

1 **Tracing the role of human civilization in the globalization of plant pathogens**

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26 Co-evolution between plants and parasites, including herbivores and pathogens, has arguably
27 generated much of Earth's biological diversity. Within an ecosystem, co-evolution of plants
28 and pathogens is a stepwise reciprocal evolutionary interaction: epidemics result in intense
29 selection pressures on both host and pathogen populations, ultimately allowing long-term
30 persistence and ecosystem stability. Historically, plants and pathogens evolved in unique
31 regional assemblages, largely isolated from other assemblages by geographical barriers.
32 When barriers are broken, non-indigenous pathogenic organisms are introduced into new
33 environments, potentially finding suitable hosts lacking resistance genes and environments
34 favouring pathogenic behaviour; this process may result in epidemics of newly emerging
35 diseases. Biological invasions are tightly linked to human activities and have been a constant
36 feature throughout human history. Several pathways enable pathogens to enter new
37 environments, the great majority being human mediated.

38 The fossil record provides evidence that diseases commonly affected plants some 250 million
39 years ago (Dark & Gent, 2001). The recurrence of wheat rust outbreaks is reported by Roman
40 authors such as Cicero, Varro and Columella (2100-1950 BP). Rust outbreaks were so feared
41 that there was a god/goddess of rust (Robigus/Robigine) to whom processions, sacrifices and
42 feasts were dedicated in order to prevent crop destruction.

43 During the last 200 years the incidence of plant diseases has increased exponentially in terms
44 of both numbers and severity (Santini et al, 2013). Alien pathogen introductions can lead to
45 novel host-pathogen associations or novel pathogen-pathogen combinations, with no
46 previous co-evolutionary history.

47 Why are so many invasive plant pathogens now appearing? The aim of this paper is to
48 increase understanding of the means of introduction and spread of these pathogens, which, as
49 with most invasive species, can be traced to human behaviour, societal development,

50 technological change, and geopolitical trends. We believe that reviewing historical
51 developments enhances our ability to anticipate future developments.

52 **Prehistory**

53 Limited information exists about the impact and spread of plant diseases before the onset of
54 major human migrations, although some evidence suggests that pathogens played an active
55 role in shaping the composition of prehistoric forests and other vegetation (Davis, 1981).
56 Pollen analysis from the mid Holocene suggests two catastrophic declines occurred in
57 Northern Hemisphere forests: a hemlock (*Tsuga*) decline in eastern North America and an elm
58 (*Ulmus*) decline in western, central and northern Europe. Decline of *Tsuga* spp. was recorded
59 at 60 sites and dated around 5500 BP (Bennett & Fuller, 2002), while elm decline occurred
60 6347 – 5281 BP based on a comprehensive review of 139 dated sites (see Waller, 2013 and
61 references therein). Both declines are characterised by the same specific features, such as
62 strong synchrony of events over wide regions (Eastern North America and central, north-west
63 Europe); rapidity of the decline; long periods in which these trees were largely absent. These
64 features suggest an invasion by a non co-evolved pathogen that eliminated the majority of
65 hosts. The eventual re-emergence of these tree species may have been associated with a
66 gradual development of resistance. Mid-Holocene pollen records associated with these events
67 resemble those arising during modern epidemics of forest pathogens, including chestnut
68 blight and Dutch elm disease (see Waller, 2013 and references therein).
69 In addition to these massive declines, evidence exists of forest declines at more local or
70 regional levels, ranging from temporary decreases in tree species richness, to full extinctions
71 of specific tree taxa appearing in the Holocene pollen stratigraphy. Although many different,
72 and sometimes contrasting, hypotheses have been advanced for the causes of these declines,

73 most recent accounts (Waller, 2013) adopt a multi-factor hypothesis in which disease
74 pandemics likely played a role along with climate changes and impacts from human activities.

75 **A starting date**

76 Though early intercontinental raft voyages and migrations over land bridges could have
77 transported certain organisms, for most purposes, we can consider the starting point for plant
78 pathogen invasions to coincide with the “Columbian Exchange”, ~1500 CE, which marked the
79 beginning of large-scale human movement between Europe and the Americas (Crosby 2006).
80 This time corresponded with initial European colonial activities which often involved trans-
81 oceanic movement of plants and animals for cultivation in colonies, for consumption in
82 Europe (Crosby, 2006) and for collection of botanical specimens aboard ships. Maize, *Zea*
83 *mays*, for example, was probably initially domesticated via hybridization of native species in
84 the Balsas River Valley of south-central Mexico by indigenous people (Piperno, 2011). As part
85 of the Columbian Exchange it was brought to Europe in the 1500s and ultimately distributed
86 further for cultivation in Asian and African colonies.
87 For these reasons invasion biologists use 1500 to divide alien plants in Europe into
88 “archaeophytes”, introduced before 1500, and “neophytes” introduced later. However, it is
89 widely recognised that the spread of plants and their associated pathogens began much
90 earlier.

