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## Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name LAUX, DAVID: FILES

Withdrawer

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6/11/2010

File Folder

CHINA-FOREIGN RELATIONS-HONG KONG (4/13/84-

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**FOIA** 

M09-299/1

**Box Number** 

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ID Doc Type	Doo	cument Description	n	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restr	ictions
92533 CABLE	13232	21Z APR 84		: 1	4/13/1984	B1	В3
	D	12/20/2017	M299/1				
92534 CABLE	1623	44Z APR 84		2	4/16/1984	B1	В3
	D	12/20/2017	M299/1				
92535 CABLE	HON	G KONG 07023		1	4/17/1984	B1	
	R	6/21/2012	M299/1				
92536 CABLE	18112	26Z APR 84		1	4/18/1984	B1	В3
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92537 CABLE	STAT	ГЕ 114237		4	4/19/1984	B1	
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92538 CABLE	HON	G KONG 07342		2	4/23/1984	В1	
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92539 CABLE	0803	59Z MAY 84		3	5/8/1984	B1	В3
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92540 CABLE	08183	37Z MAY 84		2	5/8/1984	B1	В3
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92534 CABLE

2 4/16/1984

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## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

PAGE Ø1 FOR956

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SECRET HONG KONG Ø7Ø23

EXDIS NOFORN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PREL, CH, UK, HK

SUBJ: UK-PRC NEGOTIATIONS ON HONG KONG

SECRET/EXDIS/NOFORN - ENTIRE TEXT

EXCO MEMBER TODAY INFORMED US THAT AT THE JUST-CONCLUDED 12TH ROUND, THE BRITISH HAD PRESENTED TO THE CHINESE A DETAILED DRAFT AGREEMENT, CONTAINING 14 ANNEXES, FOR SETTLEMENT OF THE HONG KONG ISSUE. THE DRAFT WAS HAMMERED OUT IN A RELATIVELY SHORT TIME FOLLOWING EXCO CONSULTATIONS LAST WEEK IN LONDON WITH PRIME MINISTER THATCHER AND FOREIGN SECRETARY HOWE, AT WHICH TIME IT WAS DECIDED TO TAKE THIS APPROACH. THE CHINESE IMMEDIATE REACTION WAS THAT THE BRITISH DRAFT WAS BASICALLY UNACCEPTABLE SINCE IT CONFLICTED WITH THE CHINESE DESIRE TO CONFINE THE AGREMENT TO BROAD PRINCIPLES. THE CHINESE FURTHER STATED THAT THEY FAVORED A "SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE FORMULA" FOR THE PROSPECTIVE AGREEMENT RATHER THAN A DETAILED, LEGALISTIC DOCUMENT. NEVERTHELESS, THE CHINESE DID ACCEPT THE DRAFT FOR "FURTHER STUDY".

- THOUGH UPSET AT THE CHINESE REACTION, THE EXCO MEMBER WAS SLIGHTLY CHEERED BY A MESSAGE THAT HAD ARRIVED THIS MORNING FROM GOVERNOR YOUDE IN BEIJING STATING THAT THE MEETINGS BETWEEN FOREIGN MINISTERS WU AND HOWE HAD GONE WELL. THE EXCO MEMBERS ARE EXPECTANTLY AWAITING A SCHEDULED BRIEFING BY HOWE FOLLOWING HIS ARRIVAL HERE.
- WE WILL SEEK A FULLER READING ON THE 12TH ROUND AND ON THE HOWE VISIT FROM POLAD MCLAREN, BUT THIS WILL COME AT THE EARLIEST SOMETIME NEXT WEEK, SINCE MCLAREN IS TIED UP WITH THE HOWE VISIT.

LEVIN BT

NLRR M299 # 92635

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BY KML NARA DATE 6/21/12

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# NLRR M299 # 92537 NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT BY KML NARA DATE 6/21/12

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SECRET STATE 114237

EXDIS

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, CH, HK, UK

SUBJECT: UK EMBASSY READOUT ON LAST TWO ROUNDS OF

TALKS ONHONG KONG'S FUTURE

REFTELS: A) HONG KONG 6415, B) LONDON 7662

(S) ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: ON APRIL 16 UK DCM DEREK THOMAS CALLED ON EAP DAS WILLIAM BROWN TO PRESENT A READOUT ON THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH ROUNDS OF TALKS IN BEIJING ON HONG KONG'S FUTURE. THOMAS CHARACTERIZED BOTH ROUNDS AS CONDUCTED IN A "GENERALLY GOOD ATMOSPHERE," WITH THE EARLIER ROUND MORE TECHNICAL AND THE LATER ROUND MORE SUBSTANTIVE. ALTHOUGH THE ATMOSPHERE WAS STILL "GOOD," THE TWELFTH ROUND PROVED "MORE DIFFIC; LT" THAN THE ELEVENTH, AS THE CHINESE MOVED TO "AGENDA TWO," THE TRANSITION PERIOD LEADING UP TO 1997. THE CHINESE DEFINED THE BRITISH ROLE DURING THIS PERIOD AS GUARANTOR OF HONG KONG'S ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STABILITY. TO THIS END THEY HAVE PROPOSED THAT A PERMANENT "SINO-BRITISH JOINT GROUP" BE FORMED, TO SERVE AS A LIAISON BODY TO

ENSURE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT AND A SMOOTH TRANSFER OF GOVERNMENT. THOMAS EXPRESSED HIS CONCERN THAT CHINESE INSISTENCE ON "CONSULTATIVE ARRANGEMENTS" COULD BECOME A DEMAND FOR AN EFFECTIVE SAY ON ARRANGEMENTS DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD TO 1997.

3. FOLLOWING HIS PRESENTATION, THOMAS PROMISED TO GIVE US A READOUT LATER THIS WEEK ON FOREIGN MINISTER HOWE'S CHINA TRIP AND RAISED DOUBT THAT ANY AGREEMENT WOULD BE REACHED BEFORE PARLIAMENT ADJOURNS FOR THREE MONTHS IN JULY. ON BEHALF OF HIS GOVERNMENT, THOMAS PASSED THREE TALKING POINTS FOR POSSIBLE USE DURING THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO CHINA LATER THIS MONTH. BROWN TOOK NOTE OF THOMAS' REQUEST THAT WE USE THE TALKING POINTS.

He Paline.

THE LINES OF THOSE BROWN USED IN BEIJING DURING THE JEC) ON THIS ISSUE IN THE SECRETARY'S BRIEFING PAPER FOR POSSIBLE USE DURING THE WU MEETING APRIL 28. END COMMENT AND SUMMARY.

- 4. ON APRIL 16 UK DCM DEREK THOMAS AND FIRST SECRETARY STEPHEN GOMMERSALL CALLED ON EAP SENIOR DAS WILLIAM BROWN. EAP/C HONG KONG OFFICER STEVE YOUNG WAS NOTETAKER. OPERATING ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM LONDON, THOMAS READ FROM THREE PAGES OF MATERIAL DETAILING THE ELEVENTH (MARCH 26-7) AND TWELFTH (APRIL 11-12) ROUNDS OF US-PRC TALKS ON THE FUTURE OF HONG KONG. BEFORE BEGINNING HIS FORMAL PRESENTATION, THOMAS CHARACTERIZED BOTH ROUNDS AS CONDUCTED IN A "GENERALLY GOOD ATMOSPHERE," WITH THE EARLIER ROUND MORE TECHNICAL AND THE LATER ROUND MORE SUBSTANTIVE.
- -- ELEVENTH ROUND
- 5. THOMAS PRESENTED DETAILS ON THE ELEVENTH ROUND'S TECHNICAL DISCUSSION OF CIVIL AVIATION, NATIONALITY AND CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS IN THE SAR WHICH GENERALLY FOLLOWED ALONG THE LINES OF REFTELS. HE CHARACTERIZED THE CHINESE COMMENTS ON CIVAIR AS "GENERALLY HELPFUL" BUT POINTED OUT THAT IN BOTH THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH ROUNDS CHINESE EMPHASIS ON THE PRINCIPLE OF SOVEREIGNTY IN THIS AREA CONTRASTED TO UK INTEREST IN INCLUDING CIVAIR UNDER THE RUBRIC OF THE SAR'S ECONOMIC AUTONOMY AFTER 1997. ON NATIONALITY THE CHINESE WERE "MORE DIFFICULT" BUT THEY DID NOT RULE OUT FURTHER DISCUSSIONS ON THIS ISSUE. ON CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS, THE CHINESE SPOKE OF GRANTING THE SAR A "HIGH DEGREE OF AUTONOMY" WITHIN THE

"BASIC LAW," AND INDICATED A WILLINGNESS TO GRANT THE SAR ALL ELEMENTS NECESSARY TO DISCHARGE ITS FUNCTIONS -- MEANING A SEPARATE CHIEF EXECUTIVE, LEGISLATURE AND JUDICIARY. THE CHINESE DID INDICATE EXISTING INSTITUTIONS MIGHT HAVE TO BE MODIFIED AFTER 1997 TO MEET FUTURE NEEDS. ACCORDING TO THOMAS IT WAS THE CHINESE INTENTION FOLLOWING THE ELEVENTH ROUND TO DRAW THE UK INTO TRANSITION NEGOTIATIONS.

- -- TWELFTH ROUND -TRANSITION PERIOD
- 6. ALTHOUGH THE ATMOSPHERE WAS STILL "GOOD," THIS ROUND PROVED "MORE DIFFICULT" THAN THE ELEVENTH. THE CHINESE MOVED TO "AGENDA TWO," THE TRANSITION PERIOD, BUT RETURNED TO A NUMBER OF SPECIFIC TOPICS AS WELL. DURING THIS TRANSITION PERIOD THE CHINESE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE BRITISH WOULD BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STABILITY OF THE TERRITORY BUT EXPECTED THE TWO SIDES TO COOPERATE CLOSELY. THE CHINESE SPECIFICALLY ASKED THAT THE BRITISH ENSURE THAT:
- -- A) THE SAR REMAIN A SEPARATE TARIFF AREA AND A BENEFICIARY OF GATT;
  -- B) CHINA (AND SPECIFICALLY THE BANK OF CHINA) BE KEPT FULLY INFORMED OF KEY FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS;
  -- C) OTHER MEASURES SHOULD BE "PRUDENTLY HANDLED."
- 7. TO THIS END THE CHINESE PROPOSED THAT A PERMANENT "SINO-BRITISH JOINT GROUP" BE FORMED, TO SERVE AS A LIAISON BODY TO ENSURE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT AND A SMOOTH TRANSFER OF GOVERNMENT. THE GROUP WOULD BE SUPPLEMENTED BY APPROPRIATE SUB-GROUPS AS NECESSARY.

