

Chinese Rotarian Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo The first Man signed the United Nations Charter 1945

By Herbert K. Lau (劉敬恒) (Rotary China Historian)

26 June 2020



The year of 2020 marks the 75th Anniversary of The United Nations. Created 75 years ago in the ashes of World War II, the United Nations today remains true to its founding mission: to bring nations and peoples together to preserve peace and security, and improve lives everywhere. Equality and the dignity of all people remain its guiding principles, enshrined in the 《The United Nations Charter》, signed in San Francisco, U.S.A., on 26 June 1945.

The Charter was first constituted and signed by representatives from 50 countries. The first man affixed his signature on the Charter was a Chinese Rotarian from Shanghai, Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo (顧維鈞博士), China's longest-serving diplomat and three-time Ambassador to the United States.

Dr. Vi Kyuin Wellington Koo, *HonLLD (St. John's)*, *HonLLD (Yale)*, *PhD (Columbia)*, *MA (Columbia)*, *AB (Columbia)* (1888-1985) was an Honorary Member of the Rotary Club of Shanghai (上海扶輪社) since 1921. He was recognized by Rotary International by reporting him in the March 1922 Issue of 《The Rotarian》 magazine.



上海扶輪社名譽扶輪社員顧維鈞博士--中華民國代表團的顧維鈞用毛筆簽署了《聯合國憲章》。
*Shanghai Rotary Club Honorary Rotarian Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo
of the Republic of China's Delegation signed the UN Charter with a traditional Chinese brush.*



IN A FUTURISTIC SETTING IN THE VETERANS' BUILDING, DR. WELLINGTON KOO, ACTING CHAIRMAN OF CHINESE DELEGATION, IS FIRST TO SIGN THE CHARTER

UNITED NATIONS SIGN CHARTER

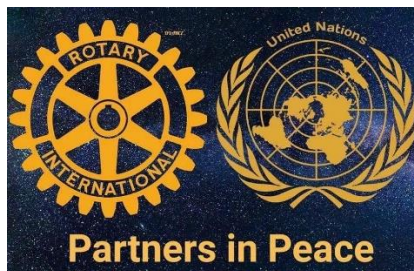
The setting was straight out of Hollywood. On a Copenhagen-blue rug on the main floor of the Veterans' Building in San Francisco was a round blue table, 11 feet in diameter, framed behind by a blue curtain and the newly pressed flags of the United Nations. On the blue table were black ink, two microphones, two pens and two royal-blue, morocco-bound books. Precisely at noon on Tuesday, June 26, the eight Chinese delegates to the United Nations Conference on International Organization filed through an opening in the row of flags. Dr. Wellington Koo, acting chairman of the delegation, sat down at the table and with a Chinese brush put his name first in the book containing text of the United Nations Charter for world security. He said it was "a great day for us all."

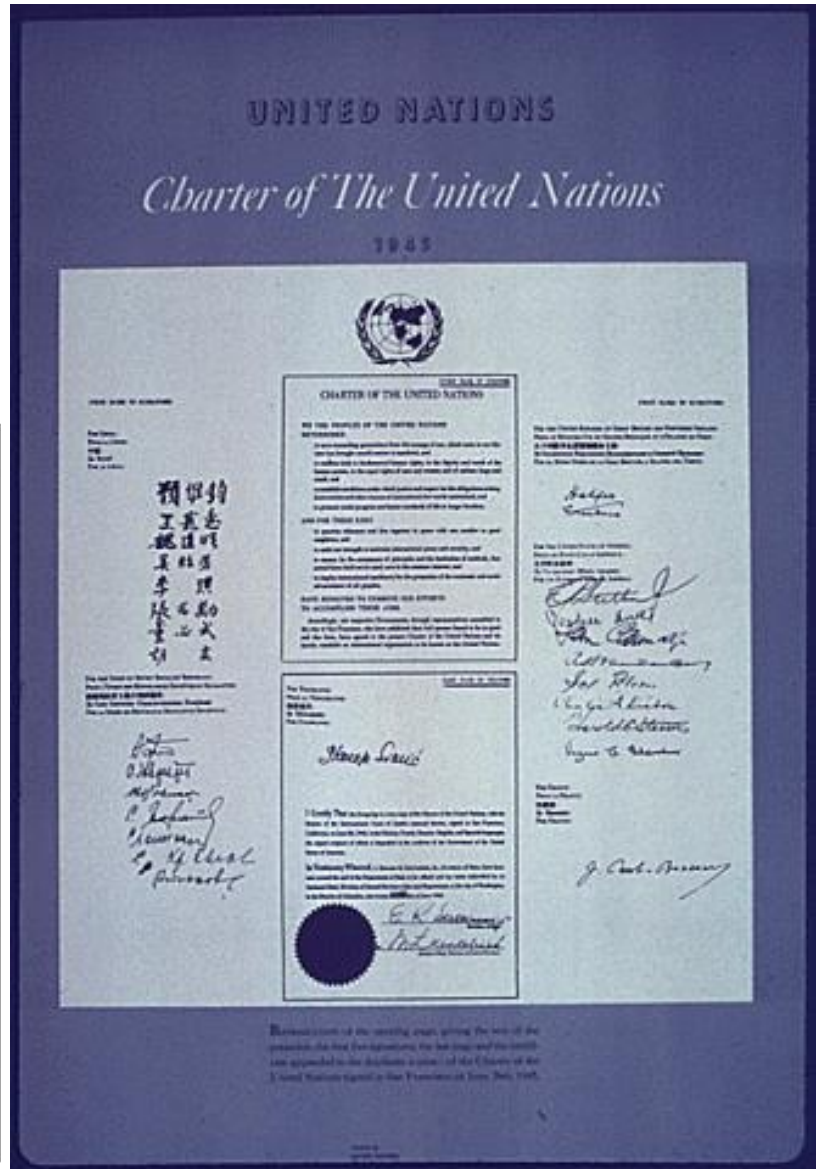
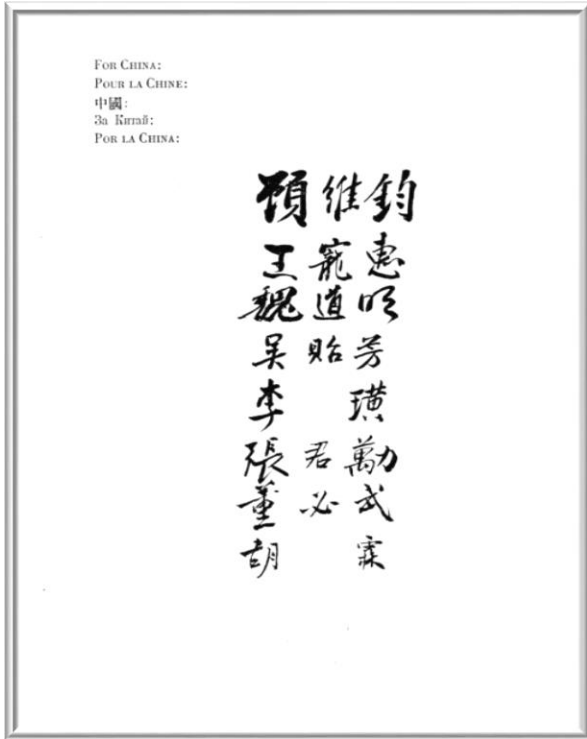
Through the afternoon and early evening the del-

egates for all the 50 nations, one by one, filed up to the table and signed the Charter. The elaborate setting, the spotlights and the whirring of movie cameras all helped make them feel they were writing history. So did the rules by which the signing was governed. In a briefing room near the auditorium each delegation was carefully instructed by a Navy officer in the location of the rug and the table and where it was to stand so as not to be left out of the pictures. The order of signing (see next page) was formal, too. The Big Powers, except for the U.S., were to come first, followed by the little nations in alphabetical order, with the U.S., as host, last of all. This rule actually was honored more in the breach than the observance. The signing took place in the order shown on the next two pages. China was the first to sign, followed by Russia and the United King-

dom. But then Argentina got in ahead of France, and for some reason Uruguay was sixth. The U.S. was 88th, after Nicaragua, so that President Truman, who was on hand to make the final address to the Conference, could witness his country's signature.

Thus, out of the chaos of war, the world had again forged a league of nations designed to keep the peace. In his speech President Truman emphasized, as had so many other spokesmen of the 50 nations, that the Charter was not a perfect document. It was a compromise, evolved through nine weeks of discussion and argument out of the conflicting politics, ideologies and sovereignties of the world. But nevertheless it was, as Field Marshal Jan Christiaan Smuts said, a "good, practical, workmanlike plan for security against war." It was a "substantial advance on all previous plans" and a "peace with teeth."





顧維鈞博士的簽名顯示在《聯合國憲章》左上角。
Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo's signature on the top left hand corner.

China and the United Nations

《The Charter of the United Nations of 1945》 is the foundational treaty of the United Nations, an inter-governmental organization. It was signed on 26 June 1945, at Veterans' War Memorial Building in San Francisco, California, U.S.A., at the conclusion of the United Nations Conference on International Organization, by 50 of the 51 original member countries (Poland, the other original member, which was not represented at the Conference, signed it two months later). It entered into force on 24 October 1945, after being ratified by the original five permanent members of the Security Council—the Republic of China (中華民國), French Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America—and a majority of the other signatories.

