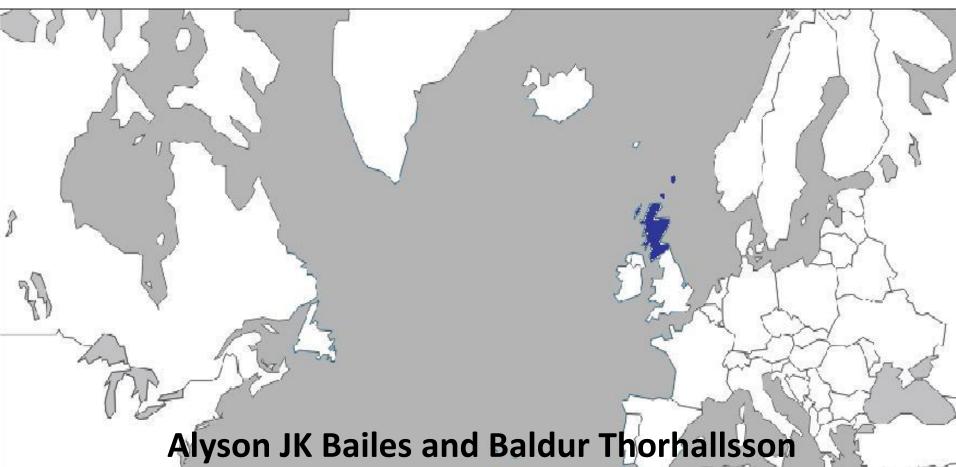
Scotland as an Independent Small State: Where would it seek shelter?



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Structure

- Small states/the literature
- Alliance-making/shelter
- Benefits and Costs of shelter
- The Nordic/Baltic States
- Scotland's Case: The process
- Four principal shelters
- The Nordic comparison/relationship
- The Arctic angle
- Summary

What is a small state?

Key variables

- Small in comparison with others
- Relational conceptualization

Studies/Cases

Scotland and Nordic nations: comparison of variables commonly used to define size of states

	Population (thousands)	Territory (sq. km.)	GDP per capita (\$)	Military Capacity		
				Military Spending (% of GDP)	Armed Force Personnel	
					Active	Reserves
Sweden	9.453	450.295	39.236	1,3	21.070	200.000
Denmark	5.574	43.094	40.170	1,5	18.707	53.507
Finland	5.387	338.145	36.477	1,4	22.250	350.000
Scotland ¹	5.254	78.772	41.189	(UK 2,6)	(UK 178.470)	(UK 82.274)
Norway	4.952	323.802	57.231	1,5	26.450	45.250
Iceland	319	103.000	35.642	none	none	none
Greenland	57	2.166.000	-	none	none	none
Faroe Islands	49	1.393	-	none	none	none

Key concepts of the literature

- Vulnerability
- Capabilities

– Economic problems!

– Political problems!

How can small states compensate for their vulnerability?

Domestic arrangements

- External arrangements
 - Alliance formation
 - Bilateral relations
 - Multilateral organizations

Seeking shelter

Bilateral or Multilateral

- Compensate for greater vulnerability
 - Small economy, economic fluctuations ...
 - Limited domestic/international political power ...

