



10 DOWNING STREET

Dear Minister

Here are the
Telegrams for
His Majesty the

King about a
possible visit by
Sir Hal Miller

CAD.

300332Z

ADVANCE 35 FOR DIST ADICE: ADVANCED MR McLAREN: R. C.

LYMDAN 6372 PEHPAN 0032

CONFIDENTIAL

DD 220730Z FCOLN

FM PEKIN TO FCOLN

220242Z JUN

GRS 498

CONFIDENTIAL

FM PEKING

TO DESKBY 220730Z FDD

TELNO 1192

OF 220242Z JUNE 89

INFO DESKBY 220400Z HONG KONG

FOLLOWING PERSONAL FOR PRIVATE SECRETARY.

PERSONAL FOR McLAREN.
PERSONAL FOR GOVERNOR.

1. MY CONSIDERED VIEW IS THAT IT WOULD BE AN UNWISE POLITICAL RISK TO LET SIR HAL MILLER MAKE AN EARLY VISIT TO PEKING. MY ARGUMENTS ARE AS FOLLOWS.
2. NEITHER LI PENG NOR THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP CAN BE TRUSTED TO PASS UP THE CHANCE OF GETTING MAXIMUM PROPAGANDA ADVANTAGE FROM A VISIT FROM SOMEONE SEEN AS AN INFLUENTIAL CONSERVATIVE MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT WITH CLOSE CONNECTIONS WITH HONG KONG. I THINK THAT NEWS OF THE VISIT IS BOUND TO BREAK SOMEWHERE, EVEN IF THE CHINESE RESIST THE TEMPTATION TO SHOW THE VISIT ON PRIME TIME TELEVISION.
3. WE HAVE ALREADY SEEN NIGHTLY ON THE CHINESE TELEVISION BRITISH BUSINESSMEN (BP, LONDON EXPORT GROUP, BRITISH AIRWAYS INCLUDED) EXPLOITED IN SCENES DESIGNED TO SHOW THAT SENSIBLE BRITISH PEOPLE UNDERSTAND WHAT HAS BEEN GOING ON IN CHINA AND SEE THE NEED FOR BUSINESS AS USUAL.
4. I WOULD EXPECT THAT LI PENG'S MESSAGE WOULD BE THAT CHINA INTENDS TO STAND BY THE JOINT DECLARATION, THAT THE POLICIES OF REFORM AND THE OPEN DOOR WILL CONTINUE, THAT THE SUPPRESSION OF THE RIOTING IN PEKING WAS CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIR AND THAT IF THE BRITISH CAN HELP CALM PUBLIC OPINION IN HONG KONG THIS WILL BE TO THE MUTUAL ADVANTAGE OF BOTH SIDES. HOWEVER, IF THE CHINESE DO GIVE PUBLICITY TO THE MEETING, OPENLY THROUGH THEIR MEDIA OR EVEN PRIVATELY IN HONG KONG, I WOULD HAVE EXPECTED AN ADVERSE REACTION IN HONG KONG AS WELL AS THE UK. I APOLOGISE FOR TRESPASSING ON THE GOVERNOR'S TERRITORY AND STAND READY TO BE CORRECTED IF I HAVE GOT THIS WRONG. OUR FRIENDS INSIDE CHINA WHO WANT TO HAVE A BETTER LIFE MIGHT FEEL BETRAYED BY A TOO EASY BRITISH ENDORSEMENT OF LI PENG'S LINE.
5. I DO NOT THINK IT IS POSSIBLE TO MAKE ANY DISTINCTION BETWEEN SAYING THAT THIS WAS A PRIVATE DECISION ON THE PART OF A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT AND NOT ANY KIND OF SEMI-OFFICIAL CONTACT WITH H M G. THE CHINESE ARE EXPERTS AT (FOLLOWING TWO WORDS UNDERLINED) SUGGESTIO FALSI. THEY WOULD FIND IT SUFFICIENT TO SAY THAT AN INFLUENTIAL BRITISH POLITICIAN HAD MET THE PREMIER AND NOW HAD A CLEARER UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT HAPPENED IN EARLY JUNE IN PEKING.

