

RELEASE IN PART  
1.4(B),B1,1.4(D)

Trip Report: Shanghai, Beijing, Seoul, Rome  
Anne-Marie Slaughter

**Shanghai:** I was driven around the expo site and saw how far advanced the Chinese pavilion is, also the Canadian and Brazilian pavilions that are facing and adjacent to us, and many spectacular European pavilions. In addition to the overwhelming size and grandeur of the expo site as a whole – it will be like the New York World’s Fair on steroids – what struck me is that we must also hold up our end with the many visitors who will be coming from the Americas. The video of the history of world expositions that plays in the Shanghai exposition building and will help open the expo itself is a visual of rising American power – repeated expos in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in New York, Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco and other American cities. Expos are the soft power Olympics and hence a key part of smart power; we should be willing to ask Congress for money and consider it extremely well spent in terms of building American power in the world – and cheap at the price.

I also had several meals and meetings with members of what I am coming to think of as “the American diaspora” – talented and entrepreneurial Chinese-Americans and Chinese raised/educated in America who have come back to China to live on the economic frontier – and who are spreading American values with them. They gave a very optimistic picture of the Chinese economy.

**Beijing:** I had dinner with “new media figures” [redacted]

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[redacted] In my official meetings on the S&ED we made real progress, getting the Chinese to agree to a closed meeting just with the four principals and getting them to agree to consider a model of a joint statement that we will now provide; I made very clear that a joint statement was critical to getting results. Later in the day we had a breakthrough with the Deputy Minister of Commerce, who agreed to working level meetings and concrete “bottom-up” joint projects on development assistance. His staff agreed to meet w/ the AID person at our embassy for the first time – as the embassy said, clearly the Chinese have decided to move forward w/ us on multiple fronts.

The most striking thing to emerge from many conversations with officials and academics in Shanghai and Beijing was how often the G-2 was raised – always in the context of “we don’t believe in the G-2, but ...” One official said “we can just take away the ‘G’ and leave the ‘2.’ I was at pains to emphasize that the U.S. has no interest in a G-2, [redacted]

**Seoul:** a conversation with faculty and the dean of the school of international studies at Ewa University revealed a perception that “China does not object to a nuclear-armed DPRK because that would prevent reunification permanently, as Japan and China itself would never agree to a nuclear reunited Korea.” Talks with my Japanese and Korean [redacted] yielded agreement [redacted]

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[redacted] The Japanese raised and the Koreans welcomed the prospect of China-U.S.-Korea talks to match the new China-U.S.-Japan talks. Both the Koreans and the Japanese raised the idea of an “Asian G-8” – U.S., China, Japan, Russia, Korea, Australia, India, and one other ..” I raised the idea of convening the Asian members of the G-20 plus us, which would include all those countries plus Indonesia. [redacted]

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Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS on 06/30/2015 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)  
~ Declassify on: 06/06/2034



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**Rome:** I met with my G-8 counterparts over dinner and then w/ G-8 policy planners plus representatives from South Africa, Mexico, Brazil, and Egypt. The G-8 discussion yielded strong agreement that *responsibility* for outcomes should be a key determinant of who gets to sit at the table, although the Germans and Italians want to expand the core “convening” group to at least the G-8 plus the Heiligendamm 5. Canada, France, Britain and Japan very much liked my tentatively floated idea that each G-8 member be able to decide as host which other countries to invite as full members, depending on the problem chosen as the focus of the agenda. Strikingly, [redacted] did not even bother to send a Rome-based representative to the talks the next day, underlining my point that some of these countries really are not ready for regular responsibility for global issues. The [redacted] [redacted] representative, a truly impressive director general in their DFA, said [redacted] was not pushing for a G-13, as it felt uncomfortable being anointed when so many African countries were not represented. In the substantive discussion of Af-Pak and central Asia, the [redacted] ambassador to Rome emphasized that the Rio Group was taking a political position on Af-Pak as a sign of increasing hemispheric engagement with the outside world.

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B1