



Scotland: Referendum and independence. A select bibliography.

Standard Note: SN/PC/06698
Last updated: 04 February 2014
Author: Hazel Armstrong
Section: Parliament & Constitution Centre

This note brings together a selection of resources on the referendum taking place on 18 September 2014, and the potential impact of independence. Where documents are freely available on official or other websites, links to these have been provided. Other documents, such as books or periodical articles, are mainly drawn from those held in the Commons Library and available for loan or consultation by Members of Parliament and their staff.

This note does not include resources on the subject of devolution in Scotland in the period 1997-2011, nor on the possible development of devolution in the future. Information on this can be found in a number of other House of Commons Library publications including:

[Devolution of tax powers to the Scottish Parliament](#), SN/BT/5984, 02 February 2012 (amended 17 July 2013)

[The West Lothian Question](#), SN/PC/2586, 18 January 2012

[Scotland Bill: Committee Stage Report](#), RP 11/49, 14 June 2011

[Scotland Bill \[Bill No 115 of 2010-11\]](#), RP 11/06, 11 January 2011

[The Commission on Scottish Devolution "the Calman Commission"](#), SN/PC/2744, 4 June 2010

[Devolution in Scotland](#), SN/PC/3000, 5 April 2004

[An introduction to devolution in the UK](#), RP 03/84, 17 November 2003;

This information is provided to Members of Parliament in support of their parliamentary duties and is not intended to address the specific circumstances of any particular individual. It should not be relied upon as being up to date; the law or policies may have changed since it was last updated; and it should not be relied upon as legal or professional advice or as a substitute for it. A suitably qualified professional should be consulted if specific advice or information is required.

This information is provided subject to [our general terms and conditions](#) which are available online or may be provided on request in hard copy. Authors are available to discuss the content of this briefing with Members and their staff, but not with the general public.

Contents

- 1 Background 4**
 - 1.1 UK government 4
 - 1.2 Scottish government 4
 - 1.3 UK Parliament 4
 - 1.4 Others 4

- 2 Referendum process and campaign 5**
 - 2.1 UK government 5
 - 2.2 Scottish government 6
 - 2.3 UK Parliament 6
 - 2.4 Scottish Parliament 6
 - 2.5 Others 7
 - Electoral Commission 7
 - Books 7
 - Other sources 8

- 3 Independence 9**
 - 3.1 UK government 9
 - 3.2 Scottish government 9
 - 3.3 UK Parliament 9
 - 3.4 Others 9

- 4 Defence 10**
 - 4.1 UK government 10
 - 4.2 Scottish government 10
 - 4.3 UK Parliament 10
 - 4.4 Others 11

- 5 Economy 12**
 - 5.1 UK government 12
 - 5.2 Scottish government 12
 - 5.3 UK Parliament 13
 - 5.4 Others 13

- 6 Energy 15**
 - 6.1 UK government 15
 - 6.2 Scottish government 15

6.3	UK Parliament	15
6.4	Others	16
7	International	16
7.1	UK government	16
7.2	Scottish government	16
7.3	UK Parliament	16
7.4	Others	17
8	Blogs	18

1 Background

This section includes items published prior to the signing of the “Edinburgh Agreement” on 15 October 2012. Documents subsequent to that date can be found below under section 2, **Referendum process and campaign** and section 3, **Independence**.

1.1 UK government

Scotland Office, *Scotland’s Constitutional Future: consultation paper, Cm 8203*, January 2012.

Advocate General for Scotland News Release, *Discussion on Scotland’s constitutional future*, Speech delivered by Lord Wallace of Tankerness QC, 17 February 2012 [published 10 June 2013.]

Scotland Office, *Scotland’s Constitutional Future: responses, Cm 8326*, April 2012.

1.2 Scottish government

Scottish Government, *Choosing Scotland’s Future: a National Conversation: Independence and responsibility in the modern world*, August 2007.

Scottish Government, *Your Scotland, Your voice: A national conversation*, November 2009.

Scottish Government, *Scotland’s future: Draft referendum (Scotland) Bill consultation paper*, February 2010.

Scottish Government, *Your Scotland, Your Referendum Consultation paper*, January 2012.

1.3 UK Parliament

Commons Scottish Affairs Committee, *The Referendum on Separation for Scotland: Unanswered Questions*. 1st inquiry report, 8 February 2012, HC 1806 2010-12.

