

中文版在第 12-17 頁

華盛頓會議：外交家顧維鈞與山東主權收回始末

The Washington Conference 1921-1922

The Stage of the American and Chinese Rotarian Statesmen in making Peace on Earth

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

23 February 2017

Commencing the Year 2015-2016, Rotary International has designated February to be “Peace and Conflict Prevention/Resolution Month”. Ninety-five years ago in February, this mission was practically carried out by the American and Chinese Rotarian statesmen on the stage of The Washington Conference in the winter of 1921-1922 -- a significant international and political disarmament conference of the early 20th Century. The Conference convener was the United States President Warren G. Harding who was a Rotarian of the Rotary Club of Washington D.C. On the other hand, there was a Shanghai Rotarian being one of the plenipotentiaries of China’s delegation: Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo (顧維鈞博士). Due to the participation of such a remarkable political conference by Rotarians, 《The Rotarian》 magazine invited a guest writer George W. Harris to give his observations. The report was then published on the March 1922 Issue of the magazine. The entire report, plus the Japanese feedback view points and opinions, are reproduced herewith on pages 5-10.

Returned to China after the Conference, some of the China’s delegates adopted Rotary’s ideals and formed new Rotary clubs, such as: (1) Admiral Tsai Ting-Kan (蔡廷幹海軍中將) – Peking Rotary Club (北京扶輪社) Charter President 1924; (2) Dr. Yen Te-Ching (顏德慶博士) – Peking Rotary Club Charter Member 1924, later President of the Club; further Nanking Rotary Club (南京扶輪社) Charter President 1934-1935; District 97-98 Governor 1938-1939-1940; Rotary International Director 1941-1942; (3) Dr. Min-Ch’ien T. Z. Tyau (刁敏謙博士) – Peking Rotary Club Charter Member 1924; (4) M. T. Liang (梁如浩) – Tientsin Rotary Club (天津扶輪社) Honorary Member; and (5) Dr. Yang Yung-Ching (楊永清博士), Charter Member & Secretary of Soochow Rotary Club (吳縣扶輪社) in 1936, etc.

Why U.S.A. convened the Conference?

In the winter between 1921 and 1922, the world’s largest naval powers gathered in Washington, D.C., United States, for a conference to discuss naval disarmament and ways to relieve growing tensions in East Asia. In the wake of the First World War, leaders in the international community sought to prevent the possibility of another war. Rising Japanese militarism and an international arms race heightened these concerns. As a result, U.S. policymakers worked to reduce the rising threat. Senator William E. Borah led a congressional effort to demand that the United States engaged its two principal competitors in the naval arms race, Japan and the Great Britain, in negotiations for disarmament.

The United States was not comfortable with the extension of Japanese power in East Asia, and it was not comfortable with the military treaty between the Imperial Japan and the Great Britain dating from 1902, which was soon due for renewal. The United States was feeling that it was the odd-nation out in the East. The United States was discomfited too by the naval arms race that had begun with Britain and Japan, and the U.S. government spoke of the need for an international conference to reduce naval expenditures. The Great Britain was in no shape economically to pursue a naval arms race, and it favored such a conference.

In 1921, the United States invited nine nations to Washington, D.C. to discuss naval reductions and the situation in the Far East. The Great Britain, Japan, France and Italy were invited to take part in talks on reducing naval capacity, while Belgium, China, Portugal, and the Netherlands were invited to join in discussions on the situation in the Far East. Italy did not wish to be left out and sent a representative. The Republic of China (中華民國) was represented by the warlord government at Peking (*Beijing*) (北洋軍閥政府). Imperial Japan attended, its government believing that it was in no position economically to effectively compete in a naval arms race with the United States and the Great Britain.

The Washington Conference resulted in three major treaties: 《Four-Power Treaty》, 《Five-Power Treaty》 (more commonly known as the 《Washington Naval Treaty》), the 《Nine-Power Treaty》, and a number of smaller agreements. These treaties preserved the peace during the 1920's but were not renewed in the increasingly-hostile world of the Great Depression.

[The Nine-Power Treaty and The Shantung Treaty recovered China's Rights and Interests](#)

The Washington Conference, and the simultaneous conference, at Washington, between the Chinese and Japanese, have somewhat modified the Far Eastern situation.

Various small concessions were made to China. There was to be a revision of the Customs Schedule to bring it to an effective 5%. The foreign Post Offices were to be abolished, though the Japanese had insisted that a certain number of Japanese should be employed in the Chinese Post Office. They had the effrontery to pretend that they desired this for the sake of the efficiency of the postal service, though the Chinese Post was excellent and the Japanese was notoriously one of the worst in the world. The chief used to which the Japanese had put their postal service in China had been the importation of morphia, as they had not allowed the Chinese Customs authorities to examine parcels sent through their Post Office. The development of the Japanese importation of morphia into China, as well as the growth of the poppy in Manchuria, where they have control, had been a very sinister feature of their penetration of China.

Of course the Open Door, equality of opportunity, the independence and integrity of China, etc. etc., were reaffirmed at Washington; but these were mere empty phrases devoid of meaning.

From the Chinese point of view, the chief achievement at Washington was the 《Shantung Treaty》 《中日解決山東問題懸案條約》. Ever since the expulsion by the Germans at the end of 1914, the Japanese had held Kiaochow Bay (*Jiaozhou Bay*) (膠州灣), which included the port of Tsingtao (*Qingdao*) (青島); they had stationed troops along the whole extent of the Shantung (*Shandong*) (山東) railway; and by the treaty following the 《Twenty-one Demands》 (對華二十

一條要求), they had preferential treatment as regards all industrial undertakings in Shantung. The railway belonged to them by right of conquest, and through it they acquired control of the whole province. When an excuse was needed for increasing the garrison, they supplied arms to brigands, and claimed that their intervention was necessary to suppress the resulting disorder. This state of affairs was legalized by the 《Treaty of Versailles》 of 1919, to which, however, America and China were not parties. The Washington Conference, therefore, supplied an opportunity of raising the question afresh.

At first, however, it seemed as if the Japanese would have things all their own way. The Chinese wished to raise the question before the Conference, while the Japanese wished to settle it in direct negotiation with China. This point was important, because, ever since the Lansing-Ishii agreement, the Japanese have tried to get the Powers to recognize, in practice if not in theory, an informal Japanese Protectorate over China, as a first step towards which it was necessary to establish the principle that the Japanese should not be interfered with in their diplomatic dealings with China. The Conference agreed to the Japanese proposal that the Shantung Question should not come before the Conference, but should be dealt with in direct negotiations between the Japanese and Chinese. The Japanese victory on this point, however, was not complete, because it was arranged that, in the event of a deadlock, Charles Evans Hughes, U.S. Secretary of State, and Sir Arthur James Balfour, head delegate of the British Empire, should mediate. A deadlock, of course, soon occurred, and it then appeared that the British were no longer prepared to back up the Japanese whole-heartedly, as in the old days. The American Administration, for the sake of peace, showed some disposition to urge the Chinese to give way. But American opinion was roused on the Shantung Question, and it appeared that, unless a solution more or less satisfactory to China was reached, the Senate would probably refuse to ratify the various treaties which embodied the work of the Conference. Therefore, at the last moment, the Americans strongly urged Japan to give way, though perhaps less strongly. The result was the conclusion of the 《Shantung Treaty》 between China and Japan.

By this Treaty, the Chinese recovered everything in Shantung, except the private property of Japanese subjects, and certain restrictions as regards the railway. The railway was the great difficulty in the negotiations, since, so long as the Japanese could control that, they would have the province at their mercy. The Chinese offered to buy back the railway at once, having raised about half the money as a result of a patriotic movement among their merchants. This, however, the Japanese refused to agree to. What was finally done was that the Chinese were compelled to borrow the money from the Japanese Government to be repaid in 15 years, with an option of repayment in 5 years. The railway was valued at 53,400,000 gold marks, plus the costs involved in repairs or improvements incurred by Japan, less deterioration; and it was to be handed over to China within nine months of the signature of the treaty. Until the purchase price, borrowed from Japan, was repaid, the Japanese retain a certain degree of control over the railway: a Japanese traffic manager was to be appointed, and two accountants, one Chinese and the other Japanese, under the control of a Chinese president.

