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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** LAUX, DAVID: FILES

**Withdrawer**

CAS 6/9/2010

**File Folder** CHINA-FOREIGN RELATIONS-HONG KONG (10/21/82-10/26/82)

**FOIA**

M09-299/1

**Box Number** 13

COLLINGS

9

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
92303	CABLE	212321Z OCT 82 <b>D 12/20/2017 M299/1</b>	1	10/21/1982	B1 B3
92304	CABLE	212149Z <b>D 12/20/2017 M299/1</b>	1	ND	B1 B3
92305	CABLE	RE HONG KONG <b>D 12/20/2017 M299/1</b>	4	10/25/1982	B1 B3
92306	CABLE	RE HONG KONG <b>D 12/20/2017 M299/1</b>	4	10/26/1982	B1 B3
92307	CABLE	HONG KONG 17555 <b>R 6/21/2012 M299/1</b>	5	10/26/1982	B1
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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

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October 21, 1982

Dear Mr. Lau:

Enclosed please find  
copies of the Treaty of  
Nanking, Convention on  
Extension of Hong Kong,  
and the Convention of  
Peking.

Sincerely,

Daria Morak



ARTICLE I.

There shall henceforward be Peace and Friendship between Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the Emperor of China, and between their respective Subjects, who shall enjoy full security and protection for their persons and property within the Dominions of the other.

大清  
大皇帝  
大英  
君主永存平和所屬  
華人民彼此友  
睦各住他國者  
必受該國保祐  
身家全安

ARTICLE II.

His Majesty the Emperor of China agrees, that British Subjects, with their families and establishments, shall be allowed to reside, for the purpose of carrying on their Mercantile pursuits, without molestation or restraint at the Cities and Towns of Canton, Amoy, Foochow-su, Ningpo, and Shanghai, and Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, etc., will appoint Superintendents or Consular Officers, to reside at each of the above-named Cities or Towns, to be the medium of communication between the Chinese Authorities and the said Merchants, and to see that the just Duties and other Dues of the Chinese Government as hereafter provided for, are duly discharged by Her Britannic Majesty's Subjects.

大清  
大英  
且  
大清沿海之廣州福州廈門寧波上海等五處港口貿易通商無礙  
家眷寄居  
大皇帝恩准大英國人民帶同所屬  
君主派設領事督事等官住該五處  
城邑專理商賈事宜與各該地方官公文往來令英人按照下條開敘之例清楚交納貨稅鈔餉等費

ARTICLE III.

It being obviously necessary and desirable, that British Subjects should have some Port wherent they may careen and refit their Ships, when required, and keep Stores for that purpose, His Majesty the Emperor of China cedes to Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, etc., the Island of Hongkong, to be possessed in perpetuity by Her Britannic Majesty, Her Heirs and Successors, and to be governed by such Laws and Regulations as Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, etc., shall see fit to direct.

大英  
子  
大皇帝准將香港一島給予  
君主暨嗣後世襲主位者  
常遠據守主掌任便  
立法治理  
大英商船遠路涉洋往往有損壞須修補者自應給予沿海一處以便修船及存守所用物料今

ARTICLE IV.

The Emperor of China agrees to pay the sum of Six Millions of Dollars as the value of Opium which was delivered up at Canton in the month of March 1839, as a Ransom for the lives of Her Britannic Majesty's Superintendent and Subjects, who had been imprisoned and threatened with death by the Chinese High Officers.

大清 一因  
欽差大憲等於道光  
十九年二月間  
經將  
大英國領事官及  
民人等強留粵  
省嚇以死罪索  
出鴉片以為贖  
命今  
大皇帝准以洋銀六  
百萬員償補原  
價

ARTICLE V.

The Government of China having compelled the British Merchants trading at Canton to deal exclusively with certain Chinese Merchants called Hong Merchants (or Cohong) who had been licensed by the Chinese Government for that purpose, the Emperor of China agrees to abolish that practice in future at all Ports where British Merchants may reside, and to permit them to carry on their mercantile transactions with whatever persons they please, and His Imperial Majesty further agrees to pay to the British Government the sum of Three Millions of Dollars, on account of Debts due to British Subjects by some of the said Hong Merchants (or Cohong), who have become insolvent, and who owe very large sums of money to Subjects of Her Britannic Majesty.

一凡  
大英商民在粵貿易向例全歸額設  
行商亦稱公行者承辦今  
大皇帝准以嗣後不必仍照向例乃凡  
有英商等赴各該口貿易者勿論  
與何商交易均聽其便且向例額  
設行商等內有累欠英商甚多無  
措清還者今酌定洋銀三百萬員  
作為商欠之數准明由中國官為  
償還

ARTICLE VI.

The Government of Her Britannic Majesty having been obliged to send out an Expedition to demand and obtain redress for the violent and unjust Proceedings of the Chinese High Authorities towards Her Britannic Majesty's Officer and Subjects, the Emperor of China agrees to pay the sum of Twelve Millions of Dollars on account of the Expenses incurred, and Her Britannic Majesty's Plenipotentiary voluntarily agrees, on behalf of Her Majesty, to deduct from the said amount of Twelve Millions of Dollars, any sums which may have been received by Her Majesty's combined Forces as Ransom for Cities and Towns in China, subsequent to the 1st day of August 1841.

一因  
大清 欽命大臣等向  
大英官民人等不公強辦致須  
撥發軍士討求仲理今酌定  
水 陸軍費洋銀壹千貳百萬員  
大皇帝准為償補惟自道光二十  
一年六月十五日以後英國  
因贖各城收過銀兩之數  
大英全權公使大臣為  
君主准可按數扣除

ARTICLE VII.

It is agreed that the Total amount of Twenty-one Millions of Dollars, described in the three preceding Articles, shall be paid as follows:—

Six Millions immediately.

Six Millions in 1843. That is:—Three Millions on or before the 30th of the month of June, and Three Millions on or before the 31st of December.

Five Millions in 1844. That is:—Two Millions and a Half on or before the 30th of June, and Two Millions and a Half on or before the 31st of December.

Four Millions in 1845. That is:—Two Millions on or before the 30th of June, and Two Millions on or before the 31st of December; and it is further stipulated, that Interest at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum, shall be paid by the Government of China on any portions of the above sums that are not punctually discharged at the periods fixed.

一以上三條酌定銀數共貳千壹百萬員應如何分期交清開列於左  
此時交銀六百萬員  
癸卯年六月間交銀三百萬元十二月間交銀三百萬員共銀六百萬員  
甲辰年六月間交銀二百五十萬員十二月間交銀二百五十萬員共銀五百萬員  
乙巳年六月間交銀二百萬員十二月間交銀二百萬員共銀四百萬員  
自壬寅年起至乙巳年止四年共交銀二千一百萬員倘有按期未能交足之數則酌定每年每百員加息五員

ARTICLE VIII.

The Emperor of China agrees to release unconditionally all Subjects of Her Britannic Majesty (whether Natives of Europe or India) who may be in confinement at this moment, in any part of the Chinese Empire.

一凡係大英國人無論本國屬國軍民等今在中國所管轄各地方被禁者大清大皇帝准即釋放

ARTICLE IX.

The Emperor of China agrees to publish and promulgate, under His Imperial Sign Manual and Seal, a full and entire amnesty and act of indemnity, to all Subjects of China on account of their having resided under, or having had dealings and intercourse with, or having entered the Service of Her Britannic Majesty, or of Her Majesty's Officers, and His Imperial Majesty further engages to release all Chinese Subjects who may be at this moment in confinement for similar reasons.

一凡係中國人前在英人所據之邑居住者或與英人有來往者或有跟隨及俟候英國官人者均由大皇帝俯降御旨謄錄天下恩准全然免罪且凡係中國人為英國事被拿監禁受難者亦加恩釋放



ARTICLE X.