Commons Scottish Affairs Committee, *The Referendum on Separation for Scotland: Do you agree this is a biased question?* 2nd inquiry report, 26 April, 2012, HC 1942 2010-12

Commons Scottish Affairs Committee, *The Referendum on Separation for Scotland: making the process legal*. 3rd inquiry report, 7 August, 2012, HC 542 2012-13.

Commons Scottish Affairs Committee, *The Referendum on Separation for Scotland: a multi option question?* 4th inquiry report, 13 August 2012, HC 543 2012-13.

1.4 Others

Jo Eric Murkens, *Scottish independence: a practical guide*, Constitution Unit and Edinburgh University Press, 2002.

Rob Brown, *Nation in a state: independent perspectives on Scottish independence*, Ten Book Press, 2007.

Murray Pittock, *The road to independence? Scotland since the sixties*, Reaktion Books, 2008.

Paul Reid et al, *The independence book: Scotland in today's world*. Luath Press, 2008.

Commission on Scottish Devolution (Calman Commission), *The Future of Scottish Devolution within the Union: a First Report, with evidence* December 2008.

Commission on Scottish Devolution (Calman Commission), *Serving Scotland Better, Scotland and the United Kingdom in the 21st Century, Final report*, June 2009.

M J Keating, *The independence of Scotland: self-government and the shifting politics of Union*, OUP, 2009.

Scottish National Party, *Manifesto 2011*, SNP, 2011

P Henderson Scott (foreword by Alex Salmond), *Nation again: why independence will be good for Scotland (and England too)*, Rev ed., Luath Press, 2011.

David McCrone, "Scotland out the union: the rise and rise of the Nationalist agenda", *Political Quarterly*, Vol 83, No1, January 2012, p69.

P Cairney, *The Scottish political system since devolution: From new politics to the new Scottish government*, Imprint Academic, 2012.

MJ Keating "The End of the Union?: Scottish Nationalism and the UK State". in K Breen & S O'Neill (eds), *After the Nation? : Critical Reflections on Nationalism and Postnationalism*. Palgrave, 2012

MJ Keating, "Reforging the Nation: Britain, Scotland and the Crisis of Unionism". in M Seymour & A-G Gagnon (eds), *Multinational Federalism: Problems and Prospects*. Palgrave, 2012.

Douglas Alexander, G Hassan, "Scotland, nationalism and the left: a conversation", *Soundings*, No 51, July 2012, p51.

2 Referendum process and campaign

This section includes items published after the signing of the "Edinburgh Agreement" on 15 October 2012. Items published prior to this date can be found in section 1, **Background**, above.

2.1 UK government

HM Government; Scottish Government, *Agreement between the United Kingdom Government and the Scottish Government on a referendum on independence for Scotland, Edinburgh, 15 October 2012*.

2.2 Scottish government

Scottish Government News Release, [Referendum question to be tested](#), 9 November 2012 [Proposed wording sent to Electoral Commission]

Scottish Government News Release, [First Minister's speech on written constitution](#), Foreign Press Association, London, 16 January 2013.

Scottish Government News Release, [Referendum date announced](#), 21 March 2013

Chan, V et al, Ipsos MORI Scotland, [Testing the young voter registration form for the 2014 referendum on Scottish independence](#), Scottish Government Social Research, May 2013

Scottish Government News Release, [Vision of independence in a rural Scotland](#), Speech by Rural Affairs Secretary, 21 June 2013.

Scottish Government News Release, [Democracy at heart of independent case for fundamental change to political and economic union](#), [First Minister Speech](#), 12 July 2013.

2.3 UK Parliament

Section 30 order, [Scotland Act 1998 \(Modification of Schedule 5\) Order 2013](#), SI 2013/192, laid 22 October 2012, made 13 April 2013.

House of Lords Select Committee on the Constitution, Report [The Agreement on a referendum on independence for Scotland](#), 13 November 2012, HL 62 2012-13.

Commons Scottish Affairs Committee, [The Referendum on Separation for Scotland: The proposed Section 30 order](#) 6th inquiry report, 11 January 2013, HC 863 2012-13.

Section 30 order confirmed in Commons, Authority to hold referendum transferred to Scottish Parliament, [HC Deb 15 January 2013, 556 c742-840](#).

Section 30 order confirmed in Lords, Authority to hold referendum transferred to Scottish Parliament, [HL Deb 16 January 2013 742 c694-756](#).

P Bowers, [Referendum on independence for Scotland](#), House of Commons Library Standard Note, SN/PC/6478, 13 February 2013.

