

# **Global Civil Society Action at the 2005 G8 Gleneagles Summit**

by

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**G8 Research Group**

**Civil Society and Expanded Dialogue Unit**

## **Preface**

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The G8 Research Group is an independent organization based at the University of Toronto. Founded in 1987, it is an international network of scholars, professionals and students interested in the activities of the Group of Eight (G8). To date it is the largest source of independent research and analysis on the G8, its member states, and related institutions in the world. The G8RG also oversees the G8 Information Centre, which publishes, free of charge, academic analyses and reports on the G8 as well as makes available official documents issued by the G8. With very few exceptions, any and all G8 documents referred to in this report are available on the G8RG website without cost.

This report was compiled by the Civil Society and Expanded Dialogue (CS-ED) Unit of the G8 Research Group under the directorship of Vanessa Corlazzoli and Janel Smith. The CS-ED Unit conducts research and analysis on the G8's ongoing relationship with major external stakeholders, namely Africa, prospective G8-member states (China, India, Brazil, Mexico, and South Africa), and with civil society and non-governmental organizations. This report follows up on other reports, such as the *G8 and Africa Interim Report*, released in March 2005, which is an overview of the G8's interactions with Africa since the 2001 Genoa Summit. A final version of this report, *G8 and Africa Final Report*, released in late June 2005, covers developments up to, but not including, the Gleneagles Summit. In addition to the Africa reports, the G8RG CS-ED Unit also released a report on the G8 and major developing states entitled, *G8 Reform: Expanding the Dialogue*. All of these reports are available at no charge on our website at <[www.g8.utoronto.ca](http://www.g8.utoronto.ca)> as of July 2005.

The G8 Research Group also hosts the G8RG Analysis Unit, which releases two reports per year detailing the G8's compliance with commitments made across a number of issue areas in the interim year between summits. These reports contain further analysis on issues pertaining to the African continent as well as other issue areas of G8 activity defined more broadly. The G8RG Analysis Unit also produces a pre-summit report detailing prospects for the upcoming leaders' meeting according to country and issue area objectives — with the latter featuring numerous themes related to Africa. These are available under “Analytical and Compliance Studies” at <[www.g8.utoronto.ca](http://www.g8.utoronto.ca)>.

The G8 Research Group welcomes responses to this and every one of its reports. Any comments or questions should be directed to <[g8@utoronto.ca](mailto:g8@utoronto.ca)>. Responsibility for the report's contents lies exclusively with the authors and analysts of the G8 Research Group.

## **The Group of Eight**

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The Group of Eight (G8) includes the eight leading industrialized countries in the world: Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, United Kingdom, and the United States. Together, these eight states account for 48% of the global economy and 49% of global trade, hold four of the United Nations' five permanent Security Council seats, and boast majority shareholder control over the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. The G6 (the G8 without Canada and Russia) originally met in Rambouillet, France, in 1975 to discuss the economic impact of the OPEC oil crisis and the end of the US-dollar gold standard regime. In 1976, they were joined by Canada, with Russia gaining membership in 1998. Each year the leaders of these states meet at an annual summit in what is the most powerful and intimate meeting of global leaders anywhere in the world. Unlike other multilateral meetings, leaders at the G8 Summit meet privately behind closed doors; there are no aides or intermediaries and there are few scripts of protocols. For some, the G8 is a concert of powers operating the most relevant centre for global governance with its flexibility and dynamism, making it far more effective than the post-1945 institutions, namely the United Nations (UN). For others, the G8 is the unelected 'committee that runs the world,' an epicentre of global capitalism and neo-colonialism.

While there are disagreements over its intentions, few deny the reach and scope of the G8's influence and control. While originally conceived of as an economic gathering, the G8 Summit has now become the major arena for international action on HIV/AIDS, weapons of mass destruction (WMD), terrorism and global trade. Past G8 summits have produced such landmark agreements as the 1995 reform of the World Bank and IMF, the 1999 Enhanced HIPC Initiative for debt relief, and the 2001 Global Fund for AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria.

But with increased prestige comes increased scrutiny. Most notably since the 2001 Summit in Genoa, alternative-globalization advocates have made the G8 Summit a central focus in the debates of economic and environmental responsibilities from the North to the South. Their concerns have raised bold new questions over issues of accountability and transparency in globalization.

## **Introduction**

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As the G8 leaders prepared to gather at the Gleneagles Hotel in Perthshire, Scotland to tackle the agenda-topping items of African development and climate change, tens of thousands of people from around the world mobilized in and around Edinburgh, Scotland to attend a week's worth of alternative summits, conferences, workshops, marches, and

protests that challenge the G8's policies.<sup>1</sup> The eclectic array of global civil society members who converged in Scotland shared a common opposition to the G8. However, they shared very little else as the alternative goals and tactics proposed to protest against, replace, or displace the G8 were as diverse as the crowd that assembled around Gleneagles.



Protesters, Princes Street, Edinburgh, July 6, 2005

When speaking about global civil society, the London School of Economics Global Civil Society (GSC) Yearbook definition will be used: “the sphere of ideas, values, organisations, networks, and individuals located primarily outside the institutional complexes of family, market, and state, and beyond the confines of national societies, polities, and economies.”<sup>2</sup> It includes non-governmental organizations (NGOs), voluntary associations, non-profit groups, charities, Diaspora networks and other social fora.

The emergence of global civil society is a fairly recent phenomenon, which the GSC Yearbook attributes to the gradual and global change in values towards a more cosmopolitan view of the world. Since the mid-twentieth century, “values such as tolerance, respect for others, emphasis on human rights, and so on have become increasingly important.”<sup>3</sup> Thus, social justice issues which typically lay outside the realm of party politics (human rights, gender equality, development, etc.) have become the

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<sup>1</sup> The majority of the protesters came from the United Kingdom (UK) but also from Spain, Italy, France, Africa and North America.

<sup>2</sup> Helmut Anheier, Marlies Glasius, and Mary Kaldor. “Global Civil Society in an Era of Regressive Globalisation: The State of Global Civil Society in 2003,” London School of Economics’ Global Civil Society Yearbook 2003. Date of Access: 20 July 2005.

<<http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/global/Yearbook/PDF/PDF2003/GCS2003%201%20a.pdf>>

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

emphasis of the new social movements' mobilization. Since the 1990s, global civil society movements have gained in strength not only in the North, where it has originally been strongest, but also throughout the Global South.<sup>4</sup> The most notable recent GSC events are the 1999 World Trade Organization (WTO) protests in Seattle, the 2001 G8 Summit in Genoa, the World Social Fora which originated in Brazil in 2000 and most recently the 15 February 2003 worldwide demonstrations against the war on Iraq and the 2005 G8 Summit protests in Edinburgh.

