



From the Paracels to the Spratlys:
the expansion of China's South China
Sea claim 1933-1946

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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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 (1975), Bonnet (2012), Tai & Tsai (2014), etc

SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST, MONDAY, MAY 17, 1934

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE
 Eulogy of the Kaiser.
 Emperors Exchange Telegrams.
 (By Special Arrangement with "Der Ostasiatische Lloyd.")
 BERLIN, May 16, 1.15 p.m.

HANKOW-CANTON RAILWAY.
 The Question of Finance.
 An Understanding Reached.
 (By Special Arrangement with "Der Ostasiatische Lloyd.")
 BERLIN, May 16, 1.15 p.m.

THE EMPEROR WILHELM WILL ARRIVE
 黃德松返京後，盛傳黃德松將有離張風九談，斯省福...惟目前則不能。(因)

NEW疆幸如劉盛之意
 新疆問題之難長莫及，早晚必不了了之，乃轉所...劉文龍繼任主任該省主席及行辦矣。

日本注意
 東京三日路透電，估計九島問題，即將決定保留...

保留權利
 估計九島問題，即將決定保留...

華南建設三年計劃程序
 規定開發該羣島，並準備建設一無...

我國領土
 廣州三日路透電，法國宣佈佔領九島事，廣...

CANTON'S CLAIM ON ISLANDS
 To Take Steps to Retain Chinese Sovereignty

THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
 has received a telegram from the Chinese Consulate-General in Manila reporting that, as a result of investigations it has been definitely ascertained that the islands in question are shown collectively as "Picar Bank" and lie about 200 nautical miles or 600 miles, northwest of Palawan Island in the Philippines, and latitude north ten degrees and longitude east 115 degrees. Chinese fishermen from Hainan, on southern Kungtung, have long used these islands as fishing bases.

Earlier reports that these islands correspond to what in Chinese are known as the Sisia Islands are stated to be incorrect.—Kuo Min.

Under Jurisdiction of Southwest
 Canton, Aug. 3. The French claim to the coral islands in the South China Sea is arousing particular concern in China and the intent with southern Chinese authorities to open up and develop the area.

A semi-official statement to-day declares that the three-year plan for the reconstruction of south China, adopted by the Southwest China Council last year, provides for the development of the islands, which include the installation of a radio station there.

The Southwest authorities are giving the question careful study at present, justifying their interest in the islands, being Chinese territory come under the direct jurisdiction of the French Government.

It is hinted that, after ascertaining that the islands mentioned in the French official announcement actually embraced those under China's sovereignty, the Southwest Political Council will lodge a vigorous protest with the French Government.—Reuter.

Japan to Protest
 Tokyo, Aug. 3. It is reliably reported that the Japanese Foreign Office shortly will file a protest with the French Government in regard to the French occupation of nine small islands lying between Indo-China and the Philippines in order to clarify Japan's claims to the islands.

我國領土
 廣州三日路透電，法國宣佈佔領九島事，廣州以該九島與華南地理上之關係，特別注意之。據今日半官式消息，去西南政委會通過之...

九島確係我國領土
 馬仲英曾於七月十一日電國府，表示服從中央，一切按憲章辦理。原文如下：
 南京國民政府鈞鑒：連上數電，不悉得達否，敝。經事變之起，原係金前主席逼迫所致，大好山河國難生，十室九空，雞犬絕跡，流亡蔽道，傷心慘目。用排擠民族殘手段，作亂無一法門，於是發發不中央意旨，人民請水，先期入新者，欲使問題不深，深望簡得人，乃通電擁戴，并向天山北路歸案，願黃使之擁戴。經仲英解說效果，明俱哈什方面等部因受人誘惑，有獨立傾向。委員審慎調查，如有證據確，再電呈報。以免東北之變。黃使之來，一切破局可望。不過黃使隨首一隅，外區函電，多引軍象之罪。仲英始終服從中央，効力不便，雖電被阻，各種情況，不易上明令，實授黃使主持新政。至仲英車等區，聽黃使之調度，以資効。臨電迫切，不勝待命之至，中目印。

