

Press Statement  
24/9

[During my visit both sides expressed satisfaction with the development of our co-operation over Hong Kong and agreed that it should be further strengthened.] I held detailed ~~and friendly~~ <sup>in a friendly atmosphere</sup> discussions with Chinese leaders Chairman Deng and Premier Zhao on the future of Hong Kong. These covered the positions of both Governments, and took account of the well-being and wishes of the people of Hong Kong. The two Governments are of one mind on the need to maintain the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong for which they are agreed that confidence <sup>there</sup> is essential. Talks between the two Governments will begin <sup>in order</sup> to agree arrangements to achieve these aims. ~~I shall take a close personal interest in them.~~

Baric vris poul.

Fanzvly sldi gnoyevu



VERSION 2

During my visit to Peking I have had full discussions in a friendly atmosphere with Chairman Deng Xiaoping and Premier Zhao Ziyang on the question of Hong Kong.

Given the short time available this could be no more than the first exchange of views between us. Both sides agreed that exchanges between the two Governments should now be speeded up. They were also agreed that without prejudice to the views of either side on questions of principle they would have, in these exchanges, a common purpose in seeking to maintain the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong and the wellbeing of its people.

Against this background talks between the two Governments on the future of Hong Kong will begin immediately. I shall take a close personal interest in them.



VERSION 3

(If they insist on an explicit reference to sovereignty)

During my visit to Peking I have had full discussions in a friendly atmosphere with Chairman Deng Xiaoping and Premier Zhao Ziyang on the question of Hong Kong.

Premier Zhao explained to me the Chinese position on sovereignty. I for my part explained to him our view and in particular our belief that confidence in Hong Kong rested on British administration.

Given the short time available this could be no more than the first exchange of views between us. Both sides agreed that exchanges between the two Governments should now be speeded up. They were also agreed that without prejudice to the views of either side on questions of principle they would have, in these exchanges, a common purpose in seeking to maintain the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong and the wellbeing of its people.

Against this background talks between the two Governments on the future of Hong Kong will begin immediately. ~~I shall take a close personal interest in them.~~




(If Version 3 is still inadequate for them)

During my visit to Peking I have had full discussions in a friendly atmosphere with Chairman Deng Xiaoping and Premier Zhao Ziyang on the question of Hong Kong.

(Our discussions covered [or took fully into account] the positions and views of the two Governments.) Premier Zhao explained to me the Chinese position on sovereignty. I for my part explained to him our view and in particular our belief that confidence in Hong Kong rested on British administration.

Given the short time available this could be no more than the first exchange of views between us. Both sides agreed that exchanges between the two Governments should now be speeded up. They were also agreed that without prejudice to the views of either side on questions of principle they would have, in these exchanges, a common purpose in seeking to maintain the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong and the wellbeing of its people.

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(If Version 4 is still inadequate for them)

During my visit to Peking I have had full discussions in a friendly atmosphere with Chairman Deng Xiaoping and Premier Zhao Ziyang on the question of Hong Kong. Our discussions covered [or took fully into account] the positions and views of the two Governments. Premier Zhao explained to me the Chinese position on sovereignty. I for my part explained to him our view and in particular our belief that confidence in Hong Kong rested on British administration.

Given the short time available this could be no more than the first exchange of views between us. Both sides agreed that exchanges between the two Governments should now be speeded up. They were also agreed that paying due regard to the views of either side on questions of principle they would have, in these exchanges, a common purpose in seeking to maintain the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong and the wellbeing of its people.

Against this background talks between the two Governments on the future of Hong Kong will begin immediately. I shall take a close personal interest in them.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]



(If no agreement on common objective)

During my visit to Peking I have had full discussions in a friendly atmosphere with Chairman Deng Xiaoping and Premier Zhao Ziyang on the question of Hong Kong.

Given the short time available this could be no more than a first exchange of views between us. Both sides agreed that exchanges between the two Governments should now be speeded up. Against this background talks between the two Governments on the future of Hong Kong will begin immediately.



