

Latin America and the Pacific Islands

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The Pacific Islands have had less contact with Latin America this century than with almost any other region of the world. Last century, however, there was a great deal of contact, and there are growing signs of significant interaction to come next century. As so little is generally known of either the past relationships or the future potentials, this article aims to summarize contacts between the two regions from the earliest times, to explain the current areas of interaction and common interest, and to explore potentials for future relations. For example, while everyone is aware of the growing importance of Pacific Basin interaction, few are aware that the majority of national votes in the Pacific Basin are held by the South Pacific Forum states and the Pacific coast states of Latin America (map 1).

THE FIRST TWO THOUSAND YEARS

The ancestors of today's Polynesian people settled the islands more than three thousand years ago, mainly from west to east, but the move into the eastern islands was in the last two thousand years. Who first reached Easter Island (Rapanui), which is the farthest east, is a matter of controversy. Bellwood (1979, 361-377) gives the conventional view that it was people originating from Southeast Asia via Tonga and the Marquesas and that they probably were established in Easter Island about fifteen hundred years ago.

Contact with South America is evidenced by the existence, at least on Easter Island, of sweet potato, manioc, capsicum, gourd, 26-chromosome cotton, pineapple, tobacco, some other South American plants, and some South American products and ideas. Langdon considers that the latest evi-



dence makes it more likely that the original Easter Island settlement fifteen hundred years ago was by American Indians from Ecuador, and that their descendants reached some other parts of eastern Polynesia and intermarried with earlier immigrants from western Polynesia. He believes that a second South American migration, from the Tiahuanaco culture, arrived at Easter Island about AD 1100 and built the stone statues for which the island is famous. Langdon considers that a later immigration in the 1500s from Ra'ivavae (now part of French Polynesia) involved Polynesians who were in part descended from shipwrecked Spaniards. Despite extensive intermarriage, conflict between the immigrants and the established people resulted in the great war of the late 1600s, in which those identified with the South American culture were defeated, leaving an ancient material culture from South America, a predominantly Polynesian language (but including some American Indian elements), a Polynesian culture, and a people who are genetically of American Indian, Polynesian, and Spanish descent (Langdon 1988a, 1988b, 1988c; pers comm 10 Dec 1989).

The Mormon faith (of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints) believes that some early Polynesians were descendants of the biblical Lost Tribes of Israel. Heyerdahl's two epic voyages, from North Africa to the Americas and from South America to the islands, in both cases using reconstructed traditional craft, showed that migration by both routes was possible. Alvaro de Mendaña led an expedition from Peru to locate the Solomon Islands because the Incas claimed to have visited rich Pacific islands and returned.

Did Polynesians also reach South America and intermarry with peoples of the sparsely populated Pacific coast? Most coastal people were so quickly devastated by diseases introduced at the time of Spanish colonization that insufficient evidence of their languages and cultures remains to show whether such contact took place. Moreover, if small numbers of Polynesians arrived in areas settled by large-scale cultures, the Polynesians would have had little cultural impact. Polynesian accounts, such as the Cook Islands story of Maui Marumamao's voyage to the continent and return, describe the contacts as a Polynesian initiative.

Much remains to be discovered about early contacts between the islands and the Americas. Polynesians and Incas both might have made the journey. But while there is evidence for some South American contact with eastern Polynesia, most elements of Polynesian languages and cultures derive from Southeast Asia. Nevertheless, South American influence

may be a reason for the substantial differences between eastern and western Polynesian cultures, which have long baffled scholars.

CONTACTS WITH SPAIN'S LATIN AMERICAN COLONIES (1500S TO 1700S)

Spain and Portugal were the closest parallel to global superpowers when Europe spilled over into the Pacific. Magellan, who came in 1521, and most who came after him to the islands for the next three hundred years sailed through the Strait of Magellan or a little farther south, round Cape Horn. Their contacts with the islands, however, were spasmodic, for they found little to interest Europe at that time.

In 1567 Mendaña sailed from Callao to test the Incan accounts of rich islands. After sailing through Tuvalu, he located the islands later to be called the Solomons by those who assumed that they were the source of King Solomon's wealth. After six months, he returned to Mexico with no wealth but the hope that it was there somewhere.

Mendaña led another expedition from Peru to the Solomon Islands in 1595, this time to establish a permanent colony. Attempts to settle at Ndeni (Santa Cruz) and Makira (San Cristobal) both failed, though there may have been some cultural or genetic impact or both. After he left, the ship *Santa Catalina*, which was carrying Peruvian Indians (including women) and Africans as well as Spaniards, became separated from the others near Chuuk (Truk) in Micronesia and was not heard of again. Ethnologists three centuries later noted that "some of the islanders [of Chuuk] were strikingly European in appearance while some aspects of their culture were strikingly reminiscent of ancient Peru. Specifically, the islanders wore long ponchos woven on American-style looms, they distended their ear lobes, and they mummified the dead" (Langdon 1988b, 17).

In 1606 Pedro de Quiros led another colonizing group from Peru. At Taumako (Duff Islands) in the eastern Solomons, he found a man with white skin and a tradition of a large ship having arrived with seven white men, one brown man, and three white women—the only survivors of a shipload. An English sea captain in 1801 found the remains of a large Spanish ship at Taumako, and pottery and iron have been found there since (ibid, 18–19).

Quiros carried on to the island now called Espiritu Santo in Vanuatu, claiming everything from there to the South Pole for the church, the pope,

and the king of Spain. He founded the "City of New Jerusalem," but as the men were resisted by the local people and were ill from having eaten poisoned fish, they left a month later.

In 1770 another expedition was sent from Callao to find an island that the viceroy feared the French or British planned to use to attack South American shipping. They found Easter Island (but no foreigners), claimed it for Spain, and returned to Peru. Another expedition in 1772 for the same purpose claimed Tahiti and brought back to Peru three young Tahitians to be taught Christianity and returned home to implant the assumed benefits of civilized society. They lived in the viceroy's palace in Lima and were returned to Tahiti the following year, but the plan to make Tahiti a settlement for Spanish colonists failed (Langdon 1988*b*, 23; McCall 1981).

