

**May 30, 1954**

**Minutes, Director of the Staff Office of the PRC  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs Wang Bingnan's Meeting  
with President of the International Federation on  
Human Rights Joseph Paul-Boncour**

**Citation:**

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**Summary:**

Wang reports on his discussion with Paul-Boncour and Chauvel. Paul-Boncour makes suggestions on the upcoming secret meeting between Bidault and Zhou. Also, Wang and Chauvel discuss issues at the conference such as the cease-fire and supervisory committee in Indochina.

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1954 年日内瓦会议

## 王炳南与保罗 - 彭古谈话纪要

记录

(1954 年 5 月 30 日)

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地点: 格莱斯特别墅 (保罗 - 彭古岳母寓所)

中方出席人员: 王炳南、董宁川 (译员)

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法方出席人员: 保罗 - 彭古, 吉勒马兹、萧维尔 (后到)

## (一) 关于周外长与皮杜尔会晤的安排问题

保罗 - 彭古: 自前次会面后, 我已和皮杜尔长谈过, 他表示, 既然能够会晤, 最好尽早实现 (因可能他要参加人民共和党大会), 他提议下星期一或星期二。

关于保密问题, 我们考虑到如果周外长和皮杜尔外长互约赴宴, 瑞士警察都会知道, 而瑞士警察是互相沟通的, 消息一定会被透露出去。所以我们建议, 双方外长的会晤最好能在日落以后, 即晚九时或九时半, 这样两位外长就可长谈, 如果他愿意, 可以谈至十二时或一时。至于地点, 我们建议就在这个别墅, 因为这里离两位外长的寓所都很近, 大家方便, 四周又无邻居, 可以不受外界的骚扰, 不知周外长是否同意。

王炳南: 警卫问题你们如何考虑?

保罗 - 彭古: 如果用瑞士警卫, 消息就会透露, 所以我们建议用周外长自己的警卫, 他们可以于九时左右来此。

王炳南: 皮杜尔先生如何来此?

保罗 - 彭古: 他将单独来, 瑞士警卫自然知道他们何时出门, 但不会知道他到什么地方。开会时正像其他代表团团长一样, 瑞士警卫是跟去的。但在平时, 他常常一个人出门, 星期天厨师休息, 皮杜尔还和萧维尔独自到乡下小饭馆吃饭。如果周外长希望用瑞士警卫, 我们当然不反对, 但我们觉得这样不太好。

王炳南：皮杜尔先生是否来过这里？

保罗-彭古：他本人没有来过，他太太倒来过几次。

我要重复前次所提到的一点，就是在会前保守秘密，在会后是否需要发表公报或其他文件，由两位外长自行决定。

萧维尔：（萧维尔于此时到达）瑞士警卫来与不来可以由我们决定。如果他们不来，他们也会揣测，如果他们来，他们就会完全知道，所以还是不来较好。

至于双方参加会谈的人员问题，法国方面大概是皮杜尔团长，我本人和吉勒马兹先生，我们认为双方人员不宜太多。（会后吉勒马兹说，也许应加上保罗-彭古，因为他是主人。）

王炳南：我将把各位的意见向我们的团长报告。

## （二）关于印支会议问题

萧维尔：在上次会议上，莫洛托夫先生曾把各方面的意见作了一个综合的概述，史密斯先生曾建议只谈监督问题，法国代表团认为，监督问题是一个复杂的问题，如果能够先解决这个问题，会议当能前进一步。

目前两个具体的重要问题是：在军事方面达成部队集结的协议，在政治方面达成监督的协议。如果这两个问题获得解决，其他问题就容易解决。

② 中国代表团的建议六点<sup>①</sup>，都是应该讨论的。我们建议先讨论我们认为是主要的监督问题，这并不是说不谈其他问题，如果在主要问题上获得好的结果，这将便于其他问题的讨论。

