

The Shaping of the History of the South China Sea by Chinese Policy During the Cold War: An Investigation from 1949 to 1978

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Abstract: As we all know, the islands in the South China Sea have always been Chinese territory. However, forasmuch as the influence of international politics and world pattern after the Cold War, the ambiguity of the South China Sea issue after World War II in documents such as the " Cairo Declaration " San Francisco Peace Treaty with Japan " has laid a foreshadowing for the South China Sea dispute. This paper takes China's policy on the South China Sea issue as the object of analysis, focusing on finding the impact of China's policy on that issue on the shaping of the history of the South China Sea, aiming to explain the background, reasons, conditions and impact of China's sea power strategy adjustment during 1949-1978. In order to achieve the above objectives, the author mainly uses game theory analysis method, historical literature analysis method and case analysis method to carry out research, and makes a qualitative analysis of the influence of China's policy on the history of the South China Sea during 1949-178. The research results show that the influence of China's policy on the history of the South China Sea is mainly divided into two stages : declaration of sovereignty and military rights protection.

Keywords: The South China Sea; Cold War; China's policy; Game-playing between China and Vietnam; Sea power; Sustainable competitive

1. INTRODUCTION

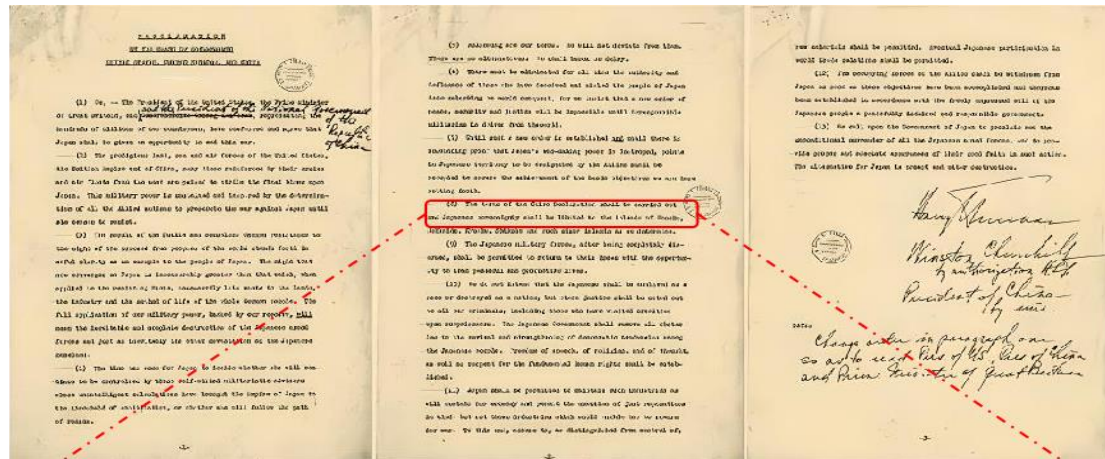
As coastal countries have put their competition for land and resources into the sea, disputes over maritime delimitation, sovereignty of islands and development and utilization of marine resources have become prominent issues affecting a country's maritime security and maritime rights and interests. Historically, the amount of a country's maritime interests can determine the strength of its wealth and strength to some extent (Southgate, 2019). The ocean is not only an essential element affecting the rise and fall of a country and a nation, but also an important strategic support for the sustainable development of the country.

The South China Sea (also called Nanhai), as the semi-closed sea with the largest number of coastal countries in the Western Pacific (James, 2014), is the largest area involving marine rights and interests in China. It is also the busiest area for international shipping and the most diversified sea area for oil and gas and biological resources.

It is also an important support for China's maritime sovereignty and security (Moore & Primiano, 2020). The South China Sea dispute is faced with the world's most complex conflicts over the paramountcy of islands and reefs and the delimitation of sea areas (Chen, 2016). It not only directly involves the "six countries and seven parties" with claims to sovereignty and rights in the South China Sea, but also relates to the game between China and the United States and the construction of international politics, economic and legal rank (Patel & Deheri, 2022).

The South China Sea dispute began during the period of French colonial occupation. After the French colonial authorities withdrew from Indochina, under the intervention of the United States, Vietnam experienced a split between the two regimes (Singh, 2012). It is indisputable that the North Vietnamese government clearly recognizes Chinese sovereignty over the Nansha and the Xisha Islands, and has publicly stated this position many times in different periods and on different occasions, while South Vietnam continues to compete with China for sea power in the region (Zohourian, 2020).

Near the termination of WWII, many countries jointly signed the "Cairo Declaration", "Potsdam Proclamation" and other treaties, which clearly pointed out China's sovereign rights over the Nanhai Islands. When the Soviet government signed the above treaties, it affirmed and recognized the terms of the return of Japanese-occupied Chinese territories to China (Romi, 2019).



The 'Potsdam Proclamation' reiterated that the conditions of the 'Cairo Declaration' must be implemented, stipulating that Japanese sovereignty is limited to Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, and the four countries. That is, Japanese post-war territory does not include the South China Sea at all.

Figure 1: The Potsdam Proclamation

During the Cold War, the USA focused on the South China Sea for purpose of impose sanctions on China and the Soviet Union. The USA did not take direct measures to intervene in the sovereignty struggle in the sea area (Pitakdumrongkit, 2015). Its intention was to organize China to control the sea area as much as possible and use it as a 'breakwater' to contain communism (Enh, 2010a). This strategy has greatly affected China's exercise of normal rights and interests in the region, but it has encouraged the Philippines and South Vietnam to covet the sea area, which has led to the outbreak of that dispute and has become increasingly clear (Chunhao, 2017; Lu, 2019). The United States attitude towards the attribution of the South China Sea has led many countries to join the struggle for the territory of there, which has a bad impact on the development of the situation in the territory (Zheng, 2022).

In recent years, the South China Sea issue has made the study of the South China Sea a hot topic (Daojiong, 2001). The academic community has elaborated from multiple perspectives and disciplines, combed the origin and development of that issue, and made predictions on the solutions and future trends. The results are numerous. From the outlook of the sovereignty of the South China Sea, there are mainly sovereignty affirmation and sovereignty negation. For example, Dieter Heinzig believes that China has sufficient evidence of sovereign rights over surrounding islands (Won, 2014). The way of obtaining sovereignty is in line with the way of obtaining territory in international law, and its propositions are generally approved and accepted by the global society. Malik argues that China's submit to the sovereign rights of the Nansha Islands lacks credible

historical evidence (Ephraim & Changfeng, 2017). Hurng Yu chen established an analytical framework based on historical records and concepts related to international law, and cited the intertemporal law and key dates in international law to analyze and interpret the specific content of the San Francisco peace treaty with Japan (Khadga, 2016).