91 **Human migrations**

92 Human migrations approximately 85000 years BP likely caused the earliest spread of invasive
93 species following the migration of *Homo sapiens* out of central Africa (Cavalli-Sforza &
94 Feldman, 2003) (Figure 1). Europe, for example was colonized between 9000 to 4500 BP by

95 Neolithic farmers, moving from the Fertile Crescent of Mesopotamia. Indigenous populations
96 settled in North America after crossing the Bering Strait to Alaska during milder periods in
97 the midst of the last ice age (15000-14000 BP). Expanding Neolithic farming cultures
98 probably carried plant material over considerable distances (Diamond and Bellwood 2003).
99 In addition, transport by sea began as far back as the Pleistocene (2588000 to 11700 BP).
100 The earliest archaeological evidence of maritime trade between Mesopotamia and the Persian
101 Gulf was dated to the seventh and eighth millennia BP (Carter, 2006). Though not impossible,
102 extraction of fungal DNA from archaeological artifacts is challenging and, to our knowledge,
103 there are few reports of such analyses. However, it can be speculated that seed-borne fungi
104 survived long periods of transport and storage, at least as long as the useful life of the seed
105 (Maude, 1996). Dark and Gent (2001) suggest that the increased incidence of plant diseases
106 during the late Iron Age and Roman periods could have been due to increasing trade in seeds,
107 especially within the Roman Empire.

108 Humans have a long history of migrations and conquests during which select plants and
109 animals were deliberately introduced to new global regions for domestication. For example,
110 so-called English elm (*Ulmus procera* Salisb.) was introduced to Britain by the Romans for use
111 in vineyards (Gil et al, 2004). The largest Euro-Asian chestnut (*Castanea sativa* Mill.) glacial
112 refuge is in the Caucasian-Armenian area. By the 11-9th Century BP humans were cultivating
113 chestnuts between the Caspian and Black Sea. Chestnut cultivation quickly spread from Asia
114 Minor to Greece and the Balkans. The Romans quickly discovered the practical potential of
115 chestnut cultivation and since the 1st Century, Italy has been the European centre of chestnut
116 culture (Adua, 1999). A number of crop species including cereals, legumes and trees such as
117 tamarind and baobab were moved from Africa to the Indian subcontinent during prehistory
118 (Bell et al, 2015 and references therein). Humans have long moved plants both to satisfy food
119 needs, and also for ornamental purposes (Supplementary material S1).

120 Nearly every individual of any wild plant species can be expected to host hundreds of species
121 of endophytic and plant pathogenic fungi, so it is certain that many fungal species have
122 accompanied human movements of plants. For centuries, the time taken to travel long
123 distances probably limited survival of potentially harmful propagules of many invasive
124 pathogen species, but increasing speed of transport has improved the probability of
125 propagule survival, sometimes with disastrous consequences for invaded ecosystems. For
126 example, wheat has been cultivated in Europe and China since 6000–7000 BP; when
127 European farmers moved into the Americas, Australia, and South Africa during the past 500
128 years, they introduced wheat as well as its pathogens *Phaeosphaeria nodorum* and
129 *Mycosphaerella graminicola* (Stukenbrock et al, 2006).

130 Invasive pathogen species may not be simply a consequence of human migrations: they have
131 also forced humans to move. Plant disease outbreaks that triggered famines and, as a
132 consequence, mass human migrations have been reported since the beginning of history and
133 are still a major cause of this phenomenon (Supplementary material S1).

134 **Technological progress**

135 Over the last 500 years, transport technology has progressively improved, decreasing trans-
136 oceanic shipping times and facilitating the rapid movement of living plants, some of which
137 transport plant pathogens. The S.S. Savannah, the first steamboat to cross the Atlantic Ocean
138 (1819), represented an important milestone in transport technology and consequently in
139 rapid plant movement. Previously, crossing the Atlantic by sailing ship required 8-12 weeks,
140 so transport of living plants was impossible without the use of elaborate portable
141 greenhouses, where plants needed to be potted and often re-potted during transit, using
142 foreign soil and consequently spreading soil-borne pathogens. Continuous progress in naval
143 and aeronautical engineering has enabled incremental improvement in the ease of trans-

144 oceanic transport of live plants. This technology has allowed increases in numbers of plants
145 transported in a single trip, resulting in an equivalent increment in viable pathogen inoculum
146 arriving at final destinations, and increasing chances of infections occurring on new hosts.