Limits political and economic constraints

Shelter

Reduction of risk before the crisis event

Assistance in absorbing shocks when risk becomes severe

Help in recovering after the event

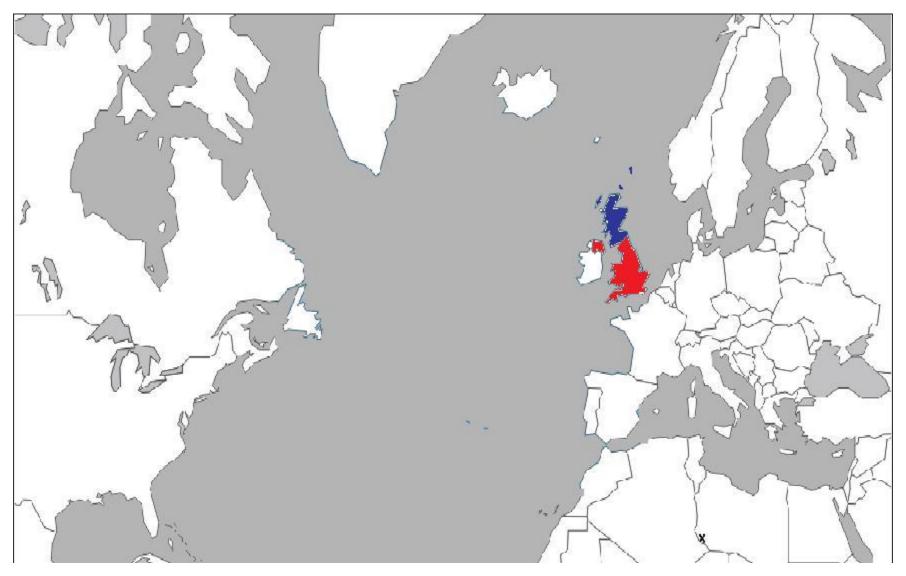
Shelter

Political shelter

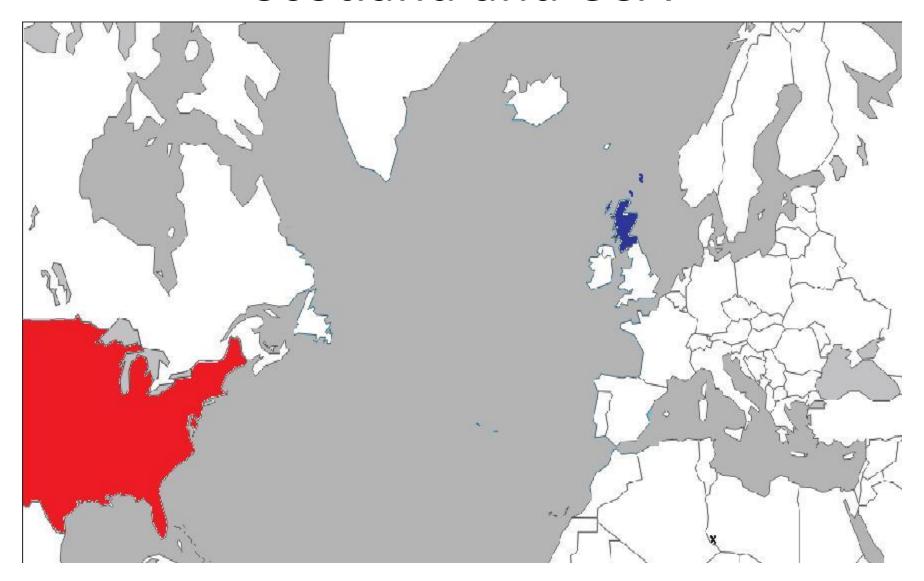
• Economic shelter

Societal shelter

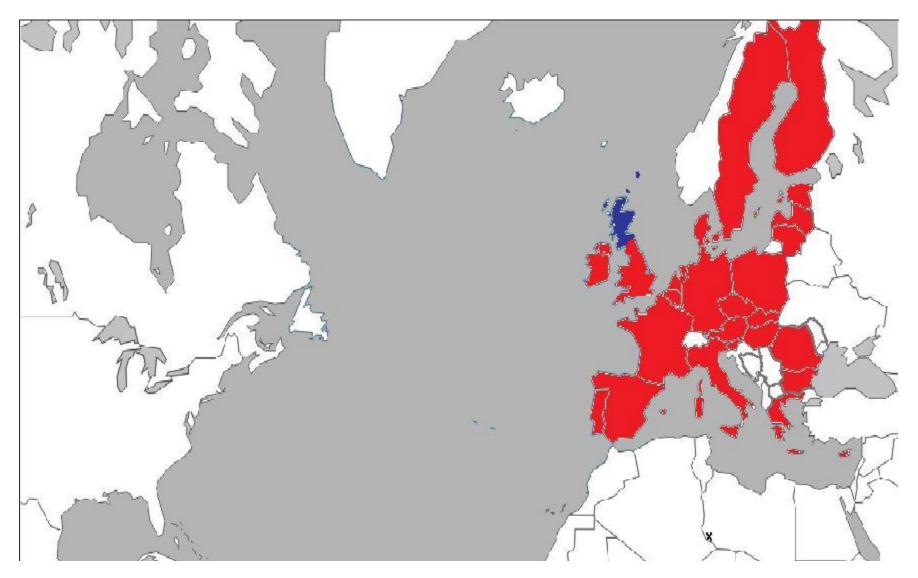
Scotland and the rUK



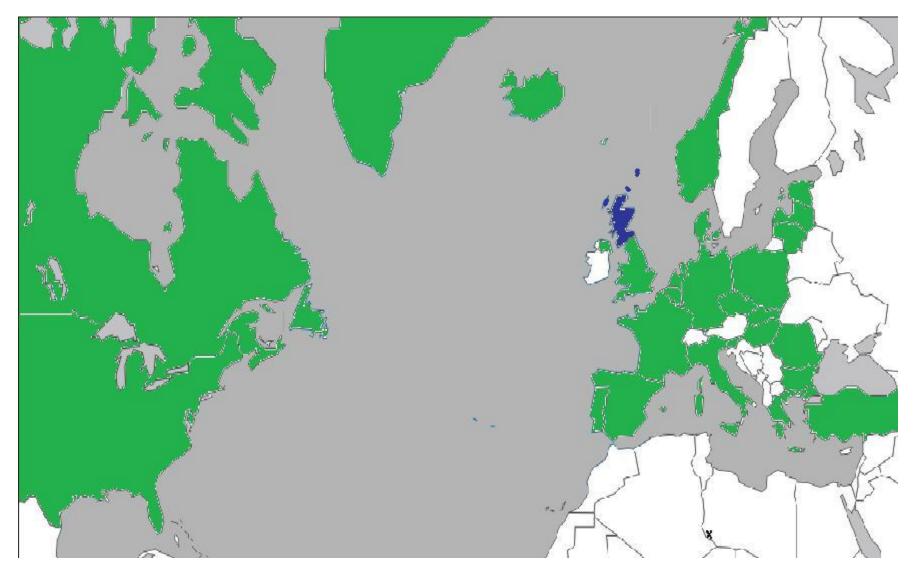
Scotland and USA



Scotland and the EU



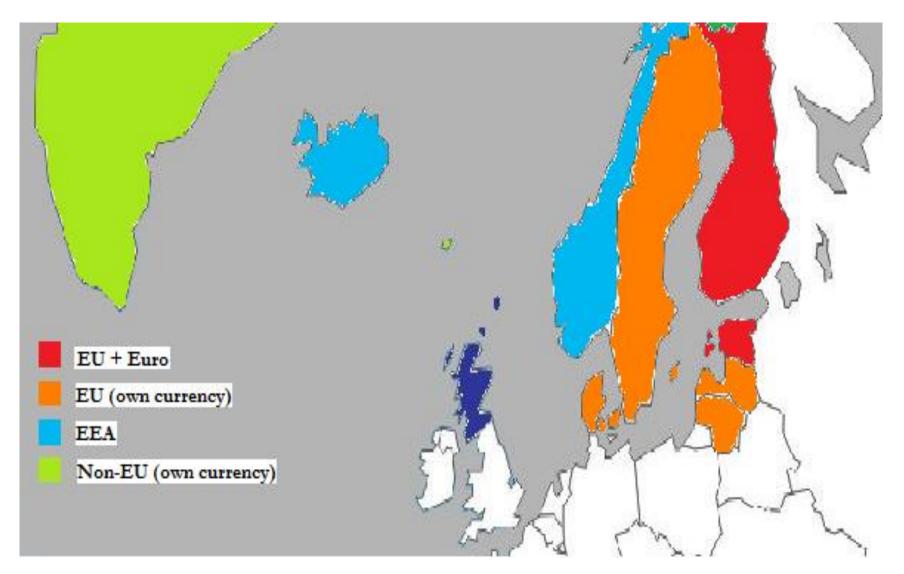
Scotland and NATO



Scotland and the Nordic States



Nordic states – 'EU' shelter: Benefits and costs



Benefits

- Larger and more stable markets competition
- Freedom of trade
- Assure supplies more stable prices
- Share and spread risks
- Emergency help
- More co-control than with a 1-state shelter
- Exploit supranational features
 - influence via Commission, EP, Court, lobbying etc

External benefits

- Part of a larger trading bloc
 - better leverage over terms + rules of trade
