



# Scotland in the World

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**The unit of political organisation is now the world. And this global political system has a name: it is called Interdependence. It rests on a foundation of around 200 constitutionally sovereign states members of the United Nations Organisation, the central institution of what is already an increasingly complex system of world government.**

**Scotland, as a natural and quite distinct geographical, social, economic, cultural and hence political entity, fits comfortably into the new global system.**

**The Scots are no strangers to the ethical concept of the universal brotherhood and sisterhood of humanity, something that Robert Burns taught the world, and an ideal that Scots everywhere celebrate on his anniversary every 25 January. This was traditionally practised through Scotland's historic missionary activity.**

**Scotland's contribution to the world in the realm of ideas is second to none anywhere. The Enlightenment philosophers had a global influence, and Scottish contributions to medicine, science, technology and other fields are legendary.**

**Now that Scotland the nation is re-emerging onto the world stage, we are concerned here with the harder practical aspects of this global community, primarily with the institutions of the new world system that is presently taking shape, with how Scotland fits into them, and with how the Scots can make their contribution to the good governance and well-being of humanity everywhere.**

## **The World Today**

The international framework within which Scotland has to live and work has changed drastically within very recent years, and now bears little resemblance to how it looked just a few decades ago. The revolutionary events of 1989 and afterwards redrew the political map of the globe. The last of the empires crumbled, and the dozens of new or reborn states that have emerged are progressing beyond their teething troubles to the maturity of experience as new generations with no personal memories of the old orders have taken over the reins of government.

That revolution is still ongoing. Not only empires have crumbled, but also institutions of state that have been taken for granted for centuries. The relationship between states, governments and peoples everywhere has entered an entirely new phase, as the electronic and communications revolution continues to break down isolation and barriers in the remotest corners of the earth. As events within recent years have shown, the new media have also put a valuable weapon into the hands of peoples everywhere for defence against abuses of power by their own governments.

Globalisation has progressed to the extent that older aspirations to regional governance (e.g. European) have been to a great extent rendered superfluous by the development of a whole tier of government at world level. Hundreds of major institutions like the World Trade Organisation (WTO) or the World Health Organisation (WHO), under the overall umbrella of the United Nations, carry out a vast range of functions that affect the lives of individual citizens everywhere.

The result is that we now have four principal levels of government – global, regional, national and local. Of these, the national level is the most politically active, and in a certain sense the most important, because it is there that national policy and representation at the regional and global levels is decided. Any nation without internationally recognised autonomy and a seat at the UN will find itself dependent on others to represent its interests in institutions that have a profound effect on its welfare. In most such cases these interests will remain inadequately represented.

An even more profound change has taken place in the very nature of international relations over just a couple of decades. The international system of sovereign nation states was established by the series of treaties comprising the Peace of Westphalia that ended the Thirty Years War in 1648. Three and a half centuries later, that system, based on individual or mutual protection in a hostile world, has now given way to a new political structure of global interdependence and cooperation within the hundreds of organisations that together constitute the new world system. Sovereignty itself is no longer absolute; national governments can now be called to account for failure to maintain the international standards of good governance or human rights, etc.

Security and defence, which since Westphalia was based on coping with antagonism, rivalry and clashes of interests, is now a matter of global cooperation to resolve global threats and risks that affect every nation. Most of these are not susceptible to military solutions. The result is that the military now have a diminished role and influence in international affairs. Furthermore, wars are an expensive business, when a single military aircraft can cost more than a WW2 battleship, and one-way expendable smart weapons also cost millions. There are better ways of allocating resources.

Clausewitz's classic thesis, that war is an extension of diplomacy by other means, no longer applies, with military operations now largely "fire brigade" actions to contain local situations that have gone out of control. There are still some persistent flashpoints in the world, and these are increasing in danger as they diminish in number, but they are more and more being contained by diplomacy, backed up by multinational forces under United Nations command. The main effort nowadays is directed towards eliminating the causes of conflict, and this in its turn is closely tied up with disaster relief and similar humanitarian functions.

Classic bilateral diplomacy between representatives of two individual states hardly exists any longer. International relations are now conducted in multilateral diplomacy around the negotiating table, with the results eventually finding their way into the vastly expanded body of international law. There are now more international organisations than sovereign states, to the extent that some governments maintain two or three separate embassies under full ambassadors in each of the major diplomatic centres.