147 The use of maritime containers, including refrigerated containers, has greatly
148 facilitated large-scale movement of plants and other potential vectors of plant pathogens. The
149 first commercial container ship, the Clifford J. Rogers, was launched in Seattle in 1955 and
150 carried 58 metal containers. Modern container ships can carry up to 18,000 twenty-foot
151 equivalent units (TEUs). World container port throughput was estimated at 651.1 million
152 TEUs in 2013 (Clarkson Research Services 2014; Fig. 2). International commerce in
153 agricultural products, has increased four-fold from US\$ 414.723 million in 1990, to US\$
154 1.765.405 million in 2014 (www.wto.org/statistics).

155 Among agricultural products, imports of live plants probably represent the most
156 important pathway for transport of plant pathogens (Liebhold et al, 2012, Santini et al, 2013).
157 Given advances in transport technologies, a complex network of global commerce in live
158 plants has developed (Fig. 2). Favourable climates and labour costs provide incentives for
159 production of many types of plants in tropical regions. Billions of plants consumed in North
160 America are produced in Central America, and Europe receives large numbers of plants from
161 Africa and Asia (Fig. 3).

162 **Geopolitics and regulation of trade**

163 Legislation limiting plant diseases was born more than 300 years ago in France where laws
164 were enacted requiring destruction of barberry (*Berberis* spp.) to control the spread of stem
165 rust in wheat. Prior to the mid-1800s, however, there was little recognition of the potential
166 dangers associated with accidental movement of plant pathogens on live plants and other
167 objects. The first attempt at regulating international movement of plants took place in Europe

168 in 1878, as a reaction to massive damage to the viticulture industry caused by the grape
169 Phylloxera; seven European countries agreed to implement the “International Convention on
170 Measures to be taken against *Phylloxera vastatrix*” (now *Daktulosphaira vitifolia*). The
171 convention specified procedures for exporting countries to certify disease- and insect-free
172 plant material for export along with plant import inspection procedures. During this era,
173 several European countries (MacLeod et al, 2010), initiated their own measures to stem the
174 flow of dangerous plant pests. In the USA, importation of live plants was not regulated until
175 the passage of the Plant Quarantine Act in 1912 (Liebhold & Griffin, 2016). Previously, large
176 numbers of live plants were imported without limits and many damaging insects and plant
177 pathogens were accidentally introduced with such shipments.

178 World War II represented a turning point in the global movement of plant pathogens.
179 Allied army supplies provided a pathway for movement of at least three important forest
180 pathogens: *Seiridium cardinale*; *Ceratocystis platani* and *Heterobasidion irregulare* (Santini et
181 al, 2013). But it was the aftermath of the war that brought massive geopolitical changes,
182 laying the foundation for our modern globalized economy. Economists argued for the
183 elimination of barriers to free trade ultimately leading to the General Agreement on Tariffs
184 and Trade (GATT) in 1948.

185 In addition, GATT also led to important agreements that shaped international plant
186 quarantine policy. Unjustified quarantines placed by countries on the importation of
187 agricultural and other goods were identified as barriers to free trade. In 1994, GATT
188 promoted the Agreement on the Application of Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures (the SPS
189 Agreement), which designated standards for regulatory measures implemented by member
190 countries for the protection of plant, animal, and human life and health. The organization
191 recognized in the agreement as the standard-setting body for plants was the International

192 Plant Protection Convention (IPPC), a multilateral treaty overseen by the Food and
193 Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations.

194 The SPS agreement states that each country can set a desired level of risk for damaging
195 pests associated with imports and outlines a science-based procedure for managing risk.
196 Some countries, notably New Zealand and Australia, maintain very stringent regulations on
197 plant imports in order to minimize risk (Eschen et al, 2015). In contrast, the European Union
198 enforces much less strict import regulations; many plants may be imported without a permit
199 and soil associated with plants is often allowed. The presence of soil represents a particularly
200 significant opportunity for transport of invasive pathogens (Migliorini et al, 2015). The
201 creation of the European Union and fall of the “Iron Curtain” resulted in much more open
202 trade among European countries. These open borders increased movement among countries,
203 potentially increasing movement of plant pests (Roques et al, 2016).

