



make together, that fixes what needs to be fixed?" – may or may not result in a majority vote for Yes. But I cannot see how we avoid challenging ourselves to engage with our fellow citizens in this non-aggressive, openly inquiring, friendly way.

How do we grow the sense of confidence and competence that we can handle the risks and opportunities of full self-government?

That the decisions between Plans A, B, C, D or E are ones that we feel capable of making, that we feel our delegates are able to execute – and that, beyond that, that we feel we can revise, according to changing circumstances? How can we become strong and wise?

I have no doubt that those currently designing the anti-indy campaigns feel they have access to a winning formula – where big data meets psychometrics, triggering precise anxieties through customised messaging across the mediascape. They should know that we know that, and that pro-indy forces are preparing their own systems (resources permitting).

Yet we have a resource that is several powers greater than even the cleverest cyber-campaigning technique – and that is the human, social and cultural legacy of the Yes campaign: the countless relationships, and intangible resources, that were built up from 2012 to this very day.

But we have to make a conscious (and perhaps initially uncomfortable) decision to point those relationship-and-meaning-making skills outwards. Rather than just have them sustain our sparkling sense of righteousness.

A surfer awaits the right wave and the moment when his use as a visual metaphor becomes clear...



We can repeat what we know or try to take the solidarity and optimism of the movement on to a different plane

In empathy and kindness, we must reach towards our fellow Scots – many of whom are darker, more troubled and more resistant about whether they might ever be able to shape the direction of their societies – and ask them what kind of country they want to live in.

And whether we get to the desired constitutional destination or not, we probably need to do this in any case. If we don't cross the obvious line, then like the last referendum, we may find we have crossed another, subtler line. In a polarised and polarising era, we may have shown how to have a genuine "national conversation" – a way of being that keeps the basic mechanics of citizenship alive.

I asked a great Scottish sage, the philosopher and environmentalist Alastair McIntosh, for some words on how to resource ourselves for such a challenge – to be calm and constructive, indeed non-dualistic, in the midst of another great dualism. He wrote the following – which also shows one poised and beautiful way to win:

*It's futile to lash out against the social backwash of our times
Neither must we toss around like corks upon a confused sea
We must watch the ocean with a surfer's eye
And when the wave begins to rise with rolling force from deep within
To give our all, and surge upon the waiting shore*

MONDAY:
VONNY MOYES



POEM "WAITING" USED BY PAT KAVE
THE NATIONAL, 18-3-12, PP. 12-13