

The 1954 Geneva Conference and the Cold War in Asia New Evidence and Perspectives

A CWIHP Document Reader

Dear Conference Participants,

We are pleased to present to you this document reader, intended to facilitate the discussion at the upcoming conference on the 1954 Geneva Conference, to be held in Washington DC on February 17-18, 2006. The volume consists of selected documents from several archives, including the US, UK, Russia, Vietnam, and, for the first time, translations of documents from the archives of the People's Republic of China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

This collection, compiled by the Cold War International History Project with the help of several participants, is by no means comprehensive. In selecting the documents, we sought to include some of the most important materials available. The reader is organized chronologically and separated into four major sections: 1) *The Road to the Conference*; 2) *The Geneva Meetings*; 3) *The Conference's Conclusion*; and 4) *Reactions to the Conference*.

We are grateful for the help we have received from Ambassador Lian Zhengbao of the Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of China and Mrs. Zhang Sulin of the Department of Archives, PRC Foreign Ministry, who were instrumental in obtaining the Chinese documents presented in this collection. We have also received invaluable assistance and guidance from Professor Chen Jian of Cornell University, who facilitated the access to the PRC Ministry of Foreign Affairs documents and coordinated the translations of those documents, and Professor James Hershberg of the George Washington University, who provided the British documents from the UK National Archives (formerly the PRO). We would also like to recognize the team of CWIHP interns who worked diligently to make sure the document reader was ready for dissemination: Kalin Kankev, Rene Schneeberger, Evan Hensleigh, and Joan Gabel.

A note on the documents: not all the Chinese documents included in this reader are from the PRC's Diplomatic Archives. Some were first published in Chinese *neibu* publications—Party publications with limited, internal distribution—and others in various Chinese document collections of limited circulation. These documents were obtained and translated by Chen Jian, and are identified as such in the source attribution. The UK documents—identified as PRO in the table of contents—were obtained by James Hershberg from the UK National Archives during a research trip co-sponsored by the National Security Archive and the Cold War International History Project. The documents identified as CWIHP/WP22 were obtained by the Cold War Project with the

help of Odd Arne Westad, Chen Jian, Stein Tonnesson, Nguyen Vu Tung, and James Hershberg, and published for the first time in CWIHP Working Paper No. 22, "77 Conversations with Mao Zedong in the Indochina Problem." The document identified as CWIHP/B12-13 was obtained by Stein Tonnesson and published in *CWIHP Bulletin* 12/13.

We are especially grateful to The Henry Luce Foundation, whose support made this conference possible, and to our co-organizers, the Wilson Center's Asia Program, The Cornell Cold War Project at Cornell University, and the George Washington University Cold War Group (GWCW) at The George Washington University. Last but not least, we would like to thank Hon. Lee H. Hamilton, President and Director of the Woodrow Wilson Center and Dr. Michael Van Dusen, Deputy Director, for providing Center resources for this conference.

The Editors

Washington DC
February 10, 2006

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23 June 1954, **MoC**: Memorandum of Conversation between M. Mendès-France and Zhou Enlai at Berne, (PRO)

16-20 August 1953, **A**: *Assessment of the Armistice in Korea and its Impacts to the War of Resistance in Vietnam*

26 November 1953, **T**: *President Ho Answers a Swedish Journalist*

1-4 December 1953, **Tr**: *Report by President Ho before the Democratic Republic of Vietnam National Assembly*

2 December 1953, **M**: *How to Explain the Statement by the DRV Delegation to the World Peace Council Meeting in November 1953*

27 December 1953, **L**: *Circular Letter On the statement by President Ho to Swedish Journalist*

17 February 1954, **O**: Transcript of Zhou Enlai's Speech at a preparatory meeting by the Chinese delegation attending the Geneva Conference (excerpt), 3:00pm (CJ)

19 February 1954, **PR**: *Department of State Press Release*, (FRUS)

21 February 1954, **MoC**: *Record of a Conversation with Nguyen Long Bang, Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to the Soviet Union, 5 January 1954*, (AVP RF)

22 February 1954, **O**: *Making Great Efforts to Smash the French and US Imperialists' Schemes for Intensifying the War of Aggression*

24 February 1954, **M**, *Memorandum by Edmund A. Gullion of the Policy Planning Staff to the Director of that Staff [Bowie]*, part IV: "A Settlement in Indochina in the Framework of a General Far Eastern Settlement," and part V: "Where do we go from here?", (FRUS)

26 February 1954, **T**: *Soviet Party Central Committee to CCP Central Committee, via Comrade Yudin*, (CMFA)

- February 1954, **PP**: "Preliminary Opinions on the Assessment of and Preparation for the Geneva Conference," prepared by Chinese Foreign Ministry , (CMFA)
- 1 March 1954, 6:37 pm, **T**: *The Acting Secretary of State to the Embassy In France*, (FRUS)
- 1 March 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by the Deputy Director of the Executive Secretariat [Kitchen] to the Acting Secretary of State*, (FRUS)
- 2 March 1954, 8 pm, **T**: *The Chargé in France [Achilles] to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 2 March 1954, **PP**: "Preliminary Opinions on the Assessment of and Preparation for the Geneva Conference," Prepared by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (drafted by Zhou Enlai) and Approved in principle at a Meeting of the CCP Central Secretariat (excerpt), (CMFA)
- 4 March 1954, 1 pm, **T**: *The Chargé in France [Achilles] to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 4 March 1954, 7 pm, **T**: *The Acting Secretary of State to the Embassy in France*, (FRUS)
- 6 March 1954 **T**: *Zhang Wentian to the Foreign Ministry and report to Zhou Enlai and the Central Committee, Concerning reporting the preliminary opinions of our side toward the Geneva Conference to the Soviet side.* (CMFA)
- 31 March 1954, **MoC**: *Record of a Conversation between P.F. Yudin, Soviet Ambassador to the PRC, with the Hoang Van Hoan, Vietnamese Ambassador to the PRC, 5 March 1954*, (AVP RF)
- 8 March 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by the Director of the Office of Philippine and Southeast Asian Affairs [Bonsal]*, (FRUS)
- 9 March 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by Edmund A. Gullion of the Policy Planning Staff to the Director of that Staff [Bowie]*, (FRUS)
- 10 March 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by Edmund A. Gullion of the Policy Planning Staff to the Director of that Staff [Bowie]*, (FRUS)
- 10 March 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by the Counselor [MacArthur]*, (FRUS)
- 11 March 1954, **T**: *Zhou Enlai to Ho Chi Minh (excerpt)* (CJ)
- 12 March 1954, **T**: *The Ambassador in the United Kingdom [Aldrich] to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 13 March 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by the Counselor [MacArthur]*, (FRUS)

- 15 March 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by the Director of the Office of Philippine and Southeast Asian Affairs [Bonsal] to the Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs [Robertson]*, (FRUS)
- 17 March 1954, 8pm, **T**: *The Ambassador in the Soviet Union [Bohlen] to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 17 March 1954, **PP**: *Outline of Directives on the Issue of the Restoration of Peace in Indochina*, (AVP RF)
- 23 March 1954, **M**: *The Secretary of Defense [Wilson] to the Secretary of State*, (FRUS)
- 24 March 1954, **PP**: *Position Paper Prepared for the Indochina Phase of the Geneva Conference*, (FRUS)
- 26 March 1954, **M**: *Taking Advantage of Our Victories to Step Up the Work in Occupied Areas*
- 27 March 1954, 1:24 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the Embassy in France*, (FRUS)
- Editorial Note*: "On March 29, 1954, Secretary Dulles delivered an address...", (PRO)
- 29 March 1954, **PP**: *Draft Position Paper Prepared for the Indochina Phase of the Geneva Conference*, (FRUS)
- 4 April 1954, **PP**: *"A Comprehensive Solution for Restoring Peace in Indochina" (Draft), prepared by the Vietnam Group in the Chinese delegation attending the Geneva Conference*, (CMFA)
- 6 April 1954, **T**: *Zhang Wentian to Li Kenong, Concerning the Soviet suggestion on propaganda work at Geneva*, (CMFA)
- 6 April 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by the Ambassador in the United Kingdom [Aldrich] to the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs [Eden]*, (FRUS)
- 7 April 1954, 3:45 pm, **MoC**: *Memorandum of Conversation, by the Director of the Office of Chinese Affairs [McConaughy]*, (FRUS)
- 7 April 1954, **M**: *Memorandum Prepared in the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 7 April 1954, **M**: *Instruction by the Secretariat*
- 9 April 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by Charles P. Stelle of the Policy Planning Staff*, (FRUS)
- 10 April 1954, **M**: *With Regard to the Celebration of May 1, 1954*