BASIC NARRATIVE

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

1909 First claims – Pratas and then Paracels

1931 Dispute with France over Paracels

1933 France annexes six of the Spratly Islands – confusion

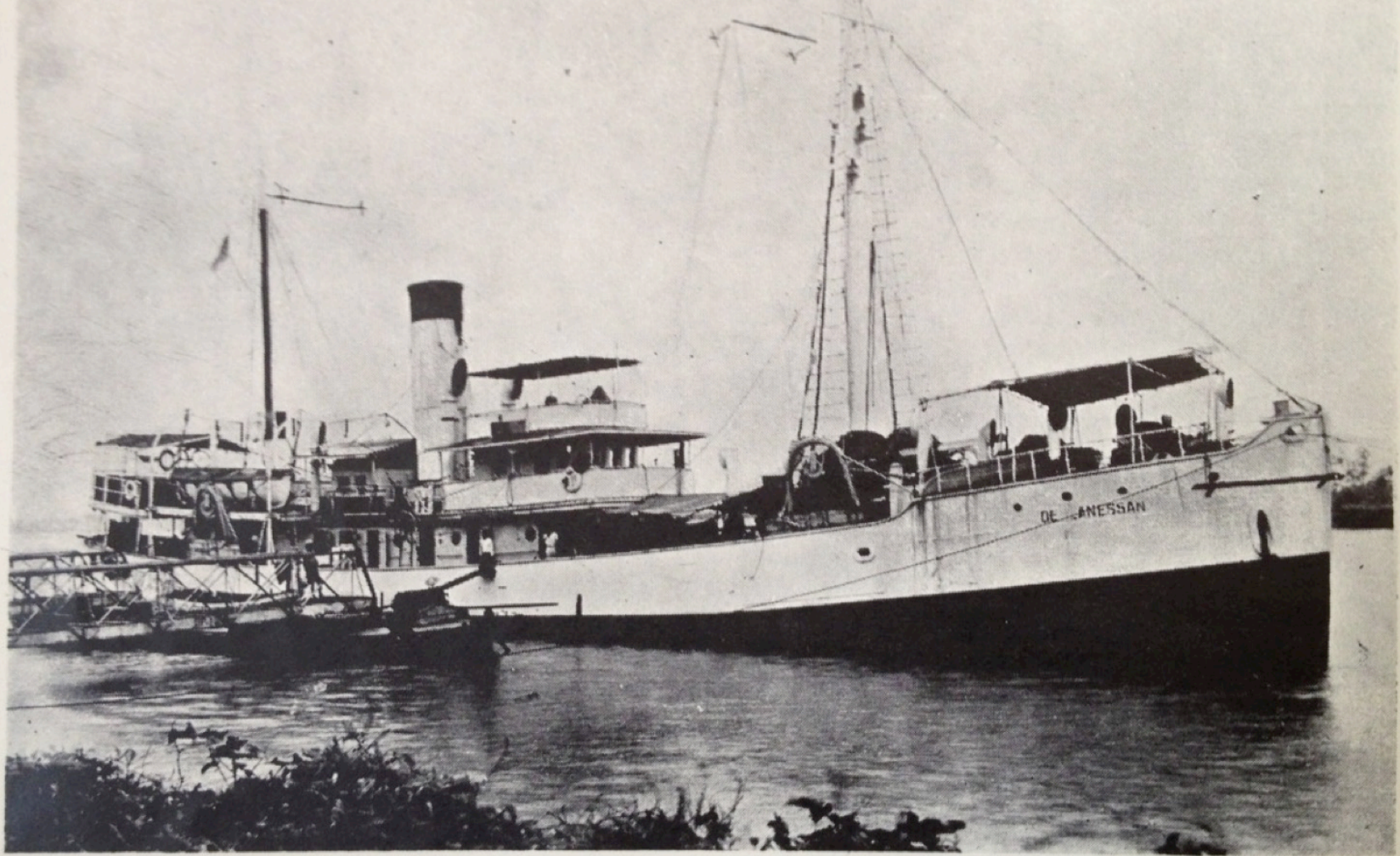
1935 RoC Maps Inspection Committee publishes conclusions

