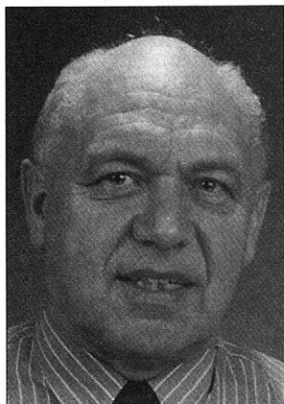


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# The Sea Clearances – a Global Overview

**David B. Thomson, Scotland**



David Thomson has spent over 25 years in fishery development and management work. He is a former Assistant Professor of the University of Rhode Island, USA.

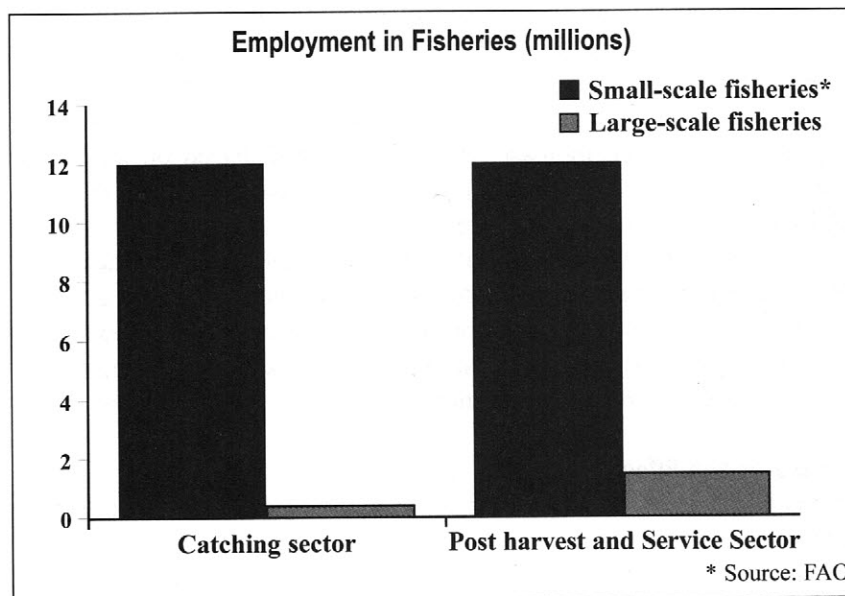
He has worked – with the United Nations and the international development banks – in Asia, Africa, East Europe, the Americas and the Pacific. Thomson is the author of three books and many reports and articles on a wide variety of fisheries subjects.

Living in Covesea, Morayshire near the Moray Firth in the north of Scotland, David now works as an international private consultant.

According to FAO estimates, some 100 million persons live in coastal fishing communities throughout the world. Some 12 million fishermen operate their canoes or small boats from these villages, and an equal number of women are engaged in selling the fish produced in the surrounding towns and markets. These unique communities have no major alternative economic basis though there is naturally a bit of agriculture, trading or other minor industry in some, depending on the local resources and opportunities.

In almost every part of the world, the future of these communities is in doubt owing to the pressures of increasing globalization and industrialisation. The most serious pressure comes in the form of the acquisition of local fish resources through legal or commercial means, by big business in the form of large scale fishery enterprises.

Justification for such trends is usually expressed in terms of “efficiency” or “free trade”, but on examination there is little of either efficiency or freedom about the phenomena. Small scale fisheries are much more efficient than large scale fisheries in terms of numbers employed, fuel used, capital invested, fish saved, and environment protected. As a UN study shows, on average, large scale fisheries employ less people, consume more fuel and require more capital per ton of fish caught, than do the small scale fisheries. The large investment fisheries also consign much more fish to industrial plants for reduction to meal and oil, and destroy more fish at sea as by-catch from their operations.



The only meaning that can be given to efficiency to justify large scale fisheries over the small scale fleets is that they are more efficient at concentrating profits in fewer hands. Replacing all of the world's small scale fleets with large scale vessels would not produce a single extra fish as detailed below. World capture fisheries are now at maximum or perhaps over maximum production. One is simply removing a more economical, socially desirable and environmentally friendly production system with one which fails in all three respects.

