

GERMAN INTERESTS AND
POLICIES IN THE FAR EAST

By
KURT BLOCH

I. P. R. INQUIRY SERIES

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT
INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS
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FOREWORD

This study forms part of the documentation of an Inquiry organized by the Institute of Pacific Relations into the problems arising from the conflict in the Far East.

It has been prepared by Dr. Kurt Bloch who was engaged for this purpose as a temporary member of the Secretariat. Dr. Bloch has been economic adviser to the German Federation of Trade Unions; co-editor of *Magazin der Wirtschaft*; in charge of the economic information and press department of the Preussische Elektrizitäts A. G., Berlin, assistant to the President and assistant manager of the Preussische Zentralgenossenschaftskasse, Berlin; special economic adviser to the German economic Enquiry Commission (Enquête-Ausschuss), economic and financial adviser to the National Economic Council of the Chinese Government.

The study has been submitted in draft to a number of authorities including the following, many of whom made suggestions and criticisms which were of great value in the process of revision: Mr. John Wheeler-Bennett, Dr. Arnold Wolfers, Mr. Liu Yu-wan, Mr. A. M. Smithies and Mr. G. E. Hubbard.

Though many of the comments received have been incorporated in the final text, the above authorities do not of course accept responsibility for the study. The statements of fact or of opinion appearing herein do not represent the views of the Institute of Pacific Relations or of the Pacific Council or of any of the National Councils. Such statements are made on the sole responsibility of the author. The Japanese Council has not found it possible to participate in the Inquiry, and assumes, therefore, no responsibility either for its results or for its organization.

In the general conduct of this Inquiry into the problems arising from the conflict in the Far East the Institute has benefited by the counsel of the following Advisers:

Professor H. F. Angus of the University of British Columbia

Dr. J. B. Condliffe of the London School of Economics

M. Etienne Dennery of the Ecole des Sciences Politiques.

These Advisers have co-operated with the Chairman and the Secretary-General in an effort to insure that the publications issued in connection with the Inquiry conform to a proper standard of sound and impartial scholarship. Each manuscript has been submitted to at least two of the Advisers and although they do not necessarily subscribe to the statements or views in this or any of the studies, they consider this study to be a useful contribution to the subject of the Inquiry.

The purpose of this Inquiry is to relate unofficial scholarship to the problems arising from the present situation in the Far East. Its purpose is to provide members of the Institute in all countries and the members of I.P.R. Conferences with impartial and constructive analysis of the situation

in the Far East with a view to indicating the major issues which must be considered in any future adjustment of international relations in that area. To this end, the analysis will include an account of the economic and political conditions which produced the situation existing in July 1937, with respect to China, to Japan and to the other foreign Powers concerned; an evaluation of developments during the war period which appear to indicate important trends in the policies and programs of all the Powers in relation to the Far Eastern situation; and finally, an estimate of the principal political, economic and social conditions which may be expected in a post-war period, the possible forms of adjustment which might be applied under these conditions, and the effects of such adjustments upon the countries concerned.

The Inquiry does not propose to "document" a specific plan for dealing with the Far Eastern situation. Its aim is to focus available information on the present crisis in forms which will be useful to those who lack either the time or the expert knowledge to study the vast amount of material now appearing or already published in a number of languages. Attention may also be drawn to a series of studies on topics bearing on the Far Eastern situation which is being prepared by the Japanese Council. That series is being undertaken entirely independently of this Inquiry, and for its organization and publication the Japanese Council alone is responsible.

The present study, "German Interests and Policies in the Far East," falls within the framework of the first of the four general groups of studies which it is proposed to make as follows:

I. The political and economic conditions which have contributed to the present course of the policies of Western Powers in the Far East; their territorial and economic interests; the effects on their Far Eastern policies of internal economic and political developments and of developments in their foreign policies vis-à-vis other parts of the world; the probable effects of the present conflict on their positions in the Far East; their changing attitudes and policies with respect to their future relations in that area.