1936 Geographer Bai Meichu publishes new atlas

1943 Cairo Declaration

1946 RoC internal discussions and expeditions

1948 Formal claim to Spratlys



FRANCE'S CORAL EMPIRE

**1925 - 1939, Indochinese Institute of Oceanography undertakes eight missions to the
Paracels and Spratlys.**

CLAIM AND COUNTER CLAIM

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

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 flots définis ci-dessous :

1° L'île Spratly, située par 8° 39' latitude Nord et 111° 55' longitude Est Greenwich, ainsi que les flots 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 flots 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 flots qui en dépendent.
(La prise de possession a eu lieu le 10 avril 1933.)

4° Groupe de Deux-Îles, situé par 11° 29' latitude Nord et 114° 21' longitude Est Greenwich, ainsi que les flots 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 flots 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 flots qui en dépendent.
(La prise de possession a eu lieu le 12 avril 1933.)

Les îles et flots 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 juillet 1933, abonnée au timbre pour 3.509 actions, n° 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° 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° 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 pour les envois en port payé et les récépissés au destinataire pour les envois en port payé, ainsi que par un bordereau récapitulatif mentionnant, par ordre chronologique d'expédition, les taxes de transport payées par 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-Rouge 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

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(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 Îles (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

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Nanking, Aug. 1.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has received a telegram from the Chinese Consulate-General in Manila reporting that, as a result of investigations, it has been definitely ascertained that the islands in question are known collectively as "Tizard Bank" and lie about 200 nautical leagues, or 600 miles, northwest of Palawan Island in the Philippines, at latitude north ten degrees and longitude east 115 degrees. Chinese fishermen from Hainan, off southeastern Kuangtung, have long used these islands as fishing bases.

Earlier reports that these islands correspond to what in Chinese are known as the Sisha islands are stated to be incorrect.—Kuo Min.

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Canton, Aug. 3.

The French claim to the coral islands in the South China Sea is arousing particular concern in Canton owing to the geographical relations of the islands with south China and the intention of the southern Chinese authorities to open up and develop the areas.

A semi-official statement to-day declares that the three-year plan for the reconstruction of south China, adopted by the Southwest Political Council last year, provides for the development of the islands, which includes the installation of a powerful radio station there.

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WHERE ARE THE ISLANDS?

1 August 1933 – Nanjing knows they are not the Paracels

3 August 1933 – Guangzhou still not sure



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。光緒三十二年四月間（西曆一九〇七年五月間），本兩廣總督張人駿之命，巡閱南海，前清在辛亥革命時遺失。惟海陸軍部及軍機處尚有存案可稽也。有巡海記事一冊，此外並有測繪之圖，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」，自係「Franchet」之譯音。筆記且有「林肯島」之名，經李氏易為「豐潤島」，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，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。」之語。聞粵語錄 第十卷 第三十期 粵語彙編記

光緒三十三年春，余乘伏波艦巡洋至其地，遠望有旭日之旗，下合定旋，乘舢舨登岸。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。余以其距吾海不遠，以為屬之吾海，不知為廣東屬地也。聞其

記者

CONFUSED RESPONSE

Officials don't know where Spratly Islands are. Li Zhen returns & causes confusion
 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. 侯沙礁	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	Riflemen 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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AND SOLD BY

