should we fix it, dear Michael, with what?' So ran the rhyme from Peter Piper, a reader taking time out from picking his pickled peppers to respond to my column last week lamenting the shrinkage of the Scottish economy at the end of 2016."

Learmonth, Andrew: "Revealed: The secret plans for the currency and Scottish Central Bank after a Yes vote in 2014", *National* 14-4-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/15224516.Revealed_The_secret_plans_for_the_currency_and_Scottish_Central_Bank_after_a_Yes_vote_in_2014/): "Details of the Scottish Government's 2014 plans to use the pound in an independent Scotland have been revealed. The comprehensive 18,000-word policy papers, on establishing a Scottish Monetary Institute (SMI), were released yesterday under freedom of information laws."

Williams, Martin: "Global finance firm that made \$1bn profit last year gets £3.1m grant to create 300 Scots jobs", *Herald* 30-3-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15190418.Global_finance_firm_that_made_1bn_profit_last_year_gets_3_1m_grant_to_create_300_Scots_jobs/): "More than 300 jobs are to be created over the next five years by a global wealth management firm with the help of £3.1 million of public money."

Williamson, Mark: "£300m loss for Johnston Press after sales fall", *National* 30-3-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/business/15190599._300m_loss_for_Johnston_Press_after_sales_fall/): "Johnston Press has fallen £300 million into the red after slashing £337m off the valuation of its newspapers, prompting the firm to call a general meeting to consider if steps should be taken to strengthen its balance sheet."

Williams, Martin: "Bank linked to Celtic backer risks £80m tax evasion fine - and jail for its president", *Herald* 25-3-17

(http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15181193.Bank_linked_to_Celtic_backer_risks_80m_tax_evasion_fine_and_jail_for_its_president/):

"A bank which Celtic's biggest shareholder Dermot Desmond partly owns faces an £80 million fine if convicted for its part in an alleged vast tax avoidance scam."

Fry, Michael: "Independence is the best way to make Scotland a wealthy nation", *National* 2-3-17

(http://www.thenational.scot/politics/15126866.Michael_Fry_Independence_is_the_best_way_to_make_Scotland_a_wealthy_nation/):

"A devotee of this column, Allan Sutherland of Stonehaven, writes in to support its general line in favour of a future independent Scotland geared to growth and exports. This would, of course, make it richer and happier than our non-independent Scotland geared to subsidy and consumption, or indeed than an independent Scotland of the same kind."

Finch, Gavin: "Frankfurt Lobby Group Sees 10,000 U.K. Bankers Moving on Brexit",

Bloomberg 2-2-17 (<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-02-02/frankfurt-lobby-group-sees-10-000-u-k-bankers-moving-on-brexit>):

"Frankfurt expects as many 10,000 workers from Britain's financial services industry to relocate to Germany's banking capital because of Brexit, with the exodus likely to start within weeks, according to lobby group Frankfurt Main Finance."

Russell, Greg: "Report by watchdog the Financial Conduct Authority criticises insurance firm products", *National* 26-1-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/business/15047658.Report_by_watchdog_the_Financial_Conduct_Authority_criticises_insurance_firm_products/):

"City watchdog the Financial Conduct Authority (FCA) has found "poor value" in the add-on and some standalone products sold by insurance firms."

Hannan, Martin: "Brexiters caught out as €60m in flood aid announced", *National* 14-1-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/15023414.Brexiters_caught_out_as_60m_in_flood_aid_announced/):

"The European Commission caught the Westminster Government and Brexiters alike on the hop by yesterday announcing aid to the UK worth €60 million."

Gaynor, George: "Irish Central Bank prepares for post-Brexit relocations from London", *National* 3-1-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/14998244.Irish_Central_Bank_prepares_for_post_Brexit_relocations_from_London/):

"The Central Bank of Ireland (CBI) has begun laying the groundwork to accommodate a significant number of London-based financial services firms looking to move their operations to Dublin in the wake of Brexit."

Paterson, Kirsteen: "Chancellor Philip Hammond is urged to write off Scottish councils' old debts", *National* 28-12-16 (http://www.thenational.scot/politics/14989383.Chancellor_Philip_Hammond_is_urged_to_write_off_Scottish_councils_old_debts/):

"Philip Hammond must ditch the debt owed by Scottish councils to the UK Treasury to prove staying in the Union pays, according to the deputy leader of Scottish Labour."

Morris, Bridget: "Money worries mount for millennials", *National* 9-12-16

(http://www.thenational.scot/business/14958263.Money_worries_mount_for_millennials/): "Only one in six millennials consider themselves to be a lucky generation financially – compared with nearly three-quarters of baby-boomers, according to a survey of investors."

"UK facing £25bn 'Brexit black hole' with austerity beyond 2020, think tank warns", *Herald* 8-11-16 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/14873299.UK_facing_25bn_Brexit_black_hole_with_austerity_beyond_2020_think_tank_warns/): "Britain is today warned that it faces a £25 billion 'Brexit black hole' with the prospect of austerity measures stretching beyond 2020 after the Institute for Fiscal Studies predicted worsening public finances ahead."

Craven, Shona: "The solution to problem debt isn't a credit cap, it's reducing inequality", *National* 2-12-16 (http://www.thenational.scot/comment/14941695.Shona_Craven_The_solution_to_problem_debt_isn_t_a_credit_cap_it_s_reducing_inequality/): "If you frequent a particular sort of pub, you may have seen the posters: a man's smiling mouth filled with sharp metal teeth, above the slogan 'Loan sharks rip lives apart'."

Paterson, Kirsteen: "Council funding gap to be £550m by 2019, warns public spending watchdog", *National* 29-11-16 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/14933488.Council_funding_gap_to_be_550_m_by_2019_warns_public_spending_watchdog/): "Councils may face a £550 million funding gap in just two years, according to a public spending watchdog."

Russell, Greg: "Scots say banks should be forced to reveal where they invest customers' money", *National* 8-11-16 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/14896796.Scots_say_banks_should_be_forced_to_reveal_where_they_invest_customers_money/): "Nearly three-quarters of Scots want banks to be legally required to reveal where they invest individual and corporate customers' money, according to a new report."

Nutt, Kathleen: "Workers from EU give a £7.3bn annual boost to be Scottish economy", *National* 1-11-16 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/14896719.Workers_from_EU_give_a_7_3bn_annual_boost_to_be_Scottish_economy/): "Workers from other EU countries benefit Scotland by £7.3 billion a year and Edinburgh's economy is more reliant than London's on a financial services industry dependent on their contribution, according to analysts."

"Brexit is 'opportunity', say Scottish fishermen", *Scotsman* 11-10-16 (<http://www.scotsman.com/news/environment/brexit-is-opportunity-say-scottish-fishermen-1-4255264>): "European boats catch more fish and shellfish in UK seas than the local fleet, according to new research."

"European funds to boost Scottish fishing projects", *BBC News* 4-9-16 (<http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-37243444>): "More than £11m of European funding is to be distributed to Scotland's fisheries sector."

"Sturgeon's prosperity claim backed by top economist", *National* 25-8-16 (<http://www.thenational.scot/politics/sturgeons-prosperity-claim-backed-by-top-economist.21583>): "A leading economist has supported Nicola Sturgeon's view that Scotland is fundamentally a prosperous nation despite the dip in oil price which has impacted on offshore revenues and led to a significant fiscal deficit."

"Royal Bank of Scotland to disappear for customers outside Scotland", *BBC News* 12-8-16 (<http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-scotland-business-37062980>): "The brand RBS is to be reduced to a back office role, according to the bank's chief executive."

"RBS rated third worst in EU financial stress test", *Scotsman* 31-7-16 (<http://www.scotsman.com/news/rbs-rated-third-worst-in-eu-financial-stress-test-1-4190619>): "Stress test on major European banks reveal that RBS would be the third worst hit in a new economic crisis."

"Scottish farms face losing millions in subsidy after Brexit", *Guardian* 28-7-16 (<https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2016/jul/28/scottish-farms-face-losing-millions-subsidy-after-brexite>): "UK government would need to increase funding to match common agricultural policy levels, Holyrood committee hears".

Media

Hern, Alex: "Facebook and Twitter threatened with sanctions in UK 'fake news' inquiry", *Guardian* 28-12-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/media/2017/dec/28/facebook-and-twitter-threatened-with-sanctions-in-uk-fake-news-inquiry>): "Facebook and Twitter could face sanctions if they continue to stonewall parliament over Russian interference in the EU referendum, the chair of a Commons inquiry has said."

Martinson, Jane: "Public interest journalism faces a serious threat from Paradise", *Guardian* 24-12-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/media/2017/dec/24/paradise-papers-lawsuit-threatens-public-interest-journalism>): "The Paradise Papers investigation into the dubious tax schemes of the world's wealthiest inhabitants involved 96 media organisations across 67 countries. Appleby, the offshore law firm at the heart of the story, has launched breach-of-confidence proceedings against just two: the Guardian and the BBC."

Naughton, John: "Who's doing Google and Facebook's dirty work?", *Guardian* 24-12-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/dec/24/facebook-google-youtube-dirty-work-social-media-inappropriate-content>): "The basic deal offered by social media companies to their users runs like this: 'We give you tools to publish whatever you want, and then we take the revenues that result from that. You get the personal satisfaction and the warm glow that comes from seeing your holiday pictures, your home movies or your cute cats online, and we bank the cash we earn from selling your data-trails and profiles to advertisers.'"

Owen, Taylor / Paul Kennedy: "Facebook, Google, Apple and Amazon are manipulating our lives and threatening our democracy", *CBC Radio* 15-12-17 (<http://www.cbc.ca/radio/ideas/facebook-google-apple-and-amazon-are-manipulating-our-lives-and-threatening-our-democracy-1.4449265>): "The internet began with great hope that it would strengthen democracy. Initially, social media movements seemed to be disrupting corrupt institutions. But the web no longer feels free and open, and the disenfranchised are feeling increasingly pessimistic."

Halliday, Josh: "Loneliness heightened by social media, Jo Cox's sister says", *Guardian* 15-12-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/media/2017/dec/15/loneliness-heightened-by-social-media-jo-coxs-sister-says>): "Social media is a double-edged sword that could make Britain's loneliness epidemic worse, the sister of the murdered MP Jo Cox has said in response to research which found that 9 million people in the UK feel permanently isolated."
"Combating loneliness one conversation at a time"(<https://www.jocoxloneliness.org/>)

Ingram, Matthew: "Civil says the future of media is blockchains and cryptocurrencies", *Columbia Journalism Review* 4-12-17 (https://www.cjr.org/business_of_news/civil-says-the-future-of-media-

[is-blockchains-and-cryptocurrencies.php](#)): "Plenty of startups are trying to reinvent the news business by adding features such as micro-payments or mobile video. But a startup called Civil is trying to take a quantum leap beyond these efforts: It's not just inventing its own platform for news and journalism, it's also inventing its own currency."

Miller, Phil: "Leading playwright urges government: Don't slaughter our vibrant young arts industry", *Herald* 2-12-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15698145.Learning_playwright_urges_government_Don_39_t_slaughter_our_vibrant_young_arts_industry/): "A leading playwright has penned a petition signed by more than 600 people, urging the Scottish Government to not cut the budget of Creative Scotland, the national arts funder."

Rowat, Allison: "Is it such a bad thing for new BBC Scotland channel to show repeats?", *Herald* 2-12-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15697383.Alison_Rowat_s_week_Is_it_such_a_bad_thing_for_new_BBC_Scotland_channel_to_show_repeats_/): "Now for something completely familiar: Everyone's a TV critic. Take Tommy Sheridan. You may remember him from such hits as Defamation Street (like Corry, but with fewer yuks) and Celebrity Big Brother. These days, he is content to limit his involvement with TV to watching it, and on Thursday night Mr T Sheridan of Glasgow was distinctly unimpressed with the make-up of the panel on BBC1's Question Time."

Learmonth, Andrew: "BBC admits Andrew Neil was wrong to call Scottish children 'illiterate' in interview with Alex Salmond", *National* 29-11-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/15690817.BBC_forced_to_admit_no_evidence_exists_to_back_up_Andrew_Neil_s_claim_in_interview_with_Salmond/): "BBC bosses have slapped down Andrew Neil for calling Scottish school children 'illiterate'. During an interview with former First Minister Alex Salmond on the BBC's Sun Politics show, Neil attacked the SNP's record on education."

Baird, Callum: "Three years of The National: Here's everything you need to know about Scotland's only indy-supporting daily paper", *CommonSpace* 24-11-17 (<https://www.commonspace.scot/articles/12057/three-years-national-heres-everything-you-need-know-about-scotlands-only-indy>): "The National is three years old today. Most of the pundits in Scotland's unionist media said we wouldn't last till Christmas. We've proven them wrong – so far. But how long that continues is now up to you."

Alex Salmond has a new weekly news programme, called the 'Alex Salmond Show' on Russia Today 10-11-17 (<https://www.rt.com/uk/409438-alex-salmond-rt-show/>). He had been inspired by "the show at the Edinburgh Fringe Festival", and his intention is "to battle the mainstream media narrative and take the news 'out of the Westminster nexus'", bringing the audience also into the Welsh, Irish, and Scottish parliaments. The show on 16-11-17 included an interview with Carles Puigdemont who "challenged Spain and 'the European authorities' to accept the result of the upcoming Catalan elections if pro-independence parties are victorious" (<https://www.rt.com/uk/410047-salmond-puigdemont-catalan-independence/>). The mainstream media's response has been quite predictable (<https://www.rt.com/uk/409762-alex-salmond-meltdown-bbc/>).

McLaughlin, Martyn: "BBC told to meet minimum quota for original and Scottish content", *Scotsman* 13-10-17 (<https://www.scotsman.com/lifestyle/culture/tv-radio/bbc-told-to-meet-minimum-quota-for-original-and-scottish-content-1-4586501>): "The BBC has been ordered to meet a minimum quota of the amount of network productions it makes in Scotland, with the corporation

facing new rules which will compel it to spend the same amount on programmes per head across the UK's devolved nations."

McLellan, John: "How can we shape the future of digital news?", *Scotsman* 12-9-17 (<https://www.scotsman.com/business/companies/media-leisure/john-mclellan-how-can-we-shape-the-future-of-digital-news-1-4557431>): "News powers half of the social media traffic yet gets half of sod all of revenue. Not my words, but couthy analysis on Twitter by Johnston Press chief executive Ashley Highfield about the dominance of Google and Facebook in UK advertising markets."

"The World This Week: Tune in to our brand new global news podcast", *CommonSpace* 11-9-17 (<https://www.commonspace.scot/articles/11693/world-week-tune-our-brand-new-global-news-podcast>): "Presenters Carolyn Scott and Jack Foster team up with CommonSpace for new offering. Welcome to the first in a brand new global news programme on CommonSpace in partnership with broadcasters and presenters Carolyn Scott and Jack Foster."

Baird, Callum: "The National isn't 'doing more harm than good' – we are a positive force in the indy debate", *National* 29-7-17 (www.thenational.scot/politics/15441676.Callum_Baird_The_National_isn_t_doing_more_harm_than_good_we_are_a_positive_force_in_the_indy_debate/): "At the precise moment when Ross Greer, the Green MSP whose latest contribution to this very newspaper was published only last week, tweeted that 'The National is doing more harm than good' to the Yes movement, I was standing in Aberdeen's St Nicholas Street."

Ellison, Marc: "Election 2017: Scottish voters targeted by 'dark ads' on Facebook", *BBC News* 7-6-17 (<http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-40170166>): "Political adverts are being targeted at specific Facebook users in Scotland, data seen by BBC Scotland has shown. All the main parties appear to have been influencing voters with so-called 'dark ads' - tailored messages visible to certain audiences."

Jenkins, Simon: "The best way to tackle BBC bias is make it plain for all to see", *Guardian* 5-4-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/apr/05/tackle-bbc-bias-make-plain-see-nick-robinson>): "As political editor of the BBC, Nick Robinson was noted for his well-crafted missives from the Westminster bubble. Each tale of woe among the tribes was signed off with an elegant, 'or it could just prove their finest hour'. Nothing would be the same again, 'or perhaps only time will tell'. According to taste, this balance was a final dab of colour on a Turner landscape, or it killed the story stone dead."

Phillips, Jess: "I feel sorry for the people of Tatton – I hear their MP is just too busy to care", *Guardian* 19-3-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/mar/19/george-osborne-editor-evening-standard-constituents>): "I actually don't know where to begin writing about George Osborne becoming the editor of the London Evening Standard. So bizarre is the latest from the once likely heir to No 10 that people will, for years to come, speak of where they were when they heard the news."

"The National is joining forces with Bella Caledonia to bring you a new monthly magazine!", *National* 28-2-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/15123059.The_National_is_joining_forces_with_Bella_Caledonia_to_bring_you_a_new_monthly_magazine_/): "Scotland's only pro-independence daily news outlet The National is joining forces with new-media website Bella Caledonia

to launch a 24-page monthly magazine focused on social, political and cultural analysis and featuring regular reports from some of the country's best writers."

"New TV channel for BBC in Scotland", *BBC News* 22-2-17

(<http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-39042666>): "A new TV channel for the BBC in Scotland will begin broadcasting in autumn 2018, director-general Tony Hall has announced."

"Pro-indy website Bella Caledonia in appeal for rescue as editor quits", *National* 9-1-17

(http://www.thenational.scot/news/15009814.Pro_indy_website_Bella_Caledonia_in_appeal_for_rescue_as_editor_quits/): "Bella Caledonia, the online pro-independence magazine first set up in 2007, is fighting for its survival."

Hassan, Gerry: "Spectatorland", *Scottish Review* 8-9-16 (http://www.scottishreview.net/Gerry_Hassan77a.html): "I have long been an admirer of the Spectator. Well, why would I restrict myself to reading only that which confirms my world-view? It is good to be challenged, provoked – as well as entertained – plus the magazine gives an insight into another world (that of right-wing England) which is influential and plays a role in shaping ideas around the Tory government."

"Faking a crisis: A Royal College campaign and its mirroring in the media", *Newsnet* 13-6-16

(<http://newsnet.scot/citizen/faking-crisis-royal-college-campaign-mirroring-media/>): "John Robertson continues his chronicling of how some media have covered a Royal College's campaign against GP services in Scotland."

Small, Mike: "What is alternative media?", *Bella Caledonia* 11-6-16

(<http://bellacaledonia.org.uk/2016/06/11/what-is-alternative-media/>): "As we are rattling the can and trying to gain support for Bella to go forward, I thought it would be good to try and map out both some of the thinking behind the project and where we want to go, how it relates to the wider aims and strategies of the movement."

Topple, Steve: "The UK's media is not free and fearless – but we can change it", *CommonSpace* 21-4-16

(<https://www.commonspace.scot/articles/3881/steve-topple-the-uk-s-media-is-not-free-and-fearless-but-we-can-change-it>): "CommonSpace columnist Steve Topple examines how free the UK's media really is – both old and new."

"Podcast special: The future of public service broadcasting debate", *Newsnet* 16-4-16

(<http://newsnet.scot/?p=116812>): "The future of public broadcasting was debated in Edinburgh this week at a conference chaired by Labour peer and former film producer and director Lord Puttnam."

Hussey, Matthew: "The UK is about to become a more hellish version of George Orwell's 1984", *TDW* 14-3-16

(<http://thenextweb.com/insider/2016/03/13/uk-government-going-beyond-fbi-wants-apple/>): "Over the past few weeks, the FBI has been trying to force Apple into helping it open the iPhone 5c that belonged to San Bernadino shooter Syed Rizwan Farook."

Macwhirter, Iain: "Why Scotland must ditch the cultural self-loathing and demand a broadcasting service that suits our needs", *Sun Herald* 21-2-16 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/14291425.Why_Scotland_must_ditch_the_cultural_self_loathing_and_demand_a_broadcasting_service_that_suits_our_needs/).

Creative Scotland

Paterson, Kirsteen: "Acclaimed author Jenni Fagan says Narrative arts exhibition will challenge 'stigma' towards prisoners", *National* 10-11-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/15652639.Acclaimed_author_says_arts_exhibition_will_challenge_stigma_towards_prisoners/): "A 'vibrant' show of art made in prisons could transform the way critics see offenders, it is claimed."

Miller, Phil: "Cyrano de Bergerac in Scots, plays in parks and museums - and a Futurist in Residence: the new 2018 National Theatre season unveil", *Herald* 29-11-17 (www.heraldsotland.com/news/15690732.Cyrano_de_Bergerac_in_Scots_plays_in_parks_and_museums_and_a_Futurist_in_Residence_the_new_2018_National_Theatre_season_unveiled/): "A new production of a classic play in Scots by Edwin Morgan, plays in parks and museums, shows about autism and disability, and the introduction of a new 'Futurist in Residence' are part of the 2018 programme of the National Theatre of Scotland."

Welch, Kathryn: "Get your mind in tune by being creative – and take a break from cares", *Scotsman* 10-10-17 (<https://www.scotsman.com/news/opinion/kathryn-welch-get-your-mind-in-tune-by-being-creative-and-take-a-break-from-cares-1-4581794>): "For some, it's a brief respite from work and family commitments – for others it's a lifeline that gets them through the day. However, and - wherever, people get creative we know that it does more than just fill up the hours. An increasing body of scientific evidence points to the arts for physical well-being, from increased lung capacity through singing to improved joint flexibility through dance."

Ferguson, Brian: "Judy Murray to join authors at annual Book Week Scotland", *Scotsman* 4-10-17 (<https://www.scotsman.com/news/judy-murray-to-join-authors-at-annual-book-week-scotland-1-4577790>): "Tennis coach Judy Murray, conservationist John Lister-Kay and cookery guru Sue Lawrence will be among the authors taking part in Scotland's annual celebration of books and literature."

Allan, Vicky: "A celebration of Scottish culture", *Herald* 27-8-17 (http://www.heraldsotland.com/news/15497921.A_celebration_of_Scottish_culture/): "Scotland's traditional culture...it's not all tartan and shortbread, eh? There is also whisky, dancing, songs, Burns poetry, haggis, endless inventions, the enlightenment, battles galore - or should that be battles of gore - and some of the world's finest castles and most beautiful landscapes."

Riach, Alan: "'To think we have lived to see cultural writing in a Scottish newspaper again' - new book of essays from The National", *National* 11-8-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/culture/15466496.To_think_we_have_lived_to_see_cultural_writing_in_a_Scottish_newspaper_again_new_book_of_essays_from_The_National/). "On Fri August 25, at 4.30pm, the Edinburgh International Book Festival hosts an event entitled 'Framing the Arts' with Alan Riach, Sandy Moffat and John Purser. We've been contributing articles to this newspaper regularly now since January 2016 and the EIBF event is also the launch of our book, *Arts and the Nation*, a collection of these essays from the first year. Here Alan Riach introduces the book and its central proposition."

McLaughlin, Martyn: "Artists unveil the urban bothy in Glasgow", *Scotsman* 8-7-17 (<https://www.scotsman.com/future-scotland/tech/artists-unveil-the-urban-bothy-in-glasgow-1-4498755>): "Artists, architects and designers have come up with some novel solutions to the old question of how to transform Scotland's post-industrial spaces."

