

NOTES

1. Robert D. Putnam and Nicholas Bayne, Hanging Together: Cooperation and Conflict in the Seven Power Summits, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987. N.B. Henceforth referred to as Putnam and Bayne.
2. Putnam and Bayne, pp. 25-272.
3. Alfred Grosser, Affaires extérieures. La politique de le France 1944-1984, Paris: Flammarion, 1984, p. 235.
4. Henry A. Kissinger, White House Years, Boston: Little Brown, 1982, p. 170.
5. "From 1966 to 1979 France's real GNP grew each year on average by 4.3%, according to the OECD compared with Italy's 4.0%, West Germany's 3.4%, and Britain's 2.4%. In 1979-1987, France grew by 1.6%, behind Britain's 1.8%, and Italy's 2.2%, but faster than West Germany's 1.5%", in "A Survey of France", The Economist, 12 March 1988.
6. Alfred Grosser, op. cit., p. 259.
7. Putnam and Bayne, p. 29-30.
8. Putnam and Bayne, p. 32.
9. As discussed in the sections of this study dealing with the 1986 and 1987, "cohabitation", a novel power sharing agreement between and President and a Prime Minister of opposite political stripe, did not radically alter this state of affairs as regarded summit participation.
10. International Herald Tribune, 16 June 1975.
11. Concerning "personal diplomacy" see: -Samy Cohen, "La politique extérieure de la France de 1974 à 1981. Un homme seul?", in Samy Cohen and Marie Claude-Smouts (eds.), La politique extérieure de Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, Paris: Presse de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, 1985, p. 39. -Serge July, Les années Mitterrand, Paris: Grasset, 1986, p. 22.
12. Putnam and Bayne, p. 39.
13. For an analysis of French international monetary policy under Giscard see: Paul Fabra, "La politique monétaire internationale du Président Giscard d'Estaing", in Samy Cohen and Marie Claude-Smouts (eds.), op. cit., p. 139.
14. Paul Fabra, loc. cit., p. 139.

15. The chief French negotiator was Jacques de Larosière, future head of the IMF and currently Governor of the Bank of France.
16. Putnam and Bayne, pp. 39-40.
17. L'Express, 24-30 November 1975.
18. Ibid.
19. Putnam and Bayne, p. 43.
20. Le Monde, 30 June 1976.
21. See: Marie Claude-Smouts, "Valéry Giscard d'Estaing et le nouvel ordre économique international: une diplomatie plus qu'une politique", in Samy Cohen and Marie Claude-Smouts (eds.), op. cit., pp. 263-282.
22. Guido Caravoglia, "From Rambouillet to Williamsburg", in Cesare Merlini (ed.), Economic Summits and Western Decision-Making, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984, p. 11.
23. Putnam and Bayne, p. 48.
24. Putnam and Bayne, p. 67.
25. Putnam and Bayne, p. 67.
26. Giscard interview in L'Express, 9-15 May 1977.
27. Ibid.
28. L'Express, 16-22 May 1977.
29. Giscard interview in L'Express, 9-15 May 1977.
30. Putnam and Bayne, p. 73.
31. L'Express, 25-30 July 1978.
32. Ibid.
33. See: Raymond Barre, "Le système monétaire européen cinq ans après", Politique étrangère, #1/1984.
34. Raymond Aron, "Accord ostentatoire", L'Express, 24-30 July 1978.
35. OECD Economic Outlook, December 1979 and December 1980.