His Majesty the Emperor of China agrees to establish at all the Ports which are by the 2nd Article of this Treaty to be thrown open for the resort of British Merchants, a fair and regular Tariff of Export and Import Customs and other Dues, which Tariff shall be publicly notified and promulgated for general information, and the Emperor further engages, that when British Merchandise shall have once paid at any of the said Ports the regulated Customs and Dues agreeable to the Tariff, to be hereafter fixed, such Merchandise may be conveyed by Chinese Merchants, to any Province or City in the interior of the Empire of China on paying a further amount as Transit Duties which shall not exceed per cent. on the tariff value of such goods.

一前第二條內言明開關俾英國商民居住通商之廣州等五處應納進口出口貨稅餉費均宜秉公議定期例由部頒發曉示以便英商按例交納今又議定英國貨物自在某港按例納稅後即准由中國商人運運天下而路所經過稅關不得加重稅例只可按估價則例若干每兩加稅不過分

ARTICLE XI.

It is agreed that Her Britannic Majesty's Chief High Officer in China shall correspond with the Chinese High Officers, both at the Capital and in the Provinces, under the term "Communication" 照會. The Subordinate British Officers and Chinese High Officers in the Provinces under the terms "Statement" 申陳 on the part of the former, and on the part of the latter "Declaration" 聲明, and the Subordinates of both Countries on a footing of perfect equality. Merchants and others not holding official situations and, therefore, not included in the above, on both sides, to use the term "Representation" 稟明 in all Papers addressed to, or intended for the notice of the respective Governments.

一議定英國住中國之總督大臣與大清大臣無論京內京外者有文書來往用照會字樣英國屬員用申陳字樣大臣批覆用御行字樣兩國屬員往來必當平行照會若兩國商賈上達官憲不在議內仍用稟明字樣為著

ARTICLE XII.

On the assent of the Emperor of China to this Treaty being received and the discharge of the first instalment of money, Her Britannic Majesty's Forces will retire from Nanking and the Grand Canal, and will no longer molest or stop the Trade of China. The Military Post at Chinhai will also be withdrawn, but the Islands of Koolangseo and that of Chusan will continue to be held by Her Majesty's Forces until the money payments, and the arrangements for opening the Ports to British Merchants be completed.

大清一俟奉大皇帝允准和約各條施行並以此時准交之六百萬員大英陸軍士當即退出江甯京口等處江面不再行攔阻中國各省商賈易至鎮海之招寶山將退讓惟石定海縣之舟山海島廈門聽之古浪嶼小島仍歸英兵暫為駐守及所議英銀全數交清而前議各海口均已開通英軍士退出後不復佔據

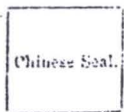
ARTICLE XIII.

The Ratification of this Treaty by Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, etc., and His Majesty the Emperor of China shall be exchanged as soon as the great distance which separates England from China will admit; but in the meantime counterpart copies of it, signed and sealed by the Plenipotentiaries on behalf of their respective Sovereigns, shall be mutually delivered, and all its provisions and arrangements shall take effect.

Done at Nanking and Signed and Sealed by the Plenipotentiaries on board Her Britannic Majesty's ship *Cornwallis*, this twenty-ninth day of August, 1842, corresponding with the Chinese date, twenty-fourth day of the seventh month in the twenty-second Year of TAOU KWAN.

(L.S.) HENRY POTTINGER,  
*Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary.*

Chinese Signatures (3).\*



大英君主汗曉船上海防  
二國記光無礙日蓋奉全權公使大臣等  
道辦無礙日蓋奉全權公使大臣等  
俾即事欽欽差使宜行事大臣等  
定英欽欽差使宜行事大臣等  
上大清先遙國分各用  
君上大清先遙國分各用  
大英君主汗曉船上海防  
二國記光無礙日蓋奉全權公使大臣等  
道辦無礙日蓋奉全權公使大臣等  
俾即事欽欽差使宜行事大臣等  
定英欽欽差使宜行事大臣等  
上大清先遙國分各用  
君上大清先遙國分各用

(L.S.)  
Chinese Seal. (Signed) HENRY POTTINGER,  
*Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary.*  
Chinese Signatures (3).\*

We, having seen and considered the Treaty aforesaid, have approved, accepted, and confirmed the same in all and every one of its Articles and Clauses, as We do by these Presents approve, accept, confirm, and ratify it for Ourselves, Our Heirs, and Successors:— Engaging and Promising upon Our Royal Word, that We will sincerely and faithfully perform and observe all and singular the things which are contained and expressed in the Treaty aforesaid, and that We will never suffer the same to be violated by any one, or transgressed in any manner, as far as it lies in Our Power.

For the greater Testimony and Validity of all which, We have caused the Great Seal of Our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to be affixed to these Presents, which We have signed with Our Royal Hand.

Given at Our Court at Windsor Castle, the Twenty-eighth day of December, in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-two, and in the Sixth Year of Our Reign.

(Signed) VICTORIA R.

\* The preamble mentions two Chinese negotiators only, KEYING and ELKHO. The third signature was that of NICHENS, Liang Kiang Viceroy.

## CONVENTION FOR THE EXTENSION OF HONGKONG, 1898.

(Signed at Peking, 9th June 1898.)

WHEREAS it has for many years past been recognised that an extension of Hongkong territory is necessary for the proper defence and protection of the Colony:

It has now been agreed between the Governments of Great Britain and China that the limits of British territory shall be enlarged under lease to the extent indicated generally on the annexed map. The exact boundaries shall be hereafter fixed when proper surveys have been made by officials appointed by the two Governments. The term of this lease shall be ninety-nine years. It is at the same time agreed that within the city of Kowloon the Chinese officials now stationed there shall continue to exercise jurisdiction except so far as may be inconsistent with the military requirements for the defence of Hongkong. Within the remainder of the newly-leased territory Great Britain shall have sole jurisdiction. Chinese officials and people shall be allowed as heretofore to use the road from Kowloon to Hsinan.

It is further agreed that the existing landing place near Kowloon city shall be reserved for the convenience of Chinese men-of-war, merchant and passenger vessels, which may come and go and lie there at their pleasure; and for the convenience of movement of the officials and people within the city.

When hereafter China constructs a railway to the boundary of the Kowloon territory under British control, arrangements shall be discussed.

It is further understood that there will be no expropriation or expulsion of the inhabitants of the district included within the extension, and that if land is required for public offices, fortifications, or the like official purposes, it shall be bought at a fair price.

If cases of extradition of criminals occur, they shall be dealt with in accordance with the existing Treaties between Great Britain and China and the Hongkong Regulations.

展拓香港界址專條

溯查多年以來素悉香港一處非展拓界址不足以資保衛今中英兩國政府議定大畧按照粘附地圖展擴英界作為新租之地其所定詳細界線應俟兩國派員勘明後再行畫定以九十九年為限期又議定所有現在九龍城內駐紮之中國官員仍可在城內各司其事惟不得與保衛香港之武備有所妨碍其餘新租之地專歸英國管轄至九龍向通新安陸路中國官民照常行走又議定仍留附近九龍城原舊馬頭一區以便中國兵商各船渡艇任便往來停泊且使城內官民任便行走將來中國建造鐵路至九龍英國管轄之界臨時商辦又議定在所展界內不可將居民迫令遷移產業入官若因修建衙署築造礮台等官工需用地段皆應從公給價自開辦後遇有兩國交犯之事仍照中英

Changed under the  
to 安

The area leased to Great Britain as shown on the annexed map includes the waters of Mirs Bay and Deep Bay, but it is agreed that Chinese vessels of war, whether neutral or otherwise, shall retain the right to use those waters.

This Convention shall come into force on the first day of July, eighteen hundred and ninety-eight, being the thirteenth day of the fifth moon of the twenty-fourth year of KUANG HSI. It shall be ratified by the Sovereigns of the two countries, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in London as soon as possible.

In witness whereof the undersigned, duly authorized thereto by their respective Governments, have signed the present Agreement.

Done at Peking in quadruplicate (four copies in English and four in Chinese) the ninth day of June in the year of Our Lord eighteen hundred and ninety-eight, being the twenty-first day of the fourth moon of the twenty-fourth year of KUANG HSI.

(Signed)

CLAUDE M. MACDONALD.