A classic example might be Indonesia whose two million fishermen produce around 2.5 million tons of fish. It would be quite feasible to produce the same amount with only 200,000 fishermen by using larger, more mechanized vessels. But what would have been achieved in the process? 1.8 million unemployed and displaced people, plus their wives and children. And the change would also have required hundreds of millions of dollars more in capital costs, plus 800,000 tons more fuel consumption each year. The change would not result in more fish being produced.

#### **Fish Resources and Demand**

The world's marine fish catch has stabilized at around 90 million tons a year despite enormous increases in fishing technology and vessel power and sophistication. Fish are now being caught from the Arctic to the Antarctic and from the remotest parts of the Pacific Ocean to the sea bed over 4,000 feet below the surface. It is doubtful if capture fisheries can increase production by any significant amount.

But the demand for fish and fish products continues to increase. In 1999 FAO reviewed the global demand for food fish. The rates of fish consumption in all parts of the world were analysed, together with predicted population increase. It was concluded, based on long term trends and growth rates, that the demand for fish protein by the year 2030 would need double the present fish production to meet. Such a large increase is quite impossible, even with the most advanced and efficient culture systems. It follows therefore that the current grab for control of fish resources will probably escalate over the next three decades, and if coastal fishermen are given weak support at best now, many of their communities will not survive the next thirty years.

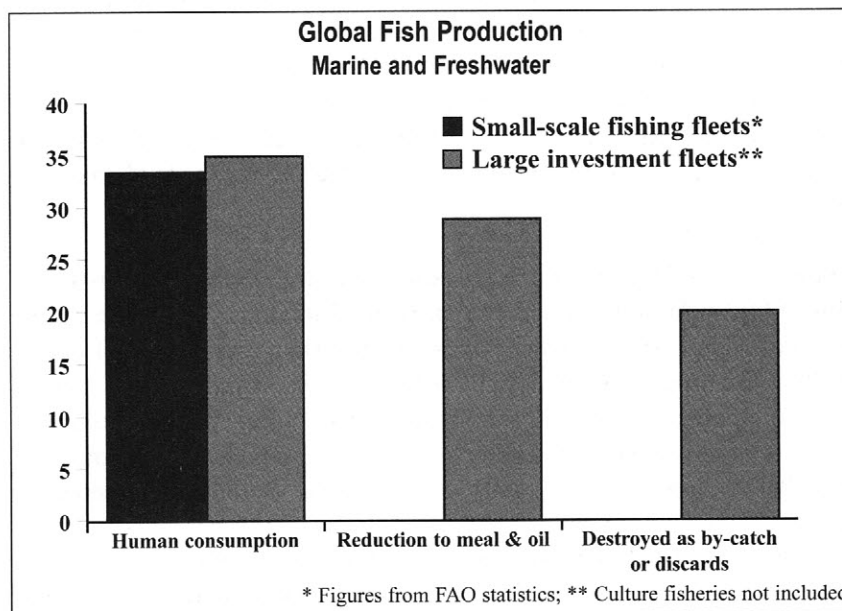
#### **Pressures and Effects**

When a system based on the harvest of living resources is under threat, and when the harvesting community can barely get sufficient produce to survive, a "dog eat dog" situation emerges. The fishermen fear that if

they do not catch all they can today, someone else may catch it tomorrow. This is the “tragedy of the commons”. Without an ownership right which can be effectively protected or enforced, there can be no conservation; no long-term sustainability.

Strangely, we hear today a similar argument from the big business groups who hope to control the bulk of fish resources which they can accrue title to by means of an ITQ arrangement which permits a free global trade in quotas and entitlement to fish. “Once we own it all, you can depend on us to look after it” is the gist of their argument. Note its resemblance to the case put up by big landowners for allowing them to retain their broad acres. Both arguments are devoid of social justice.