This is probably  
the best in the  
circumstances

VERSION 2

During my visit to Peking I have had full discussions in a friendly atmosphere with Chairman Deng Xiaoping and Premier Zhao Ziyang on the question of Hong Kong.

Given the short time available this could be no more than the first exchange of views between us. Both sides agreed that exchanges between the two Governments should now be speeded up. They were also agreed that without prejudice to the views of either side on questions of principle they would have, in these exchanges, a common purpose in seeking to maintain the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong and the wellbeing of its people.

Against this background talks between the two Governments on the future of Hong Kong will begin immediately. ~~I shall take a close personal interest in them.~~



PRIME MINISTER

Your meeting with Deng

Your objectives are:

- (a) to reinforce the main points you made to Zhao;
- (b) to see whether there is any reaction to your offer to him;
- (c) to obtain Deng's agreement to the statement you will make to the press.

You will recall that in the time available it will not be possible to agree a joint press statement.

We have produced various versions of your press statement. We shall have Chinese versions available but the advice is that you should not hand over a text unless it is absolutely necessary for sensible discussion. You should simply describe the elements of the statement you propose to make and ascertain that Deng has no objections.

You will want to avoid giving the impression that we have a series of formulae in our pockets. If Deng objects to your first effort, you might therefore ask him to suggest a wording of his own.

You may want to use the device of sending officials off to draft. But this will only be profitable if you and Deng have agreed broad guidelines. We need his authority if a drafting exercise is to be of any use.

I attach:

- A A possible opening statement;
- B Several versions of a Press Statement, in descending order of acceptability;



- C The draft aide memoire
- D The chronology of major events and statements
- E Further defensive points
- F A short speaking note on the linkage between Hong Kong and Taiwan (which was taken out of the opening statement)
- G Possible Chinese objections and suggested responses.
- H The statement you made to Zhao today

A.J.C.

NB

23 September 1982



S E C R E T

PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO CHINA  
DRAFT PRESS STATEMENT ON HONG KONG

(Use wording in square brackets if joint Communiqué is agreed)

During my [the] visit, I [the Prime Minister] held detailed and friendly discussions with Chinese leaders (Vice Chairman Deng and Premier Zhao) on the future of Hong Kong. These covered the positions of both Governments, and took account of the well-being and wishes of the people of Hong Kong. The two Governments are of one mind on the need to maintain the prosperity of Hong Kong for which they are agreed that stability and confidence are essential. Talks between the two Governments will begin (on specific date) (within specified period) to agree arrangements to achieve these aims. I shall [the two Prime Ministers agreed they would] take a close personal interest in them.

S E C R E T



CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO CHINA

DRAFT PRESS STATEMENT ON HONG KONG

During my visit, I [the Prime Minister] held detailed and friendly discussions with Chinese leaders [Vice Chairman Deng and Premier Zhao] on the future of Hong Kong. ~~These~~ *the well-being and views* ~~took account of the positions of both Governments, and of the interests of the people of Hong Kong.~~ *on its need* The two Governments are of one mind that it is essential to maintain the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong which has been achieved through co-operation between British and Chinese people. We agreed that talks between the two Governments should begin [on specific date] [within specified period] to work out arrangements to fulfil this aim. These talks will be carried out through confidential diplomatic channels, ~~and our two Governments will keep in close contact on their progress.~~ *keep in close contact with* I shall take ~~a close personal interest~~ *their progress* in this.

[For illustrative questions and answers, see Annex P of the Special FCO Study on Hong Kong].

CONFIDENTIAL



## PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO CHINA

## DRAFT PRESS STATEMENT ON HONG KONG

(wording in square brackets for joint Communiqué)

During my [the] visit, I [the Prime Minister] held detailed and friendly discussions with Chinese leaders (Vice Chairman Deng and Premier Zhao) on the future of Hong Kong. <sup>These covered</sup> ~~These~~ <sup>covered</sup> ~~took account of the positions of both Governments, and of the interests of the people of Hong Kong.~~ <sup>well-being and the wishes</sup>

are of one mind on the need to maintain the prosperity of Hong Kong. They agreed that for this stability and confidence were necessary.

