

June 15, 1954

Minutes of Conversation between Zhang Wentian and Harold Caccia

Citation:

"Minutes of Conversation between Zhang Wentian and Harold Caccia", June 15, 1954, Wilson Center Digital Archive, PRC FMA 206-C0057, reprinted in Waijiaobu dang'anguan ed., Yijiuwusi nian Rineiwa huiyi (The Geneva Conference of 1954) (Beijing: Shijie zhishi chubanshe, 2006), 240-241. Translated by Zhao Han.
<https://wilson-center-digital-archive.dvincitest.com/document/111498>

Summary:

In this meeting, Caccia explains to Zhang that Britain firmly supports the withdrawal of all Viet Minh troops from Laos and Cambodia.

Original Language:

Chinese

Contents:

Original Scan
Translation - English

张闻天与卡西亚^①谈话记录 (1954年6月15日)

案卷编号：206 - C0057

时间：一九五四年六月十五日上午十一时十五分至十一时半
中方出席人员：张闻天、宦乡、浦寿昌（译员）
英方出席人员：卡西亚、福特（译员）

卡西亚：昨天艾登先生与莫洛托夫先生谈了老、柬问题。我们假定莫洛托夫先生已经告知了中国，因为现在的安排是，每一位主席分别通知其同伴。但是这一次艾登先生特别急于使中国和苏联代表团了解英国代表团在老、柬问题上的立场，而要消除任何可以引致怀疑的可能。

艾登先生已经在会议中说过，我们的基本立场是坚持要求把越盟的军队撤出老、柬两国。在这两国究竟全是越盟军，或者一部分是越盟军，这是有争论的问题。但是，在这两国有越盟军，那是肯定的。对于我们来说，撤出越盟军是一个原则性的问题。在此地已经有了安排，以便我们在日内瓦对这一问题达成协议并从而解决老、柬问题。大使和我们一样，是看报纸的，因此一定已经知道柬埔寨在数星期前已向联合国提出呼吁，而现在老挝也在考虑采取同样行动。我们认为，在此地取得解决要好得多。

我重复一遍，我们认为在此地取得解决要好得多。如果对于撤出侵略军一事取得协议，我们就根本不能设想，与会各国中会有任何一国利用这样一个协议在老、柬建立基地。恰恰相反，艾登先生曾经说过，如果能够达成协议，这一协议将由与会各国加以保证。我现在回头来说艾登先生给我的指示。关于撤出任何侵略军的问题，我们是决不能退让的。艾登先生要我向大使说明，并请转达总理先生，明天关于老、柬的会议可能是很重要的会议。如果能解决那个我们不能退让的问题，艾登先生希望我们就能从而解决老、柬问题，并由与会各国来保证这一解决。

我们目前这个会议的好处就在于它是一个讨论的场所，而中国代表团事实上也已在此。我想，大使一定了解我这句话。我们是愿意中国代表团在此的，而中国代表团已经在这里。如果转移到另外一个地方去，我们将会遇到不良的情况。

我的使命就是把上述各点说清楚。我希望，我已经作到了这一点。

张大使^②：英国的态度我们是知道的。艾登先生在会议中曾经讲过。今天卡西亚先生所说的，也是一样。

中国的态度，你们也是知道的。周外长在会议中就说过几次。

卡西亚（原文为“卡祺亚”。——编者）先生今天所说的，我将报告周外长。

明天开会时，中国代表团将会有它自己对高、寮问题的建议。这一建议会把卡西亚先生今天所说的考虑在内。

卡西亚：如果周总理在明天开会前愿意与艾登先生会晤，艾登先生是完全听命的。

张大使：我也会把这一点报告周外长。

卡西亚：请原谅我，我必须匆匆告别，因为我还要陪艾登先生去见莫洛托夫先生。我来的时候，并且还借用了艾登先生的车。

张大使：我们之间不用客气。我们欢迎你来。

注释：

① 卡西亚：Harold Caccia，英国外交及联邦事务部次官。本篇原文译名为“卡祺亚”。

② 张大使：即张闻天。

Time: 15 June 1954, 11:15 a.m. to 11:30 a.m.

Attendees on the Chinese side: Zhang Wentian, Huan Xiang, Pu Shouchang (interpreter)

Attendees on the British side: Caccia, Ford (interpreter)

Caccia: Yesterday Mr. [Anthony] Eden and Mr. [Vyacheslav M.] Molotov discussed the Laos and Cambodia issues. We assume that Mr. Molotov had already informed the Chinese side because the current arrangement is to let every chair inform his partner respectively. However, this time Mr. Eden is especially eager to let the Chinese and Soviet delegations know the British delegation's position on the Laos and Cambodia issues so that [he could] remove all possibility that might cause suspicions.

Mr. Eden has already stated at the meeting that our basic position is that we insist that the Viet Minh troops should be withdrawn from Laos and Cambodia. Whether all the troops in these two countries are Viet Minh troops or a part of them are is a controversial question. However, it is confirmed that there are Viet Minh troops in these two countries. For us, the withdrawal of the Viet Minh troops is a matter of principle. We have already made arrangements here so that we can reach an agreement on this issue and thus solve the Laos and Cambodia issues in Geneva. The Ambassador reads newspapers as we do, you must have already known that Cambodia had already made an appeal to the United Nations several weeks ago. And now Laos is also considering taking the same action. We believe that it is much better to reach the solution here.

I will repeat again that we believe that it is much better to reach the solution here. If we can reach an agreement on the withdrawal of the invading troops, we cannot imagine that any participating countries will use such an agreement to establish [military] bases in Laos and Cambodia. On the contrary, Mr. Eden said that if we could reach an agreement, this agreement will be guaranteed by all participants. Now I will get back to the instructions from Mr. Eden. We definitely cannot compromise on the withdrawal of all invading troops. Mr. Eden asked me to explain to the ambassador, and also to inform the prime minister, that tomorrow's meeting on the Laos and Cambodia issues might be a very important one. If we can solve the problem on which we cannot compromise, Mr. Eden hopes that we will thereafter be able to solve the Laos and Cambodia issues and to let all participants guarantee this solution.

The advantage of our current conference is that it is a place of discussion, and in fact the Chinese delegation has already been here. I think that the ambassador must understand what I mean by this. We are glad to have the Chinese delegation here, and the Chinese delegation is already here. If [the conference] were held in another place, we would have had an undesirable situation.

My mission is to clarify the above points. I hope that I have accomplished it.

Zhang Wentian: We understand Britain's attitude. Mr. Eden has said that before at the meeting. What Mr. Caccia said today is the same.

You understand China's attitude as well. Foreign Minister Zhou [Enlai] stated it several times at the meetings.

I will report to Foreign Minister Zhou what Mr. Caccia said today.

At tomorrow's meeting, the Chinese delegation will present its own proposal concerning the Laos and Cambodia issues. This proposal will take into account Mr. Caccia's statement today.

Caccia: If Prime Minister Zhou wants to meet with Mr. Eden before tomorrow's

meeting Mr. Eden will completely agree with that.

Zhang Wentian: I will also report to Foreign Minister Zhou about this.

Caccia: Please excuse me. I have to leave in a hurry because I need to accompany Mr. Eden to visit Mr. Molotov. Also, I borrowed Mr. Eden's car when I came.

Zhang Wentian: We don't need to be too polite with one another. We welcome your visit.