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## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

PAGE Ø3 OF Ø4 SECSTATE WASHDC 4237

DTG: 190035Z APR 84 PSN: 053604

- 8. THE CHINESE DIVIDE THE TRANSITION PERIOD INTO TWO DISTINCT PHASES. IN THE FIRST (TO 1993) THE UK WOULD CREATE THE CONDITIONS FOR AN ORDERLY TRANSFER, WHILE IN THE SECOND (1993-97) THERE WOULD TAKE PLACE A REFORM OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY OF HONG KONG TO CONFORM TO THE (AS YET UNDEFINED) "BASIC LAW."
- 9. LAND: THE CHINESE CONSIDER THE LAND QUESTION TO FALL WITHIN THE GENERAL HEADING OF AGENDA TWO TRANSITION MATTERS. BEIJING ENCOURAGES THE HKG TO CONTINUE GRANTING LEASES RIGHT THROUGH THE TRANSITION PERIOD ON THE PREMISE THAT THE UK ACCEPTS THE PRINCIPLE OF CHINESE SOVEREIGNTY

AFTER 1997. THERE WOULD REMAIN A NEED FOR CONSULTATIONS ON 1) THE NUMBER OF ANNUAL LEASES GRANTED AND 2) THE APPORTIONMENT OF REVENUES FROM SUCH LEASES.

- -- TWELFTH ROUND SPECIFIC ISSUES
- 10. FOREIGN REPRESENTION: THE CHINESE TOLD THE BRITS FOREIGN REPRESENTATION AFTER 1997 CAN CONTINUE ESSENTIALLY AS IT NOW STANDS. THE CHINESE HOPE THE BRITISH WILL PLAY AN ACTIVE ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SAR FOLLOWING 1997, THOUGH THERE IS A DIVERGENCE OF VIEWS ON HOW TO DO THIS.
- 11. CIVAIR: THE CHINESE REITERATED THEIR EARLIER STAND THAT THE SAR WAS TO HAVE CONSIDERABLE AUTONOMY BUT THAT THIS QUESTION WAS BOUND UP IN THE SOVEREIGNTY ISSUE. IN PRINCIPLE THE SAR COULD NEGOTIATE, SIGN AND RENEW CIVAIR AGREEMENTS, BUT ONLY ON A BASIS OF CASE-BY-CASE APPRAISAL RATHER THAN UNDER ANY STANDING AUTHORITY. THE BRITISH CONSIDER THIS ANOTHER ISSUE ON WHICH FURTHER DISCUSSION WILL BE NECESSARY. AS IN THE PRECEEDING ROUND, THE BRITISH WERE DISAPPOINTED THAT THE CHINESE VIEWED THIS ISSUE AS FALLING WITHIN THE SCOPE OF THE SOVEREIGNTY ISSUE RATHER THAN BEING TREATED AS AN ELEMENT OF THE ECONOMIC AUTONOMY OF THE SAR FOLLOWING 1997.
- 12. SHIPPING: DISCUSSIONS ON THIS TOPIC WERE "SMOOTHER" THAN THE CIVAIR EXCHANGES, WITH AN AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE AS TO THE SAR'S FUTURE MEANS OF ENTERING AGREEMENTS. BUT NO "HOW TO" AGREEMENT HAS BEEN HAMMERED OUT.
- -- TWELFTH ROUND GENERAL BRITISH OVERVIEW
- 13. THE BRITISH WELCOMED THE FEATURES ON SHIPPING AND LAND BUT SAW CONTINUING PROBLEMS WITH THE CHINESE STAND ON CIVAIR OPERATIONS, SINCE CHINA REJECTED THE PRINCIPLE THAT CIVAIR SHOULD FALL WITHIN THE SCOPE OF ECONOMIC AUTONOMY AS THE BRITS WANTED. THE CONSULTATIVE ARRANGEMENTS PROPOSED BY BEIJING COULD, IN THE BRITISH VIEW, BECOME A DEMAND FOR AN EFFECTIVE SAY ON ARRANGEMENTS IN HONG KONG UP TO 1997. THIS COULD WEAKEN THE CONFIDENCE OF THE PEOPLE OF HK IN ANY AGREEMENT REACHED BETWEEN LONDON AND BEIJING.
- 14. BROWN THANKED THOMAS FOR HIS INFORMATION AND ASKED

WHAT HE EXPECTED TO COME FROM FOREIGN MINISTER HOWE'S CURRENT VISIT TO CHINA. THOMAS PROMISED US A READOUT "BEFORE THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP" AND POINTED OUT THAT HOWE WOULD "BE UNDER PRESSURE" TO BE FORTHCOMING (PARTICULARLY FROM THE PRESS) WHEN HE TRAVELS TO HONG KONG FROM BEIJING

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

PAGE Ø4 OF Ø4 SECSTATE WASHDC 4237

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LATER THIS WEEK.

15. IN ANSWER TO BROWN'S QUESTION ABOUT THE TIMING OF AN AGREEMENT, THOMAS REITERATED BRITISH SKEPTICISM THAT ANYTHING COULD BE READY BEFORE PARLIAMENT ADJOURNS IN JULY FOR THREE MONTHS. THOMAS OFFERED HIS IMPRESSION THAT THE CHINESE HAVE LEFT THEMSELVES ROOM TO MANEUVER ON THE QUESTION OF A SEPTEMBER ANNOUNCEMENT. GOMMERSALL ADDED THERE WAS "A LOT OF DETAIL TO BE WORKED OUT" AND THAT LONDON WAS THINKING IN TERMS OF A "WHITE PAPER."

16. FINALLY, THOMAS PASSED A NON-PAPER INCLUDING THREE TALKING POINTS FOR POSSIBLE USE IF THE HONG KONG ISSUE IS RAISED DURING THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO CHINA. BROWN RESPONDED TO PROBES OF US INTENTIONS DURING THE VISIT BY PROMISING TO TAKE NOTE OF THE BRITISH REQUEST.

THE THREE TALKING POINTS FOLLOW:

A) HONG KONG IS A KEY POINT IN THE WORLD AND PACIFIC REGION FINANCIAL SYSTEMS. AMERICA HAS A PARTICULARLY STRONG INTEREST IN HONG KONG REMAINING STABLE AND PROSPEROUS;

B) THE KEY TO CONTINUING STABILITY/PROSPERITY WOULD APPEAR TO LIE IN RETAINING THE MAXIMUM DEGREE OF CONTINUITY IN HONG KONG'S SYSTEMS, PARTICULARLY IN THE ECONOMIC, LEGAL, FINANCIAL AND SOCIAL FIELDS;

C) AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN BRITAIN AND CHINA WHICH INSPIRED CONFIDENCE IN HONG KONG AND INTERNATIONALLY WOULD BE IN EVERYONE'S INTEREST AND SHOULD BE THE GOAL. END TALKING POINTS.

17. COMMENT: WE AWAIT READOUTS FROM LONDON AND HONG KONG ON THE TWELFTH ROUND, WHICH ENDED LAST THURSDAY. THE SHIFT TO TRANSITION MATTERS IS NOT UNEXPECTED, AND REFLECTS BEIJING'S INTEREST IN PUSHING FOR AN EARLY AGREEMENT WITH THE UK. FROM THE BRITISH STANDPOINT DISCUSSION OF AGENDA TWO IS JUST BEGINNING AND WILL NOT PRECLUDE ON-GOING DISCUSSIONS OF SALIENT POST-1997

TOPICS. THE HOWE VISIT SHOULD REVEAL JUST HOW FLEXIBLE THE CHINESE ARE ON THE TIMING AND SCOPE OF AN AGREEMENT. THE IRONY OF CHINESE NEGOTIATORS' REPEATED REFERENCE TO THE "BASIC LAW" IS THAT IT WILL EVIDENTLY BE PROMULGATED ONLY AFTER AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN LONDON AND BEIJING IS REACHED, CREATING SOMETHING OF A "CATCH-22" ON DETAILS OF POST-1997 ADMINISTRATION IN THE SAR. THOMAS ACKNOWLEDGED AS HE WALKED OUT OF THE BUILDING THAT THE KEY INTANGIBLE, LOCAL HK REACTION, WILL ONLY BEGIN TO BE MOVE TO CENTERSTAGE AFTER AN AGREEMENT IS ANNOUNCED.

18. WE ARE INCLUDING MODIFIED TALKING POINTS (ALONG THE LINES OF THOSE BROWN USED IN BEIJING DURING THE JEC) ON THIS ISSUE IN THE SECRETARY'S BRIEFING PAPER FOR POSSIBLE USE DURING THE WU MEETING APRIL 28. END COMMENT. SHULTZ BT

## CONFIDENTIAL

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## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

PAGE Ø1 EOB544 AMCONSUL HONG KONG 7342 DTG: 230953Z APR 84 PSN: 063182

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GONFIDENTIAL SECTION Ø1 OF Ø2 HONG KONG Ø7342

E.O. 12356: N/A TAGS: EFIN. HK. JA

SUBJECT: JAPANESE INVESTMENT IN HONG KONG: NOT

--MORIBIND VET REF: HONG KONG 5096

#### 1. C ENTIRE TEXT.

- 2. SUMMARY: IN THE WAKE OF REFTEL REPORT BY A JAPANESE CONGEN OFFICIAL INDICATING A DOWNTURN IN JAPANESE INVEST-MENT IN HONG KONG, WE HAVE CANVASSED A WIDE RANGE OF SOURCES HERE IN AN EFFORT TO CONFIRM (OR DENY) HIS VIEWS. THE RESULTS INDICATE THAT THE JAPANESE INVESTMENT PICTURE HERE IS A MIXED BAG, WITH INCREASES IN SOME AREAS BUT STAGNATION IN OTHERS. IN ANY CASE, THE OFFICIAL'S STATEMENT (REFTEL) THAT JAPANESE LONG-TERM INVESTMENT IN HONG KONG HAS "ALMOST ENTIRELY CEASED" APPEARS TO BE AN EXAGGERATION. END SUMMARY.
- 3. THE ASSERTION BY A NEWLY ARRIVED JAPANESE CONGEN OFFICIAL THAT LONG-TERM JAPANESE INVESTMENT IN HONG KONG HAS ALMOST ENTIRELY CEASED LED US TO EXPLORE THIS QUESTION WITH A RANGE OF OUR CONTACTS HERE. ONE LOCAL BUSINESSMAN ASSOCIATED WITH A MAJOR HONG KONG TRADING FIRM GAVE INFORMATION THAT CORROBORATED THE OFFICIAL'S VIEW. THE BUSINESSMAN SAID HIS FIRM, WHICH REPRESENTS AND ADVISES A NUMBER OF JAPANESE COMPANIES, HAS BEEN UNSUCCESSFUL IN CONVINCING THE JAPANESE TO KEEP A PORTION OF THEIR INVESTMENTS IN HONG KONG. HE SAID HIS JAPANESE CONTACTS HAVE TOLD HIM THEY WERE NOT CONFIDENT ABOUT THE HONG KONG SITUATION AND CHINA'S INVOLVEMENT HERE. HE SUGGESTED THAT PORTFOLIO INVESTMENT ALREADY HERE WAS BEING REDUCED, AND ALLEGED THAT NO MONEY WAS COMING IN TO PURCHASE OFFICE OR FACTORY SPACE. IN THIS REGARD. HE CHARACTERIZED THE BANK OF TOKYO AND NOMURA INTER-NATIONAL PURCHASES OF OFFICE SPACE LAST YEAR AS "THE END" OF THE JAPANESE PURCHASE EFFORT.
- 4. OTHER CONTACTS, HOWEVER, CITED RECENT JAPANESE DECISIONS TO INVEST IN HONG KONG. SEVERAL POINTED TO A MAJOR INVESTMENT BY YKK (THE LARGE ZIPPER-AND-FASTENER