The civil society actions in and around Edinburgh in early July 2005 are worthy of being studied not only because of the sheer number of activists present during the G8 Summit, but also because this overwhelming presence stands in stark contrast to the relative absence of civil society at the 2004 G8 Sea Island Summit in the United States.

The purpose of this report is to outline the types of civil society involvement which took place during the days leading up to the 2005 G8 Gleneagles Summit, thus offering an understanding of the movement's multiple positions, goals and tactics.<sup>5</sup> The first section of the report will be followed by a brief account of the emergence of civil society's Global Call to Action Against Poverty (GCAP) alliance, which in turn spawned the Make Poverty History and Live 8 campaigns. The second part of the report will summarize some responses of civil society to the G8's final communiqué from Gleneagles. The third section will explore the various alternative conferences which took place during the week of convergence in Edinburgh. The fourth section will detail the major protests, demonstrations, and vigils that took place throughout the week in and around Edinburgh. Lastly the report will discuss the presence of police and their reactions to the protestors.

## ***I: A Brief History of Make Poverty History***

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The impetus behind Britain's *Make Poverty History* campaign came from the *Global Call to Action Against Poverty* (GCAP), launched at the 2005 World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil.<sup>6</sup> GCAP is a worldwide alliance of existing coalitions, civil society and non-government organizations, trade unions, faith groups, individuals, and other campaigners. Among the coalition's larger members were Action Aid, Amnesty International, CIVICUS, Oxfam, Red Cross, UNICEF, World Vision, and WWF.<sup>7</sup> GCAP's stated objectives for its 2005 campaign were fairer trade for the developing world, unconditional debt cancellation for all developing countries deemed to have unsustainable debts, a major increase in the quantity and quality of aid, and greater national efforts to eliminate poverty and achieve the Millennium Development Goals

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<sup>4</sup> Mario Pianta and Frederico Silva. "Parallel Summit of Global Civil Society: An Update," London School of Economics' Global Civil Society Yearbook 2003. Date of Access: 20 July 2005.  
<<http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/global/Yearbook/PDF/PDF2003/GCS2003%2012a.pdf>>

<sup>5</sup> Both authors, as observant representing the G8 Research Group, attended and were witness to the events that are discussed in this paper and that took place in Edinburgh, Scotland from 28 June to July 8, 2005.

<sup>6</sup> "Reflections on the G8", CIVICUS (Johannesburg), 13 July 2005. Date of Access: 20 July 2005.  
<<http://www.civicus.org/new/default.asp?c=00265D>>.

<sup>7</sup> "About us," Global Call to Action Against Poverty, 2005. Date of Access: 20 July 2005.  
<<http://www.whiteband.org/Lib/about/about/en>>.

(MDGs).<sup>8</sup> In Britain and Canada GCAP took on the form of the *Make Poverty History* coalitions — in the U.S. the star-studded *One* campaign. Notwithstanding the differing names of these coalitions, the substance of the campaigns remained uniform across these states, reflecting the stated goals of GCAP.

But despite the laudable goals of GCAP, as the campaign progressed in the lead up to the Gleneagles summit, criticisms of the campaign, and some of its constituent members, began to surface. The NGO-dominated alliance has been criticized for ignoring those anti-poverty efforts around the world that operate outside the NGO framework, such as labour strikes, popular mobilizations, land occupations, women's and indigenous movements, and national political manifestations of anti-poverty movements, such as in Venezuela.<sup>9</sup>

GCAP-members also sustained a number of criticisms from a host of campaigners for a number of reasons. For example, Oxfam's first embarrassment came when it was revealed that the Chinese firm from which it had ordered its white *Make Poverty History* bracelets was not meeting Chinese working standards.<sup>10</sup> A much harsher criticism of Oxfam came from other development campaigners arguing that, given Oxfam's large presence in the NGO community, its close relationship with the UK government was diluting the objectives of the *Make Poverty History* campaign. What this cozy relationship has implied according to one NGO official, reports the British magazine *The New Statesman*, "is that Oxfam are the ones who are always asked to speak for the whole development movement...and they have decided that, in the longer term, their lot is best served by being in with Labour and they go out on a limb to endorse the government."<sup>11</sup>

But no one has been more thoroughly criticized for cozying up to the UK government in particular and the G8 in general than Live 8 organizer Bob Geldof. Head of Policy for the World Development Movement, Peter Hardstaff, has said that "Bob Geldof's response to the G8 communiqué is misleading and inaccurate. By offering such unwarranted praise for the dismal deal signed by world leaders he has done a disservice to the hundreds of thousands of people who marched" to Make Poverty History on July 2.<sup>12</sup> John Hilary of *War on Want* added that "Bob Geldof may be content with crumbs from the table of his rich political friends. But we did not come to Gleneagles as beggars. We came to demand justice for the world's poor."<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> "The issues – what do we want," Global Call to Action Against Poverty, 2005. Date of Access: 20 July 2005. <[http://www.whiteband.org/Lib/issues/the\\_issues/gcap\\_issues/en](http://www.whiteband.org/Lib/issues/the_issues/gcap_issues/en)>.

<sup>9</sup> Patrick Bond, Dennis Brutus and Virginia Setshedi, "Average White Band", Red Pepper (London), July 2005. Date of Access: 23 July 2005. <<http://www.redpepper.org.uk>>.

<sup>10</sup> James Reynolds, "Anti-poverty wristbands produced in sweatshops", *The Scotsman* (Edinburgh), 30 May 2005. Date of Access: 26 July 2005. <<http://thescotsman.scotsman.com/uk.cfm?id=588782005>>.

<sup>11</sup> Katherine Quarmby, "Why Oxfam is failing Africa", *The New Statesman* (London), 30 May 2005. Date of Access: 26 July 2005. <<http://www.newstatesman.com/200505300004>>.

<sup>12</sup> "Campaigners distance themselves from Geldof praise for G8", Joint Press Release, *World Development Movement and War on Want*, 8 July 2005. Date of Access: 26 July 2005. <<http://www.wdm.org.uk/news/presrel/current/g8geldof.htm>>.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

Leaving its main organizer aside, though, criticisms have also been levelled at the whole notion of Live 8 and the implicit message it may have sent to its three billion viewers on July 2. While this year's Live 8 was supposed to move past Live Aid's paternalistic message that charity from the North is needed to help the ailing South to increase political justice and awareness, one essayist has argued that Live 8 failed in both respects. Oscar Reyes of British magazine *Red Pepper* writes "Geldof is still rehearsing the 'white man's burden' routine today and the return of Live Aid brings with it the same negative stereotypes of Africa, the same failure to address the fact that between 1970 and 2002, Africa alone transferred \$550 billion to the North in debt repayments on loans estimated at \$540 billion, yet it continues to 'owe' some \$300 billion."<sup>15</sup> Reyes continues, "underlying this [Live Aid] narrative is an old-fashioned 'great men theory': the idea that meaningful political change can be achieved by the few on behalf of the many."<sup>16</sup>

Many believed that 2005 held out great prospects for developments on poverty reduction in the developing world. This year has witnessed the unprecedented coincidence of the G8 and the EU presidencies in the person of Tony Blair, in addition to upcoming UN General Assembly Special Summit in New York, 14-16 September 2005, which will review the progress made on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and the World Trade Organization's 6<sup>th</sup> Ministerial Conference in Hong Kong, 13-18 December 2005. But in light of the criticisms which abound from civil society post-Gleneagles, it is safe to say that the hopes for such great prospects on poverty reduction in 2005 have dwindled.