If one could trust big business to conserve stocks (which is doubtful since practically every major resource depletion has been brought about by large scale fishing companies), the question remains, – who will pay the price for the social damage their ownership of resources will have brought about: – 12 million unemployed fishermen, 12 to 18 million unemployed fish curers and fish sellers, 100 million coastal dwellers with no sustainable incomes, many millions drifting to the urban centers in search of work, and adding to the squatter problem. Must the rest of the world pay such a price simply to ensure that a few large companies be permitted to monopolise the right to capture, process and sell the bulk of the world’s fish?



### **Examples of Positive Action**

Some examples are provided below to illustrate what can and has been done to protect small scale fishermen and to give them some kind of ownership right over the coastal areas where they live and work. It is interesting to note that the governments that have shown such consideration have not been regarded as outstandingly benevolent or democratic. Conversely, some governments which claim to be committed to justice and civil rights have been remarkably insensitive to the predicament of their fisher-folk.

**North Yemen** There are substantial fisheries and numerous small scale fishermen along the coast of the southern Arabian states and particularly in Yemen and Oman. Operating seaworthy vessels of traditional design, these small scale fishermen supply their local populations with over 300,000 tons of fish each year. The inshore fish resources include mackerels, sardines, tunas and reef fishes. There are also stocks of shrimp which are mostly exploited by company fleets whose operations are often in conflict with those of the small scale fishermen. Shrimp trawls can destroy or tow away the static gear set by the artisanal fleets. They also destroy a lot of edible fish which is taken as by-catch with the shrimp.

With assistance and encouragement (surprisingly) from FAO, a fleet of shrimp trawlers began to operate from the port of Hodeidah in North Yemen, on the Red Sea. Local fishermen protested vociferously and even sent a large delegation to the President's office in Sanaa. The Government acted immediately to have the shrimp trawlers moved out of the area. This action, taken 20 years ago, is, along with that of Indonesia and Adriatic Italy, one of the few cases where a government listened to the protests of small scale fishermen above those of company owners.

**Indonesia** The huge archipelago nation of Indonesia stretches in an arc over 3,000 miles long from the tip of North Sumatra to the southernmost point of Irian Jaya. The country has a huge fishery population of over 2 million fishermen, nearly 1 million fish farmers, 2 million fish sellers, and hundreds of thousands employed in fish curing, boat building and other related service trades. The millions of small scale fishermen are mostly landless peasants with no alternative source of income or employment.

Indonesia also has a number of large-scale company-owned fleets which operate mainly for tuna and shrimp, but also for a variety of

species such as snapper, shark, squid, scad mackerel and sea cucumber. At least one domestic tuna company works in cooperation with and assists local small-scale fishing fleets. Most other company fleets ignore the needs of the artisanal vessels.

A large number of shrimp trawlers operated in the Java Sea where hundreds of thousands of sailing canoes also fished with lines, ring nets and gill nets. Conflicts between the two grew and became serious in the eastern part of the Java Sea and in Bali Strait. The fishermen complained to the Governor of East Java who alerted the President who (to many person's surprise) immediately instituted a ban on all shrimp trawl operations in the Java Sea and Western Indonesia.

An interesting result of the ban, evident some ten years later was a growth in catches by small boat fishermen, not of shrimp, but of a variety of the bottom fishes which in the past were destroyed as by-catch by the shrimp trawlers.

**Italy, Adriatic Coast** Fishermen on Italy's Adriatic coast use clam dredges from small boats to harvest the mollusks and crustaceans enjoyed by tourists and locals alike in the coastal restaurants. The inshore fishing grounds were invaded from time to time by large trawlers which took the best of the shellfish along with demersal species in the area. Some protection was needed for the local fleets but the fishermen wisely understood that legislation alone would not be sufficient.

Scientists at the research station in Ancona studied the problem and came up with a practical solution which, though often suggested for other similar situations, has rarely been put into practice. They designed heavy underwater obstacles shaped like tripods and made of concrete and iron reinforcing rods. These were constructed and dropped at strategic points on the inshore grounds where they effectively prevented trawlers from operating or else risk serious damage to their gear.

