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London may try to strangle the infant (Scottish) nation at birth



Denis Park

The following article has been contributed by a retired senior civil servant in Whitehall. Denis Park is a pseudonym.
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Despite the latest wobble in the opinion polls within their margin of error, Mr Cameron, Mr Darling and Ms Davidson still predict that the No vote will carry the day. What is more, Mr Blair has said that Scotland will vote to stay in the union, so it must be true. However, I understand that at least Mr Kenneth Roy has recanted and considers a Yes vote to be a real possibility.

The one thing most people seem to agree on is that neither side has been sufficiently forthcoming about the future after the referendum. To its credit, the Scottish Government has produced a tome about the post-referendum scene in the event of a Yes vote. But it is all subject to negotiation, and it may be that 'Scotland's Future' will snatch the laurels from the 1983 Labour Party Manifesto as the 'longest suicide note in history'.

For its part, the Better Together campaign cannot even seem to agree to appear on the same platform, far less undertake such a difficult task as coming together to agree on what changes there will be in the governance of Scotland should there be a No vote. 'Voters can trust us there will be change, we are all politicians', seems to be the mantra. No wonder

poor Sir Tom Hunter has convened his own expert group – please rush us all a copy of its guidance.

In short, this is a pig in a poke vote, which before the referendum leaves the voter between a rock and a hard place and which, after the referendum, will leave the nation in the same position.

If Scotland ignores Westminster's latest reported offer

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**** Special Scottish Referendum Section ****

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of some sort of, as yet undefined, constitutional convention and votes Yes, then Mr Salmond's best tactic will be to address the Scottish people and tell them it will take time to achieve an economically viable independent Scotland. There will be tough negotiations and some difficult compromises and sacrifices will have to be made. He will then have to put together the most effective negotiating team he can muster at both a political and official level. The old order will have ended; a new partnership will have to be melded.

It is not an overstatement to say that the impact on Whitehall, Westminster and the City will be traumatic. The main shock wave will hit politicians of all parties, while Whitehall and the City will turn to their contingency plans in both sorrow and anger. Against the background of a general election in 2015, there will be no votes in being conciliatory to the Scots, and tough, even brutal, negotiations will be the order of the day. There will be a faction in London who will wish to strangle the infant nation at birth. The fate of Britain's nuclear deterrent, sharing Sterling and the loss of oil revenues to the English exchequer will be the key issues.

Scotland will be under strong pressure from the US to fudge a deal on Trident and, if the SNP government can do this, then US pressure will be on England to accept some sort of deal, even though it means concessions in other areas. There are signs that such a deal may be on the cards. The recent Royal United Services Institute Study could point the way. Negotiate a move between 2020 and 2028 or 2030, with the submarines moving in the first part of this period and the weapons storage facility transferring at the end. The delay in moving the later facility could be justified politically on safety grounds. There are hints that SNP politicians have already had discussions with the military about this. One interesting by-product of these negotiations is that, in the absence of oil revenues, England may have to face a choice between guns or butter – or at least HS2.

Once the negotiations over the deterrent are completed to US satisfaction (remember it's their missile technology) membership of NATO should not be a problem.

By a delicious irony, the Sterling problem is likely to be solved by Adam Smith's invisible hand. Market pressure on Sterling, Gilts and Sterling-based assets, coupled with pressure from City grandees and Tory MPs are likely to prompt the chancellor to reach agreement on a shared currency without delay. Through negotiations with the Bank of England, this can be structured in such a way that it does not impede Scotland's membership of the EU, probably through the creation of some sort of joint currency board.

Negotiation of EU membership will be time-consuming and tiresome, but that's the nature of the beast. The Spanish, Italians and the French will all object because of their

own separatist movements. However, Scotland will be successful in gaining membership, if only because events in the Middle East and the deteriorating relations with Russia will mean that the EU will not wish to exclude an oil-producing nation. Scotland's best tactics will be to make very good friends with the Germans. Historically Germany has displayed a strong interest in obtaining secure supplies of raw materials and, interestingly, there does not appear to be a record of Angela Merkel commenting on the referendum.

The question of oil revenues should be an open and shut case, governed by the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. Scotland's Exclusive Economic Exclusion Zone is Scotland's Exclusive Economic Exclusion Zone (EEZ), full stop. In using a calculation based on the convention to redefine the fishing zone between Scotland and England in the North Sea, England has already set a precedent, but there is still likely to be haggling over the EEZ.

Because of the potential value of their EEZ, there are also bound to be political moves after the devolution settlement to split Orkney and Shetland from Scotland, justified because (as seems likely) they did not vote for independence. The best defence for Scotland will be to persuade big oil and the small islands that they will both get a better deal in an independent Scotland. Our German friends might also help if they thought they might get favourable access to concessions in return.

Many other 'problems' identified in the referendum debate are not really problems unless someone wants them to be, but this always happens in negotiations. Border security, pensions, banking and financial regulations, the national debt etc, can always be resolved if the will is there. And do not forget, brass plates have a long and honourable history in the financial sector. Some issues will be tricky – for example Scotland has predicated its investment in wind farms on the basis that England will buy the power. But for sound economic reasons or just spite, England could choose to buy its power from France. While in negotiations on conventional defence, an over-enthusiastic Scotland could buy some very expensive kit it does not really need. However, an angry and resentful England, in its own argot, is likely to cut up rough in all negotiations.

Opinion polls suggest that Scotland will also face English anger and resentment in the event of a No vote. Having been brought to the brink, there will be an unspoken consensus between Westminster political parties, Whitehall, the military, the security services and the City that never again can a minority be allowed to threaten the political, economic and military security of the country in this way. UK politicians will also be told by the US administration that, if they

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want to still be able to think of themselves as America's best friend, they must ensure it never happens again.

Westminster is likely to be split between those who believe they can achieve this through a looser grouping of power in the UK, and those who will want to permanently hobble or destroy the nationalists. The chances of the first group prevailing are pretty thin, given Westminster's inability to agree on constitutional reform from Irish Home Rule, through reform of the House of Lords to the recent attempts to introduce changes in the voting system.

While some will wish to dissolve the Scottish Parliament, death by a thousand cuts will be the game plan. Give the Scottish Parliament powers to raise income tax, but cut or abolish the UK exchequer grant under the Barnett Formula. Break the back of the SNP administration by reducing the revenue base, and then reward the voters when they see the error of their ways and vote the Westminster parties back into power in the Scottish Parliament. There will be carrots and sticks to split Orkney and Shetland from Edinburgh. A crude, but effective approach.

Meanwhile, never before has a nation of peaceful voters been admonished by such a wide range of national and international headmasters. Presidents Obama, Putin, Xi Jinping and Hollande have all warned voters of the danger of a Yes vote. The Pope has politely warned against it, while the Australian prime minister has been downright rude.

John Major popped up on the Today Programme to warn of the dangers of losing Scotland. He made it sound as if the country was something kept in a drawer in No 10, presumably along with his Y-fronts. Like a bland Grendel threatening the voter with his mother in a dull Westminster Mummers reading of Beowulf, he warned that the United States will not 'forgive or forget'.

There have been some bright spots though, mainly thanks to the 'luvvies'. Dan Snow, the great grandson of Lloyd George, announcing his 'let's stay together letter' from near Tower Bridge in London or his cousin, Jon Snow, tramping around the Highlands and Lowlands in his tweed jacket talking to the indigenous peoples. Finally, Bob Geldof has just warned us off...

In the face of all this, what can the poor voter do? Sadly,

in our form of democracy the individual voter cannot profit by selling his or her vote. This is a privilege open to only the largest members of the corporate sector. He or she could rely on promises that a No vote will be a vote for change, but there are as yet no party manifestos for the 2015 election, no detailed proposals from any Westminster party and certainly nothing new binding in writing. Parties will inevitably trim their sails in an attempt to win the 2015 general election.

Of course if they really wanted to save the day, on the Monday before the vote, in a coup de theatre, Messrs Cameron, Clegg and Miliband could shoot the nationalist fox by announcing a generous devolution settlement, giving Scotland a sound revenue base directly from oil revenues, to be legislated for before 2015. But now Murdoch tweets and London is galvanised. Hints have appeared in the Sunday newspapers that Westminster may be about to launch a devo-max or federalist initiative.

At this late stage, this is a bit rich coming from a government which eschewed convening a royal commission on the governance of the UK and excluded devo-max from the ballot paper. It could appear that this is a case of London politicians desperate to remain in control, rather than trying to introduce constitutional reform in response to a democratic movement. An independent Scotland should be able to negotiate a better deal.

There was always the possibility that the referendum was really a giant piece of political theatre, with devo-max or a federal state as the dénouement. To some extent the enthusiastic reception of the Edinburgh Accord suggested that this could be the case. However, it may be that the Scottish groundlings, not knowing their role in the plot, have embraced their part over vigorously, to the point at which events seem out of Westminster's control.

In Scotland, the signs are now that canny politicians like Mr Carmichael, Ms Lamont and Mr Murphy are positioning themselves to be able to shift sides and Alistair Darling's body language appeared to say it all when he was invited by Mr Salmond to join his negotiating team in the event of a Yes vote. John Prescott is coming to Scotland soon, no doubt to watch out for any movement in his beloved tectonic plates.

In England, Mr Cameron wants to be able to respond

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that it was all nothing to do with me Gov. After tea at Balmoral, the prime minister is no doubt aware that Brenda is unlikely to be amused by a Yes vote. Our ruling classes appear to be somewhat in disarray on the basis of a couple of opinion polls.

Perhaps the only parallel to the current political atmosphere in Scotland is the 1945 general election, when a nation wanted change. By and large, people do not queue up to register to vote if they want to retain the status quo. The democratic genie is out of the bottle. History suggests it is unlikely to disappear. If there is a No vote this time, then those who suggest we can expect another referendum within five years are likely to be correct.

It is at this point the voter might like to pause, think and do a little arithmetic. The history of the exploitation of North Sea oil and the way in which the worth of the resource was concealed and then used on tax breaks and transfer payments rather than renewing ageing infrastructure, could raise doubts in people's minds about the wisdom of trusting London. The same thing seems to be happening over the new fields in the North East Atlantic in Shetland's EEZ. Fool me once, shame on you, fool me twice, shame on me. It is also worth remembering that if a week is a long time in politics then 2015 is a long time ahead. Circumstances can always change especially when what seems to be on offer is some sort of constitutional indaba under Westminster's patronage and open to its manipulation.

Now the simple arithmetic. A federation of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland would not work because England would be too large a partner for the other countries and would unbalance the numbers in any political insti-

tuition. England would want to hold the purse strings and control the distribution of funds from the centre. A federation with English regions might work, but given the timeframe it is unlikely English voters could be consulted before 2015 and, anyway, it might be rejected. Any agreement would have to be endorsed by Westminster. Against the backdrop of UKIP threatening English MPs of all parties and Mr Johnson snapping at Conservative MPs' heels, there is no certainty the government could deliver.