Based on the previous scholars' research data, Kelan established a political economy model to make a logistic regression analysis of the new coded double sides direct investment data and the existing data, and discussed whether the appeasing effect of foreign direct investment (FDI) on the dispute between the opposing sides depends on the past military cooperation experience of the opposing sides . The study found that when the bilateral FDI between the two sides reaches a certain level, FDI has played a stronger role in easing the historical military cooperation.

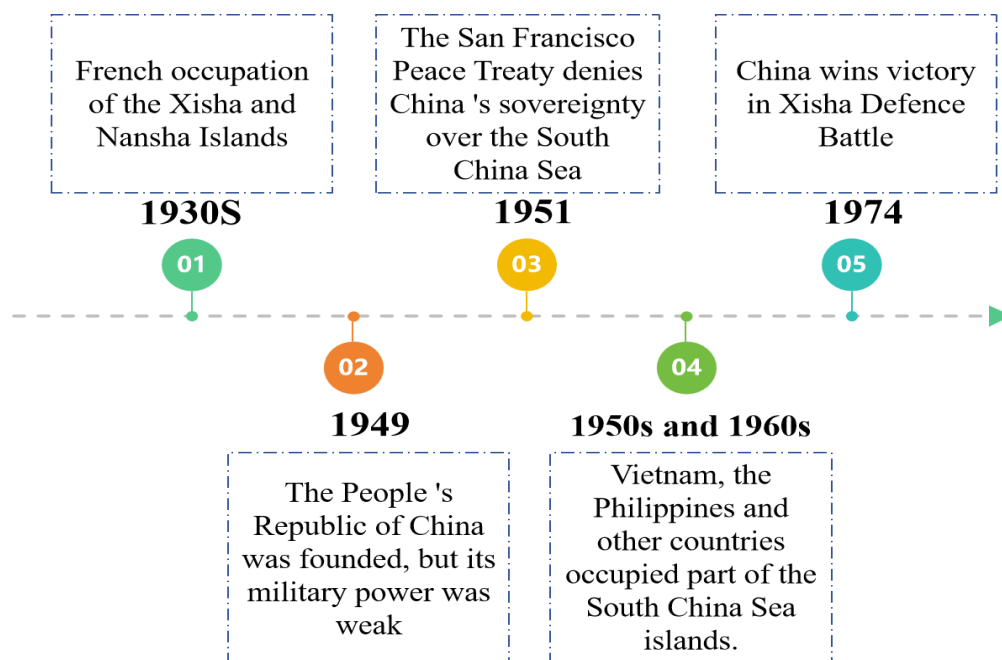


Figure 2: The history of the development of the South China Sea situation

For different purposes, domestic and foreign academic circles have carried out research on the history and current situation of the South China Sea. However, the time limit of these studies is mostly concentrated in the post-cold-war ear (Nie, 2018). The research object focuses on the policies and measures adopted by the United States, the Soviet Union and other nations in the area. There is less research on the strategies adopted by China in the process of safeguarding the sovereignty of the region during the Cold War (Shen, 2002; Sudirman, 2017). In addition, the existing research ignores an important point, that is, from a macro perspective, the change of the international situation is a key element impressing the process of the South China Sea and affects the trend of the situation in peripheral areas.

There is not only the game between China, Japan and France, but also the close attention of the UK, the USA and other countries. However, due to the confidentiality restrictions of foreign archives, our existing research ignores the international situation and regional political background under the main events in Nanhai (Guoqiang, 2017; Keyuan, 2017).

Based on this, this paper takes China's policy on the South China Sea issue as the analysis object, focusing on finding the impact of these relevant policies on the shaping of the history of the Sea area, aiming to explain the background, reasons, conditions and impact of China's sea power strategy adjustment during 1949-1978.

In order to achieve the above goals, the author mainly uses the game theory analysis method, historical literature analysis method and case analysis method to explain the policy factors affecting China in the South China Sea region, explore the evolution trend of China's sea power strategy in there during the post-Cold War period, analyze the internal logic of these policies in shaping the history of the South China Sea, and think about how to effectively protective measure the territorial sovereignty of the South China Sea in the future based on the basic experience of strategic adjustment of countries directly and indirectly involved in there power issue.

Furthermore, through the research of this paper, I hope to make some modest efforts to continuously enrich the theoretical system of the study of the Nanhai sovereign rights issue and island disputes, promote the development of the frontier discipline system, and deepen and broaden the research trend of the issue during the Republic of China.

2. THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF THE SOUTH CHINA SEA ISSUE DURING THE COLD WAR

2.1 Phase I -Regional And Strategic Significance Of The South China Sea

The South China Sea is Asia's sea channel to Europe and Africa. It is a maritime hub connecting the two oceans and connecting the three continents. Therefore, the sea area is an extremely material strategic position. In addition to its strategic importance, there also contains massive non-renewable resources, including 210000 cubic kilometers of oil layers, equivalent to the oil reserves of countries in the Middle East. Among the four islands, the southern islands have the most abundant oil and gas reserves, about 35 billion tons of reserves, known as the "second Persian Gulf".



Figure 3: The South China Sea Region Map

Someone (Evgeny, 2013) has explained that the South China Sea has crucial geostrategic significance from the following four aspects : (1) The sea area is rich in fish species and suitable for breeding fish. (2) It not only has two major ports in Asia - Hong Kong and Singapore - but also has some essential straits that control the throats of the Pacific and Indian Oceans. (3) It contains offshore oil and gas resources. (4) It is the foremost international commercial strategic route that must pass through the land. There are more than ten thousand merchant ships through here every year.