On 6 June 1945, in the auditorium of the War Memorial Hall, the delegates filed up one by one to a huge round table on which lay the two historic volumes, the 《United Nations Charter》 and the

《Statute of the International Court of Justice》. Behind each delegate stood the other members of the delegation against a colorful semi-circle of the flags of fifty nations. In the dazzling brilliance of powerful spotlights, each delegate affixed his signature. There were 850 delegates, and their advisers and staff together with the conference secretariat brought the total to 3,500. In addition, there were more than 2,500 press, radio and newsreel representatives and observers from many societies and organizations. In all, the San Francisco Conference was not only one of the most important in history but, perhaps, the largest international gathering ever to take place. The heads of the delegations of the 4 sponsoring countries took turns as chairman of the plenary meetings. Republic of China was led by Prime Minister T. V. Soong (宋子文) (brother-in-law of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen 孫文); United Kingdom - Anthony Eden; United States - Edward Stettinius; and Soviet Union - Vyacheslav Molotov. At the later meetings, Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo deputized for T. V. Soong as the chief.

To China, first victim of aggression by an Axis power, fell the honour of signing first. Since Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo deputized for Mr. T. V. Soong, he then historically became the “first man signed on the United Nations Charter”.



Rotary International and the United Nations

Rotary and the United Nations have a long history of working together and share similar visions for a more peaceful world. In 1942, Rotary clubs from 21 nations organized a conference in London to develop a vision for advancing education, science, and culture after World War II. That event was a precursor to United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Today, Rotary holds the highest consultative status possible with the United Nations as a non-governmental organization. Rotary’s relationship with the United Nations, or at least to the Conference that would create the 《United Nations Charter》, dates back to 1945 when some 50 Rotary members, of the 800 delegates representing their governments, acted as delegates, advisors and consultants at the San Francisco Conference to draft the United Nations Charter. Other than Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo from China, there was also Dr. Hsu Mo (徐謨博士 - 南京扶輪社社長 1935-1936) (Nanking Rotary Club President 1935-1936, China) participated on the United Nations Committee of Jurists in Washington D.C., tasked with preparing draft statutes for the then contemplated International Court of Justice. He also served as the rapporteur of the Committee on Chapter VI of the 《United Nations Charter on the Regulations for the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes》.

The role of Rotary clubs in promoting understanding among nations, providing a platform for dialogue, and creating positive change in communities around the world provided valuable support for the newly established United Nations. Read here reports from 《The Rotarian》:

PRESENT AT THE CREATION

In 1945, Rotarians helped
lay the cornerstone of the United Nations.

BY JOAQUÍN MEJÍA

In one powerful line in *Othello*, Shakespeare describes the evil effects of extreme antagonism and hatred by having Iago describe Venice as "Horribly stuff'd with epithets of war." Iago might aptly have used the same words to describe the state of the world in 1945. The somber tally of the conflicts collectively labeled as World War II may never be fully described or comprehended.

By mid-March 1945, victory was clearly tilting in favor of the Allies. The 26 countries that had signed the 1942 Declaration of the United Nations, together with the 20 other states that had declared war against the Axis powers, determined to meet in San Francisco, California, U.S.A., on 25 April to hold a general conference to plan for a world at peace.

Planned as no less than a world forum, the conference was to deal with the thorny issues emerging from the war's devastation. Above all, this gathering hoped to establish a body of international laws to guarantee that no monumental folly would ever threaten mankind again. The guarantor of these laws, agreed the participants, was to be the community of the states of the world, collectively designated as the United Nations.

The United Nations Charter Conference began with 46 delegations in attendance. Representatives from Ukraine, Belorussia, Argentina, and Denmark were admitted as the sessions progressed. (Poland, not present at the conference, was later permitted to become an original member of the UN.)

Acting in different capacities, some 50 Rotarians participated in the complex round of talks that eventually led to the signing of the Charter of the United Nations on 26 June 1945. They came as diplomats from 17 different nations (in some instances, as heads of their delegations), as trusted support consultants, and as specialists in such key areas as communica-

tions, health, banking, and emergency relief for war-ravaged areas.

Reflecting retrospectively on the war and its effects on his part of the world, Rotarian Carlos P. Romulo, past vice-president of Rotary International (1937-38) and chairman of the Philippine Commonwealth delegation, wrote in his 1955 book "Crusade in Asia": "The result [of the war] in the vast hinterland of Asia was the transformation of a great reservoir of mankind—one billion human beings—from the legendary area of mystery, philosophy, and glamour into a seething mass of newly aware and grimly struggling humanity, aware from its top through its lowest levels of powerful new forces which were speedily dissolving the ancient creed of man's superiority to man."

Rotarian Romulo was also to add in his 1961 autobiography "I Walked with Heroes": "A great deal has been written about the first speech I made in San Francisco before that world organization [the UN]. My opening sentence, 'Let us make this floor the last battlefield' has been often described as followed by a standing ovation, the only one given to any speaker before that first General Assembly." Four years after the chartering ceremony, in 1949, Carlos Romulo became the president of the UN General Assembly.

Rotarian Ezequiel Padilla, chairman of the Mexican delegation and his country's Secretary of Foreign Affairs, found a powerful formula to summarize the task facing the international delegations. He liked to paraphrase a line spoken by one of the characters in Rotarian Thomas Mann's "The Magic Mountain": "A man's dying is more the survivor's affair than his own." Rotarian Padilla's version stated: "The death of a world order is only the survivors' affair."

As a resolute champion of democracy and a stubborn opponent of fascism, Rotarian Padilla became a prominent voice in the conference. Historians credit him with putting into simple words a diplomatic



UPI/BETTMANN NEWSPHOTOS

The Charter of the United Nations was approved on 26 June 1945, with 50 countries as signatories. Rotarians made significant contributions to the creation of this idealistic organization dedicated to international dialogue and peace.

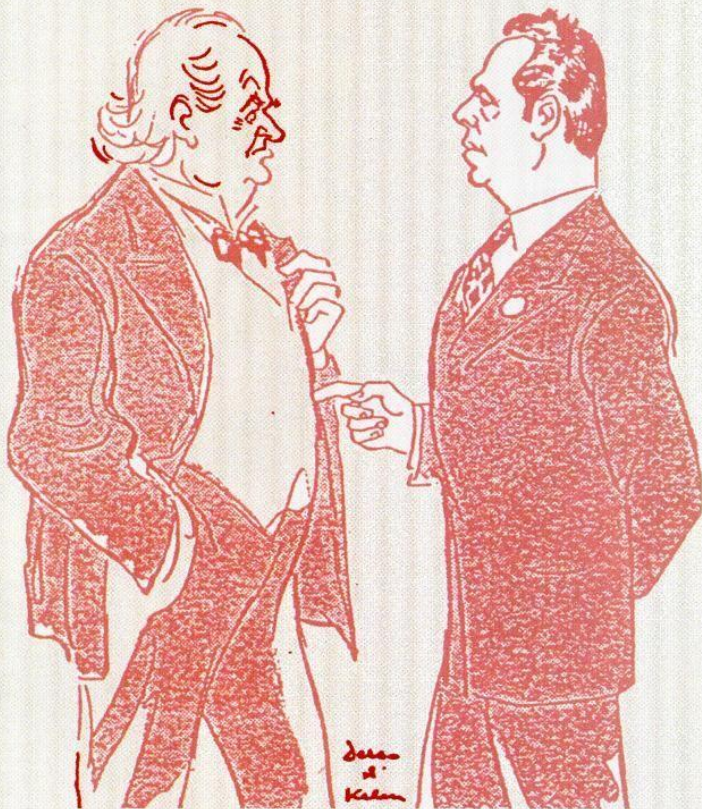
principle that became the basis for the creation of a supranational organism that could effectively prevent war. His famous formula (published prior to the San Francisco meeting in his book "Free Men of America") was: "The sovereignty of each member is a basic requirement of international society, yet collective peace and progress require a partial voluntary relinquishment of separate national rights." Several times during the complex, heated debates, whenever a delegation seemed reluctant to acquiesce in areas formerly reserved to the national sphere, the "Padilla Doctrine" successfully persuaded them.



Carlos P. Romulo

The United States delegation invited 42 nongovernmental organizations and groups to send consultants to San Francisco. One of them was Rotary International. By inviting these organizations, the U.S. effectively set a precedent eventually leading to the emergence of a new force in the international arena. Today, nongovernmental organizations—R.I. among them—participate at the United Nations in several important capacities.

Commenting on the exceptional circumstances characterizing Rotary's presence in San Francisco, consultant Allen D. Albert, R.I. president in 1915-16, wrote in the August 1945 issue of *THE ROTARIAN*: "While the service was to be rendered to the delegation of one nation only, the cause to be served was as truly international as Rotary could demand. Rotary's president, Richard H. Wells, took it to be a summons to go into action for Rotary's Fourth Object."



