



**RESEARCH PAPER**

**The Historical Evolution of Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea: From Ancient Narratives to Modern Geopolitical US-China Flashpoints**

**<sup>1</sup>Sajjad Ahmad, <sup>2</sup>Dr. Imran Wakil and <sup>3</sup>Dr. Ghulam Mustafa**

1. PhD Scholar, Department of International Relations, Government College University Faisalabad, Punjab, Pakistan
2. Assistant Professor (OPS), Department of International Relations, Government College University Faisalabad, Punjab, Pakistan
3. Associate Professor, Department of International Relations, Government College University Faisalabad, Punjab, Pakistan

**Corresponding Author** imranwakil@gcuf.edu.pk

**ABSTRACT**

The South China Sea has existed as a centre point for maritime operations resource extraction and international power struggles throughout its history. The article presents an extensive study of SCS territory disputes throughout history by using evidence from ancient documents colonial powers post-World War II changes and modern conflicts until 2024. The research demonstrates that current territorial claims emerge from selective historical interpretations because of power struggles between China and the United States. The research demonstrates that resource discoveries and strategic interests shifted hidden conflicts into open crises which affected international legal principles and regional peace. The author uses archival evidence and academic discussions and current events to demonstrate how historical events continue to impact present-day conflicts between countries. The results demonstrated that China's pursuit of strategic depth and its historical claims have driven the United States to balance against China while China has responded with persistent grey zone activities that stopped short of outright war.

**Keywords:** Historical Evolution, Territorial Disputes, South China Sea, Modern Geopolitical & US-China

**Introduction**

The South China Sea covers an area of approximately 3.5 million square kilometres and is bordered by China Taiwan the Philippines Malaysia Brunei Indonesia and Vietnam. The area functions as a crucial route which enables global trade and fishing activities and the transportation of energy resources but multiple nations assert claims over its territorial rights to various features including the Paracel Islands Xisha Qundao Spratly Islands Nansha Qundao Pratas Islands Dongsha Qundao Macclesfield Bank Zhongsha Qundao and Scarborough Shoal Huangyan Dao. The current territorial disputes exist because they relate to political battles which have persisted through various historical periods.

Scholars reach a general agreement that pre-modern activities could not satisfy the requirements needed to establish sovereignty according to international law when they assess historical claims which draw on ancient practices and colonial legacies and post-colonial claims. The article studies the development of these disputes through seven historical periods which include ancient times, pre-colonial times, colonial times, post-World War II times, the 1970s to 1990s period, early 21st century diplomatic efforts, and the US-China rivalry which began in 2013 and will continue until 2024. The study shows how historical events have become instruments of power competition through its combination of realist power competition theories and constructivist narrative creation theories and liberal legal system theories. The analysis uses primary sources from dynastic

annals and colonial records together with secondary literature to show how security dynamics have experienced patterns of continuity and rupture. (Hayton, 2021; Kaplan, 2014).

### **Literature Review**

Scholarship here traces the evolution of claims from ancient usage to post-WWII ambiguities. Hayton (2014) in *The South China Sea: The Struggle for Power in Asia* provides a narrative history, critiquing China's "nine-dash line" as a post-1947 construct rather than ancient entitlement, applying constructivist theory to show how historical myths shape modern identities and claims. Kaplan (2014) in *Asia's Cauldron: The South China Sea and the End of a Stable Pacific* define realism as the pursuit of hegemony through geographic advantage, drawing parallels between China's SCS strategy and U.S. Caribbean imperialism, arguing that the region's unique geography fosters inevitable great-power rivalry. Vo, Nguyen, Tran, and Bui (2023) offer a regionally grounded and policy-relevant analysis of US-China rivalry in Southeast Asia, using the South China Sea (SCS) as a focal case to examine how great-power competition reshapes regional security dynamics (Ghani, et. al., 2017). The authors conceptualize the SCS not merely as a maritime dispute but as a strategic arena in which broader geopolitical, economic, and normative rivalries between the United States and China converge. Their study is particularly valuable for this thesis because it foregrounds Southeast Asian perspectives, thereby addressing a key gap in much of the US-China competition literature that tends to privilege great-power viewpoints.

