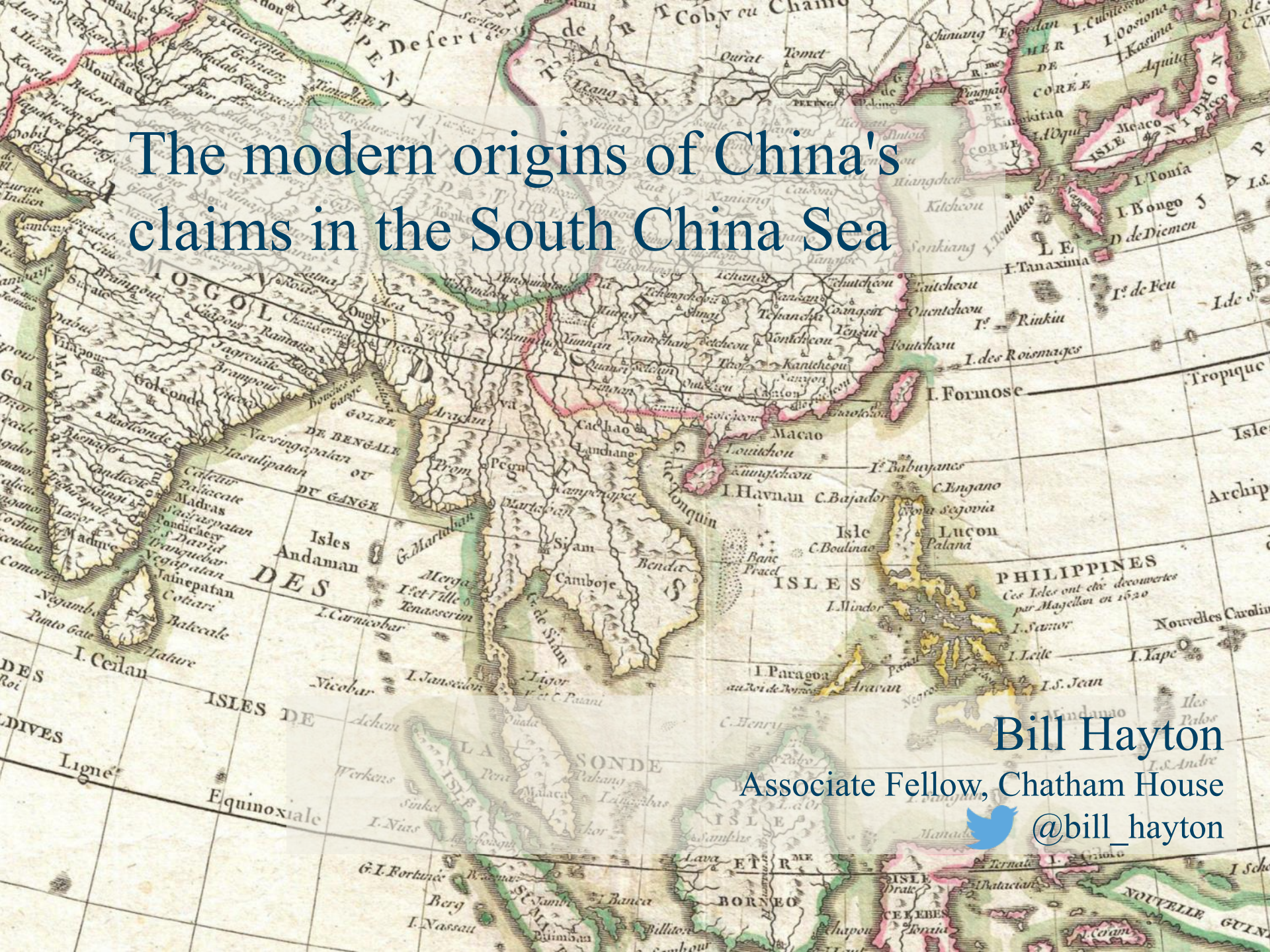


The modern origins of China's claims in the South China Sea

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS



- **François-Xavier Bonnet, IRASEC, Bangkok**
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- **Tai Tsung-Han & Tsai Chi-ting, Taiwan**
- **Stein Tønnesson, Uppsala University, Sweden**

BASIC ARGUMENT

- **Chinese claims in the South China Sea emerge between 1909 and 1948**
- **Chinese actions in this period were not defending pre-existing claims but asserting new ones**
- **Claims emerge as a response to actions by Japan and France**
- **Claims are largely aimed at domestic audiences, to defend the legitimacy of regimes under political pressure**

43. III p. 22.
010055. 6.64

CHINA HANDBOOK

1937-1943

*A Comprehensive Survey of Major Developments
in China in Six Years of War*

EDITED AND PUBLISHED IN INDIA

BY

C. H. LOWE

Calcutta Director

China
CHINESE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION

29, STEPHEN COURT, PARK STREET
CALCUTTA

THE CHINESE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION

P. O. BOX 107, CHUNGKING, CHINA

July, 1943

1943 AREA

The territory of the Republic of China extends from latitude 53° 52' 30" N. (Sajan Mountains) to 15° 16' N. (Triton Island of the Paracel Group to south of Hainan Island) and from longitude 73° 31' E. (the eastern fringe of the Pamirs) to 135° 2' 30" E. (the confluence of the Amur and Ussuri Rivers).

**1943 claim
only included
Paracel
Islands**

外交部南海諸島檔案彙編 (上冊)

II(1):004、復報載法佔各島似係西沙九島附抄各島距離經緯度請查照(民國二十二年七月十九日 第四八〇〇號)

海軍部咨

為咨復事准

貴部本月十七日歐字第一三八七二號咨開據報法國差遠輪Alerte及Astrolabe近將安南與菲島間之九小島豎旗佔領，該島位置約當東經一百十五度北緯十度有中國漁民居住其上等語，究竟該小群島是否我國領土有無專名，是否即係西沙群島及島上現有無中國人民居留，相應咨請 貴部詳細查明並希見復等因准此查東經一百十五度北緯十度之地點係在菲島與安南之間並無九小島，其在菲島與安南之間遮北所稱九島即係西沙群島Iles Paracels與瓊州島相距密迤各有經緯度之位置海圖中為之分組其稱為月形組者Crescent Group有四島曰羅擺特島Robert Island曰偏陶爾島Pattle Island曰錢財島Money

II (1): 004 In reply to the suspicion of the French occupation to the Xisha nine islands (**1933 July 19**) Documentation Number 4800 Minister of Navy to Ministry of Foreign Affairs

In reply to the Documentation Number OuTzi 13870, on July 17 this year...

After investigation, **there were no nine islands** at 10°0'N 150°0'E between the Philippines and Vietnam. The nine islands between the Philippines and Vietnam were further north.

Wai jiao bu nan hai zhu dao dang an hui bian (1995)

外交部研究設計委員會編印

中華民國八十四年五月三十一日

BASIC NARRATIVE

Pre-1909 – no official interest in *wai yang* (外洋) – ‘outer waters’