From 1565 to 1815 Spanish galleons, running from the Philippines to Mexico for transshipment to Spain, used Guam as a way port. On some voyages they had contact with other Micronesian islands, and it is likely that the crew of some of the many galleons that never reached their intended destinations survived and intermarried in parts of Micronesia, Hawai'i, or both (Langdon [1975, 42-43] noted that of the first fifteen recorded cases of European shipwrecks in the Pacific, some or all crew survived in every case). European contacts between the islands and Latin America during the period are recorded in detail in Langdon (1988*b*) and in Oskar Spate's trilogy (1979, 1984, 1987).

The galleon trade took the papaya (pawpaw) from Mexico to the Philippines, whence it spread throughout what is now the region of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN); but it was Captain Boenechea who in 1772 took papayas (as well as maize, pumpkins, watermelons, and other crops) from Peru to the Society Islands, whence they spread throughout the Pacific Islands (Langdon 1989, 5).

South America, as a result of Spanish colonization, became Roman Catholic, as did Guam and the Mariana Islands. But these were the only islands where the faith from Spain via South America was successfully implanted, for the expeditions from Peru to the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu did not succeed in propagating their faith. The two priests sent from Peru in 1774 to convert the people of the Society Islands lasted less than two years.

The first three hundred years of modern contact between Latin America and the islands resulted in a heavy impact on only a few places, a little in many more, but no significant effect on most islands.

CONTACTS WITH THE INDEPENDENT REPUBLICS (MAINLY CHILE AND PERU) IN THE 1800S

Like all empires, that of Spain reached its zenith and then declined into insignificance. Its Latin American colonies sought independence and became republics between 1808 and 1825. Their main concern was with building their own nations, and most of the contact with the islands in the 1800s was a by-product of the expansion of northwestern Europe and the United States. Nevertheless, Chile maintained consulates in Tahiti, Honolulu, Auckland, and Sydney in the nineteenth century.

The first whale ship entered the Pacific in 1789, and by the 1800s many whalers from Europe and North America came round the Horn. Valparaiso became a focal port for the eastern Pacific Islands. By the mid-1800s, the currency of Chile was the most common in much of the eastern Pacific, including the Cook Islands, where the altar of the main church at Mauke is still studded with Chilean pesos as a symbol of prosperity. Imports from Latin America included Chilean ponies, whose descendants are still present in French Polynesia and the Cook Islands, at least. Many Polynesians joined the whalers and other sailing ships as crew and thus became familiar with the main ports of Chile, Peru, and Ecuador. Some native Americans came to the islands, mainly as harpooners and sailors, and some remained or left progeny.

Conventional traders included Jacques Moerenhout, a Belgian who settled in Valparaiso until in 1829 he set up an enterprise in Tahiti and traded between the islands and South America for many years (O'Reilly and Tessier 1975, 392-393). John Brander, who traded between the Society Islands, Easter Island, and Valparaiso and had commercial and property interests in the Cook Islands, has descendants throughout Polynesia.

Faith does not always follow trade as is often implied. The Protestant missions from Europe, beginning with the London Missionary Society in Tahiti in 1797, aimed to bring their faith to pagans. Thus, when the London Missionary Society spread from Tahiti, it went west to the rest of Polynesia and Melanesia, while much of the trade went east to Valparaiso. Catholicism did not follow the trade from Valparaiso to the islands, partly because trade was undertaken mainly by ships from Europe and the United States. But it was not only the Catholic/Protestant divide, then a very hostile one, that kept the islands and the continent apart in matters of religion, for even the Catholic mission had little contact with South

America, despite such exceptions as the Sacred Heart order, which embraced both regions. The determining influences were language, culture, colonial interests, and effective contacts. The push into the islands was all by northern Europeans—English, French, and Germans, particularly, and their derivatives in the United States, Australia, and New Zealand.

The largest category of Islanders ever destined for South America were the 3,634 slaves taken to Peru in 1862 and 1863, after which the trade was stopped by the French and British navies. Those taken included 743 Cook Islanders, 109 Niueans, 7 Samoans, 3 Rotumans, 253 Tokelauans, 445 Tuvaluans, 174 Tongans, 26 Marquesans, 151 Tuamotuans, 1407 Easter Islanders, 4 Polynesians from Caroline Island, and 312 Gilbertese. Most of the slaves died of starvation, illness, or ill-treatment. Another 3,000 Islanders are estimated to have died from diseases introduced to the islands by the slave ships. Only 148 slaves were repatriated, but of these, 111 Gilbertese were landed on Tongareva in the Cook Islands (Maude 1981), whence their progeny has spread throughout the Cook Islands and beyond. Langdon (1978) recorded an interesting flip side to this story: one of the slave ships was wrecked on Tahaa in the Society Islands, where some of its crew remained. They presumably married there, and their children would become part of the native population.

Some families in eastern Polynesia are aware of American ancestors of Indian or Iberian origins or both. Probably many more have them but are not aware. Contacts between the regions were not maintained, however, though early next century may see some pursuit of roots in that direction.

THE QUIET CENTURY (LATE 1800S TO LATE 1980S)

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 provided a safer route to the islands from Europe, usually via Australia and New Zealand, which were the focus of most island trade by 1900. The developing rail traffic across the United States also avoided the hazardous journey round the Horn. The opening of the Panama Canal in 1914 removed the last vestige of trade through Valparaiso or Callao.

There were other reasons too for the lack of interest. At the turn of the century, the Latin American states feared communicable diseases from elsewhere in the Pacific Basin, and there was a preference for immigrants from Europe (Fernandez and Rodriguez 1989). The rapid deaths of Island-

ers brought to Peru as slaves were thought to be proof of their unsuitability.

The Pacific Islands and South America each forgot that the other existed (with the partial exception of Chile). That remained the situation until the late 1980s, but the 1990s and the twenty-first century are likely to see a reawakening of contact and common interest between the two regions.

The two main exceptions in the century of isolation between the islands and Latin America were Easter Island and the Galapagos. Though closer to Pitcairn and Tahiti than to Santiago, and nearly as close to the Cook Islands, Easter Island was annexed by Chile in 1888. Over half of its people (who are Polynesian) now live on the mainland, and some in Tahiti. The Galapagos, uninhabited at the time of European contact (despite evidence of prior American Indian settlement) were annexed by Ecuador in 1832. The present population is about eleven thousand, and the islands are of interest to the South Pacific islands mainly for the conservation of island wildlife and innovative approaches to educational tourism on isolated islands. Likewise, there may be some comparable interest in other islands off the coasts of Chile, Colombia, and Mexico.