II. The political and economic conditions which have contributed to the present course of Japanese foreign policy and possible important future developments; the extent to which Japan's policy toward China has been influenced by Japan's geographic conditions and material resources, by special features in the political and economic organization of Japan which directly or indirectly affect the formulation of her present foreign policy, by economic and political developments in China, by the external policies of other Powers affecting Japan; the principal political, economic and social factors which may be expected in a post-war Japan; possible and probable adjustments on the part of other nations which could aid in the solution of Japan's fundamental problems.

III. The political and economic conditions which have contributed to the present course of Chinese foreign policy and possible important future developments; Chinese unification and reconstruction, 1931-7, and steps leading toward the policy of united national resistance to Japan; the present degree of political cohesion and economic strength; effects of resistance and current developments on position of foreign interests in China and changes in China's relations with foreign Powers; the principal political,

economic and social factors which may be expected in a post-war China; possible and probable adjustments on the part of other nations which could aid in the solution of China's fundamental problems.

IV. Possible methods for the adjustment of specific problems, in the light of information and suggestions presented in the three studies outlined above; analysis of previous attempts at bilateral or multilateral adjustments of political and economic relations in the Pacific and causes of their success or failure; types of administrative procedures and controls already tried out and their relative effectiveness; the major issues likely to require international adjustment in a post-war period and the most hopeful methods which might be devised to meet them; necessary adjustments by the Powers concerned; the basic requirements of a practical system of international organization which could promote the security and peaceful development of the countries of the Pacific area.

EDWARD C. CARTER
Secretary-General

*New York,
October 9, 1939*

The Institute of Pacific Relations is an unofficial and non-political body, founded in 1925 to facilitate the scientific study of the peoples of the Pacific Area. It is composed of National Councils in eleven countries.

The Institute as such and the National Councils of which it is composed are precluded from expressing an opinion on any aspect of national or international affairs; opinions expressed in this study are, therefore, purely individual.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The following study was first submitted in draft form in 1938. It was then widely commented upon, revised and brought up to date in December of last year. Now that it is going to press, the sequence of events which led to the outbreak of another great European war has so basically changed Germany's attitude toward the Far East that it does not seem worthwhile to fill the gap between December 1938 and August 1939 with a description of close German-Japanese friendship and its various manifestations.

When in the Spring and Summer of 1939, internal dissension in Japan resulted from the pressure of the Japanese military for a definite German-Japanese military alliance, and when Anglo-Japanese friction developed as a result of such pressure, it seemed for a while as though the German-Japanese understanding was really aimed not so much against the Communist International and the Soviet Union as against the British Empire. That this was the real background of German-Japanese co-operation was, moreover, often asserted by many commentators of different nationality.

However, the aftermath of the conclusion of the German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact of August 1939 seems to indicate that, at least so far as Japan is concerned, her friendship with Germany and the resulting Anti-Comintern Pact were based on the assumption of a "natural" German-Japanese antagonism toward the Soviet Union. Accordingly, the Japanese Ambassador in Berlin, one of the most ardent advocates of German-Japanese friendship, was instructed to protest against the German-Soviet Pact as violating the spirit of the German-Japanese Anti-Comintern Pact.

Moreover, a Cabinet crisis in Japan resulted in a new Japanese Cabinet which has announced, through responsible spokesmen, that Japan's foreign policy would now be directed exclusively toward defending her own interests in Eastern Asia, and that Japan would try to avoid European entanglements. This, it seems, may be taken to mean that Germany's Far Eastern poli-

cies have now ended in provoking coolness, if not hostility, in both China and Japan.

It is, of course, too early to foresee what economic and political effects the European war will have on the relations between Germany, on the one hand, and China and Japan, on the other hand. Already, however, orders originally intended for Germany are being switched to other countries by the authorities and enterprises of Manchukuo. Moreover, these authorities will be forced to find new outlets for Manchurian soy beans which, it would seem at present, cannot be shipped to Germany.

