

**Final Degree Project:**  
**An Analysis of 5 Political Speeches in the**  
**Scottish Independence Referendum**  
**Campaign**

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## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 General Background and Importance of Speech Analysis

From Aristotle's *Rhetoric* to the thousands of more modern investigations that have been conducted in our days, the art of rhetoric and persuasion has fascinated many researchers and lay people for centuries. Studies have identified many techniques that can be used to improve our abilities in this field and others that had already been used (consciously or not) throughout the past decades. The contents of a speech and the way it is performed can often be the difference between success and failure at any moment of our professional or even personal lives.

However, there is an area of human society to which rhetoric has been strongly linked since Plato's age: politics. The art of convincing others that our ideas are truly valid and to gain their trust is essential for any politician who wishes to triumph over his or her rivals. No matter how much sense ideas might make or how right someone may be when stating something, if the information is not presented correctly and with the sufficient charisma, the chances of the politician in question triumphing are slim. Rhetoric and its use in politics will be one of the main topics in this Final Degree Project, but we will later focus on the role played by world and national history in speeches and politics in general, as well as the ways in which politicians used history to persuade the general public of their intentions.

The history of a country is an ever-present matter in its politics, whether it is explicitly mentioned or not in speeches. The past decisions taken by politicians or progress made thanks partly to a government affect our vision of current events and are often directly used in debates between two or more politicians to convince the public of the good work they have done or of the terrible effects the other party's policies have had on the economy, society... Life in itself is a constant process of present turning into history and becoming something that we often turn back to. The philosopher, Friedrich Nietzsche, who will again be mentioned later in this project, argued that "he (man) cannot learn to forget, but hangs on the past: however far or fast he runs, that chain runs with him" (Nietzsche, 1873: 5). Important events such as wars or radical changes in the political system can change a country forever and constantly hover over politics even when they are not mentioned in a particular speech. Would, for example, France be a similar country

to the one it is now if the French Revolution had not taken place? In fact, would Europe be the same? The answer would almost surely be “no” and, even though the French Revolution is not an every-day topic in French politics, it is part of the national identity and indirectly affects the way the general public perceives any political decision.

One hundred and fifty years later, Hitler’s manipulation of Germany’s historical past before, during, and after the First World War, in his attempt to influence Germans about the allegedly negative effect of the Jewish culture and population on society, was of capital importance and played a big role in the events that occurred later on during the Second World War. Hitler himself and the war he caused are now considered a turning point in the history of the twentieth century and changed European politics forever. In fact, the European Union was initially conceived as a way of preventing any further large scale confrontations in Europe, as we can see in certain parts of the Treaty of Rome signed in 1957. For example, the last paragraph of the second page of the Treaty states ‘RESOLVED by thus pooling their resources to preserve and strengthen peace and liberty, and calling upon the other peoples of Europe who share their ideal to join in their efforts’. It is also unquestionable that some contemporary historical events have influenced not only the country where they took place but the whole world, such as the attacks on the twin towers on the 11<sup>th</sup> of September. *The Guardian*’s front page the following day read “A declaration of war” and the Daily Telegraph’s front page of its special edition on the 12<sup>th</sup> September 2001 said simply “WORLD TERROR”.

## 1.2 Political Persuasion and Use of History in Speeches

If we look to the South of Europe, the current situation in the Spanish region of Catalonia can also be considered a clear example of the use of history in politics. In the speeches of regional President, Artur Mas, we often hear references to Catalonia’s demands to be an independent country based on its historical past. Whether or not that past is strictly true is irrelevant to this project; it serves as an example of how politicians use the past of their countries or regions.

Having mentioned examples of other countries or events that have affected whole continents or, in fact, the whole world, we would now like to focus on the United Kingdom and whether history has in any way shaped the country’s position in the world and politicians’ speeches and attitudes. The Second World War and, in particular, the figure of Winston Churchill appear frequently in British politics (although not always

explicitly mentioned). Churchill famously used the expression “we shall not waver, we shall not fail” during a live radio broadcast on the 9<sup>th</sup> of February 1941 and on other similar occasions. Only in the last few years, we can find several examples of politicians both outside and inside the UK imitating Winston Churchill in their speeches. George Bush famously said “We will not waver, we will not tire, we will not falter, we will not fail”, after the already mentioned attack on the twin towers when addressing the U.S. Congress on the 2nd September 2001 and, in the UK, Gordon Brown declared in 2009: “I will not waver, I will not walk away” in the middle of a leadership crisis which would ultimately result in the Labour Party losing the year General Election. Both are clear examples of how, without mentioning Churchill or even the Second World War, Blair and Bush used one of the most famous characters in European history to add meaning to their speeches.

### 1.3 Project Objectives

Finally, and also within the UK borders, we come to the main item of analysis of this Final Degree Project: whether Great Britain’s history has played any role in the recent Scottish independence referendum. To determine whether the past events occurred in this region have had any importance and how big that influence has been, it is also necessary to analyse some of the key speeches given in relation to the Scottish referendum by several politicians. Therefore, the discourse analysis of these speeches must include the identification of persuasion techniques or any means used by the speaker to convince the audience, and the inclusion of historical elements which may imply that the past can be an important factor that could determine the outcome of the voting process.

## **2. Theoretical Framework and State of the Art**

## 2.1 Speech Discourse Analysis

The question of how language is influenced by society and how society can be influenced by the language we use has been frequently studied. Gumperz (1968) tried to redefine the concept of a speech community by arguing that interaction is the key factor and that no given community can establish a single speech variant. However, there are ways of analysing speech or establishing specific techniques which can allow us to influence other people's opinion and can be used by politicians and people in general to convince others of their ideas.

Laver and Benoit (2003) explained some of the traditional and modern methods of speech or text analysis are explained in their introduction. Certain methods analyse texts which are really political speeches that have then been turned into written words to facilitate their analysis. The two traditional analysis methods are based on text coding, either manually or with the help of computers using techniques of content analysis (Laver and Benoit, 2003: 1-2). The two authors of this text then came up with a rather complex method of content analysis, by which discourse and texts are not elements that must be understood or interpreted, but simply a collection of words as data. Using word frequencies and a series of predefined issues, policy positions can be extracted from any given text or written speech (Laver and Benoit, 2003: 2).

Relation between speech analysis and politics was proved, amongst others, by John and Jennings (2010: 577-578) whereby they establish a relation between policy agendas in British politics and the Queen's annual speech at Parliament. The authors analyse the topics mentioned during the speech, the time dedicated to them and the words related to those topics that are used in the speech, and find the percentage changes from one year to another depending on the particular circumstances given that year. For example, there was a 490 per cent increase in attention to energy after the 1973 oil price crisis.

However, there is an obvious problem with these two speech analysis methods: they analyse the speaker's words, but not the way in which he expresses his ideas. In other words, they analyse *what* is said, but not *how*. Considering the amount of research that has been undertaken into the different possible methods of persuading an audience that the speaker's ideas are the right ones, it is just as important to know what is being said as it is to know the way in which the information is presented to the people listening.



## 2.2 Persuasion Techniques

We cannot speak about rhetoric and persuasion without mentioning one of the foremost experts in this field: Robert Cialdini, who established six principles which could be used for persuasion not only in politics and speeches, but also in common life and in marketing situations. They are summarised by Douglas Waldon (Waldon, 2007: 24-25) with the first principle being consistency, a technique by which one of the two speakers of an argument begins by making the other speaker commit to something that he will later use against him to try to make him reach the conclusions that he wanted him to reach from the beginning. This technique obviously cannot be applied to one person's speech, but it is often used in political debates.

A technique which is also closer to debates and social life than speeches is reciprocity. This consists of giving the other person something in advance to make him feel as if he owes us something, and that way it will be easier to convince that person of our ideas or proposals further along in the conversation. Social proof is a way of convincing others that we are giving a valid reason to do something and for them to go along with it, when in fact it may not be a convincing reason at all. The pressure to go along with any given social group is also key to this technique. Going along the same line of techniques which may also be applied to other circumstances in life, liking is perhaps the most general of the six principles. It is basically the attitude the listeners have towards the speaker because they like him (or not, if the technique is not applied) and gives the speaker an edge when addressing the people surrounding him.

The fifth principle, authority, is often used in any kind of speech and politics in particular. It means stating that a person regarded as an expert in that given matter is in harmony with our ideas, or even to use our own position as an expert to persuade the other speaker to do something. For example, in a speech about austerity, Spanish Prime Minister, Mariano Rajoy, may mention several economists who agree that the path towards economic growth over the last years was indeed austerity, whereas Pablo Iglesias, leader of the recently created anti-austerity party *Podemos*, would do the same with other economists who believe the contrary.

Scarcity is the sixth technique which will be mentioned in this Final Degree Project because it is the least relevant to our analysis, given that it is relevant mainly for a person's social life and not for speeches or political debates. It means convincing the other person

that what he wants is in short supply, thus making it more probable that he will immediately want to have it even if he has to pay a higher price for it (Cialdini: 1993).

### 2.3 Manipulation or Use of History in Politics

We arrive at the most specific point of analysis in our project. Not general persuasion or speech analysis, but the use of a particular element: history. As we have already discussed in the introduction of this project, our past constantly influences our present or future actions and decisions. Friedrich Nietzsche identified three ways of looking back at our past and changing how we view it. He named the first of them “The monumental method”, consisting of glorifying the past by distorting it and creating something that, in truth, did not really exist in such a way. If used in a daily-life context, it is the idea of the grass always being greener on the other side of the fence applied to history. According to Nietzsche, such a view would make the individual’s happiness impossible, given that he is constantly returning to the past and comparing it with his present. However, if applied to the world of politics, this view can be used in a very different way. Governments can compare the current situation of a country to another glorified era and try to draw similarities between one and another or argue that their current regime is based on that particular period of time. It is the method often used by dictatorial regimes, who claim to be inspired by some well-known historical character or government, who is then glorified in orchestrated campaigns. The best example of this method still being used nowadays would be the North Korean government and their glorification of its past two leaders, Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il, in order to sustain the absolute power that the current “supreme leader”, Kim Jong-un, holds.

The Antiquarian Method is similar to the Monumental in the sense that it admires the past, but in more precise in how it does so. An Antiquarian point of view of history considers that traditions and lines of thought must be preserved, but does not exaggerate events or situations that occurred in the past. This kind of view can be used to convince others that our opinions are valid simply because they correspond with what has been customary until that moment. Nietzsche is critical of the Antiquarian Method because it obstructs development and halts society at a particular point in time. The third and last method observed by Nietzsche is the Critical Method. The philosopher is clearly in favour of this method and generally believes that being critical of our history and past can improve our present. If applied to politics, this method is also often used to condemn the

actions of other governments, building the idea of a terrible past in which the opposition party ruled and wrecked the country and comparing it to the wondrous world the current government has created. (Nietzsche: 1873)

Having now examined three ways of looking at history established by Nietzsche in the nineteenth century, we will now give some of the numerous reasons given to argue that our past is always, in one way or another, part of the national identity of a country and that it shapes the present ideas of any nation. “Mapping history onto territory” is a crucial part of nationalism for any country or any region that aspires to be a country. (Boyarin: 1994). The use of particular places and characters as symbols of nationalism is a recurrent method throughout history and cannot be ignored in the particular case that our project will analyse in more detail: Scotland. For example, the Battle of Bannockburn (1314), an important episode in the First War of Scottish Independence and ultimately won by the Scottish army, led by Robert the Bruce, is remembered annually at the Bannockburn rally, which is often attended by Scottish nationalist politicians. None other than Alex Salmond, leader of the Scottish National Party from 1990 to the year 2000 and again from 2004 to 2014, declared at the Bannockburn rally in 1992 that “the power of the ordinary Scot” would prevail, just as it had, in his opinion, in the Battle of Bannockburn seven centuries before. It is worth pointing out that medieval battles, including this particular one, were usually fought out by knights and nobles and not “the ordinary Scot”. The places where the deeds of some of these historical figures were carried out, both in Scotland and in other countries, are often used as tourist sites which not only implant a collective sense of historical memory inside the country, but also export that particular way of telling a historical event to other parts of the world. The manners in which these events are told are often supported by the opinion of historical experts, who will obviously view and interpret specific passages of history in different ways depending on their political ideology. (Edensor, 1997: 182-187).