204 Following the passage of the Plant Quarantine Act in 1912, the US Department of
205 Agriculture implemented “Quarantine 37” in 1919, which greatly curtailed plant imports and
206 established a system of inspection and other quarantine practices (Liebhold & Griffin, 2016).
207 These regulations resulted in a downward trend in numbers of plant pathogen introductions
208 during the mid 20th Century (Liebhold & Griffin, 2016). The trend was the opposite in Europe
209 – i.e. increasing rates of establishment (Santini et al, 2013) – suggesting that the 1912
210 Quarantine Act has been reasonably effective in reducing numbers of new introductions to the
211 USA.

212 The IPPC aims to harmonize phytosanitary measures among countries. Nevertheless,
213 some countries lack adequate financial resources necessary for implementing strict plant
214 quarantine regulations, which poses a risk even to countries that maintain high quarantine
215 standards. Countries with more “porous” borders serve as bridgeheads where pathogens may
216 establish, become abundant and then invade other world regions (Early et al, 2016).

217 Another significant problem facing effective plant quarantine programs is the high
218 percentage of invasive pathogens of unknown origin (Santini et al, 2013; Xu et al, 2006). A
219 major problem in managing invasion pathways utilized by fungi and Oomycetes is the
220 difficulty in recognizing organisms at the species level. Many 'new' species are cryptic,
221 resembling already known species, but with minor genetic differences which may create
222 considerably higher virulence when exposed to host plants. The extent of this problem
223 increases when the pathogens are endophytic or have an extended latent period before
224 causing symptoms (Sakalidis et al, 2013).

225 Certain pathogen invasion pathways can be directly identified. For example, good
226 evidence exists that Karnal bunt of wheat entered the United States across the land border
227 with Mexico, inadvertently transported in private automobiles, trucks, and railway cars rather
228 than with commercial cargo (Marshall et al, 2003). However because of the difficulty in
229 identifying pathogens and the characteristically long delay between pathogen arrival and
230 discovery, invasion pathways for many species can only be inferred rather than observed.

231 In the USA, Europe and China, the main pathway for plant pest and pathogen
232 introductions is by far imports of living plants, (Liebhold et al, 2012; Santini et al, 2013; Xu et
233 al, 2006). In Australia and New Zealand, where international trade in plants is more strictly
234 regulated, the arrival of pathogens is mainly linked to contamination of traded goods other
235 than live plants.

236 The 'plants-for-planting' pathway is difficult to control for various reasons. Horticulture is a
237 major global industry: in 2013, for example, 84,500 tonnes of live plants were imported into
238 Europe, compared with exports of 400,000 tonnes (Eurostat Comext

239 <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/newxtweb>). Faced with such huge volumes, only a small
240 percentage of plants can realistically be inspected at ports of entry (Liebhold et al, 2012).

241 Moreover, markets in live plants, especially ornamentals, are constantly changing. Imported

242 species and geographical sources for obtaining a given species can change rapidly. This
243 problem exacerbates the risk of introducing new pests from different exotic locations.

244 **Conclusions**

245 Since pre-history, humans have dramatically changed their living environment, for example
246 by exploiting natural resources until depletion, or via movement and cultivation of plant
247 species outside their natural range. Agricultural and forestry practices frequently rely on non-
248 indigenous plant species. This human-mediated globalization of plant ranges has steadily
249 increased throughout the history of human civilization. The trend for globalization has
250 consequences that reach beyond impacts on individual humans and their societies, also
251 including impacts on ecosystems. In many parts of the world, invasions of plant pests and
252 pathogens have transformed managed and natural areas, often with cascading effects on
253 ecosystem services (Lovett et al, 2016) as, for example, *Phytophthora ramorum* in UK, Ireland
254 and US.

255 This paper describes how historical developments in human civilization and geopolitics have
256 driven trends of increasing movement and impacts of plant pathogens. Even before the
257 modern era of globalization, technological developments and societal changes facilitated new
258 plant disease epidemics that adversely affected society and shaped social development. It is
259 also evident that during the modern era of globalization we are poised to continue that trend,
260 with potentially catastrophic effects on society and global ecosystems.