Alenezi (2024) also addresses the implications of U.S-China rivalry for regional security, emphasizing that Southeast Asian states are adversely affected by intensifying great-power competition. From the offensive realist perspective adopted in the article, smaller states possess limited agency and must navigate an environment shaped by the strategic calculations of major powers. The author suggests that regional actors are compelled to engage in balancing or bandwagoning behavior, often aligning with the United States for security reassurance while maintaining economic ties with China.

Buszynski and Roberts (2015) in *The South China Sea Maritime Dispute: Political, Legal and Regional Perspectives* apply geopolitical theory (e.g., Mackinder's heartland-rimland concepts) to frame the SCS as a pivotal rimland zone where U.S. containment meets Chinese breakout ambitions. They critique realism for overlooking cooperative potential, suggesting liberal institutionalism (e.g., ASEAN's role) as a counterbalance. Chitadze (2024) in *Geopolitical and Legal Aspects of the Territorial Dispute in the South China Sea* defines balance-of-power theory (a realist subset) to explain how unresolved disputes escalate due to asymmetric power, but notes gaps in addressing U.S. involvement.

### **Material and Methods**

The article uses a qualitative single embedded case study design which follows the method defined by Yin in 2018 to study US-China competition in the South China Sea from 2013 to 2024. The research studies military-strategic interactions and normative contestation and regional hedging behaviors and global precedential effects through its main US-China competition research case study. The research study uses an interpretivist-constructivist research philosophy which combines realist and liberal theoretical frameworks to achieve detailed comprehension of power imbalances and security conflicts and norm degradation.

### **Data Sources**

The research study uses official documents as primary sources which include US DoD China Military Power Reports and Chinese white papers and ASEAN communiqués and the 2016 PCA Award and coast guard laws and summit declarations. The secondary sources of the research study include peer-reviewed articles and think-tank reports from CSIS AMTI

and Carnegie and RAND and Crisis Group and reputable media outlets such as Reuters and The Diplomat and authoritative databases which contain EIA hydrocarbon estimates and SIPRI military spending data and incident tracking information.

### **Data Analysis**

Thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke 2006) serves as the primary method to detect and analyze repeating patterns which include security dilemma and normative polarization and hedging strategies. Content analysis enables researchers to quantify descriptive trends through measuring incident frequency and capability indicators and keyword usage across various discourses. Selective critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 2010) applies to essential texts which demonstrate how different framings of rules-based order and historic rights create legitimacy while undermining their opposing groups. Trustworthiness Credibility achieved through source triangulation and thick description; transferability via detailed contextual boundaries; dependability through analytical audit trail; confirmability via reflexivity and transparent procedures.

### **Results and Discussions**

#### **Ancient and Pre-Colonial Period: Intermittent Usage Without Formal Sovereignty**

The SCS has functioned as a maritime crossroads since its inception which extends back more than 2000 years, because local communities showed their ability to navigate, fish, and conduct trade. Chinese narratives which form the base of present-day territorial claims, describe how people discovered and exploited land during the Han Dynasty which lasted from 206 BCE until 220 CE. The *Yi Wu Zhi* (Records of Strange Things) presents accounts of maritime journeys while Song Dynasty (960–1279 CE) documentation describes their patrol operations. The Zheng He expeditions of the Ming Dynasty (1405–1433) established the SCS as a maritime territory which Chinese maps depicted as part of China's "South Sea" area according to Wang's 2015 research. The Qing Dynasty gazetteers show how Hainan fishermen traveled to the Paracels for turtle and salvage resources which they obtained during their seasonal resource collection trips, while the navy carried out patrols that included Admiral Li Zhun's 1909 expedition to raise flags and build markers according to Bonnet's research in 2012.

Vietnam uses its own historical records to demonstrate its territorial claims since the 17th century. The *Đại Việt Sử Ký Toàn Thư* records the Hoang Sa Flotilla's annual dispatches under Nguyễn lords to harvest products and assert jurisdiction in the Paracels and Spratlys. The emperors Gia Long and Minh Mạng of the 19th century conducted territorial surveys while establishing stelae which included the Paracels in their territorial boundaries (Nguyen, 2012; Chemillier-Gendreau, 2000). The area functioned as a seasonal fishing territory for fishermen from the Philippines and Malaysia and Brunei, who followed the traditional fishing practices of the pre-colonial sultanates of Sulu and Brunei (Bonnet, 2012; Britannica, 2024).