- 15 April 1954, **M**: *The Director of the Office of Foreign Military Affairs of the Department of Defense [Davis] to the Coordinator for the United States Delegation to the Geneva Conference [Johnson]*, Attachment: "Draft: United State Position on Indochina to be taken at Geneva.", (FRUS)
- 16 April 1954, 1 pm, **T**: *The Ambassador in France [Dillon] to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 16 April 1954, **R**: Report from W.D. Allen to Foreign Office on Tripartite talks in Paris on Indo-China, (PRO)
- 17 April 1954, **T**: Mao Zedong to Huang Kecheng and Su Yu, (CJ)
- 19 April 1954, **MoC**: *Memorandum of Conversation, by the Secretary of State (with President Eisenhower)*, (FRUS)
- 20 April 1954, **MoC**: *Memorandum of Conversation, by Elisabeth Brown of the Office of United Nations Political and Security Affairs*, (FRUS)
- 20 April 1954, 5:00 a.m., **O**: Transcript, Zhou Enlai's presentation at the meeting of the members of the Chinese delegation attending the Geneva Conference (excerpt), (CJ)
- 22 April 1954, 4 pm, **MoC**: *United States Minutes of a Tripartite Foreign Minister's Meeting*, (FRUS)
- 22 April 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by the Director of the Office of Philippine and Southeast Asian Affairs [Bonsal]*, (FRUS)
- 23 April 1954, 2:15 am, **T**: from Paris to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 23 April 1954, 4:58 pm, **T**: from Paris to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 23 April 1954, **L**: from Paris to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 23 April 1954, **T**: *Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, and the CCP Central Committee, concerning Malenkov's conversation with Zhou Enlai about the Vietnam issue*, (CMFA)
- 21-24 April 1954, **M**: *Memorandum on Tripartite Talks in Paris, April 21-24, 1954*, (FRUS)
- 24 April 1954, 1:25 am, **C**: # 257 from Paris to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 24 April 1954, 5:20 pm, **C**: # 262 from Paris to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 25 April 1954, 4:26 pm, **C**: # 274 from Paris to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 25 April 1954, 5:15 pm, **C**: # 275 from Paris to Foreign Office, (PRO)

- 25 April 1954, 6:55 pm, C: # 5 from Paris to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 25 April 1954, MoC: *Memorandum of Conversation, by the Secretary of State*, (FRUS)
- 26 April 1954, 12:28 pm, T: *The Acting Secretary of State to the Secretary of State, at Geneva*, (FRUS)
- 26 April 1954, M: *Memorandum by the Special Adviser to the United States Delegation [Heath] to the Secretary of State*, (FRUS)
- 26 April 1954, 9 pm, T: *The Secretary of State to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 26 April 1954, MoC: *Memorandum of Conversation between the Prime Minister, USN Admiral Radford, USN Captain George Anderson*, (PRO)
- 26 April 1954, T: *Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong and others, concerning speaking at the conference and the first plenary session*, (CMFA)
- 27 April 1954, 12:48 pm, C: *From Foreign Office to Geneva Conference (UK Delegation)*, (PRO)
- 27 April 1954, 5:44 pm, C: *From Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office*, (PRO)
- 27 April 1954, 9 pm, T: *Dulles-Molotov Meeting, Geneva, April 27: The Secretary of State to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 27 April 1954, M: *Memorandum by the Special Adviser to the United States Delegation [MacArthur] to the Secretary of State*, (FRUS)
- 28 April 1954, 7:17 pm, C: *from Washington to Foreign Office*, (PRO)
- 28 April 1954, MoC: *Memorandum of Conversation, by the Special Adviser to the United States Delegation [Merchant]*, (FRUS)
- 28 April 1954, MoC: *Memorandum of Conversation* (participants: Prince Wan, Foreign Minister, Thailand; Ambassador Pote Sarasin; Secretary Dulles; Walter Robertson; U. Alexis Johnson), (FRUS)
- 28 April 1954, M: *Memorandum for the Special Adviser to the United States Delegation [Bowie]*, (FRUS)
- 28 April 1954, MoC: *Memorandum of Conversation between the Prime Minister, USN Admiral Radford, USN Captain George Anderson*, (PRO)
- 28 April 1954, L: *from Foreign Office to Sir Roger Makins*, (PRO)

28 April 1954, **T**: from Mao Zedong to Peng Dehuai and Huang Kecheng, (CJ)

28 April 1954, **T**: from Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, and CCP Central Committee (excerpt), (CJ)

30 April 1954, 3 pm, **MoC**: *Heath-Bao Dai Meeting, Cannes, April 29, 7:30 am: The Secretary of State to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

29 April 1954, 10 am, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

29 April 1954, 4 pm, **T**: *The Ambassador in Ceylon [Crowe] to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

29 April 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by the Adviser to the United States Delegation [Bonsal] to the Special Adviser to the United States Delegation [Robertson]*, (FRUS)

29 April 1954, **L**: from Roger Makins (British Embassy, Washington) to Foreign Office, (PRO)

29 April 1954, **L**: from UK NMR Shape to Ministry of Defence, London, (PRO)

30 April 1954, 12:15 pm, **MoC**: *Memorandum of Conversation, by the Secretary of State (with Mr. Eden)*, (FRUS)

30 April 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by the Adviser to the United States Delegation [Bonsal]*, (FRUS)

30 April 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by the Adviser to the United States Delegation [Stelle] to the Special Adviser to the United States Delegation [Bowie]*, (FRUS)

30 April 1954, 9 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

1 May 1954, **MoC**: *Memorandum of Conversation, by the Special Adviser to the United States Delegation [MacArthur]*, (FRUS)

1 May 1954, 2 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

1 May 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by the Adviser to the United States Delegation [Stelle] to the Special Adviser to the United States Delegation [Bowie]*, (FRUS)

1 May 1954, **MoC**: *Memorandum of Conversation with a member of the Soviet Delegation*, (PRO)

1 May 1954, **T**: Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong, concerning contact with Anthony Eden , (CMFA)

2 May 1954, 11:30 pm, **C**: From Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)

- 2 May 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by the Special Adviser to the United States Delegation [Bowie] to the Secretary of State*, attachment: "Actions to Prepare for Implementation of Alternative U.S. Policies in Indochina.", (FRUS)
- 2 May 1954, **MoC**: *Memorandum of Conversation, by the Special Adviser to the United States Delegation [MacArthur]*, (FRUS)
- 3 May 1954, **MoC**: *Memorandum of Conversation at the French Delegation Offices*, (PRO)
- 3 May 1954, 3:23 pm, **C**: # 303 from Paris to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 3 May 1954, 4:27 pm, **C**: # 302 from Paris to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 3 May 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by the Special Adviser to the United States Delegation [Heath] to the Under Secretary of State [Smith]*, (FRUS)
- 3 May 1954, **L**: from the British Ambassador in Washington [Matkins] to London, (PRO)
- 6 May 1954, 1:01 pm, **C**: # 161 from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 6 May 1954, **L**: to Anthony Eden, Geneva, UK Delegation, (PRO)
- 8 May 1954, 11 am, **T**: *Smith-Bidault Meeting, Geneva, May 7, Afternoon: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 7 May 1954, 4 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 7 May 1954, 6:02 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the Embassy in France*, (FRUS)
- 7 May 1954, **MoC**: *Memorandum of Conversation, by the Adviser to the United States Delegation [Getz]*, (FRUS)

