

May 1, 1954

**Cable from Zhou Enlai, 'Regarding a Meeting with
British Foreign Secretary Eden'**

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Summary:

Zhou Enlai, Molotov, and Eden discuss the Korea issue, the Indochina issue, Sino-British relations, British-American relations, and the issue of five powers.

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Chinese

Contents:

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周恩来关于与英国外交大臣艾登接触事
致毛泽东等的电报^①
(1954年5月1日)

主席、少奇同志并报中央：

昨午莫洛托夫同志邀我与艾登会面，谈到下列问题：

(一) 朝鲜问题① 今日五一休会五月三日再开会，昨天会上只有土耳其和泰国代表发言，不到三十分钟即休会。艾登提议召开小委员会②，艾说“我们五个加南北朝鲜”。艾表示此事已与杜勒斯谈过，皮杜尔大约也不会反对。莫洛托夫和我都表示同意召开小委员会。我们问小委员会的具体内容如何？艾登并未答复。此事系英、美方主动试探，我方除表同意外，亦不表示过分积极。从一般形势估计艾登提出开小会与杜勒斯下周将返美有关，朝鲜问题讨论中迄今北大西洋国家除土耳其外尚无一国发言支持杜勒斯，印度支那问题上美虽放了许多空炮，但未吓倒别人，却吓倒了自己。美企图组织东南亚侵略同盟，但英国踌躇，反之法要求增加空援，英、美又不干。总之，美现已无法阻止印度支那的谈判。艾森豪威尔最近的发言又打了退堂鼓，使杜勒斯很窘，只有一走了事，将难局留给副国务卿史密斯。艾登表示杜勒斯已决定下周返美，莫洛托夫说“那么我们四个的责任加重了”。看形势艾登会留下来，皮杜尔也走不了，因戴高乐派的雅盖和主张结束印度支那战争的迈耶都从法国赶来日内瓦，对皮杜尔施压力，但朝鲜问题究竟能否达成协议现尚看不出来。

(二) 印度支那问题。艾登说：“不作为成员问题的条件，亦不要求回答，只愿问一下苏、中方面能否促成奠边府伤兵的撤退。”莫洛托夫说：“此事与越南代表商谈即可解决。”我说：“此问题最好由交战双方直接谈。朝鲜停战前交战双方即曾直接商谈交换伤病俘问题。”关于成员问

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题，我说：“印度支那问题的讨论已邀请了五国，而奇怪的是双方有关国家的邀请却尚未定，可见有人在阻挠双方参加谈判。”艾登说：“我没有阻挠。”估计成员问题尚需两日才能解决。

（三）中英关系问题。当莫洛托夫提到中国对国际事务上的不平有些抱怨时，艾登说：“英国是承认中国的，只是中国不承认我们。”我说：“不是中国不承认英国，而是英国在联合国不承认我们。”艾说：“英国对中国也有不满意的事，不过今天我们在一起共餐我不想提这些事了。”提到改善中英关系时，艾登说：“我这次把驻华代办杜维廉^③带来为的是与中国代表团接触。”我说：“我也把欧非司司长宦乡带来了。”艾登说：“那么我们思想相同了。”会后杜维廉即来活动，已约定下周请宦乡吃饭。

（四）英美关系问题。莫洛托夫说：“美国故意制造紧张使美国人非常神经质，在苏联是没有这种情形的，想来在你们英国也不如此吧？”艾登说：“美国虽然说的多，但美国人民是喜欢和平的。”莫又说：“英国在西方是有影响的，你们与美国是有共同语言的国家，在改善东西方关系上英国不要过低估计自己的作用。”艾说：“太恭维了，战后美国的工业发展超过我们，并代替了我们取得了领导地位，但我们并不忌妒，不过美国太急躁了。”艾又引一剧作家的话：“我们与美国除共同语言外，别无共同之点。”我说：“美国因失去了中国不甘心用各种方法威胁恐吓屠杀人民，特别是中国人民，但中国人民是不怕恐吓的，美国的做法反使其本国人民神经紧张。”艾说：“美国的不满也有些道理，抗日战争时期美国人善意帮助中国，而中国以怨报德。”我说：“美国帮助蒋介石压迫和屠杀中国人，怎能不引起中国人民的反抗。”艾说：“实际说来英国在中国的损失比美国大。”我说：“如果算历史上的账英国并没损失。”

