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

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Structure

- Scotland's case
- Small states/the literature
- Alliance-making/shelter
- Benefits and Costs of shelter
- The Nordic/Baltic nations
- Scotland's present shelter
- Four principal shelters
- The Nordic relationship
- Summary

Quest for independence

- United Scottish state from the 9th century
- Acts of Union in 1707 created the United Kingdom
- Campaign for independence from 1920s
- Scottish Parliament in 1999
- The Scottish National Party (SNP)
- Referendum 18 September 2014
 - 'Should Scotland be an independent country?'

Yes

No

Independent Scotland in March 2016 !?

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

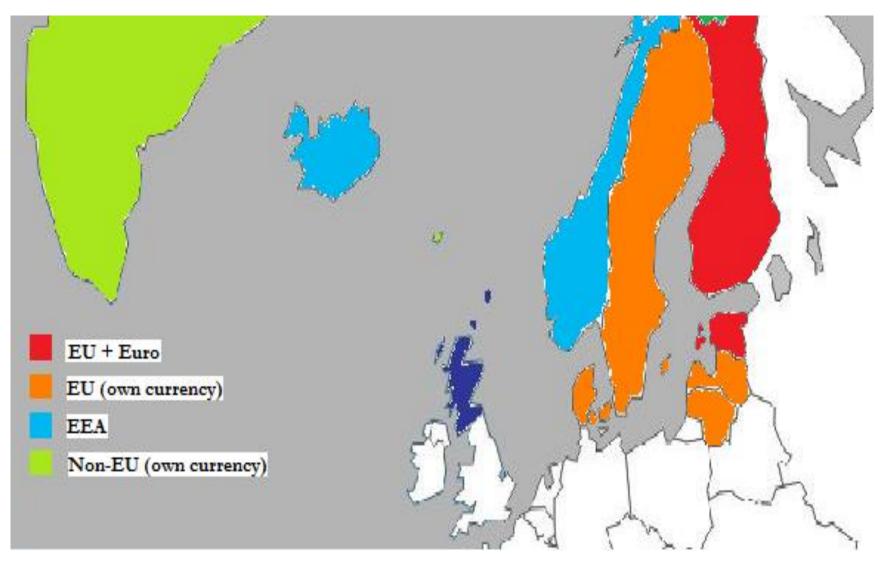
Shelter

• Political shelter

• Economic shelter

• Societal shelter

Nordic nations – 'EU' shelter: Benefits and costs



Present economic, political, societal and security shelter of the Nordic nations 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

Four key sources of shelter

Sought by SNP:

- NATO
- European Union

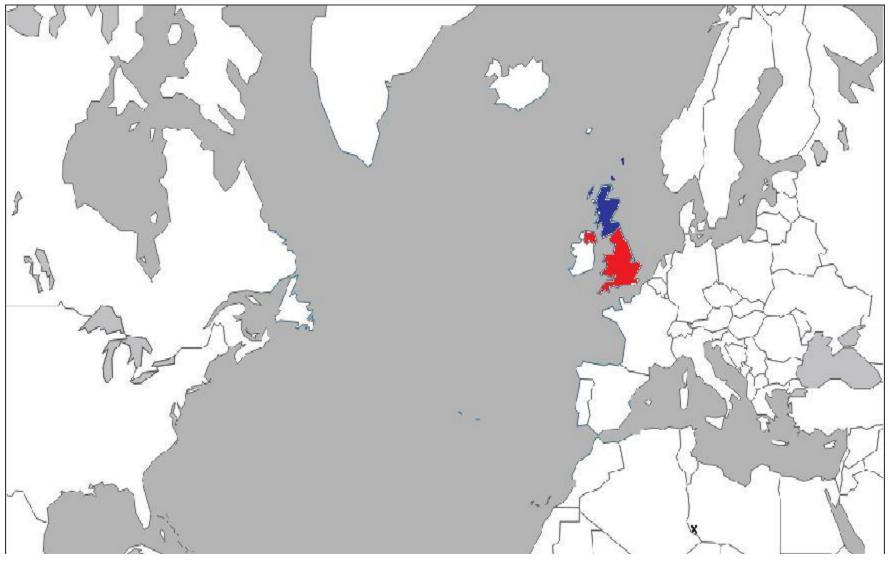
Equally (or more) vital in practice:

- USA as a nation
- Remnant UK (rUK)