1909 First claims – Pratas and then Paracels

1928 Dispute with France over Paracels

1933 France annexes six of the Spratly Islands – confusion

1935 RoC Maps Inspection Committee publishes conclusions

1936 Geographer Bai Meichu publishes new atlas

1943 Cairo Declaration

1946 RoC internal discussions

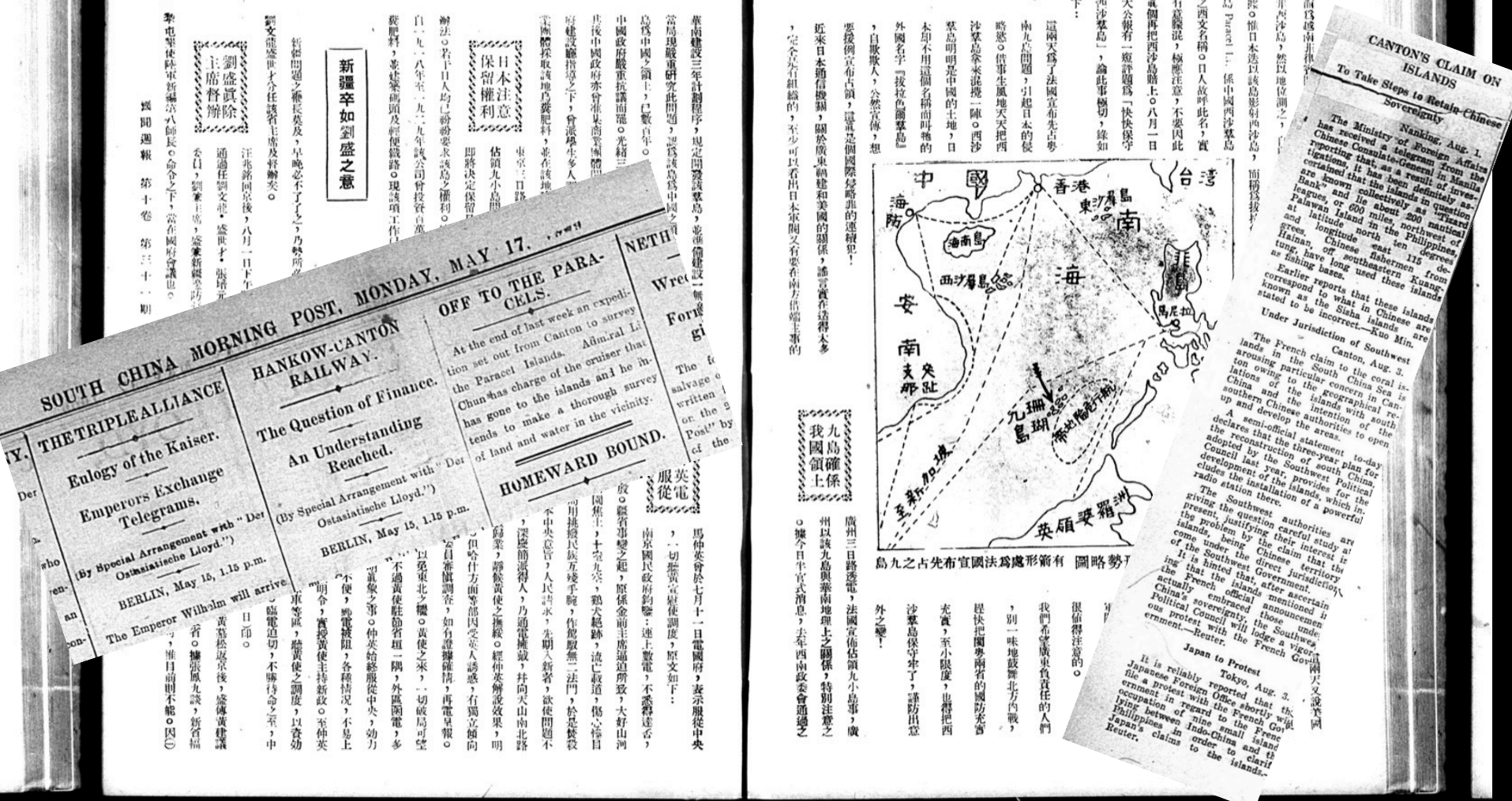
1948 Formal claim to Spratlys

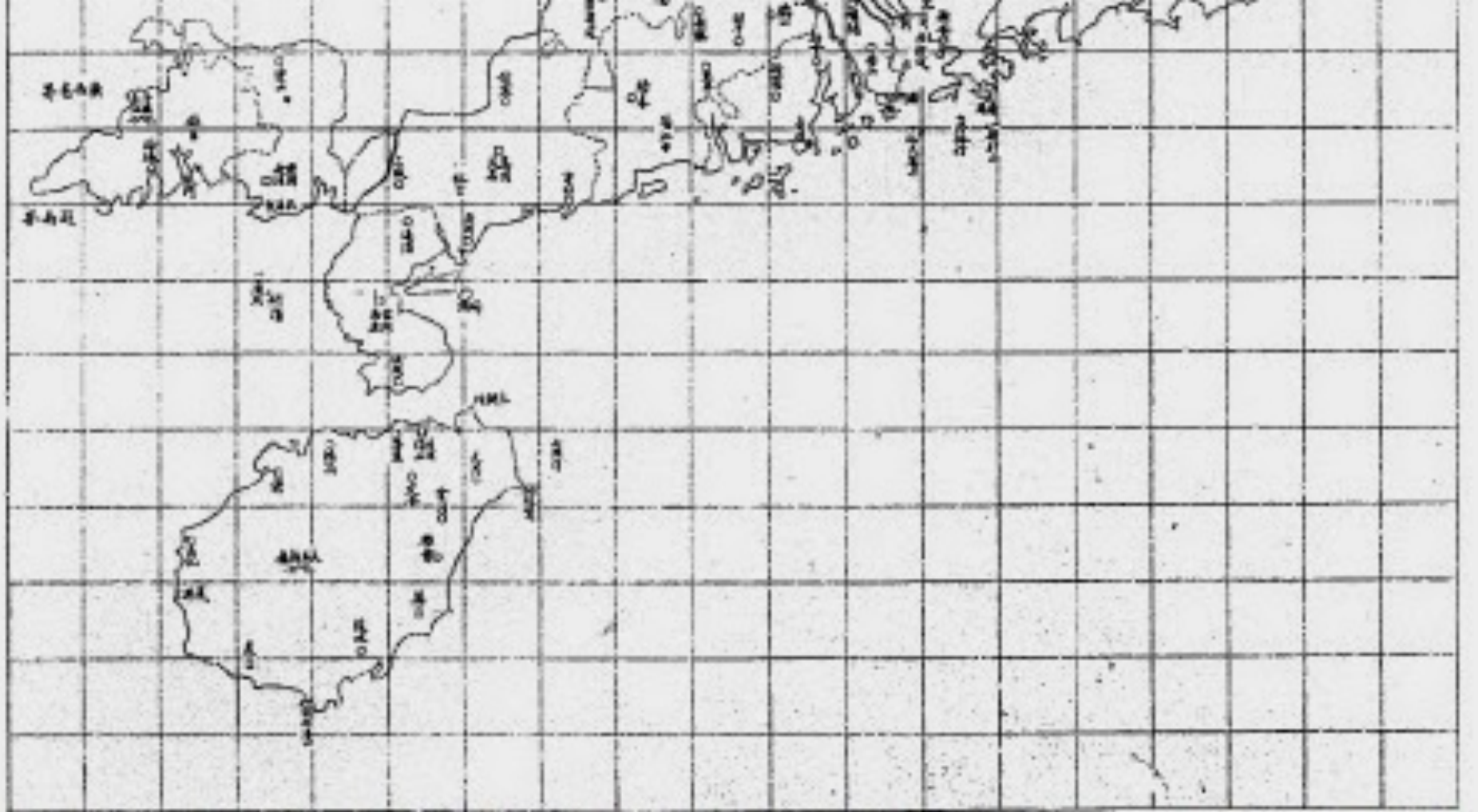
SOURCES

English-language newspapers 1900-1948: *North China Herald*, *SCMP*, *Straits Times*...

Chinese newspapers 1933-1934: *Shen Bao*, *Guo Wen Zhou Bao*, etc

Academic works: Rhoads, Bonnet (1975), Bonnet (2012), Tai & Tsai (2014), etc





NO ISLANDS MAPPED IN 1897...

Chinese maps included no islands south of Hainan

Lack of official interest in the sea



SOUTHERN CHINA IN FERMENT

Anger against foreigners and against Qing failure to resist them

1907 – four uprisings in Guangdong and Guangxi

1908 – Society to Commemorate the National Humiliation formed in Guangdong



The Straits Times, 25 March 1908,
Serious Charge Against Chinese Admiral.
Article also available on microfilm reel NL313 [Lee Kong Chian]

★ Add to Citation

Serious Charge Against Chinese Admiral.

Admiral Li Chun, who is at present in command of the Chinese Navy in South China, including the control of the policing of the West River, has been severely denounced for alleged corruption. He is charged with receiving bribes to the extent of \$200,000 from certain notorious gamblers and smugglers at Macao in connection with salt, which was being largely smuggled into China. The Admiral was also charged with being in partnership with the gang in gambling and smuggling! The Canton Viceroy has received instructions to investigate and report on the matter.

GENERAL LI ZHUN / 李准 (1871-1936)

“the dominant military figure in Kwangtung” – Rhoads (1975)

“suppression of both the Huang-kang and Ch’i-nü-hu uprisings”

assassination attempts on 11 June 1907 and 13 August 1911


JAPAN AND THE ISLAND OF PRATAS.

Here is a sample New York message dated November 2:—

According to the Washington correspondents Mr. Taft received cabled instructions while he was in Shanghai recently to make inquiries as to the attitude of China concerning the occupation by the Japanese of the island of Pratas, with the result that he ascertained that the place is claimed to be indisputably Chinese territory.

According to the Washington advices, the question under consideration by the United States is whether it will be necessary for this country to support the claims of China to the island in the event of such claims being formally and officially put forward from Peking. A recent statement in the "Herald" to the effect that Chinese warships had been ordered to proceed to Pratas appears to have been at the least premature. It is hoped that nothing of that kind will be attempted, for obviously China can do nothing by herself in forcible vindication of her supposed right.

It has been reported that the Japanese are already engaged in preparing Pratas as a Naval base, but this is regarded at Washington as incredible, and, indeed, it was denied a day or two ago at the Japanese Embassy. The further suggestion that Mr. Taft's alleged acceleration of his visit to Berlin has some connection with contemplated German-American protest against Japan's so-called "aggression" may, it is thought here, be dismissed as absurd.



According to the Washington correspondents Mr. Taft received cabled instructions while he was in Shanghai recently to make inquiries as to the attitude of China concerning the occupation by the Japanese of the island of Pratas, with the result that he ascertained that the place is claimed to be indisputably Chinese territory.

Hong Kong Daily Press
7 December 1907

PRATAS OCCUPATION 1907

Qing state wrestling with notions of 'international law'

1863 Wheaton's *Elements of International Law* translated into Chinese

1895 Treaty of Shimonoseki

THE PRATAS REEF.

We append a sketch of the pile—bearing a legend as to the discovery of the Pratas—driven in by Japanese, as stated in yesterday's issue. It has been taken from a photo.



SERVICE NOTES.

CANTON, March 13.
OFFICIAL INVESTIGATION.
 Some time ago, on the Pratas Island (Chinese Tai Tung Sha), which is about 120 li off Waichow, some Japanese were found driving a wooden pile marked Ming Chi 40th year. The officer of the Chinese gunboat, Fi Ying, asked the Japanese in English why they did that, and the Japanese pretended ignorance. The officer reported the matter to the Viceroy, who sent several officers, including one foreign secretary who understood Japanese, to the spot on board a Customs launch to make the necessary inquiries. It may be stated that the island is in Chinese waters, and many a shipwreck has occurred at this place during the north-east monsoon. Many Chinese fishermen go there during the calm seasons and recently several Japanese also went to catch fish, as the vicinity produces tortoise and various kinds of fish and coral.

THE PRATAS SETTLEMENT.

China to Receive Island Back on Certain Terms.

From a very reliable source the China Mail learns that the agreement concerning the Pratas Island dispute was signed at Canton by Consul Segawa, representing Japan, and H. E. Yuen, Viceroy of Canton, on the 12th inst.

The agreement arrived at is substantially as follows:—Mr. Nishizawa will receive the sum of \$130,000 as reimbursement for the money he has invested in the island. This is \$30,000 less than he originally asked for.

The island was evacuated by the Japanese on the 25th inst. and handed over to the Chinese officials.

The sum of \$130,000 will be paid within fifteen days of the evacuation of the Pratas.

