

**May 9, 1954**

**Cable from Zhou Enlai, 'Regarding the Situation of  
the First Plenary Session'**

**Citation:**

"Cable from Zhou Enlai, 'Regarding the Situation of the First Plenary Session'", May 9, 1954, Wilson Center Digital Archive, PRC FMA 206-Y0049. Translated by Chen Zhihong. <https://digitalarchive.umd.edu/document/110607>

**Summary:**

Zhou Enlai recaps the Indochina discussion that took place at the Geneva conference. Participants discussed a ceasefire, and supervision by an international committee. Enlai notes that his suggestion to invite the resistance governments in Laos and Cambodia to attend the conference produced debate.

**Original Language:**

Chinese

**Contents:**

Original Scan

Translation - English

周恩来关于第一次全体会议情况致毛泽东等的电报  
(1954年5月9日)

案卷编号：206 - Y0049 (绝密)

主席、少奇同志并中央：

(一) 昨日最后还是召开了讨论印度支那问题的九国会议。皮杜尔在会上抢先发言，其发言主要内容是不承认越南民主共和国为交战的对方，仍视为叛军。皮杜尔所提纯军事停战的方案，有如蒋介石对付我们的提示案。皮杜尔并主张国际委员会的监督和日内瓦会议与会国的担保，这一方案的实际内容是美国准备走向东南亚集体措施的一个步骤，显然它是根据美国的主张拟订的，这一方案当然无用讨价还价的东西，不过仍可看出美国的阴谋干涉在法国主战派中仍起极大的作用。法国这一方案对印度支那政治问题一字未提，估计可能是皮杜尔故意把政治问题留给保大在下次会中，以伪装独立的面目来讲。

毋庸

50134  
5.2.83.11  
5.2.83.11

(二) 皮杜尔发言后范文同同志发言提出邀请寮国和高棉两抗战政府的代表参加会议的问题，会上当即展开一场争论。详情新华社报道。最后主席艾登宣布争执的问题留给会外协商解决。

(三) 鉴于今天的会议争论的情况，要求会议听取寮国和高棉两抗战

政府的代表的意见的提议已不宜在正式会上再提，故拟将此提议函告苏方，由苏方在会外协商中提出。

(四) 下星期一范文同同志拟发言，提出原拟定之八项建议案，另于停火条款中加组织中立国监察委员会一条，以协助停战之实施，并对抗皮杜尔所提之国际监督的办法。会后与苏、越友人商定暂不提那些国家参加中立国监察委员会，必要时准备提印度、巴基斯坦和波兰、捷克，如对方坚持要五个国家则可从印尼和缅甸中选一，这样提法是否适当请中央指示。

(五) 法国建议案的全文如下 (见附件①)。

周恩来

一九五四年五月九日

注释：

- ① 见附件 (二)。
- ② 见附件 (一)。

(Top secret)

Chairman [Mao Zedong], Comrade [Liu] Shaoqi, and the Central Committee:

(1) The nine-country meeting [the Geneva Conference] on discussing the Indochina issue was finally convened yesterday. Bidault took the lead to speak at the conference. The main points of his speech were to deny the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as an opponent in the war and to regard it as a rebelling force. Bidault's proposal, similar to the proposals that Jiang Jieshi [Chiang Kai-shek] used to deal with us [in the Chinese civil war], concentrated exclusively on a military ceasefire. Bidault also favored supervision by an international committee and a guarantee provided by the participants of the Geneva Conference. The essence of this proposal represented a preparatory step by the United States toward measures of collective security in Southeast Asia, and it is apparent that it had been made in accordance with America's ideas. This proposal, of course, should not be treated as something that deserved further discussion and bargaining. But still it revealed the great role that America's intrigues on intervention played for the warlike factions in France. This French proposal did not mention anything about the political issue in Indochina. It is possible that Bidault intentionally left the political issue for Bao Dai at the next session, thus [allowing Bao Dai to] discuss it [while] pretending to be independent.

(2) After Bidault's presentation, [DRV Foreign Minister] Comrade Pham Van Dong spoke, introducing the question of inviting the representatives of the two resistance governments in Laos and Cambodia to attend the conference. A debate immediately followed at the conference. For details [please see] the report of the Xinhua News Agency. Lastly, Eden, as the chair of the session, announced that the questions under debate should be left for discussion and solution outside of the conference.

(3) Considering the situation of the debate at the conference today, it is not proper to raise again the question of asking the conference to listen to the opinions of the representatives of the two resistance governments of Laos and Cambodia at formal sessions. Therefore, I plan to convey the proposal [inviting the representatives of the two resistance government to Geneva] to the Soviet side by letter, and let the Soviet side put forward this question in discussions outside of the conference.

(4) Comrade Pham Van Dong plans to speak next Monday, introducing the eight-point proposal that has already been prepared. In addition, a note on organizing a committee of supervision by neutral countries will be added to the conditions of ceasefire, so as to help the implementation of a ceasefire, as well as to counterbalance Bidault's proposal on international supervision. The discussion with the Soviet and Vietnamese friends after the session reached the decision that for now we will not name which countries should participate in the committee of supervision by neutral countries. When it becomes necessary we will propose that India, Pakistan, Poland, and Czechoslovakia [be members of the committee]. If the other side insists that five members [of the committee] are needed, we may choose one more from Indonesia and Burma. We wait for the instruction by the Central Committee whether or not such a proposal is proper.

(5) The whole text of the French proposal is as follows. (omitted)

Zhou Enlai  
9 May 1954