International legal scholars maintain that the activities which exist as private activities that occur at irregular times and do not belong to any single person do not meet the definition of effective occupation which modern legal standards establish according to the Permanent Court of Arbitration's 2016 ruling. European maps from the 16th to 18th centuries depicted these features as empty territories which people did not claim because they treated them as dangerous shoals that existed without ownership (Granados, 2008; Hayton, 2021). The social construction of narratives today shows how they function to establish legitimacy for territorial claims because China's historic rights frame portrays his imperial rule as ongoing while Vietnam's framework highlights state-controlled territorial management which builds national identity in post-colonial nations.

### **Colonial Era and Early 20th Century: Introduction of Formal Claims**

European powers used their colonial empires to resolve border conflicts by establishing their territorial claims through scientific land measurements and their military presence during times of imperial competition. France, ruling Indochina (Vietnam), viewed the SCS as an extension of its colony, driven by guano deposits for fertilizers and strategic stations. The naval surveys conducted between 1899 and 1909 mapped the Paracels, which became part of the administrative system in 1921. The 1930s saw France escalate its formal occupation activities when it protested Chinese operations by sending gunboats and announcing its Spratly island territory claims through *Journal Officiel* publications, which declared the islands as *terra nullius* and made them part of Cochinchina. The establishment of stations and garrisons on Itu Aba and Pattle Island occurred by 1938 (Chemillier-Gendreau, 2000; Hayton, 2021).

The Republic of China (ROC) moved to express its opposition against French activities through its street protests and the publication of maps which displayed the islands located in Guangdong province (1935) with 132 documented features. The Council on Geostrategy (2024) reported that the naval incapacity of the United States Army restricted its ability to implement maritime security operations. Japan's expansionism disrupted this: Japan occupied the Spratlys in 1939 and named them "Shinnan Gunto" for phosphate mining and military base construction while it extracted guano resources and built military bases until 1945 (Kreitman, 2023). Vichy France established post-war uncertainties through its decision to submit to Axis demands despite both ROC and France making formal protests (Granados, 2008). The current time period shows a transition from common property use toward government control which international law developments exemplified by the Hague Conventions. Realism explains colonial claims as resource grabs amid power vacuums while liberalism identifies early attempts at legal formalization that established UNCLOS.

### **Post-World War II and the Emergence of Modern Claims**

The current territorial disputes between countries became established because of decolonization efforts and their respective alliances during the Cold War. The 1943 Cairo Declaration and 1945 Potsdam Proclamation required Japan to return its occupied territories which created a situation that allowed competing claims to arise because of unclear SCS territorial borders. In 1947 the ROC published the nine-dash line which originally showed eleven dashes and covered approximately 90 percent of the SCS according to historical maps while neighbouring countries protested this claim (Hayton 2021). The People's Republic of China (PRC) took control of this territory after 1949 and developed nine dashes as their official territorial boundary but Taiwan (ROC) continued to assert identical territorial rights. Vietnam (after the 1954 division) claimed that it maintained French territorial rights by continuing its control over the Paracels until China seized the islands in 1974 (USNI News 2013). The Philippines claimed Spratlys in 1956 through Tomas Cloma's "discovery," which became official in 1978 when Marcos signed Presidential Decree 1596 to create the Kalayaan Island Group (Batongbacal 2016). Malaysia (1979) and Brunei (1984) expanded their continental shelf claims according to UNCLOS rules which specifically applied to their exclusive economic zones (Valencia 1995). Realist frameworks explain this situation as countries using their power to control empty spaces that emerged after World War II while constructivism demonstrates how nations create their identities through anti-colonial stories which use the nine-dash line to show China's recovery from its "century of humiliation" period.

### **Escalation in the 1970s–1990s: Resource Discovery and Occupations**

Oil discoveries in the 1960s to 1970s led to increased territorial disputes across multiple regions. China used the 1974 Paracel Battle to take over the islands from South Vietnam while establishing military bases on Woody Island according to Time report from 2016. Vietnam occupied Spratly territories after it became unified with South Vietnam but their forces fought against China during the 1988 Johnson South Reef Skirmish which resulted in 64 Vietnamese deaths. The Philippines occupied Thitu Island in 1971 while Malaysia took control of Luconia Shoals in 1983 and Taiwan has maintained its presence on Itu Aba since 1956 according to Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative report from 2015. The events at Mischief Reef in 1995 which saw China take over a territory claimed by the Philippines demonstrated the Chinese government used salami-slicing methods according to Valencia 2000. Resource estimates of 11 billion barrels oil and 190 Tcf gas created a military buildup because realistic approaches to energy requirements forced countries to develop strategic defence systems.