Tab 2 -- The Geneva Meetings
(8 May – 21 July 1954)

- 8 May 1954, 10 am, **T**: *The Chargé at Saigon [McClintock] to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 8 May 1954, noon, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 8 May 1954, 12:32 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 8 May 1954, 2 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Secretary of State*, (FRUS)

- 8 May 1954, midnight, **T**: *First Plenary Session on Indochina, Geneva, May 8, 4:35 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 9 May 1954, noon, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 9 May 1954, noon, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 9 May 1954, 8 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 9 May 1954, 8:57 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 9 May 1954, 8:57 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 9 May 1954, **T**: Zhou Enlai's telegram to Mao Zedong and others, on the situation of the first plenary session, (CMFA)
- 9 May 1954, **T**: CCP Central Committee to Zhou Enlai, reply to Zhou Enlai's May 9th 1954 telegram, (CMFA)
- 10 May 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by the Special Adviser to the United States Delegation [Heath] to the Head of the Delegation [Smith]*, (FRUS)
- 10 May 1954, 11 pm, **T**: *Second Plenary Session on Indochina, Geneva, May 10, 3 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 10 May 1954, **T**: *Second Plenary Session on Indochina, May 10, 3 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 10 May 1954, **T**: *Second Plenary Session on Indochina, May 10, 3 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 10 May 1954, **MoC**: *Smith-Molotov Meeting, Geneva, May 10, 7:30 pm: Memorandum of Conversation, by the Adviser to the United States Delegation [Keppel]*, (FRUS)
- 10 May 1954, 9 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 10 May 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by Chester L. Cooper and Joseph A. Yager to the Special Adviser to the United States Delegation [Heath]*, (FRUS)
- 10 May 1954, **L**: *The Head of the United States Delegation [Smith] to the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs [Eden]*, (FRUS)
- 11 May 1954, **MoC**: *Memorandum of Conversation, by Lieutenant Colonel Robert C. Taber of the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)

- 11 May 1954, **L**: *The British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs [Eden] to the Head of the United States Delegation [Smith]*, (FRUS)
- 11 May 1954, **T**: *Cable by the Secretariat*
- 12 May 1954, 11:58 am, **C**: # 250 from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 12 May 1954, 12:32 pm, **C**: # 251 from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 12 May 1954, 7 pm, **T**: *Smith-Bidault-Eden Meeting, Geneva, May 12, Noon: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 12 May 1954, 2:09 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 12 May 1954, **MoC**: *Memorandum of Conversation, by the Special Adviser to the United States Delegation [Heath]*, (FRUS)
- 12 May 1954, **T**: *Third Plenary Session on Indochina, Geneva, May 12, 3:05 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 12 May 1954, **T**: Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong and others, concerning the second plenary session, (CMFA)
- 13 May 1954, **L**: from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office. Attached are the minutes and an analysis on the Viet Minh proposals., (PRO)
- 13 May 1954, 4:17 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 13 May 1954, 6 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 13 May 1954, 6:58 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 13 May 1954, 8 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 13 May 1954, 9 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 13 May 1954, **T**: from Zhou Enlai to Wei Guoqing, and report to the CCP Central Committee (excerpt), (CJ)
- 14 May 1954, 1:55 pm, **C**: From Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 14 May 1954, 4:29 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 14 May 1954, 9:51 pm, **T**: From Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)

- 14 May 1954, **MoC**: *Memorandum of Conversation, by the Adviser to the United States Delegation [Bonsal]*, (FRUS)
- 14 May 1954, **MoC**: *Memorandum of Conversation, by the Adviser to the United States Delegation [Martin]*, (FRUS)
- 14 May 1954, **Min**: Zhou Enlai's meeting with Anthony Eden, (CMFA)
- 14 May 1954, **T**: Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong and others, concerning the tenth plenary session, (CMFA)
- 15 May 1954, **MoC**: *Memorandum of Conversation, by the Deputy United States Representative [Robertson]*, (FRUS)
- 15 May 1954, 1 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 15 May 1954, 3 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 15 May 1954, 3 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 15 May 1954, 5 pm, **Min**: Minute of the Meeting of Wang Jiaxiang, Pham Van Dong and Gromyko, 5:00 pm, May 15, 1954, (JH)
- 15 May 1954, 9 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 15 May 1954, 9 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 15 May 1954, **T**: Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong and others, asking for instructions on the Korean Issue and reporting on the fourth plenary session on the Indochina issue, (CMFA)
- 16 May 1954, 9 am, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 17 May 1954, 1 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 17 May 1954, 1 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 17 May 1954, 11 pm, **T**: *First Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, May 17, 3pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 17 May 1954, 11 pm, **T**: *First Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, May 17, 3 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 17 May 1954, **T**: from Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, and the CCP Central Committee, (excerpt), (CJ)

- 17 May 1954, **T**: CCP Central Committee to Zhou Enlai, reply to Zhou on Enlai's May 15th 1954 telegram, (CMFA)
- 18 May 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by the Special Adviser to the United States Delegation [Heath] to the Head of the Delegation [Smith]*, (FRUS)
- 18 May 1954, 9 pm, **T**, *Second Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, May 18, 3 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 18 May 1954, **MoC**: *Memorandum of Conversation* (with Ngo Dinh Luyen, Bao Dai's Personal Representative; The Under Secretary; Philip W. Bonsal), (FRUS)
- 18 May 1954, **MoC**: *Memorandum of Conversation, by the Director of the Office of British Commonwealth and Northern European Affairs [Raynor]*, (FRUS)
- 18 May 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by the Adviser to the United States Delegation [Bonsal] to the Head of the Delegation [Smith]*, (FRUS)
- 18 May 1954, **T**: Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, and report to the CCP Central Committee, regarding Phan Van Dong's reply to Eden, (CMFA)
- 19 May 1954, 9 pm, **T**: *Third Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, May 19, 3 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 19 May 1954, **T**: Zhou Enlai's telegram to Mao Zedong and others, concerning the second restricted session, (CMFA)
- 20 May 1954, 9 am, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 20 May 1954, 10:32 am, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 20 May 1954, **MoC**: *Memorandum of Conversation, by the Adviser to the United States Delegation [Bonsal]*, (FRUS)
- 20 May 1954, 2 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 20 May 1954, 5 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 20 May 1954, 6 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 20 May 1954, 6 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 20 May 1954, 6:38 pm, **C**: # 386 from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 20 May 1954, 7:50 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)

- 20 May 1954, midnight, **MoC**: *Bidault-Eden-Smith Meeting, Geneva, May 20, Evening: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 20 May 1954, **T**: Zhou Enlai's telegram to Mao Zedong and others, on the situation of the third restricted session, (CMFA)
- 21 May 1954, 3 pm, **T**: *Smith-Eden Meeting, Geneva, May 20, Evening: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 21 May 1954, 11 pm, **T**: *Fourth Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, May 21, 3 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 21 May 1954, **MoC**: *Memorandum of Conversation, by the Special Adviser to the United States Delegation [Heath]*, (FRUS)
- 21 May 1954, 6 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 22 May 1954, **L**: *The Special Adviser to the United States Delegation [Achilles] to W. Dennis Allen of the British Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 22 May 1954, 11 am, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 22 May 1954, 11:08 am, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 22 May 1954, noon, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 22 May 1954, 1 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 22 May 1954, 1:51 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 22 May 1954, 3:48 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 22 May 1954, **MoC**: *Memorandum of Conversation, by the Adviser to the United States Delegation [Bonsal]*, (FRUS)
- 22 May 1954, **T**: Zhou Enlai's telegram to Mao Zedong and others, on the situation of the fourth restricted session, (CMFA)
- 23 May 1954, 5 pm, **T**: *Smith-Molotov Meeting, Geneva, May 22, Evening: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 25 May 1954, 1 am, **T**: *Fifth Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, May 24, 3 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