Scottish nationalism in this sense can be considered fairly common, considering that all countries and many regions have their own chapters of the past to which they often turn and that help build a feeling of national or regional identity. However, use or manipulation of the past may become a more complex matter when the history of a country not only does not help build a sense of belonging and contribute with positive social values but, in fact, has the opposite effect. The recent history of Germany poses an interesting situation as to how that complicated past should be managed. Post-war Germany and most of

Europe have adopted the values enshrined during the punishing process of those responsible for the Nazi rise –that is, the Nuremberg trials– as universal truths and values that must be respected, and installed a collective feeling of remorse in Germany. The result is that the defence of the principles that were not respected during the convulsive period of the country’s past are now the values on which some of the country’s politics and collective ideology are based (Olick, J.K.: 2007).

### **3. Materials and Methods**

#### **3.1 Materials**

The materials analysed for this project are a series of speeches from three of the most important political figures in relation to the Scottish referendum which took place on the 18<sup>th</sup> September 2014: leader of the Scottish National Party Alex Salmond, Prime Minister and leader of the Conservative Party David Cameron, and leader of the Scottish Conservatives Ruth Davidson. The order in which they are presented in the results section of this project follows a timeline, beginning almost a year before the referendum and ending ten days after the vote was cast, in an attempt to help the reader follow the events that occurred over that period of time. We start off just six months after the Scottish government announced when and how the referendum would take place, and finish with two speeches that summarise the outcome of the voting process.

##### **3.1.1 Alex Salmond Speeches (October 2013- September 2014)**

Alex Salmond was the leader of the Scottish National Party from 1990 to the year 2000 and again from 2004 up until his resignation in 2014, which he announced only one day after the Scottish referendum. He was also First Minister of Scotland from 2007 to 2014 and a Member of Parliament for over twenty years. As such, he is arguably the most influential Scottish nationalist of the past decades and the politician who led Scotland to its referendum.

The first of his two speeches that are discussed in this project was delivered in October 2013, six months after the date for the referendum was officially released. With still a year to go until that date, the most striking part of the speech related to this field is not any proposal, but the slightly emotional and appealing last phrases, clearly based on a Hollywood version of a Scottish historical event.

Alex Salmond's second analysed speech (the third in the running order of this project when the speeches are discussed in detail) took place at the International Press Conference on the 11<sup>th</sup> September 2014, seven days before the referendum. This is a longer and less straight-forward speech which will need to be looked at more carefully later on in this project and which was chosen to express the state of affairs from the nationalists' point of view only a week before voting on independence.

### 3.1.2 David Cameron Speeches (February 2014-September 2014)

David Cameron has been the leader of the Conservative Party since 2005 and is the current Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. In 2012, he agreed to allow the Scottish government to hold a referendum on whether Scotland should remain part of the United Kingdom. Therefore, the referendum was a politically crucial event for the Conservative Cameron, who constantly reminded the Scottish throughout the two years from 2012 to 2014 that the UK and Scotland are, in his view, stronger if they remain together. In fact, the Prime Minister described the "lead-up to that referendum" as "the most nerve-racking week of my life" during his speech at the Conservative Party Conference on 28<sup>th</sup> September 2014.

David Cameron's speech on 7<sup>th</sup> February 2014, to be examined in second place further on, includes many historical references and reminds the Scottish people of the centuries that they have spent in the United Kingdom, presenting that relationship as a positive one for both countries and therefore asking the Scottish to preserve the Union. It is a speech that mixes specific and objective reasons for Scotland to vote "no" with a more emotional approach in many parts of it. A short part of his speech at last year's Conservative Party Conference is also analysed. This is a much longer speech which does not only include on the Scottish question, but also on many other topics of the current political situation in the United Kingdom that are not relevant to this project, and we have therefore focused on Scotland and the historical references made in the speech.

### 3.1.3 Ruth Davidson Speech (September 2014)

The fourth speech to be part of this Final Degree Project was delivered by Ruth Davidson, leader of the Scottish Conservative Party and Member of Scottish Parliament since May 2011, despite having only taken up politics in 2009 after working for the BBC. She was elected as the leader of the Scottish Conservatives only six months later, in a hard-fought

process that threatened to tear up the party, with her rival Murdo Fraser suggesting the party should be split and a new centre-right party should be created in Scotland. Davidson was understandably the Westminster government's favourite candidate and was recently described by party leader David Cameron as "a new star that had been born" after her victory in that voting process and the "no" result in the Scottish referendum.

Davidson's particular speech discussed in this project took place at the Conservative Party Conference on 28<sup>th</sup> September 2014, exactly ten days after the referendum. A happy Ruth Davidson explains her views on what has occurred and why the final result should be considered satisfactory and could create a better Scotland. The history of the country and the way it is presented by one side and another is also mentioned at the beginning of the speech. This speech takes place on the same day and in the same place as David Cameron's second discussed speech, and it serves the purpose of summarising all that has happened throughout the referendum campaign and its final outcome.

### 3.2 Methods and Analysis

Two are the main talking points in the analysis of the speeches previously described. This Final Degree Project focuses on discussing these two fields and not on the political views or proposals expressed in those speeches.

#### 3.2.1 Persuasion Techniques

The persuasion techniques or ways used by Salmond, Cameron or Davidson to convince the Scottish or British public of their ideas are the first of those two areas. We have mainly searched through the speeches for any of the techniques described by Cialdini (1993), as well as applied a simplified version of John and Jennings' method (2010), as explained in the Theoretical Framework.

#### 3.2.2 Inclusion of Historical Data

The role played by history in politics is another of the mentioned topics in this project, and the second point of analysis in these speeches. We have searched not only for specific moments when a historical event is mentioned, but also for moments when past events or the history of the country in general are implied to be of importance. We have also scanned the speeches to see if the ideas expressed by Nietzsche (1873), Edensor (1997),

or any other author mentioned in the theoretical framework were present in any of them, whether explicitly or not.

## **4. Results**

### 4.1. Speech Analysis

We now begin a more detailed analysis of the five speeches that have been selected for this Final Degree Project. As has already been explained, the running order simply follows a timeline and does not imply that the first or last speeches to be examined are of more or less importance than the others. The actual analysis of each speech is not divided into different sections (history, persuasion, policies...), but also follows the same order as the original speech, so as to make it easier for the reader to follow the analysis together with the speech and become aware of the way the ideas progress throughout the speech. Every speech also includes a graph at the end of it, summarising the importance the speaker has given to the four main areas of analysis of this project: historical elements, persuasion, emotional aspects and explanation of possible future policies. After discussing each speech individually, we will give account of the similarities and differences we have observed and attempt to discuss the reasons that have caused them.

#### 4.1.1 Alex Salmond (17<sup>th</sup> October 2013): “If not us, then who? If not now, then when?”

The first of our speeches is a curious case in which Alex Salmond finishes his speech at his party’s conference at Perth in 2013 by taking a very similar line to one of the most famous speeches in the Hollywood film, *Braveheart*, directed by Mel Gibson. Salmond’s ending to his speech is based on the speech that, in the film, William Wallace delivers to the Scottish army before the battle of Stirling. The Scottish are far fewer than the British and worse equipped for battle, but do not flee because of Wallace’s speech and win at Stirling. In the film, Wallace asks the army to think about the moment they are in their dying beds and how, according to him, they “would give anything to have one chance, just one chance, to come back here and tell our enemies that they may take our lives but they will never take our freedom”. Salmond does not go as far as asking his fellow party members to think about the moment of their deaths, but speaks of what “generations of unborn Scots will say about this moment”, and asks his audience to “grasp the opportunity of a lifetime” and not to “wake up on the morning of the 19<sup>th</sup> September and ask ourselves what might have been”. The “dying beds” is changed for the morning after the

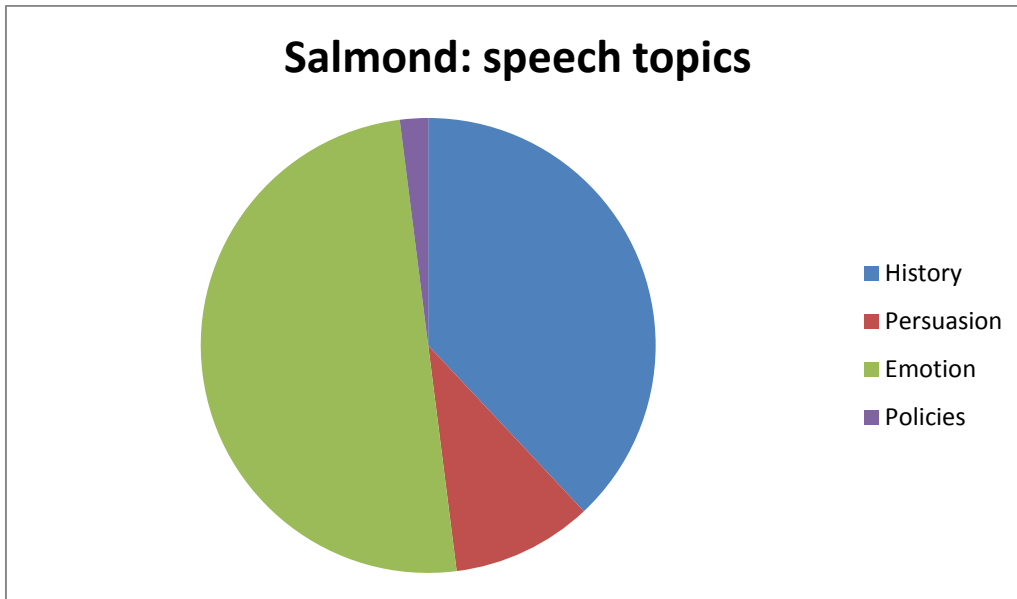
referendum, but there is a clear similarity. Salmond then continues along the same line by asking “if not us, then who? If not now, then when?” Salmond’s view is also an interpretation of Cialdini’s scarcity technique, reminding his people that this is a rare chance that will probably not come their way again and that must be taken now if they are to achieve their goal.

At first glance, Salmond’s speech may be considered an example of one of the aspects mentioned in the theoretical framework: making use of a historical figure without explicitly mentioning him, just like Gordon Brown or George Bush did with Winston Churchill. However, we must ask ourselves whether a speech from a Hollywood film directed by Mel Gibson can be considered historically accurate and, therefore, whether the real William Wallace truly said those words. The answer, almost without a trace of doubt, would be that it is extremely unlikely that the real Wallace gave that speech to his troops before the Battle of Stirling or, indeed, before any battle. Gibson’s version of William Wallace is based on a poem, written in the 15<sup>th</sup> century by a wandering minstrel called Blind Harry and depicts a heroic Wallace who leads the Scots to victory and frees them from the tyranny of the English, but is by no means a historically accurate account of the Battle of Stirling or of the events that had taken place two centuries before. The poem was written during a period in time of strong anti-English feeling and contains many other literary elements that do not necessarily correspond with reality, such as Wallace as the leader of an army that reaches the outskirts of London (Kelly: 2004).

We must conclude that the final minute of Alex Salmond’s speech eight centuries after William Wallace and his fellow Scots achieved victory at Stirling cannot strictly be considered to be using history to influence the audience given that the original speech that he is imitating most probably only occurred in fiction, but that the leader of the Scottish National Party almost certainly attempted to evoke memories of William Wallace, even if the widely spread image of the legendary warrior does not completely correspond with who and how he really was. It could also be argued that Salmond is taking part in the use of the Monumental Method (Nietzsche: 1873) to glorify the image of Wallace and use it to his advantage. The variety of speech topics used in this Referendum speech given by Alex Salmond are shown in Graph 1.