RECENT CONTACTS BETWEEN THE ISLANDS AND LATIN AMERICA

Renewed interaction between the two regions is resulting from developments in trade and communications, common marine interests, and the growing world focus on the Pacific Basin, in which the largest number of countries make up the contiguous belt of tropical third world economies of Latin America, the Pacific Islands, and the ASEAN region. Their interests converge on a range of fronts. While in the recent past they have been subject to the same sources of external influence, they are now beginning to interact and seek common bargaining power in relation to such influences.

Trade

After the fade-out of Spain as a world power, the United States and northwestern Europe became the main trading partners of Latin America, as they did with the islands. In the 1970s and 1980s, there was a rapid increase in the trade from both the Latin American Pacific states and the South Pacific Forum states to Japan, China, and Korea. This trend contin-

ues, though the terms of trade are unbalanced, with large imports of manufactures from Asia and less extensive exports of primary products from Latin America and the islands. The balance is likely to worsen because the Latin American and island economies are generally stagnant, while those of their northeast Asian partners are growing.

Trade between Latin America and the islands is likely to grow in the 1990s. A major importer in Tahiti recently replaced New Zealand and the United States with Chile as the main source of bulk foods, as the price is about one-third lower. So it is for timber. Importers in the Cook Islands and elsewhere in Polynesia now expect Chile in particular to be a significant trade source in the 1990s.

But Latin America is also becoming a source of some high technology. There are now thirty-eight Brazilian Bandeirante aircraft operating in the South Pacific Forum region, and the new small jet Brasilia and jet-prop CBA 123 have the potential for major use in the region. As well, Latin America is an established source of secondhand planes for commuter airlines in the islands.

Trade between Latin America and Oceania doubled between 1979 and 1985, though this was mainly with Australia and New Zealand. (Imports from Australia–New Zealand grew by 57%, exports to them by 200%.) In the following three years, Chilean exports to Oceania grew from US\$29 million to US\$51 million. Figures for the first nine months of 1989 show a near doubling of Chilean exports to Oceania over the whole year 1988 (mainly to Australia, New Zealand, and Tahiti, but with some transshipment to other island states). Nevertheless, trade is still small, with New Zealand's two-way trade with Latin America being about US\$200 million in 1985–1986, when Latin America was the third largest market in the world for New Zealand lamb. The trade with New Zealand began in 1971 with the export of milk powder to Chile for its milk-in-schools program. The New Zealand trade unions banned trade from 1976 until 1982 because of the Chilean military regime's treatment of workers, but some trade continued via third countries. Though trade with other Pacific Islands is small, there are prospects for growth. But one reason for growing Latin American interest in the islands is that so much of Latin American trade now passes *through* island waters en route to Asia and Australia–New Zealand.

The Pacific Basin Economic Council has involved Mexico, Chile, and Peru for some years and met in Santiago in 1983. It held an earlier meeting

in Fiji, and island businesses are eligible to join, though few do so because the council is mainly an organization of businesses of the north Pacific Rim states and Australia–New Zealand—which are larger than those found in the islands. It is an association of business interests that connects the islands and Latin America only nominally.

The more recent, and much broader, Pacific Economic Cooperation Council involves governments, business, and academia. Pacific Islands participation is coordinated by the Forum Secretariat. The Latin American countries have observer status, though Chile, Mexico, and Peru have applied for full membership. The four Pacific coast South American states use their Permanent Commission for the South Pacific (CPPS) as a coordinating body, with separate committees in each country.

The Republic of Nauru in 1980 purchased two purse seiner fishing ships from Peru and engaged Peruvian crew. This was expected to lead to further interaction between Latin America and the islands in fisheries, but owing to management problems the experiment was commercially disastrous. One ship sank in 1988, and the other is idle. An expert told me that this experience set back fisheries cooperation between Latin America and the Pacific Islands by a decade. The only other interaction in fisheries is the two Mexican purse seiners that are registered to fish in the region of the South Pacific Forum Fisheries Agency.

Another area of mutual interest is marketing cooperation. The South Pacific Forum states and the Latin American states have common interests in the marketing of marine products, and Australia–New Zealand and the Southern Cone countries in particular produce similar products at similar times for the same markets in the rich countries of the Northern Hemisphere. Individually, the Latin/South Pacific countries are weak, but collectively they can form a strong producer-driven marketing structure that can bring greater wealth to the Southern Hemisphere. The Cairns Group of agricultural exporting nations in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) has seen Fiji, New Zealand, and Australia working effectively with Chile, Colombia, and other Latin American countries in their quest for international fair trade in agriculture.

Investment

The islands and Latin America are both generally low-income, capital-importing regions. Though New Zealand is also a net capital importer, since 1986 some of its largest firms have invested heavily in South America

in fields in which they have expertise. Fletcher Challenge and Carter Holt Harvey have bought into Chilean forestry and fisheries, partly through Chilean debt-for-equity schemes. The New Zealand Dairy Board bought into the Chilean dairy industry, and horticultural and pastoral enterprises have invested money and expertise in Chile, Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina. By mid-1989, New Zealand private investment in Chile alone had reached US\$500 million, 70 percent of it in forestry, in which the two countries are building a long-term economic partnership. As forestry is an important industry for the island states of Melanesia, and as they sell to the same markets as New Zealand and Latin America (mainly Japan and Korea), there is scope for wider collaboration. None of the smaller island states has direct investments in Latin America, though many are hosts to larger companies that also have interests there.

The sheep industries of both Chile and Argentina are based on New Zealand stock, and in the other direction, New Zealand has begun importing llamas and alpacas from Chile to establish an industry using their meat and wool. The highlands of Papua New Guinea have much in common with highland tropical South America, and the potential for llamas and alpacas there is being considered. The mining industries of Peru and Chile have some common links with Papua New Guinea. There is also scope for further exploration of common interest in technology and marketing.

The Bank of New Zealand in 1989 opened an office in Santiago but subsequently closed it because of internal problems unrelated to South America. Some Australian banks that operate in the islands are also involved in Latin America, where some island finance-center banks are also connected. Current attempts are being made to promote more merchant and investment banking relationships between Oceania and Latin America.

The recent New Zealand investments in South America and the even larger ones from Australia (eg, the Bond Corporation invested US\$238 million in Chile in August 1988 alone, according to the *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios del Pacífico* [1988]), were mediated mostly through financial centers in the islands, particularly the Cook Islands. Sir Peter Abeles' firms, which are part-owners of the Chilean airline LADECO, have similar interests in the Samoan airline Polynesian, in Cook Islands International, and in other transport services in the islands.