O Gay, [Scottish referendum-the campaign rules](#), House of Commons Library Standard Note, SN/PC/6604, 11 April 2013.

P Bowers, [Scotland's referendum on independence: Next steps to September 2014](#), commonslibraryblog.com, 9 December 2013.

2.4 Scottish Parliament

Scottish Parliament, Referendum (Scotland) Bill Committee, [First Report](#) The Scotland Act 1998 (Modification of Schedule 5) Order, 23 November 2012.

Scottish Parliament, [Scottish Independence Referendum \(Franchise\) Bill](#) SP Bill 24 Session 4 (2013), introduced 21 March 2013, with [Explanatory Notes](#), [Policy Memorandum](#) and [Delegated Powers Memorandum](#).

Scottish Parliament, [Scottish Independence Referendum Bill](#), SP Bill 25 Session 4 (2013), introduced 21 March 2013, with [Explanatory Notes](#), [Policy Memorandum](#) and [Delegated Powers Memorandum](#) .

F McGrath, [Scottish Independence Referendum \(Franchise\) Bill](#), SPICe Briefing 13/18, 28 March 2013.

Scottish Parliament, Referendum (Scotland) Bill Committee, [Scottish Independence Referendum \(Franchise\) Bill. Stage 1 Report](#), 1st Report, 2013. SP paper 314 (Session 4) 2013, 7 May 2013.

Scottish Parliament, [Scottish Independence \(Franchise\) Bill](#). Stage 1 Debate in Chamber, [SP OR 14 May 2013, c19704](#)

Scottish Parliament, Referendum (Scotland) Bill Committee, [Scottish Independence Referendum \(Franchise\) Bill. Stage 2 debate](#). SP OR RS 6 June 2013, c517

Scottish Parliament, [Scottish Independence Referendum \(Franchise\) Bill](#) SP Bill 24 Session 4 (2013), as amended at stage 2, 6 June 2013, with [Explanatory Notes \(Revised\)](#). .

Scottish Parliament, [Scottish Independence Referendum \(Franchise\) Bill](#), SP Bill 24 Session 4 (2013), as passed, 27 June 2013

Scottish Parliament, [Debate on Scotland's future](#), Motion by First Minister, SP OR 18 September 2013, c22582-22638.

2.5 Others

Electoral Commission

Electoral Commission, [Referendum on independence for Scotland: Advice of the Electoral Commission on the proposed referendum question](#). 30 January 2013.

Electoral Commission, [Advice on campaign spending limits](#), 30 January 2013.

Electoral Commission, [Political literacy and the referendum on independence for Scotland](#), 14 June 2013.

Electoral Commission, [Public awareness for the Scottish independence referendum](#), 26 June 2013.

Electoral Commission, [Memorandum of understanding with Chief Counting Officer](#), July 2013.

Electoral Commission, [Situations and procedures: Referendum on independence for Scotland 2014](#), accessed 30 January 2014, updated frequently.

Books

Stephen Maxwell, [Arguing for independence: evidence risk and the wicked issues](#), Luath Press, 2012.

D MacKay (ed), *A force for good: why Scotland should remain in the union*, Clydeside Press, 2013.

Gregor Gall (ed) *Scotland's road to socialism: time to choose*, Scottish Left Review, 2013.

Iain Macwhirter, *Road to referendum*, Cargo, 2013.

Iain McLean et al, *Scotland's choices: the referendum and what happens afterwards*, Edinburgh University Press, 2013.

Other sources

John Curtice and Rachel Ormston, ScotCen Social Research News release, [Attitudes towards Scotland's constitutional future: Initial findings from Scottish Social Attitudes Survey 2012](#), 24 January 2013.

ScotCen Social Research News release, [Why don't more women support independence?](#) (Extracts from *Scottish Social Attitudes Survey 2012*), April 2013.

John Curtice, ScotCen Social Research News release, [Who supports independence and why?](#) (Extracts from *Scottish Social Attitudes Survey 2012*), 15 May 2013.

John Curtice and Rachel Ormston, [How will Scotland answer the referendum question?](#), ScotCen Social Research, 2013.

Heather Green, [Prisoners and other people: the right to vote in the Scottish Independence Referendum \(Franchise\) Bill](#), Scottish Constitutional Futures Forum blog, 18 July 2013.

Office of the Scottish Charity Regulator, [Guidance for charity trustees the referendum on independence for Scotland](#), OSCR, July 2013.