（五）五大国问题。艾登表示他不计较四国或五国，小委员会即由七国组成。莫洛托夫说：“这种精神很好，但有人不愿提五大国。”

宴会后外国记者盛传艾登与我会面前曾见杜勒斯，杜对艾的行动大为不满。昨晚杜维廉宴请雷任民，在座有英外交部外交副次官卡西亚，助理副次官艾伦。杜表示英三商业团体愿与中国贸易，雷答为了解情况三团体代表可先来日内瓦接触。杜同意，杜又表示欢迎雷赴英参观工业博览会。昨日上午印度驻瑞士大使来见我打听日内瓦会议的消息。

周恩来
五月一日

注释：

- ① 4月30日苏联外长莫洛托夫宴请周恩来外长及英国外交大臣艾登。这是周恩来与艾登首次会晤。其后，周总理多次与艾登进行会外接触，就朝鲜、印支及中英双边关系问题进行会谈、磋商。
 - ② 5月1日下午，七国举行非公开的非正式会议。这样的关于朝鲜问题的小范围会议——“小委员会”只举行了一次。
 - ③ 杜维廉：H. Trevelyan，又译杜威廉，^(当时)为英国驻华谈判代表。在日内瓦会议部长级会议休会、周恩来总理兼外长返北京作短暂逗留期间，于7月8日向周恩来递交了被任命为英国驻华代办的委任书。
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Chairman [Mao Zedong], Comrade [Liu] Shaoqi, and the Central Committee:

Comrade Molotov invited me to meet with Eden yesterday afternoon, and we discussed the following questions:

(1) The Korean issue. There is no meeting today on 1 May, and the conference will reopen on 3 May. Only the Turkish and Thai delegations made speeches yesterday morning. The meeting was adjourned in less than thirty minutes. Eden suggested holding a restricted session and said that "[the members should be] the five of us plus North and South Korea." Eden said that he had already talked to [US Secretary of State John Foster] Dulles about this, and he assumed that [French Foreign Minister Georges] Bidault would not oppose it either. Molotov and I both agreed to hold the restricted session. We also asked what subjects would be specifically discussed in the restricted session. However, Eden did not answer this question. It is the British and Americans who are taking the initiative and sounding us out, and we should not react too positively except to agree to hold the meeting. Based on the general situation, I assume that Eden's proposal for a restricted session is related to Dulles' return to the US next week. Until now, no North Atlantic [Treaty Organization] country except Turkey has spoken yet to support Dulles during the discussion of the Korean issue. Although the United States fired many blanks on the Indochina issue, they could not scare anyone but themselves. The United States is attempting to form an alliance of invaders of Southeast Asia. However, Britain is still hesitating. On the other hand, France's request for more air support is being refused by Britain and the United States. In sum, it is now impossible for the United States to stop negotiations on the Indochina issue. Eisenhower's recent words showed his retreat and embarrassed Dulles. Therefore Dulles decided to run away [from the conference] and leave the problems to the Under Secretary of State, [General Walter Bedell] Smith. Eden said that Dulles had already decided to return to the US next week. Molotov responded that "it will increase the responsibilities of the four of us." The current situation shows that Eden will stay, and so will Bidault since [French Secretary of State for Relations with the Associated States Marc] Jacquet of the de Gaulle group and [French Foreign Ministry Political and Economic Affairs Assistant Director Roland Jacquin de] Margerie, who insists on the ending of the Indochina war, came to Geneva from France to pressure him. However, it is still not clear whether or not an agreement on the Korean issue can be reached.