25 May 1954, 9 pm, **T**: *Smith-Buu Loc Meeting, Geneva, May 25, Morning: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

25 May 1954, **M**: *Memorandum to the Special Adviser to the United States Delegation [Heath] to the Head of the Delegation [Smith]*, (FRUS)

26 May 1954, 1 am, **T**: *Sixth Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, May 25, 3 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

26 May 1954, 11 am, **T**: *Sixth Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, May 25, 3 pm: The United States Delegation to the DOS*, (FRUS)

25 May 1954, 9 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

26 May 1954, 1:28 am, **C**: # 447 from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)

26 May 1954, **L**: from Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick to Secretary of State, (PRO)

27 May 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by the Special Adviser to the United States Delegation [Heath] to the Head of the Delegation [Smith]*, (FRUS)

27 May 1954, **MoC**: *Memorandum of Discussion at the 199th Meeting of the National Security Council, Thursday, May 27, 1954, section 10*, (FRUS)

27 [8] May 1954, noon, **T**: *Seventh Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, May 27, 3 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

27 May 1954, midnight, **T**: *Seventh Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, May 27, 3 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

27 May 1954, midnight, **T**: *Seventh Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, May 27, 3 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

27 May 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by the Secretary of State to the President*, (FRUS)

27 May 1954, 6:35 pm, **C**: from Paris to Foreign Office, (PRO)

27 May 1954, 9:00 pm, **C**: From Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)

27 May 1954, 11:45 pm, **C**: From Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)

28 May 1954, 11 am, **Min**: *United States Minutes of the First Meeting of the Drafting Committee on Indochina*, (FRUS)

- 29 May 1954, 11:56 am, **C**: # 498 from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 29 May 1954, midnight, **T**: *Eighth Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, May 29, 3 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 29 May 1954, 7 pm, **T**: *Eighth Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, May 29, 3 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 30 May 1954, 12:44 am, **C**: # 507 from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 30 May 1954, **T**: Zhou Enlai's telegram to Mao Zedong and others, on the situation of the eighth restricted session, (CMFA)
- 30 May 1954, **T**: from Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, and the CCP Central Committee, (excerpt), (CJ)
- 30 May 1954, **Min**: Wang Bingnan's meeting with Jean Paul-Boncour, (CMFA)
- 31 May 1954, midnight, **T**: *Ninth Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, May 31, 3 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 31 May 1954, 4 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 31 May 1954, 6:14 pm, **T**: *The Acting Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 31 May 1954, **L**: *The Acting Secretary of State to the Secretary of State*, (FRUS)
- 31 May 1954, 9 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 1 June 1954, **T**: *Smith-Eden-Bidault Meeting, June 1, 1954, Noon: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 1 June 1954, 3:37 pm, **T**: *The Acting Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 1 June 1954, 7:46 pm, **C**: # 517 from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 1 June 1954, **Min**: Zhou Enlai's meeting with Bidault, (CMFA)
- 1 June 1954, **T**: Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong and others, on the situation of the ninth restricted session, (CMFA)

- 2 June 1954, midnight, **T**: *Tenth Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, June 2, 3 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 2 June 1954, 2:32 pm, **C**: # 554 from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 2 June 1954, 9 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 2 June 1954, 9:56 am, **T**: *Dulles-Hammarskjold Meeting, June 2, 1954: The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 2 June 1954, **T**: Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong and others, concerning contacts with Anthony Eden and Bidault, (CMFA)
- 3 June 1954, 12:39 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 3 June 1954, 3 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 3 June 1954, 3 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 3 June 1954, 3 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 3 June 1954, midnight, **T**: *Eleventh Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, June 3, 3 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 3 June 1954, 4 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 3 June 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by Chester L. Cooper and Joseph A. Yager of the United States Delegation to the Special Adviser [Heath]*, (FRUS)
- 3 June 1954, **T**: Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong and others, on the situation of the tenth restricted session, (CMFA)
- 4 June 1954, **M**: *Memorandum from the Special Adviser to the United States Delegation [Heath] to the Head of the Delegation [Smith]*, (FRUS)
- 4 June 1954, noon, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 4 June 1954, 3 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 4 June 1954, 10 pm, **T**: *Twelfth Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, June 4, 3 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 4 June 1954, **P**: *Twelfth Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, June 4, 3 pm: Proposal Made by the French Delegation*, (FRUS)

- 4 June 1954, 10 pm, **T**: *Twelfth Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, June 4, 3 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 4 June 1954, 7:40 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 4 June 1954, **T**: *Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong and Others, Regarding the Situation at the Eleventh Restricted Session*, (CMFA)
- 5 June 1954, 3 pm, **T**: *Smith-Menon Meeting, Geneva, June 4, Evening: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 5 June 1954, **T**: *Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong and Others, Regarding the Situation at the Twelfth Restricted Session*, (CMFA)
- 4 June 1954, **L**: from BJSM, Washington to Ministry of Defence, London, (PRO)
- 5 June 1954, 12:42 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 5 June 1954, 8 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 5 June 1954, 3 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of Defense*, (FRUS)
- 5 June 1954, **T**: *Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong and others, on the situation of the twelfth restricted session*, (CMFA)
- 5 June 1954, **Min**: *Wang Bingnan's meeting with Chauvel and Guillermaz, (of the French delegation)*, (CMFA)
- 6 June 1954, 2 pm, **T**: *Smith-Menon Meeting, Geneva, June 5, Morning:: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 6 June 1954, **L**: *The Coordinator of the United States Delegation [Johnson] to the Head of the Delegation [Smith]*, (FRUS)
- 6 June 1954, **L**: *The Special Adviser to the United States Delegation [Heath] to the Head of the Delegation [Smith]*, (FRUS)
- 6 June 1954, **Min**: *Wang Bingnan's Meeting with Chauvel and Guillermaz*, (CMFA)
- 6 June 1954, **T**: *Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong and Others, Regarding the Situation at the Thirteenth Plenary Session*, (CMFA)
- 7 June 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by the Adviser to the United States Delegation [Bonsal] to the Head of the Delegation [Smith]*, (FRUS)

- 7 June 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by the Adviser to the United States Delegation [Bonsal] to the Head of the Delegation [Smith]*, (FRUS)
- 7 June 1954, 2 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 7 June 1954, 5:28 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 7 June 1954, 5:58 pm, **C**: # 619 from Lord Reading, Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 7 June 1954, 6:27 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 7 June 1954, 7:34 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 7 June 1954, **MoC**: *Memorandum of Conversation, by the Special Adviser to the United States Delegation [Page]*, (FRUS)
- 7 June 1954, **T**: *Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong, concerning consultations among the Chinese, Soviet and Vietnamese delegations*, (CMFA)
- 7 June 1954, **T**: *CCP Central Committee to Zhou Enlai, reply to Zhou Enlai's June 7, 1954 telegram*, (CMFA)
- 8 June 1954, 9 am, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 8 June 1954, noon, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 8 June 1954, midnight, **T**: *Fifth Plenary Session on Indochina, Geneva, June 8, 1954, 3:03 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 8 June 1954, **T**: *Fifth Plenary Session on Indochina, Geneva, June 8, 3:03 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 8 June 1954, **T**: *Fifth Plenary Session on Indochina, Geneva, June 8, 3:03 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 8 June 1954, **T**: from Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, and the CCP Central Committee (excerpt), (CJ)
- 8 June 1954, **MoC**: *Memorandum of Conversation with the French Minister*, (PRO)
- 9 June 1954, 10 pm, **T**: *Smith-Eden Meeting, Geneva, June 9: Morning: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 9 June 1954, 11 am, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