Moreover, it is unlikely that Germany can continue exports to the Far East. Though theoretically Germany's Far Eastern trade might be rerouted via the Siberian railways of the Soviet Union, not only would the cost of such transportation probably be prohibitive, but Soviet-Japanese friction makes such traffic extremely improbable. Additional difficulties will presumably result from the virtual dissolution of the Hongkong branches of German trading firms following from the internment of the German residents of Hongkong.

As to German-Chinese political relations, it is reliably reported that in May 1939 a minor barter deal was concluded along the lines of the original Hapro agreement of 1936. In addition, arms shipments from Germany to China were arranged, it is said, at the same time.

If Sino-Soviet friendship and the German-Soviet rapprochement are taken into account, it would seem possible that Germany may ultimately answer the shift in Japanese foreign policy by a similar shift of her own stand with regard to the Sino-Japanese conflict. For the time being, however, both economically and politically, Germany seems to have fully withdrawn from the Far East where her future role obviously depends upon the outcome of the European war.

CONTENTS

FOREWORD	v
AUTHOR'S PREFACE	ix
I. GERMANY, CHINA AND JAPAN BEFORE THE WORLD WAR.	1
II. THE WORLD WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH	5
III. GERMAN INFLUENCE IN CHINA'S MILITARY REOR- GANIZATION	12
IV. GERMAN COMMERCIAL RELATIONS IN THE FAR EAST, 1923-1931	17
V. FROM THE MUKDEN INCIDENT TO THE SINO-JAPANESE WAR.	22
VI. GERMANY AND THE SINO-JAPANESE WAR	37
VII. GERMAN TRADE RELATIONS WITH SOUTHEASTERN ASIA	48
VIII. GERMAN SHIPPING IN THE FAR EAST	62
IX. FORMER GERMAN COLONIES IN THE PACIFIC . . .	66

LIST OF TABLES

1. GERMAN TRADE WITH CHINA AND JAPAN, 1890-1913 .	4
2. CHINA'S TRADE WITH GERMANY, 1920-1923	8
3. JAPAN'S TRADE WITH GERMANY, 1920-1923	8
4. GERMANY'S TOTAL AND ASIATIC TRADE, 1913-1931 .	9
5. GERMANY'S TRADE WITH CHINA AND JAPAN, 1913-1931	10
6. GERMAN IMPORTS OF SOY BEANS AND BEAN OIL, 1913- 1931	19
7. GERMAN TRADE BALANCES WITH CHINA AND JAPAN, 1913-1931	19
8. GERMANY'S EXPORTS TO U.S.S.R., 1923-1937	22
9. GERMAN TRADE WITH CHINA, 1932-1937	27

10. GERMAN IMPORTS OF TUNGSTEN FROM CHINA AND ELSEWHERE, 1927-1937	28
11. GERMAN IMPORTS OF CHINESE ORES AND METALS, 1932-1937	29
12. EXPORTS OF SOY BEANS FROM MANCHUKUO, 1932-1937	33
13. GERMAN IMPORTS OF SOY BEANS AND PRODUCTS	34
14. GERMANY'S TOTAL TRADE WITH CHINA AND JAPAN-MANCHUKUO	40
15. JAPAN'S IMPORTS FROM GERMANY AND MANCHURIA, 1932-1938	42
16. TOTAL OF GERMAN TRADE WITH BRITISH MALAYA, FRENCH INDO-CHINA, NETHERLANDS INDIES, PHILIPPINES AND SIAM, 1926-1931	48
17. GERMAN TRADE WITH SOUTHEASTERN ASIA, 1932-1938	49
18. GERMAN IMPORTS OF RUBBER, 1932-1937	50
19. GERMAN AND WORLD CONSUMPTION OF RUBBER, 1928-1938	51
20. GERMAN TIN IMPORTS	52
21. TRADE WITH BRITISH MALAYA, 1932-1937	58
22. GERMAN IMPORTS FROM BRITISH MALAYA	58
23. GERMAN TRADE WITH PHILIPPINES, SIAM AND INDO-CHINA, 1932-1937	60