我们对于近来会议的印象是不错的，特别是昨天的会议，我们认为是有进步的。

王炳南：我也愿意谈一谈我们的看法，我们认为：

- 1、首要的是停止流血，恢复印度支那的和平；
- 2、不同的情况应以不同的办法解决；
- 3、谈问题须视重要性而有先有后；
- 4、所有问题谈好以后停战。

关于监察委员会的成员问题，须待双方具体讨论。

我们认为，中立国监察委员会的任务有二：

- 1、对内防止冲突的再起；
- 2、对外防止军事人员和物资的运入。

至于具体监督问题，我们认为海岸和陆地是一样的，都可以找到

地点加以控制。总之，我们所希望的是，建立有效的监督。

参加会议的九国应起保证会议协议实施的作用，中立国应该是九国以外的适当国家。我们周外长廿七日所提六点建议，不仅是恢复印度支那的和平，而且为建立印度支那持久的和平所必需，这不仅对于亚洲和平有利，对于法国和国际和平也是有利的。前次我们曾经谈过，不应让战争复杂化和国际化。保罗-彭古先生曾说，一部分法国人就准备把战争复杂化，把战争交给联合国，我们认为，这是不符合于法国民族的利益的。

范文同先生曾经指出，目前法国仍将保持在越南的经济和文化利益，在和平恢复后，越南将考虑加入法国联邦，与法国建立友好的关系。

老挝和柬埔寨的代表说，自由寮国和高棉解放运动的力量并不大，如果这是真的，如果人民支持他们，那么和下来，他们就用不着害怕。

周恩来外长曾经指出，美国被迫在朝鲜接受和平，现在不应该阻止法国在印度支那获得和平。在昨天的会议上，大多数的代表都赞成协议，听说美国代表的态度是不接受也不反对，这对会议达成协议是没有帮助的。

保罗-彭古：请允许我对萧维尔先生重说一遍前次对王炳南先生所讲的话，我曾说，如果法国被迫要接受它所不能接受的条件，它自己既无办法，只有接受外援。奠边府失陷后，情况就已改变，如果河内再发生同样的事件，法国为了挽救自己人的性命，就不惜把战争交给别人。

萧维尔：我同意王炳南先生的说法，中立国监察委员会的任务是对内防止冲突再起，对外防止军事人员和物资运入。我们相信，海陆监督是可以找到解决办法的，中立国问题也是可以解决的。根据梅农先生在日内瓦的接触，好像他对这问题感到兴趣，并向新闻界散布了些意见。

周恩来先生对印度支那问题有着整个的看法，并且说三个联邦成员国各有特点，皮杜尔先生对周恩来先生的看法还不十分了解，这是因为互不相识的缘故，现在既然有这样一个机会来交换意见，希望周恩来先生能对皮杜尔先生谈任何问题。

在这次会议上，法国有着一些友好的国家，它应该注意它们的意见，不能同意它们所不同意的协议。在法国的友邦中包括美国，假如达成一个协议，而美国表示怀疑，则美国就不能保证执行，这样是危险的。美国对会议的情绪，并非与法国不同，但美国是最被猜疑的，我们应该予以注意。

至于说到把战争交出去的问题，可能有交左和交右的两种办法。如果法国把战争转手给美国，别人会忧虑，如果法国把战争转手给另一方面，则美国会忧虑。法国是希望能够获得各方面一致同意的解决办法。当我们向你们说，某一问题会发生危险时，请你们相信这是真的，应该避免。

王炳南：和平解决问题是对大家有利的，把战争交出去不符合法国民族的利益，我们认为，目前大家为争取和平的努力是正确的。问题应该逐一解决，昨天所达成的协议证明，我们的努力已获得成绩，只要双方具有诚意，困难是可以克服的。我们的目的是恢复印度支那的和平，希望在与会者共同的努力之下，能够获得结果。我们并无意于排除任何国家于协议之外。我们认为，应该克服障碍，而不应受障碍的影响。解决问题应从本国的利益出发，这样才能得到满意的结果。

至于梅农先生与我们周外长会谈关于监察委员会的问题，就我所知，并未涉及具体问题，①九国以外的中立国究竟是哪些国家，不知法国方面有何意见？

萧维尔：这问题我现在还不能答复，法国代表团打算在明天会议上听取大家的意见之后，再发表意见。

今后如有机会，希望随时交换意见，我对中国问题很有兴趣，我过去曾在北京住过三年，在巴黎管亚洲事务五年。

注释：

- ① 在5月27日日内瓦会议第七次限制性会议上，周恩来外长提出了在印度支那停止敌对行动的六项建议。

① 萧维尔：Jean Chauvel, 法国代表团成员，法国驻越南大使。

(Top Secret)

Time: 30 May 1954, 5:30 p.m.