## **II: Selected Civil Society Responses to the G8 Final Communiqué**

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The conclusions of the 2005 Gleneagles Summit, as outlined in the G8's final communiqué, were not well received by debt and climate campaigners. The focus of the summit's agenda, according to the British government, was supposed to be dominated by climate change and the development of the African continent. Somewhere along the way in the lead up to the summit the global economy and oil made it onto the agenda, and not surprisingly, in the wake of the July 7 attacks on London, the issue of terrorism also topped the agenda. Indeed, the responses from civil society post-Gleneagles would seem to suggest that the developments made on Africa and climate change dashed a lot of hopes from GCAP members and other campaigners.

Jubilee South, a prominent member of GCAP and a long-time debt campaigning organization, points out that the the debt cancellation agreement "had more to do with the needs of the international financial institutions (IFIs) themselves to salvage their credibility and initiate a new cycle of indebtedness."<sup>17</sup> Lidy Nacpil, an international coordinator of Jubilee South, said that "the conditionalities attached to debt cancellation

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<sup>15</sup> Oscar Reyes. "They owe it all to their fans", *Red Pepper* (London), July 2005, Issue 132, p.32-33.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> "Jubilee South/Americas reiterates demand for 100% unconditional cancellation of debts...", *Jubilee South* (Buenos Aires), 14 July 2005. Date of Access: 27 July 2005.  
<<http://www.jubileesouth.org/news/EEkEFkuuluRHijJJW.shtml> >.

will exacerbate poverty rather than end it.”<sup>18</sup> Eurodad provided substance to Nacpil’s claim in its assessment of the 11 June 2005 G7 Finance Ministers’ debt remission announcement, entitled *Devilish Details*. In this report, Eurodad points out that debt remission had only been extended to those 18 Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) who had reached their ‘completion points’ under the HIPC Initiative. Furthermore, in order to get to their ‘completion points’, these countries had to implement socially-damaging IMF and World Bank policies for years in order to even be considered for debt remission — a fate that other HIPC countries will be subjected to if they too wish to be considered for debt remission.<sup>19</sup>

The G8 final communiqué did give into one of the demands of civil society: increased aid. The G8 affirms that it “agreed to double aid for Africa by 2010.”<sup>20</sup> However, without details on where these funds were going to come from — whether these will be new funds or diverted funds — it is too early to assess how much of a breakthrough the announcement really is. David Bryden of *Foreign Policy in Focus* provides the following analysis:

A closer look at Bush’s actual spending proposal shows that only 9% of it consists of new money (\$800 million of the \$8.8 billion committed between 2004 and 2010). Bush did announce \$674 million in what he said was “additional” spending for humanitarian emergencies in Africa, but the fine print showed this was not actually new spending. In fact, the vast majority of the so-called “doubling” of U.S. assistance Bush promised is actually funding that was slated to be provided anyway, for the most part through the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA) as well as the President’s global AIDS initiative. The MCA has been notably slow-paced, and Congress may well continue denying the increases that form a large part of the Bush pledge.<sup>21</sup>

As for the other major piece of Tony Blair’s Gleneagles agenda — climate change — Greenpeace has deemed the progress made on taking action to be just as insignificant. While the G8 did finally acknowledge that “climate change is happening, that human activity is contributing to it, and that it could affect every part of the globe,”<sup>22</sup> at the summit’s end, as was generally expected, the US still refuses to be party to the Kyoto Protocol. While the US remains isolated in this respect, Greenpeace is still purporting that “the other seven G8 leaders need to strengthen the international position on the

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<sup>18</sup> “Debt campaigners expose flaws in G8 debt deal”, *Jubilee South* (Buenos Aires), 6 July 2005. Date of Access: 27 July 2005. <<http://www.jubileesouth.org/news/EEkpZpFVAZQoKDQVMB.shtml>>.

<sup>19</sup> For a more detailed criticism of the June 11, 2005 debt remission plan announced by the G7 Finance Ministers see, “Devilish Details: Implications of the G7 Debt Deal”, EURODAD (Brussels), 14 June 2005. Date of Access: 23 June 2005. <[http://www.eurodad.org/uploadstore/cms/docs/Overview\\_G7\\_debt\\_deal.pdf](http://www.eurodad.org/uploadstore/cms/docs/Overview_G7_debt_deal.pdf)>.

<sup>20</sup> “Chair’s Summary, Gleneagles Summit, 8 July”, *G8 Gleneagles 2005 Official Website*, 8 July 2005. Date of Access: 27 July 2005. <<http://www.g8.gov.uk/servlet/Front?pagename=OpenMarket/Xcelerate/ShowPage&c=Page&cid=1119518698846>>.

<sup>21</sup> David Bryden, “Bush overstates Africa aid increase”, *Foreign Policy in Focus* (Silver City), 20 July 2005. Date of Access: 27 July 2005. <<http://www.fpif.org/fpiftxt/171>>.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

urgency of climate change and need to implement strict targets” at the upcoming first meeting of the Parties to the Kyoto Protocol in Montreal, Canada in November 2005.<sup>23</sup>

But not all environmental NGOs would even hold out this much hope for the Kyoto Protocol and its prospects of halting and reversing climate change. While Greenpeace does make the links between climate change and poverty on the African continent,<sup>24</sup> one NGO, the Transnational Institute, has set up a project to monitor the carbon trade under Kyoto, Carbon Trade Watch. The conclusions of one of its latest reports amounts to an outright rejection of the mechanisms embodied within Kyoto. According to the analysis of Heidi Bachram of Carbon Trade Watch, it will simply be too expensive to rigorously regulate the terms of the Kyoto protocol, and if it were to be thoroughly regulated, the costs of doing so would make it unattractive. Bachram also takes issue with the fact that rich nations and corporations will continue to pollute under the Kyoto Protocol while locales in the south will be used for “carbon sinks”.<sup>25</sup> Under the Kyoto Protocol, the ‘Clean Development Mechanism’ (CDM) allows carbon credits to be created by investors who create projects that lower CO<sub>2</sub> levels in the air. In practice, what this has amounted to is that those with the power and money have bought and cleared huge chunks of land to make way for mono-crop plantations of eucalyptus trees, which apparently will reduce CO<sub>2</sub> levels in the atmosphere. Some of the immediate problems with this scheme include the destruction of biodiversity and the dispossession of land from indigenous peoples that may not have land rights, and if they do, do not have the money or power to protect them.<sup>26</sup>

To summarize then, civil society’s reception of the G8 final communiqué from Gleneagles was anything but warm. Debt cancellation was criticized for the past, present, and planned future of neoliberal conditionalities. Much of the new aid money announced was in fact old money — at least in the case of the US. Finally, little headway was made on climate change: the US abstained from signing onto Kyoto, as was expected. Even if they did, Bachram’s argument suggests that this would not have reversed climate change.