261 We argue here for closer integration of invasion biology with history and sociology, to
262 significantly advance understanding of the causes of biological invasions and to limit future
263 damage. Learning from this history it can be deduced that the solution to these increasing
264 impacts lies not in halting the trend of globalization, which is neither realistic nor necessarily
265 desirable, but to better capitalize on scientific knowledge. Implementation of scientifically-

266 based policies will allow globalization to proceed while simultaneously minimizing movement
267 of plant pathogens, thus preventing further economic and ecological disasters. History is not
268 merely a list of dates and names of famous people, but, as Cicero claimed in *De Oratore*
269 “*Historia vero testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuntia vetustatis...*”.
270 In short ‘*history is life’s teacher*’.

271

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273 of space restrictions.

274

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276 Authors contributed equally in discussions of the idea, and wrote the manuscript as a
277 collective effort.

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340 **Captions for figures**

341 Figure 1. Migrations of modern *Homo sapiens* (Adapted by permission from Macmillan
342 Publishers Ltd: [Nature Genetics] (L. Luca Cavalli-Sforza, Marcus W. Feldman, 2003. The
343 application of molecular genetic approaches to the study of human evolution 33:266-275),
344 copyright 2003.

345 Figure 2. Trend of European agricultural imports per year (1980-2014) expressed in USD
346 (UNCTAD, 2014). In the box: World seaborne trade by type of cargo per year (1970-2011)
347 Plants fall into the dry cargo category (UNCTAD, 2014).

348 Figure 3. Trade of plants and plant parts among principle trading countries. For each country
349 flow widths are proportional to 2015 import and export values. Colours correspond to
350 exports from a single country, coded by the colour of the outer band. Imports are represented
351 by different colours flowing into each country (Commodity code 0602: Live trees, including
352 roots, cuttings, slips and mushroom spawn). Source UN Comtrade Database
353 <http://comtrade.un.org/>.

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65 hosts. The eventual re-emergence of these tree species may have been associated with a
66 gradual development of resistance. Mid-Holocene pollen records associated with these events
67 resemble those arising during modern epidemics of forest pathogens, including chestnut
68 blight and Dutch elm disease (see Waller, 2013 and references therein).
69 In addition to these massive declines, evidence exists of forest declines at more local or
70 regional levels, ranging from temporary decreases in tree species richness, to full extinctions
71 of specific tree taxa appearing in the Holocene pollen stratigraphy. Although many different,
72 and sometimes contrasting, hypotheses have been advanced for the causes of these declines,

73 most recent accounts (Waller, 2013) adopt a multi-factor hypothesis in which disease
74 pandemics likely played a role along with climate changes and impacts from human activities.

75 **A starting date**

76 Though early intercontinental raft voyages and migrations over land bridges could have
77 transported certain organisms, for most purposes, we can consider the starting point for plant
78 pathogen invasions to coincide with the “Columbian Exchange”, ~1500 CE, which marked the
79 beginning of large-scale human movement between Europe and the Americas (Crosby 2006).
80 This time corresponded with initial European colonial activities which often involved trans-
81 oceanic movement of plants and animals for cultivation in colonies, for consumption in
82 Europe (Crosby, 2006) and for collection of botanical specimens aboard ships. Maize, *Zea*
83 *mays*, for example, was probably initially domesticated via hybridization of native species in
84 the Balsas River Valley of south-central Mexico by indigenous people (Piperno, 2011). As part
85 of the Columbian Exchange it was brought to Europe in the 1500s and ultimately distributed
86 further for cultivation in Asian and African colonies.
87 For these reasons invasion biologists use 1500 to divide alien plants in Europe into
88 “archaeophytes”, introduced before 1500, and “neophytes” introduced later. However, it is
89 widely recognised that the spread of plants and their associated pathogens began much
90 earlier.

91 **Human migrations**

92 Human migrations approximately 85000 years BP likely caused the earliest spread of invasive
93 species following the migration of *Homo sapiens* out of central Africa (Cavalli-Sforza &
94 Feldman, 2003) (Figure 1). Europe, for example was colonized between 9000 to 4500 BP by

95 Neolithic farmers, moving from the Fertile Crescent of Mesopotamia. Indigenous populations
96 settled in North America after crossing the Bering Strait to Alaska during milder periods in
97 the midst of the last ice age (15000-14000 BP). Expanding Neolithic farming cultures
98 probably carried plant material over considerable distances (Diamond and Bellwood 2003).
99 In addition, transport by sea began as far back as the Pleistocene (2588000 to 11700 BP).
100 The earliest archaeological evidence of maritime trade between Mesopotamia and the Persian
101 Gulf was dated to the seventh and eighth millennia BP (Carter, 2006). Though not impossible,
102 extraction of fungal DNA from archaeological artifacts is challenging and, to our knowledge,
103 there are few reports of such analyses. However, it can be speculated that seed-borne fungi
104 survived long periods of transport and storage, at least as long as the useful life of the seed
105 (Maude, 1996). Dark and Gent (2001) suggest that the increased incidence of plant diseases
106 during the late Iron Age and Roman periods could have been due to increasing trade in seeds,
107 especially within the Roman Empire.

