SCOTLAND’S FOR EUROPE
With latest polling suggesting that the SNP is seen as the most anti-Brexit party in the UK, Nicola Sturgeon is urging voters to deliver a "stop Brexit" message and to keep Scotland at the very heart of Europe.
Welcome to our Manifesto for the 2019 European Parliament elections.

This vote is far and away the most important European election ever held in Scotland. And it is the opportunity Scotland has been waiting for our voice to be heard – here at home and across Europe.

This election is a chance for Scotland to make clear we reject the narrow, divisive and toxic agenda that has driven the Brexit debate. Scotland faces being dragged out of the European Union against our democratic will. All our efforts to be heard on Brexit have been met with a brick wall.

The SNP wants Scotland to be part of an EU that safeguards workers’ rights, helps protect our environment and allows us to travel, work and live freely. EU markets – eight times bigger than the UK alone – are vital for our businesses, and for our agriculture and fishing sectors.

The ambitions we have to tackle climate change and build a low carbon economy will be easier to achieve by working together with other EU nations. The policies in this Manifesto are designed to make the lives of everyone in Scotland better, and to make the EU work more effectively for all of our citizens.

On May 23 we can send a message that we will not accept a Brexit process that silences Scotland’s voice, ignores our votes, treats our Parliament and Government with contempt and fails to represent the interests of people in Scotland.

The EU has been at the centre of Europe’s drive for peace and prosperity for many decades. It is not perfect, but Scotland can play its part in making it better.

The SNP is Scotland’s voice for and in Europe. We will keep working with others across the UK to stop Brexit. We will support a People’s Vote that offers the option to Remain. And if the UK is heading for a no-deal Brexit, we’ll back revoking Article 50.

And we will ensure that Scotland’s future is not left to Westminster to decide. We want people to have the choice of a future for Scotland as an independent, European nation.

Scotland’s for Europe – let’s make that loud and clear on May 23. Vote SNP.
Scotland’s future belongs in Europe.

Let’s keep it there.
Scotland has always been a European nation. Our culture, history, trade and international alliances have long been defined by relations with our near neighbours.

Europe helps to make us a modern, optimistic, multicultural country. And so membership of the European Union is not just about economic and social benefits. It is about the values we cherish – freedom, democracy, the rule of law, equality, respect for human dignity and human rights.

In our world today, these values are under attack from the forces of intolerance and extremism. But they are values that we must fight for and stand up for – and the SNP will always do so.

**Why does the EU matter to Scotland?**

EU membership is extremely important to Scotland. In 2016, the majority of the people of Scotland voted to remain within the European Union, across every council area.

Since then the SNP has worked with other parties in the European Parliament, Scottish Parliament and at Westminster to defend the interests of Scotland.

Membership of the European Union is right for Scotland. EU member states are all independent countries, coming together to work for the common good. And while not perfect, it is one of the world’s most progressive economic and social communities. We believe that the best way to build a more prosperous and equal Scotland is to be a full independent member of the EU.

**Advantages of being in the EU:**

- **Peace and stability** - Since its foundation, the European Union has brought peace and prosperity across the continent. It has advanced democracy and led the way in encouraging all nations to work towards best practice in government. The EU has been particularly beneficial for small countries - almost half of the current 28 members are around the same size as, or smaller, than Scotland. They take part in everything as equal partners and take turns in leading the EU committees. MEPs are a key part of a democratic decision making process in the EU.

- **Jobs and funding** - Around 300,000 Scottish jobs rely on the EU single market. Every community and sector of our economy has benefited from our membership. European grants and loans have supported major infrastructure projects like the Aberdeen Peripheral Route, and funding from special budgets in the EU has allowed the Scottish Government to increase college places and provide extra training for young people.
- **Trade and regulation** – The EU, which is home to over 500 million citizens, is one of the world’s largest single markets – eight times the size of the UK. Free trade within the EU is essential for many Scottish businesses, and the EU single market rules underpin our key workplace rights whilst encouraging high standards of safety.

- **Food, farming and the environment** – The food we eat, the air we breathe and the water we drink are all improved by our membership of the EU. Scotland has been working with the EU to tackle climate change and the loss of biodiversity, losing these projects and high environmental standards would be devastating for our environment and our wellbeing.

