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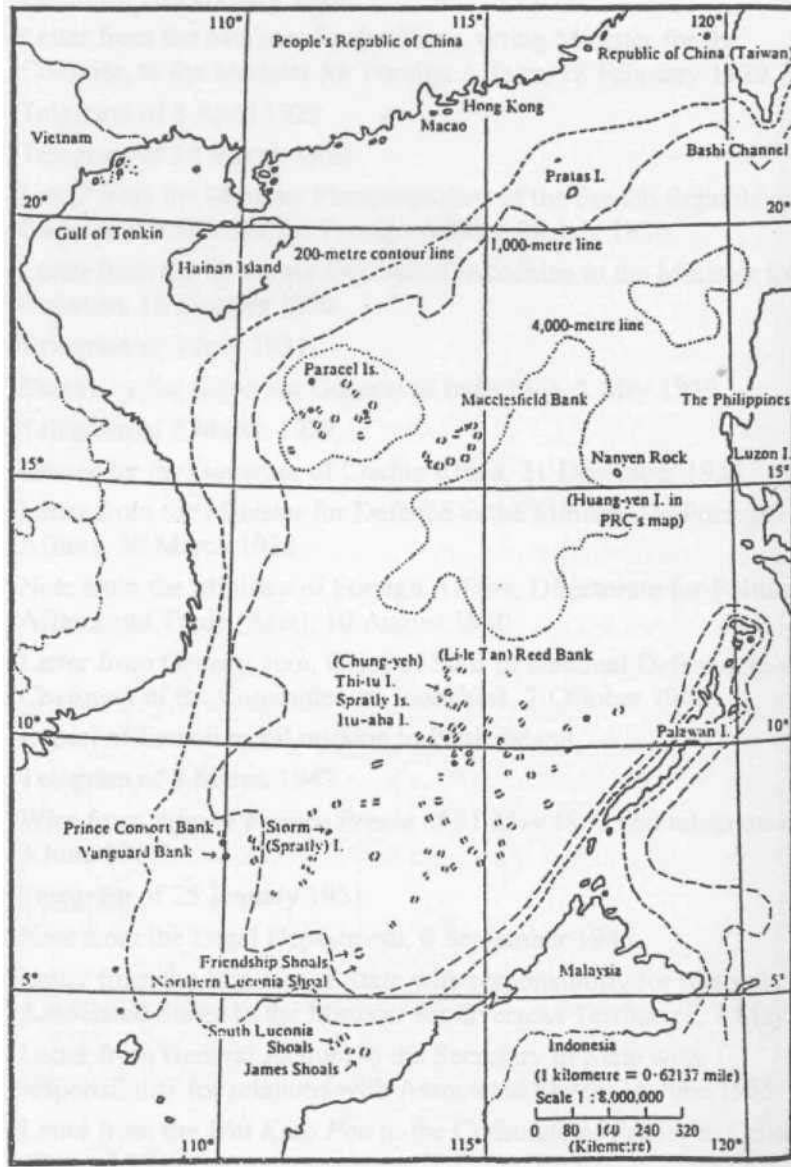