LI HUNG-CHANG.

HSÜ TING-K'UEI.

L.S.

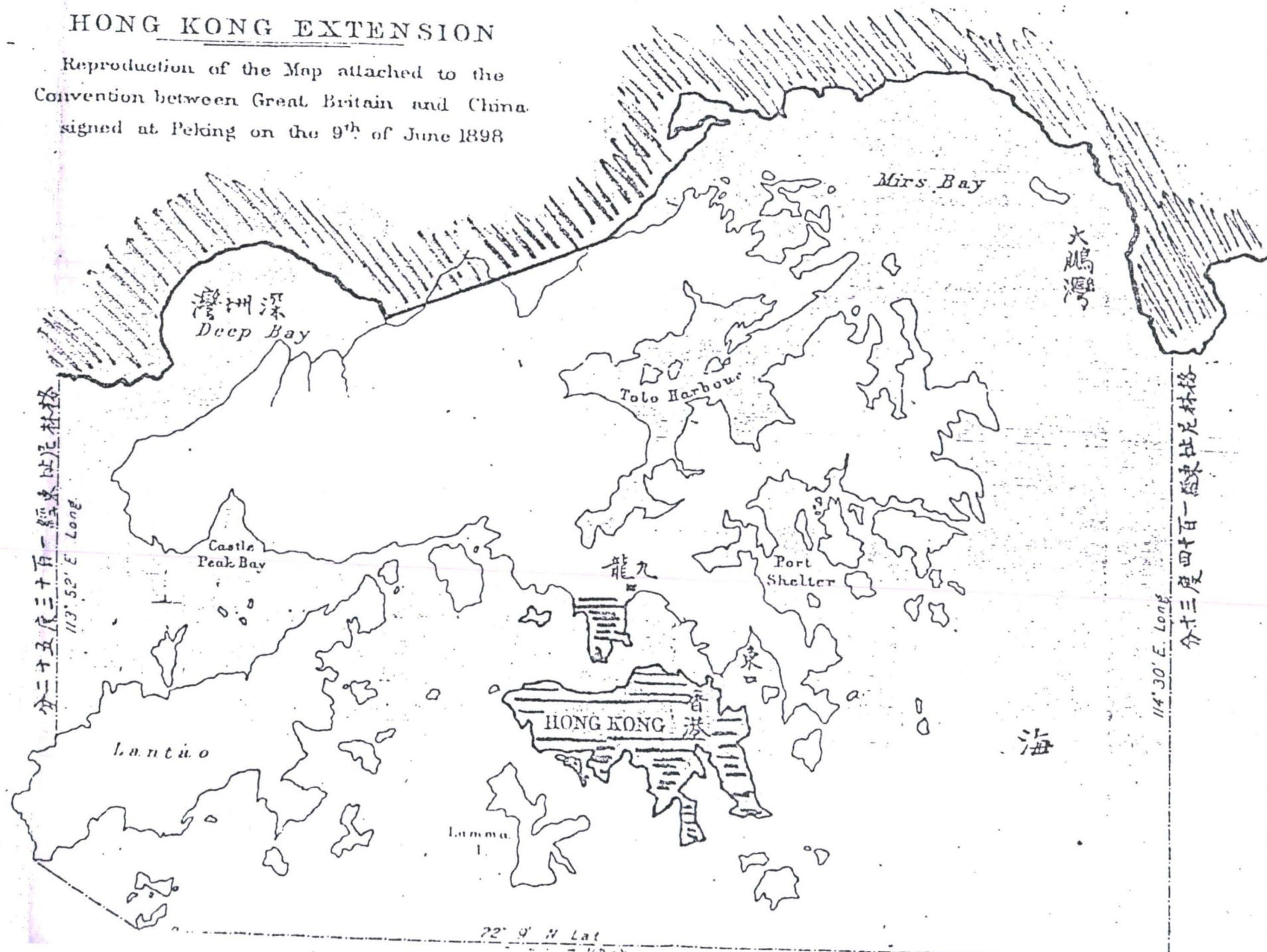
L.S.

原約香港章程辦理查按照粘附地圖所租與英國之地  
 內有大鵬灣深圳灣水面惟議定該兩灣中國兵船無論  
 在局內局外仍可享用此約應於畫押後自中國五月十  
 三日即西歷七月初一號開辦施行其  
 批准文據應在英國京城速行互換為此兩國大臣將此專條  
 畫押蓋印以昭信守此專條在中國京城繕立漢文  
 四分英文四分共八分  
 光緒二十四年四月二十一日  
 西歷一千八百九十八年六月初九日

大清國 太子太傅文華殿大學士一等肅毅伯李  
 經筵講官禮部尚書許  
 大英國欽差駐劄中華便宜行事大臣寶

# HONG KONG EXTENSION

Reproduction of the Map attached to the Convention between Great Britain and China signed at Peking on the 9<sup>th</sup> of June 1898



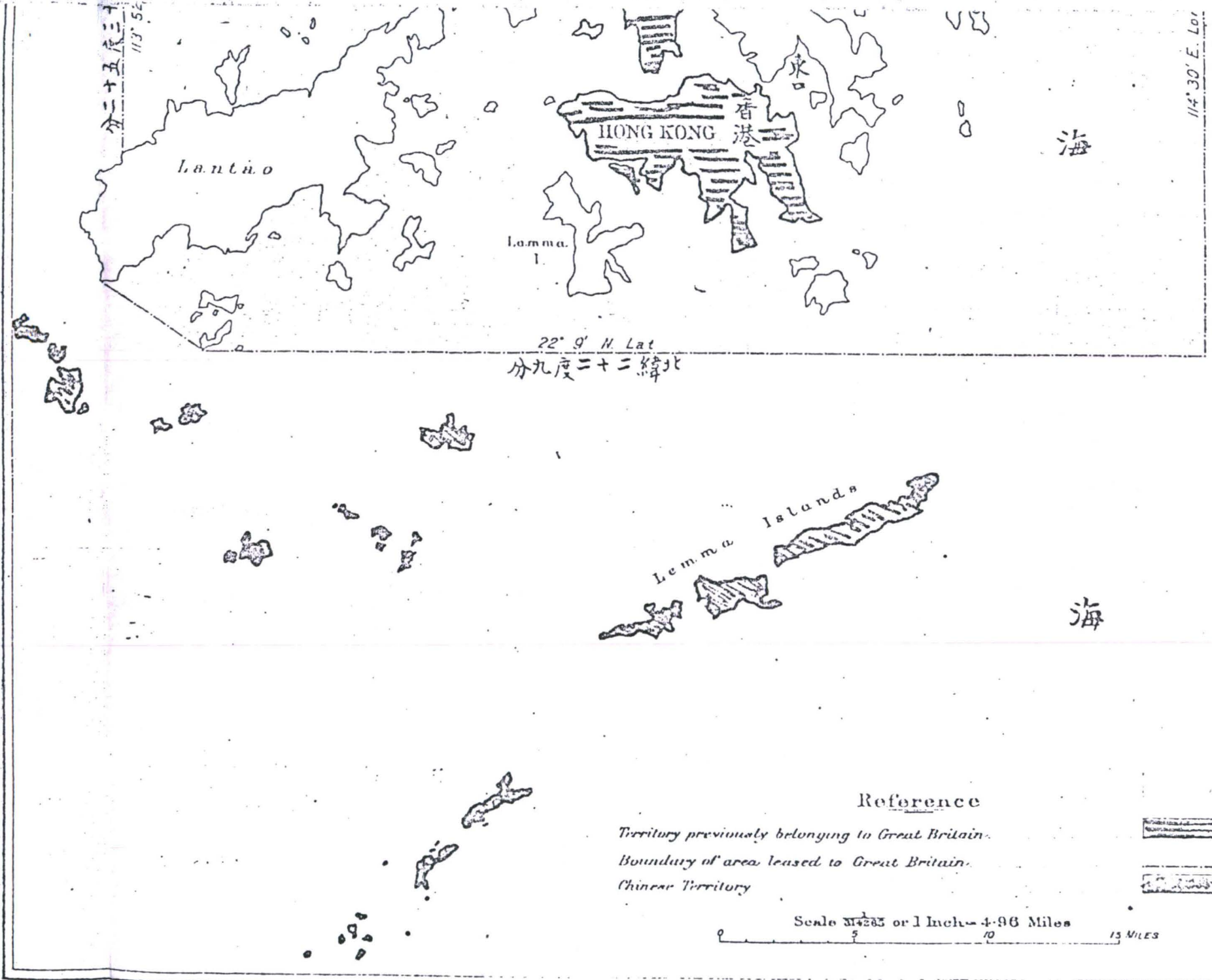
分二十五度三十一經東法尼林格

113° 52' E Long

分十三度四十一經東法尼林格

114° 30' E Long

22° 0' N Lat



I.D.W.O., N<sup>o</sup> 1376

Litho<sup>d</sup> at the Intell. Div. War Office Nov. 1893

2

CONVENTION OF PEKING (1860).