- **Freedom of movement** – As citizens within the EU we can live, work and study freely across the whole of Europe with no barriers or difficult paperwork. Anyone can choose to move to another EU country and be guaranteed the same rights and access to benefits on exactly the same terms as local people. So, if you retire to Spain, your pension will still be paid to you. In Scotland, EU nationals make a huge contribution to our public services, our universities and to many of our industries like meat and fish processing, agriculture and tourism. Rural Scotland is particularly dependent on EU nationals and many sectors are already suffering severe staff shortages.

The SNP wants the UK to remain in the EU. However, experience tells us that Westminster priorities are not always Scotland’s priorities.

That is why it would be better to be one of the EU’s small independent nations. Independence would bring a huge change for the better. The EU nations, from the largest to the smallest, have come together to share sovereignty for mutual benefit, and on the basis of equality and common values.

The respect, support and solidarity smaller nations like Ireland receive in return stands in stark contrast to the contemptuous treatment of Scotland by Westminster. That is why it is now time for Scotland to become a truly equal partner both across the British Isles and in the EU.

It’s time to take our place among the family of independent European nations.

**OUR PRIORITIES**

- We’ll keep working with others across the UK to stop Brexit.
- We’re backing a People’s Vote that will give the option to remain.
- We’ll offer people a choice of a future for Scotland as an independent, European nation.
- We’ll support revoking Article 50 if a no-deal Brexit is the only alternative.
WHAT DOES THE EU DO FOR ME?

EU CITIZENSHIP

The SNP believe that Scotland benefits enormously from the contribution made by citizens of EU countries, and from the opportunity that free movement offers to Scots living and working in other EU countries.

People from the EU who have chosen Scotland as their home deserve better than a toxic Tory Brexit. EU citizens play a crucial role in our economy, our public services and our communities - and Scotland welcomes them.

Yet, Brexit has meant that the 235,000 Europeans living here are forced to apply for the right to stay in their homes and their jobs. They’re threatened with being split from their partners and children. With a no-deal Brexit, there is a risk they could be forced to leave.

The SNP has invested £800,000 to fund advice and support services for those affected by the changes to immigration rules caused by Brexit. We fought successfully for the settled status fee to be scrapped and we continue to argue that EU citizens should be able to declare their status, not have to apply to retain their rights. We have also guaranteed free tuition to eligible EU students in 2020/21 for the duration of their course, even in the event of a no deal. The UK Government is yet to do the same.

We will continue to fight for European Scots and their families, and for Scotland to have the powers to deliver our own tailor-made migration policy.

PROTECTING YOUR RIGHTS

Human Rights

It is essential that fundamental rights across Europe are protected, especially those of minority and disadvantaged groups.

The European Convention on Human Rights is enshrined in the Scotland Act 1998, meaning human rights are protected by the Scottish Government. The SNP have consistently opposed the UK Government’s attempts to scrap the Human Rights Act.

We have confirmed that the SNP Government will retain the Charter of Fundamental Rights. This includes the protection of rights, such as the right to petition, freedom of expression, and protection of the rights of the elderly.
Consumer Rights

As a citizen of the EU, you have robust legal protection against faulty goods and unfair business practices. For example, if you buy any item in the EU, either online or from a shop, and it is different from how it is advertised or it does not work properly, you have the right to a free repair or replacement. European Consumer Centres offer you free advice and support when you buy goods or services from a trader in another EU country and give tips to help you avoid potentially costly problems. The EU’s rapid alert system allows member states to quickly notify others across Europe if a product is discovered to be a risk to health and safety.

We benefit in many ways from EU protections and yet we have received no clarity as to whether the UK Government will replicate these safeguards post-Brexit. With consumer spending accounting for two-thirds of the Scottish economy, SNP representatives will work to protect and extend our existing rights.

FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

Freedom of movement, the ability to live, work, travel and study freely across European Member States, has been extremely positive for Scotland. Whether you want to retire to Spain or work in Germany, you have been able to do this without any barriers thanks to our membership of the EU.

Scotland is a welcoming and progressive country, and we value the contribution of all those who choose to make Scotland their home.

With people living longer, we need more working-age people to help grow our population, build our economy and sustain our public services. Freedom of movement has helped us to do just that.

EU citizens enrich our communities and we welcome the diversity they bring to all corners of Scotland.

