

ENDNOTES

1. See Stephen D. Krasner, "Structural Causes and Regime Consequences: Regimes as Intervening Variables", in International Regimes, ed. Stephen D. Krasner, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983, pp.1-22 for the standard definition of a regime.
2. John Gerard Ruggie, "International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order", in International Regimes, ed. Stephen D. Krasner, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983, pp. 195-231.
3. Garavoglia, p.2.
4. Ibid, p.6.
5. Putnam and Bayne, p.29.
6. In Krasner's standard regime definition, the fundamental characteristics of a regime are considered to be its principles and its norms.
7. Examples of this work include: Stien, Arthur A., "Coordination and Collaboration: Regimes in an Anarchic World", and Keohane, Robert O., "The Demand for International Regimes", both in International Regimes, and Keohane, Robert O., After Hegemony, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.
8. Interview with a US government official.
9. President Reagan had offered to meet with his summit allies on the way to, and on the way back from, his meeting with General-Secretary Gorbachev. Such access is a privilege most NATO allies do not enjoy.
10. Putnam and Bayne, p.55.
11. Watt, p.27.
12. Putnam and Bayne, p.35.
13. Department of State Bulletin, #1902.
14. Article 12 of the Rambouillet communiqué.
15. Putnam and Bayne, p.39.
16. Ibid, p.40.
17. Pelkmans, p.95.

18. Putnam and Bayne, p.37.
19. Article 19 of the Rambouillet communiqué.
20. Department of State Bulletin, #1902.
21. Article 15 of the Rambouillet communiqué.
22. Putnam and Bayne, p.42.
23. Washington Post, June 30, 1976.
24. Article 7 of the Puerto Rico Communiqué.
25. de Menil, p.20.
26. Putnam and Bayne, p.44.
27. Dimock, pp.14-15.
28. Garavoglia, p.11.
29. Article 12 of the Puerto Rico communiqué.
30. Putnam and Bayne, p.43.
31. Becker, p.154.
32. Several other key people in the Carter Administration were ex-members of the Trilateral Commission. For a complete list see de Menil, p.21.
33. de Menil, p.21.
34. Putnam and Bayne, pp. 63-64.
35. Sakurada paper.
36. Putnam and Bayne, p.65.
37. Page 1 of the London communiqué.
38. Garavoglia, p.13.
39. Brezinski, p.293.
40. Pons paper.

41. Pelkmoms, p.124.
42. Department of State Bulletin, #1980.
43. Garavoglia, p.13 cites this figure as do several other texts, but OECD documents claim growth was only 4.7%. Either way, the US was the country closest to meeting its growth target.
44. Putnam and Bayne, p.112.
45. Putnam, p.60.
46. Carter, p.103.
47. Putnam and Bayne, p.84.
48. Putnam (Nye), p.10.
49. Article 3 of the Bonn communiqué.
50. Putnam and Bayne, p.270.
51. Many German economists argue that the expansionary measures agreed to at Bonn made the West German economy much more susceptible to the pressures of the second oil shock, thereby making them worse off.
52. de Menil, p.25.
53. Article 20 of the Bonn communiqué.
54. Department of State Bulletin, #2018.
55. Ibid.
56. Garavoglia, p.20.
57. Pelkmoms, p.126.
58. Department of State Bulletin, #2029.
59. Watt, p.33.
60. Carter, p.111.
61. Department of State Bulletin, #2029.
62. Pons paper.

63. Department of State Bulletin, #2029.
64. Ibid.
65. Putnam and Bayne, p.105.
66. Ibid, p.120.
67. Washington Post, June 19, 1980.
68. Putnam and Bayne, p. 119.
69. Ibid, p.123.
70. Venice Political Statement.
71. Pons paper.
72. Venice Political Statement.
73. Brezinski, p.461.
74. Washington Post, June 24, 1980.
75. Garavoglia, p.24.
76. Interview with a US government official.
77. Interview with a former high level summit participant.
78. Putnam (Nye), p.16.
79. Department of State Bulletin, #2053.
80. Pons paper.
81. Washington Post, July 21, 1981.
82. Department of State Bulletin, #2053.
83. Article 36 of the Ottawa communiqué.
84. Heeney paper, p.34.
85. Garavoglia, p.28.
86. Putnam, p.71.