108 Humans have a long history of migrations and conquests during which select plants and
109 animals were deliberately introduced to new global regions for domestication. For example,
110 so-called English elm (*Ulmus procera* Salisb.) was introduced to Britain by the Romans for use
111 in vineyards (Gil et al, 2004). The largest Euro-Asian chestnut (*Castanea sativa* Mill.) glacial
112 refuge is in the Caucasian-Armenian area. By the 11-9th Century BP humans were cultivating
113 chestnuts between the Caspian and Black Sea. Chestnut cultivation quickly spread from Asia
114 Minor to Greece and the Balkans. The Romans quickly discovered the practical potential of
115 chestnut cultivation and since the 1st Century, Italy has been the European centre of chestnut
116 culture (Adua, 1999). A number of crop species including cereals, legumes and trees such as
117 tamarind and baobab were moved from Africa to the Indian subcontinent during prehistory
118 (Bell et al, 2015 and references therein). Humans have long moved plants both to satisfy food
119 needs, and also for ornamental purposes (Supplementary material S1).

120 Nearly every individual of any wild plant species can be expected to host hundreds of species
121 of endophytic and plant pathogenic fungi, so it is certain that many fungal species have
122 accompanied human movements of plants. For centuries, the time taken to travel long
123 distances probably limited survival of potentially harmful propagules of many invasive
124 pathogen species, but increasing speed of transport has improved the probability of
125 propagule survival, sometimes with disastrous consequences for invaded ecosystems. For
126 example, wheat has been cultivated in Europe and China since 6000–7000 BP; when
127 European farmers moved into the Americas, Australia, and South Africa during the past 500
128 years, they introduced wheat as well as its pathogens *Phaeosphaeria nodorum* and
129 *Mycosphaerella graminicola* (Stukenbrock et al, 2006).

130 Invasive pathogen species may not be simply a consequence of human migrations: they have
131 also forced humans to move. Plant disease outbreaks that triggered famines and, as a
132 consequence, mass human migrations have been reported since the beginning of history and
133 are still a major cause of this phenomenon (Supplementary material S1).

134 **Technological progress**

135 Over the last 500 years, transport technology has progressively improved, decreasing trans-
136 oceanic shipping times and facilitating the rapid movement of living plants, some of which
137 transport plant pathogens. The S.S. Savannah, the first steamboat to cross the Atlantic Ocean
138 (1819), represented an important milestone in transport technology and consequently in
139 rapid plant movement. Previously, crossing the Atlantic by sailing ship required 8-12 weeks,
140 so transport of living plants was impossible without the use of elaborate portable
141 greenhouses, where plants needed to be potted and often re-potted during transit, using
142 foreign soil and consequently spreading soil-borne pathogens. Continuous progress in naval
143 and aeronautical engineering has enabled incremental improvement in the ease of trans-

144 oceanic transport of live plants. This technology has allowed increases in numbers of plants
145 transported in a single trip, resulting in an equivalent increment in viable pathogen inoculum
146 arriving at final destinations, and increasing chances of infections occurring on new hosts.

147 The use of maritime containers, including refrigerated containers, has greatly
148 facilitated large-scale movement of plants and other potential vectors of plant pathogens. The
149 first commercial container ship, the Clifford J. Rogers, was launched in Seattle in 1955 and
150 carried 58 metal containers. Modern container ships can carry up to 18,000 twenty-foot
151 equivalent units (TEUs). World container port throughput was estimated at 651.1 million
152 TEUs in 2013 (Clarkson Research Services 2014; Fig. 2). International commerce in
153 agricultural products, has increased four-fold from US\$ 414.723 million in 1990, to US\$
154 1.765.405 million in 2014 (www.wto.org/statistics).

155 Among agricultural products, imports of live plants probably represent the most
156 important pathway for transport of plant pathogens (Liebhold et al, 2012, Santini et al, 2013).
157 Given advances in transport technologies, a complex network of global commerce in live
158 plants has developed (Fig. 2). Favourable climates and labour costs provide incentives for
159 production of many types of plants in tropical regions. Billions of plants consumed in North
160 America are produced in Central America, and Europe receives large numbers of plants from
161 Africa and Asia (Fig. 3).