Our friends, neighbours and colleagues from elsewhere in the EU also make an enormous contribution to Scotland’s economy. On average every additional EU citizen working in Scotland contributes £34,400 in GDP.

Ending freedom of movement would be disastrous for Scotland, and particularly disruptive to our remote, rural and island communities.

Even if EU migration falls by 50 per cent, it would cost Scotland almost £6.8 billion a year in GDP by 2040. That is an unacceptable price for Scotland to pay.

Maintaining EU membership and freedom of movement is the best possible way to secure Scotland’s future needs, giving employers access to one of the world’s largest labour markets.
THE SINGLE MARKET

The European single market is central to Scotland’s economy and place in the world. The single market ensures that people, goods and services can move freely anywhere within the EU, and is worth an estimated £14.9 billion to the Scottish economy.

The scale of the single market means that the EU can secure advantageous free trade deals, providing further export opportunities, such as Japan, Vietnam and South Korea, and help to protect our quality branded products.

Ahead of the latest Brexit extension, the UK had only secured agreement to continue nine trade deals, leaving our economy at real risk.

Leaving the EU and the single market would cut Scotland’s GDP by around £9 billion by 2030 and risk an estimated 300,000 jobs.

For the SNP, whatever the outcome of Brexit, Scotland’s place in the single market is non-negotiable.

We believe in defending a robust, fair, open and rules-based trading system. It is clear that, for consumers, trade agreements can lower prices, offer more choice and create business opportunities, whilst upholding high standards of consumer protection, social rights and environmental rules.

We will continue to support greater flexibility within EU regulations to empower the Scottish Parliament and press for better regulation where required.

EU membership delivers effective and beneficial trade deals for Scotland, and electing SNP MEPs will ensure that Scotland’s voice is heard when these deals are negotiated.

With a seat at the top table as an independent country, we could help shape trade rules to benefit Scottish trade directly.

FUNDING FOR SCOTTISH PROJECTS

Scotland receives significant funding from the EU. For the period 2014 to 2020, Scotland will receive around £410 million from the European Regional Development Fund, which has contributed to improving infrastructure and building a sustainable, low-carbon Scotland.

So far, we have used funding from the Regional Development programme to support projects across the country, including the Orkney Research Campus, the Rothesay Pavilion and low carbon travel in the Highlands.

In addition, around £400 million from the European Social Fund is helping the third sector to tackle poverty and help people into employment.
These funds have helped us support our goals of improving lives, helping businesses to innovate and grow, promoting inclusive growth and promoting Scotland on the international stage.

Funding programmes such as Creative Europe and Horizon 2020 have been extremely valuable to Scotland, supporting international networks, partnerships, learning and cultural exchange, which benefit communities across the length and breadth of the country.

Continued membership of the EU is crucial in guaranteeing access to these transformative opportunities, so Scotland can continue to be world-renowned for its heritage and creative excellence.

The SNP Government has also had huge success in using European funding to turn away from ruinously expensive Public Private Partnership/Private Finance Initiative projects from Scotland, providing much-needed capital investments during the recession and delivering more value for the Scottish taxpayer.

The UK Government has given no detail around how it intends to replace these schemes, the degree of flexibility and autonomy Scotland will have or how much money it will provide. There is a real risk that the Tory government will centralise funds in London and ignore the voice of Scotland’s communities. The SNP will oppose any attempts to reduce the role or influence of the Scottish Parliament in determining how such funds are best invested.

As an independent country, Scotland would have a voice at the European Council which would provide Scotland with the means to shape future budget spending.

LOOKING AFTER YOUR HEALTH

Scotland already leads the way in how we govern Health and Social Care. Many EU citizens currently work in health and social care settings in Scotland, and we value their contribution greatly.

Currently one of the founding principles of the NHS is access to free healthcare at the point of delivery, patients can access new medicines quickly through the European Medicines Agency. Any impact on regulatory checks could see delays in medicines coming into the country. This could include delays in importing radio isotopes used in the treatment of cancer. These isotopes cannot be stockpiled and any delay would be devastating for cancer sufferers.

EU membership also gives us the European Health Insurance Card – ensuring treatment for Scots who fall ill while elsewhere in the EU. There is also a range of reciprocal healthcare agreements in place as a result of EU membership.
All these vital, life-saving agreements are put in jeopardy by leaving the EU, and the SNP will fight to protect them.