It was clear that, on paper, this gave the Chinese everything 5 years hence. Whether things would work out so depended upon whether, 5 years hence, any Power was prepared to force Japan to keep her word. As both Charles E. Hughes and Sir Arthur Balfour strongly urged the Chinese to agree to this compromise, it must be assumed that America and Great Britain have some responsibility for seeing that it was properly carried out. In that case, it was expected that in the end China would acquire complete control of the Shantung Railway.

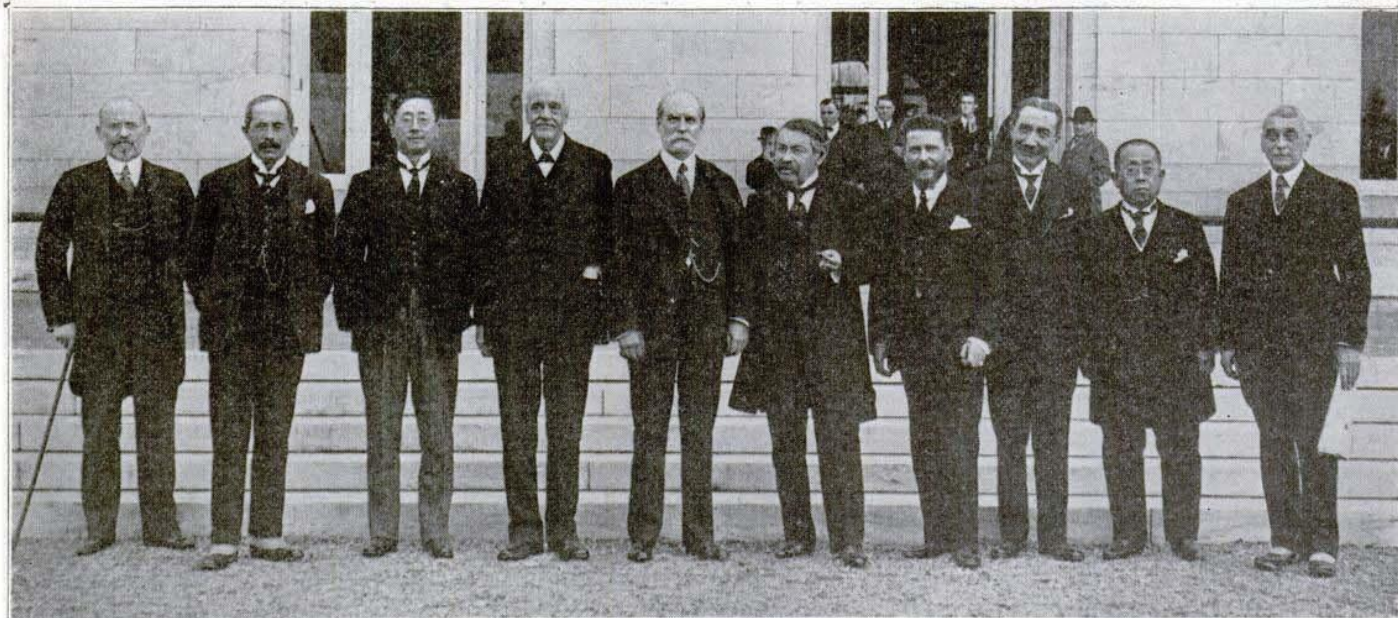
On the whole, it must be said that China did better at Washington than might have been expected. The final multilateral agreement made at the Washington Conference, the 《Nine-Power Treaty》 (九國公約) signed on 6 February 1922, marked the internationalization of the United States Open Door Policy in China. This Treaty formally proclaimed the principle of respect for the sovereignty and territorial and administrative integrity of China. The Treaty obligated the signatory states to adhere to the principle of “equal opportunity” in commercial and entrepreneurial activities in China and not to resort to the exploitation of the internal situation in China in order to gain special rights and privileges that could be detrimental to the rights and interests of other signatory states. The signing of the Treaty signified the creation of a united front of international reactionary forces against the revolution that was ripening in China, and it also attested to the fact that the Western imperialist powers, above all the United States, were determined to liquidate Japan’s monopolistic position in China, which it had secured during the First World War.

In addition to the multilateral agreements, the participants completed several bilateral treaties at the Conference. China and Japan signed a bilateral agreement, the 《Shantung Treaty》, which returned control of that province and its railroad to China (收回山東半島主權和膠濟鐵路權益). Japan had taken control of the area from the Germans during the First World War and maintained control of it over the years that followed. The combination of the 《Shantung Treaty》 and the 《Nine-Power Treaty》 was meant to reassure China that its territory would not be further compromised by Japanese expansion.

Prior to the agreement at the Conference, Japan resisted giving up its 1915 Treaty 《中日民四條約》 with China. But under pressure from the other delegations, it disavowed that portion of its treaty that in effect took sovereignty from the Chinese: “Military and financial advisors within China's government; The right of Japanese to own what lands it wanted in China; Joint Japanese and Chinese control over police; China purchasing arms and supplies only from the Japanese; Japanese railway construction rights in China; and the power of Japan to approve or disapprove China's borrowing capital from abroad.”



顧維鈞大使 *Ambassador V. K. Wellington Koo*



A photograph of "The Big Nine," with the secretary-general of the conference, taken just outside the Pan American Building, Washington, where important committee meetings of the arms-limitation conference were held. From left to right—John W. Garrett, secretary-general of the conference; H. A. van Karnebeek, chairman of the Netherlands delegation; Dr. S. Alfred Sze, chairman of the Chinese

delegation; Arthur J. Balfour, chairman of the British delegation; Charles Evans Hughes, chairman of the conference; Aristide Briand, chairman of the French delegation; Carlo Schanzer, chairman of the Italian delegation; Baron de Cartier de Marchienne, chairman of the Belgian delegation; Prince Iyesato Tokugawa, chairman of the Japanese delegation and Viscount d'Alte, of Portugal.

The Washington Conference

Photographically Speaking

By GEORGE W. HARRIS

The writer is Sergeant-at-Arms of International Rotary and photographer extraordinary of prominent men and women and head of the firm of Harris & Ewing, Washington, D. C.

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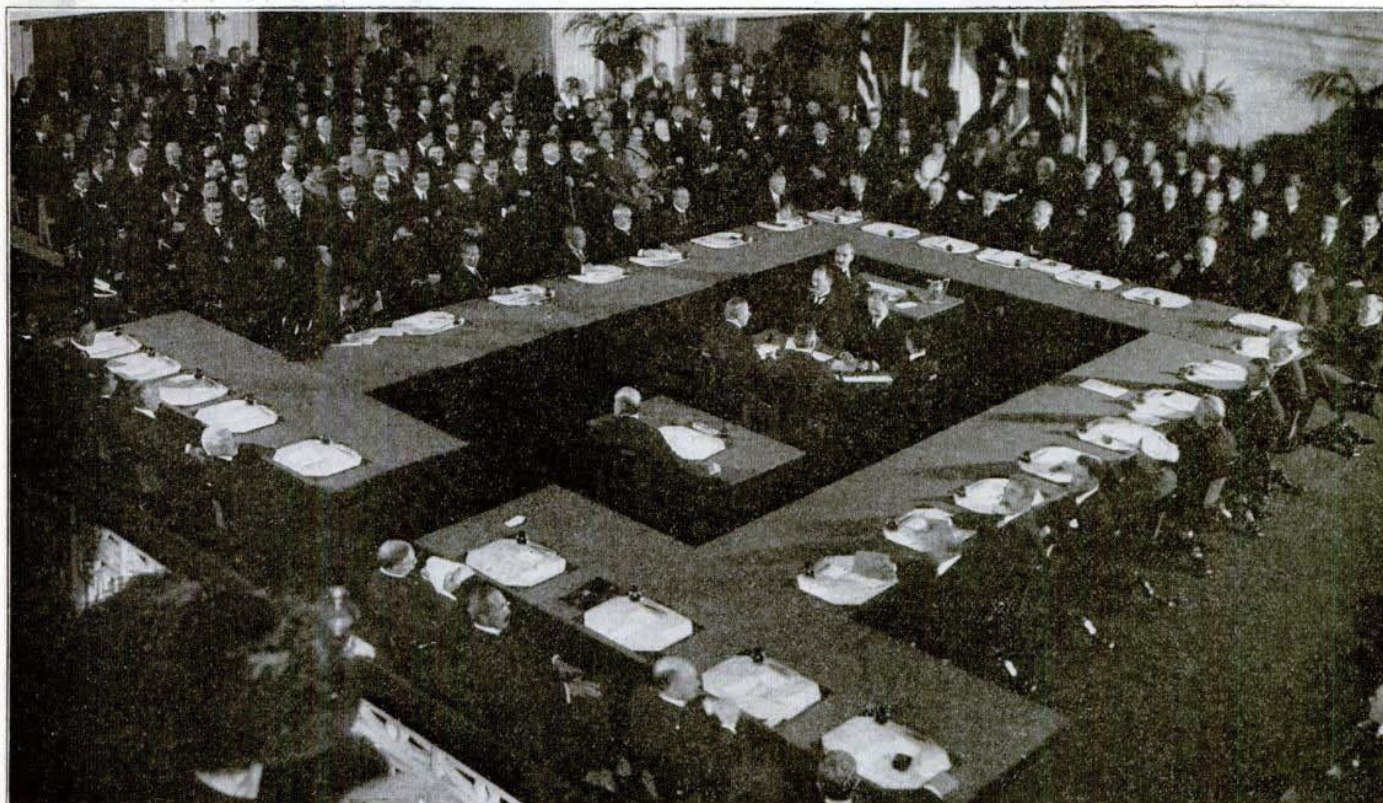
SO much has been written about the arms-limitation conference having to do with naval reductions, the "Four Power" Pacific treaty, pledges against hasty war and other similar subjects of more or less importance, not to mention the articles for men's wear magazines telling of the perfection of dress displayed in the United States for the first time, that little is left for the photographer to say. In fact, restrictions upon the photographers have been so drastic that the "other side of the street" in most instances has been the point of "vantage."