Tom Connally and Ezequiel Padilla

The July 1945 issue of THE ROTARIAN carried an article by O.D.A. Oberg, advisor to the Australian delegation and past president of the Rotary Club of Sydney. The article, discussing Rotary participation at the UN Conference, featured illustrations by Hungarian artists Aloys Derso and Emery Kelen, some of which are reproduced on these pages.

Rotarian O.D.A. Oberg, advisor to the Australian delegation, also stressed the point of Rotary's international vocation in an article for the magazine. "The dynamics of Rotary are something that national boundaries cannot contain and so Rotary boldly raised the banner of its Fourth Object—the advancement of international understanding, goodwill, and peace through a world fellowship."

The delegates of several small countries found themselves at the center of much activity and influence. The conference's principle of "one nation, one vote" and the diplomatic skills of their lean, agile delegations allowed them to make significant contributions.

At age 42, Jorge Fidel "Fido" Durón of Honduras was a veteran of the diplomatic arena and of Rotary. He had served as Honduran minister of Foreign Affairs and governor of Rotary's Central American district. Today, at age 92, Fido is still an energetic, personable man with a self-deprecating humor. He still boasts of having made

more friends in San Francisco than the delegates of bigger, more powerful countries. Fido achieved considerable clout in San Francisco, which he used to help a number of people who were complete strangers to him.

Rescuing a German prisoner of war was among his successful efforts. The wife of a Wehrmacht officer who had been taken prisoner in the Eastern front and sent to the Soviet Gulag begged Fido to intercede for her husband. The Rotarian mentioned the situation to V. M. Molotov, head of the Soviet delegation, one of many delegates whom Fido had charmed. The prisoner was released soon after. In another instance, Fido learned about a "phantom" ship, loaded with Jewish refugees who wanted to go to Israel. Lacking a flag or national registration, the ship was detained in a Mediterranean port. Fido managed to convince his government to grant the ship the right to fly under the Honduran flag, allowing the vessel to continue its journey.

Two years later, in 1947-48, the affable Fido became third vice-president of Rotary International.

As the Charter of the United Nations progressed to its final version, Jan Masaryk found himself an extremely busy negotiator. A diplomat in exile during the war—he was a member of



Arthur H. Vandenberg and Jan Masaryk

A VOICE FOR PEACE AND REASON

Although he did not attend the San Francisco conference, a Rotarian from Germany exerted a strong intellectual influence at this historic world forum. At the time, this member of the Rotary Club of Munich was living and working in exile in southern California. He was Thomas Mann, writer and winner of the 1929 Nobel Prize in Literature.

Each morning of the conference, the novelist went through a familiar ritual. He contemplated for a minute the rugged beauty of the landscape outside his studio window, admiring the spartan garden surrounding his house and the deep, undisturbed blue of the sky. He then proceeded to shut the blinds. Following the strict schedule he had kept for the past 30 years, he sat down to work at 9 A.M. and immersed himself in the central chapters of "Doktor Faustus," which he would call his personal favorite among all his works.

The dean of European intellectual life during the first half of the 20th century and a devoted Rotarian, Thomas Mann had repeatedly raised his voice against the Siren

the London-based Czech government—Rotarian Masaryk was a key participant in the postwar reorganization of a government in Prague. In 1945, Czechoslovakia, the state founded by Jan's father, Thomas Masaryk, and Eduard Benes in 1918, was torn by the conflicting ideologies of East and West. German troops still fought against Russian troops in Czech



"Fido" Durón

territory, and the Communist Party was a major power in the government. At the request of Czech President Eduard Benes, Rotarian Masaryk stopped in Moscow just before traveling to San Francisco, hoping to secure there a modicum of parliamentary democracy for his country. (His ill-fated efforts to maintain the precarious balance that might keep democracy alive in Czechoslovakia led to his still-controversial death, in 1948.)

Soon after signing the Charter on 26 June, the exhausted delegations began to leave San Francisco. Germany had surrendered on 9 May. On 2 September, Japan surrendered at formal ceremonies aboard the U.S. flagship *Missouri*, thus ending World War II.

On 24 October, the Charter of the United Nations became operative. Dialogue and rational discourse could now be restored as the normal mode of communication in Europe and in the world at large. Imperfect as human creations are, the UN Charter had given peace a chance to flourish. ●

• Joaquín Mejía is an assistant editor of THE ROTARIAN.

call of totalitarianism. In "Faustus," his fictional exploration of the tragedy of Adrian Leverkühn, the musician who witnesses the collapse of traditional humanism, the writer built a powerful modern parable that may be the supreme literary achievement to emerge from the flames of World War II.

The news of the UN Conference reached Mann at a time when his spirit was saddened by the defeat and damage to his beloved Germany. The appalling evidence of the mass executions of the Holocaust had already prompted him to vigorous protest. His prognosis on the social disease of the European world—a betrayal of the laws of reason and humanism—and his severe but rigorous conclusions were often quoted by the delegates at San Francisco.

The author received the news about the end of the war and the signing of the Charter with guarded pleasure. After the Faustian tragedy of unlimited hatred and destruction, mankind had been given one more opportunity to thrive. A belated one, perhaps, but an opportunity, nonetheless. —J.M.

ROTARIANS AT THE 1945 U.N. CHARTERING CONFERENCE

The following Rotarians served as official delegates. The asterisks indicate delegation heads.

Brazil: Armando Figueira Trompowsky de Almeida. **Colombia:** A. González Fernández. **Costa Rica:** Fabio Fournier Jiménez, Alvaro Bonilla Lara, Luis Demetrio Tinoco Castro, Luis Anderson Morúa. **Czechoslovakia:** Jan Masaryk*. **Dominican Republic:** Manuel A. Peña Battle*, Emilio García Godoy. **El Salvador:** José Antonio Quirós. **Honduras:** Jorge Fidel Durón. **India:** Sir V. T. Krishnamachari. **Lebanon:** Joseph Salem. **Mexico:** Ezequiel Padilla*. **Netherlands:** H. J. Van Mook. **Nicaragua:** Marcelo Jover. **Panama:** Ricardo J. Alfaro. **Philippines:** Carlos P. Romulo*, Pedro López. **South Africa:** D.D. Forsyth. **Syria:** Faris Al-Khoury, Naim Al-Antaki. **United States:** Tom Connally, Arthur H. Vandenberg, Louis Lancaster.

These Rotarians attended as R.I. consultants to the United States delegation:

Richard H. Wells, 1944-45 R.I. president; Luther Hodges, 1967-68 R.I. president; Charles L. Wheeler, 1943-44 R.I. president; Tom J. Davis, 1941-42 R.I. president; Walter D. Head, 1939-40 R.I. president; Allen D. Albert, 1915-16 R.I. president; J. Raymond Tiffany, 1942-43 R.I. vice president; Philip Lovejoy, 1942-52 R.I. general secretary; Cyrus P. Barnum; Lester B. Struthers; Leland D. Case, editor, *THE ROTARIAN*.

Other Rotarians known to have served as consultants for several organizations at the conference:

Earl W. Benjamin, Homer L. Brinkley, Ben M. Cherrington, Vivian D. Corbley, General Frank McCoy, Philip Nash, O.D.A. Oberg, F. Harper Sibley, Charles Teague, Herman B. Wells.

Rotary and the United Nations

Closer at some times than at others, their paths have often run parallel.

IT WOULD HAVE BEEN no great feat of prophecy to predict, long before the 1945 United Nations Conference in San Francisco, that Rotarians around the world would share an active interest in plans for a world organization aimed at securing peace. Even in 1941—more than four years before the final shot of World War II would be fired—Rotarians were busily discussing the problems of a, hopefully, peaceful postwar world. To aid their discussions, Rotary International established a Committee to consider the needs of the postwar world and *THE ROTARIAN* Magazine included frequent articles on these subjects. In 1942 more than two dozen articles from the Magazine were published as the book *A World to Live In*, in which many noted authors, including Mohandas K. Ghandi, Cordell Hull, and Sir Norman Angell, considered the problems of the peace to come.

Meanwhile, as the Allied nations drew closer, both in the prosecution of the war and in the promotion of a peaceful postwar era, the prospects of a world organization included the Inter-Allied Declaration and the Atlantic Charter in 1941; the Declaration by the United Nations in 1942—the first time the phrase “United Nations” had appeared in an official document; and conferences in Moscow and Teheran.

The recurring theme of these events—the need for a world organization—echoed throughout the Rotary world in discussions among Rotarians and in Clubs. In 1943 the Committee on Participation of Rotarians in the Postwar World prepared and distributed six program outlines on postwar topics. One of these was titled *A Central World Organization*. The Committee offered the outlines to stimulate individual thought and to help Rotarians form opinions on these matters of great public interest.

