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**END NOTES**

1. A term coined by Yukio Satoh when he served as Director General, Information, Analysis, Research and Policy Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan. See below (16).
2. Much of the material in this section was drawn from a paper entitled "Cooperative Security", a background document prepared by the Policy Planning Staff for the April 1991 NPCSD Colloquium held in Victoria, B.C.
3. In the Department of External Affairs, the North Asia Relations Division (PNR) has responsibility for coordinating both the official and the NGO tracks of the NPCSD. PNR is supported by other divisions in various Bureaux. The Policy Planning Staff (CPP) contributes "idea pieces" and background documents, in addition to holding discussions on NPCSD and related issues with its counterparts or equivalents in other foreign ministries.
4. Although it is worth recalling Brezhnev's 1969 call for collective security in Asia.
5. This term was applied by western diplomats to describe the overall Soviet Asia-Pacific security initiative. The term took its name from Gorbachev's speeches in Vladivostok (1986) and Krasnoyarsk (1988) and from Shevardnadze's speech at the Second Vladivostok Conference in September 1990. One major element of the Soviet initiative not reflected by this term was Gorbachev's widely quoted interview in Merdeka, July 21, 1987, when he stepped back from the parallel with Helsinki and offered more concrete suggestions for arms control and confidence-building in the Asia-Pacific region.
6. There had been widespread speculation, both in the media and in Embassy Row in Tokyo, that Gorbachev would bring with him a "present" (a major concession on the islands issue), and that Kaifu would be in a position to offer a considerable financial assistance package to the Soviets during the visit (that is, one that had been agreed to by the LDP, MFA, and Ministry of Finance). As it turned out, both leaders had their negotiating positions undercut - Gorbachev by Yeltsin's sudden intransigence on the question of reversion; Kaifu by his erstwhile factional supporters within the LDP who declined to use their influence with the bureaucracy.
7. 11 December 1990, and covered widely in the Korean press.
8. The item appeared in the 26 March 1991 edition, and was confirmed by the Canadian Embassy in Seoul.