29 . 4 DWF G 20/19 00 FCO (DESKBY 190900Z) OO HONG KONG (PERSONAL FOR GOVERNOR) D|B 190900 \$ GRS 800 SECRET DESKBY 190900Z IMMEDIATE FROM PEKING 190615Z OCT 82 ADVANCE COPY TO IMMEDIATE FCO TELEGRAM NUMBER 672 OF 19/10/82 REPEATED FOR INFO TO HAMMEDIATE HONG KONG (PERSONAL FOR GOVERNOR) We can discuss at our PERSONAL FOR DONALD meeting arranged for Thursday. YOUR TEL NO 481. FUTURE OF HONG KONG. A. J. C. 19. 1. I CALLED ON VICE FOREIGN MINISTER ZHANG WENJIN THIS MORNING AND SPOKE AS INSTRUCTED, MAKING THE POINTS-(A) THE PRIME MINISTER REGARDED THE JOINT STATEMENT AGREED BY HERSELF AND DENG AS THE BASIS FOR THE TALKS. THIS WOULD NOT MEAN THE CHINESE SIDE WOULD BE GIVING UP THEIR POSITION, OF WHICH WE WERE FULLY AWARE, BUT AS MRS THATCHER MADE CLEAR TO CHINESE LEADERS, SHE COULD ONLY CONSIDER MAKING RECOMMENDATIONS ON SOVEREIGNTY IF THE PRACTICAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE FUTURE ADMINISTRATION SEEMED

PRACTICAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE FUTURE ADMINISTRATION SEEMED SATINSFACTORY. CHAIRMAN DENG SAID THAT THE TALKS SHOULD, (B) AMONG OTHER MATTERS, COVER ARRANGEMENTS' FOR THE PERIOD AFTER 1997. WE PROPOSED THEREFORE THAT THE NEXT STAGE SHOULD BE AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE PRACTICAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR ADMINISTRATION. IN ORDER TO SEE WHETHER THESE MET THE REQUIREMENTS OF STABILITY AND PROSPERITY WE SHOULD LIKE TO HEAR MORE ABOUT THE CHINESE IDEAS. TO SUM UP, WE PROPOSED THAT, DESPITE THE DIFFERENCES ON CERTAIN BASIC POINTS, WE SHOULD BEGIN SUBSTANTINE TALKS VERY SOON. IN STRESSED AGAIN THAT , AS WOULD BE CLEAR FROM MRS THATCHER'S REMARKS TO CHINESE LEADERS, WE HAD NO INTENTION OF BRUSHING ASIDE THE QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY. WE WERE WELL AWARE OF THE CHINESE POSITION OF PRINCIPLE ON THE HONG KONG QUESTION WHICH HAD BEEN OUTLIED TO US ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS. 2. ZHANG THANKED ME FOR MY MESSAGE AND SAID HE WOULD HAVE TO REPORT. AFTER STUDYING OUR COMMENTS, THE CHINESE WOULD REPLY. THE CHINESE POSITION HAD BEEN MADE CLEAR BY THEIR LEADERS TO MRS THATCHER AND BY ZHANG HIMSELF AT OUR MEETING ON 5 OCTOBER. THERE WAS NO NEED TO REPEAT INT. THEY WOULD, HOWEVER, CAREFULLY STUDY OUR MESSAGE. 3. ZHANG WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE CHINESE SIDE ATTACHED GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE TALKS AND WOULD ADOPT A FORTHCOMING AND CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE. HE HOPED THE TALKS WOULD BE SUCCESSFUL AND WOULD RESOLVE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES. THE BRITASH WERE CLEAR ABOUT THE CHINESE BASIC POSITION AS EXPLAINED BY CHINESE LEADERS. 4. IN REPLY II WELCOMED ZHANG'S COMMENTS IN PARA 3 ABOVE. WE AHRED THAT POSITIVE APPROACH. IN HOPED IN VIEW OF THESE REMARKS WE COULD EXPECT AN EARLY REPLY. ZHANG SAID HE HOPED SO T00. 5. TH ASKED WHETHER THE PUBLICE UND

5. IL ASKED WHETHER THE CHINESE HAD YET ANY COMMENT ON THE PROPOSALS ON MODALITIES PUT TO THEM ON 5 OCTOBER. ZHANG SAID HE PREFERRED TO COMMENT ON THIS TOGETHER WITH THE SUBSTANTIVE POINTS IN ONE PACKAGE.