This was a simple, elegant, cost-effective solution to a problem of long standing. It could be developed further by constructing artificial reefs between the obstacles. Similar solutions have been proposed for S.E. Asian and West African inshore fisheries. They were welcomed by the fishermen and by some fishery authorities, yet opposed by some in FAO on the grounds that "it might contravene the laws or conventions against dumping items at sea". But the innovation could greatly benefit fishermen in countries like the Philippines which have a plethora of regulations and decrees protecting small fishermen or inshore waters, without any effective enforcement of those laws.

**USA, Alaska** The State of Alaska has many small fishing villages for which the fish resource is of vital economic and social importance. When the fisheries began to be managed by the use of quotas, it became evident that the purchase of quotas by outside interests could jeopardize the future of many coastal communities.

Accordingly, the government introduced "community quotas" which were fish quotas allocated to communities in perpetuity, and which could not be traded or sold as would be the case with quotas granted to individual vessel owners. The writer believes that all fish quotas for coastal waters ought to be "community quotas" thus ensuring the long term sustainability, economic and social health of the villages concerned.

Some have pointed out that there have been management failures by ethnic groups in the USA and New Zealand, after they received entitlement to large fish quotas. The reason for the failure appears to have been a lack of social understanding. Traditional coastal dwellers who had successfully managed small trading stores or single inshore fishing boats, were suddenly made responsible for a multi-million dollar enterprise. It is no wonder the ventures struggled. It would have been sensible and prudent in hindsight to split the quotas into smaller manageable amounts which could have been handled adequately by traditional small-scale fishery operators.

**United Nations** The United Nations Agencies have not always been at the forefront of the struggle to protect populations and their environment. Too often they have cooperated with schemes which have ruined traditional food production systems and even displaced large numbers of rural dwellers. But thankfully, for the most part, the Organisation has tried to be true to its humanitarian and environmental ideals. In fisheries as in agriculture, the U.N. has made both positive and negative contributions.

One of the most promising concepts developed by FAO personnel and associates in developing countries, has been that of TURFS or Territorial User Rights in Fisheries. This concept recognizes the necessity of providing traditional fishing communities with property rights to the resource in their local waters. Once fishermen know they have secure title to the local fish, there is no need to "catch them all before someone else catches them". They then are able to think in terms of long-term sustainability, conservation and protection. On larger management issues, the local "turfs" communities have a significant input along with other groups and with government.

**United Nations      FAO      recommended  
solution to encroachments on the  
resources and livelihoods of small-scale  
coastal fishermen**

# **TURFS**

**Territorial User Rights in Fisheries**

Many fishing communities have had such user rights incorporated in their traditional laws and practices but unfortunately these were rarely incorporated into the official regulations of the state or country concerned. Some attacks on commercial vessels which have taken place in countries like Papua New Guinea, have occurred because locals saw their operations as contravening traditional local convention.

If TURFS regimes and/or Community Quotas are to be granted to coastal fishing communities, then the question of a “rent” contribution to the society at large becomes relevant. In principle, the extraction of a rent in return for fishing rights is fair. Where there is need for caution and for a wider interpretation of a “rent” payment, is where the coastal communities lack amenities and services which urban dwellers enjoy at public expense. Two examples will suffice; one from Africa and one from the U.K.

In Sierra Leone, before the Liberian conflict affected that state and reduced it to a condition of near-anarchy, there were a number of fishery initiatives. One very successful one financed by Germany (GTZ) concerned the fishermen of Tombo, a coastal village south of Freetown. The fishermen had plenty Leones but no foreign currency, and could not purchase nets or engines from abroad. By providing a facility to accept Leones as payment for imported fishing equipment, the project helped local fishermen improve motorization and obtain fishing gear. Catches soared, the fleet grew, and there was an unusual “urban-rural migration”



as people went from Freetown to the village to obtain work in the growing fishery.

But the village had no school, no medical clinic, and poor quality roads and water supply. The project, over time, persuaded the fishermen to finance these amenities and services directly themselves since there was little possibility the government could provide them, at least not for many years. These direct payments for community services should surely be regarded as part of the "rent" for the fishery.

We turn now to examples of situations where small-scale fishermen were not given the protection or resource access needed for their survival.

