新文流

雲濤敬題

改变世界的一周

The Week That Changed the World

美国总统尼克松访华40周年特别纪念发行
客座编辑齐迈可
Special Commemorative Issue
on the 40th Anniversary of U.S. President Nixon's Visit to China
Guest Editor Mike Chinoy

2012年特刊

RN posing with members of American press corps and some staff--Hangchow

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RN posing with members of the American press corps and some staff--Hangchow

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U.S. Embassy Public Affairs Section

宋涛 公共事务官	Thomas Skipper, Public Affairs Officer
包日强 新闻官	Richard Buangan, Press Attaché
夏若文 编辑（北京）	Rowena Saura, Xin Jiao Liu Editor
杨更琪 新交流出版	Yang Genqi, Xin Jiao Liu Production

(国务院)国际信息局翻译团队
International Information Program Translation Team

何时平	He Shiping
罗伯特	Robert Holden

北京美国大使馆翻译团队
U.S. Embassy Beijing Translation Team

廖昭颖	Liao Zhaoying
刘辉	Liu Hui
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牛薇	Niu Wei

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Photos on overleafs:
Contact Sheets of President Nixon posing with each member of the traveling press corps. (B. Schumaker courtesy of Richard Nixon Library and Museum)

传真：(010) 85313677 电子邮件地址：xinjiaoliu@yahoo.com
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新交流

ASSIGNMENT: CHINA

改变世界的一周

"THE WEEK THAT CHANGED THE WORLD"

美国总统尼克松访华40周年特别纪念发行
客座编辑齐迈可

SPECIAL COMMEMORATIVE ISSUE
ON THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF
U.S. PRESIDENT NIXON'S VISIT TO CHINA

GUEST EDITOR MIKE CHINOY

编者寄语
Letter from the Editor

夏若文（美国大使馆北京）
Rowena Saura (U.S. Embassy Beijing)

2012年2月是美国总统理查德·尼克松访华40周年。历史上的那个星期不仅极大地改变了美国和中国，而且改变了整个世界。为给读者提供一个关于这次事件的独特视角，我邀请了齐迈克作为《新交流》本期纪念刊的客座编辑。

齐迈克于1973年首次访问中国，后来担任美国有线电视新闻网（CNN）的驻外记者24年，其中有8年担任CNN北京分社社长。他还担任过CNN香港分社社长和驻亚洲高级记者。他于2006年离开CNN，现在是南加州大学美中研究所的高级研究员。本期纪念刊及所附的DVD介绍了他目前的研究——美国驻华记者的历史。

20世纪80年代和90年代，CNN开创了24小时新闻台的概念，亿万美国观众看到了齐迈克从中国发回的报道。对于许多人来说，包括我自己，他的报道是人们对中国的首次有意义的一瞥，他的故事激起了我们对这个国家的兴趣。

齐迈克在2006年写道："在过去的24年里，我一直站在最前沿——见证着历史的发展。这是一个非常难得的机会。如果我的报道在这段时间里对您更好地了解我们的世界略有帮助的话，那么我会觉得我完成了我的使命。"

现在，他为我们带来了有幸随尼克松访华的那些美国记者的故事，使我们对这一历史事件的规模和意义能够有所认识。

夏若文
《新交流》北京编辑

February 2012 marks the fortieth anniversary of U.S. President Richard Nixon's visit to China. That week in history dramatically changed not only the U.S. and China, but also the world. To provide our readers with a unique perspective of this event, I invited Mike Chinoy to be guest editor of this commemorative issue of *Xin Jiao Liu*.

Mike Chinoy first visited China in 1973, and later spent 24 years as a foreign correspondent for CNN, including eight years as the network's Beijing Bureau Chief. He also served as Hong Kong Bureau Chief and Senior Asia Correspondent. He left CNN in 2006 and is now a Senior Fellow at the U.S. China-Institute at the University of Southern California. The focus of his current research, the history of American journalists in China, appears in these pages and in the enclosed DVD.

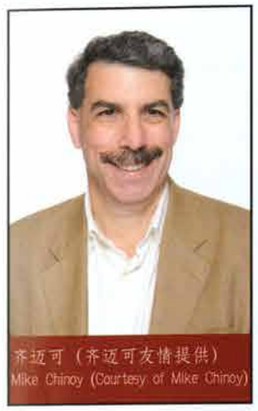
In the 1980s and 1990s, when CNN pioneered the concept of a 24-hour news station, Mike Chinoy's reporting from China was seen by millions of American viewers. For many, including myself, his reporting was our first meaningful glimpse into China and his stories piqued our interest in the country.

Chinoy wrote in 2006: "For the last 24 years, I've had a front row seat – watching history as it happened. It's been a rare privilege. And if it's helped those of you who've been along for the ride make at least a little bit better sense of your world, then I'll feel I've done my job."

And so he brings us here, the stories of the select number of American journalists who experienced Nixon's visit first-hand, providing for us a sense of the scope and meaning of this moment in history.

Rowena Saura
Beijing Editor
Xin Jiao Liu

客座编辑齐迈克的按语
Note from Guest Editor Mike Chinoy


齐迈可（齐迈可友情提供）
Mike Chinoy (Courtesy of Mike Chinoy)

理查德·尼克松1972年2月对中国的访问改变了历史的进程——改变了全球均势，打开了重建中美两国之间关系的大门。

同时，这次访问也是新闻史上的一个里程碑。自1949年革命政权建立以来，中国政府几乎禁止所有美国记者访问中国。但是对于尼克松的访问，中国同意接受将近100名美国记者随行，并且允许对尼克松抵达北京、周恩来总理的欢迎宴会以及尼克松登上长城和参观紫禁城这些最引人注目的事件进行电视直播。

这次报道可以说几乎与外交任务同样地重要。它深刻地改变了美国和国际社会对中国的看法，带来了尼克松为改变美国政策所需要的公众支持，并且为中国政府逐渐向更大规模的国际媒体报道开放打下了基础。

虽然人们对尼克松之行的大致情形都很熟悉，但是对于这次重大事件报道的幕后故事却知之甚少。为填补这一空白，南加州大学美中研究所制作了纪录片《解析中国之旅》。《解析中国之旅》旨在记录上世纪四十年代中期至今美国记者在华活动的历史。这部纪录片的一个重要内容就是讲述了陪同尼克松总统访华的美国记者的故事，并且主要由这些记者的自述构成。我们愿与《新交流》的读者分享这个精彩的故事，并且很高兴随本期杂志附上一份我们的纪录片《解析中国之旅：改变世界的一周》，供您观看。

齐迈可
客座编辑

Richard Nixon's visit to China in February 1972 changed the course of history – reshaping the global balance of power and opening the door to the establishment of relations between the People's Republic and the United States.

It was also a milestone in the history of journalism. Since the revolution of 1949, the Chinese government had barred virtually all American reporters from visiting the People's Republic. For the Nixon trip, however, China agreed to accept nearly 100 U.S. journalists, and to allow the most dramatic events – President Nixon's arrival in Beijing, Premier Zhou Enlai's welcoming banquet, Nixon's visits to the Great Wall and the Forbidden City – to be televised live.

The coverage was arguably almost as important as the details of the diplomacy. It profoundly transformed American and international perceptions of China, generated the public support Nixon needed to change U.S. policy, and laid the groundwork for the Chinese government's gradual moves to open the country to greater international media coverage.

While the outlines of the Nixon trip are familiar, the behind-the-scenes story of how that momentous event was covered is much less well-known. With *Assignment: China,* a project aimed at documenting the history of American journalists in China from the mid-1940s to the present day, the U.S.-China Institute at the University of Southern California is working to fill that gap. One major part of this project is to tell the story of the U.S. reporters who accompanied President Nixon – largely in their own words. We are pleased to be able to share this colorful tale with the readers of *Xin Jiao Liu*. And we are delighted to provide you with a copy of our documentary film, *Assignment: China – The Week that Changed the World* to accompany this issue.

Mike Chinoy
Guest Editor

南加州大学的安纳堡新闻与传播分校
美中学院院长留言

杜克雷（杜克雷友情提供）
Clayton Dube (Courtesy of Clayton Dube)

南加州大学的安纳堡新闻与传播分校的美中学院（china.usc.edu）的创建旨在增进美中关系这一世界上最重要的双边关系。我们确知，媒体对跨文化理解有着不可估量的作用。因此，我们推出了《解析中国之旅》项目，探析自上世纪四十年代以来驻华美国新闻媒体的活动。长久以来，新闻记者在美国人民对中国的了解和看法上发挥了重大影响。我们很高兴与您分享我们的纪录片，共同聚焦1972年理查德·尼克松总统的中国之行。

尼克松访华开创了一个直接交流的时代，此后美中两国建立了内容丰富的经济、文化、社会和政治关系。尽管两国关系并非一帆风顺，但由于四十年前美中领导人为两国交往打开了大门，双方得以加深了解，并且有能力更为妥善地处理分歧。《解析中国之旅》的这一部分回顾了美国媒体报道这一历史性高层会晤的过程以及美中两国政府为影响报道内容而作出的种种安排。

美中学院隶属南加州大学安纳堡新闻与传播分校，《解析中国之旅》仅是学院为帮助公众在知情的基础上讨论复杂多样的美中关系所作的一项努力，我们还同时从事其他多方面的工作：

-- 对影响美中两国的重要动态和问题进行前沿研究；

-- 实施创新的教育计划，使学生不仅作为知识的消费者，而且参与知识的生产；

-- 提供出版物，包括在线杂志《美中今日》（uschina.usc.edu）和《亚太艺术》（asiapacificarts.usc.edu）；

-- 召开由资深学者、决策者和新闻记者等多方参与的有影响力的公开会议（许多此类会议可通过我们的网站观看）；

-- 制定针对教师、媒体从业人员、企业界人士以及其他人员的专业发展计划。

我们的纪录片是学院外展活动的一项核心内容。除《解析中国之旅》之外，我们还制作了教育类影片，来考查与总统职务相关的政治问题、美中关系、风云变幻的两岸关系、以及南中国海的紧张局势。我们希望通过这些纪录片和其他项目对重大问题提供及时、可靠、令人信服的信息。

非常感谢您抽出时间来阅读我们借助《新交流》提供的节选内容并观看《解析中国之旅》。欢迎访问我们的网站，观看其他影片并浏览其他资源。如有任何问题和建议，请随时发送至：uschina@usc.edu

杜克雷
南加州大学美中学院院长
网站：china.usc.edu

MESSAGE FROM THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
of the U.S.–China Institute of the University of Southern California
Annenberg School of Journalism and Communication

We established the U.S.-China Institute (china.usc.edu) of the University of Southern California's Annenberg School of Journalism and Communication to focus on the U.S.-China relationship - the most important bilateral relationship in the world. We know that the impact of the media on cross-cultural understanding is immense. That's why we launched our *Assignment: China* project. *Assignment: China* explores the work of the American news media in China since the 1940s. Journalists have had a big impact on what Americans knew and thought about China. We're delighted to share with you our work focusing on President Richard Nixon's 1972 trip to China.

The Nixon visit ushered in an era of direct communication, in which our countries have developed rich economic, cultural, social, and political ties. The relationship has never been trouble-free, but thanks to the opening engineered by American and Chinese leaders forty years ago, we understand each other much better and are better able to address our differences. This segment of *Assignment: China* explores how the U.S. media reported this historic summit, and how both the American and Chinese government sought to shape that coverage.

Assignment: China is just one way that the U.S.-China Institute works to inform public discussion of the multifaceted U.S.-China relationship. Our institute, part of USC's Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism, does this in a number of other ways:

-- through cutting-edge research on crucial trends and issues affecting the U.S. and China.

-- through innovative instructional programs which involve students in the production of knowledge and not merely consumption of it.

-- through publications,including online magazines *US-China Today* (uschina.usc.edu), and *Asia Pacific Arts* (asiapacificarts.usc.edu) .

-- through influential public conferences and presentations featuring top scholars, policymakers, journalists, and others (many of these are available for viewing at our website).

-- and through professional development programs targeting teachers, media professionals, business people and others.

Our documentary films are a central part of our outreach effort. In addition to *Assignment: China*, we have also produced educational films examining presidential politics and U.S.-China relations, the changing cross-strait relationship, and tensions in the South China Sea. In these documentaries and in our other projects, our aim is to provide timely, compelling, and reliable information about vital issues.

Thank you for taking time to read these excerpts and watch *Assignment: China.* We invite you to visit our website to access other films and resources. Please don't hesitate to contact us with your questions and comments. Please write to us at uschina@usc.edu.

Clayton Dube
Executive Director
USC U.S.-China Institute
website：china.usc.edu

新文流

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简　介
INTRODUCTION

1972年2月一个寒冷的早晨，理查德·尼克松总统——冷战时期坚定的反共产主义斗士——离开华盛顿前往北京——共产主义中国的心脏。对于总统和随行的记者来说，这是一次进入未知世界的旅程。

丹·拉瑟，哥伦比亚广播公司

"我不由自主地思忖：尼克松总统此行会有何结局？美国将因此面临什么样的局面？我们随行记者将面临什么样的环境？这对我本人又将有何影响？"

在"空军一号"上，尼克松的工作人员（包括负责安排总统行程的德怀特·蔡平）安装了一台电视来收看出发时的现场报道。他们十分清楚新闻媒体对于这次行程的成功具有多么重要的意义。

德怀特·蔡平，负责尼克松总统日程安排的秘书

"我们在白宫有一套运作模式，我们总是有一个目的，这个目的就是强调总统的行动计划。对于某个特定的活动，我们会就我们希望看到的头条新闻、图片、报道和图片说明做出安排。"

这次活动要突出的主题是——理查德·尼克松完全改变了20年来美国对毛泽东的中国的敌视态度……试图建立沟通的桥梁以对抗苏联，也许能有助于美国从越南战争中解脱出来。"

On a chilly morning in February 1972, President Richard Nixon, the ultimate anti-communist cold warrior, left Washington for Beijing, the heart of communist China. For the President – and the reporters accompanying him - it was a journey into the unknown.

DAN RATHER, CBS NEWS

"I just found myself thinking -what is President Nixon getting into? What is the United States of America getting into? And what are we journalists getting into? And what am I getting into with this?"

On Air Force One, Nixon staffers, including Dwight Chapin, who managed the president's schedule, had set up a TV to watch live coverage of the departure. They well understood how important the press was to the success of this trip.

DWIGHT CHAPIN, NIXON APPOINTMENTS SECRETARY

"We had a way that we operated at the White House. We always had a purpose. The purpose would underscore a presidential initiative. And we would figure out what we wanted to have be the headline, the picture, the story, and the caption on a given event."

The story here was Richard Nixon reversing two decades of American hostility to Mao Zedong's China and trying to build bridges to counter the Soviet Union and perhaps help the U.S. extricate itself from the war in Vietnam.

CBS记者丹·拉瑟抵达中国（埃德·福希友情提供）
CBS Correspondent Dan Rather arriving in China (Courtesy of Ed Fouhy)

下图：德怀特·蔡平(理查德·尼克松图书馆和博物馆)
Below: Dwight Chapin (Richard Nixon Library and Museum)

1972年2月21日，美国总统尼克松抵达之前，北京机场升起了美国国旗。（美联社照片）
The American flag is raised at Beijing Airport before the arrival of U.S. President Richard Nixon, February 21, 1972. (AP Photo)

乒乓之旅
THE PING PONG TRIP

美国乒乓球队（蒂姆·博甘友情提供）
U.S. Table Tennis Team (Courtesy of Tim Boggan)

故事开始于一年之前。1971年4月，中国突然邀请在日本参加锦标赛的美国乒乓球队访问北京。

蒂姆·博甘，美国乒乓球队队员

"那是1971年的名古屋世界锦标赛。突然之间我们就得到了这个邀请。我们全都决定要去。我们清楚地知道，我们去那里并不是为了打乒乓球。这是一种极具象征意义的活动。"

中国邀请三名美国记者报道这支乒乓球队的活动情况。

其中之一是全国广播公司长期派驻亚洲的记者约翰·里奇。

约翰·里奇，全国广播公司

"当美国乒乓球队得到邀请的时候，我知道这是一个很大的改变，是一条非常重要的新闻。我意识到这是中国人的一个大动作，他们想要与美国建立关系。"

另一位受邀的记者是美联社的约翰·罗得理克，他在1945年至1948年担任驻中国的记者，曾在延安的共产党根据地呆过七个月的时间，在那里他认识了毛主席、周恩来和共产党的其他领导人。

约翰·罗得理克，美联社（1998年7月17日，约翰·罗得理克接受詹姆斯·拉吉尔的采访。美联社档案资料。）

"得到邀请的只有其他两个美国人——全国广播公司的约翰·里奇和杰克·雷诺兹。我们从广州飞到北京，加入了这支乒乓球队。接着在那里发生了一系列不同寻常的事情。自从在延安窑洞认识以来再未见过面的周恩来在人民大会堂接见了我。他们建造的这个庞大的会堂非常豪华，里面有绘画、厚地毯和诸如此类的布置。他握着我的手说：'罗得理克先生，好久没见面了！'他指点着这座会堂说：'这个会堂和延安的窑洞相比如何？'我说：'哦，是有点改善。'后来，他在一次类似茶会和新闻发布会的活动中将乒乓球队的全体队员召集在一起，当时我对他说：'请听我说。我们有幸来到了中国，我们希望这仅仅是个开始。'他欠身向前对我说（通过他的翻译）：'罗得理克先生，你打开了这扇门。'这意味着中美关系已经进入了一个新阶段，多年来一直对我们关闭的大门现在终于打开了。"

梁戈亮是当时的乒乓球世界冠军，他参加了与到访的美国乒乓球队的比赛。

"美国乒乓球队又提出到中国访问，后来同意了以后到中国去访问了，大家通过这个接触都很高兴，因为大家都很希望互相了解，通过乒乓球。当时是友谊第一，比赛第二嘛。"

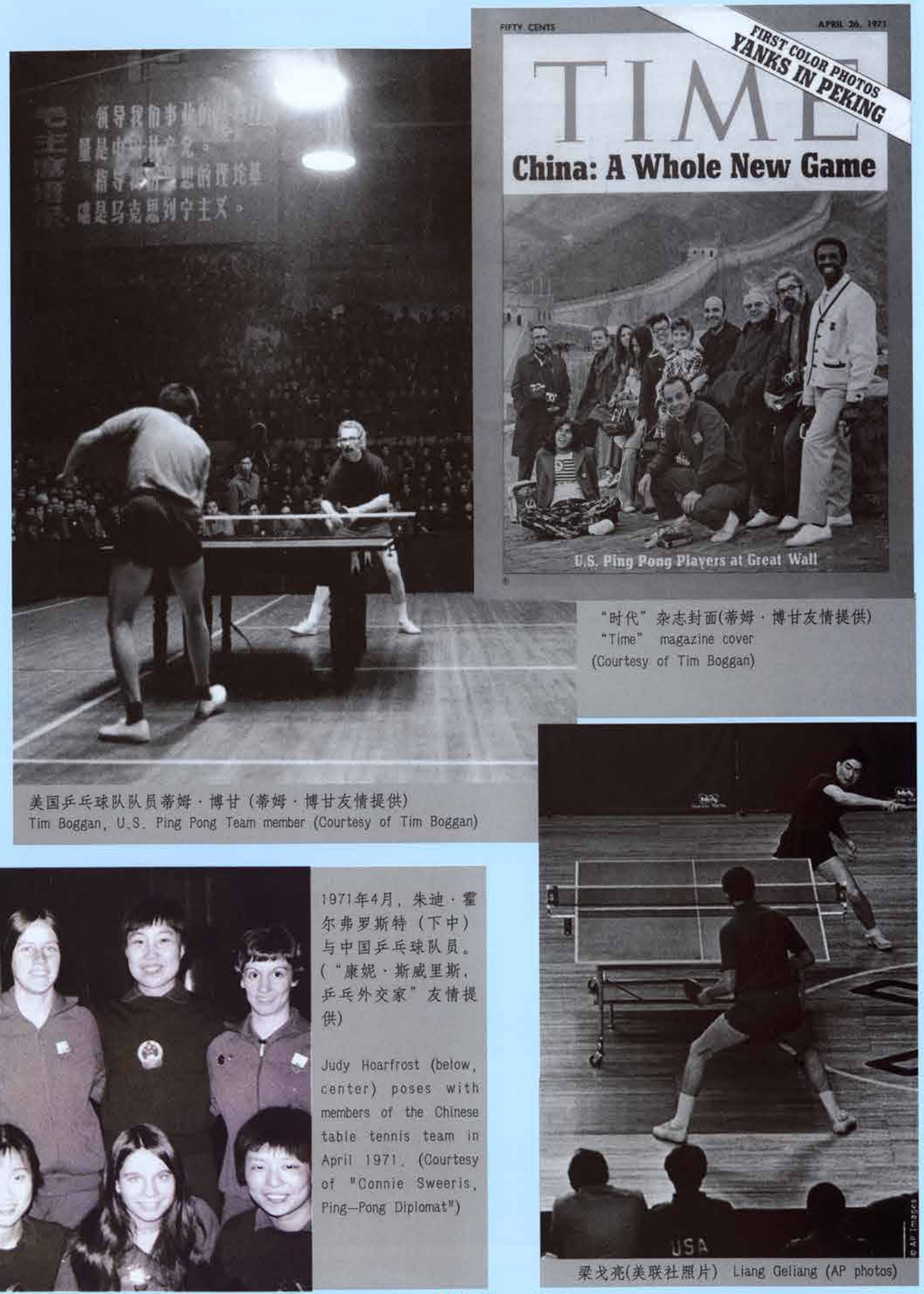
在美国，这次访问激起了普通民众对中国的强烈兴趣。

朱迪·霍尔弗罗斯特，美国乒乓球队成员

"中国有那么多毛泽东的肖像，建筑物上到处有红色的大字。其中还有些英文，我不知道这些英文标语是给谁看的？例如，'世界人民团结起来，打败美国侵略者及其一切走狗！'这是给谁看的呢？我记得有一次向某些人问过这个问题，他们说，'这个嘛，我们把人民和政府区别开来了。我们与美国人民是朋友，但是这个标语是针对美国政府的。'"

下图：约翰·罗得理克和毛泽东主席在一起（美联社照片）
Below: John Roderick, at left, with Mao Zedong (AP photo)

在这张拍摄于1971年4月16日的资料照片中，美国乒乓球代表团成员在参加中美代表团讨论会。美方成员是左起第二的格雷厄姆·斯庭霍文，左三的卢福德·哈里森，最右边的康妮·斯威里斯。美联社照片）
In this April 16, 1971 file photo, members of the United States Table Tennis delegation attend a discussion meeting between the Chinese and U.S. delegations. Americans are second from left, Graham Steenhoven, third left Rufford Harrison, and Connie Sweeris at far right. (AP photo)



"时代"杂志封面(蒂姆·博甘友情提供)
"Time" magazine cover
(Courtesy of Tim Boggan)

美国乒乓球队队员蒂姆·博甘(蒂姆·博甘友情提供)
Tim Boggan, U.S. Ping Pong Team member (Courtesy of Tim Boggan)

1971年4月，朱迪·霍尔弗罗斯特（下中）与中国乒乓球队员。（"康妮·斯威里斯，乒乓外交家"友情提供）

Judy Hoarfrost (below, center) poses with members of the Chinese table tennis team in April 1971. (Courtesy of "Connie Sweeris, Ping-Pong Diplomat")

梁戈亮(美联社照片) Liang Geliang (AP photos)

It had begun a year earlier, in April 1971, when the Chinese suddenly invited an American ping pong team competing at a tournament in Japan to visit Beijing.