REFERENCE ABOUT STATEMENTS BY CHINESE OFFICIALS TO THIRD PARTIES. ZHANG MADE A RATHER WOOLLY REPLY, SAYING HE AGREED THE CHINESE WOULD CERTAINLY TREAT THE TALKS AS HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL. BUT THEY WOULD FROM TIME TO TIME HAVE TO MAKE THEIR BASIC POSITION CLEAR.

HE CLAIMED THAT THIS HAD NO DIRECT BEARING ON THE TALKS.

PEOPLE OUTSIDE WERE VERY INTERESTED AND HT WOULD BE HARD TO AVOID SOME STATEMENTS. OTHERWISE THIS COULD GIVE RISE TO MORE SPECULATION. HE SAID THERE HAD ALSO BEEN LOTS OF STATEMENTS IN THE BRITISH PRESS WHICH COULD HAVE BEEN DETRIMENTAL.

HE WOULD NOT LIKE TO GUESS THROUGH WHICH CHANNEL THE BRITISH REPORTERS HAD OBTAINED THEIR INFORMATION. HE ADDED THAT THE HONG KONG PRESS CONFERENCE AND REMARKS ON THE TREATMES HAD GIVEN THE CHINESE "MANY HEADACHES".

7. I SAID II WAS GLAD THE CHINESE WOULD TREAT THE
MATTER AS HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL. I DID NOT ACCEPT THAT STATEMENTS ON
THE CHINESE SIDE HAD NO DIRECT BEARING ON THE TALKS. I CITED
EXAMPLES WHICH REVEALED WHAT HAD BEEN SAID BY CHINESE LEADERS

TO MRS THATCHER. IN DENIED AT WAS NECESSARY TO FEED THE APPETITE OF THE PRESS OR THAT FAILURE TO DO SO WOULD GIVE RISE TO DAMAGING SPECULATION. RATHER THE REVERSE. DESPITE GREAT PRESSURE WE ON THE BRITISH SIDE HAD KEPT OUR MOUTHS SHUT AND WOULD CONTINUE TO DO SO. WE HOPED THE CHINESE WOULD DO THE SAME.

- 8. ZHANG TOOK ALL THIS REASONABLY WELL AND IN HAVE NO DOUBT THE POINT HAS BEEN TAKEN, THOUGH IN WOULD NOT EXPECT MORE THAN A TEMPORARY IMPROVEMENT IN CHINESE BEHAVIOUR.
- FROM ZHANG'S REMARKS IN PARA 3 ABOVE, AND THE FACT THAT HE DID NOT CHOOSE TO REHEARSE THE THEME OF SOVEREIGNTY, I WOULD GUESS WE CAN EXPECT A POSITIVE REPLY ON SUBSTANTIVE TALKS IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

PRIME MINISTER

Hong Kong

Last Friday you asked for an early meeting on Hong Kong. I had arranged one for Tuesday morning but learned today that Sir Percy Cradock's next meeting with the Chinese is also on Tuesday. I think it will lead to a more productive meeting if we give ourselves a little time to digest his report. I have therefore rearranged the meeting for Thursday, when we shall have quite a lot to discuss.

Meanwhile, there have been no important new developments.