Faced with a cross-party offer on the eve of the referendum, the voter could be forgiven for deciding that this might be a ploy to appeal to the 'don't knows' in an attempt to thwart the Yes vote. If the Scottish Government chose not to negotiate, then it again would be described as Scottish intransigence. If SNP agreed to join the negotiations, any delays or breakdowns again could be attributed to Scottish intransigence. The words poison and

chalice could spring to the voter's mind.

If the voter considers that, irrespective of the outcome of the referendum, Scotland is set to receive a very hard kicking from Westminster, even though it may be wrapped up in fancy paper, then a Yes vote may provide the best option, since it gives more room for manoeuvre to recast relationships with the remaining UK and does not leave the country as a supplicant at Westminster's table.

In the face of all this, the logical thing to do is to light the blue touch paper, vote Yes, and adopt a comfortable position to enjoy the fireworks. After all, Judi Dench, Helena Bonham Carter, Patrick Stewart et al, can do very good shock and anguish.

This section began as a four page, one article section. Alastair McIntyre suggested that I expand it to include many other articles related to the Scottish Referendum, and gave me a list to use. Alastair has been my dear friend since the dinosaurs were on earth...and I trust him completely. Everything in this section is in the YES column for the Scottish Referendum. You'll find a web URL on the last page that gives the opposing NO reasoning.

Thank you, Alastair! Personally, I have kept very quiet about what I think...I am NOT a Scot but have always hoped for Scottish independence. Alastair IS a native born Scot. He is also a very thoughtful and erudite person. I did not know til now that he thinks YES as well. Your editor, Beth

Scotland in the World

Life and Work in the Global Community

Dr. James Wilkie

The unit of political organisation is now the world. And this global political system has a name: it is called Interdependence. It rests on a foundation of around 200 constitutionally sovereign states members of the United Nations Organisation, the central institution of what is already an increasingly complex system of world government.

Scotland, as a natural and quite distinct geographical, social, economic, cultural and hence political entity, fits comfortably into the new global system.

The Scots are no strangers to the ethical concept of the universal brotherhood and sisterhood of humanity, something that Robert Burns taught the world, and an ideal that Scots everywhere celebrate on his anniversary every 25 January. This was traditionally practised through Scotland's historic missionary activity.

Scotland's contribution to the world in the realm of ideas is second to none anywhere. The Enlightenment philosophers had a global influence, and Scottish contributions to medicine, science, technology and other fields are legendary.

Now that Scotland the nation is re-emerging onto the world stage, we are concerned here with the harder practical aspects of this global community, primarily with the institutions of the new world system that is presently taking shape, with how Scotland fits into them, and with how the Scots can make their contribution to the good governance and well-being of humanity everywhere.

The United Nations Organisation



The World Today

The international framework within which Scotland has to live and work has changed drastically within very recent years, and now bears little resemblance to how it looked just a few decades ago. The revolutionary events of 1989 and afterwards redrew the political map of the globe. The last of the empires crumbled, and the dozens of new or reborn states that have emerged are progressing beyond their teething troubles to the maturity of experience as new generations with no personal memories of the old orders have taken over the reins of government.

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That revolution is still ongoing. Not only empires have crumbled, but also institutions of state that have been taken for granted for centuries. The relationship between states, governments and peoples everywhere has entered an entirely new phase, as the electronic and communications revolution continues to break down isolation and barriers in the remotest corners of the earth. As events within recent years have shown, the new media have also put a valuable weapon into the hands of peoples everywhere for defence against abuses of power by their own governments.

Globalisation has progressed to the extent that older aspirations to regional governance (e.g. European) have been to a great extent rendered superfluous by the development of a whole tier of governance at world level. Hundreds of major institutions like the World Trade Organisation (WTO) or the World Health Organisation (WHO), under the overall umbrella of the United Nations, carry out a vast range of functions that affect the lives of individual citizens everywhere.

The result is that we now have four principal levels of government – global, regional, national and local. Of these, the national level is the most politically active, and in a certain sense the most important, because it is there that national policy and representation at the regional and global levels is decided. Any nation without internationally recognised autonomy and a seat at the UN will find itself dependent on others to represent its interests in institutions that have a profound effect on its welfare. In most such cases these interests will remain inadequately represented.

An even more profound change has taken place in the very nature of international relations over just a couple of decades. The international system of sovereign nation states was established by the series of treaties comprising the Peace of Westphalia that ended the Thirty Years War in 1648. Three and a half centuries later, that system, based on individual or mutual protection in a hostile world, has now given way to a new political structure of global interdependence and cooperation within the hundreds of organisations that together constitute the new world system. Sovereignty itself is no longer absolute; national governments can now be called to account for failure to maintain the international standards of good governance or human rights, etc.

Security and defence, which since Westphalia was based on coping with antagonism, rivalry and clashes of interests, is now a matter of global cooperation to resolve global threats and risks that affect every nation. Most of these are not susceptible to military solutions. The result is that the military now have a diminished role and influence in international affairs. Furthermore, wars are an expensive business, when a single military aircraft can cost more than a WW2 battleship, and one-way expendable smart weapons also cost millions.

There are better ways of allocating resources.

Clausewitz's classic thesis, that war is an extension of diplomacy by other means, no longer applies, with military operations now largely "fire brigade" actions to contain local situations that have gone out of control. There are still some persistent flashpoints in the world, and these are increasing in danger as they diminish in number, but they are more and more being contained by diplomacy, backed up by multinational forces under United Nations command. The main effort nowadays is directed towards eliminating the causes of conflict, and this in its turn is closely tied up with peacekeeping, disaster relief and similar humanitarian functions.

Classic bilateral diplomacy between representatives of two individual states hardly exists any longer. International relations are now conducted in multilateral diplomacy around the negotiating table, with the results eventually finding their way into the vastly expanded body of international law. There are now more international organisations than sovereign states, to the extent that some governments maintain two or three separate embassies under full ambassadors in each of the major diplomatic centres.

The kingpin of this global system of governance is the United Nations Organisation with its enormous family of specialised agencies – keeping the peace; pursuing serious international crime; maintaining the rule of law at sea, in the air, and in outer space; relieving disaster and distress; mitigating famine and drought; promoting education for all; eliminating disease; ameliorating and eventually abolishing poverty, and much more.

A noble task awaits Scotland when it joins the worldwide fellowship as a partner in this great endeavour. With this we have the opportunity to realise Robert Burns's great ideal in the most practical manner.

Scotland's Place in the World

Constitutional independence and a seat at the United Nations are the only possible basis for direct participation in international affairs and for a uniquely Scottish contribution to them. Neither federalism nor any other kind of advanced autonomy short of independence will suffice.

The basic reason is that none of these half measures will provide Scotland with an individual voice in the most important decision-making tribunals at global level. Without that status, vital decisions affecting Scotland's international interests will be taken without a direct Scottish input. Bitter experience over many years has shown that being represented internationally at UK level is not a safe policy.

There is every reason to believe that Scotland will

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be welcomed by every other partner in the global family of almost 200 states members of the United Nations.

A new special relationship will require to be forged between the autonomous states of the British Isles. Special arrangements can easily encompass those common interests where joint administration is necessary.

The Global Institutions

Developments on the global scene have been breathtakingly fast and far-reaching since the break-up of the bipolar world system after 1989. The result has been an explosive increase in the number of international organisations and treaties under international law. International diplomacy is now so complex that a high degree of specialisation is demanded of diplomats. There are now more international organisations than sovereign states, and they all require diplomatic representation of the highest expertise by the member and signatory states.

Independent Scotland will in time find it necessary to become a member of around 50 major organisations with global functions that would affect Scotland in or out of membership. Many of these are units of the huge **United Nations** system, which is far larger than is generally realised. The UN organisations are mostly concentrated in its four headquarters complexes in New York, Geneva, Vienna and Nairobi, with some individual units based elsewhere. UN membership itself is of course the very hallmark of an independent state. The same could be said of the Geneva-based **World Trade Organisation**, a vitally important body on the same level of world government. The following representative cross-section of these specialised world organisations – among many others that set international rules and standards – gives an idea of the commitment that would be necessary.

CTBTO Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty Organisation

FAO United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation

IAEA International Atomic Energy Agency

ICAO International Civil Aviation Organisation

IMF International Monetary Fund

IMO International Maritime Organisation

INCB International Narcotics Control Board

ITU International Telecommunications Union

OECD Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

UNDP United Nations Development Programme

UNEP United Nations Environment Programme

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Org.

UNIDO United Nations Industrial Development Organisation

UNODC United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

UNOOSA United Nations Office on Outer Space Affairs

WHO World Health Organisation

WMO World Meteorological Organisation

WTO World Trade Organisation

National membership is in most such cases a necessity and not simply desirable. For example, the ICAO and IMO set the rules and standards for air and sea transport respectively, the ITU allocates frequencies for telecommunications and broadcasting, and the WMO is the nerve centre of global coordination of weather forecasting and research.

National financial contributions to these organisations are sometimes voluntary (e.g. UNICEF), and the UN “Offices” are covered by general UN membership, but are mostly based on the members’ proportional GNP, GDP, GNI or similar standard, and are usually expressed as a proportion of the organisation’s operating costs.

Additional voluntary contributions are often made for specific projects. The United Nations units (other than the “Offices”) are all individually financed, i.e. separately from the central UN budget. Depending on membership and other factors, and based on contributions by countries of a similar size, Scotland’s payments could average out at a maximum of around 0.5% of operating costs.

International Treaties and Treaty Organisations

The interaction of foreign and domestic policies is one of the features of modern political life. The most obvious, indeed notorious, example is the European Union, in which some 80 percent of national legislation consists of EU regulations or is based on EU directives. It is not generally realised, however, that decision-making at national level is also governed by a vast range of other provisions of international law at regional and global level, and that virtually every aspect of public life must now be conducted in accordance with international norms.

For example, every member state of the Council of Europe (the CoE, *not* the EU) is obliged to maintain strict standards of pluralist democracy, uphold the rule of law, and observe the internationally recognised standards of human rights. It was the UK’s breach of all three of these provisions that led to the devolution referendum and the restoration of the Scottish Parliament under threat of international sanctions.

Membership of a single international organisation can involve the signing, ratification and adherence to the terms of dozens of treaties, conventions and other agreements under international law. There are frequent follow-up conferences to bring them up to date and to review progress towards their implementation. In a number of cases special organisations have been set up to ensure that the treaties are

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observed by the signatory states. These treaties are far too numerous to list here – they run to thousands – but a few examples may serve to illustrate the vast range of commitments involved:

The **European Convention on Human Rights**, under the auspices of the Council of Europe (CoE), puts into practice the principles laid down in the UN Charter and the International Bill of Human Rights and renders them legally enforceable.

The **Helsinki Final Act** of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe also legally implements the UN human rights legislation, including the right to national self-determination. The Conference itself has since been put on a permanent basis as the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

The **UN Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty** (CTBT) forbids nuclear explosions in the atmosphere, underground or in space. A special organisation (CTBTO) has been set up to enforce observance of the treaty with the use of a worldwide network of monitoring stations, including one in Scotland.

The **United Nations Convention Against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances** aims at the detection, freezing and confiscation of illegal financial gains from trading in mind-altering addictive substances.