### **Examples of Failures**

**West Africa, Nigeria** The Niger delta on Nigeria's south coast is home to over 300,000 traditional fishermen who live in temporary camps for much of the year. They use a variety of gear types to take a range of species, each camp or village concentrating on a particular fishery. Together they produce hundreds of thousands of tons of fish each year, most of which is sold locally as dried or smoked fish. Though they live in an oil-rich area, these fishermen have minimal facilities, few decent roads, health clinics, ice plants or clean water supplies.

In the late 1970's the Government was approached by a party of businessmen who offered to establish a shrimp trawl fishery in the area which they promised would "be of great benefit to the country". They asked for and received, large subsidies to purchase second hand craft, fuel subsidies (though Nigeria's local oil prices were the lowest in West Africa), and asked the Government to bear the cost of port facilities and cold stores.

Once operating, the shrimp trawl fleet was supposed to remain outside of a 5 mile limit designed to protect the artisanal fishermen. Few of the vessels observed the restriction and though local fishermen protested regularly, not a single boat was or owner was prosecuted. While fishing in the inshore zone the trawlers often destroyed or towed away the nets of the canoe fishermen. No compensation was ever paid, and one fisherman who protested was abducted and thrown overboard farther offshore. Fortunately he was rescued by another canoe before he drowned.

One cannot but question the wisdom that provides commercial fishing companies with tens of millions of pounds in subsidies, with apparent immunity from prosecution, and gives them assistance accorded to none

of the artisanal fishermen, when the whole shrimp fleet employs less than one per cent the number employed on the coastal canoes, and when their product is mostly for export from a country with a huge need to import fish for food. But this favouring by authorities of commercial over artisanal fisheries is not unusual in developing countries.

**India, Kerala** India's coastal fishermen are as poor as can be found anywhere in the world. Some still operate with katumaran canoes which consist of a few logs lashed together. Yet those fishermen support and feed the inhabitants of many hundreds of coastal villages. Those communities have even fewer economic alternatives than those of oil-rich Indonesia. They need protection, yet this protection has rarely been afforded. The fishing communities of Kerala State have been engaged in a continuing struggle against the encroachment of company trawlers and seiners.

**West Africa, Senegal** Senegal has one of the largest artisanal fisheries in West Africa. Its coastal fishermen, like those of Ghana, are skilled, industrious and intrepid. They fish from traditional large dugout canoes using seines, lines, traps and gill nets, and catch a range of the marine species which abound in that fertile part of the sea. Where such an efficient and socially-important fishery exists, it is folly to try to replace it with a more "modern" fleet. Worse still, it is wicked to permit large vessels from far afield to enter those waters and take the resource the fishermen depend on.

This is what the European Union did in its agreement with ill-advised Senegalese authorities. EU fleets were licensed to fish in Senegal's coastal waters, in direct conflict with the tens of thousands of local fishermen. Inevitably there was an outcry.

The European Union's foreign fishery policy has been almost as bad as its own Common Fisheries Policy in terms of damage to resources and harm to traditional fishing communities. It supported Spain's fleet against Canada's fishermen during the so-called "turbot war", and it sought by exercising pressure and veiled threats to get Namibia to permit EU fleets to fish unhindered in Namibia's waters. That was after Namibia's resource had been all but decimated by EU and South African fleets (just prior to Independence), and when it was evident there was not enough fish for Namibia's own fleet, regardless of the needs and greeds of other fishing nations. With advice from Norwegian scientists, the fledgling government set the hake TAC at 60,000 tons a year initially (an amount they were then prepared to share with Europe). The

EU negotiators in turn demanded a quota of 200,000 tons solely for their fleets!

The Senegal fishing agreement which has had to be renegotiated is a classic example of big business riding roughshod over the interests and well-being of coastal fishing populations, and using political and commercial power to achieve its ends.

**South Africa, Cape Province** There are a number of coastal fishing villages north and east of Cape Town where local fishermen catch lobster, abalone, kingclip, hake, tuna and some pelagics. The villages are populated by people of mainly mixed race origin or "Cape coloureds" as they were once termed. During the apartheid years these communities were neglected while the big trawling and seining companies received large quota allocations from government, and even sports fishermen or recreational divers were allowed to take large numbers of lobster.

