members, say Spain and Britain or Greece and Turkey? Trudeau believes deeply in collective and unified reactions to crisis in the world. But at these meetings there never is time to develop the broad consensus needed to settle such issues.

## The "Montebello" formula

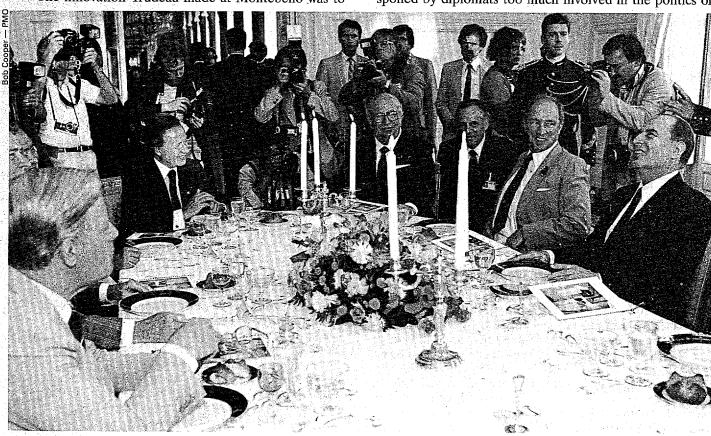
History will tell what contribution Pierre Trudeau has made to Summit technics but one can say now that he has greatly improved the efficiency of the Economic Summits. Even though this Summit had a smaller size — seven leaders — and no permanent Secretariat, the presence of one or two representatives from the European Economic Communities was bound to lessen its spontaneity. The choice of the Montebello site, as well as the chairmanship Trudeau showed there in 1981 made it a success. Not because it was much more productive then Venice or Bonn or Rambouillet. In fact — at the Economic Summit as well as in the Joseph Lunz formula — the fifteenth version of the Communique the seven leaders "rubber-stamped" was not very different from the fourteenth that had been discussed, the night before, by their permanent representatives.

The innovation Trudeau made at Montebello was to

bureaucracy behind the leaders moves reluctantly on the path traced by the leaders — it does take place.

One example of this was the "consensus" among the seven at Montebello to condemn acts of violence in Lebanon in July 1981. Then it took three hours of tough negotiations among diplomats over just two words of the communiqué before it could be released. This illustrates the complexities and the dangers of the "Montebello formula." According to many diplomats, they have great difficulty in keeping track of the progress made by the leaders "in camera." They get debriefings, but have no idea of how the actual consensus was reached. In other terms, bureaucrats complain that they have difficulty in following their leaders.

But one may wonder if the bureaucrats — especially such heavy-handed secretaries as Joseph Lunz — do not complain because they fear to lose their influence. One may also point out that on such technical issues as monetary policies or international trade, "trivial" leaders (without naming any!) may lose themselves in futile discussion of no use to the bureaucracies. One common criticism we hear from the so-called "Economic" Summit is that it is spoiled by diplomats too much involved in the politics of



Prime Minister at Versailles Summit

keep the agenda and the time-schedule loose enough to allow the participants to "get-along" informally. Breakfasts, dinners and special sessions were devoted to substantive discussions where real exchange was possible. Even the later Cancun meeting - despite the fact that over thirty leaders attended — offered the same opportunity. This was — according to insiders — due to the style of chairmanship adopted by Trudeau and Portillo at the time. As a result, even though the "deepening of consensus" may not be visible in the final communiqué — mainly because the

international problems, and not sufficiently skilled in the technical matters.

## The "Guadeloupe" formula

The French, who love politics and find economics rather distasteful, have tried another formula. President Giscard d'Estaing brought together three of his colleagues — the American, the British and the German — in the remote French town of Guadeloupe. Short-sleeves and ananas-cocktails did not produce very much except that the