TOR: 114/1338Z CSN: HCE356 MANUFACTURER) IN A NEW PLANT IN THE NEW TERRITORIES THAT OPENED LAST MONTH. (ALTHOUGH THE INVESTMENT DECI-SION AND START OF CONSTRUCTION ON THAT FACILITY WERE PROBABLY BEFORE THE CURRENT WAVE OF UNCERTAINTY BEGAN LAST FALL.) OTHER NEW INVESTMENTS INCLUDE: -- A CONCRETE PILING MANUFACTURING PLANT TO BE BUILT BY

- DAIDO CONCRETE CO.
- -- A DEPARTMENT STORE IN THE YAOHAN CHAIN DUE TO OPEN IN
- -- ANOTHER DEPARTMENT STORE CHAIN, SOGO, WILL CONSTRUCT A DEPARTMENT STORE/OFFICE BUILDING ABOVE A NEW SUBWAY
- 5. THE DEFICIAL OF THE HONG KONG DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRY RESPONSIBLE FOR ASSISTING JAPANESE INVESTMENT HERE TOLD US HE BELIEVED JAPANESE INTEREST IN INVESTING IN HONG KONG WAS CONTINUING, ALTHOUGH IT WAS DIFFICULT TO QUANTIFY. ASKED FOR CONCRETE EXAMPLES, HE POINTED TO SOME OF THE EXAMPLES LISTED ABOVE, AND ALSO MENTIONED PLANT EXPANSIONS BY SEVERAL WELL-ESTABLISHED JAPANESE COMPANIES. HE SAID HE COULD NOT GIVE US THE NAMES OF THE LATTER BECAUSE THE COMPANIES INVOLVED HAD ASKED THAT THEIR PROPRIETARY INFORMATION REMAIN CONFIDENTIAL.
- 6. IN ADDITION, WE SPOKE TO THE JAPANESE CONGEN OFFICIAL WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR TRADE AND INVESTMENT RELATIONS WITH HONG KONG. (THE OFFICIAL'S NAME IS MASANORI UTSUGI (PROTECT): HIS HOME MINISTRY IS MITI AND HE HAS BEEN IN HONG KONG ALMOST TWO YEARS.) UTSUGI TOLD US HIS IMPRESSION WAS THAT THERE WAS CONTINUING JAPANESE INTEREST IN INVESTING IN HONG KONG. HE REPORTED THAT THE HEAD OF HONG KONG'S OFFICE IN TOKYO (A JAPANESE NATIONAL) HAD TOLD HIM INVESTMENT INQUIRIES FROM JAPANESE FIRMS HAD BEEN RISING RECENTLY.
- 7. INTERESTINGLY, UTSUGI DREW A DISTINCTION BETWEEN

SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZE JAPANESE FIRMS -- WHICH HE SAID WERE ACTIVELY INVESTING HERE -- AND LARGE COMPANIES. WHICH "ALREADY HAVE MAJOR INVESTMENTS IN HONG KONG." HE SAID MANY OF THE LATTER ARE PLANNING TO UPGRADE OR EXPAND THEIR EXISTING PLANTS, BUT NOT ESTABLISH NEW ONES.

8. COMMENT: UTSUGI'S CAREFULLY PHRASED FORMULATION ABOUT THE LARGER FIRMS STRUCK US AS INTERESTING. IT IS CERTAINLY POSSIBLE THAT THESE FIRMS -- WHICH ALREADY

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## -CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE Ø1 EOB540

AMCONSUL HONG KONG 7342 DTG: 230953Z APR 84 PSN: 063186 AN006485 TOR: 114/1339Z CSN: HCE357

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 02 OF 02 HONG KONG 07342

E.O. 12356: N/A TAGS: EFIN, HK, SUBJECT: JAPANESE INVESTMENT IN HONG KONG: HAVE A RELATIVELY LARGE EXPOSURE HERE -- ARE RELUCTANT TO INCREASE THAT EXPOSURE IN A MAJOR WAY UNTIL THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK HERE IS CLARIFIED. NEVERTHELESS, THEY ARE CONTINUING TO UPGRADE THEIR EXISTING FACILITIES AS UTSUGI NOTED, THAT ALREADY CONSTITUTES ADDITIONAL INVESTMENT IN THE FUTURE. COUPLED WITH SOME SUBSTANTIAL INVESTMENT DECISIONS BY "MEDIUM-SIZED FIRMS" SUCH AS THE DEPARTMENT STORE CHAINS AND THE CEMENT FIRM, THESE WOULD INDICATE THAT JAPANESE INVESTMENT HERE IN A NUMBER OF SECTORS IS CONTINUING. THE PACE OF THAT INVESTMENT MAY BE SLOWER NOW THAN IN THE GO-GO DAYS OF RAPID GROWTH IN HONG KONG, AND THAT SLOWER PACE MAY INDEED HAVE CONFRONTED THE GOJ WITH SOME HARD CHOICES ABOUT ITS POSITION ON HONG KONG'S FUTURE (REFTEL), BUT WE BELIEVE IT IS PROBABLY TOO SOON TO HOIST STORM SIGNALS ABOUT JAPANESE INVESTMENT HERE OR LACK THEREOF.

FOR TOKYO: WE WOULD WELCOME ANY INFORMATION YOU CAN DEVELOP ON THIS SUBJECT. LEVIN BT

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SECRET STATE 128656

EXDIS, SEOUL FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY WOLFOWITZ

E.O. 12356 DECL: OADR
TAGS: OVIP, (BUSH, GEORGE), HK;
SUBJECT: TRAVEL OF VICE PRESIDENT

REF: HONG KONG Ø78Ø7

- ENTIRE TEXT.

WE HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH WITH THE VICE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE CONCERNING YOUR SUGGESTION HE MAKE A STOPOVER IN HONG KONG DURING HIS MAY 10 TRAVEL TO JAKARTA.

3. GIVEN DISTANCE INVOLVED, VICE PRESIDENT MUST TRAVEL DIRECTLY IN ORDER TO ARRIVE IN JAKARTA NOT TOO LATE IN THE DAY. WE HAVE THEREFORE REGRETFULLY CONCLUDED THAT EVEN A LAYOVER OF A FEW HOURS IS NOT POSSIBLE.

3. REGARDS.

DAM BT

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And of State Guidelines, July 21, 1997

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## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

PAGE Ø1 E0B646

AMCONSUL HONG KONG 8273 DTG: 071015Z MAY 84 PSN: 020611 ANØØ5451

TOR: 128/1026Z CSN: HCE859

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UNCLAS HONG KONG Ø8273

CINCPAC FOR POLAD E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: EÇON, EFIN, HK

SUBJ: HK STOCK MARKET DECLINES SHARPLY REF.: A) HONG KONG 8040, B) HONG KONG 8081

- 1. AS NOTED REF B, THE STOCK MARKET HERE HAS BEEN VERY WEAK SINCE SIR GEOFFREY HOWE'S ANNOUNCEMENT THAT "IT WOULD BE UNREALISTIC" TO ASSUME THERE WOULD BE A CONTINUING BRITISH PRESENCE HERE AFTER 1997.
- 2. THE MARKET CONTINUED TO FALL STEADILY LAST WEEK, EXHIBITING A NERVOUSNESS THAT SOME LOCAL COMMENTATORS ATTRIBUTED TO FEAR OF AN INCREASE IN THE HONG KONG PRIME RATE OVER THE WEEKEND. IN THE EVENT, THE BANKS DID NOT RPT NOT RAISE THE PRIME, BUT THE MARKET FELL HEAVILY TODAY (MONDAY) ANYWAY. AT TODAY'S CLOSE, THE HANG SENG INDEX WAS OFF 51 POINTS AT 953.70, WELL BELOW WHAT SOME COMMENTATORS REGARD AS THE "PSYCHOLOGICAL" BARRIER OF 1000, AND 162 POINTS OR ALMOST 15 PERCENT BELOW ITS LEVEL JUST PRIOR TO THE HOWE STATEMENT.
- 3. THE HONG KONG DOLLAR WEAKENED, BUT ONLY SLIGHTLY, ON THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET. IN A PREDICTABLE COROTLARY MOVEMENT, INTERBANK HONG KONG DOLLAR INTEREST RATES ROSE SLIGHTLY.
- 4. IT IS DIFFICULT TO ASSESS WITH ANY DEGREE OF SURETY THE CAUSALITY OF ANY MOVEMENTS IN MARKETS HERE. HOWEVER, A LIKELY FACTOR IN TODAY'S DROP IS REPORTS IN THE WEEKEND'S NEWSPAPERS QUOTING A RETURNING HK DELEGATION AS SAYING PRC OFFICIALS TOLD THEM CHINA MIGHT WELL SEND THE PLA TO HONG KONG AFTER 1997 "TO STRENGTHEN ITS SOVEREIGNTY IN THE TERRITORY."
- 5. WE WILL BE WATCHING FOR ANY REPERCUSSIONS OF THE STOCK MARKET'S DECLINE ON OTHER MARKETS, AND WILL REPORT ACCORDINGLY.