2.2 Phase II -During The Cold War, The World's Policies On The South China Sea Issue

The earlier period of the Cold War although the strategic focus of the USA was in Europe, the vast areas of the South China Sea were essential areas for the USA to contain the Soviet Union and China (Milne et al., 1999). For the benefit of containing China, the USA has signed massive bilateral military alliances in the surrounding areas of the sea, weaved an intricate network of treaties, and built an 'anti-communist breakwater'. Therefore, during this period, the USA ignored the sovereignty of the sea area and allowed China to protest and " sail freely " there without hesitation, turning the sea area into a de facto international high seas (Dutta, 2005).

Throughout the Vietnam War, the USA sailed its warships freely in the sea area for the need for war and containment of China. In the eyes of the USA, there is no concept that any country has sovereignty over there. Strategic behavior

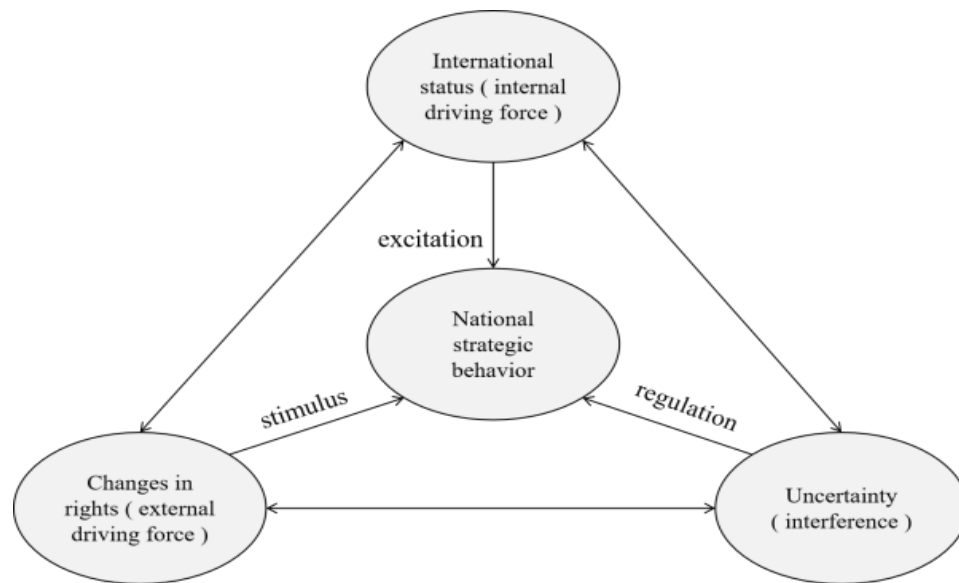


Figure 4: Sources of motivation for national

The USA's movement in the South China Sea during this period mainly included the following aspects: First, various bilateral and multilateral military groups were organized, and large-scale military exercises were often held there as a 'preview of interference in Indochina' (Rolf & Agnew, 2016). In March 1947, the U.S.-Philippines Military Agreement and the Treaty of Military Assistance to the Philippines were signed (Mohan & Jakki, 2019). In 1951, the " Joint Defense Treaty " was signed. In October 1950, the " Joint Defense Assistance Agreement " was signed with Thailand.

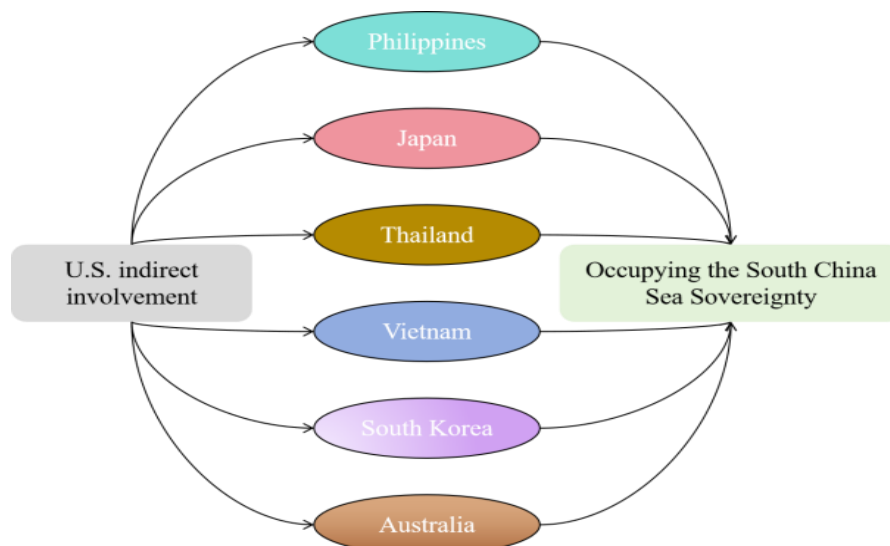


Figure 5: The USA indirectly intervenes in the South China Sea sovereignty struggle

Secondly, it brazenly carried out military operations on China, violated China's South China Sea territory, repeatedly invaded Hainan Island Xisha Islands, and used the sea area. To carry out military provocations and even

invasions against China (Sylvester, 2011). In January 1953, the USA Navy aircraft and ships harassed the South China Sea islands. In 1954, a British passenger plane was mistakenly attacked by a Chinese fighter near Hainan Island. The USA took the opportunity to make a fuss and sent two aircraft carriers to the coastal waters of Hainan Island in the name of rescuing the victims.

Under the background of the Cold War between the East and the West, Japan's position on the dispute of sovereign rights in the South China Sea has been dominated by the USA (Mingliang, 2012). For example, in figure 15 of the *Standard World Atlas* published in 1952, the four islands of the Nanhai are spelled in Chinese; in the 19th map of the "New Atlas of the World" recommended by Masayoshi Ohira in 1964 (Pernetta & Michael, 2013), there is also an unmistakable mark of "Nansha (China)". Similar expressions are strikingly consistent with the attitude of the USA (Song, 2005).

In addition, the "Japan-Taiwan Treaty" signed by the Taiwan authorities and Japan in 1952 said that Japan has also given up all rights, reputations, and requirements for Taiwan and its Penghu Islands, the South China Sea Islands, and the Xisha Islands, and has not clearly defined the sovereignty of the Nanhai.

The maps and books published by the USSR in the 1950s have consistently recognized and indicated that the Nanhai Islands are owned by China. The Soviet Union also supported China's actions to defend the coastal areas. On September 9, 1958, the Chinese government stated the maritime territory, which clearly explained that the territory of China should include all of the Nanhai and surrounding islands.