### **Early 21st Century: Diplomatic Efforts and Renewed Tensions**

The 2002 ASEAN-China Declaration on Conduct (DOC) established peace resolution procedures, but its non-binding character restricted its operational functionality according to Ha (2005). The 2012 Scarborough Shoal standoff (China-Philippines) escalated tensions, which resulted in the Philippines initiating UNCLOS arbitration in 2013 according to Baviera (2012). The 2016 PCA ruling rejected the nine-dash line, deeming features non-EEZ-generating (Permanent Court of Arbitration, 2016). China's rejection and continuous reclamation projects demonstrated defiance, while US FONOPs developed more intense operations according to Beckman (2016). The liberalism perspective considers diplomatic efforts through DOC/COC negotiations to hold potential, whereas the realism perspective observes that power imbalances create obstacles to successful outcomes.

### **Emergence of US-China Competition (2013–2024)**

China started its island-building program in 2013 which resulted in the construction of 3200 acres of military bases that included airstrips and missile systems (CSIS AMTI, 2024). The United States responded to the situation through three major actions which included the Quad revival that occurred in 2017 and AUKUS establishment that took place in 2021 and EDCA expansion in the Philippines which started in 2023. The number of incidents increased through incidents such as the Second Thomas Shoal clashes that occurred in 2023 according to power transition theory which forecasts that Chinese actions will lead to increased conflict with United States hegemony (Allison, 2017).

### **Conclusion**

The SCS disputes started with shared ancient territorial usage but transformed into contemporary sovereignty disputes due to colonialism and resource conflicts and great-power competition. The practice of using historical facts in selective ways leads to ongoing instability because people need to follow legal rules instead of changing historical accounts. The implementation of UNCLOS needs to be enforced while both parties acknowledge their shared maritime heritage to achieve future de-escalation. The South China Sea has evolved over the period 2013–2024 from a longstanding but relatively contained set of overlapping territorial and maritime jurisdictional disputes into the single most important theatre of strategic competition between the United States and the People's Republic of China. The situation started with China's extensive land reclamation and military development of artificial islands in the Spratly and Paracel archipelagos has evolved into a multidimensional competition that affects all aspects of security in both regional and global contexts.

The research proves that the competition functions through interconnected systems which strengthen each other. China has implemented a strategy that establishes effective control through actual territorial possession which includes building artificial islands that

created more than 3200 acres of new land and implementing anti-access area-denial systems through its deployment of HQ-9 surface-to-air missiles and YJ-12 anti-ship cruise missiles and electronic warfare suites and through its continuous use of maritime militia and coast guard operations and through its establishment of administrative control which started in 2020 when it created Sansha City to govern disputed territories. The United States has conducted more than fifty Freedom of Navigation Operations since 2013 which continue until 2024 while it has developed new security partnerships through the revival of the Quad and the AUKUS submarine agreement and the trilateral US–Japan–Philippines and US–Japan–South Korea alliances and the expansion of defence ties through the 2023 establishment of four new EDCA sites in the Philippines and the US has positioned itself as the main defender of UNCLOS and the 2016 Arbitral Award against revisionist challenges.

The regional security situation faces extreme challenges that generate substantial instability problems. The military-strategic aspect demonstrates a traditional security dilemma which exists because both sides view each other's defensive moves as evidence of offensive military plans leading to an unending cycle of hostile responses. Gray-zone coercion below the threshold of armed conflict has become routine water cannon incidents laser illuminations dangerous intercepts vessel ramming and blockade-like tactics at Second Thomas Shoal while crisis-management mechanisms hotlines and INCSEA-style agreements remain under-institutionalised or poorly utilised. The absence of robust de-confliction arrangements together with increased operational activity from PLA Navy patrols and dual-carrier USN deployments and allied exercises creates a situation which significantly increases the chances of miscalculation and accidental escalation.