The **United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change** (UNFCCC) is best known on account of an additional protocol signed at a later conference. The Kyoto Protocol, entering into force in February 2005, obliges the signatory states to reduce their emissions of “greenhouse” gases to below the levels prevailing in 1990.

The **United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea** (UNCLOS) is of absolutely vital importance to Scotland with its lifeblood maritime interests. When it comes to delimiting the continental shelf and similar adjudications on competing interests, it is vital that Scotland should have individual representation in the negotiations.

Representing Scotland in the World

The nature of the diplomatic service has changed appreciably. Even within the scope of traditional political diplomacy, the actual volume of activity has grown enormously within recent years, due largely to the increase in the number of international organisations. The development of modern communications has made the ambassador’s role as an information gatherer partly superfluous. The traditional political role and the consular and representational functions still exist, but have now been supplemented by such tasks as export promotion, inward investment, cultural and educational exchanges, and much more. As a result of this expansion, a foreign ministry nowadays is to a large extent a clearing house

and information and advisory centre for activities abroad by government departments and national organisations.

The establishment of permanent embassies in foreign countries is a relatively modern development. In earlier ages travelling ambassadors were the norm. That was before the enormous expansion of the scope of modern diplomacy, but even today it is common for an ambassador of a smaller state to be responsible for representation in half a dozen foreign countries. In the case of major states and international organisations, however, even countries of Scotland’s size must have full-time representation of their interests, with appropriate staffs in certain key centres like the UN or the WTO.

This demands the creation of a Scottish diplomatic service, which has not existed since 1707 (previously, the original Scotland Yard was the site of the Scottish embassy in London). This would have the added advantage of enhancing the overall quality of life in Scotland by opening up opportunities at home for top-class intellectual talent and increasing the body of such talent retained in the country, together with positive spin-off effects in politics and cultural life generally.

Based on the figures for foreign ministries in European countries of Scotland’s size, the total personnel required would be around 1,400 of all grades, about one half being of diplomatic rank and the rest technical and other specialists as well as office personnel.

More than half could expect to be on service abroad at any given time, interchanging at intervals with those on home postings for analytical and policy making duties on the basis of the information feedback. Absorbing and rationalising various existing organisations concerned with Scotland’s foreign relations would create a proportion of the posts.

The selection and training of diplomatic candidates must be of the highest order, for they will *be* Scotland in the eyes of the highest-ranking people in the world with whom they will be dealing. Only top-class graduates in relevant disciplines (mainly history, economics and law) can be admitted for one or two years of specialised training before being appointed for a probationary period.

Fluency in one or more major foreign languages is also a necessity, as is a certain degree of deportment; the diplomatic profession internationally is very much of an elite, and it is necessary to be able to mix easily in such company in order to do the job effectively. It goes without saying that candidates must also be deeply rooted in their native land, with an intimate knowledge of Scotland’s history, geography, economy, society and culture. It is possible that some Scots in the UK diplomatic service might transfer to the Scottish service.

A special training school should be established, perhaps

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within one of the universities, to provide a grounding in directly relevant subjects like diplomatic negotiating techniques as well as rounding off the broader education of candidates coming from different disciplines. With a view to forming future valuable links, this training should also be open to others intending to enter international organisations, including the private sector. There can be exchanges with the specialised diplomatic academies that are run by nearly every modern state. Synergetic effects with the universities can also be promoted by utilising senior diplomatic staff on home posting as lecturers and by closely coordinating research facilities.

This coordination will be especially vital in a vast and expanding field like global and regional international law, where it is now as good as impossible for any individual to have an overview of the entire range. The other specialised departments in the ministry would have to include political and economic sections as well as those dealing with the international organisations; European and neighbourhood relations; development aid; and cultural, educational and scientific cooperation, amongst others. Much currently fragmented effort can be more efficiently coordinated within this single structure.

The operational budgets of the foreign ministries in European states of Scotland's size amount to a quarter to a third of one per cent of the national budgets. National contributions to the international organisations generally add a further two thirds to this amount, giving a total expenditure on foreign policy of around 0.5 per cent of the overall national budget. (This figure excludes development aid, for which see below).

In the larger countries it is possible to appoint a politician with no background in foreign policy as minister, because he or she will have the backing of a large specialist advisory staff. In a country of Scotland's size, however, with only a handful of personnel in the minister's cabinet, it is customary, and indeed imperative, that the foreign minister should be a trained and experienced professional diploma

Consular Services

Medium to large countries have consular departments separate from their embassies for the purpose of looking after the interests of their citizens in foreign countries, the issue of passports and visas, and other relevant functions. In some cases the consular services are completely separate from the diplomatic services, with different career structures. This is where the limitations of small size have to be overcome, and in fact in countries of Scotland's size the consular services are invariably regular departments of the diplomatic service with interchangeable personnel.

There are two main methods of overcoming limits to

the geographical provision of consular services. One is cooperation with similar European states through agreements on mutual consular representation in countries where one or the other has no facilities. The second method is to establish a corps of honorary consuls in places where no professional consular services are possible or economically feasible. Experience elsewhere indicates that there would be no lack of volunteers for this voluntary and unpaid function among expatriate Scots and sympathisers holding senior positions and able to provide office facilities. The title of Honorary Consul on one's visiting card, and the brass plate on the door, are as good as a knighthood. These honorary consulates would remain under the supervision of an official regional consul, to whom all but routine matters would be referred.

Scotland's visa, immigration and certain other regulations would have to be those agreed by the EEA in consultation with the EU, and synchronised with those of the rest of the UK and Ireland. Other consular duties include protecting the interests of Scots abroad who have been victims of accident, illness, assault or robbery, been arrested, or stranded, have got into other difficult situations or have died. This is where honorary consuls, with their local knowledge and important connections, might play an even better role than the professional service.

Trade Promotion

One of the major functions of foreign policy is the management of trading relations and the promotion of exports. The function of the diplomatic service in this respect is quite clearly that of an intermediary, with the ministry acting as a clearing-house for information and a back up for negotiations.

The trade attachés in the embassies and regional offices must have every economic and other factual detail of their assigned countries or regions at their fingertips, as well as a host of important personal contacts there, in order to advise and assist exporters. They must be aware of every niche market and other opportunities for advancing Scotland's economic interests abroad.

These attachés need not have full diplomatic qualifications, and indeed might well be appointed and paid by the representative Scottish industrial and commercial organisations, including the economically vital tourist industry, which clearly must be adequately represented abroad. This would be a matter for negotiation with those concerned in order to find the most efficient setup.

Cultural Diplomacy and Scientific Cooperation

Cultural policy is widely regarded nowadays as a central aspect of a country's foreign policy, as more mundane

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matters increasingly move into the realm of multilateral decision making. It is not only a means of “flying the flag” abroad in an era of cultural change and exchange, but also of enhancing the indigenous cultural scene by opening up channels for cross-fertilisation.

It is for reasons of practical advantage that Scotland’s rich historical and cultural tradition should be kept alive among those members and descendants of the Scottish diaspora who hold the reins of power and influence worldwide, as well as being introduced to others. Nor should the avant-garde be neglected, without being exaggerated.

The tartan and bagpipes image, so often decried, is actually one of the most valuable features of our national identity that make us distinct in the world. No other nation would dream of belittling its own heritage and traditions.

The function of a foreign ministry in this field is to act as a service facility for persons and institutions in order to promote contacts with foreign partners, carry out joint projects and develop cooperation. This has the overall strategic objective of awakening interest in and understanding of Scotland, which in its turn can facilitate many a political situation and open up economic opportunities.

It should be noted that membership of the European Economic Area also opens the door to participation in the European research and development programmes and projects. The work of a cultural attaché therefore covers not only organising lectures, concerts, exhibitions and other events abroad, but also educational exchanges at school and university level as well as establishing links for scientific and technological cooperation.

The educated bourgeois class, the traditional “multipliers” for public relations in other countries, is diminishing worldwide, and the new media are having a revolutionary effect. Therefore, it would be advisable to organise Scottish events in collaboration with indigenous organisations and institutions in the host countries. Opening ceremonies can often be combined with the classic embassy receptions for the purpose of “biting the ears” of important contacts.

Nor need the activities always be of an erudite nature – Burns suppers, ceilidhs, etc. are also much appreciated by foreigners, while Scottish country dancing, which is already a worldwide phenomenon, should be actively encouraged and supported, not least to provide a point of focus for expatriate Scots. All cultural activities abroad, whether or not they are organised at embassy level, should be financially self-supporting unless there is a proven need for a direct subsidy for broader foreign policy reasons.

Development Cooperation

The wealth of the world is very unevenly divided, and recent events have shown that poverty and injustice in re-

mote corners of the earth can threaten the peace and security of human beings everywhere. Helping the poorer countries of the world to overcome their problems and backwardness is therefore a matter of self-interest for rich and advanced countries like Scotland.

It is highly desirable that the OECD and UN target allocation of 0.7% of GNI for development purposes should be achieved as soon as practicable. This can be applied in directly managed projects, or in the form of contributions to the international organisations engaged in development work.

Scotland clearly cannot compete with the major aid donors in terms of volume of financial assistance or of large projects. We have, however, a wealth of skills, and experienced technical and professional personnel, many of whom have served abroad, and these priceless national resources can be used effectively to deliver practical aid. The Scandinavian countries have set a good example in this respect.

Having limited financial resources, Scotland will have to be careful in the selection of target countries and assistance sectors. We cannot be all things to all lands. Resources will have to be concentrated in a limited number of places, for example those countries where Scotland has already had missionary connections for one and a half centuries. Once the targets have been identified, Scotland can ensure that its aid will be truly effective. With minimal separation between the design and implementation of projects, and the maximum use of its private sector, Scotland can provide quality assistance in engineering, education, agriculture, forestry and fishing, and many other fields.

Scotland’s foreign aid programme should contain two particularly valuable elements amongst others. One of them is assisted places at Scottish universities and colleges for eligible candidates from poor countries. These education programmes should include field experience with private companies and organisations in this country. Many of these students will become senior members of their national administrations and private sectors, and, if they have been well treated, may be expected to look to Scotland when the question of commercial or other cooperation arises in the future.

The other element is a programme of voluntary service overseas for young Scots of 18 years and over, either on “gap years” for general experience, or as qualified young graduates and technicians. As the Scandinavian countries do, Scotland should offer the United Nations the services of “associate experts” at subsidised rates. This is a standard procedure that provides the UN with low-cost expertise and gives young Scottish professionals the opportunity to gain international experience.

A similar scheme could be adopted for using retired

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persons, who often possess not only considerable skills and qualifications, but also a wealth of experience that can be put to good use in development work.

It should be mentioned – strictly as a by-product – that, while development assistance would also have a degree of economic spin-off for Scotland, its main benefit would be something more intangible. A truly sincere and professional aid programme uncontaminated by political agendas can nurture an immense amount of goodwill towards Scotland. This can pay dividends in many hidden ways, not least as a character-building experience for the younger generation who will be the future leaders of our own country.

Keeping the Peace

Under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations Organisation all member states have an obligation to provide military, police and civilian personnel, resources and facilities for the implementation and enforcement of Security Council resolutions. These assignments are organised by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) within the UN General Secretariat in New York. Since 2007 the DPKO has been augmented by a new Department of Field Support (DFS).