Young, Gregor: "Young artists' showcase returns", *National* 7-6-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/15331818.Young_artists_showcase_returns/): "The Awfey Huge Variety Show brings together the state-funded special schools in Edinburgh for a unique performance celebrating the creative talent of young learning disabled artists on Scotland's biggest stage."

Miller, Phil: "Famed Foundation's collection of Scottish art to tour for the first time", *Herald* 13-5-17 (www.heraldscotland.com/news/15283972.Famed_Foundation_39_s_collection_of_Scottish_art_to_tour_for_the_first_time/): "One of the finest collections of Scottish art in the UK is to tour its Colourist paintings for the first time."

Jamieson, Teddy: "'Stories will be our salvation': Glaswegian cartoonists Metaphrog on the art of story and the story of their art", *Herald* 16-4-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/arts_ents/15227210.Stories_will_be_our_salvation_Glaswegian_cartoonists_Metaphrog_on_the_art_of_story_and_the_story_of_their_art/): "What are stories for? What is their purpose? What are their pleasures and perils? These are the questions I have brought to the table today to ask the man and the woman sitting in front of me in the cafe of the Lighthouse in Glasgow, the city in which they live and work."

Patience, Jan: "Masters of printmaking", *Herald* 10-3-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/arts_ents/15146496.Masters_of_printmaking/): "Art forms come and go but there is one constant in traditional and contemporary art and it is printmaking. This often dark art ranges from older methods of etching, drypoint, mezzotint, woodcut, through to lithography, collagraph, screen printing, photo etching and digital printing."

Jamieson, David: "Eberhard 'Paddy' Bort: Economic and social thinker, folk musician", *CommonSpace* 21-2-17 (<https://www.commonspace.scot/articles/10375/eberhard-paddy-bort-economic-and-social-thinker-folk-musician>): "Significant figure in both Scottish political thought and culture passes away at age of 62."

Len Murray, "Why all the fuss?"[about Robert Burns], *Scottish Review* 25-1-16 (<http://www.scottishreview.net/LenMurray148a.html>): "Why all the fuss about Robert Burns? And there is a fuss, a fuss reserved for Burns. We have produced other towering literary figures like Allan Ramsay, Sir Walter Scott, James Hogg the Ettrick Shepherd, and the incomparable Robert Louis Stevenson. But we don't make a fuss about any of them."

"Screening literature: Alan Riach explores the links between Scottish writing, media and politics", *National* 2-12-16 (http://www.thenational.scot/culture/14941578.Screening_literature_Alان_Riach_explores_the_links_between_Scottish_writing_media_and_politics/?ref=eb): "One of the most important cultural figures of modern Scotland, and probably one of the least familiar names, is Stuart Hood (1915-2011), novelist, translator and former controller of BBC television."

"New plea to save 'world's oldest music hall' in Glasgow from 'disappearing forever'", *Herald* 14-11-16 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/14884233.New_plea_to_save_world_s_oldest_music_hall_in_Glasgow_from_disappearing_forever_/?ref=mr&lp=4): "A new appeal has been made to save a historic Glasgow music hall, the oldest in the world from 'disappearing forever'."

Education Scotland

(compiled by Olga Mang, Sarah Poschen, Andrea Schlotthauer, Jana Schmick, and Marsida Toska)

National Education Union, "Academy Status, Pupil Attainment and School Improvement", *Teachers* (<https://www.teachers.org.uk/edufacts/academy-status-and-school-improvement>)

"Universities must open minds, not close them, says Jo Johnson", *Herald* 27-12-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15793372.Universities_must_open_minds_not_close_them_says_Jo_Johnson/): "Universities must be places that 'open minds, not close them', Jo Johnson has warned. Students must be able to challenge controversial opinions, according to the Universities Minister, who said there are dangers to shielding students from differing views under the banner of 'no-platforming' or 'safe spaces'."

McDuff, Phil: "The two-year degree shows education has become just another commodity", *Guardian* 13-12-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/dec/13/education-two-year-degree-commodity>): "The two-year degree is back. The idea of increased flexibility in higher education is, in the broadest sense, a good one. But it is a sign of how captured we have been by market-centric thinking that 'flexibility', to this government, is manifested as 'squeeze the same amount into a shorter period of time to maximise your financial returns later'."

Bell, Sean: "Unions endorse campaign for improved student support ahead of Scottish budget", *CommonSpace* 12-12-17 (<https://www.commonspace.scot/articles/12122/unions-endorse-campaign-improved-student-support-ahead-scottish-budget>): "'Budget for Better' calls for increased bursaries, greater mental health support and an increase in the student loan repayment threshold."

Adams, Richards: "University students failed by rip-off fees, says watchdog", *Guardian* 8-12-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/education/2017/dec/08/university-students-failed-by-rip-off-fees-says-watchdog>): "Students taking out huge loans to pay for higher education are being failed by universities in England, with only one in three saying they receive value for money according to a stinging new report by the government's spending watchdog."

Simpson, Alan: "Fears for students as 9% pay rise imposed on colleges", *Herald* 6-12-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15704208.Fears_for_students_as_9_pay_rise_imposed_on_colleges/): "Students will pay the price for a nine per cent pay rise for lecturers which will cost colleges almost £100 million, it has been warned."

Harrison, Jody: "'Action needed now to save our schools', warns union", *Herald* 2-12-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15698119.Action_needed_now_to_save_our_schools_warns_union/): "Analysis: 'The attainment gap must not be politicised - it is too important'. Children are learning lessons in dirty schools while being taught from textbooks with pages missing because of swingeing cuts to education budgets, it has been claimed."

Learmonth, Andrew: "BBC admits Andrew Neil was wrong to call Scottish children 'illiterate' in interview with Alex Salmond", *National* 29-11-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/15690817.BBC_forced_to_admit_no_evidence_exists_to_back_up_Andrew_Neil_s_claim_in_interview_with_Salmond/): "BBC bosses have slapped down Andrew Neil for calling Scottish school children 'illiterate'. During an interview with former First Minister Alex Salmond on the BBC's Sun Politics show, Neil attacked the SNP's record on education."

Chakraborty, Aditya: "The fat cats have got their claws into our universities, and will eat them up", *Guardian* 28-11-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/nov/28/fat-cats-britains-universities-vice-chancellors-salaries-pay>): "Scandals aren't meant to happen in British universities. Parliament, tabloid newsrooms, the City ... those we expect to spew out sleaze. Not the gown-wearing, exam-sitting, quiet-in-the-library surrounds of higher education."

Adams, Richard: "Bath University vice-chancellor quits after outcry over £468k pay", *Guardian* 28-11-17 (https://www.theguardian.com/education/2017/nov/28/bath-university-vice-chancellor-quits-after-outcry-over-468k-pay?CMP=share_btn_tw): "The vice-chancellor of Bath University, whose pay package of £468,000 made her a figure of national controversy, has agreed to step down – but faced more criticism on Tue after it was revealed she will continue to be paid her full salary after she leaves her post."

Rustin, Susanna: "'We tried to cope hour by hour': the schools in shadow of Grenfell Tower", *Guardian* 27-11-17 (<https://www.theguardian.com/education/2017/nov/27/grenfell-children-art-schools-tower>): "There is no 'moving on' for schools near the husk of Grenfell Tower, as pupils mourn friends, family and staff, and cope with the trauma of losing everything."

Learmonth, Andrew: "'Social contract' for students could see college loans written off after university", *National* 21-11-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/15673007._Social_contract_for_students_could_see_college_loans_written_off_after_university/): "Ministers have promised to consider proposals for a new "social contract with students", after an independent working group presented the Scottish Government with plans for a radical shake-up of further and higher education funding."

Learmonth, Andrew: "Scottish universities agree to raft of changes widening access", *National* 13-11-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/15656688.Scottish_universities_agree_to_raft_of_changes_widening_access/): "Universities across Scotland are to lower the grades required to get a place on courses for school pupils living in deprived areas."

Johnstone, Alison: "No child should miss out due to a complex tax system", *National* 10-11-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/15652547.Alison_Johnstone_No_child_should_miss_out_due_to_a_complex_tax_system/): "Waiting for Universal Credit payments may put over 23,000 low-income families in the UK at risk of destitution this winter. Demand on food banks is rising, and applicants are left distressed by complex applications. The calamitous roll-out of Universal Credit shows our benefits system at its disjointed worst."

"Herald View: Schools face catch-22 over computer teaching crisis", *Herald* 10-11-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/15652478.Herald_View_Schools_face_catch_22_over_computer_teaching_crisis/): "The conundrum over computing science education is worthy of Joseph Heller. Young people with skills in all aspects of computers and programming are in demand. The prospects are so good that Professor Quintin Cutts of Glasgow University believes the subject should join those of law and medicine at the top of any list of desirable career paths."

"SNP accused of creating 'English style' academy schools", *Herald* 3-11-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15637118.SNP_accused_of_creating_English_style_academy_schools/):

"Plans to hand more power to Scottish headteachers are in danger of creating controversial academy-style schools, teachers' leaders have warned."

"Big rise predicted in jobless graduates over next decade", *Herald* 1-11-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15484339.Big_rise_predicted_in_jobless_graduates_over_next_decade/): "Graduate underemployment is likely to rise in the next 10 years as more people get university degrees, according to a new study."

Hamilton, James: "Universities add £100bn a year to the UK economy", *National* 16-10-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/business/15597664.Universities_add_100bn_a_year_to_the_UK_economy/): "Universities generate almost £100 billion annually for the UK economy and support nearly one million jobs, according to a report. University leaders said the study showed the "huge and increasingly significant" impact higher education has in terms of economic value."

Dry, Will: "Andrew Adonis: Increasing tuition fees has made the Tories unbreakably toxic", *Cherwell* 7-10-17 (<http://cherwell.org/2017/10/07/andrew-adonis-increasing-tuition-fees-has-made-the-tories-unbreakably-toxic/>): "Tony Blair summed up his priorities in just three words – 'education, education, education' – and entrusted his flagship revolution in Britain's schools to just one man: Andrew Adonis. His legacy – thousands of academies, which have largely replaced failing comprehensives with some extraordinary results – has been secure since the Conservatives appropriated his policy and ran with it into government."

Villar, Daniel Antonio: "Richardson's indefensible pay is a product of the marketisation of education", *Cherwell* 19-9-17 (<http://cherwell.org/2017/09/19/richardsons-indefensible-pay-is-a-product-of-the-marketisation-of-education/>): "Louise Richardson has recently come under fire for a comment perceived by many to be defending homophobia. However, the real scandal of what she said was not that students should not complain about homophobic professors, but her defence of her own £350,000 salary, and similarly high salaries of vice chancellors across the UK."

Roy, Kenneth: "Scotland's new rich", *Scottish Review* 28-6-17 (<http://www.scottishreview.net/KennethRoy290a.html>): "Some readers have expressed incredulity at the expenses claims, including one for 2p, submitted by members of the senior management group of Glasgow University, reported here last week. Let me assure the sceptics that all the claims are in the public domain – and from an unimpeachable source at that. It was the university itself, in an itemised quarterly list, that faithfully documented the claims. Presented with such a treasure trove, it only remained to select the funniest and arrange them in some order of ludicrity."

Roy, Kenneth: "University Challenge", *Scottish Review* 21-6-17 (<http://www.scottishreview.net/KennethRoy285a.html>): "Has anyone ever contemplated a PhD thesis on the expenses claims of senior managers in academia? I ask not only because the claims in question are fascinating in themselves, particularly at a time when, post-Grenfell, inequality in Britain is much in our minds. But perhaps they have a wider relevance: these dusty documents, signed off and at once forgotten, tell us something about how universities see themselves and their place in the world, and maybe even a little about society in general."

Roy, Kenneth: "Scotland newest knight has become part of the problem", *Scottish Review* 19-6-17 (<http://www.scottishreview.net/Special1906a.html>): "While the rumble of popular revolt echoed all the way from west London at the weekend, the British establishment reinforced its fragile defences

in the way it knows best – by dishing out gongs. In the face of intense public anger at the treatment of the refugees from Grenfell Tower, the publication of the honours list massaged a thousand egos. There was no suggestion that this ludicrous ritual should be postponed in deference to the 'sombre national mood' identified by the monarch. It was her name on the list, after all."

Macleòid, Calum: "Dè a-nis airson Foghlam tro Mheadhan na Gàidhlig?", *National* 3-10-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/15571452.Calum_Macle_id_D_a_nis_airson_Foghlam_tro_Mheadhan_na_Gaidhlig/): "East Renfrewshire Council's rejection of an application from parents of 49 children for Gaelic Medium Education proves that the Gaelic provisions of the new Education Scotland Act 2016 are easily ignored. It is time that Scotland joined Canada and Wales in creating a Language Commissioner to protect the rights of Gaelic speakers, and it is time for the Scottish Government to show some real support for Gaelic."

Roy, Kenneth: "The lost profession. Scotland's teachers are disillusioned, but it's got nothing to do with money", *Scottish Review* 4-10-17 (<http://www.scottishreview.net/KennethRoy311a.html>): "It might be possible to put a symbolic date to the moment when the teaching profession in Scotland changed forever. Many would choose the occasion of the last tawse strapping the last outstretched hand – in which case we are talking about the late 1980s. But there is a case for an earlier date, sometime as early as 1968."

Dick, Sandra: "Teacher warns Nicola Sturgeon: Curriculum for Excellence is utterly failing children in school", *Herald* 18-9-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15540648.Teacher_warns_Sturgeon_We_are_utterly_failing_children_in_school/): "A secondary school teacher has written a damning open letter to Nicola Sturgeon, warning that Scotland's curriculum is 'utterly failing the children in our care'."

Learmonth, Andrew: "Abusive parents make 40 per cent of primary teachers wish for career elsewhere", *National* 15-9-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/15536788.Abusive_parents_make_40_per_cent_of_primary_teachers_wish_for_career_elsewhere/): "Pushy, abusive parents need to calm it down in the playground, say Scotland's stressed-out teachers. The call comes after a large-scale study suggested 40 per cent of primary teachers were the victims of "negative parental behaviour" either at school or online every month."

Young, Gregor: "Teachers fear breakfast club closures will lead to lower attendance and bad behaviour", *National* 11-9-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/15526626.Teachers_fear_breakfast_club_closures_will_lead_to_lower_attendance_and_bad_behaviour/): "Teachers across Scotland say breakfast clubs will have to close because of funding cuts. And they believe closures will lead to deterioration in pupil behaviour and lower attendance. Any closures could also hit working families hard with 27 per cent of mothers in Scotland saying they would have to give up work without breakfast clubs."

Donnelly, Brian: "Post-Brexit role for universities that bring £87bn to table each year", *Herald* 2-9-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15634499.Post_Brexit_role_for_universities_that_bring_87bn_to_table_each_year/): "THE UK's leading research-focused universities are injecting nearly £87 billion into the national economy every year, a major new study has revealed. The aggregate contribution to the nation's economic wealth generated by the 24 Russell Group universities equates to eight months' UK-wide expenditure on the NHS and shows the importance of their role post-Brexit."

Denholm, Andrew: ""'Back to school' proposal for exam and curriculum officials", *Herald* 1-9-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15508097.Education_bosses_ordered_back_to_school_amid_fears_they_are_out_of_touch_with_realities_of_the_classroom/): "Officials who run Scotland's exams and curriculum should be sent back to school to learn about the realities facing the teaching profession, MSPs have said."

Denholm, Andrew: "Minister tells Scottish universities to improve opportunities for female academics", *Herald* 26-8-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15496366.Minister_tells_Scottish_universities_to_improve_opportunities_for_female_academics/): "Ministers have described as 'disappointing' attempts by universities to provide female academics with the same career opportunities as men. Figures obtained by The Herald show women currently make up 47 per cent of the academic workforce, but account for only 23 per cent of professors and 30 per cent of senior academics."

"Free tuition fees policy not sustainable, claims Vince Cable", *Herald* 18-8-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15483105.Free_tuition_fees_policy_not_sustainable_claims_Vince_Cable/): "Sir Vince Cable said funding free university tuition via 'raiding' the budgets of further education colleges is 'perverse and socially damaging'."

"Schools 'should stay open in the summer', say Tories", *Herald* 14-8-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15470868.Schools_should_stay_open_in_the_summer_say_Tories/): "Schools should be opened up during the summer as 'community hubs' where children can take part in activities and keep up with their studies through outdoor learning."

Denholm, Andrew: "Edinburgh University enters clearing for first time to help disadvantaged students", *Herald* 1-8-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15444809.Edinburgh_University_enters_clearing_for_first_time_to_help_disadvantaged_students/): "One of Scotland's most prestigious universities has entered the clearing system for the first time in a bid to enrol more students from poorer backgrounds."

Denholm, Andrew: "Record numbers of English students targeting Scottish universities", *Herald* 13-7-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15406926.Record_numbers_of_English_students_targeting_Scottish_universities/): "Lucrative fee-paying students from England applying to Scottish universities are at record levels despite a sharp decline south of the border, according to new figures."

Denholm, Andrew: "Glasgow University leads erosion of middle class monopoly on professions", *Herald* 29-6-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15378134.Glasgow_University_leads_erosion_of_middle_class_monopoly_on_professions/): "Lowering university entry requirements for pupils from disadvantaged communities does not amount to 'dumbing down', new evidence shows."

Denholm, Andrew: "Audit Scotland issues warning over £19m college deficit", *Herald* 22-6-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15362617.Watchdogs_issue_warning_over_19m_college_deficit/): "Scotland's colleges are facing an uncertain financial future with growing deficits and a decline in student numbers, public spending watchdogs have warned."

Denholm, Andrew: "Fresh school building fears over quality of council inspections", *Herald* 13-6-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15343488.Fresh_school_building_fears_over_quality_of_council_inspections/): "The quality of school building inspections across Scotland following the collapse of a wall at an Edinburgh primary last year has been questioned by an expert."

Tennie, Alan: "Never underestimate the power of reading", *Herald* 5-6-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/15327761.Alan_Tennie_Never_underestimate_the_power_of_reading/): "Fewer than half of Scotland's young teenagers are able to write well, with reading skills only slightly better, according to a recent report. This education scare coincides with the HBO film adaptation of Ray Bradbury's *Fahrenheit 451*, currently in production."

"Edinburgh University loses 96 EU staff in past year, study finds", *Herald* 5-6-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/education/15329183.Edinburgh_University_loses_96_EU_staff_in_past_year_study_finds/): "Edinburgh University ranks third in the UK for loss of European Union (EU) staff in the past year, a study has found. More than 1,300 EU academics have left British universities in 2016/17, a rise of 30% compared to 2014/15, a study by the Liberal Democrats has found."

Denholm, Andrew: "Teachers call for ban on blanket introduction of controversial new National 5 exams in key subjects", *Herald* 30-5-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/education/15316117.Teachers_call_for_ban_on_blanket_introduction_of_controversial_new_exams/): "Teachers are demanding a ban on the blanket introduction of controversial new qualifications in key subjects such as science and computing."

Denholm, Andrew: "Exam results 'seriously risked' by teacher shortages", *Herald* 5-5-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/education/15266476.Exam_results_seriously_risked_by_teacher_shortages/): "Pupils' exam results are being threatened by a national shortage of teachers, council leaders have warned. The claim was made by a group of seven local authorities across the North of Scotland facing acute difficulties in recruiting staff - particularly in so-called Stem subjects such as science and mathematics."

Bleakeley, Grace: "Devo digital: Digital skills for the northern powerhouse", *IPPR* 25-4-17 (http://www.ippr.org/publications/devo-digital?utm_source=IPPR+weekly+newsletter&utm_campaign=8277332320-EMAIL_CAMPAIGN_2017_04_26&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_0b30c067fe-8277332320-289228873): "A huge opportunity will be lost if the north of England is unable to provide sufficient talent to facilitate the continued growth of the digital sector. This report puts forward recommendations that would help the North to address its digital skills gap, in order to remain competitive in a post-Brexit environment."

Hutcheon, Paul: "Teachers' union to consider boycott of flagship SNP education policy", *Herald* 23-4-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15240310.Teachers_union_to_consider_boycott_of_flagship_SNP_education_policy/): "Teachers are considering a boycott of a key plank of the SNP Government's flagship education policy on the standardised assessments of pupils."

Denholm, Andrew: "Progress on closing the gap on fair university access", *Herald* 11-4-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15216187.Progress_on_closing_the_gap_on_fair_university_access/): "Hundreds of extra pupils from the poorest backgrounds in Scotland are securing a place at university, according to new figures."

Gordon, Tom: "Sturgeon told: choose between 'separation or education'", *Herald* 31-3-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15194054.Sturgeon_told_choose_between_quot_separation_or_education_quot_/): "Nicola Sturgeon has been told to choose between 'separation or education', after the Scottish Tories published new figures showing a sharp decline in supply teacher numbers."

Burns, Janice: "A digital future for Scotland's young people", *National* 30-3-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/business/15190348.A_digital_future_for_Scotland_s_young_people/): "The Digital Xtra Fund has become Scotland's first charity dedicated to supporting a range of digital skills initiatives for those under the age of 16."

Kentish, Brent: "University tuition fees in England now the highest in the world, new analysis suggests", *Independent* 28-3-17 (<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/education/university-tuition-fees-england-highest-world-compare-students-student-loan-calculator-a7654276.html>)

Learmonth, Andrew: "John Swinney: Status quo in education is not an option ... change is happening", *National* 24-3-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/politics/15178310.John_Swinney_Status_quo_in_education_is_not_an_option_change_is_happening/): "Change is coming to Scotland's schools, the Deputy First Minister has said. Giving a major speech on Scottish education yesterday afternoon, John Swinney expressed disappointment that in a recent consultation so many people working in the sector were resistant to doing things differently."

Learmonth, Andrew: "Nurseries shun free childcare expansion amid claims of losses", *National* 22-3-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/15174729.Nurseries_shun_free_childcare_expansion_amid_claims_of_losses/): "Just half of Scotland's nurseries have committed to implementing the Scottish Government's 1140 hours of funded childcare pledge."

Hannan, Martin: "First students of African ethical leadership programme complete course", *National* 13-3-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/15151145.First_students_of_African_ethical_leadership_programme_complete_course/): "A year on from its foundation, Glasgow Caledonian University's ambitious scheme to help develop a new generation of ethical leaders across Africa has recorded its first successes."

Clench, Nancy: "Sex education: We must give young people the full picture", *National* 10-3-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/comment/15146154.Sex_education_We_must_give_young_people_the_full_picture/): "Following last week's piece, I've got to thank Kirsty Blackman MP and Alison Thewliss MP, among others, who kindly sent me the invitation to the UK Gout Association's Parliamentary Reception."

Learmonth, Andrew: "Davidson calls for major schools review ", *National* 4-3-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/politics/15133317.Davidson_calls_for_major_schools_review/): "Ruth Davidson is to call for a 'root and branch' review of the Curriculum for Excellence, when she addresses the Scottish Conservative party conference in Glasgow today."

Russell, Greg: "Primary pupils boost digital skills with Barefoot Computing project", *National* 28-2-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/business/15121054.Primary_pupils_boost_digital_skills_with_Barefoot_Computing_project/): "More than 45,800 primary pupils across Scotland have benefited from a pioneering education programme that boosts computing skills."