TIM BOGGAN, U.S. PING-PONG TEAM MEMBER

"We were at the Nagoya World Championships in 1971. Suddenly, we get this invitation. We all decided to go. We knew right away we were not there to play table tennis. It was a very symbolic situation."

The Chinese invited three American journalists to cover the ping pong team. One of them was John Rich, the long-time Asia correspondent for NBC News.

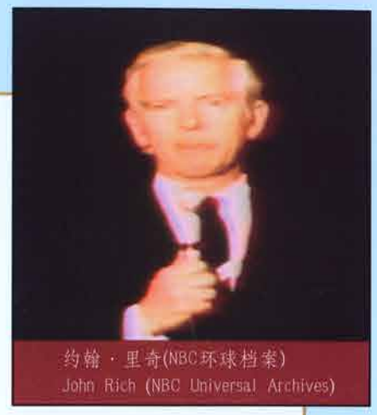
JOHN RICH, NBC NEWS

"When the U.S. ping pong team was invited in, I knew that this was a big change and it was an important story. I realized it was a big move on their part. They wanted relations with the U.S."

Another was John Roderick of the Associated Press, who had been a correspondent in China from 1945-48, and had spent seven months at the communist base area in Yan'an, where he had gotten to know Chairman Mao, Zhou Enlai, and other communist leaders.

JOHN RODERICK, ASSOCIATED PRESS (John Roderick, Interviewed by James Lagier, July 17, 1998. AP Corporate Archives, New York)

"There were only two other Americans invited, John Rich and Jack Reynolds of NBC. We flew from Guangzhou to Beijing and joined the ping pong team. There then ensued a series of extraordinary things. Zhou Enlai, whom I hadn't seen since the caves of Yan'an, met me at the Great Hall of the People — this vast hall that they built, very luxurious, paintings and thick rugs and that sort of thing. He shook hands with me and he said, 'Mr. Roderick, it's been a long time, hasn't it?' He gestured around the hall and says, 'How does this compare with the caves of Yan'an?' I said, 'Well, it's somewhat of an improvement.' And then later on, when he had the ping pong teams all together in a kind of a tea and a press conference sort of thing, I said to him, 'Please. We were allowed to come to China and we hoped it would be just a beginning.' And he leaned forward and said, through his interpreter, 'Mr. Roderick, you have opened the door.' And that was a reference to the fact that relations between the United States and China had now entered a new phase, that a door which had been slammed in our face for all those years had now opened up. "



约翰·里奇(NBC环球档案)
John Rich (NBC Universal Archives)

Liang Geliang was the world table tennis champion then, and played against the visiting Americans.

LIANG GELIANG, CHINESE PING PONG PLAYER

"The U.S ping pong team asked to visit China, and after permission was granted they made that visit. We were happy to have this contact, because we hoped through ping pong we could boost mutual understanding. It was friendship first, and competition second."

In the U.S., the visit sparked intense public interest in China.

JUDY HOARFROST, U.S. PING PONG TEAM MEMBER

"There were so many pictures of Mao, and buildings with red characters. Some of them were in English and I wondered who were the English signs for? For example, 'People around the world unite and defeat the U.S.'s aggressors and all their running dogs!' Who is this for? I remember at one point asking someone about that. They said that 'Well, we make a distinction between the people, we are friends with the American people, but this is about the U.S. government.'"

1972年2月28日，访问最后一天，与理查德·尼克松总统随行访问中国的代表团成员与中国高级官员合影。前排左二为国家安全顾问亨利·基辛格，前排中间是尼克松总统，周恩来站在尼克松和国务卿威廉·罗杰斯中间。其它人员身份不明。（美联社照片）

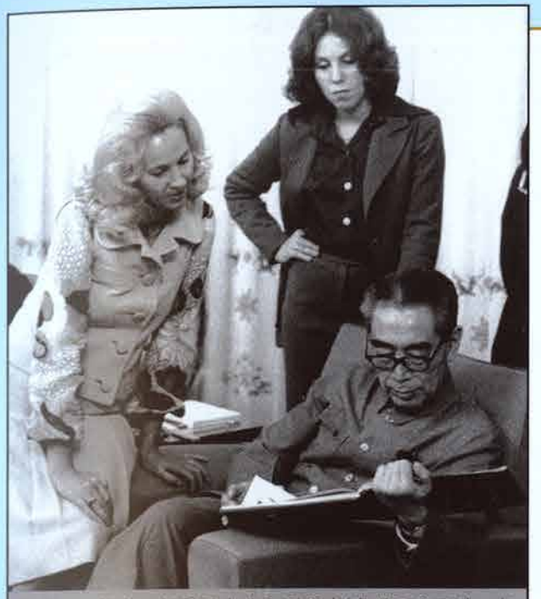
Members of the delegation that traveled with President Richard Nixon to China pose for a picture with Chinese dignitaries on the last day of their visit, February 28, 1972. Second from left at front row is National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger, front row center is President Nixon, Premier Zhou Enlai stands between Nixon and Secretary of State William Rogers. Others are unidentified. (AP Photo)

三个月后，尼克松派他的国家安全事务助理亨利·基辛格在极为保密的情况下接受中国总理周恩来的邀请前往中国，目的是安排总统的访问。尼克松和基辛格非常担心这次旅程的情况会泄露给新闻记者。

温斯顿·洛德，前基辛格助理

"我们进入了未知水域。我们有二十年没有和中国人打交道了。我们曾经在朝鲜和他们打过一场战争。我们不断地向对方进行宣传，侮辱对方。因此，这次旅程存在不成功的可能性。提高人们的期望值，安排这种戏剧性的活动，然后却一无所获，那将是非常不幸的事情。但更确切地说，如果这次行动计划提前泄露出去，首先在美国国内，那些激烈反对与中国恢复任何友好关系的人士和亲台游说团体会闯入白宫，向我们施加压力，要求取消这次行动。"

巧合的是，当基辛格为这次旅程做准备的时候，三位美国记者——《纽约时报》的西默·托平、《华尔街日报》的罗伯特·肯特里和《新闻日报》的出版商威廉·阿特伍德——也在中国。托平与奥得丽·朗宁结了婚，后者是著名摄影师，其父亲切斯特在20世纪40年代晚期担任过加拿大驻中国外交官并且认识周恩来。切斯特·朗宁陪同他的两个女儿和一个女婿参加了他们的旅程。



奥得丽·朗宁·托平及女儿和周恩来(奥得丽和西默·托平友情提供)

Audrey Ronning Topping and her daughter with Zhou Enlai (Courtesy of Audrey and Seymour Topping)

奥得丽·朗宁·托平

"周恩来在晚宴上招待爸爸和我，我妹妹当时也在，我们一共三个人。当时周恩来对爸爸说：'我们想请你留下来。宴会结束后你留下来好吗？'后来西尔维亚（奥得丽的妹妹）和我回到了酒店，爸爸则有一个秘密任务，与周恩来会晤。直到一年后我才知道，周恩来当时问爸爸：'我可以信任亨利·基辛格吗？'"

西默·托平，《纽约时报》

"当时朗宁第一次知道基辛格要来这件事。"

奥得丽·朗宁·托平

"由于越南战争和他[朗宁]试图阻止轰炸，爸爸非常反对基辛格，但是他对周恩来说：'任何与美国人的交流对于中国和美国都是好的。'"

不知道基辛格要来访问的三名记者受邀参加周恩来的晚宴，周恩来利用这个机会发出了一个重要的外交信号。

西默·托平，《纽约时报》

"台湾问题是重点。周恩来当时所做的极其重要的事情是，他第一次描绘了以和平方式吸引台湾的政策（该政策一直保持到今天）。换句话说，没有军事对抗或以军事入侵方式收回台湾的意图，而是以和平方式吸引，不仅对台湾人民，而且对台湾政府都会以礼相待。周恩来在那次宴会上所宣布的政策实际上就是目前存在的政策。这一政策的宣布在某种程度上发出了一个信号，这也是中国人在准备迎接基辛格的到来时所表示出的态度。"

温斯顿·洛德(里查德·尼克松图书馆和博物馆)

Winston Lord (Richard Nixon Library and Museum)

纽约时报记者西默·托平与周恩来总理握手。(西默·托平友情提供)

New York Times correspondent Seymour Topping shaking hands with Premier Zhou Enlai. (Courtesy of Seymour Topping)

Three months later, Nixon sent his National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger – in utmost secrecy- to Beijing at the invitation of Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai. The hope was to arrange a Presidential visit. Nixon and Kissinger were terrified news of the trip would leak out to reporters.

WINSTON LORD, KISSINGER AIDE

"We were entering uncharted waters. We hadn't had any contact with the Chinese for two decades. We'd been at war with them in Korea. We'd had constant propaganda exchanges and mutual insults. And so there was a chance this would not be successful. To raise expectations and have all this drama, and then have it go down the tubes would have been unfortunate. But more specifically, if it had got out in advance, first, in the U.S., those who were fiercely against any rapprochement with the Chinese, and the pro-Taiwan lobby, would be invading the White House and pressuring us to call it off."

By coincidence, three American journalists were in China as Kissinger prepared to make his trip - Seymour Topping of the *New York Times*, Robert Keatley of the *Wall St. Journal*, and William Atwood, publisher of *Newsday*. Topping was married to Audrey Ronning, a well-known photographer, whose father, Chester, had been a Canadian diplomat in China in the late 1940s and had known Zhou Enlai. Chester Ronning had accompanied his two daughters and son-in-law on their trip.

AUDREY RONNING TOPPING

"Zhou Enlai had hosted dad and me at a dinner and my sister was there too, the three of us. And that was when he [Zhou] said to dad, 'We want you to stay. Will you stay afterwards?' So Sylvia [Audrey's sister] and I went back to the hotel, and then dad had a secret mission, a meeting with Zhou Enlai. And I didn't learn until a year later that Zhou Enlai had asked him, 'Can I trust Henry Kissinger?'"

SEYMOUR TOPPING, NEW YORK TIMES

"That's the first time that Ronning became aware of the fact that Kissinger was coming."

AUDREY RONNING TOPPING

"Dad was very anti-Kissinger because of the Vietnam War and the bombings that he was trying to stop, but he said [to Zhou], 'Any communication with the Americans will be good for both China and United States.'"

The three correspondents, unaware that Kissinger would be visiting, were invited to dinner with Zhou, who used the occasion to send an important diplomatic signal.

SEYMOUR TOPPING, NEW YORK TIMES

"The principal emphasis was on Taiwan. What he [Zhou] did...which was extremely important, he for the first time delineated the policy of peaceful attraction of Taiwan, which still holds today. In other words, there was not an intention with military confrontation or invasion to take over Taiwan. It was peaceful attraction, that not only the people, but the government of Taiwan would be treated with courtesy. So the policy that he enunciated there at that dinner was actually the policy that exists today. It was to some extent sending a signal but it was also laying out what were Chinese attitudes in preparation for the arrival of Kissinger."

1972年2月23日，北京大街上的行人，当时尼克松总统正与中国领导人会面。（美联社照片）
Chinese on streets of Beijing during President Nixon's visit, February 23, 1972. (AP Photo)

1972年2月21日，中国北京，在一张巨幅画作下，美国总统尼克松与中国总理周恩来见面。从左到右依次是：军委主席叶剑英、国务卿亨利·基辛格博士、威廉·罗杰斯、尼克松总统、周恩来总理和翻译冀朝铸。（美联社照片）
United States President Nixon meets with Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai on February 21, 1972 in Beijing, China. The group includes, from left, Ye Jianying, Chairman of the Military Commission, Dr. Henry Kissinger, Secretary of State, William Rogers, President Nixon, Premier Zhou Enlai, and interpreter Ji Chaozhu. (AP Photo)

基辛格的访问一直秘而不宣，直到有一天尼克松令人吃惊地宣布他将访问中国。德克·霍尔斯泰德当时是合众国际通讯社的摄影师。

德克·霍尔斯泰德，合众国际社（UPI）

"1971年夏天，我负责有关白宫的报道。我们在圣克莱门特[位于加利福尼亚]，这里是尼克松经常度暑假的地方。在圣克莱门特一直跟随尼克松的基辛格忽然消失了，有很多记者找他，以便向他提问，但找不到他。[后来]基辛格又出现了。他们宣布基辛格去了中国，并且与中国达成了一项协议，根据该协议，尼克松将对中国进行国事访问。不用说，这是一个巨大的爆炸性新闻！"

伯纳德·卡尔布，哥伦比亚广播公司

"这是一场关系重大的外交赌博，带来了非凡的突破。"

从一开始，尼克松就始终担心新闻媒体会破坏他的中国计划，他与媒体之间的敌对关系是众所周知的。就在基辛格的秘密旅程期间，尼克松还对《纽约时报》发过火。该报专栏作家詹姆斯·莱斯顿当时也在中国并且获准采访周恩来。周恩来对于基辛格的来访情况只字未提，但是气急败坏的尼克松在与其助理秘密谈话的录音中命令白宫冻结与《纽约时报》的一切联系。

总统理查德·尼克松（白宫录音带，1971年9月14日）

"我想让那些该死的工作人员知道，对《纽约时报》的封杀是彻底的。那个莱斯顿决不会为我们说任何好话，只会把我们往坏处说。他把我们给坑了。他竭尽全力坑我们。之所以没有产生不好的结果，主要是因为周恩来的合作。"

马克思·弗兰克尔当时是《纽约时报》华盛顿分社社长。

马克思·弗兰克尔，《纽约时报》

"他[尼克松]尤为恼火的是，莱斯顿在基辛格举行谈判期间来到中国，并且他们刊登了对周恩来的采访，莱斯顿曾大胆地提问说，中国人对于著名的反共产主义分子如今成为他们的谈判伙伴有什么感受。尼克松读到这篇报道，并且以特别偏执的方式认定，《纽约时报》把我称作反共产主义分子是要破坏我与中国新建立的关系。"

像尼克松这样的长期反共产主义斗士居然为与毛泽东的人民共和国建立关系开启了大门，这不无讽刺意味。因此，在尼克松宣布这次访问之后，媒体报道有很大一部分内容以此为主题。

汤姆·贾里尔，美国广播公司

"我们知道支持尼克松的基本政治群体是憎恨中国的右翼保守派。就在几年前，也就是20世纪60年代，尼克松曾说'嗜血成性的人'执掌着北京的红色政权。"

丹·拉瑟，哥伦比亚广播公司

"我自己在参加尼克松访问活动时前往中国之前的想法是——我们在美国经历了长时间的严重冷战宣传。其中当然有些宣传包含着事实，但是我发现自己一直在思考：这是怎么回事呢？这里将会发生什么事情呢？全美国人民的尼克松总统、典型的冷战斗士简直可以说是改变了颜色，这是多么让人震惊啊！不仅对我个人、而且对整个国家来说，自从第二次世界大战结束后不久，中国就被视为世界第二大邪恶国家，第一个是苏联。至少对我来说，那是一个令人困惑的时期。"

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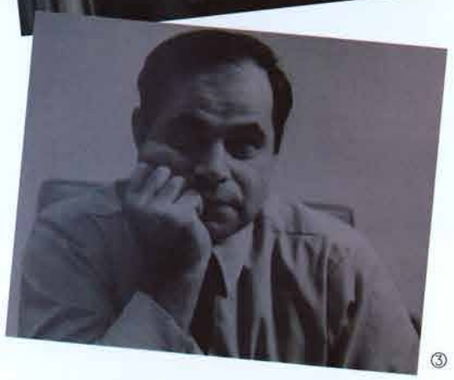

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①德克·霍尔斯泰德（左）(德克·霍尔斯泰德友情提供)
Dirck Halstead (on left) (Courtesy of Dirck Halstead)
②马克思·弗兰克尔(马克思·弗兰克尔友情提供)
Max Frankel (Courtesy of Max Frankel)
③伯纳德·卡尔布（右），丹·拉瑟（左）(哥伦比亚广播公司友情提供)
Bernard Kalb (on right), Dan Rather (on left) (Courtesy of CBS News)
④汤姆·贾里尔(汤姆·贾里尔友情提供) Tom Jarriel (Courtesy of Tom Jarriel)

Kissinger's mission remained secret until Nixon's stunning announcement that he would visit China. Dirck Halstead was a photographer for the news agency United Press International.

DIRCK HALSTEAD, UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL (UPI)

"I was covering the White House in the summer of 1971, and we were in San Clemente [California], where Nixon used to go for his summer vacations. Henry Kissinger, who had been with Nixon in San Clemente, suddenly disappeared. A bunch of reporters were trying to find him to ask a bunch of questions and they couldn't find him. [Then] Kissinger reappeared and they announced he had been in China and they had made an agreement with the Chinese to invite President Nixon as a state visitor to China. Of course, this was a huge bombshell."

BERNARD KALB, CBS NEWS

"This represented an extraordinary breakthrough with a great diplomatic gamble."

From the start, Nixon was obsessed that the press, with which he had a famously hostile relationship, would sabotage his China initiative. Even during Kissinger's secret trip, Nixon was furious at the *New York Times*. *Times* columnist James Reston had been in China at the same time and been granted an interview with Premier Zhou Enlai. Zhou said nothing about Kissinger's presence, but an angry Nixon, in a conversation he secretly recorded with his aides, ordered a White House freeze on all contact with the *Times*.

PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON (WHITE HOUSE TAPE RECORDING, SEPT. 14, 1971)

"I want the goddamned staff to understand. The blackout on the *Times* is total. We are not going to get anything out of Reston except a bad shake. He did us in. He did his best to do us in. It didn't turn out that way, particularly due to Zhou Enlai's cooperation."

Max Frankel was then the *Times'* Washington bureau chief.

MAX FRANKEL, NEW YORK TIMES

"He was particularly upset when Reston went to China during the Kissinger negotiations and when they published the interview with Zhou Enlai, Reston had dared to ask how the Chinese felt about having this classic Red-baiter now becoming their negotiating partner. Nixon read that and decided in his particularly paranoid manner that this was: They're going to sabotage my new relationship with China by calling me a Red-baiter."

The irony of a long-time anti-communist like Nixon being the architect of an opening to Mao's People's Republic was a theme in much of the media coverage following the announcement of the visit.

TOM JARRRIEL, ABC NEWS

"We knew that Nixon, his fundamental political base was the conservative right that hated China. And Nixon a few years earlier, in the 60s, had talked about the 'bloodthirsty people' running the red government in Peking."

DAN RATHER, CBS NEWS

"The context of my own thinking before going to China on the Nixon visit [was] - we'd been through in the United States a long period of heavy Cold War propaganda. Some of the propaganda contained truths, of course, but I just found myself thinking what is this? What's going to happen here? It was such a shock that President Nixon of all people, the quintessential Cold Warrior was changing colors, as it were. The whole country, not just myself, but the whole country, since shortly after World War Two, China was seen as the second of the world's two major evils, the Soviet Union being the first, and it was a confusing period, at least to me."

谈判媒体安排

NEGOTIATING MEDIA ARRANGEMENTS

1972年2月21日，全国各大报纸的头版头条都是尼克松总统抵达中国北京的报道。《芝加哥太阳时报》使用了汉字，其大致意思是“尼克松抵达北京”。《纽约每日新闻》在他们的头版加上了中文“欢迎尼克松”。（美联社照片）

Front pages across the country headlined the arrival of President Nixon in Beijing, China, February 21, 1972. The Chicago Sun Times used Chinese characters which loosely translate as "Nixon Arrives in Beijing." The New York Daily News added a Chinese, "Welcome Nixon" to their front page. (AP Photo)

然而，当中国访问临近的时候，白宫明白新闻报道是至关重要的。可是中国人对于美国媒体却有他们自己的疑虑。姚伟是当年中国外交部新闻司的年轻官员。

姚伟，前中国外交部官员

“美国和中国在朝鲜打过仗，并且在冷战期间互相敌视。中国对美国的任何事物都持怀疑态度，许多人此时依然疑虑重重。”

温斯顿·洛德，前基辛格助理

“首先对于总统来说——对基辛格亦然——……他们希望美国媒体——当然也希望世界媒体——尽可能广泛地报道这一戏剧性事件。中国人当然一直不可思议地偏执和遮遮掩掩，对媒体进行全面控制，过去从来只允许一名新闻官员陪同外国领导人。因此这两个文化和政治巨人之间存在分歧。”

埃德·弗维是哥伦比亚广播公司晚间新闻的高级制作人，负责制作沃尔特·克朗凯特主持的这个节目。

埃德·弗维，哥伦比亚广播公司

“中国人在随行的新闻记者人数方面限制非常严格。当时随总统出访的记者团一般有150到200人，包括技术人员和一些其他人员，并不全是记者。但是这一次中国严格地限制了人数。”

经过主要由基辛格亲自进行的艰难谈判，北京同意让87名美国记者和几十名技术人员随行。

温斯顿·洛德，前基辛格助理

“在一些半诙谐的交谈中，基辛格开玩笑说，我们用一支媒体大军向他们发起了进攻。”

罗恩·沃尔克是尼克松出访的先行官，负责为总统的所有活动作出安排。在尼克松离开华盛顿之前的几个星期里，他两次前往中国，尽力落实每一个相关细节，包括与彬彬有礼但疑虑重重的中国官员一起安排新闻报道事宜。

姚伟(姚伟友情提供)
Yao Wei (Courtesy of Yao Wei)

罗恩·沃尔克（理查德·尼克松图书馆与博物馆）
Ron Walker (Richard Nixon Library and Museum)

埃德·弗维（埃德·弗维友情提供）
Ed Fouhy (Courtesy of Ed Fouhy)

罗恩·沃尔克，尼克松出访的先行官

“我觉得他们一点也不知情。我认为他们对所要面临的情况一无所知。当我到达的时候，我们带了一个卫星转播箱，这是国际采访旅程中使用的第一个卫星转播箱，因为我们在中国没有大使馆，什么也没有。这个卫星转播箱与接收天线一起有大约400磅重。在前三天里，他们不让我们连接转播箱，因为他们不知道卫星转播箱是什么东西。”

事实上，中国人担心沃尔克和他的先行团队是间谍。当沃尔克最终获准使用转播箱里的卫星电话与他的上级——负责尼克松总统日程安排的秘书德怀特 蔡平——通话时，他转弯抹角地暗示了这一点

通话记录：（来自《中国来电：为尼克松历史性的中国之行铺平道路》，安妮·柯林斯·沃尔克著，麦迪逊图书公司，1992年）

沃尔克：我被告知他们正在研究这些设备是否可用于其他活动，你当然知道这些活动指的是什么。

蔡平：我理解你的意思，我也理解他们说的话。

沃尔克：我向他们解释说，我个人没有参加任何其他活动，我们工作组的任何人都不会从事其他活动。”

沃尔克发现同样困难的是向中国人解释管理新闻报道的难处。

罗恩·沃尔克，尼克松出访的先行官

“我们对他们说，他们会让人感到非常不愉快的。他们就要到这里来了，他们希望进行报道。你们必须制定基本规则。我们将帮助你们，我们将帮助你们执行这些规则。但是你们必须帮助满足我们的需求，就像我们帮助满足你们的需求一样。”

对于中国人来说，电视的要求尤其复杂和难以理解。

罗恩·沃尔克，尼克松出访的先行官

“如果你对如何安排总统的活动有所了解，就会知道我们的做法。我们会把一切都写下来，细致到每一时刻的具体安排。我们会画一些图，同时编写现场安排说明。他们把这些图从英文翻译成中文后使用。我们从头至尾指导他们，他们则如饥似渴地跟我们学。在电视节目录制方面，他们真的是对我们言听计从，因为他们的电视糟糕透了。我认为在某个时候他们意识到这符合他们的最大利益，只要这次事件发生，那个巨大的卫星转播箱一定会投入使用，这个设备会把本次事件传播到世界各个角落，[他们]愿意按照我们的建议去做。我认为，这是根本，我相信这是周恩来的安排。”

Yet as the China visit approached, the White House knew the press coverage was crucial. The Chinese, however, had their own doubts about the U.S. media. Yao Wei was then a young official at the Chinese Foreign Ministry's Information Department.