This raises the broader question of the role of Pacific Islands finance

centers as intermediaries in relation not only to investments in Latin America, but also to investments generally across the Pacific Rim. In the other direction, it is alleged that some drug-related funds from Colombia and Peru in particular are handled through Pacific Islands finance centers; but as those centers survive on the secrecy that they guarantee their clients, there is little concrete evidence available.

Communications between the Regions

"The well known dictum 'the earth divides, the sea unites' that found its inspiration in the Mediterranean was historically disproved by the immensity of the Pacific Ocean" (Armanet et al 1985). Developments in transport and communications have enabled the birth of the Pacific era. In the nineteenth century there were frequent connections by ship between the islands and Latin America, in the twentieth century, very few. In the 1980s, however, regular direct shipping services have been resumed between Chile and French Polynesia (and there are plans to extend them in 1990 to other island states, including the Cook Islands, Samoa, Fiji, and Papua New Guinea), and between the Southern Cone countries of Latin America (Chile and Argentina) and Australia–New Zealand.

Since 1971 LAN-Chile, the national airline, has flown twice a week to Easter Island and Tahiti, and it used to fly also to Fiji and Australia, until stopped by Australian trade union action following suppression of unions by Chile's military government. Following elections in Chile in 1989, it is expected that these services will resume and expand. Both Air New Zealand and Ansett bid for a share of LAN-Chile when it was put on the market and planned to expand South Pacific connections, but their bids lost to SAS.

Aerolineas Argentinas offers connecting services to the islands from its established twice-weekly service to New Zealand and Australia. Links between Easter Island and Pitcairn Islands were considered, particularly for an alternative landing place (on Henderson Island) for LAN-Chile's route to Tahiti, tourism, and other matters (Orrego Vicuna 1989, 62–63). However, Henderson has now been declared a World Wildlife Sanctuary, so no airstrip will be built there. LAN-Chile is considering a service to the Cook Islands on a trans-Pacific route.

Air New Zealand and Qantas in the 1960s explored the possibility of a service from Auckland calling at various islands, and across to Santiago, but there was not enough trade to justify the size of aircraft needed for

that distance. Air France in the 1970s began a service between Tahiti and Lima, and Qantas from Tahiti to Mexico, but both were discontinued when the economic downturn made them unprofitable. Although the traffic did not justify large jet services then, when the contacts between the two regions were few, the fact that such companies considered the services worth trying, combined with the growth of interest since, suggests that these companies and others are likely to join LAN-Chile and Aerolíneas Argentinas in providing connections between the islands and Latin America in the 1990s.

The *Society Explorer* and several other cruise ships regularly travel from Chile to Pitcairn, French Polynesia, the Cook Islands, and others, right across to Papua New Guinea and Palau. But only a small percentage of their passengers are Latin American. In addition to cultural and other constraints, distances and travel costs are great, and both regions have low per capita incomes. But it is amazing how many Pacific Islanders now travel far and wide; and despite low average incomes in Latin America, there is a relatively large and comparatively wealthy middle class that is becoming aware of the South Pacific. In the late 1980s, advances in telecommunications have made the two regions instantly accessible. Unlike shipping and air services, telecommunications are generally distance-insensitive to cost.

Information Transfers

Island radio, television, and newspapers carry almost no news about Latin America, nor do Radio Australia and Radio New Zealand, which are widely heard in the islands. Much more news is carried about South Asia (especially India, Sri Lanka, and Pakistan), perhaps because they are English-speaking members of the Commonwealth and share other historic ties.

Radio HCJB, a fundamentalist Christian evangelical station in Quito, Ecuador, broadcasts in English to the islands, where it has an extensive listenership. But as its message is religious and broadcast to many nations, it does not carry much information between the regions. No other Latin American station reaches the islands.

In the other direction, only Radio Australia comes in loud and clear all down the Latin American coast, though its listeners are presumably a small, special-interest group. Radio New Zealand's new 100-kilowatt transmitter, which began in 1990, will also reach there, and Radio New

Zealand is considering a special Latin American service. Radio Tahiti is listened to on Easter Island, which sometimes also picks up Radio Rarotonga, but as far as I am aware, none of the island stations reaches the South American mainland effectively. Latin American media mention only the most dramatic events in the South Pacific.

Owing to the lack of contact between the regions and the lack of knowledge of Spanish in the islands, there is no traffic either way in books, journals, or newspapers.

Educational, Academic, and Technological Exchanges

The first significant academic contact was the Pacific Community Conference held on Easter Island in 1979. Subsequent meetings have included those of the Pacific Trade and Development Conference, the Pacific Basin Economic Council, and the Pacific Latin American/Pacific Island Fisheries Conference in Peru in 1988. The most recent was the Pacific Science Inter-Congress in Valparaiso in 1989. Though held regularly since 1929, this was the first time it had been held in Latin America, indicating acceptance by the Pacific Science Association of that region as a full participant in Pacific affairs. Such meetings, involving institutions and individuals from island states as well as Latin America, are a new development.

Each year, New Zealand gives Latin American students about six post-graduate scholarships to New Zealand universities, and there are some private students from Chile, Brazil, and Peru. Australia has similar provisions, but there are no such exchanges involving any other members of the South Pacific Forum. Lack of language skills, of funds, and of common awareness need to be overcome before these changes. The University of the South Pacific, for example, has had students from the Indian Ocean and Africa, but these have been financed by the Commonwealth and other external agencies. Such contact with Latin America must await the interest of a funding agency.

The government of Chile has provided a few training scholarships in marine studies to Pacific Islanders and, in 1990, offered scholarships for its Diplomatic Academy in Santiago to New Zealand, Tonga, and Fiji. It proposes to offer more in other fields. A study visit of Pacific fisheries personnel to the Latin American Pacific states, organized by the South Pacific Commission, is scheduled for 1990.