Peacemaking and peacekeeping operations worldwide are inaugurated by decision of the Security Council, but in more and more cases the emerging regional organisations (e.g. the Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS) are being commissioned to carry out such operations under Security Council mandates, with involvement by European forces in other continents steadily diminishing.

As standards of governance gradually improve worldwide, leading to a reduction in the need for peacemaking and peacekeeping missions, and as more and more developing countries become capable of carrying out such UN mandates within their own regions, it must be expected that the occasions for utilising European (and hence Scottish) military and police forces for this purpose will gradually diminish.

Globally, peacemaking and peacekeeping situations may continue for some time, especially in Africa, until the new world order settles down, but in Europe it could be that the ongoing operations in Kosovo and elsewhere in the Balkans will turn out to be the last of their kind there.

However, the various security situations confronting the UN open a door to a rational participation policy by independent Scotland with a pro rata contribution in personnel and resources comparable to those of NATO member Norway or officially neutral Austria, Finland, Ireland and Sweden. Scottish military, police and other civilian contingents could be slotted into the UN peacekeeping system with no difficulty.

The advantages of participation in peacekeeping can be considered a further aspect of opening Scotland to the world

and broadening the sum of its collective international understanding and image, in addition to the invaluable training it provides for the participating personnel. The experience gained thereby will certainly have positive spin-off on the personal and communal levels over a wide spectrum of national life and work.

Disaster Relief

Scotland is fortunate in its situation in a comparatively stable tectonic zone that is not liable to major earthquakes or tsunamis, while its geographical location is well outside the regions that are most susceptible to tropical storms. No country is entirely immune to natural or man-made disasters, however, and it is in all of our interests that Scotland should cooperate closely in the international system for mitigating the effects of such happenings, no matter how they are caused. We never know when we ourselves might be the ones seeking assistance

The United Nations has a well-oiled humanitarian and disaster relief system that operates from its New York headquarters. From the population displacements caused by war, weather and natural disasters, to the impact of such disruptions on health, hygiene, education, nutrition and even basic shelter, the UN is there, making a difference. It is here that Scotland can make a significant contribution to international solidarity in the face of need.

The humanitarian and disaster-relief efforts of the UN system are overseen and facilitated by the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), led by the United Nations Emergency Relief Coordinator. Among its many activities, OCHA provides the latest information on emergencies worldwide, and launches international “consolidated appeals” to mobilise financing for the provision of emergency assistance in specific situations. The UN system also works to prevent disasters whenever possible, whether natural or man-made.

Scotland’s contribution can conveniently be dovetailed into its security and defence structure, with humanitarian operations at home and abroad being regarded as an integral part of the military functions. This would also have a bearing on material procurement and to a certain extent on recruitment.

As with peacekeeping, such operations have a value that goes far beyond their immediate utility, because Scotland thereby becomes an object of international awareness, which can have beneficial spin-off in many other fields. Furthermore, actions of this nature, with which the entire population of Scotland can identify, will play a large part in promoting social cohesion and a beneficial sense of national pride.

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Disarmament

Scotland played host unwillingly to one of the world's largest concentrations of nuclear weapons all through the Cold War, a lethal risk at the time. This must not be allowed to happen again. The SDA proposes that a constitutional ban be placed on all weapons of mass destruction – chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear (CBRN) – on Scottish soil and in Scottish waters or airspace.

Furthermore, Scotland should sign and ratify all of the relevant international treaties under the auspices of the United Nations dealing with the control and/or abolition of CBRN weapons. Foremost of these is the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (Non-Proliferation Treaty, or NPT).

The NPT is backed up by the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT), which is essential as a means of halting the further development of nuclear weapons. Scotland should also accede to the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) and the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention (BTWC).

Scotland should consider joining the Geneva Conference on Disarmament (CD), the principal forum for nuclear and other WMD disarmament, and acceding to various subsidiary treaties against the proliferation of such weaponry, as well as signing the Hague Code of Conduct against Ballistic Missile Proliferation (HCOOC).

The so-called **conventional weapons** (i.e. non-WMDs) may be very unconventional in relation to simple firearms, but constitute a more immediate threat than WMDs. Small arms and light weapons are in a sense the real weapons of mass destruction because of the sheer number that are in circulation, and the ease with which they can get into the hands of the wrong people, when they cause around half a million casualties annually. The United Nations has a Programme of Action against the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW), to which Scotland would be expected to contribute. Scotland should accede to the Ottawa Convention on the Prohibition and Destruction of Anti-Personnel Mines, and the newer Convention on Cluster Munitions.

The Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) also has a programme for SALW control, but its main contribution to conventional disarmament has been the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE), which has drastically reduced the size of military forces and the amount of military hardware on the continent. It is backed up by a system of inspection to ensure that member states are adhering to the treaty.

As a further measure against the proliferation of dangerous weapons, a number of supplier states have set up in-



formal control regimes to regulate the export of materials and substances that could be used to manufacture armaments. The Zangger Committee and the Nuclear Exporters Committee undertake not to supply fissionable material to a non-nuclear state except under safeguards approved by the International Atomic Energy Agency. The Australia Group is an informal forum of countries that, through the harmonisation of export controls, seeks to ensure that exports do not contribute to the development of chemical or biological weapons. The Wassenaar Arrangement has been set up to ensure responsibility in transfers of conventional arms and dual-use goods and technologies, thus preventing accumulations that could contribute to the development or enhancement of destabilising military capabilities. The Missile Technology Control Regime controls the proliferation of missile technology. It is possible that Scotland could be invited to cooperate with these groups in the event that Scottish industries are engaged in the manufacture, trading or distribution of relevant products.

Scotland's International Relations

Scotland in the World is one of a group of four papers on Scotland's international relations post-independence. Scotland in Europe and Scotland in the Commonwealth are already on the website. Friends and Neighbours, which will examine the nature of relations between the autonomous states in the British Isles, will follow in due course





The Commonwealth of Nations

Scotland in the Commonwealth

Dr. James Wilkie

The Commonwealth of Nations, usually known simply as The Commonwealth, is a global association of 54 member states, all but two of which were parts of the former British Empire. The expression “Commonwealth of Nations” was first coined by a Scot, the fifth Earl of Rosebery (later Prime Minister), in 1884 during a visit to Australia, when he recognised that change was inevitable in the face of the movement towards independence by the nations of the Empire.

The name British Commonwealth of Nations was formally adopted at the 1926 Imperial Conference, and, with one after another of the member countries of the Empire gaining their independence, in 1949 the term “British” was finally dropped from the title in order to reflect the institution’s changing nature. The modern Commonwealth has long since outgrown its imperial origins to become a considerable force for good on the world stage in its own right, with recognition by and status at the United Nations.

Nowadays, the independent member states of the Commonwealth, with a total population of over 2,000 millions, support each other and work together towards shared goals. These include the promotion of democracy, human rights, good governance, the rule of law, individual liberty, egalitarianism, free trade, development cooperation, multilateralism and world peace.

The Commonwealth is not a political union, but an intergovernmental organisation in which countries with diverse social, political and economic backgrounds are regarded as equal in status, with decision making by consensus. Membership by independent Scotland would be as good as automatic.

The many practical advantages of membership include Commonwealth citizenship, educational, youth, sport and other programmes, and for small nations like Scotland consular representation in non-Commonwealth countries.

The principles and aims of the Commonwealth were laid down and developed in a series of major conferences

over the years, notably in Singapore, Harare, and not least Edinburgh. These endeavours were crowned in December 2012 with the promulgation of the Charter of the Commonwealth. One of the noblest declarations of ethical principles ever formulated by any organisation, the Charter is a document with which Scots can readily identify, and as a nation can guarantee to uphold.

It goes without saying that Scotland’s links with the Commonwealth have for centuries been embedded in our national consciousness. There is hardly a family in Scotland that does not have relatives in one or more Commonwealth countries, the residents of which include a large proportion of the estimated 40 million people who constitute the worldwide Scottish diaspora.

Scotland’s centuries-old economic links with the Commonwealth countries were severely damaged by the UK’s entry into the European Economic Community in 1973, but membership still offers substantial economic opportunities in a market with considerable scope for expansion as development proceeds.

In this connection, the Commonwealth Business Council (CBC), set up in 1997, aims to utilise the global network of the Commonwealth more effectively for the promotion of trade and investment for shared prosperity. The CBC acts as a bridge for cooperation between business and government, concentrating efforts on these specific areas enhancing trade, facilitating ICT for development, mobilising investment, promoting corporate citizenship and public-private partnerships. The CBC has a dedicated team, CBC Technologies, based in London, and is focused on the international technology and global services industry throughout the Commonwealth. In short, the Commonwealth offers Scotland more opportunities for enterprise today than it ever did in imperial times.

As the major Commonwealth Games events in Edinburgh (1970 and 1986) and Glasgow (2014) demonstrate,

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Scots academic and writer is Awarded one of Austria's most prestigious honours

By David Thomson

On 22 June 2011 in Vienna, the President of Austria awarded a Scottish constitutional expert and writer the Cross of Honour in Gold for Services to the Republic of Austria (Das Goldene Ehrenzeichen für Verdienste um die Republik Österreich). The ceremony in the historic Congress Hall of the Ballhausplatz, where the Congress of Vienna was held in 1814/15, was attended by two British ambassadors amongst other VIPs. This was in recognition of his work in compiling the Austrian Foreign Policy Yearbook for 16 years, and his previous 15 years as editor of the government's foreign affairs magazine *Austria Today*, as well as numerous special assignments, many of them still highly confidential, on behalf of the Republic.

Dr James Wilkie was born in Glasgow and brought up in Clydebank, Helensburgh, Garelochhead and Clynder. After working in local government for a time (libraries, youth and community and probation work), he studied at Strathclyde University and Jordanhill College before entering the teaching profession. He was simultaneously active in the Boys' Brigade, becoming vice-president and secretary of the Clydebank and District BB Battalion. He maintained a life-long love of mountaineering and sailing which eventually led to his climbing all of Scotland's Munros as well as doing spectacular ascents in the High Alps. This was put to good use in his 11 years as



administrator of the Duke of Edinburgh's Award, when he conducted all the silver and gold expedition tests personally. A later climbing companion was Professor Malcolm Slessor, with whom he often sailed off the west coast. As holiday crew on a fishing boat he got as far as St. Kilda and other remote islands.

His mother's family contacts with the famous medical school of Vienna University, and also his wife's connections there, led him to accept an offer in 1968 to study for a Doctor of Philosophy degree in Vienna, his chosen subject being constitutional history. One of his seminar leaders at the university in 1970 was the newly elected Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Bruno Kreisky. That led to a friendship between the statesman and his Scottish student. Bruno later had Wilkie undertake recurring work for the Chancellery and the Foreign Ministry, where Jim's bilingual skills in English and German were helpful in preparing diplomatically sensitive policy statements and speeches.

After receiving his doctorate Jim Wilkie returned to Scotland. He taught history at Allan Glen's School in Glasgow and Camphill High in Paisley as well as resuming his outdoor and mountain leadership activities. But opportunities were opening up for him in Austria and he returned there to undertake teaching and writing assignments. Dr Wilkie worked in broadcasting in Vienna in 1977 and assisted in some secondary schools, including residential skiing courses in the Alps.