In October, 1944, delegates from China, Great Britain, Russia, and the U.S.A. met at Dumbarton Oaks, near Washington, D. C., and produced the first tangible Allied plans for creating a world organization dedicated to peace. The proposals stirred discussion in every part of the world. Although Rotary International could not and did not offer any opinion on the proposals, it saw in their purposes similarities to what was then called Rotary's Fourth Object: “The advancement of international understanding, goodwill, and peace.” In November, 1944, Rotary International mailed the paper *What Can Rotarians Do Following Dumbarton Oaks?* to all Club Presidents, saying that “before these or other proposals are adopted by the various Governments, it would seem advisable that they be studied, discussed, and understood by many people. Rotarians can and should be active in such discussions.” The paper

Five Rotarians have served as President of the United Nations General Assembly: Brazil's late Oswaldo Aranha, 1947 (top left); the Philippines' Carlos P. Romulo, 1949 (top right); Canada's Lester B. Pearson, 1952-53 (mid-left); Thailand's Prince Wan Waithayakon, 1956-57 (mid-right); and New Zealand's Sir Leslie Munro, 1957 (lower left). Carlos P. Romulo is a Past Third Vice-President of RI; Prince Wan Waithayakon is a Past RI District Governor. The sketch is of 1944-45 RI President Richard H. Wells at the time he headed RI's panel of 11 consultants to the 1945 U. N. Charter Conference in San Francisco.



contained a statement of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals and suggested that, rather than use the information to spark Club resolutions, Rotarians form their own opinions and act as individuals.

Early in 1945, with the date of the San Francisco Conference on International Organization fast approaching, Rotary International once again urged Clubs and Rotarians to discuss the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. Under a letter that began "The time for debate is now!" the General Secretary mailed copies of the pamphlet *Pattern for the San Francisco Conference* to every Club. This timely pamphlet examined, discussed, and raised questions about the issues with which the San Francisco conferees would deal. Again, Rotarians and non-Rotarians were asked to take part in discussion, form their own opinions, and express themselves via the press and Government leaders.

ROTARY'S relationship with the United Nations, or at least to the Conference that would create the U. N. Charter, grew closer when the U. S. delegation to the Conference invited Rotary International and 41 other nongovernmental organizations to send representatives to sit in on its work. Rotary International accepted, and appointed 11 Rotarians, who served three at a time with the delegation at various meetings. Following the signing of the Charter, U. S. Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., chairman of the U. S. delegation, wrote in *THE ROTARIAN* that the invitation to Rotary International was not merely a gesture, but "a recognition of the practical part Rotary's members have played and will continue to play in the development of understanding among nations."

But Rotary International's 11 were only a part of the Rotary presence at the Conference, for there were 29 other Rotarians in the delegations of 20 nations, seven of them heads of their country's delegation. Still more Rotarians were among the consultants of other organizations. In his Magazine article Mr. Stettinius pointed to the "considerable contribution" Rotary's representatives made to the Charter and particularly to the framing of provisions for the Economic and Social Council (UNESCO). That agency later granted consultative status to Rotary International plus a number of other organizations.

As word of the signing of the U. N. Charter flashed around the world, a new international dialogue began—and Rotarians were in on it. In November, 1945, Clubs throughout the Rotary world observed U. N. Charter Week, designated by Rotary's 1945-46 President, T. A. Warren, and aimed at helping Rotarians and others keep in touch with the problems facing the U. N. At the core of its information program, Rotary International placed the book *From Here On!*, which reprinted the U. N. Charter along with explanations and questions for discussion. *From Here On!* proved to be one of the most popular Rotary books. It received seven printings totalling more than 200,000 copies in English and other languages. Four years later Rotary

International published a new book on the U. N. called *The World at Work*. It covered the economic and social efforts of the U. N. and its specialized agencies. Throughout the U. N.'s early years Rotary Clubs received current information on its activities through the Magazine and other Rotary periodicals and papers.

Early in the days of the U. N., Rotarians and others frequently asked about Rotary International's "stand" on the U. N.—a question that even today occasionally appears in the Secretariat mail. The Rotary International Board of Directors, therefore, early in 1946 published a statement on the United Nations, its Charter, and its activities. That statement, revised and subsequently expanded by the Board, now appears in the following form:

While RI neither gives nor withholds endorsement of the provisions of the United Nations Charter, nor of the actions or enactments of the United Nations, it does encourage Rotarians to acquaint themselves with the activities of the United Nations directed to the advancement of world peace.

The General Secretary is instructed to bring to the attention of Rotary Clubs program information and other helps in connection with the study of the Charter and the activities of the United Nations to the advancement of world peace.

Continued publicity shall be given to the reports of observers for RI who attend meetings of the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

Rotarians desiring to make a proposal concerning the United Nations or any of its specialized agencies should function through the duly constituted governmental channels of their own country.

Rotary International's relationship with the U. N. is and has been one of an observer and sometime consultant on matters in which it possesses special competence. In the early years of the U. N., Rotary International took to itself the task of keeping Clubs and Rotarians informed about happenings within the U. N., relaying reports from the U. N. and from observers appointed by Rotary's President. In recent times, the U. N. having its own public-information department, Rotary International has discontinued its regular reports (and observers), with the view that such information can be obtained directly from the United Nations by anyone who desires it.

Although Rotary International plays no official rôle in U. N. activities, Rotarians as individuals have been active in the world organization since its earliest days, serving on delegations from their own countries and holding posts in U. N. agencies. In addition, several Rotarians have held the office of President of the General Assembly (see photos).

Today Rotarians in many parts of the world maintain an interest in the United Nations, expressing opinions of every shade, discussing U. N. activities in their Club meetings, taking part in community and national programs relating to the U. N., and sharing its hopes for peace.

Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo

Vi Kyuin Wellington Koo (顧維鈞) (1888-1985) was a career diplomat from the Republic of China, and played a major role in expanding China's relationships with the West. Founder of the modern Chinese foreign service, he was instrumental in negotiating the end of the "unequal treaties," a series of agreements China had signed with Western powers under threat of force in the mid-nineteenth century. He was one of the China's leading delegates to the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, as well as the Washington Conference in the winter of 1921-1922. Koo held the posts of ambassador to France, Great Britain, and, for ten years, the United States—he was the youngest ranking diplomat to come to the United States. Koo was also credited with China's participation in founding of the League of Nations and later the United Nations, serving as his country's signatory on the United Nations Charter. He further extended his international role in the last phase of his career, when he served as judge and Vice President of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in The Hague from 1957 to 1967. Koo briefly held the concurrent positions of acting Premier and interim President of the Republic of China. Koo was the first and only Chinese head of state known to use a Western name publicly.

Born in Shanghai on 29 January 1888, Koo studied at the Anglo-Chinese College (中西書院), Shanghai, 1899-1900; Yu Tsai School (王氏育材學塾), 1900-1901; St. John's College (聖約翰書院), Shanghai, 1901-1904, and while there, was editor of *《The Dragon》* (龍報). He went to America and studied at Cook Academy, 1904-1905. Koo studied liberal arts at Columbia College, 1905-1908, and political science, 1908-1912, specializing in international law and diplomacy. In Columbia College, he was a member of the Philolexian Society, a literary and debating club. Koo was a recipient of the Philolescean Literary Prize, the Columbia-Cornell Debating Medal; member of the varsity debating team, 1906-1907; editor of *《The Columbia Spectator》*, *《The Chinese Students' Monthly》*, *《The Chinese Students' Annual》* and manager of *《The Columbian》* and *《The Columbia Monthly》*.

He received his Bachelor of Arts (A.B.) degree in 1908; Master of Arts (M.A.) degree in 1909. He was elected to the American Society of International Law and the American Political Science Association; elected to the Nacoms, the Blue Pencil and Delta Epsilon Rho societies in 1911. In 1912 he received from Columbia College (forerunner of Columbia University) his Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) in international law and diplomacy---Subject of doctorate dissertation: *《The Status of Aliens in China》*.

Koo returned to the motherland in April 1912 to serve the new born Republic of China as English Secretary to Grand President Yuan Shi-Kai (袁世凱大總統). In July 1915, he was appointed Chinese Minister to Mexico; and was subsequently decorated with the Order of Golden Grain Grand Cordon 2nd Class (二等大綬嘉禾勳章). Three months later in October, Koo was transferred to be the Chinese Minister to the United States and Cuba. He became a member of the Columbia Union Club, in 1915, and the Metropolitan Club, in 1916. In the same year of 1916, Yale University conferred Koo a Doctor of Laws Degree (LL.D.) (*honoris causa*).

In 1919, Koo was Chinese plenipotentiary to the Paris Peace Conference, and was one of the chief advocates of the refusal to sign the Treaty on account of the unsatisfactory decision of the Conference on the Shantung Question (*see photo on Page 14*). Before the Western powers and Japan, he demanded that Imperial Japan return Shandong to China. He also called for an end to imperialist institutions such as extraterritoriality, tariff controls, legation guards, and lease holds. The Western powers refused his claims and, consequently, the Chinese delegation at the Paris Peace Conference was the only nation that did not sign the *《Treaty of Versailles》* at the signing ceremony.

