



Gregory Burke's

BLACK WATCH: Theatre as Cultural Diplomacy

Nicholas J. Cull



Black Watch

Special Thanks

The National Theatre of Scotland's *Black Watch* serves as a catalyst for *British Council Conversations*, a program of events which engage a broad spectrum of audiences in discussing social and political themes arising from the work. Our special thanks to the partners who made the US premiere of *Black Watch* and the dialogue surrounding it possible:

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Foreword

Art has always been central to a nation's attempt to articulate its culture and to define its preoccupations, values, characteristics, challenges and successes. Using approaches ranging from the conventional gift of art to the more complex arena of art-centered capacity-building, cultural diplomacy expands upon these efforts and strives to engage publics abroad with the home country.

Practitioners of public diplomacy—the broader category into which cultural diplomacy falls—have often been criticized for acting as agents of propaganda. However, at the heart of the following paper is the ability of art to explore complex questions in a powerful and creative format, and to act as a driver for dialogue around contentious issues. War, racism, consumerism—all are topics which have been addressed admirably through the medium of theatre in both Britain and America.

This work is the product of Nicholas Cull, a distinguished academic at the University of Southern California's Center on Public Diplomacy. Its intent is similar to that of the British Council and other cultural relations organizations—to stimulate robust debate rather than to arrive at a comfortable consensus. There is no doubt that some of the work discussed is controversial, but the contribution of contemporary art abroad is invaluable in the context of cultural relations, building mutual trust and understanding outside of official political structures.

We would like to offer our special thanks to the Scottish Government, whose support was integral to the presentation of *Black Watch* in the United States.

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Gregory Burke's *Black Watch*: Theatre as Cultural Diplomacy

Nicholas J. Cull

It happened on 4 November 2004, in the vicinity of a base called Camp Dogwood, sweltering in the centre of Babil Governate, some fifty kilometres south of Baghdad, Iraq. Three young Scottish soldiers of the 1st Battalion Black Watch—Sergeant Stuart Gray and Privates Paul Lowe and Scott McArdle—and their Iraqi interpreter died in the blast from a suicide car bomb.¹ They were part of a force of over eight hundred British soldiers who had recently moved from the relative stability of Basra to the so-called 'The Triangle of Death' in Babil to free up American forces for their assault on Fallujah. That battle seemed suspiciously close to the American presidential election. British commentators muttered about young Scots sacrificed on an altar of American politics. The involvement of the Black Watch struck a special chord with the Scottish imagination. The regiment had nearly three hundred years of history including service at Waterloo, Balaclava, and the most brutal battles of the Great War. Members of its pipe band had been informal ambassadors for Scotland for generations. Its distinctive dark tartan graced a host of Scottish or would-be Scottish textiles from kilts to tea cosies. It still recruited from the same tough neighbourhoods in Perthshire, Fife, and Angus. It offered the perfect metaphor for Britain entangled at America's behest in the Middle East. The whole story was compounded by the coincidental and monumentally tactless announcement by the UK Ministry of Defence that

the Black Watch and the four other individual Scottish regiments were to merge into a single Royal Scottish Regiment. The past and future of the Black Watch, and exactly what it meant to Scotland, was suddenly moot. Thus it was that Vicky Featherstone, artistic director of the new National Theatre of Scotland, commissioned rising literary star Gregory Burke to begin work on a play about the story. *Black Watch* is the result.

Burke's *Black Watch* is remarkable for a number of reasons. While not the only play dealing with the British or even the Scottish experience in Iraq, its raw intensity and wider implications for ideas of Scottishness, masculinity and war in general set it ahead of the pack. It struck an immediate chord with audiences, taking the Edinburgh Festival (the UK's great annual international festival of the arts) by storm in the summer of 2006. In the autumn of 2007 it began an ambitious international tour, commencing in Los Angeles and New York with runs in Australia and New Zealand to follow. The tour opens a further aspect of interest for although the play is implicitly critical of British foreign policy and asks difficult questions about Scotland, its travels are supported by major funding from the Scottish Government and have been organized by the British Council, the UK's international cultural relations agency, which is operationally independent but draws a significant part of its budget through the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in London. It is hard to imagine this happening in other times or other places. In terms of the Great War, it is as if Lloyd George's Britain had somehow produced *Oh What a Lovely War* and sent it to Broadway. *Black Watch* is, then, both an event in the history of British/Scottish drama and British/Scottish foreign policy, as a remarkable example of the use of theatre as cultural diplomacy.