- 9 June 1954, 3 pm, T: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 9 June 1954, midnight, T: *Sixth Plenary Session on Indochina, Geneva, June 9, 3:05 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 9 June 1954, T: *Sixth Plenary Session on Indochina, Geneva, June 9, 3:05 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 9 June 1954, T: *Sixth Plenary Session on Indochina, Geneva, June 9, 3:05 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 9 June 1954, T: Li Kenong to Chinese Foreign Ministry, concerning the Chinese delegation's reception of French people's delegation, (CMFA)
- 11 June 1954, noon, T: *Smith-Dinh Meeting, Geneva, June 10, Morning: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 10 June 1954, T: *Seventh Plenary Session on Indochina, Geneva, Geneva, June 10, 3:03 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 10 June 1954, T: Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong, concerning the conversation with Georges Bidault , (CMFA)
- 11 June 1954, T: Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong and others, concerning the seventh plenary session, (CMFA)
- 12 June 1954, 2:16 pm, C: # 671 from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 12 June 1954, 4 pm, T: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 12 June 1954, 6:31 pm, C: # 676 from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 12 June 1954, 7:00 pm, C: # 677 from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 13 June 1954, noon, T: *Smith-Eden Meeting, Geneva, June 12, Morning: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 13 June 1954, M: *Memorandum by Richard V. Hennes to the Head of the Delegation [Smith]*, (FRUS)
- 13 June 1954, 2 pm, T: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 13 June 1954, 2 pm, T: *The Ambassador in France [Dillon] to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

- 13 June 1954, **T**: Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong and others, concerning the fourteenth plenary of the Conference, (CMFA)
- 14 June 1954, 10 am, **T**: *Smith-Eden-Chauvel Meeting, Geneva, June 13, Evening: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 14 June 1954, 8 pm, **T**: *Heath-Dac Khe-Bonsal Meeting, Geneva, June 14, Morning: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 14 June 1954, 10 am, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 14 June 1954, midnight, **T**: *Thirteenth Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, June 14, 3 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 14 June 1954, midnight, **T**: *Thirteenth Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, June 14, 3 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 14 June 1954, midnight, **T**: *Thirteenth Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, June 14, 3 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 14 June 1954, 8:50 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 14 June 1954, **Min**: Wang Bingnan's conversation with Paul Boncour, (CMFA)
- 14 June 1954, **T**: from Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi and the CCP Central Committee, (excerpt), (CJ)
- 15 June 1954, 10 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 15 June 1954, 5:56 pm, **C**: # 726 from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 15 June 1954, **T**: Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong, concerning the thirteenth restricted session, (CMFA)
- 15 June 1954, **Min**: Zhang Wentian's meeting with Harold Caccia (of British delegation), (CMFA)
- 15 June 1954, **O**: Zhou Enlai's presentation at a meeting of the Chinese, Soviet, and Vietnamese delegations, (CJ)
- 16 June 1954, 6:55 am, **C**: from Saigon to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 16 June 1954, 6 pm, **T**: *Smith-Chauvel Meeting, Geneva, June 16, Morning: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

- 16 June 1954, M: *Memorandum by the Special Adviser to the United States Delegation [Heath] to the Head of the Delegation [Smith]*, (FRUS)
- 17 June 1954, 1 am, T: *Fourteenth Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, June 16, 3 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 17 June 1954, 1 am, T: *Fourteenth Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, June 16, 3 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 17 June 1954, 1 am, T: *Fourteenth Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, June 16, 3 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 17 June 1954, 1 am, T: *Fourteenth Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, June 16, 3 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 17 June 1954, 1 pm, T: *Fourteenth Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, June 16, 3 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 16 June 1954, 11:06 pm, C: # 751 from Geneva Conference (United Nations Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 16 June 1954, T: *The United States Delegation to the Department of Defense*, (FRUS)
- 16 June 1954, L: from Roger Makins, British Embassy in Washington to Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick, (PRO)
- 17 June 1954, 6:42 pm, C: # 769 from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 17 June 1954, 7:35 pm, C: # 774 from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 17 June 1954, M: *Memorandum by the Adviser to the United States Delegation [Keppel] to the Coordinator of the Delegation [Johnson]*, (FRUS)
- 17 June 1954, T: Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong and others, concerning the fifteenth plenary of the Conference, (CMFA)
- 18 June 1954, 1:04 pm, T: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 18 June 1954, midnight, T: *Fifteenth Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, June 18, 3 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 18 June 1954, midnight, T: *Fifteenth Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, June 18, 3 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

- 18 June 1954, midnight, **T**: *Fifteenth Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, June 18, 3 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 18 June 1954, **Min**: Zhou Enlai's conversation with Australian Foreign Minister R. G. Casey, (CMFA)
- 18 June 1954, **T**: Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong, concerning the conversation with Georges Bidault and others , (CMFA)
- 18 June 1954, **MoC**: Memorandum of Conversation between R. G. Casey and Zhou Enlai, (PRO)
- 19 June 1954, midnight, **T**: *Smith-Molotov Meeting, Geneva, June 18, Evening: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 19 (20) June 1954, 2 am, **T**: *Sixteenth Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, June 19, 6:45 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 19 June 1954, midnight, **T**: *Sixteenth Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, June 19, 6:45 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 19 June 1954, **T**: *Sixteenth Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, June 19, 6:45 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 19 June 1954, **T**: Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, and the CCP Central Committee, (CJ)
- 19 June 1954, 7:37 pm, **C**: # 802 from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 20 June 1954, **T**: CCP Central Committee to Zhou Enlai, (CJ)
- 20 June 1954, 11:45 am, **C**: # 434 from Paris to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 20 June 1954, **MoC**: *Memorandum of Conversation, by the Special Adviser to the United States Delegation [Heath]*, (FRUS)
- 20 June 1954, **T**: *CCP Central Committee to Zhou Enlai, concerning the meeting at Nanning, 23:00*, (CMFA)
- 20 June 1954, **T**: *CCP Center to Wei Guoqing, Qiao Xiaoguang and Convey to the Vietnamese Workers Party Central Committee, Regarding the meeting between the Premier and Comrade Ding*, (CMFA)
- 21 June 1954, **MoC**: *Memorandum of Conversation, by the Adviser to the United States Delegation [Bonsal]*, (FRUS)

- 21 June 1954, T: Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong and others, concerning the sixteenth restricted session, (CMFA)
- 22 June 1954, 1:23 pm, C: # 836 from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 22 June 1954, 3 pm, T: *Seventeenth restricted session on Indochina, Geneva: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 22 June 1954, 3 pm, T: *Seventeenth restricted session on Indochina, Geneva: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 22 June 1954, 3:41 pm, C: # 837 from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 22 June 1954, 9 pm, T: *Geneva, The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 22 June 1954, **Min**: Zhou Enlai's meeting with Jean Chauvel of the French delegation , (CMFA)
- 22 June 1954, T: Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong and others, concerning conversations with Anthony Eden, (CMFA)
- 23 June 1954, 10 am, T: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 23 June 1954, 11:20 am, T: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 23 June 1954, 7 pm, T: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 23 June 1954, 9 pm, T: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 23 June 1954, T: Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong and others, concerning meeting with Phoui Sananikone, (CMFA)
- 23 June 1954, **Min**: Zhou Enlai's meeting with Mendès-France, (CMFA)
- 23 June 1954, Account of the French Note of conversation between Zhou Enlai and Mendez-France, (PRO)
- 24 June 1954, 1 pm, T: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 24 June 1954, 1:52 pm, C: #440 from Paris to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 24 June 1954, **MoC**: *Memorandum of Conversation, by the Acting Director of the Office of Philippine and the Southeast Asian Affairs [Day]*, (FRUS)