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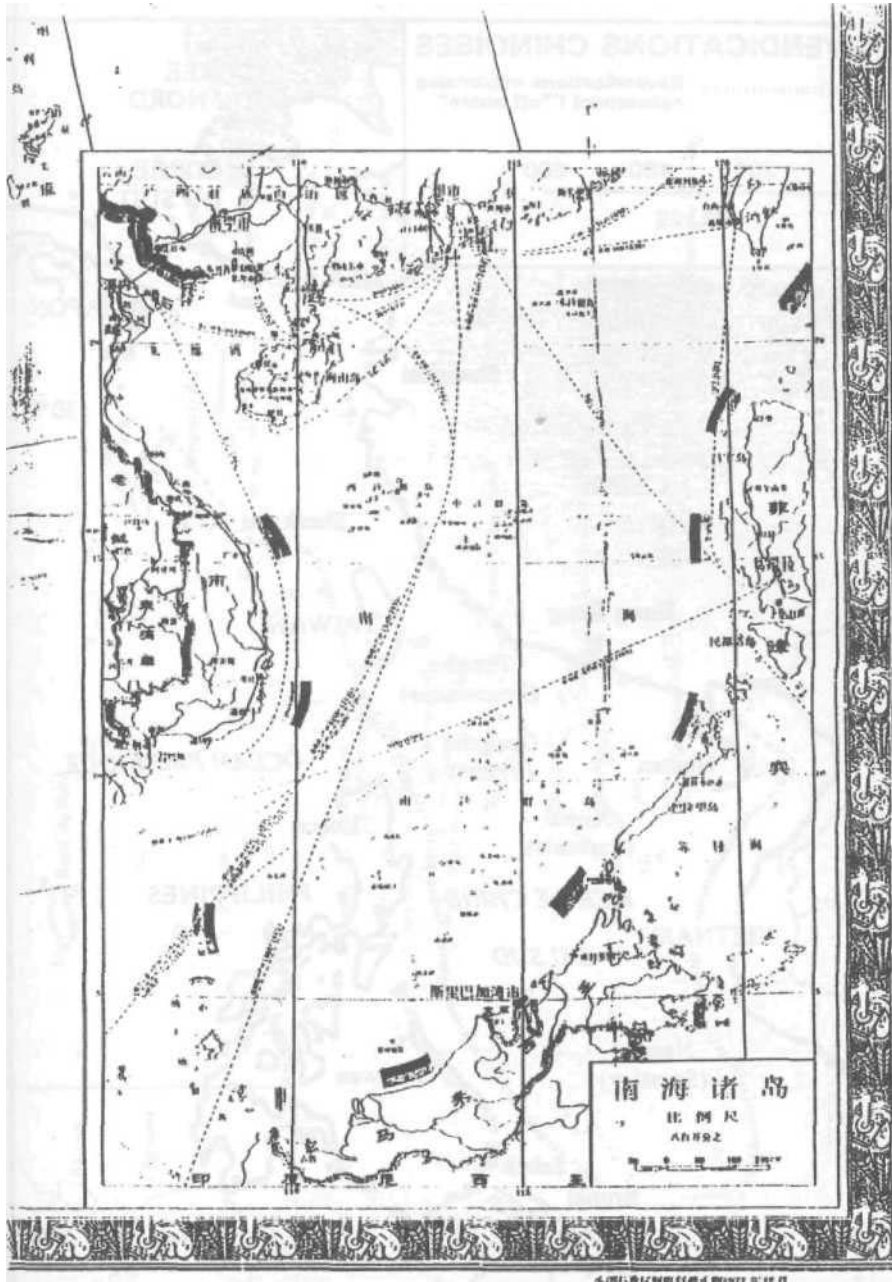
ANNEX I

