

cc/c  
15A-



Prime Minister.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

11 May 1984

Agree that you should  
not invite the Chinese Prime  
Minister here in mid-June?

A.J.C. 11/5

We are in difficulty

because under the same  
conditions (i.e. a visit  
to Europe)

Dear John,

Future of Hong Kong: European Tour of Zhao Ziyang

You will have seen Peking telegram No 842 and Hong Kong  
telegram No 1198 about the plans of Premier Zhao Ziyang  
to tour a number of Western European countries in the first  
half of June (I attach copies for ease of reference).

we visited  
Both

Both the Ambassador and the Governor are inclined  
to see merit in our extending an invitation to Zhao to pay  
a brief visit to Britain, perhaps at the end of his  
European tour, or at least in our keeping that option  
open. The main arguments in favour are, first, that it  
could look odd, particularly in Hong Kong, if we failed  
to take the opportunity of Zhao's presence in Europe to  
put our arguments to him once more; and, secondly, that  
it might in any case be timely to reinforce a number of  
points at Prime Ministerial level in June. But there are  
also strong arguments against. In particular:

I will be  
to think  
we must  
invite  
Zhao  
Ziyang.  
not

(a) In practice it would not be feasible to keep  
open the option of a visit by Zhao unless we spoke  
soon to the Chinese. To offer a tentative or  
conditional invitation now would be an embarrassing  
procedure and would run a high risk of receiving  
a Chinese rebuff. To delay an invitation until  
much nearer the time would risk causing irritation,  
inconvenience to the Chinese (if they accepted) or  
a set-back to the atmosphere of the talks (if they  
declined).

(b) It is unlikely that matters would have progressed  
far enough, even by the end of Zhao's tour in mid-June,  
for a meeting between Zhao and the Prime Minister to  
bring about a resolution of outstanding problems.  
Zhao does not make the final decisions on Hong Kong;  
will not, on present plans, be accompanied to Europe  
by his Hong Kong advisers; and is in any event  
unlikely to have sufficient flexibility at long  
range to make the sort of concessions that might  
clinch an agreement.

/(c)



(c) The impact in Hong Kong of a visit by Zhao to Britain could be double-edged. Zhao and the Prime Minister will not be in a position by then to celebrate the conclusion of an agreement. The meeting could be seen by Hong Kong opinion as furthering Sino-British relations at Hong Kong's expense. Speculation in Hong Kong and elsewhere either about crisis or about imminent agreement in the talks would also be very unhelpful.

The Foreign Secretary considers that the arguments for and against an invitation are finely balanced but concludes that, against the background of the present negotiations, the risks outweigh the potential advantages. Unless the Prime Minister sees objection, we would propose to send a telegram to the Ambassador and the Governor setting out the Foreign Secretary's views as outlined above.

*Yours ever,*

*Len Appleyard*

(L V Appleyard)  
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq  
10 Downing Street



*File*

*cc: Sir P. Craddock*

*089*

10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

21 May 1984

FUTURE OF HONG KONG: EUROPEAN TOUR BY THE CHINESE PREMIER

The Prime Minister has seen Len Appleyard's letter of 11 May which, as you know, she has since discussed with the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary.

Having reflected on this matter over the weekend, the Prime Minister has decided that, given her extremely crowded diary in June, she will not be able to invite the Chinese Premier to include London in his European tour.

A. J. COLES

Peter Ricketts, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

PRIME MINISTER

POSSIBLE VISIT BY THE CHINESE PRIME MINISTER

We ought to take a firm decision on this now.

You will recall the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary's arguments in the attached letter. He was marginally against the visit but told you later that if your instinct was to go ahead with it, he would not press his objections. You wanted Sir Percy Cradock's views. These are attached.

I am a little doubtful whether, if you decide to invite Zhao, it would be right to make it an occasion for a lunch at Chequers. Given the way you were received in Peking, I think it would be better to have a large lunch or dinner at No. 10. You could do this on Monday, 18 June.

He may, of course, not be able to accept an invitation. But would you like us now to invite him for talks and lunch or dinner on Monday, 18 June?