**KEEPING YOU SAFER**

EU nations work together to keep citizens safe, cooperating across security and law enforcement.

Vital EU tools and databases, like the European Arrest Warrant, assist Police Scotland, the Crown Office and the Procurator Fiscal Service in fighting crime across borders and keep people safe.

The loss of EU systems, such as Europol, Passenger Name Records and the Schengen Information System, caused by Brexit will present significant challenges for Police Scotland in being able to respond quickly to apprehend suspects.

The strengthening of internal security is, more than ever, an international affair. Cooperation at the European level is paramount in dealing with the challenges of terrorism, human trafficking and cyber-security.

**INVESTING IN PIONEERING RESEARCH**

Scotland’s universities are amongst the best in the world and as a result receive substantial funding from the EU. In the first four years of the current EU research programme, Scottish organisations secured around £455 million, with universities receiving 73 per cent of Scottish funding.

However, the benefits of being part of these funding programmes are not just monetary. The advantages for supporting international research collaboration, pooling data and establishing consistent funding structures are also vitally important, particularly to the life sciences industry. And over one quarter of full time research staff at Scottish institutions are EU nationals.

Horizon Europe, the new simplified funding programme, and the EU’s flagship student exchange programme, Erasmus+, will be bigger than ever between 2021 and 2027.

We will fight to ensure that the full benefits of Erasmus+ continue to be enjoyed in Scotland, including the tripling of participants in the next cycle of the programme – giving more students in Scotland the opportunity to study in Europe.

For both Horizon Europe and Erasmus+, the ability of people to move freely across the continent is absolutely crucial. So far the UK Government has provided no clarity at all for universities and students on the future. The SNP wants to continue to take full advantage of these opportunities and will continue to fight for the right to access these funds.
SUPPORT FOR THE RURAL ECONOMY

Fisheries and Maritime

The SNP has a long record of standing up for Scotland’s coastal communities, and places a priority on our fishing and aquaculture sectors. We will continue to work to provide a productive and sustainable approach to fisheries management in the future – with an evidence-based approach to managing and delivering future opportunities using the best available science, to ensure a thriving industry both on and offshore.

Europe is the most important export destination for Scotland’s fish and seafood exports, with salmon being the UK’s most valuable food export. The UK exports 75 per cent of the fish it catches, with three quarters of that going to the EU. With around 4,500 EU nationals working in fish processing, we need to ensure that they are allowed to remain in their Scottish communities.

EU investment has also supported new port and harbour facilities, fishing vessels, aquaculture and improved processing facilities. Scotland will benefit from around £150 million from the European and Maritime Fisheries Fund between 2014 and 2020, but because the UK failed to put Scotland’s interests first, we get less than we are entitled to. Scotland gets only 2 per cent of the support available through the Fisheries Fund, despite having 9 per cent of Europe’s waters. The SNP will continue to make the case for fair funding for Scotland’s fishing communities.

The Tories betrayed our fishing industry in the 1970s, dismissing the livelihoods of our coastal communities as ‘expendable’.

Under the Common Fisheries Policy (CFP), the UK Government has regularly traded away our interests and put those of fishing communities elsewhere in the UK ahead of those in Scotland. And this sell out has continued with Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement which, if implemented, would be profoundly detrimental to our seafood industry. We will fight against any attempts to sell out Scotland’s fishing communities.

With Scotland holding the fourth largest catching area in EU waters, we will continue to press for powers over fishing to be fully in the control of the Scottish Parliament if we leave the EU. An independent Scottish Parliament could have avoided the disastrous situation the Tories have left our fishing communities to face by having our own seat in the annual negotiations.

If we remain within the EU, the SNP will push, as we always have, for reform of the CFP to shift from a one size fits all fishing policy towards a policy which suits different fleets and different geography.
A thriving fishing industry is a diverse one and we will work within international guidelines to help it grow sustainably, with benefits flowing to our coastal communities. Any rules, restrictions or obligations that apply to a Scottish vessel fishing in Scottish waters should equally apply to any other vessel permitted to fish in Scottish waters.

**Agriculture**

Agriculture is the jewel in the crown of Scotland’s rural economy, supplying a nutritious and diverse range of food and drink. It also provides Scotland with valuable exports and revenues, stimulates jobs and growth and helps maintain our outstanding natural landscapes and environment.