Under the the New South Africa government the situation was redressed slowly and with surprising hesitation. The new Government was progressive, but the civil service behaved in typical reactionary fashion. Both bureaucrats and scientists worked to blunt and frustrate the efforts of the new Government. These are some examples.

When a small south coast cooperative was allocated a modest quota for abalone which the community had harvested for generations, the bureaucracy decreed that they could market the shellfish only through a white-owned company.

When a Saint Helena Bay coloured cooperative obtained a quota to fish pilchards, and had the offer of a bank loan to purchase a vessel, the bureaucracy refused to permit them to buy a boat from abroad, knowing that no large local company would be prepared to sell them a suitable seiner. The coop was then encouraged to sell its quota to one of the big companies, thus forfeiting for ever any possibility of its own future viability.

When tuna pole and line fishermen asked for a modest hake quota to be caught by long line, thus giving them an income for the four to five months when tuna were not present, the request was refused. The large trawling companies to whom the long line quota would be miniscule, opposed the idea. A local scientist claimed that "long lining for hake would be detrimental to the stock"; – a claim that would be laughed out of court in Norway, Canada, Iceland or UK. But in insular South Africa, the public swallowed the scientist's assertion, and the quota was not granted.

**European Union, Coastal Fishermen** Possibly the most systematic and far-reaching disenfranchisement of traditional fishermen and undermining of coastal communities, is taking place now under the EU Common Fisheries Policy. Despite the many assertions of concern about rural development, employment, and protection of vulnerable communities, the CFP rides roughshod over all social considerations. Some Eurocrats have asserted that the social policies inherent in the CAP do not apply to the the CFP. In consequence the last thirty years when fishery management has come increasingly under Brussels' domination, have seen the steady decline of inshore fisheries and the marginalisation of many coastal communities.

Thirty years of a policy intended to conserve stocks and maintain an industry have resulted in fish resources being at their lowest level ever, and the industry being less secure than it has been since the loss of continental herring markets after the First World War and the hardships of the Great Depression of the thirties. The blind faith of Eurocrats and Euro-politicians in the CFP which results in ever-increasing problems for fish stocks, fishermen and fish industries, is one of the wonders of our time.

It is not only Scottish fishermen and community leaders who have warned us of the negative effects of the CFP, but also the