Denholm, Andrew: "First meeting of Scottish Government's international education panel cost taxpayer £36,000", *Herald* 22-2-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15108627.First_meeting_of_SNP_expert_school_panel_cost_36_000/): "A group of global education experts asked to scrutinise Scotland's school system were put up in one of the country's most exclusive hotels at taxpayers' expense amidst accusations of an overly warm relationship with ministers."

"Agenda: So much to be gained from young people learning modern languages", *Herald* 13-2-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/15087518.Agenda_So_much_to_be_gained_from_young_people_learning_modern_languages/): "Does language learning have a place in the Scottish curriculum? Yes. Are modern languages and their teachers under pressure in secondary schools? Yes. Has there been a better opportunity for promoting language learning in our schools? No."

Denholm, Andrew: "Gaelic pupils outperforming their peers in literacy skills", *Herald* 4-2-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15070392.Gaelic_pupils_outperforming_their_peers_in_literacy_skills/): "Primary pupils taught in Gaelic are outperforming children in mainstream Scottish schools, according to new figures."

"Glasgow schools given largest share of £120m fund to close attainment gap", *Herald* 1-2-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15062798.Glasgow_schools_given_largest_share_of_120_m_fund_to_close_attainment_gap/): "Scotland's largest city will receive more than a sixth of a new £120 million cash fund set up as part of efforts to close the attainment gap in schools."

Denholm, Andrew: "Scottish universities left short after catalogue of blunders at funding body", *Herald* 23-1-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15040446.Scottish_universities_left_short_after_catalogue_of_blunders_at_funding_body/): "Leaked papers have revealed a catalogue of blunders at the body which distributes £1 billion to Scottish universities with some institutions left scrambling to fund vital projects."

"20,000 pages of advice for teachers largely necessary, says education chief", *Herald* 18-1-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15031411.20_000_pages_of_advice_for_teachers_largely_necessary_says_education_chief/): "Large parts of the 20,000 pages of online advice for teachers on curriculum reforms were necessary, the boss of Scotland's national education body has said."

Hook, Andrew: "We're heading for Trump-like universities in the UK" *Scottish Review* 16-1-17 (<http://www.scottishreview.net/AndrewHook133c.html>): "Between 1987 and 1992 I had a role in CNNA (Council for National Academic Awards) chairing that organisation's committee for the humanities. CNAA had been set up in 1965 to supervise and validate the courses and degrees awarded by polytechnics and other non-university institutions such as colleges of higher education. Universities on the other hand, having been chartered to award their own degrees, were subject to no such external body."

"Parents feel 'excluded' by Scottish Government's school consultation", *Herald* 10-1-17 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15011965.Parents_feel_excluded_by_Scottish_Government_s_school_consultation/): "Parents have been left 'puzzled and excluded' by an official consultation into plans for radical changes to the way schools are run."

"Alyn Smith: We all benefit when students become citizens of the world", *National* 3-1-17 (http://www.thenational.scot/comment/14998213.Alyn_Smith_We_all_benefit_when_students_bec

[ome_citizens_of_the_world/](#)): "One of the most heartbreaking parts of the drip-fed Brexit horror has been its impact on EU nationals who chose to make Scotland their home and now find themselves living in a state of uncertainty. That's why I was so proud to see our First Minister, as one of her first acts after the EU referendum result, make a point of telling EU nationals that they were welcome and valued, and that this was their home."

Russell, Greg: "Brexit poses risk to higher education", *National* 27-12-16 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/14988339.Brexit_poses_risk_to_higher_education/): "A Scottish minister has warned of the financial risks the loss of European Union funding could inflict on Scotland's further and higher education sectors."

Paterson, Kirsteen: "Universities seek out legal aid to help protect staff from Brexit threat", *National* 2-12-16 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/14941624.Universities_seek_out_legal_aid_to_help_protect_staff_from_Brexit_threat/): "Scottish universities are seeking legal help on how to protect staff from overseas returning home to the UK under Brexit terms, it has emerged."

"Warning over return to 'tick box' teaching in Scots schools", *Herald* 8-11-16 (www.heraldscotland.com/news/education/14873321.Warning_over_return_to_tick_box_teaching_in_Scots_schools/): "Increasing levels of school bureaucracy are threatening to turn Scotland's school curriculum into a 'tick box exercise', leading academics have warned."

Spowart, Nan: "SNP calls on Westminster to heed calls to protect Scots universities from impact of Brexit", *National* 31-10-16 (http://www.thenational.scot/politics/14895292.SNP_calls_on_Westminster_to_heed_calls_to_protect_Scots_universities_from_impact_of_Brexit/): "A warning from university leaders that the world class reputation of Scotland's higher education and research sectors is at risk because of Brexit must be heeded by the UK Government, the SNP said yesterday."

"Patrick Harvie: Debt's not the way to do it for our students", *National* 28-10-16 (http://www.thenational.scot/comment/14872708.Patrick_Harvie_Debt_s_not_the_way_to_do_it_for_our_students/): "'The rocks will melt with the sun before I allow tuition fees to be imposed on Scotland,' reads a rather grandiose monument at Heriot Watt University in Edinburgh. I put it rather more simply than the former first minister when I told a student protest outside Holyrood in 2011: 'If I ever vote for fees, sack me.'"

Nutt, Kathleen: "John Swinney urged to 'end anomaly' of tax breaks for private schools", *National* 11-10-16 (http://www.thenational.scot/news/14896452.John_Swinney_urged_to_end_anomaly_of_tax_breaks_for_private_schools/): "Education secretary John Swinney is to be urged by SNP conference delegates to 'end an anomaly' which sees fee-paying schools get lucrative tax breaks while state schools do not."

"Not so bonny", *Economist* 25-8-16 (<http://www.economist.com/news/britain/21705866-scotlands-schools-were-once-among-best-world-what-went-wrong-not-so-bonny>): "Scotland's schools were once among the best in the world. What went wrong?"

"Top university under attack after asking students to consider 'many benefits' of EU membership", *Herald* 28-5-16 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/politics/14522460.Top_university_under_attack_after_asking_students_to_consider_39_many_benefits_39_of_EU_membership/): "One of Scotland's top universities has been accused of making a 'completely inappropriate' intervention in

the EU referendum after it encouraged its students and staff to consider the 'many benefits' it gained from the UK's membership."

"Scotland 'falling behind' international competitors on research funding", *Herald* 26-5-16 (http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/education/14516498.Scotland_falling_behind_international_competitors_on_research_funding/): "Scotland is falling behind international competitors in the proportion of GDP spent on research and development at universities."

"Pressure builds to let international students stay on in Scotland after graduation", *National* 15-2-16 (<http://www.thenational.scot/news/pressure-builds-to-let-international-students-stay-on-in-scotland-after-graduation.13740>): "The Home Office has come under renewed pressure to allow international students to stay in Scotland after they graduate."

Tuition Fees

Dry, Will: "Andrew Adonis: Increasing tuition fees has made the Tories unbreakably toxic", *Cherwell* 7-10-17 (<http://cherwell.org/2017/10/07/andrew-adonis-increasing-tuition-fees-has-made-the-tories-unbreakably-toxic>): "Tony Blair summed up his priorities in just three words – 'education, education, education' – and entrusted his flagship revolution in Britain's schools to just one man: Andrew Adonis. His legacy – thousands of academies, which have largely replaced failing comprehensives with some extraordinary results – has been secure since the Conservatives appropriated his policy and ran with it into government."

Villar, Daniel Antonio: "Richardson's indefensible pay is a product of the marketisation of education", *Cherwell* 19-9-17 (<http://cherwell.org/2017/09/19/richardsons-indefensible-pay-is-a-product-of-the-marketisation-of-education/>): "Louise Richardson has recently come under fire for a comment perceived by many to be defending homophobia. However, the real scandal of what she said was not that students should not complain about homophobic professors, but her defence of her own £350,000 salary, and similarly high salaries of vice chancellors across the UK."

Roy, Kenneth: "Scotland's new rich", *Scottish Review* 28-6-17 (<http://www.scottishreview.net/KennethRoy290a.html>): "Some readers have expressed incredulity at the expenses claims, including one for 2p, submitted by members of the senior management group of Glasgow University, reported here last week. Let me assure the sceptics that all the claims are in the public domain – and from an unimpeachable source at that. It was the university itself, in an itemised quarterly list, that faithfully documented the claims. Presented with such a treasure trove, it only remained to select the funniest and arrange them in some order of ludicrousity."

Roy, Kenneth: "University Challenge", *Scottish Review* 21-6-17 (<http://www.scottishreview.net/KennethRoy285a.html>): "Has anyone ever contemplated a PhD thesis on the expenses claims of senior managers in academia? I ask not only because the claims in question are fascinating in themselves, particularly at a time when, post-Grenfell, inequality in Britain is much in our minds. But perhaps they have a wider relevance: these dusty documents, signed off and at once forgotten, tell us something about how universities see themselves and their place in the world, and maybe even a little about society in general."

Roy, Kenneth: "Scotland newest knight has become part of the problem", *Scottish Review* 19-6-17 (<http://www.scottishreview.net/Special1906a.html>): "While the rumble of popular revolt echoed all

the way from west London at the weekend, the British establishment reinforced its fragile defences in the way it knows best – by dishing out gongs. In the face of intense public anger at the treatment of the refugees from Grenfell Tower, the publication of the honours list massaged a thousand egos. There was no suggestion that this ludicrous ritual should be postponed in deference to the 'sombre national mood' identified by the monarch. It was her name on the list, after all."

Scottish Award Winners

Literature

The troubles of the **Dundee International Book Prize** resulted in its suspension for 2017. According to the Prize website, they found themselves unable "to guarantee publication of the winning title – which we feel to be a very key component of the prize – with much regret, we feel that the prize is unable to proceed this year."

(<http://www.dundeebookprize.com/>)

The **Saltire Society Scottish Book of the Year** 2017 and Non-Fiction Book of the Year is *Border A Journey to the Edge of Europe* (Granta); Fiction Book of the Year is *Memory and Straw* (Luath) by Angus Peter Campbell; First Book of the Year, *Goblin* (Freight Books) by Ever Dundas; Poetry Book of the Year was *Bird-Woman* (Shearsman) by Em Strang and Research Book of the Year, *The Light Blue Book: 500 years of Gaelic Love and Transgressive Verse* (Luath).

(<http://www.saltiresociety.org.uk/news/2017/11/30/saltire-literary-awards-announced>)

The **McIlvanney Prize Scottish Crime Book of the Year** for 2017 is *The Long Drop* (Harvill Secker) by Denise Mina is a semi-fictionalised account of the life and trial of psychopath and serial murderer Peter Manuel and an unsparing evocation of the sleazy, grimy Glasgow underworld of the 1950s.

(<https://www.bloodyscotland.com/the-mcilvanney-prize/>)

The **Wigtown Poetry Competition** main prize winner for 2017 was Patrick Errington for *On Highway 2A Near Blackfalds, Alberta, as Night Comes on*. Scottish Gaelic Prize Winner was Marcas Mac Tuairneir for *Óran na Cille* and Scots prize winner Jim Waite for *Sang fur a Waddin*. Scottish Gaelic Prize winner was Deborah Moffat's *Clann na Coille*.

(<http://www.wigtownbookfestival.com/poetry-competition>)

The Scottish Book Trust's 2017 **Scottish Teenage Book Prize** was won by Claire McFall for *Black Cairn Point* (Hot Key Books). New Writers Awards went to Simon Brown, Laura Morgan, Anna Stewart and Elisabeth Ingram Wallace in the Fiction category, to Sally Huband for Narrative Non-Fiction, and to Lydia Harris Ciara MacLavery and Molly Vogel in the Poetry section. Children's and Young Adult winners were Christine Jean Laurenson and Helen MacKenzie, while the Gaelic Fiction and Gaelic Poetry awards went to Morag Law and Marion Morrison respectively. The Next Chapter Award for the support of an emerging writer over the age of 40 went to Julie Rea.

(<http://www.scottishbooktrust.com/learning/teachers-librarians/scottish-teenage-book-prize/2017-competition-winners>)

Winner of this year's £10,000 **James Tait Black Prize for Fiction** was Eimear McBride for *The Lesser Bohemians* (Faber and Faber). Laura Cumming won the Biography prize for *In Pursuit of Velazquez* (Chatto and Windus).

(<https://www.ed.ac.uk/news/2017/literary-awards-for-foes-of-love-and-loss>)

The 2017 **Walter Scott Prize for Historical Fiction** was won by Sebastian Barry for his novel *Days Without End* (Faber).
(<http://www.walterscottprize.co.uk/>)

The Scottish Book Trust and Creative Scotland awarded **Robert Louis Stevenson Fellowships** for 2017 to Liz Lochhead, Nalini Paul, David Bishop and David Manderson. The fellowship allows a month-long residency at the Hôtel Cheillon International Arts Centre at Grez-sur-Loing, France.
(<http://www.scottishbooktrust.com/writing/scottish-book-trust-training-awards/the-robert-louis-stevenson-fellowship/2017-fellows>)

Neil Gunn Writing Competition awards were won in the Adult Poetry section by Jacqueline Thompson for Pennyroyal and in the Adult Short Story section by Richard Bennett for 'On the Hill'.
(<https://www.hIGHLIFEhighland.com/neilgunn/>)

The 2017 **Kelpies Prize** for new Scottish writing for children was won by Emily Ilet for *The Girl Who Lost Her Shadow* (Floris Books).
(<https://discoverkelpies.co.uk/2017/08/kelpies-prize-2017-winner/>)

Theatre

CATS – Critics Awards for Theatre in Scotland 2016-17 winners included: Best Female Performance: Nicole Cooper, "Coriolanus" (Bard in the Botanics); Best Male Performance: Billy Mack as Willy Loman, "Death of a Salesman (Dundee Rep); Best Ensemble: Dundee Rep Ensemble for Death of a Salesman; Best Director: Zinnie Harris for "A Number" Royal Lyceum Edinburgh.
(<http://www.criticsawards.theatrescotland.com/Winners%20by%20year/16-17.html>)

Art/Photography

The winners of the first ever **Scottish Portrait Awards** were announced at a ceremony in Edinburgh in November. The fine art prize went to Glasgow artist Helen Wilson, the photography award to Robin Gillanders of Edinburgh.
(<http://www.scottishportraitawards.org/awards.html>)

New Publications

(compiled by Sarah Poschen and Andrea Schlotthauer for the Febr. 2016 – Dec. 2017 period)
(Lothar Görke and Klaus Peter Müller have added important 2018 titles)

Abrams, Lynn / Elizabeth L. Ewan (eds.), *Nine Centuries of Man. Manhood and Masculinities in Scottish History*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 2018 (paperback £24.99)

Scotland, with its stereotypes of the kilted warrior and the industrial 'hard man' has long been characterised in masculine terms, but there has been little historical exploration of what masculinity actually means for men (and women) in a Scottish context. This interdisciplinary collection explores a diverse range of the multiple and changing forms of masculinities from the late eleventh to the late twentieth century, examining the ways in which Scottish society through the ages defined expectations for men and their behaviour.

<https://edinburghuniversitypress.com/book-nine-centuries-of-man.html>

Arthur, John W., *Brilliant Lives – The Clerk Maxwells and the Scottish Enlightenment*, Edinburgh: John Donald – Birlinn 2016 (paperback £25.00)

James Clerk Maxwell (1831–1879) was the greatest physicist of the nineteenth century, and although his scientific contribution is now acknowledged to be on a level with those of Newton and Einstein, he has generally not received the acclaim that he deserves. This book goes beyond the life of the man himself to explore five generations of his family and those with whom they were connected, predominantly middleranking lowland Scots who were interlinked through marriage. At the centre are the Clerks of Penicuik and the Maxwells of Middlebie. These dynastic families and their connections produced several astonishing characters whose stories shed light on the development of Scotland from the political and religious aftermath of the Reformation, through the age of Enlightenment, and into the glory days of the nineteenth century. The Scottish Enlightenment was fuelled by the actions and ideas of several brilliant individuals, many of whom were either among James Clerk Maxwell's direct forebears or within their circle of connections. Their brightest scion was without doubt James himself, but many of the others also made their own distinct impression on Scotland and the wider world.

(<http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Brilliant-Lives.html>)

Aughey, Arthur, *The British question*, Manchester: Manchester UP 2017 (paperback £25.50)

There is a sustained interest amongst students of British politics, as well as an informed public, about the future state of the United Kingdom. The issue at stake is whether the UK's multinational institutions can endure the challenge of political nationalism, especially in Scotland. This has become known as the British Question. This book is designed as both a framework text - setting out concepts by which to understand the British Question - and a synthetic text - providing a digest of significant academic work on historical, conceptual and political matters relevant to that question. The value of the book is its unique focus on the character, resources and function of the United Kingdom as a whole. (<http://www.manchesteruniversitypress.co.uk/9781526117007/>)

Barnett, Anthony, *The Lure of Greatness: England's Brexit and America's Trump*, Unbound 2017 (hardback/ebook €15)

In 2016 two surprising explosions of popular contempt for the existing order drove Britain into Brexit and paved the way for Trump's presidency of the United States. On both sides of the Atlantic, proud regimes with global pretensions were levelled by justifiable revolts. But in the name of self-government, Brexit and Trump will intensify the authoritarian traditions of their outdated political systems. The Lure of Greatness is a blistering account of how and why this happened. The shadow of Iraq, the great financial crash, campaigns of poison and intrigue, the filleting of David Cameron with the cold fury of a Remain voter... these are just the start. At the book's heart is the story of the institutional and constitutional implosion of the United Kingdom, the farce of 'the sovereignty of parliament', a passionate account of English nationalism and the absurdity of the ever-increasing and insidious influence of the Daily Mail. What emerges is a compelling summary of an EU in crisis, the fateful absence of a viable left alternative, the normality of immigration – all of which frame the reasons for the triumph of Leave.

Anthony Barnett, co-founder of openDemocracy, applies a lifetime of observing, reporting and sedition in this searing analysis of the two great democratic disasters of our time.

(<https://unbound.com/books/brexit/>)

Barrow, Simon / Small, Mike (eds.), *Scotland 2021*, Leith: Bella Caledonia / Ekklesia 2016 (available for free for subscribers of Bella Caledonia, paperback £12.99)

The book has contributions by Irvine Welsh, Khuloud Saba, Alistair Davidson, Neil Cooper, Joyce McMillan, Maggie Chapman, Adam Ramsay, Robin McAlpine, Kathy Galloway, Tom French, Vonnie Moyes, Anuj Kapilashrami, Sara Marsden, Jane Denholm, Tam McTurk and dozens more.

We are looking at the challenges ahead, the state of the nation and the shifting political landscape after Holyrood 2016. We are exploring innovations and solutions in the crisis of health, inequality and ecology and how they relate to the wider issues of power and democracy. Issues of corruption, culture and education vie with gay rights and gender justice, sports policy and ideas for the future of the media. This is an ambitious project to channel a stream of thinkers and writers to focus on transformative ideas and work beyond the limitations of tribe and party.

(<http://bellacaledonia.org.uk/2016/05/19/scotland-2021/>)

Bennett, Margaret, *We Are Engineers! They Taught Us Skills for Life*, Ochtertyre: Grace Note Publications 2016 (paperback £12.99)

Scotland's labour history has been the subject of many important studies, surveys, articles and books. Some of those published represent the invaluable collection of local groups and amateur historians, while others have been, and are, produced by academics and labour officials. The general expectation, even in Scotland, is that these works should be written in Standard English, regardless of the everyday speech of the workforce. For this publication, however, it seemed more important to transcribe, as recorded, the voices of folk whose vitality of language and expression gives a brighter reflection of their experiences during work and leisure.

This book has grown out of an oral history project, 'The End of the Shift', which aims to record the working practices and conditions of skilled workers in Scotland's past industries. Publicity about the project caught the interest of a group of retired engineers, who had all served apprenticeships with a prestigious Kirkcaldy firm, Melville-Brodie Engineering Company. Having lived through times when Scotland seemed blighted by industrial closures, the engineers could identify with 'the end of the shift' as they had experienced the effect of closing down Melville-Brodie Engineering Company. The entire workforce was dispersed, and with it, the skills, expertise and wisdom of generations. Kirkcaldy also lost a company that had been the pride of Scottish engineering.

(<http://www.gracenotepublications.co.uk/we-are-the-engineers-they-taught-us-skills-for-life-by-margaret-bennett/>)

Berresford Ellis, Peter / Mac a'Ghobhainn, *The Radical Rising – The Scottish Insurrection of 1820*, Edinburgh: Birlinn 2016 (paperback £14.99)

Glasgow, April 1820. The last armed uprising on British soil, intent on severing the Union and establishing a radical Scottish republic, ended in executions, imprisonments, transportations and 85 trails for high treason. Yet despite its political and social importance, the story of this working-class revolution vanished from the historical record. This book restores the radical rising to its rightful place in history, offering an incisive analysis of the rising itself and the events which led up to it, vividly recapturing the extraordinary heroism of its leaders, John Baird and Andrew Hardie, and the savagery with which the movement was crushed by the forces of the British state.

(<http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Radical-Rising-The.html>)

Black, Ronald, *The Campbells of the Ark, Volume 1*, Edinburgh: John Donald – Birlinn 2016 (paperback £25.00)

In the course of his long poem *An Àirce*, 'The Ark', the Jacobite poet Alexander MacDonald shows the Campbells being subjected to trial by water for the part they played in defeating Prince Charles's

army in 1745–6. Some will be drowned outright, he says, some just given a good ducking – and some will be honourably treated. He names forty individuals; Ronald Black puts their lives and deeds under the microscope to see how far they deserved their allotted fate. The result is a well-balanced portrait of the leading men of Argyll in the eighteenth century and a refreshingly new perspective on one of the most colourful episodes in Scottish history: the rising of the '45 as seen through the eyes of Highlanders who helped to crush it. *The Campbells of the Ark* includes a detailed study of the sixty-three locally based companies of the Argyllshire Militia of 1745–6, covering every corner of this fascinating county, from Kintyre to Ardnamurchan, from Islay to Genorchy. (<http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Campbells-of-the-Ark-The-Volume-1.html>)

Blain, Neil / David Hutchinson / Gerry Hassan (eds.), *Scotland's Referendum and the Media: National and International Perspectives*, Edinburgh: EUP 2016 (hardback, paperback, available on amazon, pricing differs)

After the Referendum on whether Scotland should become an independent country in Sept 2014 – and following a momentous mobilisation of voters by both the Yes and No campaigns – Scotland's political environment has been fundamentally energised. But how was the Referendum campaign reported and structured in the media in Scotland, the wider United Kingdom, and in other parts of the world, and was it a matter of 'construction' rather than 'representation'?

In this book scholars, commentators and journalists from Britain, Europe and beyond examine how the media across the world presented the debate itself and the shifting nature of Scottish – and British – identity which that debate revealed. Several of the contributors also explore how the emphases and constructions which were put on the debate in their particular countries illuminated these countries' own responses to nationalism and separatism.

The consequences of the Referendum's No result are traced in the media through until the May general election of 2015.