Scotland currently receives around £580 million each year through the EU’s Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). This money provides a lifeline for many farmers and is vital for our rural economy, but the UK Government has offered no guarantee that this funding will continue after 2020 if we leave the European Union.

However, Scotland is entitled to more. Because the amount that Scotland’s farmers receive per hectare is much lower than the EU average, the UK Government was paid an uplift by the European Commission. Instead of passing on this money in full to Scotland, Westminster short-changed Scotland’s farmers by £160 million.

CAP will be reformed over the next five years, and we would look to introduce a framework that is simpler, more flexible and focused on the outcomes that are delivered, including shifting to more sustainable farming.

Up to 10,000 EU citizens are employed in food and drink, particularly in food processing and manufacturing, and another 10,000 seasonal workers are employed in the soft fruit and vegetable sectors. Freedom of movement is vital to these businesses and industries.

Scotland’s natural larder helps to create produce that is respected and renowned around the world, including whisky, Stornoway Black Pudding, Arbroath Smokies, Dunlop Cheese and Scotch Lamb.

Staying in the EU allows us to protect and promote their identities through Protected Geographical Indications. The UK Government still can’t tell us what would replace this if we leave. We will fight for our protected brands to remain Scottish.

Crucially, staying in the EU allows us to continue to opt out of cultivating GM crops. The EU has also rebuffed US attempts to lower labelling standards for GM produced food – staying in the EU allows Scottish produce to be protected against unwelcome trade deals.
PROTECTING OUR PLANET

Scotland is a world-leader in tackling climate change. Proposed new Scottish legislation commits us to reaching net-zero greenhouse gas emissions by 2045 at the latest, and being carbon neutral by 2040. The SNP is committed to tackling the climate emergency facing us.

The EU has a triple target for 2020, known as the 20-20-20 goals: 20 per cent reduction of carbon emissions compared to 1990, 20 per cent of energy to come from renewables, and a 20 per cent increase in energy efficiency. While we welcome the direction of travel, we think this needs to go further.

SNP MEPs will argue for a European-wide Green New Deal that recognises the scale of the climate emergency we face, and will press the EU to increase the scale of its ambition accordingly.

A strong SNP voice in Europe means Scotland can play a lead role in improving the energy market across the EU and protecting the environment for future generations.

Greater amounts of renewable energy means lower wholesale energy prices, so developing the internal energy market will result in a better deal for consumers across the EU.

We also have some of the best renewable resource potential in the world. Renewable energy generation in Scotland reached record levels in 2018, providing the equivalent of 75 per cent of gross electricity consumption. In stark contrast, the UK Government has slashed support for many renewable projects in recent years.

Ground breaking renewable energy projects in Scotland, such as the European Offshore Wind Deployment Centre and tidal power project Meygen, have been made possible with the help of EU funding.

Through the EU, Scotland receives designated funding of £525 million to deliver environmental objectives. £60 million alone is reserved for our environmental public bodies including SEPA, the Royal Botanic Gardens in Edinburgh and Zero Waste Scotland.

We are determined to put a stop to Brexit, however if we are dragged out of the EU against our will, we are committed to maintaining or exceeding current EU environment standards to secure all the benefits a healthy natural environment brings to our economy and society, and to protect our environment for generations to come.
ANIMAL WELFARE

Approximately 80 per cent of UK animal welfare laws originate from the EU, ranging from banning cosmetic testing on animals to setting standards on farming conditions for livestock. The protection of these rights is a priority for the SNP.

The SNP will uphold the Five Freedoms of farm animals and the Lisbon Treaty’s formal recognition that animals are sentient beings.

SNP MEPs supported CCTV in abattoirs, establishment of local slaughterhouses to reduce the need for long transport times, and robust action against puppy smuggling. Brexit must not be allowed to undermine the strong animal welfare provisions that currently guard domestic and wild animals against exploitation, suffering, or cruel treatment.

A NEW DIGITAL WORLD

Digital technologies continue to dramatically transform our world, bringing both opportunities and new risks. The potential gain in GDP from a complete EU digital single market could amount to €415 billion a year for the EU.