The kingpin of this global system of governance is the United Nations Organisation with its enormous family of specialised agencies – keeping the peace; pursuing serious international crime; maintaining the rule of law at sea, in the air, and in outer space; relieving disaster and distress; mitigating famine and drought; promoting education for all; eliminating disease; ameliorating and eventually abolishing poverty, and much more.

A noble task awaits Scotland when it joins the worldwide fellowship as a partner in this great endeavour. With this we have the opportunity to realise Robert Burns's great ideal in the most practical manner.

## **Scotland's Place in the World**

Constitutional independence and a seat at the United Nations are the only possible basis for direct participation in international affairs and for a uniquely Scottish contribution to them. Neither federalism nor any other kind of advanced autonomy short of independence will suffice.

The basic reason is that none of these half measures will provide Scotland with an individual voice in the most important decision-making tribunals at global level. Without that status, vital decisions affecting Scotland's international interests will be taken without a direct Scottish input. Bitter experience over many years has shown that being represented internationally at UK level is not a safe policy.

There is every reason to believe that Scotland will be welcomed by every other partner in the global family of almost 200 states members of the United Nations.

A new special relationship will require to be forged between the autonomous states of the British Isles. Special arrangements can easily encompass those common interests where joint administration is necessary.

## The Global Institutions

Developments on the global scene have been breathtakingly fast and far-reaching since the break-up of the bipolar world system after 1989. The result has been an explosive increase in the number of international organisations and treaties under international law. International diplomacy is now so complex that a high degree of specialisation is demanded of diplomats. There are now more international organisations than sovereign states, and they all require diplomatic representation of the highest expertise by the member and signatory states.

Independent Scotland will in time find it necessary to become a member of around 50 major organisations with global functions that would affect Scotland in or out of membership. Many of these are units of the huge **United Nations** system, which is far larger than is generally realised. The UN organisations are mostly concentrated in its four headquarters complexes in New York, Geneva, Vienna and Nairobi, with some individual units based elsewhere. UN membership itself is of course the very hallmark of an independent state. The same could be said of the Geneva-based **World Trade Organisation**, a vitally important body on the same level of world government. The following representative cross-section of these specialised world organisations – among many others which set international rules and standards – gives an idea of the commitment that would be necessary.

CTBTO	Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty Organisation
FAO	United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMO	International Maritime Organisation
INCB	International Narcotics Control Board
ITU	International Telecommunications Union
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Org.
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organisation
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNOOSA	United Nations Office on Outer Space Affairs
WHO	World Health Organisation
WMO	World Meteorological Organisation
WTO	World Trade Organisation

National membership is in most such cases a necessity and not simply desirable. For example, the ICAO and IMO set the rules and standards for air and sea transport respectively, the ITU allocates frequencies for telecommunications and broadcasting, and the WMO is the nerve centre of global coordination of weather forecasting and research.

National financial contributions to these organisations are sometimes voluntary (e.g. UNICEF), and the UN “Offices” are covered by general UN membership, but are mostly based on the members’ proportional GNP, GDP, GNI or similar standard, and are usually expressed as a proportion of the organisation’s operating costs.

Additional voluntary contributions are often made for specific projects. The United Nations units (other than the “Offices”) are all individually financed, i.e. separately from the central UN budget. Depending on membership and other factors, and based on contributions by countries of a similar size, Scotland’s payments could average out at a maximum of around 0.5% of operating costs.

## **International Treaties and Treaty Organisations**

The interaction of foreign and domestic policies is one of the features of modern political life. The most obvious, indeed notorious, example is the European Union, in which some 80 percent of national legislation consists of EU regulations or is based on EU directives. It is not generally realised, however, that decision making at national level is also governed by a vast range of other provisions of international law at regional and global level, and that virtually every aspect of public life must now be conducted in accordance with international norms.

For example, every member state of the Council of Europe (the CoE, *not* the EU) is obliged to maintain strict standards of pluralist democracy, uphold the rule of law, and observe the internationally recognised standards of human rights. It was the UK’s breach of all three of these provisions that led to the devolution referendum and the restoration of the Scottish Parliament under threat of international sanctions.

Membership of a single international organisation can involve the signing, ratification and adherence to the terms of dozens of treaties, conventions and other agreements under international law. There are frequent follow-up conferences to bring them up to date and to review progress towards their implementation. In a number of cases special organisations have been set up to ensure that the treaties are observed by the signatory states. These treaties are far too numerous to list here – they run to thousands – but a few examples may serve to illustrate the vast range of commitments involved:

The **European Convention on Human Rights**, under the auspices of the Council of Europe (CoE), puts into practice the principles laid down in the UN Charter and the International Bill of Human Rights and renders them legally enforceable.