Office of the Scottish Charity Regulator, News Release, [Charities may speak out on referendum](#), OSCR, 23 July 2013.

Stephen Tierney and Silvia Suteu, [Towards a democratic and deliberative referendum?: Analysing the Scottish Independence Referendum Bill and the Scottish Independence \(Franchise\) Bill](#), Report of workshop at Edinburgh Law School 5 April 2013, published 21 August 2013.

3 Independence

3.1 UK government

Scotland Office, [Scotland Analysis: Devolution and the implications of Scottish Independence](#), Cm 8554, February 2013.

Home Office, [Scotland Analysis: Security](#), Cm 8741, October 2013.

Home Office, [Scotland Analysis: Borders and citizenship](#), Cm 8726, January 2014

3.2 Scottish government

Scottish Government, [Scotland's Future: from the referendum to independence and a written constitution](#), February 2013.

Scottish Government, [Scotland's future: Your guide to an independent Scotland](#), 27 November 2013. [full document]

Scottish Government, [Scotland's future: Your guide to an independent Scotland. Summary](#), 27 November 2013.

3.3 UK Parliament

Commons Scottish Affairs Committee, [The Referendum on Separation for Scotland: The need for truth](#), 12 November 2013, HC 828 2013-14.

Lords Constitution Committee, [Scottish independence: constitutional implications for the rest of the UK. Call for evidence](#). 23 January 2014.

R Taylor, [Debate on 30 January: Scottish Independence Referendum](#), House of Lords Library Note, LLN 2014/003, 27 January 2014.

[Scotland: Independence Referendum](#). HL Deb 30 January 2014, cc1361-1451

3.4 Others

Gerry Hassan and James Mitchell, [After independence: the state of the Scottish nation debate](#), Luath Press , 2013.

Andrew Marr, [The battle for Scotland](#), rev. ed., Penguin, 2013

David Torrance, [The battle for Britain: Scotland and the independence referendum](#), Biteback, 2013.

Alistair Darling, [We belong together: the case for a United Kingdom](#), speech at University of Glasgow, July 2013.

Law Society of Scotland, [Scotland's constitutional future: views, opinions and questions](#), Discussion paper, August 2013.

James Hallwood (ed), *If Scotland says 'No': what next for the union*. The Constitution Society, September 2013.

4 Defence

4.1 UK government

Ministry of Defence News Release, *Scotland is better protected and more secure as part of the UK*, 17 October 2012.

Ministry of Defence, *Scotland Analysis: Defence*, Cm 8714, October 2013.

Ministry of Defence, *Scotland Analysis: Defence Infographic* , 8 October 2013.

4.2 Scottish government

Scottish Government. *The UK strategic defence and security review 2010: a cross party submission from Scottish Government and main Scottish party leaders*, September 2010.

Scottish Government News Release, *First Minister sets out vision on defence*, Speech, 25 July 2013

4.3 UK Parliament

C Taylor, L Brooke-Holland, *The future of the British Nuclear Deterrent: suggested reading*, House of Commons Library Standard Note, SN/IA/4207, 13 August 2013.

C Taylor, *Update on the Trident successor programme*, House of Commons Library Standard Note, SN/IA/6526, 13 August 2013.

Commons Scottish Affairs Committee, *The Referendum on separation for Scotland: How would separation affect jobs in the Scottish defence industry?*, 8 April 2013, HC 957 2012-13.

Commons Scottish Affairs Committee, *First Special Report. The Referendum on separation for Scotland: How would Separation affect jobs in the Scottish defence industry? Government response*. 14 June 2013, HC 257 2012-13.

C Mills, L Brooke-Holland , *Army Basing Review 2013*, House of Commons Library Standard Note SN/IA/6598, 03 April 2013.

Commons Defence Select Committee, News Release 29 June 2012. *Defence implications of possible Scottish independence, Inquiry terms of reference*.

Commons Scottish Affairs Committee, *The Referendum on Separation for Scotland: Terminating Trident-Days or Decades?*, 5th inquiry report, 25 October 2012, HC 676 2012-13.

Commons Scottish Affairs Committee, *First Special Report, The Referendum on Separation for Scotland: Terminating Trident-Days or Decades?: Government Response to the Committee's Fourth Report of Session 2012-13*, 9 January 2013, HC 861 2012-13

Commons Scottish Affairs Committee, [The Referendum on Separation for Scotland: Separation shuts shipyards](#). 7th inquiry report, 20 January 2013, HC 892 2012-13.