PREAMBLE OF CONVENTION.

Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China, being alike desirous to bring to an end the misunderstanding at present existing between their respective Governments, and to secure their relations against further interruption, have for this purpose appointed Plenipotentiaries; that is to say, Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, the Earl of ELGIN AND KINCARDINE, and His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China, His Imperial Highness the Prince of KYAO, who having met, and communicated to each other their full powers, and finding these to be in proper form, have agreed upon the following Convention in Nine Articles:--

ARTICLE 1.

A breach of friendly relations having been occasioned by the act of the garrison of Taku, which obstructed Her Britannic Majesty's Representative when on his way to Peking for the purpose of exchanging the Ratifications of the Treaty of Peace concluded at Tientsin in the month of June, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight, His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China expresses his deep regret at the misunderstanding so occasioned.

續增條約  
茲以兩國有所不愜

大清大皇帝與

大英大君主合意修好保其嗣後不至失和為此

大清大皇帝特派和碩恭親王奕訢

大英大君主特派

內廷總理事務司副領事官  
會同英法德俄美各國領事官  
羅金並金略爾田二郡伯爵

公同會議各將本國恭奉

欽差全權大臣便宜行事之

上諭 敕書 等件互相較閱均臻妥善現將商定續增條

約開列於左

第一款

一前於戊午年五月

在天津所定原約本

為兩國敦睦之設後

於己未年五月

大英欽差大臣達京換約

行抵大沽砲臺該處

守弁阻塞前路以致

有礙

大清大皇帝視此失好甚

為惋惜

ARTICLE II.

It is further expressly declared, that the arrangement entered into at Shanghai, in the month of October, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight, between Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador the Earl of ELOIX AND KINCARDINE, and His Imperial Majesty's Commissioners KWELLIANG and Hwasuana, regarding the residence of Her Britannic Majesty's Representative in China is hereby cancelled, and that, in accordance with Article III of the Treaty of one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight, Her Britannic Majesty's Representative will henceforward reside permanently, or occasionally, at Peking, as Her Britannic Majesty shall be pleased to decide.

大英欽差大臣額爾金將  
大清欽差大臣花沙納爾  
大英欽差駐華大臣嗣在何處居住一節在滬會商所定之議  
茲特申明作為定論將來  
大英欽差大員應否在京長住抑或隨時往來仍照原約第三款明文總候本國諭旨遵行

第二款

一再前於戊午年九月

ARTICLE III.

It is agreed that the Separate Article of the Treaty of one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight is hereby annulled, and that in lieu of the amount of Indemnity therein specified, His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China shall pay the sum of Eight Millions of Taels, in the following proportions, or instalments, namely:—At Tientsin on or before the thirtieth day of November the sum of five hundred thousand Taels; at Canton, and on or before the first day of December one thousand eight hundred and sixty, three hundred and thirty-three thousand, three hundred and thirty-three Taels, less the sum which shall have been advanced by the Canton authorities towards the completion of the British Factory Site at Shanten; and the remainder at the ports open to Foreign trade, in quarterly payments, which shall consist of one-fifth of the gross revenue from Customs there collected. The first of the said payments being due on the thirty-first day of December, one thousand eight hundred and sixty, for the quarter terminating on that day.

大清大皇帝允以八百萬兩相易其應如何分繳即於十月十九日在於津郡先將銀伍拾萬兩繳楚以本年十月二十日即英國十二月初二日以前應在於粵省分繳三十三萬三千三百三十三兩內將粵省以前粵省大吏經支填築沙面地方英商行棧之費若干扣除入算其餘銀兩應於通商各關所納總數內分結扣繳二成以英月三個月為一結即行算清自本年英十月初一日即庚申年八月十七日至英十二月三十一日即庚申年十一月二十日為第一結如此陸續扣

第三款

一戊午年原約後附專條作為廢紙所賠賠償各項



It is further agreed that these moneys shall be paid into the hands of an officer whom Her Britannic Majesty's Representative shall specially appoint to receive them, and that the accuracy of the amounts shall, before payment, be duly ascertained by British and Chinese officers appointed to discharge this duty.

In order to prevent future discussion, it is moreover declared, that of the Eight Millions of Taels herein guaranteed, Two Millions will be appropriated to the indemnification of the British Mercantile community at Canton for losses sustained by them, and the remaining Six Millions to the liquidation of war expenses.

ARTICLE IV.

It is agreed that on the day on which this Convention is signed, His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China shall open the port of Tientsin to trade, and that it shall be thereafter competent to British subjects to reside, and trade, there under the same conditions as at any other port of China by Treaty open to trade.

ARTICLE V.

As soon as the Ratifications of the Treaty of one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight shall have been exchanged, His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China, will, by decree, command the high authorities of every province to proclaim throughout their jurisdictions, that Chinese, desiring to take service in the British Colonies or other parts beyond sea, are at perfect liberty to enter into engagements with British Subjects for that purpose, and to ship themselves and their families on board any British vessel at any of the open ports of China. Also that the high authorities aforesaid, shall, in concert with Her Britannic Majesty's Representative in China, frame such regulations for the protection of Chinese emigrating as above, as the circumstances of the different open ports may demand.

繳八百萬總數完結均當隨

結清交

大英欽差大臣專派委員監收外

兩國彼此各應先期添派數

員稽查數目清單等件以昭

慎重再令所定取價八百萬

兩內二百萬兩仍為住粵英

商補虧之款其六百萬兩少

裨軍需之費咸此明文庶免

禁糾

第四款

一續增條約畫

押之日

大清大皇帝允以天

津郡城海口作

為通商之埠凡

有英民人等至

此居住貿易均

照經准各條所

開各口章程比

例畫一無別

第五款

一戊午年定約互換以後

大清大皇帝允於即日降諭各省督撫

大吏以凡有華民情甘出口或在

英國所屬各處或在海外別地承

工俱准與英民立約為憑無論單

身或願携帶家屬一并赴通商各

口下其情無多禁阻該省大

吏亦宜時與

大英欽差大臣查照各口地方情形會

定章程為保全前項華工之意

ARTICLE VI.

With a view to the maintenance of law and order in and about the harbour of Hongkong, His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China agrees to cede to Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and to Her Heirs and Successors, to have and to hold as a dependency of Her Britannic Majesty's Colony of Hongkong, that portion of the township of Cowloon, in the province of Kwangtung, of which a lease was granted in perpetuity to HARRY SMITH PARKES, Esquire, Companion of the Bath, a Member of the Allied Commission at Canton, on behalf of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, by LAU TSUNG KWANG, Governor General of the Two Kwang.

It is further declared that the lease in question is hereby cancelled, that the claims of any Chinese to property on the said portion of Cowloon shall be duly investigated by a mixed Commission of British and Chinese Officers and that compensation shall be awarded by the British Government to any Chinese whose claim shall be by the said Commission established, should his removal be deemed necessary by the British Government.

ARTICLE VII.