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,
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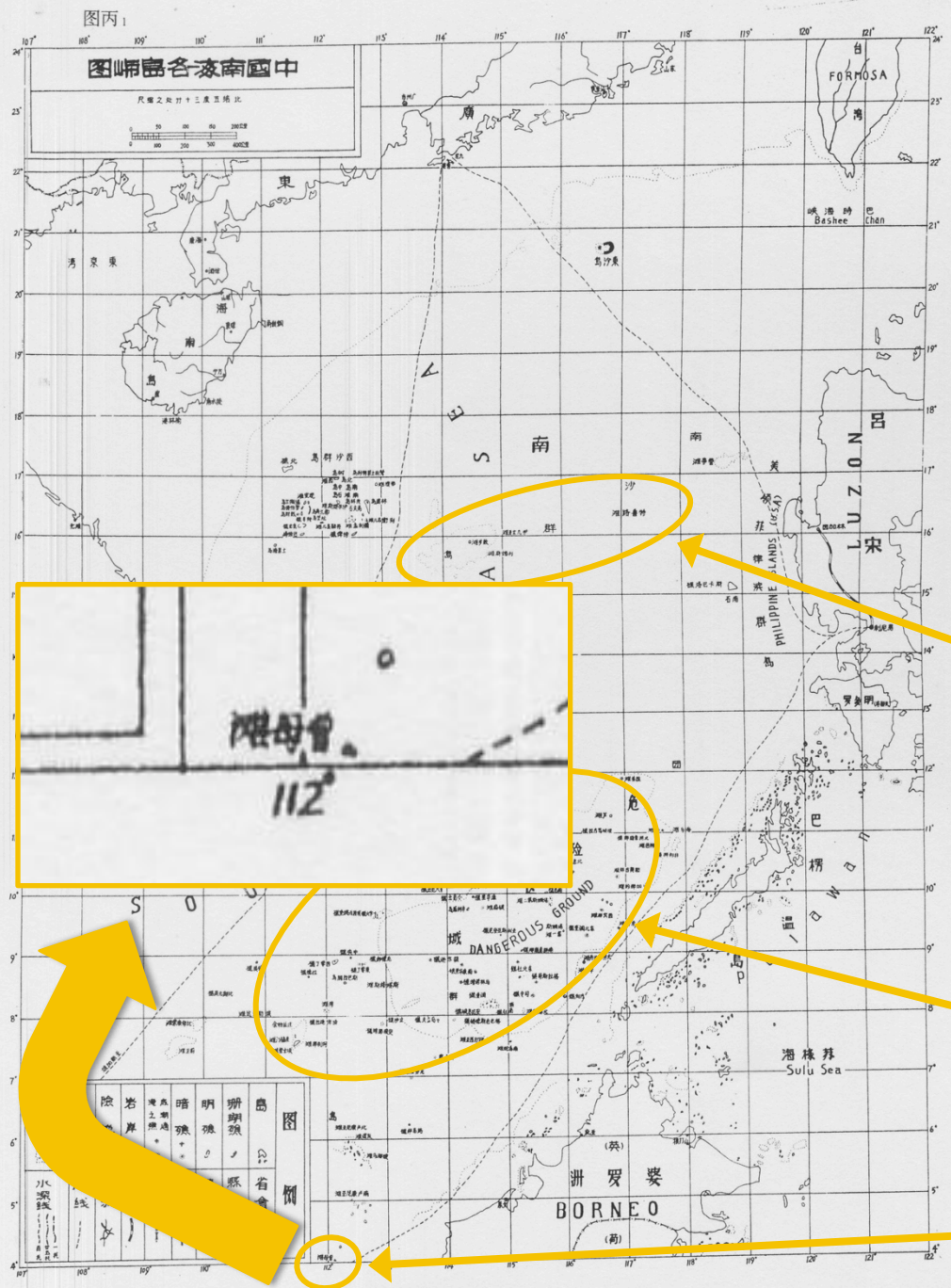
Price Three Shillings.

WHERE DID THE LIST COME FROM?

The UK Hydrographic Office...

China Sea Directory 1906

1935 ROC COMMITTEE CHINESE ISLANDS MAP



- 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			Coronation 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

257. 奥南暗沙	奥南暗沙	阿利加滩	Oriana Shoal
260. 广雅滩	广雅滩	比邻教长滩	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。两图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.