Graph 1: Topics in Alex Salmond’s Scottish Independence Referendum Speech (17th October 2013)





4.1.2 David Cameron (7<sup>th</sup> February 2014): “In the darkest times in human history, there has been, in the North Sea, a light that never goes out”

The first of Prime Minister David Cameron’s speeches took place at the Lee Valley VeloPark, where, two years earlier, Great Britain had won three Olympic gold medals. Cameron speaks approximately three months after the date for the referendum had been officially announced and with just over seven months to go until the voting. The speech is mainly emotional rather than rational, concentrating on the bonds that have been created over the years between the Scottish and the rest of the British people. Almost from the beginning, Cameron takes to reminding his audience of the years Scotland and the rest of the United Kingdom have spent together with the phrase “centuries of history hang in the balance”, already underlining the importance that relationship has had in the past and the role that history would play in the upcoming referendum campaign. Again, when Cameron begins his list of four main reasons for which he believes it will be better for everyone in the United Kingdom if Scotland stayed inside it, the first of them is the “connections with each other” built “over three years of living together” and mentions how his own surname goes back to the West Highlands. Almost straight after introducing the subject of the countries’ joint history, he continues with the phrase “Millions of relationships woven tight over three centuries”. Here, Cameron becomes slightly more specific about the history he is referring to. Obviously, he is not going back to the wars of independence or the coming and going of some border territories throughout the

centuries, but to the many bonds that have been created in the more recent past and to how Scotland and England have helped each other over the last three hundred years: their joint role in the Second World War, the economic help received from England after the Darien Scheme disaster, when Scotland was left in a critical state after spending much of the Kingdom's money on an attempt to establish a colony close to what is now Panama, but was quickly thwarted by the Spanish Empire... In fact, Cameron explicitly mentions the most important historical event which tied Scotland and England for the following years and right up until this moment of time: the Acts of Union. That is the moment when, after centuries of wars and different periods of time in which England and Scotland were sometimes part of the same country and separated at other moments, both governments agreed to the signing of a completely peaceful treaty, not related to the circumstances of any war, but to the desire of joining forces in order to become a greater and more powerful country.

The following paragraphs are an interesting mix of the future and the past. First, Cameron reminds the people of the UK of some of the benefits of being the United Kingdom being what it is, in what we might consider a use of Cialdini's reciprocity: give other people something in advance (or, in this case, remind them of what they have been given in the past) to make them feel like they owe you something or that they may lose what they have if they don't give the speaker what he wants (in this case, a "no" vote in the referendum) (Cialdini: 1993). The Prime Minister explains his plan for the future of the United Kingdom based on the positive aspects of the past: "Scotland's *historic* universities, the power of collaboration... it is there in our *past*." Cameron also goes back to the Enlightenment in Scotland and the industrial revolution, and again underlines the importance of the power of collaboration.

In the next part of the speech, which Cameron labels as reason number three for Scotland and the UK to remain together, he explains how he believes the rest of the world perceives the United Kingdom and heaps praise upon several cultural aspects of the country and its general values, reflecting a great national pride. It is interesting that, once Cameron gets through this part, he states that it is not really all about what he has said up to that moment and gives examples of all that the United Kingdom has achieved in the past: "the slave who escaped his master after the American Revolution because he was offered liberty and land by the British crown... Lord Lovat on the beach on D-Day," (the day when the tide of the Second World War was turned and the allies began to retake France) "the bagpipes

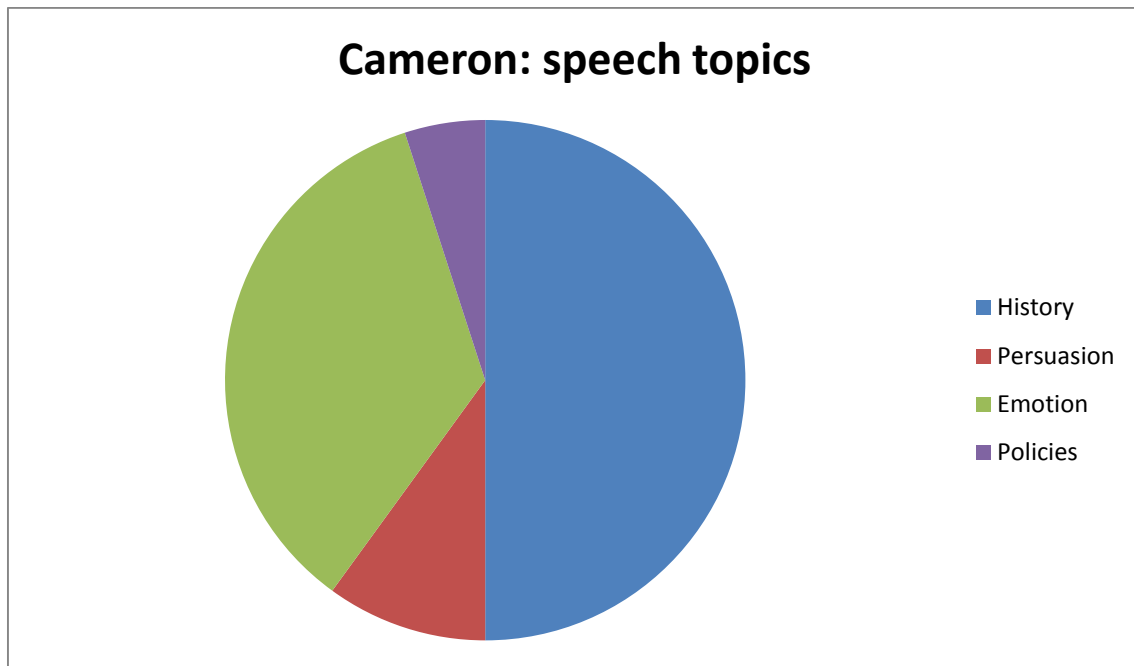
playing as his brigade landed ashore... grey ships ploughing through those grey seas for 8,000 miles to the Falkland Islands". Cameron goes as far back as the 18<sup>th</sup> century to provide examples of how the UK, in his opinion, has aided people from all over the world over the past centuries. Of course, D-Day is probably the greatest modern supporting example of this idea, and Cameron chooses to mention Lord Lovat, 1<sup>st</sup> Commando Brigade who freed the Eastern side of Sword Beach on the famous 6<sup>th</sup> of June 1944, together with his troops and his personal piper, playing Scotland the Brave (Fraser: 2014). Last but not least, Cameron also reminds all listeners of a more recent victory on the battlefields, the Falklands war in 1982, which was concluded in just over two months and which meant a big triumph for the Conservative government of Margaret Thatcher.

After those examples, the Prime Minister confesses that is why he is standing there giving this speech: for the shared values of the country, like freedom, solidarity and compassion. Just as we have been arguing since the introduction of this project, the conservative leader says that "these values, they're not trapped in the pages of a history book— they're alive." History has created those values, which have now been adopted by society as those that should shape the country. In other words, David Cameron acknowledges that the history and the past of the United Kingdom have shaped the country, and its traditions, beliefs and values, in accordance with the theories of Boyarin (1994) or Edensor (1997). Nonetheless, Cameron could be accused of taking a rather "Monumental" view (Nietzsche: 1873) of the past by glorifying the way the United Kingdom is perceived from the outside and concentrating on the positive aspects of the interrelation between Scotland and the rest of the UK and overlooking the more controversial and sometimes violent episodes, such as the wars of independence.

The final stages of David Cameron's speech continue along the same line: the link between the country's values and all that has been achieved together throughout its history. From Nelson Mandela in the Pretoria Supreme Court praising the British Parliament in 1964 ("I regard the British Parliament as the most democratic institution in the world") to the "hope that the UK has given people down the centuries", the Prime Minister argues that the UK's values "are of value to the world". According to Cameron, who by this stage is applying a Monumental view of history (Nietzsche: 1873) beyond any reasonable doubt, "in the darkest times in human history, there has been, in the North Sea, a light that never goes out", obviously referring to the UK. It is interesting that Cameron then decides to risk Cialdini's liking technique (Cialdini: 1993) by stating that

the issue is personal for him. He even admits that some people have advised him not to get too sentimental about the referendum, thus acknowledging that, when using the liking technique, much depends upon whether the listener has a good opinion of the speaker or not. Therefore, the final paragraphs are a passionate plea for the people of the United Kingdom to stay united and not to tear apart all that has been built with the effort of the Scots, Northern Irish, Welsh and English. Perhaps Cameron's speech, and in fact the idea that we wanted to transmit about this particular speech, can be summarised with two phrases from his last few seconds on stage: "seven months to save the most extraordinary country in history" and "Team GB. The winning team in world history. Let us stick together for a winning future too". The Prime Minister asks the citizens of his country to remember all they and their ancestors have done together throughout the country's history, including the values they have created and now share, and to take the example of the past to continue building the future he would like. Graph 2 shows the variety of topics found in Prime Minister, David Cameron's speeches.

Graph 2: Topics in David Cameron's Scottish Independence Referendum Speech (7th February 2014)



4.1.3 Alex Salmond (11<sup>th</sup> September 2014): “For the first time in Scottish history, we the Scottish people hold our destiny in our own hands”

Exactly a week before the Scottish independence referendum, Alex Salmond spoke at the International Press Conference and delivered a speech completely focused on that particular issue. In the speech, the leader of the Scottish National Party had the chance, as he said, to speak to an audience of journalists from all around the world. This is one of his last big chances to call for a “yes” vote in the referendum, and Alex Salmond touched all related topics, as well as attacking “the Westminster Establishment” for trying to prevent Scotland from becoming an independent country.

After thanking some of the members of the SNP present at that moment, Salmond proceeded to introduce the topic by stating that “since 1945, 142 countries have chosen independence, and the remarkable thing about each and every one of these countries is that no one has ever asked to give up their independence”. From the very beginning, Salmond cites history as an element that must be looked back to in order to understand the present and predict what may happen in the future. On this occasion, it is not even the history of Scotland or the UK, but the history of many other countries that have walked the path to independence. Immediately after, Salmond says that Scotland “is on the cusp

of making history”, of adding another name to the list of countries who have created their own history.

Salmond then dives into attack against the Conservative government of David Cameron, but soon returns to the subject of history by reminding his audience that that day is the seventeenth anniversary of the restoration of the Scottish Parliament, in 1997. This crucial moment in the history of Scotland and devolution in the UK occurred nearly three centuries after it had been abolished, when the Kingdom of Scotland and the Kingdom of England were joined thanks to the Acts of Union. Growing pressure from the nationalists, and in particular the SNP, finally caused Tony Blair and his Labour Party to allow a referendum when they were elected in the 1997 General Election. The Scottish voted in favour of reestablishing a Scottish Parliament, and some powers were transferred from Westminster to Scotland two years later, in 1999. The matter of just how much power that Scottish Parliament should have has also caused many controversial debates, and is in fact the main discussion point now that the independence referendum is over. All parties, including the Cameron’s Conservative Party, have expressed their view that the devolution process should continue, although it is not yet clear exactly which further powers will be transferred to the Scottish Parliament. To emphasise the relation Salmond believes should exist between one referendum and the other, he mentions Canon Kenyon Wright, “a man known across the political spectrum as the architect of devolution and hugely respected”, and how he has been campaigning for a “yes” vote all along. Kenyon Wright was chairman of the Scottish Constitutional Convention and took part in the publication of a blueprint for devolution, which later became the basis for the restoration of the Scottish Parliament (Hunter: 2014). He could therefore be considered a key player in Scotland’s devolution process and an expert on the topic (especially from a Scottish nationalist point of view), and this constitutes a first clear use of Cialdini’s authority technique (Cialdini: 1993), which Salmond will repeat again further along in the speech. The importance of the Scottish Parliament in Scotland’s recent history is underlined by Salmond, mentioning political measures such as “removing tuition fees and defending a public national health service”.