Gregory Burke



Gregory Burke and the Creation of *Black Watch*

In a few short years Gregory Burke has established himself as one of Scotland's most compelling playwrights, with a terrific ear for dialogue, sense of place, and a fascination for the collision of the individual and the impersonal forces of history. Born in 1968 into a Fife family that had sent its share of men into the armed services, Burke's father worked at the naval dockyards at Rosyth. As so often happens with the most acute

observers of a place and a people, he spent his formative years away—his dad's work meant that from age eight to 16 he lived in Gibraltar, an experience he has discussed in his play *The Straits*. Returning to Scotland as a teenager in the mid-1980s, Burke was obliged to find his feet in a now alien culture and swiftly re-acquire his native accent. He could never take his surroundings for granted in the same way as his peers. He did not fare well in higher education, dropping out of a degree in Politics and Economics at Stirling after two years. Instead he read widely in literature and drama on his own, and took a variety of jobs to support his interest. From time to time when reading or watching a play he would conclude that he could do as well or better. And so he did. In 2000 he wrote a script for the thriller called *Gagarin Way* and submitted it unsolicited to Edinburgh's Traverse Theatre. The Traverse recognized its brilliance and staged the play to considerable acclaim in 2001. Burke's career as a dramatist had begun.

Burke's commission for *Black Watch* posed a major problem—he needed to collect testimony from within an essentially closed group. Others had tried and failed. Burke had the advantage of being from the same place as his interviewees and even having friends in common, but he swiftly learnt that such links were as nothing to the shared experience of serving in the regiment. Burke turned the difficulty to his advantage by writing the process of collecting testimony



into the play. It provides an efficient mechanism by which the audience gets to know the core characters—a reason for them to speak about themselves and their experiences—and a source for dramatic tension. As in the stage version, Burke really did use an attractive female TV researcher to make the initial contact with Black Watch veterans. The scene in which an interview turns nasty and the writer is threatened with a broken arm is, however, an invention. Burke jokes that he wanted to show what would have happened if one of the London literati had wandered into a Fife pub and attempted to interview the men.

While Burke's own interview process produced a wealth of material, the play is more than an ingeniously edited transcript. It is a confluence of multiple talents including those of director John Tiffany, the associate directors for movement (Steven Hoggett) and music (Davey Anderson), and set designer Laura Hopkins. They collectively placed flesh on Burke's bones during the rehearsal process, working with a small group of actors who were willing to submit themselves to drill instruction from a real Black Watch Sergeant Major. The team took 'verbatim theatre' to a new level. The verbatim approach had long since demonstrated its ability to bring major contemporary issues to the stage,² but *Black Watch* showed that the technique could transcend mere reportage and bring its dialogue alive in a truly theatrical world of movement and physicality. For Burke the play was really brought to life by Steven Hoggett's choreography. Hoggett, who is best known for his work as artistic director of the experimental UK troupe Frantic Assembly, used the soldier's movements to open up the emotional world that is emphatically repressed in their spoken language. In one scene as the men read letters from home they gesture in strange ritualistic movements, which speak simultaneously of a desire to communicate, a burden of being mute, a closed Masonic order impenetrable to outsiders, and the tenderness of the gesture. As the language is masculine so the movement provides a feminine dimension. The source for these and other physical elements in the staging was the soldiers themselves, or rather the hundreds of private snapshots of the Black Watch in Iraq examined during research for the play.