In the 1960s, the relationship between China and the USSR was tense. The Soviet Union changed its attitude of recognizing the sovereign rights of the South China Sea Islands, and the situation in the southern coastal areas of China became severe (Hayley, 2015).

In early 1974, after the self-defense counter-attack war in the Xisha Islands, the USSR began to attack the Chinese government's righteous behavior, vilifying China's recovery of sovereignty over the Xisha Islands as an attempt to establish hegemony and occupy Vietnamese territory. It is absurd to point out that some islands in the Nanhai are owned by Japan, Vietnam, the Philippines and other Asian countries.

Many countries such as the USSR, Vietnam, the Philippines, Indonesia and Malaysia have made statements attacking China in defiance of other countries' rights and interests, claiming that China covets almost all of its neighbors' land and islands in there.

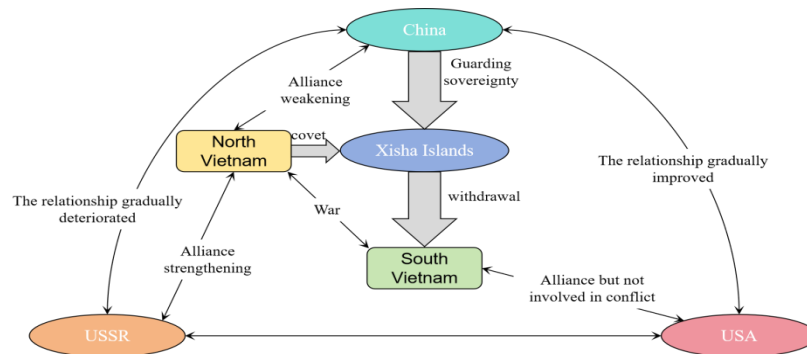


Figure 6: The international situation of sovereignty struggle in Xisha Islands

In the 1960s and 1970s, the USSR was in the process of global expansion. Southeast Asia is the focus of its expansion (Yaohua, 2011). This is because Southeast Asia is not only the junction of the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean but also the seaport of China's southern neighbor, southern Vietnam, such as Jinlan Bay and Guangang, which has become the target of the Soviet Union, because of its crucial strategic significance. To this end, the Soviet Union spared no effort to support Vietnam in political, military, diplomatic, and other aspects.

The first purpose was to expand military bases in the Asia-Pacific region and weaken the Western forces and influence in Southeast Asia (CHEN, 2014). The second was to contain and encircle China. The presence of the Soviet Navy in the Nanhai, Vietnam's invasion of Shupu, and its control over Laos made the Soviet Union enhance its strategic posture towards China (Ghani et al., 2020). China's strategic backyard has become the strategic scope of the USSR. The Taiwan authorities have permanently highly regarded the territorial sovereignty of the South China Sea islands (Southgate, 2019; Yoshihara & Holmes, 2011). For the exploration and encroachment of foreign troops, they have repeatedly put forward statements and propositions of a solemn position. On the issue of the ownership of the sea area and its related islands, the Taiwan authorities claim that the Chinese government is its sovereign owner. During the reign of Chiang's father and son, the Taiwan authorities' sovereign rights there were reasonably maintained.

After 1949, the Chinese government was busy stabilizing the new socialist regime, and the external pressure brought by the international situation to the new China was increasing. Specific to the Nanhai region, due to the weak naval power and weak national comprehensive strength, the Chinese government hasn't substantially stationed troops and exercised sovereignty in the Nanhai and reefs except for the declaration of territorial sovereignty over the South China Sea islands and reefs (Pietrasiak &

Pieczara, 2019). The nations around the Nanhai began to utilize China's struggle to deal with the situation in Northeast Asia and the border conflict between South Asia and India, and began to invade and occupy Nansha Islands. Among them, the main ones are Vietnam (including the South Vietnamese regime before the merger of Vietnam), the Philippines, Malaysia and other countries, as detailed in Table 1.

Table 1: Chronicles of Southeast Asian countries occupation of the South China Sea from 1949 to 1978

Regime	Time	Concrete action
Vietnam	1956	The South Vietnamese regime occupied the Chenhong Island and Ganquan Island of the Xisha Islands.
	1959	South vietnamese navy invades chenhong island
	1973	The South Vietnamese regime will include 11 islands such as Nanwei Island and Taiping Island into the territory.
	1974	Nanyue regime invaded Yongle Islands, Saigon regime occupied Nanzi Island, Dunqianshazhou and Jinghong.
	1975	Vietnam sent warships to capture more than 20 islands and reefs of Nansha Islands occupied by South Vietnamese troops.
	1978	It successively occupied dye blue sandbar, Nairo reef, middle reef and Bisheng reef.
	1970	The navy occupied Feixin Island and Mahuan Island, renamed and garrisoned.
Philippines	1971	The Navy occupied Nanyao Island, Zhongye Island, Xiyue Island and Beizi Island successively.
	1978	Embezzlement of the Nansha Islands Shuanghuang sandbar, and issued 1596 and 1599 presidential decrees.
Malaysia	1977	It invaded and occupied many islands and reefs, such as projectile reef, Guangxingzi reef and so on.
	1979	Occupying Baijiao Reef, Boji Reef, South China Sea Reef and Yuya Sands

Source: South China Sea Network
(<http://www.thesouthchinasea.org.cn/events.html>).