YAO WEI, FORMER CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL

"We had the Korean war between U.S. and China, and the animosity of the Cold War. China was suspicious of everything in the U.S. A lot of people were still skeptical, suspicious."

WINSTON LORD, FORMER KISSINGER AIDE

"For the President above all, and for Kissinger…they wanted this dramatic event to be covered as widely as possible by the American media, not to mention the world media. The Chinese of course had been incredibly paranoiac and secretive and controlling the press completely, and never been used to having more than one press attaché accompany a foreign leader. So you had these two cultural and political giants clashing here."

Ed Fouhy was a senior producer at the CBS Evening News with Walter Cronkite.

ED FOUHY, CBS NEWS

"The Chinese were very, very limiting in how many journalists were able to go. In a normal press trip at that time, you'd have 150, 200 journalists, some technicians, some other people, not all reporters. But on this trip, the Chinese severely limited the numbers."

After difficult negotiations conducted primarily by Kissinger himself, Beijing agreed to 87 U.S. journalists and several dozen technicians.

WINSTON LORD, FORMER KISSINGER AIDE

"There were exchanges, semi-humorous, in which Kissinger would joke about how we're invading them with a media army."

Ron Walker was Nixon's chief advance man, responsible for setting up all Presidential events. In the weeks before Nixon's departure from Washington, he made two trips to China, trying to work out every detail, including the press arrangements, with polite, but deeply suspicious, Chinese officials.

RON WALKER, NIXON ADVANCE MAN

"I don't think they had a clue. I don't think they had any idea what was about to fall on them. When I arrived, we took in the very first satellite suitcase to be used on an international trip because we had no embassy, no nothing. The suitcase satellite weighed about 400 pounds, with the dish. For the first three days, they wouldn't let us hook up the suitcase satellite because they didn't know what a satellite suitcase was."

In fact, the Chinese worried that Walker and his advance team were spies. Walker obliquely hinted as much when he was finally allowed to use the suitcase sat-phone to call his boss, Nixon's Appointments Secretary, Dwight Chapin.

PHONE CALL TRANSCRIPT: (*From China Calls: Paving the Way for Nixon's Historic Journey to China,* Anne Collins Walker, Madison Books, 1992)

WALKER: "I was informed they were conducting a study as to how these facilities could be used for any other activities, which I am sure you can pick up on."
CHAPIN: "I understand what you are saying and I understand what they are saying."
WALKER: "I explained to them that I personally was not involved in any other activities, and no one in our group was attempting other activities."

Walker found it equally difficult to explain to the Chinese the challenges of managing the press.

RON WALKER, NIXON ADVANCE MAN

"We told them they're going to be obnoxious. They're going to get here and they're going to want to cover that, want to do that. You've got to set the ground rules. We'll help you. We'll help you enforce it. But you've got to help accommodate us as we help accommodate you."

For the Chinese, the requirements of TV were especially complex and alien.

RON WALKER, NIXON ADVANCE MAN

"If you know anything about Presidential events, we would script those down to finite moments. We would do diagrams, along with our scenarios. The diagrams they would translate the English into Chinese and take the diagrams. We were teaching them all along, and they were like sponges learning from us. They really just took our lead on everything we were doing television-wise, because their television sucked. I think at some point they realized that it was in their best interest, as long as this was going to transpire, and that huge satellites were going to come in, and they were going to beam this around the world, to take our lead and do this. I think that's in the final analysis, and I'm convinced that it was Zhou Enlai's call. "

1972年2月17日，在启程前往中国大陆访问之前，理查德·尼克松总统和第一夫人帕特·尼克松站在华盛顿白宫南草坪上的麦克风前，作为行政长官向众多祝福者发表前往中国访问的行前讲话。背景是等待的直升机和华盛顿纪念碑。（美联社照片）

President Richard Nixon and First Lady Pat Nixon stand at a microphone on the South Lawn at the White House in Washington, February 17, 1972 as the Chief Executive bids farewell to a host of well-wishers before departing for a visit to China. A waiting helicopter and the Washington Monument are in the background. (AP Photo)

谁有幸前往报道？

WHO GETS TO GO?

理查德·所罗门（理查德·所罗门友情提供）
Richard Solomon (Courtesy of Richard Solomon)

与此同时，在美国各地的新闻编辑室里，记者们在激烈地争夺参加这一历史性旅程的机会。

德克·霍尔斯泰德，合众国际社

"我们谈论着在这场不惜一切代价的争夺中谁将获得参加这次旅程的机会。在接下来的两三个月里，[白宫]新闻办公室收到了无穷无尽的争取参加这次旅程的申请书。"

汤姆·贾里尔是当时美国广播公司派驻白宫的记者。

汤姆·贾里尔，美国广播公司

"他们限制了新闻媒体的人数，其中包括与白宫新闻组一起前往的技术人员——摄影师、音效师、电工和记者是标准的人员组成。他们只分配了一定数量的名额——很少的名额。当这次旅程越来越近的时候，纽约新闻界对这次访问的兴趣也不断增强，突然之间，一些非技术人员、副总裁、总裁、执行制作人等，全都挤进来，以音效师和电工的身份报名。"

理查德·所罗门是基辛格团队中的中国问题专家。

理查德·所罗门，前基辛格助理

"为了参加1972年2月尼克松的正式访问之旅，美国新闻界和媒体负责人都在不惜排挤别人地争取机会。一位年轻女士走近行政部门的某个官员半开玩笑地说，谁要是能让我随尼克松前往中国，我就愿意陪睡。"

丹·拉瑟，哥伦比亚广播公司

"每个人都想去啊。名额的争夺非常激烈，不仅仅在新闻机构内部，而且也去白宫分配名额的官员那里活动——这就是说，有些记者想走白宫的后门——'不要忘了，新闻秘书或媒体助理先生，我报道尼克松总统已经有很长时间了，我真的希望能够前往，而且我希望你能在我们老板面前帮我说句话。'记者之间和新闻机构之间的竞争十分激烈。这里有两个系列的竞争：新闻机构希望派遣尽可能多的记者前往，而各位记者也希望确保自己能够入选，不管有几个名额。"

至于尼克松自己，他发誓要将他最不喜欢的报纸——《纽约时报》和《华盛顿邮报》——的记者排除在外。

马克思·弗兰克尔，《纽约时报》

"尼克松说过，《纽约时报》一个人也不让去。他的工作人员中有人——可能是基辛格或是其他人——头脑比较冷静，劝尼克松不要那样做。[他们说]这是一家世界性报纸等等，出于某种原因他们的意见占了上风，尼克松勉强同意给一个去中国的名额。"

即使这样，弗兰克尔还是利用了自己的老资格才得到了尼克松给《纽约时报》分配的那个名额。

马克思·弗兰克尔，《纽约时报》

"我不得已利用我的老资格和等级权力使我们派驻白宫的记者留在家里，而我自己得以前往。这是我争取到名额的唯一办法。但是，你可以想像，当我登上飞机，发现至少有来自几家电视网的几个副总裁等等，他们并没有充当任何职能，而只是游客，我是多么震惊啊！电视网需要有多个名额给技术员和摄影师等，但是每个电视网还有一些闲人，而且很明显，整个行程安排是着眼于为电视报道提供方便，而来自印刷媒体的我们少数几个人只是作陪衬，于是我对这整个程序感到十分愤慨"。

卡史丹曾经是《华盛顿邮报》驻亚洲首席记者。

卡史丹，《华盛顿邮报》

"尼克松不希望我参加这次访问，因为我为《华盛顿邮报》工作，而他不喜欢《华盛顿邮报》。我给你看一个名单，尼克松在我的名字上面标注了'绝对不行'。"

尼克松对卡史丹感到愤怒的原因之一是1971年秋《华盛顿邮报》关于毛主席的指定接班人林彪元帅的神秘死亡的一篇报道。林彪和中国领导层中的其他极左派，包括毛泽东的妻子江青，都反对向美国开放。

理查德·所罗门，前基辛格助理

"卡史丹是消息最灵通的记者之一，他在情报界和外交使团界都有一些关系，因此他能够获得足够的信息来写一些相当准确的关于领导层内部斗争的报道。"

卡史丹，《华盛顿邮报》

"例如，当我为邮报写关于林彪的报道时，尼克松政府对此勃然大怒。他们认为，报道任何中国所不喜欢的东西都可能导致这次访问被取消。"

理查德·所罗门，前基辛格助理

"他们所担心的是，如果媒体上出现关于中国局势不稳定的负面报道，那么你就会产生疑问了：如果中国将要由于内部冲突而陷于分裂，那么我们为什么还要向中国开放呢？林彪事件在基辛格的神秘之旅和1971年10月的访问之间发生，这使他很不高兴，因为该事件再次使得中国看起来政治上不稳定——实际上是不稳定——从而会使这一试图与中国实现关系正常化以抗衡苏联的战略大计功亏一篑。作为他的工作人员，基本上我们全都被禁止向新闻界公开谈论我们真正看到的发生在中国的事情。"

当尼克松看到卡史丹的名字出现在前往中国的新闻媒体名单上时，他立即把这个名字划掉了，并且批注"绝对不行"。最后，尼克松的新闻秘书罗恩·齐格勒和幕僚长H·R·霍尔德曼说服总统，不能把《华盛顿邮报》排除在访华行程之外。

德怀特·蔡平，负责尼克松总统日程安排的秘书

"他总是习惯于说'该死'。如果我们不让他参加前往中国的行程，就会发生一系列事情。他会说'该死'，他这次去不了中国；然后他会把情况告诉齐格勒。罗恩等待一两天，然后回去对霍尔德曼说，你知道，我们真的不能这样做。这样做是不对的。然后霍尔德曼会回到总统那里，把这件事向尼克松总统提出，他会说，好吧，我是那么考虑的，但是如果他必须去，那就让他去吧。"

Meanwhile, in newsrooms across America, there was intense jockeying among reporters desperate to get on the historic trip.

DIRCK HALSTEAD, UPI

"We're talking about people who would push their mothers underneath the wheels of a train to get on the trip. And so then for the next two or three months there was this endless petitioning of the press office to get on the trip. It was high stakes poker. "

Tom Jarriel was then ABC's White House correspondent.

TOM JARRIEL, ABC NEWS

"They had limited numbers of places for the news media, and that included technicians that traveled with the White House press group - cameraman, soundman, electrician and correspondent was the standard component. And they had only a certain number of spaces allocated – a very few spaces. And as the trip got closer and the interest built in New York, suddenly there are non-technicians, vice-presidents, presidents, executive producers, all jumping on the bandwagon and signing on as soundmen, electricians."

Richard Solomon was a China specialist on Kissinger's staff.

RICHARD SOLOMON, KISSINGER AIDE

"Getting on the Nixon official trip in February of 1972, the American press and media officials were crawling over themselves. One young lady approached someone in the administration and said only half joking, 'Who do I have to sleep with to get on the Nixon China trip?'."

DAN RATHER, CBS NEWS

"Everybody wanted to go. There was a lot of jockeying for position, both internally at news organizations.. and then there was jockeying with people in the White House who request people to go - which is to say some journalists would back-door at the White House: 'Don't forget, Mr. Press Secretary or Press Aide, that I've been covering President Nixon for a long time and I really hope to go on the trip and I hope you might lean in on my boss.' There was fierce competition among journalists and among news organizations. You had two sets of competition: that news organizations wanted to send as many journalists as they could, and then individual journalists wanted to make sure that they were on the team however big the team was."

For his part, Nixon vowed to exclude reporters from the newspapers he most disliked- the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*.

MAX FRANKEL, NEW YORK TIMES

"Nixon had said nobody from the Times. Somebody on his staff, either Kissinger or other, saner heads said you can't do that. This is the international newspaper etcetera and somehow they prevailed and he reluctantly allowed one seat for China. "

Even so, Frankel had to pull rank to get the one seat Nixon allotted for the *Times*.

MAX FRANKEL, NEW YORK TIMES

"I used my seniority and my hierarchical powers with great regret to leave the White House correspondent at home and took the trip myself. That's how I got to be it. But imagine my shock when I get on the plane and I find at least a half a dozen tourists from the Vice Presidents of networks and so on that were along with no function at all. I could understand the networks getting multiple seats for technicians and cameramen and so on, but there were hangers-on for each of the networks, and obviously it became very clear that this whole trip was being set up for television convenience, and the few of us who were in the writing press were just add-ons, and I was quite enraged by the whole procedure."

Stanley Karnow had been the *Washington Post's* chief Asia correspondent.

STANLEY KARNOW, WASHINGTON POST

"Nixon didn't want me on the trip because I was working for the *Washington Post* and he didn't like the Washington Post. I'll show you the list with Nixon's handwriting running through my name – 'absolutely not.' "

One reason for Nixon's anger at Karnow was a report in the Washington Post in the fall of 1971 about the mysterious death of Marshal Lin Biao, Chairman Mao's designated heir. Lin and other ultra-leftists in the Chinese leadership, including Mao's wife Jiang Qing, had opposed the opening to the U.S.

RICHARD SOLOMON, FORMER KISSINGER AIDE

"One of the most informed reporters was Stanley Karnow, and he had his contacts in the intelligence community and diplomatic corps, and so he was getting enough information to be writing something that was fairly accurate about the internal leadership struggles."

STANLEY KARNOW, WASHINGTON POST

"When I wrote my story about Lin Biao for example for the *Post*, the Nixon administration, they went berserk. They thought that anything that was going to come out that the Chinese didn't like was going to cancel the trip."

RICHARD SOLOMON, FORMER KISSINGER AIDE

"What they were concerned about is that if negative stories appeared in the press about instability in China, then you would get questioning of how can we have this opening to China if they're tearing themselves apart with their internal conflicts? Henry was not happy when the Lin Biao business broke out between his secret trip and his October 1971 trip, because again it made it look as if China was politically unstable, which it was, and would put in jeopardy this strategic maneuver of trying to normalize with China as a counterweight to the Soviet Union. All of us working on his staff were basically interdicted from talking openly to the press about what we really saw going on in China."

When Nixon saw Karnow's name on the press list for China, he crossed it off, writing "Absolutely not." Eventually, Nixon's press secretary Ron Ziegler and his Chief of Staff H.R. Haldeman convinced the President he could not keep the *Washington Post* off the China trip.

DWIGHT CHAPIN, NIXON APPOINTMENTS SECRETARY

"It would not be unlike him to say dammit. We're not going to let him go on that trip to China. Then that would start a process. He would say dammit he's not going to go on that trip to China, and he would say that to Ziegler. Ron would wait a couple of days, go back to Haldeman and say you know we really can't do that. This is not right. And Haldeman would go back in and raise it with President Nixon, and he would say, 'Well that's how I felt, but if he's got to go, he's got to go.'"

卡史丹（卡史丹友情提供）
Stanley Karnow (Courtesy of Stanley Karnow)

安排后勤
SETTING UP THE LOGISTICS

电视设备在北京卸下(罗伯特·西根塔勒友情提供)
TV equipment being unloaded in Beijing (Courtesy of Robert Siegenthaler)

距尼克松启程的日子不到一个月时，白宫和中国方面未能就有关媒体的关键问题——包括记者大军怎样发送报道——达成一致意见。

罗恩·沃尔克，尼克松出访的先行官

“我们有三种安排。第一种是带三架波音747，电视网可以在飞机上发布报道，传真照片也可以在飞机上发送。第二种是带三辆传输卡车。第三种安排是一个传输中心的模式。当2月1日我带领这个队伍前往中国时，我不知道将会发生什么事情。”

由于民族自豪感的原因，中国人拒绝了沃尔克的前两个方案。但是在仅仅三个星期里，他们建成了自己的传输中心，由美国各电视网络共同提供设备。

美国广播公司制作人罗伯特·西根塔勒是记者团协调员。

罗伯特·西根塔勒，美国广播公司/记者团协调员

“他们按照我们的规格要求建了一个电视台，完全没有设备，美国记者团的电视设备装满了一架707飞机，我们就是带着这架飞机抵达中国的。”

姚伟，前中国外交部官员

“当时没有任何数字设备。你必须用35毫米或16毫米Bolexe摄影机来拍摄任何东西，然后要进行显影。临近旧北京机场的整个地方搭建了一个美国中心，所有那些电视网都来这里对胶片进行显影，然后发送到当时称为‘鸟’的地方。我觉得‘鸟’这个词非常有趣，它指的就是卫星。”

还有其他一些困难。

泰德·科佩尔，美国广播公司

“我很要好的一个朋友鲍勃·西根塔勒……是记者团遥控车上的节目制作人。遥控车是大型巴士样式的，内部装有所有的卫星设备。这个巴士围绕北京及其监控地区移动。毫不夸张地说，这是一辆‘百万美元的巴士’。当那辆巴士以巨大的代价空运到中国时，电视网原以为会允许美国司机来驾驶这辆巴士，但是中国说：‘绝对不行！’”

西根塔勒在与他的中国同行就移动卡车事宜进行谈判时遇到了很大的麻烦，他把他的中国同行称为“不先生”。

罗伯特·西根塔勒，美国广播公司/记者团协调员

“他是一位绅士，我们称他‘不先生’，他非常刻板地遵守协议。他和我像两只豪猪一样地共存在一起。我的中国同行说得很清楚，这辆巴士将由中国司机来驾驶，否则我们美国人员可以参加中文的驾驶考试。那对我来说似乎不可行。”

泰德·科佩尔，美国广播公司

“于是我们培训中国司机怎样驾驶这辆巴士。第一天他独自驾车出去，结果驾驶这辆巴士出了车祸。我的朋友鲍勃回到酒店时，他的中国同行来了，说：‘西根塔勒，非常抱歉地告诉你，我们的司机驾驶你们的巴士出了一个小车祸。’鲍勃说：‘他怎么了？’”

罗伯特·西根塔勒，美国广播公司/记者团协调员

“这些移动设备的总技术员……是一个美国强硬派，他认为我们不应该把移动设备交给中国司机来操作。他对自己被中国方面否决感到不快，并且他不想参加中国的驾驶考试。当他听说这件事的时候，他反应过激……一拳砸在了我们用作谈判桌的台面上。”

泰德·科佩尔，美国广播公司

“他的拳头力度很大，以致于把台面的玻璃打碎了。

罗伯特·西根塔勒，美国广播公司，记者团协调员

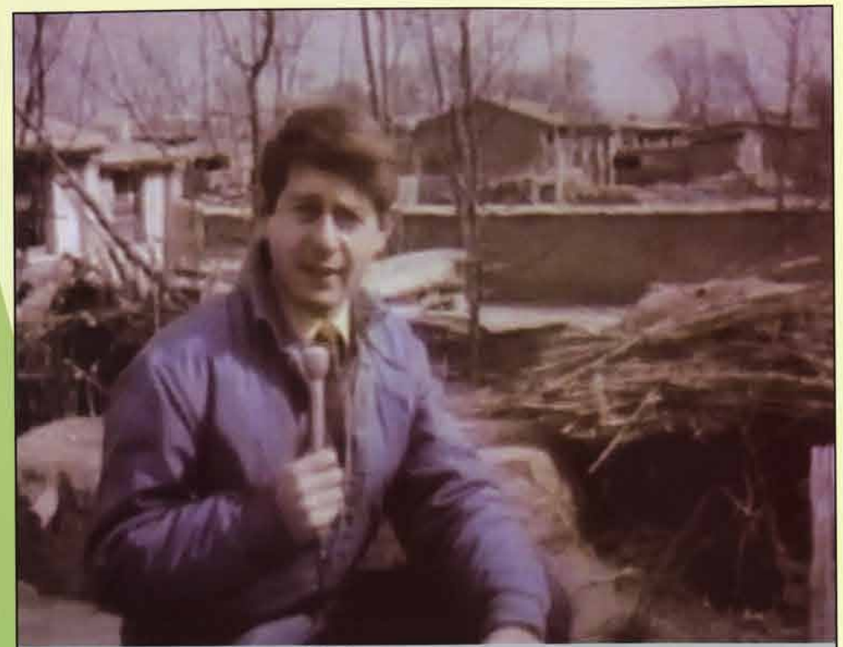
“这没有改善美中关系。”

这不是唯一的文化差异。

罗伯特·西根塔勒，美国广播公司/记者团协调员

“我们有两台移动车，运到以后，第一台送到了天安门广场，让他们对这个必须接触的东西有所了解。他们用摄像机对准紫禁城墙上的毛主席的巨幅照片。他们使用的还是老式的设备，需要按顺序调试红、绿、蓝三原色。后来有一天，我拿了一部摄像机隔着桌子递给我的中国同行。有人报告说某人对毛主席不敬，因为他们把他拍成了蓝色。他们好像丢失了其中的红色和绿色。但是不管怎么解释，这还是成为一个棘手的问题，直到我们设法让他们明白这是一种误解。”

广播档案中心(罗伯特·西根塔勒友情提供)
The broadcast filing center (Courtesy of Robert Siegenthaler)


泰德·科佩尔(美国广播公司友情提供)
Ted Koppel (Courtesy of ABC News)

With less than a month before Nixon's departure, the White House and the Chinese had not been able to agree on key questions concerning the press – including how the army of reporters would file their stories.

RON WALKER, NIXON ADVANCE MAN

"We took in three scenarios. The first scenario was bringing in three [Boeing] 747s where the networks could file and the wire photos could be moved. The next scenario was to bring in three transmission trucks. The third one was a model of a transmission center. We didn't know when I left to bring this team in [to China] on February 1st, what was going to happen."

