

PRIME MINISTER

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Your Far Eastern Tour (16-29 September)

There will be little time to prepare for this between your return from Balmoral on 5 September and your departure for Japan on 16 September. You may therefore think that we should carry out such preparation as we can before the Summer Recess.

Future of Hong Kong

In particular, we ought to use such time as is available to decide how the difficult question of the future of Hong Kong is to be handled. I believe that the Foreign Secretary would like to have a preliminary talk about this when he travels back with you from Rome on Wednesday. Sir Murray Maclehoze will be able to let you have his views when he pays a farewell call on 23 July. Towards the end of July we shall probably need a more structured policy discussion.

It would be helpful to have your decisions on the following points now.

Composition of Party

Will Mr. Thatcher accompany you?

Is it wise to
Chen long enough?
It looks less long than
that to Japan!

I suggest that the party should otherwise consist of Mr. Alan Donald from the FCO (who knows Hong Kong and China well and is also responsible for Japan), Mr. Whitmore, myself, Mr. Ingham and Mr. Kydd (Bernard will need assistance on a trip as long as this one). Advisers from other Government Departments do not at present seem necessary. Are you content with this party?

Programme

I attach a draft programme. We shall consult you separately about speeches and the media. The programme does not provide for

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any days off but there is a certain amount of sightseeing and the individual programmes for China and Hong Kong are not very heavy. Are you content that we should arrange a programme on these lines with the three host Governments?

The FCO have suggested certain additions to the programme in China. Do you agree

- a) to visit the Peking Cancer Research Institute (which has bought a substantial quantity of British equipment and technology and the Professor of which is a vigorous proponent of Sino-British medical co-operation);
- b) to attend a cultural performance in Shanghai;
- c) to lay a wreath in Tiananmen Square at the monument of the martyrs of the Revolution (I attach a note about this at Flag A, from which you will see that no senior British visitor has ever laid a wreath at the monument but that many Western Heads of Government have done so recently)?

Finally, our Ambassadors in Peking (Percy Cradock) and Tokyo (Hugh Cortazzi) are on leave at present. I think it could be useful for you to have a word with them separately about the tour. Would you like them to come in for half an hour at the end of the month?

*Yes - before we finalize
this programme*
A. J. C.

2 July 1982

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

2 July 1982

Dear John,

Prime Minister's visit to Japan and China

My letter of 24 June was designed in part to provide a basis for your conversation with Sir Hugh Cortazzi on 25 June about the programme for the Prime Minister's visit to Japan. As a result of that conversation I am now able to supplement the details contained in my earlier letter.

Japan

/ I enclose a revised programme for the Japan leg of the Prime Minister's visit. As agreed, it follows Programme A in the version attached to my earlier letter, expanded at certain points to meet your suggestions.

One point on which there have been developments since your conversation with Sir H Cortazzi is the question of a television interview. The chief representative of the Japan Broadcasting Corporation in London (NHK) has written to us and to Bernard Ingham about NHK's proposals for television coverage of the visit. As described in the letter addressed to the FCO, NHK's plans are for an exclusive interview with Mrs Thatcher before the visit, and a TV debate with Mrs Thatcher as a main speaker during the visit. I see from FCO telegram No 261 to Peking, which originated from the Press Office at No 10, that you are already considering the question of media engagements and have sought the views of Posts. We shall naturally wish to await the responses to this telegram, but you will no doubt have noted that the proposal by NHK is rather similar to the ideas which you discussed with Sir H Cortazzi for Japan; there is provision in the programme for a television interview on 21 September in Tokyo.

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China

You also asked about the arguments for the laying of a wreath in Tiananmen Square in Peking at the monument to the martyrs of the Revolution. We have now been able to consult Sir Percy Cradock, who is at present in London on UK leave, about the background to this recommendation. The monument was unveiled in 1958 and commemorates the "People's heroes" who died for their country. The episodes commemorated in the carvings which surround the monument include scenes from the Opium War in 1842 and the demonstrations in Shanghai in 1925 against the Japanese and the English, as well as a number of other scenes from various periods of Chinese history between 1851 and the Communist Revolution in 1949. Between 1972 and 1979, although there were a number of Heads of State or Government who visited Peking, including President Nixon, Mr Trudeau, Mr Fraser as Prime Minister of Australia, Mr Ohira of Japan and the Queen of Denmark, we have no record that any of them laid wreaths. No senior British visitor has ever laid a wreath at the monument, although there has of course been no visit by a British Head of State or Government. Since 1980, however, wreaths have been laid by President Giscard, the Kings of Sweden and Belgium, the President of Italy, and the Prime Ministers of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and New Zealand. A pattern has therefore been clearly established for Western leaders to lay wreaths in recent years, and the Ambassador's advice remains that the Chinese will expect Mrs Thatcher to do this. However, there are the earlier precedents for holding back, and if the Prime Minister has any hesitation, the Embassy in Peking could, without difficulty, make soundings of the Chinese authorities to discover whether a refusal would give serious offence.

I should be grateful for your comments on the programme as enclosed with my letter of 24 June and modified by this letter, and on the other points raised.

Yours ever

J E Holmes

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Private Secretary

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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

5 July 1982

PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO JAPAN, CHINA AND HONG KONG

I put to the Prime Minister over the weekend the questions raised in your letters of 24 June and 2 July, together with the programme suggested in Hong Kong telegram No. 663 for the Hong Kong part of the tour.

As I explained to you on the telephone earlier today, the Prime Minister would like to postpone decisions on the programme until she has had the opportunity to discuss her visit with Sir Percy Cradock and Sir Hugh Cortazzi. For various reasons, I do not think it will be possible to arrange these calls until towards the end of this month. Unless it causes you difficulty, therefore, I shall aim to let you have the Prime Minister's firm views on the programme for the whole visit before she leaves for her summer holidays.

The Prime Minister has noted that it will be necessary to decide in the next few weeks how the difficult question of the future of Hong Kong should be handled during her Far Eastern tour. The matter will doubtless arise when Sir Murray McLehose pays his farewell call on Mrs. Thatcher on 23 July. Thereafter, we have arranged an informal meeting to discuss the question on 28 July (at 9.30 a.m.). I have it in mind, subject to any comments you may have, to ask Sir Percy Cradock and Sir Hugh Cortazzi to call on the Prime Minister at 1500 and 1530 hours respectively on that day. Perhaps you would kindly consult Brian Fall, with whom I discussed these matters the other day, and let me know if you see any difficulty in these arrangements.

A. J. COLES

John Holmes, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.