The **Helsinki Final Act** of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe also legally implements the UN human rights legislation, including the right to national self-determination. The Conference itself has since been put on a permanent basis as the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

The **UN Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT)** forbids nuclear explosions in the atmosphere, underground or in space. A special organisation (CTBTO) has been set up to enforce observance of the treaty with the use of a worldwide network of monitoring stations, including one in Scotland.

The **United Nations Convention Against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances** aims at the detection, freezing and confiscation of illegal financial gains from trading in mind-altering addictive substances.

The **United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change** (UNFCCC) is best known on account of an additional protocol signed at a later conference. The Kyoto Protocol, entering into force in February 2005, obliges the signatory states to reduce their emissions of “greenhouse” gases to below the levels prevailing in 1990.

The **United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea** (UNCLOS) is of absolutely vital importance to Scotland with its lifeblood maritime interests. When it comes to delimiting the continental shelf and similar adjudications on competing interests, it is vital that Scotland should have individual representation in the negotiations.

## **Representing Scotland in the World**

The nature of the diplomatic service has changed appreciably. Even within the scope of traditional political diplomacy, the actual volume of activity has grown enormously within recent years, due largely to the increase in the number of international organisations. The development of modern communications has made the ambassador’s role as an information gatherer partly superfluous. The traditional political role and the consular and representational functions still exist, but have now been supplemented by such tasks as export promotion, inward investment, cultural and educational exchanges, and much more. As a result of this expansion, a foreign ministry nowadays is to a large extent a clearing house and information and advisory centre for activities abroad by government departments and national organisations.

The establishment of permanent embassies in foreign countries is a relatively modern development. In earlier ages travelling ambassadors were the norm. That was before the enormous expansion of the scope of modern diplomacy, but even today it is common for an ambassador of a smaller state to be responsible for representation in half a dozen foreign countries. In the case of major states and international organisations, however, even countries of Scotland’s size must have full-time representation of their interests, with appropriate staffs in certain key centres like the UN or the WTO.

This demands the creation of a Scottish diplomatic service, which has not existed since 1707 (previously, the original Scotland Yard was the site of the Scottish embassy in London). This would have the added advantage of enhancing the overall quality of life in Scotland by opening up opportunities at home for top-class intellectual talent and increasing the body of such talent retained in the country, together with positive spin-off effects in politics and cultural life generally.

Based on the figures for foreign ministries in European countries of Scotland’s size, the total personnel required would be around 1,400 of all grades, about one half being of diplomatic rank and the rest technical and other specialists as well as office personnel.

More than half could expect to be on service abroad at any given time, interchanging at intervals with those on home postings for analytical and policy making duties on the basis of the information feedback. A proportion of the posts would be created by absorbing and rationalising various existing organisations concerned with Scotland's foreign relations.

The selection and training of diplomatic candidates must be of the highest order, for they will *be* Scotland in the eyes of the highest-ranking people in the world with whom they will be dealing. Only top-class graduates in relevant disciplines (mainly history, economics and law) can be admitted for one or two years of specialised training before being appointed for a probationary period.

Fluency in one or more major foreign languages is also a necessity, as is a certain degree of deportment; the diplomatic profession internationally is very much of an elite, and it is necessary to be able to mix easily in such company in order to do the job effectively. It goes without saying that candidates must also be deeply rooted in their native land, with an intimate knowledge of Scotland's history, geography, economy, society and culture. It is possible that some Scots in the UK diplomatic service might transfer to the Scottish service.

A special training school should be established, perhaps within one of the universities, to provide a grounding in directly relevant subjects like diplomatic negotiating techniques as well as rounding off the broader education of candidates coming from different disciplines. With a view to forming future valuable links, this training should also be open to others intending to enter international organisations, including the private sector. There can be exchanges with the specialised diplomatic academies that are run by nearly every modern state. Synergetic effects with the universities can also be promoted by utilising senior diplomatic staff on home posting as lecturers and by closely coordinating research facilities.

This coordination will be especially vital in a vast and expanding field like global and regional international law, where it is now as good as impossible for any individual to have an overview of the entire range. The other specialised departments in the ministry would have to include political and economic sections as well as those dealing with the international organisations; European and neighbourhood relations; development aid; and cultural, educational and scientific cooperation, amongst others. Much currently fragmented effort can be more efficiently coordinated within this single structure.