Black Watch Speaks

In *Black Watch* Gregory Burke set out to create a space to allow the ordinary soldiers of the regiment to tell their own stories. The officers and NCOs are marginal to the drama and the Iraqis never appear. The words 'Bush,' 'Blair,' 'Saddam,' and 'weapons of mass destruction' are never heard. Oil is mentioned. The soldiers say their war is about 'Porn and Petrol.' The terms Islam and Muslim are mentioned only in the context of the need to avoid pictures of the porn inside the lads' armoured vehicle appearing on the TV news and causing cultural offence. The result of this soldier's eye view is a play which is pro-soldier—though not pro-war—but which refuses to sentimentalise its subjects. The regiment's language and society seem unrelentingly brutal, but the bond between the men is palpable and movingly drawn. In the closing moments of the play the soldiers deny that they are fighting for any government or country but affirm, 'I fought for my mates.' It is a litany that many soldiers since the days of Sparta would understand, and it has historically been a formidable psychological recruiting sergeant for the army. The desire for brotherhood is a powerful thing. Part of Burke's achievement is to document the mindset without reproducing the effect. The camaraderie here is unenviable. It appears like a perverse analogue of class consciousness. Burke approached the play knowing that the Black Watch are raised in the same towns and pit villages as furnished the ranks of the Scottish labour movement. Their regimental spirit, in Burke's hands, seems like an embezzlement of the resource of class solidarity, which has been misdirected to serve the ends of the Imperial and post-Imperial state.



Black Watch

Approaching the War

An awareness of history is never far from the surface in *Black Watch*. The play engages with multiple streams of history—there is the ‘Golden Thread’ of Black Watch lore—captured in a remarkable scene in which one of the men—Cammy—narrates the whole story of the regiment from their beginnings through the American Revolution, Waterloo, Crimea, and the Great War down to the present. As he speaks, he is passed along a line of his comrades, dressed and redressed in the evolving uniform of the regiment matching the moment in his speech. Then there is the second thread of British involvement in Iraq. Cammy’s history lesson ends with mention of the regiment’s presence in Mesopotamia in 1919 and a sardonic ‘Here we are. Again.’ Elsewhere Cammy and a pal discuss Lawrence of Arabia who they note had also preceded them in Iraq (‘Lucky bastard.’). The disorientation of being caught in the flow of a half understood history is nicely mirrored in Cammy’s irritation at having read only the second half of a torn copy of *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom*. It is a moment worthy of Beckett.



Beneath everything there is the undercurrent of Scottish history. The play challenges the blithe assumption of the patriotic Scot-in-the-street that Whitehall wages the wars and that Scotland is somehow miraculously un-tainted. Burke says: 'Scotland pretends to have no part of exploitation, yet per-head they produce more soldiers than any other part of the UK. Scotland is not just a victim of conquest. Scotland has been part of the brutal suppression of freedom.'³ This whole twist of history is pulled together in the performance of the regimental songs at key moments throughout the play. While originally written as rousing ballads to be roared out in a bar room they are here re-imagined by music director Davey Anderson as laments for the dead.⁴

Other key themes of the Iraq War are here—the role of the media, the relentless boredom of almost every passing hour of the war and the asymmetry between the power of the west and people of Iraq. There is a telling description of a British MILAN anti-tank missile destroying a donkey cart, but the real asymmetry emerges as the men discuss their encounters with their American allies. The men watch in awe as American forces bombard an enemy village with a bewildering arsenal of pyrotechnics and discuss a visit from two absurdly over-pumped Marines eager to trade for regimental souvenirs. The Black Watch trade a redundant pair of extra, extra, extra, extra large t-shirts for a prized 'US army field cot.' The Scots' uncomfortable conclusion is that what they and the Americans are doing is not real soldiering, but 'bullying.' An officer is quoted saying grimly that his men will not find glory in Iraq. One of the last lines spoken in the play by their officer sums up the sense of what has been wasted:

It takes three hundred years to build an army that's admired and respected around the world. But it only takes three years pissing about in the desert in the biggest western foreign policy disaster ever to fuck it up completely.