Map 2: South China Sea



Hung Dah Chiu, South China Islands. Implications for delimiting the sea bed and future shipping routes

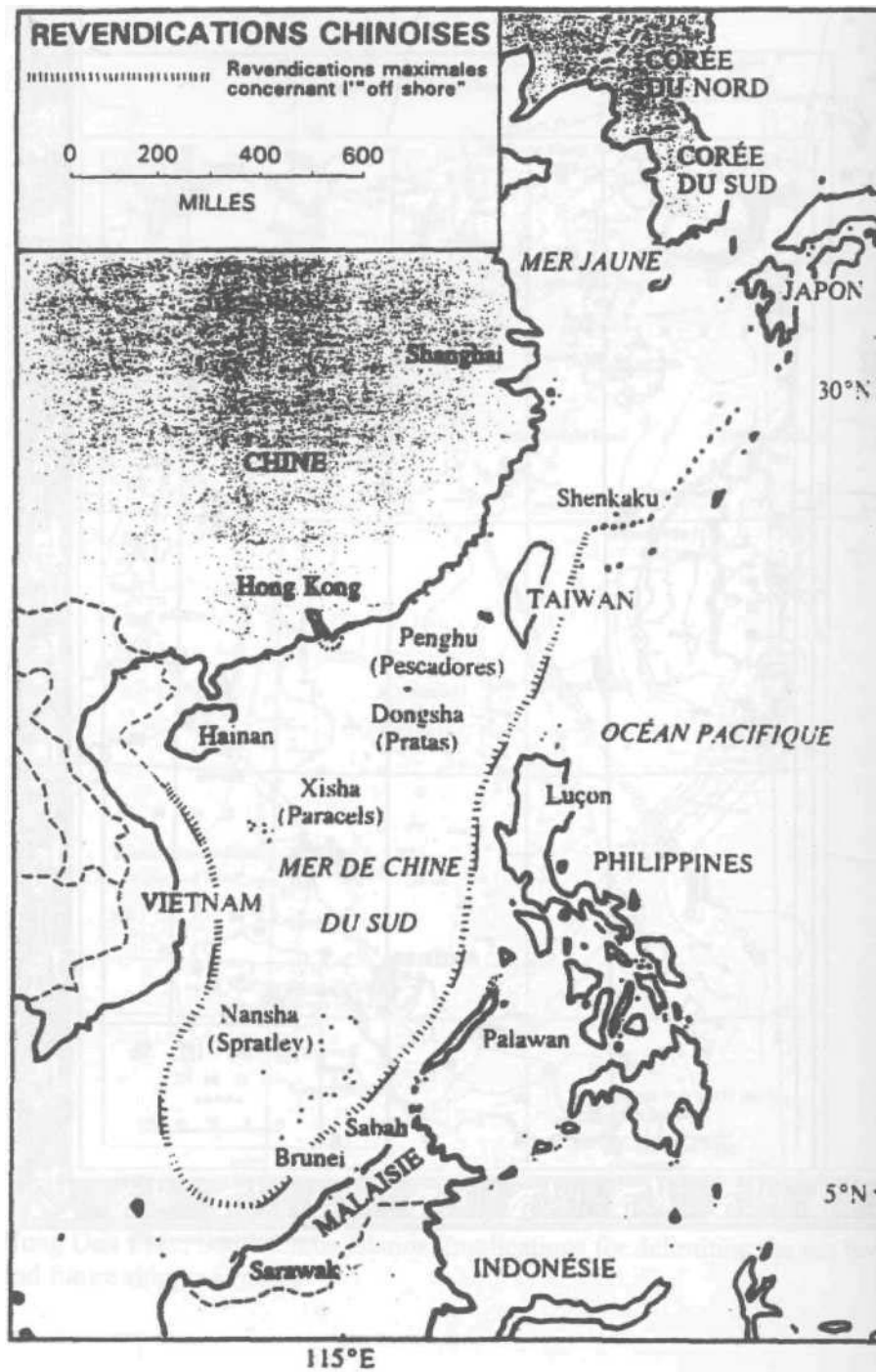
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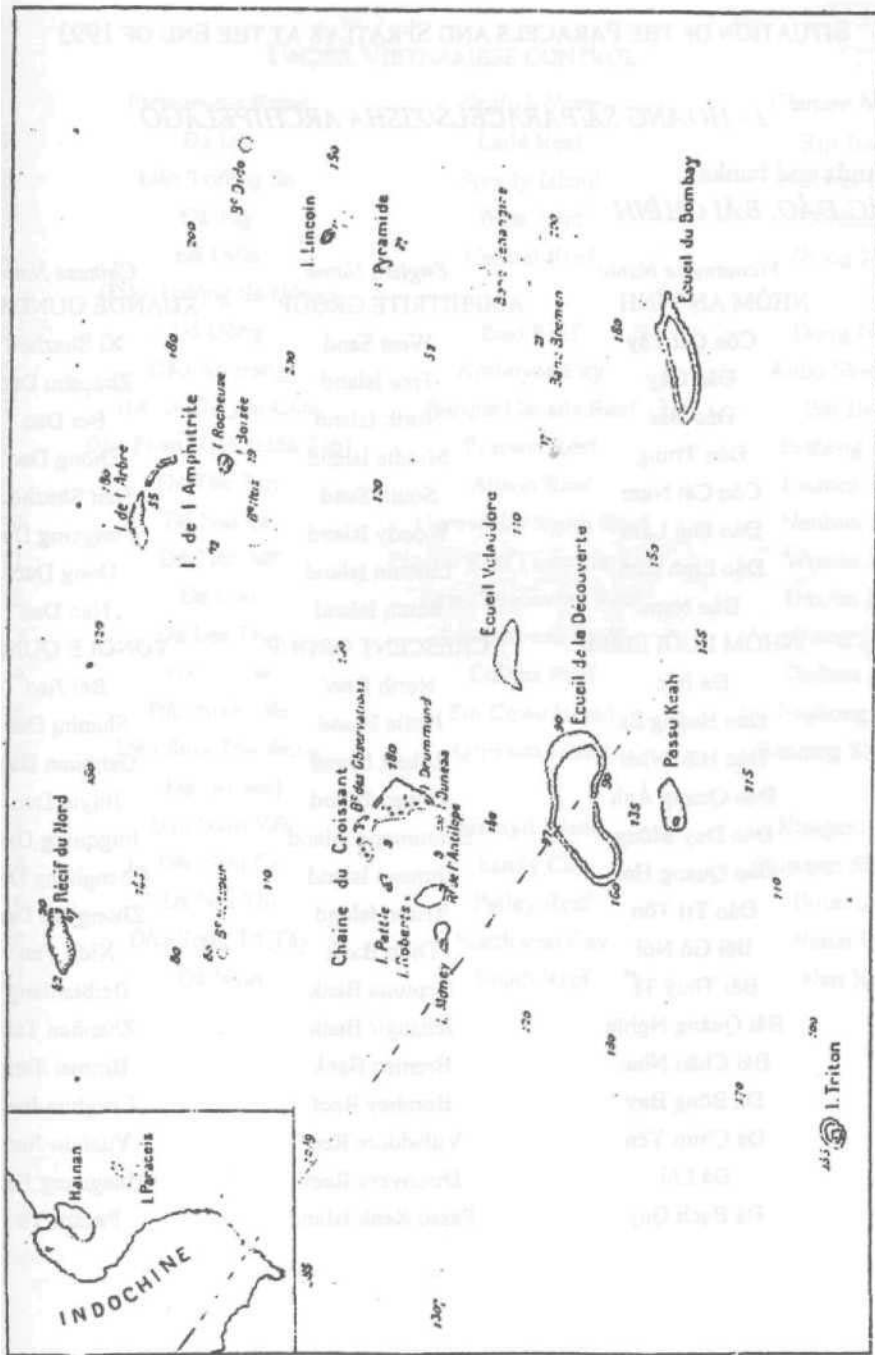
ANNEX 2A