### **III: The Alternative Summits**

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Throughout the week of action against the G8, there were three large alternative conferences organized by broad coalitions of political parties, trade unions, NGOs and individuals. The first, and most important, in terms of attendance, was the annual *G8 Alternatives Summit: Ideas to Change the World*, hosted on 3 July 2005. It was supported by the World Development Movement, the Scottish Green Party, the Scottish Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the Muslim Association of Britain, the Scottish Socialist Party, Friends of the Earth and many more. The second conference: *Corporate Dream, Global Nightmare: G8 Counter-Conference*, also took place on 3 July 2005. It had many of the

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<sup>23</sup> “Bush remains out in the cold on climate change at the G8 Summit”, *Greenpeace*, 8 July 2005. Date of Access: 27 July 2005. <<http://www.greenpeace.org/international/press/releases/G8summitclosingday>>.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> <sup>25</sup> Heidi Bachram, “Climate Fraud and Carbon Colonialism”, Transnational Institute (Amsterdam), December 2004. Date of Access: 27 July 2005. <<http://www.tni.org/ctw>>.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

same supporters and speakers but labelled itself as the more radical conference of the two.<sup>27</sup> Finally, the third was the 5 July 2005 Global Warming 8 (GW8) Conference. It was organized by the Working Group on Development and Climate Change, a group which includes ActionAid, Christian Aid, Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace, People and Planet and others.

These conferences provided an opportunity for academics, NGO leaders, economists, and activists to share information and engage in dialogue with a wider audience about global governance alternatives. Although there was some mainstream media coverage of the various protests organized throughout the week, the existence of these counter- and alternative-conferences was rarely, if ever, mentioned. Even if this choice of coverage were to be unconscious, the result remains the same: activists were mainly portrayed as violent protesters, but never as informed and concerned citizens taking the opportunity to learn about G8-related issues while making the effort to give a message with substance to the G8 and its supporters.<sup>28</sup>

### *G8 Alternatives Summit*



G8 Alternatives Summit, Usher Hall, Edinburgh, July 3, 2005

The *G8 Alternatives Summit: Ideas to Change the World* hosted in Edinburgh on 3 July 2005 was heralded by its organizers as Scotland's "biggest day of political debate and

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<sup>27</sup> It is interesting that the alternative and counter summits took place simultaneously. This exemplifies the type of "competition" that exists among the various civil society actors. It is hard to understand why the organizers chose to host their conferences on the same date even though they shared many supporters and speakers.

<sup>28</sup> Not a single article in Scotland's leading newspaper was dedicated to the G8 Alternatives Summit, which was supposedly Edinburgh's biggest ever political conference.

discussion.”<sup>29</sup> G8 Alternative organizers announced at the end of the conference that five thousand people had been accounted for throughout the day of plenaries and workshops.<sup>30</sup> NGO officials, political leaders, professors, trade unionists, journalists, and other activists constituted the group of close to a hundred speakers present at the conference; among them were Walden Bello, Mark Curtis, George Galloway, Susan George, George Monbiot, Trevor Ngwame, Ken Wiwa, and many more. Nine plenary sessions took place in three of Edinburgh’s amphitheatres. Their respective titles were: “Resisting Imperialism, Resisting War,” “Fighting Corporate Globalization & Privatization,” “Racism, Asylum & Immigration,” “Africa: Can Blair & Brown Deliver?” “How Do We Get Climate Justice?” “Aid, Trade, Debt: Making Poverty History,”<sup>31</sup> “The Attack on Civil Liberties & The War on Terror,” “Desperately Seeking WMDs: Militarism and Nuclearism,” and “Closing Rally: Vision of a Better World.”<sup>32</sup> These titles accurately represent the vast array of subjects covered throughout the conference.

As is noticeable, some topics are directly and obviously globalization-related, while others take on a much more local focus; although they were, nevertheless, connected to the larger globalization agenda. For example, the issue of rights for asylum seekers in Scotland, a local issue, was introduced to the broader anti-globalization, anti-G8 agenda, by pointing out the fact that often these asylum seekers are forced to flee their countries as a result of G8-supported initiatives implemented in their countries of origin.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, such topics form an integral part of the social justice and human rights agenda, which anti-G8 and anti-globalization activists do not treat as a separate issue but as one and the same. They are tackled as issues exacerbated or supported (even if silently so) by the ‘neo-liberal policies’ of the North.

Apart from these plenary sessions, the conference also hosted 72 smaller workshops, which allowed more time for questions and comments from the audience. Some of the topics were narrower than the big plenary sessions. For example, they discussed issues such as arms control, the G8 & AIDS, and struggles against neo-liberalism in Northern Ireland, Palestine, and Latin America.

Despite the diversity of topics covered throughout the day, the subjects which Tony Blair — as host of the 2005 G8 Gleneagles Summit — had put at the top of the agenda were also given priority at the alternative summit. Thus, Africa and issues of fair trade, debt

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<sup>29</sup> “G8 Alternatives Summit, Programme of Plenary, Workshops and Events.” G8 Alternatives, 2005. Date of Access: 20 July 2005. < [http://www.g8alternatives.org.uk/admin/test/g8Mambo/images/stories/Summit/b\\_wpage1.pdf](http://www.g8alternatives.org.uk/admin/test/g8Mambo/images/stories/Summit/b_wpage1.pdf)>

<sup>30</sup> For the full G8 Alternatives Summit calendar of events please see: <http://www.g8alternatives.org.uk/admin/test/g8Mambo/content/view/69/64/>.

<sup>31</sup> For a transcript of the “Aid, Trade, Debt: Making Poverty History” plenary session please see: [www.g8.toronto.ca/](http://www.g8.toronto.ca/). This documents gives a good idea of the types of arguments made against the G8 and the sorts of alternatives proposed by various speakers throughout the conference.