Location: Gleystt Mansion (Home of Paul-Boncour's mother-in-law)

Chinese participants: Wang Bingnan and Dong Ningchuan (translator)

French participants: Paul-Boncour, [Counselor to the French delegation, Colonel] Jacques Guillerma, and [French Ambassador to Switzerland] Jean Chauvel

(1) Arrangement for Foreign Minister Zhou to meet Bidault

Paul-Boncour: I had a long conversation with Bidault after our last meeting. He expressed that since it is possible to meet, the earlier, the better (because he will probably attend the Congress of the Popular Republican Movement [Mouvement Républicain Populaire] soon). He suggested next Monday or Tuesday. We are concerned about ways to keep the meeting secret. If Foreign Ministers Zhou and Bidault invite each other and have dinner together, the Swiss security would know. All the Swiss policemen communicate through their network, and the information [about the meeting] would leak to the public. So our suggestion is that the two foreign ministers have a meeting after sunset, about 9:00 or 9:30 p.m. in the evening. Therefore, the foreign ministers can have a long conversation. If they would like to, they could talk until midnight or even 1:00 am.

Regarding their meeting location, we suggest this mansion. The mansion is close to where both foreign ministers are staying. It is convenient for all of us. There are no neighbors around so there won't be any disruptions from outside. [We'd like to know] if Foreign Minister Zhou agrees [with the arrangement].

Wang Bingnan: What is your security plan?

Paul-Boncour: If we use Swiss security guards, the information will leak. So we suggest Foreign Minister Zhou use his own bodyguards. They may come to the mansion about 9:00 p.m.

Wang Bingnan: How is Mr. Bidault coming here?

Paul-Boncour: He will come here himself. The Swiss security guards as usual will notice that he has left his place. They won't, however, know where he is going. During the conference hours, the Swiss security guards always escort [Bidault] as they do for all the heads of the delegations. But, outside conference hours, Bidault goes out quite often by himself. On Sundays, when his chef took time off, he and Chauvel went to the countryside by themselves and ate at local restaurants. If Foreign Minister Zhou wants to use the Swiss security guards, we don't have a problem. We just don't feel it is the best way.

Wang Bingnan: Has Mr. Bidault ever come to this place?

Paul-Boncour: He has never been here before. However, his wife has been here several times. I still have to repeat one of the points we discussed at the last meeting, that is, to keep the meeting absolutely secret before it starts. The two foreign ministers can decide themselves whether a press release or other documents may be necessary after their meeting.

(Chauvel arrived at this point.)

Chauvel: We can decide whether the Swiss security guards will come or not. If they don't come, they may just guess. If they do come, they will definitely know the whole arrangement.

So it is better not to have them here. Regarding the issue of who will attend the meeting from the delegations, the French participants will probably include Bidault, myself, and Mr. Guillermaz. We consider it proper not to have many participants from each delegation.

(After the meeting, Guillermaz said that it may be appropriate to add Paul-Boncour [to the list], since he is the host.)

Wang Bingnan: I will report all of your suggestions to the head of our delegation.

## (2) The Issues at the Indochina Conference

Chauvel: At the last meeting, Mr. Molotov summarized and outlined the opinions from all sides. Mr. Smith suggested discussing the supervision issue only. The French delegation considers supervision a very complicated issue. If it can be resolved first, the conference is certainly making good progress. The two specific but important issues at the present are to reach a military agreement on troop regroupings, and to reach a political agreement on supervision. If these two problems are solved, other problems can be dealt with easily. All of the six points proposed by the Chinese delegation should be discussed. We suggest discussing supervision, which we believe is a central issue. It doesn't mean that any other issues could not be discussed. If a positive result derives from the solution of the central issue, it will help the discussions on other issues. We are very much impressed by the recent talks. Especially at the meeting yesterday—we saw genuine progress.

Wang Bingnan: I would also like to talk about our positions. We believe that:

1. The first task is to stop the bloodshed and resume peace in Indochina.
2. Different problems should be dealt with by adapting different methods.
3. Discussions must follow the importance of each issue and then decide which issue should go first.
4. A cease-fire can be achieved after all the issues are discussed satisfactorily.

The composition of the supervisory commission must be specifically discussed by both sides. We believe that the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission has two tasks:

1. Domestically, to prevent civil conflicts from occurring again.
2. Internationally, to stop entry of foreign troops and war materials into [the region].