The Reception of *Black Watch*

At its best theatre has the power to transcend the physical word and—through a union of movement, speech and sound—transport the audience into a wholly new space. From the opening night of *Black Watch* in an old army drill hall it was clear that this was theatre at its best. The rave reviews were matched by an astonishing level of engagement from the audience. Burke was amazed to note that when the play ended each night the audience simply did not want to go home. The National Theatre of Scotland took the play on tour around their country and the response was such that the Scottish Parliament arranged a special staging as part of its opening in the summer of 2007. Despite the difficult language and monumentally anti-social characters, Scotland embraced the soldiers as its own. The next step was to share the play with the world, and introduce *Black Watch* into the realm of cultural diplomacy.

Cultural Diplomacy

Cultural diplomacy is one branch of what has become known as public diplomacy: the attempt by a state or other international player to shape the world through engagement with a foreign public.⁵ Cultural diplomacy has included language teaching, exhibitions, book translation, sporting diplomacy and a wide range of performing arts work. France led the way and still spends vast sums on international cultural work; China has prepared a veritable cultural blitzkrieg to coincide with the Beijing Olympics, while contemporary Thailand uses chefs and cookery master-classes to engage the world. Cultural diplomacy is not restricted to nation states. NGOs and other non-state players have conducted cultural diplomacy and even theatre diplomacy. Peter Ustinov's one-man show tours for UNICEF are just one example of an international organization using culture to both attract attention to its cause and convey elements of its message.⁶

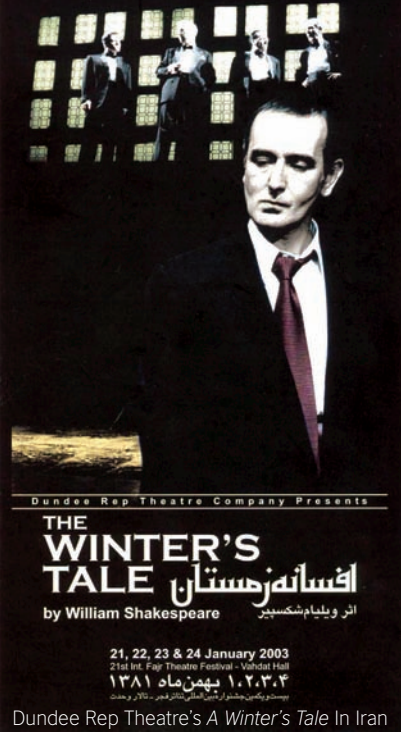
An important recent development in cultural diplomacy is the rise of a sub-state presence. Regions or nations within a larger polity—or even cities—are now using

cultural diplomacy to brand themselves and connect with the world in their own right. In August 2000 when the two-year-old Scottish Government published its first National Cultural Strategy: *Creating Our Future... Minding Our Past*, key priorities included 'Promote International Cultural Exchange and Dialogue.' This same document called for the founding of a National Theatre of Scotland. The evolution of the arts in Scotland and their projection abroad has gone hand in hand.⁷

There is a problem at the heart of cultural diplomacy. While easily aligned with broad foreign policy objectives, cultural diplomacy is best kept fire-walled from regular diplomacy. Cultural diplomacy's credibility springs from this distance and its effectiveness declines the nearer it comes to the official foreign policy apparatus. This has always been the cornerstone of Britain's cultural relations agency—the British Council—established in 1934 to counteract the double threat of democracy from fascism and communism. The British Council has doggedly defended its mandate to present the United Kingdom as it is rather than as a succession of newspaper editors or generations of indignant MPs might wish it to be. The presentation of *Black Watch* is a new venture for Scotland but has noble British antecedents.

Theatre as Cultural Diplomacy

Given the historic role of theatre in helping nations understand who they are in the first place, it was only to be expected that, as nations presented themselves to the world, the dramatic arts would be pressed into service. Theatre operates within cultural diplomacy in four main ways, each with a varying expectation of interactivity with the target public. At its first and most basic level it can be a prestige gift; second, it can be a way of shaping perceptions and informing; third, it can be a mechanism for generating engagement between the originating and target populations; and fourth, it can be part of a strategy to develop the arts and the creative public sphere in the target country.