INDEX

- Akagi, R. H., *Japan's Foreign Relations, 1542-1936*, 2 footnote, 3 footnote
- Aluminum, 46
- American capital in Germany, 19
- American capital in Japan, 19
- American influence in Japan, 7
- American investments in China, 29
- Angaur Island, 67
- Anglo-Dutch Unilever concern, 18
- Anglo-German China Consortium. *See* China Consortium
- Anglo-Japanese alliance, 3
- Anglo-Japanese friction, ix
- Anti-Comintern Pact, ix, 47
- Antimony, 20, 28
- Arnhold-Karberg Loan, 2
- Aski-mark, 26, 34, 54
- Aviation, 21
- Barter, x, 25-6, 28, 47, 49, 54, 57
- Bauer, Walter, 12-3, 15 *and footnote*
- Bauxite, German imports, 54-5
- Bicycle parts; German exports, 57
- Billiton Tin-Mining Corporation, 54-5
- Bintam Island, 54-5
- Bismarck, 1
- Bluecher, General, 12
- Borodin, 12
- Boxer indemnity, 3
- Bristles, 20, 46
- British investments in China, 29
- British Malaya, trade with Germany, 48-9, 56, 58-9
statistics, 58-9
- British sphere of interest in China, 4
- Carlowitz and Co., 47
- Casings, 20
- Cassel Loan, 2
- Central Bank of Manchukuo, 37-8
- Chang Ching-hui, 31-2, 34
- Chang Hsueh-liang, 20
- Chang Tso-lin, 20
- Changkufeng incident, 47
- Chekiang-Kiangsi railway, 25
- Chemicals, 46
- Chen Chieh, 45
- Chiang Kai-shek, 12, 15, 30, 41
- China, German concessions in, 2
- China, German firms in. *See* German firms in China
- China Consortium, 2, 7, 17
- China-Studien-Gesellschaft, 18, 24
- Chinese army, 13-6. *See also* German military advisers in China; Red Army, 32
- Chinese exports, 4, 8, 18-20, 27-9, 39.
See also Soy bean trade
ores and metals, 28-9
statistics, 4, 8, 18-9, 27-9, 39
tungsten, 28
- Chinese finance. *See* Loans to China
- Chinese foreign policy, 31, 33, 36
- Chinese imports, 4, 8, 14, 17, 20, 25
statistics, 4, 8
war materials, 14, 17
- Chinese railways, 25-6
- Chinese national socialist party, 30
- Chukow, 26, 30
- Chukow-Kweiyang railway, 25
- Cinchona bark, 55
- Colonial expansion, German, 1-2, 43, 66-7
19th century, 1-2
Nazi regime, 43
problem of claims, 66-7
- Communists, Chinese, 15
army, 15
- Communists, German, 10
- Consumers' goods, German exports, 56-7
- Copra, German imports, 55-6, 58-60
statistics, 59
- Corn, 46
- Cotton, 20, 60
- Currency, Chinese, 8
- Czechoslovakian investments in China, 29
- Dawes Plan, 7-9
- Depression, 8, 62-3
effect on tonnage, 62-3
- Deutsch-Asiatische Bank, 2, 6, 24
- Deutsche Lufthansa, A. G., 21

- Diesel engines, German exports, 59
 Diplomatic relations, 1, 13, 23, 30, 45
 Dutch East Indies. *See* Netherlands Indies
 Dyes, 20-1, 57

 Earthquake of 1923, economic effects, 7, 10
 East Asiatic Shipping Conference, 63
 East Indies. *See* Netherlands Indies
 Eggs and egg products, 20
 Eighth Route Army, 16
 Electrical equipment, 46
 Eurasia Company, 21
 European crisis, 1938, 42, 47
 effect on German exports, 42
 European War. *See* World War, 1914-8
 Extraterritoriality, 6