Having been through  
my diary  
boxes -

A.S.C.

my  
I don't think I  
can take on

18 May 1984

any more in June without very good  
reason, no invitation yet

MR COLES

POSSIBLE INVITATION TO THE CHINESE PRIME MINISTER

1. This is a nicely balanced judgement. In arguing against an invitation I was particularly influenced by two thoughts;

- a. Zhao would not be able to negotiate on Hong Kong while here: decisions on it are not for him alone. He would be without the Chinese negotiating team and would probably confine himself to repeating a generalised statement.
- b. A visit would inevitably play up Sino-British relations and it might appear as an occasion where China and Britain were celebrating these at a time when the wishes and fears of Hong Kong people were being neglected. There would be material for ill-intentioned media comment.

2. I accept, however, that it would be possible to invite Zhao for a very short working visit at the end of his European trip, say one day centring round a lunch at Chequers. Admittedly he could probably not negotiate, but the Prime Minister would be able to put over to him our thoughts on one or two key Hong Kong issues, allowing him to convey this message to his colleagues. If we could arrange the occasion in this way it would avoid some of the dangers of 1(b) above and could serve a useful purpose in the negotiations. I would not oppose such an invitation.

3. I must add that I think it likely that he will turn down any invitation. He has a long and complex programme and leaves China in about two weeks. The fact of a refusal may become know. But I do not think that matters.

*Handwritten note:* Handwritten note:



16 May 1984

PERCY CRADOCK

SECRET

GR 490  
SECRET  
FM PEKING 021030Z MAY 84  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELEGRAM NUMBER 842 OF 2 MAY  
INFO IMMEDIATE HONG KONG

11KK 026/8


FUTURE OF HONG KONG: EUROPEAN TOUR OF ZHAO ZIYANG

1. THE TIMETABLE HAS CHANGED AGAIN. THE VISITS TO NORWAY AND DENMARK HAVE BEEN REVERSED, TO PREVENT ZHAO'S PRESENCE IN DENMARK COINCIDING WITH PRINCE HENDRICK'S 50TH BIRTHDAY ON 11 JUNE. THE TIMETABLE FINALLY AGREED IS AS FOLLOWS:

eee (10)

FRANCE 31 MAY - 3 JUNE

BELGIUM 4-5 JUNE

SWEDEN 6-7 JUNE

DENMARK 8-9 JUNE

REST DAY 10 JUNE

NORWAY 11-12 JUNE

ITALY 13-16 JUNE.

2. ON 10 JUNE, ZHAO WILL LEAVE COPENHAGEN AT 1030 IN THE MORNING FOR BERGEN, WHERE HE WILL SPEND THE REST OF THE DAY WITHOUT ANY OFFICIAL ENGAGEMENTS. HE WILL FLY TO OSLO ON 11 JUNE.

3. ZHAO WILL BE ACCOMPANIED BY ZHANG JINGFU, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE STATE ECONOMIC COMMISSION, QIAN QICHEN, A VICE-MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, ABOUT 30 OFFICIALS AND A SUPPORTING STAFF OF ABOUT 70. HE WILL NOT BE ACCOMPANIED BY VICE-MINISTER YAO GUANG OR ASSISTANT MINISTER ZHOU NAN.

4. THE HONG PRESS PERSISTENTLY ASK US WHETHER ZHAO WILL VISIT THE UNITED KINGDOM DURING HIS TOUR OF WESTERN EUROPE. WE HAVE REPLIED THAT THE UNITED KINGDOM IS NOT ON THE LIST OF SIX COUNTRIES WHICH HE IS DUE TO VISIT.

5. I DO NOT KNOW HOW EASY IT WOULD BE IN PRACTICAL TERMS FOR ZHAO TO VARY HIS ITINERARY TO MAKE A STOP-OVER IN THE UNITED KINGDOM. HE WILL BE TRAVELLING ON A SPECIAL CHINESE AIRCRAFT. BUT I JUDGE THAT HE WOULD BE RELUCTANT TO GIVE UP HIS REST DAY ON 10 JUNE, LEAVING ONLY 30 MAY AND 17 JUNE AS POSSIBLE DATES, AND THAT HE MIGHT BE UNWILLING TO EXTEND AN ABSENCE FROM CHINA WHICH WILL ALREADY LAST FOR NEARLY THREE WEEKS.