2.3 Phase III-The Outbreak Factors Of The South China Sea Issue During The Cold War

However, the controversy in the South China Sea region is far from over, and an enormous wave of encroachment occurred in the 1970s and 1980s. The world pattern under the Cold War pattern makes the situation in the

sea area more complicated. The main factors are as follows:

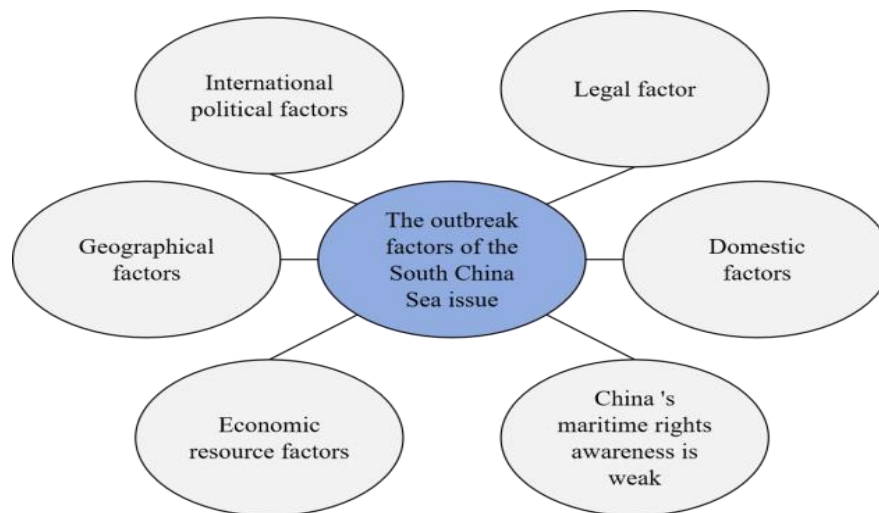


Figure 7:-The outbreak factors of the South China Sea issue

1. International political factors. In 1975, the USA and Vietnam ended the Vietnam War, which lasted for more than ten years, and Vietnam's reunification in July. They pursued an excellent foreign policy with the U.S. After the Sino-Soviet relations were terrible, China and the USA eased relations in the early 1970s, resulting in the loss of Sino-Vietnamese relations.

2. Geographic factors. For a country, geographical location plays an indispensable role in national development and communication with the outside world. Although geographical location does not ultimately determine the formulation and implementation of national security policies, it does have a meaningful impact on it (Enh, 2010a, 2010b). The South China Sea and its peripheral islands encircle the entire Eurasian continent, through which road-edge countries can go to the sea, while sea-edge countries value their superior strategic position. Because of the essential military significance of the sea area, countries pay attention to it in every historical period, and disputes between countries have occurred from time to time.

3. Economic resource factors. The 'Asian Outer Islands Sea City Joint Exploration and Coordination Committee for Mineral Resources' was introduced in 1968, and petroleum and gas in the eastern part of the Nansha Islands are wealthy. In the sea area of 350,000 square kilometers, five basins are involved, including the Brunei Sabah Basin. It is preliminarily predicted that the natural gas reserves and oil reserves have reached 20 trillion cubic meters and 20 billion tons, respectively. There are about 43 billion to 50 billion tons of petroleum geological reserves in Nanhai, which account for 33 % of all the resources in China. In the

meantime, the submarine oil fields have very high quality. More than 1000 kinds of fish have been found, and more than 20 kinds of fish have high economic value.

4. Legal factors. The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) involves the one-sided definition of 'historic sea area' and 'exclusive economic zone' and lacks a precise dispute settlement mechanism. Relevant countries take out of context and believe that there is a legal basis for encroaching on the South China Sea islands, which makes the countries near the sea areas occupy the sea area regardless of any obstacles in order to obtain more benefits. Consequently, many countries regard there as a new goal to grab broader sea areas and resources. In particular, these countries unilaterally take advantage of the legal loopholes of the UNCLOS, such as the provisions on the continental shelf and the exclusive economic zone. While seizing these islands, they also look to legitimize their seizure and expand and protect their vested interests.

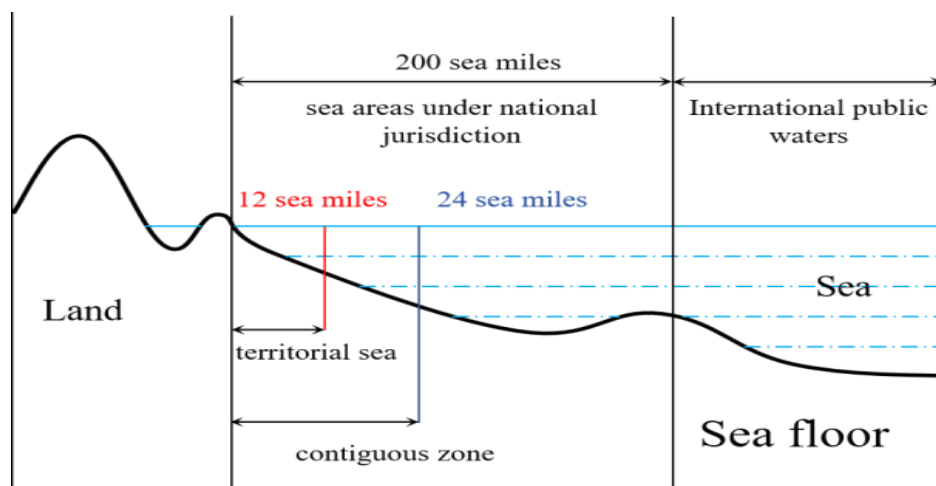


Figure 8:-United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea

From the perspective of the international maritime law, China's historic rights in the South China Sea are recognized. In next demarcation of the South China Sea, this should be fully considered. At this stage, the international maritime law more clear system is the territorial sea system, the continental shelf system, the exclusive economic zone system, the archipelagic system, the high seas system, the international ocean floor system, etc., these systems have been confirmed by the UNCLOS. The Chinese government has proposed the "nine-dash line" according to historical rights, and its legal status will immediately influence the rationality and legitimacy of proposition of China. Whether in the view of the international maritime law or the UNCLOS, China's historic rights in the South China Sea cannot be ignored. The maritime delimitation of the

sea area should fully consider China's historic rights and follow the principle of fair delimitation.

5. Domestic factors. In 1949, for the benefit of resisting the blockade of American imperialism and the resonance of ideology, Mao Zedong resolutely implemented a 'one-sided' foreign policy and drew close to the USSR. In 1953, Stalin, the leader of the USSR, died, and the successor Khrushchev gradually moved towards revisionism. The relationship with China became more and more delicate, and the gap became deeper and deeper. Since 1958, under the background of the completion of the three significant transformations of the Chinese government and the essential establishment of the socialist system, the "left" errors in the country have been seriously rampant, and the "Great Leap Forward" and "People's Socialization" movements marked by high indicators, blind command of exaggerated winds and communist winds have begun.