In 1980 he was invited to become editor of the country's diplomatic journal *Austria Today*, which was published in English, French and German editions, and which involved numerous special assignments for Chancellor Kreisky personally. That work, based in the Hofburg palace, was to continue for 15 years, in three languages daily, despite his congenital deafness that eventually made classroom work impossible. *Austria Today* published quality articles and papers on the country's progress in science, industry, the arts,

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Scotland in the Commonwealth,

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Scotland has no difficulty in identifying with the Commonwealth as a community, and in playing a positive and vigorous part in its communal life as an equal member.

Scotland can therefore unequivocally affirm its solidarity with all of the aims of the Commonwealth, especially with those values and aspirations set out in its inspiring Charter. As our nation reverts inexorably to its former status of equality within the interdependent global community at large, active participation in the Commonwealth of Nations will not be the least of the goals Scotland will be pursuing.

and diplomatic affairs, and circulated among the top people in 144 countries.

His special assignments included a “fire brigade” action to assist the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis, after an espionage affair had caused considerable damage there. He wrote IASA’s 1985 and 1986 annual scientific reports, and remains a member of the worldwide IASA Society. He also, at Kreisky’s request, assisted the Palme Commission on Disarmament, the forerunner of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), now Europe’s largest political institution.

In 1988 Dr Wilkie, at the request of Foreign Minister Alois Mock, founded the Austrian Foreign Policy Yearbook, the official statement of foreign policy, based on the Foreign Ministry’s departmental papers, which he continued to edit for 16 years. As editor of those journals Dr Wilkie attended many international conferences on security and regional cooperation, including EU and Council of Europe summits.

James Wilkie however, maintained his love for Scotland, to which he regularly commutes to engage in sailing and mountaineering as well as visiting family and friends. He was elected a member of both the Scottish Mountaineering Club (SMC) and the prestigious Austrian Alpine Club (Österreichischer Alpenklub), which is twinned with the SMC, amongst many others. Having studied piano at the Royal Scottish Academy of Music, he also became a member of the Royal Scottish Country Dance Society. From 1973 to the present he has been a regular contributor to the Scotsman letters pages, and more recently to its Internet web pages.

A growing interest in politics led to membership of the Scotland UN Committee and to attending United Nations meetings on their behalf. In cooperation with S-UN secretary John McGill of Kilmarnock he drafted the documentation for the Council of Europe that led to the restoration of the Scottish Parliament. With the devolution programme completed, he was asked to accept the position of Chairman of the Scottish Democratic Alliance (SDA), which researches the future governance, defence and other policies of an independent Scotland. He is particularly active on EU fisheries policy in cooperation with the Scottish fishermen’s representatives.

Dr Wilkie was able to bring his Austrian and Scottish interests together in a project financed by Austria to make exact facsimile reproductions of a remarkable Scottish document, the Book of Hours of King James IV. It had been produced in 1503, but was lost to Scotland after the death of James IV at Flodden. His widow, Margaret Tudor, passed it on to her sister Mary Tudor, who may have taken it to France. The Book of Hours then re-surfaced in the Habsburg collec-

tion in Vienna during the 17th century, and is now in the Austrian National Library. The new reproductions were a project by ADEVA, the Academic Printing and Publishing Institute of Graz. 700 copies were printed, containing the meticulously reproduced 480 full colour folio pages of this invaluable component of Scotland’s heritage. Dr. Wilkie contributed the learned article on the historical background for the accompanying volume.

In its content, the Book of Hours of James IV resembles a medieval prayer book and calendar of religious feast days. It has magnificent colour and gold leaf decorated pages with intricate designs and reproductions of Biblical symbols, including the famous portrait of James himself wearing the pre-1540 Crown of Scotland, and the funeral of his father, James III. King James is believed to have financed its publication himself to commemorate his marriage to Margaret Tudor, a daughter of King Henry VII of England, who is also depicted in the book.

Jim Wilkie went on to compile the official book on the Kaiservilla palace at Bad Ischl, the summer capital of the Habsburg Monarchy. He is a close friend of the Habsburg family, with whom he regularly stays in Ischl. His son, Dr. Alexander Wilkie, is godfather to the Habsburg heir, Archduke Valentin.

In recent years Dr Wilkie has undertaken work for the United Nations UNIDO and UNOOSA organisations, and still retains his UN pass. For UNIDO he assisted the preparation of environmentally beneficial development projects in 8 African and 5 SE Asian countries. Under the auspices of UNOOSA, the UN Office on Outer Space Affairs, he helped compile and edit satellite surveys of the world’s freshwater resources, its mega-cities, and the European woodlands, amongst others. There was also a comprehensive satellite survey of Saudi Arabia, an archeological survey of Syria, etc. On the strength of his Scottish teaching qualification he edited the world’s first initial training scheme for space technologists in cooperation with the Geospace organisation and the European Space Agency.

The rare award of the magnificent Cross of Honour in Gold for Services to the Republic, the highest order in the Ritterkreuz class, is a quite remarkable honour for a Scot. James Wilkie is married to an Austrian, Claudia, whom he met some 40 years ago when she was a teacher in Bearsden Academy, and he has contributed significantly to Austria’s image and policies through his numerous publications as well as through his work with OPEC and with United Nations agencies in Vienna. He well deserves the honour.

As a reciprocal, he has worked quietly behind the scenes

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David B. Thomson

Our Fishing Heritage

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The following is a chapter from a new book by a former Lossie fisherman. They recount the town's fishing heritage from the 19th century and detail its fleet's rise to prosperity and its subsequent demise under the European Union's Common Fisheries Policy. The chapters go on to describe similar fisheries and fishery cultures in other parts of the world.

Part 1. Deserted Ports and Depleted Seas

Chapter 1. The Way We Were

Come with me for a walk around the harbour of my home town. It is a relatively small harbour, and typical of scores of others which have suffered a similar fate around Scotland, England, Ireland, and Wales. You can find such desolated little coastal ports in north and south America, in Europe and Scandinavia, and in parts of Asia and Africa. Once they were havens of industry that supported succeeding generations of seafaring people whose toil and produce laid the foundations of the modern towns and their facilities. But their labours have ended and are now gradually being forgotten. They are visible only in the relics of past enterprise, and the lovingly preserved tools of their trade, together with pictures and models in the heritage museums. The names of the old pioneers are left for our contemplation on cemetery tombstones, war memorials, and records of sea disasters.

These once prosperous fishing communities are mostly stagnating now, their modest income coming from tourists or summer visitors who call at the museums or berth their yachts at the marinas which now occupy the harbour basins. The



boatyards, ice plants, and marine engineering workshops, are gone, apparent only in the dilapidated sheds that remain. The fish markets that rang with the unintelligible cries of the fish auctioneers, the creak of landing derricks, and the put-put of Gardner and Kelvin marine diesel motors, - are deathly silent. Up the short road to the main street, most of the grocery stores and clothing shops are gone, - even the banks are reduced to half their former number. Those indications of economic activity have largely been replaced by bingo halls, hair-dressing salons, take-away restaurants and curio shops for the visitors. Some former shops and offices are boarded up or have aging "to let" signs above them.

Yet those lovely little harbours were home to thousands of fishing boats and many thousands of hard working seafarers who made up the coastal fishing industry of much of the 20th century. They supplied the bulk of the nation's fresh fish, and supported a boat-building industry and marine workshops that were the envy of other parts of the world. The hundreds of thousands of tons of fish that were carried annually from the small ports to every corner of the country, supported road and rail transport as they once facilitated a vast sea trade in cured herring. Visiting fishery delegations from Canada to the Far East who were taken around the coastal fishing towns, expressed admiration for the fleets of beautiful seaworthy boats that were owned and operated by the fishers themselves. The absence of any signs of poverty or squalor in the tight-knit communities was also a feature that impressed. Twice in the last century, during times of war, the fishing boats were offered to the Admiralty, together with their skilled skippers and crews, for use as tenders or minesweepers, - a service they performed with distinction, and some loss of life.

What happened in the last 40 years to destroy what had been built up over generations? What possible changes could have taken place, and who was to blame, if any? How could any nation destroy a vital food resource base, or give it away,

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Austrian Cross of Honour,

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to obtain cooperation in and understanding of Scottish affairs, from the Republic of Austria and from other states in Europe and Scandinavia, whose representatives he meets through the Foreign Policy Association in Vienna. In an astonishing career, for which the word unique borders on understatement, he has pioneered Scotland's way back to Europe as a chapter in its long history closes and a new one opens.

or sell it? How could any government undermine and legislate against the very wealth creating industry that was built up over generations by the communities themselves through much sacrifice, years of toil, and investment of hard-earned money? We are not talking about the indolent or shiftless, we are not talking about speculators or opportunists, - these communities were the salt of the earth in vision, enterprise, determination, commitment, and integrity. But politicians and civil servants, still alive many of them, and living comfortably on tax-payer supported pensions, said that the industry and its communities "were expendable", (as revealed in papers now made public). From the politicians perspective, membership of the European Union was far more important, and the senior banking officials urged them on, claiming that all Britain needed for the 21st century, was to maintain the dominance of the city of London's financial sector. Other industrial sectors could wither on the vine.

But we have not yet taken our stroll around this typical coastal town and the relics of its recent history. Let's walk past the old basin by the mouth of the river. It was constructed in 1837 when only sailboats were used, and built initially to accommodate small merchant ships, - barques or schooners that brought coal, iron, cement and supplies, and carried away local produce from the farms, forests and distilleries of the area. An earlier harbour, - little more than a pier or wharf on the west side of the river mouth, had been commissioned in 1683, and served the sailboat fleet and trading schooners for 150 years. In 1845 A lighthouse was erected on a headland to the west. It was designed and built by the remarkable Stevenson family of engineers, by the uncle and grandfather of Robert Louis Stevenson, the famed writer. By 1857 a second 'new' harbour basin was built to the west of the first. It was to house a fish market, a slipway and boatyard, and an engineering workshop. Five years earlier a railway line was completed to the town, connecting to the lines from Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow and from London and the English cities. The rail tracks are barely visible today, but they once extended on to the east pier from where they took wagons of cargo unloaded from the coastal ships. The trains were later to carry barrels of salt herring, and boxes of fresh white fish to the southern markets. Dr Beeching put an end to that use-



ful rail connection in the 1950s, after it had served the port and the community well for over 100 years.

Around the Seatown behind the river mouth, and on the west side of the harbour were some boatyards, and rows of fish sheds where herring were gutted and salted in barrels, or split and smoked in kipper kilns. Large fish like cod, hake, pollock and ling were often split, salted, and dried in the wind. There was also a cod liver oil plant there for some time. Forty women and girls were employed to clean and cure white fish, and a larger number to gut and salt herring during the summer season. My senses may be playing tricks on me, but to this day, when I walk along that shore, I think I can smell the kipper smoke from oak shavings and sawdust, together with the tang of barked nets and tarred ropes. Both my grandfathers fished from the harbour, as did some great-grandfathers

though the earlier ones mostly worked open boats from the west beach or the river mouth to the east. That row of buildings facing the old basin that now house a museum, a harbour office, a shop and a coffee house, were once net stores where my father's generation mended and stored their gear.