SECRET

/5

# SECRET

9. A MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER, PARTICULARLY IF TACKED ON TO A TOUR WHICH HAD ALREADY BEEN ARRANGED, COULD CREATE SPECULATION EITHER THAT AGREEMENT WAS ABOUT TO BE REACHED OR THAT SOME CRISIS HAD OCCURRED. IT WOULD BE WORTH RISKING THIS IF THERE WAS A GOOD CHANCE OF OBTAINING CONCESSIONS FROM THE CHINESE. BUT THE TIMING MIGHT BE WRONG FOR THIS. I SUSPECT THAT THE CHINESE ARE LIKELY TO KEEP ANY FURTHER CONCESSIONS UP THEIR SLEEVES UNTIL TIME PRESSURE BEGINS TO BUILD UP AGAIN. BY 30 MAY, WE SHALL HAVE HAD ONLY ONE MORE ROUND OF TALKS (WE SHALL PROBABLY BE ENGAGED ON ANOTHER ON THAT DATE). WE SHALL HAVE HAD THREE MORE ROUNDS BY 17 JUNE. BUT WE MIGHT NEED LONGER TO ESTABLISH WHERE THE FINAL BATTLE LINES ARE GOING TO BE DRAWN. MY RECOMMENDATION, THEREFORE, IS THAT WE SHOULD RULE OUT 30 MAY, BUT KEEP 17 JUNE IN MIND AS AN OPTION WHICH WE COULD RETURN TO IF IT TURNED OUT THAT DEVELOPMENTS MADE IT WORTH GOING FOR.

EVANS

## FUTURE OF HONG KONG

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DESKBY 031100Z

FM HONG KONG 030835Z MAY 84

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1198 OF 3 MAY

INFO IMMEDIATE PEKING

HKK 026/8	
RECEIVED "H.K. IS..."	
-3 MAY 1984	
DESK OF	
INDEX	

(7)  
PEKING TELNO 842: FUTURE OF HONG KONG: EUROPEAN TOUR BY ZHAO ZIYANG

1. WHILE IT IS TRUE THAT THERE WILL BE SPECULATION IF ZHAO WERE TO VISIT BRITAIN DURING HIS EUROPEAN TOUR THERE WILL EQUALLY BE SPECULATION IF HE DOES NOT DO SO. IN VIEW OF ALL THAT WAS SAID DURING THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S VISIT TO PEKING (INCLUDING IN THE JOINT PRESS STATEMENT) ABOUT THE VERY GOOD STATE OF SINO/BRITISH RELATIONS, IT WILL CERTAINLY LOOK ODD IN HONG KONG IF ZHAO DID NOT INCLUDE BRITAIN IN HIS TOUR AND ODDER STILL IF IT BECAME CLEAR THAT THE OUTSTANDING INVITATION TO HIM HAD NOT BEEN RENEWED.
2. NOR MUST WE OVERLOOK THE FACT THAT ONE OF THE ISSUES AT THE END OF THE DAY WILL BE WHETHER HMG HAS DONE ITS UTMOST TO ACHIEVE THE BEST POSSIBLE SETTLEMENT FOR HONG KONG. IN THIS CONTEXT MISSING AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE PRIME MINISTER TO URGE HONG KONG'S CASE DIRECTLY ON THE CHINESE PRIME MINISTER WOULD NOT LOOK WELL.
3. AS SEEN FROM HERE A MEETING BETWEEN ZHAO AND THE PRIME MINISTER IN MID JUNE COULD BE TIMELY. IF THE TALKS ON THE FUTURE ARE GOING WELL IT MIGHT BE HELPFUL FOR THE LEADERS TO REVIEW PROGRESS AND LOOK AHEAD TO THE NEXT STAGES. IF, AS SEEMS MORE LIKELY THE CHINESE ARE STILL PROVING DIFFICULT ABOUT THE CONTENT OF THE AGREEMENT AND ABOUT MAJOR OUTSTANDING ISSUES SUCH AS NATIONALITY THE PRIME MINISTER'S INTERVENTION COULD BE VERY VALUABLE. I DO NOT SEE THAT WE HAVE ANYTHING TO LOSE.

SECRET



SECRET

4. SUBJECT TO THE PRIME MINISTER'S DIARY, I AGREE WITH THE AMBASSADOR THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER TO THINK IN TERMS OF A POSSIBLE VISIT AT THE END OF THE TOUR RATHER THAN AT THE BEGINNING. BUT IF WE WISH TO KEEP OPEN THE OPTION OF A VISIT IT WILL PRESUMABLY BE NECESSARY TO SAY SOMETHING TO THE CHINESE VERY SOON. OTHERWISE ZHAO MAY TAKE ON COMMITMENTS (IF HE HAS NOT ALREADY DONE SO) WHICH WOULD MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR HIM TO MAKE ANY FURTHER CHANGES TO HIS PRESENT PLANS.

YOUDE

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