6. THE SITUATION IN EARLY 1983 WAS QUITE DIFFERENT FROM NOW AND I DOUBT IF USEFUL COMPARISONS CAN BE DRAWN.

7. I DO NOT SEE WHAT ADVANTAGE IT IS TO THE UK TO HAVE SUCH A "PRIVATE VISIT". AT THIS TIME THE CHINESE ARE LOOKING FOR CRUMES OF COMFORT AND UNDERSTANDING FOR WHAT WAS THE MOST MONSTROUS CRIME AGAINST THE CITIZENRY OF PEKING. IT WOULD SEEM TO ME FAR BETTER FOR SIR HAL MILLER TO GO BACK TO HIS CONTACTS IN CHINA AND HONG KONG AND TO SAY TO THEM THAT IF PREMIER LI PENG HAS A MESSAGE HE SHOULD SEND IT PRIVATELY. IN THE LIGHT OF THAT, ONE COULD DECIDE WHETHER A VISIT WOULD BE TO THE ADVANTAGE OF H M G.

8. I AM SENDING SEPARATELY A SECRET TELEGRAM TO MCLAREN (WITH WHOM PLEASE MAKE CONTACT) ON ANOTHER MATTER WHICH WILL HAVE A BEARING ON THIS INVITATION.

DONALD

YYYY

PEHPAN 0032

PLEASE CALL 2926 FOR DIST ADVICE

220620Z

REFERREDS FOR DIST ADVICE - COPIED MR McLAREN

LNMDAN 6425 HMLNAN 5106

CONFIDENTIAL

DD 220700Z FCOLN

FM HOKON TO FCOLN

220530Z JUN

GRD 168

CONFIDENTIAL

FM HONG KONG

TO DESKBY 220700Z FCO

TELNO 2030

OF 220530Z JUNE 89

INFO DESKBY 220700Z PEKING

PERSONAL FOR PRIVATE SECRETARY AND McLAREN. AUSS FROM GOVERNOR

PEKING PERSONAL FOR AMBASSADOR

YRTELNO 627 TO PEKING: VISIT TO CHINA BY HAL MILLER

1. I CANNOT SEE HOW PUBLICITY FOR SUCH A VISIT COULD BE AVOIDED. THE CHINESE WOULD SURELY SEEK TO MAKE MAXIMUM USE OF IT. THE POLITICAL IMPACT NEEDS TO BE ASSESSED AGAINST THAT ASSUMPTION.

2. IN HONG KONG TERMS I DO NOT BELIEVE WE HAVE ANYTHING TO GAIN FROM SUCH A VISIT. ON THE NEGATIVE SIDE THERE WOULD PROBABLY BE SOME CRITICISM HERE OF CONTACT WITH THE LEADERSHIP. AND LI PENG IN PARTICULAR. SOON AFTER THE MASSACRE. SOME HERE WOULD SEIZE ON THE FACT THAT MILLER IS SEEN AS HAVING STRONG CONNECTIONS (LARGELY THROUGH HIS EARLIER SERVICE WITH HKG) WITH HONG KONG. BUT I SEE THE ISSUE AS BEING ESSENTIALLY ONE OF U K/CHINA RELATIONS AND TO BE ASSESSED IN TERMS OF REACTIONS IN THE U K. ALTHOUGH IT IS NOT MY BUSINESS. I WOULD EXPECT THESE TO BE STRONGLY ADVERSE.

WILSON

YYYY

HMLNAN 5106

SECRET
FM PEKING
TO DESKBY 220730Z FCO
TELNO 1193
OF 220229Z JUNE 89
INFO DESKBY 220400Z HONG KONG

PERSONAL FOR MCLAREN.
PERSONAL FOR GOVERNOR.