It is agreed that the provisions of the Treaty of one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight, except in so far as these are modified by the present Convention, shall, without delay, come into operation as soon as the Ratifications of the Treaty aforesaid shall have been exchanged. It is further agreed that no separate Ratification of the present Convention shall be necessary, but that it shall take effect from the date of its Signature, and be equally binding with the Treaty above mentioned on the High Contracting Powers.

ARTICLE VIII.

It is agreed that, as soon as the Ratifications of the Treaty of the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight shall have been exchanged, His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China shall, by decree, command the high authorities in the Capital and in the provinces to print and publish the aforesaid Treaty and the present Convention for general information.

第六款

一前據本年二月二十八日

大清兩廣總督勞崇光將粵東九龍司地方一區交與

大英駐紮粵省暫充英法總局正使功賜三等寶星巴夏

禮代國立批承租在案茲

大清大皇帝定即將該地界付與

大英大君主前歷後嗣并歸英屬香港界內以期該港

埠商管轄所及庶保無事其批作為廢紙外其有

該地華民自稱業戶應由彼此兩國各派委員會

勘查明果為該戶本業嗣後倘遇勢必令遷別地

大英國無不公當賠補

第七款

一戊午年所定原約

除現定續約或有更

張外其餘各節俟互

換之後無不越日盡

行毫無出入今定續

約均應自書押之日

為始即行照辦兩國

毋須另行

御筆批准惟當視與原約

無異一體遵守

第八款

一戊午年原約

在京互換之日

大清大皇帝允於即

日降諭京外各

省督撫大吏將

此原約及續約

各條發鈔給閱

并令刊刻懸布

通衢咸使知悉

ARTICLE IX.

It is agreed that as soon as this Convention shall have been signed, the Ratifications of the Treaty of the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight shall have been exchanged, and an Imperial Decree respecting the publication of the said Convention and Treaty shall have been promulgated, as provided for by Article VIII of this Convention, Chusan shall be evacuated by Her Britannic Majesty's troops there stationed, and Her Britannic Majesty's force now before Peking, shall commence its march towards the city of Tientsin, the forts of Taku, the north coast of Shantung, and the city of Canton, at each and all of which places it shall be at the option of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland to retain a force until the indemnity of Eight Millions of Taels guaranteed in Article III shall have been paid.

Done at Peking in the Court of the Board of Ceremonies on the twenty-fourth day of October in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty.

(L.S.) (Signed) ELGIN AND KINCARDINE.

Chinese Signature.



第九款  
 一續增條約一經蓋印畫押戊午年和約亦已互換須俟續約第八款內載  
 大清大皇帝允降諭旨奉到業皆宣布所有英國舟山屯兵立當出境京外大軍即應啟程前赴津城並大沽砲臺登州北海廣東省城等處俟續約第三款所載賠項八百萬兩總數交完方能回國抑或早退總候  
 大英大君主諭旨施行  
 以上各條又續增條約現下  
 大清各大臣同在京都禮部衙門蓋印畫押以昭信守  
 大清咸豐十年九月十一日  
 大英一千八百六十年十月二十四日

(L.S.) (Signed) ELGIN AND KINCARDINE.

Chinese Signature.



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SUBJECT: LONDON AND BEIJING: CROSSED SWORDS/CROSS WORDS  
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EXDIS

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)  
-

2. SUMMARY  
SINCE MRS. THATCHER'S VISIT TO BEIJING AND HONG KONG WE HAVE BEEN PIECING TOGETHER THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS AND PUBLIC STATEMENTS TO DETERMINE WHAT PRODUCED THE STRAINED ATMOSPHERE. OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH BRITISH, PRC, AND INDEPENDENT SOURCES INDICATE: PM THATCHER TOOK A VERY PERSONAL AND INDEPENDENT POSITION ON SOVEREIGNTY, CONTRARY TO THE ONE RECOMMENDED BY HER ADVISORS; HER COMMENTS WERE TRIGGERED BY HER ANNOYANCE WITH THE WAY THE CHINESE AUTHORITIES PUBLICLY ADDRESSED THE ISSUE; THOUGH THE CHINESE IN TURN CLAIM THEIR STATEMENTS WERE RESPONSES TO THATCHER, THEIR TONE AND TIMING CLEARLY WERE CONFRONTATIONAL; AND THE COMBINATION LEFT HONG KONG A BOBBING FRAGILE CORK IN A WHIRLPOOL OF CONTENTION WITH LOCAL UNCERTAINTIES CONTINUING TO ENHANCE ECONOMIC INSTABILITY. THE POST-VISIT LULL IN RECRIMINATIONS MAY BE THE BEST GUARANTEE OF A SHORT-TERM RELAXATION OF TENSIONS.  
END SUMMARY  
-

EXDIS

3. IN THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS PRECEDING PM THATCHER'S VISIT TO BEIJING, BOTH CHINESE AND BRITISH AUTHORITIES HAVE BEEN ENGAGED IN DETAILED REVIEW OF HONG KONG'S STATUS AND MEANS TO HANDLE THE 1997 REVERSION OF THE NEW TERRITORIES TO CHINA. WHILE BOTH SIDES HAVE APPARENTLY ALWAYS AGREED ON THE NEED TO PRESERVE THE STABILITY/PROSPERITY OF HONG KONG, AND THEREBY THE WELFARE/WELL-BEING OF ITS INHABITANTS, BOTH TOOK OPPOSITE VIEWS OF THE FUTURE. LONDON LOOKED TO SOME TOKEN FORMULAS INVOLVING MODIFICATION OF THE STATUS QUO WHILE CHINA WAS LOOKING AT FORMULAS WHEREBY SOVEREIGNTY OVER ALL OF HONG KONG WOULD REVERT TO CHINA AND WAS

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POSSIBLY TOYING WITH THE IDEA OF ASSUMING ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL AS WELL.

EXDIS

4. AS INTERNAL DISCUSSIONS LEAKED LAST SPRING AND THE PRESS SPECULATED ON POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS, IT BECAME CLEAR THE QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY WAS A FLASH-POINT WHICH HAD TO BE CAREFULLY MODULATED BY THE BRITISH TO AVOID STRIKING CHINESE TINDER. THUS, LONDON'S FOREIGN OFFICE SET OUT A MAJOR APRIL 2 BRIEFING PROGRAM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER TO SET THE STAGE FOR HER SUMMER VISIT. UNFORTUNATELY, THE FALKLAND ISLAND CRISIS COMMENCED ON APRIL 1, AND THE MEETING WAS SHELVED UNTIL JUST BEFORE THE VISIT, LEAVING MRS. THATCHER LARGELY UNPREPARED FOR CHINESE SENSITIVITY ON THE ISSUE. SUMMERTIME LONDON REVIEWS WHICH INCLUDED SIR EDWARD YOUDE, HONG KONG'S CURRENT GOVERNOR, AND HIS PREDECESSOR LORD MACLEHOSE, AS WELL AS FORMER HONG KONG POLAD, ALAN DONALD, SEEMED LARGELY TO HAVE BEEN IN-HOUSE, EXPERTS' AFFAIRS UNTIL THE VERY END WHEN MRS. THATCHER WAS GIVEN HER FIRST REAL TASTE OF THE SITUATION. BY THAT TIME, SHE WAS EMOTIONALLY CAUGHT UP IN A TOUGH STANCE ON SOVEREIGNTY -- WITH ARGENTINA ON THE FALKLANDS-- WHICH HAD REDOUNDED TO HER CREDIT IN THE U. K. MOREOVER, SHE DID NOT SEE THE NEED TO MOVE DRAMATICALLY ON THE ISSUE SINCE THE VISIT WAS ONLY GEARED TO GETTING THE CHINESE TO AGREE TO FUTURE CONSULTATIONS ON HONG KONG'S STATUS.