I enclose a note about the performance of the Hong Kong stock market and exchange rate today.

m

A. J. C.

18 October 1982

ARS 150
SECRET

FROM PEKING 120900Z OCT 82

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 649 OF 12/10/82

REPEATED FOR INFO TO IMMEDIATE HONG KONG (PERSONAL FOR GOVERNOR)

PERSONAL FOR DONALD

MY TEL NO 647: INTERVIEW WITH ZHANG WENJIN

- 1. THE MFA HAVE JUST INFORMED US THAT ZHANG
 WENJIN WILL BE OUT OF TOWN WITH THE WEST GERMAN PRESIDENT
 UNTIL MONDAY 18 OCTOBER. IF WE CANNOT WAIT UNTIL THEN THEY OFFER
 WANG BENZUO, THE HEAD OF THE WEST EUROPEAN DEPT.
- 2. WANG WOULD HAVE EVEN LESS ROPE THAN ZHANG, AND
 COULD DO NOTHING BUT UNDERTAKE TO REPORT WHAT I HAVE TO SAY.
 THIS WOULD BE UNPRODUCTIVE. THE CHINESE
 HAVE OBVIOUSLY CONCLUDED THAT I WILL NOT WISH TO SEE ANOTHER VICE
 MINISTER NOW THAT WE HAVE ALREADY STARTED MEETINGS WITH
 ZHANG WENJIN. I THINK THIS IS RIGHT.
 I AM RELUCTANT TO ASK FOR HUANG HUA.
 HE MIGHT ON PAST EXPERIENCE BE MORE UNLEPFUL THAN ZHANG.
 I THEREFORE RECOMMEND THAT I SEEK AN INTERVIEW WITH ZHANG
 ON 18 OCTOBER. IF YOU AGREE I WILL SO INFORM THE MFA.

CRAJOCK
LIMITED
HITHER
PS LORD BELSTEAD
PS [PUS
MR LIFFARD
MR DONALD

COPIES TO:
MR COLES,
NOID DOWNING STREET
MR ROBERTS,
NEWS D

Mo lo Journey Street SECRET GRS 220 SECRET FROM PEKING 120700Z OCT 82 TO IMMEDIATE FCO TELEGRAM NUMBER 647 OF 12/10/82 REPEATED FOR INFO TO IMMEDIATE HONG KONG (PERSONAL FOR GOVERNOR) PERSONAL FOR DONALD YOUR TEL NO 481: FUTURE OF HONG KONG 1. AS INSTRUCTED, I HAVE REQUESTED A CALL ON ZHANG AND HOPE TO GET IT TOMORROW, BUT HE IS INVOLVED WITH THE VISIT OF THE WEST GERMAN PRESIDENT AND THERE MAY BE A 2. LOOKING AHEAD AND ASSUMING THAT ZHANG AGREES TO START TALKS, THE FIRST SUBSTANTIVE ROUND COULD BEGIN IN AS LITTLE AS A WEEK OR TEN DAYS AFTER MY CALL. WE ARE ASKING THE CHINESE TO ELABORATE ON THEIR IDEAS FOR MAINTAINING HONG KONG'S STABILITY AND PROSPERITY, AFTER 1977 . EVEN IF THEY AGREE TO THIS I FEARTHAT IT IS LIKELY THAT THEY WILL BE UNABLE, AT LEAST INITIALLY, TO GO MUCH FURTHER THAN REITERATION OF DENG'S PROPOSALS TO MR HEATH. THE PRIME MINISTER HAS ALREADY TOLD THEM THAT THESE WOULD KLL THE GOOSE. BUT I THINK WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO COMMENT ON AND CRITICISE THESE PROPOSALS IN DETAIL. IF YOU AGREE, I RECOMMEND THAT WORK ON SUCH A CRITIQUE SHOULD BEGIN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THE ARGUMENTS WOULD NEED TO BE CONCRETE AND SPECIFIC AND WE WOULD WANT TO LEAVE PAPER WITH THE CHINESE EMBODYING OUR COMMENTS CRADOCK LIMITED COPIES TO HD/HK & GD PS/LORD BELSTEAD MR COLES HD/FED NO 10 DOWNING STREET PS/PUS HD/PLANNING STAFF MR GIFFARD MR ROBERTS HD/PUSD MR DONALD NEWS DEPT PS SECRET