“For the first time in Scottish history, we the Scottish people hold our destiny in our own hands”. With that phrase, Salmond begins the next part of his speech and summarises the view of Scotland’s past that he wants to transmit: a region oppressed by the English which finally has the chance to free itself from the grasp of the Westminster government and

become an independent country. The leader of the Scottish National Party then returns to a similar line to the one already examined in his speech on 17<sup>th</sup> October 2013, speaking about how the Scottish will feel “when they wake up on 18<sup>th</sup> September” and whether they will have taken their biggest opportunity in history or not: similarities with the speech of Mel Gibson’s Wallace, the use of the scarcity technique...

Salmond then enters a praising phase of his speech in which he details some of the many strengths of Scotland and boosts the Scots’ belief that they could survive on their own. It is only a minute later when Salmond returns to the topic of the past by stating his opinion that Scotland must not go back to a time when “a hundred thousand additional children will be put into poverty... a country where people feel their views don’t count and they get governments in election after election that Scotland did not vote for... where the mass of potential of so many Scots is wasted”. Unsurprisingly, Alex Salmond takes completely the opposite view of Scotland’s past to the enshrined vision that David Cameron offered on 7<sup>th</sup> February of that same year and describes Scotland’s situation over the past years in a Critical Manner instead of taking the Monumental View (Nietzsche: 1873). After explaining his view of the country’s past, Salmond continues with the parallelism we have observed both in his speech and in Cameron’s: to mix the past with the future or, in this case, to compare. Whereas Cameron used the past to show his listeners that, if they continued along the same line and stayed united in one same country, everything could continue to improve, Salmond depicts a completely different and positive picture for the future which can be achieved, in his opinion, with a “yes” vote, although he does slightly reduce the impact of this image of a perfect country by admitting that Scotland would not “turn into a land of milk and honey”. Without explicitly mentioning the past or the future, Salmond’s next minute is still a parallelism between “what is and what has been” and “what will be” if Scotland became an independent country: when the leader of the SNP says “I believe, unlike Mr. Cameron...” he is positioning himself as the leader of that better future he has previously described, and Cameron as the representative of that obscure past to which the nationalists do not want to return. In fact, Salmond uses the word “contrast” as many as three times over the next minute, on the subject of the Conservative Party and Cameron’s attitude towards Scotland.

Furthermore, Alex Salmond goes back into the attack against Cameron by accusing his government of leaking “market-sensitive information” and again uses the authority technique by reading out a statement written by the Chief Executive Officer of the Royal

Bank of Scotland, Ross McEwan, explaining that a “yes” vote for independence would not affect “every-day banking services... and that it is not the bank’s intention to move operations or jobs”. Salmond feels obliged to address the possible problems related to the Royal Bank of Scotland, given that, in the weeks and months leading up to the referendum, there were many rumours about how independence would financially affect Scotland and the Scots who work in the banking sector.

The last three minutes of the First Minister’s speech become more emotional, with Salmond praising Scotland’s abilities and strengths, and stating that independence is above all individuals. He also says the previous two weeks “have been the most momentous in Scottish democratic history”, again reinforcing the idea that the referendum is the turning point in Scotland’s history. Again, he mentions Canon Kenyon Wright, and dedicates almost the last minute of his speech to remind his audience of past similar events: the 1979 devolution referendum. At the time, the Scottish were asked to vote on whether there should be a Scottish assembly with some legislative powers. Although the “yes” vote won by a narrow margin of three points, it had been agreed that the assembly would only be created if the total of “yes” votes cast was over 40% of the total electorate. The 51% of Scots that voted “yes” represented less than 33% of the total electorate, so “no” was the final result (Perman, 1980: 54-63). Salmond argues that, after being told that Scotland should vote “no” in 1979 and that “more powers would come to Scotland”, instead they got “Margaret Thatcher, industrialisation and the poll tax, the most unfair tax system of all time”. The poll tax to which Salmond refers is what was officially known as “Community Charge”, a measure implanted by the Thatcher government, initially in Scotland and then in the whole of the United Kingdom. Basically, it meant a change from the traditional tax system to a flat per-capita tax, and was considered by many as a great injustice to the lower classes (Fairley, 1988: 46-60). It sparked many protests throughout the country until it was abolished in 1991. This is why Alex Salmond once again asks all listeners to learn from the past and not “be conned again”. Salmond praises Scotland once more before the end of his speech, evoking the past of the country by calling the referendum the chance to “restore this rich, ancient nation”.

Most of Alex Salmond’s speech either explicitly mentions past events of Scottish recent and not so recent history, or is based on a critical view of the past opposed to the image promoted by the conservative party of a united and ideal country driving forwards



together. It is unquestionable that the history of Scotland plays an important role in the First Minister's speech a week before the referendum and it cannot be denied that one of the main discussion points during the previous months was whether Scotland's last decades and centuries as part of the United Kingdom had been as glorious as David Cameron and the Conservative Party believed, or as terrible and oppressed as Alex Salmond and the Scottish National Party tried to argue. The variety of speech topics used by Alex Salmond can be seen in Graph 3 below.

Graph 3: Topics in Alex Salmond's Scottish Independence Referendum Speech (11th September 2014)



4.1.4 David Cameron (28<sup>th</sup> September 2014): "In this generation, we can build a country whose future we can all be proud of"

We now begin the final stage of analysis in this Final Degree Project, with the last two speeches. Both are from the Conservative Party Conference ten days after the Scottish referendum, which means that the "no" vote has overcome the "yes" vote with 55% of the votes. Cameron's speech also marks the beginning of the Conservative campaign for

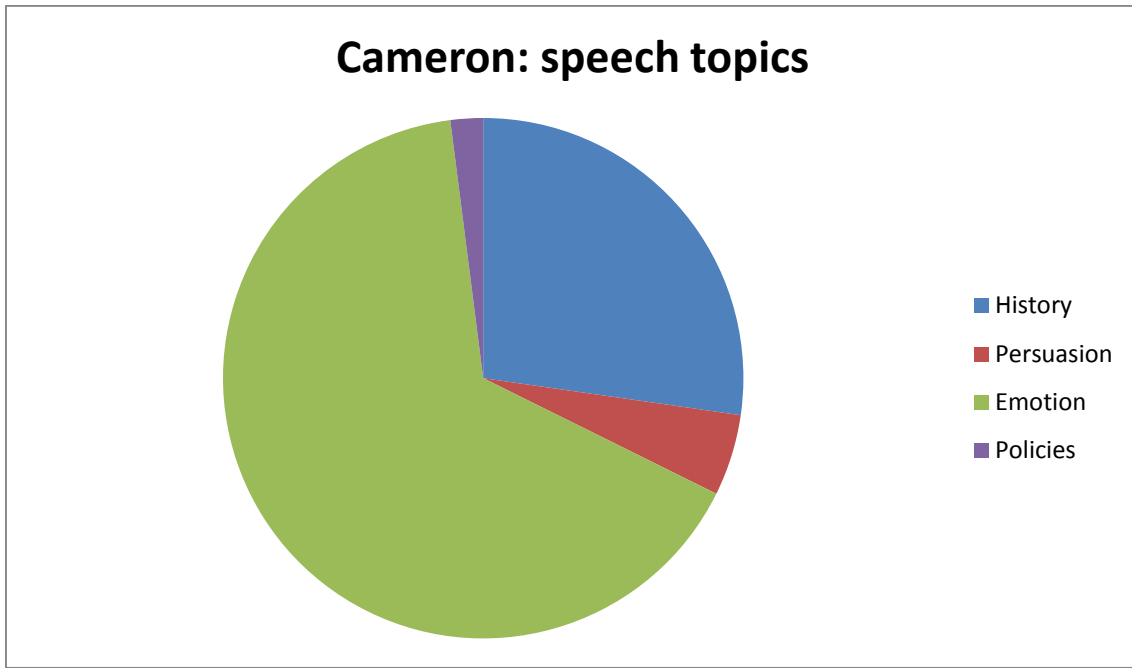
the May 2015 general election, and therefore includes many other topics that are not relevant to this project. This is why the focus of this analysis falls upon the first five minutes of the speech, those dedicated to the Scottish question.

Cameron begins with triumphantly and full of pride for being Prime Minister of the whole of the United Kingdom, including Scotland, and states that his party “has always confronted the big issues for the sake of the country”, already taking further pride not in his country’s history, but in his party’s past. Allowing the referendum was a big personal risk for David Cameron, who would have suffered a spectacular political defeat had Scotland chosen independence, and the Prime Minister is clearly eager to remind his audience that he and the rest of the “no” campaigners have achieved a crucial victory. It is at this moment that Cameron says something that has already been mentioned previously in this project and that proves just how important the Scottish referendum was personally for him: that the lead up to the voting had indeed been “the most nerve-wracking week of my life”.

After this short introduction, Cameron begins to tell a personal story which turns out to be full of meaning to this project. It is the story of Patrick Churchill, a man who fought in France on D-Day seventy years ago. Cameron speaks about the 6<sup>th</sup> June 2014 and how he visited France with Mr. Churchill (amongst other things, for the unveiling of the statue of the previously mentioned Lord Lovat) and saw Union Jacks being waved all along the street of the French town. Once again, as soon as the topic of the referendum is introduced, the Prime Minister’s first reason for standing together and maintaining the union of all regions of the United Kingdom is the country’s past, and the difficulties it has gone through in its history. Not only does he enshrine that history, but he also tries to associate it to his own party by inviting Mr. Churchill and with phrases like “give them the warmest Conservative welcome”. Cameron continues his allegation in favour of the United Kingdom along the same Monumental view of history (Nietzsche: 1873) by saying “when people have seen our flag in some of the most desperate times in history, they have known what it stands for: freedom, justice... This is not any old country, this is a special country”. There can now be no doubt that the pride for his country and specially its history has been the Prime Minister’s line throughout the months leading up to the referendum and that he celebrates the “no” victory by showing even more pride and going back to some of the greatest or most heroic chapters in that history.

The relation that Cameron wants to establish between the past and the future appears again when the transition from one topic to another is the phrase, “in this generation we can build a country whose future we can all be proud of”. It is the idea of a future Great Britain based on the glory of the past, underlined once again when David Cameron states that the soldiers fighting in Afghanistan are the heirs to those who, like Mr. Patrick Churchill, fought in Normandy. That is the beginning of a turn towards other topics that are not going to form part of this Final Degree Project, but the Prime Minister has already shown, in the introduction of his speech, that the country’s history is essential in his opinion, not only in relation to the Scottish referendum, but to the whole project he would like to build for the UK. He set the tone for the referendum campaign on 7<sup>th</sup> February with his emotional and nation-proud speech and he is buoyed by the “no” win to continue along the same line for the general election. The variety of topics used in David Cameron’s speech can be viewed in Graph 4.

Graph 4: Topics in David Cameron’s Scottish Independence Referendum Speech (28th September 2014)



#### 4.1.5 Ruth Davidson (28<sup>th</sup> September 2014): “Old rules do not apply”

The final speech that will be analysed in this project was delivered by Ruth Davidson at the Conservative Party Conference. The leader of the Scottish Conservatives and the woman described by David Cameron as “a new star that has been born” addresses the audience with a jubilant smile, after what was, in the end, a victory by a relatively comfortable margin in the independence referendum. Just like her party leader, David Cameron, Davidson sets straight out into the topic of Scotland’s recent and not so recent past: “the nationalists have been telling anybody who’d listen for years that if people looked and really examined our United Kingdom, they would see a country born of history that should be returned to history.” This statement truly does combine the Conservative and “no” campaigners’ view (the first part of the phrase) and the nationalists’ opinion (the second part). Davidson adds that the United Kingdom was seen by nationalists as “a Britain in decline that oppresses the very people who make it up, an anachronism on Europe’s northern shores still dreaming of a globe painted pink and that “we were told that if we looked we would see a product past its sell-by-date, a sinking ship with independence its only lifeboat”. One of the main reasons why this speech was chosen for this Final Degree Project (and placed as the last speech to be analysed) was because of Davidson’s ability to summarise many of the discussed focal points of the project in just over a minute. On one hand, the nationalists’ view of a dark past in which

the English oppress the Scottish and try to keep together a nation that no longer makes any sense. On the other hand, something that Davidson probably did not mean to do is to also mention the Conservatives' point of view during the referendum campaign: the "globe painted pink" which she mentions does, in fact, resemble the vision of the United Kingdom and its place in the world that the "no" campaign tried to promote, as we have already discussed in previous pages of this project. She is therefore speaking about the already mentioned contrast between the description of the United Kingdom's past that one set of campaigners and another had been trying to boost for the previous months. Ruth Davidson underlines the importance of the voting result by arguing that "never in modern British history has any democratic event seen such levels of participation", making it clear that the referendum partially settles the matter, at least for the next generations.