 - with individual large partners
 - in international organizations
- Part of a larger currency bloc
- Chance of defence if economic interests 'attacked' by an outsider

Costs

- Opening to competition
- Losing/diluting control of national resources
- Regional trade/import dependence likely to grow
- Submission to extensive regulations
- Budget contributions

Costs

- Sovereignty
- Identity
- Still a small voice
- Help in trouble! Harsh conditions!
- Burden
- Conflicts
- Harder to get out / shift sides

So not just smallness...

- The small seek maximum integration
 - The EU
 - The smallest countries and bilateralism

- Different in the North
 - Cost and benefits by taking EU 'shelter'

SCOTLAND: A WORD ON PROCESS

Distinguish real scenarios from current debate! After a positive vote on independence:

- Period of grace before coming into effect
- Solutions first addressed within UK framework
- Remnant UK must also 're-negotiate'
- Geographical attachment and common fate will remain – no room for 'dog eat dog'
- > Strategic continuity (also, few options!)

FOUR KEY SOURCES OF SHELTER

Sought by SNP (and any other conceivable Scottish Government):

- NATO
- European Union

Equally (or more) vital in practice:

- USA as a nation
- Remnant UK (rUK)

WHAT ARGUMENTS, WHAT KINDS OF SHELTER??

SHELTERING INSTITUTIONS

- NATO: Benefits, Costs, Conditions...?
- → Military ('Hard' Security) and some Political Shelter
- **EU**: Benefits, Costs, Conditions...?
- → Political, Economic, 'Soft' Security, and some Societal Shelter

NOTE parallels with mainstream small state choices in Europe!

But Scottish specificities include.....

SHELTERING NATIONS

- USA: Importance, motives and potential roles
- → 'Hard' Security Shelter (+ economics, possible political mediation)
- rUK: Importance, motives and potential roles
- > Instrumentally vital for other solutions
- → Hard/Soft Security, Economic/Monetary and Societal Shelters

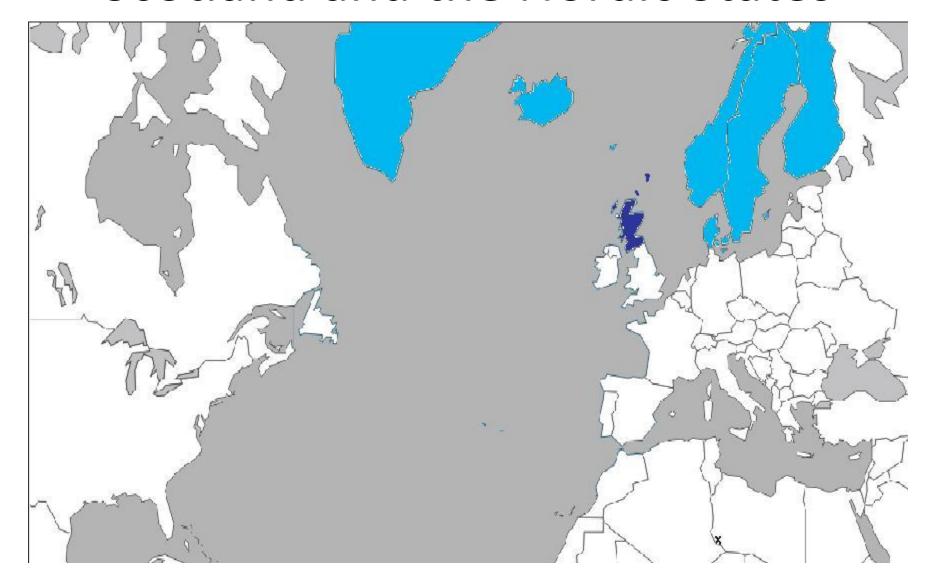
WHERE DO THE NORDICS COME IN?