Commons Scottish Affairs Committee, [The Referendum on Separation for Scotland: Separation shuts shipyards. Government response.](#), 4 April 2013, HC 1045 2012-13.

Commons Scottish Affairs Committee, [The Referendum on Separation for Scotland: How would Separation affect jobs in the Scottish defence industry](#), 8th Inquiry Report, 8 April 2013, HC 957 2012-13.

Commons Scottish Affairs Committee, [The Referendum on Separation for Scotland: How would Separation affect jobs in the Scottish defence industry? Government response to the Committee's 8th report of 2012-13](#). First special report, 14 June 2013, HC 257 2013-14.

Commons Defence Committee, [Defence implications of possible Scottish independence, Volume 1: Report, together with an Appendix](#), formal minutes and oral evidence. (Volume 2, [Additional written evidence on Committee website](#)) HC 198 2012-13 [incorporating HC 483-I, 2012-13], published 27 September 2013.

Commons Scottish Affairs Committee, [The Referendum on Separation for Scotland: A defence force for Scotland-A conspiracy of optimism?](#), 19 November 2013, HC 842 2013-14.

4.4 Others

Scottish National Party, Defence Working Group, [Defence of an independent Scotland](#), SNP, 1996

B Jamison "Dynamics of security relationships: Scottish independence, the British military establishment and NATO", [British Politics](#), Vol 3, No 1, April 2008, p45.

M Lynch, [The security implications of Scottish independence](#), RUSI Analysis, 10 June 2011, Royal United Services Institute on [rusi.org](#).

J Ainslie, [Trident: Nowhere to go](#), Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and Scottish Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, January 2012.

K Hartley, [Defence industrial issues: employment, skills, technology and regional impacts](#), Discussion Paper 2 of the BASIC Trident Commission, British American Security Information Council, March 2012.

M Chalmers, [The end of an 'Auld Sang': defence in an independent Scotland](#), RUSI Briefing Paper, Royal United Services Institute, April 2012.

M Chalmers, "Kingdom's end?", [The RUSI Journal](#), Vol 157, No 3, June 2012, p6.

Scottish National Party, [Policy on foreign, security and defence, as updated at Autumn Conference 2012](#).

S Crawford, R Marsh, [A' the blue bonnets: defending an independent Scotland](#), RUSI Whitehall Report, Royal United Services Institute, October 2012.

J Ainslie, [Trident: Nowhere to go](#), Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and Scottish Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Second edition, March 2013.

Scottish Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, *Trident and Scottish Independence*, 3 April 2013.

Scotland Institute, *Defence and security in an independent Scotland*, June 2013.

G Grant, *In Scotland's defence?: An assessment of SNP defence strategy*, Henry Jackson Society, July 2013.

Scottish National Party News Release, *Defence report slammed by SNP*, 2 July 2013.

G Grant, *A response to the Scottish National Party's criticism of "In Scotland's defence"*. Henry Jackson Society, 3 July 2013.

Alyson JK Bailes et al, 'Scotland as an independent small state: where would it seek shelter?' *Icelandic Review of Politics and Administration*, v9, 1, pp1-20, June 2013.

Nicholas de Larrinaga, "Scotland sets timetable for Trident removal", *Jane's Defence Weekly*, 27 November 2013

"Making the Break", *Jane's Defence Weekly*, 15 January 2014

5 Economy

5.1 UK government

HM Treasury, *Scotland analysis: Currency and Monetary Policy*, Cm 8594, April 2013.

HM Treasury, *Scotland analysis: Financial services and banking*, Cm 8630, May 2013.

Business, Innovation & Skills, *Scotland Analysis: Business and microeconomic framework*. Cm 8616, July 2013.

HM Treasury, *Scotland analysis: Macroeconomic and fiscal performance*, Cm 8694, September 2013.

UK Statistics Authority, *Monitoring Report: Official statistics in the context of the referendum on Scottish independence*, October 2013.

Business, Innovation & Skills, *Scotland Analysis: Science and research*, Cm 8728, November 2013.

5.2 Scottish government

Fiscal Commission Working Group, *First Report-Macroeconomic Framework*, February 2013.

Scottish Government, *Economic and competition regulation in an independent Scotland*, February 2013.

Scottish Government, *Government Expenditure and Revenue Scotland 2011-2012*, March 2013.

Scottish Government, [Currency Choices for a Independent Scotland](#), April 2013.

Scottish Government, [Scotland's Balance Sheet](#), April 2013.