 Falkenhausen, General von, 15-6, 43
 Feathers, 20
 Ferro-tungsten, 28
 French-German War, 1
 French Indo-China, trade with Germany, 48-9, 59-60
 statistics, 60
 French investments in China, 29

 German concessions in China, 2, 5
 German Customs Union, 1
 German Dye Trust, 20
 German economic mission to China, 18
 German exports, 8-11, 20-7, 29, 35, 39-42, 46, 48-9, 56-7, 59-61
 decline since Munich pact, 42
 to China, 8, 10-1, 20-1, 25, 27, 39-40
 subsidies, 25
 to Japan, 8-11, 19-30, 39-41
 to Manchukuo, 34-5, 39-41, 46
 to Southeast Asia, 48-9, 56-7, 59-61
 to Soviet-Russia, 22-4
 statistics, 8-10, 19, 22, 27, 35, 39-40, 42, 48-9, 59-60
 German finance, 23, 25, 48-9, 57. *See also* Loans
 exchange control, 48
 German firms in China, x, 11, 21, 24-6, 47, 64-5
 German imports, 4, 8-10, 18-20, 27-9, 33-5, 48-61
 from China, 4, 8, 10, 18-20, 27-9, 39, 48-61
 from Japan, 8, 10, 20
 from Manchukuo, 27, 32-4
 German imports—(Continued)
 from Southeast Asia, 48-61
 statistics, 8-10, 18-9, 27-9, 34-5, 48-55, 58-60
 German investments. *See* Investments, German, in Eastern Asia
 German-Japanese alliance, 69
 German-Japanese Anti-Comintern pact, 35
 German-Japanese commercial treaty, 1927, 21
 German-Japanese co-operation, ix, 47.
 See also Manchukuo, trade agreements
 German loans. *See* Loans
 German-Manchurian trade agreement, 1936, 32, 35, 37
 German-Manchurian Treaty of Friendship, 43
 German military advisers in China, 12-7, 43 *and footnote*, 44-6
 German military mission in Japan, 1
 German National Manufacturers' Association. *See* Reichsverband der Deutschen Industrie
 German navy, 1 *footnote*, 63
 Marine-Rundschau, 3
 German post-war recovery, 8, 10
 German property in Japan, 7
 German refugees in China, 30
 German reparations to Japan, statistics, 7
 German residents in China, x, 4, 6, 10, 18, 37
 German residents in the Netherlands Indies, 57
 German Shantung Railway Company, 2-3
 German shipping, 1 *footnote*
 German South Sea Phosphate Company, 67
 German-Soviet rapprochement, ix-x
 Non-aggression Pact, 1939, ix
 German sphere of interest in China, 2, 4
 Germany, Nazi. *See* Nazi regime
 Gold ore, German imports, 56
 Great Britain, continental alliance against, 2
 Great Britain, trade with Germany, 48-9
 Greece, tobacco exports, 54
 Guilders, depreciation, 56

- Haikwan tael, 8
 Hamburg-America line, 62-3
 Hankow, 2, 5, 45
 Hapro, x, 26-7
 Hirota program, 35
 History teaching, adaptation to foreign policy, 47
 Hitler, Adolf, 23, 30, 43, 67
 Mein Kampf, 23
 Hongkong, 27
 Hugenberg memorandum, 23 *footnote*
 Hukuang railway, 3
 Hunan-Kweichow railway, 25

 Indo-China. *See* French Indo-China
 International Rubber Regulation Committee, statement on German consumption, 50
 Investments, Foreign other than German in China, 29-30
 Investments, German, in Eastern Asia, 2. *See also* Loans in China, 3-4, 18
 Irmer, A. J., *Die Erwerbung von Kiautschou*, 2, *footnote*
 Iron and steel products, German exports, 46, 56, 61
 Italy, 47