(<https://www.amazon.de/Scotlands-Referendum-Media-International-Perspectives/dp/0748696598>)

Bonino, Stefano, *Muslims in Scotland – The Making of Community in a Post-9/11 World*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP 2016 (paperback £19.99)

Explores what it means to be a Muslim in modern Scotland

The experience of being a Muslim in Scotland today is shaped by the global and national post-9/11 shift in public attitudes towards Muslims, and is infused by the particular social, cultural and political Scottish ways of dealing with minorities, diversity and integration. This book explores the settlement and development of Muslim communities in Scotland, highlighting the ongoing changes in their structure and the move towards a Scottish experience of being Muslim. This experience combines a sense of civic and social belonging to Scotland with a strong religious and ideological commitment to Islam.

(<https://edinburghuniversitypress.com/book-muslims-in-scotland.html>)

Brock, Michelle D., *Satan and the Scots – The Devil in Post-Reformation Scotland, c. 1560-1700*, Aldershot: Ashgate 2016 (hardback £149.99)

Frequent discussions of Satan from the pulpit, in the courtroom, in print, in self-writings and on the streets rendered the Devil an immediate and assumed presence in early modern Scotland. For some, especially those engaged in political struggle, this produced a unifying effect by providing a proximate enemy for communities to rally around. For others, the Reformed Protestant emphasis on the relationship between sin and Satan caused them to suspect, much to their horror, that their own depraved hearts placed them in league with the Devil. Exploring what it meant to live in a world in which Satan's presence was believed to be, and indeed, perceived to be, ubiquitous, this book recre-

ates the role of the Devil in the mental worlds of the Scottish people from the Reformation through the early eighteenth century. In so doing it is both the first history of the Devil in Scotland and a case study of the profound ways that beliefs about evil can change lives and shape whole societies. (<https://www.amazon.com/Satan-Scots-Post-Reformation-c-1560-1700-Reformation/dp/147247001X>)

Brophy, Kenneth / Gavin MacGregor / Ian B.M. Ralston (eds.), *The Neolithic of Mainland Scotland*, Edinburgh: EUP 2016 (hardback £75.00, paperback £19.99)

What was life like in Scotland between 4000 and 2000BC? Where were people living? How did they treat their dead? Why did they spend so much time building extravagant ritual monuments? What was special about the relationship people had with trees and holes in the ground? What can we say about how people lived in the Neolithic and early Bronze Age of mainland Scotland where much of the evidence we have lies beneath the ploughsoil, or survives as slumped banks and ditches, or ruinous megaliths?

Each contribution to this volume presents fresh research and radical new interpretations of the pits, postholes, ditches, rubbish dumps, human remains and broken potsherds left behind by our Neolithic forebears.

(<http://www.euppublishing.com/book/9780748685721>)

Bround, Dauvit / Martin MacGregor (eds.), *Kinship, Church and Culture. Collected Essays and Studies by John W.M. Bannerman*, Edinburgh: John Donald – Birlinn 2016 (paperback £25.00)

John Bannerman (1932–2008) saw the history of Scotland from a Gaelic perspective, and his outstanding scholarship made that perspective impossible to ignore. As a historian, his natural home was the era between the Romans and the twelfth century when the Scottish kingdom first began to take shape, but he also wrote extensively on the MacDonald Lordship of the Isles in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, while his work on the Beaton, the notable Gaelic medical kindred, reached into the early eighteenth century. Across this long millennium, Bannerman ranged and wrote with authority and insight on what he termed the 'kin-based society', with special emphasis upon its church and culture, and its relationship with Ireland.

This collection opens with Bannerman's ground-breaking and hugely influential edition and discussion of *Senchus fer nAlban* ('The History of the Men of Scotland'), which featured in his *Studies in the History of Dalriada* (1974), now long out of print. To this have been added all of his published essays, plus an essay-length study of the Lordship of the Isles which first featured as an appendix in *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands* (1977). The book will be of interest to anyone who wants to know more about the Gaelic dimension to Scotland's past and present.

(<http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Kinship-Church-and-Culture.html>)

Bryce, T. G. K. / W. M. Humes / D. Gillies / A. Kennedy (eds.), *Scottish Education*, 5th ed., Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press (£29.99)

This detailed, informed and critical account of contemporary education in Scotland examines each of the main sectors in depth: early years, primary, secondary, further and higher education. It scrutinises the historical, cultural, political, and socio-economic dimensions within which schools, colleges and universities operate.

(<https://edinburghuniversitypress.com/book-scottish-education.html>)

Buchanan, Katherine / Lucinda H.S. Dean (eds.), *Medieval and Early Modern Representations of Authority in Scotland and the British Isles*, Abingdon: Routledge 2016 (hardback £110.00, paperback £27.99)

What use is it to be given authority over men and lands if others do not know about it? Furthermore, what use is that authority if those who know about it do not respect it or recognise its jurisdiction? And what strategies and 'language' – written and spoken, visual and auditory, material, cultural and political – did those in authority throughout the medieval and early modern era use to project and make known their power? These questions have been crucial since regulations for governance entered society and are found at the core of this volume. In order to address these issues from an historical perspective, this collection of essays considers representations of authority made by a cross-section of society within the British Isles. Arranged in thematic sections, the 14 essays in the collection bridge the divide between medieval and early modern to build up understanding of the developments and continuities that can be followed across the centuries in question. Whether crown or noble, government or church, burgh or merchant; all desired power and influence, but their means of representing authority were very different. These essays encompass a myriad of methods demonstrating power and disseminating the image of authority, including: material culture, art, literature, architecture and landscapes, saintly cults, speeches and propaganda, martial posturing and strategic alliances, music, liturgy and ceremonial display. Thus, this interdisciplinary collection illuminates the variable forms in which authority was presented by key individuals and institutions in Scotland and the British Isles. By placing these within the context of the European powers with whom they interacted, this volume also underlines the unique relationships developed between the people and those who exercised authority over them.

(<https://www.routledge.com/Medieval-and-Early-Modern-Representations-of-Authority-in-Scotland-and-Buchanan-Dean/p/book/9781472424488>)

Bulmer, W. Elliot, *Constituting Scotland. The Scottish National Movement and the Westminster Model*, Edinburgh: EUP 2016 (hardback £70.00)

Drawing on the fields of constitutional theory, comparative constitutional law, and Scottish studies, this book examines the historical trajectory of the constitutional question in Scotland and analyses the influences and constraints on the constitutional imagination of the Scottish national movement, in terms of both the national and international contexts. It identifies an emerging Scottish nationalist constitutional tradition that is distinct from British constitutional orthodoxies but nevertheless corresponds to broad global trends in constitutional thought and design.

Much of the book is devoted to the detailed exposition and comparative analysis of the draft constitution for an independent Scotland published by the SNP in 2002. The 2014 draft interim Constitution presented by the Scottish Government is also examined, and the two texts are contrasted to show the changing nature of the SNP's constitutional policy: from liberal-procedural constitutionalism in pursuit of a more inclusive polity, to a more populist and majoritarian constitutionalism.

(<https://edinburghuniversitypress.com/book-constituting-scotland.html>)

Campbell, Alexander D., *The Life and Works of Robert Baillie (1602-1662) – Politics, Religion and Record-Keeping in the British Civil Wars*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press 2017 (hardback/eBook £75.00)

First full study of the life and career of the Glaswegian minister Robert Baillie, establishing his significance and influence.

From 1637 to 1660, the Scots witnessed rapid and confused changes in government and violent skirmishing, whilst impassioned religious disputes divided neighbours, friends and family. One of

the most vivid accounts of this period may be found in the letters of the Glaswegian minister, Robert Baillie; but whilst his correspondence has long featured in historical accounts of the period, the man behind these writings has largely been forgotten.

This biography draws together for the first time an analysis of Baillie's career and writings, establishing his significance as a polemicist, minister, theologian, and contemporary historian. It is based on the first, systematic reading of Baillie's extensive surviving manuscripts, comprising thousands of leaves of correspondence, treatises, sermons, and notebooks. Chapters address Baillie's writings on monarchy, church government, Reformed theology, liturgical change, Biblical scholarship, and Baillie's practice of record-keeping. Overall, the book challenges prevalent understandings of the intellectual landscape of Covenanted Scotland, situating Baillie and his contemporaries on the peripheries of a dynamic, European Republic of Letters.

(<https://boydellandbrewer.com/the-life-and-works-of-robert-baillie-1602-1662.html>)

Clarkson, Tim, *Scotland's Merlin. A Medieval Legend and its Dark Origins*, Edinburgh: John Donald – Birlinn 2016 (paperback £14.99)

Who was Merlin? Is the famous wizard of Arthurian legend based on a real person? In this book, Merlin's origins are traced back to the story of Lailoken, a mysterious 'wild man' who is said to have lived in the Scottish Lowlands in the sixth century AD. The book considers the question of whether Lailoken belongs to myth or reality. It looks at the historical background of his story and discusses key characters such as Saint Kentigern of Glasgow and King Rhydderch of Dumbarton, as well as important events such as the Battle of Arfderydd. Lailoken's reappearance in medieval Welsh literature as the fabled prophet Myrddin is also examined. Myrddin himself was eventually transformed into Merlin the wizard, King Arthur's friend and mentor.

This is the Merlin we recognise today, not only in art and literature but also on screen. His earlier forms are less familiar, more remote, but can still be found among the lore and legend of the Dark Ages. Behind them we catch fleeting glimpses of an original figure who perhaps really did exist: a solitary fugitive, tormented by his experience of war, who roamed the hills and forests of southern Scotland long ago.

(<http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Scotland-s-Merlin.html>)

Von Contzen, Eva, *The Scottish Legendary. Towards a poetics of hagiographic narration*, Manchester: MUP 2016 (hardback £70.00)

This is the first book-length study of the Scottish Legendary of the late fourteenth century. The only extant collection of saints' lives in the vernacular from medieval Scotland, the work scrutinises the dynamics of hagiographic narration, its implicit assumptions about literariness, and the functions of telling the lives of the saints. The fifty saints' legends are remarkable for their narrative art: the enjoyment of reading the legends is heightened, while didactic and edifying content is toned down. Focusing on the role of the narrator, the depiction of the saintly characters, their interiority, as well as temporal and spatial parameters, it is demonstrated that the Scottish poet has adapted the traditional material to the needs of an audience versed in reading romance and other secular genres. This study scrutinises the implications of the Scottish poet's narrative strategies with respect to the Scottishness of the Legendary and its overall place in the hagiographic landscape of late medieval Britain. (<http://www.manchesteruniversitypress.co.uk/9780719095962/>)

Convery, Alan, *The territorial Conservative Party. Devolution and party change in Scotland and Wales*, Manchester: MUP 2016 (hardback £70.00)

How did the territorial Conservative Party adapt to devolution? This detailed analysis of the Scottish and Welsh Conservative Parties explains how they moved from campaigning against devolution

to sitting in the Scottish Parliament and Welsh Assembly. Tracing the processes of party change in both parties this study explains why the Welsh Conservatives unexpectedly embraced devolution while the Scottish Conservatives took much longer to accept that Westminster was no longer the priority. This book will be of interest to students of British, Scottish and Welsh politics and anyone who is interested in the Conservative Party. It also speaks to wider debates about the nature of devolution, party change and multi-level governance.

(<http://www.manchesteruniversitypress.co.uk/9781784991319/>)

Crawford, Robert, *The Book of Iona. An Anthology*, Edinburgh: Polygon – Birlinn 2016 (hardback £14.99)

The Book of Iona shows how novelists, poets, saints and sinners over the centuries have written about one of the world's most famous and best loved islands. Including many new, specially commissioned Iona stories and poems from writers including Meg Bateman, Jennie Erdal, Meaghan Delahunt, Candia McWilliam, Ruth Thomas and Alice Thompson, this anthology also contains a treasure trove of earlier material – from poems attributed to St Columba in modern translations by Edwin Morgan and Robert Crawford to amusing accounts of their visits to the island by Samuel Johnson, James Boswell, and John Keats. (<http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Book-of-Iona-The.html>)

Devine, T.M., *Independence or Union. Scotland's Past and Scotland's Present*, London: Allen Lane – Penguin 2016 (hardback £18.95, amazon)

There can be no relationship in Europe's history more creative, significant, vexed and uneasy than that between Scotland and England. From the Middle Ages onwards the island of Britain has been shaped by the unique dynamic between Edinburgh and London, exchanging inhabitants, monarchs, money and ideas, sometimes in a spirit of friendship and at others in a spirit of murderous dislike.

Tom Devine's seminal new book explores this extraordinary history in all its ambiguity, from the seventeenth century to the present. When not undermining each other with invading armies, both Scotland and England have broadly benefitted from each other's presence - indeed for long periods of time nobody questioned the union which joined them. But as Devine makes clear, it has for the most part been a relationship based on consent, not force, on mutual advantage, rather than antagonism - and it has always held the possibility of a political parting of the ways.

(<https://www.penguin.co.uk/books/287174/independence-or-union/>)

Devine, T. M., and Angela McCarthy (eds.), *Scotland's Immigrant Communities since 1945*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018.

This is the first wide-ranging, cross-disciplinary overview of immigration to Scotland in recent history and its impact on both the newcomers and the host society. It examines key themes relating to postwar migration by showcasing the experiences of many of Scotland's most striking immigrant communities of people arriving from England, Poland, India, Pakistan, China, the Caribbean and the African continent. *New Scots* also features analysis of asylum seekers and refugees, along with Jewish and Roma migrants, and includes a chapter on migrant voting patterns during the Independence Referendum of 2014. 2017 (paperback £19.99)

<https://edinburghuniversitypress.com/book-new-scots.html>

Durie, Alastair J., *Scotland and Tourism – The Long View, 1700–2015*, London: Routledge 2017 (hardback £110.00)

Tourism has long been important to Scotland. It has become all the more significant as the financial sector has faltered and other mainstays are in apparent long-term decline. Yet there is no assessment of this industry and its place over the long run, no one account of what it has meant to previous gen-

erations and continues to mean to the present one, of what led to growth or what indeed has led people of late to look elsewhere.

This book brings together work from many periods and perspectives. It draws on a wide range of source material, academic and non-academic, from local studies and general analyses, visitors' accounts, hotel records, newspaper and journal commentaries, photographs and even cartoons. It reviews arguments over the cultural and economic impact of tourism, and retrieves the experience of the visited, of the host communities as well as the visitors. It questions some of the orthodoxies – that Scott made Scott-land, or that it was charter air flights that pulled the rug from under the mass market – and sheds light on what in the Scottish package appealed, and what did not, and to whom; how provision changed, or failed to change; and what marketing strategies may have achieved. It charts changes in accommodation, from inn to hotel, holiday camp, caravanning and timeshare. The role of transport is a central feature: that of the steamship and the railway in opening up Scotland, and later of motor transport in reshaping patterns of holidaymaking. Throughout there is an emphasis on the comparative: asking what was distinctive about the forms and nature of tourism in Scotland as against competing destinations elsewhere in the UK and Europe. It concludes by reflecting on whether Scotland's past can inform the making and shaping of tourism policy and what cautions history might offer for the future.

This prolific long-term analysis of tourism in Scotland is a must-read for all those interested in tourism history. (<https://www.routledge.com/Scotland-and-Tourism-The-Long-View-17002015/Durie/p/book/9781138854604>)

Hassan, Gerry / Russel Gunson, *Scotland, the UK and Brexit – A Guide to the Future*; Edinburgh: Luath Press 2017 (paperback £12.99)

The unexpected outcome of the 2017 UK general election means that the UK Government lacks a clear mandate on Brexit and also that the Scottish Government lacks a clear mandate on holding a second Independence Referendum consequent to the material change in circumstance which will be brought about by Brexit. We are in for a bumpy, unpredictable ride, one with profound consequences for the people of Scotland and the UK. In this collection of essays from a wide range of leading political specialists, journalists and academics, Hassan and Gunson have assembled a comprehensive guide to Brexit for the UK as a whole, and its constituent parts. From fisheries and agriculture to higher education and law, the whys and how of Brexit are challenged from all angles. Particular attention is paid to how Brexit will impact Scotland and the viability of a future independent Scotland. (<http://www.luath.co.uk/scotland-the-uk-and-brexit.html>)

Hassan, Gerry/Simon Barrow (eds.), *A Nation Changed? – The SNP and Scotland Ten Years On*, Edinburgh: Luath Press (paperback £16.99) out of stock

A Nation Changed? Provides the first detailed and wide-ranging analysis of the SNP in office. It looks at how Scotland has changed and not changed during that time, and the challenges that lie ahead. The book examines the SNP's record, its role as a government and as a party, detailed policy issues such as education and health, the Brexit conundrum and independence.

Offering insights and suggestions for further action and reform, *A Nation Changed?* brings together an unparalleled range of knowledgeable and expert voices all of whom care deeply about Scotland, public policy, the state of democracy, and the future of our nation. Irrespective of your political views or allegiance, this groundbreaking study offers fresh thinking, food for thought and ideas for debate concerning the changing terrain of Scottish politics.

(<http://www.luath.co.uk/a-nation-changed.html>)

Harris, Francis, *The General in Winter – The Marlborough-Godolphin Friendship and the Reign of Anne*, Oxford: OUP 2017 (hardback £35.00)

'The glories of the Age of Anne' — the union of England and Scotland to form 'this island of Britain', and its establishment as a European and a global power — were the achievements of two men above all: Queen Anne's captain-general, John Churchill, the first Duke of Marlborough, and her Lord Treasurer, Sidney, first Earl of Godolphin, of whom it was said that each 'was the greatest of his kind that hardly any age has afforded'. Their partnership not only embodied the emerging military-fiscal state; it was also a close and lifelong friendship which fully encompassed Marlborough's beautiful and tempestuous wife Sarah. Tracing the partnership as it proved itself in a succession of victorious summer campaigns in the field and bitterly contested 'winter campaigns' at court and in parliament connects and illuminates aspects of a complex period which are often studied in isolation. But was the partnership in the end too successful, too self-contained, too mutually supportive; a dangerous concentration of power and a threat to the queen and the constitution? 'Rebellion and blood' were always undercurrents of the glories of the last Stuart reign. A troubled dynasty would come to an end with Queen Anne's life and a contested succession depended on the outcome of the European war that occupied almost the whole of her reign. This is a story of operatic intensity: of sovereignty and ambition, glory and defeat, but, above all, of love and friendship proved in the hardest use. Its intense human interest and audible voices illuminate a conflicted period which helped to determine the course of modern world.

(<https://global.oup.com/academic/product/the-general-in-winter-9780198802440?prevSortField=8&sortField=8&start=40&resultsPerPage=20&q=scotland&prevNumResPerPage=20&lang=en&cc=de#>)

Hajkowski, Thomas, *The BBC and national identity in Britain, 1922–53*, Manchester: Manchester UP 2017 (paperback £18.99)

Examining the ways in which the BBC constructed and disseminated British national identity during the second quarter of the twentieth century, this book is the first study that focuses in a comprehensive way on how the BBC, through its radio programs, tried to represent what it meant to be British.

The BBC and national identity in Britain offers a revision of histories of regional broadcasting in Britain that interpret it as a form of cultural imperialism. The regional organization of the BBC, and the news and creative programming designed specifically for regional listeners, reinforced the cultural and historical distinctiveness of Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. The BBC anticipated, and perhaps encouraged, the development of the hybrid "dual identities" characteristic of contemporary Britain. (<http://www.manchesteruniversitypress.co.uk/9781526118844/>)

Hopkins, Peter (ed.), *Scotland's Muslims – Society, Politics and Identity*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP 2017 (hardback/eBook £56.00)

Between the 2001 and 2011, the Muslim population of Scotland increased by nearly eighty percent. The youthfulness of Scotland's Muslim community means this population is likely to continue to grow in size. Yet, Scotland's Muslim community does not feature much at all in research about 'Muslims in Britain': at best, Scotland is mentioned in passing, and at worst, generalisations are made about 'British Muslims' based on the assumption that Muslims in Scotland have the same experiences to Muslims in England. However, in the last ten years or so, research has started to give specific attention to the everyday lives, identities and experiences of Scotland's Muslims. This collection brings together a lot of this research and, with contributions from leading and emerging scholars in the field, explores the lives, political engagements and social practices of Scotland's Muslim communities.

(<https://edinburghuniversitypress.com/book-scotland-039-s-muslims.html>)

Forsyth, David / Wendy Ugolini (eds.), *A Global Force: War, Identities and Scotland's Diaspora*, Edinburgh: EUP 2016 (hardback/eBook £70.00, paperback £19.99)

Between the 1820s and 1914 over two million people emigrated from Scotland, settling primarily in North America, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. One of the most distinctive ways in which the influence of the Scottish diaspora overseas expressed itself was the formation of military units which identified with Scotland.

This volume provides a comparative overview of the nineteenth century emergence of military Scottishness and explores how the construction and performance of Scottish military identity has evolved in different Commonwealth countries over the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In particular, it looks at the ways in which Scottish volunteer regiments variously sought to draw upon, align themselves with or, at certain key moments, redefine the assertions of martial identity which Highland regiments represented.

(<https://edinburghuniversitypress.com/book-a-global-force.html>)

Gallagher, Amy / Scothorne, Westwell & Rory, *Roch Winds. A Treacherous Guide to the State of Scotland*, Edinburgh: Luath Press 2016 (paperback £8.99)

Did Scotland's rough wind become something more after the referendum, as so many hoped it would, or did it blow itself out? What power can pessimism have in a nation of newfound self-confidence?

A generation ago, the socialist poet Hamish Henderson forecast that 'mair nor a roch wind' - more than a rough wind - would rush through the great glen of the world as empires and nations collapsed. In *Roch Winds*, three young radicals pick through the rubble left in the wake of the storm that propelled the Scottish National Party into a position of unprecedented political dominance in Scotland.

This darkly humorous book dissects the rise of the SNP and the fall of Labour during the months leading up to 2014 Independence Referendum and beyond. Drawing on their involvement in the Yes campaign for independence and the Labour Party, the authors cast their eyes to Scotland's future and to radical horizons. Fluent, funny and full of fighting talk, this book is for everyone who has ever wondered what lies behind the tartan curtain of Scotland's new establishment.

(<http://www.luath.co.uk/roch-winds.html>)

James, Leonie, *'This Great Firebrand': William Laud and Scotland, 1617-1645*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press 2017 (hardback/eBook £60.00)

Presents Scotland as a case study for a fresh interpretation of Archbishop William Laud, his career and his working partnership with Charles I.

William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury (1633-45), remains one of the most controversial figures in British ecclesiastical and political history. His rise to prominence under Charles I, his contribution to the shaping and implementation of contentious religious policies and his subsequent and catastrophic downfall are fundamental to our understanding of the religious and political developments which led to the collapse of royal authority in all three of the Stuart kingdoms. Events in Scotland were central to this chain of events, and this book presents Scotland as a case study for a fresh interpretation of Laud, his career and his working partnership with Charles I. Casting new and much-needed light on Laud's engagement in Scottish affairs, this book reveals that his agency in Scotland was broadly consistent with - although differing in detail from - his approach in England and Ireland. It represents a major contribution to key debates on the nature of religion and politics in the 1630s and early 1640s and enhances current thinking on the role of both prince and prelate in

the formulation of ecclesiastical policy, the 'British problem', and, indeed, the causes of the British Civil Wars.