The EU’s Digital Single Market strategy aims to open up digital opportunities for people and business and enhance Europe’s position as a world leader in the digital economy. The advantages of cooperating with our neighbours to enable health data to be accessed, used and managed securely across borders, allowing researchers to access data in order to fight disease, is a benefit for every one of us.

Brexit threatens Scottish businesses’ ability to continue online trade with EU markets – with the potential loss of 500 million EU consumers, who generated €530 billion in sales in 2017.

Copyright is an important part of this discussion. It is essential to Scotland’s creative sector, and to all of us, as digital citizens, that we have a strong voice to promote both privacy online and fair remuneration for our vital creative and digital industries.

The abolition of roaming charges is a huge benefit to consumers, and there is no guarantee that this will continue after Brexit.

SNP MEPs have been vocal in their demands for a common European cybersecurity approach and the need to raise awareness of cyber-resilience.

CREATING A FAIRER ECONOMY

Scotland has the chance of becoming a global leader in creating an economy that benefits everyone, and offers decent jobs, sustainability, social inclusiveness, and stability.
Creating a fairer society is fundamental to the beliefs of the SNP and is essential to the sustainable, long-term prosperity of the Scottish economy.

The SNP will continue to support fairer tax principles and oppose the continuing tax privileges granted to large multinational corporations and high-wealth individuals.

We will continue to crack down on tax havens, tax evasion, tax avoidance and money laundering in the global fight against tax injustice.

**HELPING THE MOST VULNERABLE**

The issue of migration clearly demonstrates that Europe cannot and must not isolate itself from the wider world. The people of Scotland and the Scottish Government have long promoted a humane response to migrants and refugees.

SNP MEPs will continue to call on the EU to fulfil its humanitarian responsibilities by welcoming and protecting refugees arriving in Europe and by applying the EU’s considerable assets in international development.

**PROMOTING SCOTLAND AS A TOURIST HOTSPOT**

Whether it is our scenery, our history or our fantastic food and drink, many elements draw people to our wonderful country. Tourism contributes around £6 billion of GDP to the Scottish economy.

Scotland has a world-leading reputation for being a creative, innovative nation rich in heritage, and our international standing has been enhanced through our membership of the European Union.

Fundamental to our future as a vibrant, confident country is the collaboration, exchange of ideas and sharing of knowledge and skills between artists and organisations that the EU facilitates.

Six of the top ten countries for tourism into Scotland are European nations. Leaving the EU risks damage to Scotland’s international image as a country that is open for tourism and any decision by the UK to impose visas for EU tourists could act as a deterrent.

Any risk to freedom of movement will impact on our tourism sector, an industry where EU nationals make up a large part of the workforce. Over 13 per cent of the hospitality sector’s workforce are EU Nationals, compared with just five per cent of the economy as a whole.
KEEPING TRANSPORT ACCESSIBLE

Leaving the EU risks more disruptive travel and reduced connectivity between mainland Europe and Scotland.

Scotland’s trade with mainland Europe depends on swift flow through ports and airports with minimum formalities. If we leave the EU, we risk long border checks and certification requirements that will hinder trade, which would be particularly problematic for supplies of safety critical imports like medicines and exports of time sensitive goods, such as Scottish seafood.

Direct flights between Scotland and mainland Europe help with speedy trade, and are particularly important for our food and drink industry. For road haulage, again there is no certainty what will happen if we leave, a situation which could mean UK hauliers are unable to operate in mainland Europe.

The transport sector employs many EU nationals, from HGV drivers to crew on ferries - we’ll push for access to continue. We will keep working to ensure that EU crews on Northern Isles ferries, who stay on the ferries while working, can return to their home countries easily when not on duty.

This publication is also available in audio, large print, easy read and Braille. If you would like a copy in these formats, please contact us.

Scottish National Party
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The SNP’s six candidates – three men and three women – are led by Alyn Smith, who has been an MEP since 2004. Christian Allard, who was born in France and now lives in Aberdeen, is second on the list of candidates, followed by the party’s former environment minister Aileen McLeod, ex-Rutherglen and Hamilton West MP Margaret Ferrier, Scottish Borders councillor and organic farmer Heather Anderson, and youth activist and SNP national executive committee member Alex Kerr.

Pictured from left to right: Alex Kerr, Margaret Ferrier, Aileen McLeod, Alyn Smith, Christian Allard and Heather Anderson.
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