In September 1920, Koo was transferred to be Chinese Envoy-Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of St. James's in England. In December 1920, he was elected a member of

the Administrative Council of the League of Nations, and, for a time, served as Chairman of the Council thereof and ex-officio President of the Assembly, 1921. When Koo was elected to that honorable seat, he was decorated the Order of Merit 3rd Class (勳三等). In October 1921, Koo was appointed one of the three Chinese plenipotentiaries to the Washington Conference in the United States during the winter of 1921-1922 (*see photo on Page 15*). The story was reported by 《The Rotarian》 in its March 1922 Issue. In November 1921, he was given the rank of Ambassador. After the Conference, in March 1922, Koo was decorated the Order of Golden Grain Grand Cordon 1st Class (一等大綬嘉禾勳章), as well as the Order of Striped Tiger 1st Class (一等紋虎勳章).

Koo returned to Peking, in May 1922, to confer with the government upon diplomatic questions in consequence of the Washington Conference. In June 1922, he was appointed President of the Commission for the Discussion of National Financial Questions. In October 1922, he was decorated the Order of Precious Brilliant Golden Grain, Grand Cordon 1st Class (一等大綬寶光嘉禾勳章). In November 1922, he was ordered to serve, concurrently, as Chief of the Preparation Bureau for the Special Tariff Conference. In the same month, he was relieved of the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. In January 1924, he was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs; and served then, for a time, as Acting Premier.

His alma mater, St. John's University in Shanghai, had conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws (*honoris causa*). He has been similarly honored by Columbia University and other educational institutions in the United States of America.

Koo also was involved in the formation of the League of Nations in 1920 as China's first representative to this newly formed international organization of states. He was briefly Acting Premier, Interim President, and Foreign Minister in 1926-1927 during a period of chaos in Peking under Marshal Chang Tso-Lin (張作霖). Koo was Acting Premier from 1 October 1926 and acted concurrently as Interim President. He served as Premier from January until June 1927, when Chang organized a military government and Koo resigned. Koo stepped down as the Peking Government's interim President and moved to the British concession zone in Tientsin (*Tianjin*) (天津). In July 1928, the Nationalist Party (中國國民黨) forces successfully completed its Northern Expedition campaign and toppled the Peking Government. Having held high ranking positions with the Peking Government, he was briefly wanted for arrest by the new Nationalist government in Nanking, but through "Young Marshal" Chang Hsueh-Liang's (張學良) mediation with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek (蔣中正), Koo was reconciled with the new government and returned to the diplomatic service.

In 1931, Koo was a member of the Lytton Commission of the League of Nations to determine what caused Imperial Japan's invasion of Manchuria on 18 September 1931 (*see photo on Page 16*). In August 1932, Koo was appointed Minister to France with the rank of Ambassador and delegate to the 13th Assembly and Special Assembly of the League of Nations, and Chinese Representative on the Council of the League. He served as the Chinese Ambassador to France from 1936 to 1940, until France was occupied by the Nazi Germany.

Afterwards, in April 1941, he was the Chinese Ambassador to the Court of St. James's, London, until 1946. Per usual diplomatic convention, Koo's appointment as ambassador required the British government's approval, and the approval did not come forth immediately due to the fact that the British government thought it would be best for the Chinese government to appoint a Nationalist Party member, which Koo was not. Chiang Kai-Shek, who trusted Koo's capability, rejected British suggestion and instead convinced Koo to join the Nationalist Party in 1942, and British approval was given shortly after. Koo was the Ambassador to the Great Britain for the entirety of World War II, working closely with British authorities on the War in the China-Burma-India Theater, particularly in

regards to joint Sino-Anglo-American military campaigns in Burma and the occupation policy of post-war French Indochina. In June 1945, as the head of the Chinese delegation to the San Francisco Conference, Koo became the very first person to sign the United Nations founding charter (*see photos on Pages 1-2*).

In 1946, Koo was made the Chinese Ambassador to the United States. The first years in this role was focused on the financial straits faced by post-war China. He argued at length with United States Secretaries of State, George Marshall, Dean Acheson, and Robert Lovett on pressuring Japan to make its reparation payments to China, on increased U.S. investments in China, and on the expanding the Marshall Plan to include China. In 1948 and 1949, his focus shifted to attempts to draw direct United States' involvement into the Chinese Civil War, but to little avail, as American confidence in Chiang Kai-Shek had wavered. After the Communists won the civil war, the Nationalist government relocated to Taiwan. At this time, Koo's name appeared as number 22 on a list of 43 "war criminals" published by the Communists. In 1954, together with Foreign Minister Ye Gong-Chao (葉公超), Koo was signatory of the 《Mutual Defense Treaty between the United States of America and the Republic of China》, which, until 1980, formed a joint-defense scheme between the Republic of China (in Taiwan) and the United States against any potential Chinese Communist aggression.

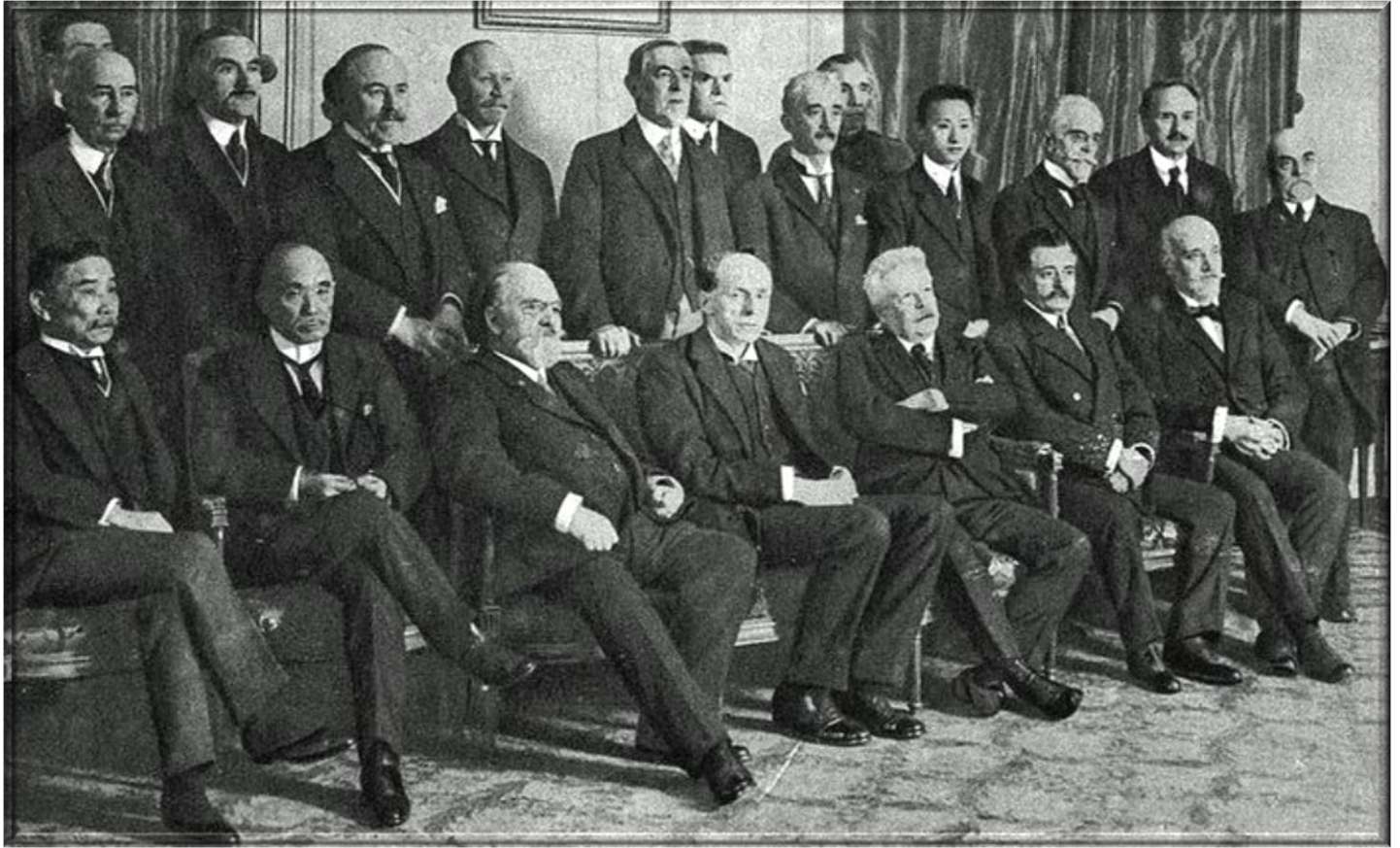
In 1956, Koo retired completely from Chinese diplomatic service. Upon the sudden death of Dr. Hsu Mo, he was elected to fill up the vacant seat and became a judge 1957-1967, and concurrently served as Vice-President of the International Court of Justice during the final three years of his term. In 1967, he retired and moved to New York City and lived there for the rest of his life. Koo passed away on 14 November 1985. He was buried at the Ferncliff Cemetery and Mausoleum in Hartsdale, New York, United States.