(<https://boydellandbrewer.com/this-great-firebrand-william-laud-and-scotland-1617-1645.html>)

Keating, Michael (ed.), *A Wealthier, Fairer Scotland – The Political Economy of Constitutional Change*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP 2017 (paperback £14.99)

How can Scotland use its new and existing powers to create a brighter economic and social future? The ambition of the Scottish Government is to create a wealthier and fairer nation. Following the devolution acts of 1998, 2012 and 2016, it has extensive powers and resources to fulfill its ambition. This interdisciplinary collection of essays asks how it can be achieved, given the range of powers available, economic constraints, institutions and public support. Looking at economic policy, taxation and welfare, *A Wealthier, Fairer Scotland* provides a realistic analysis of the opportunities and constraints facing a small, devolved nation. After years of debate on what powers Scotland should have, this book examines how they might be used to shape the country's future.

(<https://edinburghuniversitypress.com/book-a-wealthier-fairer-scotland.html>)

Langley, Christopher R. (ed.), *The Minutes of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, 1648-1659*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press 2016 (hardback £40.00)

Cromwell's invasion of Scotland in 1650 brought with it ideas of a new religious settlement, a reorganisation of the civil administration of Scotland and a large body of men that needed housing, food and discipline. These minutes of the meetings of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, an important ecclesiastical body, show how it responded to this crisis. The minutes, previously scattered, are painstakingly stitched together in this volume, and are presented with full introduction and explanatory notes.

(<https://boydellandbrewer.com/media/wysiwyg/Forthcoming-Publications-Autumn-2016.pdf>)

MacAskill, John, *Scotland's Foreshore. Public Rights, Private Rights and the Crown 1840-2017*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 2018 (hardback £80.00)

The ownership of Scotland's foreshore has been a matter of a prolonged controversy. In the past, the debate centered on whether the shore was owned by the Crown or by adjacent proprietors and on how, and by whom, Crown-owned foreshore should be managed. *Scotland's Foreshore* tells the story of the battle that took place during the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century between the Crown and private proprietors over the ownership of the foreshore. Drawing on his expert knowledge of law and its evolution, MacAskill provides new and valuable insights into the foreshore controversy and the contest between proprietors and the Crown and he discusses the important issues as to the management of the foreshore, issues that culminated in responsibility for the management of Scotland's Crown-owned foreshore being devolved to the Scottish Parliament at a time when the question of land ownership is central to Scottish political debate.

(<https://edinburghuniversitypress.com/book-scotland-039-s-foreshore.html>)

MacInnes, Iain A., *Scotland's Second War of Independence, 1332-1357*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press 2016 (hardback/eBook £60.00)

Full-length study of the warfare between England and Scotland in the mid fourteenth century.

The Second Scottish War of Independence began in 1332, only four years after the previous conflict had ended. Fought once more for the continued freedom of Scotland from English conquest, the war also witnessed a revival of Scottish civil conflict as the Bruce-Balliol fight for the Scottish crown recommenced once more. Breaking out sporadically until peace was agreed in 1357, the Second Scottish War is a conflict that resides still in the shadow of that which preceded it: compared to the

wars of William Wallace and Robert Bruce, Edward I and Edward II, this second phase of Anglo-Scottish warfare is neither well-known nor well-understood.

This book sets out to examine in detail the military campaigns of this period, to uncover the histories of those who fought in the war, and to analyse the behaviour of combatants from both sides during ongoing periods of both civil war and Anglo-Scottish conflict. It analyses contemporary records and literary evidence in order to reconstruct the history of this conflict and reconsiders current debates regarding: the capabilities of the Scottish military; the nature of contemporary combat; the ambitions and abilities of fourteenth-century military leaders; and the place of chivalry on the medieval battlefield.

(<https://boydellandbrewer.com/scotland-s-second-war-of-independence-1332-1357.html>)

Maley, Willy (ed.), *Scotland and the Easter Rising – Fresh Perspectives in 1916*, Edinburgh: Luath Press 2016 (paperback £12.99) out of stock

On Easter Mon 1916, leaders of a rebellion against British rule over Ireland proclaimed the establishment of an Irish Republic. Lasting only six days before surrender to the British, this landmark event nevertheless laid the foundations for Ireland's violent path to Independence. It is little known that James Connolly, one of the rebellion's leaders, was born in Edinburgh's Cowgate, at the time nicknamed 'Little Ireland', or that another key figure in the events of Easter 1916 was a young woman from Coatbridge, Margaret Skinnider. These and other surprising Scottish connections are explored in *Scotland and the Easter Rising*, as Kirsty Lusk and Willy Maley gather together a rich grouping of writers, journalists and academics to examine, for the first time, the Scottish dimension to the events of 1916 and its continued resonance in Scotland today.

(<http://www.luath.co.uk/scotland-and-the-easter-rising.html>)

Markus, Gilbert, *Conceiving a Nation – Scotland to 900 AD*, Edinburgh: EUP 2017 (hardback £70.00/paperback £19.99)

This new edition in The New History of Scotland series, replacing Alfred Smyth's *Warlords and Holy Men* (1984), covers the history of Scotland in the period up to 900 AD.

A great deal has changed in the historiography of this period in the intervening three decades: an entire Pictish kingdom has moved nearly a hundred miles to the north; new archaeological finds have forced us to rethink old assumptions; and the writing of early medieval history is beginning to struggle out of the shadow of later medieval sources which have too often been read rather naively and without sufficient regard for their implicit ideological agenda. Gilbert Márkus brings a stimulating approach to studying this elusive period, analysing both its litter of physical evidence as well as its literary sources – what he calls 'luminous débris' – as a method of shedding light on the reality of the period. In doing so, he reforms our historical perceptions of what has often been dismissed as a 'dark age'.

(<https://edinburghuniversitypress.com/book-conceiving-a-nation.html>)

McCarthy, Angela / MacKenzie, John M (eds.), *Global Migrations. The Scottish Diaspora since 1600*, Edinburgh: EUP 2016 (hardback £70.00)

From the seventeenth century to the current day, more than 2.5 million Scots have sought new lives elsewhere. This book of essays from established and emerging scholars examines the impact since 1600 of out migration from Scotland on the homeland, the migrants and the destinations in which they settled, and their descendants and 'affinity' Scots. It does so through a focus on the under-researched themes of slavery, cross-cultural encounters, economics, war, tourism, and the modern diaspora since 1945. It spans diverse destinations including Europe, the USA, Canada, New Zealand.

and, Australia, South Africa, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), Hong Kong, Guyana and the British World more broadly. A key objective is to consider whether the Scottish factor mattered.

(<https://edinburghuniversitypress.com/book-global-migrations.html>)

McCrone, David, *The New Sociology of Scotland*, London: Sage 2017 (paper £32.99)

Written by a leading sociologist of Scotland, this ground-breaking new introduction is a comprehensive account of the social, political, economic and cultural processes at work in contemporary Scottish society. (<https://uk.sagepub.com/en-gb/eur/the-new-sociology-of-scotland/book243306>) companion website (<https://study.sagepub.com/sociologyscotland>)

McGarvey, Darren, *Poverty Safari. Understanding the Anger of Britain's Underclass*, Edinburgh: Luath 2017 & London: Picador 2018 (paper £8.99)

People from deprived communities all around Britain feel misunderstood and unheard. Darren McGarvey aka Loki gives voice to their feelings and concerns, and the anger that is spilling over. Anger he says we will have to get used to, unless things change. (<https://www.luath.co.uk/politics-and-current-issues/poverty-safari-understanding-the-anger-of-britains-underclass>)

McHarg, Aileen / Mullen, Tom / Page, Allan / Walker, Neil, *The Scottish Independence Referendum – Constitutional and Political Implications*, Oxford: OUP 2016 (hardback £95.00, paperback £39.95)

The Sept 2014 Scottish independence referendum was an event of profound constitutional and political significance, not only for Scotland, but for the UK as a whole. Although Scottish voters chose to remain in the UK, the experience of the referendum and the subsequent political reaction to the 'No' vote that triggered significant reforms to the devolution settlement have fundamentally altered Scotland's position within the Union. The extraordinary success of the Scottish National Party at the 2015 General Election also indicates that the territorial dimension to UK constitutional politics is more prominent than ever, destabilising key assumptions about the location and exercise of constitutional authority within the UK. The political and constitutional implications of the referendum are still unfolding, and it is by no means certain that the Union will survive. Providing a systematic and academic analysis of the referendum and its aftermath, this interdisciplinary edited collection brings together public lawyers, political scientists, economists, and historians in an effort to look both backwards to, and forwards from, the referendum. The chapters evaluate the historical events leading up to the referendum, the referendum process, and the key issues arising from the referendum debate. They also explore the implications of the referendum both for the future governance of Scotland and for the UK's territorial constitution, drawing on comparative experience in order to understand how the constitution may evolve, and how the independence debate may play out in future.

(<https://global.oup.com/academic/product/the-scottish-independence-referendum-9780198755524?prevSortField=8&sortField=8&start=40&resultsPerPage=20&q=scotland&prevNumResPerPage=20&lang=en&cc=de>)

McHardy, Stuart, *Scotland's Future Culture – Recalibrating a Nation's Identity*, Edinburgh: Luath Press 2017 (paperback £6.99)

The culture of all nations is rooted in past experience, individual and communal. In Scotland's Future History McHardy looked at the misrepresentation of so much of Scotland's political and social history. In this new volume he takes a wider look at aspects of Scotland's culture that have been at the heart of how we have developed into who we are in today's world. Topics include literature, religion, history and story, the Radical 1790s, the remarkable Douglas Young and an introduction to

Geomythography, a new way of melding prehistory and history to present a new and refreshing way seeing our past. Understanding our past is vital to the process of building a new Scotland in the years ahead. As Scotland moves towards reclaiming her status among the nations of the world it is important that we understand just how culturally distinctive we are. Being Scottish is no better than having any other nationality, but is certainly no worse, and as this work hopefully shows, it is something worth celebrating.

(<http://www.luath.co.uk/scotland-s-future-history.html>)

McKendrick, John, *Darien – A Journey in Search of Empire*, Edinburgh: Birlinn 2016 (hardback £20.00) out of print

The Company of Scotland and its attempts to establish the colony of Caledonia on the inhospitable isthmus of Panama in the late seventeenth century is one of the most tragic moments of Scottish history. Devised by William Paterson, the stratagem was to create a major trading station between Europe and the East. It could have been a triumph, but inadequate preparation and organization ensured it was a catastrophe – of the 3000 settlers who set sail in 1688 and 1699, only a handful returned, the rest having succumbed to disease, and the enormous financial loss was a key factor in ensuring union with England in 1707.

Based on archive research in the UK and Panama, as well as extensive travelling in Darien itself, John McKendrick explores this fascinating and seminal moment in Scottish history and uncovers fascinating new information from New World archives about the role of the English and Spanish, and about the identities of the settlers themselves.

(<http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Darien-Journey-A-In-Search-of-Empire.html>)

McKirdy, Alan, *Arran. Landscapes in Stone*, Edinburgh: Birlinn 2016 (paperback £7.99)

The Isle of Arran dominates the Firth of Clyde. A favourite haunt of holidaymakers, it is also a place of fascination for the geologist, offering a huge variety of rocks that represent a massive slice through geological time. From the ancient bent and buckled strata of Dalradian – a small fragment of the roots of the once mighty Scottish Highlands – the dramatic Northern mountains through which ice gouged its way during the Ice Age, to the relatively recent (some 60 million years ago!) rocks associated with the Arran volcano, the geological record tells an amazing tale.

This book is a fascinating introduction to the landscape of Arran – one of the significant geological areas of the country.

(<http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Arran-Landscapes-In-Stone.html>)

McLeish, Henry, *Common Roots and Shared Future: Moving Beyond Tribalism to a New Progressive Politics*, Edinburgh: Luath Press 2016 (paperback £8.99)

Few people imagined that sixteen years after the official opening of the new Scottish Parliament in July 1999, the political landscape of Scotland would have been spectacularly transformed. This book attempts to make sense of this period of tumultuous change, unprecedented in Scottish or British politics, and confirm that a 'new normal' was in the process of being created, which will inevitably shape and renew our politics and democracy in Scotland and change the governance and constitution of the whole of the United Kingdom.

(<http://www.luath.co.uk/common-roots-and-shared-future.html>)

McLeish, Henry, *Citizens United – Taking Back Control in Turbulent Times*, Edinburgh: Luath Press 2017 (paperback £8.99)

The early years of the 21st century have erupted into a spectacular period of seismic political unrest which challenges our sense of purpose, shreds our certainties, and questions our path to progress.

Volatile and angry citizens are contesting social democracy and progressive politics. It is a wake-up call to those who believe that humans are capable of achieving much higher levels of social, economic, political and cultural wellbeing. The future of Scotland is at a crossroads as Brexit creates more complexity and confusion. The SNP has lost momentum and a window of opportunity has emerged for a wider and deeper debate about the current political situation both in Scotland and the UK. What's the matter with democracy in Britain and how can we make citizenship meaningful in such turbulent times? How is populism changing how we view politics, political parties and democracy? Europe is our future – how can we stay in the EU? How can we address the anger, mistrust and fear currently dominating the public discourse and bitterly dividing Britain? What is Scotland's future role within the UK? How do we develop a more inspired politics where the citizen is valued and taken seriously? This book examines the most pressing issues facing us today in the context of the political and constitutional upheaval that is coursing throughout Western democracies. The shock politics of Trump and Brexit demonstrate that the political landscape has changed and we face an uncertain future. Henry McLeish offers a new approach to get us out of the mess we're in. (<http://www.luath.co.uk/citizens-united.html>)

Mulle, Emmanuel Dalle, *The Nationalism of the Rich: Discourses and Strategies of Separatist Parties in Catalonia, Flanders, Northern Italy and Scotland*, Abingdon: Routledge 2017 (hardback £88.00/eBook £31.99)

Based on rigorous analysis of the propaganda of five Western European separatist parties, this book provides in-depth examination of the 'nationalism of the rich', defined as a type of nationalist discourse that seeks to end the economic 'exploitation' suffered by a group of people represented as a wealthy nation and supposedly carried out by the populations of poorer regions and/or by inefficient state administrations. It shows that the nationalism of the rich represents a new phenomenon peculiar to societies that have set in place complex systems of wealth redistribution and adopted economic growth as the main principle of government legitimacy. The book argues that the nationalism of the rich can be seen as a rhetorical strategy portraying independent statehood as a solution to the dilemma between solidarity and efficiency arisen in Western Europe since the end of the Glorious Thirties. It further suggests that its formation can be best explained by the following combination of factors: (1) the creation, from the end of the Second World War, of extensive forms of automatic redistribution to a scale previously unprecedented; (2) the beginning, from the mid-1970s, of an era of 'permanent austerity' exacerbated, in specific contexts, by situations of serious public policy failure; (3) the existence of national/cultural cleavages roughly squaring with uneven development and sharp income differentials among territorial areas of a given state.

(<https://www.routledge.com/The-Nationalism-of-the-Rich-Discourses-and-Strategies-of-Separatist-Parties/Mulle/p/book/9781138066885>)

Pallister, Marian, *The Crinan Canal*, Edinburgh: Birlinn 2016 (paperback £9.99)

Known as 'Britain's most beautiful shortcut', the Crinal Canal runs from Ardrishaig on Loch Fyne nine miles across the Kintyre peninsula to the west coast of Scotland. Designed by John Rennie after initial survey work by James Watt in 1771, the canal was opened in 1801, with further improvements made by Thomas Telford in the second decade of the nineteenth century.

The canal was originally planned to save commercial ships having to make the long journey from the industrial region around Glasgow round the Mull of Kintyre to reach the west coast and Hebridean islands. By 1854, 33,000 passengers, 22,000 sheep and 2000 cattle had been transported along it. These days the canal is a popular route for leisure craft.

In the book Marian Pallister tells the story of the canal from its origins to the present day, discussing how it was built, who built it, how it changed life in the surrounding areas, and how it has been used.

(<http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Crinan-Canal-The.html>)

Pittock, Murray, *Culloden – Great Battles*, Oxford: OUP 2016 (hardback £18.99)

The battle of Culloden lasted less than an hour. The forces involved on both sides were small, even by the standards of the day. And it is arguable that the ultimate fate of the 1745 Jacobite uprising had in fact been sealed ever since the Jacobite retreat from Derby several months before.

But for all this, Culloden is a battle with great significance in British history. It was the last pitched battle on the soil of the British Isles to be fought with regular troops on both sides. It came to stand for the final defeat of the Jacobite cause. And it was the last domestic contestation of the Act of Union of 1707, the resolution of which propelled Great Britain to be the dominant world power for the next 150 years.

If the battle itself was short, its aftermath was brutal - with the depredations of the Duke of Cumberland followed by a campaign to suppress the clan system and the Highland way of life. And its afterlife in the centuries since has been a fascinating one, pitting British Whig triumphalism against a growing romantic memorialization of the Jacobite cause.

On both sides there has long been a tendency to regard the battle as a dramatic clash, between Highlander and Lowlander, Celt and Saxon, Catholic and Protestant, the old and the new. Yet, as this account of the battle and its long cultural afterlife suggests, while viewing Culloden in such a way might be rhetorically compelling, it is not necessarily good history.

(<https://global.oup.com/academic/product/culloden-9780199664078?lang=en&cc=de#>)

Price, Fiona, *Reinventing Liberty – Nation, Commerce and the Historical Novel from Walpole to Scott*, Edinburgh: EUP 2017 (paperback £19.99)

The British historical novel has often been defined in the terms set by Walter Scott's fiction, as a reflection on a clear break between past and present. Returning to the range of historical fiction written before Scott, *Reinventing Liberty* challenges this view by returning us to the rich range of historical novels written in the late eighteenth-century. It explores how these works participated in a contentious debate concerning political change and British national identity. Ranging across well-known writers, like William Godwin, Horace Walpole and Frances Burney, to lesser-known figures, such as Cornelia Ellis Knight and Jane Porter, *Reinventing Liberty* reveals how history becomes a site to rethink Britain as 'land of liberty' and it positions Scott in relation to this tradition.

(<https://edinburghuniversitypress.com/book-reinventing-liberty.html>)

Reid, Walter, *Supreme Sacrifice – A Small Village and the Great War*, Edinburgh: Birlinn 2016 (paperback £9.99)

The war memorial in the Scottish village of Bridge of Weir lists 72 men who died during the First World War. Their deaths occurred in almost every theatre of the war. They were awarded very few medals and their military careers were not remarkable – except in the important respect that they, like countless other peaceful civilians, answered their country's call in its time of need.

This book follows the lives of these sons of Bridge of Weir, not just as soldiers, sailors and airmen, but as husbands, fathers, sons, brothers and members of a small local community which felt their loss intensely. At the same time it also paints a larger picture of the war – of the politicians and generals and military campaigns which shaped it. The brave men of Bridge of Weir know little of the wider context - their experience was of the little histories in which they fought and died. Read-

ers of this book will understand what the 72 never knew: why and how the war was fought that claimed their lives. (<http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Supreme-Sacrifice.html>)

Riddoch, Lesley, *Blossom. What Scotland Needs to Flourish (Post Indyref post EUref edition)*, Edinburgh: Luath 2018 (paper £11.99)

Blossom is an account of Scotland at the grassroots through the stories of people I've had the good fortune to know – the most stubborn, talented and resilient people on the planet. They've had to be. Some have transformed their parts of Scotland. Some have tried and failed. But all have something in common – they know what it takes for Scotland to blossom. We should too... (<https://www.luath.co.uk/new-releases/blossom>)

Riddoch, Lesley / Bort, Eberhard (eds.), *McSmörgåsbord – What post-Brexit Scotland can learn from the Nordics*, Edinburgh: Luath Press 2017 (paperback £7.99)

The Nordic countries have a veritable smörgåsbord of relationships with the European Union, from in to out to somewhere in between. So, what does that mean for Scotland? Well, somewhere in this incredible diversity of relationships with Europe is an arrangement that's likely to be good for Scotland too – strangely enough, maybe more than one. Inside or outside the UK, Scotland wants to keep trade and cultural links with Europe – that much is clear. But is the EU really the best club in town for an independent Scotland? Or would Scots benefit from 'doing a Norway' – joining the halfway house of the EEA and keeping the Single Market but losing the troublesome Common Fisheries and Agriculture Policies? Would an independent Scotland need the support and shelter of another union – or could the nation stand alone like the tiny Faroes or Iceland? These tough questions have already been faced and resolved by five Nordic nations and their autonomous territories within the last 40 years. Perhaps there's something for Scotland to learn? The Nordic countries have a veritable smörgåsbord of relationships with the European Union, from in to out to somewhere in between. (<http://www.luath.co.uk/mcsmorgasbord.html>)

Ridge-Newman, Anthony / Fernando León-Solís / Hugh O'Donnell (eds.), *Reporting the road to Brexit: International Media and the EU Referendum*, London: Palgrave Macmillan 2018 (hardcover £107.09)

This edited collection brings together leading international scholars to explore the connection between Brexit and the media. The referendum and the activism on both sides of the campaign have been of significant interest to the media in the UK and around the world. How these factors have been represented in the media and the role of the media in constructing the referendum narrative are central to assisting the development in our understanding of how UK and global democracy is being manifested in contemporary times. This book explores these topics through presenting a wide range of perspectives from research conducted by leading international scholars, and concludes with an assessment of the potential democratic and international implications for the future. By grappling with a highly important and controversial topic in a comparative and varied way, the volume contributes to theoretical debates about the nature and role of the media in complex social, political and cultural contexts. (<https://www.palgrave.com/gp/book/9783319736815>)

Sanger, Chesley W., *Scottish Arctic Whaling*, Edinburgh: John Donald – Birlinn 2016 (paperback £20.00)

Scottish Arctic Whaling brings to light a previously little-known but important Scottish industry. The author's extensive use of original sources such as log-books and diaries shows that hundreds of whaling vessels, sailing variously from sixteen east-coast Scottish ports, harvested more than 20,000 bowhead whales at East Greenland, Davis Strait and Baffin Bay during the eighteenth and

nineteenth centuries. And they did so under almost unimaginably demanding and hazardous conditions. More than 110 ships were lost, while others were often detained within the pack-ice, causing the whale men to suffer starvation, disease, scurvy, frostbite and death. In 1836 alone, more than 100 whalers on the *Advice* and *Thomas*, *Dundee*, and *Dee* of Aberdeen perished when they became entrapped at Davis Strait. Nevertheless, by the second half of the nineteenth century, through hard work, skill and perseverance, Scotland had a virtual monopoly on Arctic oil and bone, until seriously depleted stocks and the outbreak of the First World War brought the industry to a close. (<http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Scottish-Arctic-Whaling.html>)

Sassi, Carla (ed.), *The International Companion to Scottish Poetry*, Glasgow: Scottish Literature International – ASLS* 2016 (paperback £14.95)

A range of leading international scholars provide the reader with a comprehensive and accessible introduction to the extraordinary richness and diversity of Scotland's poetry. Addressing **Languages and Chronologies**, **Poetic Forms**, and **Topics and Themes**, this *International Companion* covers the entire subject from the early Middle Ages to the modern day, and explores the connections, influences and interrelations between English, Gaelic, Latin, Old Norse and Scots verse.