6. China's maritime rights awareness needs to be stronger. On the one hand, since ancient times, the Chinese people's feudal ideology has been deeply rooted in the "official standard" consciousness, and the color of the "rule of man" is strong. In addition, the political form worships the collective consciousness and suppresses the rights of individual citizens, which leads to the weak legal consciousness of citizens; on the other hand, China is a typical land-sea compound country. China has attached great importance to land power and despised sea power for a long period in the past. The strategic choice of China's survival and development has yet to be able to get rid of the traditional agricultural society. The formation of the 'land light sea' barrier, while also ignoring the control of the sea power, compared with the land power, the marine power is far from enough; in addition, China has not promulgated corresponding laws and regulations on maritime rights protection, resulting in China's inability to rely on nowhere to proceed in maritime rights protection.

3. ANALYSIS OF THE INFLUENCE OF CHINA'S POLICY ON THE SHAPING OF THE HISTORY OF THE SOUTH CHINA SEA DURING THE COLD WAR

3.1 Phase I -1949-1978 Sino-Vietnamese South China Sea Game-Vietnamese Strategy

In 1949, Vietnam illegally detained 81 fishermen in the waters of the Xisha Islands in February and then released them after negotiations with China. In 1950, on October 14, France transferred the protection and

jurisdiction of Nansha and Xisha under illegal circumstances and was controlled by the Nanyue Baoda regime.

In 1956, South Vietnam stated on June 1 that it 'possessed' sovereignty over Nansha; during the period from July to August, after the retreat, the Saigon army of South Vietnam took control of it and then occupied Nansha and Xisha persuasion. The Saigon regime of South Vietnam sent additional troops and submarines to the Nansha Islands in August of the same year. On August 22, Chen Wenfen, a famous major of the South Vietnamese Navy, led the Suidong to invade the Nansha Islands, landed on Nanwei Island, and inserted the Vietnamese puppet national flag.

On September 6, 1958, the Vietnamese Labor Party Central Organ Newspaper "People's Daily" appeared to declare China's territorial waters have a width of 12 nautical miles. On September 7 and 9 of the same year, Vietnam's "People's Daily" also commented on the Chinese government's territorial sea statement and expressed support.

In 1959, on February 22, the Saigon Navy of South Vietnam plundered 81 fishermen and many properties from five Chinese fishing boats on the Xishachen Navigation island. On March 6, the South Vietnamese authorities were forced to announce the release of Chinese fishermen. In 1960, it was not the first time that the South Vietnamese Navy dispatched warships to the Nansha Islands and carried out various illegal acts, such as photography.

In May 1963, the Nansha Islands were once again violated by the South Vietnamese army, and at the same time, sovereign pillars were set up on multiple islands. Nanyue pointed out that the three warships dispatched were Qihua, Zhileng, and Xiangjiang, which systematically rebuilt all the 'sovereign pillars' on the main islands.

In 1973, in Saigon, South Vietnam, the destroyer China's Nansha Islands carried out an invasion and landed on the North Island and other islands to carry out an inspection. On July 12, the South Vietnamese Navy transported a large number of personnel and materials to the island through warships, thus violating China's Hongma Island and carrying out operations on the island. In September, South Vietnam drew a new map, which included China's Xisha Islands and Nansha Islands. On September 28, the South Vietnamese government introduced a number of laws and divided the Nansha Islands into 11 islands, and its jurisdiction was in the hands of the South Vietnamese regime.

On January 15, 1974, in order to invade China's Yongle Islands, the South Vietnamese government launched the Navy and Air Force, constantly hit our galenite, and sent troops to Ganquan Island and

Treasure Island to carry out forced occupation on January 19, the Saigon army launched an attack on China's Chenhang Island and dispatched aircraft to bomb the Zhuhang Island, resulting in the death and injury of many Chinese fishermen and militia. In addition, it also attacked Chinese ships. On January 31, the Saigon puppet army sent warships to the Nansha Islands to forcibly occupy five islands on the island. On February 1, the Western Page Regime of South Vietnam issued a statement, hoping to prove that the Xisha Islands belong to Vietnam through a number of historical works. On the same day, the Saigon authorities of South Vietnam once again expedited warships to the Xisha Islands to encroach on islands such as Nanzi Island and established a sovereignty monument in violation of relevant laws. On February 3, the South Vietnamese army violated the Dunqian sandbar. The South Vietnamese army invaded Jinghong Island on February 5.

On April 2, 1978, Vietnamese troops invaded Central Reef. In April, Vietnamese troops invaded Longline Reef and Zhubi Reef and planted flags on the reefs. On April 6, the Vietnamese army invaded Baijiao and set up a 'Sovereign Monument'. Vietnamese troops invaded Bisheng Reef on April 10.

From the above historical events, it can be seen that Vietnam's aggression against China's Nansha Islands began with the former Saigon regime of South Vietnam. The maps and government statements issued by Vietnam before 1974 confirmed that both the Nansha Islands and the Xisha Islands belonged to Chinese territory.

Since then, Vietnam has repeatedly sent warships to invade China's South China Sea islands, which gradually increased the contradiction and completely intensified in 1974. Based on the so-called 'historical discovery' and the rights inherited from France, Vietnam claims that it has unswerving sovereignty over the entire Nansha Islands and Xisha Islands, and continues to encroach on China's South China Sea islands and reefs, up to 29.

3.2 Phase II -1949-1978 Sino-Vietnamese South China Sea Game-China Strategy

No matter how complicated the chess game of stakeholders is, the special geopolitical value of the South China Sea has led stakeholders to regard it as a key platform for realizing global, national and other interests, and to regard this interests as an extension of their own domestic economic and political interests. During the period from 1949 to 1978, China adopted

different strategies in different periods to defend the sovereign rights of the South China Sea, and ensured the situation of sustainable competition.

In 1950, the Chinese government proposed on May 20 that China has control over the Nansha Islands and other islands within its scope, and foreign countries absolutely do not allow infringement. In 1951, Zhou Enlai was China's foreign minister at that time. On August 15, he stated the San Francisco Conference and other matters, saying that the Xisha Islands and other islands vest in Chinese leaders. Although Japan's war of aggression once occupied it, after Japan's surrender, China immediately took over as a whole. In 1956, a mouthpiece of Chinese Diplomacy issued a declaration on May 29 in response to the violation of China's Nansha Islands by the Philippines, saying that no matter which country takes any excuse to violate Chinese paramountcy over the Nansha Islands, China would not allow it. People's Daily published a comment on 'warning Wu Tingyan Group' on August 30. In 1957, China selected meteorological workers from all provinces in July to create a weather station in the Xisha Islands, which was later called the Xisha Marine Hydrometeorological Service Desk.