For reasons of national pride, the Chinese rejected Walker's first two ideas. But in just three weeks, they built their own transmission center, which the U.S. TV network pool then equipped.

ABC News producer Robert Siegenthaler was the pool coordinator.

ROBERT SIEGENTHALER, ABC NEWS/ POOL COORDINATOR

"They built to our specifications a television station, totally unfurnished, and the U.S. pool took a 707 full of television equipment and that's how we arrived in China. "

YAO WEI, FORMER CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL

"At that time you didn't have any digital. You had to film everything in 35 mm or 16 mm Bolexes. They had to be developed. The whole place close to the old Beijing airport set up a U.S. center where all those networks would come to develop those films and send it to the 'bird,' as it was called at the time. I was quite amused by the word 'bird,' that's the satellite."

There were other problems.

TED KOPPEL, ABC NEWS

"A dear friend of mine, Bob Siegenthaler ...was the pool producer for the remote truck. Now the remote truck was this sort of large bus which had all the satellite equipment in it. And the bus would be moving around Beijing and its environs. This was, quite literally, a 'million dollar bus.' And when that bus was transported to China by air, at enormous cost, the assumption of the networks was that an American driver would be allowed to drive that bus. The Chinese said, 'Absolutely not!'"

Siegenthaler was having so much trouble negotiating with his Chinese counterpart about the mobile truck that he dubbed him "Dr. No."

ROBERT SIEGENTHALER, ABC NEWS/POOL COORDINATOR

"A gentleman, we called him 'Dr. No', he had a legalistic view of the agreement and he and I co-existed as two porcupines. My counterpart made it clear that it was a Chinese driver, a Chinese driver would drive it. Or we [the U.S. staff] can take a driving test in Chinese. That didn't seem feasible to me."

TED KOPPEL, ABC NEWS

"So the Chinese driver was trained in how to drive this bus. And on the first day that he went out by himself, he got into a traffic accident with the bus. And my friend Bob was back at the hotel, and his Chinese counterpart approached, and 'Siegenthaler, very sorry to tell you but our driver got into a little accident with your bus.' And Bob said, 'He did what?'"

ROBERT SIEGENTHALER, ABC NEWS/POOL COORDINATOR

"The chief technician for the mobile units ...was a U.S. hardliner [who believed] that we shouldn't have ceded the mobile units to Chinese drivers. He wasn't happy that he was overruled, and he didn't want to take the [Chinese] driver's test. When he heard about it, he overreacted...by slamming his fist on a counter in the hotel where we were conducting the negotiations."

TED KOPPEL, ABC NEWS

"And he hit that glass so hard that he cracked it."

罗伯特·西根塔勒(罗伯特·西根塔勒友情提供)
Robert Siegenthaler (Courtesy of Robert Siegenthaler)

ROBERT SIEGENTHALER, ABC NEWS, POOL COORDINATOR

"It didn't improve U.S.-Chinese relations. "

That wasn't the only cultural difference.

ROBERT SIEGENTHALER, ABC NEWS/POOL COORDINATOR

"We had two mobile units, when they arrived, the first one was sent to Tiananmen Square to have them have a look at what they have to deal with. They were going through those olden days of color television, through the sequential registering of the camera in red, green, blue, the primary colors. And later in the day I had the one across the table meeting with my counterpart. Someone had reported that someone was disrespectful to Chairman Mao because they were filming him in blue. They seemed to have missed the red and green in it. But in any event, it was a big sticking point until we got it sorted it out that it was a misunderstanding."

去往中国的航程

THE FLIGHT TO CHINA

1972年2月20日，在乘飞机去往中国的旅途中，理查德·尼克松总统在与高级助手的讨论中。（美联社照片/鲍勃·舒茨）
President Richard Nixon during a discussion with top aides aboard his plane en route to China on February 20, 1972.
(AP Photo/Bob Schutz)

当尼克松启程前往中国的时候，在“空军一号”上，由六名记者组成的白宫“记者团”与他随行。

汤姆·贾里尔，美国广播公司

“我们共有三家报纸的记者和一个摄影组。在‘空军一号’上，给记者团配置的座位一律是普通舱。我们有一张办公桌，前面有一张饭桌，还有面对面的四把椅子，没有地方睡觉；技术人员坐在后面的几个座位上。因此我真不想成为‘空军一号’上的记者团的一员，这是一件苦差，除了……当‘空军一号’驶往上海然后前往北京，然后我们想，哎呀，我们是最早到达那里的人啊。”

记者团的其余人员分乘两架特别包机前往。

德克·霍尔斯泰德，合众国际社

“他们拥有两架白宫包租的707客机，一架是TWA707型机，命名为‘你好一号’，就是中文表示问候的意思；第二架是‘泛美帆船’，命名为‘你好二号’。然后他们还必须为谁该乘哪一架飞机费脑筋。当然记者们都想乘坐‘你好一号’，他们都想一起抵达。摄影师和技术员被放到了‘泛美帆船’上。这就是当时的乘机安排。

在跨越太平洋的时候，飞机上的人们激动得几乎要晕过去。

丹·拉瑟，哥伦比亚广播公司

“那是一场庆祝，我必须说，而且并不是很喜悦地说，在记者团的飞机上很像聚会的气氛：‘哇，我终于上了飞机了，我正前往中国，中国已经封闭了这么多年了，这有点离开地球飞往宇宙深处的某个星球一样的感觉。’”

埃德·弗维，哥伦比亚广播公司

“就好像飞往月球一样，因为西方人或者至少美国人自1949年以来没有到那里去过。”

德克·霍尔斯泰德，合众国际社

“我们像小孩子一样地高兴，每个人都盼望着看到中国。”

芭芭拉·沃尔特斯，全国广播公司

“我对中国一无所知。几乎没有人知道中国真实的样子，这真像是前往月球一样。我们将会看到什么？我们对将要看到的东西毫无概念。”

全国广播公司“今日”节目的芭芭拉·沃尔特斯有自己的忧虑。她是这次旅程上仅有的三个女记者之一，并且没有什么外事报道经验。

德克·霍尔斯泰德，合众国际社

“芭芭拉·沃尔特斯当时是一个新人，她没能乘坐‘你好一号’，她被迫承受与摄影师和技术员一起乘机的屈辱。”

芭芭拉·沃尔特斯，全国广播公司

“当有人让我去为全国广播公司进行这次报道的时候，我非常惊讶，有些害怕，因为我从来没有与那些大牌人物平起平坐过，像埃里克·塞瓦雷德、白修德、沃尔特·克朗凯特等等。”

当然了，克朗凯特是哥伦比亚广播公司晚间新闻的主播，埃里克·塞瓦雷德是哥伦比亚广播公司最著名的记者之一。白修德曾经在20世纪40年代为《时代》杂志报道过中国。

大多数记者对中国知之甚少……他们对中国的看法是由将近25年来的孤立和敌意所造成的，但是白修德是个例外。

马克思·弗兰克尔，《纽约时报》

“那是月球的另一面。我的意思是，就像那样简单。就是说，那是一个黑暗的时期，它对我们封闭了起来。因此它完全处在冰冻状态，一种固体，我们沉浸在无知之中。”

卡史丹，《华盛顿邮报》

“这次访问的大多数记者对中国知之甚少。他们什么都不知道。”

伯纳德·卡尔布，哥伦比亚广播公司

“直到那时，可以这样说，我们对中国的印象就是，毛泽东早餐吃婴儿。一直都是这种关于中国人行为方式和共产主义制度已经基本上非人性化的夸大的漫画式宣传”。

媒体专机在上海停留时，摄影师们拿起相机来看到什么就拍什么，然后继续飞往北京，记者们各就各位，准备报道尼克松的到来。

丹·拉瑟，哥伦比亚广播公司

“天哪，这第一感觉、第一次我们踏上中国土地的感觉真是让人欢欣鼓舞——我们已经来到中国，你能相信我真正踏上了中国的土地吗？第二个感觉就是，我对自己说，这是终生难遇的事情，我记得当时我在心里向上帝默默地祷告，如果你曾经打算让我达到或接近最佳状态，那就让我在这些天里进入最佳状态吧。当时还有这样的感觉，毫不夸张地说，这就是正在形成中的历史，这将成为历史书中的内容。”

芭芭拉·沃尔特斯(理查德·尼克松图书馆与博物馆)
Barbara Walters (Richard Nixon Library and Museum)

As Nixon set out for China, a half dozen reporters made up the White House pool traveling with him on Air Force One.

TOM JARRIEL, ABC NEWS

"We had two other newspaper guys and a camera crew. The accommodations on pool on Air Force One were strictly coach. We had a desk, a table in front, and four seats facing each other, and no place to sleep, the technicians sat in a couple of seats in the back. So you really didn't want to be pool on Air Force One, it was a chore. Except....when Air Force One is heading to Shanghai and then on to Peking. Then we thought, holy cow, we're going to be among the first ones there."

The rest of the press corps traveled on two specially chartered planes.

DIRCK HALSTEAD, UPI

"They had two 707s at the White House, one was a TWA 707, and that was named Nihao One, which was Chinese for 'Hello', and the second one was a Pan Am Clipper, and that was named Nihao Two. Then they had to [be] worried about who is going to be on which plane. Of course the reporters all wanted to be on Nihao One and they all wanted to be on there together. And the photographers or the animals were put on the Pan-Am clipper. So there was that stratification."

Crossing the Pacific, the mood on board was almost giddy

DAN RATHER, CBS NEWS

"It was a celebration, and that on the press plane I would have to say, and there is no joy in saying this, that it was pretty much a party atmosphere of, 'Wow, I'm finally aboard the plane and I'm going to China - China closed for all these years; it was a little of the feeling we were leaving earth and going deep into cosmoses of some distant planet.'"

ED FOUHY, CBS NEWS

"It was like flying to the moon because Westerners or at least Americans hadn't been there since 1949."

DIRCK HALSTEAD, UPI

"We were like kids. Everyone was looking out to see China."

BARBARA WALTERS, NBC NEWS

"I knew nothing about China. It really was like going on the moon. What are we going to see? We had no idea what to expect. "

Barbara Walters, of NBC's Today show, had her own anxieties. She was one of only three women reporters making the trip, and had little experience covering foreign affairs.

DIRCK HALSTEAD ,UPI

"Barbara Walters was a new kid at that time. She didn't make the cut on Ni hao One. She was forced to go through the indignity of flying with the cameramen and techs on the 'zoo plane.'"

BARBARA WALTERS, NBC NEWS

"When I was asked to go and cover it for NBC, I was amazed, scared, because I never been at the level with the big guys, with the Eric Sevareid(s), Teddy White(s), Walter Cronkite(s)and so on."

Cronkite, of course, was the anchor of the CBS Evening News. Eric Sevareid was one of CBS's most famous correspondents. And Theodore White had covered China in the 1940s for *Time* magazine.

But White was the exception. Most of the reporters knew little of China...their perceptions shaped by nearly a quarter century of isolation and hostility.

MAX FRANKEL, NEW YORK TIMES

"It's the other side of the moon. I mean, it's as simple as that. I mean, it was the dark period. It was closed to us. So it was all frozen in ice and it was solid and we were steeped in ignorance."

STANLEY KARNOW, WASHINGTON POST

"Most of the reporters on the trip, they knew nothing about China. They knew nothing. "

BERNARD KALB, CBS NEWS

"Up until then the idea was Mao Zedong ate babies for breakfast so to speak. There had been this exaggerated character of the way the Chinese were and the Communist system had basically been dehumanized."

The press planes stopped in Shanghai, with photographers taking pictures of everything in sight, and then flew on to Beijing so the reporters would be in position to cover Nixon's arrival.

DAN RATHER, CBS NEWS

"Well the first sensation, the very first time we stepped foot in China was exhilaration - we had made it and can you believe I'm actually putting my feet down on Chinese soil! The second was to say to oneself, this is a story of a lifetime and I remember thinking to myself a silent prayer of 'Lord if you're ever going to let me be at or near my best let me be at that these days moving forward.' There was this sense that this was literally history in the making, this was a story for the history books."

尼克松总统到达上海机场（美联社照片）
President Nixon lands in Shanghai. (AP Photos)

接机仪式
THE ARRIVAL CEREMONY

1972年2月21日，理查德·尼克松总统在北京机场受到中国周恩来总理以及仪仗队列队欢迎。随行人员的最左边是第一夫人帕特·尼克松，还有一名翻译。（美联社照片）
President Richard Nixon is greeted by Chinese Premier Zhou and a line of troops at the Beijing airport, February 21, 1972. With them are First Lady Pat Nixon, far left, and an interpreter. (AP Photo)

在尼克松前往中国的途中，新闻先行团与中国方面之间就怎样在媒体报道中解释协议产生了新的争端。

罗伯特·西根塔勒，美国广播公司/记者团协调员

“协议指定在总统抵达前，不允许我们传输任何东西。我们插入了一个条款，规定我们在总统抵达前一天进行传输测试，届时我们将安排一辆车在跑道上模拟‘空军一号’的抵达，以便摄像机追随飞机的移动并看到仪仗队所在的位置等等。我的中国同行说那是不可能的。我在这件事上每天都在争取，我说，如果不允许我们演练，那么他们对于以体面的方式报道总统抵达这件事情就没有诚意。让他们的技术人员去做这件事吧。”

最后，中国方面做了让步，同意进行传输测试。

当‘空军一号’在北京降落的时候，尼克松和他的工作人员非常清楚第一个电视画面的重要性，它将为整个访问奠定基调。

罗恩·沃尔克，尼克松出访的先行官

“中心事件，头等大事。我们知道整个世界都在关注这一事件，其意义将是巨大的，因为我们打开了一直封闭的通向十亿人民的大门，总统说了，我们准备得不够好，因此我们所做的一切都是为了报道的效果。”

德怀特·蔡平，负责尼克松总统日程安排的秘书

“非常清楚，当总统抵达时，我们将在电视上播放总统和尼克松夫人走下舷梯的镜头，与周恩来的照片无疑是非常重要的。我的意思是，这一场景将是第二天早上几乎每家报纸的头版头条。”

在北京机场等待时，记者们也在猜想这一时刻的场景。

马克思·弗兰克尔，《纽约时报》

“我们对机场设置了远景镜头。我想起1954年越南问题会议上杜勒斯拒绝与周恩来握手的情景。因此我要特别注意观察尼克松在机场与周恩来握手的情景，我记得我努力争取到握手的适当视角，因为我准备在我的报道中特别提到这一点。”

丹·拉瑟，哥伦比亚广播公司

“当尼克松总统走下飞机的时候，我心里非常清楚，他肯定考虑到了——我不知道他是否在镜子前面练习过——但是他肯定考虑过当舱门打开的时候他确切地应该怎么做，从飞机上走到扶梯底端确切地有多少步，在扶梯底端握手的程序应该是怎样等等问题。”

甚至帕特·尼克松的大衣颜色的选择也将相机镜头考虑在内了。

德怀特·蔡平

“我们知道，所有的东西都是那种柔和的灰色、棕色和绿色，那种军绿色，等等。唯一红色的东西是宣传标语，标语内容你知道，就是资本主义的走狗或其他一些反美的东西。也许你还记得这些。因此当时的想法是让尼克松夫人穿一件红色大衣——她需要厚点的大衣，因为当时是二月——红色的大衣会非常显眼并且表达一种含义。这件大衣确实达到了理想的效果。”

不过美国国务院有些中国问题专家曾警告说，在中国，穿红色是与妓女联系在一起的。

尼克松夫人的大衣还给哥伦比亚广播公司晚间新闻主播沃尔特·克朗凯特开来一个问题。

埃德·弗维，哥伦比亚广播公司

“我们站在一个露天看台上，就像你在中学看到的橄榄球场上的看台一样。通常情况下，当然，克朗凯特进行现场报道时会被人群所包围，他会有一个座位，需要做笔记等等。但是在这里，一切都不相同。当时只有我们两个人。我在摄像机画面之外。就在飞机滑行到停机位的时候——发动机还在轰鸣——他大声对我喊道：‘我是个色盲，告诉我帕特·尼克松的大衣是什么颜色，如果是绿色或粉红色，因为我是这两种颜色的色盲。’我说好的。当真实情景发生的时候，她走出飞机时确实穿了件粉红色大衣。我想我当时是在笔记本上写下来，把笔记本举起来让他看见。”

While Nixon was en route to China, a new dispute erupted between the press advance team and the Chinese over how to interpret the agreement on media coverage.

ROBERT SIEGENTHALER, ABC NEWS/POOL COORDINATOR

“The agreement specified that we were not allowed to transmit anything until the President's arrival. But there was a clause that we inserted that we have a test transmission one day prior to arrival where we would have a vehicle on the runway simulating the arrival of Air Force One so the cameras could follow the movement and see where the honor guards are going to be and that sort of thing. My counterpart said that was not possible, that was a long tussle every day and I said that if we cannot rehearse then they can't be serious about covering the arrival in a seemly way. Let them take their technicians and do it.”

Eventually, the Chinese backed down and agreed to the transmission test.

As Air Force One descended towards Beijing, Nixon and his staff were well aware of how crucial the first TV images would be in setting the tone for the entire trip.

RON WALKER, NIXON ADVANCE MAN

"Central. Number one. We knew the world was going to see this event and it was going to be huge because we were opening a door to a billion people that had been isolated and the President said this is just not good. So everything we did was for that camera."

DWIGHT CHAPIN, NIXON APPOINTMENTS SECRETARY

"Well it was very clear upon arrival that we would have the President and Mrs. Nixon down that stairs and that that picture with Zhou Enlai would be an incredibly important picture. I mean, that was the establishing shot in virtually every newspaper the next morning."

Waiting at Beijing airport, the reporters too wondered about the moment.

MAX FRANKEL, NEW YORK TIMES

"We had a very long-range view of the airport. I had in mind John Foster Dulles' refusal in the 1954 Vietnam Conference, his refusal to shake Zhou Enlai's hand. So I was particularly straining to see Nixon shaking Zhou Enlai's hand at the airport and I remember having to struggle to get the right view of it because I was going to make a point of it in my story."

DAN RATHER, CBS NEWS

"When President Nixon got off the aircraft, it was very clear to me that he had thought about, whether he had practiced in front of a mirror I don't know, but thought about exactly what he was going to do when the plane door opened, exactly how many steps it would be to the bottom of the ramp, what he would do at the bottom of the ramp in terms of the order of the handshaking and that sort of thing. "

Even the choice of color for Pat Nixon's coat had been made with the cameras in mind.

DWIGHT CHAPIN

"We knew that everything was all in that muted grays and browns and greens, that army green, and so forth. The only things in red were the propaganda signs that said, 'running capitalist pigs' or something that were anti-American. Maybe you remember this. And so the idea came to let Mrs. Nixon have - she needed a heavy coat - because it's February. And a red coat might be really, set apart and make a statement and it did."

No matter that some State Department China specialists had warned that wearing red in China was associated with being a prostitute.

Mrs. Nixon's coat caused a problem for CBS Evening News Anchor Walter Cronkite.

ED FOUHY, CBS NEWS

"We were standing on a bleacher like you'd see at a high school football stadium, and normally of course Cronkite doing a live broadcast would be surrounded by people and would have a place to sit and have his notes and so on. But he didn't. There were just the two of us. I was off camera. He told me just before the plane pulled up to the stop and the engines were running so he was yelling and he said 'I'm colorblind. Tell me what color Pat Nixon's coat is - if it's either green or pink - because I'm color blind between those two colors.' And so I said fine and as it happened she indeed was wearing a pink coat when she got off the plane. I think I just wrote it in my notebook and held it up so he could see it."

1972年2月22日，北京，理查德·尼克松总统隔着会议桌与周恩来总理面对面。（美联社照片）
President Richard Nixon faces Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai across the conference table in Beijing, February 22, 1972. (AP Photo)

除了总理周恩来、少数其他官员、一个中国军乐队和尼克松检阅的仪仗队以外，欢迎仪式毫无疑问是低调的。当尼克松和他的随行人员以及记者团前往北京时，一直保持着低调。

马克思·弗兰克尔，《纽约时报》

"我们被赶进了一辆巴士前往城区，途中的情景非常奇特，因为四周是死一般的寂静。通常当你与总统团队随行的时候，东道国政府会安排夹道欢呼的人群等等，但是在这里，我们一路畅通地进入了北京，几乎没有人注意到我们。"

德克·霍尔斯泰德，合众国际社

"这个机场仪式与任何一个机场仪式都不相同，我从来没有在一个外国遇到过。中国人并没有大张旗鼓。没有人等候在街道两旁迎接他，就好像是半夜里从后门悄悄进入。"

对于一个习惯了排场、华丽和人群的总统，这样简朴的接待让尼克松的助理们——和满腹狐疑的记者们——对这次访问的前景持怀疑态度。

罗恩·沃尔克，尼克松出访的先行官

"我们在天安门广场架起了摄像机，当我们往摄像机里看的时候，我们'哇！'地惊叹起来，因为我们是在长驱直入——大街上一个人都没有。"

只看到反共的尼克松从共产主义巨人列宁和斯大林的画像前经过。

泰德·科佩尔，美国广播公司

"当尼克松的车队经过天安门广场时，你会期待它引来许多目光。一辆美国的豪华大轿车，其实是几辆豪华轿车，以及所有护卫车辆的挡泥板上插着美国国旗飞驰而过——但是没有人围观。"

记者团被安置在苏联式的民族酒店。

丹·拉瑟，哥伦比亚广播公司

"中国人走了，我对他们表示称赞。他们已经竭尽全力地招待我们，把住所布置得尽可能舒适。"

在酒店的部分区域，中国人布置了一个传输中心。

亨利·布拉德舍是本次行程中为数不多的真正的中国通，当时担任现已解散的《华盛顿星报》驻香港记者。

亨利·布拉德舍，《华盛顿星报》

"他们建立了一个良好的发报系统。他们有许多发报员。你在打字机上写好了东西，把它交给他们，他们把它发送出去。当时这是全世界的标准做法。那是在没有更好的通讯工具之前的事情，你不能将报道通过电话发送出去。电话线路不怎么好，你必须将报道打出来然后发送。"

Apart from Premier Zhou Enlai, a handful of other officials, a Chinese army band, and a guard of honor, which Nixon reviewed, the welcome was decidedly low-key. And it remained so as Nixon, his entourage and the press corps headed into Beijing.

MAX FRANKEL, NEW YORK TIMES

"We were herded off on a bus into town, and it was quite remarkable because it was dead silence. Normally when you're with a Presidential party, the host government had arranged for cheering crowds on the sides and so on, and here we were gliding into Beijing and hardly anybody taking notice of us."

DIRCK HALSTEAD, UPI

"This was an airport ceremony unlike any I had ever experienced in a foreign country. The Chinese did not make a big issue out of it. There were no people lining the streets to see him. It was like sliding in in the middle of the night."