Japan-Manchukuo Year Book, 37
 Japanese aggression, 7-8. *See also* Sino-Japanese War
 Japanese army, organization of, 1
 Japanese exports, 8
 statistics, 8
 Japanese finance, 8, 23
 crash of 1927, 8
 Japanese foreign policy (1939), ix
 Japanese imports, 8, 19, 41-2. *See also* German exports to Japan
 control measures, 41
 statistics, 8, 19, 42
 Japanese interest in China, 4
 Japanese interest in Manchuria, 4
Japan's Foreign Relations (Akagi), 2
 footnote, 3 *footnote*

 Kaiser, *see* Wilhelm II
 Kiangsi province, 26
 Kiep, W., 34
 Knoll, K., 31
 Konversionskasse, 25
 Korea, 3

 Kriebel, H., 15
 Krupp, Friedrich, A. G., 47
 Krupp-Bofors factory, 17
 Kung, H. H., 27, 30-2
 Kuomintang, the, 12, 30, 41

 Lamps, 46
 Latin America, rubber exports to Germany, 51-2
 League of Nations Mandates, 66-9
 Leather, 46
 Levien, gold prospector, 68
 Li Yuan-hung, President, 5
 Loans to China, German, 2, 6-7, 25-7, 29, 35
 Loans to China, other than German, 29-30
 Loans to Germany, Dutch, 49
 Loans to Germany, Japanese, 11
 Loans to Manchukuo. *See* Manchukuo, trade agreements
 Loans to Soviet-Russia, German, 17, 22, 24 and *footnote*

 Machinery, German exports, 20, 22, 56-7, 61
 Malaya. *See* British Malaya
 Manchukuo, x, 27, 31-5, 37-43, 46. *See also* Soy bean trade; German exports to Manchukuo
 exports from, 42, 46
 statistics, 42
 five year plan, 37-8
 trade agreements, 32, 35, 37-8, 40-1, 46
 Manchuria, 4, 18-20, 42
 export statistics, 42
Marine-Rundschau, 3
Mein Kampf (Hitler), 23
 Metals, 28-9
 Military advisers in China. *See* German military advisers in China
 Mongolia, 7
 Mukden arsenal, 20

 Nanchang-Pinghsiang railway, 26
 Nauru, 67
 Nazi regime, 23, ff
 foreign policy, 23
 political influence in China, 30-1
 rearmament, 27
 Netherlands, trade with Germany, 48-9