Scottish Government, [Scotland's Economy: the case for independence](#), May 2013.

Scottish Government, Expert Working Group on Welfare, [Report to Scottish ministers](#), May 2013.

Scottish Government, [Initial response to the Expert Working Group on Welfare report](#), June 2013.

Scottish Government, [Consumer protection and representation in an independent Scotland: options](#), August 2013.

Scottish Government, [Pensions in an independent Scotland](#), September 2013.

Fiscal Commission Working Group, [Second Report-Stabilisation and savings funds for Scotland](#), October 2013.

Fiscal Commission Working Group, [Third Report-Principles for a modern and efficient tax system in an independent Scotland](#), November 2013.

Fiscal Commission Working Group, [Fiscal rules and fiscal commissions](#), November 2013.

Scottish Government, [Building Security and creating opportunity: Economic policy choices in an independent Scotland](#), [web only publication] November 2013.

Scottish Government, [The Scottish Economy](#), Fact sheet, November 2013.

5.3 UK Parliament

Lords Select Committee on Economic Affairs, [The economic implications for the United Kingdom of Scottish independence](#), Second report of 2012-13, 10 April 2013, HL Paper 152 2012-13.

D Webb, [Economic aspects of Scottish independence: Currency](#), House of Commons Library Standard Note SN/EP/6685, 3 September 2013.

D Webb, [Economic aspects of Scottish independence: Public spending and revenue](#), House of Commons Library Standard Note SN/EP/6625, 24 January, 2014.

5.4 Others

Professor Sir Donald Mackay (ed), [Scotland's economic future](#), Reform Scotland, 2011.

ICAS (Institute of Chartered Accountants Scotland), [Scotland's tax future: what tax system would Scotland want?](#), August 2012.

Institute for Fiscal Studies, [Scottish Independence: the Fiscal Context](#), November 2012.

ICAS (Institute of Chartered Accountants Scotland), [Scotland's tax future: the practicalities of tax devolution](#), 15 November 2012.

Andrew Goudie (ed), *Scotland's future: the economics of constitutional change*, Dundee University Press, 2013.

University of Glasgow News Release, extracts from lecture by John Kay, *An independent Scotland: the economic issues*. Glasgow Global Security Network, 21 February 2013.

Rod Macleod, Hamish Patrick, "Scottish independence: the Bank of England (and Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland), *Law and Financial Markets Review*, Vol 7, No 2, March 2013, p69.

Scottish Council for Development and Industry (SCDI), *Future Scotland: Macroeconomic and Fiscal Sustainability*, April 2013.

ICAS (Institute of Chartered Accountants of Scotland), *Scotland's Pensions Future*, April 2013.

University of Glasgow, Centre for Public Policy for Regions, *Measuring an independent Scotland's economic performance*, CPPR Briefing Paper, 23 April 2013.

Scottish Council for Development and Industry (SCDI), *Future Scotland: Discussions and Priorities*, May 2013

Scottish National Party, *Foreign direct investment in recently independent EU member states*, May 2013.

Institute for Fiscal Studies, *Government spending on benefits and state pensions in Scotland: current patterns and future issues*, IFS Briefing Note BN139, July 2013.

Institute for Fiscal Studies, *Government spending on public services in Scotland: current patterns and future issues*, IFS Briefing Note BN140, September 2013.

Institute for Fiscal Studies, *Taxing an independent Scotland*, IFS Briefing Note BN141, October 2013.

David Philips, *How public spending in Scotland might be affected by independence*, LSE British Politics and Policy blog, 25 October 2013.

Michael Amior, Rowena Crawford, Gemma Tetlow, *Fiscal sustainability of an independent Scotland*, Institute for Fiscal Studies, November 2013.

David Bell and David Eiser, *Inequality in Scotland: Trends, drivers and implications for the independence debate*, Economic and Social Research Council, November 2013.

Mark Carney, *The economics of currency unions*, Speech to Scottish Council for Development and Industry, Edinburgh, 29 January 2014.

6 Energy

6.1 UK government

Department of Energy and Climate Change News Release, [Energy policy in an independent Scotland](#), Speech by Edward Davey at Scotsman conference, 11 December 2012.

Department of Energy and Climate Change News Release, [Davey announces £29 billion boost to the economy and makes case for Scotland to remain in the United Kingdom](#), Speech at Conference in Aberdeen, 22 May 2013.