**Large trawlers and seiners.**  
Clockwise from below: MFV Sheanne, MVF Enterprise, MVF Voyager, MVF Serene.





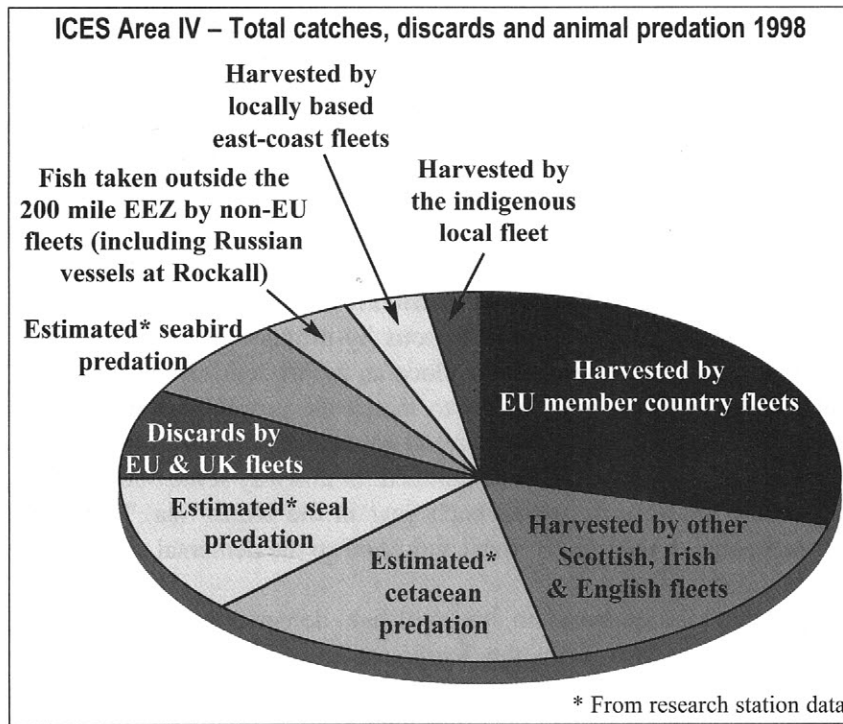
ICES fishing areas

inshore fishermen of England (particularly Cornwall), Ireland, Spain, Portugal, and even Denmark. Spanish coastal fishermen who number over 28,000 recently formulated and issued the Ceidera Charter to articulate their plight. The publication by Ireland's south-west fishermen "View from the Deck" is a powerful and eloquent summary of their predicament. But no one in power appears to be listening to any of those voices.

### Britain

In the UK, the fishermen of the Hebrides and the west coast of Scotland presently harvest only seven per cent of the million tons of fish taken each year out of ICES Area VI which extends westward from there into the Atlantic. The remainder is taken by fleets from the rest of UK, Europe, and Russia, with a considerable amount being eaten by seals and cetaceans. So the local fishermen ought in fairness to have access to a larger harvest, and if so, ought then presumably to pay a "rent".

However, a closer examination of the situation reveals that those communities pay the highest prices in UK for fuel (most of the price being direct government tax) and for other goods shipped from the mainland centers. The communities in general have less amenities and services than towns in the central belt of Scotland or in most of England. On top of that they have to pay a commercial price for facilities which in other parts of the UK are financed from the public purse. The worst example is the short bridge to Skye (the only way to access that island) which requires all users to pay tolls that are 5 to 10 times the amount charged to cross any other (and larger) bridges in the country. Must these rural dwellers pay a full rent for use of local resources, on top of the other higher prices and taxes they must pay?



### The Scottish Situation

In the 25 years after World War II, Scotland had a fishery that was the envy of Europe, Scandinavia and North America. Haddock and cod stocks abounded and supported fleets of seine-netters in scores of ports around the country. The large fleet of small boats rarely had to venture beyond the Moray Firth, Firth of Clyde or Minches to find good catches. Herring and mackerel were also plentiful along the coast, and though the mackerel market was under-developed, its fishery supported many small hand-line boats. The boats themselves were seaworthy and efficient, but the technologies used were not yet so powerful that they endangered the resource.

Most of the changes for the worse came after 1970 and after Britain's entry into the CFP, though some ill effects were not initially apparent. Mother nature can take a considerable amount of abuse before her benign systems of life-support begin to fail or function poorly. The first serious error was the abolishment of the old three-mile limit and the opening of our firths, bays and minches to exploitation by powerful vessels. There was a bonanza to begin with, especially for the growing fleet of pelagic vessels. Visiting "klondyker" vessels from Russia and

East Europe paid cash on the nail for herring and mackerel in seemingly unlimited quantities. But all this was at the expense of local small-scale boats whose coastal resources were being eliminated.

Quotas were allocated to the white fish vessels which were also growing in size, power and sophistication. But in a remarkable fit of insanity (still continuing) the CFP managers insisted on single-species quotas in that multi-species fishery. This meant that each vessel had to land fish species in precise conformity to quota allocations which bore little resemblance to the actual distribution of species on the fishing grounds. The result was the iniquitous by-product termed "discards". Since no trawl or seine could produce an assortment of cod, haddock, hake, coley, whiting and flatfish to match the proportions determined each year by bureaucrats, there would be a surplus of some species and the surplus by EU law had to be dumped. In this way some 600,000 tons of edible fish were destroyed each year in the North Sea. That is an amount equal to the total British catch. And so the demersal stocks were steadily diminished.