The operational budgets of the foreign ministries in European states of Scotland's size amount to a quarter to a third of one per cent of the national budgets. National contributions to the international organisations generally add a further two thirds to this amount, giving a total expenditure on foreign policy of around 0.5 per cent of the overall national budget. (This figure excludes development aid, for which see below).

In the larger countries it is possible to appoint a politician with no background in foreign policy as minister, because he or she will have the backing of a large specialist advisory staff. In a country of Scotland's size, however, with only a handful of personnel in the minister's cabinet, it is customary, and indeed imperative, that the foreign minister should be a trained and experienced professional diplomat.

## **Consular Services**

Medium to large countries have consular departments separate from their embassies for the purpose of looking after the interests of their citizens in foreign countries, the issue of passports and visas, and other relevant functions. In some cases the consular services are completely separate from the diplomatic services, with different career structures. This is where the limitations of small size have to be overcome, and in fact in countries of Scotland's size the consular services are invariably regular departments of the diplomatic service with interchangeable personnel.

There are two main methods of overcoming limits to the geographical provision of consular services. One is cooperation with similar European states through agreements on mutual consular representation in countries where one or the other has no facilities. The second method is to establish a corps of honorary consuls in places where no professional consular services are possible or economically feasible. Experience elsewhere indicates that there would be no lack of volunteers for this voluntary and unpaid function among expatriate Scots and sympathisers holding senior positions and able to provide office facilities. The title of Honorary Consul on one's visiting card, and the brass plate on the door, are as good as a knighthood. These honorary consulates would remain under the supervision of an official regional consul, to whom all but routine matters would be referred.

Scotland's visa, immigration and certain other regulations would have to be those agreed by the EEA in consultation with the EU, and synchronised with those of the rest of the UK and Ireland. Other consular duties include protecting the interests of Scots abroad who have been victims of accident, illness, assault or robbery, been arrested, or stranded, have got into other difficult situations or have died. This is where honorary consuls, with their local knowledge and important connections, might play an even better role than the professional service.

## **Trade promotion**

One of the major functions of foreign policy is the management of trading relations and the promotion of exports. The function of the diplomatic service in this respect is quite clearly that of an intermediary, with the ministry acting as a clearing-house for information and a back up for negotiations.

The trade attachés in the embassies and regional offices must have every economic and other factual detail of their assigned countries or regions at their fingertips, as well as a host of important personal contacts there, in order to advise and assist exporters. They must be aware of every niche market and other opportunities for advancing Scotland's economic interests abroad.

These attachés need not have full diplomatic qualifications, and indeed might well be appointed and paid by the representative Scottish industrial and commercial organisations, including the economically vital tourist industry, which clearly must be adequately represented abroad. This would be a matter for negotiation with those concerned in order to find the most efficient setup.

## **Cultural diplomacy and Scientific Cooperation**

Cultural policy is widely regarded nowadays as a central aspect of a country's foreign policy, as more mundane matters increasingly move into the realm of multilateral decision making. It is not only a means of "flying the flag" abroad in an era of cultural change and exchange, but also of enhancing the indigenous cultural scene by opening up channels for cross-fertilisation.

It is for reasons of practical advantage that Scotland's rich historical and cultural tradition should be kept alive among those members and descendants of the Scottish diaspora who hold the reins of power and influence worldwide, as well as being introduced to others. Nor should the avant-garde be neglected, without being exaggerated.

The tartan and bagpipes image, so often decried, is actually one of the most valuable features of our national identity that make us distinct in the world. No other nation would dream of belittling its own heritage and traditions.

The function of a foreign ministry in this field is to act as a service facility for persons and institutions in order to promote contacts with foreign partners, carry out joint projects and develop cooperation. This has the overall strategic objective of awakening interest in and understanding of Scotland, which in its turn can facilitate many a political situation and open up economic opportunities.

It should be noted that membership of the European Economic Area also opens the door to participation in the European research and development programmes and projects. The work of a cultural attaché therefore covers not only organising lectures, concerts, exhibitions and other events abroad, but also educational exchanges at school and university level as well as establishing links for scientific and technological cooperation.

The educated bourgeois class, the traditional "multipliers" for public relations in other countries, is diminishing worldwide, and the new media are having a revolutionary effect. Therefore, it would be advisable to organise Scottish events in collaboration with indigenous organisations and institutions in the host countries. Opening ceremonies can often be combined with the classic embassy receptions for the purpose of "biting the ears" of important contacts.