6.2 Scottish government

Alexander G Kemp and Linda Stephen, [The hypothetical Scottish shares of revenues and expenditures from the UK continental shelf 2000-2013](#), Scottish Government Research and Discussion Papers, June 2008.

Office of the Chief Economic Advisor, [An oil fund for Scotland](#), 29 March 2012 [published following Fol request, October 2013]

Scottish Government, [Government Expenditure and Revenue Scotland 2011-2012](#), March 2013.

Scottish Government News Release, [Expert Commission on energy regulation](#) [announcement of membership and programme], 7 July 2013.

Scottish Government News Release, [First Minister's speech launching report, Maximising the return from oil and gas in an independent Scotland](#), 23 July 2013.

Scottish Government, [Maximising the return from oil and gas in an independent Scotland](#), July 2013.

6.3 UK Parliament

Commons Energy and Climate Change Committee, Press notice announcing new inquiry, [The impact of potential Scottish independence on energy and climate change](#), 27 February 2012.

Commons Energy and Climate Change Committee, [The impact of potential Scottish independence on energy and climate change, Written evidence submitted](#), March 2012.

Commons Energy and Climate Change Committee, [The impact of potential Scottish independence on energy and climate change, Transcript of hearing 17 April 2012](#).

Commons Energy and Climate Change Committee, [The impact of potential Scottish independence on energy and climate change, Transcript of hearing 24 April 2012](#).

Commons Energy and Climate Change Committee, [The impact of potential Scottish independence on energy and climate change, Written evidence from Fergus Ewing MSP](#), Minister for Energy, Enterprise and Tourism, Scottish Government, 19 September 2012.

6.4 Others

David Scheffer, *Processes of modernisation in Scotland: the political economy of North Sea Oil*, Harvard University, 1975.

University of Glasgow, Centre for Public Policy for Regions, *UK oil and gas revenues: implications for UK and Scottish public finances*, [CPPR Briefing Note](#), 2010.

Alexander G Kemp, *Official history of North Sea oil and gas*, Vols 1 & 2, Routledge 2012.

University of Glasgow, Centre for Public Policy for Regions, *Analysis of Scotland's past and future fiscal position: Reflections on the GERS 2013, the Scottish Government's Oil and Gas Analytical Bulletin and the 2013 Budget*, [CPPR Briefing Paper](#), March 2013.

Scottish Council for Development and Industry (SCDI), [Future Scotland: Energy](#), April 2013.

University of Glasgow, Centre for Public Policy for Regions, *Reflections on the latest oil and gas related analysis by the Scottish Government and the Office for Budget Responsibility*, [CPPR Briefing Note](#), 23 July 2013.

Andrew Cumbers et al, [Repossessing the future: A Common Weal strategy for community and democratic ownership of Scotland's energy resources](#). Reid Foundation, September 2013.

7 International

7.1 UK government

J Crawford, A Boyle, [Opinion: Referendum on the independence of Scotland-international law aspects](#), Annex A to [Scotland Analysis: Devolution and the implications of Scottish Independence](#), Scotland Office, Cm 8554, February 2013.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office, [Scotland Analysis: EU and international issues](#), Cm 8765, January 2014.

7.2 Scottish government

Scottish Government News Release, [Scotland's Relationship with Europe](#). Speech by Deputy First Minister, European Policy Centre, Brussels, 26 February 2013.

Scottish Government News Release, [Scotland as a good global citizen](#), Speech by First Minister, Brookings Institution, Washington DC, 9 April 2013.

Scottish Government, [Scotland in the European Union](#), November 2013.

7.3 UK Parliament

A Thorp, G Thompson, [Scotland, independence and the EU](#), House of Commons Library Standard Note, SN/IA/6110, 08 November 2011.

House of Commons, Foreign Affairs Committee, [Foreign policy considerations for the UK and Scotland in the event of Scotland becoming an independent country](#), 1 May 2013, HC 643 2012–13

V Miller, [Leaving the EU](#), House of Commons Library Research Paper 13/42, 1 July 2013.

House of Commons, Foreign Affairs Committee, *Foreign policy considerations for the UK and Scotland in the event of Scotland becoming and independent country*, [Government response to the sixth report from the Committee](#), 2012-13, Cm 8644, 1 July 2013.

B Smith, [The Quebec referendums](#), House of Commons Library Research Paper 13/47, 25 July 2013.

7.4 Others

Status of Greenland: Commission opinion, COM (83) 66 final, 2 February 1983

K Mason, "Greenland – withdrawal from the EEC", *Georgia journal of International and Comparative Law*, 13 (193) Summer 1983, 865-76

D Sinclair, [Issues around Scottish independence](#), Constitution Unit, September 1999.