PRATAS, 1909 – THE FIRST DISPUTE

Nishizawa Yoshiji, Japanese guano entrepreneur

Protests and anti-Japanese boycott

Deal between Viceroy of Liangguang, Nishizawa and Japanese government

“Meanwhile, I tried to source nautical charts externally as evidence. But the plan did not work, as the charts were drawn up by foreigners and called the islands *Paratas*. We searched old Chinese maps, books, and *Qiongzhou Tongzhi* [Gazetteer of Qiongzhou (Hainan)] and could not find such a name. Observer Wang Xuecen, who reads extensively, informed me: ‘In the time of the Qianlong Emperor [1735-1796], the General of Gaoliang, Chen Lunjiong, has written a book titled “*Record of Sea Nation Observations*”, in which the name of that island is recorded.’ We used that book to negotiate with the Japanese about the return of the island.”

Li Zhun, The Sailing Chronicle of Li Zhun, *Guo Wen Zhou Bao* Vol. 10 No. 33
(21 August 1933)

SEARCH FOR EVIDENCE

‘Scraping’ of documents begins

The Self-Government Society, “collected various sorts of evidence, from old published accounts of travellers to the oral testimony of local fishermen, to prove that the islands were historically Chinese and to refute Nishizawa’s claim of discovery”. (Rhoads, 1975)

OFF TO THE PARACELS.

Chinese Surveying Expedition.

This morning at daylight the Chinese transports Fukpao and Shumhang were to leave Hongkong harbour on a surveying expedition to the Paracel Islands. The recent Pratas Island affair appears to have awakened the Chinese authorities to the necessity for looking after their interests in the islands which are far removed from the coast-line. The present expedition comprises no fewer than 108 officials and is under command of Admiral Li, with whom and Commodore Lin and Captain Woo. The expedition is expected to be away for about a month.

PRATAS ISLAND QUESTION.

China's Precautions Against a Duplication.

In a report to the Government Mr. Funatsu, the Japanese Consul at Hong'ong, says that since the jurisdiction of Pratas Island or Eastern Sand Island, as it is called by the Chinese, became a diplomatic question between Japan and China, the Chinese Government has been assiduously exploring the Paracel Island or Western Sand Island, to see that no opportunity is given to any foreign Power to lay claim to land in that direction. Acting under the instructions of the Viceroy of Kwangtung, Admiral Li left Hongkong on the 21st ult. under the escort of the gunboats Fu-po and Li-kin for the Paracels in order to explore the island and prepare it for colonisation. Admiral Li was accompanied by a number of military officers and Chinese merchants in Hongkong and coolies—108 persons in all. The party is expected to return in about a month.

PARACELS ISLANDS.

CHINESE OFFICIAL MISSION RETURNS.

DRAGON FLAG PLANTED AND ISLANDS RENAMED.

Hitherto known only as a permanent danger to navigation and as a happy hunting ground for roving pirate bands, the group of sandy, barren, inhospitable, low-lying reefs described on the charts as the Paracel Islands have been proclaimed to the world as Chinese territory and renamed to avoid any question that might in future arise as to their ownership.

As reported in our columns a few weeks ago, following upon the Pratas Island affair, the Chinese authorities at Canton instituted measures to reassert their claim to adjacent island territories. Their national pride had been hurt a little by the discovery of the occupation of Pratas by a prosperous Japanese industrial enterprise and who among the Chinese authorities could say but that other islands were yielding similar golden profits to other alien enterprises? An expedition was accordingly

reported, had been wrecked and hundreds of lives lost. Nothing of course could be done to render help owing to the nature of the weather and the lapse of time. The Fupao and Chinhao then crossed over to the Paracel group. They had at Hoihow taken on board some fifty coolies as workmen but, as turned out, their services were not required and they were later on returned to Hoihow. The first island visited was Robert Island. This island is oval in shape, 28 feet high and nearly four cables in length. It is covered with vegetation and has a well of water. A reef surrounds the island, but there is landing on the eastern side. It was very warm while the expedition was there. Pattle island on the north-west side of the group was next visited. It is five cables in length 2½ cables in breadth and about 30ft. high. A safe anchorage could not be found there and the sea was too high to

FIRST CLAIM TO PARACELS

Response to domestic political crisis

Expedition departs Hong Kong 21 May 1909, spends 3 days in Paracels in early June

“the nautical map of our country had expanded to include the 14 *Xisha* islands.”

It is reported that the authorities of Kwangtung propose converting the inhabitable portions of the Paracels into a penal settlement, the convicts to be employed in agricultural pursuits and timber working on Tree Island.

Y, APRIL 29, 1920.

THE PARACELS DEATH-TRAP.

NEED FOR EFFICIENT LIGHTING.

The issue of *Shipping and Engineering* of April 23 contains the following:—

With the loss of the *Lienshing* off the coast of Annam on December 8 last, it appears that a report was circulated in Australia that she had been lost off the Paracels and accordingly a letter was forwarded to the Secretary of the Merchant Service Guild intimating him of this catastrophe. The *Journal of Commerce* states that he has

LOSS OF INTEREST

Development plans for Paracels were abandoned almost immediately in 1909

Revolution in 1911/12 – islands and workers there were forgotten

No record of any state activity in the islands until 1920s

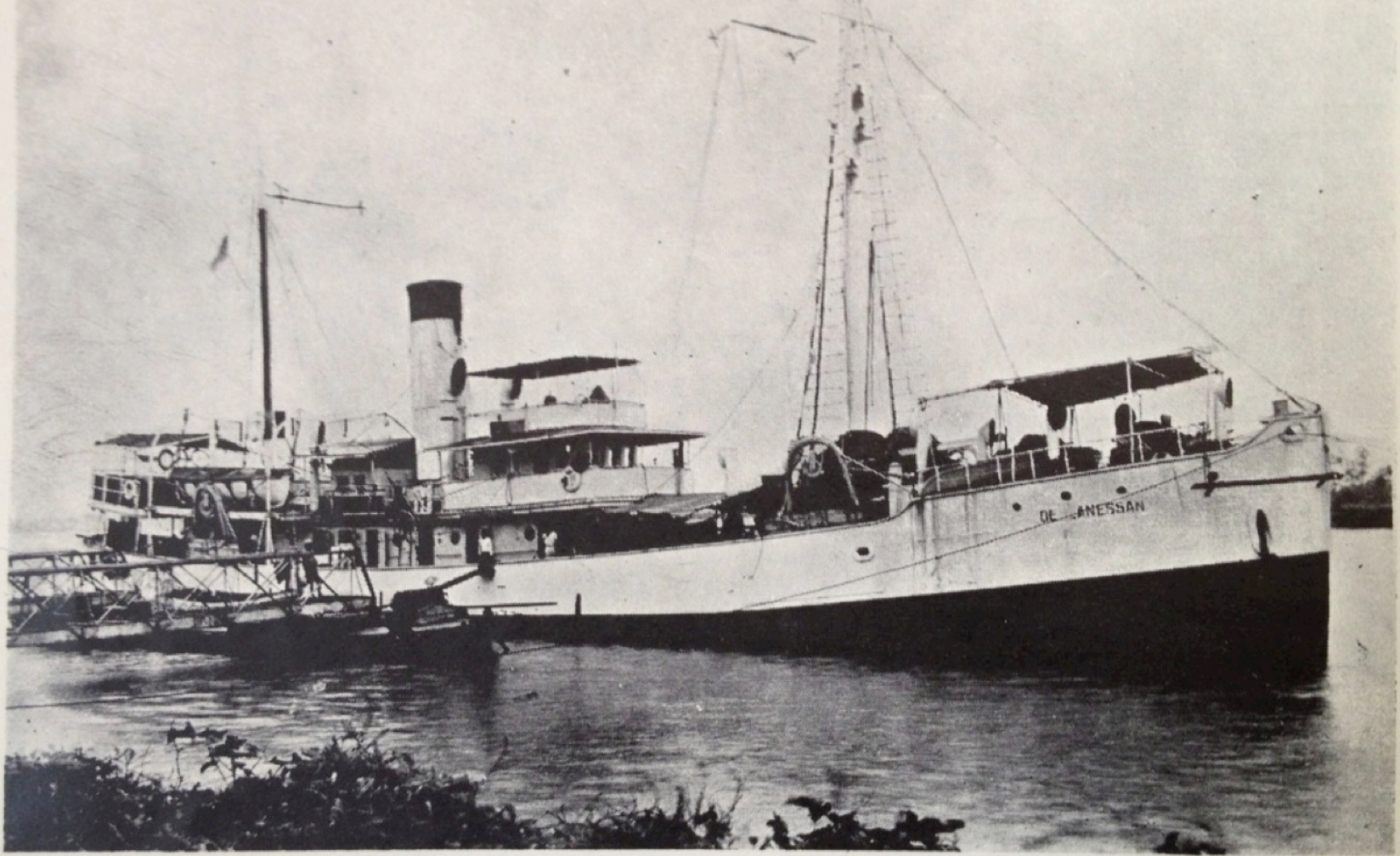


THE MYSTERIOUS 1920s

1916-1928 – various rival governments in China

1921-1923 – Sun's 'unrecognised' southern government deals with Japanese

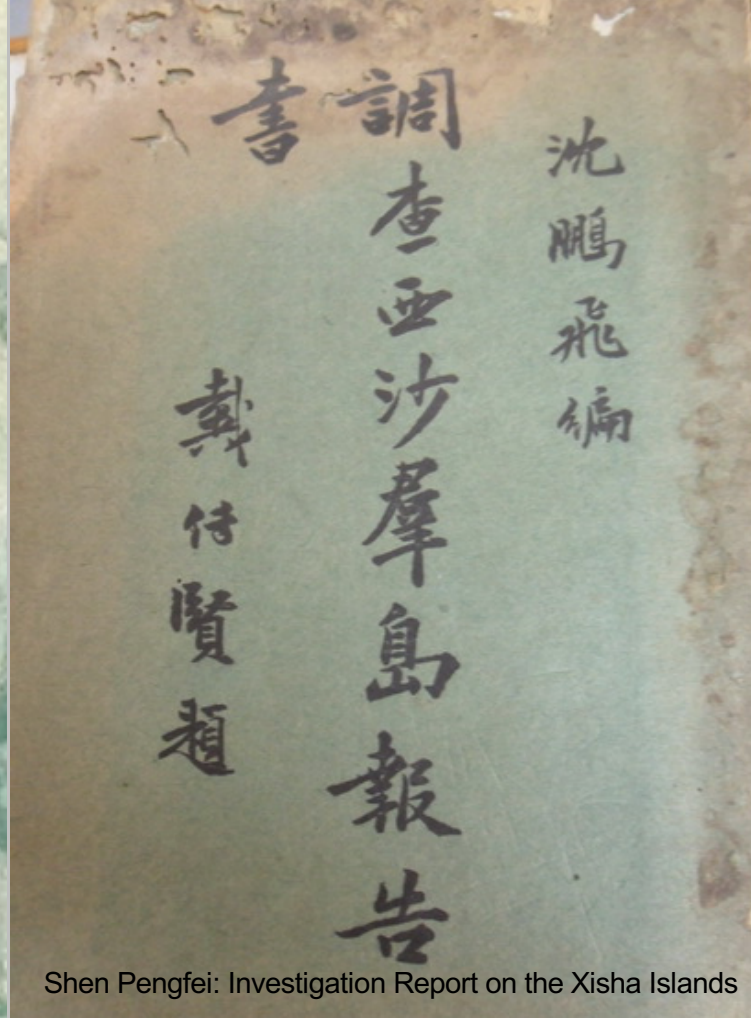
Some mentions of visits to Paracels, details unclear



FRANCE'S CORAL EMPIRE

1925-1939 – (French) Indochinese Institute of Oceanography undertakes eight missions to the Paracels and Spratlys.