(<http://asls.arts.gla.ac.uk/IC3.html>)

Schraad-Tischer, Daniel / Christof Schiller (eds.), *Social Justice in the EU - Index Report 2017 - Social Inclusion Monitor Europe*, Bertelsmann Stiftung 2017 (free PDF)

Rising poverty, youth unemployment and impending sovereign bankruptcies – Europe has been undergoing a stress test almost permanently since the financial crisis began in 2008. For a number of years, the opportunities for people to participate in society worsened considerably in most EU states. But now, almost ten years after the crisis, a new trend is emerging.

(<http://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/en/publications/publication/did/5501/>)

Settle, Louise, *Sex for Sale in Scotland. Prostitution in Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1900-1939*, Edinburgh: EUP 2016 (hardback £70.00)

Sex for Sale in Scotland examines the various methods that were used to police female prostitution in Edinburgh and Glasgow between 1900 and 1939, with particular emphasis on the experiences of the women involved. (<https://edinburghuniversitypress.com/book-sex-for-sale-in-scotland.html>)

Shed, Norman F. (ed.), *Scottish Episcopal Acta volume I: The Twelfth Century*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press 2016 (hardback £40.00)

This book brings together for the first time all 260 surviving documents issued by, or in the name of, all the Scottish bishops of the twelfth century, when written *acta* first appear in Scotland. Every Latin text is printed in full, preceded by an English summary and followed by an explanation of the date ascribed to each document and, where appropriate, textual notes and comments. Originals are described in detail: endorsement, physical condition and seal. The sources are archives in Scotland and England, the Archives Nationales, the muniments of four private owners and the copies made by antiquaries in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The introduction provides the first account of the diplomatic of the bishops' *acta*, and (other than individual biographies) of the role of the episcopate in twelfth-century Scotland.

Overall, the volume is a mine of information on the activities of bishops, the personnel of episcopal households, landholding, economic activity, early burghs, the parochial system, the settlement of disputes, and the bishops' relations with other great men of the realm, the papacy and religious houses, and the bishops as founders and builders.

(<http://www.boydellandbrewer.com/store/viewItem.asp?idProduct=15098>)

Spence, Cathryn, *Women, credit, and debt in early modern Scotland*, Manchester: MUP 2016 (hardback £70.00)

This text provides the first full-length consideration of women's economic roles in early modern Scottish towns. Drawing on tens of thousands of cases entered into burgh court litigation between 1560 and 1640 in Edinburgh, Dundee, Haddington and Linlithgow, *Women, credit and debt* explores how Scottish women navigated their courts and their communities. The employments and by-employments that brought these women to court and the roles they had in the economy are also considered. In particular, this book explores the role of women as merchants, merchandisers, producers and sellers of ale, landladies, moneylenders and servants. Comparing the Scottish experience to that of England and Europe, Spence shows that over the course of the latter half of the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth century women were conspicuously active in burgh court litigation and, by extension, were engaged participants in the early modern Scottish economy.

(<http://www.manchesteruniversitypress.co.uk/9781784992538/>)

Taylor, Alan (ed.), *Glasgow: The Autobiography*, Edinburgh: Birlinn 2016 (paperback £17.99)

Glasgow: The Autobiography tells the story of the fabled, former Second City of the British Empire from its origins as a bucolic village on the rivers Kelvin and Clyde, through the Industrial Revolution to the dawning of the second millennium.

(<http://www.birlinn.co.uk/Glasgow-the-autobiography.html>)

Taylor, Alice, *The Shape of the State in Medieval Scotland, 1124-1290*, Oxford: OUP 2016 (hardback £85.00)

The Shape of the State in Medieval Scotland, 1124-1290 argues that governmental development was a dynamic phenomenon, taking place over the long term. For the first half of the twelfth century, kings ruled primarily through personal relationships and patronage, only ruling through administrative and judicial officers in the south of their kingdom. In the second half of the twelfth century, these officers spread north but it was only in the late twelfth century that kings routinely ruled through institutions. Throughout this period of profound change, kings relied on aristocratic power as an increasingly formal part of royal government. In putting forward this narrative, Alice Taylor refines or overturns previous understandings in Scottish historiography of subjects as diverse as the development of the Scottish common law, feuding and compensation, Anglo-Norman 'feudalism', the importance of the reign of David I, recordkeeping, and the kingdom's military organisation. In addition, she argues that Scottish royal government was not a miniature version of English government; there were profound differences between the two polities arising from the different role and function aristocratic power played in each kingdom.

(https://global.oup.com/academic/product/the-shape-of-the-state-in-medieval-scotland-1124-1290-9780198749202?facet_narrowbypubdate_facet=Next%20%20months&q=scottish%20studies&lang=en&cc=de)

Tindley, Annie / Lowri Ann Rees / Ciarán Reilly (eds.), *The Land Agent 1700-1920*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 2018 (hardback £80.00)

This book brings together leading researchers of British and Irish rural history to consider the role of the land agent, or estate manager, in the modern period. Land agents were an influential and powerful cadre of men, who managed both the day-to-day running and the overall policy direction of landed estates. As such, they occupy a controversial place in academic historiography as well as popular memory in rural Britain and Ireland. Reviled in social history narratives and fictional accounts, the land agent was one of the most powerful tools in the armoury of the British and Irish landed classes and their territorial, political and social dominance. By unpacking the nature and pro-

cesses of their power, *The Land Agent* explores who these men were and what was the wider significance of their roles, thus uncovering a neglected history of British rural society.

Trebeck, Katherina / Kerevan, George / Boyd, Stephen, *Tackling Timorous Economics. How Scotland's Economy Could Work Better for Us All*, Edinburgh: Luath Press 2016 (paperback £11.99)

How do we think differently about the Scottish economy, wealth and progress, and the world of work? What would a different kind of economy look like, and what implications would it have? And how do we begin to reframe the ideas of work and economy away from the grotesque assumptions of 'bubble Britain'? Experts in their fields, Trebeck, Kerevan and Boyd come together to analyse the positives and negatives of changing the status quo.

(<http://www.luath.co.uk/tackling-timorous-economics.html>)

Verweij, Sebastiaan, *The Literary Culture of Early Modern Scotland – Manuscript Production and Transmission, 1560-1625*, Oxford: OUP 2016 (hardback £55.00/paperback £27.50)

This study presents a history of the literary culture of early-modern Scotland (1560-1625), based on extensive study of the literary manuscript. It argues for the importance of three key places of production of such manuscripts: the royal court, burghs and towns, and regional houses (stately homes, but also minor lairdly and non-aristocratic households). This attention to place facilitates a discussion of, respectively, courtly, urban or civic, and regional literary cultures. Sebastiaan Verweij's methodology stems from bibliographical scholarship and the study of the 'History of the Book', and more specifically, from a school of manuscript research that has invigorated early-modern English literary criticism over the last few decades. *The Literary Culture of Early Modern Scotland* will also intersect with a programme of reassessment of early-modern Scottish culture that is currently underway in Scottish studies. Traditional narratives of literary history have often regarded the Reformation of 1560 as heralding a terminal cultural decline, and the Union of Crowns of 1603, with the departure of king and court, was thought to have brought the briefest of renaissances (in the 1580s and 1590s) to an early end. This book purposefully straddles the Union, in order to make possible the rediscovery of Scotland's refined and sophisticated renaissance culture.

(https://global.oup.com/academic/product/the-literary-culture-of-early-modern-scotland-9780198757290?facet_narrowbypubdate_facet=Next%20%20months&q=scottish%20studies&lang=en&cc=de)

Book Reviews

Boardman, Steve and Susan Foran (eds.), *Barbour's 'Bruce' and its Cultural Contexts: Politics, Chivalry and Literature in Late Medieval Scotland*, Cambridge: D. S. Brewer 2015. (256pp., hardback £50)

John Barbour's early Scots poem *The Bruce* (c. 1375) narrates the careers of Robert the Bruce and his follower James Douglas in the struggle for independence from England. The poem describes Bruce's difficulties at the start of his reign in 1306, his consolidation of power culminating in the triumph at Bannockburn in 1314 and later military episodes including the Irish campaign of 1315-16. *The Bruce* has long attracted critical attention from both historians and literary scholars, and it still does: this new essay collection gathers work from specialists in both disciplines to examine the poem's diverse cultural contexts and so understand more about how it was produced and received.

Barbour also thought of *The Bruce* as both literature and history, as a 'romans' (1.446) in which the poet says 'nocht bot suthfast thing' (1.36) in retelling daring acts of chivalry. The poem's opening lines (1.1-10) argue that true events pleasantly told make for entertaining poems:

Storys to rede ar delatibill
 Suppos that thai be nocht bot fabill,
 Than suld storys that suthfast wer
 And thai war said on gud maner
 Have doubill plesance in heryng.
 The first plesance is the carpyng [reciting],
 And tother the suthfastnes
 That schawys the thing rycht as it wes,
 And suth thyngis that ar likand
 Till mannys heryng ar plesand.

Rhiannon Purdie's essay points to 'generic tensions' between the poem's romance and historical elements, such as when Robert's departures from Arran (in Book 5) and Carrickfergus (in Book 16) are introduced in conventional passages evoking the springtime even though both are known to have taken place in winter. A little later in Book 16, the values of courtly romance are evoked when the Bruce carries out a 'full gret curtasy' (16.293) in making his army wait while a laundress gives birth; the episode can seem comically incongruous, however, if understood within romance conventions since laundresses attached to armies were traditionally associated with prostitution. This episode, Purdie argues, furthers 'Barbour's aim of highlighting the limitations of romance as a lens through which to read Bruce's history' (p. 71).

Chris Given-Wilson's survey of chivalric biography and medieval life-writing shows that, nonetheless, '[w]hat Barbour wanted was for his readers to see in Bruce's life some elements typical of romance narratives' (p. 115). His overview of contemporary French romance will be of wider interest to scholars in Scottish medieval studies, and his essay leaves space for readers to explore the implications for a reading of *The Bruce*. So does Dauvit Broun's contribution, which is adapted from an inaugural lecture at the University of Glasgow given in 2013. Broun considers the origins of Scottish identity, examining when 'Scotland' and 'Scots' began to refer to a single kingdom and people, and prodding at traces of underlying assumptions about governance, kingship and geography in the 'subconscious social imagination' (p. 181) that bubbled up into how the idea of Scotland was articulated.

These three essays each offer new approaches to familiar themes (romance, chivalry, Scottish identity) in critical discussion of *The Bruce*. Biörn Tjällén, similarly, devotes his contribution to an analysis of *The Bruce*'s famous passage on freedom, one which (as the poem's editor A. A. M. Duncan remembered) Scottish schoolchildren once memorized. It begins:

A! Fredome is a noble thing
 Fredome mays man to haiff liking.
 Fredome all solace to man giffis,
 He levys at es that frely levys. (1.225-28)

Tjällén, following the poem's own logic that '[t]hus contrar thingis evermar | Discoveryngis off the tother ar' (1.241-42), examines freedom's opposite, thralldom, in Roman law, Aristotle and other relevant scholarly texts.

The collection also offers a revisionist reading of the poem's textual history. Emily Wingfield argues that the two earliest surviving manuscript texts of *The Bruce* at St John's College, Cambridge, and the National Library of Scotland were both copied by John Ramsey, a notary from Fife active at the end of the fifteenth century. Her essay traces wider connections that suggest that Scotland's earliest printers, Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar, were in the same literary network, which leads to speculation that they might have printed *The Bruce* as a counterpart to their early edition of *The Wallace* (c. 1488; printed c. 1509). Michael Brown looks more closely at Fife in the

1480s as a context for the poem's reception. As well as being a counterpart to Wingfield's study, his essay also pairs well with Steve Boardman's assessment of how the political situation a century earlier might have helped create a poem that championed political courage among Scottish aristocrats to stand up to the English threat. The collection's other co-editor, Susan Foran, argues that a poem about medieval chivalry renewed a sense of political community in the fifteenth-century present. Theo Van Heijnsbergen pursues a similar line of argument through a rhetorical analysis of how the poem's opening section evokes a 'textual community of the realm' that engages and educates its readers.

The collection's great strength is in how these and other essays offer a coherent and highly specific reconstruction of the textual history, generic traditions, political moments, courtly settings and learned discourses that informed the poem, all cultural contexts that enhance our reading of the poems and point towards directions for new work, both within Barbour's poetry and early Scots literature more widely.

Van Heijnsbergen's essay alludes to one cultural context that remains underserved, though. A footnote that observes that "'reader" includes "listener"' when used in his essay glances at a distinction that is not drawn out elsewhere in the collection. *The Bruce* refers to its auditors at several points, starting with the opening passage's references to 'carpyng' and 'heryng'. It makes sense for scholars to concentrate on the poem as a historical document given that there is so much about the earliest performances of the poem that we will never know, and, indeed, can barely guess about. All the same, it would be welcome if this collection's publication inspired someone to make a fuller recording available online, for it is currently difficult to find any: a quick Youtube search only yielded two obscure versions of 'A! Fredome is a noble thing', one performed with guitar accompaniment in 2014 as a pro-Independence anthem, another from an idiosyncratic channel called 'Pirates Poetry Corner and General Thinking Spot' that begins with a particularly hearty 'Arrr!'. A new recording could build on all that this collection teaches us by encouraging us to consider the poem's aural qualities as well; it could also help to introduce the passion and drama of the poem to new audiences.

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<http://www.sed.qmul.ac.uk/staff/augerp.html>

Kilday, Anne-Marie, *Women and Violent Crime in Enlightenment Scotland*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press 2015 (194 pp., £15.00 paperback)

Nearly a decade after its original publication in 2007, *Women and Violent Crime in Enlightenment Scotland* remains one of only a handful of significant publications on gender and crime in premodern Scotland. The study is based on extensive and masterful archival work: Anne-Marie Kilday skillfully interprets statistics derived from more than 4,000 cases of violent offences committed in the lowlands and heard by the Scottish Justiciary Court between 1750 and 1815. After a thorough consideration of this evidence, as well as the social and cultural contexts surrounding crime in Scotland and elsewhere in Britain, she concludes that Scottish women were more violent than historians had previously believed. This paperback edition of Kilday's original contribution to criminal history in Scotland contains no revisions, but it does make the study more affordable and, therefore, accessible. This is a welcome development, particularly for students and junior researchers who may have limited or delayed access to the trickle of recent articles and book chapters whose authors have been influenced by Kilday's work. Moreover, these newer publications tend to focus on a single offence or town. A study with the same magnitude as this book has not yet been completed for medieval or early modern Scotland.

Kilday begins with two historiographical chapters. In the first, she surveys gender and crime history in Britain dating from roughly the 1950s; in the second, she presents an account of legislative developments in Scotland revised 'against the backdrop of the socio-political and socio-cultural shifts that took place in Scotland' during the long eighteenth century (p. 26). The book then breaks down into statistical and anecdotal analyses of Kilday's archival material organised by offence: homicide, infanticide, assault, popular disturbances and robbery. In addition to statistics – which she presents clearly and intelligibly – Kilday supports her claims with colourful excerpts from indictments and witness testimonies. While the numbers offer the reader a broad description, detailed accounts of '[s]trangulations, drownings, batteries, slashings with razors, stabbings with knives, "dashing brains out" with pokers and cudgels and stonings' provide the evidence for the 'tigerish ferocity' which Kilday argues characterised Scottish female violence (p. 47). Kilday concludes by stepping back and engaging in some guided speculation on the connection between her evidence, Enlightenment society and Norbert Elias' 'civilising process' theory. According to her, there is no 'single, simple causal explanation for the nature of violent female criminality in lowland Scotland' (p. 148). Kilday notes that Scottish women were fast becoming economically and socially active, but so were their counterparts south of the border. She posits rebellion against moral and religious instruction regarding the place of women in lowland Scottish society, but points out that the kirk also warned men against excessive violence. Kilday leaves the issue of explanation open to future investigation, but she is more certain about what this evidence can tell us about the 'civilising process' in lowland Scotland: that 'Scottish society was too unevenly developed before 1815 to fully assimilate' this process (p. 155).

Throughout her study, Kilday highlights the drawbacks of earlier approaches to female criminality which focused either on violent crimes perceived as typically 'feminine', such as witchcraft and infanticide, or on women as the victims of violent offences. The result, she argues, is a seriously skewed understanding of the nature of female criminality in premodern Scotland. Much of her analysis is presented with the goal of turning this consensus on its head. According to Kilday, the fact that women committed violent crimes less frequently than men does not mean that they were not capable of great violence. She takes particular issue with claims by Otto Pollak and Peter Spierenburg that poison was the choice weapon of premodern murderesses. Kilday demonstrates plainly that, although poison appears in a significant amount of homicides, Scottish women by and large opted for spectacular and violent methods. Although women were less aggressive when they committed other violent offences, Kilday's evidence indicates that Scottish women did not shy away from physical confrontation as the current consensus suggests. Kilday also sees the 'high conviction rate' and 'aggravated punishments' of female offenders as an indication that the court was not only a tool for managing criminal behaviour, but one which society might use 'to "re-gender" or feminise' deviant women (p. 78-79).

Overall, Kilday's approach is well-balanced and she rarely overstates her case; however, one particular issue does stand out. Her conclusion that Scottish women were more violent compared with women elsewhere in Britain rests on high rates of indictment and conviction. Yet Kilday also argues that particularly aggressive prosecution and punishment indicates a heavy judicial hand that reacted to the *abnormality* of female violence more than to the degree of the violent act itself. This throws some doubt on whether Kilday's statistics represent the gravity and frequency of female violence, or just contemporary attitudes to aggressive women. That said, Kilday's study sheds fascinating light on premodern female criminality and opens the way for future studies not restricted to 'feminine crimes' alone. The one area where Kilday's analysis falls short does not diminish the significance of her work and its impact on gender history. Nearly a decade on, this book remains essential reading for students and scholars interested in gender and crime in premodern Scotland or elsewhere in Europe.

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<http://www.uoguelph.ca/arts/scottish>

Korzeniowska, Aniela and Szymańska, Izabella (eds.), *Scotland in Europe / Europe in Scotland: Links – Dialogues – Analogies*, Warszawa: Wydział Neofilologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2013 (234pp, 42,00 zł paperback)

It is a difficult proposition, to write about this fine edited collection of essays on Scotland's place in Europe and Europe's place in Scotland without inevitably making an obvious or crude political point. When it was published, back in 2013, it was no doubt brought out in a spirit of solidarity and optimism, to enumerate and strengthen links between scholars in Poland and Scotland and farther afield. That spirit most likely remained undimmed throughout the Scottish independence referendum of 2014, but I am going to suggest that it is only now, after the Brexit vote and the gradual darkening of European and UK politics, that this collection is arguably coming into its own. At a time like this, we need salutary texts such as this one to remind us, during the breaking off and severance of things, that we do belong to some community larger than ourselves, with interdisciplinary rather than selfish interests.

What is particularly fascinating, reading this collection cover to cover, is how the majority of the writers discussed (the Scottish literary renaissance poets and the Scottish concrete poets, for instance) all looked to Europe and its literatures (sometimes mistakenly, as Margery McCulloch argues for Hugh MacDiarmid's misreading of *La Jeune Belgique*) in order to cement their own work and bolster their national standing. The mentality being that in order to be a good nationalist, one must first and foremost be a fully signed up and switched on internationalist. In this light Stewart Sanderson does well to make a case for the translations of Apollinaire by Sydney Goodsir Smith (as well as Robert Garioch), who is perhaps one of the most transnational of Scottish poets (born in New Zealand, lived in Egypt, educated at Oxford, travelled pre-WW2 Europe widely, settled in Scotland, wrote in an idiolectal Scots and taught English to Polish refugees during WW2). Margery McCulloch, whose chapter shares some ground with Sanderson's, describes such figures as being simultaneously 'bardic' and 'radical', that is, aware of their traditions and position as spokespeople and being willing in their work to push for change to avoid stasis and intellectual stagnation.

It is also worth mentioning that it is refreshing to encounter a book that is not dominated by older, more established academic names, and where the majority of writers do not come from within Scotland, but are looking at it from Europe and particularly the University of Warsaw, which as the host to the conference that brought about this book is highly understandable. From this angle I particularly enjoyed chapters such as Aniela Korzeniowska's on the 2011 Polish translation of James Kelman's 1994 novel *How Late It Was, How Late*. Not only does Korzeniowska discuss at length the book and the differences in attitudes and values between Poland and Scotland, but also the practical aspects of translating into another language. The chapter in this book that felt particularly familiar was Petra Johana Poncarová's chapter on Edwin and Willa Muir in Prague, which works on the old dualities of Muir's work, the dynamics between light and dark, temporal and eternal, before and after the fall. That said, Poncarová is to be praised for writing about Willa Muir and pointing out that she was often the spur behind Edwin Muir's travels and was the finer linguist. I would have welcomed a chapter entirely on Willa Muir, translation and Prague.

My impressions above have not stressed the scope and detail of this book, which covers a vast expanse of time, from the Northern renaissance of Robert Henryson in the late 1400s through to the work of Liz Lochhead and Jackie Kay (the previous and present Makar for Scotland respectively). Divided into four discrete parts, the book first looks into the Scottish influence and diaspora in Europe. Of particular note here are the chapters by Katarzyna Kłosińska (on Dr. Elsie Inglis and

Mairi Chisholm, two Scottish women who worked with singular distinction in auxiliary medical units in Europe during WW1) and J. Derrick McClure (on a 500 page long anthology of translations of Scottish poets into German by Iain Galbraith). The second part of the book looks into the links between Poland and Scotland, ranging from translations of books to Scotland as seen on a grand tour by two Polish noble women in the 18th and 19th centuries (courtesy of Kataryzyna Gmerek). The third part looks at Europe's influence on Scotland in Neo-Latin poetry in 18th century Scotland and the work and translations of the Scottish literary renaissance in the 20th century. The final part of the book is needed for balance, to show Scotland not as the cynosure or progenitor of something, but as a host for work that originated elsewhere, such as Jerzy Jarniewicz's excellent chapter on concrete poetry in Scotland or Dorota Babilas' fascinating work on Queen Victoria's love of Scotland which emerges as *faute de mieux* to her love of Germany, of which she found Scotland reminiscent.

There is a smorgasbord of scholarly work on offer in this book and it makes for an edifying as well as heartening read at a time of political division, that there is still such a show as this of academic and intellectual solidarity. It is true that, like most current nebulous political rhetoric, the pieces here that are more generalist in scope or tone are less memorable than the ones that occupy a certain niche. However, this collection is timely, valuable and, nearly four years after its publication, more necessary than ever.

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Tankard, Paul (ed.), *Facts and Inventions: Selections from the Journalism of James Boswell*, New Haven: Yale University Press 2014 (lii+442pp, £70 hardback)

With 1,343 footnotes, a lengthy list of attributions and a rigorous index, Paul Tankard's new edition not only provides its readers with a developed understanding of James Boswell's place in the publishing sphere, but also offers a view of Boswell's character through a comprehensive selection of his eclectic journalistic publications. Bringing sources out of the archive and into the reach of a broader audience for the first time in over two-hundred years, Tankard's important new edition, *Facts and Inventions: Selections from the Journalism of James Boswell*, stands as an important addition to the burgeoning field of scholarship surrounding the publishing industry and the figure of the bookman in the long eighteenth century.