國際法院 *International Court of Justice*



中華民國駐英國公使顧維鈞肖像（約照於1920年）
Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo's portrait of Chinese Minister to Great Britain (c.1920)



1919年巴黎和會的各國代表 -- 中華民國全權代表顧維鈞博士（第2排站立右4）
Delegates of the 1919 Paris Peace Conference – Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo (2nd row right 4 standing)



中華民國駐法國大使顧維鈞（1936年）
Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo – Republic of China's Ambassador to France (1936)



1921-1922 年華盛頓會議 -- 中華民國全權代表

(左至右) 駐英國大使顧維鈞博士、駐美國公使施肇基博士、大理院院長王寵惠博士

China's Plenipotentiary at the Washington Conference 1921-1922 – (L-R) Ambassador to the United Kingdom Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, Minister to U.S.A. Dr. Alfred S. K. Sze, Supreme Court President Dr. Wang Ch'ung-Hui



1932 年 4 月 21 日 - 國際聯盟李頓調查團抵達大連，由英國的李頓伯爵（前左）和顧維鈞博士（前右）領導。

21 April 1932 -- The League of Nations Commission of Inquiry arrives in Dalian, led by Victor Alexander George Robert Bulwer-Lytton, 2nd Earl of Lytton (front left) and Dr. V.K. Wellington Koo (front right)



第一個簽署《聯合國憲章》

1943年10月，美國(United States of America)、蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯盟(蘇聯 The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)、英國(United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland)、中華民國發表《莫斯科宣言》(The Moscow Declarations)，計劃建立一個普遍性國際組織。中國躋身於「四強」實乃美國總統羅斯福(Franklin Delano Roosevelt)的支持，而蘇聯反對「提携」中國。妥協結果，中國在三強既定宣言上簽了字。1944年9月，美國邀請蘇聯、英國、中國集會華盛頓附近敦巴頓橡樹園(Dumbarton Oaks Conference)，討論新的聯合國憲章，中國政府派顧維鈞率團出席。蘇聯認為中國不足以稱為強國，英國也有同感。但顧維鈞作為國際組織和國際法權威，為爭得中國作為強國的發言權而竭盡全力。顧維鈞反對在檔中對發起國用「三國」、「四國」等歧視中國的字樣，得到了其他國家的贊同。在聯合國組織設置、表決程式、權力與分配等問題上，美、蘇、英三國頗有分歧，顧維鈞常居間調停。三藩市制憲會議，由中國不同黨派、無黨派和學者組成的代表團，沒出現同巴黎和會、華盛頓會議時中國代表團的內部大分歧，也有顧維鈞從中協調說服的功勞。關於顧維鈞對聯合國制憲會議的貢獻，美國當時的國務卿斯特蒂紐斯(Edward Reilly Stettinius, Jr.)稱讚顧維鈞「在各種委員會討論微妙問題時，善能運用機智，貢獻殊多」。美國杜魯門總統(Harry S. Truman)在會議結束時，重複其國務卿對顧維鈞的上述讚語。

1945年6月26日，中華民國代表團赴三藩市會議(San Francisco Conference)，在發起國中按字母C順序「中華民國」列於首位，獲得簽署《聯合國憲章》的第一順位。顧維鈞代理宋子文擔任首席代表，成為第一個簽署《聯合國憲章》的人。直至今日，《聯合國憲章》上簽署的第一個名字仍然是三個漢字：「顧維鈞」。其後簽署的順序分別是中國國民參政會主席王寵惠博士、中華民國駐美國公使魏道明博士、中國教育界代表吳貽芳博士(金陵女子文理學院校長)、中國青年黨代表李璜、中國民主社會黨代表張君勱、中國共產黨代表董必武、中國新聞界代表胡霖(大公報總編輯)，而原定一同出席的宋子文和胡適博士則因事缺席。(圖見第1-2頁)

《聯合國憲章》(Charter of the United Nations)是聯合國建立的基礎條約，它既確立了聯合國的宗旨、原則和組織機構設置，又規定了成員國的責任、權利和義務，以及處理國際關係、維護世界和平與安全的基本原則和方法。《聯合國憲章》規定，遵守《聯合國憲章》、維護聯合國威信，是每個成員國不可推脫的責任。《聯合國憲章》的內容討論制定於1945年4月25日開幕的三藩市會議，簽署於1945年6月26日的閉幕會議。51個創始成員國中，波蘭未參加三藩市會議，但在2個月後簽署了該憲章；其餘50個在會議中簽署了該憲章。

青年精英

從清朝滅亡到國民黨退出中國大陸執政的 38 年間，中華民國外交舞臺上，自始至終活躍著一些職業外交官。不論是在北洋政府還是南京政府（抗日時期遷往重慶），他們不多涉足國內政治鬥爭，而是致力在外交上為中國爭權，顧維鈞就是其中一位佼佼者。

1921 年上海扶輪社(Shanghai Rotary Club)聘請顧維鈞博士(Dr. Vi Kyuin Wellington Koo, HonLLD (St. John's), HonLLD (Yale), PhD (Columbia), MA (Columbia), AB (Columbia))任名譽社員，並獲得國際扶輪的認可，1922 年 3 月號的英文扶輪雜誌《The Rotarian》報道了他。

顧維鈞，字少川，1888 年 1 月 29 日(光緒十四年)生於大清國江蘇省太倉州嘉定縣（今上海市嘉定區）。少年時，先在本鄉傳統私塾受啟蒙教育。後到上海接受基督教美國監理會(Methodist Episcopal Church, South)主辦的中西書院(Anglo-Chinese College)西方式教育，學習英語、數學和地理等課程。1900 年考入聖約翰書院(St. John's College)(聖約翰大學前身)。1904 年，顧維鈞的父親顧溶(晚清第一任交通銀行總裁)出資送他和施肇基等一批學生赴美國留學。顧維鈞先在紐約的庫克學院(Cook Academy)就讀，1905 年轉到哥倫比亞大學(Columbia College)，主修國際法和外交學。課餘，他參加「語言社」、「辯論會」等活動，主編《The Columbia Spectator》(哥大旁觀者)，《The Chinese Students' Monthly》(中國學生月刊)，《The Chinese Students' Annual》(中國學生年鑒)；並且是《The Columbian》(哥大人)和《The Columbia Monthly》(哥大月刊)的經理人。課外活動培養了他敏捷的思路、風流的文采和雄辯的口才。他曾作為哥大學生代表之一(共 3 名)與康奈爾大學(Cornell University)學生代表進行辯論比賽，大勝而歸。哥大學聯選舉時，顧維鈞得票數為第三多。他以國際法為專業，志向就是為貧弱的祖國力爭國權。1908 年冬，大清國專使唐紹儀訪問美國，特邀 40 位留美學生代表聚會。宴會上，顧維鈞代表學生致感謝詞。他精彩而簡短的發言，受到唐紹儀和著名外交家伍廷芳、顏惠慶的一致讚賞。唐紹儀拜見美國總統羅斯福(Franklin D. Roosevelt)時，特帶領顧維鈞一同前往。後來，唐紹儀招納顧維鈞為女婿。

外交生涯

(民國元年)1912 年 2 月，中華民國駐美國公使張蔭棠約見正在撰寫博士論文的顧維鈞(24 歲)。通知他說，袁世凱大總統來電邀請他回國擔任總統英文秘書，此與唐紹儀推薦有關。哥倫比亞大學立即安排顧維鈞通過博士論文答辯，使他及時回國就職。此前，顧維鈞獲得了該校文學士和政治學碩士學位。

顧維鈞回國後不久，初任外交部主事，不久升為國務院參事。一度任總統秘書兼內閣總理秘書，充任重大外事翻譯。國務總理唐紹儀、外交總長陸徵祥，對顧維鈞十分器重。1914 年，日本帝國用戰爭威脅中國承認亡國的「二十一條」。1915 年 1 月，日本公使會見袁世凱大總統，正式提出「二十一條」並要袁世凱保守秘密。聲言如果洩密，日本就要對中國採取行動。袁世凱一時沒了主張，陸軍總長段祺瑞說只要大總統下令，中國軍隊可以抵抗日軍 48 小時。顧維鈞當時任總統秘書，他認為此時應利用世界各國同日本的矛盾，特別是美日、英日矛盾。他建議大總統把「二十一條」內容公佈於眾，因為中國過去許諾保守秘密是在威脅之下作出的，沒有義務遵守。大總統和外交總長同意這一不得已的辦法，顧維鈞便在美英公使之間求得同情。不久，外國報紙登載了「二十一條」內容，日本非常難堪。雖然它後來更進一步向北洋政府施加外交壓力，但終於沒敢貿然採取軍事行動。

1915 年 7 月，顧維鈞(27 歲)派駐墨西哥國公使。這是近現代乃至當代中國外交史上，最年輕的全權正使。北洋政府授予二等嘉禾大綬勳章。10 月，調任駐美國兼駐古巴公使。1916 年，美國耶魯大學(Yale University)授予榮譽法學博士學位。