In 1959, the Chinese Diplomacy issued a solemn declaration on February 27, denouncing the South Vietnamese authorities banditry against Chinese fishermen and the infringement of Chinese sovereign rights over territory. On March 24, the Hainan Administrative District Office of Guangdong Province of China established the Nansha and other islands offices on the Xisha Islands, and Li Shengyu managed the offices.

Table 2(a):-Workers table of the Working Committee of the South-West Zhongsha Islands 1959

Duty	Name
Secretary	Li Shengyu
Deputy Secretary	Zeng Guangyue
Clerk Secretary	Chen Ruyan, Wang Zhitai
Secretary of the Communist Youth League	Zhou Naiding
Secretary in charge of organizational work	Wu Qingqiu
Secretary in charge of propaganda work	Feng Xuejun
Police Commissioner	Lin Shutang
Head of the People's Armed Forces	Huang Yajun
Staff of the People's Armed Forces	Wang Xingfen
Head of Intelligence Group of Hainan Military Region	Ding Luying, Li Jincu
Staff Officer of Hainan Military Intelligence Group	Zhu Zongze, Xing Yicheng, Kuang Qicheng
Signalman	Li Yuanhe, Wang Shuchao

Table 2(b):-Workers table of the Working Committee of the South-West Zhongsha Islands 1959

Duty	Name
The plane to the traffic officer	Wu Rongguo
Typist	Fu Rongbin, Liang Caifeng
Corporal of the guard	Lan Ming, Chen Yamiao, Zhan Pinghe, Wu Shuyi
Radio station length	Chen Dinghui
Telegraphist	Lin Youneng, Huang Jiaqiong, Hong Xian, Zhou Zhu, Fu Shizhen
Public Affairs Handler	Du Yingling

Source: Interaction and Game, A Study on China's Armed Countermeasures in the South China Sea during the Cold War - A Case Study of the Naval War between China and Vietnam.

On January 11, 1974, Chinese Diplomacy issued a strong condemnation of the fact that South Vietnam was included in its land area. On the 19th, Chinese fishermen and boat troops were unbearable, so they launched a counterattack. The battle lasted until the end of the 20th, which caused a severe blow to the enemy warships. One of them sank, and three were severely damaged. More than 300 Saigon army officers and soldiers were captured and killed, and three islands, such as Coral, were recovered, which demonstrated the dignity of our country. On February 4, the Taiwan authorities also protested. On July 2, a United Nations maritime conference was held. At this meeting, China should say that it has grasped the control of Nanhai. On November 2, the cultural group of the State Council sent a Chinese song and dance troupe to Hainan and the Xisha Islands to carry out a consolation room.

On November 22, 1978, China officially opened a passenger and cargo ship from Hainan Island to Xisha Islands.

3.3 Phase III-An Analysis Of The Shaping Of Chinese Policy On The History Of The South China Sea

The South China Sea controversy began in the 1970s, but in fact, as soon as the founding of New China, it faced the dispute of sovereign right over territory in there. Erenow, the territorial waters of the sea area mainly had the following three forms: the provisions of the draft treaty of Japan try to deny the sovereignty, the Philippines and the South Vietnamese government's covet of there; the USA' violation of China's territorial airspace in there. In these three forms of infringing on Chinese paramountcy, the new Chinese government has taken a tit-for-tat struggle

against the provisions of the draft treaty on Japan's waiver of all rights over Nanwei Island and Xisha Islands without mentioning the return of sovereignty to China. Zhou Enlai declared that the four islands in Nanhai are Chinese territory; regardless of whether the USA and Britain have provisions on the draft treaty and how to prescribe them, they are not influenced.

Before the 1970s, although Chinese sovereignty in Nanhai was seriously violated, China didn't take severe countermeasures. It is only through the press to expose, reason, protest, and so on. This is mainly based on the following reasons: First, before the 1970s, the Chinese Navy stationed only the Xuande Islands in the Xisha Islands in the entire Nanhai area.

The Navy's strength needed to be more robust to counter foreign invasions. In particular, it was unable to confront the U.S. Navy. In this case, the only action China can take is to make a declaration of sovereignty, including reaffirming that the paramountcy of the sea areas belongs to China, listing a large number of historical evidence, and protesting against foreign military activities there. Second, its region is different from China's strategy focus area. In the 1950s and 1960s, China's focus was first on the Taiwan Strait and the Korean Peninsula and then moved to the Indochina Peninsula, and even the southwest border had a severe security crisis.

In the late 1960s, the North faced severe military threats. Therefore, from the 1950s to the 1960s, especially throughout the 1960s, China faced security threats in almost all directions, and the recovery of the occupied islets in the Sea area became the second consideration. At the same time, the domestic society was extremely chaotic due to political factors at that time. It is internal and external troubles made China need more time to consider the restoration of sovereign rights over the entire South China Sea area.

The beginning of the 1970s was the second period of the development of the Chinese South China Sea policy. Ad interim, Chinese policy for the sea area was mainly reflected in three aspects: first, limited counterattack; second, scientific investigation; third, the establishment of Hainan Province to strengthen the sovereignty of the territorial waters of its jurisdiction. During this period, around their dispute, China and Vietnam (including South Vietnam and unified Vietnam) had a small-scale armed conflict in the Xisha and the Nansha Islands. During the 'Cultural Revolution', researchers from the Nanhai Institute of Oceanography proceeded with scientific investigations in the waters near the Zhongsha Islands and Xisha Islands five times. After 1976, Chinese scientific investigation of the sea area was carried out on a large scale. In 1977, the

Institute of Oceanography of the Chinese Academy of Sciences sent a scientific research ship named 'Experiment' across the South China Sea, successfully carried out a scientific expedition to China's Zhongsha Islands, the South of Xisha Islands, and the North of Nansha Islands, and made contributions to the development and utilization of the resources of the Nanhai and the development of marine science.