The rise of the herring industry at the end of the 19th century brought the first real wave of prosperity to the town

and its people. Cotton drift nets developed by the Dutch over the two preceding centuries were the most effective gear then for harvesting the silver darlings in quantity. Some sailboats used them effectively, but the advent of the steam drifter brought a vessel that was ideal for that service. It was fast, had good carrying capacity, and could shoot many hundreds of drift nets in one night. The drifters' steam-driven capstan enabled the crews to haul many more nets than before. By the turn of the century they appeared in the little port, first built in wood, but later in steel. Steam drifters were not cheap, but local farmers and coal merchants helped the fishers to finance their purchase or construction. The first drifter bought for the port was the Success which arrived in 1900.

My grandfather's family drifter had the colourful name *Flow'r of Moray*. It was built in 1904 by a coal merchant W. Stewart, whose house Cloverdale, my wife and I bought 90 years later. Lately we have resided in a cottage of a former dairy farm. The farm's previous owner, Alistair Adam and his wife, had each invested in seine boats between the two

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Our Fishing Heritage, *continued from page 17*

world wars, two of them being the *Renown*, and the *Kia-Ora*.

Fish curers and coopers who made the barrels, moved into town. Local herring curers numbered over 8, and there were additional curers from out of town who set up seasonal operations as well. Before the First World War, cured herrings and kippers were being sent far and wide from the little fishing community. In 1913 Scots drifters landed 200,000 tons of herring, a record production that was not to be exceeded that century.

We wander up between the basins to where we can look out at the harbour entrance with its magnificent north pier. Facing east it leaves the port vulnerable to the worst kind of sea experienced in the Firth which arises from a south-east gale or north-east winds and swell. When those conditions prevail the harbour is closed, but at all other times it is a safe haven. Entering between the north and south piers during times of bad weather or heavy seas, skippers have to keep up speed. If one reduces speed before safely inside the entrance, he loses steering control, and the boat is in danger of being swept on the rocks behind the south pier. The rocks there are known as the *Maggie Duncan*, from the name of a sloop that was wrecked there in 1840, the first of several dozen boats to meet their end on the treacherous shore. My father, then a teenage deckhand, was rescued by 'breeches buoy, from the drifter *Flow'r o' Moray* after it hit the south pier rocks over 80 years ago. The seine netter, *Palm*, was wrecked there 60 years ago.

Christmas eve, 1935, the *Fern*, a 53 foot, 2-year old fishing boat built in Macduff, was swept on to the rocks in a 60 mph gale, and was smashed to pieces in hours, but the crew were all hauled to safety on the south pier. Margaret Rowe, the skipper's granddaughter, was six years old at the time. She later told me how friends and neighbours rallied round in typical fishing community fashion, to make their Christmas day special, as the family had lost their lifetime investment. Her uncle Jimmy who was 26 at the time, later sailed with my father for over ten years. A Peterhead herring trawler, the *Ugievale*, carrying a load of sprats, got into trouble outside the harbour in the 1960s. It managed to evade the rocks but was swept onto the beach beyond and became a total loss. Fortunately, none of these harbour entrance wrecks involved loss of life. At least 5 seiners, 4 drifters, and 1 trawler were wrecked there outside the harbour mouth be-



tween 1919 and 1961.

Even when a boat enters safely in bad weather, the following sea, assisted by the vessel's speed, can sweep it up on to the spending beach ahead, before it can make the sharp turn into the inner harbour. This happened to the *Briar Rose*, and also to the *Strathyre* which broke away from its moorings inside the harbour during a winter storm. Both boats became total wrecks. The south pier wall has been breached more than once, and people have been known to be swept into the sea from there during severe weather.

To our left lies the fish market, - now deserted, but which for over half a century saw 9 or 10 sales a week of many hundreds of boxes of fresh fish, - chiefly haddock, but with lots of other species also on offer. Cod and whiting were plentiful at times, and minor species included plaice, lemon sole, prawns, skate, monkfish, hake, saithe, dogfish, and occasional halibut, turbot, and brill. The fish buyers who supported the fleet were mostly first class individuals though in the early days there were a few that manipulated auctions in their favour. Over 70 years ago my uncle Alex, stood here following such a sale, and approached a Prime Minister on one of his brief visits home, and asked for advice on how to deal with that problem. Ramsay

Macdonald advised him that the fishers would have to form their own association so they could negotiate with merchants from a position of unity and strength. It was not long after that we had our local fish producers' association formed and functioning.

At the west end of the market lies the "bunker", a meeting room for retired fishers. Just below where it stands there used to be a wooden market café that served the tastiest buttery rolls and tea I ever experienced. Countless skippers and buyers refreshed themselves there in between sales of their catches. Having visited fish markets on five continents, I can say that they have much in common. There is an atmosphere at an early morning fish market that is unique. Fishing boats lie side by side along the pier, boxes or tubs of fish are laid out neatly according to the species they contain and the boats they came from. Buyers, auctioneers, fishermen, merchants and lumpers who despatch the sold fish speedily on to lorries, mingle with each other in a jumble of seemingly random activity. The sale starts and proceeds with rapidity, and shortly

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after it is over, the last few boxes are removed, and the market floor hosed down to be clean for the next lot of fish landings.

Such was our fish market, but now all is silent. The last fish sale took place some 20 years ago. That was shortly after the structure was improved to conform to EC standards. But our government then introduced a 'designated ports' regulation that forbade the landing of fish at any but a small number of selected ports like Peterhead, Aberdeen, Hull, Grimsby and a few other favoured places. The very freedom to sell its produce was taken from our town. Scores of small harbours were similarly denied the right to operate. The measure also put dozens of local fish merchants and small processors out of business. When I was at sea Scottish boats could land their fish at any of over a hundred harbours. The government reduced that to a mere 19 designated ports for white fish. Four more were added in 2004.

The port once had some fine premises engaged in primary fish processing managed by merchants and buyers like John West, Jimmy and Peter Gault, Wiseman's, Edwards, and a number of smaller merchants we termed 'cadgers' who supplied local shops and restaurants. There were also a number of buyers who were agents of English fish merchants, and who purchased according to the needs of the southern markets. When landings were heavy I used to assist in John West's fish shed, packing and icing fish for transport south. This was usually on Friday evenings and Saturdays, although I had just completed a full week's work at sea. My co-worker there was a classmate, Lewis Smith who went on to be a skipper and who lost his life on the *Arcadia* off Lochinver in 1983.

We continue to the west side of the new harbour. The remains of a slipway are still there and behind it, what is left of four boatyards, which together built over 125 boats in 100 years. Two of the yards had a significant nautical history. Vessel types were designed and built there that were to dominate the Scots fishing fleets for over half a century each. The first prototype was launched in the late 19th century, and the second in the early 20th century. Together, these boats enabled Scottish fishers to prosecute the pelagic and demersal fisheries effectively and economically. The first was mainly used for drift netting and line fishing, and the second, for bottom seining, or Scottish seining as it came to be known to

differentiate it from the Danish technique. Both were built by the Wood family whose boatyards functioned from around 1875 till 1935. The boatyards that were the birthplace of these craft now lie derelict, as do the great yards that built the fishing schooners of the same period, over on the other side of the Atlantic. As we stroll over the ground where many a keel was laid, we can still pick up a few wood chips from the soil, and the odd rusting nail or bolt from the ground.

Fishing boats and coastal vessels were being built by the river mouth as far back as 1800, by a James Geddes. (Some records refer to the Geddes boatbuilder family as 'Geddie'). I am probably related to them since my mother's middle name was Geddes. By 1873 some 31 trading vessels had been constructed there, before the focus changed to the need for fishing boats which were to be built in large numbers.

At that time, the Moray Firth coast from Inverness to Fraserburgh had a large number of active boatyards. Around

1880 the Wood brothers had two yards in the Seatown by the river mouth, and three yards by the slipway on the west side of the harbour, where the Slater family later had their yard. The Woods built Scaffies in the 19th century. These were small open boats with rounded stems and raked sterns, designed mainly for line fishing. They had a short keel, 2 masts carrying a dipping lugsail and a mizzen

sail. The other main type of fishing boat on Scotland's east coast, was the Fifie which was better suited for drift net fishing, though not ideal. It had vertical stem and stern, and from the later 1800's were fully decked and of carvel planking. Fifies of up to 70 feet were fast sailboats.

In 1878 the first of a new generation of sail fishing boats was constructed here by Alexander Wood, to the order of one "Daad" Campbell. The vessel incorporated the best features of both the Fifie and the Scaffie, and soon proved to be more seaworthy and more acceptable, out-sailing and out-manoeuving the other boats. The new design had a vertical stem and steeply raked stern. They were of carvel planking and measured up to 80 feet in length, the bigger ones carrying a 60 foot mast. The first boat was named *Nonsuch*, and the design came to be known as the "Zulu", possibly an indication of Scots sympathy for the African tribe under pressure then from empire troops. I met Joe, a grandson of "Daad" Campbell, in Portland Oregon, 40 years ago. He was over 80

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years of age then, but could tell me how it was seaworthy features that determined the design, and not as some silly anecdotes have it, - a disagreement between 'Daad' Campbell and his wife. A newspaper report of September 1901 described the launch of a Zulu sailboat from one of the five Wood brothers yards: "There was launched on Friday from the yard of Mr John Wood (formerly the Geddes yard, in old Lossie), a fine Zulu boat of 80 feet, with a 60 foot keel and 20 feet of beam. The broadside launching into the river, witnessed by hundreds of spectators, was a great success. A beautiful specimen, she is the second boat to be built by this new Wood yard, and was constructed for owners in Cullen". The Zulu sailboat was to dominate the Scots fleet till sail was superseded by power in the form of steam drifters and trawlers, and by diesel engines from the 1920s. Some Zulus were motorised then and continued to operate till WWII.

The other significant prototype fishing boat was constructed by Wm Wood and Sons in 1927 for a member of the Daad Campbell extended family, 'Admiral' John Campbell. *The Marigold*, was the first custom-built seine net boat in Scotland, designed to use the new and dramatically efficient method of harvesting fish that swim near the sea bed, like haddock, cod, plaice and sole. It was built at the end of the steam drifter era and was fitted with a 3 cylinder Gardner semi-diesel engine. A single mast and a mechanical winch completed its deck fittings. The 50 foot, 36 hp *Marigold* performed well and set the pattern for similar vessels to be built in their hundreds in Scottish boatyards. A second similar vessel, the *Briar*, was built the following year for another local skipper, James MacLeod.

Seine netters, designed to fish with light nets and rope warps for all kinds of bottom fish, were to become the most common kind of fishing vessel in the country. From the 1930s till the 1980s, our port had 70 to 90 such boats, several of which fished much of the year on the west coast or out of Peterhead. Wood, Slater, and Dunn, another builder, were to complete 48 similar seine net boats before the end of the 1930s. By 1939 there were over 80 such boats operating from the port.