巴黎和會 華盛頓裁減海軍會議

在1919年初的巴黎和會(Paris Peace Conference)上，由顧維鈞等人組成的中華民國代表團，在收回戰敗的德國原在山東的權益作了不懈的鬥爭。他們把和會上出賣中國的卑鄙交易，透露給巴黎的華人和國內新聞界，引發了中國現代史光輝的一頁——「五四運動」。國內民眾情緒激憤，使北洋政府不得不順應民心，代表團在巴黎得到國內人民的鼓勵和聲援。駐美國公使顧維鈞、南方政府代表王正廷、駐英國公使施肇基、駐比利時王國公使魏宸組等在政府態度不明，代表團團長陸徵祥病入醫院的情況下，堅決拒絕在損害中國主權的巴黎和約上簽字。他們的愛國行動，是偉大的五四運動的一部分。三十一歲的顧維鈞當時剛剛失去愛妻唐寶玥（唐紹儀之五女兒），但國難高過家哀。1月27日，顧維鈞在與會歐美代表交談中，坦言中國孔子好比西方的基督，中國的山東好比基督教的聖城耶路撒冷(Jerusalem)；中國不能放棄山東就像基督教不能放棄耶路撒冷一樣。

1919年1月28日，和會舉行由五大國代表組成的十人會議。只有一個議題，就是戰敗國德國在中國山東的權益將如何分配。日本代表牧野伸顯提出德國原在山東的一系列侵華權益，均應無條件讓與日本。顧維鈞即席發言，駁斥日本的無理要求。據法引典，陳情說理。雖無底稿，卻條理清楚，言詞得體。演說完畢，美、英、法、意政府首腦紛紛與顧握手擁抱讚揚致賀。巴黎和會使顧維鈞聲名鵲起，國外人士感歎中國的國力與外交官的辯才差距太大（圖見第15頁）。巴黎和會上中國5位代表中，團長陸徵祥與施肇基不和；王正廷與顧維鈞不和，都是愛國人士和外交能手。而顧維鈞在才思和駁辯上，又似高於眾人。

由於巴黎和會上，中國拒絕在《協約國及參戰各國對德和約》(Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany)上簽字，山東問題懸案，遂移到1921-1922年華盛頓會議上，才得到較合理的解決。

1919年9月，顧維鈞調任駐英國公使，並被指派出席國際聯盟(League of Nations)會議。1920年9月，他被調任為駐英國聖詹姆士朝廷(Court of St. James's)的中國全權特使。1920年12月，他當選為國際聯盟行政理事會理事，並曾一度擔任理事會主席和1921年大會當然主席。顧維鈞因此獲授勳三等。1921年8月，美國總統哈定(Warren Gamaliel Harding)邀請中、日、英、法、意、荷、比、葡等國集會華盛頓(Washington Naval Conference)，討論裁減海軍軍備和遠東太平洋地區問題。中國地位與巴黎和會時有所不同，美國不滿日本獨霸中國，有意抬高中國的地位，以繼續推行「門戶開放」政策。中國代表團全權代表有3人：施肇基、顧維鈞、王寵惠（圖見第16頁）。顧維鈞又一次在國際舞臺上充分發揮他傑出的外交才能，和顯示他維繫內部團結的能力。（英文扶輪雜誌《The Rotarian》1922年3月號報導了詳情）。美、英兩國恐怕日本退會抵制，施壓中國與日本直接交涉，由美英居間調停。中國交涉主要由顧維鈞出面，1922年2月與日本代表簽訂了《解決山東懸案問題條約》及《附約》，為後來收回山東權益和膠濟鐵路打下了基礎。

1922年3月，顧維鈞獲授一等大綬嘉禾勳章，以及一等紋虎勳章。

1931年9月18日「九·一八」事變，日本關東軍侵佔瀋陽。事變後，顧維鈞受中國政府委派，參加國際聯盟李頓調查團(Lytton Commission, The League of Nations)（圖見第16頁）。不畏日本帝國阻撓甚至生命恐嚇，堅持進入中國東北實地考察。並且獨立進行了許多工作，向調查團提出了揭露日本帝國侵略行徑的長篇備忘錄。對調查團施加影響，為中國爭取利益。1932年10月2日，調查團發表報告，指出日本帝國明顯是侵略者。報告中否定日本的行為是為了自衛；並指出滿洲國之成立乃日本侵略中國之舉動；承認東北是中國領土。

1936年3月，顧維鈞與厲麟似博士(教育家、外交家)、王正廷博士(外交家、上海扶輪社社員、國際扶輪第81地區總監)等人，一同被推舉為國際聯盟中國分會—中國國聯同志會理事。1937年1月21

日，國際聯盟行政院第九十六屆會議開幕，中華民國代表顧維鈞任主席。4月9日，政府特派顧維鈞為出席國際聯盟特別大會代表。7月23日，政府特派顧維鈞、郭泰祺、錢泰為出席國際聯合會第十八屆大會代表。

國務總理 署任大總統

華盛頓會議結束後，顧維鈞回倫敦住所。1922年5月回上海，時值第一次直奉軍閥內戰，他呼籲停戰以共同對外。8月，到北洋政府王寵惠內閣代理外交總長。1922年10月，顧維鈞獲授一等大綬寶光嘉禾勳章。1924年，他曾與中國共產黨主要創始人之一李大釗會面。李大釗激昂地認為應當將外蒙古置於蘇俄統治下，顧維鈞認為李大釗失去了理智。1926年10月顧維鈞代理內閣總理並署任大總統，1927年1月正式組閣任國務總理並繼續署任大總統。至6月張作霖改組軍政府，顧維鈞辭職，寓居天津英租界。顧維鈞從1922年到1928年，在北洋政府七屆內閣中出任外交總長，並兩次代理內閣總理。1927年居然還做了五個月零三天的攝政內閣總理。

顧維鈞歷任袁世凱、黎元洪、馮國璋、段祺瑞、曹錕、徐世昌、張作霖各期北洋政府的要職。在各派鬥爭中，顧維鈞以對外大局為重，穩健自重，周旋有方。故能長立政壇，具政治家獨特風範。顧維鈞對這些人物，以及一些擁兵軍閥的評價都不壞。一是感激知遇之情，二是顧維鈞認為這些人物，都是以不同方式愛國家。1928年7月國民革命軍北伐勝利，統一全國，定都南京。因為顧維鈞是北洋政府的高層領導，被國民政府通緝。1930年經「少帥」張學良斡旋，加入國民政府，重返外交界。

抗日戰爭

1937年7月7日，蘆溝橋事變，日本帝國發動全面侵華。抗日戰爭全面爆發後，顧維鈞對國家貢獻巨大。在國際聯盟聽證會上，力陳日本帝國在中國東北製造的侵略事實。顧維鈞力爭列國擴大對華援助；在國外購買抗戰急需的物質；招募飛行員，為中華民族的反侵略戰爭做出了特別的貢獻。國際聯盟雖然沒有採取制裁日本的措施，卻也沒有承認日本製造的「既成事實」。整個第二次世界大戰期間，顧維鈞是駐英國大使。在顧維鈞看來，英國在中國抗日戰爭中的態度，介於美國和中歐國家之間。總體而言，英國在對日政策和態度上，看來頗為小心謹慎。顧維鈞特別注重收集日本與其他國家外交關係的情報，與英國就戰爭在中緬印戰區密切合作，特別是中英兩國在緬甸的聯合軍事行動和戰略方面。在這段時期，中國與其他反法西斯盟國合作的大部分談判，都有顧維鈞參與或主持。英美蘇盟邦對華援助的很多款項，都是經他和其他外交官努力爭取遊說而得來的。他在各國政治家和外交官中，有廣泛的個人交往，他充分運用這些「私交」為「國交」服務。1941年以前，中國獨立抗日，各國對日本姑息妥協。為了爭取國際支援，顧維鈞發揮其無比之辯才。在集會、廣播和外交場合下發表多次演講，宣傳中國抗日的正義性，為的是爭取美歐朝野儘早放棄綏靖政策。直到反法西斯統一戰線建立後，顧維鈞仍在盟國之間穿梭往來，不停地為中國抗戰竭盡一個外交官的最大努力。

1941年4月，顧維鈞被任命為中國駐英國大使。在按照慣例徵詢英方意見時，英方長時間未予答覆，原因是英國駐重慶大使卡爾爵士(Sir Archibald Clark Kerr)向英國政府建議：「最好由一位國民黨高級人員作駐倫敦的代表，而顧維鈞不是國民黨黨員。」以這件事為起因，在中國國民黨總裁、中華民國國民政府行政院院長蔣中正的勸說和他人的安排下，顧維鈞於1942年加入了中國國民黨；而且在抗戰勝利前夕召開的中國國民黨第六次全國代表大會上，被選為中央執行委員。

國際關係 國內政治

1947年1月9日，駐美國大使顧維鈞在世界問題協會講演，指責雅爾塔協議(Yalta Conference)使蘇聯重新進入中國東北及東北亞。11月16日，顧維鈞與美國副國務卿艾奇遜(Dean G. Acheson)會晤，就日本對華賠償等事磋商。2月17日，顧維鈞訪晤美國國務卿馬歇爾將軍(General George Catlett