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23

ID	Document Type Document Description	No of Doc Date pages	Restric- tions

080359Z MAY 84

3 5/8/1984

**B**1

**B**3

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UNCLAS HONG KONG Ø8496

CINCPAC FOR POLAD E. O. 12356: N/A TAGS: ECON, EFIN, HK SUBJECT: MARKET JITTERS PERSIST REF: HONG KONG 8273

- THE 1997 BLUES AFFLICTING HONG KONG'S STOCK MARKET HAVE NOT ABATED. WHILE THE HANG SENG INDEX ROSE 15 POINTS ON MAY 8, IT DROPPED ALMOST 30 POINTS (ABOUT 3 PER CENT) IN TRADING ON MAY 9.
- AN AMERICAN CONTACT ACTIVE IN THE LOCAL SECURITIES MARKET CONFIRMED THAT MARKET PARTICIPANTS WERE VERY WARY AT THE MOMENT. HE NOTED THAT BRITISH INSTITUTIONAL INVESTORS, IN PARTICULAR, SEEMED TO BE ACTIVE ON THE SELLING SIDE IN RECENT DAYS.
- ON THE OTHER HAND, THE STOCK MARKET'S PLUNGE HAS NOT HAD ANY APPARENT NEGATIVE RAMIFICATIONS ON OTHER FINANCIAL MARKETS. THE HONG KONG DOLLAR FIRMED SLIGHTLY IN TRADING TODAY, AND INTEREST RATES WERE SLIGHTLY LOWER.
- 4. COMMENT: AS OF THE MOMENT, THE JITTERS OF PARTICIPANTS IN THE SECURITIES MARKETS HAVE NOT AFFECTED THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET. MOVEMENTS IN THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKETS IN THE LAST FEW DAYS HAVE GIVEN EVERY APPEARANCE OF BEING MORE RELATED TO THE STRENGTH OF U. S. DOLLAR AGAINST THIRD CURRENCIES THAN TO ANY FUNDAMENTAL WEAKNESS OF THE HONG KONG DOLLAR. WE NOTE THAT A NUMBER OF OTHER ASIAN STOCK MARKETS HAVE FALLEN IN RECENT DAYS, AS WELL. IN ANY CASE, THE OUTLOOK FOR THE HONG KONG STOCK MARKET IS FOR CONTINUED VOLATILITY. LEVIN BT

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FOR541

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE HONG KONG Ø8483 DEPARTMENT FOR AMB. HARVEY FELDMAN, IOA/UNA E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: OVIP (KIRKPATRICK, JEANE J.) SUBJECT: ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS FOR HONG KONG PORTION OF KIRKPATRICK VISIT REF: A) USUN NY 992, B) USUN NY 993

#### 1. LOU-ENTIRE TEXT

2. POST IS ARRANGING EXPEDITED ARRIVAL PROCEDURES FOR THE KIRKPATRICK PARTY AT KAI TAK AIRPORT. PARTY WILL DEPLANE. BOARD WAITING VEHICLES AND PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO THE HOTEL. CONSUL GENERAL LEVIN WILL BE ON HAND TO GREET AMB. KIRKPATRICK AND HER PARTY. GUESTS WILL BE PREREGISTERED AT THE HOTEL SO CAN PROCEED UPON ARRIVAL DIRECTLY TO THEIR ASSIGNED ROOMS. ADMIN OFFICER WILL BE AT THE AIRPORT TO COLLECT PASSPORTS, HANDLE ENTRY FORMALITIES AND RETURN THE PASSPORTS TO THE GUESTS AT THE HOTEL. BAGGAGE WILL ALSO BE DELIVERED TO HOTEL ROOMS.

3. ROUTH ASSIGNMENTS AND	AO TOLLORO.
AMB. AND DR. KIRKPATRICK	1502
MR. JAMES JENKINS	1508
MR. AND MRS. MEYERHOFF	1501
MS. NANCY REYNOLDS	1510
AMB. HARVEY FELDMAN	1512
MR. JOEL BLOCKER	1514
MR. ROBERT MOLLER	1516
MS. SHANNON SORZANO	
MR. DEAN WELTY	
MS. WINIFRED PETERSON	1504
MR. KARL KONCZEK	1522
MR. LEAMOND DEAN	1524
MR. FREDERICK BYROB	1500
MR. VALERIO CARO	1525
MR. DONALD CHARLSON	1527
MR. HAROLD COUNTRYMAN	1509
MR. ALBERT DIPLACIDI	1515
MR. ALAN NATHANSON MR. RICHARD WEBER	1506
MR. RICHARD WEBER	1511

MS. ELIZABETH WOOD MS. JODY WYCHE

3 ROOM ASSIGNMENTS ARE AS FOLLOWS:

4. MS. PETERSON HAS BEEN ASSIGNED A ROOM DIRECTLY ADJACENT TO THE KIRKPATRICK SUITE. A TYPEWRITER AND STATIONERY

1519

SUPPLIES WILL BE PROVIDED.

5. A CAR WILL BE AVAILABLE THROUGHOUT THE DAY ON SUNDAY FOR USE BY THE KIRKPATRICKS. A SECOND CAR WILL ALSO STAND BY FOR MR. JENKINS AND THE MEYERHOFFS. SINCE THE HOTEL IS LOCATED IN THE HEART OF THE TOURIST AREA, THE PARTY WILL PROBABLY WISH TO DO MOST OF THEIR SHOPPING/EXPLORING ON

6. TWO CARS AND A MINIBUS WILL TRANSPORT THE KIRKPATRICK PARTY TO THE CONSUL GENERAL'S RESIDENCE AT 18:40 ON SUNDAY EVENING FOR A CHINESE BUFFET DINNER. SINCE EVERY-ONE WILL BE GETTING OVER JETLAG, THE CONSUL GENERAL HAS DECIDED TO KEEP THE DINNER A VERY CASUAL, IN-HOUSE AFFAIR. IN ADDITION TO THE 14 MEMBERS OF THE KIRKPATRICK PARTY, OTHER GUESTS WILL INCLUDE MR. AND MRS. RICHARD WILLIAMS (DPO), MR. AND MRS. DENNIS HARTER (CHIEF, POLITICAL SEC-TION), MR. AND MRS. RICHARD MUELLER (CHIEF, ECONOMIC SEC-TION), MR. AL DORN (CHIEF, EXECUTIVE OFFICE), AND MR. KEN PITTERLE (CONTROL OFFICER). THE CARS AND MINIBUS WILL RETURN THE PARTY TO THEIR HOTEL AFTER THE DINNER.

- 7. THE TELEPHONE NUMBER OF THE SHERATON IN (3) 691111.
- 8. FOLLOWING CONVERSATION WITH ROBERT MACCALLUM, POST HAS ACTED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT JAMES JENKINS WILL BE TRAVELLING WITH THE KIRKPATRICK PARTY. ACTION REQUESTED: PLEASE CONFIRM THAT MR. JENKINS WILL BE COMING AND SUPPLY US WITH HIS PASSPORT INFORMATION.
- 9. WE LOOK FORWARD TO THE ARRIVAL OF AMB. KIRKPATRICK AND HER PARTY. PLEASE LET US KNOW IF THERE IS ANYTHING ELSE WE CAN DO TO MAKE THE GROUP'S SHORT STAY IN HONG KONG A PLEASANT ONE. LEVIN

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PAGE Ø1 EOB239

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NLRR M299 # 92541

BY KML NARA DATE 16/14/12

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PREL, HK, CH, UK SUBJECT: HK'S FUTURE: ROUND 15

CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. WITH MINIMAL FANFARE, THE FIFTEENTH ROUND OF THE SECOND PHASE OF THE SINO-BRITISH NEGOTIATIONS ON HONG KONG'S FUTURE CONCLUDED IN BEIJING MAY 31. TO THE SURPRISE OF NONE, THE TWO SIDES DESCRIBED THEIR DIS-CUSSIONS AS "USEFUL AND CONSTRUCTIVE", AND ANNOUNCED ROUND 16 WILL TAKE PLACE JUNE 12-13.

COMMENT: WHILE NOT QUITE JADED ENOUGH TO TOTALLY IGNORE NEWS COVERAGE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, LOCAL RESIDENTS HAVE LONG SINCE RECOGNIZED PRECIOUS LITTLE IN THE WAY OF SUBSTANTIVE DETAIL WILL EMERGE PUBLICLY IN THE COURSE OF THESE TALKS. HOWEVER, BEHIND THE CONFIDENTIALITY VEIL, DEVELOPMENTS IN THIS ROUND APPARENTLY MASKED A SERIOUS DISAGREEMENT OVER NEGOTIATING STRATEGY ON THE BRITISH SIDE. ACCORD ACCORD-ING TO A WELL-PLACED HKG SOURCE (PROTECT), THE BRITISH TABLED A PAPER MAY 31, TENTATIVELY ACCEPTING WITH MOD-IFICATIONS THE CHINESE PROPOSAL FOR THE CREATION OF A JOINT SINO-BRITISH CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL TO ADVISE THE HKG IN THE RUN-UP TO 1997. OUR SOURCE SAID THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL UNOFFICIALS, UNDER THE STRONG LEADERSHIP OF SIR

S. Y. CHUNG, HAD VOICED VEHEMENT OPPOSITION TO BRITAIN'S ENDORSEMENT IN PRINCIPLE OF THIS IDEA, BUT HAD BEEN OVER-

RULED BY LONDON. END COMMENT.

WILLIAMS

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-CONFIDENTIAL-

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## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

PAGE Ø1 OF Ø2 LONDON 2899

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INFO AMEMBASSY BEIJING Ø987 AMEMBASSY CANBERRA 4144 AMCONSUL HONG KONG 3Ø83 AIT TAIPEI AMEMBASSY TOKYO 2254 AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON 2030

SECRET SECTION 02 OF 03 LONDON 12899

E. O. 12356: DECL:

TAGS: PREL, HK, CH, UK SUBJECT: FUTURE OF HONG KONG: LONDON UPDATE

ENGLISH TO REMAIN THE TERRITORY'S OFFICIAL LANGUAGE AFTER 1997, TO AVOID BUSINESS DISRUPTION. HIGHLIGHTED THE NEED FOR A SPECIAL TRAVEL/RESIDENCE DOCUMENT FOR HONG KONGERS. BUSINESS VIEWS:

- 4. (C) "ONCE BITTEN, TWICE SHY" WAS HOW ONE BUSINESS CONTACT DESCRIBED HIS COLLEAGUES' ATTITUDE TOWARD THE PRC. REFERRING TO THE LESSONS OF SHANGHAI, HE NOTED THAT EVEN WHEN THE CHINESE OFFERED TO LET FOREIGN BUSINESSES SUBMIT CLAIMS IN THE 1970'S FOR PROPERTY SEIZED IN SHANGHAI, THEY DID NOT SET UP PRACTICAL PROCEDURES THAT WOULD ALLOW REALISTIC CLAIMS TO BE MADE. THE LETTER OF THE LAW IN ORDER TO CLEAR THEIR RECORD FOR ADMISSION INTO THE IMF AND THE ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK, THEY WEASLED OUT ON THE SUBSTANCE. BRITISH BUSINESS LEADERS WHO HAVE DEALINGS IN THE PRC SAY THE CHINESE SYSTEM IS OVERBUREAUCRATIZED AND CUMBERSOME. THEY ARE NOT OPTIMISTIC THAT CHINA WILL BE ABLE TO PROVIDE THE KIND OF FREE COMMERCIAL ENVIRONMENT THAT HAS MADE HONG KONG A SUCCESS. IN THE ABSENCE OF A BRITISH FRAMEWORK, SOME FORESEE A GRADUAL DECLINE IN HONG KONG TOWARD A SITUATION LIKE THAT OF OTHER SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES. IT WILL STILL BE POSSIBLE TO CONDUCT BUSINESS, BUT THIRD-WORLD CONDITIONS WILL PREVAIL.
- 5. (C) FROM A BUSINESS POINT OF VIEW, THE KEY ELEMENTS OF THE U.K. FRAMEWORK ARE THE RULE OF LAW, THE INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY, AND THE BRITISH STYLE OF ADMINISTRATION. SHOULD ELEMENTS OF CRIME AND CORRUPTION SEEP IN, BUSINESS WOULD BE PUT OFF.
- (C) FROM A PERSONAL POINT OF VIEW, OUR BUSINESS CONTACTS EXPECT THAT HONG KONG'S UPPER-CRUST ELITE,

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

PAGE Ø2 OF Ø2 LONDON 2899

DTG: Ø7174ØZ JUN 84 PSN: Ø23Ø21

WHO ALREADY HAVE THE DOCUMENTS AND OVERSEAS CONTACTS TO MOVE FREELY, WILL REMAIN UNTIL CLOSE TO 1997. BUT THE NEXT LEVEL DOWN - THE PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE WITH LESS OF A CUSHION - ARE EXPECTED TO ATTEMPT TO LEAVE RATHER THAN SUBJECT THEIR CHILDREN'S FUTURE TO THE WHIMS OF CHINESE REGIMES IN YEARS TO COME. THE HARSHER ASPECTS OF CHINESE JUSTICE, SUCH AS EXECUTIONS FOR SHOPLIFTING, ARE A SOURCE OF UNEASE, AS IS THE AGE OF CHINA'S PRESENT LEADERS, WHOSE SUCCESSORS MAY OR MAY NOT CARRY OUT POLICIES ESTABLISHED NOW.