(2) The Indochina issue. Eden said that "I will not use this as a condition for the issue of membership [of countries which should be invited to join the discussion], nor do I require you to answer me. I just want to ask if the Soviet and Chinese sides can push for the withdrawal of the wounded from Dien Bien Phu." Molotov said: "It can be solved if you discuss this with the Vietnamese delegation." I said: "It is better to have the two belligerent parties discuss this directly. The two belligerent parties in the Korean War used to discuss directly the issue of exchanging wounded and sick POWs before the armistice in Korea." Regarding the issue of membership, I said: "Five countries have already been invited to join the discussions on the Indochina issue. It is odd that the decision on the invitation of related countries on both sides has not yet been made. Obviously someone is preventing both sides from attending the negotiations." Eden said: "I am not preventing it." It seems that it will take another two days to solve the problem of membership.

(3) The issue of Sino-British relations. When Molotov mentioned that China was complaining about unfairness in international affairs, Eden said: "Britain does recognize China. However, China does not recognize us." I said: "It is not China which does not recognize Britain. It is Britain which does not recognize us in the United Nations." Eden said: "Britain is also dissatisfied with China on some [other] things, but I do not want to mention these things when we are dining together today." Talking about the improvement of Sino-British relations, Eden said: "I brought the British Chargé in the People's Republic of China, [Humphrey] Trevelyan here this time [to let him] meet with the Chinese delegation." I said: "I also brought the Director of

the Department of West European and African Affairs, Huan Xiang, here." Eden said: "Well, we have some thoughts in common." Trevelyan came to see us immediately after the meeting and had already arranged to invite Huan Xiang to dinner next week.

(4) The issue of British-American relations. Molotov said: "The United States is intentionally creating tensions, and it makes the American people very jittery. This kind of situation does not exist in the Soviet Union. I assume that Britain does not like that either." Eden said: "Although the United States [government] talks a lot, the American people are peace-loving." Molotov then said: "Britain is an influential country in the West, and shares the same language with the United States. Britain should not underestimate its role in improving relations between East and West." Eden said: "You are flattering me. Industrial development in the United States exceeded ours after World War II. It also replaced Britain as the world's leader. Although we are not jealous, the United States is too impatient." Eden then cited a playwright [to the effect of]: "We have nothing in common with the United States except the same language." I said: "Since the United States is not reconciled to the loss of China, it uses every means at its disposal to threaten and massacre people, especially the Chinese people. However, the Chinese people are not afraid of these threats. The American way of doing things only made its own people nervous." Eden said: "The Americans have some reason to be dissatisfied. The Americans kindly helped China during its war against Japan. However, China repaid kindness with ingratitude." I said: "The United States helped [Republic of China (ROC) President] Jiang Jieshi [Chiang Kai-shek] oppress and kill Chinese people. How could it not lead to the resistance of the Chinese people?" Eden said: "In fact, the British loss in China was greater than that of the United States." I said: "If we do accounts in history, Britain did not lose anything."

(5) The issue of the Five Powers [i.e., the UK, the US, France, the PRC, and the Soviet Union. Eden said that he does not care if it is Four or Five Powers, the subcommittee should be composed of seven countries. Molotov said: "This is a good attitude. However, some people do not want to talk about the Five Powers."

Foreign journalists spread the rumor after the dinner that Eden had met with Dulles before his meeting with me. It was said that Dulles was very dissatisfied with Eden's action. Trevelyan invited [PRC Vice Trade Minister] Lei Renmin for dinner last night. The Deputy Under Secretary for Administration in the British Foreign Office, [Harold] Caccia, and the Assistant Under Secretary [for Foreign Affairs, William Dennis] Allen, were also present at the dinner. Trevelyan stated that three British trade organizations were willing to do business with China. Lei said that the representatives of the three organizations could first come to meet with [the Chinese delegation] at Geneva in order to find out detailed information. Trevelyan agreed with him. Trevelyan also invited Lei to come to Britain and visit the industrial exhibition. The Indian ambassador to Switzerland [Yezdi D. Gundevia] came to see me yesterday morning and asked for information about the Geneva Conference.

Zhou Enlai
1 May [1954]