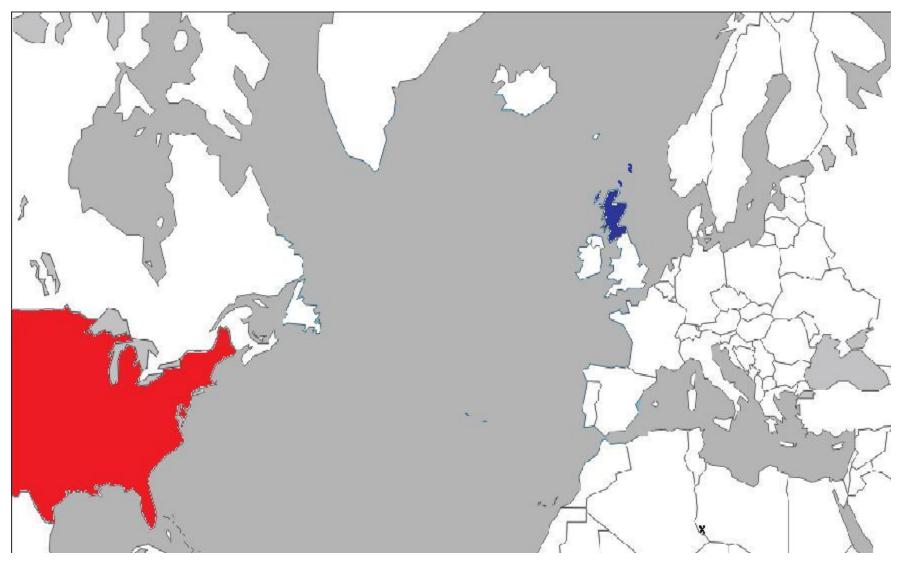
Potential Nordic roles

institutional options

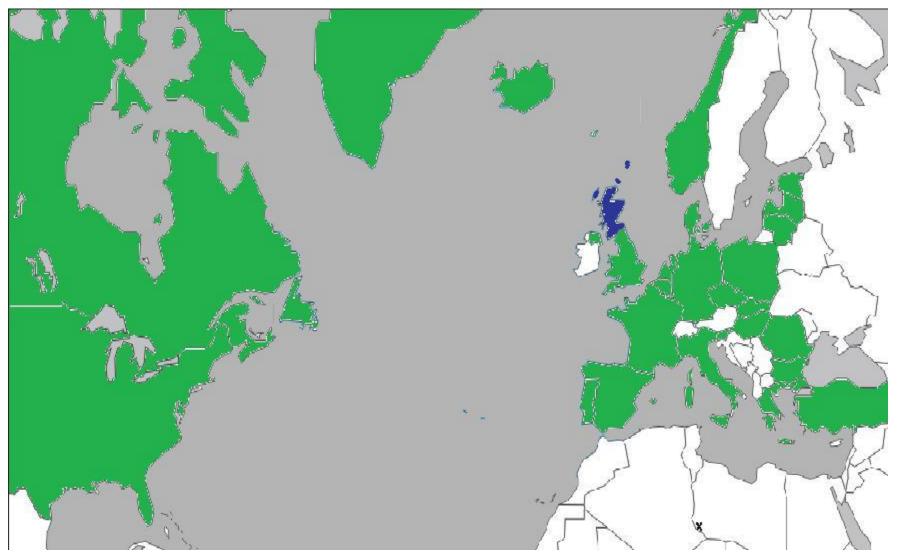
Scotland and the rUK



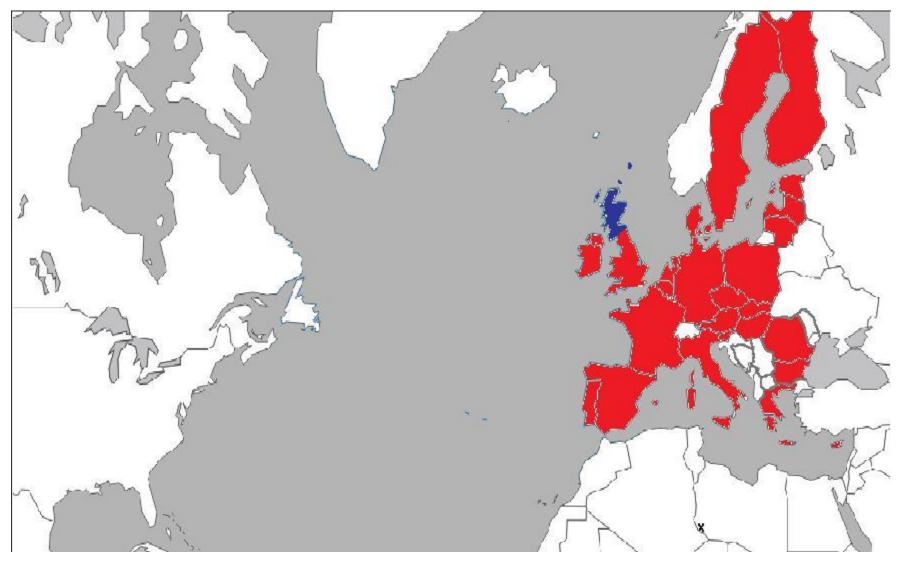
Scotland and USA



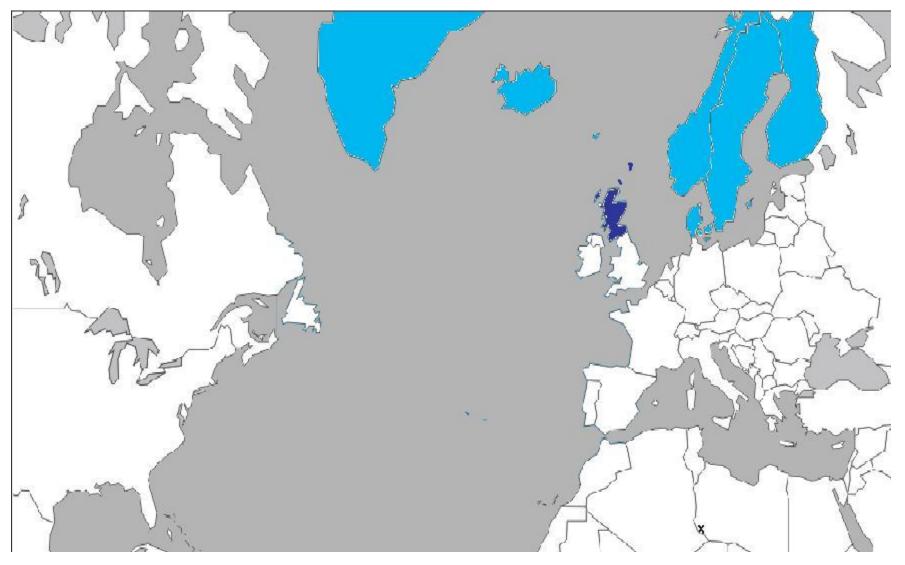
Scotland and NATO



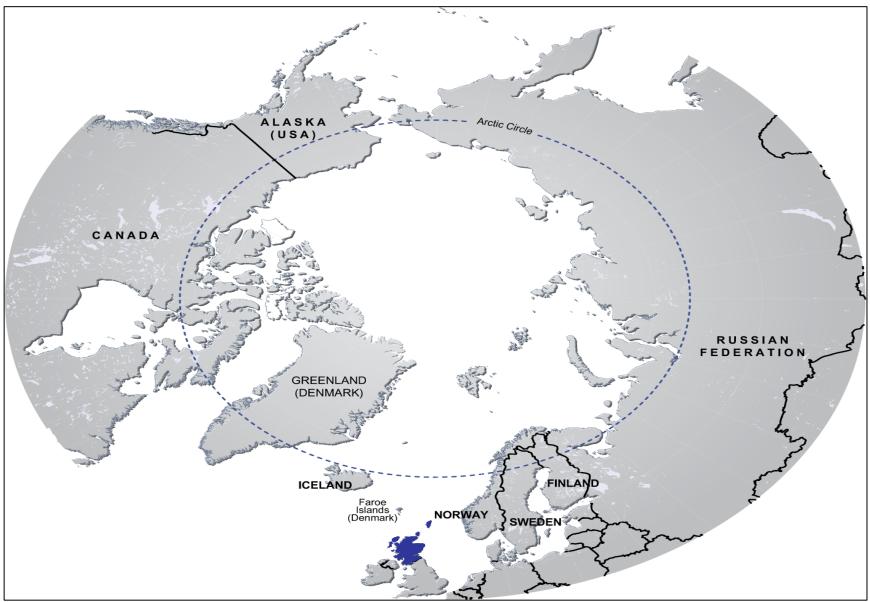
Scotland and the EU



Scotland and the Nordic nations



Scotland - Arctic



CONCLUSIONS: Hypothetical shelter solutions for Scotland after independence

EconomyCurrency
unionPoliticalSocietalHardSoft
SecurityEU/rUKrUKEU/NATO/NCrUK/EU/NCrUK/US/NATOrUK/EU

Shelter – but not just smallness...

- The small seek maximum integration

 The EU
 - The smallest countries and bilateralism
- Different in the North
 - Cost and benefits by taking shelter

END

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