In formal educational institutions, neither side of the Pacific has given

much attention to the other. Latin Americans, however, are now giving this more emphasis than before, mainly because of the increasing reorientation of their interests to the Pacific rather than the Atlantic. For example, the Chilean National Planning Office now considers teaching about the whole Pacific Basin to be a priority. Although the Ministry of Education has not yet given it the same priority (Aguila, Rojas, and Troncoso 1989), a university in Valparaiso offers training courses for primary, high school, and university staff to enhance familiarity with the independent countries of the Pacific Basin at all levels of the educational system (Woppke 1989); and the Institute of International Relations of the University of Chile offers courses, seminars, and conferences on the Pacific. There are a few equivalent programs in the islands about Latin America, and the increasing interaction will probably make them more common by the turn of the century.

The importance of English for communication in the "Pacific Century" is increasingly realized in Latin America. Pacific studies centers, with information networks in the Pacific Basin, are to be set up in each of the four states of the Permanent Commission for the South Pacific (CPPS). The eighty or so such institutions in the islands and Australia–New Zealand, as well as on the Pacific coast of Asia and North America (Crocombe 1987), will generate an enormous data base if well connected.

Latin Americans feel that some of their technology in such fields as artisanal fisheries, agriculture, and small industries, being designed for tropical, developing countries, may be useful to the South Pacific. For example, CPPS is testing new food-processing techniques to overcome nutritional problems for the poor. Fish biscuits, fish flakes, and other low-cost foods are being evolved, using fish or parts of fish that are now not fully utilized and are thus very cheap. Some South American fruits being tested in New Zealand could become significant industries, in the same way that the kiwi fruit, introduced to Chile from New Zealand, is now an established industry. The Cook Islands is considering introducing new waste-disposal technology from Brazil, one of a slowly growing number of technological linkages between the regions.

Cultural Contacts

Easter Island, though a province of Chile, participates in the Festival of Pacific Arts because Easter Islanders are Polynesian. For the same reason,

Chile has observer status at the South Pacific Commission (SPC) and makes a voluntary contribution to its budget. Peru also has observer status at the SPC.

The languages that are closest to mutual intelligibility with that of Easter Island are those of the Cook Islands and New Zealand Maori. The languages of eastern French Polynesia are also close relatives. Easter Islanders give high priority to developing closer links with the South Pacific. The CPPS states aim to initiate cultural agreements with all Pacific Basin countries to reinforce contact and mutual awareness.

The government of Chile plans to provide radio programs, mainly music and current affairs, to all Pacific Islands radio stations. Several countries plan to facilitate cultural exchanges.

Educational institutions in Australia, New Zealand, American Samoa, Guam, New Caledonia, Vanuatu, and French Polynesia now teach the Spanish language (and the Cook Islands plans to introduce it in 1991). Most of those countries also host societies to promote Spanish and Latin American cultures and to achieve better understanding between the regions (Sociedad Cultural Española in Australia and various Hispanic societies in other countries, though the Club Cervantino in Guam is no longer active). At the University of Auckland the demand for Spanish is expanding fastest (enrollments having tripled in the last four years) because of growing commercial and other interest in Latin America. However, there are few native Spanish speakers in the islands, one of the few groups being the Latin American crew of tuna boats based in Guam.

Few people in Latin America speak English: apparently many fewer than in Asia, Africa, or Europe, probably because Latin America is the only linguistic and cultural "island" in the world. Twenty adjacent countries all speak Spanish (plus the closely related Portuguese in Brazil) and share many elements of a common root culture (an amalgam of varying degrees of Spanish and American Indian). By contrast, almost every country of Asia, Africa, Europe, or the South Pacific has a different language and often many (and generally greater cultural differences), making English or another lingua franca necessary. This is less so in Latin America, where most international interaction (travel, television, papers, journals, radio, etc) is with speakers of the same language and bearers of a related root culture. Despite the amazing cultural diversity of the Pacific Basin, its lingua franca is English and is likely to remain so until well into the twenty-first century. The Latin American states will need to give

greater emphasis to English if they wish to achieve their stated objectives in the islands, as in the Pacific Basin generally.

Religious Linkages

Throughout the "quiet century" of minimal interaction, some Peruvian, Chilean, and other South American priests and nuns, mainly of the Sacred Heart order, worked in Papua New Guinea and Micronesia. Some still do. The common Spanish history has been the basis of continuing links between the Catholic Church in Latin America and the Philippines, but not in Micronesia in recent years. The only other religious outreach is Radio HCJB.

All other religious connections are from the islands to Latin America; by contrast they are recent (most beginning in the last five years), they are overwhelmingly Protestant, and the missionaries are indigenous more often than immigrant Islanders. These connections reflect the facts that Latin America used to have a surplus of Catholic priests and nuns but now has a shortage; that Protestant churches have grown tremendously in Latin America but have inadequate trained personnel; and that the theological training of Pacific Islanders has boomed in the past two decades to an extent matched in few other parts of the world. In 1978 the Marist order in South America asked its Pacific counterparts for priests, to broaden the range and to provide a bridge to Marists in the islands. There were then few indigenous priests, and two New Zealanders, one of whom had been working in the Solomon Islands for twenty years, were sent to Peru. Many other New Zealand priests followed them to Brazil, Peru, and Chile and continue to serve there. In the 1980s, the number of indigenous island priests has multiplied, and some are scheduled to undertake service in Latin America in the near future. When the Columban Fathers were evicted from China in 1949, they resettled in Fiji, Peru, and Chile. Their communications and travel still provide another connection across the Pacific.

Samoa, Tongan, and Fijian nuns of the Marist Sisters and Marist Missionary Sisters serve in Peru, Colombia, Bolivia, Brazil, and Chile. In the other direction, South American nuns of the Little Sisters of the Poor have served in Samoa, and probably elsewhere in the islands.

In the 1980s the Methodist church in the South Pacific began sending missionaries to Latin America, beginning with Fijians to Honduras, Belize, and Costa Rica. Tongans and Samoans are involved in similar

arrangements. Among others, Youth With A Mission sends Tongan and Samoan evangelists to Latin America, and there are Anglican priests from New Zealand in Chile, as well as others from other Protestant churches.

The Mormon belief in American origins of some or all Polynesians is accepted by an increasing proportion of Polynesians because of the rapid growth of the Mormon faith in Polynesia. Mormon Pacific Islanders feel a special bond with all American Indians. If historic contacts are substantiated, they are likely to be highlighted to legitimate the growing political and economic common interests between the islands and native America. At least one Mormon from the island of Rarotonga, where this paper was written, served as a missionary in Latin America. And many Mormons from the two regions live and study together at the three Mormon university campuses in the United States.

Religious linkages seem likely to continue to expand on a range of fronts.