Chinese Claims

Legend: Maximum claim to offshore territory



ANNEX 3



ANNEX 4

SITUATION OF THE PARACELS AND SPRATLYS AT THE END OF 1993

I- HOANG SA/ PARACELS/ XISHA ARCHIPELAGO

Islands and banks

CÁC ĐẢO, BÃI CHÍNH

	<i>Vietnamese Name</i>	<i>English Name</i>	<i>Chinese Name</i>
1.	NHÓM AN VINH	AMPHITRITE GROUP	XUANDE QUNDAO
	Cồn Cát Tây	West Sand	Xi Shazhou
	Đảo Cây	Tree Island	Zhaoshu Dao
	Đảo Bắc	North Island	Bei Dao
	Đảo Trung	Middle Island	Zhong Dao
	Cồn Cát Nam	South Sand	Nan Shazhou
	Đảo Phú Lâm	Woody Island	Yongxing Dao
	Đảo Linh Côn	Lincoln Island	Dong Dao
	Đảo Nam	South Island	Nan Dao
2.	NHÓM LUỖI LIỀM	CRESCENT GROUP	YONGLE QUNDAO
	Đá Bắc	North Reef	Bei Jiao
	Đảo Hoàng Sa	Pattle Island	Shanhu Dao
	Đảo Hữu Nhật	Robert Island	Ganquan Dao
	Đảo Quang Ảnh	Money Island	Jinyin Dao
	Đảo Duy Mộng	Drummond Island	Jingqing Dao
	Đảo Quang Hoà	Duncan Island	Chenghang Dao
	Đảo Tri Tôn	Triton Island	Zhongjian Dao
	Bãi Gò Nổi	Dido Bank	Xidu Tan
	Bãi Thủy Tề	Neptuna Bank	Beibianlang
	Bãi Quảng Nghĩa	Jehangir Bank	Zhanhan Tan
	Bãi Châu Nhại	Bremen Bank	Binmei Tan
	Đá Bông Bay	Bombay Reef	Langhua Jiao
	Đá Chim Yến	Vuladdore Reef	Yuzhuo Jiao
	Đá Lồi	Discovery Reef	Huanguang Jiao
	Đá Bạch Quy	Passu Keah Island	Panshi Yu

II- TRUONG SA/ SPRATLYS/ NANSHA ARCHIPELAGO

UNDER VIETNAMESE CONTROL

	<i>Vietnamese Name</i>	<i>English Name</i>	<i>Chinese Name</i>
1.	Đá Lát	Ladd Reef	Riji Jiao
2.	Đảo Trường Sa	Spratly Island	Nanwei Dao
3.	Đá Tây	West Reef	Xi Jiao
4.	Đá Giữa	Central Reef	Zhong Jiao
	(Đảo Trường Sa Đông)		
5.	Đá Đông	East Reef	Dong Jiao
6.	Đảo An Bang	Amboyna Cay	Anbo Shazhou
7.	Bãi đá Thuyền Chài	Barque Canada Reef	Bai Jiao
8.	Đảo Phan Vinh (Hòn Sập)	Pearson Reef	Bisheng Jiao
9.	Đá Tóc Tan	Alison Reef	Liumen Jiao
10.	Đá Núi Le	Cornwallis South Reef	Nanhua Jiao
11.	Đá Tiên Nữ	Pigeon Reef (Tennent Reef)	Wumie Jiao
12.	Đá Lớn	Great Discovery Reef	Daxian Jiao
13.	Đá Len Đảo	Landsdowne Reef	Qiong Jiao
14.	Đá Cô Lin	Collins Reef Sin	Guihan Jiao
15.	Đảo Sinh Tồn	Cowe Island	Jinghong Dao
16.	Đảo Sinh Tồn Đông (Đá Gri san)	Grierson Island	Ranqing Shazhou
17.	Đảo Nam Yết	Namyit Island	Hongxiu Dao
18.	Đảo Sơn Ca	Sandy Cay	Dunqian Shazhou
19.	Đá Núi Thị	Petley Reef	Bolan Jiao
20.	Đảo Song Tử Tây	Southwest Cay	Nanzi Dao
21.	Đá Nam	South Reef	Nan Jiao

UNDER CHINESE CONTROL

	<i>Vietnamese Name</i>	<i>English Name</i>	<i>Chinese Name</i>
1.	Đá Chữ Thập	Fiery Cross Reef	Yongshu Jiao
2.	Đá Châu Viên	Cuarteron Reef	Huayang Jiao
3.	Đá Gạc Ma	Johnson Reef	Chigua Jiao
4.	Đá Huy Gơ (Đá Tư Nghĩa)	Hughes Reef	Dongmen Jiao
5.	Đá Ga Ven	Gaven Reef	Nanxun Jiao
6.	Đá Én Đất	Eldad Reef	Anda Jiao
7.	Đá Xu Bi	Subi Reef	Zhubi Jiao
8.	Đá Vành Khăn	Mischief Reef	Meiji Jiao