- 7. (C) HANDOVER: U.K. BUSINESSMEN FAVOR AN ACCELERATED HANDOVER OF RESPONSIBILITIES TO HONG KONG CHINESE, SO THAT TRAINING CAN BEGIN. HONG KONGERS SHOULD START PREPARING NOW TO DEAL WITH BEIJING AS THEY WILL HAVE TO DO AFTER 1997.
- 8. (C) HMG PRAISED: ONE BUSINESS CONTACT SAID FCO HAD EXERCISED "ENORMOUS SKILL" DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PRC, ESPECIALLY IN THE CARE IT HAD TAKEN TO INCLUDE PROMINENT HONG KONGERS IN THE CONSULTATION PROCESS. THOUGH THIS CONTACT SAW THE HANDOVER OF HONG KONG TO THE "CAPRICIOUS, OPPRESSIVE, THUGGISH, MARXIST-LENINIST PRC REGIME" AS A GREAT TRAGEDY FOR ALL CONCERNED, HE FELT IT WOULD HAVE BEEN IMMORAL FOR BRITAIN TO OFFER ANY FALSE HOPES BY PRETENDING IT BT

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## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

FOB 1 Ø 2

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SECRET SECTION Ø1 OF Ø2 HONG KONG 1Ø646

EXDIS

NOFORN

OADR

E. O. 12356: DECL: OAD TAGS: PREL, CH, UK, HK

FUTURE OF HONG KONG: DISCUSSION WITH HKG POLAD

1. SECRET/EXDIS/NOFORN - ENTIRE TEXT

#### SUMMARY: 2.

HK POLAD ROBIN MCLAREN CHARACTERIZED THE LATEST ROUND OF SINO-BRITISH NEGOTIATIONS ON HONG KONG AS "NOT VERY PRODUCTIVE". ALTHOUGH THE BRITISH MODIFIED THEIR POSITION REGARDING A JOINT PRC-UK COMMISSION ON THE PRE-1997 TRANSITION PERIOD, THE TWO SIDES ARE STILL
WELL SHORT OF AGREEMENT ON THE SUBJECT AND ON THE UNDERLYING ISSUE OF CHINA'S ROLE OR NON-ROLE IN HONG KONG OVER THE NEXT 13 YEARS. NOR WERE THE BRITISH SUCCESSFUL IN OBTAINING CHINESE ASSENT TO THE FORMATION OF A DRAFTING COMMITTEE TO WORK FULL-TIME FROM MID-JUNE ONWARD IN AN EFFORT TO ARRIVE AT AGREED DETAILED LANGUAGE BY THE TIME OF CHINA'S SEPTEMBER NEGOTIATING MCLAREN EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT THE DEADLINE. DEADLINE WOULD BE MET, EVEN AS HE POINTED TO THE LARGE AREAS WHERE AGREEMENT HAD YET TO BE FOUND AND COMMENTED THAT IT LOOKED AS THOUGH NEITHER SIDE WOULD HAVE MUCH TO SAY AT THE JUNE 12-13 ROUND.

END SUMMARY.

THE BRITISH DID MOST OF THE TALKING THIS TIME, SAID MCLAREN, AND THE BULK OF THE FIRST DAY'S TALKS INVOLVED THREE SUBJECTS. THE FIRST WAS THE OVERALL FORMAT AND GENERAL CONTENT OF THE EMERGING AGREEMENT. AT THE ARPIL 11-12 ROUND JUST PRIOR TO FOREIGN SECRETARY HOWE'S VISIT, THE CHINESE HAD INDICATED THAT THE AGREEMENT SHOULD TAKE THE FORM OF A JOINT DECLARATION ACCOMPANIED BY AN EXCHANGE OF NOTES DEALING WITH POST-1997 ARRANGEMENTS AND A PROTOCOL DEALING WITH PRE-1997 ARRANGEMENTS. AT THAT TIME, HOWEVER, ONLY THOSE HEADINGS WERE PROVIDED, AND IT WAS NOT UNTIL THE APRIL 27-28 POST-HOWE ROUND

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THAT THE CHINESE PROVIDED DRAFT TEXTS. AT THIS ROUND THE BRITISH ACCORDINGLY COMMENTED ON THE CHINESE DRAFTS, CITING OMISSIONS AND POOR DRAFTING MORE THAN SUBSTANTIVE DISAGREEMENT, MCLAREN IMPLIED.

- 4. THE NEXT TOPIC WAS HOW TO PROCEED IN ORDER TO FINISH UP BY THE END OF SEPTEMBER. CONVINCED THAT DETAILED PROVISIONS ON POST-1997 ARRANGEMENTS ARE ESSENTIAL TO THE SALEABILITY OF THE AGREEMENT IN HONG KONG, THE BRITISH PROPOSED THAT IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE JUNE 12-13 ROUND A PRC-UK NEGOTIATING SUBGROUP REMAIN IN PERMANENT SESSION TO WORK ON THE NOTES TO BE EXCHANGED ON THE POST-TERMINATION SET-UP. THE CHINESE COUNTERED THAT THE SUBGROUP SHOULD ALSO WORK ON THE JOINT DECLARATION AND THE PRE-1997 TRANSITION PROTOCOL, BUT THE BRITISH WERE TOO UNCOMFORTABLE WITH THE QUESTION OF CHINA'S TRANSITIONAL ROLE (SEE BELOW) TO AGREE AND THE DISCUSSION WAS INCONCLUSIVE. THE MATTER WILL BE RESOLVED IN TIME, MCLAREN OBSERVED, BUT MEANWHILE THE WEEKS ARE SLIPPING AWAY.
- 5. THE LAST TOPIC ON DAY ONE WAS LAND LEASES.
  AT THE JANUARY 25-26 ROUND THE BRITISH HAD PROPOSED
  THAT THE HKG BE PERMITTED TO GRANT LEASES EXTENDING
  PAST 1997, ESSENTIALLY CONTINUING THE PRESENT
  SYSTEM UNDER WHICH LEASE REVENUES ENTER A CAPITAL
  DEVELOPMENT FUND UTILIZED FOR DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS
  IN HONG KONG. THE PROPOSAL FAILED TO ALLAY CHINESE
  APPREHENSION THAT BRITAIN MIGHT SOMEHOW MILK THE FUND
  PRIOR TO 1997, AND SO IN APRIL THE CHINESE PROPOSED
  THAT THEIR AGREEMENT SHOULD BE OBTAINED AS TO HOW
  MANY LEASES COULD BE GRANTED, AND THAT LEASE
  MONIES BE SEGREGATED INTO PRE- AND POST-1997

SEGMENTS, WITH THE LATTER DEPOSITED TO AN INTEREST-BEARING FUND FOR EVENTUAL TRANSFER TO THE HONG KONG SPECIAL AUTONOMOUS REGION GOVERNMENT. WITH THE BRITISH POINTING TO TECHNICAL DIFFICULTIES IN IMPLEMENTING THE CHINESE PLAN, THE TWO SIDES LENGTHILY REHASHED THEIR RESPECTIVE POSITIONS, AND AGAIN NO BT

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SECRET SECTION 02 OF 02 HONG KONG 10646

EXDIS NOFORN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PREL, CH, UK, HK SUBJ: FUTURE OF HONG KONG:

DISCUSSION WITH HKG POLAD AGREEMENT WAS REACHED.

6. THE SECOND DAY'S DISCUSSION WAS LARGELY OF A SINO-BRITISH TRANSITION COMMISSION. SEEKING TO MINIMIZE CHINESE INVOLVEMENT ONCE AN AGREEMENT WAS REACHED, THE BRITISH HAD EARLY ADVOCATED THAT TRANSITION CONCERNS DURING THE INTERVENING YEARS SIMPLY BE HANDLED BY BEIJING MEETINGS BETWEEN THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR AND THE APPROPRIATE MOFA ASSISTANT FOREIGN MINISTER ON AN AS-NEEDED BASIS. XIAOPING HAD STRONGLY INSISTED TO SIR GEOFFREY HOWE THAT A JOINT SINO-BRITISH COMMISSION BE ESTABLISHED IN HONG KONG. SUBSEQUENTLY, ACCORDING TO AN FCO BRIEFING OF EMBASSY LONDON, DENG BACKED AWAY FROM THIS INSISTENCE AND CONCEDED THAT THE COMMISSION'S

VENUE MIGHT ROTATE BETWEEN LONDON AND BEIJING.

- THIS TIME ZHOU NAN LIBERALLY QUOTED DENG'S STATEMENTS TO HOWE WHILE AFFIRMING THAT THE COMMISSION THOUGH CONSTITUTED IN HONG KONG MIGHT
  ALSO MEET IN BEIJING OR LONDON. THE BRITISH EXPRESSED
  WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN A GROUPING WHICH COULD
  MEET IN ANY OF THE THREE CITIES. AT THE SAME TIME
  THEY HELD THAT ON CERTAIN MATTERS -- E.G., MAINTAINING HONG KONG PARTICIPATION IN GATT -- THE CHINESE WOULD BE CONSULTED, BUT ON OTHERS -- E.G., THE PROGRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN HONG KONG -- THEY WOULD ONLY BE INFORMED.
- IT WENT WITH THIS THAT THE BRITISH, WHO ASSERT THAT COME WHAT MAY THE TRANSITION GOVERNANCE OF HONG KONG IS THEIRS AND THEIRS ALONE, CONTEND THAT THE POINT OF DEPARTURE FOR POST-1997 CONTINUITY SHOULD BE THE SITUATION EXISTING ON JUNE 30, 1997. BUT THE CHINESE HOLD THAT IT SHOULD BE THE DATE ON WHICH THE AGREEMENT IS SIGNED, COMMENTING THAT OTHERWISE THEY WOULD BE GIVING THE BRITISH A "BLANK CHECK",

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UTILIZING THE ENGLISH PHRASE. MCLAREN FREELY
CONCEDES THEY HAVE A POINT, AND DOES NOT AT THIS
STAGE SEE THE ANSWER. HE IS CONCERNED OVER THE
DEGREE OF INVOLVEMENT WHICH THE CHINESE APPEAR TO
WANT, IN SUCH AREAS AS THE EXCHANGE FUND AND LAND
POLICY. HE SEES THEM AS MOTIVATED PRIMARILY BY
A DEEP MISTRUST OF BRITISH INTENTIONS, AND SECONDARILY
BY A FELT NEED TO UNDERSTAND THE WORKINGS OF HONG KONG.