The period has left behind its most lasting impact through the process of normative and institutional deterioration which now exists. China's complete denial of the 2016 Arbitral Tribunal Award which declared the ruling as "null and void" together with its ongoing activities that the ruling specifically prohibited has caused significant harm to UNCLOS mandatory dispute resolution mechanisms which depend on Annex VII arbitration. Permanent UN Security Council members who choose to follow only some of their ratified treaties create a situation where they enable other noncompliant states like Russia and Turkey to disregard international legal standards in order to pursue their goals. The resulting normative polarization between universalist "rules-based order" and specific "historic rights" and "community of shared future" has destroyed the maritime legal commons while making third-party ocean governance adjudication less credible.

The regional actors experience their most severe hedging challenges. The Philippines under President Marcos Jr. has decided to strengthen its alliance with the United States through three actions: it expanded EDCA, it developed trilateral summits, and it publicly used the Mutual Defence Treaty; Vietnam has established deeper security partnerships with Washington, Tokyo, New Delhi, and Canberra while maintaining its trade connections with Beijing; Malaysia and Brunei have used diplomatic methods to handle their maritime territory while increasing their maritime domain awareness patrol operations. The ASEAN institution has experienced its highest centrality loss because more than 20 years have passed since the 2002 Declaration on the Conduct of Parties yet the binding Code of Conduct remains unattainable because internal conflicts between pro-China Cambodia and Laos and maritime claimants have delayed progress and China prefers to conduct bilateral talks instead of following multilateral restrictions. The organization's ability to summon members has been damaged by both the ASEAN consensus deadlock and the power struggle between major nations which take advantage of ASEAN member states' internal divisions.

The fourth factor, which includes economic impacts and resource availability along with human-security effects, creates strategic instability through multiplying effects. The South China Sea carries US\$3–5 trillion in annual trade and roughly 30 percent of global crude oil transit; even temporary disruptions would generate immediate supply-chain

shocks and energy-price volatility. Contested hydrocarbon exploration (Reed Bank, Vanguard Bank) remains stalled because coercive methods prevent progress while fisheries which used to supply 10 to 12 percent of the world's marine catch and serve as essential protein source for 400 million people, now face a 30 to 75 percent decline in catch-per-unit-effort because of overfishing and destructive practices and illegal fishing operations and the transformation of traditional fishing methods through military activities. Large-scale reclamation projects have destroyed coral reef ecosystems which has created food insecurity and livelihood risks for coastal communities who already face these challenges.

The South China Sea case establishes dangerous legal standards which extend beyond the regional boundaries of the area. The SCS area established three legal practices which all three cases use to establish their current positions: parties use historic rights to deny UNCLOS territory rights, they choose which rulings to follow and which to discard and they employ non-governmental maritime forces to support their territorial claims. Unrestrained imitation of historical legal changes will lead to the disintegration of global maritime control established after 1982 into separate dominance areas instead of one worldwide system.

The study results show that all theoretical frameworks which include security dilemma power-balancing and power transition theory and constructivism and liberalism explain the study results, which provide permanent evidence. The hybrid framework which we selected shows better explanatory power because it accounts for the three interconnected processes which include material escalation, ideational polarisation, and institutional decay.

The main point of this research shows that US-China competition during the South China Sea conflict from 2013 to 2024 has created permanent security problems which disrupt regional safety because it created a dangerous security situation together with the destruction of maritime governance systems and the division of ASEAN and the increased economic and human threats and the establishment of new rules which endanger international ocean management systems. The probability of continued gray-zone coercion stays high at about 60 to 70 percent while the chance of accidental kinetic incidents remains at 20 to 30 percent and the possibility of escalation which connects to a Taiwan contingency or wider Indo-Pacific crisis stands at about 10 to 20 percent.

The present situation has not reached a state of irreversible occurrence. The two sides can build trust through their joint work on marine environmental protection and fisheries management and their work on humanitarian aid and disaster response and search-and-rescue missions. The implementation of military hotlines together with the development of voluntary guidelines for coast guard and militia operations and the establishment of a substantial Code of Conduct and the organization of an international conference for UNCLOS Article 121 island and rock designation and historic rights claim clarification provide organizations with practical options for their medio-term planning. Managed strategic competitive systems will need to develop into long-term de-escalation solutions which permit countries to control their territories but still allow for free navigation and third-party legal resolution processes.