<sup>32</sup> “G8 Alternatives Summit Calendar.” G8 Alternatives. Date of Access: 10 August 2005. <<http://www.g8alternatives.org.uk/admin/test/g8Mambo/content/view/69/64/>>

<sup>33</sup> Close Dungavel Now. Date of Access: 10 August 2005. < <http://www.closedungavelnow.com/>>. This type of argument was made by many speakers at the Dungavel protests, chief among which were Congolese asylum seekers (and former detainees of the Dungavel Detention Centre).

relief, and climate change topped the G8 Alternatives Conference's programme. There seemed to be consensus among most speakers at the conference on the one issue everybody was focusing on: Africa and debt relief. They viewed the G8's proposed debt relief plan not only as insufficient but as potentially devastating for Africa as a whole, because of the conditions attached to the plan.<sup>34</sup> Essentially, these criticisms echoed those of Eurodad's summarized above.

In short, the debt relief plan was altogether rejected. The conference speakers seemed mainly to view the June 11 G7 Finance Ministers' Debt Relief Plan as a ploy from the G8 to perpetuate the "history of plunder and extreme exploitation" that is the relationship between G8 countries and countries of the Global South.<sup>35</sup> The Debt Relief Plan would not "Make Poverty History." Instead, poverty would remain because of the "neo-liberal policies" attached to the plan - i.e. the privatization of many industries and the opening up of Southern countries to the North. Chris Nineham felt that the opportunities for "exploitation" will increase by giving northern corporations free access "to the utilities, to the natural resources, to the services in those countries."<sup>36</sup> As a result of this view of the destructive potential of the debt relief plan, some speakers suggested that G8 countries should give neither aid, nor debt relief to African countries. In other words, these countries would be better off without any 'help' from the North. Meanwhile, some people simply asked the G8 to free their aid and debt relief policies from their conditionality while increasing their value.

There were two other issues that dominated the G8 Alternative Summit. The first concerned the Make Poverty History and Live 8 campaigns. As already mentioned in the previous section, many members of civil society were extremely critical of the both of these initiatives, although much more so of the Live 8 campaign.<sup>37</sup> This criticism was reiterated time and time again throughout the conference. The second issue was the fact that most of the people present at the conference shared a dislike of the biases of the mainstream media. For example, people were shocked that Live 8 made the first page of most newspapers, while the 200,000 to 300,000 people<sup>38</sup> who marched the streets of Edinburgh asking or demanding that poverty be made history were relegated to the back pages of the dailies. This criticism of the mainstream media would grow throughout the week as a result of the coverage of the various protests. The discontent laid mainly in the way protesters were portrayed as violent "anarchists" trying to provoke the police and wreak havoc throughout the city.

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<sup>34</sup> For example, this is a view that was held by such speakers as Walden Bello, Susan George, George Galloway, Trevor Ngwame and many others.

<sup>35</sup> Chris Nineham. "Transcript: Aid Trade and Debt: Make Poverty History" G8 Alternatives Summit. 3 July 2005. Date of Access: 22 July 2005. <[www.g8.utoronto.ca](http://www.g8.utoronto.ca)>.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Interestingly, this criticism did not stop most members of the audience from participating in the Make Poverty History march. Despite the divergences in opinion about how to "Make Poverty History" most members of civil society showed solidarity for the cause as a symbol of the need for action.

<sup>38</sup> Most mainstream media outlets report around 200,000 to 225,000 marchers, while independent media say between 225,000 and 300,000 people were present.

The closing rally's undertones, although very informative, also felt very much like a pep-talk for the protests to come. The speakers especially highlighted the fact that the global social justice movement was getting stronger every year and that real progress could be achieved through the demonstrations around Gleneagles, and that this momentum would be much needed in order to influence the UN's review of the MDGs in September 2005 in New York and shape the agenda of the WTO's 6<sup>th</sup> Ministerial in Hong Kong in December.

### ***Corporate Dream/Global Nightmare, G8 Counter-Summit***<sup>39</sup>

Co-sponsored by NGOs World Development Movement, War on Want, Friends of the Earth Scotland and People & Planet, the day-long Counter-Conference was held on 3 July 2005, held concurrently and independent of the G8 Alternatives forum, but not in opposition to it. The conference's analyses of the G8 echoed those taking place across Edinburgh in the G8 Alternatives venues.

British journalist/author/activist George Manbiot kicked off the conference with the ominous portent that a neoliberal economic agenda lay behind the G8's well-intentioned projections of debt relief and foreign aid. Manbiot also cited the British government's hefty *Commission for Africa* report — whose executive members included Bob Geldof, Tony Blair, Gordon Brown, and a number of hand-picked African leaders — as essentially reducible to one conclusion: further economic deregulation for Africa. He also charged Live 8 organizers with the failure to substantially deal with the issues at hand in the lead up to the G8 Summit.

Long-time activist Trevor Ngwame from South Africa's Anti-Privatization Forum piled on the criticisms of neoliberalism by citing the averse effects of water privatization in his own country. Ngwame also criticized an earlier G8 initiative with Africa, New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD), as containing too many provisions that encourage privatization.

In another session, Walden Bello and Samir Amin went on the offensive against the World Trade Organization (WTO). Amin exposed the illiberal contradiction of the WTO which on the one hand preaches on behalf liberalized trade yet itself runs the global economy command-style. Amin called for a subversion of trade rules in favour of the needs of the world's majority and called for an audit into the shady dealings of politicians and businesses in the global economy. Bello identified the WTO's as having adversely effected development in the Third World because of its restriction of protectionist policies and thus stymieing of infant industries in those countries.

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<sup>39</sup> All the information from this section was taken from "Report on the Counter Summit "G8: Corporate Dreams ... Global Nightmare"", written by Bentley Allen of the G8 Research Group, 3 July 2005. Date of Access : 27 July 2005. <<http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/evaluations/csed/CIVIL/corpdreams.html>>

Other panellists for the days included Green Party representative from the European parliament Caroline Lucas and actor-activists the “Yes Men”, Mike Bonanno and Andy Bilchlbaum.

The views expressed at this conference, as well as at the G8 Alternatives conference, were far more radical than those reported by the mainstream media, official government agencies and politicians, Live 8 organizers, and even most Make Poverty History campaigners. But this problem is not one of lack of education or outreach to politicians and the mainstream media. Nick Dearden from War on Want, interviewed by the G8 Information Centre policy analyst Bentley Allen, cited the problem as one of an imbalance of global power relations. Dearden expressed little faith in change from above through political or rockstar saviours, but rather from below once civil society concertedly forced change.