Arnaud Krempf using national claim to advance personal research interests



Shen Pengfei: Investigation Report on the Xisha Islands

1928 CHINESE EXPEDITION

Professor Shen Pengfei (沈鵬飛) of Sun Yat-sen University in Guangzhou

“The Paracel archipelago is our nation’s southernmost territory.”

Chen Tianxi (陈天锡) *‘Compilation of materials concerning the Xisha and Dongsha islands*



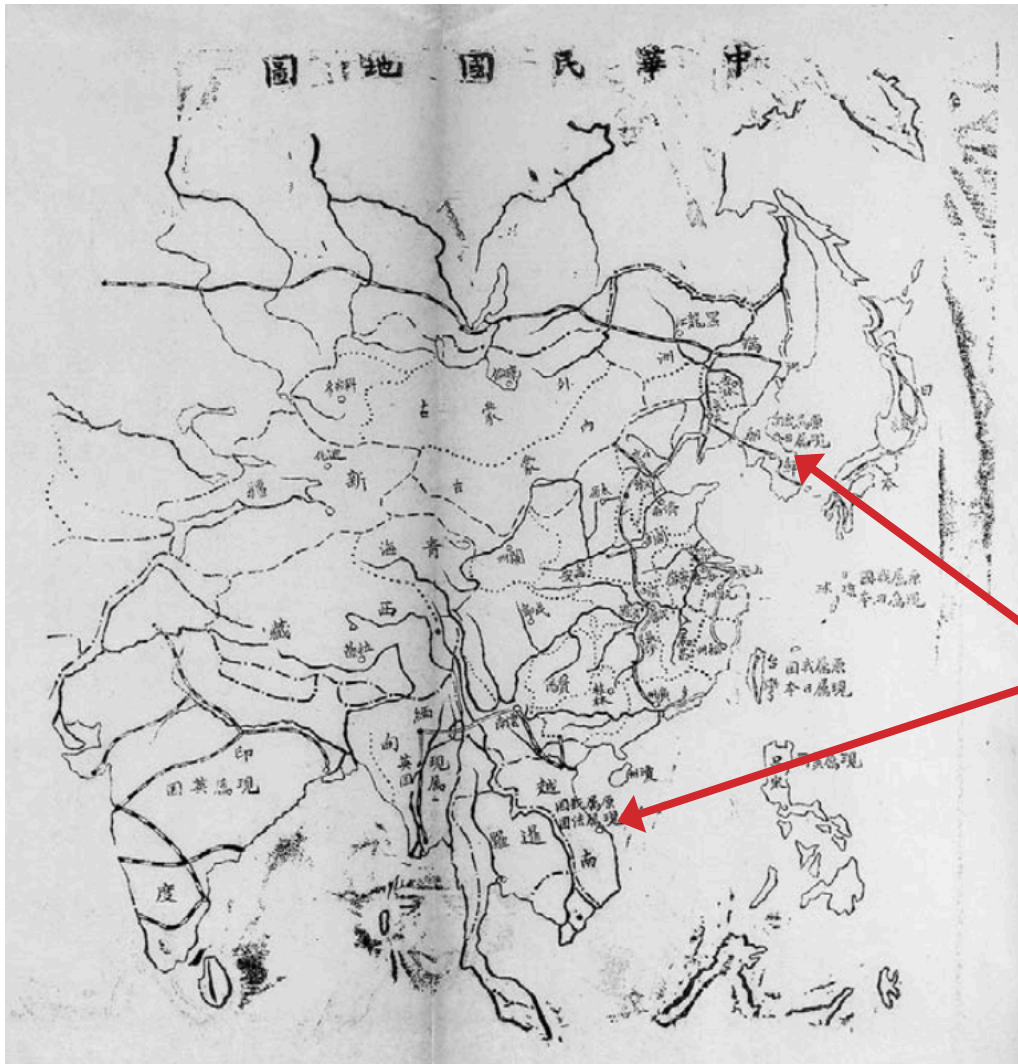
1927 GUANGZHOU RISING

Communist insurrection seizes city 11-13 December

Widespread reprisals and public executions – at least 5,000 communists killed

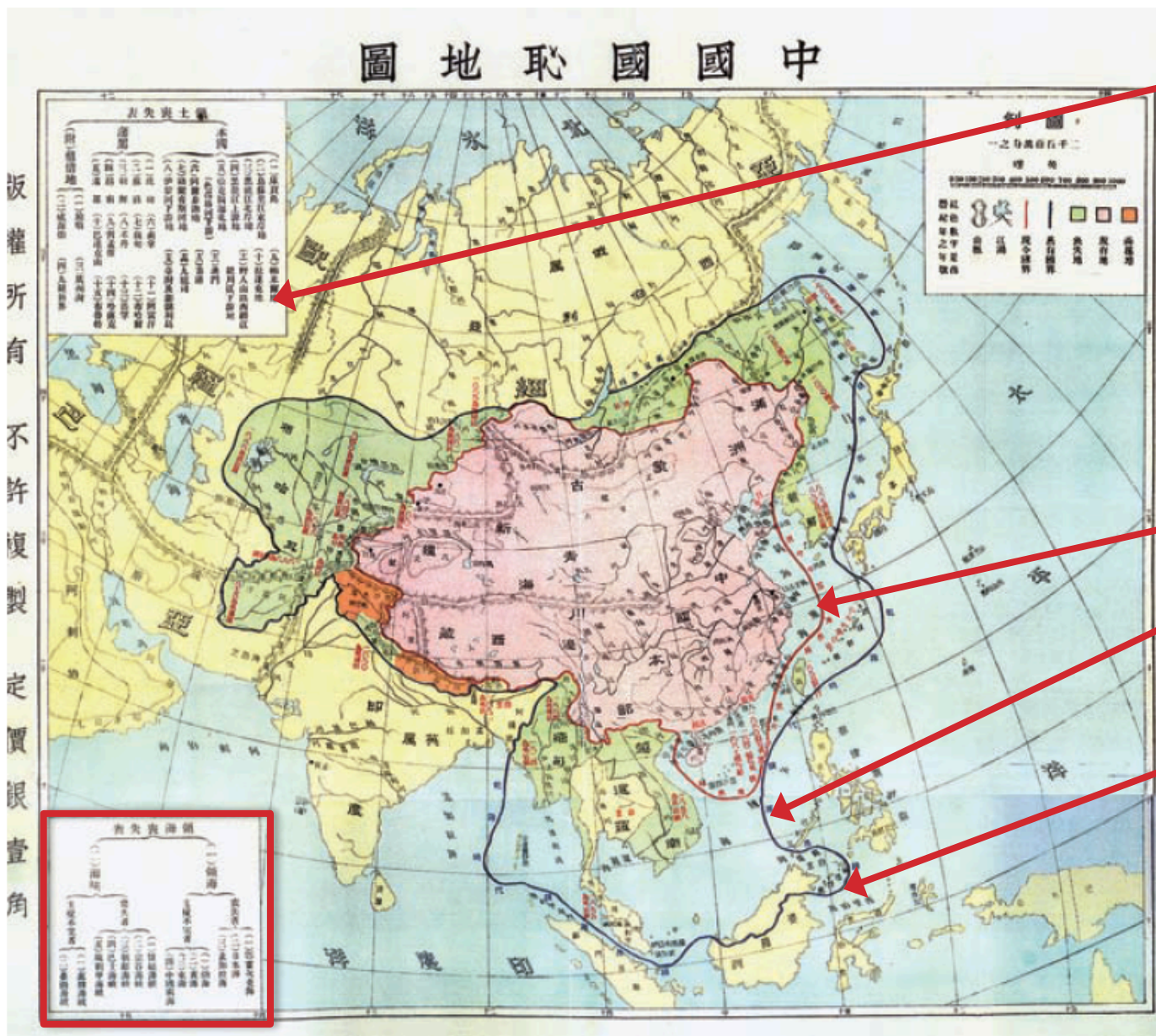
Possible connection to 1928 expedition? Nationalist legitimization?

1912 FIRST MAP OF REPUBLIC OF CHINA



- Published in founding *Almanac* of RoC
- No borders marked
- “The *sovereign territory* of the Republic of China continues to be the same as the *domain* of the former Empire”
- “Originally our vassal”
- From William Callahan *China: the pessoptimist nation* OUP 2010
- The Republic of China (1912). British Library Board, shelfmark 15298.a.66

1927 MAP OF NATIONAL HUMILIATION



- 15 lost 'homeland territories';
- 15 lost 'vassals';
- 4 'territorial concessions';
- 14 lost and disputed 'maritime territories'

- Current territory

- 'Old National Boundary'

- Sulu islands

- From William Callahan *China: the pessimist nation* OUP 2010

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CLAIM AND COUNTER CLAIM

October 1928 – Establishment of a new central government under Chiang Kai-Shek's Guomindang

January 1930 – New government promulgates 'Inspection Regulations of Land and Water Maps' (*Shuilu ditu shencha tiaoli*).

