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ABSTRACTS

**The Forest for the Trees: Trade, Investment and the China-in-Africa Discourse**

*Barry Sautman and Yan Hairong*

Trade and investment are topics central to the China-in-Africa discourse that has strongly emerged from the West in the last few years. Western opinion leaders, along with several African opposition parties, often characterize China's role in Africa as "colonialist," "neo-imperialist" or "predatory." Placing China's trade and investment in the continent in comparative perspective, the paper assesses the empirical validity of such charges, by examining those issues that receive disproportionate attention in the discourse: China's importation of oil from Africa, her exports of textiles and clothing to Africa and to the world in competition with Africa, as well as her ownership of a Zambian copper mine. It is concluded that China, as part of the world capitalist economy, injures African interests in many of the same ways as the principal Western states. The racialized China-in-Africa discourse, however, is largely inaccurate, reflective of Western elite perceptions of China as a strategic competitor, and acts as an obstacle to an effective critique of exploitative links between Africa and the more developed states.

**Jathika Hela Urumaya and Ethno-Religious Politics in Sri Lanka**

*Neil DeVotta and Jason Stone*

Sri Lanka's April 2004 parliamentary elections were a watershed because for the first time a political party comprised solely of Buddhist monks contested the polls. Despite being created just two months before the elections and generating passionate debate over the appropriateness of Buddhist monks participating directly in politics, the Jathika Hela Urumaya (JHU), or National Heritage Party, fielded over 260 candidates and won nine seats. The party claimed it wanted to institute a righteous society; yet its goals and policies were similar to those advocated by other Buddhist nationalist groups and seemed set to complicate further the attempt to end the island's civil war. Nearly four years later the JHU's politicking has tarnished its members' reputations and the Buddhist clergy's image. Indeed, it appears the JHU may be an epiphenomenon and its rise the apogee of political Buddhism, which has dominated Sri Lankan politics for the past fifty years. The Buddhist clergy has, for better or worse, been involved in Sri Lanka's affairs for a long period of time. From that standpoint, the JHU is not necessary for Sri Lankan Buddhist nationalism; its weakened status and even demise are unlikely to especially affect the island's war and peace trajectories.

**North Korean Market Vendors:  
The Rise of Grassroots Capitalists in a Post-Stalinist Society**

*Andrei Lankov and Kim Seok-hyang*

The article deals with the social changes that have taken place in North Korea since the mid-1990s, when the collapse of the centrally planned economy led to the growth of private commercial activity. This activity remains technically illegal, but the relevant bans and restrictions have been rarely enforced due to endemic corruption and disorganization of the state bureaucracy. The article is largely based on in-depth interviews with North Korean black market operators. It traces their origins, the type and scale of their businesses, and changes in their mode of operations.

The article demonstrates that the “second economy” came to dominate North Korean economic life by the late 1990s, since authorities’ attempts to limit its scale were largely ineffective. The growth of the “second economy” produced new grassroots capitalists who sometimes came from underprivileged social groups, but more typically represented people with good official connections. It is also remarkable that foreign connections (usually with China) played a major role: to a large extent, merchandise sold at the North Korean markets either came from overseas or was to be exported overseas eventually, and in many cases the merchants’ initial capital was also provided by relatives residing overseas.

**Narcotics Trafficking in China: Size, Scale, Dynamics and Future Consequences**

*Ryan Clarke*

This article examines narcotics trafficking in the People’s Republic of China (PRC) and in its special administrative regions of Hong Kong and Macau. A general overview is provided regarding types of narcotics trafficked, most common sources, and the key actors involved. Problem areas, or “hot spots,” are identified and analyzed. Regions that are addressed include south China/Southeast Asia, Xinjiang/Central Asia, and the northeast China/North Korea border region. Responses by the PRC to the problem are also discussed. This article puts forth the argument that much attention has been paid to China’s rapidly growing economy and defence capabilities, but there has been less focus on its drug trafficking markets, which have grown in size and scale on pace with China’s legitimate economy. Because of its huge population, large geographical mass, and long land and maritime borders, the PRC is an ideal transit and consumption point for narcotics from East, South and Southeast Asia. Further, Xinjiang is of particular concern, given recent geopolitical developments in the region and the construction of the Gwadar port in Pakistan, which aims to provide Xinjiang with a road link through Pakistan and possibly Afghanistan. As such, the People’s Liberation Army (PLA) should use its heavy security presence in the province more efficiently and increase its role in counternarcotics efforts. Although the problem is manageable at present, if these issues are not adequately addressed China may descend into an environment where organized crime is rampant, foreign investors are reluctant, and the ability of officials to tackle everyday issues is highly limited.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

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JASON STONE graduated from Hartwick College in May 2007, having specialized in Political Science and Religious Studies. His research interests include ethnicity and nationalism and religious politics in South Asia.

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RYAN CLARKE is a PhD candidate in the Centre of International Studies at the University of Cambridge and a visiting analyst at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies in Singapore. His research interests include stability issues in Asia, transnational organized crime and militancy, and China’s strategic thought and practice.

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*Pacific Affairs* celebrates  
Bill Holland's 100<sup>th</sup> Birthday

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Dr. William L. Holland has given a life time of service to public affairs in the Asia Pacific. He worked for years at the Institute of Pacific Relations, leading it through the difficult years of the Cold War. He brought its journal, *Pacific Affairs*, to the University of British Columbia in 1960, when he took up the post as the founding Head of the Department of Asian Studies.

*Pacific Affairs* has been published continuously since 1927 and Dr. Holland put his stamp on the journal as editor for over 20 years. In keeping with Dr. Holland's individual spirit we have remained an independent journal that publishes first rate papers which are occasionally provocative and always informative.

We take this opportunity to congratulate Bill on his 100<sup>th</sup> Birthday.



## **Jackie Garnett (1945 - 2008)**

It is with great sorrow we inform the friends of *Pacific Affairs* that Ms. Jacqueline Garnett, long time Managing Editor, died on Monday 10 March 2008. She fought a long and astonishingly cheerful battle with cancer for many years. To the end Jackie was with her friends, concerned about our natural world and local wild life, and full of good cheer.



Jackie Garnett was inducted into the University of BC 25 Year Club in spring 2007. In truth, Jackie had been at UBC a bit longer, having first come to work here in 1974. Born in Canada, she was raised in the East End of London. Years of travel in the USA, Yukon, and Indonesia did not weaken Jackie's distinctive accent. Her work with Canadian development agencies in Indonesia spurred her interest in Asia and development, and she finished up her UBC BA on just these topics in 1984. She started with *Pacific Affairs* in 1988 and became Managing

Editor in 1997. As current Editor of the journal, I have long said, "If not for Jackie, we would not have *Pacific Affairs* at the Institute of Asian Research today, and perhaps at all. She kept us going through difficult transitions and got our electronic publication going." Jackie said of *Pacific Affairs*, "I find the journal combines my interest in Asia and the English Language, and the industry has been so dynamic in this period it has never been boring."

Timothy Cheek, Editor of *Pacific Affairs*