~~They agreed that~~ <sup>will</sup> ~~talks between the two Governments should~~ <sup>agree</sup> ~~begin (on specific date) (within specified period) to work~~ <sup>achieve</sup> ~~out arrangements to fulfil these aims. These talks will be~~ <sup>in confidence</sup> ~~conducted through diplomatic channels.~~ I shall [the two Prime Ministers agreed they would] take a close personal interest in them.

[For illustrative questions and answers, see Annex P of the Special FCO Study on Hong Kong].

6 mts.

Y. K. Khan



SECRET



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Prime Minister

London SW1A 2AH

We can discuss in detail  
(a) at lunch on Wednesday  
(b) with Sir Percy Cradock in Tokyo

13 September, 1982

A. J. C.  $\frac{13}{9}$

Dear Sir,

Future of Hong Kong

Your letter of 10 September requested additional material for the Prime Minister. I enclose drafts of items (a), (c), (d), (e) and (f). Item (b), the list of nominal concessions, has been telegraphed to Hong Kong and Peking for their comments and will be submitted before close of play tomorrow. The other items have been completed within the FCO without outside consultation, but based essentially on material from the special study and its annexes. I also enclose a draft press release which the Prime Minister may wish to consider discussing with the Chinese leaders if agreement on the main aims of the visit is reached.

The Prime Minister may wish to consider carefully the use of the draft aide memoire. Experience has shown that the Chinese can react to written communications of this sort by committing their own view to paper in a manner which leads to a hardening of their position and often to outright rejection of ours. This occurred in 1979 when a proposal on Crown land leases in the New Territories was put to them by diplomatic note and rejected formally in writing.

I know that the Prime Minister is concerned that we have adequate Chinese translations prepared for the opening statement, the possible press release and, if used, the aide memoire on the British position. Our Embassy in Peking are well aware of the need to get translations made in good time. When the Prime Minister has agreed on final versions of the documents in question, we shall telegraph them to Peking for immediate translation; Sir Percy Cradock will be able to report progress when he visits Tokyo.

Mr Pym, who is at Chevening talking to M. Thorn, has not seen these papers. I will let you have any comments he may have as soon as possible on 14 September.

Yours ever

John Holmes

(J E Holmes)  
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq  
10 Downing Street

SECRET





PRIME MINISTER  
FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY

FUTURE OF HONG KONG

SPECIAL BRIEFING

To Be Retained

Do Not Destroy



FUTURE OF HONG KONG

LIST OF BRIEFS

1. Introduction. Tactics
2. Labour Government Statements on HMG Commitment
3. Draft Press Statement on Hong Kong
4. Draft Aide Memoire
5. Chronology of Major Events and Statement
6. Draft Opening Statement
7. Form and Structure of Negotiation
8. Further Defensive Points
9. Possible Acceptable Package
10. Possible Concession which might be made during negotiation
11. Possible Chinese objections and suggested responses
- 11a. Answers to Criticisms Chinese Leaders may make
12. FCO Special Study
  - (a) Treaty of Nanking 1842
  - (b) Text of Second Convention of 1898
  - (c) Map of New Territories
  - (d) Chinese Proposals on Taiwan
  - (e) Consultation on Hong Kong
  - (f) Options and Solution and Legislative Requirements
  - (g) Constitutional Position of Hong Kong
  - (h) External Relations
  - (i) Currency and Finance
  - (j) Defence and Internal Security
  - (k) Citizenship, Nationality, Immigration
  - (l) Legal System on Hong Kong
  - (m) External Trade
  - (n) Civil Aviation and Shipping
  - (o) Crown Land Leases in New Territories
  - (p) Illustrative Questions and Answers Following Prime Minister's Visit to China.