- Nordic limitations
- Nordic 'models'
- Potential Nordic roles (+institutional options)
- → Political and Societal Shelter
- (if time: more on Nordic 'peace' models:
- aid/mediation, peace missions, nuclear and other disarmament, export controls....)

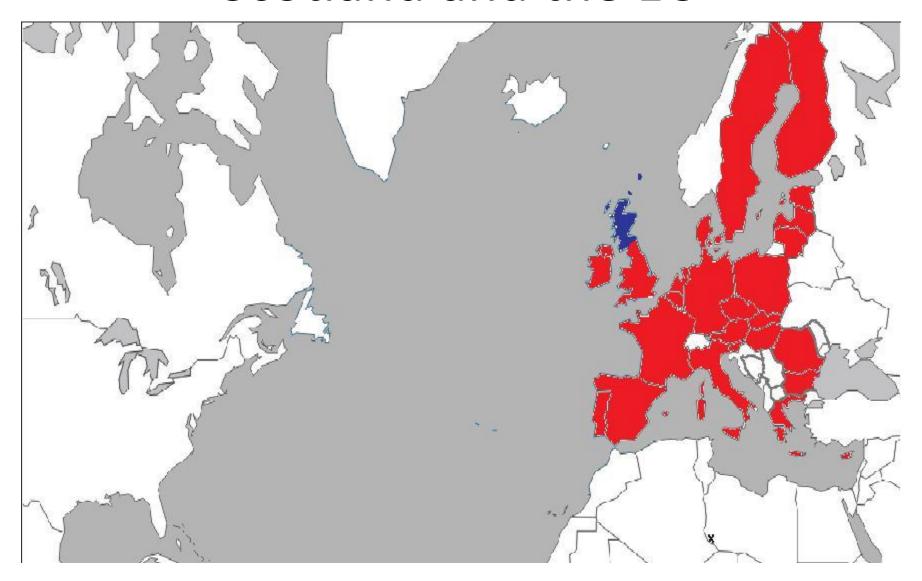
SCOTLAND AS AN ARCTIC PLAYER?

- Arctic peace and Arctic claims
- Fisheries
- Civil security issues
- Arctic Council membership/observership?