162 **Geopolitics and regulation of trade**

163 Legislation limiting plant diseases was born more than 300 years ago in France where laws
164 were enacted requiring destruction of barberry (*Berberis* spp.) to control the spread of stem
165 rust in wheat. Prior to the mid-1800s, however, there was little recognition of the potential
166 dangers associated with accidental movement of plant pathogens on live plants and other
167 objects. The first attempt at regulating international movement of plants took place in Europe

168 in 1878, as a reaction to massive damage to the viticulture industry caused by the grape
169 Phylloxera; seven European countries agreed to implement the “International Convention on
170 Measures to be taken against *Phylloxera vastatrix*” (now *Daktulosphaira vitifolia*). The
171 convention specified procedures for exporting countries to certify disease- and insect-free
172 plant material for export along with plant import inspection procedures. During this era,
173 several European countries (MacLeod et al, 2010), initiated their own measures to stem the
174 flow of dangerous plant pests. In the USA, importation of live plants was not regulated until
175 the passage of the Plant Quarantine Act in 1912 (Liebhold & Griffin, 2016). Previously, large
176 numbers of live plants were imported without limits and many damaging insects and plant
177 pathogens were accidentally introduced with such shipments.

178 World War II represented a turning point in the global movement of plant pathogens.
179 Allied army supplies provided a pathway for movement of at least three important forest
180 pathogens: *Seiridium cardinale*; *Ceratocystis platani* and *Heterobasidion irregulare* (Santini et
181 al, 2013). But it was the aftermath of the war that brought massive geopolitical changes,
182 laying the foundation for our modern globalized economy. Economists argued for the
183 elimination of barriers to free trade ultimately leading to the General Agreement on Tariffs
184 and Trade (GATT) in 1948.

185 In addition, GATT also led to important agreements that shaped international plant
186 quarantine policy. Unjustified quarantines placed by countries on the importation of
187 agricultural and other goods were identified as barriers to free trade. In 1994, GATT
188 promoted the Agreement on the Application of Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures (the SPS
189 Agreement), which designated standards for regulatory measures implemented by member
190 countries for the protection of plant, animal, and human life and health. The organization
191 recognized in the agreement as the standard-setting body for plants was the International

192 Plant Protection Convention (IPPC), a multilateral treaty overseen by the Food and
193 Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations.

194 The SPS agreement states that each country can set a desired level of risk for damaging
195 pests associated with imports and outlines a science-based procedure for managing risk.
196 Some countries, notably New Zealand and Australia, maintain very stringent regulations on
197 plant imports in order to minimize risk (Eschen et al, 2015). In contrast, the European Union
198 enforces much less strict import regulations; many plants may be imported without a permit
199 and soil associated with plants is often allowed. The presence of soil represents a particularly
200 significant opportunity for transport of invasive pathogens (Migliorini et al, 2015). The
201 creation of the European Union and fall of the “Iron Curtain” resulted in much more open
202 trade among European countries. These open borders increased movement among countries,
203 potentially increasing movement of plant pests (Roques et al, 2016).

204 Following the passage of the Plant Quarantine Act in 1912, the US Department of
205 Agriculture implemented “Quarantine 37” in 1919, which greatly curtailed plant imports and
206 established a system of inspection and other quarantine practices (Liebhold & Griffin, 2016).
207 These regulations resulted in a downward trend in numbers of plant pathogen introductions
208 during the mid 20th Century (Liebhold & Griffin, 2016). The trend was the opposite in Europe
209 – i.e. increasing rates of establishment (Santini et al, 2013) – suggesting that the 1912
210 Quarantine Act has been reasonably effective in reducing numbers of new introductions to the
211 USA.

212 The IPPC aims to harmonize phytosanitary measures among countries. Nevertheless,
213 some countries lack adequate financial resources necessary for implementing strict plant
214 quarantine regulations, which poses a risk even to countries that maintain high quarantine
215 standards. Countries with more “porous” borders serve as bridgeheads where pathogens may
216 establish, become abundant and then invade other world regions (Early et al, 2016).

217 Another significant problem facing effective plant quarantine programs is the high
218 percentage of invasive pathogens of unknown origin (Santini et al, 2013; Xu et al, 2006). A
219 major problem in managing invasion pathways utilized by fungi and Oomycetes is the
220 difficulty in recognizing organisms at the species level. Many 'new' species are cryptic,
221 resembling already known species, but with minor genetic differences which may create
222 considerably higher virulence when exposed to host plants. The extent of this problem
223 increases when the pathogens are endophytic or have an extended latent period before
224 causing symptoms (Sakalidis et al, 2013).