M Happold, "Independence: In or Out of Europe? An Independent Scotland and the European Union", *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* vol 49 no 1, January 2000

Jo E Murkens, *Scotland's place in Europe*, University College London, 2001.

M Zahraa, "Prospective Anglo-Scottish maritime boundary revisited", *European Journal of International Law*, Vol 12, No1, 2001, p77.

Peter Preston, "Cutting Scotland loose: soft nationalism and independence-in-Europe", *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, Vol 10, No 4, November 2008, p717

Charles King, 'The Scottish Play: Edinburgh's Quest for Independence and the Future of Separatism', *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2012, p. 124

Richard Whitman, Andrew Blick, [The foreign policy implications of and for a separate Scotland](#), Chatham House, October 2012 [written evidence to Foreign Affairs Select Committee]

D Edward, [Scotland and the European Union](#), Scottish Constitutional Futures Forum blog, 17 December 2012.

David Scheffer, [International political and legal implications of Scottish independence](#), Adam Smith Research Foundation, Working Papers Series 2013:01, University of Glasgow, February 2013.

C Murphy, [Scottish independence: a question of international law or of the EU's "new legal order"?](#) (Part 1) on *European Law Blog*, 15 February 2013.

M Happold, [Scottish independence: political rhetoric and legal realities](#), *European Journal of International Law* blog, 16 February 2013.

J Vidmar, [EU-UK-Scotland: How two referenda created a complicated love triangle](#), *European Journal of International Law* blog, 18 February 2013.

Hajnalka Vincze, [Scottish independence and the question of transatlantic and European security \(Welcome to the world of realpolitik\)](#), Extracts from lecture at University of Glasgow, 21 March 2013, Glasgow Global Security Network.

Royal Society of Edinburgh/British Academy, [Enlightening the debate-Scotland and the EU](#), Seminar proceedings, Edinburgh, March 2013.

Scottish Council for Development and Industry (SCDI, [Future Scotland: Europe and International](#), April 2013.

Gerry Hassan, [Scottish independence, Europe and the crisis of the British state](#), opendemocracy.net blog, 11 May 2013.

Gerry Hassan, [Scotland and the EU: a tale of two referenda](#), opendemocracy.net blog, 16 May 2013.

James Sloan et al, "The international law implications for an independent Scotland the findings of an expert legal opinion requested by the UK government", *Edinburgh Law Review*, 17:2, May 2013, p224.

Robert E Wright, "A post-independence Scottish immigration system: how it might be shaped by European Union requirements", [Fraser of Allander Economic Commentary](#), vol 37, number 2, October 2013, p47-53

Roland Vaubel, "[Secession in the European Union](#)", *Economic Affairs*, vol 33, number 3, October 2013, p288-302.

Stephen Tierney, [Accession of an independent Scotland to the EU: A view of the legal issues](#), ESRC Scottish Centre on Constitutional Change, Briefing Paper, 2 December 2013.

8 Blogs

The above references are organised in broad subject categories, and within these by type of publication. Specific articles which have been published on comment websites are included under the subject. There are a number of blog sites which cover many aspects of the Scotland and independence issue, and for convenience some of these general addresses are given below:

Devolution Matters, <http://devolutionmatters.wordpress.com/> moderated by Alan Trench, an academic associated with Edinburgh University and the Constitution Unit at University College London.

Economics of Constitutional Change, <http://esrcscotecon.com/>, supported by the Economic and Social Research Council

Gerry Hassan, <http://www.gerryhassan.com/> who describes himself as a writer, commentator and thinker about Scotland, the UK, politics and ideas.

Reform Scotland, <http://www.reformscotland.com/> an independent public policy 'think tank'.

Scottish Constitutional Futures Forum, <http://www.scottishconstitutionalfutures.org/> a joint initiative of academics from the law schools of Scottish universities.

Scottish Devolution, <http://scottish-devolution.co.uk/>, edited by writers who state they are English and from a view that "We are better together".

Scottish Economy Watch, <http://www.scottisheconomywatch.com/>, written by Brian Ashcroft, Emeritus Professor in Economics, Fraser of Allander Institute, University of Strathclyde.

Scottish Independence Convention, <http://www.scottishindependenceconvention.org/>, formed in 2005 as a cross-party group to promote independence and co-operate outside political party boundaries.