9. BEYOND A BRIEF UK STATEMENT THAT THEIR VIEWS HAD NOT CHANGED, THE QUESTION OF CHINESE TROOPS IN THE NEW TERRITORIES WENT UNMENTIONED AT THIS ROUND. MCLAREN OBSERVED, HOWEVER, THAT CLEARLY THERE WAS DISAGREMENT ON THE SUBJECT AT HIGH LEVELS OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT. THE LATEST EVIDENCE WAS THE JUNE 5 STATEMENT BY DEFENSE MINISTER ZHANG AIPING, WHICH DIFFERED IN SUBSTANCE FROM DENG'S OUTSPOKEN REMARKS OF MAY 24.

10. MCLAREN REPORTED LITTLE PROGRESS AT THIS
ROUND, SAW LITTLE FOR EITHER SIDE TO DISCUSS AT THE
NEXT ROUND, AND POINTED TO THE EXTENSIVE GROUND
REMAINING TO BE COVERED BY THE END OF SEPTEMBER.
RATHER SURPRISINGLY, THEREFORE, HE EXPRESSED
CONFIDENCE THAT THE SEPTEMBER DEADLINE WOULD BE MET.
ARGUABLY HIS CONFIDENCE MIGHT STEM FROM A BRITISH
DECISION TO CAVE TO THE CHINESE WHERE NECESSARY,
A VIEW SOMEWHAT SUPPORTED BY A UMELCO MEMBER'S COMMENT
TO US THAT ON THIS LAST VISIT MRS. THATCHER HAD
EMOTIONALLY DISTANCED HERSELF AS IF IN ANTICIPATION
OF A NEED FOR EARLY AND DIFFICULT DECISIONS. ON
BALANCE, HOWEVER, MCLAREN'S CONFIDENCE SEEMS TO STEM
MAINLY FROM A STRENGTHENED CONVICTION OF CHINA'S
SERIOUSNESS REGARDING THE DEADLINE. HE IS PERSONALLY

CONVINCED THE CHINESE WANT TO PROCLAIM A HONG KONG ACHIEVEMENT AT THE PRC'S 35TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION ON OCTOBER 1.

WILLIAMS BT

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S E C R E T SECTION Ø1 OF Ø6 HONG KONG 11175

EXDIS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, CH, HK, UK
SUBJECT: HONG KONG 1997: THE LEGAL QUESTION AND THE FORM
OF HK'S FUTURE GOVERNMENT
REF: A) HK 10752; B) HK 8867; C) HK 8392

- SECRET/NOFORN ENTIRE TEXT.
- SUMMARY/INTRODUCTION: IT IS COMMONLY RECOGNIZED HONG KONG'S LEGAL SYSTEM IS ONE OF THE BASIC PROTECTORS OF BOTH POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STABILITY HERE. ITS PRESERVATION AFTER 1997 WOULD GO A LONG WAY TO ENSURING INVESTOR/FINANCIAL-INSTITUTION CON-FIDENCE AS WELL AS THE CONFIDENCE OF THE ORDINARY CITIZEN IN THE BASIC PROTECTIONS OF THE LAW AND THE RIGHTS OF IN-AS ONE LONDON BUSINESS SOURCE HAS SAID "FROM DIVIDUALS. A BUSINESS SENSE THE KEY ELEMENTS OF THE U.K. FRAMEWORK ARE THE RULE OF LAW, THE INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY AND THE BRITISH STYLE OF ADMINISTRATION" (LONDON 12899). BEIJING AND LONDON HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY IN PUBLIC DISCUSSIONS AS WELL AS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. NONETHELESS, THERE RE-MAINS SOME UNCERTAINTY OVER HOW THE INDEPENDENCE OF JUDICIARY WOULD BE PRESERVED IN THE ABSENCE OF SOME MORE SPECIFIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE NATURE OF HONG KONG'S FUTURE GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEM. (ALTHOUGH DISCUSSED SEPARATE-LY IN THE TALKS, WE HAVE INCLUDED COVERAGE OF THE "FORM" OF GOVERNMENT BECAUSE OF THIS RELATIONSHIP.) IN THIS AREA, THERE IS GENERAL AGREEMENT ON THE NEED FOR SEPARATE LEGISLATIVE, JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE AUTHORITIES COMPOSED OF AND CHOSEN BY THE HONG KONG PEOPLE. BEYOND THIS, THE CHINESE ARE RELUCTANT TO MAKE FURTHER COMMITMENTS PRIOR TO DRAFTING THE MINI-CONSTITUTION FOR HONG KONG.
- 3. IN ADDITION TO THE QUESTION OF HOW THE POST-1997 GOVERNMENT WILL BE STRUCTURED, OTHER MAJOR QUESTIONS REMAIN CONCERNING THE NATURE OF THE LAW TO BE ADMINISTERED. CHINA AND HONG KONG, FOR EXAMPLE, CONSIDER THE ROLE OF LAW DIFFERENTLY AND THE INTER-RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO REMAINS TO BE WORKED OUT. JURISTS IN

THE TERRITORY, INCLUDING THOSE FRIENDLY TO CHINA, HAVE ARTICULATED A NUMBER OF PROPOSALS TO ENSURE PRESERVATION OF THE ELEMENTS THEY SEE NECESSARY FOR THE FUTURE, BUT THERE HAS BEEN NO INDICATION WHETHER ANY OF THESE SUGGESTIONS WILL BE PART OF THE FINAL SINO-BRITISH AGREEMENT. AS MATTERS NOW STAND -- ALBEIT WITH SOME CONTINUING DISAGREEMENT OVER EXACTLY HOW MUCH WILL GO INTO THE VARIOUS SECTIONS OF THE FINAL SINO-BRITISH DOCUMENTS LATER THIS YEAR -- IT DOES NOT APPEAR THERE WILL BE MUCH FORMAL EXPLICATION OF THIS ISSUE BEFORE THE DRAFTING OF CHINA'S PLANNED MINI-CONSTITUTION FOR HONG KONG.

END SUMMARY/INTRODUCTION

THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE RECORD

THE QUESTION OF HONG KONG'S FUTURE LEGAL SYSTEM WAS EARLY ON RECOGNIZED AS AN ISSUE UNDERLYING MUCH OF HONG KONG'S POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURE AND THUS A FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE TO BE APPROACHED IN THE BILATERAL TALKS. PRIOR TO THE START OF SUBSTANTIVE TALKS, THE TALKS. CHINESE HAD WORKED OUT A TWELVE POINT PROPOSAL WHICH BE-(83 HK 21771). ON THE LEGAL SYSTEM, THE CHINESE SAID HK COULD KEEP THE EXISTING SYSTEM EXCEPT FOR THOSE LAWS WHICH CONTRADICT CHINESE SOVEREIGNTY. THEY ADDED A RATE POINT ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A FINAL COURT OF THEY ADDED A SEPA-APPEAL IN HONG KONG WITH NO PRC RIGHT TO REVIEW COURT THE BRITISH BEGAN PASSING ISSUE PAPERS TO THE CHINESE IN ROUND SIX OF THE SECOND PHASE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS (NOVEMBER 14-15, 1983) STARTING WITH THE PROPOSALS THEY FELT BEIJING COULD EASILY AGREE TO. THE LEGAL PAPER WAS PASSED ON THAT FIRST OCCASION. ACCORDING TO THE FCO BRIEFING TO A U.S. EMBOFF IN LONDON, THE UK PRESENTATION ON LEGAL AFFAIRS WAS SUCCINCT. IT CALLED FOR HONG KONG'S BASIC LAWS AND JUDICIAL SYSTEM TO REMAIN UNCHANGED, THE EXCEPTION OF THE FINAL COURT OF APPEAL WHICH WOULD BE ESTABLISHED IN HONG KONG. THE PAPER FURTHER SUGGESTED HONG KONG'S LAWS WOULD CONTINUE SEPARATE FROM THE LAWS OF THE PRC AND ARGUED FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT

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S E C R E T SECTION Ø3 OF Ø6 HONG KONG 11175

EXDIS
NOFORN
E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, CH, HK, UK
SUBJECT: HONG KONG 1997: THE LEGAL QUESTION AND THE FORM
TIONS NOT JUST TO REMAIN STATIC (HK 5240). HE THEREFORE
REFUSED TO DISCUSS THESE OTHER QUESTIONS ON HK'S FUTURE
CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE AND ITS INTER-RELATIONSHIP WITH
OTHER AREAS OF MUTUAL CONCERN, I.E., THE LEGAL QUESTION,
CONTINUITY OF THE CIVIL SERVICE, ETC.

9. CHINA REITERATED ITS BASIC POSITION ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE AT ROUND ELEVEN (MARCH 26-27), ACCEPTING THE IDEA OF THREE BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT. BUT AGAIN ZHOU NAN REFUSED TO BE DRAWN INTO DETAILS AS HE ARGUED THIS WAS A MATTER TO BE HANDLED IN HK'S BASIC LAW — MINI—CONSTITUTION. FOR THE CHINESE, THE CONSTITUTION COULD ONLY BE STARTED ONCE THE AGREEMENT WITH THE BRITISH HAD BEEN CONCLUDED (LONDON 7662 AND HK 6415). IN ROUND TWELVE, JUST PRIOR TO SIR GEOFFREY HOWE'S VISIT, THE CHINESE THREW A MONKEY—WRENCH INTO BRITISH PLANNING BY PROPOSING THE CREATION OF A JOINT COMMISSION WHICH WOULD GENERALLY CONSULT ON MATTERS AFFECTING THE LONG—TERM FUTURE OF THE TERRITORY BETWEEN THE TIME THE AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED AND 1997. DENG XIAOPING REINFORCED THESE VIEWS DURING HIS MEETING WITH SIR GEOFFREY, AND THE CHINESE NEGOTIATORS REITERATED THEM IN THE THREE SESSIONS FOLLOWING THE HOWE VISIT BUT WITH THE ADDED INTERPRETATION OF BRITISH ACQUIESCENCE (STATE 120853; LONDON 9490; STATE 114237; HK 7023; LONDON 9985; HK 8115; HK 10646).