The extent of the photographer's work in connection with such an internationally important event is seldom understood or, I might say, appreciated, by the general public. When Mr. Average Citizen picks up his morning paper he hurries over the headlines—between gulps of coffee—scans the stock market, the sport page (and, yes, the society page, too) and then his eye rests upon the illustrations which pictorially tell the story of the day's news. More and more the people of the United States, and of the world, are looking for pictures to tell them what is going on. It is a natural outgrowth of two things: the remarkable development of photography and the ever-growing tendency to absorb the news as quickly as possible. And what way is quicker than to see what has happened and to read a condensed story in type larger than that which is used in the body of the newspaper?

This tendency has reflected itself upon the editorial

rooms of the modern daily and the result is a demand from the editors to the photographers to keep them supplied not only with pictures covering all news events but to supply them at top speed.

I CAN only write of Washington at this time and of the conference. You will probably be surprised when I state that at the opening of the conference there were some fifty photographers "on the job"—including the movie operators. Little time could be given the operators for the photographing of the delegates in session. About six minutes were allowed. Therefore, the natural question was: who should make the picture? The placing of fifty cameras within Continental Hall was obviously out of the question. It became necessary for the "still" camera men to get together and for the movies to do likewise. Certain cameras were selected by lot and it was decided that the firm which they represented would distribute the negatives to the others with a given hour for releasing the picture. On the Sunday afternoon before the plenary session at which the official interior picture was made, a "rehearsal" was held. Every man had to be in position at an appointed hour. Chalk marks were made where each camera would stand the following morning so that all confusion would be avoided and the actual snapping would take as short a time as possible. This plan was carried out and through these detailed arrangements the world was given the pictures of the con-



An official photograph of the third plenary session of the Arms-Limitation Conference. Convened on November 12, 1921, millions of people in all countries of the world have followed closely the daily sessions. Adjourned on February 6, 1922, with the signing of treaties and a farewell message from President Harding, the practical results have far exceeded early predictions. It has been estimated that the fifteen-year naval holiday will save the nations affected by

the treaty from ten to twelve billion dollars. However, the various agreements will have their greatest value as an object lesson in the possibilities of such conference discussion. "The Conference has diminished national armaments and increased national security," declared Arthur J. Balfour, head of the British delegation. "It has removed many long-standing causes of offense; and most assuredly it has made peace less costly, and war less probable."

ference and a photographic record thus made of one of the most important events of history.

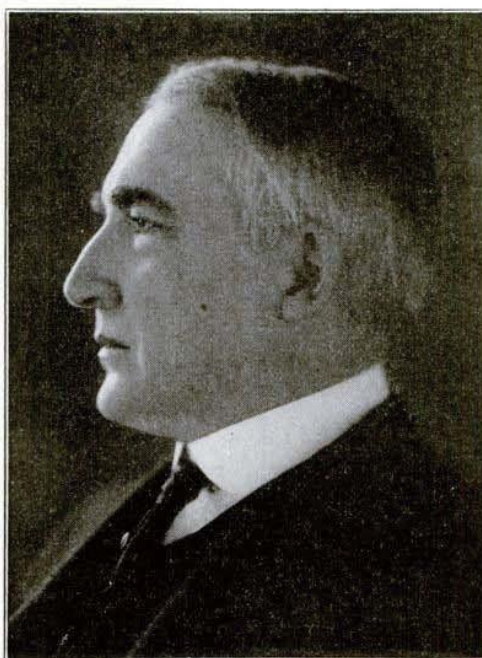
Both men and women in public life are accustomed to facing a battery of cameras. The conference has certainly been no exception to the size of the battery—the size has even been larger than usual. Before and after each plenary session the picture men were at their posts, as close to the entrance as the guards permitted and delegates "snapped" as they entered or left the building.

ONE afternoon as two of the "still" men were walking toward the Pan-American building, they met Secretary Hughes. He was also walking and was on his way back to the State Department after a committee session. One of the photographers told the Secretary that they would like to photograph the head of each delegation in a group. The Secretary said it was entirely agreeable and asked if the hour of 11 o'clock the following morning would be satisfactory. A position just back of the Pan-American building was selected and promptly at the appointed time the picture was made, which has since come to be known as "The Big Nine."

Not all men in public life are easy to photograph. The road of the snapshot man is not strewn with roses. Sometimes it takes weeks,

even months before a man is caught either in the right mood or position to "get him."

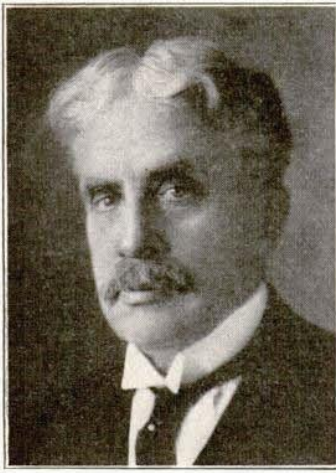
One delegate to the conference who also happens to be the diplomatic representative of his country in Washington, in his nearly twenty years of service has never allowed himself to be photographed. When his name was first announced, photographers suddenly realized that there were no pictures of the man in existence. He was besieged time and time again to no effect. Then the picture of the "Big Nine" was made which included this diplomatic representative as the head of his delegation. Soon after this incident, he consented to pose. The barrier had finally been broken down.



President Warren G. Harding, member of Rotary Club of Washington, D.C., at whose invitation the arms-limitation conference was convened.

AS a rule, the work of supplying the world with news pictures of such important events is greatly simplified by the work of trained newspaper and publicity men, employed for the purpose of taking care of the press. During the arms-limitation conference however, there seems to have been less help from such sources than at any such event within my memory and experience. The State Department is the most dignified of all our government branches and it is difficult to break down old precedents. Not only from the American end of the conference, speaking photographically, has there been less

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Sir Robert L. Borden—former premier of Canada and Canada's representative at the conference.



Sir Auckland Geddes—lately appointed ambassador from Great Britain to the United States.



Hon. George Foster Pearce—Australian minister of defense and Australia's representative at the conference.



Sir John William Salmond—former solicitor-general for New Zealand and New Zealand's representative.

help but also from all the other delegations. I remember at Paris how much help and assistance was given to me by the men who were really "press agents" for their respective countries. They seemed to be imbued with the idea of securing favorable publicity for their country first, last, and all the time. At Washington there has been very little of that. Perhaps all attention has been concentrated upon interpreting the thousands of speeches and committee reports into language suitable for the newspaper men. At all events the feeling of pep and excitement has been noticeably lacking at Washington.