Nor need the activities always be of an erudite nature – Burns suppers, ceilidhs, etc. are also much appreciated by foreigners, while Scottish country dancing, which is already a worldwide phenomenon, should be actively encouraged and supported, not least to provide a point of focus for expatriate Scots. All cultural activities abroad, whether or not they are organised at embassy level, should be financially self-supporting unless there is a proven need for a direct subsidy for broader foreign policy reasons.

## Development Cooperation

The wealth of the world is very unevenly divided, and recent events have shown that poverty and injustice in remote corners of the earth can threaten the peace and security of human beings everywhere. Helping the poorer countries of the world to overcome their problems and backwardness is therefore a matter of self-interest for rich and advanced countries like Scotland.

The **SDA** therefore advocates that the OECD and UN target allocation of 0.7% of GNI for development purposes should be achieved as soon as practicable. This can be applied in directly managed projects, or in the form of contributions to the international organisations engaged in development work.

Scotland clearly cannot compete with the major aid donors in terms of volume of financial assistance or of large projects. We have, however, a wealth of skills, and experienced technical and professional personnel, many of whom have served abroad, and these priceless national resources can be used effectively to deliver practical aid. The Scandinavian countries have set a good example in this respect.

Having limited financial resources, Scotland will have to be careful in the selection of target countries and assistance sectors. We cannot be all things to all lands. Resources will have to be concentrated in a limited number of places, for example those countries where Scotland has already had missionary connections for one and a half centuries. Once the targets have been identified, Scotland can ensure that its aid will be truly effective. With minimal separation between the design and implementation of projects, and the maximum use of its private sector, Scotland can provide quality assistance in engineering, education, agriculture, forestry and fishing, and many other fields.

Scotland's foreign aid programme should contain two particularly valuable elements amongst others. One of them is assisted places at Scottish universities and colleges for eligible candidates from poor countries. These education programmes should include field experience with private companies and organisations in this country. Many of these students will become senior members of their national administrations and private sectors, and, if they have been well treated, may be expected to look to Scotland when the question of commercial or other cooperation arises in the future.

The other element is a programme of voluntary service overseas for young Scots of 18 years and over, either on "gap years" for general experience, or as qualified young graduates and technicians. As the Scandinavian countries do, Scotland should offer the United Nations the services of "associate experts" at subsidised rates. This is a standard procedure that provides the UN with low-cost expertise and gives young Scottish professionals the opportunity to gain international experience.

A similar scheme could be adopted for using retired persons, who often possess not only considerable skills and qualifications, but also a wealth of experience that can be put to good use in development work.

It should be mentioned – strictly as a by-product – that, while development assistance would also have a degree of economic spin-off for Scotland, its main benefit would be something more intangible. An immense amount of goodwill towards Scotland can be nurtured by a truly sincere and professional aid programme uncontaminated by political agendas. This can pay dividends in many hidden ways, not least as a character-building experience for the younger generation who will be the future leaders of our own country.

## **Keeping the Peace**

Under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations Organisation all member states have an obligation to provide military, police and civilian personnel, resources and facilities for the implementation and enforcement of Security Council resolutions. These assignments are organised by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) within the UN General Secretariat in New York. Since 2007 the DPKO has been augmented by a new Department of Field Support (DFS).

Peacemaking and peacekeeping operations worldwide are inaugurated by decision of the Security Council, but in more and more cases the emerging regional organisations (e.g. the Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS) are being commissioned to carry out such operations under Security Council mandates, with involvement by European forces in other continents steadily diminishing.

As standards of governance gradually improve worldwide, leading to a reduction in the need for peacemaking and peacekeeping missions, and as more and more developing countries become capable of carrying out such UN mandates within their own regions, it must be expected that the occasions for utilising European (and hence Scottish) military and police forces for this purpose will gradually diminish.

Globally, peacemaking and peacekeeping situations may continue for some time, especially in Africa, until the new world order settles down, but in Europe it could be that the ongoing operations in Kosovo and elsewhere in the Balkans will turn out to be the last of their kind there.

However, the various security situations confronting the UN open a door to a rational participation policy by independent Scotland with a pro rata contribution in personnel and resources comparable to those of NATO member Norway or officially neutral Austria, Finland, Ireland and Sweden. Scottish military, police and other civilian contingents could be slotted into the UN peacekeeping system with no difficulty.

The advantages of participation in peacekeeping can be considered a further aspect of opening Scotland to the world and broadening the sum of its collective international understanding and image, in addition to the invaluable training it provides for the participating personnel. The experience gained thereby will certainly have positive spin-off on the personal and communal levels over a wide spectrum of national life and work.