10. THE GOALS OF NEGOTIATIONS ON THIS ISSUE AS WELL AS OTHERS (REFTELS) WERE GRADUALLY OBSCURED BY DISAGREEMENTS ON THE RELATIVE NEED FOR DETAILS IN THE FINAL SINOBRITISH AGREEMENT. BRITISH CONCERNS FOR SETTING OUT A DETAILED ARRANGEMENT FOR HONG KONG'S FUTURE POLITICAL SYSTEM HAS LED THE HKG TO WORK OUT A "GREEN PAPER" OUTLINING THE GROWTH OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT OVER THE COMING YEARS (LONDON 12899). THIS EFFORT, TO BE RELEASED IN JULY, WILL PRESENT THE CHINESE WITH A DETAILED PLAN FOR INSTITUTIONAL AND ELECTORAL REFORM WITHOUT PRIOR CONSULTATION, DESPITE BEIJING'S PLAN TO DEVELOP THE

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CONSULTATIVE SYSTEM MENTIONED ABOVE AS A WAY OF PREVENT-ING LOCAL DECISIONS FROM PREDETERMINING WHAT MIGHT HAPPEN AFTER 1997. DESPITE CONTINUING DISAGREEMENT OVER THE ELEMENTS REQUIRED FOR THE POST-1997 POLITICAL/LEGAL STRUCTURE, SIR GEOFFREY'S APRIL 200 HONG KONG PRESS CONFERENCE MADE REFERENCE TO A "HIGH DEGREE" OF AUTONOMY FOR HK, INDICATING UK ACCEPTANCE OF THIS PART OF CHINA'S PRESENTATION ON THE STRUCTURE AND NATURE OF THE FUTURE HKG.

FIFTH STORY

THE COMPLEXITIES OF HONG KONG'S LEGAL SYSTEM

CHINESE OFFICIALS HAVE TOLD HK VISITORS TO BEIJING THE TERRITORY WILL RETAIN ITS PRESENT LEGAL SYSTEM AND CURRENT LAWS EXCEPT FOR THOSE WHICH CONTRADICT CHINESE SOVEREIGNTY (83 HK 21771). BUT HONG KONG'S LEGAL SYSTEM IS BASED ON COMMON LAW PRINCIPLES WHICH ARE A VAST, EVOLVING AND TOTALLY ALIEN SET OF PRECEDENTS FOR CHINA. IN CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL LAW, ONLY A SMALL PORTION OF THE LAW HAS BEEN CODIFIED INTO STATUTES. THUS, A CHINESE INTENTION TO PERMIT HONG KONG TO RETAIN ITS PRESENT SYSTEM WILL MEAN A PERPETUATION OF AN IDENTIFIABLY "BRITISH" LEGAL FORMULATION WHICH COULD CONTINUE TO EVOLVE IN DISTINCTLY NON-CHINESE WAYS FOLLOWING 1997.

(AS AN ISSUE RELATED TO CHINA'S "SOVEREIGNTY", THIS

COULD BE A PROBLEM.) THERE IS ALSO THE QUESTION OF THE STATUTORY LAWS OF HONG KONG. SOME TWENTY VOLUMES CUR-RENTLY EXIST, AND ONLY 45 OF SOME 504 STATUTES HAVE BEEN TRANSLATED INTO CHINESE OVER THE PAST TWELVE YEARS. BEIJING'S COMMITMENT TO BEGIN TRANSLATION OF THESE ELE-MENTS OF HONG KONG'S LEGAL SYSTEM STRONGLY INDICATES CHINA'S INTENTION TO PRESERVE THEM BEYOND 1997 (HK 6653). SHOULD THIS BE THE ONLY ELEMENT PRESERVED, HOWEVER, THE RESULTING LEGAL CODE WOULD BE A SUPERFICIAL BODY OF LAW MINUS ITS BASIC CONTEXT -- COMMON LAW -- AND THERE-FORE OF MUCH LESS USE IN AN INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS CLIMATE. IF CHINA'S PURPOSE IS TO FURTHER SINIFICATION OF THE LAWS, THEN THIS TOO IS LIKELY TO PRODUCE LITTLE LINKAGE WITH THE TRADITIONS OF COMMON LAW AFTER 1997.

12. CONTINUED USE OF COMMON LAW ALSO INVOLVES RELIANCE ON THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE. PRESENTLY, VERY FEW OF THE BT

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SECRET SECTION Ø4 OF Ø6 HONG KONG 11175

EXDIS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PGOV, PREL, CH, HK, UK SUBJECT: HONG KONG 1997: THE LEGAL QUESTION AND THE FORM JUDGES ARE CAPABLE OF OPERATING IN CANTONESE AND CASES ARE CONDUCTED IN ENGLISH. SWITCHING TO CHINESE, EITHER MANDARIN OR CANTONESE, WOULD MEET CHINESE CONCERNS ABOUT SOVEREIGNTY AND ELIMINATION OF RESIDUAL BRITISH INFLU-ENCE. BUT, IT WOULD NOT MAKE THE COURT SYSTEM WORK VERY EFFECTIVELY UNLESS THERE WAS TO BE AN APPLICATION OF ONLY CHINESE LAW. MOREOVER, TRAINING LAWYERS AND JUDGES IN A COMMON LAW SYSTEM WILL REQUIRE CONTINUED USE OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, SINCE THE ESSENCE OF THIS TRAINING IS EXAMINATION OF PRIOR COURT DECISIONS WHICH HAVE EVOLVED INTO THE PRESENT LAW.

- 13. AS NOTED BY LOCAL LEGAL GROUPS, THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE JUDICIARY IS ALSO A SIGNIFICANT ISSUE TO BE RE-SOLVED. WHILE THERE APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN AGREEMENT BETWEEN BRITAIN AND CHINA ON THE NEED FOR AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY, THE ABSENCE OF DISCUSSION OF DETAILS HAS LEFT OPEN THE QUESTION OF HOW ONE HANDLES TERMS OF APPOINT-MENT, LENGTH OF SERVICE, REMOVAL PROCESSES AND CRITERIA FOR REMOVAL. LOCAL LEGAL ORGANIZATIONS HAVE BEEN QUICK TO POINT OUT THESE CONCERNS BUT THE CHINESE WHILE LISTENING HAVE RETREATED BEHIND THE WALL OF FUTURE DRAFTING OF THE MINI-CONSTITUTION TO AVOID COMMENT.
- IN LOOKING AT HK'S BRITISH-DERIVED LEGAL TRADITIONS. THERE IS A FUNDAMENTAL ADVERSARIAL NATURE TO THE LEGAL SYSTEM WHICH DOES NOT EXIST IN CHINESE LAW OR PRACTICE. COMMON LAW IN THIS RESPECT IS UNIQUE IN ITS ADVERSARIAL SYSTEM IN WHICH TWO PARTIES GO BEFORE A DISINTERESTED NEUTRAL AND INDEPENDENT COURT THEREBY PERPETUATING ATTENTION TO INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS. SYSTEM HAS NO IDEA OF AN EQUAL ADVERSARY, PARTICULARLY WHERE THE STATE IS INVOLVED. THUS IT IS LIKELY TO REQUIRE CONSIDERABLE TIME BFORE INDIVIDUALS AND BUSINESS—MEN HERE FEEL CONFIDENT THE LOCAL COURTS UNDER PRC SOV— EREIGNTY WILL CONTINUE TO ACT AS INDEPENDENTLY AS THEY

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## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

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ANOTHER ISSUE AFFECTING THE FUTURE OF THE LEGAL SYSTEM IS THE CHINESE ASSUMPTION ALL POWERS NOT SPECIF-ICALLY DELEGATED TO THE PEOPLE OR SUBSIDIARY ORGANS BELONG TO THE STATE OR THE CENTRAL AUTHORITIES. BRITISH COMMON LAW ORIGINALLY ACCEPTED THIS STANCE AND EVOLVED BY IMPOSING LIMITATIONS ON THE SOVEREIGN'S DIVINE RIGHT TO RULE, TODAY IT IS THE LAW ITSELF WHICH REIGNS SUPREME WITH THE STATE POSSESSING NO POWER TO ACT BEYOND THE ROLE ALREADY DEFINED FOR IT. IN CONTR THE CHINESE LEGAL SYSTEM DRAWS ITS POWER NOT FROM THE IN CONTRAST LAW, BUT FROM THE EXERCISE OF POLITICAL POWER. MENTAL CONFLICT EXISTS BETWEEN A SYSTEM WHICH GRANTS POLITICAL RIGHTS NOT DELINEATED IN LAW TO THE INDIVIDUAL AND ONE WHICH IMBUES THE STATE WITH ABSOLUTE POWER UN-LESS SPECIFICALLY CEDED TO THE CITIZENRY. IDEOLOGICAL IDEOLOGICALLY IT MAY BE DIFFICULT FOR THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP TO ACCEPT THE EXISTENCE OF AN ALTERNATIVE LEGAL SYSTEM FAVORING THE INDIVIDUAL EVEN IF HONG KONG SUCCESSFULLY LOCALIZES ITS LEGAL SYSTEM. CARRIED OVER TO THE BROADER SAR TO BEIJING RELATIONSHIP, IT ALSO INDICATES A MAJOR PROBLEM IN DRAFTING THE BASIC LAW. IT MAY BE QUITE DIFFICULT IN DRAFTING THE BASIC LAW. IT MAY BE QUITE DIFFICULT FOR CHINA TO ACCEPT THE IDEA ONLY THOSE POWERS SPECIFIED AS BELONGING TO THE CENTRAL AUTHORITIES WOULD PERTAIN, LEAVING THE UNSPECIFIED REMAINDER RESIDING IN THE SAR. MEMBERS OF THE "HONG KONG OBSERVERS" WHO RAISED THIS ISSUE IN BEIJING DURING THEIR VISIT LAST YEAR FOUND LITTLE CHINESE COMPREHENSION OF THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE TWO LEGAL SYSTEMS. THE LEGAL EXPERT AMONG THE LOCAL GROUP CAME AWAY QUITE CONCERNED ABOUT THE PRC'S ABILITY TO HANDLE THIS DIVERGENCY OF VIEWS (83 HK 22729).