ONE famous writer who has been covering great political events for many years said to me, during the early days of the conference: "If I didn't know the conference on the limitation of armament was in session in this city, I certainly would not be aware of it from any manifested excitement. I have never seen such a display of apathy in all my life. No one seems to care about the conference except a small group of tourists who have braved the high cost of transportation."

There is no doubt about the truth of this distinguished man's comment upon the conference. If it had been held in almost any other Capital of the world there would have been crowds filling all the streets, a mad rush back and forth from the conference headquarters to the hotels. Messenger boys would have knocked you over and diplomats would have been constantly exchanging apologies due to collisions in their haste to get somewhere. But not in Washington! The lover of old Washington need never fear. That apathetic spirit still exists when the great and

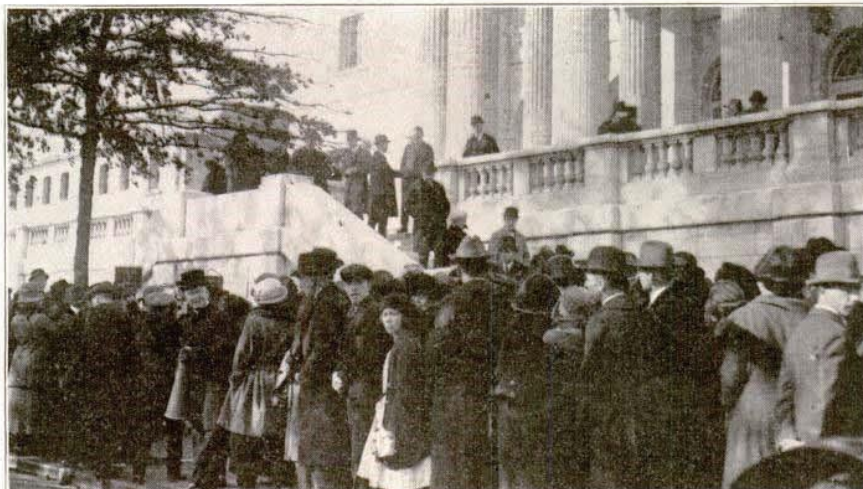


Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, a member of the Rotary Club of Shanghai, and one of the Chinese representatives to the conference.

near-great are gathered together. From a business standpoint Washington will never, I am glad to say, return to an apathetic state but so far as the government is concerned, well—I refer again to what my friend, the writer, said.

I HAVE been asked a number of times as to my impression when comparing the Paris Peace Conference and the arms-limitation conference. The outstanding difference it seems to me was that the Washington conference had a guiding hand, a diplomat, statesman, lawyer and jurist who held the delegates together until they could accomplish something. At Paris there seemed to be no head—no leader. Everybody wanted to be and tried to be. At Washington it has been different and therefore we begin to find practical results already. We cannot expect too much. It has been a colossal undertaking, but with the possibilities of another such conference on the horizon, it would seem that the world is at last turning seriously to the business of peace. As a layman, I cannot help but believe that if the world had worked as hard for peace as it has for war, that war would be extremely unpopular.

Just a word about some personalities of the conference. V. K. Wellington Koo, one of the leading delegates from China, as you probably know, is a member of the Rotary Club of Shanghai. There is no finer example of the highly educated and cultured Chinaman than Koo. Still in his thirties, he has already served his country as diplomatic representative in Washington and at present is ambassador to the Court
(Cont'd on page 152)



Crowds constantly surrounded Continental Hall, Washington, where the opening sessions of the conference were held.

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The Washington Conference

(Continued from page 104)

of St. James. He is a graduate of American colleges, speaks beautiful English, and is a most charming fellow to converse with. Since becoming a member of Rotary, he has taken an active interest in its affairs and was one of the speakers invited to address the Rotary convention at Edinburgh, although urgent matters connected with his responsible post unfortunately prevented his acceptance.

Arthur Balfour is a diplomat and statesman to the nth degree. Now in his seventy-fourth year he has surely not lost any of that fire and enthusiasm which has characterized his great service in the British Government throughout a period of nearly fifty years.

Aristide Briand, that great French diplomat, is a mass of nerves. He seems to have the temperament of the prima donna and he is very particular as to the little things. When he takes the platform, he has the appearance of simply pulverizing those who are his adversaries in discussion. Somehow or other when he is talking he reminds you of a piece of heavy artillery.

And there was Admiral Kato, who has been the subject of hundreds of newspaper and magazine pictures. He was the Sphinx of the conference. Your impression when photographing him is that you would like to ask him to remove his mask, so immovable are his features. His control of emotions is wonderful and he has disciplined himself never to let them become known.

All in all, it is a rare treat to watch through the ground-glass these men, who are helping to make history. To make a close study and comparison of the two conferences of Paris and Washington has been another great opportunity which I have appreciated deeply. When we look back for centuries and centuries and find that no such conference has ever been held or so much thought before given to the voluntary scrapping of arms—we can begin to realize in even a small way the barriers that have been broken down and the far-reaching precedent that has been established. It is already estimated that from ten to fifteen billion dollars will be saved among the nations which have subscribed to the ten-year non-building program. And when consideration is given to the rights that have been secured to China and the development of a clearer and better understanding among the great powers of the world, surely it has been a conference the success of which has reached beyond our most optimistic dreams.

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Some Observations on the Conference

By HIROSI SAITO

Secretary of the Japanese Delegation at the Arms-Limitation Conference at Washington and Japanese Consul for Seattle

HAVING been asked to write about the recent Conference on the Limitation of Armament, I shall be happy to try to convey to you the deep impressions which I have brought back with me from the great historic gathering of nations.

It was indeed a unique conference. Nine great powers of the world sent their chosen delegates with the exalted mission to explore all possible avenues of international labyrinths in quest of a lasting peace. It was not a peace conference to parcel out the spoils of war. It was not an ordinary diplomatic negotiation in which self-interest is set against another self-interest, and the conferees are engaged in endless higgling and haggling. It was, on the other hand, a conference of good will. Instead of being bent upon taking something from others, all nations were ready to give something; were ready to make due shares of sacrifice, so that the world, ravaged by the consuming fires of war, might be rehabilitated and might again be made livable by good men. All, in one mind, strove for the achievement of the lofty purpose in which the conference had been convened and I am more than gratified to say, a success unprecedented in human history has been achieved. As President Harding has fittingly said, a new and better world has come to stay.

I SHALL never forget the imposing scene at the inaugural session of the Washington Conference, when historic words fell, one after another, from the determined lips of Mr. Hughes, America's distinguished secretary of state. The attitude of the great American Republic, thus enunciated by Mr. Hughes, was looked upon with admiration by all nations. Baron Kato, head of the Japanese mission, immediately declared, "The United States has shown its undoubted sincerity; Japan will respond to the call and will make a sweeping reduction of her Navy. At last, what has seemed impossible is going to be accomplished." Mr. Lloyd George called Mr. Hughes' step a "bold and statesmanlike" move. So a remarkable achievement has followed. Criticisms are easily made; but we can leave technical points to technical experts. We are thrilled when we realize that a greater number and incomparably larger tonnage of war vessels were destroyed at Washington in 1922 than at Jutland in 1916, in the Sea of Japan in 1905, or at Trafalgar in 1805.

Japan at the Conference

THE Rotary Club of Manila recently held a luncheon, at which General Baron Tanaka, of Japan—one of the world's distinguished military men—was the guest of honor. The luncheon was held shortly after the adjournment of the Arms-Limitation Conference at Washington, and during the course of the meeting reference was made to the untiring efforts of both Governor-General Wood and General Tanaka to promote better relations between Japan and America, and to pave the way for Japan's participation in the conference at Washington. Through such luncheons—several of which have already been held—the Manila Rotary Club is endeavoring to foster a better understanding between the Japanese, the native Filipinos, Americans, and the other elements represented in the Philippines. Likewise, the Rotary Club of Seattle, Washington—as well as other clubs—have also been giving considerable attention to this question of international relations.

Shortly after the adjournment of the Washington conference, the Seattle Rotary Club invited Mr. Hiroshi Saito, Secretary of the Japanese delegation at the conference, and Japanese Consul for Seattle, to present to the club the Japanese viewpoint of the Washington conference. Since that luncheon we have received permission from Mr. Saito to give publication to his opinions of the conference, believing they would be interesting to all Rotarians, coming as they do from such an official source.