However, she does acknowledge that the referendum shook the UK and that everything should not be the same, after 1.6 million voters voted in favour of independence. Here, Davidson takes a different line to her leader David Cameron's and openly speaks of change and of how "old rules do not apply". 32 year-old Ruth Davidson does not go along with the idea of a future based on the past which Cameron has expressed on numerous occasions and speaks of "a new Union". This is possibly due to the fact that, as a Member of Scottish Parliament, Davidson is obliged to take a slightly more "pro-Scotland" view than Cameron, and also probably related to the fact that she has only been an important member of the party for less than five years, and represents another new and different line of thought. She also differs with the Prime Minister when she mentions the Scottish Parliament and talks about what powers it should have, particularly in relation to taxes. It is her belief that it should have a greater power in that matter, just like the nationalists do, although obviously for very different reasons: to avoid the "spending competition" that every election in Scotland has turned into in her opinion and to prevent future governments from using the excuse of how the Westminster government has not given them enough money. On this subject, we find similarities with the situation in Catalonia, mentioned in the introduction of this project, where the amount of money received from the central government is also often a controversial matter and a way for nationalist governments to gain voters or pro-independence citizens.

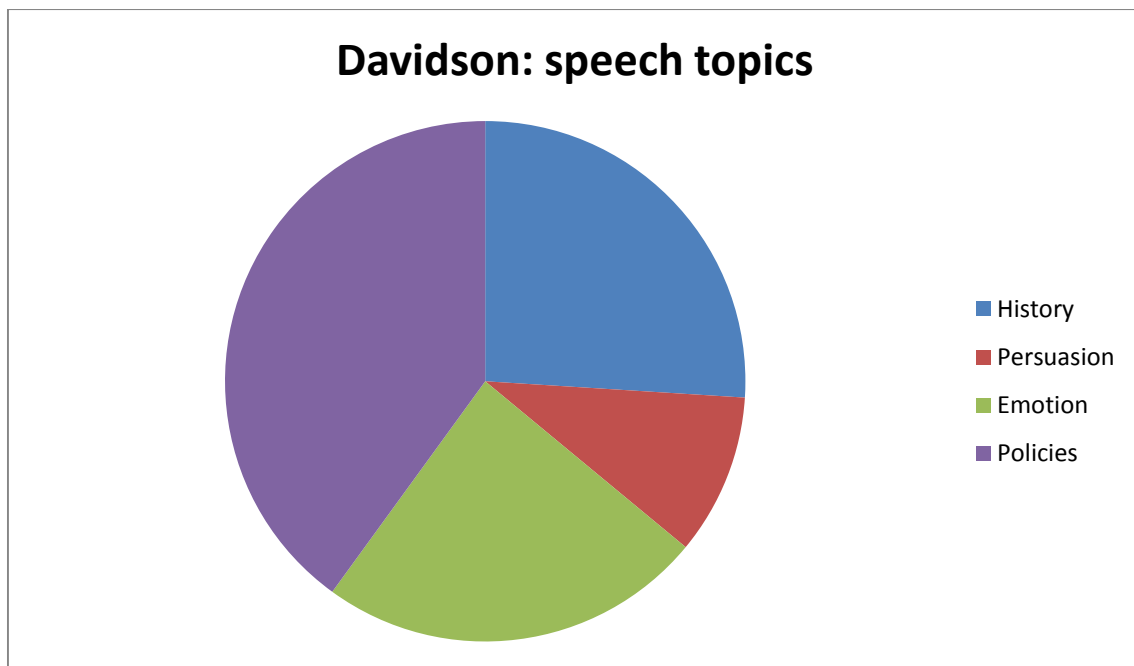
Ruth Davidson explains that the new Union should not only mean change for Scotland, but also for the rest of the nations that are part of the United Kingdom, in order to create

a better Union. Although David Cameron officially agrees with the construction of a new UK, it is true that Davidson is much clearer when speaking about devolution and giving extra powers to the Scottish Parliament. In fact, Cameron does not even explicitly mention the matter during his speech on that same day, 28<sup>th</sup> September 2014. We can, however, draw similarities between Davidson and Cameron in the matter of national identity and “passion for Britain”, a sentimental reason often used during the referendum campaign and which the Conservatives have made theirs so as to promote the feeling of a united Britain. Davidson pledges to build a new union fit “for the next three hundred years”, in a clear reference to the approximately three hundred years that have already passed since the Kingdom of Scotland and the Kingdom of England were joined into one whole country. We can appreciate once again the difference in opinion or, at least, in the clarity used to express the ideas, given that Davidson is implying that the rules that have been applied for the past three centuries are no longer valid and that a new structure must be implemented. Although it is obvious she is not referring to a total change in all relation between Scotland and the rest of the United Kingdom, there is no mention, in Davidson’s case, of basing the new rules on the past or any Monumental view (Nietzsche: 1873) of that past, but she simply expresses the wish for a new future. Scotland, says Davidson, “made history” the previous week. The United Kingdom has held twelve referendums, and this is almost surely the most important of them all. It is interesting to point out, after discussing the role of history in the lead up to the referendum for so long, that the actual outcome of that referendum is now an important part of the United Kingdom and specially Scotland’s history, and has turned into an element to which politicians can turn back and use to support their ideas. Davidson ends her speech by thanking all Conservatives for the help they have given to the “no” campaign “Better Together”, but also underlining that change is necessary and that it is the “opportunity of our age”, thus stating that a new era begins in British history.

We can conclude from Davidson’s speech that, although the essential message is the same as that of her party leader David Cameron, she takes a much more direct line about the necessity for change and, at times reminded us more of SNP leader Alex Salmond than of any Conservative leader, especially when speaking about the powers the Scottish Parliament should be given and, towards the end, with phrases such as “people want decisions taken not just at Westminster, but closer to home”. This is probably due to the fact that Davidson is younger than David Cameron and, indeed, younger than any other

of the leading politicians in the Conservative Party, and feels that it is the challenge of her generation to craft a new United Kingdom not based only on the past, but focusing more on the future. Of course, her position as leader of the Scottish Conservatives also forces her to be “closer” to Scotland in her speeches and put her region’s interests before those of any other in the United Kingdom. The variety of speech topics present in Ruth Davidson’s speech is shown in Graph 5.

Graph 5: Topics in Ruth Davidson’s Scottish Independence Referendum Speech (14<sup>th</sup> February 2014)



#### 4.2. Speech Comparison

It makes an interesting analysis to simplify P. John and W. Jennings’s method and to pay attention to the number of times Ruth Davidson utters certain words compared to party leader David Cameron and when she does so (John and Jennings: 2010). In her speech on

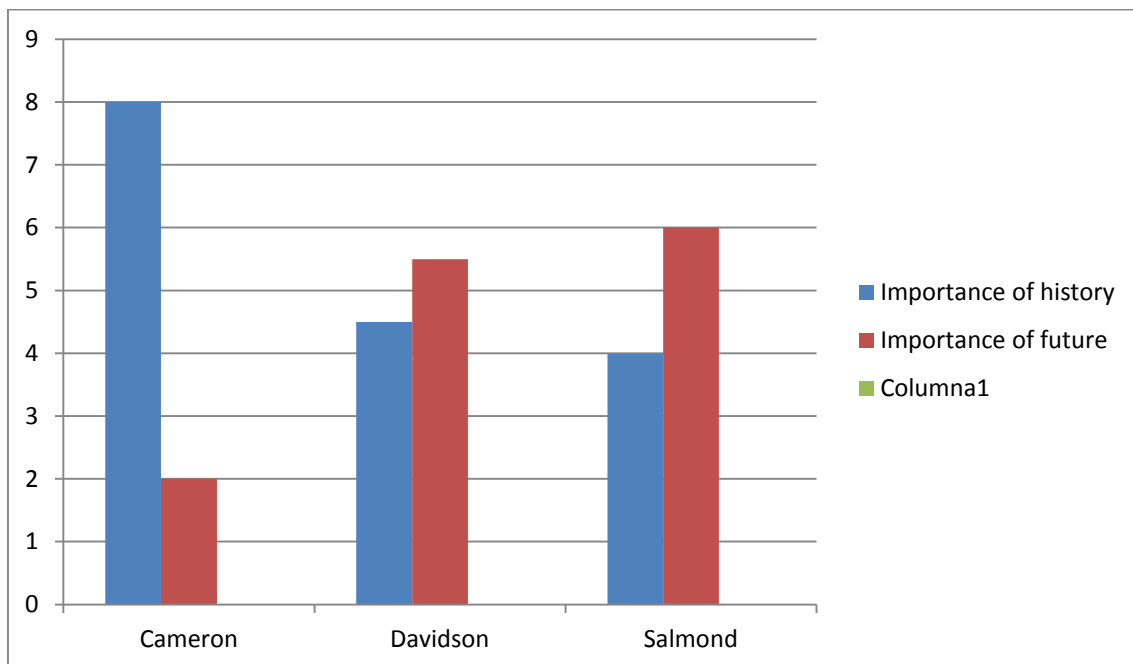
the 28<sup>th</sup> September, the Scottish Conservative leader says the words “history” or “past” five times, whereas she mentions “change, reshape or recraft” five times and the word “new” a further six, which adds up to a total of eleven references to the changes in Scottish status quo against five related to the country’s history. However, it is even more curious to observe when she uses those words. She speaks of history and past four times in the first two minutes of the speech, and then only once in the remaining twelve minutes, but the process with the words that signal that she believes some kind of change is necessary is the contrary: they are only mentioned twice in the first nine minutes of the speech, but when she reaches the main arguing point of her speech and in the final conclusions, these words are used a total of nine times.

If we compare these results to those of Mr. Cameron, we can verify some of the conclusions that had already been drawn in this project. In his speech on the same day as Ruth Davidson’s, the words “change, reshape, new...” or any synonyms are used just twice and the word “history” once, but more than half of his five minutes are dedicated to speaking about past events like the Second World War. It could be argued, though, that the analysed part of Cameron’s speech on that same day is much shorter than Ruth Davidson’s speech, and it is obvious that almost any word should be mentioned less times. We must therefore take the Prime Minister’s other analysed speech, from the 7<sup>th</sup> February of that same year, lasting 28 minutes against Davidson’s 14 at the Conservative Party Conference. We find that the words “history, old, past, century” or “decade” are used a total of 14 times throughout the speech, and that is even without taking into account the many historical events that are discussed without explicitly mentioning those words, such as D-Day, the Acts of Union or expressions like “in 1964...” This number stands against the two times that the word “new” is uttered (both in the same phrase) and the further two of “change, reshape” or a synonym of those words. It should also be noted that the two times the word “change” is used it is done so as a negative effect of a hypothetical independence, not looking to the future. The word “future” is used slightly more often (6 times), but still far behind those that are references to the past and even behind expressions like “pride, passion, love” or “patriotism”, which appear eight times. Perhaps the most interesting comparison with Davidson’s case is once again the way in which Cameron uses these words and the order in which he does so: in contrast with Davidson, the words “history, past”, etc. are not piled into one section of the speech and then forgotten, but they are spread out throughout the whole speech, and the same occurs with



the word “future”. The speech is a constant mix of the old and the new, albeit a predominance of the historical side. Cameron’s ending phrase, discussed earlier in this project, “Team GB. The winning team in world history. Let us stick together for a winning future too” is a perfect example of this constant mix between the past and the future, of a United Kingdom that evolves but that, in his opinion, must always be based on the values of the past. However, in Davidson’s speech, we can clearly observe a transition from one part of the speech to another, and a predominance of the words related to the future in the latter stages of her speech, which would imply that her political project for Scotland and the United Kingdom is much closer to the future than to the past, unlike David Cameron’s. In this sense, her style is closer to Alex Salmond, who also structures his speech on the 11<sup>th</sup> of September as a transition from the past, in the first few minutes, to the future in the following minutes. The importance given to the past and the future in the speeches of Cameron, Davidson and Salmond is shown in Graph 6.