16. REFLECTING LOCAL UNDERSTANDING OF THESE PROBLEMS, HK'S LEGAL PROFESSION HAS BEEN ACTIVELY PROMOTING THE PRESERVATION OF THE HK SYSTEM. MOREOVER, THE HONG KONG AFFAIRS SOCIETY, A NEW ISSUE GROUP HERE, ORGANIZED A JUNE 3 SYMPOSIUM TO ANNOUNCE ITS VIEWS AND DISCUSS THE BASIC LAW AND CONTINUITY OF THE LEGAL SYSTEM. THE SOCIETY PRESENTED A POSITION PAPER ON THE "BASIC LAW" CALLING FOR A SEPARATE LEGISLATIVE, JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT AND A DEFINED RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CENTRAL AND SPECIAL ADMINISTRATIVE REGION (SAR) AUTHORITIES. THE GROUP SAID THERE SHOULD BE NO BT

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SEGRET SECTION Ø5 OF Ø6 HONG KONG 11175

EXDIS NOFORN E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PGOV, PREL, CH, HK, UK SUBJECT: HONG KONG 1997: THE LEGAL QUESTION AND THE FORM CHINESE LAWS IN EFFECT IN HONG KONG UNLESS THEY HAD BEEN ADOPTED BY THE LOCAL SAR LEGISLATURE AND ARGUED ALL POWERS NOT SPECIFICALLY GRANTED TO THE BEIJING AUTHORITIES SHOULD BE RESERVED FOR THE HONG KONG PEOPLE AND THEIR GOVERNMENT. (ONLY DEFENSE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS WOULD BE STRICTLY ASSIGNED TO THE BEIJING AUTHORITIES. ) ALTHOUGH IT ACKNOWLEDGED THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS (NPC) AS THE HIGHEST AUTHORITY CONCERNING POWER RELATION-SHIPS BETWEEN HK AND THE CENTRAL AUTHORITIES, THE SOCIETY DECLARED THE HK JUDICIARY SHOULD HAVE THE POWER TO DEAL WITH INTERNAL MATTERS AFFECTING HONG KONG. (THIS POSITION IS SIMILAR TO THE ONE ADOPTED BY THE PRESSURE GROUP "MEETING POINT" IN ITS DRAFT CONSTITUTION FOR HONG KONG -- SEE HK 10593.)

AT THE SYMPOSIUM, ATTORNEY GENERAL MICHAEL THOMAS SAID MUCH OF THE COMMON LAW WHICH HONG KONG CURRENTLY RELIES ON SHOULD BE WRITTEN DOWN BY THE LEGISLATURE AS PART OF THE CODIFIED LAW. HE FURTHER CALLED FOR RETAIN-ING AS MANY OF THE CURRENT CROP OF JUDGES AS POSSIBLE TO MAINTAIN CONTINUITY, KEEPING ENGLISH AS A LANGUAGE FOR THE COURTS -- AS WELL AS ADDING CHINESE, AND SAID FINAL SINO-BRITISH AGREEMENT SHOULD BE A BINDING LEGAL DOCUMENT TO GIVE THE PEOPLE CONFIDENCE. AT THE SAME TIME, A PROMINENT LOCAL SOLICITOR, JOSEPH C. T. LEE, TOLD THE SEMINAR IT WAS ESSENTIAL TO DELINEATE THE BODY OF LAW WHICH WILL REMAIN IN EFFECT AFTER 1997 AND PARTICULARLY TO IDENTIFY HOW THE COMMON LAW TRADITION WOULD BE SUS-TAINED AS A BODY OF CONTINUING PRECEDENT FOR COURT DE-ONS. LEFT-LEANING SOLICITOR LIU YIU-CHU (AKA DOROTHY TOLD THE SOCIETY'S AUDIENCE THERE SHOULD BE A "CON-STITUTIONAL COURT" SET UP TO HANDLE THE QUESTIONS ARISING FROM INTERPRETATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE BASIC LAW BY BEIJING AND HONG KONG. WHILE SHE ACCEPTED THE NEED FOR A WELL-DEFINED BASIC LAW, SHE SUGGESTED THERE MUST BE A GREAT DEAL OF FLEXIBILITY IN THE LAW TO ENABLE IT TO ADJUST TO HONG KONG'S EVOLUTION AND TO FURTHER UNDERSTANDING OF THE INTER-RELATIONSHIP OF THE TWO DIFFERENT SYSTEMS.

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NOTING THE SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES EXISTING BETWEEN DENMARK AND GREENLAND, LIU SUGGESTED A SIMILAR COURT REVIEW SYSTEM COULD BE ESTABLISHED BUT WITH TWO OF THE THREE PROPOSED JUDGES COMING FROM HONG KONG. (QUEEN'S COUNSEL MARTIN LEE, WHO HIMSELF ARGUED AT THE SYMPOSIUM FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE JUDICIARY AND THE CREATION OF AN INDEPENDENT APPEALS COURT IN HONG KONG SUBSEQUENTLY QUESTIONED THE NECESSITY OF GOING THIS FAR AND DEFINING A COURT WHICH WOULD IN AFFECT HAVE SIMILAR POWERS TO HONG KONG'S EXISTING HIGH COURT.) THE WIDESPREAD JUNE 4 MEDIA COVERAGE GIVEN TO THE SYMPOSIUM INDICATES THE DEPTH OF INTEREST SUCH ISSUES HAVE FOR THE PEOPLE OF HONG KONG.

#### COMMENT

18. OUR PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS ON THE LEGAL ISSUE WITH VARIOUS OFFICIAL AND NON-OFFICIAL SOURCES SUGGEST THERE ARE MAJOR UNANSWERABLE ISSUES WHICH COULD AFFECT THE ULTIMATE STABILITY OF THE LEGAL SYSTEM. THERE CLEARLY HAS BEEN NO FUNDAMENTAL AGREEMENT OR NECESSARILY EVEN UNDERSTANDING BY THE PRC OF THE PROBLEM OF DEFINED AND RESIDUAL POWERS. LOCAL XINHUA OFFICIALS CONNECTED WITH THE TALKS PROFESS A COMPREHENSION OF THE ISSUE, BUT THEY ARE UNWILLING TO SUGGEST THE INTERPRETATION FAVORABLE TO HK IS POSSIBLE, IMPLYING PERHAPS THERE HAS ALREADY BEEN SOME DISAGREEMENT EXPRESSED IN BEIJING ON THIS SCORE. ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE HAS BEEN A REMARKABLE FLIXIBILITY WITH REGARD TO THE INSTRUMENTS OF THE LAW. THE CHINESE OFFICIALS HERE ACCEPT THE IDEA OF AN INDEPENDENT COURT SYSTEM, AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIAL REVIEW PROCESS INDIGENOUS TO HONG KONG, AND CONTINUING USE OF EXPATRIATE JUDGES AND THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE. THESE POSITIONS ALSO HAVE FOUND THEIR WAY INTO PRC NEGOTIATION COMMITMENTS TO THE BRITISH.

19. A LOCAL XINHUA OFFICIAL CLOSE TO THE TALKS TOLD

CONGENOFF THE IDEA OF THE POST-1997 HKG HIRING BRITISH JUDGES TO STAFF ITS HIGHEST COURTS WOULD BE LOGICAL AND ACCEPTABLE EVEN THOUGH IT WOULD IMPLY A CERTAIN RESIDUAL BRITISH "PRESENCE" HERE. ANOTHER IN THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE (CPPCC) WAS IMPRESSED BY MARTIN LEE'S PROPOSALS TO CREATE HONG KONG'S INDEBT

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S E C R E T SECTION Ø6 OF Ø6 HONG KONG 11175

EXDIS E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, CH, HK, UK
SUBJECT: HONG KONG 1997: THE LEGAL QUESTION AND THE FORM PENDENT REVIEW COURT NOW, GIVING THE COURT TIME TO ESTABLISH ITS CREDIBILITY AND BUILD CONTINUITY UP TO AND THROUGH 1997. (ALTHOUGH WE CANNOT BE SURE HE DID SO, THE DELEGATE PLANNED TO ADVANCE THIS PROPOSAL DURING THE RECENT CPPCC SESSION IN BEIJING.) THE HIGHLY RE-SPECTED CHINESE UNIVERSITY VICE CHANCELLOR MA LIN, A PRIVATE GATHERING, WHICH INCLUDED BOTH LOCAL HKG LEADERS AND NCNA OFFICIALS, EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE THE HK PEOPLE ATTACH TO THE RULE OF LAW. HE CONTRASTED THIS WITH THE RULE OF MAN WHICH HAS SO LONG PREVAILED IN CHINA. HIS AUDIENCE SECONDED THIS OBSERVATION WHICH PARTICULARLY IMPRESSED THE VICE DIRECTOR OF NCNA, LI CHUWEN. LI ACKNOWLEDGED THE VIEW WAS COGENT FOR CURRENT CHINESE CONSIDERATION.

BASED ON THESE OBSERVATIONS AND CONVERSATIONS, BELIEVE THE CHINESE ULTIMATELY WILL AGREE TO MAINTAINING THE "SYSTEM" MUCH AS IT IS NOW WITH THE EXISTING LAWS -- MINUS THEIR COLONIAL OVERTONES -- AND THEIR COMMON LAW PRECEDENT INTACT. THE CREATION OF A NEW LOCAL COURT OF HIGHEST APPEAL UNDER THIS ARRANGEMENT WOULD BECOME THE FOCAL POINT OF FUTURE COMMON LAW PRECEDENT FOR HK. HOW MUCH POST-1997 COMMON LAW PRECEDENT FROM OUTSIDE HK WILL BE INFUSED ONCE THE PRC BECOMES SOVEREIGN REMAINS A QUESTION AT THIS TIME, BUT WE SUSPECT THIS ELEMENT MIGHT BE RESTRICTED IF NOT ELIMINATED. SINCE WE DO NOT BELIEVE BEIJING WILL IMPOSE ITS OWN LAWS HERE, THERE WILL BE CONSIDERABLE ROOM FOR CASES AFFECTING BEIJING AND THE SAR TO DEVELOP CONFLICTING INTERPRETATIONS OF SINCE WE DO NOT SETTLEMENT OR APPLICABILITY OF LAWS. IT MAY BE NECES-SARY, THEREFORE, FOR CHINA AND THE SAR TO ESTABLISH SOME KIND OF COMMISSION OR COURT WHICH ADJUDICATES THESE ISRUES. CHINA'S PROGRESS IN DEVELOPING ITS OWN LEG CHINA'S PROGRESS IN DEVELOPING ITS OWN LEGAL CODES AND ITS EFFORTS TO WORK OUT COMMERCIAL DISPUTES BY CONSULTATIONS WITH LEGAL EXPERTS AND BUSINESSMEN HERE IS A GOOD SIGN BEIJING IS AWARE OF THE DIFFICULTIES AND THE NEED TO RESOLVE THEM. UNFORTUNATELY, HOWEVER, ISSUES ARE FAR LESS CRUCIAL THAN THE UNANSWERED QUESTION

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OF DEFINED AND RESIDUAL AUTHORITY. ULTIMATELY, THE HK
PEOPLE WILL HAVE TO LOOK TO THIS ELEMENT OF THE PROTECTION OF THE LAWS TO DETERMINE JUST HOW SAFE THEY WILL
BE FROM PRC INTERFERENCE IN HK'S CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL
STRUCTURE.
END COMMENT.
WILLIAMS
BT