From 1900 to 1925 the Woods and Slaters boatyards also constructed 34 steam drifters of wood, each measuring over 80 feet in length. These steam powered vessels were fast and able to handle scores of large drift nets, and hold

over 200 crans of herring. (A cran was a measure of four herring baskets (in volume) and would approximate to 36 or 37 tons). But the steam drifter had a relatively short life due to the decline of the continental market for salt-cured herring between the wars, and to the rising cost of coal. By 1935 that once great fleet of herring fishers was redundant.

The German and Russian markets for salt herring had collapsed after WWI, and fishermen were finding the coal-powered drifter to be expensive to operate. A smaller more lightly powered fishing boat was needed, one that was more versatile and could target demersal fish with nets instead of lines, rather than pelagic fish like the herring. The seine netters and their gear were later contrasted with more powerful units they out-fished. Heavier otter trawls were often out-fished by the light bottom seine nets and this was described as "brute force out-matched by cunning". The late Aberdeen marine scientist, Bill Dickson, called the light seines and their rope warps, "the nearest thing to the dust-pan and brush in fishing". Today, with oil prices skyrocketing to unprecedented levels, and many boats tied up in port rather than operate at a loss, the need for economical fishing units is greater than ever. We need to recapture the simplicity and the "small is beautiful" approach of the Scots fishers of the 1920s and 1930s.

The Danish seine had been introduced to England after WWI by boats from Esbjerg which landed their fish in Grimsby. Scots fishers soon adopted the gear, and adapted it for greater versatility, by fly-dragging instead of anchor-dragging as the Danes did. This required the use of a strong 4 or 6 gear winch to draw in the mile to mile and a half of manila rope warp on each side of the net. For over 40 years these winches were made by David Sutherland engineers at their workshop once located across the road from the boatyard. That small but productive factory is now also gone.

South and west coast fishers tended to prefer Kelvin engines, but our fleet went wholly for Gardners which they regarded as the 'Rolls Royce' of marine diesel motors. (The Rolls Royce company actually did make a marine engine of the same size, but it was never a success like the workhorse Gardner). The local marine engineer business that serviced the fleet was that of Henry Fleetwood and his sons, John and Henry junior who gave sterling service to the port and who

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also made most of the stern gear (shafts and stern tubes) for Gardner powered boats in Scotland. Only in later years, when larger steel vessels required more power, were Caterpillar propulsion engines and Volvo auxiliaries installed in the fleet.

Following the retirement of the Wood family, the Slaters had the only boatyard until, after their passing, it was taken over by the Buckie Jones yard. Among the vessels constructed by the Slater family after the second world war were six seine netters with the attractive names of, Rival, Lodestar, Crusader, Unity, Diligence, and Better Hope. Sandy Slater, born 1858, took over the Slater boat building business on the death of his father in 1875 when Sandy was just 17 years old. He was still taking an active interest in the yard in his nineties, and lived to see his 99th birthday. The Slater slipway continued to serve the fleet after boat-building ceased there in 1951. Up to three vessels could be accommodated on it at any one time. As boys we enjoyed a trip "up the slip" or, more exciting, "down the slip", before and after the boats had their upper sides painted, and their hulls scrubbed clean of barnacles and algae, and coated with anti-fouling paint. A quaint steam engine was used to haul the slipway cradles up out of the water at high tide. It was a 'Heath-Robinson' machine that belched steam and uttered strange clanking noises! But it served well for as long as the slipway was in use. Such a pity it was not preserved as a museum exhibit.

The last boat to be built at our port was launched in 1980 from the Jones yard. The managing director of that yard gave a speech then urging the people to vote for the EU in a scheduled referendum. He saw membership of the European Union as the only hope for the future of fishing from our coasts. He could not have been more mistaken. Britain remained in the EU, and its Common Fisheries Policy was applied to the full, ultimately decimating the white fish fleet, and making their crews redundant. An EU MAGP programme was established to reduce the size of the entire EU fleet. Scotland was to have its fleet decimated over the years as fine vessel after fine vessel, with years of further possible service ahead of them, were sent to the scrap yard. A designated ports rule was introduced forbidding the landing and sale of fish at our harbour and other similar markets around the country. The last of the boats in our local fleet, once 70 vessels strong, were sold or decommissioned by the 1990s, and most of the active fishermen went to work on oil rig service ships. A hand-



ful of boats that remained continued to fish from other ports where fish landings were permitted.

The north side of the new harbour had an area where nets and gear were taken ashore during annual boat overhauls. You can still see some of the graffiti on the pier wall and bollards, where deckhands amused themselves with leftover paint. Also on that side was the box pool where hundreds of fish boxes were washed and scrubbed and piled in order for later collection. Each boat had its name and number painted or stamped on its boxes. Apart from herring in former days, which were put ashore basket by basket, all fish landed at our market were packed neatly in clean boxes. If the boat's trip was in summertime or had lasted more than 12 hours, then ice was also applied. Tripper boats spending four or five days at sea, would take from 3 to 6 tons of ice on board to keep the catch fresh.

We walk on towards the fine concrete tower at the west end of the north pier, from the top of which there is a magnificent view of the bay and the firth beyond. It is a favourite spot of mine.

To the east the port of Buckie is seen, a mere 20 miles away, and to the west and north-west lie Cromarty, Dornoch, Helmsdale and Wick, with the Orkney Islands visible on a particularly clear day. As small boys we fished there with little hooks and lines for young saithe and conger eels. In those days the fleet would not fish on Sundays. Crowds of people would throng the pier on Sunday summer nights to wave goodbye as the boats left port one by one after midnight. It was on such a memorable evening, a year after I left the sea, when I had my first date with the lovely lassie I was to marry. We joined the group of locals and summer visitors at the north pier, bidding farewell to the boats heading out to sea, - north and north-east to the dawn, and to the waiting fishing grounds.

But our community has long since bid its last farewell to the fleet. No fishing grounds await the boats over the horizon. The whole fleet has gone, - sold, decommissioned, scrapped, or otherwise put out of service before their time. More than a century of productive fishing activity and support industry is now a fading memory.

Huge fleets from a few big ports and other EU countries now harvest most of the fish wealth in our waters. Powerful large-impact boats whose owners have bought up quo-

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tas and licenses, now catch what several smaller seine netters would before. Despite all the official talk about conservation and an end to excess fishing pressure and environmental damage, the UK and the EU have pushed most of the small boats out of service and allowed the growth of a powerful fleet of fish catchers. More profits in fewer hands appears to be the goal. And from the perspective of Westminster or Brussels, if that means less employment and the decline of small fishing towns, so be it. Our governments are applying the modern economic concept of constant growth and bigger profits in fewer hands, to a sector which depends on the yields of mother nature which have distinct environmental limits, and that is a formula that eventually kills the goose that lays the golden eggs.

Some far-sighted observers saw the negative government attitudes long before they assumed the brazen destructiveness of the EU common fisheries policy. Peter F Anson, an Admiral's son from Portsmouth, was a Benedictine monk for 11 years, yet had a life-long interest in and love for fishermen, fishing boats, and fishing communities, and founded the Apostleship of the Sea in 1921. A gifted writer and artist, he set up the Society of Marine Artists. He wrote and illustrated 35 books, and was made a knight of the order of St Gregory in recognition of his marine work. His books cover marine art, the church and sailors, and harbours, boats, and fishermen from Brittany to the Shetland Isles. But it was Scotland's fisheries that absorbed most of his attention, and for most of his working life he lived on the Moray Firth coast. His drawings of sailboats, steam drifters and the early motor fishing vessels, are now a classic historical record, as are his descriptions of life on the fishing boats and in the coastal communities. Among his best known publications are : *Fishermen and Fishing Ways*; *Scots Fisherfolk*; and *Fishing Boats and Fisher Folk on the East Coast of Scotland*.

Comments made by Peter in 1971 (at the age of 82), have a strangely prophetic relevance to the situation we face today : "I described what is now a vanished world, for the fishing industry on the east coast of Scotland, and everything connected with it, have undergone tremendous changes. Fisheries are now concentrated in (a few) major ports; the numbers of fishermen and vessels have dropped to half what they were 40 years ago; and many of the harbours are now empty,

except for a few small yachts, and haunted by the ghosts of long-dead fishermen. Nevertheless, (Scottish) fishermen have preserved those qualities of sturdy independence and shrewdness which enable them to fight against the forces of nature as well as London bureaucracy, always trying to tie them up with 'red tape'."

Later we will speak about the financial losses many families suffered. Some fishers who invested a lifetime of work and savings into a fishing boat, found themselves unexpectedly excluded from their traditional fishing grounds. Non-quota species they intended to target had quotas suddenly placed on them, and the quotas given to foreign (EU) fleets. I know several who lost not only their boat, but their house and the little capital they had left. A number of such left the town, and some emigrated. In the 60 years between 1935 and 1995, my father and seven of my uncles and up to eleven

cousins or their sons, built and / or operated over 23 fishing vessels. These boats landed thousands of tons of prime food fish annually, and gave years of employment to scores of men. Yet not one of them, or any of their sons or grandsons, remains in the industry today, - no men and no boats.



My cousins and their sons were the last in seven generations of my extended family to serve in the industry. They did not leave willingly. They were betrayed and sold out by their own government.

Gazing north-west from the top of the pier, we can see across the Moray Firth to Caithness and Sutherland. The distinctive 700 metre mount of Morven rises above the other lesser hills. Referred to as "the main tap", it was used as a landmark by fishers before the advent of electronic navigation. Along the Caithness coast below, in the early 19th century, bands of tenant farmers, evicted by their greedy landlords, settled on tiny plots of land by the sea and sought a new source of livelihood. The writer Neil Gunn described their situation : "They had come from beyond the mountain (Morven) which rose up behind them, from inland valleys and swelling pastures where they and their people before them had lived from time immemorial. The landlord had driven them from these valleys and pastures, and burned their houses,

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and set them here against the sea-shore to live if they could and, if not, to die. ... Yet it was out of that very sea that hope was now coming to them. All along these coasts there was a new stirring of sea life. ... The people would yet live, the people themselves, for no landlord owns the sea, and what the people caught there would be their own."

But a new landlord did emerge, and has claimed the right to the sea's resources and the right to take the very freedom away, to harvest the sea before them. He took it away from those crofter villages that were settled after the Highland Clearances. And the same landlord has taken away the right to fish from my own community, and many coastal towns like it. The new landlord has given it to foreign fleets, or allowed it to be sold on the markets of greed and opportunism, like any other material commodity. In lands across the sea, a similar pattern has emerged, as monetarism and globalism triumph over all other considerations of social justice and preservation of our planet's life-support system.

Our little port remains, and retains some of the attractive features of a seaboard town. The fisher cottages have been modernised, and the former fish sheds and stores converted into or replaced by modern flats, houses, curio shops, or cafes. The harbour itself contains a fleet of small yachts which venture to sea only in fine weather. There is hardly any marine life or fish to be observed along the coast, only a few hardy limpets, mussels, and crabs. The inshore waters have become



largely sterile after half a century of growing contamination from domestic waste with its cocktail of chemicals and disinfectants our housewives have been persuaded must be applied in ever increasing strength to keep us clean.