Graph 6: Importance of the past and the future in the speeches of David Cameron, Ruth Davidson and Alex Salmond.



## 5. Conclusions

Having set out to determine the role of history in the Scottish independence referendum, the analysis of political speeches delivered in relation to the topic also became an essential part of this Final Degree Project. In order to discuss how the past may have affected the

campaign and the outcome of the voting process, it was necessary to discuss the main points of the speeches of the leading politicians in Scotland and the United Kingdom. For their positions in the conservative and Scottish National Party and the role they played during the months leading up to the referendum, we chose Prime Minister David Cameron, SNP leader and First Minister of Scotland Alex Salmond, and leader of the Scottish conservatives Ruth Davidson.

The theories of Nietzsche, Edensor or many others that could have been included in this project prove that history plays a very important role not only in politics, but also in the development of a national identity and the values which rule in those nations (Nietzsche: 1873; Edensor: 1997). The question was whether the past of a country could determine or influence the outcome of a particular event in time, like the referendum and the answer, after analysing the campaign process and some of the key speeches delivered during and after that campaign, would have to be that it certainly did. It is important to note that, although we have stated in this project that the history of a country can have influence on any country's perception of a national identity, the United Kingdom is perhaps one of the clearest examples of this behaviour: the fact, for example, that the Prime Minister of the country dedicates more than two minutes to the story of an ex-combatant in the Second World War, Patrick Churchill, and the standing ovation that the ninety year-old receives immediately afterwards is a clear indication of how proud many British citizens are of certain chapters of their history. This could prove to be an interesting research item for the future, considering that the results obtained in relation to the role of history in this specific referendum would probably not apply to most other countries, and would require another separate analysis that could be compared with the conclusions drawn for this case in the United Kingdom.

This means that it was always very likely that the referendum would be, at least partly, marked by the past interrelations between Scotland and the rest of the United Kingdom, and so it was. Throughout the whole campaign, an important part of the discussions that took place, whether face to face or in individual speeches like those analysed in this project, was how that past should be portrayed. While the "no" campaign "Better Together" insisted on focusing on the many positive aspects of England and Scotland's relation over the past three centuries, and idealised the country that English, Scots, Welsh and Northern Irish have built together in that time, the "yes" campaign put all the focus on the problems the current system has caused, and tried to describe Scotland as a country

that had been at England's mercy in its recent history, with no freedom to take decisions of its own or to grow and develop in any way, with the exception of the last seventeen years since the Scottish Parliament was reintroduced. The referendum campaign then became a battle to impose each side's image of the past, and how that past should affect the immediate future: for the "no" campaigners, the glorious history of the United Kingdom showed the way forwards, and the independence of Scotland would only bring negative changes both for Scotland itself and for the rest of the UK by destroying all that had been achieved over the years. For the "yes" campaigners, the referendum was their one great chance to escape from the United Kingdom's grasp and bring a radical change to that oppressing past, becoming an independent country that could finally control its own affairs and fulfill its economic potential.

Even when one of Cialdini's persuasion techniques was used to attempt to convince the audience, it was often mixed with some historical element. For example, the mention of Canon Kenyon Wright by Alex Salmond was not only perceived as the authority technique, but also as a reminder of the importance of having created the Scottish Parliament seventeen years before (Cialdini: 1993). Therefore, we must conclude that the history of Scotland and, more specifically, its relation with England throughout the past years, played an important role in the referendum campaign and, although this cannot be scientifically proved, probably also in the final outcome. A final and interesting thought that has only been discussed in passing in this project is that, after months of campaigning and being affected by previous historical events, we can tell by the two speeches delivered on the 28<sup>th</sup> September, and examined in our research, that the referendum itself has already turned into one of the most important chapters in history related to the independence (or non-independence) of Scotland, and that it has become an element to which many politicians or historians can turn back and use just as we have seen them do with many other chapters of history throughout this project.

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## 7. Appendices

**David Cameron's speech on the 7<sup>th</sup> of February 2014 in full:**

“I want to thank Glasgow Caledonian for co-hosting this event. This is a fantastic, forward-looking university, and we are very grateful for your support today, as we are to the Lee Valley Velo Park for hosting us in this magnificent space.

Less than 2 years ago, this velodrome was a cauldron of excitement. Chris Hoy was ripping round at 40 miles per hour. I was up there. I had a whole seat but believe me I only used the edge of it. 3 more golds – an incredible night. But for me, the best thing about the Olympics wasn't the winning; it was the red, the white, the blue. It was the summer that patriotism came out of the shadows and came into the sun. Everyone cheering as one for Team GB. And it's Team GB I want to talk about today. Our United Kingdom.

Last year, the date for the Scottish referendum was fixed. The countdown was set. And today we have just over 7 months until that vote. Centuries of history hang in the balance. A question mark hangs over the future of our United Kingdom. If people vote yes in September, then Scotland will become an independent country. There will be no going back. And as I have made clear, this is a decision that is squarely and solely for those in Scotland to make.

Now, I believe passionately that it is in their interests to stay in the United Kingdom. That way Scotland has the space to take decisions, while still having the security that comes with being part of something bigger. From Holyrood they can decide what happens in every hospital, every school, every police station in Scotland. And in the United Kingdom, Scotland is part of a major global player. Now those are the arguments that we will keep on putting until 18th September, but it is their choice, their vote.

But my argument today is that, while only 4 million people can vote in this referendum, all 63 million of us are profoundly affected. There are 63 million of us who could wake up on 19th September in a different country, with a different future ahead of it. That's why this speech is addressed not so much to the people of Scotland but to the people of England, Wales and Northern Ireland. Within these countries, there are a whole range of different views about this referendum.

There are those I'd call the 'quiet patriots' – people who love the United Kingdom, love our flag and our history, but think there's nothing much that they can do to encourage Scotland to stay in the UK, so they stay out of the debate.

Then there are the 'shoulder shruggers' – people who are ambivalent about the outcome, who think this doesn't matter much to anyone south of the border. Their view is that, if

Scotland left the UK, then yes, that would be sad, but we could just wave them a wistful goodbye and carry on as normal.

And then there are those – only a few – who think we'd be better off if Scotland did leave the UK; that this marriage of nations has run its course and it needs a divorce.

Now, today I want to take on all these views: the idea we'd be better off without Scotland; the idea that this makes no difference to the rest of the UK; and the idea that, however much we might care, we in England, Wales and Northern Ireland can have no voice in this debate because we don't have a vote. All of the above are wrong.

We would be deeply diminished without Scotland. This matters to all of our futures, and everyone in the UK can have a voice in this debate. I want to make this case by putting forward what, to me, are the 4 compelling reasons why the United Kingdom is stronger with Scotland within it.

The first is our connections with each other. Over 3 centuries we have lived together, worked together and frankly we've got together: getting married, having children, moving back and forward across our borders. Such is the fusion of our bloodlines that my surname goes back to the West Highlands and, by the way, I am as proud of my Scottish heritage as I am of my English or my Welsh heritage.

The name Cameron might mean 'crooked nose', but the clan motto is 'let us unite', and that is exactly what our islands and our nations have done. Today, 800,000 Scots live elsewhere in the United Kingdom, and more than 400,000 people who were born in the rest of the UK now live in Scotland. And there are millions of people who do business over the border every single day, like the farmers in Lincolnshire who grow some of the barley that's used in Scotch whisky.

The United Kingdom is an intricate tapestry; millions of relationships woven tight over more than 3 centuries. That's why for millions of people there is no contradiction in being proud of your Scottishness, your Englishness, your Britishness – sometimes all at once. Now some say that none of this would change with independence, that these connections would stay as strong as ever. But the fact is all these connections, whether it's business or personal, they are eased and strengthened by the institutional framework of the United Kingdom.

When the Acts of Union were passed, the role of the state was limited to things like defence, taxes and property rights. Since then the state has transformed beyond recognition

and our institutions – they have grown together like the roots of great trees, fusing together under the foundations of our daily lives.

You don't need a customs check when you travel over the border; you don't have to get out your passport out at Carlisle; you don't have to deal with totally different tax systems and regulations when you trade; you don't have to trade in different currencies.

Our human connections – our friendships, relationships, business partnerships – they are underpinned because we are all in the same United Kingdom, and that is number 1 reason why we are stronger together.

The second is our prosperity. Some people look at the United Kingdom only in terms of debit and credit columns, tax and spend, and how that gets split between our 4 nations. But that completely misses the bigger picture. This is a world that has been through massive economic storms, where economic competition is heating up as never before, where we have to work harder than ever just to make a living.

And in that world of uncertainty, we are quite simply stronger as a bigger entity. An open economy of 63 million people; we're the oldest and most successful single market in the world, and with one of the oldest and most successful currencies in the world. That stability is hugely attractive for investors. Last year we were the top destination for foreign direct investment in Europe. That is a stamp of approval on our stability and I would not want to jeopardise that.

But let me be clear. The central part of my economic argument for the UK is not about what we'd lose if we pulled apart, but about what we could gain in this world if we stay together. This government has set out a long-term economic plan for Britain: getting behind enterprise, dealing with our debts, a plan to give the people of this country peace of mind and security for the future.

And it's not just a plan; it is a vision. The United Kingdom as the big European success story of this century – moving from an island sinking under too much debt, too much borrowing, too much taxation to a country that is dynamic, exporting, innovating, creating. And Scotland is right at the heart of that vision. Why? Well, I could give you the list of the Scottish strengths, the historic universities like Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Glasgow and St Andrews; the great industries, from food processing to financial services, from shipbuilding to science. But it's not about Scotland's strengths as some sort of bolt-on extra.



It's about what we, the constituent parts of the United Kingdom, can achieve together – the power of collaboration. It is there in our past.

When the Scottish enlightenment met the industrial revolution, intellectual endeavour and commercial might combined to shape global economic ideas. And that power of collaboration is there today. Together we're stronger at getting out there and selling our products to the world.

Take Scotch whisky. Whether I'm in India or China, there is barely a meeting abroad when I don't bang the drum for whisky abroad. Now, of course, the First Minister fights hard for those deals too, but the clout we have as a United Kingdom gives us a much better chance of getting around the right tables, bashing down trade barriers, getting deals signed. And the result: Scotch whisky adds £135 to the UK's balance of payments every single second.

And together we're stronger to lead in the industries of the future. Take green energy. We have the wind and the waves of Scotland, decades of North Sea experience in Aberdeen and, with the rest of the UK, a domestic energy market of tens of millions of people to drive and support these new industries. 2 years ago we set up the Green Investment Bank. Based in Edinburgh, it's invested across the United Kingdom, helping a Scottish distillery to fit sustainable biomass boilers, financing a new energy centre at Addenbrooke's Hospital in Cambridge. This is what happens when we collaborate.

We have come through the great recession together: our deficit down by a third; our economy growing; our exports to China doubled. And I believe we stand a much, much better chance of building a prosperous future together.