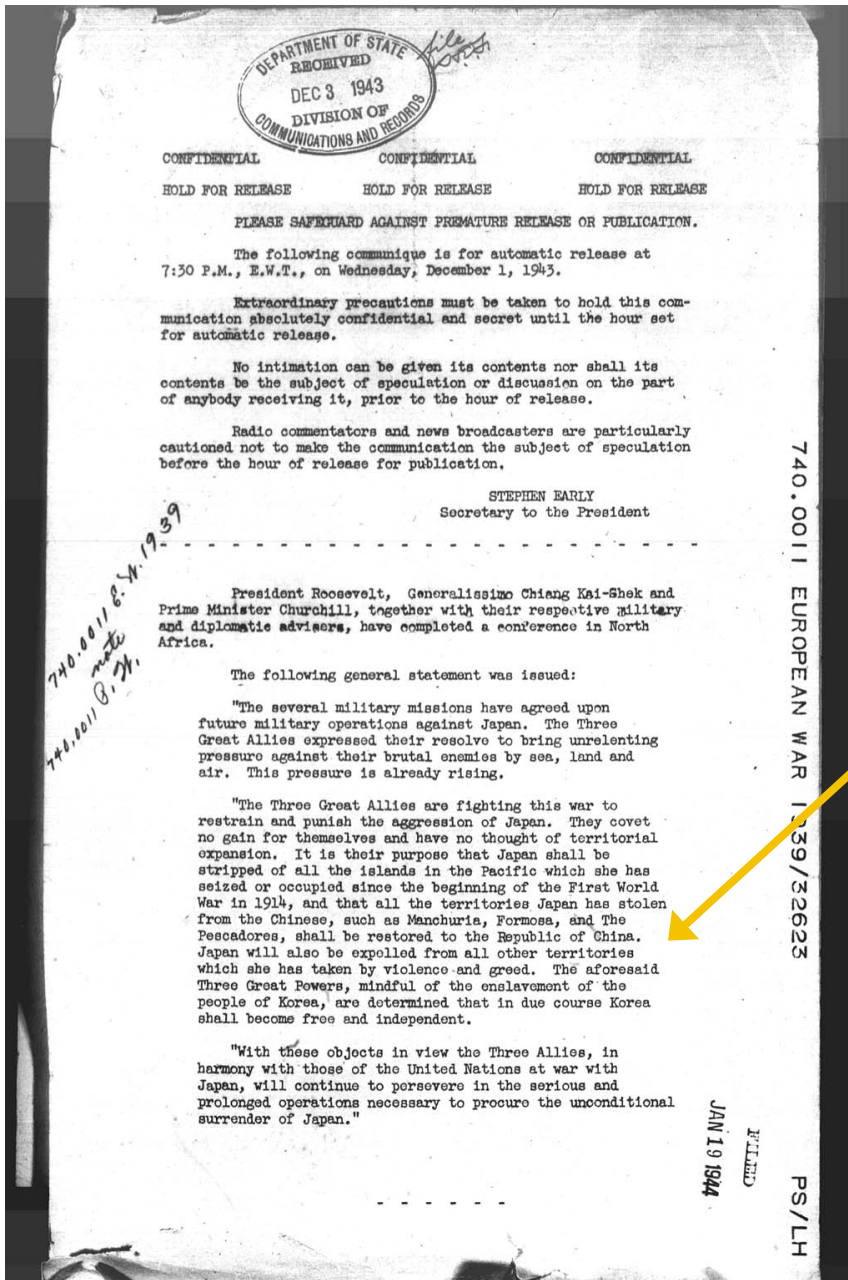
BAI MEICHU'S LINE

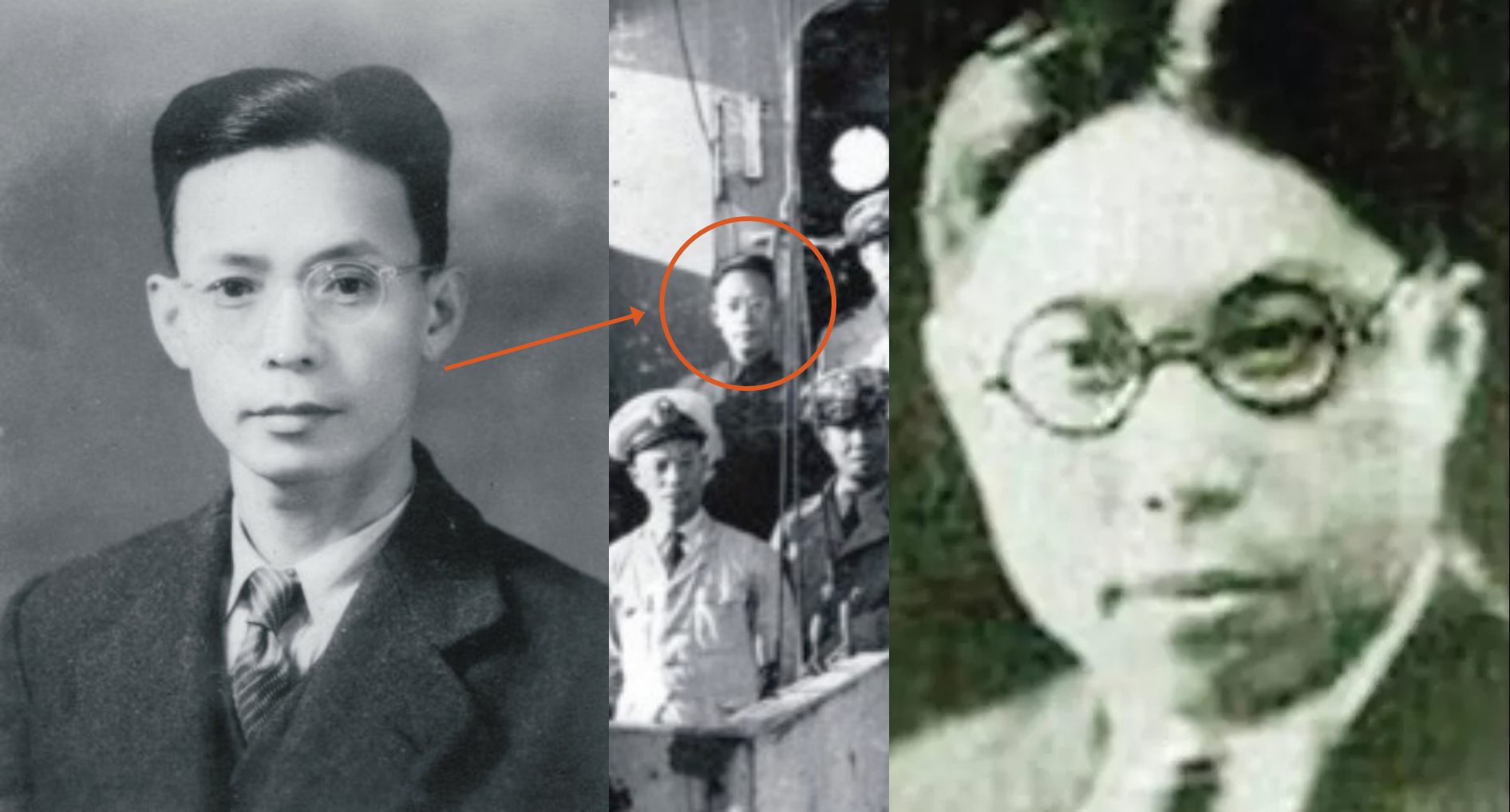


- 'New China Construction Atlas' 1936
- First to show line stretching to James Shoal
- Used the names chosen by the Inspection Committee
- James Shoal & Vanguard Bank drawn as islands. James Shoal labelled 'Zengmu Tan' (滩母曾)

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.”