1972年2月23日，北京，中国周恩来总理（右）和理查德·尼克松总统在另一轮会谈开始前合影。（美联社照片）
China's Premier Zhou Enlai, right, and President Richard Nixon pose together in Beijing, February 23, 1972 at start of another rounds of talks. (AP Photo)

For a President used to pomp, pageantry, and crowds, the austere reception left Nixon's aides – and a skeptical press - wondering about the prospects for the visit.

RON WALKER, NIXON ADVANCE MAN

"We set up cameras in Tiananmen Square and as we went through that camera went "whoo" because we flew right through, there wasn't one person on the street."

Instead, the anti-communist Nixon passed portraits of the giants of communism - Lenin and Stalin.

TED KOPPEL, ABC NEWS

"When the Nixon motorcade came into Tiananmen Square, you would have expected that the sight of a big American limousine, couple of limousines, and all the escort vehicles that were going by with the American flag flying from the fender, that that would have attracted some attention. It did not."

The press was housed in the Soviet-style Nationalities Hotel.

DAN RATHER, CBS NEWS

"The Chinese had gone, I give them credit, they'd gone to great lengths to be hospitable, to make the quarters as comfortable as possible."

In part of the hotel, the Chinese had set up a filing center.

亨利·布拉德舍(理查德·尼克松图书馆与博物馆)
Henry Bradsher (Richard Nixon Library and Museum)

1972年2月24日，尼克松总统和第一夫人帕特·尼克松于访问中国期间摄于北京附近的长城。（美联社照片）
President Richard Nixon and First Lady Pat Nixon are seen at the Great Wall near Beijing during their trip to China, February 24, 1972. (AP Photo)

Henry Bradsher – one of the few genuine China hands making the trip - was the now-defunct *Washington Star's* Hong Kong correspondent.

HENRY BRADSHER, WASHINGTON STAR

"They had set up a good system. They had a lot of teletype operators there. You wrote your stuff up on a typewriter, handed it to him, and they sent it out. That was standard all over the world at the time. That was before you had better communication and you couldn't telephone your stories out. The telephone lines weren't very good. You just had to type them up and send them."

1972年2月21日，北京，在总统抵达中国几小时后，毛泽东主席与尼克松总统举行会谈。左为周恩来总理。中国领导人中间是翻译唐闻生。（美联社照片）
Chairman Mao Zedong talks with President Nixon in Beijing, February 21, 1972, hours after the President arrived in China. At left is Premier Zhou Enlai. Between the Chinese leaders is an interpreter, Tang Wensheng. (AP Photo)

尼克松被安置在钓鱼台国宾馆。正式的时间表上先是休息，接着是正式会见，然后是参加周恩来的宴会。

温斯顿·洛德，前基辛格助理

"一个小时后，我们到达了国宾馆安置下来，基辛格、尼克松和我们其他人。出乎我们所料的是，周恩来又回来了，当时我在那里。他告诉基辛格说，主席想要马上会见总统。这让我们猝不及防。"

罗恩·沃尔克，白宫先行官

"弗农科菲（尼克松的军事助理）走了进来说，先生们，我们把总统给弄丢了。我们当然就问他，你说的什么啊？他说周恩来刚才来了，把总统和亨利带走了。我们只有一名保卫人员跟随他们，现在我们对于他去了哪里一无所知。"

受到邀请的是尼克松、基辛格和一名记录员。基辛格带了他的助理温斯顿·洛德。尼克松的国务卿威廉·罗杰斯被排除在外，正如在这一访问的整个谈判过程中那样，这是基辛格和国务院关于控制总统美国的外交政策管理的一场正在进行的权力斗争。

与毛主席的会见持续了一个小时，两位领导人基本上是泛泛而谈。但是这一会见本身说明，毛主席支持发展与美国之间的新关系。

温斯顿·洛德，前基辛格助理

"这一会见安排在开始让我们都感到高兴，因为这对于中国受众、干部和人民以及整个世界都意味着，即使尚不知道关于《公报》和这次访问的其他事情的结果，但是他[毛泽东]对此表示了积极态度。"

但是洛德参加会见而国务卿罗杰斯被排除在外，则对尼克松和基辛格造成了一个尴尬的问题。

温斯顿·洛德，前基辛格助理

"会见结束之后，中方人员拿来一个公报，里面有参加会见人员的名单，包括我在内，还有我们所有人的照片。尼克松和基辛格对周恩来和毛泽东说，就当洛德先生没有参加这次会见，要把他从公报中去掉，从所有的新闻公报和所有照片中去掉。因为他们掂量着如果只有基辛格和尼克松而没有罗杰斯，已经[让罗杰斯很屈辱]，现在这第三个人是基辛格的助理，而不是罗杰斯，那就太过分了。对此我能理解，但我觉得中国人可能不清楚为什么要这样做。"

洛德被从所有照片中剪裁掉了。多年之后，中方把原始照片交给了他。这段情节反映了不久将达到高潮的美方内部的紧张关系，当时尼克松的随行人员竭力向媒体保密。

与毛泽东的会见发生得这样秘密，以致于没有一个美国记者能够进行报道。

当记者们发觉时，他们大为恼火。

丹·拉瑟，哥伦比亚广播公司

"据宣布，总统已经会见过毛主席了，那么——哪些记者跟着他？根本没有任何记者跟随。我想说的是记者团对此的不满和失望情绪非常强烈，包括我自己。记者们大家前所未有地抱怨说：'你们怎么能做这种事呢？我们已经不远万里，跨越半个世界。可是这就好像你们在操纵新闻，控制新闻。总统去会见的时候没有任何媒体随行，然后给我们分发照片，这让我们如何诚实地传递信息呢？'虽然有各种各样的报怨，但就像谚语所说，都是说给聋子听，因为总统已经去了那里，并且没有带任何媒体。"

对于尼克松来说，这并不重要。他得到了他想要的镜头——第一位与毛泽东会见的美国领导人。

罗恩·沃尔克，尼克松出访的先行官

"之后周恩来把他从那里带到了人民大会堂的第一次全体会议会场，那里没有我们的任何记者。突然之间我们得到了消息，他们在人民大会堂。我们马上行动，以最快的速度赶到了那里，整个记者团立即赶过去了。"

在首次全体会议上……第一个主题是媒体。由于媒体在中国控制得非常严格，周恩来对于管理不够驯服的美国记者的前景表示了忧虑。

周恩来总理（白宫会谈备忘录，1972年2月21日星期一下午5：58－6：55）

"他们希望我接见他们，我说等总统先生离开以后再接见他们会更好。我觉得在会谈中间不太容易回答他们的问题，我也不像基辛格先生那样善于应对新闻发布会。"

温斯顿·洛德坐在从左边数第六位。洛德在尼克松访华期间的这张照片的所有出版物中都被裁掉（在第35页上的照片的版本就是这种情况）
Winston Lord is seated 6th from the left. Lord was cropped out of all publications of this photo at the time of Nixon's visit (which is the case in the version of this photo on page 35) (Courtesy of USC—China Institute)

Nixon was taken to the Diao Yu Tai state guest house. The official schedule called for a rest, followed by a formal meeting and then a banquet with Zhou Enlai.

WINSTON LORD, FORMER KISSINGER AIDE

"An hour after we got to the guest house and landed, Kissinger, Nixon, and the rest of us, to our surprise, Zhou Enlai came back and said to Kissinger, and I was there, the Chairman would like to see the President right away. Now, this caught us off guard."

RON WALKER, WHITE HOUSE ADVANCE MAN

"Vernon Coffey [Nixon's military aide] walks in and says, 'Gentlemen, we've just lost the President.' Of course we all, what do you mean?! He said well Zhou Enlai just came and took the President and Henry. We have one agent with them and we had no clue as to where he was going."

The invitation was for Nixon, Kissinger and one note-taker. Kissinger brought his assistant Winston Lord. William Rogers, Nixon's Secretary of State, was

excluded, as he had been throughout the negotiations that led to the trip – part of an ongoing power struggle between Kissinger and the State Department for control over the management of the President's foreign policy.

The meeting with Mao lasted an hour, with the two leaders talking mostly in generalities. But the mere fact that it took place meant Mao had given his blessing to a new relationship with the U.S.

WINSTON LORD, FORMER KISSINGER AIDE

"We were delighted it was at the beginning, because this was saying to the Chinese audiences and the cadres and the people and the world that, even not knowing how the negotiations on the Communiqué and everything else on the trip was going to come out, he was putting his positive stamp on it."

But Lord's participation in the meeting and the exclusion of Secretary of State Rogers had created an embarrassing problem for Nixon and Kissinger.

WINSTON LORD, FORMER KISSINGER AIDE

"After it's finished, the Chinese come in with a communiqué saying about who was there including myself and pictures of all of us. And Nixon and Kissinger said to Zhou Enlai and to Mao – 'Mr. Lord was never in this meeting. Take him out of the communiqué, out of all the press releases, all the pictures.' To have a third person who was Kissinger's assistant instead of Rogers was too much, and I understood this. The Chinese I think didn't understand what was going on."

Lord was cropped out of all the pictures. Years later, the Chinese gave him the originals. The episode highlighted the internal tensions on the U.S. side that would soon come to a head, even as Nixon's entourage struggled to keep the press in the dark.

The Mao meeting had happened in such secrecy that none of the American journalists were allowed to cover it. When they found out, the reporters were furious.

DAN RATHER, CBS NEWS

"It was announced the President had gone to see Chairman Mao, and it was - well, what press is with him? There's no press with him. I would say the discontent and disappointment in the press corps, including myself, was very high. And there were complaints, were there ever complaints, the reporters saying 'how could you do this? We've come all this way, half-way around the world. And this is a case of – you're manipulating the news, you're controlling the news. How can we be honest brokers of information when the president is going without any press coverage at all and you're going to give us handout photographs if that.' All kinds of complaints but they fell on proverbial deaf ears, because the President was already there and he didn't take any press."

For Nixon, it didn't matter. He had the image he wanted- the first meeting with Mao by an American leader.

RON WALKER, NIXON ADVANCE MAN

"Then Zhou Enlai takes him from there to the first plenary session at the Great Hall of the People and we don't have any press there. All of a sudden we get the word, they're at the Great Hall of the People. Well, we hauled ass and got there as fast as we could, got the pool in there immediately."

At that initial plenary session, the first topic was the media. With the press tightly controlled in China, Zhou Enlai expressed unease at the prospect of dealing with rambunctious American reporters.

PREMIER ZHOU ENLAI (White House Memorandum of Conversation, Monday, February 21, 1972 - 5:58 p.m.-6:55 p.m.)

"They wanted me to receive them. And I said it will be better after Mr. President leaves for me to receive them. It is not very easy for me to answer their questions in the middle. Nor am I very adept at briefing conferences like Mr. Kissinger."

1972年2月21日，北京人民大会堂，理查德·尼克松总统和中国总理周恩来在宴会结束时互相敬酒。（美联社照片）
President Richard Nixon and Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai toast each other at the end of the banquet in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing on February 21, 1972. (AP Photo)

尼克松和周恩来会见结束之后是欢迎晚宴，这是为美国电视所精心安排的另一个活动。

理查德·所罗门，前基辛格助理

"他们对活动的安排是，因为有十二个小时的时差，华盛顿的早上在北京就是晚上了，活动被安排在我们上午的电视节目时间，以便美国人在用早咖啡的时候能够收看尼克松和周恩来在北京的晚宴上祝酒的情形。所有这一切都经过精心安排。"

这是美国的早餐时间，观众们看到一个中国乐队演奏着美国传统的歌曲——以及毛泽东的文化大革命的流行曲目。他们看到尼克松和周恩来互相祝酒，谈论着新的国家关系。

中方坚持美方的所有人员都要出席。

罗恩·沃尔克，尼克松出访的先行官

"他们希望每个美国人都参加晚宴，甚至从'空军一号'上下来的空乘人员、照顾'空军一号'的地勤人员，他们想要这些人员也参加晚宴。"

丹·拉瑟，哥伦比亚广播公司

"每个人都对首次宴会感到非常兴奋。这里看到的是白宫的尼克松总统与中国人密切合作的情景。我和大多数媒体人员坐在大厅后部，那里也有异常多的中国年轻人与记者在一起。我有充分的理由相信，这是经过精心安排的，因为他们想要创造一个蓬勃发展、大步向前的年轻中国形象。"

马克思·弗兰克尔，《纽约时报》

"我们见到了一些明显是最近从文化大革命中复出的人员。我们与几个在美国接受过培训因此能说英语的医生坐在一个桌。我试图询问他们最近几年的情况，这个话题很敏感，显然他们不习惯谈它，他们有点像是刚从文化大革命的再教育经历中解脱出来。"

当尼克松与周恩来和其他中国官员互相祝酒的时候，这种明显且让人惊讶的热情对于美国观众来说是确定无疑的。这也正是白宫想要的东西。

德怀特·蔡平，负责尼克松总统日程安排的秘书

"我们知道将会有祝酒和碰杯，这就是我们所要的东西，就是我们要拍摄的场面。"

观众所不知道的是，尼克松的先行人员曾提醒过他，不要真正喝中国的烈性茅台酒——丹·拉瑟称它为"白色闪电"——只要举起杯来碰一下嘴唇即可。

第二天，经过短暂的照相场面之后，尼克松和基辛格开始与周恩来就一个公报展开谈判，这个公报将成为新的美中关系的基础。双方同意谈判秘密进行。

伯纳德·卡尔布，哥伦比亚广播公司

"他们对此缄口不言，在外交上非常谨慎。

当真正的闭门谈判会议进行的时候，记者们留下来报道尼克松夫人，或者被安排到中国的各个单位访问，这些访问都在精心控制之下。

After the Nixon-Zhou meeting came the welcoming banquet, another set-piece event designed for American TV.

RICHARD SOLOMON, KISSINGER AIDE

"They timed events so that because of the twelve-hour time difference between events in Washington and Beijing there would be evening events for example, would be timed for the morning television shows, and so Americans would be having their breakfast coffee watching Nixon and Zhou Enlai toasting at an evening banquet in Beijing, and all that was very carefully organized."

It was breakfast time in the U.S. Viewers saw a Chinese band playing traditional American songs – as well as favorites from Mao's Cultural Revolution. They saw Nixon and Zhou Enlai toast each other and talk about a new relationship.

The Chinese insisted everyone from the U.S. side attend.

RON WALKER, NIXON ADVANCE MAN

"They wanted every American at the dinner. Even the flight attendants off of Air Force One, the ground crew that was taking care of Air Force One, they wanted them at the dinner. "

DAN RATHER, CBS NEWS

"Everybody was excited about the very first banquet. The picture here was the White House of President Nixon working closely with the Chinese. I was seated as were most press people near the back of the room, and there were an unusual number of young Chinese back with the press. I have every reason to believe that was calculated, because they wanted the picture of China being a young, burgeoning, moving forward country."

MAX FRANKEL, NEW YORK TIMES

"We were mixed in with Chinese people who had obviously been recently rehabilitated from the Cultural Revolution. I shared the table with several physicians trained in the United States and therefore spoke English. I tried to push them for where they'd been in recent years, and that was murky, so obviously they were not accustomed, they had just been sort of brought back from their re-education experiences in the Cultural Revolution."

The obvious - and surprising - warmth as Nixon exchanged toasts with Zhou Enlai and other Chinese officials was evident to U.S. television viewers. And it was exactly what the White House wanted.

DWIGHT CHAPIN, NIXON APPOINTMENTS SECRETARY

"We knew that there were going to be toasts and the clicking of the glass and that was what we were after. That was the shot."

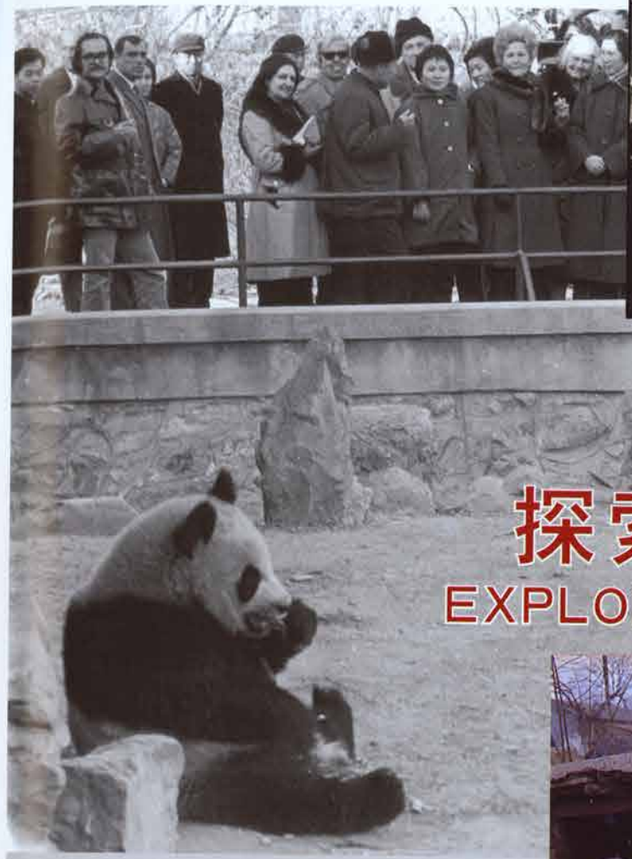
What audiences didn't know was that Nixon's advance team had warned him not to actually drink the powerful Chinese mao tai – Dan Rather called it "white lightning" - but simply to raise his glass to his lips.

The next day, after a brief photo opportunity, Nixon and Kissinger began negotiations with Zhou on a communiqué that would form the basis of a new U.S.-China relationship. Both sides agreed on the need for secrecy.

BERNARD KALB, CBS NEWS

"They were very, very hush-like, very diplomatic and cautious about that."

With the real business of the summit taking place behind closed doors, the reporters were left to cover Mrs. Nixon, or offered carefully controlled visits to various Chinese work units.



1972年2月24日，尼克松总统和第一夫人帕特·尼克松在参观颐和园。（美联社照片）
President Nixon and First Lady Pat Nixon are seen as they visit the Summer Palace on February 24, 1972. (AP Photo)

探索中国
EXPLORING CHINA

1972年2月22日，帕特·尼克松夫人（右二）在北京动物园参观期间，观看大熊猫。（美联社照片/wfa/stf）
Mrs. Pat Nixon, second from right, watches giant pandas during a visit to the Beijing Zoo on February 22, 1972. (AP Photo/wfa/stf)

1972年2月23日，北京，帕特·尼克松在一个人民公社的猪圈旁向圈内投放食物。（美联社照片）
Pat Nixon tosses bits of food to pigs in a sty at a Chinese commune in Beijing, February 23, 1972. (AP Photo)

1972年2月23日，帕特·尼克松坐在一个公社学校的孩子们中间。（美联社照片）
Pat Nixon sits among school children at a Commune School on February 23, 1972. (AP Photo)

芭芭拉·沃尔特斯，全国广播公司

"尼克松夫人每天都有活动。有一次去访问学校，那里我们能够看到他们有多么先进，他们知道《牧场是我家》这首歌。还有去一些农业中心的访问。"

卡史丹，《华盛顿邮报》

"他们不希望媒体四处访察，他们最希望的是媒体什么也不知道。没有人向我们介绍情况或提供信息。所以他们所做的就是派出巴士，带着记者去参观景点，就像带着一群学校里的孩子一样。"

泰德·科佩尔，美国广播公司

"早上的第一件事是，我们每人都会得到一个活动列表，你可以从A列和B列各挑选一个。你可以去中朝人民友谊公社，或者你可以去某某医院观察做手术，你知道，不过是操作那些小针头罢了。"

芭芭拉·沃尔特斯，全国广播公司

"去一家医院观看针灸。我买了一些标明主要穴位的耳针模型回到家，还有针灸娃娃，我把它们送给我的医生朋友，他们不相信它，我们也不相信我们在医院看到的不用麻醉就能做手术的情景。"

尽管看到的一切都是故意安排的，但对于访问的美国人来说都是全新的东西，都可以做成很好的电视节目。

芭芭拉·沃尔特斯，全国广播公司

"有一些与政治毫不相关但却与社会生活方式有关的东西，对于我们来说是耳目一新的。"

1972年2月22日，帕特·尼克松在北京饭店的厨房里。（美联社照片）
Pat Nixon at the Hotel Beijing kitchen, February 22, 1972. (AP Photo)

BARBARA WALTERS, NBC NEWS

"There were events every day for Mrs. Nixon. There was a visit to the school where we could see how advanced they were, where they would know one song, 'Home on the Range'. There were visits to agriculture centers."

STANLEY KARNOW, WASHINGTON POST

"They don't want the press probing around. The least they want is the press to know anything about anything. We're not getting briefed or anything. So what they do is they send out buses and they take the reporters like we're a bunch of school kids to look at the sights."

TED KOPPEL, ABC NEWS

"We would each be given a menu of events first thing in the morning. You can pick, quite literally, one from Column 'A' and one from Column 'B.' You can go to the Chinese-Korean People's Friendship Commune. Or you could go to such and such a hospital and observe an operation being done, you know, with nothing more than those little needles being manipulated, right."

BARBARA WALTERS, NBC NEWS

"We were able to go to a hospital and watch acupuncture. I came home and bought acupuncture ears because that's where the main points were, and acupuncture dolls and I gave them to friends of mine who were doctors. They couldn't believe it. And we didn't know what to believe when we went to the hospital and saw no anesthesia and people being operated on."

However staged, for the visiting Americans, it was all new, and made for great television.

BARBARA WALTERS , NBC NEWS

"These were the things that didn't have to do with politics but had to do with the way a society lives that were brand new to us."