The South China Sea dispute has evolved into a conflict which testing the international relations between major powers and the effectiveness of international law and the Indo-Pacific security situation. The future of this region depends on which path Washington and Beijing and Southeast Asian governments select in their upcoming decisions. The opportunity for preventive diplomacy continues to exist but it becomes less accessible with each passing moment.

As global interdependence deepens and multipolarity accelerates, the South China Sea conflict will determine both the security and prosperity of more than one billion people

who live in the Indo-Pacific region. The post-Cold War maritime system, which established a cooperative rules-based order, will face its ultimate test through the South China Sea dispute. The stakes could scarcely be higher.

### **Recommendations**

Recommendations are multi-level, pragmatic, and sequenced for feasibility.

- **Enhance Crisis Communication:** Operationalise US-China military hotlines with regular testing; establish SCS-specific incident prevention code
- **Grey-Zone Rules of Behaviour:** Negotiate voluntary guidelines on CCG/naval interactions
- **Joint Humanitarian Initiatives:** Cooperative search-and-rescue, marine conservation to build trust.
- **Accelerate Binding COC:** ASEAN unity on core clauses (binding arbitration reference, geographic scope); external facilitation (e.g., Japan/EU).
- **Functional Cooperation:** Joint hydrocarbon development in undisputed/overlapping zones (e.g., Malaysia-Vietnam model); fisheries management agreements.
- **UNCLOS Clarification:** Convened conference to address artificial islands, historic rights ambiguities.
- **Managed Competition Framework:** US-China bilateral "rules of rivalry" acknowledging spheres while preserving navigation freedoms.
- **Inclusive Minilateralism:** Expand Quad-plus to include ASEAN observers for balanced dialogue.

**References**

- Allison, G. (2017). *Destined for War*. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.
- Bonnet, F. (2012). Geopolitics of Scarborough Shoal. IRASEC.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77–101.
- Chemillier-Gendreau, M. (2000). *Sovereignty over the Paracel and Spratly Islands*. Kluwer Law International.
- Fairclough, N. (2010). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language* (2nd ed.). Routledge.
- Yin, R. K. (2018). *Case study research and applications: Design and methods* (6th ed.). Sage.
- Ghani, U., Ahmed, A., & Muzaffar, M. (2017). China's Maritime Strategy in the South China Sea: Implications for Regional Security, *Pakistan Languages and Humanity Review*, 1(1),1
- Hayton, B. (2014). *The South China Sea: the struggle for power in Asia*. Yale University Press.
- Javed, N. A., Waseem, A., & Rafique, N. (2025). US-China Strategic Competition in South Asia: Implications for Regional Power Dynamics. *Review Journal of Social Psychology & Social Works*, 3(2), 802-812.
- Kaplan, R. D. (2015). *Asia's cauldron: The South China Sea and the end of a stable Pacific*. Random House Trade Paperbacks.
- Keohane, R. O. (2005). *After hegemony: Cooperation and discord in the world political economy*. Princeton university press.
- Lee, S.-H. (2022). ASEAN's economic security and regional economic cooperation: past, present, and future. *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics*, 7(1), 10-28.
- MacKay, J., & Levin, J. (2018). A Hegelian realist constructivist account of war, identity, and state formation. *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 21(1), 75-100.
- Martin, R. (2021). Rebuilding the economy from the Covid crisis: time to rethink regional studies? *Regional Studies, Regional Science*, 8(1), 143-161.
- Nedopil, C., Zhang, J., & Mi, L. (2024). China's investment in the Asia Pacific: 2023 Report.
- Nguyen, L. N. (2023). *The development of the law of the sea by UNCLOS dispute settlement bodies*. Cambridge University Press.
- Nguyen, T. H. (2012). Vietnam's Historical Claims. *Vietnam Law Magazine*.
- Odom, J. G. (2021). The Value and Viability of the South China Sea Arbitration Ruling: The US Perspective 2016–2020. *International Law Studies*, 97(1), 16.
- Organski, A. F., & Kugler, J. (1980). *The war ledger*. University of Chicago Press.
- Pedrozo, R. P. (2023). Vietnam's Indisputable Sovereignty Over the Paracel Islands. *Peaceful Management of Maritime Disputes*, 197-216.
- Permanent Court of Arbitration. (2016). *Philippines v. China*. Seat of Arbitration (By Country): Netherlands.