36. Putnam and Bayne, p. 115.
37. Raymond Aron, "Tokyo: concertation sans consensus", L'Express, 30 June-6 July 1979.
38. Michel Tatu, "Valéry Giscard d'Estaing et la détente", in Samy Cohen and Marie Claude-Smouts (eds.), op. cit., p. 209.
39. Putnam and Bayne, p. 126.
40. For an overall analysis of Mitterrand's 1981-1986 foreign policy see: Stanley Hoffmann, "La politique internationale de Mitterrand", in Stanley Hoffman and George Ross (eds.) L'expérience Mitterrand. Continuité et changement dans la France contemporaine, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, pp. 373-388.
41. Putnam and Bayne, p. 127.
42. L'Express, 24-30 July 1981.
43. It has been termed "le fiasco de Versailles" by at least one author. See: Gabriel Robin, La diplomatie de Mitterrand ou le triomphe des apparences, Josas: Ed. de la Bièvre, 1985, p. 89.
44. See: Le Monde-Dossiers et documents - Bilan du Septennat, Winter 1988.
45. For an official French version of Mitterrand's proposal, see: La politique extérieure de la France, Ministère des relations extérieures - Documentation Française, June 1982.
46. For a detailed critical analysis of these events, see: Gabriel Robin, op. cit., pp. 89-95.
47. In the last seven-power summit related analysis he would write before his death, Raymond Aron underlined this problem. See: "Le camp du drap d'or" L'Express, 11-17 May 1982.
48. Le Monde - Dossiers et documents - Bilan de Septennat, Winter 1988, p. 14.
49. For an overall analysis of Mitterrand's 1981-1988 economic policy, see: Peter A. Hall, "L'évolution de la politique économique sous Mitterrand", in Stanley Hoffmann and George Ross (eds.), op. cit., pp. 78-101.
50. Putnam and Bayne, p. 178.
51. Source: French national accounts, as reproduced in Robert Boyer, "La France dans la crise internationale", in Stanley Hoffmann and George Ross (eds.), op. cit., pp. 50-77.

52. Source: French Government, as published in Le Monde, 3-4 April, 1988.
53. Le Monde - Dossiers et documents - Bilan du Septennat, Winter 1988, p. 13.
54. L'Express, 3-9 June 1983.
55. Gabriel Robin, *op. cit.*, p. 167.
56. Putnam and Bayne, p. 186.
57. L'Express, 15-21 June 1984.
58. Ibid.
59. For a detailed profile of Roland Dumas, see: John Newhouse, "Profiles", The New Yorker, 30 December 1985, pp. 33-57.
60. Putnam and Bayne, p. 205.
61. François Mitterrand, Réflexions sur la politique extérieure de la France, Paris: Fayard, 1986, p. 55.
62. L'Express, 18-24 June 1988.
63. Samy Cohen, "Deux années de cohabitation en politique étrangère", Le Monde, 30 and 31 March 1988.
64. For a complete description of this "pas de deux", see: "Diplomatie franco-française", L'Express, 9-15 May 1986.
65. Putnam and Bayne, p. 215.
66. Le Monde, 8 May 1986.
67. Le Monde, 11 June 1987.
68. L'Express, 12-18 June 1987, and Le Monde, 11 June 1987.
69. Le Monde, 11 June 1987.
70. Documentation d'actualité internationale, Ministère des affaires étrangères, Juillet 1987, p. 278.
71. Le Monde, 12 June 1987.
72. For biographical information concerning these three senior officials see the 1982 summit (J. Attali) and the 1984 summit (R. Dumas and P. Bérégovoy).

73. From the Toronto Summit Economic Declaration, distributed in communiqué form on 21 June 1988.
74. As recorded by the author on 21 June 1988.
75. Source: European Commission, as published in L'Express, 19-25 February. See also: The Economist, 20 February 1988.
76. As recorded by the author, 19 June 1988.
77. As recorded by the author, 21 June 1988.
78. Les Echos, 10 June 1988, and Le Monde, 10 June 1988.
79. L'Express, 25 June-1 July 1988.
80. As quoted by Finance Minister Bérégovoy, in a interview given to the author on 20 June 1988.
81. In an interview given to the author and in a press briefing on 20 June 1988. See also: Le Monde, 22 June 1988.
82. As recorded by the author, 20 June 1988.
83. From the Toronto Summit Political Declaration, distributed in communiqué form on 20 June 1988.
84. As recorded by the author, 20 June 1988.
85. From the Toronto Summit Political Declaration, distributed in communiqué form on 20 June 1988.
86. As recorded by the author, 20 June 1988. See also: Le Monde, 22 June 1988.
87. Jacques Amalric, "Toronto, la fin d'une époque", Le Monde, 23 June 1988.
88. As recorded by the author, 21 June 1988.