1972年2月24日，尼克松总统和第一夫人帕特·尼克松在参观北京近郊明十三陵期间观看一只石象。（美联社照片）
President Nixon and First Lady Pat Nixon view a stone elephant during their visit to the Ming Tombs near Beijing, February 24, 1972. (AP Photo)

1972年2月22日，在北京观看一场“红色娘子军”革命芭蕾舞剧演出，尼克松总统坐在周恩来总理和毛泽东主席夫人江青中间。（美联社照片）
President Nixon sits between Premier Zhou Enlai and Jiang Qing, wife of Chairman Mao Zedong, at a performance of the revolutionary ballet 'Red Detachment of Women' in Beijing, February 22, 1972. (AP Photo)

第二天晚上，总统一行被邀请去剧院观看一部由江青——毛泽东夫人——创作的“革命芭蕾”。江青以前是个演员，比毛泽东或周恩来更为激进，她反对向西方作任何让步。

芭芭拉·沃尔特斯，全国广播公司

“她是毛泽东的第二任或第三任夫人。她要年轻得多，她掌管着文化大革命。她说这就是你们要听到的东西，就是你们要看到的东西，也就是你们要在学校中学习的东西。她是——在与文化相关的问题上，江青（即毛夫人）扮演着比她丈夫更为重要的角色。”

这个芭蕾舞剧由美国电视网进行了现场直播。

罗伯特·西根塔勒，美国广播公司/记者团协调员

“有一件事情我想提一下，它是所有活动中最难以处理的，这就是《红色娘子军》的表演。哥伦比亚广播公司的导演从来没有看过这种革命歌剧的表演。”

这个歌剧纯粹是宣传。

马克思·弗兰克尔，《纽约时报》

“我忘了这个歌剧的名字，只记得内容是红色娘子军战胜了资本主义的魔鬼之类。资本家的走狗之类的称呼很普遍。尼克松以其恭恭敬敬的态度看完了这个不合礼数的剧目。在我看来这是此次整个访问中他们故意触人痛处的一个缩影，然而尼克松由于自身原因竟然全盘接受了。”

尼克松两旁陪坐着周恩来和其政治死敌江青，当歌剧结束时，他礼貌地鼓起掌来。

后来，当有记者问起他的意见时，尼克松努力地想找出一些正面的东西加以评论。

理查德·尼克松总统

“这个芭蕾剧是……当然了，大家都知道，它在传递一些信息，这也是它的目的之一。但是同时呢，虽然它传递了强有力的信息，但它是个表演性很强的、极为优秀的戏剧，有优秀的舞蹈，优秀的音乐，还有精湛的演技。我对这些印象非常深刻。我曾看过世界各国的芭蕾舞剧，包括苏联的和美国的，这个剧确实与我看到过的任何芭蕾舞作品具有同样的高水平。”

“红色娘子军”演出。（美联社照片/彩色中国照片）
A performance of 'Red Detachment of Women.' (AP Photo/Color China Photo)

On the second night, the President and his party were invited to the theatre to see a "revolutionary ballet" created by Jiang Qing, Mao's wife. She was a former actress, more radical than Mao or Zhou, and opposed to any accommodation with the West.

BARBARA WALTERS, NBC NEWS

"She was Mao's second or third wife. She was much younger. She was in charge of the Cultural Revolution. She said this is what you are going to listen to, what you will be listening, what are you going to be taught in the schools. When it had to do with culture, Jiang Qing, Madam Mao played a more important role than her husband."

The ballet was broadcast live by the U.S. networks.

ROBERT SIEGENTHALER, ABC NEWS/ POOL COORDINATOR

"The one thing – I want to make a point – much harder than all the events I discussed, was the performance of the Red Detachment of Women. The revolutionary opera, the director from CBS had never seen the performance."

The performance was propaganda in its purest form.

MAX FRANKEL, NEW YORK TIMES

"I've forgotten the name of the performance but red detachment triumphing over the capitalist devils or whatever. The capitalist dogs or something like that prevailing. Nixon in his most deferential manner sitting through this insulting performance. I thought that was a great synopsis of this entire trip that they were rubbing it in and Nixon for his own reasons was taking it."

When it ended, Nixon, flanked by Zhou Enlai on one side and Jiang Qing, Zhou's bitter political rival, on the other, clapped politely.

Later, when asked his opinion by reporters, Nixon struggled to find something positive to say.

PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON

"The ballet was...of course, as you all know, it had its message. And that was one of its purposes. But also, while it was a powerful message it was also very dramatic and excellent theatre, excellent dancing, excellent music, and really superb acting. I was very impressed. I've seen ballets all over the world including the Soviet Union and the United States, this is certainly the equal of any ballet I have seen in terms of production."

雪 天
THE SNOW

看过芭蕾剧的第二天上午下雪了。

丹·拉瑟，哥伦比亚广播公司

“我走到窗前，正好是黎明时分，但是有几千人，好几千中国人，拿着简陋的铲子和扫帚的男男女女，他们在清扫和刷除，用人工清扫街道和人行道上的积雪。”

汤姆·贾里尔，美国广播公司

“谁能告诉我，怎样能让曼哈顿的人们走出他们的公寓来清除纽约街道上的积雪呢？”

丹·拉瑟，哥伦比亚广播公司

“我坐在窗前，完全呆住了，各种各样的问题涌上我的头脑。看着这一幕，它深深地刻在我的脑海里。丹，你以前从来没有看过这种场景啊。是什么促使他们这么做呢？是什么让他们这么做呢？这种情况是怎么发生的呢？我呆若木鸡地坐在那里，对着这个场景观望了很长一段时间。”

媒体提醒过北京的天气寒冷。

德克·霍尔斯泰德，合众国际社

“我们出去买了些长内衣裤，在中国期间一直穿着。问题是我们在那里的时候，大部分时间都呆在这座供热过量的国宾馆，穿着这些长内衣裤绝对有一种被烘烤的感觉，

中国游客步履艰难地走过北京郊区颐和园积雪覆盖的庭院（美联社照片/马克斯·德斯福）
Chinese sightseers trudge through the snow-covered courtyard of the Summer Palace on the outskirts of Beijing. (AP Photo/Max Desfor)

1972年2月25日，在北京游览紫禁城期间，中方人员和导游提醒尼克松总统当心积雪覆盖的湿滑台阶。（美联社照片/贝尔·阿卡兹）
Chinese hosts and guides caution President Richard Nixon to be wary of snow-covered, slippery steps during a tour of the Forbidden City in Beijing on February 25, 1972. (AP Photo/Bill Achatz)

The morning after the ballet, it snowed.

DAN RATHER, CBS NEWS

"I went to the window, and it was just before dawn, but thousands, many thousands of Chinese, men and women with rudimentary rakes, they were cleaning and brushing; they were cleaning the streets and sidewalks of the snow by hand."

TOM JARRIEL, ABC NEWS

"Tell me how any people in Manhattan are going to come out of their apartments and sweeps the streets of New York of snow?"

DAN RATHER, CBS NEWS

"I sat at the window, transfixed all, all kinds of questions going through my head, look at this scene, embed this scene, Dan. You've never seen anything like this before. What moves them to do this? What gets them to do this? How can this be happening? And I sat there literally transfixed for a very long time to watch that."

The press had been warned about Beijing's cold weather.

DIRCK HALSTEAD, UPI

"So we went out and bought these long johns and that became what we wore everyday when we were in China. The problem was when we were there most of the time was that we were in these overheated State Halls most of the time and we would absolutely be baking in these long johns and there were no laundry facilities. So within a day or two, we couldn't stand to be near each other."

1972年2月24日，为了尼克松总统的参观，这些孩子们被特意带到明十三陵表演。（美联社照片）
These children were especially brought to play at the Ming Tombs for President Nixon's visit, February 24, 1972 (AP Photo)

随同尼克松的所有记者都配有中国政府的看管员。他们担任翻译和向导——但同时也促使记者们遵守纪律。

丹·拉瑟，哥伦比亚广播公司

"这次访问中有几个看管员跟着每一个人。这是连'影子看管员'也算上，这些人的工作就是确保你作为一个记者去你应该去的地方。他们看管得很紧，他们紧盯着这些外国人，他们得到的指示是：不要让他们到不该去的地方去。"

泰德·科佩尔，美国广播公司

"这些翻译人员显然接受过严格的审查，你别想从他们那里得到任何想要的东西。我记得有关我们的翻译的一件有趣的事情是，我说：'帮我个忙。每到一个地方，我都想听听本地的幽默笑话。请给我讲一个中国笑话吧。'他们显得很茫然。我会说，'你看，一个玩笑，使人发笑的事情。'我一遍又一遍听到的回答是：'我什么笑话都不知道'。"

但是芭芭拉·沃尔特斯设法说服她的翻译做了一次电视采访。

芭芭拉·沃尔特斯，全国广播公司

"要让中国人回答问题是很难的。他们被教导只能提供与党的立场一致的回答。……我通过举例举个我自己的经历，进行了采访吧……。"我家里有个小女儿，我很想她。你想念你的孩子吗？所有这些都不是在镜头前，而是为了让他们习惯。"

姚伟，前中国外交部官员

"有一个翻译甚至惹了麻烦，因为他在帮一个电视台，一个女士，我没有必要提她的名字。我们告诉每一个人'不要采访工作人员'。这个女士带着这个翻译来到录像室，招手让摄影师过来，然后所有的灯光都打开了，他却说'我不能接受采访'，但是他已经出现在电视画面上了。"

摄影师和技术人员有他们自己的看管员，这些人努力地想搞懂用于采访的复杂技术。

德克·霍尔斯特德，合众国际社

"每个负责核对引语的技术员都有一名看管员。当技术员工作的时候，他们一直坐在旁边。当尼克松抵达机场的那天，记者团的报道车传输抵达影像时，技术员在查看所拍摄的内容，中国的看管员则对看到的东西非常惊讶。导演检查摄像机时说'一、二、砰砰砰……'传输过程结束时，这个看管员来到报道车里跟导演说，我认为我弄懂了几乎所有的东西，我懂得了馈给信号，懂得了"鸟"是什么，但是还有一个你们一直在说的东西我不明白，就是'f……音频'？"（"f"开头的词是英语中的粗话——译者注）

尽管有许多戏剧性的场面，在尼克松访问期间，记者们对于除了故意安排的活动和拍照机会之外不能报道任何东西感到越来越沮丧。

丹·拉瑟，哥伦比亚广播公司

"如果你报怨——我们也确实抱怨了，白宫新闻代表和尼克松的行政人员的反应是耸耸肩然后说，我们是在中国，我们必须按照中国人的方式行事。然后[记者们]则会满脸不高兴，其潜台词是：是的，我们是在中国，但是我们是美国人，我们在报道美国总统。在这件事情上关系非常紧张，而且随着访问的不断深入，[中方]操纵更加过分，[记者们]感觉也更强烈，关系也越来越紧张。"

马克思·弗兰克尔，《纽约时报》

"我们有几个人跟所谓的东道主——我们的看管员——死缠活缠，我想这样说是确切的，告诉他们我们对这些故意安排的活动感到不满和厌倦，难道就完全没有机会去接触一些真实的民众吗？"

一些记者，包括《华尔街日报》的罗伯特 肯特里，被带到了北京大学，他们在那里会见了革命委员会的副主席，一个受过美国教育的物理学家。

罗伯特·肯特里，《华尔街日报》

"这是一位睿智的、很有成就的、在其学术领域中非常著名的人物，他坐在那里，讲述由于毛主席的思想，他们重组了这所大学，让工人和农民来上学。但是当然了那里几乎没有人，该校基本上是关闭了的。他说的完全是谎言，你只能为他感到遗憾，因为你知道，他也不相信自己说的话，他是一个不能自主的人。"

当《华盛顿邮报》的卡史丹问起北京大学突出的文化大革命激进分子聂元梓的命运时，他没有得到任何回答。

卡史丹，《华盛顿邮报》

"我问起关于聂元梓的问题，就是和他们坐在一起时这样问：'聂元梓怎么样了？''卡史丹先生你尝过这个四川西葫芦么？。'他们总是回避每个问题。"

有些记者决定甩开他们的看管员，独自出去闯闯。

马克思·弗兰克尔，《纽约时报》

"我记得沿着一个胡同独自走，每次都会来到一个墙洞，我知道，当我在大街上行走的时候，墙的另一边有一群大概50个孩子在跟随着我，凝视着我。我记得最生动的事情是小孩子被吓着的时候。有人向我解释说，孩子们只是从来没有看到过长着长鼻子还有皮肤上有许多毛发的人。这些孩子会着迷地盯着我看，然后突然大哭起来，把头埋进妈妈或姥姥的裙子里。这种情形一遍又一遍地发生，非常让人吃惊。"

丹·拉瑟，哥伦比亚广播公司

"我成功摆脱了看管员有几分钟时间，并随意走了不到四分之三个街区，并走进了一个小商店。摄影组也跟了上来，我们在那里计划好了，摄影组往一个方向走，我往另一个方向走，摄影组甚至分散开来，试图让看管员难以应付。我们计划在拐角

处的小商店会合。这一切发生得非常突然，因为看管员们进来的时候我们已经开始拍摄了，摄像机正在旋转着。很清楚，看管员们互相看着，心想我们不想在阻拦的时候被拍下来，我们也不想让这种事情发生。看管员们明确表示，我们不应该在那里，你们必须回到酒店去。"

但是拉瑟继续寻找机会。

丹·拉瑟，哥伦比亚广播公司

"我走出酒店前门，正好赶上一辆公共汽车停在车站上，我上了车时，我记得司机大吃一惊，觉得好奇，然后担心起来。车门关上了，这是我脱离看管员走得最远的一次，而看管员们努力追赶公共汽车，心想那个西方傻帽在公共汽车上到底干了些什么？我在没有翻译的情况下坐了15到30分钟。当行驶到线路终点站时，我不会说汉语啊，为此我当时和现在都感到非常遗憾。司机试图告诉我已经到线路终点站了，而我试图告诉他，如果你不介意的话，我将一直坐在车上，随车反向回去。"

罗伯特·肯特里(罗伯特·肯特里友情提供)
Robert Keatley (Courtesy of Robert Keatley)

All the reporters accompanying Nixon were assigned Chinese government minders. They served as translators and guides – but were also there to keep the press in line.

DAN RATHER, CBS NEWS

"There were several minders attached to every person on this trip. When you take into account, what I would call the 'shadow minders,' there were several, and their job was to make sure that you, as a correspondent, went where you were supposed to go. They were uptight, they were seeing these alien people, their instructions were: 'Don't let them go anywhere they are not supposed to go.'"

TED KOPPEL, ABC NEWS

"We had these interpreters who clearly had been vetted so thoroughly that you weren't going to get anything of interest out of them. And I remember the one thing of interest I got out of our interpreters was, I said, 'Do me a favor. Every place I go, I'd like to hear what the local humor is. Tell me a Chinese joke.' And I would get these vacant stares. And I'd say, 'You know, a joke, something to make you laugh.' And the answer I got over and over was, 'I don't know any jokes.'"

But Barbara Walters managed to convince her interpreter to do an on-camera interview.

BARBARA WALTERS, NBC NEWS

"It was very difficult to get the Chinese to respond. They were so indoctrinated to just give you the same Party line. I got the interview...by using my own experience. 'I have a little girl at home and I miss her. Do you miss your children?' Now all of this was not on camera, it was a way of warming them up. "

YAO WEI, FORMER CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL

"One of the interpreters even got in trouble because he was helping a network, a lady, I don't have to mention the name - we told everybody don't interview the staff. This lady took this interpreter and went to the studio and motioned to the cameraman and here, all the lights turned on, and he said 'I can't be interviewed,' but he was on TV already. "

Photographers and technicians had their own minders, who struggled to make sense of the complex technology being used to cover the visit.

DIRCK HALSTEAD, UPI

"Every minder was assigned to a technician, and they would always sit with the technician as they went through their job. So on the day that Nixon arrived at the airport, the pool van that was transmitting the arrival images, they went through their coverage and the Chinese minder was just amazed. As the director went 'camera one, camera two,' bang, bang, bang... At the end [of] that transmitting session, the minder turned to the director in the van, [and said] 'well I think I understand almost everything. I understand about the feed, about the bird, but there's one thing that you kept saying that I don't understand: What is this 'f... audio?'"

Despite all the drama, as Nixon's visit progressed, the reporters became increasingly frustrated at their inability to get beyond staged events and photo-opportunities.

DAN RATHER, CBS NEWS

"If you complained, and we did complain, the reaction from the White House press representatives and Nixon representatives would shrug their shoulders and say we are in China and we have to do things the Chinese way. There were usually hard looks after that. The unspoken was: Yes we were in China but we are Americans and we are covering an American President. There was a lot of tension over this and the tension grew as the trip went on and the manipulation became ever greater, the realization became greater."

MAX FRANKEL, NEW YORK TIMES

"A few of us badgered the hell out of our so-called hosts, our minders, that we were getting sick and tired of these laid-on events and was there no chance at all to engage some real people? "

Some journalists, including Robert Keatley of the *Wall St. Journal*, were taken to Beijing University, where they met the vice Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee, an American educated physicist.

ROBERT KEATLEY, WALL ST. JOURNAL

"And this was an intelligent, accomplished man who was well known in his field, and he sat there and described how, thanks to the thoughts of Chairman Mao, they had reorganized the University and let workers and peasants in, but of course almost nobody was there. The school was basically shut down. It was just all nonsense and you just felt sorry for him because you know he couldn't believe a word he said but he was a captive."

When the *Washington Post's* Stanley Karnow asked about the fate of Nie Yuanzi, a prominent Cultural Revolution activist at Beijing University, he got nowhere.

STANLEY KARNOW, WASHINGTON POST

"When I asked a question about Nie Yuanzi and so you're at the table with them and you start asking questions. 'What ever happened to Nie Yuanzi?' 'Mr. Karnow have you tried this Sichuan squab?' They kept ducking every question."

Some reporters decided to elude their minders and strike out on their own.

MAX FRANKEL, NEW YORK TIMES

"I remember walking down one alley alone, and every time I came to a hole in the wall, I realized there was a gang of maybe 50 kids on the other side of the wall that was following me as I was walking down the street and peering at me. I remember the most vivid thing was how scared the little kids were. It was explained to me

that they'd just never seen anybody with a long nose or a lot of hair on their skin, and these kids would stare in fascination and then suddenly burst into tears, bury their heads in mother or grandmother's skirts and this happened over and over again and it was just startling."

DAN RATHER, CBS NEWS

"I managed to shake the minders for a couple of minutes and got around what couldn't have been more than three-quarters of a block and into a small shop. The camera crew joined me there, where we had a plan where the camera crew would go one direction and I would go another direction and the camera crew would even split up, trying to make it difficult for the minders. The plan was to meet around the corner at the small shop. All of this happened very quickly because the minders came in just as we were starting to videotape with the camera rolling. The minders were clearly looking at one and another, thinking we don't want to be on camera intruding and also, we don't want this happening. The minders made it very clear that we were not supposed to be there, you have to get back to the hotel."

But Rather kept trying.

DAN RATHER, CBS NEWS

"I went out the front door of the hotel just in time to catch a bus at the bus stop, and I remember the driver looked shocked and amazed and then worried. The doors had closed, and this was the farthest I had got away from the minders, and the minders trying to catch up with the bus [presumably wondering] what the hell is that Western idiot doing on the bus? I rode the bus for 15 to 30 minutes with no interpreter. As the bus got to the end of the line, the turn-around place, I did not speak Chinese, which I regret then and now, the driver was trying to tell me it was the end of the line, and I was trying to tell him is: If you don't mind, I'll stay on the bus until you turn around and go back the other way."

新闻招待处(B·舒马克，尼克松图书馆和博物馆友情提供)
Press Guest House (B. Schumaker courtesy of Richard Nixon Library and Museum)

报纸与电视的竞争
PRINT VERSUS TV

1972年2月23日，帕特·尼克松参观完一处设施后离开了北京的一个人民公社。芭芭拉·沃尔特斯在帕特·尼克松的右边。（美联社照片）
Pat Nixon leaves a People's Commune in Beijing after a tour of the facility, February 23, 1972. Barbara Walters is on Pat Nixon's right. (AP Photo)

与此同时，印刷媒体记者和他们的电视同行之间的关系也趋于紧张。

马克思·弗兰克尔，《纽约时报》

"我们内部发生了分裂，因为报纸记者想要进行真实的联系，想要与一些中国人进行真实的交谈，就如在北京大学发生的情形一样，我们想寻找一些能够让人感到真正在进行外交活动的事情，而电视记者只需要传输图片，图片本身就是足够新奇的东西，可以满足他们[观众]的好奇心和需要。"

芭芭拉·沃尔特斯，全国广播公司

"唉，报纸记者对我们非常恼火。整个《纽约时报》由马克思·弗兰克尔和白修德领衔，他们写了无数关于中国的报道，而在这里呢，我们电视媒体跑在了他们印刷媒体的前头，为此他们非常不快。"

关系紧张的主要原因是，白宫认识到电视的力量，这次访问把电视报道放在了首要位置。

德怀特·蔡平，负责尼克松总统日程安排的秘书

"我们每天都知道这次访问是如何报道的，我们每个小时都知道这次访问是如何报道的。我们会从白宫内部关注媒体的部门得到报告。"

卡史丹，《华盛顿邮报》

"尼克松真正想要的是电视的大肆报道。他不想要报纸记者，他不在乎报纸记者，只关心电视。他要的是电视盛筵。

温斯顿·洛德，前基辛格助理

"我认为印刷媒体对电视媒体的基本抱怨可能是公平的，但是这是为了美国的国家利益，很遗憾他们被放在次要地位。"

Tensions also began to emerge between the print reporters and their TV counterparts.

MAX FRANKEL, NEW YORK TIMES

"We became factionalized because the print people wanted some real contact, wanted to really get to talk to some Chinese people as per the episode at the university, and we wanted some sense of the real diplomacy going on, whereas the TV people were transmitting pictures that were in themselves sufficient novelty to satisfy their curiosity and their needs."

BARBARA WALTERS , NBC NEWS

"Well, the print people were very put out with us. The whole *New York Times* team headed by Max Frankel, Teddy White - who had written definitive stories about China - and here were we, on [the air] before they were [in print]. And they were very resentful."

At the heart of the tension was the fact that the White House, recognizing the power of television, had designed the trip with TV coverage as a top priority.

DWIGHT CHAPIN, NIXON APPOINTMENTS SECRETARY

"We knew daily how the trip was covered. We knew hourly how the trip was covered. We would get reports back from our media operation in the White House."

STANLEY KARNOW, WASHNGTON POST

"What Nixon really wanted was a television extravaganza. He didn't want print reporters. He didn't care about print reporters. He cared about television. He wanted a television extravaganza. "

WINSTON LORD, FORMER KISSINGER AIDE

"I think the basic grumbling of the print press versus the TV press is probably fair but in terms of the U.S. national interest, it's too bad for them."

长城上的摄制组人员(埃德·福希友情提供)
Camera crews on Great Wall (Courtesy of Ed Fouhy)

电视的影响在尼克松访问长城时尤为明显。当丹·拉瑟得知哥伦比亚广播公司的新闻节目主持人沃尔特 克朗凯特将报道这一事件时，他怒不可遏。

丹·拉瑟，哥伦比亚广播公司

"我对此很不高兴……沃尔特·克朗凯特是哥伦比亚广播公司晚间新闻节目主播和总编辑，那时是哥伦比亚广播公司的头面人物，他要去长城了，这意味着对我说：'丹，你留在北京处理一些辅助报道的内容。'我不能说我非常生气吧，但是我很不高兴，而且我明确表示了不满。"

汤姆·贾里尔，美国广播公司

"就像你在明信片上看到的景象一样。它无穷无尽地延伸着，比任何人想像的都要高，所以带着沉重设备的摄影师们气喘吁吁地向上攀登。我们不比任何人落后，但是进行拍照时，他们占据了拍摄长城的最佳位置，这是必须的。"

埃德·弗维，哥伦比亚广播公司

"实际上，哥伦比亚广播公司预料到有寒冷天气，为我们发了非常暖和的大衣、帽子和长内衣，因为中国会很冷，还有靴子，但是克朗凯特穿了一双电暖袜，就像打野鸭的猎人穿的那种，结果电袜在他脚上的时候老是短路。我想他最后从袜子里取出了电池。"

马克思·弗兰克尔，《纽约时报》

"我所记得的是在拍摄尼克松和其夫人还有其他人时的占位情况。我记得我被卡在了一个古老城垛的后面，只能透过石头中间非常窄缝向外观察。当时的场面很乱，因为电视记者最关心他们的位置。"

1972年2月24日，尼克松总统和第一夫人帕特·尼克松在中国长城上与一群人合影。（美联社照片）
President Nixon and First Lady Pat Nixon pose with a group on the Great Wall of China on February 24, 1972. (AP Photo)

Nowhere was the impact of television more evident than when Nixon visited the Great Wall. When Dan Rather learned that CBS anchorman Walter Cronkite would cover the event, he was furious.