Split into five sections and encompassing 133 texts, Tankard's edition, as the editor points out in his clear and frank introduction, is arranged thematically, with each section providing a narrative account of Boswell's engagement with various styles of publication. The first section, 'Reports and Interviews', groups together a diverse range of newspaper and periodical reports penned by Boswell but usually published anonymously or under an appropriately witty pseudonym. As Tankard points out, for the modern reader used to the apparently transparent style of diction of the mass media today, the anonymity and allusive nature of much of Boswell's journalism requires a great deal of editorial input (xliii). This is something that Tankard achieves with aplomb with his well-placed, clear and insightful notes leading the reader through the myriad of allusions and knowing-jokes which punctuate Boswell's often entertaining reports. Although publications such as a short article in the *London Chronicle* regarding proposed plans for a canal between Dumfries and Ayr are brief and factual, other examples of Boswell's reportage, as the title of Tankard's edition, 'Facts and Inventions', suggests, are either embellished or entirely fictitious. Using press reports to keep issues in which he was interested in the public eye, Boswell's journalism, as Tankard's selections make clear, covered a vast range of topics with Boswell often adopting a persona to provide 'insider' knowledge on particular events or issues.

The second section of Tankard's edition, 'Execution Intelligence', groups together Boswell's articles and essays on public execution. With Tankard's notes listing the names and (often petty) crimes of those unfortunate people whose executions Boswell had witnessed, this section provides a disturbing view into crime and punishment in the late eighteenth century. Often attending the execution of those clients whom he had unsuccessfully defended as a lawyer, Boswell's conflicted attitude towards execution is probably most clearly exemplified in an essay published in the *Public Advertiser* in 1768. Occasioned by his attendance at the executions of the robber Thomas Gibson, and the convicted fraud James Payne, Boswell's lengthy essay, published under the name Mortalis, sees the journalist ruminate on the experience of attending a public execution. Although Boswell never questions the morality of capital punishment throughout any of his publications, in this essay the writer nonetheless relates his feelings of 'shock' and 'terror' when he first witnessed a public hanging (80). While Boswell reports his eventual desensitisation to such public spectacles, throughout his career, as Tankard's collection evidences, Boswell used the press to fight for those whom he deemed innocent and to provide important, and often sympathetic, documentary evidence of the deaths of some of the poorest people in society.

The third, and perhaps most heavily annotated section of Tankard's volume, 'The Rampager', brings together Boswell's essays published sporadically over twelve years in the *Public Advertiser*. As Tankard puts it in the introduction to this section, throughout 'The Rampager' series Boswell 'treats politics as a game, a subset of Britain's social life[;] a realm of personalities, promotion, and publicity, rather than of principles, policies or even parties' (109). In the first essay signed off by the "Rampager" we see Boswell's journalistic persona discuss 'recent discord in the "political orchestra"', with Boswell clearly taking great delight in detailing various political figures' attempts to become the 'first fiddler', or Prime Minister, of Britain's discordant political orchestra (117). With another essay discussing politics in combination with skin disease, the irreverent tone of 'The Rampager' series provides an entertaining read, with Tankard's numerous notes firmly placing the essays within their historical context.

In the penultimate section of his edition, 'The Lives of Samuel Johnson', Tankard fully documents Boswell's periodical and newspaper publications relating to his famous biography of Samuel Johnson (published in 1791). Some of these publications are uncharacteristically straight forward, with Boswell signing off letters and articles in his own name to explain the delays of the release of his biography, or to refute publications with which he had been wrongly associated. What this group of texts, along with Tankard's insightful notes, also demonstrates, however, is the ways in which Boswell jealously guarded his friendship with Johnson. Piqued by his almost total absence from Hester Piozzi's *Anecdotes of Samuel Johnson* (1786) and dismayed by the obvious intimacy which Piozzi shared with his friend, Boswell entered into a very public tit-for-tat over both the veracity of Piozzi's account of Johnson's life, and her qualifications to undertake such an enterprise. Broadening our understanding of Boswell's famous friendship with Johnson, this chapter also provides Tankard's readers with an engaging, entertaining and informative view into the publishing sphere in the late eighteenth century.

The final section of Tankard's volume, 'Essays and Letters', offers the most comprehensive collection of the kind of topical pieces penned by Boswell which, in modern terms, could be classed as 'opinion pieces'. As Tankard puts it, this diverse group of publications 'represent a more or less public thinking out loud' and are written in 'response to some issue that had arisen in either private or public', with some texts dealing with important issues such as rising food prices, while others are devoted to a bookworm infestation in Boswell's library (290). What this section also brings to light is the vast array of amusing pseudonyms used by Boswell throughout his career, with the twenty-eight articles reproduced by Tankard being signed off by Boswell with twenty different *noms de plum*. A letter signed by "Medicus Mentis", for instance, offers a cure for impotence of the mind,

while "Tantalus" writes of the lack of wine provided at a ball hosted by the London Mayor in November 1775 (291).

In uncovering such a broad range of Boswell's journalism, Tankard's new edition not only offers an important account of Boswell's career, but also provides an entertaining view into periodical and newspaper publishing in the long eighteenth century. Managing to be simultaneously engaging in its selected materials as well as its editorial matter, *Facts and Inventions* will also undoubtedly prove to be an invaluable resource both to Boswell scholars and to the broadening general readership who have a passion for all things Boswellian.

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Dunlop, Eileen, *Sir Walter Scott. A Life in Story*, Edinburgh: National Museums Scotland 2016 (246 pp., £9.99 paperback at bookshops or from www.nms.ac.uk/books).

Eileen Dunlop is the author of over 20 novels, non-fiction titles for children, and two biographies, one about Stevenson (published in 2008), the other about Queen Mary of Scotland (2005). This biography of Scott reveals her long experience with texts, as it is written in a fluent, easily readable, and very enjoyable style.

33 chapters give information on many different aspects of Scott, beginning with the importance of "Pedigree" for him, and a quotation from his *Memoirs* (1837): "*Every Scottish man has a pedigree. It is a national prerogative, as inalienable as his pride and his poverty.*" (1) For Dunlop, these words "tell a partial truth about Scottish identity", and she goes on speaking about Highlanders, their pride of clan unity etc., "but, until recently, it is unlikely that many Scots were quite as obsessed as was Scott by their personal line of descent." Ordinary people, she correctly points out, simply had no time for research on their pedigrees. It is in this way that her entire book passes on valuable information about Scott, his world view and the cultural contexts of his time.

And it is also in this always polite form that she expresses criticism of Scott, when she, e.g. speaks about him as a young advocate who "(it seems on the advice of his father) had dedicated the thesis that was part of his study for the Bar [to Lord Braxfield], causing raised eyebrows at the time and attracting opprobrium ever since. Braxfield was notorious for his cruelty, being callous and brutally sarcastic to the prisoners brought before him". Dunlop's conclusion: "it is not helpful to see Scott's dedication as an act of solidarity; it was calculated flattery, and produced a meagre reward." (66)

This example shows how nicely Dunlop combines her evaluations with significant insights into Scott, the people he met in his life, and the institutions he encountered, the Court of Session, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and many more. "Scott's First Loves" is the title of chapter 11 (69ff), and Dunlop begins with how Scott's love life is usually presented, then speaks about what proof actually exists for the different opinions. She finds "standard adolescent stuff" and much gossip in "Scott's biographers", especially in Edgar Johnson (70), presents them intelligently, and succeeds in convincing readers of her conclusions.

Dunlop speaks about Scott's work with much knowledge and good insights. She also clearly addresses his political views, his association with "right-leaning officers of the law" (176), his defence of the "outrage" that was the "Peterloo Massacre" as well as his continued opposition to "Radicalism [which] had never changed since 1794". Scott's "reaction to the brutal repression of the pathetic insurrectionists at Bonnymuir was that 'the dogs' deserved all the punishment they could get." (215)

In these highly informative, enlightened, and critical ways Dunlop gives her readers sound, intelligent, and honest insights into Scott's work, world, and thinking as well as into the culture of his times. Her book, which also contains eight pages with pictures of the period, is, therefore, highly recommended to both the general public as well as people who already have some knowledge of Scott. It is certain to pass on new information and new insights to most readers.

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Richard J. Grace, *Opium and Empire: The Lives and Careers of William Jardine and James Matheson*, Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 2014 (476 pp., £28.99 hardback).

Jardine Matheson Holdings, incorporated in Bermuda and operating in Hong Kong, is today a "diversified business group" with revenues of over US\$ 50 billion: as of December 2015, 48% percent of the company's profits were earned in China and 47% in South East Asia⁶⁸. The official website of this global and extremely powerful multi-corporation, whose focus is described cryptically as a "combination of cash generating activities and long-term property assets," does not reveal, at a glance, any obvious link with its distinctively Scottish and imperial history. A more attentive search, however, will disclose the existence of the somewhat out-of-hand "History" section, providing a concise timeline spanning from the foundation of Jardine Matheson & Co in Canton in 1832 to the present day. It may appear relatively unsurprising that a group whose privileged partner has always been China is not so keen on emphasising the central role played by its Scottish co-founders, William Jardine (1784–1843) and James Matheson (1796–1878), in the Chinese opium trade and the first Opium War. And yet, it is somewhat striking that such central reference is totally absent in the official timeline, which merely notes that the two partners were responsible for sending the first private shipments of tea to Britain in 1834.⁶⁹ The links between the glitzy, globalised language of today's company and 19th-century British/Scottish imperialist enterprises run in fact deeper than one would imagine, and are represented by economic as well as family ties. Not only does the company still focus on South East Asia, but it is still controlled by the Keswick family, descendants of the co-founder William Jardine.

Richard J. Grace's monumental and fascinating study does not engage with the more recent developments and ramifications of Jardine Matheson & Co, nor with the often invisible links that connect 19th-century European territorial empires with contemporary de-territorialised global economy. By illustrating and discussing in close detail "a microcosm of the imperial experience" (vii) and by choosing to focus on a most extraordinary pair of imperial entrepreneurs, it does, however, effectively alert us to the presence of such links.

Opium and Empire is structured in twelve chapters and may be conveniently described as a dual biography. Starting from "The Scotland of their Birth ("The Prelude") – describing the political economic set up of post-1745 Scotland – it goes on to trace Jardine's and Matheson's origins (chapter 1), respectively in the Lowlands (Lochmaben, Dumfriesshire), and in the Highlands (Lairg, Sutherland). Grace highlights the two partners' very different social/economic backgrounds – Jardine's father, a farmer, had died when William was only nine, leaving his family in economic straits, while Matheson's father was a Scottish trader in India and a wealthy land-owner. The Mathesons, furthermore, had served the Hanoverian kings since the 1715 Jacobite rising, and had gained economic and political prestige within the Union (21). Both partners, however, equally benefitted from Scotland's prestigious and effective education system: Jardine studied medicine at the Univer-

⁶⁸ <http://www.jardines.com/assets/files/TheGroup/Publications/group-profile-2015.pdf>

⁶⁹ <http://www.jardines.com/the-group/history/1830-1869.html>

sity of Edinburgh, and obtained a diploma from the Royal College of Surgeons, becoming a surgeon's mate aboard an East India Company ship and setting sail for India in 1802. Matheson attended the Edinburgh Royal High School and then studied medicine at the University of Edinburgh. Unlike Jardine, however, he did not complete his course of study, and moved to London to enter the employ of a mercantile house, thus commencing his business career at a much younger age than his future partner.

From chapter 2 ("Sailing from London to Canton") to chapter 10 ("Jardine's and Matheson's Roles in the Opium War") Grace meticulously charts the formation and ascent of the Jardine and Matheson & Co, whose force is seen as deriving from its co-founders' complementary skills and personalities (Jardine was nicknamed "Iron-Headed Rat" by the Chinese of Canton on account of his shrewdness, toughness and determination, while Matheson was more of a risk-taker and more socially connected), from their unflinching work-ethic, as well as from what Grace presents as a 'gentlemanly' approach to business that gained the trust of customers and suppliers alike. Their encounter in Canton, in 1818, at the time when the opium trade was blooming, even though illegal in China, was indeed extremely fortunate. A further golden opportunity for the two businessmen was represented, in 1834, by the end of the East India Company's monopoly on trade between China and Britain. Their newly founded company, specialised in shipping opium from India to China, could thus take advantage of the resulting vacuum and establish itself as the leading trading firm in Canton. With the capital resulting from this trade, it could then invest and diversify its enterprise – beside shipping diverse goods (tea, silk, raw cotton, finished textiles and rice), it also provided financial services, and managed "an agency house serving clients in Britain, India, South East Asia, and South China" (204) – an empire within the empire. By the time Lin Zexu outlawed the trade in the run-up to the first Opium War, both partners had accumulated vast wealth and enormous prestige. Chapters 11-12 follow them in their successful political and business careers "after China", when they both returned to Britain. Significantly, while they settled into Parliament while attending to their global financial interests, they both turned to their native country: Jardine bought a country estate, Lanrick Castle, in Perthshire; Matheson bought the Isle of Lewis in 1844, building Lewis Castle, near Stornoway, and undertaking a programme of improvement of the island's infrastructure. The concluding "Postlude", tentatively titled "Gentlemanly Capitalists?" attempts a retrospective, balanced evaluation of the two partners' contribution to the worlds they inhabited.

Quoting from Carl Trocki's *Opium, Empire, and the Global Political Economy* (1999), Grace reminds us how "opium was the 'keystone' factor in the development of the 19th century empire" and "'the one element in a larger system upon which the entire complex of relationships came to depend'" (86). Grace's study has the merit of showing, through a 'factual' and detailed narrative, how this, in practice, came to be. It also has the merit of conveying the complexity of such chains of events and imperial relations by evoking, through numberless private and public documents, the larger picture of a fluid entanglement between local and global pulls, 'Eastern' and 'Western' distinct stances and collusions, 'legal' and 'illegal' practices between and across different countries. He also further documents the workings of Scotland's imperialism, only too often masked by the Union Jack. We learn, for example, that "flying from the masts of Jardine, Matheson ships, a blue flag with a white diagonal cross (the company's adaptation of Scotland's cross of St Andrew) identified the most prominent fleet among the private British merchants in China as of the 1830s" (130). We also learn how, like other Scottish imperial entrepreneurs, Jardine and Matheson favoured their next of kin when it came to recruiting managers for their firm, thus following that 'clannish' pattern highlighted by other historians in relation to Scots' enterprises within the Empire.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ See, among others, Douglas J Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the the Atlantic world 1750-1820*, Manchester : Manchester University Press, 2005, p. 5.

Grace's extraordinary dual biography is certainly not hagiographic, either in tone or intentions, and yet it does not seem to eschew entirely the risk of idealising its subject. The notions of "integrity" or "gentlemanly capitalism", often emphasised in relation to the two partners, seem for example somewhat out of place in a context, that of "Canton after the E[ast] I[ndia] C[ompany]'s authority over British commerce expired", described by the author himself as characterised by a "Darwinian sort of free trade" (148). *Opium and Empire* remains nonetheless a scholarly tour de force, providing the reader with an outstandingly articulated discussion of a hugely important and controversial chapter of imperial history, and indeed shedding new light on its complexities.

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Pittin-Hedon, Marie-Odile, *The Space of Fiction. Voices from Scotland in a Post-Devolution Age*, Glasgow: Scottish Literature International 2015 (232 pp., £12.50 paperback).

Over recent decades, a debate has raged in the field of Scottish literature over the influence of literature on the Scottish nation, culture and identity, with one side arguing that in the absence of a parliament before 1997, literature filled the void left by the absence of politics from the Scottish scene and in fact made devolution possible, and the other side calling this interdependence of literature and politics into question and arguing for art as an autonomous pursuit. Marie-Odile Pittin-Hedon's study grows out of this debate and subjects the novels she discusses to an analysis which combines an intrinsic and an extrinsic approach to literature, seeking to explain her chosen texts both as autonomous works of art and in relation to their contexts. In doing so, she sets out to analyse the different spaces explored by post-devolution Scottish fiction and through this analysis to examine the "concept of contemporary Scotland that is created in fiction – which has segued into many inter-related notions such as the post-national, the post-devolution or the cosmopolitan" (xiii). Pittin-Hedon's study sets out a quite ambitious agenda, tackling a wide variety of genres and authors and exploring a broad range of different spaces in Scottish literature.

Chapter one discusses urban spaces in the works of female authors in the wake of James Kelman and Irvine Welsh, in particular those featured in the work of Laura Hird, Anne Donovan, Zoë Strachan and Alison Miller. The novels discussed in this chapter deal with the representations of working-class spaces in particular, both in the context of an English-Scottish rivalry and in a purely Scottish context. Pittin-Hedon shows how these spaces are very clearly delineated by the language the characters use. As in the texts discussed in later chapters, there is a pre-occupation here also with the break-down of human communication and communicability itself. In her analysis of Laura Hird's *Born Free*, Pittin-Hedon also identifies the use of hypotexts as aids to the representation of the modern setting that allow Hird to showcase "the breakdown of traditional values, of structure and authority" (13).

In chapter two, Pittin-Hedon analyses the spaces of transgression opened up by the female crime writers Louise Welsh, Denise Mina and Val McDermid. These spaces, she asserts, are created by the ways in which the novels play with genre tropes through a strong focus on the female body or through the transformation of the traditional male detective into a woman or a murderer himself, as well as the ways in which they play with the form and conventions of the genre. Ultimately, what the spaces of transgression thus opened have in common is that they question the safety of borders and the sense of security traditionally established by the containment of the murderer at the end of a crime novel. In this way, the works of these writers transcend the boundaries of fiction and impact the reality of readers' lives.

Chapter three focuses entirely on James Robertson's *And the Land Lay Still* and the historical spaces created therein. Robertson's epic, she argues, "challenges the static division between the historically accurate, the documented evidence of the past's existence, and the fictional and mythical"

(58) by emphasizing the practice of storytelling as well as the constructedness of the narrative of the past. She rejects criticism of the novel which negatively highlights the complete divorce of its fictional and historical elements, by pointing out that this particular feature in fact addresses perfectly the duality of fact and fiction in the recounting of the past, the "two possible representations of the nation, one dynamic and innovative, the other entrenched, didactic and fossilized" (62). The narrative of Scotland becomes, through the numerous acts of constructing a narrative throughout the novel (Jack's stones, Mike's selection of his father's photographs, Edgar's rearranging of fictional characters, etc.), in Pittin-Hedon's words, "not just a historical, but also a fictional possibility" (78).

Chapter four looks at the third space of fiction created by writers of hybrid Scottish identities. The example Pittin-Hedon discusses is Suhayl Saadi's novel *Psychoraag*, which is considered to be one of the first novels of Scottish-Asian identity. As such, Saadi's novel offers new perspectives on the national and the post-national, as well as on multiculturalism and identity. His novel is multilingual in that it includes specifically Glaswegian expressions along with Persian, Urdu and Arabic words in its stream-of-consciousness narrative. Furthermore, it mentions and discusses an eclectic selection of music. Both of which, Pittin-Hedon argues, are evidence of the novel's "identity remix" (82). Saadi's novel does not fall into the category of "boutique multiculturalism" a charge levelled at it by Stanley Fish, but instead achieves a genuine transculturation, which allows the novel to "transverse both Western and Eastern culture and to translate [...], negotiate and recreate affinity and difference within a dynamic of exchange and inclusion" (83).

Chapter five focuses on the fiction of Ewan Morrison, especially the novels *Swung*, *Distance* and *Ménage*, and his discussion of the "place of the human in a globalized world" (117). Pittin-Hedon quotes an interview with *3:AM Magazine* from 2009 in which Morrison asserts his belief that it is impossible to construct an authentic Scottishness today, because daily life everywhere in the Western World is saturated with "'inauthentic' globalised media-generated images and experiences" (117). In his novels this idea is often explored by focusing on the distance between people, be it geographical or psychological, or manifest as a sense of separation from cultural belonging. This distance is epitomized in the tension between the utopias envisioned by the characters and the non-places they inhabit. There are echoes of Marc Augé's *non-places* in Morrison's work as there are of Claire Larssonneur's concepts of *globalia* – places which exhibit interchangeable features – and *localia* – "spaces of hypertrophic geographical and historical quality" (130) – as well as Zygmunt Baumann's *empty places*, spaces which carry no meaning. The ways in which these concepts are employed in the novels highlight the isolation of the characters as well as the difficulty of human communication and connection in a world that cannot stop talking, Pittin-Hedon argues.

The last chapter re-examines the different spaces discussed in the previous chapters through the lens of post-devolution Scottish short stories. In order to do so, it draws on the anthology *Scotland into the New Era* as well as on work by Michel Faber, Des Dillon, Suhayl Saadi and Ewan Morrison. All of the stories are discussed by Pittin-Hedon in relation to their treatment of the term 'cosmopolitanism', resulting in an understanding of the concept which "focuses on the characters' desperate need to connect – rather than to brand or label – in all the stories" (151).

In the conclusion to her study, Pittin-Hedon comes full circle to the question posed in the introduction, namely that of the connection between Scottish literature and the nation, arguing that Scottish fiction since devolution has very much reached beyond the realm of fiction to "provide theoretical projection, the possible alternative trajectories that cannot be mapped by historical or sociological records" (186). She further identifies two prominent formal characteristics of contemporary Scottish fiction: (1) its treatment of genre, especially the way it transforms genres, and (2) its linguistic diversity and preoccupation with language's capacity to "carry and [...] inflect the novelistic

discourse" (187). Fiction, Pittin-Hedon ends by asserting, "reflects, projects, anticipates or configures the space of our lives, the horizons of our existence" (187).

Pittin-Hedon's study meets the expectations it creates in its introduction and delivers on the promise of a discussion of a broad range of different spaces in post-devolution Scottish literature. Her analyses reveal that most works of Scottish literature can indeed be read both as autonomous works and as texts that resonate beyond the boundaries of fiction and direct social discourses. In identifying the different types of spaces found in her source material, she gives a good overview of the preoccupations of contemporary fiction and opens up new spaces of discussion. Her book is a worthwhile addition to the study of contemporary Scottish literature.

Ilka Schwittlinsky (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz) (ischwitt@uni-mainz.de)

Adam, Sharon and Goodare, Julian (eds), *Scotland in the Age of Two Revolutions*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press 2014 (253pp., £65 hardback).

Scotland in the Age of Two Revolutions contains a cross-section of the latest research on political and religious history associated with the Scottish revolutions of 1638 and 1689. Collectively, the volume's thirteen essays present a new timeline that deliberately diverts from the orthodox periodisation that sets 1603 as the start and 1707 as the end date of Scottish seventeenth-century history. Following David Stevenson's problematisation of the 1603 to 1707 timeline – which was largely determined by Anglo-Scottish relations – the editors declare that it is their aim to 'explain the origins and nature of a cluster of political changes between 1638 and about 1700' and to focus on 'the things that the Scots themselves wanted and chose to do.'