#### **IV: Demonstrations, Protests and Vigils**

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Although the counter- and alternative-conferences in Edinburgh constituted some of the most important events of the week, it is the protests, demonstrations and vigils that dominated the schedule and were given the most attention by local and international media. Everyday different marches were organized throughout the city to speak out for a variety of causes, thus uniting all strands of civil society: trade unionists, socialists, communists, academics, NGO campaigners, faith groups, activists, anarchists, and many individuals representing the concerned public at large.<sup>40</sup>

##### ***Carnival for Full Enjoyment***

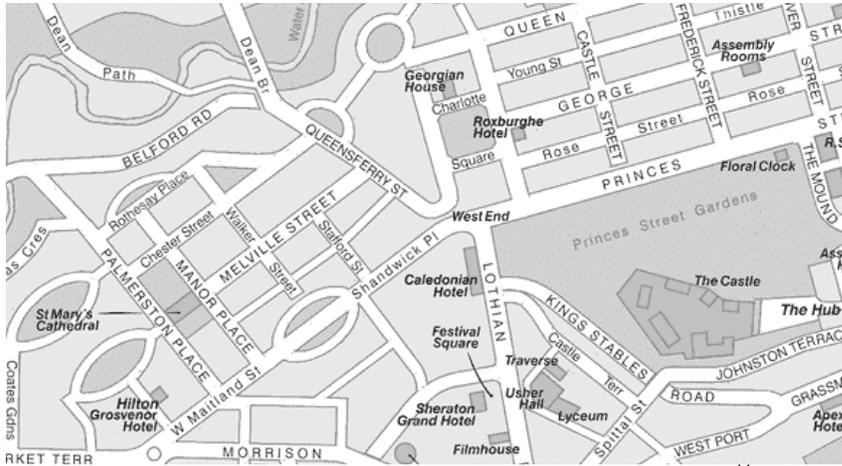
On 4 July 2005, the Dissent! Network organized the Carnival for Full Enjoyment: “a canivalesque parade through Edinburgh, visiting places responsible for the increasingly precarious way in which we experience work and life.”<sup>41</sup> It was referred to by many as the “Anarchist Protest,” and was thus feared by many of turning into a violent demonstration. The police presence was considerable and their operation was highly organized. Protesters had planned to meet at Shandwick Place on Princes Street West but the police managed to cordon off several groups of around 200 to 300 protesters in different areas of the centre of Edinburgh. For example, on Canning Street, a small side street close to Shandwick Place, all protesters and journalists were kept inside the police blockades for hours. When they realized they were being blockaded, some protesters tried to push through the police lines on two different occasions.. When they saw their efforts were to no avail they resigned and decided to play music and dance behind the police barricades. After a few hours, the Sambistas (or musicians) became tired, the music stopped, and most protesters sat down, waiting to be let out. All the journalists present were also stuck in the blockaded street for about two hours, at which time the police

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<sup>40</sup> In using these categories we recognize that their limitations do not take account of the diversity within any one of these categories. In particular, we would like to separate ourselves from the media’s tendency to homogenize young militant activists as “Anarchists”.

<sup>41</sup> “Action Information,” Dissent! Network. Date of Access : 23 July 2005.  
<<http://www.dissent.org.uk/content/section/12/63/>>

decided to allow them to leave one by one if they had a media pass and gave the police their name and address. Much later in the afternoon, the police proceeded to do the same with the protesters. Meanwhile, on Princes Street – the main street in downtown Edinburgh – some punches had been exchanged between the police and protesters, trying to push through the blockades.<sup>42</sup> The situation calmed down soon after, but it heated up again around 4 p.m. The images published in mainstream newspapers of bloody-faced protesters throwing “missiles” at the police and plants being uprooted from the castle’s garden depicted the latter part of the protest.<sup>43</sup>



Map of Edinburgh City Centre<sup>44</sup>

What the mainstream media failed to capture, however, were the police provocations and excessive force used at times on peaceful protesters. And what was reported by the mainstream media as “missiles” being launched at the police<sup>45</sup> were often flowers, reports the UK Indymedia.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>42</sup> See audio-interview with Natasha, a protester who was punched in the face by some police officers for a protester’s view of police violence at the Carnival for Full Enjoyment: <[www.g8.utoronto.ca/](http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/)>

<sup>43</sup> See the first page of “The Herald,” 5 July 2005. <[www.herald.co.uk](http://www.herald.co.uk)>

<sup>44</sup> Tourist Publication: Edinburgh Street Plan. Date of Access 27 July 2005. <[http://www.touristpublications.co.uk/images/edinburgh\\_street\\_plan.gif](http://www.touristpublications.co.uk/images/edinburgh_street_plan.gif)>

<sup>45</sup> Gareth Edwards, “Ure urges anarchists ‘go home’ ”, *Scotsman* (Edinburgh), 5 July 2005. Date of Access: 27 July 2005. <<http://news.scotsman.com/edinburgh.cfm?id=739582005>>.

<sup>46</sup> “Report of the ‘Carnival for Full Enjoyment’ on Monday 4 July”, *Indymedia.uk* (Edinburgh), 6 July 2005. Date of Access: 27 July 2005. <<https://www4.indymedia.org.uk/en/regions/world/2005/07/316493.html>>.



Police cordon-off a section of the Carnival for Full Enjoyment

By the end of the day, 90 people had been arrested, and 21 people had been reported injured, including 4 police officers.<sup>47</sup>

### ***The Faslane Royal Navy Base Blockade***



Entrance to Faslane with peace flag in backdrop

Protestors in kimonos send message of peace to the police at the Faslane

Protestors began to assemble at the Royal Navy's Faslane base before 7:00am on 4 July. The objective of the blockade, according to the chief organizers of the demonstration, Trident Ploughshares, was to shut down the base for a day in coincidence with the "G8 summit to highlight the links between poverty and war, militarism, and destructive globalisation."<sup>48</sup> The base at which demonstrators assembled is home to Britain's four

<sup>47</sup> "Police and activists clash as G8 protest turns ugly," *The Courier*, 5 July 2005. Date of Access: 22 August 2005. <[www.thecourier.co.uk/output/2005/07/05/newsstory7302347t0.asp](http://www.thecourier.co.uk/output/2005/07/05/newsstory7302347t0.asp)>

<sup>48</sup> "Peaceful protestors block all gates at British WMD Base", *Trident Ploughshares* (Norwich), 4 July 2005. Date of Access: 27 July 2005. <<http://www.tridentploughshares.org/article1356>>.