225 Certain pathogen invasion pathways can be directly identified. For example, good
226 evidence exists that Karnal bunt of wheat entered the United States across the land border
227 with Mexico, inadvertently transported in private automobiles, trucks, and railway cars rather
228 than with commercial cargo (Marshall et al, 2003). However because of the difficulty in
229 identifying pathogens and the characteristically long delay between pathogen arrival and
230 discovery, invasion pathways for many species can only be inferred rather than observed.

231 In the USA, Europe and China, the main pathway for plant pest and pathogen
232 introductions is by far imports of living plants, (Liebhold et al, 2012; Santini et al, 2013; Xu et
233 al, 2006). In Australia and New Zealand, where international trade in plants is more strictly
234 regulated, the arrival of pathogens is mainly linked to contamination of traded goods other
235 than live plants.

236 The 'plants-for-planting' pathway is difficult to control for various reasons. Horticulture is a
237 major global industry: in 2013, for example, 84,500 tonnes of live plants were imported into
238 Europe, compared with exports of 400,000 tonnes (Eurostat Comext
239 <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/newxtweb>). Faced with such huge volumes, only a small
240 percentage of plants can realistically be inspected at ports of entry (Liebhold et al, 2012).
241 Moreover, markets in live plants, especially ornamentals, are constantly changing. Imported

242 species and geographical sources for obtaining a given species can change rapidly. This
243 problem exacerbates the risk of introducing new pests from different exotic locations.

244 **Conclusions**

245 Since pre-history, humans have dramatically changed their living environment, for example
246 by exploiting natural resources until depletion, or via movement and cultivation of plant
247 species outside their natural range. Agricultural and forestry practices frequently rely on non-
248 indigenous plant species. This human-mediated globalization of plant ranges has steadily
249 increased throughout the history of human civilization. The trend for globalization has
250 consequences that reach beyond impacts on individual humans and their societies, also
251 including impacts on ecosystems. In many parts of the world, invasions of plant pests and
252 pathogens have transformed managed and natural areas, often with cascading effects on
253 ecosystem services (Lovett et al, 2016) as, for example, *Phytophthora ramorum* in UK, Ireland
254 and US.

255 This paper describes how historical developments in human civilization and geopolitics have
256 driven trends of increasing movement and impacts of plant pathogens. Even before the
257 modern era of globalization, technological developments and societal changes facilitated new
258 plant disease epidemics that adversely affected society and shaped social development. It is
259 also evident that during the modern era of globalization we are poised to continue that trend,
260 with potentially catastrophic effects on society and global ecosystems.

261 We argue here for closer integration of invasion biology with history and sociology, to
262 significantly advance understanding of the causes of biological invasions and to limit future
263 damage. Learning from this history it can be deduced that the solution to these increasing
264 impacts lies not in halting the trend of globalization, which is neither realistic nor necessarily
265 desirable, but to better capitalize on scientific knowledge. Implementation of scientifically-

266 based policies will allow globalization to proceed while simultaneously minimizing movement
267 of plant pathogens, thus preventing further economic and ecological disasters. History is not
268 merely a list of dates and names of famous people, but, as Cicero claimed in *De Oratore*
269 “*Historia vero testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuntia vetustatis...*”.
270 In short ‘*history is life’s teacher*’.

271

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274

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340 **Captions for figures**

341 Figure 1. Migrations of modern *Homo sapiens* (Adapted by permission from Macmillan
342 Publishers Ltd: [Nature Genetics] (L. Luca Cavalli-Sforza, Marcus W. Feldman, 2003. The
343 application of molecular genetic approaches to the study of human evolution 33:266-275),
344 copyright 2003.

345 Figure 2. Trend of European agricultural imports per year (1980-2014) expressed in USD
346 (UNCTAD, 2014). In the box: World seaborne trade by type of cargo per year (1970-2011)
347 Plants fall into the dry cargo category (UNCTAD, 2014).

348 Figure 3. Trade of plants and plant parts among principle trading countries. For each country
349 flow widths are proportional to 2015 import and export values. Colours correspond to
350 exports from a single country, coded by the colour of the outer band. Imports are represented
351 by different colours flowing into each country (Commodity code 0602: Live trees, including
352 roots, cuttings, slips and mushroom spawn). Source UN Comtrade Database
353 <http://comtrade.un.org/>.

354