The "Anchovy War" and Its Consequences for the Islands

After World War II, severe tension was caused by US trawlers fishing off the Pacific coast of Latin America, but this reinforced the common interest of the Latin American states affected. Chile took the leading role in what became known as the Anchovy War between the South American Pacific states and the United States, and was the first country in the world to declare, in 1947, that waters up to two hundred miles from the coast belonged to the nation in the same way as land. Then in 1952, Chile, Ecuador, and Peru signed the Declaration of Santiago, which coined the then revolutionary concept of Exclusive Economic Zones. The Law of the Sea initiative, which was finally accepted by the United Nations in 1982, and from which the Pacific Islands states are, relative to size, probably the greatest beneficiaries in the world, owes a great deal to the actions of the South American Pacific states.

The Permanent Commission for the South Pacific (CPPS)

This common concern over marine resources led to the establishment of la Comisión Permanente del Pacífico Sur (CPPS—Permanent Commission for the South Pacific) by the four South American Pacific states (Chile, Peru, Ecuador, and Colombia) in 1952. Marine resources remain a major economic and strategic issue for those states. In some ways, they are competitive interests, but they are also interests common to each other and to

Pacific Islands nations in relation to conservation and vis-à-vis other countries with interests in fishing or as markets for fish. Chile and Peru are to some extent in both categories because they fish both within their economic zones and beyond. The Pacific Islands states, on the other hand, lease their economic zones to foreign fleets. Some island nations own small fleets, but these account for little of the total catch from island waters.

In 1984 CPPS ministers made a new commitment to strengthen ties between CPPS and the Pacific Basin. This was a radical change in direction, especially as this was made the paramount goal. US intransigence in its nonrecognition of national marine rights in the Pacific Ocean brought CPPS and the South Pacific Forum Fisheries Agency (FFA) together with a common cause and with combined information, strategies, and bargaining power.

In 1988, negotiations began between CPPS and FFA to establish a single trans-Pacific set of minimum terms and conditions of access for distant water fishing nations engaged in harvesting of tuna, to enhance the bargaining power of both groups of countries vis-à-vis outside powers, and to set up a permanent consultative mechanism between CPPS, OLDESPECA (the Latin American fisheries development organization), FFA, and the SPC. Proposals include exchange visits and training for master fishermen, fisheries technicians, fish processing specialists, and training staff between the islands and Latin America and the possibility of using each other's training facilities (PLA/PIC 1988).

Fish and other living resources were the main concern, but all countries are researching the possibility of commercial exploitation of seabed minerals. The range of topics dealt with keeps expanding, and it is intended to broaden into further scientific, cultural, and economic cooperation. In the South Pacific region, fish are the concern of FFA and minerals of the South Pacific Geoscience Commission, which is known as SOPAC (until 1989 as CCOP-SOPAC). Previously not in effective contact, in the late 1980s both FFA and SOPAC began planning joint action with CPPS, as their regions of concern embrace most of the South Pacific Ocean and a little of the North Pacific. OLDESPECA, which was set up in 1982 with headquarters in Lima, Peru, is also interacting with FFA and SPC.

There have been cooperative undertakings with the South Pacific Regional Environment Programme in relation to ocean pollution, and CPPS cooperates with the South Pacific Forum Secretariat on antinuclear

issues. It always supports the South Pacific protests against French nuclear testing. The possibility of an umbrella organization to deal with the common concerns of CPPS, FFA, and ASEAN regions in relation to fisheries is being considered, and the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization is prepared to finance some joint action of the three regions.

The 1989 meeting of CPPS in Bogota, Colombia, dealt with the El Niño phenomenon and other oceanographic and climatic concerns that cause economic and climatic problems from Peru to Papua New Guinea. The meeting considered plans to protect the ocean and coastal environment in the southeast Pacific, to eliminate nuclear testing in the Pacific Ocean, and to cooperate with other countries in the Pacific Basin—all of these plans concern the island states directly.

There has been recent interaction on these issues with ASEAN, again creating an area of common interest and action covering all South Pacific and tropical north Pacific states, but not the north Pacific temperate states. The broad area of common interest is the Latin American Pacific states, the Pacific Islands states, and ASEAN, vis-à-vis the north Pacific temperate states (especially Japan, China, Taiwan, Korea, the Soviet Union, the United States, and Canada).

In August 1989, the national committees on Pacific cooperation of the four CPPS countries met in Santiago, using the trilateral membership scheme initiated by the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (ie, separate government, business, and academic members). They recommended that formal links be established between CPPS and the South Pacific Forum, FFA, SPC, and so forth, and that a ministerial level Forum of the Pacific be set up including all the Pacific coast Latin American states from Chile to Mexico. The membership of CPPS remains the original four, but Panama and Costa Rica are likely to join before long, and the other Pacific coast states of Latin America as far as Mexico could follow, especially if the Forum of the Pacific is established. OLDESPECA already includes a wider range of states. Participation by all Latin American Pacific coast states and by all island states in Pacific organizations will make joint action among the states more effective.

The management of CPPS is unusual and could have relevance for some island organizations. CPPS headquarters rotates every four years to the capital of each member country in turn. Each country nominates one of the top four staff, and the host country nominates the secretary general for the period the headquarters is located there. Junior staff are nationals of

the host country and change every four years. Rotation adds some costs, but officials felt that these were outweighed by the advantages, for without this formula the institution would have been less effective and may not have survived. As CPPS is now likely to expand considerably, a new formula will be considered, perhaps with some functions being permanently headquartered in each country.

On the other hand, the greater degree of integrated bargaining by FFA has impressed CPPS, which is considering following Pacific Islands precedents in some of its coordination and strategies. However, northeast Asia, the largest region in the Pacific Basin, has the most dynamic interaction and development without any formal organization.

Common Political Interests

The initiative for renewed contacts came from Latin American states after they first became aware of the potential gains attendant on the growing importance of the Pacific Basin, in which the islands have a role, are closest to South America, and in some respects have most in common with it. Chile and Mexico were the main initiators, followed by Peru, and later CPPS, representing the four South American Pacific states. Chile's efforts, while diplomatically isolated under the military government, were partly motivated by a desire to interact anywhere it could, but Latin American approaches to the islands were met with caution for that very reason.