## Disaster Relief

Scotland is fortunate in its situation in a comparatively stable tectonic zone that is not liable to major earthquakes or tsunamis, while its geographical location is well outside the regions that are most susceptible to tropical storms. No country is entirely immune to natural or man-made disasters, however, and it is in all of our interests that Scotland should cooperate closely in the international system for mitigating the effects of such happenings, no matter how they are caused. We never know when we ourselves might be the ones seeking assistance

The United Nations has a well-oiled humanitarian and disaster relief system that operates from its New York headquarters. From the population displacements caused by war, weather and natural disasters, to the impact of such disruptions on health, hygiene, education, nutrition and even basic shelter, the UN is there, making a difference. It is here that Scotland can make a significant contribution to international solidarity in the face of need.

The humanitarian and disaster-relief efforts of the UN system are overseen and facilitated by the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), led by the United Nations Emergency Relief Coordinator. Among its many activities, OCHA provides the latest information on emergencies worldwide, and launches international “consolidated appeals” to mobilise financing for the provision of emergency assistance in specific situations. The UN system also works to prevent disasters whenever possible, whether natural or man-made.

Scotland’s contribution can conveniently be dovetailed into its security and defence structure, with humanitarian operations at home and abroad being regarded as an integral part of the military functions. This would also have a bearing on material procurement and to a certain extent on recruitment.

As with peacekeeping, such operations have a value that goes far beyond their immediate utility, because Scotland thereby becomes an object of international awareness, which can have beneficial spin-off in many other fields. Furthermore, actions of this nature, with which the entire population of Scotland can identify, will play a large part in promoting social cohesion and a beneficial sense of national pride.

## Disarmament

Scotland played host unwillingly to one of the world’s largest concentrations of nuclear weapons all through the Cold War, a lethal risk at the time. This must not be allowed to happen again. The SDA proposes that a constitutional ban be placed on all **weapons of mass destruction** – chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear (CBRN) – on Scottish soil and in Scottish waters or airspace.

Furthermore, Scotland should sign and ratify all of the relevant international treaties under the auspices of the United Nations dealing with the control and/or abolition of CBRN weapons. Foremost of these is the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (Non-Proliferation Treaty, or NPT).

The NPT is backed up by the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT), which is essential as a means of halting the further development of nuclear weapons. Scotland should also accede to the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) and the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention (BTWC).

Scotland should consider joining the Geneva Conference on Disarmament (CD), the principal forum for nuclear and other WMD disarmament, and acceding to various subsidiary treaties against the proliferation of such weaponry, as well as signing the Hague Code of Conduct against Ballistic Missile Proliferation (HCOOC).

The so-called **conventional weapons** (i.e. non-WMDs) may be very unconventional in relation to simple firearms, but constitute a more immediate threat than WMDs. Small arms and light weapons are in a sense the real weapons of mass destruction because of the sheer number that are in circulation, and the ease with which they can get into the hands of the wrong people, when they cause around half a million casualties annually. The United Nations has a Programme of Action against the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW), to which Scotland would be expected to contribute. Scotland should accede to the Ottawa Convention on the Prohibition and Destruction of Anti-Personnel Mines, and the newer Convention on Cluster Munitions.

The Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) also has a programme for SALW control, but its main contribution to conventional disarmament has been the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE), which has drastically reduced the size of military forces and the amount of military hardware on the continent. It is backed up by a system of inspection to ensure that member states are adhering to the treaty.

As a further measure against the proliferation of dangerous weapons, a number of supplier states have set up informal control regimes to regulate the export of materials and substances that could be used to manufacture armaments. The Zangger Committee and the Nuclear Exporters Committee undertake not to supply fissionable material to a non-nuclear state except under safeguards approved by the International Atomic Energy Agency. The Australia Group is an informal forum of countries that, through the harmonisation of export controls, seeks to ensure that exports do not contribute to the development of chemical or biological weapons. The Wassenaar Arrangement has been set up to ensure responsibility in transfers of conventional arms and dual-use goods and technologies, thus preventing accumulations that could contribute to the development or enhancement of destabilising military capabilities. The Missile Technology Control Regime controls the proliferation of missile technology. It is possible that Scotland could be invited to cooperate with these groups in the event that Scottish industries are engaged in the manufacture, trading or distribution of relevant products.

### **Scotland's International Relations**

Scotland in the World is one of a group of three papers on Scotland's international relations post-independence. Scotland in Europe is already on the website. It will be followed in due course by Friends and Neighbours, which will examine the nature of relations between the autonomous states in the British Isles.