Now, the third reason we're stronger together is our place in the world. Together, we get a seat at the UN Security Council, real clout in NATO and Europe, the prestige to host events like the G8. Together we've got the finest armed forces on our planet. I think of the fighter pilots originally operating from RAF Lossiemouth who flew sorties over Libya; the legendary Scottish titles now part of the Royal Regiment of Scotland, like the Black Watch and the Highlanders. I think of the shipyards on the Forth and Clyde, where – alongside shipyards in the rest of the UK – they are building the Queen Elizabeth aircraft carrier, launching this year to secure the seas and to keep us safe.

Now to some all this might sound like national vanity. It's the view that, if the UK split up and our role in the world shrank, would that really matter so much. But this is a country

that earns its living through its international ties with millions of our citizens living abroad. When ships are ambushed on lawless seas, that hits our trade. When the middle class in China is set to grow by millions a year that presents huge opportunities for our jobs back home here in the UK. The world shapes us, so our place in the world – that really matters.

And make no mistake: we matter more as a United Kingdom – politically, militarily, diplomatically and culturally too. And our reach – our reach is about so much more than military might; it's about our music, our film, our TV, our fashion. The UK is the soft power superpower. You get teenagers in Tokyo and Sydney listening to Emeli Sandé. You get people in Kazakhstan and Taiwan watching BBC exports like Sherlock; there's a good example. Written by a Scot a hundred years ago, played by an Englishman today and created for TV by a Scotsman. The World Service, transmitting to hundreds of millions. Famously Aung San Suu Kyi has said it helped her through her long years of detention, saying, 'Everywhere I've been, the BBC has been with me.' And the BBC itself, founded by a Scotsman.

My wife, Samantha, is an ambassador for the British Fashion Council and she sees and raves about the international impact of our fashion, helped along massively by Scottish designers like Christopher Kane and Jonathan Saunders. Sometimes we can forget just how big our reputation is – that the world over the letters 'UK' stand for unique, brilliant, creative, eccentric, ingenious. We come as a brand – and a powerful brand. Separating Scotland out of that brand would be like separating the waters of the River Tweed and the North Sea. If we lost Scotland, if the UK changed, we would rip the rug from our own reputation. The fact is we matter more in the world if we stay together.

These are all, I believe, compelling practical reasons for the United Kingdom to stick together. But, pounds and pence, institutional questions – that's not really what it's about for me. It's about the slave who escaped his master after the American Revolution because he was offered liberty and land by the British crown. In gratitude, he named himself this: British Freedom. It's about Lord Lovat on the beach on D-Day, the bagpipes playing as his brigade landed ashore. It's about HMS Sheffield, HMS Glasgow, HMS Antrim, HMS Glamorgan – grey ships ploughing through those grey seas for 8,000 miles to the Falkland Islands – and for what? For freedom. Because this is a country that has never been cowed by bullies and dictators. This is a country that stands for something. And this, really, is

why I'm standing here today: our shared values. Freedom. Solidarity. Compassion. Not just overseas, but at home.

In this country, we don't walk on by when people are sick, when people lose work, when people get old. I know when you talk about an Englishman, a Welshman, a Scotsman, a Northern Irishman, it might sound like the beginning of a bad joke, but it's actually how we started our NHS, our welfare system, our state pension system. And these values, they're not trapped in the pages of a history book – they're live. When the people of Benghazi were crying out for help, when a girl in Pakistan was shot for wanting an education, when children around the world are desperate for food or for aid, we don't walk on by.

And let's be clear. Our values are not just a source of pride for us; they are a source of hope for the world. In 1964, Nelson Mandela stood in the dock in the Pretoria Supreme Court. He was making the case for his life, against apartheid, and in that speech he invoked the example of Britain. He said, 'I have great respect for British political institutions, and for the country's system of justice.' He said, 'I regard the British Parliament as the most democratic institution in the world.' Our Parliament, our laws, our way of life – so often, down the centuries, the UK has given people hope. We've shown that democracy and prosperity can go hand in hand; that resolution is found not through the bullet, but the ballot box. Our values are of value to the world. In the darkest times in human history there has been, in the North Sea, a light that never goes out. And if this family of nations broke up, something very powerful and very precious the world over would go out forever.

So there is a moral, economic, geopolitical, diplomatic and yes – let's say it proudly – emotional case for keeping the United Kingdom together. But still, however strongly we feel, we can be a reticent nation. It can seem vulgar to fly the flag. Some people have advised me to stay out of this issue, and don't get too sentimental about the UK. But frankly, I care too much to stay out of it. This is personal.

I have an old copy of *Our Island Story*, my favourite book as a child, and I want to give it to my 3 children, and I want to be able to teach my youngest, when she's old enough to understand, that she is part of this great, world-beating story. And I passionately hope that my children will be able to teach their children the same; that the stamp on their passport is a mark of pride; that together these islands really do stand for something more than the sum of our parts; they stand for bigger ideals, nobler causes, greater values. Our brilliant

United Kingdom: brave, brilliant, buccaneering, generous, tolerant, proud – this is our country. And we built it together, brick by brick: Scotland, England, Wales, Northern Ireland. Brick by brick. This is our home, and I could not bear to see it torn apart.

I love this country. I love the United Kingdom and all it stands for, and I will fight with everything I have to keep us together. And so I want to be clear to everyone listening: there can be no complacency about the result of this referendum. The outcome is still up in the air and we have just 7 months to go: 7 months to do all we can to keep our United Kingdom as 1; 7 months to save the most extraordinary country in history. And we must do whatever it takes.

So to everyone in England, Wales and Northern Ireland, everyone like me, who cares about the United Kingdom, I want to say this: you don't have a vote, but you do have a voice. Those voting, they're our friends, they're our neighbours, they're our family. You do have an influence. So, get on the phone, get together, email, tweet, speak; let the message ring out from Manchester to Motherwell, from Pembrokeshire to Perth, from Belfast to Bute, from us to the people of Scotland. Let the message be this: we want you to stay. Think of what we've done together, what we can do together, what we stand for together. Team GB. The winning team in world history. Let us stick together for a winning future too. Thank you."

**David Cameron's speech on the 28<sup>th</sup> of September 2014 (first five minutes summarised):**

"I am so proud to stand here today as Prime Minister of four nations in one United Kingdom. I was always clear about why we called that referendum. Duck the fight – and our union could have been taken apart bit by bit. Take it on – and we had the chance to settle the question.

This Party has always confronted the big issues for the sake of our country. And now...

...England, Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland... we are one people in one union and everyone here can be proud of that. And we can all agree, during that campaign a new star – a new Conservative star – was born...

...someone who's going to take our message to every corner of Scotland: our very own Ruth Davidson.

The lead-up to that referendum was the most nerve-wracking week of my life. But I can tell you the best moment of my year. It was June 6th, the 70th anniversary of D Day. Sam and I were in Bayeux, in France, with my constituent, Patrick Churchill...

...no relation to the great man – but a great man himself. Patrick is 91 years old – and 70 years ago, he was there fighting fascism, helping to liberate that town. I'll never forget the tears in his eyes as he talked about the comrades he left behind..

...or the pride they all felt in the job they had done.

As we walked along the streets he pointed out where he had driven his tank...

...and all along the roadside there were French children waving flags – Union Jacks – the grandchildren of the people he had liberated.

Patrick's here today with his wife Karin – and I know, like me, you'll want to give them the warmest welcome. When people have seen our flag – in some of the most desperate times in history – they have known what it stands for. Freedom. Justice. Standing up for what is right. They have known this isn't any old country. This is a special country. June 6th this summer. Normandy.

I was so proud of Great Britain that day. And here, today, I want to set out how in this generation, we can build a country whose future we can all be proud of. How we can secure a better future for all. How we can build a Britain that everyone is proud to call home. The heirs to those who fought on the beaches of Northern France are those fighting in Afghanistan today. For thirteen years, young men and women have been serving our country there. This year, the last of our combat troops come home – and I know everyone here will want to show how grateful and how proud we are of everyone who served.”

**Ruth Davidson's speech on the 28<sup>th</sup> of September in full:**

“Friends, I'm not supposed to be here today. I am not supposed to be speaking on this stage. This conference isn't supposed to include Scotland.

The Nationalists have been telling anyone who would listen for years, that if people looked – really examined – our United Kingdom, they would see a country borne of history that should be returned to history. A Britain in decline that oppresses the very

people who make it up. An anachronism on Europe's northern shores, still dreaming of a globe painted pink and a place where that which divides us is greater than anything we have in common. We were told, if people just opened their eyes, they would see a nation state with its best days behind it; a product past its sell by date, a sinking ship with independence the only lifeboat. Well, we did look. We did examine. Scotland as a country embraced the political arguments of this campaign like no other.

Propositions were tested, conjectures dissected, claims analysed and questions of identity – both national and personal – weighed and measured. Never in modern British history has any democratic event seen such levels of participation. And when all the ballots were cast, all the votes were counted... The result was clear. More than 2 million Scots said No thanks to separation.

No thanks to division. No thanks to leaving a family of nations that belongs to every single one of us, whether we are from Cardiff or Kirkcaldy, Birmingham or Belfast. And thank God for that. Thank God, because I love this country. I am Scottish to my bones, but I am British too. And if Scotland had chosen to leave, I would have felt an aching sense of loss. And I would have felt it deeply.

And here's what the nationalists don't understand. As they try to write their own history of the last few weeks, their story is that everyone who voted No, was duped or conned or scared into that vote. That they walked into the polling station as timid wee mice and came out conflicted by what they'd done. Well, I'm here to tell you that's not true. Hundreds of thousands of people right across Scotland cast that ballot with pride. I know, because I was one of them.

So, too, was my friend Lorna. Who I met many years ago, when we did our officer training together. She signed up dozens of her army colleagues, making sure no matter where they were based across the world, they had registered to vote back home. Or Lewis – who at 14 years old asked his mum if he could get the bus from East Kilbride every day to Glasgow to help in the Better Together offices. Or Pat – In her 80s, but who worked every single day to help the campaign in any way she could. Some days that was stuffing envelopes or making the tea... some, it was taking to the streets to dish out a particular brand of Scottish *wifie* justice. When the MP, Jim Murphy, was being horrendously barracked

and abused, wee Pat was in there giving what for to the abusers, telling them how to behave properly. Forget the politicians; they are the real heroes of this campaign.

They did all this because they believed in something. They believed that the UK was worth fighting for. And more than two million fellow Scots agreed. But it would be easy. It would be easy to stand here today and talk just about the two million. About the people who know, instinctively, that we are better together. That we stand shoulder to shoulder, facing the world, sharing resource and shouldering a common burden. It would be easy to talk of the messy wonderfulness of these islands and wipe our brow in relief. To pat ourselves on the back for a lucky escape, and move on. But that would do a disservice to the debate we've just had.

That would be to ignore the 1.6 million people who thought that Britain had stopped being worth it. That the UK wasn't working for them, that many felt just as passionate about breaking away as we feel about staying together. This referendum sent a tremor through the fabric of this nation and the echoes of that tremor will last a lifetime. We have to address the fact that – Yes or No – people in Scotland want change. The Status Quo is smashed, there's no going back, and the old rules do not apply. And that is a challenge. But it is an opportunity too.

A chance to shape a new Union. To craft and hew a settlement that fits the age and meets our ambitions. Because if, as I believe, our best days still lie ahead of us, we do not reach them by happy accident. We must work to get there. And the work begins now. We must reshape our union so that each of its nations is comfortable in its own clothes. For Scotland, that means having a parliament that – finally – has to look taxpayers in the eye. Right now, First Ministers of Scotland have a block grant transferred from Westminster and their only concern is how to spend it. This has allowed a nationalist government to spend 7 years telling the people of Scotland that everything good in the country is down to them, for spending money on it, and everything bad is Westminster's fault for not handing over enough. It makes every Scottish election a spending competition, with no thought or regard of who the money comes from. I am an old-fashioned Tory. I don't believe there is any such thing as government money. It doesn't exist. The only money that government has is the money it takes from the businesses and people of this country; and we should never forget that. And that's something I want to ensure for Scotland.