In general, China's policy on the South China Sea dispute during the Cold War was more moderate than that of other disputed countries, maintaining a sustainable competitive situation. For the most part, China has made a declaration of sovereignty and protested against the occupation or aggression of other countries or declared that China retains the right to resume the occupied islands and reefs in the fullness of time. It has only made a limited counterattack when individual countries are wantonly provocative, and the purpose of this counterattack is not to occupy new islands and reefs, but to teach individual countries to restrain their acts of aggression. China has not continued to fight back when individual countries have been hit and are still carrying out new occupation operations. Secondly, among all the disputed countries, China's mainland only occupied seven islands and reefs in the Nansha Islands, and it was basically occupied at the end of the Cold War. Although China's navy is weak, it still has advantages over other disputed countries, but China's limited counterattack is only against individual countries. The reason for this is not afraid of the involvement of superpowers. In fact, the superpowers refused to be involved in the South China Sea dispute during this period. For example, in two limited counterattacks by China, South Vietnam and the unified Vietnamese government both turned to the USA and the USSR respectively and asked them to intervene. All this reflects China's sincere desire to maintain peace and stability in the Nanhai region and to resolve disputes peacefully with the disputed countries.

4. DISCUSSION

With the development of economic globalization, the economic value and strategic position of the South China Sea have become prominent. The development of the situation in the region has attracted worldwide attention. The USA, Japan, India, Australia and other extraterritorial countries have successively intervened in this issue based on their respective strategic interests. From the perspective of the strategic game between China and the USA, the region has gradually become an important

area for the game between the two sides. In order to contain China, the USA will inevitably take the South China Sea issue as an important starting point : Japan, as China's maritime neighbor, will naturally pay special attention to any maritime issues related to China. In addition, Japan and China already have the Diaoyu Islands dispute. In recent years, Japan has strongly cooperated with the USA and created the China threat theory , indicating that Japan will not stop its involvement in the South China Sea issue. Based on the Indo-Pacific strategic vision, the Modi government has gradually broken through the shackles of traditional non-aligned policies and actively developed relations with the USA, Japan and other countries. With the continued involvement of the USA and Japan, India will also maintain its presence in the South China Sea. Australia is highly dependent on the USA in terms of political security itself, and at the same time wants to use Nanhai and surrounding areas as a platform to enhance its influence, indicating that Australia will continue to move forward and retreat with the USA in this area in the future. From this point of view, the status quo of extraterritorial forces involved in the South China Sea dispute will not change in the short term. In the face of the uncertain prospects of the situation in the South China Sea, China needs to continue to firmly safeguard the sovereign rights of there and the stability of this situation, and carefully study and judge the USA' policy (Crook, 2012). Therefore, China needs to respond from the following aspects:

China should continue to maintain cooperation with ASEAN and continue to adhere to the dual-track approach. At the strategic level, China and ASEAN actively promote the consultation process of the guidelines in accordance with the existing rhythm. It will help to stabilize ASEAN and restrict countries such as the Philippines and Vietnam on the South China Sea issue. At the same time, it can steadily respond to the USA' increasing involvement in that issue, and maintain the dominance of China and ASEAN in that issue by eliminating the interference of the USA and other extraterritorial factors.

China should continue to maintain and enhance its strategic focus and strengthen its strategic and military deterrence. The South China Sea issue tests China's will and determination. China must resolutely resist the pressure of the USA, Japan, the Philippines and other countries, steadily promote the construction of islands and reefs in the South China Sea, and force the USA to launch a serious dialogue with China. It is necessary to continue to adhere to the policy of non-acceptance, non-participation, non-recognition and non-implementation of arbitration, and oppose any negotiation based on the ruling.

5. CONCLUSION

This paper discusses the strategic significance of the South China Sea region, the history of dispute development and the factors of outbreak, and takes the South China Sea game between China and Vietnam as the starting point to carry out qualitative analysis. This paper makes a qualitative analysis of the influence of China's policy on the history during the period of 1949-178, and believes that the influence of China's policy during this period is mainly divided into two stages. The main conclusions are as follows:

(1) Before the 1970s : Sovereignty Oath Strategy: The South China Sea issue is caused by history, especially by the influence of international politics and world pattern after the Cold War. The vague methods of documents such as the Cairo Declaration " San Francisco Peace Treaty with Japan " on that issue after WWII have laid the groundwork for the dispute. It also determines that after the establishment of the regime, the Chinese Communist Party's strategy to deal with the issue should start with the declaration of sovereignty. In addition, in order to effectively safeguard the sovereign rights of the sea area during this period, under the strategy of sovereignty declaration, measures were initially taken to strengthen the construction and management of peripheral islands, and special administrative agencies were set up in the South China Sea islands to declare China's actual jurisdiction and governance over there.

(2) After the 1970s : military rights strategy: In 1968, when the oil and gas resources survey report of the South China Sea, the eastern and southern waters of the Nansha Islands was released, Vietnam, the Philippines and other countries sent troops to occupy partial islands. However, at that time, the Communist Party of China was influenced by the Cultural Revolution, and in order to prepare for the defense of the Soviet invasion war, the focus of homeland security defense was on the Sino-Soviet border. At that time, the South China Sea policy was absent, and there was a lack of awareness of the changes in the nature of the South China Sea issue. Until 1974, the naked aggression of South Vietnam and other countries on the South China Sea islands and the frequent frictions in the South China Sea aroused the vigilance of the Communist Party of China. It began to re-emphasize the South China Sea and the South China Sea islands. Based on the favorable opportunity, it adjusted the strategic deployment of the South China Sea in time, changed the previous single sovereignty declaration policy, and decided to adopt the strategy of military rights protection and administrative jurisdiction.

5.1 Limitations And Further Research

The research ideas and research objectives of this paper are relatively clear, and the main problems in the South China Sea dispute are systematically grasped. The key points in the South China Sea dispute are the solutions and methods adopted by the main participating countries in the South China Sea sea power struggle during the period of 1949-1978, and the influence of China's policy on the history of the South China Sea is analyzed. In spite of this, China's shaping of the history of the South China Sea is far more than that, and there are many problems worthy of in-depth analysis and research. For example, other countries' consideration of the corresponding strategy of China's policy formulation. at that time, the influence of Chinese policy on the determination of the later multinational joint development plan, and so on.

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5.3 Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare that they have no conflicts of interest.

5.4 Data Availability

The data used to support the findings of the research are available from the corresponding author upon reasonable request.

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