Most of our young people leave home to seek work elsewhere after completing their education. Some who find employment in the offshore oil industry, are able to retain a home in the town, but commute each month to their work on the service vessels or oil rigs. The presence of a large RAF station has brought hundreds of service personnel into the locality. They and their families have maintained the local economy, and contributed to social life. The Virgin entrepreneur, Richard Branson, has even talked of using that air station or its environs for his planned commercial spaceship venture for wealthy and intrepid tourists.

In 1999 the Chief Executive of the Scottish Fisheries

Organisation, Iain MacSween said of the effect of the commercial trade in the very right to harvest fish, individual transferrable quotas, "ITQs will do for fishing what the Highland Clearances did for agriculture". Referring to the Clearances, a Scots Canadian, Hugh MacLennan, wrote in 1960, "Above the 60th parallel in Canada you feel

that nobody but God has ever been there before you; but in a deserted Highland glen you feel that everyone who ever mattered is dead and gone".

So far, everything in this Special Section C has been for the YES vote. If you wish to read about the NO vote, visit the address below:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/scottish-independence/11087302/Scots-wont-get-independence-from-a-Yes-vote.html>



The Scotland-UN Committee

Appeal to the US Congress to Support Scotland's Cause

From the very beginning the Scotland-UN Committee had a substantial number of members and supporters in the United States of America, some of them in very highly placed positions and all working at an advanced intellectual level.

These supporters were in a position to exert an influence in academic, political, governmental and similar circles, not least through discussions at conferences and social events. It was soon evident, however, that some form of backup was necessary in the form of written material that could be handed over to supplement conversations.

While knowledge of the close links between Scotland and the early history of the US is widespread in educated circles, this is mostly incomplete or in some cases inaccurate. It was therefore decided to spearhead the approach with a comparison between the democratic situation at the foundation of the United States and Scotland's existing democratic deficit, as well as stressing Scotland's enormous contribution to the creation of the American Union itself.

There was no mass distribution of this pamphlet, since it was intended as backup material to supplement initial verbal advances. The high aiming point was the members of the two Houses of the US Congress, but with the intention that it would also be used for similar purposes elsewhere. Scotland-UN also made approaches to US President Ronald Reagan personally, but this avenue proved less than fruitful at a time when the Reagan Administration was working hand in glove with the Thatcher regime in London.

The UK diplomatic representatives did everything possible to discount the Scotland-UN campaign, but they

were unable to prevent the countless seeds we planted from germinating in later years. The text of the paper is as follows:

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The United States of America is the world's leading democracy, a state that for more than two hundred years has been regarded as the global standard for republican government.

This is a matter of justifiable pride for all Americans. We in Scotland have no less justification for being proud of the American achievement, bearing in mind the enormous contribution that Scots have made to the founding of the US. May we therefore remind you very briefly of the considerable debt that the United States owe to Scotland in respect of the very formation of the Union?

It was the advanced social science taught in the Scottish universities that fuelled the American Revolution, when the works of Francis Hutcheson, David Hume, Adam Smith, Thomas Reid, Lord Kames and Adam Ferguson, to name only the most prominent among them, were the standard textbooks of the colonial colleges. At Princeton, at William and Mary, at Pennsylvania, at Yale, at King's and at Harvard, the young men who rode off to war in 1776 to fight against remote rule from London had been trained in the ideas developed by Scottish social and political science. A large number of these were, in fact, Scots of the first or second generations in America, as were their professors.

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We have not forgotten the considerable influence exerted by Scotland on the Constitution of the United States of America as it exists to this very day. There is no need to dwell on the considerable proportion of Scots among the Founding Fathers who met in Philadelphia in 1786, but we would point out specifically that it was the political philosophy of our own David Hume, as written into the Constitution by James Madison, that became the foundation of the present US federal system, and indeed of most civilized government in the world today. Who can overlook the contributions made by Scots of the first and second generations such as Principal Witherspoon, Alexander Hamilton, who in addition to founding the US Treasury elucidated the theory of the judicial review of legislation, or James Wilson, who took with him from Scotland to America the principle that We, the People, are the source of all power in the state?

The strength of our links is undeniable. There are reputedly 20 million people of Scottish descent in the USA, an ethnic element that, electorally and politically in general, is every bit as important as that of their first cousins, the Irish. There is scarcely a family in Scotland that cannot trace some relative in the States, and the course of American history is one gigantic roll call of famous Scottish names, whether they be direct emigrants like Andrew Carnegie, or descendants through several generations like Neil Armstrong.

In view of these links, we will not need to emphasize why the political welfare of the Kingdom of Scotland should be a matter of special interest to the USA of all states in the Western world. In particular, is a nation like Scotland, with a centuries-old tradition of this quality behind it, to be regarded as incapable of running its own affairs, as all other nations of its size in Europe have long since done? It is precisely this inviolable right - for it is by no means a mere privilege - that is now being denied to us, and moreover illegally.

This is the reason why we are asking for your personal help and support. We, too, are facing a situation of remote colonial rule, a situation in which not only the

rights of the Scottish people, but even the hard-won basic principles of democracy itself, are being trampled underfoot by an imposed illegal regime. For more than one hundred years we Scots have been attempting to have our ancient national Parliament recalled to deal with Scottish affairs, something to which we have a perfect right under international law and those principles enshrined by our forefathers and yours in the American Declaration of Independence.

During this century, literally dozens of bills and motions to this end have been defeated by one form of chicanery or another, were either ignored, refused time for discussion, killed by filibuster tactics, or simply voted down by the huge English majority of all parties in the Westminster Parliament, against the votes of the Scottish Members of Parliament. Is that what you understand by democracy?

Would you not agree with us that it amounts to blatant racist oppression, such as is supposed to have been banned by international law?

Has Scotland not as much right as any State of the American Union to its own legislature and government?

You are probably not aware that since long before the Second World War opinion polls have with monotonous regularity reported majorities of the Scottish people, bordering on unanimity, to be in favour of having their own legislature again.

Are you aware that in 1950 almost two and a half million out of three and a half million Scottish voters signed a National Covenant requesting the recall of the Scottish Parliament? Yet when the delegation arrived in London to present the petition all the government doors were contemptuously shut in their faces. Do you consider that to be justice? To say nothing of good manners and civility?

Our cultural and educational institutions, our economy and public life generally, are overrun by English carpetbaggers, while qualified Scots have to move abroad to get a living. Most of these colonists have no



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knowledge whatever of the innumerable unique aspects of the Scottish situation, and usually make no effort to find out about them before imposing their own cultural values, or lack of them, on Scotland. Never in the history of the British Union has Scotland been so delivered over to the mercy of arbitrary London rule which, when it is not imposing its will on the Scots out of a sense of imperialist superiority, does so with a childlike obliviousness to the mere possibility that another culture with a different scale of values could conceivably exist alongside its own.

In March 1979 a national referendum was held in Scotland to decide whether a certain scheme to set up a Scottish legislature was to be implemented. Despite the obvious weaknesses of the plan in question, this Scotland Act was adopted for implementation by the Scottish electorate, with virtually the same support that was given to membership of the European Economic Communities. It was a clear and constitutionally valid decision by the country's highest constitutional authority in favour of setting up the Scottish legislature, and one that stands for all time.

The implementation of the Scotland Act was subsequently supported by an overwhelming majority of more than two thirds of our elected representatives in a vote in the House of Commons, the usual standard for the adoption of a constitutional law. Despite this, the present United Kingdom Government, which has no mandate to govern in Scotland at all, pushed through a constitutionally meaningless "repeal" of the Scotland Act, with the use of their overwhelming English majority in the Westminster Parliament and against the bitter opposition of the Scottish Members of Parliament. In spite of their own solemn promises to set up a Scottish legislature with even stronger powers than those contained in the Scotland Act, they now flatly refuse to do anything at all to rectify the situation, which is one of the most blatant unconstitutionality.

Does this reflect the ideals that your forefathers and

ours fought for in 1776 and on many another occasion? Why did US armies take part in the last two world wars, if it was not just to banish such exploitation from the world?

The latest Scottish election results show that the Conservative Party is now as good as dead there, and the reason is not far to seek. Opinion polls show that well over 80 percent of the population want their ancient national Parliament recalled. The proportion that wants total independence from England is now over one third, and rising rapidly with every rejection of the more modest demands, and with every one of the increasingly oppressive actions by London against Scotland.

You are not dealing here with mere regional demands. Scotland is one of the world's oldest monarchies,



and was reputedly the first nation state in Europe. The ancient crown, sceptre and sword of state in Edinburgh testify to this, while the Parliament House of Scotland, built in 1632, testifies to this day to the antiquity of Scotland's tradition of democracy in a national Assembly for which a chronicler used the expression "parlament" as early as the year 1174. We are

sure you will agree that a dynastic marriage in the late Middle Ages between the Scottish and English royal families is no basis for determining the legislative structure in the late 20th century.

Many past and present members of the US armed forces will testify to the important role Scotland has in the Western defence system. But against what are we supposed to be defending ourselves? Against centralization, foreign rule and colonization, foreign control of the media, political brainwashing, autocracy, arbitrary rule, contempt for the democratic processes and the rule of law, or the systematic persecution of dissidents - in this case known advocates of autonomy for Scotland?

All this and more accurately describes the Scottish situation. We say to you frankly that if the Supreme Soviet were our legislator instead of the Westminster Par-

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liament, our subjection to an imperialist foreign rule could not be more complete, or our “democratic” system more of a sham. We state most firmly that our adherence to the Western way of life and to Western values is not in question, but we are not on this account going to permit ourselves to be condemned to a national serfdom without parallel anywhere else in the West. The threat to our way of life and to our very existence does not emanate from Moscow, but from London.

For this reason, a Scottish Constitutional Convention is being set up to draw up a scheme of government for Scotland without further reference to London.

As regards the justification for this step, we can do no better than refer you to the terms of a certain document drafted by Thomas Jefferson in 1776, and to the terms of reference of the Philadelphia Convention a decade later.

We know our rights, as your forefathers and ours did then, and we are going to have them, no matter what guile or force is used in the attempt to deny them to us.

In view of this, we feel we have the right, not merely to ask, but to expect the wholehearted support of the Members of the Congress of the United States of America, with whom we have so much in common. If, as seems increasingly likely, we are obliged to take unilateral action to realize our undeniable right to have our

ancient national legislature recalled, we trust that you and your colleagues will give Scotland that decisivesupport that Scotland gave America more than two hundred years ago.

After almost a century of attempts to resolve this



matter by democratic means, in the course of which no perversion of democracy and the rule of law has been considered unacceptable as a means of suppressing the movement for Scottish self-determination, who will deny that it is democracy itself that now waits blindfolded on the scaffold? Who is going to step in here and save, not merely Scotland, but democracy, if not America?



Is the principle of government of the People by the People, which was carried from Scotland to the New World more than two centuries ago,

now going to be allowed to perish in this part of the earth? Is America, the Land of the Free, going to stand idly by and watch this crime being committed against one of the peoples who gave it birth?

Members of the US Congress, Scotland is looking to you to save its very life!

In the name of the Scotland-UN Committee,

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