Trident submarines which carry nuclear weapons. In its attempt to make the links between poverty and war Trident Ploughshares points out that “government estimates show that it would cost £14 billion to replace Trident with a similar system and a further £18 billion to operate these submarines throughout their life.”<sup>49</sup>

According to organizers, the 2000 activists that assembled at Faslane ‘succeeded’ in blockading all entrances to the base for the day — a first time achievement for the organization.<sup>50</sup> Among those in attendance at the demonstration were kimono-wearing activists, the Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army, samba bands, cyclists who journeyed all the way from London, a truck-come-restaurant/DJ-booth, and many more activists from Europe. The demonstration remained peaceful at all times, with certain groups of activists, such as those wearing kimonos and the clowns, making an effort to demonstrate peaceful protest. A total of four people were arrested, three for sitting on perimeter fences and one person for scaling a fence and entering the base.<sup>51</sup>

### ***Dungavel Protest***

The following day, on 5 July 2005, around one thousand people made their way to the Dungavel Detention Centre to protest against the inhumane treatment of asylum seekers in Scotland.<sup>52</sup> The whole day was extremely peaceful. On the eve of the arrival of the protesters at Dungavel, all detainees had been moved to unknown locations – suspected by many to be jails – around Edinburgh. This is said to have discouraged a number of civil society members from making the hour trip up to the detention centre, but it also encouraged others to show their symbolic support for the cause despite the police’s decision. Throughout the day a number of speakers spoke out about the kinds of injustices that go on within the detention centres where fathers, mothers, and children are kept for days, weeks, months and sometimes years without knowing the length or exact reason for their detention. Many buses that day were stopped by the police on their way to Dungavel. For this reason, it is hard to estimate the number of protesters that would have been present at the protest. Despite this added frustration and poor weather conditions, the day of action in support of asylum seekers and refugees in Scotland was hailed as a real success by civil society actors in that it had remained peaceful and had sent a powerful message of resistance to the G8 countries. No arrests or injuries were reported.

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<sup>49</sup> “Faslane Blockade declared a complete success”, *Trident Ploughshares* (Norwich), 4 July 2005. Date of Access: 27 July 2005. <<http://www.tridentploughshares.org/article1357>>.

<sup>50</sup> The attendance figure of 2000 was also reported by UK IndyMedia, “Faslane Blockaded – All gates closed down”, *UK IndyMedia* (Edinburgh), 4 July 2005. Date of Access: 27 July 2005. <<http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/07/315938.html>>.

<sup>51</sup> “Faslane Blockade declared a complete success”, *Trident Ploughshares* (Norwich), 4 July 2005. Date of Access: 27 July 2005. <<http://www.tridentploughshares.org/article1357>>.

<sup>52</sup> “G8 Reports: Tuesday 5<sup>th</sup> July,” *Indymedia.org.uk*. 5 July 2005. Date of Access: 23 July 2005. <[www.indymedia.org.uk](http://www.indymedia.org.uk)>

## *Gleneagles Protest*

6 July 2005 was the opening day of the 2005 G8 Gleneagles Summit at the Gleneagles Hotel. The leaders of the eight industrialized countries would be meeting over the next three days at the Gleneagles Summit. All of the protesters and civil society campaigners that had gathered in Edinburgh in the previous days had done so in order to, in the end, make their presence felt at the hotel. Thus, a march had been organized by G8 Alternatives and by other groups and individuals within civil society. A few days before the start of the summit, the G8 Alternatives organizers had been able to secure an agreement with municipal authorities and the police to march up to within 500 metres of the Gleneagles Hotel. However, the police admitted a few days later that they would only allow five thousand protesters to demonstrate this close to the site of the G8 meetings. This disappointed and infuriated many civil society members who could not grasp why their freedom of speech and right to peaceful demonstration was being revoked. However this decision did not stop protesters from planning to protest at, in and around Auchterarder, a small town in the vicinity of the hotel.

In the early morning small groups of people in Edinburgh tried and succeeded in stopping some Japanese media delegates and other international media correspondents that were staying in hotels in Edinburgh from making their way to the International Media Centre in Gleneagles. Despite the impressive police force of a hundred that had surrounded the perimeter of the Sheraton Hotel, one of the hotels housing international media correspondents, the protestors managed to delay the shuttle system to the Gleneagles Hotel for upwards of four hours.<sup>53</sup> Meanwhile, some individuals in Stirling, as well as on the highways leading up to Gleneagles, had engaged in acts of vandalism and violence which were quickly answered to by the police. These events further delayed the media from reaching Gleneagles. As a result, the police judged that the march should be cancelled on the grounds of public safety stating that “Tayside Police would not wish peaceful protesters to be caught up among the anarchist elements.”<sup>54</sup> This sort of divide-and-rule tactic was used time and again in the UK media, as demonstrators were repeatedly being classified as the good versus the bad, the peaceful versus the violent.<sup>55</sup> To be sure, the predictions that the protesters would be “determined to cause maximum disruption and damage” were not realized.<sup>56</sup>

The police also claimed that the decision to cancel the demonstration had been made between the police and G8 Alternatives organizers.<sup>57</sup> However, the march’s organizers

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<sup>53</sup> Direct observation made by G8RG members on the scene.

<sup>54</sup> “G8 Alternatives March Cancelled,” Tayside Police. 6 July 2005. Date of Access: 23 July 2005. <<http://www.tayside.police.uk/g8/newsitem.php?id=67>>

<sup>55</sup> Paul Lamarra, “Anarchist gallows to disrupt G8”, *The Sunday Times* (London), 29 May 2005. Date of Access: 27 July 2005. <<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,2087-1632526,00.html>>.

<sup>56</sup> Duncan Hamilton, “Anarchist protestors have no alternatives”, *Scotsman* (Edinburgh), 21 Feb 2005. Date of Access: 27 July 2005. <<http://news.scotsman.com/topics.cfm?tid=113&id=195402005>>.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

deny having ever cancelled the protest.<sup>58</sup> By early morning most media sources were announcing that the demonstration would no longer be happening. G8 Alternatives, the Dissent! Network and other organizations scrambled to let activists know that this information was in fact inaccurate. G8 Alternatives quickly came out with this announcement on their website:

The G8 Alternatives demonstration has not been cancelled. Reports this morning in the media that the demonstration in Gleneagles has been cancelled are false. The march has been delayed until later this afternoon as buses bringing people to Auchterarder have been delayed by police roadblocks and searches of these vehicles and their passengers.<sup>59</sup>

The police then came out with their own press release confirming the fact that the protest had been rescheduled. They, however, restricted access to the protest to the few people who were already in the area, which in the end amounted to about 5000<sup>60</sup> to 10,000<sup>61</sup> people, depending on the media source (mainstream or independent). The march in Auchterarder was, overall, peaceful.<sup>62</sup> However, around 4 p.m., a few protesters breached the agreed route and tried to break through the fencing surrounding the Gleneagles Hotel. They succeeded, temporarily, but the police quickly arrived, and re-secured the fence. "Trained officers were helicoptered into the area and deployed along a stretch of the outer cordon to bolster security. They were assisted by a team of police dog handlers and mounted officers on police horses."<sup>63</sup> The Herald reported that 182 protesters were arrested throughout the day and 29 police officers were injured.<sup>64</sup> No mention was ever made of the number of injured activists.