DAN RATHER, CBS NEWS

"I wasn't happy about it… Walter Cronkite who was the anchor and managing editor of the CBS Evening News and the face of CBS News at that time, he was going to go to the Wall, so what was said to me was 'Dan, you're going to stay back in Beijing and you will handle some of the subsidiary coverage.' I wouldn't say I blew a gasket over that, but I was not happy and I made that known in no uncertain way."

TOM JARRRIEL, ABC NEWS

"It looked like the picture postcards that you always see. It ran forever. It was higher than anyone thought, so the cameramen, with all of their heavy gear, were breathing hard to get up. And we kept up with everyone. But there were photo ops, and they had the best possible camera positions for the Great Wall, and it was a must."

ED FOUHY, CBS NEWS

"Cronkite had - in anticipation of the real cold weather, in fact, CBS had issued us very nice coats and hats and long underwear because it was going to be so cold in China, boots - but Cronkite had a pair of electric socks like a duck hunter would wear, and the socks kept shorting out on him. I think he finally took the batteries out of his socks."

MAX FRANKEL, NEW YORK TIMES

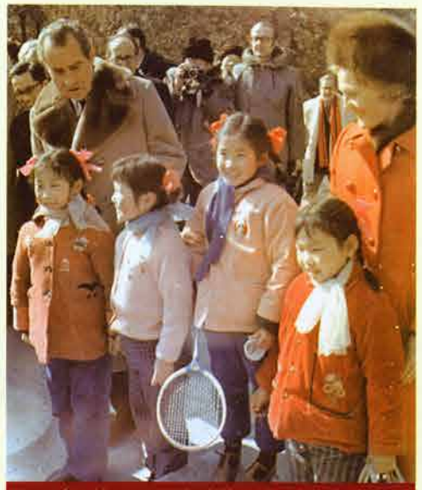
"My memory of that is the positioning of everybody for the pictures of Nixon and Mrs. Nixon, etc. I remember I was stuck behind some, one of these old battlements with the very narrow slit in the stone through which to observe things and there was a lot of commotion because the TV people were most concerned about where they were positioned."

拍照机会
PHOTO OPPORTUNITIES

参观完长城以后，尼克松前往另一处著名景点——十三陵。

姚伟，前中国外交部官员

"举例来说，当尼克松访问十三陵的时候，北京外事局当时是由一位军代表领导，因为那时文化大革命刚结束不久。他命令一些学校的孩子们全穿上最好的毛衣，五颜六色的毛衣，给每人发了一台晶体管收音机，让他们玩球——你可以判断出，这是一场表演。"



1972年2月24日，在游览明十三陵时，理查德·尼克松总统和第一夫人帕特·尼克松与中国孩子们在一起。（美联社照片）
President Nixon and First Lady Pat Nixon pose with Chinese children as they tour the Ming Tombs, February 24, 1972. (AP Photo)

泰德·科佩尔，美国广播公司

"当时是二月末，外面多么冷啊！但是这里有这些中国人，穿着他们最暖和的衣服，但是他们在互相拍照，在听收音机，在野餐。我心想，我的意思是：'这真是愚蠢的事情。'我告诉我们摄制组的成员说，'当巴士来接我们的时候，我们不上车，我们藏到那个楼房后面，然后出来看看这群人将会干什么。果然，当记者们一离开，卡车就来了。一个干部走过来，提着一个篮子。他们把所有的录音机收起来。他们把所有的照相机收起来。他们把所有的便携式收音机也收起来。放到了篮子里。他们把这些人装上了卡车，然后拉走了。"

姚伟，前中国外交部官员

"我和我的同事对此感到非常地尴尬。"

泰德·科佩尔，美国广播公司

"实际上，亨利·基辛格后来告诉我，在我们的报道播出时，我们也播出了这个场景，然后他收到了周恩来的道歉说：'这实在是种愚蠢的行为，我对我们这种行为表示抱歉。'"

第二天，当摄像机转动的时候，尼克松参观了紫禁城，这是另一个引人注目的拍照机会。

尼古拉斯·普拉特作为国务卿威廉·罗杰斯的助理参加了这次访问。

尼古拉斯·普拉特，前国务院官员

"我明显感觉到，对媒体的管理和对这次访问的公共事务管理都经过了深思熟虑的安排。白宫做好了精心策划，中国人也确切地知道他们的意图，并且非常支持他们的努力。

确实，由于1972年11月即将举行美国总统选举，一些记者开始感觉到他们不过是巨大的尼克松选举广告的道具罢了。

马克思·弗兰克尔，《纽约时报》

"这是个选举年，因此所有这一切发生在1972年年初的这一事实不能不引起我们的注意，就此而言，我们成了党派宣传工作的一部分。"

丹·拉瑟，哥伦比亚广播公司

"这已经有了竞选之旅的所有外部标志和所有核心内容。毫无疑问，我们处在尼克松再次参选的竞选旅程上了。"

亨利·布拉德舍，《华盛顿星报》

"尼克松的访问是出于良好的外交政策原因，但这次访问也是一种政治姿态，因为这一年他面临着再次竞选。他想通过这次活动取得最好的宣传效果。"

1972年2月24日，理查德·尼克松总统游览明十三陵。（美联社照片）
President Nixon inspects the Ming Tombs, February 24, 1972. (AP Photo)

From the Wall, Nixon headed for another famous site, the Ming Tombs.

YAO WEI, FORMER CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL

"When Nixon went to visit the Ming Tombs, for instance, the Beijing Foreign Affairs Bureau at that time was led by a military representative, because that was not very far from the Cultural Revolution. He ordered some school children all dressed in the best sweaters, colorful sweaters, given each person a transistor radio, playing ball…"

TED KOPPEL, ABC NEWS

"This was late February. Damn cold out there! And here were all these Chinese, wearing their warmest gear, but they were there taking photographs of one another, listening to the radio, having a picnic. And I thought to myself, I mean, "This is really dumb." So I told my crew, "When the bus comes to pick us up, we're not getting on the bus. Just go hide behind that building over there and we'll come out and I want to see what happens to the crowd. And sure enough as soon as the reporters left, trucks came. A cadre came by with baskets. They picked up all the tape recorders. They picked up all the cameras. They picked up all the portable radios, right. Put them in the baskets. They loaded the people on the trucks, and off they went."

YAO WEI, FORMER CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL

"You can tell, it's a staged thing. I felt so embarrassed as well as my colleagues."

TED KOPPEL, ABC NEWS

"In fact, Henry Kissinger told me later that after our piece aired and we showed that, that he received an apology from Zhou Enlai who said, 'That was really kind of 'ham fisted' of us, and I'm sorry that we did that.'"

The next day, as the cameras rolled, Nixon toured the Forbidden City – another compelling photo opportunity.

Nicholas Platt was on the trip as an aide to Secretary of State William Rogers.

NICHOLAS PLATT, FORMER STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL

"It became quite apparent to me that the management of the press and the public affairs management of this trip was carefully thought through. The White House was choreographing it, and the Chinese knew exactly what they were trying to do and was very supportive of their efforts."

Indeed, with a Presidential election scheduled in the U.S. for November 1972, some correspondents began to feel they were little more than props in a giant Nixon campaign commercial.

MAX FRANKEL, NEW YORK TIMES

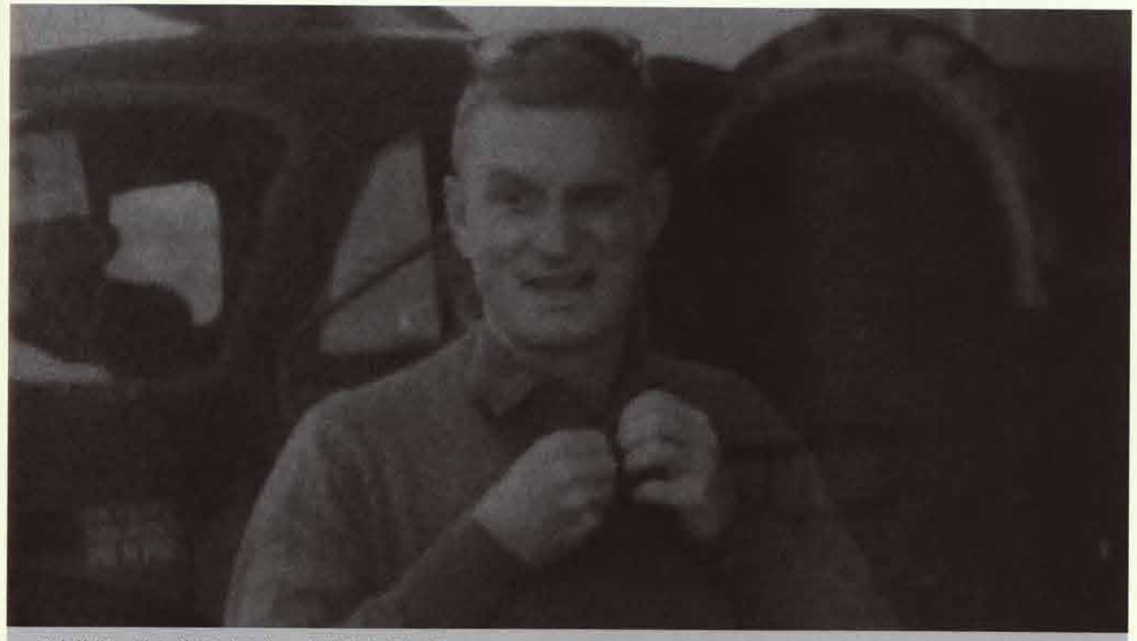
"It was an election year and the fact that all this was happening at the beginning of 1972 was hardly lost on us, and so to that extent we're part of a partisan propaganda effort."

DAN RATHER, CBS NEWS

"This had all the trappings and all the inner core of a campaign trip. No doubt, we were on a re-elect President Nixon campaign trip."

HENRY BRADSHER, WASHINGTON STAR

"Nixon went for good foreign policy reasons, but he also went as a political gesture, as he was facing re-election that year. It was something he wanted to get the best publicity out of it."



尼古拉斯·普拉特(尼古拉斯·普拉特友情提供)
Nicholas Platt (Courtesy of Nicholas Platt)

挫折和疲劳
FRUSTRATIONS AND FATIGUE

由于记者们几乎得不到任何关于尼克松与中方会谈的细节，媒体变得更加沮丧。

汤姆·贾里尔，美国广播公司

"什么也没有。他们会见了二十分钟，他们会见了两个小时，他们在某某大厅会见了。谁参加了会见。就这么一些干巴巴的信息。我们不关心这些干巴巴的信息。我们已经把它写进了我们的《圣经》—我们的报道。我们想知道的是——他们讨论台湾问题了吗？他们讨论苏联了吗？他们讨论军事问题了吗？他们讨论未来贸易了吗？"

但是，当他们离开北京去报道尼克松的下几站——杭州风景区、然后是上海——的时候，媒体仍然对谈判情况一无所知，所得到的全是中国制度的借口。

芭芭拉·沃尔特斯，全国广播公司

"这真正是外国啊。我记得我要一杯热水，因为那些天里我要烫一下我的隐形眼镜，每次我要热水的时候，他们就给我送来茶水。"

要扔掉什么东西也是不可能的。

马克思·弗兰克尔，《纽约时报》

"我记得试图扔掉半个三明治，我把它扔在了纸篓里，但是每天早上又奇迹般地重新出现在我的酒店房间里了。不管是出于过分的节约还是人们不扔食物，我觉得他们只是认为这是疏忽大意所致。"

有一件特别尴尬的事情，是关于尼克松的新闻秘书罗恩·齐格勒的年轻助理的，她名叫黛安·索耶，现在是美国广播公司的晚间新闻主播。

埃德·弗维，哥伦比亚广播公司

"我们全都上了汽车，正当汽车就要离开前往机场的时候，一个中国伙计从酒店跑了出来，他拿着女士穿的连裤袜，显然很焦急。他以为有人把这东西遗忘在他们房间里了。哦，黛安·索耶在车上走过去认领了东西，但是我猜她原来只是要扔掉这东西的。我不知道，在中国那些黑暗的日子里，一个贫困的国家，他可能从来没有想到会有人扔掉一双完好的连裤袜。"

但是到此时，记者们已经夜以继日地工作了好几天了。作为《纽约时报》的唯一一名记者，马克思·弗兰克尔已经感到很吃力。

马克思·弗兰克尔，《纽约时报》

"大多数时候每天都有三篇报道，一篇新闻，一篇新闻分析，还有一篇"笔记"（弗兰克尔撰写的一个栏目，全称为"记者笔记"。——译者注）。你知道，那会用去我大半夜的时间。我每天都要服用阿斯匹林，而且我发现用修脸润肤露来提精神效果非常好。我在脸上抹上修脸润肤露之后就立刻有了精神。"

德克·霍尔斯泰德，合众国际社

"根据当时的安排，美联社和合众国际社不仅要处理和传输他们自己的图片，而且我们还要负责为《时代》、《生活》和《新闻周刊》处理图片。这意味着我们要在暗室里一直呆到早上4点。所以为了保持清醒，我会短暂地回到房间——他们备有美味的柑橘，所以我回到房间拿几个柑子和杰克丹尼威士忌，然后又回到暗室继续冲胶片。但是只要我没有休息，那可怜的看管员也得和我一样不休息。就这样，大约到第三天夜里，大约早上5点，我从暗室走出来，他正四肢张开躺在地板上，他说：'霍尔斯泰德先生，你必须休息一下。如果不休息，你会死掉的。'"

全国广播公司的芭芭拉 沃尔特斯的情况尤其艰难，他的许多男性同事对她怀有敌意，不理她。

芭芭拉·沃尔特斯，全国广播公司

"我有一个优势，就是我通过社交认识了亨利·基辛格。有一次，他请我给他的一些女士朋友买了一些礼物，于是记者们认为他给我秘密信息。但是他只给了我一个名单。"

埃德·弗维，哥伦比亚广播公司

"我记得大家非常担心她会得到一些我们其余人不能得到的东西。她与总统和第一夫人的关系都不错，她很可能还有其他消息来源，我们一直在密切注意着她。"

芭芭拉·沃尔特斯，全国广播公司

"在某种程度上我让他们更恼火。就是因为我是一个女人，我还没有很深的资历，或者像他们那样在美联社或者合众国际社工作过，并且他们认为我受到了特殊待遇。最难以忍受的是，晚上我们没有工作的时候，没有人来邀请我和他们一起吃晚饭，没有人问我要不要来一杯啤酒，这倒是好事，我反正也不喜欢喝啤酒。我深知这是一次重要的旅程，但是我觉得非常孤单，没有人愿意和我分享这次经历。"

黛安·索耶与理查德·尼克松（理查德·尼克松总统图书馆和博物馆友情提供）
Diane Sawyer with Richard Nixon (Courtesy of Richard Nixon Library and Museum)

The frustration of the press was compounded because the reporters were getting almost no details about Nixon's talks with the Chinese.

TOM JARRIEL, ABC NEWS

"There was nothing at all. They met for 20-30 minutes. They met for two hours. They met in such and such a hall. Those who were present. Just the bare bones. We didn't care about the bare bones. We already had that written in our bible. What we wanted to know is - did they discuss Taiwan? Did they discuss the Soviet Union? Did they discuss military matters? Did they discuss future trade?"

But as they left Beijing to cover Nixon's next stops - the scenic resort of Hangzhou and then Shanghai - the press remained in the dark about the negotiations - preoccupied instead with the quirks of the Chinese system.

BARBARA WALTERS, NBC NEWS

"It was totally, totally foreign, and I remembered I had asked for hot water, because in those days I was boiling my contact lens, and every time I asked for hot water they sent me tea."

It was also impossible to throw anything out.

MAX FRANKEL, NEW YORK TIMES

"I do remember trying to get rid of half a sandwich which I threw in the waste basket and which kept miraculously every morning reappearing in my hotel room. Whether it was a misplaced sense of frugality or whether one didn't throw out food, I think they just thought it was inadvertent."

There was a particularly embarrassing incident involving a young aide to Nixon's press secretary, Ron Ziegler, named Diane Sawyer- now the evening news anchor at ABC.

ED FOUHY, CBS NEWS

"We were all on the bus and just as the bus was ready to leave for the airport a Chinese guy came running out of the hotel, and he had pantyhose, and he was clearly agitated. He thought someone had left this behind in their room, and, well, it was Diane Sawyer who came forward on the bus to claim that, but I guess she had just thrown them away. I don't know. In those dark days in China, a poverty-stricken country in those days, the notion that somebody would throw away a perfectly good pair of pantyhose didn't cross this guy's radar screen at all."

By this point, the reporters had been working around the clock for days. As the only correspondent for the *New York Times*, Max Frankel was struggling.

MAX FRANKEL, NEW YORK TIMES

"Most days there were three articles. There would be a news article, and a news analysis, and then the notebook, and that took most of the night. I was living on aspirins, and I discovered that aftershave lotion was very good for waking you up. And I had this bottle of aftershave lotion that I would wipe on my face and wake up."

德克·霍尔斯特德在酒店卫生间冲洗胶卷(德克·霍尔斯特德友情提供)
Dirck Halstead developing film in a hotel bathroom. (Courtesy of Dirck Halstead)

DIRCK HALSTEAD, UPI

"The way it worked is that AP and UPI not only had to process and transmit their own pictures, but we were responsible for processing the pictures for *Time*, *Life*, and Newsweek. That means we were in the darkroom until 4 o'clock in the morning. So just to keep awake, I would go back to my room briefly -and they had delicious tangerines, so I would go back to my room and bring tangerines and Jack Daniels whiskey and go back to the darkroom to continue processing film. But the poor minder had to be up as long as I was up. And about the third night of this, about 5 o'clock in the morning, I came out from the dark room, and he was sprawled out on the floor, and said, 'please Mr. Halstead, you must get some rest. You are going to die if you don't get some rest!'"

NBC's Barbara Walters was having a particularly tough time, resented and shunned by many of her male colleagues.

BARBARA WALTERS, NBC NEWS

"I had one advantage and that is I knew Henry Kissinger socially. And we had an incident where he had asked me to buy some presents for his lady friends and the press thought he was giving me secret information. But what he was doing was giving me a list."

ED FOUHY, CBS NEWS

"I remember being very concerned that she was going to get something that the rest of us were not. She was on pretty good terms with both the President and the first lady, and she probably had other sources as well, but we kept a close eye on her."

BARBARA WALTERS, NBC NEWS

"I sort of aggravated them. The fact that I was a woman, that I hadn't paid my dues, [or] worked at the Associated Press or United Press like they did, the fact they thought I was getting special treatment. And the most difficult part of it was at night when we weren't working. No one asked me to come and have dinner with them, nobody said do you want to have a beer, just as well I didn't like beer. I was really lonely, I had no one to share it with."

1972年2月28日，尼克松总统的国家安全事务顾问向媒体简要汇报上海联合公报。（美联社照片）
President Nixon's National Security Advisor briefs the press about the Shanghai Communiqué, February 28, 1972. (AP Photo)

在他们的私下会谈中，尼克松和基辛格与中方就联合公报达成了协议。会谈的难题是台湾。这个距离中国海岸90英里的岛屿由内战的失败方、毛泽东的宿敌蒋介石统治着，那次内战使共产党取得了统治权。美国和中国找到了一个办法，既承认北京对这个岛屿的主权要求，同时强调美国致力于和平解决这一问题。但是国务卿罗杰斯对这个文本有不同意见。

卡史丹，《华盛顿邮报》

"我想到了美国代表和中方在起草《上海联合公报》时有困难。我所不知道的是，问题在于美国代表团内部，随行访问的马歇尔 格林对于以漫不经心的方式丢弃台湾表示反对。"

马歇尔·格林是国务院最资深的亚洲问题专家。

尼古拉斯·普拉特

"在北京呆了六天之后我们乘机去杭州，马歇尔·格林和罗杰斯这才第一次见到了《上海联合公报》，该文本已经得到了中共中央的批准。他们之前没有见过草案，没有征求过他们的意见。他们并非出于赌气。他们对文本进行了分析，认为里面有一些错误。确实需要改变一些措辞，也有一些问题需要提出来。"

当总统在杭州风景区停留期间，格林和罗杰斯向尼克松和基辛格提出的主要问题与台湾有关。基辛格已经同意关于重申华盛顿与日本和南韩的共同安全条约的表述，但是没有提及美国与台湾的防御条约。

基辛格也已经接受了中国关于包含"台湾海峡两边的所有中国人都赞同一个中国"的语句的要求。格林指出并不是所有在台湾的中国人接受这一观点。

德怀特·蔡平，负责尼克松总统日程安排的秘书

1972年2月28日，上海，周恩来总理和尼克松总统在一次宴会上。（美联社照片/stf）
Premier Zhou Enlai and President Nixon at a banquet in Shanghai, February 28, 1972. (AP Photo/stf)

"有人表示重大关切，关系也趋于紧张，这种紧张关系涉及总统，也涉及工作人员，还涉及美国国内的保守派会如何理解。因此，在这几个小时里，大有一触即发的意味。"

尼古拉斯·普拉特，前国务院官员

"基辛格大怒，尼克松大怒。但是你知道，如果你不向专家说明你在做什么，你就有可能把事情弄糟。"

但是，中方不会同意去掉"全部"这个词语，也拒绝不会接受任何关于美国－台湾防御条约的提法。基辛格最终同意完全删除关于美国安全承诺的部分。"全部"这个词语保留在文件中。

该协议在上海公布，被称为《上海联合公报》，上海也是尼克松访华的最后一站。中方非常高兴，他们同意让电视现场直播公报发布活动，即使这并不在原先的报道计划之内。

罗伯特·西根塔勒，美国广播公司/记者团协调员

"中方代表走到我跟前——'不先生'现在是我的朋友了——他问，你们希望派人去上海报道《上海联合公报》吗？我提醒他这不是协议中的内容，，但告诉他如果能去报道我们将非常高兴。由于我们只提前大约8个小时得到通知，因此可能有好戏了，因为我们在上海没有设备，但是我们有一套移动装置，美国广播公司的一位技术员设法将微波发回卫星。直到今天，我都不知道他是如何将信号从机场上传并最终发送到美国的。"

尼克松的保守派批评者强烈反对该协议。一家报纸写道：他们得到了台湾，我们得到了蛋卷。但那是少数人的观点。

尼古拉斯·普拉特，前国务院官员

"这里面极其具有技巧性，因为它巧妙地解决了整个问题。它使我们回避了台湾问题，同时得以与大陆开始建立关系。"

In their private meetings, Nixon and Kissinger had reached agreement with the Chinese on a communiqué. The sticking point had been Taiwan - the island 90 miles off the Chinese coast ruled by Mao's old enemy, Chiang Kai-shek, the loser of the civil war that brought the communists to power. The Americans and Chinese found a formula to acknowledge Beijing's claim to the island while stressing the U.S. commitment to resolving the issue peacefully. But the text wasn't shared with Secretary of State Rogers.