I want a Scottish Parliament that is in charge of raising more of the money it spends. I want the working people of Scotland to know – when they look at their monthly paycheck – that the right hand column is going straight to Holyrood. A more direct link between what is raised in Scotland and what is spent in Scotland. Less reliance on a block grant, and a more rigorous and fiscally responsible administration in Edinburgh. And when that happens. When people see their earnings taxed, and that tax sent directly to Bute House. They will hold future First Ministers to account. No more free passes. No more false promises. No more excuses. And no more cries of ‘only with the powers of independence...’

The SNP lost. Scotland demonstrated her sovereign will. And yet, people at the top want to run this race again as soon as possible. They want Scotland locked in a cycle of neverendum. This referendum sent a tremor through our United Kingdom. And while nationalists may agitate for another, in 5 years, 10 years, one last heave... We know that only by changing the way we do politics. Only by making the Scottish Government look taxpayers in the eye, taking away the grudge and grievance, removing the fantasy economics. Only then can we guard against us being back here again. And I never want to see our Union in such peril in my lifetime.

But a new settlement is not just for Scotland. New rules shouldn't just apply to one, but to all. And it is right that our Prime Minister, who fought so hard for our United Kingdom, considers the way forward for each constituent part. And just as I would guard jealously Scotland's right to consider her own future; so I recognise, THAT development is not for me to impose on others. The referendum in Scotland has allowed all of us to look again at how we make this country work better. It is our chance to craft a new Union, more at ease with itself and better able to take on the world. It is a task to which we must apply ourselves with energy and purpose. And, conference, we are the party to do it. We have the passion for Britain, the pragmatism for success and the perception to see what needs done. Our friends in Labour and the Lib Dems do not have the same clarity of vision. And there is no doubt – no doubt in my mind – that we will reshape our nation, we will re-craft our Union, we will make it fit for the next 300 years. But as we do, we are allowed a moment – Just a moment conference – to recognise what an achievement we have been part of.



History was made last week. Our supposedly battered and dog-eared Union was put under the microscope. Frayed and sometimes fractious, we were supposed to turn on each other and tear up our social contract. Alex Salmond chose the referendum's timing, he chose the wording, he chose the franchise. He put the full weight of the Scottish government behind his campaign. And yet, and yet – faced with a clear choice and by a clear majority, Scotland voted to stay. Our union was strong enough to stand the test. And I want to thank you.

Last year, I came to conference and I asked you to help. And help you did. Many physically came to trudge the streets and post the leaflets and knock the doors and whether that was for a week, a day, an hour, I thank you for your efforts. Many helped from home, manning our call centres in Cardiff and London to help with the get out the vote. Many simply added their voice to a chorus that rang out loud across the UK and said simply – we want you to stay. I thank each and every one of you. Your efforts made a difference. And I am proud. I am proud that when our country called, our party answered. Scottish Conservatives stood tall in this debate. We made the arguments of the heart, as well as the head. We took the fight to the SNP in the SNPs back yard. In Angus, in Perthshire, in Moray, in Aberdeenshire it was Conservatives in the lead – and in our border lands too. It is no coincidence that these areas returned a resounding vote for our United Kingdom. In Scotland, our party comes out of this campaign stronger than it went in. Having grown in stature and confidence as we spoke our truth and stood up – without apology – for what we believed. We fought head, heart, body and soul to keep our country. Because we knew, that when it comes to our United Kingdom, leaving would be to lose something of ourselves and to see what was left behind be diminished too. And that's why, conference, the work doesn't stop. We don't just pack up and go home. People across the UK are hungry for change. Now. They want power driven out of Whitehall and into their communities. They want decisions taken not just at Westminster, but closer to home. That desire, that demand, must be what drives us on. To build that new union – where Scotland, England, Wales and Northern Ireland, have more power in themselves, but stand taller together. This is the challenge we have been set, this is the opportunity of our age. So let us go from this place, and shape that new future, in the knowledge that as we do, we do it together. Thank you.”

**Alex Salmond's speech on the 19<sup>th</sup> of October 2013 (last three minutes summarised):**

So it is our privilege in this generation to determine the next chapters in Scotland's story. When the pages of books yet unwritten speak to generations yet unborn of this time and this place, of our Scotland today, what is the story they will tell? They can say that we who lived at this special time recognised a priceless moment for what it was, that those who saw this chance did not balk at it, that those who were given this moment did not let it pass by. And that we, Scotland's independent generation, reached out and grasped the opportunity of a lifetime when it came our way. We will NOT wake up on the morning of the 19<sup>th</sup> of September and think to ourselves what might have been. We WILL wake up on that morning filled with hope and expectation, ready to build a new generation, both prosperous and just. After almost a century of Scotland moving forwards to this very moment, let us ask ourselves these simple questions:

If not us, then who? If not now, then when? Friends, we ARE Scotland's independent generation and our time is now.

**Alex Salmond's speech on the 11<sup>th</sup> of September 2014 summarised:**

I want to start by welcoming each of you here this morning. It is a pleasure to have the opportunity to speak to an international media audience representing countries from all around the world. Since 1945, 142 countries have chosen independence. Not one has ever asked to give it up. It is therefore a great pleasure to meet so many journalists who instinctively understand the logic of independence.

Scotland is on the cusp of making history. The eyes of the world are upon us. And what the world is seeing is an energized, articulate and peaceful debate. Scotland will vote Yes. Last minute, cobbled together promises from the No campaign which unravel on the slightest scrutiny won't fool anyone- and neither will the blatant bullying and intimidation of Westminster government. A No campaign is in decline. In contrast, a Yes vote is the opportunity of a lifetime, an opportunity to build a fairer and more prosperous country. Today marks a moment in Scotland's Home Rule journey. Today is exactly the 17th anniversary of Scotland voting Yes to restoring a Scottish Parliament in 1997. You have just heard from Canon Kenyon Wright – a man known to many as the 'architect of devolution' and hugely respected across the political divide. He was central in reclaiming a

measure of home rule for Scotland in 1997. We all called him the Grand Canon. He, like so many others, is now convinced of the urgent need for Scotland to complete its journey to independence by voting 'Yes'. In the last 17 years, Scotland has become a better country – removing tuition fees, abolishing care costs for the elderly, making prescriptions free, creating jobs and opportunities and defending the National Health Service. In creating a celebration of democracy it is Scotland's people, Scotland's communities - not the politicians – who are re-invigorating and transforming the entire political process. The participation, the enthusiasm, the meetings, the discussions, the debate has been remarkable. It has been a process of national empowerment. As a country we have re-discovered national self-confidence. As a nation, we are finding our voice.

Our message to the people of Scotland is this – for the first time in Scottish history, on the 18th September we, the people, hold our destiny in our own hands. We shall not wake up on the 19th of September having given it away. We shall wake up knowing that we did the right thing. Wake up to a lifetime of feeling confident in ourselves and in our country. We have no intention of allowing the Westminster elite tell us we are not capable of making a success of this wealthy country. A country with a higher GDP per head than the UK, France and Japan. With the strongest of foundations on which to build a better, fairer society. More top universities per head than any other country. A world-class food and drink industry, advanced manufacturing, creative industries and extraordinary energy reserves and potential. That is an extraordinary starting point for any new nation. But what matters most is what we do with that wealth – how we share it, how we invest it, how we use it. The issue as we enter the last week of this campaign is not therefore whether Scotland is wealthy enough to be an independent country. The great issue is why so many people don't benefit from that wealth. And the most fundamental point of all is this: A Yes vote next Thursday is not the end of something. It is the beginning of something special. We will succeed not only because of our wealth of natural resources – as important they are. We will succeed only if we maintain and build on the energy, the participation and the involvement we have seen in this campaign. I want to use the energy and the confidence we feel to carry Scotland to greater heights in the months and years beyond September 18. The sense of purpose coursing through Scottish life is unmistakable. For the first time ever, Scots believe that this can happen and will happen. With that sense of belief, of confidence, of opportunity – we can get to work making our lives and those of our families immeasurably better.

We shall not go back to accepting a country where a million live in poverty. To a country where people feel their views don't count and they get a Government they didn't elect. Where we spend billions on Trident but say we don't have enough for childcare. Where the massive potential and talent of so many Scots is wasted. Where decisions are made remotely and against the settled will of the Scottish people. We're not going back to all that. For many people, the answer to the question of whether Scotland should be an independent country has often been "Yes, but." Now that we have the opportunity of a lifetime to put Scotland's future in Scotland's hands, more and more people are no longer saying "Yes, but". They're saying, "Yes because." Yes because we will have the job-creating powers we need to build a more prosperous country. Yes because we will have control over our budget to protect our NHS. Yes because we must use all the talents of the people of Scotland. A Yes vote is about building something better.

It is the growing acceptance across every community in Scotland that no-one – absolutely no-one – is better placed to govern Scotland than the people who live and work here. No one cares more. No one understands the needs and aspirations of the people more. No one will ever do a better job. And once that central proposition is accepted, a Yes vote becomes irresistible. Not because we will inherit the day after independence a land of milk and honey. Not because Scotland has a special or privileged position in the world. And not because we are better than anyone else – but because we are no worse. Because there will be big challenges. What we win on the 18th September is the chance to do better, to take control, to make our own mistakes and mould our own successes. The reason Scotland will vote Yes is because the majority of Scots look around and know that we can do better. The first thing Scots will gain is a guarantee that the UKIP/Tory referendum which threatens to take us out of the EU – the greatest single risk to Scottish jobs and prosperity – will be off the table. I believe – unlike Mr Cameron – in the rights of citizens to enjoy the protection of things like the European Convention of Human Rights. That is guaranteed in an independent Scotland. I believe in the rights and protections given to workers across Scotland by the European Union, in the need for collective action on climate change and in the solidarity of nations standing together in the face of conflict. I believe - unlike Mr Cameron – in positive engagement with the rest of the Europe rather than public schoolboy politics and island isolationism.

With independence the EU therefore gains a positive force for international co-operation. Because this referendum is simply the start of a new chapter for Scotland in the world.

A nation of 5 million Scots doesn't need the largest and most expensive arsenal of nuclear weapons in Europe in order to be influential – but it does need a government more committed to our global partners, to the United Nations, to fighting poverty and disease abroad with the same passion we will fight it at home. Scotland is ready to join the family of independent nations on equal terms.

Ladies and gentlemen, this campaign isn't about the SNP, the Tory Party, me, David Cameron or any individual – it's about who we trust must to govern our country. The last two weeks have been the most momentous in Scottish political history. The Yes vote has multiplied, momentum on the ground has crystallised into commitment from undecided voters and many of those who previously were No, have realized the historic opportunity before us and have changed. The story of the last weeks - as Anum Qaisar explained earlier - has been of many thousands of traditional Labour supporters realizing that a Yes vote is their best prospect of building a socially just Scotland Of families deciding that the future of their children is best secured in an independent country where we can make our own choices for childcare, jobs and welfare. Of pensioners recognizing their pensions are totally secure with independence and knowing they are free to gift to their grandchildren the greatest legacy of all – opportunity. And when the No campaign was asked for a vision of a future for Scotland what did they offer? No more than a rehash of policies announced months ago, ignored by the voters then and now as meaningless and incoherent. No guarantee of any specific powers to be devolved – simply a timetable to have a consultation. The truth is we have been here before. In 1979 Scotland was told 'Vote No' and more powers would be devolved. Instead we got Margaret Thatcher, deindustrialisation and the Poll Tax – the most unfair taxation system of all time. Scotland will not be conned again- this time we all know that only a Yes vote delivers real opportunity.

I am convinced that the vision of a positive future for Scotland which has been taken to all parts of the country in energising conversation by the most impressive grassroots campaign this country has ever seen, it is winning the hearts and minds of the people. We have approached this campaign with humility and by respecting the will of the people. The will of the people a week from today will be to restore to this rich, ancient nation the opportunity once again to take its responsible place in the community of nations. This is it – the moment to believe, the moment to win.