We also have concerns about some specific problems of supervision. Our position is that a supervisory location can be identified either inland or in territorial waters to impose a supervision. In short, what we hope for is to establish effective supervision. The nine nations attending the conference [Cambodia, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), France, Laos, the PRC, the State of Vietnam, the Soviet Union, the UK, and the USA.] should play a role in guaranteeing the implementation of the agreed settlement. A neutral nation should be among other proper nations besides these

nine conference nations. The six points proposed by our Foreign Minister Zhou on the 27th are not for restoring a temporary peace in Indochina, but necessary for establishing a lasting peace in the region. This peace will benefit Asia, France, and the world. We have pointed out during the previous meeting that this war should not become complicated and internationalized. Mr. Paul-Boncour said that some French people intended to make the war more complicated by transferring the war issues to the United Nations. We believe that this doesn't fit into [serve] the national interests of France. Mr. Pham Van Dong had said that France could still maintain its economic and cultural enterprises in Vietnam. After peace is reinstalled, Vietnam will consider joining the French Union and build friendly relations with France. The delegates from Laos and Cambodia also indicated that the Free Laos and Kampuchean Liberation Movements are not strong forces. If this is true and their people support them, they won't worry any more after a peaceful order is established. Foreign Minister Zhou Enlai stated that the United States had to accept a peace in Korea. It should not stop France from accepting peace now in Indochina. At the meeting yesterday, most of the delegates agreed to reach a settlement. It was said that the attitude of the American delegation would be neither supportive nor opposed. This is not helpful for the conference to reach an agreement.

Paul-Boncour: Please allow me to repeat to Mr. Chauvel what I said to Mr. Wang Bingnan at the last meeting. I had said that, if France was forced to accept terms that it had no way to cope with, it would have to ask for external assistance. After Dien Bien Phu fell, the situation changed drastically. If a similar incident takes place in Hanoi, France has no choice but to hand the war over willingly to the others in order to save the lives of its own people.

Chauvel: I am in full accord with what Mr. Wang Bingnan said. The tasks of the supervisory commission of the neutral nations are to prevent internal conflicts from re-occurring and prevent foreign troops and war materials from getting into the country. We also agree that locations for land and offshore supervision can be found, and the debates over the definition of a neutral state can be settled. According to Mr. Menon's activities at Geneva, he seems interested in this issue and has talked to the press about his opinions. Mr. Zhou Enlai has a systematic view of the problems of Indochina. He said that each of the three member countries in the Associated States has its own characteristics. Mr. Bidault is not quite familiar with Mr. Zhou Enlai's points of view because they don't know each other. Since there is now an opportunity to exchange their opinions, hopefully Mr. Zhou Enlai can talk to Mr. Bidault about any issue. At this conference France considers some of the countries as its friends. It must give enough attention to their opinions. It can't agree with any settlement they disagree with. Among these countries friendly to France is the United States. If the US distrusts the conference settlement, it will not endorse its implementation. This is dangerous. America's attitude toward the conference is not much different from that of France. But America attracts more suspicions. We should pay attention [to it]. Talking about handing over the war to others, there are two ways: handing it over to the left or to the right. If France hands the war over to the United States, then the other people will worry; if France hands it over to the other side, then the US will worry. It is the hope of France that solutions can be reached and agreed to by all sides. When we say to you that a certain problem will cause danger, please believe us, it is true. It must be avoided.

Wang Bingnan: A peaceful solution is beneficial for everyone. Handing the war over to the others doesn't fit into French national interests. We believe that our current efforts to strive for peace are justified. Problem solutions will arrive one by one. This has been proven by the agreement made yesterday—our efforts have achieved some success. As long as both sides are sincere, the difficulties can be overcome. Our goal is to restore Indochina's peace. Our desire is to reach that goal through common efforts by all conference delegates. It is not our intention to exclude any nation from the conference agreement. We need to overcome the obstacles, instead of being disrupted by them. Any solution should be based upon a nation's own interest so that the result will bring about satisfaction. With regard the discussions of the supervisory

commission between Mr. Menon and our Foreign Minister Zhou, they did not touch the specific matters as far as I know. Who are these neutral nations besides the nine nations? What are the French suggestions?

Chauvel: I can't answer that question at this point. The French delegation will listen to the suggestions from all the delegations at the meeting tomorrow. Then, it will make its statements. If there is any opportunity from now on, I hope to exchange our opinions anytime. I am very interested in China's issues. I lived in Beijing for three years and have been in charge of Asian affairs in Paris for five years.