September 1931 – Japanese invasion of Manchuria

4 December 1931 – French government protests against Chinese plans to develop the guano industry in the Paracels and, for the first time, formally claims sovereignty over them

December 1931 – Anti-Chiang factions in Guomindang converge on Guangzhou and form an autonomous government, the Southwest Political Council (西南政委會), under Hu Hanmin

27 July 1932 – Chinese gov't formally rejects French claim to Paracels

May 1933 – Tanggu Truce between China and Japan

7 June 1933 – First meeting of RoC Maps Inspection C'ttee

AVIS & COMMUNICATIONS

Ministère des affaires étrangères.

Avis relatif à l'occupation, le 19 juillet 1933, de certaines îles par des unités navales françaises.

Le Gouvernement français a fait procéder par des unités navales à l'occupation des îles et îlots définis ci-dessous :

1° L'île Spratly, située par 8° 39' latitude Nord et 111° 55' longitude Est Greenwich, ainsi que les îlots qui en dépendent.
(La prise de possession a eu lieu le 13 avril 1933.)

2° Îlot Caye-d'Amboine, situé par 7° 52', latitude Nord et 112° 55', longitude Est Greenwich, ainsi que les îlots qui en dépendent.
(La prise de possession a eu lieu le 7 avril 1933.)

3° Îlot Itu-Aba, situé par 10° 22', latitude Nord et 114° 21', longitude Est Greenwich, ainsi que les îlots qui en dépendent.
(La prise de possession a eu lieu le 10 avril 1933.)

4° Groupe de Deux-Iles, situé par 11° 29' latitude Nord et 114° 21', longitude Est Greenwich, ainsi que les îlots qui en dépendent.
(La prise de possession a eu lieu le 10 avril 1933.)

5° Îlot Loaito, situé par 10° 42' latitude Nord et 114° 25' longitude Est Greenwich, ainsi que les îlots qui en dépendent.
(La prise de possession a eu lieu le 11 avril 1933.)

6° Île Thi-Tu, située par 11° 7' latitude Nord et 114° 16', longitude Est Greenwich, ainsi que les îlots qui en dépendent.
(La prise de possession a eu lieu le 12 avril 1933.)

Les îles et îlots sus-indiqués relèvent désormais de la souveraineté française.

La Société anonyme française du poivre Sagary, ayant son siège à Lille, est, à partir du 19 juin 1933, abonnée au timbre pour 3.500 actions, n°s 1 à 3500, d'une valeur nominale de 100 fr., pour lesquelles elle a été dispensée de l'apposition matérielle de l'empreinte du timbre par une décision du directeur de l'enregistrement à Lille en date du 17 juillet 1933.

La Société des meules artificielles françaises, ayant son siège à Darney, est, à partir du 19 juillet 1933, abonnée au timbre pour 1.666 actions, n°s 1 à 1666, d'une valeur nominale de 100 fr., pour lesquelles elle a été dispensée de l'apposition matérielle de l'empreinte du timbre par une décision du directeur de l'enregistrement à Epinal en date du 19 juillet 1933.

La société Les Docks du littoral, ayant son siège à Boulogne-sur-Mer, est, à partir du 18 juillet 1933, abonnée au timbre pour 1.000 actions, n°s 1 à 1000, d'une valeur nominale de 100 fr., pour lesquelles elle a été dispensée de l'apposition matérielle de l'empreinte du timbre par une décision du directeur de l'enregistrement à Arras en date du 20 juillet 1933.

Ministère des travaux publics.

PROPOSITIONS DE TARIFS

SOUMISES A L'HOMOLOGATION
DU MINISTRE DES TRAVAUX PUBLICS

AVIS IMPORTANT

Pour ne pas retarder l'instruction des propositions soumises à l'homologation ministérielle, les observations ou réclamations auxquelles donnent lieu ces propositions, de

une réduction de 50 p. 100 sur les taxes de transport payées par application du présent paragraphe.

Cette réduction ne porte pas sur les droits de timbre et d'enregistrement.

La demande en détaxe devra être présentée dans un délai de trois mois comptés à partir de la date de la première expédition et appuyée par les récépissés à l'expédition et appuysés par les récépissés pour les envois en port payé et les récépissés au destinataire pour les envois en port dû, ainsi que par un bordereau récapitulatif mentionnant, par ordre chronologique des expéditions, les taxes de transport payées, l'expédition, droits de timbre et d'enregistrement non compris.

Le chemin de fer se réserve le droit de demander toutes justifications utiles.

Conditions d'application particulières au paragraphe ».

Les dispositions du présent paragraphe sont soumises aux conditions d'application communes figurant actuellement à la fin du tarif P. V. n° 100.

Nota. — Les dispositions du présent paragraphe ne sont prévues qu'à titre temporaire et pour une période qui, sauf prorogation, prendra fin le 31 décembre de l'année qui suivra celle de leur mise en vigueur.

(a) Lyon toutes gares, excepté Croix-Rousses dans la limite du fonctionnement de ces gares au service des marchandises.

(Paris, le 20 juillet 1933.)

PARIS A LYON ET A LA MEDITERRANEE

Proposition d'insérer, dans le chapitre (Paris à Lyon et à la Méditerranée) du tarif spécial intérieur P. V. n° 14 et complément P. V. n° 114, un paragraphe X, dont les dispositions sont reproduites ci-après :

Paragraphe X (*).

AVIS & COMMUNICATIONS

Ministère des affaires étrangères.

Avis relatif à l'occupation de certaines îles par des unités navales françaises.

Le Gouvernement français a fait procéder par des unités navales à l'occupation des îles et îlots définis ci-dessous :

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(La prise de possession a eu lieu le 12 avril 1933.)

Les îles et îlots sus-indiqués relèvent désormais de la souveraineté française.

(Cet avis annule le précédent, inséré au Journal officiel en date du 25 juillet 1933, page 7794.)

THE FRENCH ANNEXATION 1933

6 islands: Spratly Island, Amboyna Cay, Itu Aba, Les Deux Iles (Northeast Cay & Southeast Cay), Loaita & Thitu

Announced on Bastille Day (14 July) and printed in *Journal Officiel de la République Française* 25 & 26 July 1933



李準巡海記

近因法占南海九島，引起國際糾紛，據日前南京電訊，粵省電中央，認九島為我最南領土，前清時曾派廣東水師提督李準至該島調查，並野砲升旗云。李直繩先生親來本社，與記者談此事。前清十四個島，各為勒石命名，懸旗紀念。維是年春，李氏先巡海至東沙島，見懸有日旗，經交涉收。在西曆五月十五日乘伏波球航軍艦自瓊州啓程。因避風，十一日(西曆五月二十二日)始自榆林港放洋，翌午抵珊瑚島，命名為伏波島。繼續巡行，共發見十四島，各為勒石命名。二十三日回航也。李氏自謂其地或即法國所佔者。然以海程計之，大抵為西沙羣島。李氏筆記明言其地「西人名曰林肯島固西沙羣島之一。李氏此記雖不能證法所佔者即我領土，然西沙羣島固我之疆域無疑也。今當海關多事，此記之價值乃顯。大公報近曾刊李氏筆記之一部分，茲併關於東沙島者一併列錄之，洵珍貴史料也。

中國向不以領海為重，故於海面之島嶼，數千年來並無海圖，任外人之侵佔而不知也。粵之東有東沙島焉，距香港一百二十海里，距汕頭八十海里，在澎湖南澳之間，向無居民。閩粵之漁戶常有至其地者，航海之船，往往遭風漂沒於此，漁人多有得其寶財者，故粵語有「割發財，往東沙。」

圖說題辭 第十卷 第三十期 粵報雜誌

光緒三十三年春，余乘伏波艦巡洋至其地，遠望有旭日之旗，下合定鏡，乘船啟岸。是有木牌於岸曰「西澤島」，乃進而視西澤，詢以何時侵佔此島。西澤曰：「已二年餘矣。余曰：此乃我國之領海，何得私佔。西澤曰：此乃無主之島，以其距吾海不遠，以為屬之吾海，不知為廣東屬地也。問其

記者

1933 – MASS MEDIA & CONFUSION

Officials don't know where Spratly Islands are. Li Zhun mixes up Paracels & Spratlys
 Nanjing government receives map, decides not to protest against French
 Southwest Political Council continues to agitate

1933 – HOW IT ENDED

Huge interest from Chinese media

Agitation by nationalist groups in many cities

Wider Chinese population takes an interest in sovereignty

Great confusion about location of islands – amplified by media

- (Those articles are still a source of confusion to this day)

Nanjing government decides not to protest to France

- *“We must focus only on the Xisha Islands because the points of evidence of our sovereignty on them are so numerous that the whole world accepts it, with the exception of Japan”.*

ROC Military Committee secret report, 1 September 1933

**Rival Guangzhou administration continues to agitate and protest
– using islands issue to attack credibility of Nanjing government**

5. 沙比礁	Subi Reef
6. 罗湾礁	Loai-ta Bank and Reefs
7. 兰家暗礁	Lun Kiam Cay
8. 罗湾岛	Loai-ta Island
9. 依沙礁	Tizard Bank and Reefs
10. 伊都阿巴岛	itu Aba Island
11. 沙岛	Sand Cay
12. 彼得来礁	Petley Reef
13. 依鲁德礁	Eload Reef
14. 南伊岛	Nam Yit Island
15. 给予礁	Gavan Reefs
16. 西石或女神庙石	Western or Flora Temple Rock
17. 大觅出礁	Discovery Great Reefs
18. 小觅出礁	Discovery Small Reefs
19. 十字火礁	Fiery Cross or
或西北调查礁	E. W. Investigator
20. 中央礁	Central Reef
21. 西零丁礁	West London Reef
22. 东零丁礁	East London Reef
23. 克德郎礁	Quarteron Reefs
24. 拉德礁	Ladd Reef
25. 斯巴拉脱岛或	
暴风雨岛	Spratly or Storm Island
26. 斯塔格司滩	Stags Shoal
27. 比邻无畏滩	Prince or Wales Bank
28. 埃勒生达滩	Alexandra Bank
29. 湾滩	Owen Shoal
30. 比邻康索滩	Prince Consort Bank