UNDER FILIPINO CONTROL

	<i>Vietnamese Name</i>	<i>English Name</i>	<i>Filipino Name</i>
1.	Đảo Song Tử ĐĐông	Northeast Cay	Parola Island
2.	Đảo Dừa (Bến Lạc)	West York Island	Likas Island
3.	Đảo Thị Tứ	Thitu Island	Pagasa Island
4.	Đảo Bình Nguyên	Flat Island	Patag Island
5.	Đảo Vĩnh Viễn	Nanshan Island	Lawak Island
6.	Đảo Công Đo	Commodore Reef	Rizal Reef
7.	Cồn san hô lan can (Bãi An Nhơn)	Lamkian Cay	Panata Shoal
8.	Đảo Loại Ta	Loaita Island	Kota Island

UNDER MALAYSIAN CONTROL

	<i>Vietnamese Name</i>	<i>English Name</i>	<i>Malaysian Name</i>
1.	Đá Ky Vân	Mariveles Reef	Terumbu Mantanani
2.	Đá Kiệu Ngựa	Ardasier Reef	Terumbu Ubi
3.	Đá Hoa Lau	Swallow Reef	Terumbu Layang Layang
		From June 1999	
4.	Đá Én Ca	Erica Reef	Terumbu Siput
5.	Bãi Thám Hiềm	Investigator Reef	Terumbu Peninjan

UNDER TAIWANESE CONTROL

<i>Vietnamese name</i>	<i>English name</i>	<i>Taiwanese name</i>
Đảo Ba Bình	Itu Aba Island	Taiping dao

ANNEX 5

Letter No. 704-A-Ex, dated 20 March 1930, from the Governor General of Indochina, Hanoi, to the Minister for the Colonies, Paris

Further to my telegram No. 501 of 14 March on the sovereign rights claimed by the Provincial Government of Kwangtung over the Paracel Islands, I now have the honour to provide a more detailed reply to your letter No. 184 of 31 December on the same subject.

As a preliminary measure I felt it my duty to advise you briefly, in the above-mentioned telegram, of the Government General's views on the matter. It was necessary to acquaint you without delay of the intentions of the Kwangtung Government, intentions which may be put into effect at any moment. I was myself informed of them by our Consul in Canton in his letter No. 17 of 20 February, a copy of which is enclosed.

The decision of the Kwangtung Council is merely the natural progression of a series of moves by the authorities of South China to assert their rights of sovereignty over the Paracels. Your Ministry has been duly informed of them at regular intervals. The first and most significant move occurred in 1909, when an official ceremony marking the taking of possession was held on the initiative of the Viceroy of the Two Kwangs. It is likely that the Provincial Council of Kwangtung now claims that its decision is based on this ceremony. This taking of possession- on which France, the only power concerned, has never officially made its views known- would be legally valid only if the Paracels were *res nullius* at the time. Yet - unlike 1909 - the Chinese themselves have not always feigned certainty of this. Following the wreck in 1898 of the British vessels *Bellona* and *Huneji Maru*, which were then looted by Chinese fishermen, the Viceroy of Canton countered the protests of the Minister of Great Britain in Peking with the retort: 'The Paracels are abandoned islands which belong no more to China than to Annam, they are not administratively attached to any district of Hainan and no special authority is responsible for policing them.'

This ambiguous reply would seem to imply that the author was not unaware of the ancient rights to the islands acquired by the Court of Annam.

In your letter No. 184 you requested further information. Wishing to obtain accurate information myself, I asked the Chief Residency in Annam for details on 12 January 1929. A copy of Mr Le Fol's reply, dated 22 January 1929, is enclosed. The correspondence incontrovertibly establishes the priority of the rights of the Hue Court.

The Japanese Government was in no doubt about the matter: in 1927 it requested its Consul General in Hanoi to make an unofficial approach to the Government General to ascertain the territorial status of several groups of islands in the China Sea. The Paracels were specifically excluded from this inquiry, since Mr Kurosawa, on the instructions of his Ministry, was aware that he could not discuss the status of this archipelago with a representative of France.