- 24 June 1954, **T**: Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong, concerning the banquet with the Laotian and Cambodian delegations and Pham Van Dong, (CMFA)
- 24 June 1954, **Min**: *On the Results of the Geneva Conference*, Extract from Protocol No. 6 of the Soviet Union Communist Party Committee Conference, (TsKhSD)
- 25 June 1954, 1:53 pm, **C**: # 1275 from Washington to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 25 June 1954, 9 pm, **T**: *Eighteenth Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva June 25th, 3 pm The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 25 June 1954, 8 pm, **T**: *Eighteenth Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva June 25th, 3 pm The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 25 June 1954, 5:56 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 25 June 1954, 10:43 pm, **C**: # 859 from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 26 June 1954, 1 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 26 June 1954, 1 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 26 June 1954, 5 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 26 June 1954, **T**: *Li Kenong to Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, and the CCP Central Committee, and Convey to Zhou Enlai, Zhang Wentian and Wang Jiaxiang, Concerning the content of a meeting between Soviet, Chinese, and Vietnamese delegations*, (CMFA)
- 27 June 1954, **L**: from Krishna Menon, UN, India Delegation to Foreign Office. (Attached *New York Times* article not included), (PRO)
- 28 June 1954, **L**: from Frank K. Roberts to Selwyn Lloyd, (PRO)
- 28 June 1954, **L**: from W. J. M. Paterson on Indo-China, (PRO)
- 28 June 1954, 7 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the Embassy in France*, (FRUS)
- 28 June 1954, 7:10 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the Embassy in France*, (FRUS)
- 29 June 1954, 12 noon, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 29 June 1954, 5:50 pm, **C**: # 375 from Foreign Office to Saigon, (PRO)

- 29 June 1954, 12 am, T: *Nineteenth Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva June 25th, 3 pm, The United States Delegation to the Department of State, (FRUS)*
- 29 June 1954, 8 pm, T: *Nineteenth Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva June 25th, 3 pm, The United States Delegation to the Department of State, (FRUS)*
- 29 June 1954, T: *Li Kenong to Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, and the Central Committee, "Briefing on the meeting by the Chinese, Soviet and Vietnamese delegations," (CMFA)*
- 30 June 1954, MoC: Memorandum of Conversation between Pierson Dixon and Krishna Menon, UN, India Delegation, (PRO)
- 30 June 1954, 6:31 pm, C: # 461 from Paris to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 1 July 1954, 9 pm, T: *Johnson-Kuznetsov meeting, Geneva, July 1, Afternoon: The United States Delegation to the Department of State, (FRUS)*
- 1 July 1954, 5:35 pm, T: *The Secretary of State to the Embassy in France, (FRUS)*
- 1 July 1954, 5:50 pm, T: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation, (FRUS)*
- 1 July 1954, L: from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Sir Hubert Graves, Saigon, (PRO)
- 2 July 1954, 1 pm, T: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State, (FRUS)*
- 2 July 1954, 8 pm, T: *Twentieth Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, July 2, 3 pm The United States Delegation to the Department of State, (FRUS)*
- 2 July 1954, L: from W. D. Allen, Foreign Office to Gladwyn Jebb, British Embassy, Paris, (PRO)
- 2 July 1954, 10:30, T: *PRC Foreign Ministry to Zhang Wentian, Wang Jiaxiang, and Li Kenong, "The meeting between Premier Zhou and the leaders of the VWP will be relocated to Liuzhou," (CMFA)*
- 2 July 1954, 13:00, T: *Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi and the CCP Central Committee, "a brief report on the meetings at Liuzhou," (CMFA)*
- 3 July 1954, 8 pm, T: *Bonsal—Chauvel Meeting, Geneva, July 3, Afternoon: The United States Delegation to the Department of State, (FRUS)*
- 3 July 1954, 1:00 p.m., T: *Zhou Enlai to Mao Zegond, Liu Shaoqi, and the CCP Central Committee, "a brief report on the meetings at Liuzhou," (CMFA)*
- 3 July 1954, T: *Li Kenong to Mao Zedong and others, concerning the twentieth restricted session, (CMFA)*

- 3 July 1954, **O**: Main points, Zhou Enlai's speech at the Liuzhou Conference, (excerpt), (CJ)
- 4 July 1954, **L**: *Ambassador Donald R. Heath to the Special Adviser to the United States Delegation [Bonsal]*, (FRUS)
- 4 July 1954, 18:00, **T**: *Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi and the CCP Central Committee, "a brief report on the meetings at Liuzhou,"* (CMFA)
- 5 July 1954, **O**: Transcript of Ho Chi Minh's speech at the Liuzhou Conference, (excerpt), (CJ)
- 5 July 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by the Adviser to the United States Delegation [Dwan] to the Head of the Delegation [Johnson]*, (FRUS)
- 6 July 1954, 7 pm, **T**: *Johnson—Chauvel Meeting, Geneva, July 6, Morning: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 6 July 1954, 1 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 6 July 1954, 7 pm, **T**: *Twenty-first Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, July 6, 3 pm The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 6 July 1954, **T**: from Zhou Enlai to Li Kenong (excerpt), (CJ)
- 7 July 1954, 8:24 pm, **C**: # 477 from Paris to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 7 July 1954, **L**: from the British Embassy in Berne to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 7 July 1954, **MoC**: *Memorandum of Conversation, by the Acting Director of the Office of Philippine and the Southeast Asian Affairs [Day]*, (FRUS)
- 7 July 1954, **T**: Li Kenong to Mao Zedong and others, concerning the twenty-first restricted session, (CMFA)
- 8 July 1954, 12 pm, **T**: *Bonsal—Do Meeting, Geneva, July 7, Evening: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 8 July 1954, 10:00 am, **C**: # 453 from Beijing to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 8 July 1954, 6 pm, **T**: *Johnson—Offroy Meeting, Geneva, July 8, Morning: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 8 July 1954, 7 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 8 July 1954, 7 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

- 8 July 1954, 7:24 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the Embassy in France*, (FRUS)
- 8 July 1954, **MoC**: Record of secret conversations between the French and Viet Minh, (PRO)
- 9 July 1954, 2:20 pm, **C**: # 886 from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 9 July 1954, 10 pm, **T**: *Twenty-second Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, July 9, 3 pm The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 9 July 1954, 9 pm, **T**: *Twenty-second Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, July 9, 3 pm The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 9 July 1954, 9 pm, **T**: *Johnson—Chauvel Meeting, Geneva, July 9, Afternoon: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 10 July 1954, 1 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 10 July 1954, 5:42 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 10 July 1954, 6 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 10 July 1954, 7 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 10 July 1954, 10:25 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the Embassy in France*, (FRUS)
- 10 July 1954, 10:33 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the Embassy in France*, (FRUS)
- 10 July 1954, **T**: Li Kenong to Mao Zedong and others, concerning the twenty-second restricted session, (CMFA)
- 11 July 1954, **T**: from Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, and convey to Ho Chi Minh (excerpt), (CJ)
- 11 July 1954, **O**: *Hagerty Diary, Sunday, July 11, 1954*, (FRUS)
- 12 July 1954, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 12 July 1954, 7 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 12 July 1954, 9:00 pm, **Min**: Minutes of the Meeting between Zhou Enlai and Pham Van Dong, 9:00 pm, July 12, 1954, (JH)
- 12 July 1954, **Min**: Li Kenong's report on the Progress of the Geneva Conference to Zhou Enlai and the Chinese Delegation, July 12, 1954, (JH)

13 July 1954, 5:47 pm, **C**: # 910 from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)

13 July 1954, 8:30 pm, **MoC**: *Memorandum of Conversation, by the Head of the United States Delegation [Johnson]*, (FRUS)