EXDIS

5. AFTER HER ARRIVAL IN BEIJING (SEPT 22), PM THATCHER HAD A QUICK MEETING WITH PREMIER ZHAO ZIYANG -- NO DISCUSSION OF HONG KONG -- AND A BANQUET AT WHICH BOTH MADE PERFUNCTORY STATEMENTS ABOUT THE NEED TO TALK ABOUT HISTORICAL ISSUES. (APPLICABLE TEXTS OF THIS AND OTHER STATEMENTS ARE BEING CABLED SEPARATELY.) HONG KONG WAS TO BE THE TOPIC FOR THE FOLLOWING MORNING'S TALKS BETWEEN THE TWO LEADERS, BUT PREMIER ZHAO'S DELIBERATE OPENING REMARKS TO A GROUP OF REPORTERS BEFORE THE MEETING SET THE STAGE FOR THE INCREASINGLY TESTY PUBLIC AND PRIVATE BANTER. UNBEKNOWNST TO PM THATCHER, AS SHE MET WITH ZHAO THE PRESS WAS REPORTING HIS PRE-MEETING STATEMENT THAT CHINA WOULD "OF COURSE RECOVER SOVEREIGNTY." THUS, WHILE HER DIALOGUE WITH ZHAO APPARENTLY WENT WELL, WITH FAIRLY FORTHRIGHT STATEMENTS OF EACH SIDE'S

EXDIS

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POSITION AND WITHOUT CONTENTIOUSNESS, SHE WAS UPSET ON LEAVING THE SESSION TO HEAR ABOUT ZHAO'S REMARKS. FROM ALL ACCOUNTS WE HAVE HEARD HERE, SHE APPARENTLY CONSIDERED HIS ACTIONS AS A DELIBERATE CHINESE UPSTAGING OF HER TALKS. MRS. THATCHER PRESUMABLY SEETHED OVER THE CHINESE REMARKS BECAUSE SOURCES LIKE MRS. THATCHER'S SON -- FROM COMMENTS TO A TRUSTED FRIEND -- AND DENG XIAOPING -- IN COMMENTS TO HENRY KISSINGER -- ALL ASSERT THAT MRS. THATCHER'S SEPT 24 MEETING WITH DENG XIAOPING WAS STRIDENT AND UNPLEASANT. NOT ONE TO TAKE IT QUIETLY, BRITISH SOURCES SUGGEST THAT DENG WAS EQUALLY FORCEFUL IN HIS PRESENTATION AND, FROM SUBSEQUENT PUBLIC STATEMENTS, WE CAN ONLY DEDUCE THAT BOTH CAME OUT ARGUMENTATIVELY ON THE QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY.

6. NONETHELESS, DURING THE SEPT 24 MEETING, DENG PERSTASALLY AGREED TO THE PHRASING OF THE SO-CALLED "JOINT STATEMENT" -- BRITAIN'S PURPORTED GOAL FOR THE VISIT. BUT JUST BEFORE MRS. THATCHER WAS TO PRESENT THIS TEXT TO THE ASSEMBLED PRESS, XINHUA RELEASED IT WITHOUT ANY SPECIAL "JOINT STATEMENT" BILLING AND THEN SUBSEQUENTLY INCORPORATED THE STATEMENT INTO A STORY WHICH INCLUDED CHINA'S BASIC POSITION ON RECOVERY OF SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE WHOLE OF HONG KONG. MRS. THATCHER'S PRESS CONFERENCE PROCEEDED WITHOUT KNOWLEDGE OF XINHUA'S ACTIONS AND THUS HER STATEMENTS TO THE PRESS WERE CAUTIOUS. SHE TALKED ABOUT THE EXISTENCE OF TREATIES BUT ONLY NOTED BRITISH INTENT TO STICK BY THEM "UNLESS WE DECIDE ON SOMETHING ELSE," A CLEAR INDICATION OF FLEXIBILITY ON THE SOVEREIGNTY QUESTION. AFTER THE SESSION THE PM LEARNED OF XINHUA'S ACTIONS AND REACTED ANGRILY. SHE DECIDED TO GRANT AN INTERVIEW TO THE BBC, AN EVENT WHICH APPARENTLY HAD NOT EARLIER BEEN SCHEDULED. TO THE BBC, MRS. THATCHER HARPED ON THE SANCTITY OF THE TREATIES WHICH ESTABLISHED BRITISH RULE, DECLARING THAT CHINA COULD NOT ABROGATE THEM UNILATERALLY WITHOUT DESTROYING CONFIDENCE THAT OTHER FUTURE AGREEMENTS COULD BE MAINTAINED. MRS. THATCHER

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REITERATED HER CONTENTION THAT THE TREATIES CAN BE "VARIED BY AGREEMENT" "UT THIS WAS LARGELY SUBMERGED IN THE RHETORIC ABOUT THE INVIOABILITY OF THE TREATIES. (STRIKINGLY, HOWEVER, THERE WAS NO MENTION OF HONG KONG TALKS IN THE SEPT 24 CONCLUDING BANQUET TALKS, SUGGESTING THAT BOTH SIDES DECIDED TO LEAVE WELL ENOUGH ALONE AND TO KEEP APPEARANCES HARMONIOUS.)

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7. NOW IT WAS CHINA'S TURN TO BE PIQUED AT THE THATCHER PERFORMANCE. XINHUA SOURCES HAVE TOLD US THAT THE CHINESE WERE PARTICULARLY DISTURBED THAT MRS. THATCHER WOULD MAKE COMMENTS ABOUT THE TREATIES WHILE STILL ON CHINESE SOIL. HOWEVER, THERE WAS NO IMMEDIATE RESPONSE UNTIL MRS. THATCHER AGAIN DROPPED THE GLOVE OF CHALLENGE DURING HER PRESS CONFERENCE IN HONG KONG. HER SEPT 27 PRESS CONFERENCE STRESSED THE INTERNATIONAL LAW VALIDITY OF THE TREATIES AND MENTIONED BRITAIN'S "SOVEREIGNTY IN PERPETUITY." XINHUA TEMPORIZED AND INITIALLY THE CHINESE MEDIA PLAYED ONLY REPORTS OF HONG KONG STUDENT PROTESTS AGAINST MRS. THATCHER'S STATEMENTS. BUT WESTERN REPORTERS IN BEIJING PRESSED FOR OFFICIAL COMMENT AND THUS ON SEPT 30, THE CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTRY SPOKESMAN REITERATED THAT THE TREATIES WERE UNEQUAL AND THUS INVALID AS CHINA HAD ALWAYS STATED. XINHUA THEN ADDED ITS OWN COMMENT. REJECTING MRS. THATCHER'S "MORAL OBLIGATION" TO SPEAK FOR THE PEOPLE OF HONG KONG, XINHUA STATED THAT ONLY CHINA HAD THE RESPONSIBILITY AND THE OBLIGATION TO LOOK AFTER THE CHINESE PEOPLE OF HONG KONG. SOURCES CLOSE TO THE CHINESE ASSERT THAT THESE CHINESE DECLARATIONS WERE THE DIRECT RESULT OF MRS. THATCHER'S STATEMENTS RATHER THAN A GRATUITOUS ATTACK, THOUGH ONE COULD REASONABLY QUESTION THE NECESSITY FOR THE XINHUA STATEMENT AFTER THE FOREIGN MINISTRY SPOKESMAN'S REMARKS.

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8. EFFORTS TO RETRIEVE THE TALKS FROM THESE LEVELS OF CONTENTION WERE CLEARLY NECESSARY IF ONLY FROM THE HONG KONG PERSPECTIVE WHERE THE JITTERY POPULATION DEPRESSED THE STOCK MARKET AND THE LOCAL DOLLAR'S EXCHANGE RATIO FIRST WITH THE U. S. DOLLAR AND THEN OTHER CURRENCIES. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE OCTOBER 6 REPORT OF GOVERNOR YOUBE TO HONG KONG'S LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL WHEREIN HE DECLARED THAT SINO-BRITISH TALKS WERE UNDERWAY IN BEIJING, THE BRITISH HAVE REMAINED SILENT. CHINA  
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EXDIS/NORFORN  
TO HAS BEEN OFFICIALLY SILENT BUT IN RESPONSE TO  
PROBES FROM BRITISH JOURNALISTS (FINANCIAL TIMES)  
CHINESE OFFICIALS WERE QUOTED FIRST AS SAYING THAT  
BEIJING WOULD TAKE BACK ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL AS  
WELL AS SOVEREIGNTY OVER HONG KONG AND SUBSEQUENTLY  
THAT REGAINING SOVEREIGNTY WAS MORE IMPORTANT THAN  
MAINTAINING THE STABILITY OF HONG KONG. IT MUST BE  
STRESSED THAT IN THIS INSTANCE, THE QUOTATIONS WERE  
RELEASED PUBLICLY BY THE BRITISH JOURNALISTS, NOT  
BY XINHUA OR THE CHINESE AUTHORITIES, AND THAT THEY  
REPRESENTED COMMENTS BY CHINESE OFFICIALS WHO MAY  
NOT HAVE ANY DIRECT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ONGOING  
RESOLUTION OF THE HONG KONG ISSUE.