In conformity with the established policy, the article is printed simply as a discussion by Mr. Saito, and the editors do not assume responsibility for the opinions expressed.—*The Editors.*

has been so productive of good results as the recent one in Washington. If viewed solely from the Japanese standpoint, the conference has done a great deal indeed. The four-power treaty, if ratified by the respective governments, will be a stalwart guardian of peace in the Pacific. I sincerely hope that its provisions will be taken in the true light, and that they will not be contaminated by any malicious insinuation; let us hope that the treaty will soon come into force to the benefit of all concerned. The war talk between our two nations has thereby been deprived of its fanciful foundation, although it is to the total discomfiture of certain malignant mischiefmakers.

THE position of Japan in the Far East and the motives under which she has been formulating her national policies, have come to be clearly understood by the American public. I believe that the attention paid by Americans so far to the Far Eastern situation has been less than is really deserved. But the conference has now quickened their interest in the political, social and economic situation on the other side of the Pacific. And we are happy to notice that keener discernment and deeper sympathy have come to be in evidence everywhere in the United States in the utterances of statesmen, in the writings of publicists, and in the columns

The worthy representatives of participating nations had come to Washington with determination to serve humanity as well as their respective countries and with a great hope for the success of the conference. And that hope was heightened to unshakable confidence by the initial move of Mr. Hughes. After that masterstroke of diplomacy the work of the conference was smooth sailing. There were, of course, technical ups and downs. But the success of its deliberations had from the outset been a foregone conclusion. A four-power Pacific Treaty was soon concluded. Then a nine-power treaty as to China, a treaty relative to Chinese maritime customs, a treaty relative to submarines and poisonous gases, and a naval disarmament treaty were simultaneously signed. The long-standing Shantung question was also settled by the Chinese-Japanese negotiations, started through the good offices of Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour. The complicated Yap problem was also collaterally settled. No international conference in the history of diplomacy

of the newspapers—with the egregious exception of yellow journalism. The atmosphere of the Pacific has been cleared away as it has never been before. I am rejoiced to note that all pending questions between Japan and America have been sweepingly settled. There indeed still remains a question which concerns our two nations—the very complicated question of the welfare of the Japanese residents in the United States. Even this question, however, will, I am sure, be susceptible of solution—though it may be a slow process—if approached in the spirit of sympathy and conciliation which now bind our two countries; if approached in the correct frame of mind, from a broad perspective of internationalism.

WHAT we are conscious of in these days, is that internationalism is in the air—internationalism of cooperation, internationalism of toleration, internationalism founded on sympathetic understanding between different peoples. The war, with all its ills, has brought men of different nationalities nearer together. Moreover, the world economic situation in the last few years has made it irrefragable that different nations are interdependent upon one another for their national life. The doctrine of a self-contained national existence is altogether out of date, even applied to such a country as the United States with its vast expanse of territory and with its unlimited national resources. Mr. H. G. Wells has recently drawn a gloomy picture of New York. That great city, towering, thundering, and bristling with vitality and prosperity as it is today, may, in a very few years' time, stand even more gaunt, empty, and ruinous than Petrograd of Bolshevik Russia, unless the tendency of economic disintegration and disaster of war-stricken Europe could in time be arrested. The prosperity of New York is nothing more nor less than a flowering plant continually fed by the root of European trade. If the root decays, the plant will wither. An early economic rehabilitation of Europe is essential not only to the prosperity but to the very existence of that great city. In analogous manner, the pros-

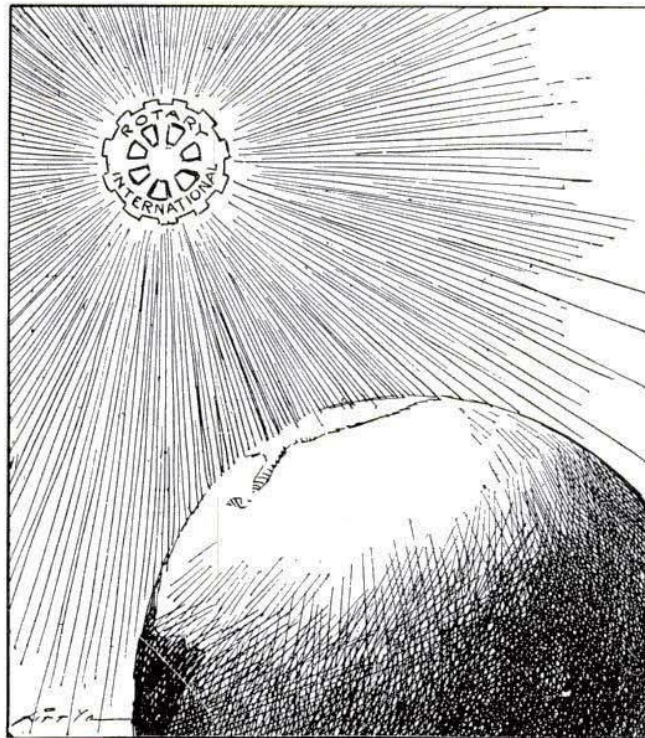
perity of Seattle is largely dependent upon its trade with the Far East. In the economic development of China, Siberia, Japan, and other Asiatic nations, are bound up the destinies of all American ports on the Pacific Coast. With a prosperous Far East, Seattle's prosperity is assured, the foretaste of which was had in 1919.

We are, therefore, more than ever conscious that the world as a whole should prosper together; not a part of it at the expense of another. We should now develop what Professor Nicholas Murray Butler terms an international mind; we should now train ourselves always to think in terms of the world. That is a duty incumbent upon all good citizens of all nations. And to have an international mind, may, in other words, be described as "mental disarmament." Armament has been a hybrid, born of narrow nationalism and selfish aggression. It cannot thrive in the new era of internationalism.

AND, in a larger sense, *mental* disarmament is the real disarmament. The scrapping of a handful of capital ships, at Washington, would be of no avail, if mental disarmament of men is not to follow and be promoted. Great as is the accomplishment of the Washington Conference, its value will be maintained and enhanced only by the development of the spirit of internationalism and the promotion of mental disarmament.

I sincerely deplore that there is a section, though I believe it is negligible, of public opinion in this country which militates against this world current of thought. What is the object of disparaging the great work of the late Conference on flimsy pretexts? What is the motive of attacking law-abiding foreign inhabitants in this country, by adducing distorted statistics about birth rate?

I hope and believe that a great and worldwide organization like Rotary will prove a potent factor in imbuing our human race with the spirit of internationalism, and will aid it in completing its mental disarmament, to the end that peace and prosperity may be assured us for all time.



THE LIGHT THAT SHINES!

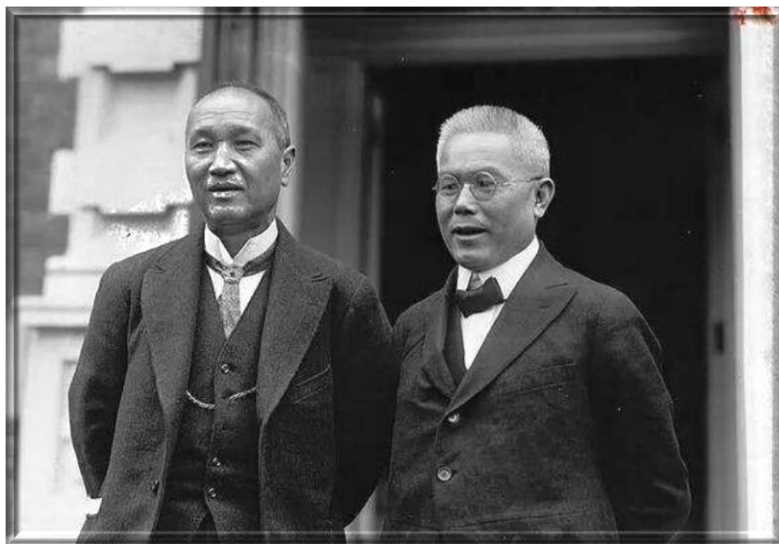
A Cartoon by Little in the *Tennessean* (Nashville, Tenn.).