1. YOU WILL HAVE SEEN FCO TELNO 627 FROM THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO ME ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF SIR HAL MILLER VISITING CHINA IN THE NEAR FUTURE TO BE RECEIVED BY LI PENG.

2. I AM STRONGLY ADVISING AGAINST THIS MOVE.) BUT YOU SHOULD KNOW THAT I HAVE BEEN CONTACTED PRIVATELY BY YING RUO CHENG (STEPHEN YING) WHO WISHES TO HAVE A PRIVATE MEETING WITH ME AND JANET ON THE NIGHT OF FRIDAY 23 JUNE. THIS IS THE FIRST CONTACT HE HAS MADE SINCE I SAW HIM AT MY HOUSE IN KENT IN EARLY APRIL.

Via Minister of Culture

3. CLEARLY WHAT HE HAS TO SAY WILL HELP TO FORM A PROPER JUDGEMENT ON THE INVITATION TO SIR HAL MILLER. GRATEFUL IF YOU WOULD MAKE CONTACT WITH THE PRIVATE SECRETARY AND FEED IN THIS EXTRA BIT OF INFORMATION. BUT I WOULD HAVE TO BE GIVEN INFORMATION INDICATING SOME IMPORTANT CHANGE IN DIRECTION ON THE PART OF THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP TO AFFECT MY JUDGEMENT THAT IT WOULD BE A FOOLISH MISTAKE TO LET SIR HAL MILLER COME TO CHINA SO SOON AFTER THE EVENTS OF 4 JUNE.

DONALD

YYYY

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MR GILLMORE
MR MCLAREN

ADDITIONAL 1

MR HOLT, PRU

PAGE 1
SECRET

NNNN

Zhai Min

The Foreign Secretary
has spoken to him
and, as a result, is
more enthusiastic about

the idea. The Chinese
are showing signs of
willingness to keep it
quiet & hold a hearing.
We must be careful
of future contacts. Meanwhile,
we must commit how much
is open. CDP.



Confidential

From: Sir Hal Miller MP.

21st June

Dear Prime Minister

On Monday of this week I received an approach from an old friend of mine in Hong Kong for whom I can vouch to say that President Yang of China would like to make contact through me with your Government.

The suggestion was that I should visit him in China before the end of July to discuss China's need for economic help in the form of soft loans and continued investment,

against which China would be prepared to offer further flexibility in the draft Basic Law on Hong Kong. The approach was to be through me and not through official or ministerial channels. In my experience this is quite a common Chinese tactic to approach through a third party who can later be dropped if matters don't progress without loss of face on either side. In this way I was invited up to Peking in 1983 in the middle of the Hong Kong negotiations and dealt directly with the member of the Politburo responsible for Hong Kong.



I reported this approach to David
Lighthorn the Foreign Office Whip, who
is to see Sir Geoffrey tomorrow
Thursday morning. This afternoon
my friend Jimmy again to say
Deng Shiao Ping himself wanted to
see me, if I could assure him
that I had access to you, to discuss:

(a) Sino - British relations

(b) Hong Kong

(c) Soft loans and investment.

This also I have reported to David
Lighthorn, otherwise only to Mark L. Byrd.

Naturally I have no wish to
interfere in any way but if this
idea appears to you to have some
merit I am happy to be of service.
I can't in fact think we would lose
anything by exploring this channel
which I am told originates with
Denz's Personal Assistant. I have of
course asked for names and expect
a fax tomorrow morning to confirm.
I am now told that the middle of
July is the preferred time and precise
route instructions have already been
given. I will expect an answer in
due course from David Hightoun.
Yours sincerely - Hal Miller

STRICTLY PERSONAL

ed



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

26 June 1989

Dear Hal,

Thank you very much for your letter about China. I understand you are in touch with Geoffrey Howe to discuss how best to respond to the invitation you have received. He is keeping me in close touch.

Yours ever

Rajiv

—

Sir Hal Miller, M.P.

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STRICTLY PERSONAL