Meanwhile, in Edinburgh, the 700 or so people who were kept from boarding their coaches to Gleneagles spontaneously marched on to Princes Street in order to make their voices heard. The march, which lasted from about noon to 4 p.m., remained peaceful despite its lack of organization and official leadership. When police tried to break up the protest, by dividing the group, real confrontations occurred. At that point, the police began to use force to divide the demonstration, hitting some and arresting others.<sup>65</sup> With force now being applied to the demonstrators, the crowd quickly dispersed and the police easily moved the demonstration off Princes St. and onto another street, the Mound. The demonstration dwindled thereafter.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> "Stop Press: Gleneagles Demonstration Not Cancelled," G8 Alternatives. 6 July 2005. Date of Access: 23 July 2005. <<http://www.g8alternatives.org.uk/admin/test/g8Mambo/content/view/182/39/>>

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> "5000 sealed off in demo," The Scotsman, 7 July 2005. Date of Access: 22 August 2005. <[www.scotsman.com](http://www.scotsman.com)>

<sup>61</sup> "G8 Day 1: G8 Blockades, Mass Arrests and Fence Breaches," Indymedia.org.uk, 6 July 2005. Date of Access: 22 August 2005. <[www.indymedia.org.uk/en/actions/2005/g8/](http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/actions/2005/g8/)>

<sup>62</sup> For a protester's account of the march in Auchterarder listen to the online interview with Geraldine Matthews: [www.g8.utoronto.ca/](http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/)

<sup>63</sup> "G8 Protesters Breach March Route," Tayside Police. 6 July 2005. Date of Access: 23 July 2005. <<http://www.tayside.police.uk/g8/newsitem.php?id=69>>

<sup>64</sup> "In the Cities, Disruption and Chaos," The Herald, 7 July 2005, p.3.

<sup>65</sup> The authors of this report were present at this Edinburgh demonstration and so the detailed account above is from their first-hand observations.

<sup>66</sup> The authors of this report were present at this Edinburgh demonstration and so the detailed account above is from their first-hand observations.



*Police block Gleneagles-bound coaches from departing Waterloo Place, Edinburgh, late morning, 6 July 2005*

### ***Vigils***

Unlike the days preceding the 6 July protests at Gleneagles, no massive action was planned for 7 and 8 July. It seems like protesters and organizers adopted a “wait-and-see” strategy, waiting to judge what type of action would be needed after having experienced the protests of 6 July and the reaction of the police to the demonstrations. Some made their presence felt at the tribunals and the jails where their friends had been detained the previous days. However, after the 7 July terrorist attacks took place in the centre of London, very little action was taken by civil society actors. The atmosphere remained gloomy around Edinburgh. A few vigils were organized on the nights of 7 and 8 July to pay respect to the victims of the bombings. The vigils, however, did not only focus on London but also on the hundreds of thousands of civilians who have died as a result of the war against terrorism in Afghanistan and Iraq.

### **V: The Police**

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Approximately 11,600 police officers, coming from more than 50 forces around the UK were convened in and around Edinburgh and Gleneagles in anticipation of civil society protests during the G8 Summit.<sup>67</sup> As promised during negotiations between police, government officials and civil society members, leading up to the Gleneagles Summit, the police used neither guns, nor tear gas or water canons. They carried with them batons, a small pepper spray can, and handcuffs, while the riot police protected themselves with plastic shields and helmets. These steps were wise to take in the aftermath of the tragedy of the 2001 G8 Genoa Summit Protest, which saw the death of a young protester, Carlo Giuliani, at the hands of the Italian police. In the majority of cases, violence, both from police forces and protesters, was kept to a minimum. There was provocation coming from

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<sup>67</sup> “G8 Policing Operation Praised,” Central Scotland Police, 9 July 2005. Date of Access: 22 July 2005. <<http://www.centuralscotland.police.uk/news/news.php?id=342&page=>> [*hereinafter*: “G8 Policing Operation Praised”].

all sides, but it usually did not escalate to the point of physical violence. This is not however, what the mainstream media reported. Pictures of violent protesters made the front page of British newspapers, even though those were isolated incidents perpetrated by a small minority of people. Both, mainstream media and police forces reported 358 arrests related to anti-G8 activity.<sup>68</sup> However, independent media affirms that “over 700 people were detained or arrested often overnight, and around 366 people have been arrested and charged” over the course of the week.<sup>69</sup>

For a variety of reasons police efforts were also heavily criticized by civil society members. Many found that they too hastily used their bludgeons against peaceful protesters. Moreover, they were appalled by the fact that a number of police officers had removed their identification numbers from their uniforms, despite it being against the law. When protesters asked them why they had taken off their badges, the police offered no comment. Also, one of the most voiced criticisms against the police was their indiscriminate use of the Section 60 Order in conjunction with the Section 13 Criminal Procedure (Scotland) Act 1995, and Section 44 Terrorism Act.<sup>70</sup> They used these laws to arrest people, search them, and request their names and addresses. It is only after 4 July, 2005 that the G8 Legal Support Group realized that this kind of information could only be requested if one has witnessed or committed an offence. From that point on, protesters resisted giving the information that was asked of them under certain circumstances.<sup>71</sup> Many arrests and searches were aborted this way.

## Conclusion

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The conferences and protesting events organized at the time of the G8 Gleneagles Summit demonstrate that the civil society movement is growing year by year. Such upcoming events as the WTO General Meeting in Hong Kong, the UN Summit in New York, and the yearly Summit of the Americas and World Social Forum should be closely looked at to see how the movement is developing around the world. Next year’s G8 Summit in Russia should also be paid close attention to as it will most definitely be interesting to see how Vladimir Putin’s government plans to deal with controversial civil society action.

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<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.* See also: “G8 Summit Police made 350 Arrests,” BBC News UK Edition. 9 July 2005. Date of Access: 22 July 2005. <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/scotland/4666985.stm>>

<sup>69</sup> “Legal Support Group Statement on the Policing of the G8 Protests” Indymedia.org.uk. 13 July 2005. Date of Access: 22 July 2005. <<http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/07/318170.html>>

<sup>70</sup> “Clarification on Giving Your Name and Address,” G8 Legal Support Group. 5 July 2005. Date of Access: 22 July 2005. <<http://g8legalsupport.info/2005/07/05/clarification-on-giving-your-name-address/>> For more information about Section 60 and Section 44, refer to the G8 Legal Support Group’s website.

<sup>71</sup> Direct observation made by the G8RG members present on the scene.