THE GEOGRAPHERS

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

1927 – Students of Bai Meichu, study 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

OFFICIAL THE LINE BECOMES

'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 1946/7

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

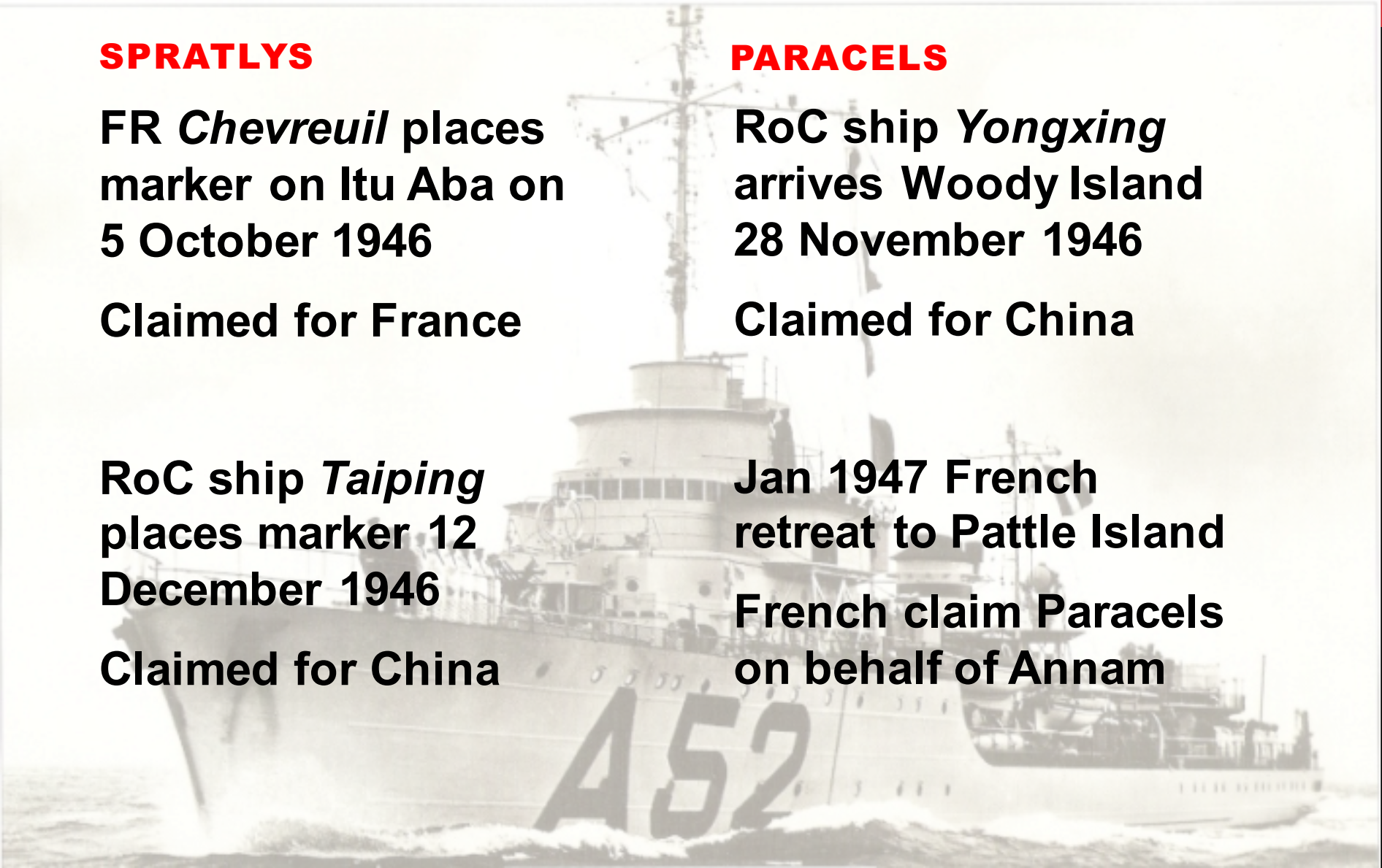
PARACELS

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 TAIHING LANDING PARTY

First ever official Chinese presence in the Spratly Islands – 12 December 1946

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 $53^{\circ} 52' 30''$ N. (Sayan Mountains) and in the east from longitude $135^{\circ} 2' 30''$ 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.