Marshall, Jr.)，商談中美經濟互助。討論中國財政危機，希望日本賠償早日實踐，並提出美國援助中國之五項要求。2月18日，顧維鈞大使在紐約中美工商會議上發表演說，促請美國增加對華援助。6月17日，顧維鈞訪晤美國副國務卿克萊頓(William Lockhart Clayton)，商討亞洲經濟復興問題；顧維鈞提議將「馬歇爾經濟援助歐洲計劃」擴展至亞洲，並提出中國分享日本國內工業資產賠償計劃。6月23日及25日，顧維鈞在華盛頓先後會晤美國助理國務卿索普和國務卿馬歇爾——要求延長5億美元貸款之撥款期，此外至少再提供2億美元貸款，無果。7月3日，顧維鈞致電外交部，已向美國國務院提出貸款具體計劃。8月7日，顧維鈞與美國助理國務卿亞莫爾會晤，表示中國同意盡早召開對日和會，惟正式和會須在中國舉行。

1948年8月17日，駐美國大使顧維鈞晤訪美國國務卿馬歇爾將軍，催促美國加速接濟軍需物資。在國共決戰到了分出勝負的最後關頭，顧維鈞選擇了國民黨。在回憶錄中寫道：「許多中國的自由主義分子，確實認為可以同共產黨共事。甚至到了1948年他們也還是這樣想，以求實現變革。因為他們對當時的政府，十分厭惡和不滿。」「想不到共產黨人所作所為，竟完全背離了中國人的傳統觀念。我只是認為他們打仗是為了奪取政權……不會像諸如俄國革命時，俄國共產黨人那樣行事……我沒有想到他們竟會走極端，他們的行事，竟完全違反我國的傳統和我國的政治哲學。」1948年9月24日，山東濟南被共產黨華東野戰軍攻克。9月29日，駐美國大使顧維鈞收到蔣中正總統致美國杜魯門總統的密電，呼籲美國提供特別援助。能否爭取到更多的美援，已成為挽救國民黨政權的唯一指望，顧維鈞傾全力遊說美國朝野。1948年9-10月間，顧維鈞在與訪美的中國財政部部長王雲五的兩次談話中，主張不惜以國家主權為代價，以求將美國拖入中國內戰。顧維鈞特地以美國主動撤離菲律賓，恢復菲律賓獨立地位的事實，來證明不必擔心美國侵犯中國主權，以及美國不是帝國主義的論點。

中華民國政府遷往臺北後，顧維鈞大使與外交部部長葉公超曾代表中華民國於1954年與美國磋商《中華民國與美國共同防禦條約》(Mutual Defense Treaty between the United States of America and the Republic of China)，12月3日簽訂。該條約以軍事為基礎，包含政治、經濟、社會等合作條約。1979年1月1日，美國與中華人民共和國建交時發佈聲明，依第十條規定，美國國務院正式通知中華民國，《中美共同防禦條約》將於1980年1月1日終止。

1956年初，蔣中正總統召回顧維鈞，委任為總統府資政。就這樣，69歲的顧維鈞告別了華盛頓雙橡園，結束了10年駐美國使命，也告別了自己長達半個世紀的外交生涯。

國際法院法官

1956年6月顧維鈞正在考慮開設律師事務所之時，接到了一項令他悲喜參半的任命。悲的是時任國際法院法官的徐謨，於任內在荷蘭逝世。徐謨是在他的推薦之下進入了外交界，曾是他的隨員，卻英年早逝。然而同時，顧維鈞表示：「要求我同意競選接任徐謨空缺的法官職務，我是樂於從命的。因為還在哥倫比亞大學研究院就學時，國際法一直是我喜好的專業。如能當選，我將有機會應用我的學識。」顧維鈞決定遞補去世的徐謨留下的國際法院法官一年半任期。

於是，1957年4月4日，顧維鈞在美國新澤西(New Jersey)登上荷美輪船公司(Holland America Line, HAL)的「新阿姆斯特丹號」(SS Nieuw Amsterdam)，前往荷蘭。一個月後，即1957年5月13日，國際法院舉行了第一次秘密會議，正式任命顧維鈞為國際法院大法官。

關於這個場景，他印象很深：「我們先聚集在一間公開開庭的準備室中，每人都穿上鑲有天鵝絨滾邊的黑綢法袍。在領帶外邊繫上帶花邊的白色襟節。這是必須照辦的，其他方面就隨便了。有六位法官戴白色大禮服硬領，其他法官只戴一般硬領或軟領……隨後，法官們排成一行，由儀仗官領隊步入審判庭。儀仗官也身着正式服裝，手執一根別緻的官杖。書記官長也身着官袍，走在隊列頂前頭。」

此時，法官們就準備出場了。顧維鈞回憶道：「我按吩咐緊跟在書記官後邊，其他法官在我後邊依照年資排好隊。院長走在隊列中間，因為他將坐在審判庭高台上的中間座位，正像我將坐在最末端一樣……列隊入庭的法官入座後，院長起立宣佈我出庭繼任前法官徐謨，並請我宣讀就職誓辭。法官長桌上，擺着四個話筒和三個擴音器。等全體法官和聽眾起立後，我站起宣讀印好的誓辭。聽眾站着，直到聽完誓辭用法語譯完後才就座。」

1957年10月，國際法院重新選舉新任期國際法官，顧維鈞的競爭對手為日本法官栗直茂。在兩輪投票選舉中，顧維鈞分別以42：8、36：3擊敗對手，成為國際法院法官，任期10年。不久又當選為國際法院副院長，直到1967年退休，定居美國。

可惜的是，關於十年任職期間的審判工作，顧維鈞並不願意透露得太多。因為國際法院有一個共同遵守的傳統，對任何審理的案件，能夠當庭宣佈的意見之外，不宜再對外公開。他只是簡單地說明，在十年間國際法院共研究和判決了17個案件，提出過兩項諮詢意見。在這17個案件中，顧維鈞均參與了法庭審理工作。十年期間，法院共召集過200多次會議，其中包括公開開庭、秘密審議和起草委員會會議。他以驚人的毅力出席了所有的會議，一次也沒有缺席。在任職的最後三年，顧維鈞還被選為國際法院的副院長。足見其努力與威信，已經換得了同事的尊重和信任。

當顧維鈞十年任期即將結束時，圍繞着是否參加下一輪國際法官的競選問題，顧維鈞與中華民國臺北政府發生了分歧。顧維鈞主張放棄競選，首先他認為自己年事已高，即使能當選，也很難保證在任期內健康狀況一直這麼好；更重要的是，他憑直覺感到美國政府並不希望他參加競選。但臺北方面則不願意顧維鈞放棄國際法官這個職位，而除了顧維鈞又找不出有競選實力的人，因而力促顧維鈞再次參加競選。由於顧維鈞的一再堅持，臺北方面才採納了顧維鈞的意見。1966年10月26日，顧維鈞給聯合國秘書長寫了一封信，以健康原因放棄競選國際法官的候選資格。次年，法院書記官長阿奎那(Stanislas Aquarone)到紐約拜訪他時，專程帶來一個漂亮的純銀盤，上面鐫刻着「顧維鈞，1957-1967年任國際法院法官，1964-1967年任副院長。」並附有退休時在任的所有同事的簽名。這不僅是一件紀念品，更是國際法院對於一位退休法官的尊重與敬意。（附註--由1967年至1984年期間，中華人民共和國沒有提名華籍法官。）

時代風雲

1967年退休後的顧維鈞應哥倫比亞大學之請，將個人的經歷和中國外交、國際仲裁等歷史口述，經助手整理成回憶錄。1976年5月28日，回憶錄及留存的信函、電文、講話稿及35冊日記等珍貴的史料，交給哥倫比亞大學圖書館保存。

顧維鈞在中華民國38年的歷史中，幾乎沒有中斷過外交業務。他經歷了兩次世界大戰，和中國的政局幾次重大變遷。顧維鈞自1912年4月從美國回國，出任袁世凱英文秘書兼外交部秘書，走上外交崗位，一直到1956年，辭去中華民國(臺灣政府)駐美國大使職務，共44年。他的一生，先後服務於北洋政府、南京政府、臺北政府。他曾為廢除列強強加於中國的不平等條約，作出過重要貢獻。不僅為國內公論所推崇，更為國際外交界所欽佩。巴黎和會，剛過而立之年的顧維鈞一席臨時發言，令全世界為之感動。當時世界幾巨頭--美國總統威爾遜(Thomas Woodrow Wilson)，英國首相勞合喬治(David Lloyd George)、法國首腦克里孟梭(Georges Benjamin Clemenceau)、義大利首相奧蘭多(Vittorio Emanuele Orlando)等向這個來自東亞弱國的年輕外交官，伸出了忘情的雙手。「九一八事變」之後，顧維鈞又冒著生命危險隨國聯調查團赴東北，為揭露日本帝國主義侵略中國真相極盡努力。

1985年11月14日，這位傑出的外交家在紐約(New York)去世，終年97歲。上海市嘉定鎮「顧維鈞生平陳列室」，如今展覽著139件文獻資料以及顧維鈞遺物。顧維鈞的一生，政治上雖然幾起幾落，但貫穿於他外交生涯的一條主線就是愛國。直到逝世，始終沒有加入美國國籍，他一直是個中國人。