1) Theatre Diplomacy as a Prestige Gift

As every anthropologist knows, when humans seek to build reciprocal relationships they typically begin with a gift. Notable diplomatic gifts have ranged from innumerable Chinese pandas to France's gift of the Statue of Liberty to the United States. In the case of theatre, the donor country takes an art form which is acknowledged to be the best that the country has to offer and makes it available to a foreign public. Examples of this are legion. This was how the British Council's theatrical diplomacy began, with gambits like the 1938 tour of Mussolini's Italy by the Old Vic.

The prestige gift still has its place. More recent high-profile British Council tours of this kind include the National Theatre production of *Hamlet* in Belgrade in 2001 and the presentation of *A Winter's Tale* in Tehran in 2003, complete with 'culturally sensitive' staging to ensure no men and women touched on stage.⁸ Thus the export of the best of the National Theatre of Scotland flows logically from the theatre's creation, and indeed both the hit shows to emerge from its inaugural season in 2006—*Black Watch* and a children's drama called *Wolves in the Walls*—are to tour internationally thanks to a £200,000 grant from the Scottish Government and the relationship-brokering efforts of the British Council.

2) Theatre Diplomacy as Cultural Information

A second more sophisticated form of theatrical diplomacy uses drama to counter stereotypes of the sponsoring country and develop understanding of life as it is really lived. The United States has used drama to live down its reputation for racism, as in 1954-55 when the Eisenhower administration funded a tour of George Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess*. A self-confident state will even share works which are explicitly critical of its life. The obverse of this approach is to use drama as a way to distract from the realities of life or even to deceive the foreign audience. Soviet-era ballet tours were clearly intended to counter the country's



gulag-grey image with colour and vigour, while touring folk ensembles showcased the traditions of Soviet minorities in an attempt to claim an image of tolerance and diversity for the USSR.

Viewing the latest artistic production can be a line into the lifeblood of a country, for better or worse. The British Council has become especially identified with a willingness to tell the uncomfortable truths about life as seen from Britain through its drama. Controversial episodes include the 1998 tour of Mark Ravenhill's attack on 1990s consumer society: *Shopping and Fucking*. David Blunkett, the Minister of Education at the time, opined, 'I understand it's full of foul language... Shakespeare didn't need that, did he?' The British Council defended the play as 'great British writing.' Audiences generally agreed.⁹

The tour of *Black Watch* is a clear example of the use of cultural diplomacy to raise an issue of controversy. Given the prominence of the War on Terror and Iraq as a theme in contemporary British theatre—with plays including Victoria Brittain and Gillian Slovo's *GUANTANAMO*, David Hare's *Stuff Happens*, Richard Norton-Taylor's *Justifying War: Scenes from the Hutton Enquiry*, and Simon Levy's *What I Heard About Iraq*—not representing at least one such drama in the British Council's programming would have been a misrepresentation of British cultural life.¹⁰ By sharing such work internationally the British Council is acting as a credible conduit for British culture. It is helping to build a reputation for itself and for Britain as honest and trustworthy, as a resource for future contact with publics around the world.

3) Theatre Diplomacy and Dialogue

At its most complex theatre can be a diplomatic device to open a two way conversation and exchange. This ranges from facilitating the exhibition of the work of others in one's own country to engagement of foreign producers and directors for mutual development to the selection of plays with an agenda to create new discussions and even to challenge taboos. Recent US State Department initiatives have included funds to bring international performers together in locations like the UCLA Center for Intercultural Performance, and support for the Pegasus Players project which has brought small groups of youth arts professionals from the Middle East to the US, and sent their American counterparts to Jordan and Morocco to create work in dialogue with local youth theatres for one another to perform.¹¹