While most of the population of nations bordering the Pacific Ocean is in the Asian quarter, most of the nations are not. And for some purposes (particularly those involving international organizations, in which voting is by country), the number of nations is more important than the number of persons, though both are obviously significant. Of the 42 nations, 15 are members of the South Pacific Forum (and several more island territories are likely to become independent and join), and 11 are Latin American Pacific coast states. Between them these two regions have 62 percent of the national voting power in the Pacific Basin, with a likelihood of more. Another 6 are members of ASEAN, 2 Indo-Chinese states border the Pacific, and finally there are the 8 heavyweights across the northern arc: Japan, China, the Soviet Union, Taiwan, the two Koreas, the United States, and Canada.

The United States is the only nation to have been significantly involved with the whole Pacific Basin over the last fifty years. Although its relative role is declining it is likely to be significant for some years. But whereas

the United States was the common point of interaction in the basin for both the South Pacific and Latin America, Japan is rapidly becoming the leading reference point for both.

Latin America was of no consequence for the islands, but that situation is changing. We are all becoming more aware of the common interests in the conservation and exploitation of the resources of the Pacific Ocean, of some common economic and strategic interests, and of common concerns in international forums.

Latin America is a substantial neighbor. Of the three largest cities in the world (Mexico City, São Paulo, and Tokyo), two are in Latin America. In the Pacific coast states, besides Mexico City, Lima (Peru) has 7 million people, Bogotá (Colombia) 6 million, and Santiago (Chile) 4 million. The total population of Latin America is about 300 million. Chile claims the longest Pacific coastline, about 4,000 kilometers (the Soviet Union makes a similar claim on other criteria of measurement). Obviously, these are far from the only determinants of interests in Pacific affairs, but the significance of Latin America is just beginning to be appreciated in the islands.

Political interests in the islands generally derive from larger interests elsewhere. The foremost scholar of Pacific affairs in Latin America has also pointed out the negative effects of the interests of larger powers on Latin American-islands relations (Orrego Vicuna 1989, 62-63). For example, he says that Australia "regarded with some concern the efforts of certain countries in Latin America to approach the Pacific Islands states on matters such as fisheries" (*ibid*, 62). New Zealand, on the other hand, claims to have facilitated Latin American participation in Pacific Basin organizations. The overwhelming strategic dimension of the Pacific policies of both the United States and the Soviet Union "distorts the potential for peaceful forms of co-operation in the area" (*ibid*, 64). Relations with the French territories are complicated by the objections of both Latin American and Pacific Islands states to nuclear testing and to some of France's policies in its Pacific territories.

In the 1960s the United States had a secret satellite tracking station on Easter Island, which it closed after the Chilean coup (McCall 1981, 137); but the United States was again granted use of facilities on Easter Island for military operations, including emergency landings of the space shuttle. This access may be used more fully in relation to the Star Wars program.

Latin American Pacific states share common views with the South Pacific Forum states on nuclear issues and, since 1988, have shared infor-

mation on the topic. Latin America set a world precedent with the Treaty of Tlatelolco, and the Forum followed suit with the Treaty of Rarotonga, both aiming to limit the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Between them they cover a vast area, from the west of Australia to the east of Latin America, and from Antarctica to the equator. Tlatelolco was an urgent, and successful, attempt to stop the real possibility of Latin American states developing nuclear weapons to use against one another. Rarotonga was a political compromise aimed ostensibly at keeping the region nuclear free, but in practice at appeasing antinuclear minorities in the ruling political parties of Australia, New Zealand, and Fiji. That treaty does not preclude anything that any member wants to do. The Treaty of Tlatelolco, however, is not honored by all countries, and Brazil and Argentina do not adhere to it.

Nevertheless, as the two treaties are the first of their kind in the world and are contiguous in territory, they form a point of common interest and concern, and OPANAL (the permanent secretariat of the Treaty of Tlatelolco) is now seeking a regular consultative arrangement with the Forum Secretariat, which is the secretariat for the Treaty of Rarotonga. While the Forum response has been lukewarm so far, the contacts are established. Moreover, if ASEAN follows suit with a similar treaty, as it proposes to, the region covered will be contiguous from Brazil to Singapore (and there are initiatives to establish nuclear-free zones in the South Atlantic and southern Africa).

The related but much broader topic of environmental protection also brings the islands and Latin America together. The Convention for the Protection of the Natural Resources and Environment of the South Pacific Region (administered by the South Pacific Regional Environment Programme—SPREP) is contiguous with the two-hundred-mile Exclusive Economic Zones of all the countries and territories that belong to the South Pacific Commission.

“A recent Peruvian initiative to establish a South East Pacific Peace Zone has met with opposition in the area in view of its negative implications for the freedom of navigation under international law” (Orrego Vicuna 1989, 64). One reason for South Pacific caution was that the proposal lacked precision and could complicate the Treaty of Rarotonga.

A more general area of common political interest is in reducing the leverage of stronger powers. For example, some people fear that Japan in particular will wish to link the Forum states (with a total population of 25

million, including Australia's 16 million) with ASEAN (with a population of more than 300 million) in a common subordinate status involving similar strategies of interest to larger powers. Per capita incomes in Latin America are similar to those of island states, lower than the ASEAN region (and growing much less rapidly), and much lower than Japan and the newly industrialized countries of Asia (South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore). There may be advantages for the Forum states in being in a balancing position between ASEAN and CPPS, rather than being overwhelmed in relations with ASEAN alone.

Relations between Forum and CPPS states have so far been informal. Latin American governments tend to be more bureaucratic than those of the islands and to want formal agreements, structures, and institutions. There are advantages in moving slowly on formalizing, as experience elsewhere has shown that frameworks are often fixed before the nature of the best relationships has become clear. Structure can constrain cooperation rather than facilitate it. One reason for the outstanding success of the Forum so far is its informal structure and operating procedures.

Relations with Chile following the military takeover in 1973 were cautious. Some island governments protested, as did the Pacific Council of Churches, the trade union movement, and others. Only New Zealand and Australia accepted Chilean refugees. Nevertheless, it was during the military regime that diplomatic relations were established with island governments. The restoration of civilian government in 1990 is likely to remove any constraints.

Strategic issues are not a major concern in relations between the islands and Latin America. But the fact that Chile controls the two southeast Pacific shipping lanes into the Pacific is relevant, especially in the event of conflict in the north Pacific.