- Netherlands Indies, trade with Germany, 48-57
 exports, 53
 imports, 53-4
 statistics, 53-5
- New Guinea, 68-9
- New Zealand, 67
- Newsprint, German exports, 60-1
- North China Provisional Government, 47
- North German Lloyd, 62-3
- Oil, 54, 68
 German imports, 54
 Pacific resources, 68
- Ores and metals, German imports of Chinese, 28-9
 statistics, 29
- Oriental Economist*, 46
- Ostasiatische Rundschau*, 20, 41, 46
- Otto Wolff (firm), 24, 27, 37-8, 41
- Pacific Islands, German colonies in, 66-9
- Panama Canal, German tonnage, 62
- Peanuts, 29, 46
- Peiping-Hankow railway, 25
- Perfumery, German exports, 57
- Perilla oil, 46
- Pharmaceutical products, German imports, 55
- Philippines, trade with Germany, 49, 60
 statistics, 60
- Phosphate deposits, Pacific Islands, 67
- Photographic equipment, German exports, 59
- Pinghsiang-Nanchang railway, 25
- Prices, 28, 48
- Prussian diplomatic missions, 1
- Prussian most-favored-nation treaties, 1
- Quinine, German imports, 55
- Railways, Chinese, 25-6. *See also* names of specific railways
- Raw materials, prices, 48
- Reichenau agreement, 26, 28, 30
- Reichsbank, 25
- Reichsverband der Deutschen Industrie, 18, 24
- Reinsch, Paul, 5
- Resins, German imports, 60
- Rice, German imports, 60
- Rickmers Line, 63
- Root-Takahira Agreement, 3
- Rubber, German imports, 50-2, 58, 60
 from Latin America, 51
 statistics, 50-2, 58
- Russia, Czarist, 3-4
 Far Eastern expansion, 3
 sphere of interest in China, 4
- Russia, Soviet, ix, 8, 10, 12, 17, 22-4
 aid to Sun Yat-sen, 12
 relations with Germany, 12, 17, 22-4
and footnote
- Russian imports from Germany, 22-4
 statistics, 22
- Russo-Japanese War, 3
- Samoa, 67
- Schacht, Hjalmar, speech, 30-1
- Schenke, W., *Space as an Instrument of War*, 43
- Schmitt, Carl, 67
- Scientific instruments, 46
- Seeckt, General von, 15
- Shanghai Banking Corporation, 2
- Shantung Mining Company, 3
- Shantung province, 2, 5
- Shipping, German, in the Far East, 62-5
 in China, 64-5
 in Japan, 64
 tanker tonnage, 62
- Ships, German export of, 46
- Siam, trade with Germany, 49, 60-1
 statistics, 60
- Siberia, Japanese occupation of, 7
- Siberian railways, x
- Sino-German peace, 1921, 6
- Sino-German trade. *See* Chinese imports from Germany; German imports from China
- Sino-Japanese war, 1894-5, 1-2
 European intervention, 2
 German officers in, 1
- Sino-Japanese War, 1937-, x, 37-47
 Germany as mediator in, 40-1
- Sino-Soviet conflict, 1929, 17
- Sino-Soviet friendship, x
- Sisal, German imports, 55
- Skoda iron and steel works, 29
- Soong, T. V., 30
- South Manchurian Railway, 47

- Southeastern Asia, trade with Germany, 48-61
 statistics, 48-55, 58-60
- Southern Republican Party, Chinese, 5
- Soviet-Japanese friction, x
- Soviet Russia. *See* Russia, Soviet
- Soy bean trade, x, 18-20, 27, 29, 32-4, 46
 export statistics, 18-9, 27, 33-4
 German import prohibition, 33
 prices, 34
- Space as an Instrument of War* (Schenke), 43
- Spices, German imports, 56, 59
- Submarines, 52
- Suez Canal, claims on, 47
- Sun Yat-sen, 5, 12
- Synthetic rubber, 50
- Tang Leang-li, 30
- Tientsin, 2 and footnote, 5, 28
 wool trade, 28
- Tientsin-Pukow railway, 3
- Timber, German imports, 60
- Tin, 28, 52-3, 58
 German imports, 52-3
 statistics, 52, 58
 substitutes, 52
- Tobacco, German imports, 49, 53-4
- Trautmann, Dr., 45
- Treaties, most-favored-nation, Prussian, 1
- Treaty of Rapallo, 8
- Treaty of Versailles, 6-7
- Tsingtao, 2, 4, 7, 28-9, 47
 peanut trade, 29
 wharf privileges, 47
- Tungsten, 20, 28
 German import statistics, 28
- Ukraine, German scheme for conquest of, 23
- United States, 7
- U. S. S. R. *See* Russia, Soviet
- Vehicles, 46
- Vitkovice iron and steel works, 29
- Wang Ching-wei, 14, 30, 41
- War materials, German exports, x, 14, 17, 61
 to China, x, 17
 prohibition, 14
 to Siam, 61
- Wetzell, Lieutenant-General, 15
- Wilhelm II, 2-3
- Wolff, Otto. *See* Otto Wolff (firm)
- Wool, 20, 28
- World War, 1914-8, 5, 7
- X-ray films, 46
- Yen Hsi-shan, 14
- Yokohama Specie Bank, 46
- Young Plan, 7
- Zeiss (firm), 46
- Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, 43