31. 格棱泽滩	Grainger Bank
32. 来福门滩	Rifleman Bank
33. 傍俾炮台滩	Bombay Castle
34. 庄臣伯余	Johnson Patch
35. 阿利那滩	Orlena Shoal
36. 顿士登滩	Kingston Shoal
37. 安波那暗礁	Amboyna Cay
38. 前卫滩	Van Guard Bank
39. 阿打西亚滩	Ardasier Bank
40. 燕子礁	Swallow Reef
41. 无劳柴乐礁	Royal Charlotte Reef
42. 路易萨礁	Louisa Reef
43. 北卢康尼亚滩	North Luconia Shoals
44. 友谊滩	Friendship Shoal
45. 破海马滩	Sea-horse Breakers
46. 南卢康尼亚滩	South Luconia Shoals
47. 詹姆斯滩	James Shoal
48. 报告礁	Reported Reef
49. 芦滩	Reed Bank
50. 西乐岛	West York Island
51. 汤姆斯第三滩	3rd Thomas Shoal
52. 庙滩	Templer Bank
53. 沙滩	Sandy Shoal
54. 啞咪笃古拉礁	Amy Douglas
55. 扁岛	Flat Island
56. 南山岛	Nan Shan Island
57. 北拼素崩那礁	Pennsylvania N. Reef
58. 棕色滩	Brown Bank
59. 海马滩	Sea Horse Or Routh Bank

DRAWING THE LINE

The Inspection Committee for Land and Water Maps (水陸地圖審查委員會) starts work

Holds 25 meetings between 7 June 1933 and 21 December 1934

Agrees Chinese names for 132 features in the South China Sea

THE
CHINA SEA DIRECTORY.

VOL. I.

CONTAINING

DIRECTIONS FOR THE APPROACHES TO
THE CHINA SEA,
BY MALACCA, SINGAPORE, SUNDA, BANKA,
GASPAR, CARIMATA, RHIO, BERHALA,
AND DURIAN STRAITS.

FIFTH EDITION.

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J. D. POTTER, AGENT FOR THE SALE OF ADMIRALTY CHARTS,
145, MINORIES, AND 11, KING STREET, TOWER HILL.

1906.

Price Three Shillings and Sixpence.

Non-existent
features:

- Stags Shoal
- Owen Shoal,
- Seahorse (or Routh) Bank,
- Ganges Reef,
- Cay Marino,
- Glasgow Reef
- Viper Shoal

THE
CHINA SEA DIRECTORY.

VOL. II.

CONTAINING

DIRECTIONS FOR THE NAVIGATION OF
THE CHINA SEA,
BETWEEN SINGAPORE AND HONG KONG.

FIFTH EDITION.

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1906.

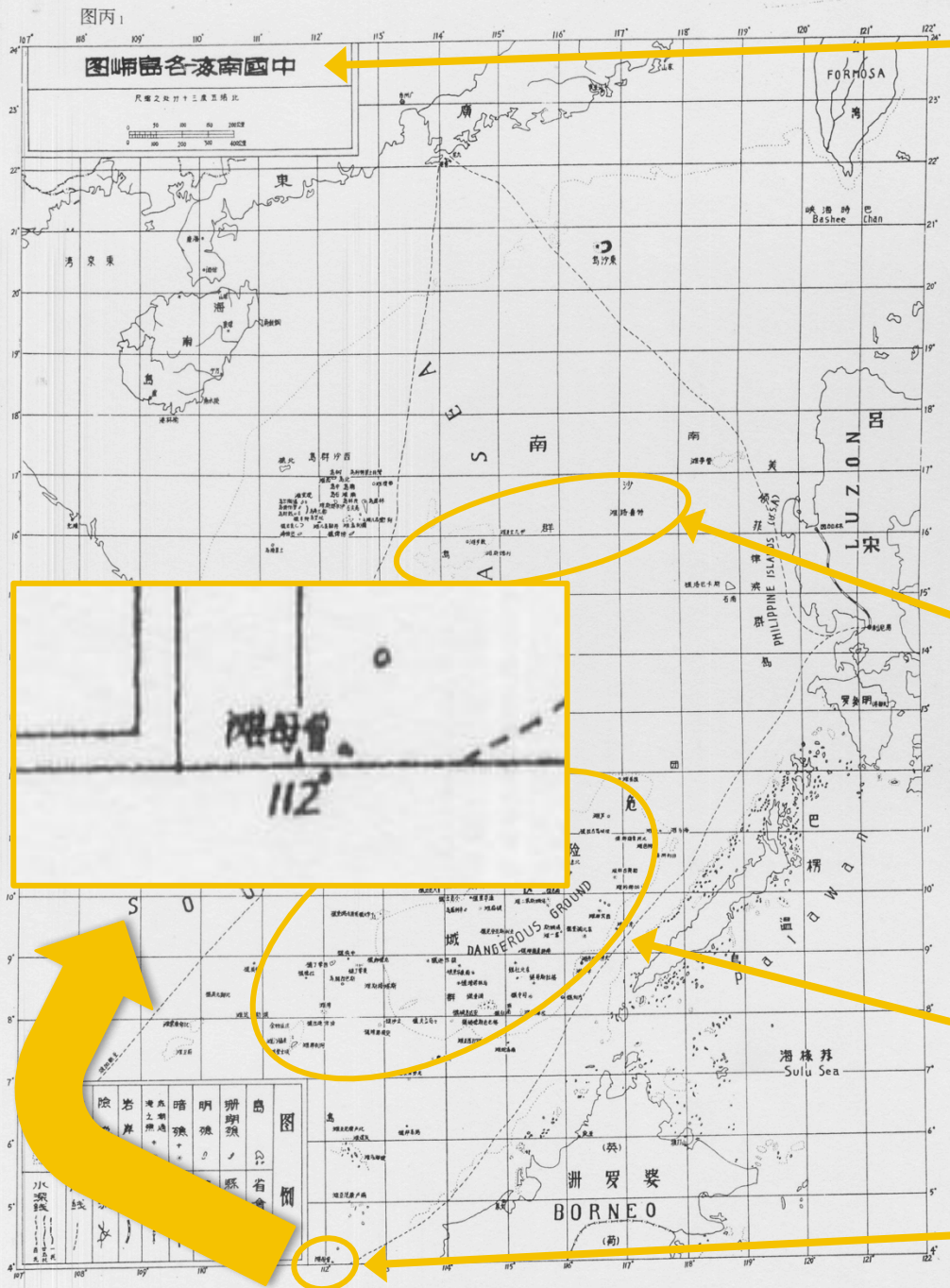
Price Three Shillings.

WHERE DID THE LIST COME FROM?

The UK Hydrographic Office...

China Sea Directory 1906

1935 ROC CHINESE ISLANDS MAP



- Ambiguous meaning of title
- Map does not make any territorial claims
- 'Nansha' is the Macclesfield Bank
- Spratlys are 'Tuansha'
- James Shoal

说明：本图是根据原图缩小复制。见《水陆地图审查委员会刊》第一期。1935年1月。



WHY THE JAMES SHOAL?

Did the ROC Maps Inspection Committee just copy this map?

‘Asiatic Archipelago’ – published by Edward Stanford & Co. 1918

1983年公布标准名称	1947年公布名称	1935年公布名称	外文名称
248. 西礁	西礁	西零丁礁	West Reef (West London Reef)
249. 南威岛	南威岛	斯巴拉脱岛 或暴风雨岛	Spratly or Storm Island
250. 日积礁	日积礁	拉德礁	Ladd Reef
251. 康泰滩			Coranation Bank
252. 朱应滩			Jubilee Bank
253. 奥援暗沙	奥援暗沙	湾滩	Owen Shoal
254. 碎浪暗沙			
255. 南薇滩	南薇滩	来福门滩	Rifleman Bank

285. 曾母暗沙

曾母暗沙

曾母滩

James Shoal

256. 奥援暗沙	奥援暗沙	阿利加滩	Oriana Shoal
260. 广雅滩	广雅滩	比邻教畏滩	Prince of Wales Bank
261. 人骏滩	人骏滩	埃勒生达滩	Alexandra Bank
262. 李准滩	李准滩	格覆泽滩	Grainger Bank
263. 西卫滩	西卫滩	比邻康索滩	Prince Consort Bank
264. 万安滩	万安滩	前卫滩	Vanguard Bank
265. 弹丸礁	弹丸礁	燕子窝	Swallow Reef
266. 皇路礁	皇路礁	无劳柴乐礁	Royal Charlotte Reef
267. 南通礁	南通礁	路易萨礁	Louisa Reef
268. 北康暗沙	北康暗沙	北卢康尼亚滩	North Luconia Shoals
269. 盟谊暗沙	盟谊暗沙	友谊滩	Friendship Shoal
270. 义净礁			Aitken Reef

1983年公布标准名称	1947年公布名称	1935年公布名称	外文名称
279. 海安礁	海安礁		Stigant Reef
280. 琼台礁			Luconia Breakers
281. 潭门礁			Richmond Reef
282. 海宁礁	海宁礁		Herald Reef
283. 澄平礁	澄平礁		Sterra Blanca
284. 欢乐暗礁			Comus Shoal
285. 曾母暗沙	曾母暗沙	曾母滩	James Shoal
286. 中水道			Middle Pass
287. 南华水道			Pigeon Passage

注：*1947年内政部公布名称为N. Verker, S. Verker。见郑资约《南海诸岛地理志略》83页。

**1909年李准巡海时在西沙群岛命名了16个岛名，其中甘泉岛、珊瑚岛、琛航岛、广金岛为1947年和1983年公布时采用，伏波岛则改为晋卿岛，丰润岛1947年公布时改为和五岛，1983年公布时又改为东岛；另外10个岛名今地无考。

***神狐暗沙1947年未公布，但见于郑资约《南海诸岛地理志略》(1947)。
****地图China Sea(1886)在礼乐滩北端注Reported(1885)，另《South China Sea》(1:2, 834, 488)在同一位置注明“Marie Louisa(1885)，故两者可肯定为同一礁。两国藏于广东中山图书馆。

TURNING WATER INTO LAND

Mis-translation of 'shoal' as 滩 - James Shoal becomes 'Zengmu Tan' – a land feature!