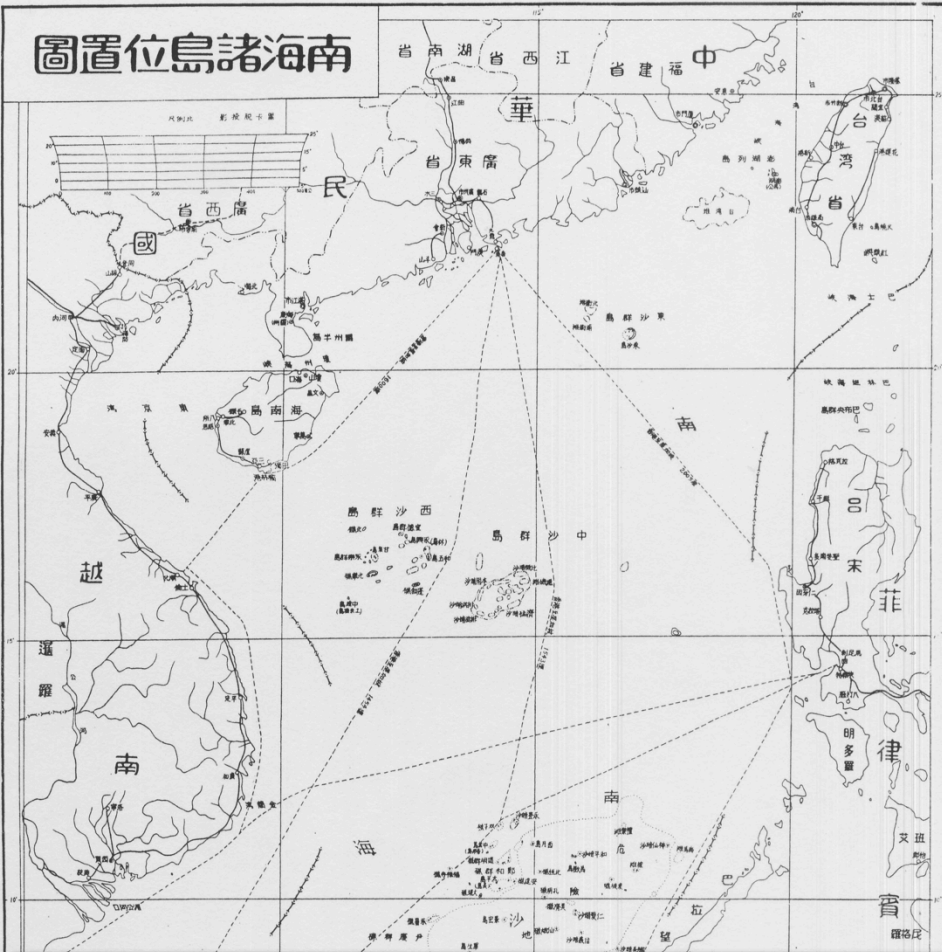
Provinces

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

圖置位島諸海南



'Location Map of the South China Sea Islands'

Drawn December 1947

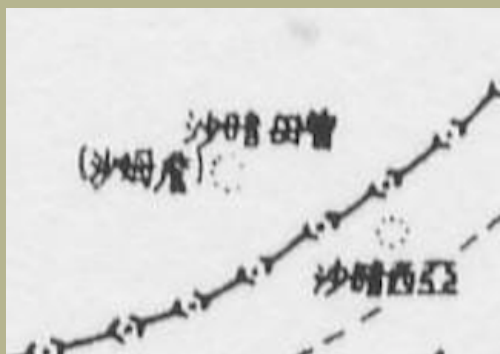
Formally published by RoC Ministry of Internal Affairs in February 1948 as an adjunct to its new 'Administrative Division Map of the Republic of China'

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

國防部測量局代印

Conclusions:

- Claim developed in response to domestic political crises
- Spratlys claim was the result of misunderstandings
- Claim is not ‘natural’ but the result of 20th century circumstances

Bill Hayton

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