Malo Downing Sheet SECRET GRS 300 SECRET FROM PEKING 120615Z OCT 82 TO IMMEDIATE FCO TELEGRAM NUMBER 645 OF 12/10/82 REPEATED FOR INFO TO PRIORITY HONG KONG (PERSONAL FOR GOVERNOR) PERSONAL FOR DONALD. MY TEL NO 642: FUTURE OF HONG KONG : CHINESE COMMENTS 1. THE FOREIGN PRESS HERE HAVE REPORTED COMMENTS MADE TO FINANCIAL TIMES VISITORS BY ZENG TAO, A DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE NPC AND FORMER DIRECTOR OF NCNA. 2. ZENG, WHO IS NOT IDENTIFIED BY NAME IN THE REPORTS. IS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT ULTIMATE CONTROL WOULD REST WITH PEKING. 'WITH SOVEREIGNTY IN CHINESE HANDS YOU THINK IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO MAINTAIN HONG KONG'S PROSPERITY AND STABILITY. THIS IS A MATTER OF OPINION. I BELIEVE THAT WITH THE MANAGEMENT OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT THERE WOULD BE NO LESS FREEDOM IN HONG KONG THAN THERE IS NOW.'' ZENG IS SAID TO HAVE ADDED THAT CERTAIN FREEDOMS WOULD NOT BE PERMITTED. ''YOU CAN IMAGINE WHAT FREEDOMS WILL NOT BE ALLOWED. " 3. THE REPORT GOES ON TO SAY THAT ZENG SAID THE PEOPLE OF HONG KONG WOULD ENJOY DUE AND LAWFUL FREEDOM UNDER CHINESE MANAGEMENT AND THAT CHINA WOULD TRY TO KEEP THE ADVANTAGES OF BRITISH MANAGEMENT. ''SOME PEOPLE SAY SOVEREIGNTY WILL GO TO CHINA AND MANAGEMENT TO BRITAIN. THIS IS NOT COMPLETE. " 4. THE REPORTS WE HAVE SEEN DO NOT ELUCIDATE WHAT ZENG MEANT BY HIS FINAL COMMENT ON SOVEREIGNTY AND MANAGEMENT. BUT IT IS CLEAR TOHAT THE CHINESE INTEND TO CONTINUE SPEAKING TO THE PRESS IN THESE TERMS DESPITE OUR AGREEMENT TO MAINTAIN CONFIDENTIALITY. THIS LENDS EXTRA FORCE TO THE COMMENTS IN MY 642, AND I HSALL REFER TO ZENG'S REMARKS WHEN I SPEAK TO ZHANG WENJIN CRADOCK LIMITED COPIES TO HD HK3GD MR COLES NO 10 DOWNING ST HDIFED MR ROBERTS NEWS D HDIPLANNING STAFF HDIPUSD 05 MSILORD BELSTEAD PSIPUS MRGIFFARD MR DONALD

GR 622

SECRET

SECRET FM HONG KONG 121005Z OCT 82 TO PRIORITY FCO TELEGRAM NUMBER 1157 OF 12 OCTOBER INFO PRIORITY PEKING (PERSONAL FOR AMBASSADOR)

PERSONAL FOR DONALD FUTURE OF HONG KONG PEKING TELNO 642.

DOR) We will have ment of the street of the THE MAIN ELEMENTS IN THE CHINESE POSITION WHICH HAVE NOW BEEN MADE PUBLIC IN HONG KONG THROUGH CHINESE STATEMENTS, NCNA ARTICLES OR INTERVIEWS ARE AS FOLLOWS.