The essays are written by scholars at different stages of their careers, and thus we find some familiar and some newer names. The volume follows a roughly chronological structure which runs counter to the themed approach presented in the essays, which revolve around topics such as the relationship between central power and periphery, political government and contemporary political thought. Overall, the collection's focus on a different timeline which emphasises the seventeenth century Scottish revolutions is intriguing, and the editors have rightfully identified and explained the volume's major themes in their opening article. However, in order to achieve a greater coherence, a thematic approach might have served the volume better.

Anna Groundwater and Sherilynn Theiss open the discussion with their analysis of the relationship between the central government and the English/Scottish Borders (the so-called 'Middle Shires') and the Western Highlands and Islands respectively. Focusing on the pre-1638 period, both scholars conclude that the Stuart monarchs expanded their influence in these regions based on the fostering of personal contacts. According to Groundwater, James VI's ambition of achieving a joint administration in the Middle Shires was hampered by legal differences on both sides of the border. However, relationships between local magnates and open communication channels with the central government helped to pacify the region and to extend royal control. Theiss on the other hand states that the initial approach to dealing with the Western Highlands and Islands – a region that was perceived as difficult due to the clan system – was more ruthless by comparison. However, compulsory annual meetings between privy councillors and clan chiefs established a degree of cooperation which helped both sides to pursue their own – separate – goals. Whilst the central government sought to establish control over the inhabitants, the Highland chiefs aimed to expand their influence. The subsequent negligence of the annual meetings with the local elite of the supposedly pacified Western Highlands and Islands saw a return to local power struggles resulting in a limited interest of the Highland chiefs in national politics including the National Covenant. Danielle MacCormack returns to the theme of political control in the Highlands in her article on Highland lawlessness and the Cromwellian regime, placed in the second half of the collection. She concludes that the success

of the Cromwellian government in suppressing the Glencairn rising and in establishing control over the region lay in a heavy military presence coupled with a policy of political favouritism aimed at separating the clan chiefs from their clansmen.

The two central articles of the collection are written by the editors themselves. Julian Goodare focuses on the origins and long-term impact of the events of the late 1630s and 1640s and discusses especially the term 'Scottish Revolution'. His contribution reminds us of our understanding behind the specific nature and characteristics of the 1638 revolution (summarised in sub-categories such as seizure of power, popular mobilisations, ideology and restructuring of the political system) and highlights the importance of the event linking it to the origins of modernity and to the Revolution of 1689. Sharon Adams, on the other hand, investigates the role of republicanism in the political thinking of the Scottish Covenanters with a particular focus on the years immediately following the regicide. Analysing the Scottish attitudes to Charles II, his return from exile and his coronation, Adams highlights the nature of limited monarchy as the most favoured form of government in contrast to the establishment of the Commonwealth in England.

Goodare's and Adams' articles offer a valid analysis of contemporary political thought, a theme Caroline Erskine continues with her eloquent analysis of the Restoration Covenanters. Erskine not only contextualises the writings of Covenanters such as John Broun and Alexander Shields within the field of Scottish resistance theory since the Scottish Reformation, but also analyses their reception before and after the Glorious Revolution in comparison with the more positive reception of English Whigs. Whilst it was possible to view the ideas of the English Whigs abstractly and to generally perceive them as moderate and within the context of resistance theory and the drive for liberty, this 'was not possible with the political theory of the Restoration Covenanters, who remained symbolic of the intolerance of their immediate time.'

Sally Tuckett's article on the other hand focuses on the secular activities of the Scottish Bishops between 1625 and 1638 and concludes that it is not possible to draw a distinction between the bishops appointed by James IV and Charles I in regard to the degree of their – often contentious – involvement in the political government of the realm. Continuing the theme of political administration, Maurice Lee offers an insight into the Scottish government of the Restoration period and highlights the appointment of Scots who were supportive of Charles before, during and after the Battle of Worcester and whom the monarch trusted accordingly. However, these individuals, such as the Earl of Middleton, did not always prove to be competent and the Scottish administration was further hampered by in-fighting between more able office holders such as John Maitland, earl of Lauderdale and John Hay, earl of Tweeddale. Alasdair Raffe meanwhile expertly evaluates the transformation in the use and nature of Scottish state oaths designed to assure loyalty to the Restoration and post-Revolution, Williamite governments and the controversies surrounding them.

The last two contributions deviate somewhat from the previous themes and focus on Scotland's financial and political administration in the period after the Williamite Revolution. Laura Rayner focuses on the tasks of and co-ordination between the Privy Council and the Treasury Commission and highlights the challenges facing these two institutions in the 1690s including internal uprisings, warfare and famine. Douglas Watt investigates the relationship between the Company of Scotland and the Country Party, which became influential within the company after 1698.

As with every edited volume of this type, some of the contributions add more to our understanding of the period than others. The quality of the essays from Alasdair Raffe and Caroline Erskine is particularly high and both offer new insights into the authors' particular fields of expertise. Other essays, such as Douglas Watt's, on the other hand, offer less surprising information and draw heavily on existing research.

Overall, the collection achieves its aim of highlighting the Covenanting Revolution of 1638 and the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1689 as key events of seventeenth century Scottish history, al-

though the emphasis is on the former, with more of the contributions focusing on the period around and after 1638. In summary, it is questionable if the diversion from the Personal Union of 1603 and the Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707 is all that useful given that these dates were indeed of pivotal significance to Scottish history. The deliberate attempt at focusing on Scottish history rather than on the interrelatedness of events within the British Isles only goes so far and it is the authors themselves who variedly point out the impact of Scottish events on British politics and vice versa.

Another gap within the collection is the negligence of Scotland's wider outside links with Europe or with social and economic themes (Watt's and Rayner's essays are an exception here). Again, this approach is deliberate, but an exploration of the impact of the events of 1638 and 1689 on Scottish local society, the diaspora and on foreign relations would have added to the value of the collection.

However, these points of criticism aside, the volume manages to showcase Scottish history as a field and succeeds in setting interesting potential avenues for future research.

Kathrin Zickermann (Centre for History, University of the Highlands and Islands – <https://www.uhi.ac.uk/en/research-enterprise/cultural/centre-for-history/>)
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Conference Announcements

[Liberal Democrats](#) – Sat 15 Sept - Tue 18 Sept 2018 at the [Brighton Centre](#)

[Labour](#) – Sun 23 Sept to Wed 26 Sept 2018 at the [ACC Liverpool](#)

[Conservatives](#) – Sun 30 Sept - Wed 3 Oct 2018 at the [International Convention Centre, Birmingham](#)

[UKIP](#) – Fri 21 Sept to Sat 22 Sept 2018 at the [International Convention Centre, Birmingham](#)

[Plaid Cymru](#) – 5 Oct and 6 Oct at Theatr Mwldan, [Cardigan](#)

[Green Party of England and Wales](#) – Fri 5 Oct to Sun 7 Oct at the [City Hall, Bristol](#)

[Scottish National Party](#) – Annual Conf. – Sun 7 Oct to Tue 9 Oct 2018 at [The SEC Centre, Glasgow](#)

[Cooperative Party](#) – Annual Conf. – Fri 12 Oct to Sun 14 Oct 2018 at Mecure Grand Hotel, [Bristol](#)

[Scottish Green Party](#) – 20 and 21 Oct at [Univ. of Strathclyde Technol. and Innov. Centre, Glasgow](#)

World Congress of Scottish Literatures

<https://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/critical/research/researchcentresandnetworks/iassl/worldcongressofscottishliteratures/>

IASSL works as the steering group for the World Congresses of Scottish Literatures, which is held every three years at various international institutions, and brings together researchers, scholars and colleagues from across the globe to explore new developments in Scottish literary studies.

The first inaugural Congress took place in Glasgow 2014 and the second in Vancouver 2017, with the 3rd Congress scheduled for Prague 2020.

3rd World Congress, Prague 2020

<https://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/critical/research/researchcentresandnetworks/iassl/worldcongressofscottishliteratures/prague2020/>

The 3rd World Congress of Scottish Literatures will be held in 2020 at the [Faculty of Arts, Charles University](#), in Prague. (<https://www.ff.cuni.cz/home/>)

To keep up to date with development related to the next Congress, follow their [Facebook page](#).

Conference Reports

World Congress of Scottish Literatures and Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society Annual Conference: Dialogues and Diasporas, Vancouver, Canada, 21-25 June 2017

The second World Congress of Scottish Literatures, subtitled 'Dialogues and Diasporas', took place in Vancouver, Canada, on 21-25 June 2017. Convened by Prof. Leith Davis and co-organised by a capable and efficient team from Simon Fraser University led by Dr Emma Pink, the Congress was a memorable and significant event in the field of Scottish literatures and Scottish Studies.

Following the first World Congress of Scottish Literatures at the University of Glasgow, Scotland, and the establishment of the new International Association for the Study of Scottish Literatures (IASSL) in July 2014, delegates and IASSL members have been anticipating the Association's second meeting. 'Dialogues and Diasporas' did not disappoint. This time, the Congress shared space with the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society, which brought a wider set of delegates to the conference table and an eighteenth-century flavour to proceedings. With its Canadian context, this year's Congress focused on 'the range of ways in which Scotland is articulated both at home and within a global context', and Scotland's role in 'globalism and localism'. This rich theme allowed for many fascinating and often cutting-edge papers, panels and events, building on the legacy of the first World Congress in meaningful and exciting ways, and paving the way for the next meeting in Prague, Czech Republic, in 2020.

The initial Call for Papers drew attention to two central themes for the 2017 Congress: 'Indigenous/Scottish Relations' and 'Transpacific/Scottish Connections'. These themes allowed for the Congress title's promised 'dialogues', enabling conversations about Scotland's literatures and global roles, but also meaningful discussions in the twenty-first century Canadian context. These dialogues, while visible throughout conference proceedings, were most obvious in the well-chosen plenary sessions.

The Congress opened on the evening of Wed 21 June with a celebration in honour of National Aboriginal Day in Canada, featuring spoken word artists Jordan Abel, Rain Prud'homme-Cranford and Samantha Nock and musical ensemble M'Girl. This event was held in partnership with the Indigenous Literary Studies Association's Third Annual Gathering. This reception set the tone for the following academic conversations, but also for the social events organised as part of the Congress, which were apt, stimulating and well-organised.

The first full day of the Congress began with a plenary roundtable featuring Leith Davis (SFU), Sherry Farrell Racette (Manitoba), Brenda Macdougall (Ottawa) and Deanna Reder (SFU) on the subject of 'Scotland and Indigenous People in Canada: Exchanges, Traces and Influences'. This fascinating session enlivened and brought to life the 'dialogues' between Scots and indigenous people in Canada, giving nuance to the idea of 'diaspora'.

Day one's panels included 'Scottish Encounters in North America', 'John Galt in Dialogue with Enlightenment Writers', 'Scotland and the Sea: Empire, Piracy, Diaspora', 'Science Fiction and Scottish Fiction', plus sessions on Scottish identity, Transatlantic literatures, Literature and Enlightenment, developments in Digital Humanities, Ecology, melancholy and trauma, eighteenth-century identity and transatlantic connections, real and imagined. This rich day of papers ended in the Irish Heather Gastropub for a lively reception.

Day two held sessions on Proverbs, Poetry and Poetics, digital cultures, land and sea in eighteenth-century Scotland, modernity, Adam Ferguson, Allan Ramsay, Transpacific Scottish Studies, Diaspora and print culture, Caribbean-Scottish connections, the novel, Empire and Scottish-Canadian compositions. This day's events included a film screening of *1745 – An Untold Story of*

Slavery, written by Morayo Akandé, and a plenary lecture by Miranda Burgess (British Columbia) on 'Walter Scott and the Time of India'. The day ended with more welcome sociability, in the form of a craft beer tour in Vancouver.

The events of Sat 24 June were billed a 'Day of Scottish Culture', meaning that all Sat daytime talks and plenary events were open and free to the general public. This commendable approach brought another facet to the delegation and a new energy to conference proceedings, and also allowed interested members of the public to hear research papers, readings and performances. The day began with a panel on 'Scotland and Cultural Memory', featuring graduate students from SFU's Scottish Studies Student and Community Research Panel. In this session, graduate students spoke on Jacobite propaganda and memorials, collector David Young and Simon Fraser. A highlight of the panel was Jasreen Janjua's and Ben Sheppard's paper on 'Creating the PocketSight.com Walking Tour of Vancouver', an account of their efforts to create a tour guide app which takes the user around sites of Scottish history and connection in downtown Vancouver.

The day continued with a plenary panel on Scottish Gaelic scholar and collector Rev. James McLagan and his international networks, by colleagues at the Universities of Glasgow and Aberystwyth. Robert Allan Jamieson provided a lunchtime reading and launch of his new novel, *Mac-Cloud Falls*, on the early Scottish colonisation of British Columbia and its ongoing impact, again very apt for the Congress's central themes. The afternoon's plenary sessions included a rich and absorbing session on 'Public and Private Narratives of Scots and the Hudson's Bay Company' by Pamela Perkins (Manitoba) and Bronwen Quarry, of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives. The closing plenary lecture, by Caroline McCracken-Flesher (Wyoming), on 'Scotland and the Dialogue with Time: Science Fiction Diasporas' ended the academic proceedings with scholarly style.

Sat was rounded off by a conference banquet, held in memory of well-known Scottish Studies scholar and Vancouver resident, Ian Simpson-Ross, who died in 2015. As well as a sumptuous buffet meal, attendees were treated to a performance of dance by members of V'ni Dansi, a Vancouver-based traditional Métis and contemporary dance company, who shared the stories, culture and dances of the Métis.

Delegates still in attendance on Sun took a bus trip and tour of Hudson's Bay fur trading post Fort Langley, which focused on the history of the post and the role of Scots in the Hudson's Bay Company. This visit offered a useful supplement to the aforementioned plenary session by Pamela Perkins and Bronwen Quarry.

Over the course of these five well-organised and illuminating days, it became apparent that the study of Scottish literatures in its global contexts is in something of a golden age. The International Association for the Study of Scottish Literatures is still recruiting new members (registration here: <https://www.gla.ac.uk/colleges/arts/research/scottishstudiesglobal/iassl/>).

The success of the Second World Congress at Vancouver demonstrates that the discipline is thriving, and that we have much to look forward to in Prague 2020 and beyond.

Rhona Brown (University of Glasgow)

World Congress of Scottish Literatures and Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society Annual Conference: Dialogues and Diasporas, Vancouver, Canada, 21-25 June 2017

The second World Congress of Scottish Literatures took place June 21-25, 2017 at the Coast Plaza Hotel in Vancouver, BC. (<https://dialoguesanddiasporas.wordpress.com/>) With its subtitle of "Dialogues and Diasporas," the conference aimed to focus on literature that reflects Scotland's relationships across the globe. The location of the Congress on unceded territory on the West Coast of Canada drew particular attention to two targeted themes: "Indigenous/Scottish Connections" and

"Transpacific/Scottish Connections," and new research clusters in these two areas were launched during the week. The Congress drew approximately 120 scholars and students together for presentations and discussion; participants came from Asia, Australasia, Europe, North America and South America. In addition, members of the public were welcomed to all the plenary presentations and to the special "Day of Scottish Culture" held on Sat, June 24.

The opening event of the second World Congress, organized in partnership with the Indigenous Literary Studies Association's 3rd Annual Gathering, (<http://www.indigenousliterarystudies.org/>) took place on National Aboriginal Day in Canada (June 21) and featured readings by three indigenous spoken word artists, Jordan Abel, [Rain Prud'homme-Cranford](#) and [Samantha Nock](#), as well as a moving performance by the indigenous women's musical ensemble, M'Girl. The focus on Scottish and indigenous connections was continued the following morning at the plenary panel on "Scotland and Indigenous People in Canada: Exchanges, Traces and Influences." At this round table, Sherry Farrell Racette (U of Manitoba), Brenda Macdougall (U of Ottawa) and Deanna Reder (Simon Fraser U) shared their research on "Scots, Indigenous Women and the Fur Trade in the Northwest," "Scots, Métis and Buffalo Hunting" and "The National Tale of the Cree writer Edward Ahenakew." This panel also featured the official launch of the "Indigenous/Scottish Connections" research cluster. The rest of the day's events included lively presentations on topics ranging from "Scottish Suffering: Melancholy, Trauma and Anxiety" to "Ecologies of Destruction: The Politics and Poetics of the Planetary" to a "Scottish Literature Digital Humanities Projects." The latter panel, sponsored by the International Association for the Study of Scottish Literatures (<https://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/critical/research/researchcentresandnetworks/iassl/>), also resulted in the creation of a research cluster in "Digital Humanities and Scottish Literature" initiated by John Knox (U of South Carolina). Congress participants ended the day with a reception at the Irish Heather Gastropub in historic Gastown.

The following day (Fri, June 24) saw the launch of the research cluster on "Transpacific/Scottish Connections" with a panel that included Nikki Hessel (Victoria U of Wellington) on "Walter Scott and Pacific Hospitality," Kang-yeu Chiu (National Yang-Ming U) on "Walter Scott's First Chinese Critic," Lesley Graham (U de Bordeaux) on "Imagining Scotland from the Pacific: Margaret Stevenson in 'space unattached'" and Catriona Niclomhair Parsons (St. Francis Xavier U) on "'Eileanan gorm a' Mhaori' and Dunedin's Gaelic Bard." Again, the rest of the day's panels were so varied and compelling that it was difficult to decide which one to choose: "Caribbean-Scottish Connections"? "Diaspora and Print Culture"? The roundtable on Allan Ramsay? Or the Round Table Discussion and Book Launch of Jack A. Hill's *Adam Ferguson and Ethical Integrity* The academic program for Fri concluded with a plenary talk by Miranda Burgess (U of British Columbia), on "Scott and the Time of India," which explored, among many other fascinating points, Scott's critique of progressive time in *The Surgeon's Daughter*.

Sat's events were all open to the public, beginning with an undergraduate student panel presenting on "Scotland and Cultural Memory." Among the speakers on this panel were two SFU students, Jasreen Janjua and Ben Sheppard, who used PocketSight.com to create a free self-guided tour app of Scottish sites in Vancouver (<http://www.sfu.ca/scottishstudies/vancouver-scotland-walking-tour.html>). Following their presentation was the Gaelic plenary panel on "Eighteenth-Century Gaelic Literature's International Networks: The Rev. James McLagan (1728-1805)" with talks by Sim Innes (U of Glasgow) on "'Chieftains and great men': The Rev. James McLagan's Gaelic collection and the Scottish Enlightenment," Peadar Ó Muirheartaigh (Prifysgol Aberystwyth U) on "An Eighteenth-Century Colloquy of Ancients?: James McLagan, Charles O'Connor and Gaelic pasts, presents and futures" and Geraldine Parsons (U of Glasgow) on "Soldiers' songs?: Ossianic Material in the McLagan Collection in the Context of the Rev James McLagan's International Career." During the noon hour, Congress participants and community members were also treated to

Shetland poet and novelist Robert Alan Jamieson reading from his new novel *macCLOUD FALLS*, (<https://dialoguesanddiasporas.wordpress.com/2017/05/23/robert-alan-jamieson/>) which centers on a character, Gilbert Johnson, who comes to British Columbia in search of a possible ancestor (who is roughly based on the anthropologist James Alexander Teit, who learned First Nations languages, married a Nlaka'pamux woman named Lucy Susannah Antko, and worked with Franz Boas). After lunch and performances by the Scottish Gaelic Choir and the Vancouver Highland Dancers, presentations recommenced with a panel on "Contemporary Perspectives on the Hudson's Bay Company" featuring Bronwen Quarry, an archivist with the Hudson's Bay Company, who gave a slide presentation on HBC materials on Scottish and First Nations connections, in tandem with Pamela Perkins (English, U of Manitoba) who spoke on "Trading Tales: Public and Private Narratives of Scots and the HBC." The concluding plenary talk was by Caroline McCracken-Flesher (U of Wyoming), who addressed the topic of "Scotland and the Dialogue with Time: Science Fiction Diasporas," offering a wide-ranging examination of Scottish science fiction's engagement with time. As McCracken-Flesher suggested, "time's arrow flies differently in diasporic space."

At the banquet on Sat night, Congress participants and community members joined to share delicious Vancouver-themed food and to learn dancing (including the Red River Jig), courtesy of members of V'ni Dansi a Vancouver-based traditional Métis and contemporary dance company.

The Congress finished with an optional bus trip on Sun, June 25 to the old Hudson's Bay fur trading post, Fort Langley, including lunch and a talk by Fort Langley tour guides on the history of Fort Langley and Scots in the HBC.

The 2nd World Congress of Scottish Literatures: Dialogues and Diasporas was indeed a "glocal" event, bringing conference participants from around the globe together with the local Vancouver community. Those interested in finding out more about and joining the research clusters that resulted from the Congress are invited to visit the webpage:

<https://ddresearchclusters.wordpress.com>.

Leith Davis (Simon Fraser University)

Remembering Paddy Bort

Born: 1 December, 1954, in Ilsfeld, Germany. Died: 17 February, 2017 in Edinburgh, aged 62

Eberhard "Paddy" Bort was a force of nature, a tireless enthusiast for the causes and passions he took to his heart, particularly on the Scottish political, cultural, academic and folk scenes. Of the many tributes paid to Paddy at the time of his death, we have chosen to reprint the two below to add to our own respectful farewell (see Editorial) to someone who will remain fondly in the memories of all who knew him.

For some longer memories of Paddy, see Christopher Harvie's tribute in *The Herald* (http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/15124159.Obituary_Eberhard_Paddy_Bort_scholar_An_appreciation/), Jim Gilchrist in *The Scotsman* (<https://www.scotsman.com/news/obituaries/obituary-eberhard-paddy-bort-academic-folk-music-activist-and-local-democracy-champion-1-4375873>), or this from Bella Caledonia (<https://bellacaledonia.org.uk/2017/02/21/remembering-paddy-bort-1954-2017/>)

THE FIRST MINISTER OF SCOTLAND

I was shocked and deeply saddened to hear the news that Paddy passed away earlier this month and would like to offer my sincere condolences on behalf of the Scottish Government. I had only recently seen him in the Garden Lobby of the Parliament, where he was a regular visitor.

Paddy made a huge contribution to Scottish politics, culture, and academia. He was known to many of my colleagues for his work to support international interns to MSPs, and for informing academic thought on local democracy and the Nordic model. A true European, he brought an internationalist outlook and a wealth of expertise to public dialogue in Scotland through his involvement in initiatives like Nordic Horizons.

His passing is a great loss to his students and colleagues at Edinburgh University, and to the Traditional Arts community in Scotland which treasured his passion for and dedication to folk music.

He will be remembered for his intelligence, kindness and enthusiasm and will be sorely missed by all who knew him.

Nicola Sturgeon MSP

THE PRESIDING OFFICER OF THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT

Paddy Bort was a student of the Parliament, its historian in his *Annals of the Holyrood Parish* (2014) and its advocate as a European institution. He was its tireless liaison man with Edinburgh's academic community, and its convinced defender at home and in the democratic Europe he worked for.

A man of strong radical political convictions, he always worked with all his eloquence and skill as a communicator on behalf of all of its Members, their support staff, and their interns, with a conviction which was rooted in his passionate commitment to decentralisation and the human and community identity of the ordinary people of Europe. He leaves 'a hole as big as Arthur's Seat' in the Holyrood Parish

Kenneth MacIntosh MSP