9. IN SUM, THE FIRST ROUND OF DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN  
BRITAIN AND CHINA ON HONG KONG PRODUCED A SERIES  
OF HARSH REJOINDERS WHICH MAY HAVE HARDENED INITIAL  
STARTING POINTS FOR THE TALKS. IT IS CERTAIN, FOR  
EXAMPLE, THAT MRS. THATCHER INTENDS TO TAKE A STRONG  
PERSONAL HAND IN THE TALKS AND WILL BE ACTIVELY  
INVOLVED IN THE SUBSTANCE THOUGH NOT AS A PARTICIPANT  
IN THE MEETINGS. THIS COULD MEAN A TOUGHER BRITISH  
NEGOTIATING STANCE. THE IMPACT ON THE TALKS OF  
CHINESE SENTIMENTS, WHICH RANGE FROM DISILLUSIONMENT  
WITH MRS. THATCHER'S NAIVETE OVER CHINESE SENSITIVITIES  
TO INDIGNATION AT HER PUBLIC POSITIONS, IS EQUALLY  
HARD TO PROJECT IN THE SHORT-TERM. WE HAVE HEARD  
NOTHING ABOUT THE INITIAL SESSIONS IN BEIJING BUT  
BELIEVE THE BRITISH COMMENT THAT THEY WERE ADMINISTRATIVE  
RATHER THAN SUBSTANTIVE. HOW SUCCESSFUL THE SUCCEEDING  
MEETINGS WILL BE DEPENDS PRIMARILY ON WHETHER THE TWO  
SIDES CAN AVOID RECRIMINATIONS AND FOCUS ON THE ISSUES.  
AT THE MOMENT, THEY APPEAR TO HAVE FINALLY EMBARKED  
ON A RESPONSIBLE COURSE -- SILENCE -- BUT THE SILENCE,  
PARTICULARLY IF IT PERSISTS FOR A LONG TIME, COULD  
HAVE A NEGATIVE IMPACT ON HONG KONG RESIDENTS'  
CONFIDENCE.  
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TAGS: PINT, PEPR, CH, UK, HK  
SUBJ: HONG KONG 1997: LOOKING FOR A SOLUTION  
REF.: HONG KONG 16610

EXDIS

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. HAVING BEEN AWAY FROM THE POST AT THE TIME IT WAS DRAFTED, I WOULD LIKE TO ADD A FEW PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS TO OUR RECENT MESSAGE ON HONG KONG'S FUTURE (REFTEL).

3. MOST SIGNIFICANTLY, IT IS THE BRITISH, NOT THE CHINESE, WHO ARE SEEKING RESOLUTION OF HONG KONG'S FUTURE. INDEED, IT TOOK SOME STRENUOUS PUSHING FROM LONDON TO OVERCOME BEIJING'S RELUCTANCE TO DEAL WITH THE TROUBLESOME ISSUE. THUS, BRITISH LEGALISTIC CONSIDERATIONS AND NOT CHINESE NATIONALISTIC SENTIMENTS WERE INITIALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR AROUSING ATTENTION TO HONG KONG'S FUTURE.

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4. PRESS REPORTING AND THE PREVAILING STATE OF PUBLIC GLOOM TO THE CONTRARY, IT IS BY NO MEANS CLEAR THAT THE INITIAL SINO-UK EXCHANGES ON HONG KONG WERE UNIFORMLY DISCOURAGING. CHINESE AND UK STYLES DID CLASH DURING THE THATCHER VISIT (SEE SEPTTEL), BUT SIGNALS HAVE BEEN FORTHCOMING FROM BOTH SIDES WHICH REINFORCE MY GUT FEELING THAT EVENTUALLY A SATISFACTORY SETTLEMENT WILL EMERGE WHICH WILL FEATURE A BRITISH CONCESSION TO THE CHINESE ON SOVEREIGNTY AND A CHINESE CONCESSION IN RETURN LEAVING THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE TERRITORY ESSENTIALLY IN BRITISH HANDS. (THE CHINESE HAVE DEMONSTRATED A PENCHANT IN OTHER SITUATIONS TO TRADE OFF SUBSTANCE IN EXCHANGE FOR A RECOGNITION OF PRINCIPLE.) MY WORRY HAD BEEN THAT THE GREATEST OBSTACLE TO SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT WOULD BE THE BRITISH, NOT THE CHINESE. I FEARED THAT THE "IRON LADY", COMING FRESH FROM THE FALKLANDS VICTORY, WOULD REGARD BRITISH SOVEREIGNTY OVER HONG KONG AND ADJACENT KOWLOON AS NON-NEGOTIABLE AND WOULD ATTEMPT TO LIMIT THE DISCUSSIONS TO THE NEW TERRITORIES LEASE. THIS WOULD HAVE

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BEEN UNACCEPTABLE TO THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP WHO, FOR NATIONALISTIC CONSIDERATIONS COULD NOT TOLERATE THE CONTINUATION OF A NORMAL COLONIAL ARRANGEMENT OVER LOST TERRITORY. INSTEAD, AS WE NOTED IN REFTEL, THATCHER IN COMMENTING THAT THE TREATIES COULD BY MUTUAL AGREEMENT BE "VARIED" BROADLY SIGNALLED THAT EVERYTHING IS UP FOR NEGOTIATIONS, INCLUDING THE QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY OVER ALL OF HONG KONG. I REGARD ACCEPTANCE OF THE CHINESE DEMAND THAT SOVEREIGNTY IN PRINCIPLE BE RETURNED TO CHINA AS INDISPENSABLE TO THE SUCCESS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE BRITISH HAVE NOW INDICATED APPRECIATION OF THIS POINT.

5. WHILE THATCHER'S REMARK ABOUT THE VALIDITY OF THE EXISTING TREATIES TOUCHED A SENSITIVE CHINESE NATIONALISTIC NERVE AND THUS SET OFF A PREDICTABLE OUTBURST, I DO NOT REGARD THIS AS A VERY SERIOUS MATTER. THE BLAST WAS ACCOMPANIED BY A REVEALING "HOWEVER" CLAUSE SO TYPICAL OF CHINESE DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY PRONOUNCEMENTS. THIS DECLARED THAT THE PROBLEM OF HONG KONG SHOULD NOT BE DIFFICULT TO RESOLVE PROVIDED BOTH SIDES ENTER INTO THE NEGOTIATIONS IN GOOD FAITH. MOREOVER, HAVING LAUNCHED THE SHOT AT THE PM'S STAND ON THE TREATIES AND AT BRITAIN'S CLAIMED MORAL OBLIGATION TO THE PEOPLE OF HONG KONG THE PRC THEN LAPSED INTO RELATIVE SILENCE. A COMPARISON WITH THE CHINESE TREATMENT OF THE JAPANESE TEXTBOOK ISSUE IS INSTRUCTIVE. IN THIS CASE, UNLIKE THE JAPANESE ONE, THE CHINESE MOUNTED NO SUSTAINED CAMPAIGN AND TROTTED OUT NO PICTURES OR TV BROADCASTS DESIGNED TO FAN UP EMOTIONS OVER PAST BRITISH DEPREDATIONS AGAINST THE CHINESE. IN SHORT, HAVING REITERATED THE POINT, CHINESE OFFICIAL STATEMENTS ASSIDUOUSLY AVOIDED RAISING THE TEMPERATURE OVER HONG KONG.