A. J. C. 15.

- (A) THE CHINESE POSITION ON SOVEREIGNTY WAS TACKED ON TO THE CHINESE VERSION OF THE AGREED STATEMENT ISSUED AFTER THE PRIME MINISTER'S TALKS IN PEKING.
- (B) THE MFA STATEMENT OF 30 SEPTEMBER (PEKING TELNO 613) RESTATED THE CHINESE VIEW THAT THE TREATIES WERE UNEQUAL AND THAT CHINA IS NOT BOUND BY THEM.
- (C) THE NCNA COMMENTARY ON 1 OCTOBER (PEKING TELNO 616) REINFORCED THIS AND CONTESTED THE PRIME MINISTER'S ASSERTION OF BRITAIN'S MORAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR HONG KONG.
- (D) VICE MINISTER XIAN QIWEN TOLD CASS OF THE FINANCIAL TIMES ON 7 OCTOBER THAT SOVEREIGNTY WAS MORE IMPORTANT THAN STABILITY AND PROSPERITY AND INDICATED THAT BRITISH ADMINISTRATION AFTER 1997 WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE (PEKING TELNO 634).
- 2. WE ALSO HAVE EVIDENCE THAT THE CHINESE ARE CONTINUING TO BRIEF VISITING HONG KONG BUSINESSMEN ABOUT THEIR PLANS: WHEN FRANCIS TIEN (GARMENT MANUFACTURER, LEGCO) RECENTLY VISITED SHANGHAI THE MAYOR (AN OLD SCHOOL FRIEND) INVITED HIM TO DINNER SPECIFICALLY TO TALK ABOUT THE FUTURE, AND TOLD HIM THAT THE TWO PARTS OF SOVER-EIGNTY, OWNERSHIP AND ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL, WERE INDIVISIBLE. THE CHINESE ARE ALSO GIVING SOME ACCOUNT OF THEIR POSITION TO FOREIGN VISITORS (E.G. SUZUKI-PEKING TELNO 625) AND TO SELECTED FOREIGN JOURNALISTS (THE INDIAN JOURNALIST G.K. REDDY, WHO SAW ZHAO IN PEKING LAST WEEK WAS APPARENTLY TOLD THAT THE CHINESE FLAG WOULD FLY OVER HONG KONG IN 1997 AND LEFT WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT THERE COULD BE NO ROLE FOR BRITAIN THEREAFTER). IN ADDITION THERE IS EVIDENCE * THAT EVEN BEFORE THE PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO PEKING LOCAL COMMUNIST CADRES WERE BEING BRIEFED IN SOME DETAIL ABOUT SING-BRITISH EXCHANGES AND ABOUT CHINESE THINKING ON THE FUTURE.

SECFET * * Passage deletaland retained under section 3(4) Oppayland 9 ochod 2012

SECRET

- 3. THERE CAN BE LITTLE DOUBT THAT ALL THIS FORMS PART OF A PATTERN.
 IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO HAVE THE AMBASSADOR'S COMMENTS ON CHINESE
 AIMS AND MOTIVES. ARE THEY, FOR EXAMPLE
- A) PUTTING THEIR POSITION ON PUBLIC OR SEMI-PUBLIC RECORD:
 OR B) SEEKING TO "SOFTEN UP" PUBLIC OPINION IN HONG KONG TO

GET IT USED TO THE IDEA OF TAKE-OVER IN 1997:

- OR C) DELIBERATELY SEEKING TO SAUSE TURBULENCE IN THE MARKETS HERE?

 4. WHATEVER THE REASONS FOR THESE CHINESE REVELATIONS, WE HAVE NOW REACHED THE POINT WHERE ANY REASONABLY PERCEPTIVE OBSERVER CAN PUT THE JIGSAW TOGETHER AND FILL IN MANY OF THE REMAINING BLANKS FOR HIMSELF. THIS HAS IMPLICATIONS FOR
- A) WHAT I TELL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL. I CANNOT KEEP THEM COMPLETELY IN THE DARK IN THE FACE OF CHINESE REVELATIONS.
- B) WHAT ADVICE WE SHOULD GIVE UNOFFICIAL MEMBERS OF LEGCO ABOUT REFERENCES TO THE FUTURE IN THEIR SPEECHES ON THE GOVERNOR'S ADDRESS.
- C) WHAT LINE WE SHOULD TAKE WITH CONSULAR REPRESENTATIVES HERE AND VISITING BUSINESSMEN WHO SEEK COMMENT ON WHAT THE CHINESE ARE SAYING.
 5. I AM TELEGRAPHING SEPARATELY ON THESE POINTS.