13 July 1954, 9 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

13 July 1954, 10 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

13 July 1954, 10 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

13 July 1954, **Min**: Zhou Enlai's meeting with Mendès-France, (CMFA)

13 July 1954, **Min**: Zhou Enlai's meeting with Anthony Eden, (CMFA)

13 July 1954, **Min**: Zhou Enlai's meeting with Jean Chauvel (of the French delegation), (CMFA)

14 July 1954, **MoC**: *Memorandum of Conversation, by the Head of the United States Delegation [Johnson]*, (FRUS)

14 July 1954, **MoC**: *Memorandum of Conversation, by the Secretary of State*, (FRUS)

14 July 1954, **Cq**: *Paris Talks*, (FRUS)

14 July 1954, **T**: *France-United States Position Paper*, (FRUS)

14 July 1954, **T**: *The French Prime Minister [Mendès-France] to the Secretary of State*, (FRUS)

14 July 1954, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the French Prime Minister*, (FRUS)

14 July 1954, 2:10 am, **C**: # 488 from Paris to Foreign Office, (PRO)

14 July 1954, 12 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

14 July 1954, 2 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

14 July 1954, 4 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

14 July 1954, 5:15 pm, **C**: # 492 from Paris to Foreign Office, (PRO)

14 July 1954, **T**: from Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, and CCP Central Committee, (excerpt), (CJ)

14 July 1954, 8 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

14 July 1954, 8 pm, T: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

14 July 1954, L: *The Special Adviser to the United States Delegation [Bonsal] to the Ambassador Donald R. Heath*, (FRUS)

14 July 1954, 9:48 pm, C: # 495 from Paris to Foreign Office, (PRO)

15 July 1954, 11:00 am, T: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

15 July 1954, 2:15 pm, C: # 930 from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)

15 July 1954, T: from Zhou Enlai to Wei Guoqing, (excerpt), (CJ)

15 July 1954, 8 pm, T: *Johnson—Kimny Meeting, Geneva, July 15, Morning: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

15 July 1954, 4:50 pm, T: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)

15 July 1954, 7 pm, T: *The United States Delegation to the Department of Defense*, (FRUS)

15 July 1954, 8 pm, T: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

15 July 1954, 10:30 pm, C: # 938 from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)

15 July 1954, T: Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong and others, concerning meeting with Tep Phan (Minister of Foreign Affairs, Head of the Cambodian delegation), (CMFA)

15-18 July 1954, O: *Resolution of the 6th Extended Central Committee Plenum*

15 July 1954, Tr: *Report by President Ho at the 6th Extended Central Committee Plenum*

15-18 July 1954, Tr: *To Fulfill the Immediate Tasks: Report by Comrade Truong Chinh at the 6th Expanded Central Committee Plenum*

16 July 1954, T: *The Secretary of State to the Under Secretary of State [Smith]*, (FRUS)

16 July 1954, 11:23 am, C: # 297 from Saigon to Foreign Office, (PRO)

16 July 1954, 7 pm, T: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

16 July 1954, 7:38 pm, T: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)

16 July 1954, 11 pm, T: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

- 16 July 1954, **MoC**: *Record of a Conversation with Zhou En-Lai and Pham Von Dong*, (J. VMM)
- 17 July 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by the Special Adviser to the United States Delegation [Bonsal] to the Head of the Delegation [Smith]*, (FRUS)
- 17 July 1954, 1:00 pm, **C**: # 956 from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 17 July 1954, 1:07 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 17 July 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by the Special Adviser to the United States Delegation [Bonsal] to the Deputy United States Representative and Coordinator of the Delegation [Johnson]*, (FRUS)
- 17 July 1954, 3 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 17 July, 1954, **MoC**: *Between Zhou Enlai and Anthony Eden (Excerpts)*, (CMFA)
- 17 July 1954, **Min**: *Zhou Enlai's Meeting with Mendès-France (Excerpt)*, (CMFA)
- 17 July 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by the Special Adviser to the United States Delegation [Bonsal] to the Deputy US Representative and Coordinator of the Delegation [Johnson]*, (FRUS)
- 17 July 1954, 3:05 pm, **C**: # 952 from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 17 July 1954, 3:30 pm, **MoC**: *Record of a Conversation with Zhou En-Lai and Pham Von Dong*, (J. VMM)
- 17 July 1954, 7 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 17 July 1954, 7:37 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 17 July 1954, 8 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 17 July 1954, 8 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 17 July 1954, 9 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 17 July 1954, 9 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 17 July 1954, 9 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 17 July 1954, 11 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

- 17 July 1954, midnight, **T**: *The Ambassador at Saigon [Heath] to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 17 July 1954, **Min**: Zhou Enlai's meeting with Anthony Eden, (CMFA)
- 17 July 1954, **Min**: Zhou Enlai's meeting with Mendès-Frances, (CMFA)
- 18 July 1954, 11 am, **T**: *Smith—Eden—Mendés-France Meeting, Geneva, July 17, Afternoon: United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 18 July 1954, 10 pm, **T**: *Working Level Meeting of Six Delegations, Geneva, July 18, Morning: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 18 July 1954, 11 pm, **T**: *Smith-Kimny Meeting, Geneva, July 18, Morning: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 18 July 1954, 11 pm, **T**: *Smith-Do-Chuong Meeting, Geneva, July 18, Morning: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 18 July 1954, 1 pm, **T**: *The Head of the United States Delegation [Smith] to the Secretary of State*, (FRUS)
- 18 July 1954, 2:48 pm, **C**: # 960 from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 18 July 1954, 11 pm, **T**: *Twenty-third Restricted Session on Indochina, Geneva, July 18, 4 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 18 July 1954, 6 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 18 July 1954, 11 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 18 July 1954, 11:06 pm, **C**: # 966 from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)
- 18 July 1954, **L**: from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office. Attached is a memorandum of conversation between the Secretary of State and Zhou Enlai., (PRO)
- 18 July 1954, **Min**: Zhang Wentian's meeting with Herold Caccia (of the British delegation), (CMFA)
- 18 July 1954, **T**: Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong and others, concerning meeting with Tep Phan (Minister of Foreign Affairs, Head of the Cambodian delegation), July 18, 1954, (CMFA)
- 18 July 1954, **Min**: Zhou Enlai's meeting with Phoui Sananikone, (CMFA)

19 July 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by the Adviser to the United States Delegation [Dwan]*, (FRUS)

19 July 1954, 4:55 pm, **C**: #977 from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)

19 July 1954, 7 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

19 July 1954, 7 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

19 July 1954, 7:42 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)

19 July 1954, 8 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

19 July 1954, 8 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

19 July 1954, 8 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

19 July 1954, 9 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

19 July 1954, 9 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

19 July 1954, 9 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

19 July 1954, 9 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

19 July 1954, 11:51 pm, **C**: # 984 from Geneva Conference (UK Delegation) to Foreign Office, (PRO)

19 July 1954, **Min**: Zhou Enlai's meeting with Mendès-France and Eden, (CMFA)

19 July 1954, **Min**: Zhang Wentian's meeting with Herold Caccia (of the British delegation), (CMFA)

19 July 1954, **Min**: Zhang Wentian's second meeting with Herold Caccia (of the British delegation), (CMFA)

19 July 1954, **T**: Li Kenong to Mao Zedong and others, concerning the twenty-third restricted session, (CMFA)

20 July 1954, 5 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

20 July 1954, 10 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

20 July 1954, 11 pm, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

- 20 July 1954, **Min**: Zhou's meeting with Tep Phan (Minister of Foreign Affairs, Head of the Cambodian delegation), (CMFA)
- 20 July 1954, **T**: Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong and others, concerning meetings with Mendès-France and Eden and other consultations outside the conference, (CMFA)
- 21 July 1954, 1 am, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 21 July 1954, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 21 July 1954, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 21 July 1954, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 21 July 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by Richard V. Hennes to the Head of the United States Delegation [Smith]* (Conference Files), (FRUS)
- 21 July 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by the Special Adviser to the United States Delegation [Phleger]*, (FRUS)
- 21 July 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by the special Adviser to the United States Delegation [Reinhardt] to the Deputy US Representative and Coordinator of the Delegation [Johnson]*, (FRUS)
- 21 July 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by the Special Adviser to the United States Delegation [Bonsal] to the Head of the Delegation [Smith]*, (FRUS)
- 21 July 1954, 11:20 am, **MoC**: *Reception of Mendès-France, the Chairman of the French Council of Ministers*, (J. VMM)
- 21 July 1954, 12:15 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 21 July 1954, 1 pm, **T**: *United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 21 July 1954, 1 pm, **T**: *United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 21 July 1954, 1:34 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)
- 21 July 1954, **MoC**, **T**: *Memorandum of Conversation, by the Head of the United States Delegation [Smith]*, (FRUS)
- 21 July 1954, 10 pm, **T**: *Eighth Plenary Session on Indochina, Geneva, July 21, 3:10 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 21 July 1954, **T**: *Eighth Plenary Session on Indochina, Geneva, July 21, 3:10 pm: The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