6. SUCH BEHAVIOR IS IN KEEPING WITH THE SURPRISING FOREBEARANCE SHOWN FOR MORE THAN THIRTY YEARS BY A COMMUNIST, ANTI-COLONIAL AND HIGHLY NATIONALISTIC REGIME TOWARD A COLONIAL ENCLAVE CARVED FROM ITS TERRITORY. EVEN IN THE LATE 60'S, WHEN CHINA WAS IN ITS MOST RADICAL AND IRRATIONAL PHASE, HONG KONG WAS LEFT ALONE. IN 1976 WHEN PORTUGAL TRIED TO RETURN MACAU THE OFFER WAS TURNED ASIDE BY BEIJING BECAUSE IT DIDN'T WANT TO WORRY HONG KONG, EVEN THOUGH THE CHINESE COULD HAVE EASILY MADE THE CASE THAT THEY WERE ONLY RESPONDING TO A PORTUGUESE INITIATIVE. NOW, WITH A RELATIVELY PRAGMATIC LEADERSHIP SEEMINGLY INTENT ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND

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EXDIS-NOFORN  
WITH HONG KONG'S ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE TO THE PRC  
GREATER THAN EVER BEFORE, IT WOULD BE VERY STRANGE  
FOR THE CHINESE TO ABANDON THEIR LONG-STANDING  
TOLERANCE OF HONG KONG, PARTICULARLY GIVEN THEIR  
DESIRE TO PROJECT A CONCILIATORY IMAGE TO TAIWAN.

7. ALTHOUGH, IN MY OPINION, A DETACHED ANALYSIS OF  
THE SITUATION LEADS TO OPTIMISM ABOUT THE PROSPECTS  
FOR A MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY SOLUTION OF THE HONG KONG  
PROBLEM, THAT IS NOT THE PERCEPTION OF THE HONG KONG  
PUBLIC AND ITS FINANCIAL LEADERS, AS REFLECTED IN THE  
SIGNIFICANT FALL OF THE STOCK MARKET, THE DECLINE OF  
THE HONG KONG DOLLAR, AND IN WORRIED TALK ON THE COCKTAIL  
AND DINNER CIRCUIT. THERE IS A PERVERSIVE GLOOM ABOUT  
HONG KONG'S FUTURE PROSPECTS. IT IS BEING FED BY  
PRESS SPECULATION AND SENSATIONAL REPORTING. EACH  
REITERATION OF THE CHINESE POSITION ON THE SOVEREIGNTY  
ISSUE IS GREETED WITH GLARING HEADLINES AND WITHOUT  
ANY ATTEMPT TO EXPLAIN THAT IN PUBLIC THE CHINESE  
GOVERNMENT HAS NOT GONE SIGNIFICANTLY BEYOND WHAT  
IT HAS SAID ABOUT HONG KONG SINCE AT LEAST 1972.

8. INDEED, DESPITE PRESS SPECULATION AND PRESS  
QUOTES OF DEMANDS AND POSITIONS SAID TO HAVE BEEN  
ADVANCED BY UNNAMED CHINESE OFFICIALS, I THINK IT IS  
HIGHLY UNLIKELY THAT THE CHINESE HAVE MADE FIRM  
DECISIONS -- APART FROM THEIR STAND ON THE  
ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF CHINESE SOVEREIGNTY -- ON HOW TO  
HANDLE THE HONG KONG ISSUE.

9. FOR ALL ITS PROXIMITY TO THE PEOPLES' REPUBLIC OF  
CHINA AND ALL THE CULTURAL SIMILARITIES BETWEEN THE  
CHINESE HERE AND IN CHINA, THERE SEEMS TO BE AN  
ABYSMAL HONG KONG IGNORANCE REGARDING PRC POLITICAL  
BEHAVIOR AND PRONOUNCEMENTS. PARADOXICALLY, THIS  
GLOOM COULD BE BENEFICIAL. BY NOW THE STATE OF  
AFFAIRS HERE MAY HAVE MORE FULLY DRIVEN HOME TO BEIJING  
THE FRAGILITY OF HONG KONG, HOPEFULLY IMPARTING TO THE  
CHINESE LEADERSHIP A RECOGNITION THAT THEY MUST PROCEED  
WITH EXTREME CAUTION LEST THEY DESTROY A SIGNIFICANT  
ECONOMIC ASSET AND IN THE PROCESS ALSO SET A VERY  
DAMAGING PRECEDENT WHICH WOULD COMPLETELY UNDERMINE  
THEIR UNITED FRONT TACTICS TOWARDS TAIWAN. NEVERTHELESS,

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THERE IS DANGER THAT HONG KONG COULD SELF-DESTRUCT AS DEEPENING GLOOM BASED ON A PUBLIC MIS-READING OF PRC INTENTIONS LEADS TO AN EVER INCREASING FLIGHT OF CAPITAL AND TALENT FROM THE TERRITORY OR EVEN TO THE POSTPONEMENT OF INVESTMENT DECISIONS, ALL OF WHICH WOULD INTENSIFY THE PRESENT ECONOMIC DOWNTURN AND SET OFF A SELF-FEEDING DOWNWARD SPIRAL. AN UPWARD TURN IN THE WORLD, AND PARTICULARLY THE U. S. ECONOMY, COULD PROVIDE AN ANTIDOTE AGAINST THIS, BUT THIS IS BEYOND HONG KONG'S CONTROL.

10. MY GENERALLY UPBEAT VIEW OF THE HONG KONG PROBLEM IS SHARED BY THE HKG POLITICAL ADVISOR. HE TOO IS DEEPLY CONCERNED BECAUSE IN HIS VIEW THE POPULAR PERCEPTION OF THE SITUATIONS IS FAR GLOOMIER THAN THE COURSE OF DEVELOPMENTS TO DATE BETWEEN THE PRC AND THE UK WOULD WARRANT. SO FAR THE HONG KONG GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN SURPRISINGLY INACTIVE IN TRYING TO SOOTHE THE PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS. I HAVE SUGGESTED TO THE POLITICAL ADVISOR THAT SOME CAREFUL BACKGROUNDERS TO PRESITGIDUS JOURNALISTS WOULD BE IN ORDER AND HE WAS CLEARLY TAKEN WITH THE IDEA. UNFORTUNATELY, THATCHER'S STRICTURES ON THE IMPORTANCE OF PRESERVING CONFIDENTIALITY ON THE STATE OF PLAY BETWEEN THE UK AND THE PRC SEEMS TO BE COWING THE HKG INTO UNPRODUCTIVE SILENCE ON THE SUBJECT.

11. I DO NOT WISH TO IMPLY THAT EVERYTHING IS SET AND THAT THE ADJUSTMENT IN HONG KONG'S STATUS NECESSITATED BY THE 1997 LEASE EXPIRATION WILL BE A SMOOTH AND PAINLESS AFFAIR. THERE ARE MANY TROUBLESOME DETAILS THAT WILL TAKE TIME TO WORK OUT AND MEANWHILE HONG KONG INVESTOR AND BUSINESS CONFIDENCE MAY SUFFER. MOREOVER, IT'S ALWAYS POSSIBLE THAT BRITISH OR CHINESE INSENSITIVITY OR MISHANDLING COULD PROVOKE A DIFFICULT, NATIONALISTIC RESPONSE WHICH WOULD COMPLICATE NEGOTIATIONS. MY MAIN POINT, HOWEVER, IS THAT WITH INITIAL NEGOTIATING STANCES ESTABLISHED, BOTH THE BRITISH AND THE CHINESE APPEAR PREPARED TO MOVE IN A RESPONSIBLE, DISCIPLINED MANNER TOWARD AN ARRANGEMENT TAILORED TO SERVE THEIR JOINT GOAL OF MAINTAINING A STABLE AND PROSPEROUS HONG KONG.  
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