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 Great Britain
Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, Minister to U.S.A. Dr. S. Alfred Sze, Supreme Court President Dr. Wang Ch'ung-Hui



Washington Conference 1921-22 -- China's Delegates:
Admiral Tsai Ting-Kan (蔡廷幹) (left); Mr. M. T. Liang (梁如浩) (right)

華盛頓會議：外交家顧維鈞與山東主權收回始末

打從 2015-2016 年度開始，國際扶輪將二月份指定為「和平與衝突預防/解決月」。事實上距今 95 年的二月，已有美國和中國籍的扶輪社員政治家在 1921-1922 年冬季的華盛頓會議的談判桌上，履行了這項解決衝突的和平使命。華盛頓會議(Washington Naval Conference)是 20 世紀初期的一次重要的國際和政治裁軍會議，召集人是美國總統哈定 (Warren Gamaliel Harding)，他是華盛頓哥倫比亞特區扶輪社(Rotary Club of Washington D. C.)的社員。另一方面，中華民國代表團的全權代表之一顧維鈞博士，是上海扶輪社(Rotary Club of Shanghai)的社員。由於有扶輪社員參加了如此重要的政治會議，英文扶輪雜誌《The Rotarian》特別邀請了客席觀察員夏里士(George W. Harris)發表他的看法，該報告隨後在 1922 年 3 月號的雜誌上刊登。夏里士的報導全文，另有齋藤博(華盛頓會議日本代表團秘書)在馬尼拉扶輪社(Rotary Club of Manila)例會上發表的觀點，都一併在本文第 5-10 頁上轉載了，請參看。

會議結束後回到中國，一些代表接納了扶輪的理想並成立了新的扶輪社，例如：(1) 蔡廷幹海軍中將 - 北京扶輪社(Peking Rotary Club)1924 年創社社長；(2) 顏德慶博士 - 1924 年成為北京扶輪社的創社社員，其後任社長；1934-1935 年度南京扶輪社 (Nanking Rotary Club) 創社社長；1938-1939-1940 年度出任第 97-98 地區總監；1941-1942 年度任國際扶輪理事；(3) 刁敏謙博士 - 1924 年北京扶輪社創社社員；(4) 梁如浩 - 天津扶輪社 (Tientsin Rotary Club) 名譽社員；(5) 楊永清博士 - 1936 年吳縣扶輪社(Soochow Rotary Club)創社社員兼秘書。

美國召開華盛頓會議的原因

美國召開華盛頓會議的各方面原因，其中包括：(1)第一次世界大戰期間(1914-1918)日本對中國的獨佔，激化了美日矛盾，這是華盛頓會議召開的最主要原因；(2)此外，美國在 1919 年巴黎和會(The Paris Peace Conference)上沒有取得什麼想要的東西，其外交注意力轉到了與該國息息相關的亞太地區。而阻止日本的進一步擴張，成為美國迫切需要解決的重大問題；(3)另外，英、美、日三國，戰爭結束後展開的海軍軍備競賽，使他們都精疲力竭。都希望緩和一下，達成某種妥協；(4)還有，巴黎和會後形成的中國人民的反帝國主義怒潮繼續延續。為平息這股怒潮，維護列強在中國的侵略利益，也需要召開一次國際會議來協調他們之間的關係，將侵略中國的方式作某些調整。

華盛頓會議 (Washington Naval Conference)，是 1921 年 11 月 12 日至 1922 年 2 月 6 日，美國、英國、日本、法國、意大利、荷蘭、比利時、葡萄牙、中華民國九國在美國首都華盛頓舉行的國際會議。中華民國北洋政府時值顏惠慶內閣，派出施肇基、顧維鈞、王寵惠三人為全權代表，余日章、蔣夢麟為國民代表，朱佛定、楊永清、刁敏謙為秘書，蔡廷幹、梁如浩為代表團顧問，顏德慶為鐵路專家委員，共 130 多人組成的龐大代表團出席。原計劃，還有廣州政府外交次長伍朝樞為代表。但是孫中山不承認北洋(北京)政府，要求自派不遂，伍朝樞未有赴會。

華盛頓會議的議程主要有兩項：一是限制海軍軍備問題；二是太平洋和遠東問題。為此組成兩個委員會：「限制軍備委員會」由英、美、日、法、意五個海軍大國參加；「太平洋及遠東問題委員會」則有九國代表參加，兩個委員會分別進行討論。該會議的主要成果包括三個重要條約：《四國公約》、《限制海軍軍備條約》、《九國公約》。1922 年 2 月 6 日，美國、英國、日本、

法國、意大利、荷蘭、比利時、葡萄牙和中國簽署《關於中國事件應適用各原則及政策之條約》，簡稱《九國公約》。該公約尊重中國的主權與獨立，領土與行政的完整，確立各國在中國實行「門戶開放」和「機會均等」的原則。

《九國公約》和《山東條約》恢復了中國的權益

從大清國和英國「鴉片戰爭」到中華民國建國，南北分裂，中國長期處於一種積貧積弱的狀態。雖然人民不屈不撓的抗爭，但在國際舞台上依然備受欺凌。種種不平等條約接踵而至，成為揮之不去的陰霾。弱國無外交的呼聲，更是此起彼伏。然而，1922年中國在華盛頓會議上收回山東主權一事，無疑是中國外交史上的光輝篇章。實為民族之福，弱國之幸。而這一切，與「顧維鈞」這個名字有著脫不開的關係。

一、山東問題的由來

1897年兩名德國傳教士在山東省曹州遇害，早就對山東半島虎視眈眈的德意志帝國遂以此理由發難。派兵佔領膠澳，並於1898年強迫大清國政府簽訂《膠澳租界條約》，又稱《德租膠澳專條》。其中包括由德國租借膠州灣和青島，修築膠濟鐵路，開發沿線礦藏，為期99年。自此，山東淪為德國的勢力範圍。

1914年7月28日第一次世界大戰在歐洲爆發後，日本以履行英日同盟為藉口，在同年8月23日對德國宣戰。隨後出兵佔領了山東半島，並擅行管理權，罔顧中國的撤軍要求。1915年1月18日日本駐華公使日益置秘密地向北洋政府提出《對華二十一條要求》（二十一條），要求中國將德國在山東的權益盡數轉讓給日本。面對日本蠻橫無理的要求，北洋政府緊急召集內閣部長及幹練之外交參事商議對策，其中就包括日後成為中國近代史上著名外交家的顧維鈞。

顧維鈞出生於江蘇省嘉定縣（今屬上海市的嘉定區），1901年以優異成績考入上海聖約翰書院(St. John's College)(1905年升格為聖約翰大學)，1905年進入美國哥倫比亞大學(Columbia University)學習國際法和外交學。1912年獲得博士學位，同年學成歸國後出任中華民國大總統袁世凱的英文秘書，由此開始從政生涯。1915年出任駐墨西哥公使，不久改任駐美國公使。他本人學貫中西，通曉英文、法文、德文和拉丁文，對中國及所使各國均有著精深的研究。更為重要的是他精通國際法律。清晰的掌握世界局勢，能言善辯，機敏異常。所以雖然不足三十之年，就已屢屢被委以重任。

在政府高層關於如何應對二十一條的討論中，顧維鈞指出：「中國已宣布對第一次世界大戰保持中立，根據國際法交戰國雙方應尊重中立國。而日本在此時趁火打劫，強佔山東。這是對國際法律的公然藐視，中國應當堅決維護對山東半島的主權。」隨後在中日雙方圍繞山東問題談判期間，顧維鈞在獲得袁世凱和外交總長陸徵祥的同意後，他作為北洋政府的代表與英美等國使館展開外交接觸。適時地利用媒體，有策略地將中日關於二十一條秘密談判的消息公之於眾，以引起在華利益各方的高度重視。進而利用中外輿論力量，從側面鉗制日本的狼子野心。

但是在歷經幾個月的談判之後，面對日本的武力威脅和最後通牒，北洋政府不得已於1915年5月在北京與日本簽署《中日民四條約》。其中包括二十一條中的前十四條，規定日本繼承德國在山東的利益，並擴展築路權、定居權和通商權。但是，顧維鈞並未因此而放棄收復山東主權的努力。他向袁世凱和陸徵祥再次提議，由政府發表一份聲明。說明中國在二十一條談判過程當中被迫簽約的來龍去脈，從而為日後重提山東問題留下餘地。