It appears from a report written in 1927 by Mr Krempf, Director of the Oceanographic and Fisheries Department of Indochina, that the economic worth of the Paracels has been exaggerated. Since 1920, when a Japanese company - without permission - simply plundered the more accessible parts of them, the guano deposits which prompted several applications to the Government General for concessions have been of only minor importance.

The strategic interest of the archipelago seems quite another matter. I can do no better than refer you to the above-mentioned letter from the Chief Resident in Annam, which makes this point remarkably well.

I should add that Indochina would have a further interest in being mistress of these islands. Their geographical location obliges vessels setting a course from Saigon to Hong Kong to make a large detour in order to avoid these reef-strewn waters. As Mr de Monzie said in the letter you forwarded to me, a radio station on the islands to warn of typhoons would be of the greatest possible benefit to navigation in Indochinese waters. It is perhaps worth noting that Governor General Paul Doumer requested the colony's technical services to look into the possibility of constructing a lighthouse on the islands as early as 1899. Budgetary considerations alone prevented the actual construction from going ahead.

To sum up, I agree wholeheartedly with your correspondents in recognizing that it would be in the interests of France to claim sovereignty over the Paracels on behalf of Annam. As I told you in my telegram of 14 March, the French Government has actually never definitively abandoned asserting the historical and geographical rights of the Empire under our protection. Considerations of expediency alone have so far militated against the official assertion of these rights. The grounds for temporization, initially set out in a note to your Ministry in 1921, were reiterated in my telegram No. 135-B of 3 April 1921. At that time, it seemed to me that the climate of opinion which had been stirred up in both Indochina and France over this issue did not justify any fresh conclusions. Moreover, it was clearly in our then interest not to alienate Chinese opinion at the very time when the Sino-Indochinese Agreements were being negotiated in Nanking.

The latter reason has become far less compelling with the adjournment of the negotiations *sine die*. I would even add that the conclusions of the letter of 22 August 1921 from the *President du Conseil*, Minister for Foreign Affairs, conclusions which were entirely relevant at the time and which echoed this Government General's view, are doubtless no longer so justified in the current state of affairs.

That letter considered that incorporating the Paracels into the administration of Hainan Island would automatically entail the application to the islands of the provisions of the Peking Convention of 10 April 1898. France would therefore have had a guarantee against any cession of the islands. We would also have secured a subsidiary guarantee of non-fortification by obtaining a declaration from the Chinese Government in exchange for the official recognition by France of China's sovereignty.

However, in 1921 Mr Maugras, Charge d' Affaires in Peking, and later Mr de Fleuriau, deemed that it would be inadvisable to initiate negotiations on the Paracels with a Government which did not have any authority in southern China. I cannot deny that it would be even more difficult to obtain from the Nationalist Government today something which our diplomatic representatives in China felt unable to request at a time when China stood divided under two equally weak Governments, and when the mystique of the Kuomintang had not yet reached the heights we see today.

An attempt to negotiate on this subject would most probably be doomed to failure. As for unilateral action on our part, still a possibility, no doubt you will hold the consequent political drawbacks to be out of all proportion to the importance of the objective to be attained. Yet in view of the strategic interest of the archipelago for us and the force of the rights acquired by the Empire we have taken under our protection, I feel we cannot ignore the matter.

Consequently, the most expedient attitude to adopt still appears to be wait and see. This has the advantage of reserving our rights until the day when more propitious circumstances allow us to secure their recognition. We may indeed find ourselves obliged to envisage the abandonment of certain advantages and privileges which we currently enjoy in China. The Paracels might then constitute a bargaining chip or compensation for our concessions on other points.

I should be obliged if you would let me know, after consulting the Minister for Foreign Affairs, whether you approve of my view of the matter. In any event, I would be most grateful for instructions or suggestions on this question from your Ministry and from the Quai d'Orsay.

For your own information, and also that of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, I enclose in duplicate a study on the Paracel Islands written by Mr Lapique. This brochure, complete with photographic material, is an interesting summary of what we know about the history and geography of the archipelago./.

(Signed) Pasquier

ANNEX 6