21 July 1954, 11 pm, **T**: *Eighth Plenary Session on Indochina, Geneva, July 21, 3:10 pm: The United States Delegation to the United States Information Agency*, (FRUS)

21 July 1954, 7:45 pm, **T**: *The Secretary of State to the United States Delegation*, (FRUS)

21 July 1954, 8 pm, **T**: *United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)

21 July 1954, **MoC**: A Call by the Secretary of State to Zhou Enlai, (PRO)

Tab 3 -- the Conference's Conclusion

Indochina Documents Prepared by the International Secretariat of the Geneva Conference: Armistice Agreements for Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia; The Final Declarations by Cambodia, Laos, and France; Proposed Amendment by Vietnam to the Final Declaration (July 20-July 21)

20 July 1954, **T**: *Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Vietnam* (to the Department of State), (FRUS)

20 July 1954, **T**: *Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Laos* (to the Department of State), (FRUS)

21 July 1954, **T**: *Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Cambodia* (to the Department of State), (FRUS)

21 July 1954, **T**: *Final Declaration on Indochina* (telegram to the Department of State), (FRUS)

21 July 1954, **D**: *Declaration by the Royal Government of Laos (Re: Article 3 of the Final Declaration)*, (FRUS)

21 July 1954, **D**: *Declaration by the Royal Government of Cambodia (Re: Article 3 of the Final Declaration)*, (FRUS)

21 July 1954, **D**: *Declaration by the Royal Government of Laos (Re: Article 4 and 5 of the Final Declaration)*, (FRUS)

21 July 1954, **D**: *Declaration by the Royal Government of Cambodia (Re: Article 4 and 5 of the Final Declaration)*, (FRUS)

21 July 1954, **D**: *Declaration by the Government of the French Republic (Re: Article 10 of the Final Declaration)*, (FRUS)

21 July 1954, **D**: *Declaration by the Government of the French Republic (Re: Article 11 of the Final Declaration)*, (FRUS)

- 20 July 1954, **P**: *Draft Submitted by the Delegation of the State of Vietnam (Amendment for Insertion between Article 11 and Present Article 12 of the Final Declaration)*, (FRUS)
- 20 July 1954, **MoC**: *Between Zhou Enlai and Tep Phan (Summary)*, (CMFA)
- 21 July 1954, **P**: *Proposal for Insertion in the Final Act, Submitted by the Delegation of the State of Vietnam*, (FRUS)

Tab 4 -- Reactions to the Conference

- 22 July 1954, 2 pm, **T**: *United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 22 July 1954, **T**: *The Consul at Geneva [Gowen] to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 22 July 1954, **T**: *The United States Delegation to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 22 July 1954, **T**: *Zhou Enlai to Mao Zedong, concerning the final plenary session of the conference*, (CMFA)
- 23 July 1954, 11 am, **T**: *The Consul at Geneva [Gowen] to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 23 July 1954, 3 pm, **T**: *The Consul at Geneva [Gowen] to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 23 July 1954, 5 pm, **T**: *The Consul at Geneva [Gowen] to the Department of State*, (FRUS)
- 23 July 1954, **O**: *Statement by the Under Secretary of State [Smith]*, (FRUS)
- 27 July 1954, **M**: *Memorandum by the Legal Adviser [Phleger] to the Secretary*, (FRUS)
- 27 July 1954, **T**: *CCP Central Committee to Zhou Enlai, Concerning Policies and Measures in the Struggle against the United States and Jiang (Jieshi) after the Geneva Conference*, (CMFA)
- 1954, **O**: *Documents Pertaining to the Arrangements for the International Control Commission, 22 July – 11 August 1954*, (FRUS)
- 4 November 1962, **MoC**: *A.I. MIKOYAN with Fidel CASTRO, [Cuban President] Oswaldo DORTICOS TORRADO, [Defense Minister] Raul CASTRO, Ernesto GUEVARA, Emilio ARAGONES and Carlos Rafael RODRIGUEZ*, (CWIHP/WP22)
- 4 November 1962, **MoC**: *Meeting of the Secretariat of the CRI with Mikoyan at the National Palace*, (CWIHP/WP22)
- 5 October 1964, 7 pm **MoC**: *Mao Zedong, Pham Van Dong, and Hoang Van Hoan*, (CWIHP/WP22)

- 30 March 1965, (CWIHP/WP22): Zhou Enlai and Algerian President Ben Bella
- 16 July 1965, **MoC**: *Mao Zedong and Hoang Van Hoan*, (CWIHP/WP22)
- 3 August 1965, **M**: *Chinese Foreign Ministry Circular: "Talks Between the Ghana Mission and the DRV, August 3, 1965"*, (CWIHP/WP22)
- 12 August 1965, **O**: *Malraux's visit to China*, (CWIHP/WP22)
- 20 October 1965, **MoC**: *Mao's Conversation with the Party and Government Delegation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam*, (CWIHP/WP22)
- 7 May 1968, 9:45 pm, **Min**: Minute, Zhou Enlai's Talk with Xuan Thuy, 9:45 pm, May 7, 1968, (JH)
- 17 October 1968, **MoC**: *Discussion between Chen Yi and Le Duc Tho*, (CWIHP/WP22)
- 17 November 1968, **MoC**: *Discussion between Mao Zedong and Pham Van Dong*, (CWIHP/WP22)
- 21 March 1970, **MoC**: *Discussion between Zhou Enlai and Pham Van Dong*, (CWIHP/WP22)
- 11 May 1970, **MoC**: *Discussion between Mao Zedong and Le Duan*, (CWIHP/WP22)
- 7 September 1971, **MoC**: *Discussion between Le Duc Tho and Ieng Sary*, (CWIHP/WP22)
- 12 July 1972, **MoC**: *Discussion between Zhou Enlai and Le Duc Tho*, (CWIHP/WP22)
- 1979, **O**: *Speech by Comrade B (Le Duan) on the Plot of the Reactionary Chinese Clique Against Vietnam*, (CWIHP/B12-13)

Key to abbreviations

- A** – Article
C – Cable
Cq – Communiqué
D – Declaration
L – Letter
M – Memorandum
Min – Minutes
MoC – Memorandum of Conversation
P – Proposal
PP – Position Paper
PR – Press Release

O – Other
R – Report
T – Telegram
Tr - Transcript

Key to sources

FRUS – Foreign Relations of the United States

PRO – National Archives of the United Kingdom (formerly the Public Records Office)

CMFA – Chinese Foreign Ministry Archives

AVP RF – [USSR]

J. VMM – Journal of V.M. Molotov (Foreign Minister, USSR)

TsKhSD – Center for the Storage of Contemporary Documentation, Moscow

CJ – Documents from Chen Jian

JH – Documents from James Hershberg

CWIHP/WP22 – Cold War International History Project, Working Paper 22 Documents

CWIHP/B12-13 – Cold War International History Project, Bulletin 12/13 Documents