1915年8月，顧維鈞到華盛頓就任駐美國公使。此後他頻頻走訪交戰雙方的達官顯貴，以密切掌握歐戰動態。1917年4月一戰發生重要轉折，美國正式對德國宣戰。憑藉著敏銳的政治觸覺，顧維鈞意識到一戰以協約國的勝利而告終，只是時間問題。於是，他積極敦促北洋政府加入協約國。以便在戰後提升中國的國際地位，為中國參與戰後和會、重提山東問題儘可能地提供優勢。

1917年8月14日，以段祺瑞為首的北洋政府正式對德意志帝國、奧匈帝國宣戰。應協約國要求，中國組織了幾十萬勞工前往歐洲戰場擔負後勤工作。甚至在危急時刻許多勞工直接參與戰鬥，其中有2,000多人陣亡。此外，中國還為協約國提供了大批糧食和戰略物資。因此可以說，中國對於協約國在一戰的勝利，作出了巨大的犧牲和貢獻。

二、巴黎和會的積極抗爭

1918年11月11日第一次世界大戰以協約國的勝利而結束，帝國主義列強決定在法國巴黎召開和平會議，以安排戰後世界秩序，劃分勢力範圍。中國作為協約國成員也應邀出席，此次代表團成團包括擔任團長的外交總長陸徵祥、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。

顧維鈞於12月中旬抵達巴黎，隨後在為代表團起草談判計劃時，他主動提出由其負責棘手的二十一條和山東問題。這在當時，是需要莫大勇氣的。因為山東問題是全國四萬萬同胞關注的焦點所在，一旦處理不好勢必招來口誅筆伐。

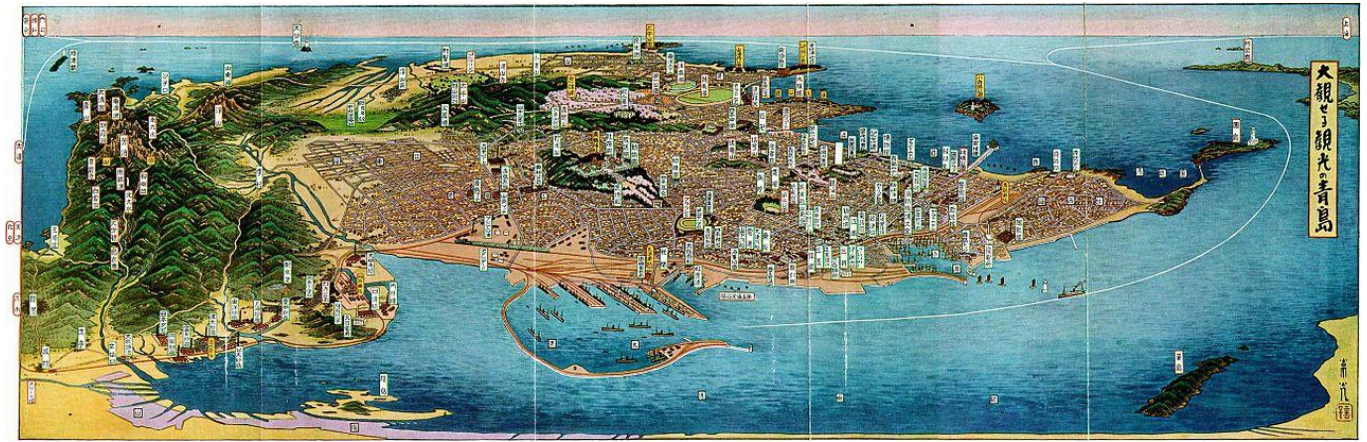
1919年1月18日，巴黎和會在凡爾賽宮(Château de Versailles)正式開幕。儘管中國是一戰的戰勝國，並且為戰爭勝利作出了巨大貢獻，但是帝國主義列強以中國對協約國幫助甚微為由，將中國列為三等國。把出席和會的中國全權代表人數限制為兩人，這種不友好也無形中增加了談判的難度。

1919年1月27日當英美法意日五國舉行十人會議時，日本代表牧野伸顯突然發動襲擊，要求提前討論山東問題。當中國代表團正式接到參會通知時，只剩下了一個小時的準備時間。措手不及之下決定派顧維鈞赴會發言，並由王正廷陪同。會上牧野伸顯搶先發言，要求日本無條件地繼承德國在山東的租借地、鐵路和其他各項權利，以彌補日本為攻佔膠州灣所作出的巨大犧牲，隻字不提交還中國一事。顧維鈞表示保留發言權，次日作答。

在經過連夜的準備之後，1月28日顧維鈞在會上慷慨激昂陳辭，語重心長地指出：「三千六百萬之山東人民，有史以來，為中國民族，用中國語言，信奉中國宗教」；從地理上看，「膠州為中國北部之門戶，亦為沿岸直達國都之最捷路徑也」，具有重要的國防意義；從文化上看，「山東為孔孟降生、中國文化發祥之聖地」；從經濟上看，「山東以2萬5千平方英里之狹地，容3,600萬之居民。人口既已稠密，競存已屬不易。其不容他國之侵入殖民，固無討論餘地。」接著他表示感謝日本幫助中國驅逐了德國在山東的勢力，但請恕無法以割讓中國人民天賦之權利為報酬；並援引巴黎和會所奉行的民族主義和領土完整原則，懇請大會尊重中國的主權，將德國在山東的租借地、鐵路及其附屬權利歸還中國。

接著牧野伸顯辯稱：膠州灣自日本佔領至今已成為其領屬；而且中日關於膠州灣和鐵路問題已有1915年簽訂的二十一條（即民四條約）和1918年山東問題換文，英美法意四國應對此予以尊重。顧維鈞認為要藉助美國破除密約，必先公布密約。所以他抓住時機，當即表示中國政府願

意將密約提交大會審議。情急之下，牧野伸顯變換手法。表示日本願意將山東交還中國，但要德國先交給日本，然後日本轉交中國。顧維鈞則針鋒相對地表示：山東直接由德國交還中國即可，何必一步事兩步做。更何況中國對德國宣戰時已然聲明中德所簽舊約悉因宣戰而破滅，因此山東在法律上已為中國領土，德國沒有轉交他國之權。



1910年代日本侵略佔領青島後的旅遊觀光地圖

顧維鈞在巴黎和會上的演說雖然只有半個小時，但是由於多年來對山東問題的關注，所以他的發言句句振聳發聵。使得他在國際舞台上聲名鵲起，成為其生平快事。正如他後來所言：「那天鄙人雖無片紙底稿，或因鄙人激於憤慨，一本國民愛國天良，隨口暢言，思想如泉水之湧湧而起。不及顧到詞令，但求說之明晰而已。」

為了在談判中獲得更多的主動權，接著顧維鈞又說服代表團和北洋政府，在2月15日向大會提交了由他精心起草的山東問題說帖和附於其後的中日密約。說帖是中國代表團向巴黎和會提交的最重要文件之一，顧維鈞在其中堅持以美國總統威爾遜(Thomas Woodrow Wilson)在1918年1月8日提出的「十四點和平原則」為出發點。從維護公平正義和領土完整的角度，論述了德國將山東歸還中國的充分性和必要性；同時提出在山東實行門戶開放主義，遏制日本獨霸山東之野心的基本方針。此外鑒於英日尚存在同盟關係，法國也傾向於更有利用價值的日本，義大利只關心自己的利益；而且1919年初日本曾與英法俄意四國就山東問題達成過秘密諒解，所以中國很難爭取到英法意三國的支持。於是一貫主張聯美抗日的顧維鈞，接下來全力爭取美國總統威爾遜的幫助，後者對此也表示了同情。

4月16日在沒有中國代表出席的情況下，英美法意日舉行了關於進一步談論山東問題的會議。威爾遜在會上提議德國在山東的權益暫時先由巴黎和會接管，待其開闢為商埠後再交還中國，但英法意三國和日本代表均予以反對。4月17日威爾遜再度提出山東暫由美英法意日五國共管，又遭到了日本代表的拒絕。此後，由於義大利為大會拒絕其對亞得里亞海(Mar Adriatico)阜姆港(Fiume)的要求不滿，憤而退出和會。這使得日本代表的態度強硬起來，威脅說如果列強不按其意願迅速解決山東問題，日本便退出巴黎和會、拒絕加入國際聯盟(League of Nations)。有鑒於此，而且美國也需要日本在遠東地區牽制蘇俄，權衡之下，威爾遜決定和英法一道犧牲中國，以換取日本妥協。