Names change in 1947 ('Tan' becomes 'Ansha') and again in 1983



地理學系教授
白眉初先生



BAI MEICHU – FATHER OF THE LINE?

A founder of the China Geographical Society, wrote in *Dixue zazhi*, The Journal of the Studies about the Earth

“Loving the nation is the top priority in learning geography, while building the nation is what learning geography is for”

1936 ‘New China Construction Atlas’ includes a U-shaped line as far south as James Shoal.

BAI MEICHU'S LINES?



- 'New China Construction Atlas' 1936
- Imaginary islands
- Used the names chosen by the Inspection Committee
- James Shoal & Vanguard Bank drawn as islands. James Shoal labelled 'Zengmu Tan' (曾母灘)

CHINA HANDBOOK

1937-1943

*A Comprehensive Survey of Major Developments
in China in Six Years of War*

EDITED AND PUBLISHED IN INDIA

BY

C. H. LOWE

Calcutta Director

China
CHINESE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION

29, STEPHEN COURT, PARK STREET
CALCUTTA

CHAP

GENERAL IN

AREA

The territory of the Republic of China extends from latitude $53^{\circ} 52' 30''$ N. (Sajan Mountains) to $15^{\circ} 16' 00''$ N. (Triton Island of the Paracel Group to south of Hainan Island) and from longitude $73^{\circ} 31' 00''$ E. (the eastern fringe of the Pamirs) to $135^{\circ} 2' 30''$ E. (the confluence of the Amur and Ussuri Rivers).

The Ministry of Interior's 1938 report gives the area of China at 11,562,184 square kilometers distributed as follows:

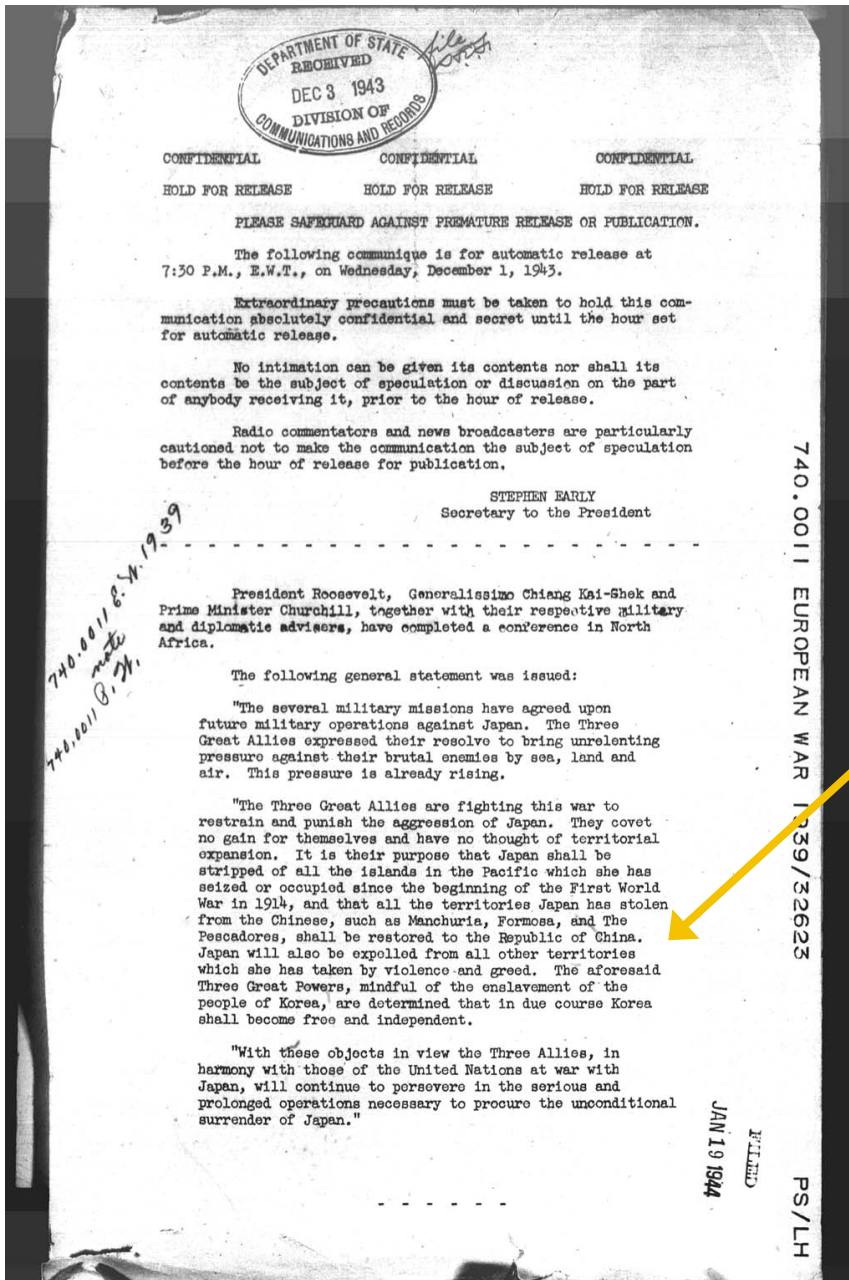
1943 CHINA ONLY CLAIMS PARACELS

'China Handbook' 1943 editions (Published in India in July and New York in November)

Triton Island in the Paracels is China's southernmost point

WW2 – CAIRO DECLARATION 1943

“It is their purpose that Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the first World War in 1914, and that all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and The Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China. Japan will also be expelled from all other territories which she has taken by violence and greed.” - 1 December 1943





THE GEOGRAPHERS

Zheng Ziyue (郑资约) and Fu Jiaojin (傅角今)

1927 – Students of Bai Meichu, studied in Germany & Japan, return as professors

1946 – Seconded to Chinese Ministry of Interior to formulate national boundaries



PHILIPPINE CLAIM 1946

4 July Philippine independence from the USA

23 July Foreign Secretary (& Vice-Pres) Elpidio Quirino declares claim to islands

THE LINE BECOMES OFFICIAL

'Location sketch map of the South China Sea Islands'

Produced for a meeting on 25 September 25, 1946 at the RoC Ministry of the Interior convened to resolve

“how to delimit the scope of what is to be received [from Japan] for the purpose of reclaiming [lit.,



First character is 詹 'zhan' rather than 曾 'zeng'

Second character is 姆 rather than 母, both 'mu'

Third is 沙 'sha', meaning sand not 灘 'tan'.

FRANCE vs CHINA 1945/6/7

SPRATLYS

FR *Chevreuil* places
marker on Itu Aba on
5 October 1946

Claimed for France

RoC ship *Taiping*
places marker 12
December 1946

Claimed for China

PARACELS

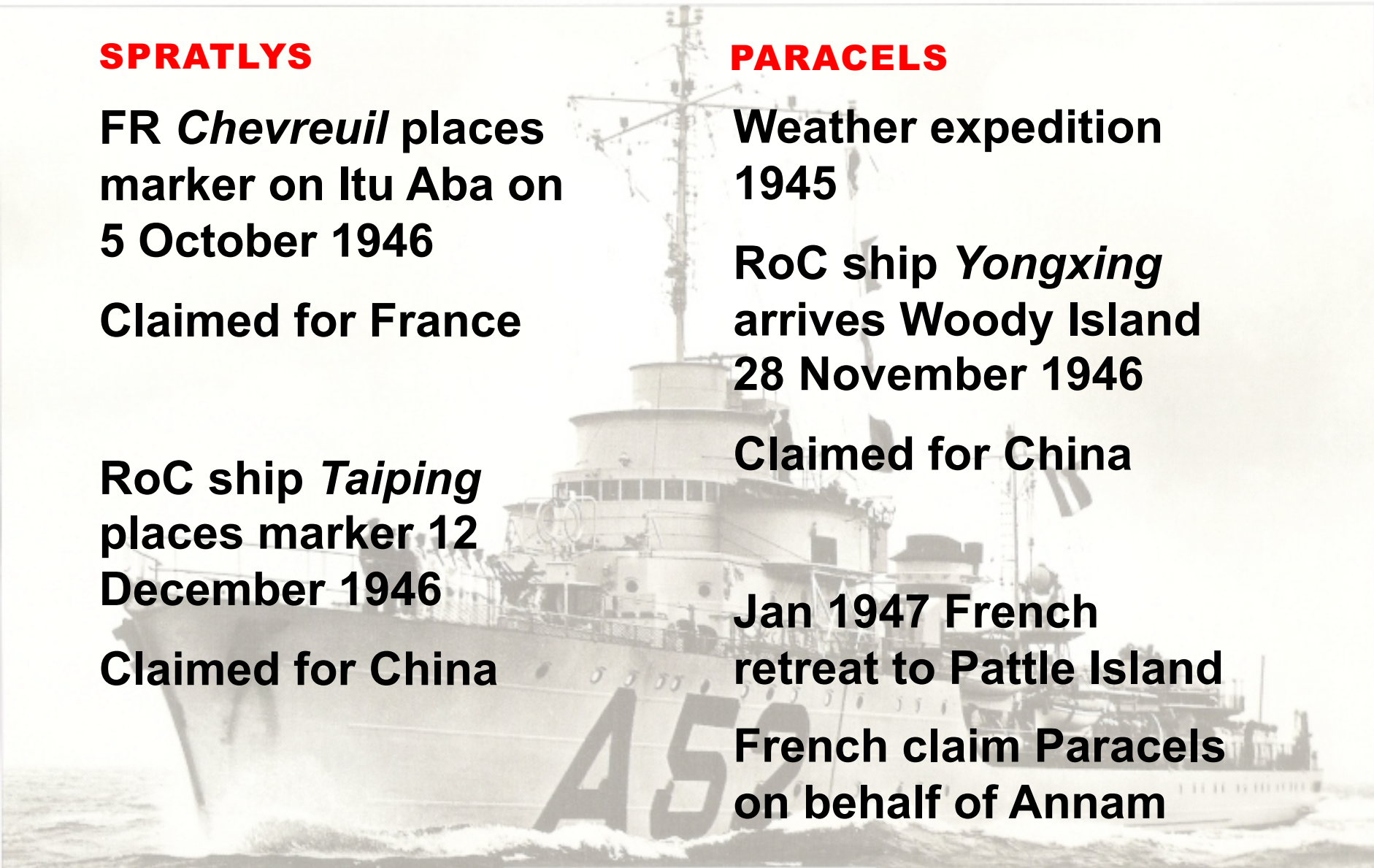
Weather expedition
1945

RoC ship *Yongxing*
arrives Woody Island
28 November 1946

Claimed for China

Jan 1947 French
retreat to Pattle Island

French claim Paracels
on behalf of Annam





1946 ROC *TAIPING* LANDING PARTY

12 December 1946 – ROC Navy lands on Itu Aba, island later named after ship

First ever official Chinese presence in the Spratly Islands

How many other features were actually visited?