87. Roberge paper, p.45.
88. Putnam and Bayne, p.133.
89. Ibid, p.137.
90. Ibid, p.237.
91. Article 1 of the Versailles communiqué.
92. Putnam and Bayne, p. 134.
93. Ibid, p.138.
94. Garavoglia, p.31.
95. de Menil, p.39.
96. This incident is described in Haig, p.309.
97. Putnam and Bayne, p.138.
98. Ibid, p.174.
99. Ibid, p.173.
100. Heeney paper, p.40.
101. Putnam (Nye), p.16.
102. Garavoglia, p.36.
103. Putnam and Bayne, p.176.
104. Article 3 of the Williamsburg communiqué.
105. Wallace, p. 150.
106. Department of State Bulletin, #2076.
107. Article G of the Williamsburg Declaration on Security.
108. Department of State Bulletin, #2076.
109. Article 5 of the Williamsburg communiqué.
110. Article 2 of the Williamsburg communiqué.

111. Department of State Bulletin, # 2076.
112. Pelkmans, p.117.
113. Washington Post, June 2, 1983.
114. Putnam and Bayne, p.184.
115. Ibid, p.184.
116. Pons paper.
117. Article 5 of the London communiqué.
118. Putnam and Bayne, p.184.
119. Article 9, Paragraph 5 of the London communiqué.
120. Article 9, paragraph 9 of the London communiqué.
121. Putnam and Bayne, p.191.
122. Ibid, p.199.
123. Article 6 of the Bonn communiqué.
124. Ostry, p.4.
125. Article 10 of the Bonn communiqué.
126. Putnam and Bayne, p.203.
127. Bonn Political Statement.
128. Putnam and Bayne, p.242.
129. Washington Post, May 9, 1985.
130. Putnam and Bayne, p.205.
131. Ibid, p.217.
132. Ibid, p.210.
133. Interview with a US government official.
134. Article 13 of the Tokyo communiqué.

135. Putnam and Bayne, p.211.
136. Data on public opinion concerning the libya raid on several of the summit countries can be found in Putnam and Bayne, p.212.
137. Department of State Bulletin, #2112.
138. Ibid.
139. Ostry, pp.6-7.
140. CBC television coverage of the Tokyo summit.
141. Pons paper.
142. Roberge, p.78. The line is in Article 22 of the Venice communiqué.
143. Article 27 of the Venice communiqué.
144. From a lecture by Sylvia Ostry at the University of Toronto.
145. Venice Statement on the Iran-Iraq War and Freedom of Navigation in the Gulf.
146. Conversation with an official in Canada's Department of External Affairs.
147. Washington Post, June 15, 1987; Ostry, p.7.
148. New York Times, June 14, 1988.
149. Article 1 of the G-7 statement of December 22, 1987.
150. Wall Street Journal, June 17, 1988.
151. New Times York, June 14, 1988.
152. Article 19 of the Toronto communiqué.
153. Whitehead p.8. He argues that this is probably the most important of a series of institutional reforms required by the GATT from an American perspective.
154. Article 16 of the Toronto communiqué.
155. Article 15 of the Toronto communiqué.
156. See Harvest 2000 for a text of this speech.
157. Wall Street Journal, June 21, 1988.

158. US Agriculture Secretary Richard Lyng made this very clear in a World Net television interview just prior to the summit.
159. Briefing by Marlin Fitzwater, June 19, 1988.
160. This very interesting language is found in Article 18 of the Toronto communiqué.
161. Economist Gerald Helleiner made this statement at the University of Toronto conference on the summit.
162. Briefing by James Baker, June 20, 1988.
163. Article 23 of the Toronto communiqué.
164. Article 5 of the Toronto Political Declaration.
165. Dornbusch, p.2.
166. Putnam and Bayne, p. 276. I have added my own score for the Toronto summit, which I rate a B-.
167. This was certainly the view in both the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal in the aftermath of the Toronto summit.