4月22日巴黎和會繼續關於中國山東問題的談判，日本代表重申中日兩國關於山東問題所訂各約，並未因中國對德國宣戰而失效，而且北洋政府曾以簽約為條件向日本換取借款。為了獲得大會諒解，日本代表提出在對德國和約中分列「山東問題」和「中國問題」。威爾遜也一改以往支持中國的態度，表示中日有約在先，應當予以尊重；而且1918年換文係中國政府自願與日本簽訂，並非被迫。顧維鈞雖然積極辯駁，但已於事無補。英國首相勞合喬治(David Lloyd George)最後提出無法令人接受的提案，被顧維鈞予以拒絕。

4月30日美英法三國會議作出最後裁決：在對德國和約中把「山東問題」從「中國問題」中分列出來，將德國在山東的一切權益讓給日本。得知這一消息後，顧維鈞在5月4日以中國代表團的名義發布聲明抗議：「中國雖然是協約國中的弱國，但總不能像戰敗國那樣割地求和。」但這種微弱的呼聲，已然無濟於事。考慮到已經無法改變帝國主義列強以犧牲中國利益換取日本妥協的決定，剩下的只有「簽約」和「拒簽」的選擇了。但就在簽約一事上，中國政府和代表團出現了害怕擔責任而互相推諉的尷尬局面。特別是當巴黎和會處理山東問題的決定傳回中國後，國內群情激憤，直接誘發了「五四愛國運動」。民眾高呼「拒絕在巴黎和約上簽字」、「還我山東」、「懲辦賣國賊」。迫於輿論壓力，北洋政府罷免了負責簽訂1915年民四條約和1918年山東問題換文的曹汝霖、陸宗輿和章宗祥三人的職務。另外要求拒簽巴黎和約的7,000多份電報海水般地湧向了巴黎，甚至其中明確指出「如違民意，當與曹、章、陸同論。」

在此情況下，北洋政府給出的指示是「相機辦理」。作為代表團重要成員的駐英國公使施肇基，以陪同梁啟超訪問英國為名回了倫敦；其他駐歐各國使節也相繼離開巴黎返回各自駐地。身為代表團團長的外交總長陸徵祥在向北洋政府辭職未遂的情況下，以舊病復發為由直接住進了醫院，從而把簽約一事全部推給顧維鈞。因此，顧維鈞實際上成為負責巴黎和會後期談判的主持人。當獲悉只要在對奧匈帝國(Austro-Hungarian Empire)和約上簽字，就可以成為國際聯盟的創始國之後，以顧維鈞和王正廷為核心的中國代表團，毅然選擇在1919年6月28日拒簽對德國和約。正是由於這一舉動，使得日本無法依據國際法名正言順地佔據山東，從而為日後中國在華盛頓會議上重啟山東問題的談判，留下了餘地。

三、華盛頓會議的成功收復

雖然巴黎和會確立的凡爾賽體系鞏固了法國在歐洲的霸權地位，確保了英國在中東和地中海的優勢，保障了日本在遠東的既得利益，但是經濟實力稱雄的美國並未在外交上達到預期的戰略目標。所以美國決定在華盛頓召集英、法、意、日、中等國，進一步討論限制海軍軍備問題以及太平洋和遠東問題。這就為再度討論和解決山東問題，提供了契機。中國政府高度重視此次會議，特地派出了以駐美國公使施肇基、駐英國公使(1920年改任)顧維鈞和大理院長王寵惠三人為全權代表的使團。其中因顧維鈞對山東問題的熟稔，所以他再次擔當起收復山東主權的重任。反觀日本方面，由於中國在巴黎和會拒簽對德國和約，致使日本為佔領山東半島尋求國際法依據的願望落空。所以在巴黎和會後，多次對中國提出交涉山東問題的照會。但當時中國國內輿論普遍反對中日直接交涉，希望通過國聯解決山東問題，所以中國政府均不予理會。

1921年9月華盛頓會議召開在即，這使得山東問題被國際化和複雜化的可能性大大增加。所以日本駐華公使小幡西吉向北洋政府外交部提議，只要中國同意直接交涉山東問題，並且承認日本在山東有合辦鐵路和礦山等特權，日本就將膠州灣歸還中國。顧維鈞在電覆外交部就此事看法時提出：考慮到日本在國際上作出了姿態性的讓步，如果中國一味地拒絕與其談判，難免在國

際舞台上授人以柄。因而可以有選擇性地與其交涉，比如接受對方提出的歸還膠州灣的提議，同時聲明對其他各項條件予以限制。如若談判破裂，再提請大會解決。但礙於民憤，外交部遲遲不敢妄下決斷，故電請顧維鈞探尋美英兩國對此事的態度。

此後顧維鈞多次拜會美英政界要人，明確表示中國輿論反對中日直接交涉山東問題。希望美英兩國能夠出面作友好調停，勸服日本。但是美英兩國均表示，日本已經在山東問題上作出了讓步。如果中國堅持在華盛頓會議上當場與其公開辯駁，難免陷入僵局，因而最好由中日兩國在會外自行談判。不過經過顧維鈞的努力，美英兩國表示可以在中日談判時派代表聯席，並且由大會討論通過雙方的談判結果。1921年11月30日，美國國務卿休斯(Charles Evans Hughes)在華盛頓會議上就這一決定作了正式宣布。這也表明山東問題在很大程度上與華盛頓會議掛上了鉤，從而使得談判成了有利於中國的形勢。

從1921年12月1日中日圍繞山東問題的交涉開始，到1922年1月31日談判結束，雙方共計談判了36次。作為直接對山東問題負責的中方代表，面對日方代表幣原喜重郎等人的種種無理要求，顧維鈞給了有力的駁斥。雙方談判的重點同時分歧也最大的是，中國以何種方式收回膠濟鐵路。中方主張以國庫券分期贖回鐵路，日方則主張中國向日本借款贖路進而達到其合辦鐵路的目的。經過談判，日方代表本已同意中國用國庫券贖回鐵路。但是1922年1月初由於日本駐華公使小幡西吉與北洋政府總理梁士詒會晤，日本政府遂謊稱並且大肆渲染中方在這次會談中表示有意商借日款贖路。從而使得日方代表在華盛頓的談判態度發生了轉變，進而使得雙方的談判一度陷入僵局。

在顧維鈞的請求下，美英出面調停，並在綜合了雙方的要求後提出了四種解決方案。其中第四種規定：「中國以國庫券贖路，期限12年，3年後可一次還清。還清前聘日本人為車務長、會計長。」顧維鈞同意這一解決方案，不過前提是聘請的日本人只能作為助理，主任仍用華人。日方則表示同意中國以國庫券贖路，期限15年，5年後可先行付清；還清前僱中日會計長各一人，職權相同；但車務長要僱用日本人。雖然顧維鈞又提出將其方案調整為車務長、會計長由中國人擔任，日本人充任副職。但是當時中國政府雖然主張現款贖路，但是無法募集到足夠的款項。美英表示日方同意中國以國庫券贖路已是作出了很大的讓步，所以力促中方答應日本的解決方案。在此情況下，顧維鈞只能在獲得中國政府授權後，同意在此方案上簽字。

1922年2月4日，中日雙方簽訂《解決山東懸案條約》及其附約。除了按照日方代表的最後提案解決膠濟鐵路問題之外，同時規定日本將德國在膠州灣的舊租地歸還中國，從山東撤軍等。這也標誌著，中國收復了自1898年以來就一直操於外人之手的山東半島。

從巴黎和會聲情並茂的演說，到華盛頓會議苦心孤詣的斡旋，顧維鈞這位傑出的民國外交家，在中國成功收復山東主權一事上，無疑扮演了至關重要的角色。誠然山東問題的解決帶有遺憾，比如膠濟鐵路贖回之前由日本人擔任車務長和會計長。但是這已是顧維鈞在波譎雲詭的外交舞台上，所能爭取到的最好結果。因為在弱國無外交的國際潛規則之下，顧維鈞當時並沒有強大的母國力量可供依靠。他所能藉助的，只有巧妙地利用國際法和帝國主義之間的矛盾。借力打力，從而最大化地維護祖國利益。而且中國成功地收復山東主權，改變了中國以往在外交舞台上任人宰割的軟弱態勢，不啻為中國外交史上的重大成就，極大地鼓舞了中華民族外爭國權的決心和勇氣。