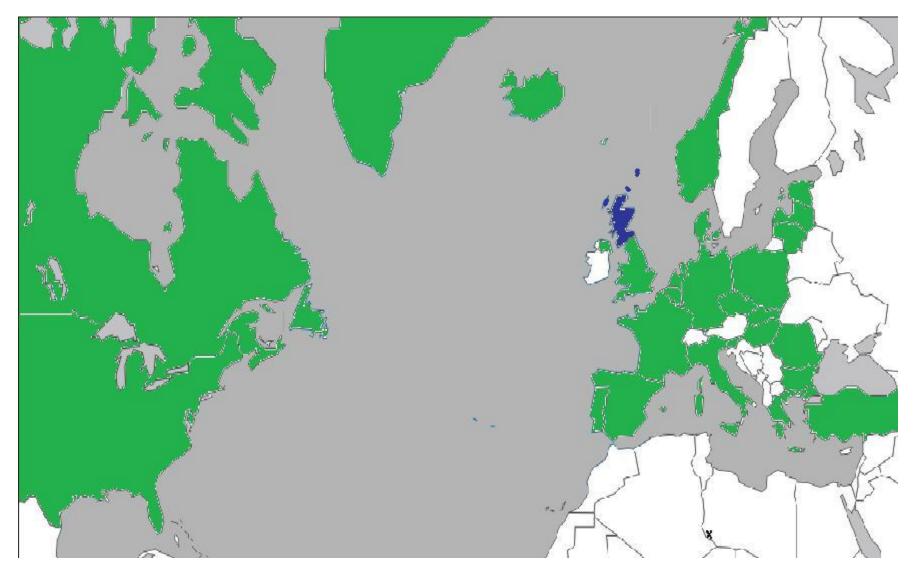
Scotland and the Nordic States



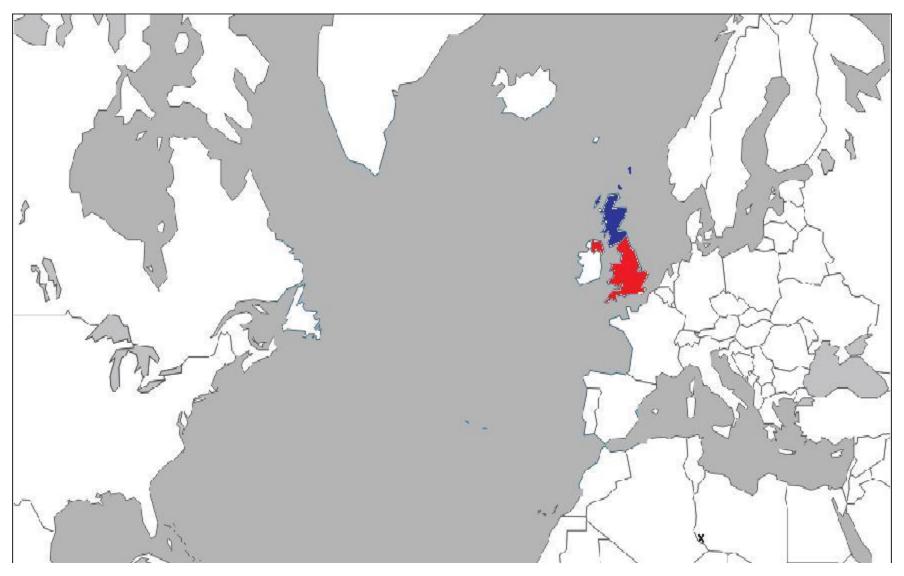
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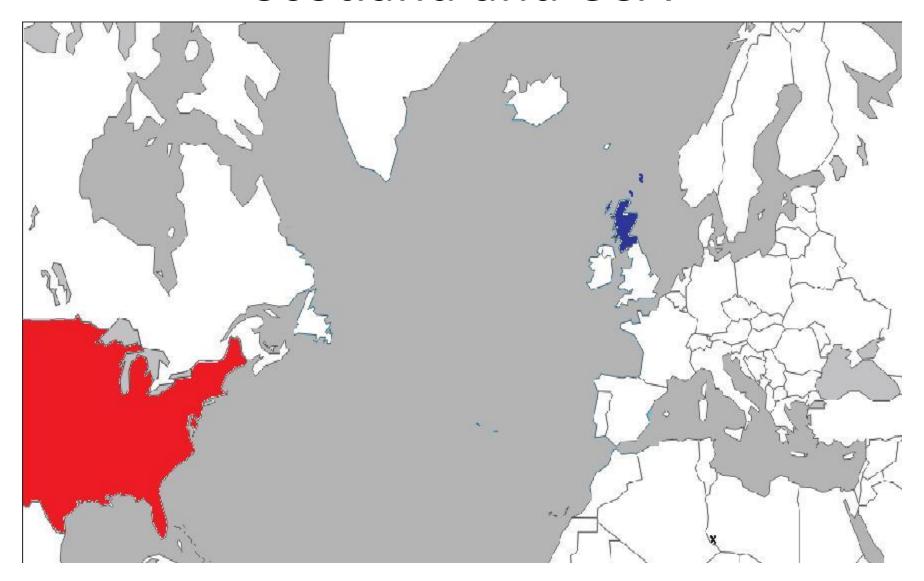
Scotland and NATO