Arts festivals are a long-standing venue for the best inter-cultural cross fertilization. The connection between festivals and cultural diplomacy was explicit in the creation of the Edinburgh International Festival in 1947. The British Council's Scottish representative Henry Harvey Wood co-founded the festival with the Austrian-born opera impresario Rudolf Bing.¹² The festival has remained a boon for the British Council's work in the performing arts and for numerous other cultural relations agencies like the Australia Council who send their most prestigious or innovative performers each year. The British Council now organizes a special biennial Edinburgh Showcase, which brings the best new British work to the attention of an invited audience of approximately 250 international theatre professionals. The British work is made known to a larger audience and the theatre professionals develop their own inter-relationships, largely through the brokering efforts of the British Council.¹³





On occasion the dialogue stimulated by the performance is internal to the overseas audience. In 2003 the British Council took an acclaimed work called *L.O.V.E.*—based on Shakespeare’s sonnets and created by the Swansea-based company Volcano—to Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia. In Georgia a male-to-male kiss in the first act triggered a walk-out by sections of the audience on opening night. The show closed immediately. In Azerbaijan the kiss was greeted with wild applause. In both cases the performance prompted debate and was seen by the British Council as a win.¹⁴

Sometimes the audience to be challenged has been British, as when the British Council has taken classic British work overseas, transformed it by working with foreign artists and then reintroduced the re-imagined work to the UK. The best known recent example of this was director Tim Supple’s work in India with Shakespeare’s *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*. A hybrid treatment of the play with a cast of Indian artists, street children and in seven languages, the work first toured India to acclaim and is now touring the UK.¹⁵

Given that the opening of *Black Watch* in the United States has included a range of panels, discussions and invitations to debate what is on stage, the play can also be seen as an open invitation to a conversation. From the form of the play to its political implications, there is certainly plenty to talk about.

4) Theatre Diplomacy and ‘Capacity Building.’

There is a final aspect to theatre diplomacy, which falls into the category of capacity building. Accepting that a healthy arts scene is an important part of a democratic public sphere, a number of western countries have sought to encourage and/or ingratiate themselves with rising generations of writers and performers around the world. Several major cultural relations agencies bring the next generation of theatre professionals on study trips to be mentored by their arts establishment. The Kennedy Center in Washington has been an especially significant destination. Britain has also been swift to export its own theatrical leaders to act as mentors in situ. Participants have included Mark Ravenhill and Sarah Kane, author of the notorious plays *Blasted* and *4:48 Psychosis*.¹⁶ While the tour of *Black Watch* is plainly not intended to develop the theatrical capacities of the western world, exposure to its vivid technique might strike a chord with a new audience and encourage other artists to bring testimony from their own communities to the stage. That, after all, was how Gregory Burke began his career, viewing work by others and thinking: ‘I could do that.’

For the Black Watch the War in Iraq has marked the end of an era of soldiering. For Scotland the international exhibition of Burke’s *Black Watch* is part of the beginning of a new era of artistic self-representation. The play is an invitation to a conversation. What those conversations will be and the work that will be generated in response remain to be seen.

Nicholas J. Cull

Los Angeles, August 2007

End Notes:

- ¹ The interpreter's name was withheld from reports of the incident to protect his family.
- ² Notable examples include Richard Norton-Taylor's *The Colour of Justice* on the case of murdered Black British teenager Stephen Lawrence, David Hare's *Permanent Way*, which dealt with the crisis in British railways or Tanika Gupta's *Gladiator Games*, about the murder of a young South Asian man in Feltham Young Offenders Institute.
- ³ Burke interview with the author.
- ⁴ The insight is perhaps unsurprising. Anderson was himself the author of an acclaimed Scottish Iraq War play, *Snuff*, which took the Edinburgh Fringe by storm in 2005. The themes of that play—masculinity in crisis whether one fights in Iraq or stays home in the madhouse of a housing estate—run through *Black Watch*.
- ⁵ The organized export of culture is one means to this end; other tools of public diplomacy range from systematic listening, through advocacy work, to educational exchanges and international news broadcasting.
- ⁶ In the Ustinov case the message was embedded in the actors own eclectic internationalism.
- ⁷ For the strategy see <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/nationalculturalstrategy/docs/cult-01.asp> and on its implementation see *National Cultural Strategy First Report*, 25 October 2001 online at <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/158792/0043111.pdf>.
- ⁸ Steve Crawshaw, 'Shakespeare goes to Serbia; Two years ago Britain bombed Belgrave. Now the National Theatre has sent its Hamlet as a gesture of peace.' *The Independent*, 18 February 2001, pp. 1, 2; Dan De Luce in Tehran and Jeevan Vasagar, 'Curtain up, veils down: Bard builds a bridge with Iran, *Winter's Tale* blazes trail with Iranians starved of culture.' *The Guardian*, 22 January 2003.
- ⁹ Lorna Duckworth, 'Blunkett attack on rent boy play cash,' *Mail on Sunday*, 22 March 1998, p. 18; Martin Bright, Richard Brooks and Roger Tredre, 'Blunkett slams grant for 'foul' drama,' *The Observer*, 22 March 1998, p. 3; John McKie, 'How Mark went shopping for a worldwide hit, *Evening Standard*, 19 January 1998, p. 52. Less controversial activity along similar lines include the much praised 'Londres sur Scene' season of 2000 in which the British Council brought seven pieces of contemporary British drama to three Paris theatres. 'Les Britanniques arrivent!' *The Guardian*, 18 April 2000, p. 16.
- ¹⁰ For discussion see Kate Kellaway, 'Theatre of War,' *The Observer*, 29 August 2004. Discontent over the War on Terror has already been part of the British Council's program as in 2003 when Henry Adam's *The People Next Door* went to Bosnia. That play is a post 9/11 political farce in which three citizens of multi-cultural Britain struggle to avoid being set at odds by a crazed secret policeman. Joyce McMillan, 'Bosnia holds lessons in nation-building,' *The Scotsman*, 16 October 2004.
- ¹¹ See U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Cultural Programs Division, Grants Awarded 2006 at <http://exchanges.state.gov/education/citizens/culture/grants/awarded.htm>
- ¹² George Bruce, *Festival in the North: The Story of the Edinburgh Festival*. Robert Hale & Co., London, 1975, pp. 17-24.
- ¹³ Brian Logan, 'Edinburgh Festival: Must-sees that you can't see: A secret showcase of top fringe shows is great for theatre companies - but what about audiences,' *The Guardian*, 16 August 2001, p. 11.
- ¹⁴ Peter Aspden, 'Does this look like the best way to sell Britain?' *Financial Times*, July 25 2003.
- ¹⁵ Mark Brown 'National: Indian summer: Shakespeare classic in seven languages.' *The Guardian*, 1 November 2006, p. 14.
- ¹⁶ Ravenhill has a relationship with the Baltic States and Kane travelled to the Netherlands for the British Council in 1998.

Images labelled Black Watch in this publication are courtesy of the National Theatre of Scotland's original production and are credited to photographer Manuel Harlan.

ABOUT NICHOLAS CULL

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His research and teaching interests are broad and inter-disciplinary, centering on the history and the present role of culture, information, news and propaganda in foreign policy. He is author of the recent report for the Foreign and Commonwealth Office: *Public Diplomacy, Lessons from the Past*, and the forthcoming *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945-1989* (Cambridge University Press 2008).

He is president of the International Association for Media and History, a fellow of the Royal Historical Society and a member of the Public Diplomacy Council.

ABOUT THE USC CENTER ON PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AT THE ANNENBERG SCHOOL

The USC Center on Public Diplomacy at the Annenberg School was established in 2003 as a partnership between the USC Annenberg School for Communication and USC College of Letters, Arts & Sciences' School of International Relations. It is a joint research and professional training center dedicated to furthering the study and practice of public diplomacy in the United States and around the world. For more information, please visit www.uscpublicdiplomacy.org.

ABOUT THE BRITISH COUNCIL

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