CHINA HANDBOOK

1937—1945

*A Comprehensive Survey of Major Developments
in China in Eight Years of War*

REVISED AND ENLARGED
WITH 1946 SUPPLEMENT

Compiled by

CHINESE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION

NEW YORK

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1947

CHAPTER I

GENERAL INFORMATION

AREA

The territory of the Republic of China begins in the north from latitude 53° 52' 30" N. (Sayan Mountains) and in the east from longitude 135° 2' 30" E. (the confluence of the Amur and Ussuri Rivers). The southernmost and westernmost boundaries remain to be settled as the Pamirs on the west constitute an undemarcated area among China, the U. S. S. R. and the British Empire, and the sovereignty of the Tuansha Islands (the Coral Islands) on the south are contested among China, the Commonwealth of Philippines and Indo-China. The northern section of the boundary between China and Burma remains to be demarcated.

Provinces

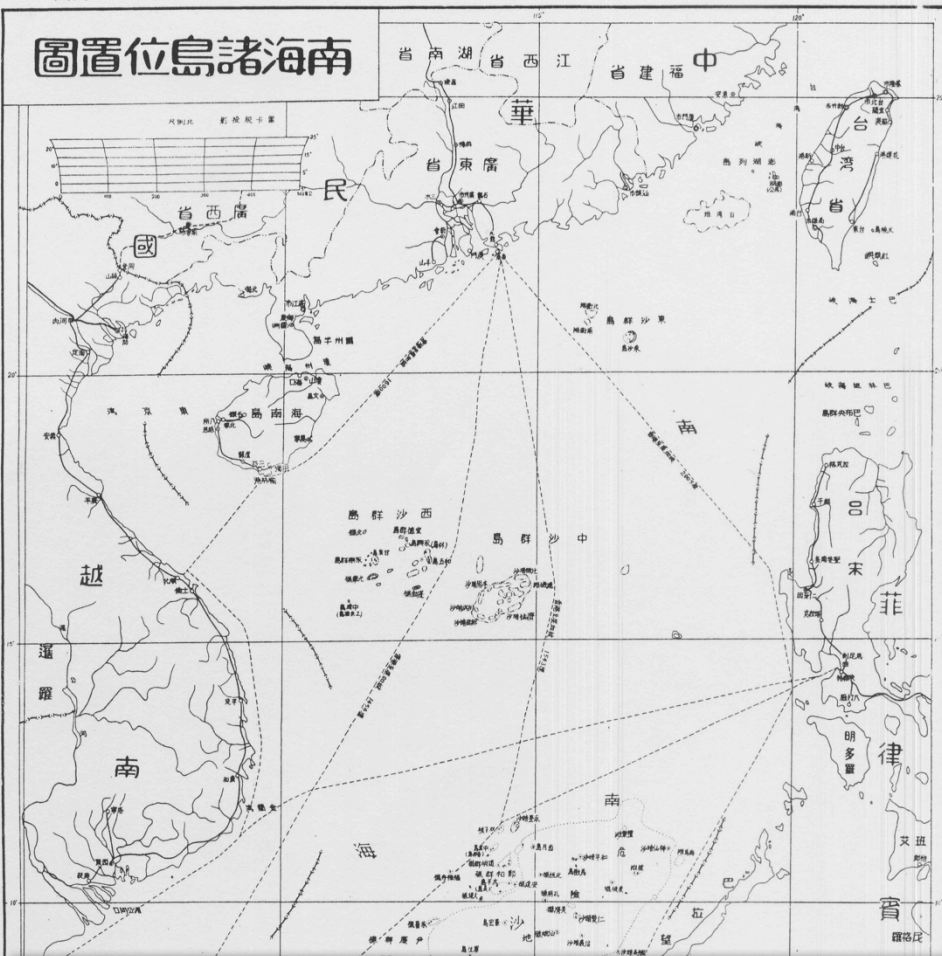
Kansu	...
Chinghai	...
Ningsia	...
Sinkiang	...
Suiyuan	...
Chahar	...
Jehol	...
Liaoning	...
Kirin	...
Heilungkiang	...
<i>Special Municipalities</i>	
Nanking	...

1947 – UNCERTAINTY CONTINUES

Chinese government regards 'Tuansha Islands' sovereignty as contested

'China Handbook' 1947 edition

圖置位島諸海南



'Location Map of the South China Sea Islands'

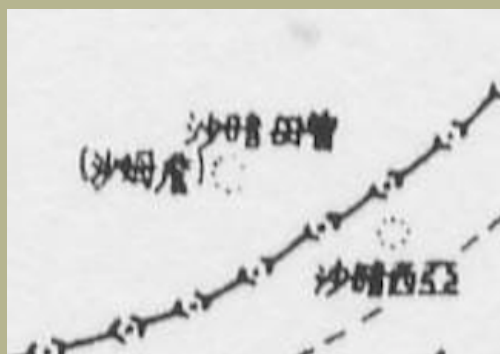
Drawn December 1947

Formally published by RoC Ministry of Internal Affairs in February 1948 as an adjunct to its new 'Administrative Division Map of the Republic of China'

No official explanation of the meaning of the line

Cartographer Wang

1948 ROC 11-DASH-LINE MAP



Both old and new names for James Shoal are marked on the map

曾母暗沙 *Zengmu Ansha*, the standard term since 1947, is followed by 詹姆沙 *Zhengmu Sha* in brackets

內政部方域司製
國防部測量局代印

A historical map of East Asia and Southeast Asia, showing the Korean peninsula, China, and the island archipelago of Southeast Asia. The map is detailed with geographical features, city names, and regional labels. The text is overlaid on the map.

Conclusions:

- Claim is not ancient but modern
- Claim developed in response to domestic political crises
- Elite knowledge about the sea was minimal and expanded southwards
- Claim is not 'natural' but the result of 20th century circumstances

Bill Hayton



@bill_hayton



WHY DOES THIS MATTER?

View of ‘historical’ nature of Chinese claim can distort perspectives and policy

Territorial disputes *are* resolvable’ – evidence can be tested

China’s sense of entitlement will lead to clashes in the future



Historical Evidence To Support China's Sovereignty over Nansha Islands

2000/11/17

China was the first to discover, name, develop, conduct economic activities on and exercise jurisdiction of the Nansha Islands.

A. China the First to Discover and Name the Nansha Islands

The earliest discovery by the Chinese people of the Nansha Islands can be traced back to as early as the Han Dynasty. Yang Fu of the East Han Dynasty (23-220 A.D.) made reference to the Nansha Islands in his book entitled Yiwu Zhi (Records of Rarities), which reads: "Zhanghai qitou, shui qian er duo cishi" ("There are islets, sand cays, reefs and banks in the South China Sea, the water there is shallow and filled with magnetic rocks or stones"). Chinese people then called the South China Sea Zhanghai and all the islands, reefs, shoals and isles in the South China Sea, including the Nansha and Xisha Islands, Qitou.

HALF-TRUTHS

Document 'scraping' and selective quotations

Original texts long disappeared: using copies of copies from over 1000 years later

異物志

金鄰

大象

穿胸

不突

兩屠

一號

按

異物志

The original entry in the *Yiwu zhi* reads as follows: “There are rugged stones in the rising sea, and where the water is shallow there are many magnetic stones. Foreigners reinforce their big ships with sheet metal. When they reach this strait, they cannot sail past because of the magnetic stones.”

Yiwu zhi jiyi jiaozhu, 212, entry 105.

Professor Johannes L. Kurz, Universiti Brunei Darussalam

‘What is the ‘historical’ in China’s claims to the South China Sea?’

南

取

二

漆

外

齒

齒

異物志

EVIDENCE IN CONTEXT

Phrase ‘South China Sea’ doesn’t appear in the ‘original’

‘Original’ shows ‘foreigners’ navigating the sea, not Chinese

24th day [9 December]

At noon we had run just 831 *li* [277 miles]. Our position was 17.30 north. I estimated that we were between two and three hundred *li* south of Hainan. The crew called this sea 'Ch'i-na-hsi', which means 'the Sea of the Middle Kingdom' [China Sea]. I caught sight of many flying-fish in the water, several feet in length. They leapt up to the height of ten feet or so before alighting again. Not far away to port lay the P'ai-la-su [Paracel] Islands, which produce *bêche-de-mer* and coral, though not of the best quality.¹ These islands belong to China, but they are barren and uninhabited. One of our fellow passengers was an Englishman called P'ai-de-ssu-li-hsi-te [Patrick Lister?].² He was making a world tour and had joined the ship on his way home. On making enquiries I found that he was a wealthy Englishman who was travelling for pleasure.

THE AMBASSADOR'S 1876 CLAIM?

Guo Songtao, *Shi Xi Ji Cheng* (Travel Notes of an Envoy to the West)
Translated into English by J.D. Frodsham (Clarendon Press, 1974)