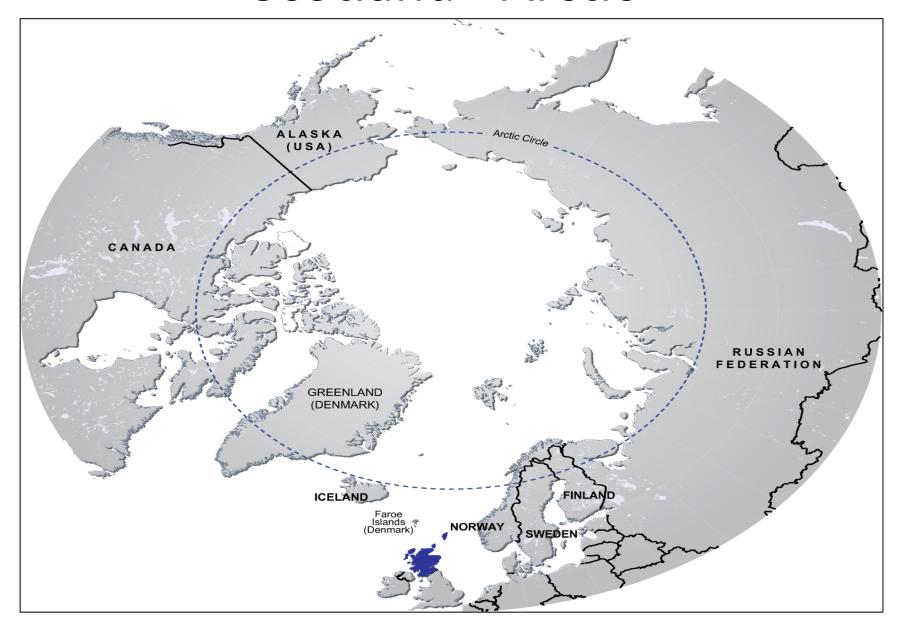
Scotland and the UK



Scotland and USA



Scotland - Arctic



Present economic, political, societal and security shelter of the Nordic states and Scotland

Shelter Type	Economy	Currency union	Political	Societal	Hard security	Soft security
Sweden	EU	no	EU	EU/NC ¹	no	EU/Schengen
Denmark	EU	DKK(EU) ²	EU/NATO	EU/NC	NATO	EU/Schengen
Finland	EU	EU	EU	EU/NC	no	EU/Schengen
Scotland	UK/EU	UK	UK/EU/NATO	UK/EU	UK/NATO	UK/EU
Norway	EEA/EFTA ³	no	NATO	EEA/NC	NATO	Schengen
Iceland	EEA/EFTA	no	NATO	EEA/NC/WNC ⁴	NATO/USA	Schengen
Greenland	DK⁵	DK	DK/USA/NATO	DK/NC/WNC	DK/USA/NATO	DK/Schengen
Faroe Islands	DK	DK	DK/NATO	DK/NC/WNC	DK/NATO	DK/Schengen

CONCLUSIONS: Hypothetical shelter solutions for Scotland after independence

Economy	Currency Political union		Societal	Hard Security	Soft security
EU/rUK	rUK	EU/NATO/NC	rUK/EU/NC	rUK/US/NATO	rUK/EU

AND LAST WORDS.....

- Relevance of small state studies and other national cases
- More research, more clarification
- What if there is a 'No' vote?