YOUDE

LIMITED

HDI HKTGD HDI PLANNING STAFF HDI FED HDI PUSD PSILURD BELSTEAD PSIPUS MRGIFFARD MR DONALD MR COLES NO 10 DOWNING ST MR ROBERTS NEWS D SECRET

Mololes Downing Street

DEDIP

FROM PEKING 110815 Z OCT 82

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 642 OF 11/10/82

REPEATED FOR INFO TO IMMEDIATE HONG KONG (:PERSONAL FOR GOVERNOR)

PERSONAL FOR DONALD

had in fee

HONG KONG FUTURE: CHINESE STATEMENTS

THE CHINESE HAVE BEEN SPEAKING FAIRLY FREELY TO JOURNALISTS AND OTHER VISITORS SINCE THE PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT. YOU WILL HAVE SEEN MY TEL NO 634 ABOUT ALAN CASS'S CALL ON QIAN QICHEN. THIS WAS THE ORIGIN OF THE AP REPORT IN HONG KONG TEL NO 1128 TO YOU AND OF AN AFP REPORT CARRIED IN THE NCNA BLUE NEWS ON 8 OCTOBER WHICH SIMPLIFIED THE ACCOUNT ALONG THE SAME LINES. (I SHOULD BE INTERESTED INCIDENTALLY TO HEAR WHAT THE MONG KONG REACTION WAS TO THESE REPORTS).)

2. AT A MEAL FOR THE VISITING AUSTRALIAN CHIEF JUSTICE LAST WEEK THE AUSTRALIANS WERE TOLD BY A LEGAL EXPERT FROM THE MFA THAT SOVEREIGNTY CAME FIRST, THAT ADMINISTRATION WAS AN ASPECT OF SOVEREIGNTY AND THAT THEREFORE THERE COULD NOT BE A BRITISH ADMINISTRATION AFTER 1997. BUT SPECIAL MEASURES WOULD BE ADOPTED AND SOME BRITISH EXPERTS COULD BE RETAINED.

3. THE JAPANESE AMEASSADOR HAS TOLD ME THAT DENG TOLD SUZUKI THAT THE CHINESE WOULD ANNOUNCE THEIR PLANS FOR HONG KONG'S FUTURE IN ABOUT TWO YEARS. THIS IS IN ADDITION TO WHAT WAS REPORTED IN MY TEL NO 625.

SECRET

/COMMENT

SECRET COMMENT 4. THE CHINESE MAY NOT HAVE BEEN SPEAKING WITH COMPLETE ABANDOM. BUT THEY HAVE CERTAINLY REVEALED TO OTHERS ENOUGH FOR ANY INTELLIGENT OBSERVER TO PIECE TOGETHER A PRETTY FULL PICTURE. FORTUNATELY THE DIFFICULTIES WE ARE HAVING GETTING THE TALKS STARTED HAVE NOT BECOME OUTSIDE KNOWLEDGE, THOUGH WE SHOULD NOT TAKE IT FOR GRANTED THAT THIS WILL REMAIN CONCEALED. I SHALL OF COURSE STRESS TO ZHANG WENJIN WHEN I NEXT SEE HIM THAT IT IS NOT HELPFUL AND INDEED POTENTIALLY VERY DAMAGING TO TALK TO THIRD PARTIES IN THIS WAY. HOWEVER, I AM AFRAID THAT EXPERIENCE SHOWS THAT WE MUST EXPECT THE CHINESE TO CONTINUE WITH THIS KIND OF KINDISCRETION. THE BEST WAY TO DEAL WITH IT IS, I BELIEVE, TO REMAIN INSCRUTABLE. CRADOCK COPIES TO: LIMITED PS/LORD BELSTEAD HD/HKGD PS/PUS MR COLES NO 10 DOWNING ST HD/FED MR GIFFARD HD/PUSD MR DONALD HD/PLANNING STAFF HD/NEWS DEPT PS - 2 -SECRET