A matter that has not yet arisen in the South Pacific Forum is Antarctica. The southern boundary of the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty (the Rarotonga Treaty) is the Antarctic Circle. New Zealand, Australia, and Papua New Guinea and Chile, Peru, Ecuador, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil are all involved in the Antarctic Treaty, and there has been a great deal of cooperation across the Pacific on this issue—in relation to both ecology and security. It will be surprising if the other island states that are the closest land to Antarctica for thousands of kilometers do not become involved.

Aid

The amounts given do not make a significant economic impact and aim primarily to establish goodwill. Apart from Chile's contribution to the SPC, the Festival of Pacific Arts, and the South Pacific Regional Environment Programme, Chile also makes small grants to several island nations and has given aid to the region through the UN Development Programme and the UN Industrial Development Organization.

About one-third of New Zealand's aid to South America is the NZ\$300,000 per year allocated by the heads of the diplomatic missions for distribution to community projects that aid the poorest 10 percent of the population. Other aid is in the form of scholarships, rural development, and small capital projects. Except for Australian aid, there is no other regular aid between the Forum and Latin American regions, but Nauru was the first island country to give emergency aid when it contributed to earthquake relief in Peru in 1970. Many island governments and institutions contributed to the Mexico volcanic disaster of 1982, and a team of Tahitian volunteer technicians served with distinction in the salvage operation. The Canadian International Development Agency and the UN Food and Agriculture Organization both have financed joint projects to facilitate closer interaction between the two regions.

Diplomatic Relations

The most common pattern for Latin American states has been to have an embassy in Canberra that is accredited to some independent island states and also deals with countries and territories with which they do not have formal relations. If they also have an embassy in Wellington, it deals with the Polynesian countries and the Canberra embassy with the Melanesian and Micronesian states in the South Pacific. Micronesian entities north of the equator are handled from the United States, except in the case of Chile, which, reflecting its association with the Philippines dating back to Spanish colonial days, deals with them from its Manila embassy. But in what could indicate future trends, Costa Rica relates to the islands through its embassy in Tokyo, Cuba (which has formal ties only with Vanuatu) relates to them through Manila, and Argentina relates to Papua New Guinea (the only island state to which it is accredited) through Jakarta.

Chile was the first Latin American state to establish diplomatic ties with any island state other than New Zealand when it presented credentials to Fiji, Tonga, Tuvalu, Western Samoa, and the Cook Islands. Chile plans to open an embassy in Fiji next and then in Papua New Guinea. It already has honorary consuls in Fiji, Samoa, Tonga, and the Cook Islands and plans to appoint others elsewhere. It is Peru's policy, owing to shifts in trade patterns and global influences, to expand diplomatic contacts with the whole Pacific Basin, including the island states. Argentina has reinstated diplomatic relations with Australia and New Zealand (relations were severed over the Falklands war in 1982) and intends to establish formal relations with other island states in addition to Papua New Guinea.

Of the Latin American states that do not have a Pacific coastline but have interests in the islands, the main one apart from Argentina is Brazil, the largest country in Latin America. It is accredited only to Papua New Guinea and Vanuatu, both from Canberra. Venezuela's diplomatic ties with Fiji are also from Canberra.

The only members of the South Pacific Forum to have embassies in Latin America are Australia (which has them in Mexico, Venezuela, Brazil, Argentina, and Chile plus accreditations from these to Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru) and New Zealand (with embassies in Mexico, Peru, and Chile and accreditation to most others, though the embassy in Peru was temporarily closed in 1990 because of financial constraints). Australia and New Zealand sometimes act as a channel for island states having business in Latin America, and the Forum Secretariat acts for some purposes as a point of contact for all of them on matters of common political and economic concern, as do FFA, SPC, and SPREP in their respective fields.

In national relations with multinational organizations, Chile now has observer status at the SPC and FFA and full-member status in the Festival of Pacific Arts (in respect of Easter Island). Chilean representatives have been admitted as observers at some meetings organized by the Forum Secretariat. Relations with the Forum are handled from the Wellington embassy, while the Chilean consul general in Los Angeles and honorary consul in Honolulu handle relations with institutions in Hawai'i.

Both New Zealand and Australia now have observer status in CPPS and thus attend its biennial ministerial meetings (along with the United States, Canada, Japan, and China). It will not be surprising if the Forum Secretariat is given a similar status.

Some United Nations agencies, which in the 1960s began to link the Pacific Islands with Asia, are now for some purposes linking the two with the Pacific coast of Latin America. The latest proposal is for the establishment of a Latin America/Asia/Pacific Forum to promote contacts and cooperation within the region (Orrego Vicuna 1989, 66).

CONCLUSIONS

The first external interactions with the islands were with Spain and Latin America, then in the nineteenth century with the West European colonial powers. In the twentieth century, Latin America became irrelevant, and the United States, Australia, and New Zealand became predominant after World War II. In the 1980s, New Zealand has found progressively more in common with its island neighbors.

Greatly expanded commercial and political relations with Japan and its neighbors in northeast Asia, and to a smaller degree with ASEAN nations, have in the past twenty years been reinforced by the practice of more than thirty United Nations agencies and some other international organizations (eg, the Asian Development Bank) of combining the whole of Asia and the Pacific Islands as a composite region.

In the last decade of the twentieth century, and in the early part of the next, however, greater human mobility and awareness of the growing significance of the Pacific Basin in particular are likely to result in recognition of the need for deeper understanding and mutually beneficial relations across the South Pacific from Latin America to Australia and among all countries and peoples within. While the primary relationships for the islands will be with northeast and Southeast Asia and with North America and Australia–New Zealand, the increasing interdependence of all states in the basin will make the relationship with Latin America of growing significance in the conservation and exploitation of marine resources, environmental concerns, some trade and strategic common interests, and international bargaining.

Development of the relations will be constrained by language barriers, the limited transport and communication links, the costs of travel, and the fact that the countries concerned are all relatively poor. Moreover, the little that is known in the islands is often a negative image of Latin America as a region of vast gaps between rich and poor, unstable governments, dic-

tatorships, and corruption. To the extent that these problems are overcome and that awareness of the many positive aspects of the region become known, mutually beneficial relations are likely to grow.

Some of those who could afford to finance contacts between the two regions will not find them attractive, but others will—especially in the areas of marine exploitation, environment, rural technology, cultural exchanges, tourism, and so forth. That the relationship will grow seems almost certain, but considerable effort will be required from all sides if optimal mutual benefit is to be gained.

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