STANLEY KARNOW, WASHINGTON POST

"I thought that there was difficulty in drafting the Shanghai Communiqué between the American delegation and the Chinese. What I didn't realize is that the problem was within the American delegation when Marshall Green, who was on the trip, objected to the cavalier way that they brushed off Taiwan."

Marshall Green was the State Department's top Asia expert.

NICHOLAS PLATT , FORMER STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL

"We got on the plane to Hangzhou after being in Beijing for six days and Marshall Green and Secretary Rodgers got their first look at the Shanghai Communiqué. It had already been approved by the Chinese Communist Central Committee. And they had not seen a draft, it had not been shared with them. And they were not acting out of pique. They looked at it analytically and said there were some mistakes here. There are some wording changes that really need to be made and some issues really need to be raised."

The main issue, which Green and Rogers raised with Nixon and Kissinger during the President's stop in the scenic resort of Hangzhou, had to do with Taiwan. Kissinger had agreed on language reiterating Washington's mutual security treaties with Japan and South Korea. But there was no reference to the U.S. defense treaty with Taiwan.

Kissinger had also accepted China's demand to include the phrase "all Chinese on both sides of the Taiwan Strait agree there is one China." Green argued that not all people in Taiwan accepted this view.

DWIGHT CHAPIN, NIXON APPOINTMENTS SECRETARY

"There was significant concern and tension. There was tension with the President. There was tension with the staff. There was tension in terms of how it was going to be interpreted back home among conservatives. And so it was a very, very delicate several hours."

NICHOLAS PLATT

"Kissinger was furious, Nixon was furious. But you know, if you don't show the pros what you're doing, there is a chance maybe you got something wrong."

However, the Chinese would not agree to drop the word "all" and refused to accept any reference to the U.S.-Taiwan Defense Treaty. Kissinger eventually agreed to eliminate the section on U.S. security commitments altogether. The word "all" remained in the document. The agreement was unveiled in Shanghai, and became known as the Shanghai Communiqué. The Chinese were so pleased they agreed to live TV coverage of the announcement, even though that wasn't part of the original coverage plan.

ROBERT SIEGENTHALER, ABC NEWS/POOL COORDINATOR

"The Chinese representative came to me, 'Dr. No' now being my friend, would [we] want a crew to cover the Shanghai Communiqué? That was not in the agreement, I reminded him, but we would be happy to do it. Since we only had about 8 hours of notice, it would be interesting because we had no assets in Shanghai, but we got a mobile unit there and the microwave back to a satellite that an ABC technician had crafted. To this day, I don't know how he got the signal from the airport to the uplink and to the United States."

Nixon's conservative critics were bitterly opposed to the agreement. One newspaper wrote, "They got Taiwan. We got eggrolls." But that was a minority view.

NICHOLAS PLATT

"It really was immensely skillful because it finessed the whole issue. It allowed us to sidestep Taiwan and get on with the business of forming a relationship with the Mainland."

1972年2月25日，北京，尼克松总统和夫人在告别宴会上留影。（美联社照片）
President and Mrs. Nixon pose for pictures at their farewell banquet in Beijing, February 25, 1972. (AP Photo)

事实上，对于总统的政治前途——对于大多数美国人来说——也是如此，图像的力量比公报的细节更为重要。

汤姆·贾里尔，美国广播公司

"尼克松知道他得到了超过自己最高期望的政治暴利。会谈结束后是否会发布公报对于外交官和外交事务记者来说是重要的，但是对于像我这样报道普通新闻的人来说，他已经完成了本垒打。"

温斯顿·洛德，前基辛格助理

"这是一个重大的地缘政治事件。我认为是上个世纪后半期三、四件最重大的事件之一。很明显，人民大会堂的中国军乐队、尼克松在长城、互相祝酒、观看芭蕾舞剧、紫禁城和镜头中领导人的形象——这一切会成为最吸引眼球的事情，也是真实发生的事情"。

与他们的观众一样，美国的记者们也被他们在中国看到的一切所迷住了。

伯纳德·卡尔布，哥伦比亚广播公司

"这就是中国，一个神话、一条龙、隐藏的王国、秘密的国度，等等等等，电视节目带来的是一片惊叹，因为在中国拍摄的一切都是充满异域风情的图片。"

媒体同样被周恩来的魅力迷住了。

芭芭拉·沃尔特斯，全国广播公司

"也许与我们相处最融洽的就是周恩来了。"

丹·拉瑟，哥伦比亚广播公司

"我与周恩来有过一次交谈（在杭州机场），当时他说，中国迫切需要改善其教育体系，需要摆脱封闭的社会、封闭的教育体系，尽可能地向其他教育体系学习，同时保持自身的精华。那是与周恩来进行的一次深刻而有意义的谈话，我至今非常珍惜。他为中国描绘了一个蓝图……我坦率地说，这个蓝图我当时认为是过于乐观了。我很钦佩他有这一设想，但是当时我心里想，就我在中国所见的情形，要实现这个蓝图还需要一个世纪。我又一次判断失误……但是能有与周恩来在杭州的那些时刻，我觉得整个访问很值得了。"

尼克松一行在上海机场与周恩来和其他中国官员告别。还为筋疲力尽的记者们安排了一次告别宴会。

马克思·弗兰克尔，《纽约时报》

"我吃着饭睡着了。你知道，我在餐桌上昏睡了过去，有人不得不把我弄醒。实在是太累了。后来我计算了一下，八天时间我写了三万五千字。"

从老中国通白修德到大多数未曾到过中国或者没有报道过中国的记者，当他们竭力整理思绪以便把看到的情景变成报道时，他们的大脑一直在不停地旋转。

卡史丹，《华盛顿邮报》

"尼克松称这次访问是'改变世界的一周'，它是一件大事，确实是一件大事。这必须归功于尼克松。尼克松是个聪明人。这是三角外交，使俄国人产生了担忧。"

芭芭拉·沃尔特斯，全国广播公司

"其重要之处在于，它改变了我们对中国的看法，但同时也改变了中国对美国的看法。"

汤姆·贾里尔，美国广播公司

"我认为这些镜头向美国公众展示了一个可以说是神奇的王国。"

伯纳德·卡尔布，哥伦比亚广播公司

"电视对美国观众的影响力是巨大的。中国突然一下子变得生动起来，其他的一切都只是注解。"

德克·霍尔斯泰德

"这是我报道过的最大的事件。它改变了世界。尼克松的中国之行毫无疑问是有史以来最重要的总统访问。除了总统前往火星，恐怕永远不会再有那样意义重大的访问了。"

Indeed, for the President's political prospects - and for most Americans - the power of the images was much more important than the details of the communiqué.

TOM JARRIEL, ABC NEWS

"Nixon knew he was going to get this political windfall beyond his greatest wishes. Whether they had a communiqué at the end of the talks was important for the diplomats and important for the foreign affairs reporters, but for the generalists like me, he had already hit the home run."

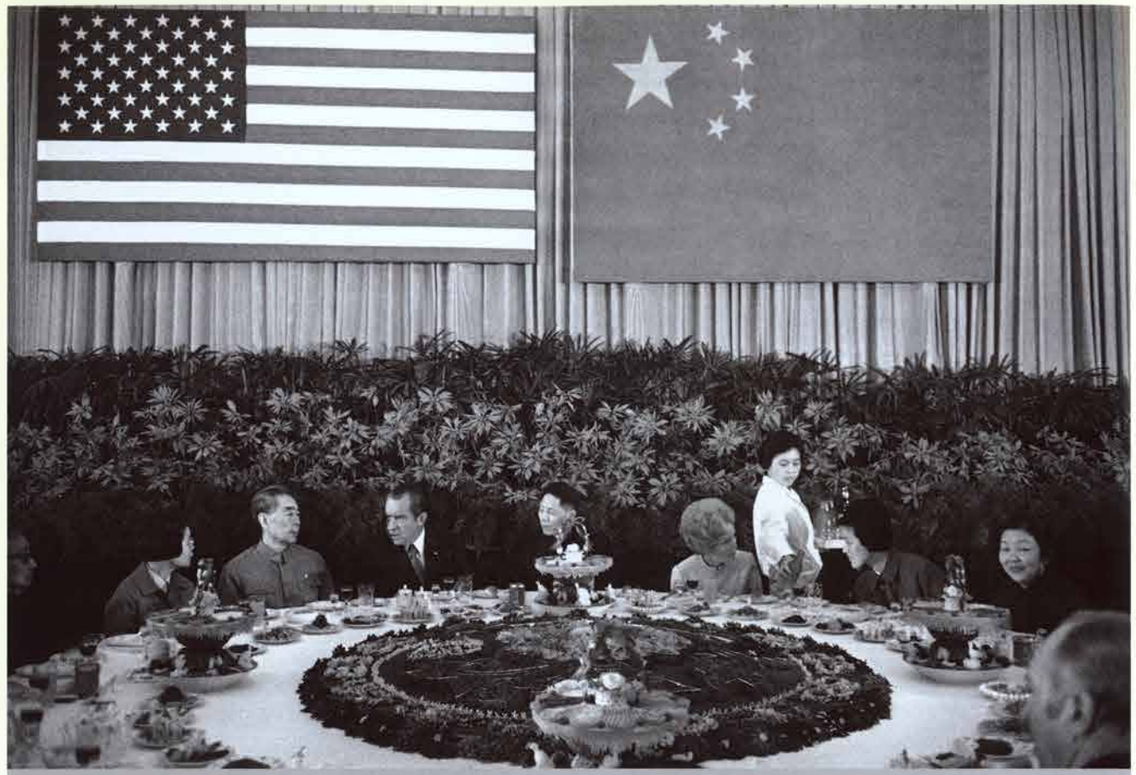
WINSTON LORD, KISSINGER AIDE

"This was a major geopolitical event. I would argue one of the three or four biggest events in the last half of the last century - but clearly , it was the Chinese Army band at the Great Hall of the People. It was Nixon at the Great Wall. It's toasting each other. It's going to a ballet, the Forbidden City, and the visuals with the leaders that clearly were going to carry the day. And that's what did happen."

Like their viewers, the American reporters were captivated by what they saw in China.

BERNARD KALB, CBS NEWS

"It was China, the mystery, the dragon, the hidden kingdom, the secret country, etc., etc., and the television was a 'wow!' Because everything in China [where] you put your camera you got exotic pictures."



尼克松总统与周恩来在杭州。（美联社照片）
President Nixon and Zhou Enlai in Hangzhou. (AP photos)

And the press was equally captivated by the charm of Premier Zhou Enlai.

BARBARA WALTERS , NBC NEWS
"Perhaps the one we got along with the most is Zhou Enlai."

DAN RATHER, CBS NEWS
"I had a conversation with Zhou Enlai [at Hangzhou airport] where he was saying how badly, how desperately China needed to upgrade its education system, that it needed to move from being a closed society with a closed education system to learning what they could from other education systems and emphasizing the best of their own. It was a deep and meaningful conversation with Zhou Enlai which I treasure to this day - that he laid out a vision of China… which I will say frankly I thought at the time was far too optimistic. I admired him for having this vision but at the time I was saying to myself given what I've seen of China, it's going to be a century more before they can accomplish what his vision is. Again, how wrong I was…But it was worth the whole trip to me to have those moments with Zhou Enlai in Hangzhou."

Nixon and his entourage said their farewells to Zhou and other Chinese officials at Shanghai airport. There was also a farewell banquet laid on for the exhausted reporters.

MAX FRANKEL, NEW YORK TIMES
"I literally fell asleep on my plate. You know I conked over the table and somebody had to revive me. It was pretty exhausting. I counted it up later. It was 35,000 words in eight days."

From old China hands like Theodore White, to the vast majority who'd never been there or covered the country, the reporters' heads were spinning as they tried to process what they'd seen.

STANLEY KARNOW, WASHINGTON POST
"Nixon called it 'the week that changed the world,' and it was a big event. It was a big event. You had to hand it to Nixon. Nixon was a smart guy. It was playing triangular diplomacy, get the Russians worried."

BARBARA WALTERS, NBC NEWS
"And this is what is important. It changed our views of China, but it also changed China's view of the U.S."

TOM JARRIEL. ABC NEWS
"I think from the pictures it introduced the American public to almost a magic kingdom."

BERNARD KALB, CBS NEWS
"The impact of television on an American audience was extraordinary. China had suddenly come alive, and all the rest is just commentary."

DIRCK HALSTEAD
"It was the biggest story I ever covered. It changed the world. The Nixon trip to China was without any doubt the most important Presidential trip ever. With the exception of a President going to Mars, nobody is ever going to be able to do a trip like that again."

1972年2月28日，理查德·尼克松总统和第一夫人帕特·尼克松在上海机场登上空军一号时挥手向中国告别。（美联社照片）
President Richard Nixon and First Lady Pat Nixon wave their farewells to China as they board Air Force One at Shanghai Airport, February 28, 1972 to return to the U.S. (AP Photo)

当时和现在
THEN AND NOW

TIM BOGGAN, U.S. PING PONG TEAM MEMBER

蒂姆·博甘，美国乒乓球队队员

HENRY BRADSHER, WASHINGTON STAR

亨利·布拉德舍，华盛顿星报

DWIGHT CHAPIN, NIXON APPOINTMENTS SECRETARY

德怀特·蔡平，负责为尼克松总统安排约见的秘书

ED FOUHY, CBS NEWS

埃德·福希，哥伦比亚广播公司

MAX FRANKEL, NEW YORK TIMES

马克思·弗兰克尔，纽约时报

DIRCK HALSTEAD, UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL (UPI)

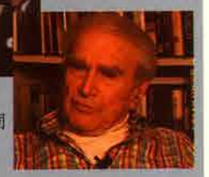
德克·霍尔斯特德，合众国际社

JUDY HOARFROST, U.S. PING PONG TEAM MEMBER

朱迪·霍尔弗罗斯特，美国乒乓球队成员

TOM JARRIEL, ABC NEWS

汤姆·贾里尔，美国广播公司



BERNARD KALB, CBS NEWS

伯纳德·卡尔布，哥伦比亚广播公司

STANLEY KARNOW, WASHINGTON POST

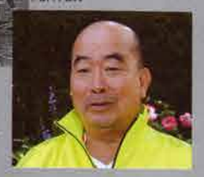
卡史丹，华盛顿邮报

ROBERT KEATLEY, WALL ST. JOURNAL

罗伯特·肯特里，华尔街日报

TED KOPPEL, ABC NEWS

泰德·科佩尔，美国广播公司



LIANG GELIANG, CHINESE PING PONG PLAYER

梁戈亮，中国乒乓球队队员

WINSTON LORD, KISSINGER AIDE

温斯顿·洛德，基辛格的助理

NICHOLAS PLATT, FORMER STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL

尼古拉斯·普拉特，前国务院官员

DAN RATHER, CBS NEWS

丹·拉瑟，哥伦比亚广播公司

JOHN RICH, NBC News

约翰·里奇，全国广播公司

JOHN RODERICK, ASSOCIATED PRESS (AP) (b. 1914—d. 2008)

约翰·罗得理克，美联社(生1914—卒2008)

ROBERT SIEGENTHALER, ABC NEWS/ POOL COORDINATOR

罗伯特·西根塔勒，美国广播公司/记者团协调员

RICHARD SOLOMON, KISSINGER AIDE

理查德·所罗门，基辛格的助理

AUDREY RONNING TOPPING, PHOTOGRAPHER

奥得丽·朗宁·托平，摄影师

SEYMOUR TOPPING, New York Times

西默·托平，纽约时报

RON WALKER, NIXON ADVANCE MAN

罗恩·沃克，尼克松总统先行人员

BARBARA WALTERS, NBC NEWS

芭芭拉·沃尔特斯，全国广播公司

YAO WEI, FORMER CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL

姚伟，前中国外交部官员

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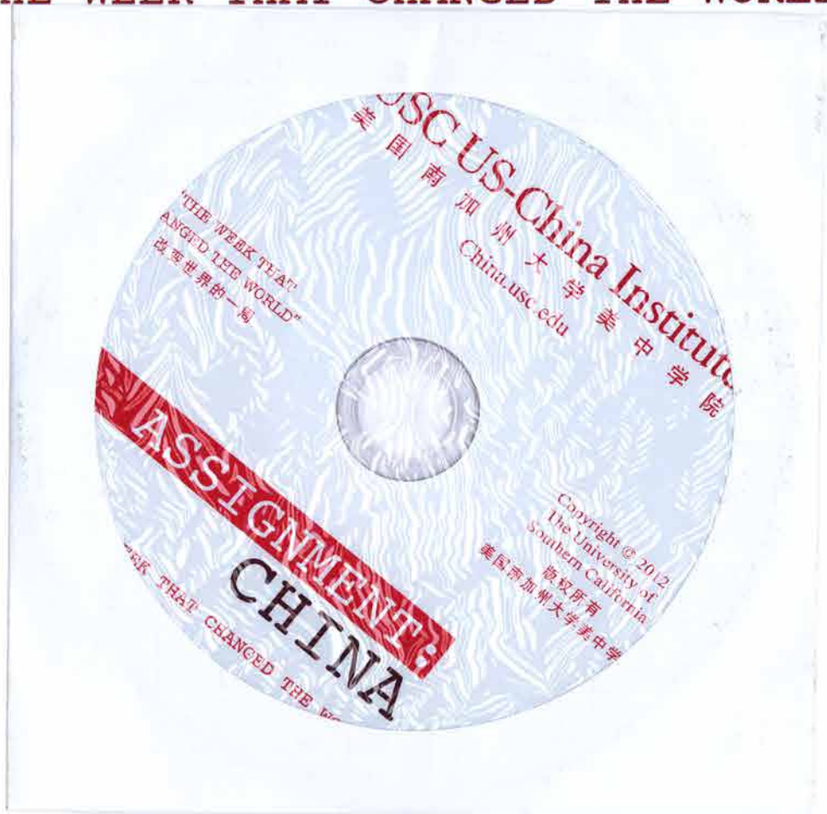
ASSIGNMENT: CHINA

改变世界的一周

"THE WEEK THAT CHANGED THE WORLD"

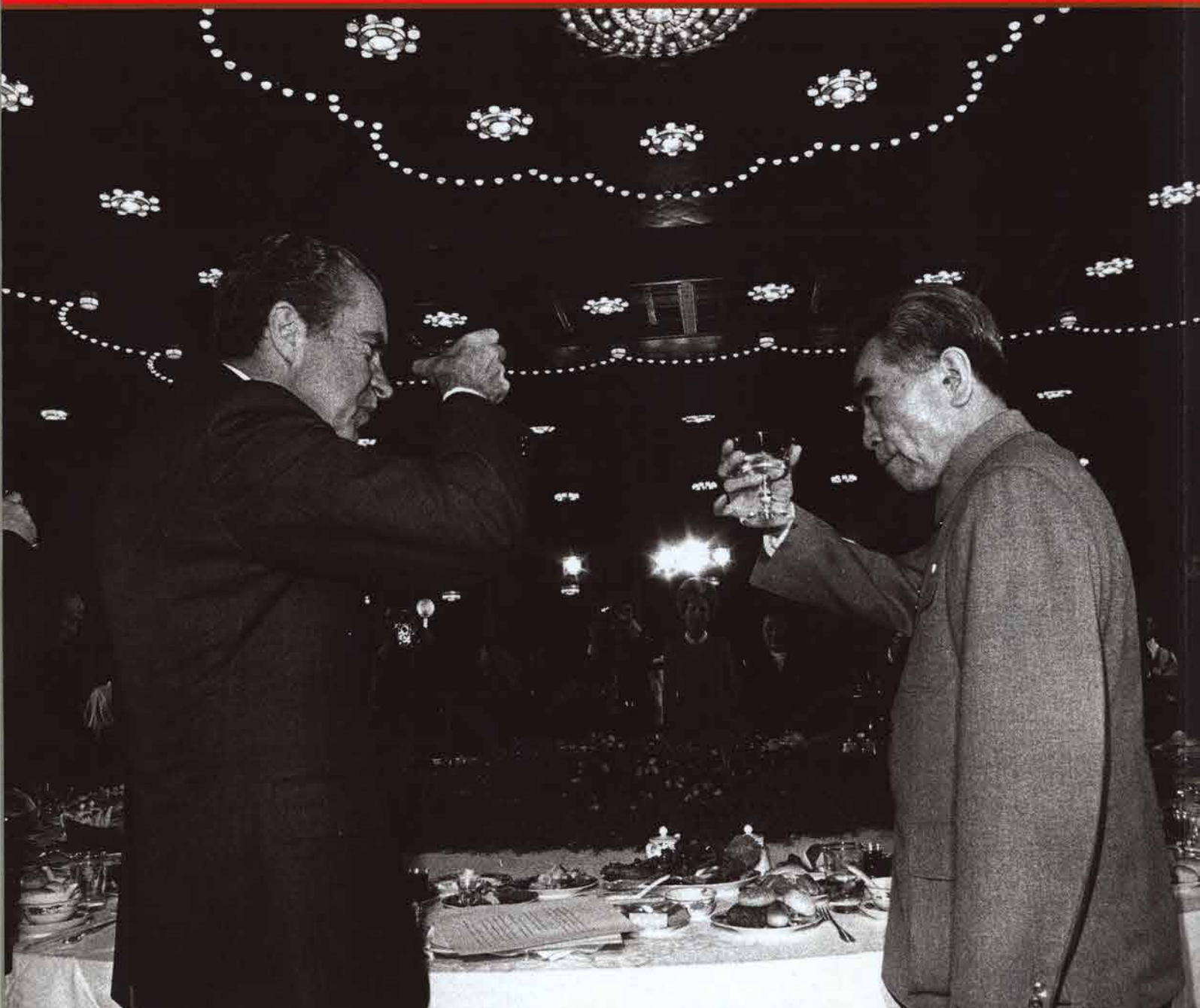


本期封面

1972年2月21日，北京，美国总统尼克松在其对中国的历史性访问期间与毛泽东主席握手。(美联社照片)

Front Cover : U.S. President Richard Nixon shakes hands with Chairman Mao Zedong during Nixon's historic trip to China on February 21, 1972 in Beijing. (AP Photo)

本期封底

1972年2月21日，北京人民大会堂，理查德•尼克松总统和中国总理周恩来在宴会结束时互相敬酒。(美联社照片)

Back Cover : President Richard Nixon and Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai toast each other at the end of the banquet in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing on February 21, 1972. (AP Photo)