Today there are almost no stocks of fish, demersal or pelagic, in our Firths and Minches, only the hardy resource of prawns and crabs. Dozens of villages which used to have productive fleets of inshore fishing boats which helped maintain auction halls, boatyards, ice plants, workshops, chandlers and grocers shops, now have only a few yachts and museums to remind them of their maritime heritage. The boarded premises and "to let" signs indicate where once prosperous businesses flourished. As the economic life declines, public authorities aggravate the problem by closing schools, post offices, surgeries and transport facilities. The Hebrides with its declining population is perhaps the most vulnerable region, but also in danger now is the whole of the west coast, and the coastal villages of the Moray Firth, Firth of Clyde, and parts of the east coast. These are the regions of the "sea clearances" and like the former land clearances, they did not have to happen. There was no historic necessity. It was not written in the stars that it should be so. Instead human greed and bureaucratic perversity have combined to use both legislation and commercial pressure to diminish a resource, to destroy a way of life and to kill a modest but socially important industry.

Vessels were licensed as part of the EU efforts to control fishing effort and to reduce fleet size. This has led to a growth in the large vessel fleet at the expense of the small boats. The owner of a huge purse seiner or midwater trawler wishing to buy a yet bigger vessel or to increase its enormous power, could do so by purchasing and amalgamating licenses from other boats. Many small boat licenses were bought up in this way.

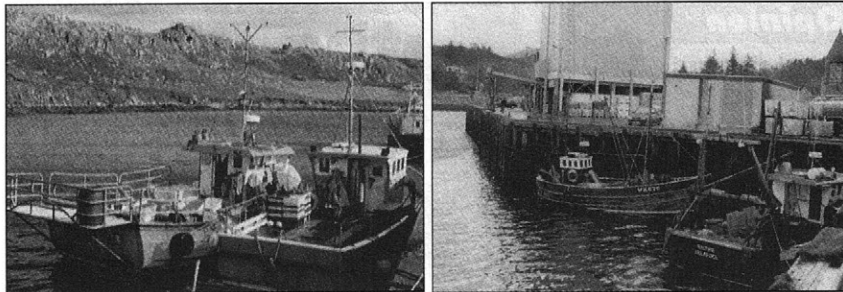
And what possible correlation could there be between a little prawn boat in the Minch and a huge mackerel trawler in the North Sea? Yet one was sacrificed to help the other grow yet larger.

Quota entitlements as well as licences became the focus of an international trade within the EU. When a quota or licence is bought from a small fishing community, it is then gone for ever, and with it also the jobs and small service industries which depended on that fish and that fishing boat. But that is what has been going on the past ten years and which, together with the reduction in coastal fish stocks, has put so many fishing villages into a marginal situation.

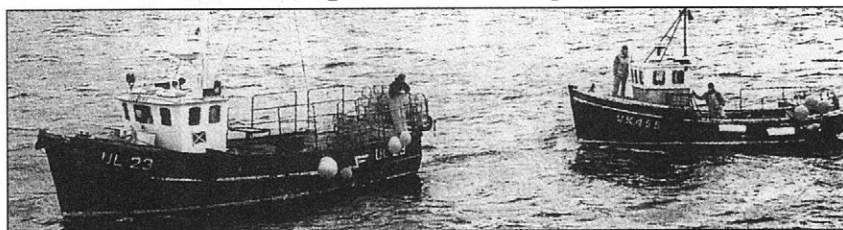
### What is Required

The social and environmental damage of the past thirty years will not be redressed without effective long-term action. But this is necessary, and if EU authorities are sincere and the CFP policies have integrity, it is necessary to achieve the conservation, sustainability and social benefits which the EU espouses in principle if not in practice.

The first and most important step is to regain control of our coastal waters, and that means to at least 25 or better 30 miles from shore. The local communities must be given effective management control of these areas in cooperation with local, national and (if need be) international bodies. The local management bodies must have the authority to limit



Small scale fishing boats on the west coast.  
Above left: Western Isles, right and below: Ullapool.





the size and power of boats that can fish in their waters, and the type of gear or equipment they may use. The fishery maps below indicate both the present patchwork arrangement and the complex number of concessions to foreign fleets which make existing derogations less effective.

The second step is to end the madness of stock destruction in the name of fishery management. That includes the system of single species quotas and the discarding they require. It also includes the over-exploitation of sand-eels, sprats, Norway pout, and young fish of every species for animal feed through reduction plants. It also includes an end to the EU CFP sanctioned capture and sale of immature hake, plaice, megrim, lemon sole, sea bream, brill, conger, eel, dab, flounder, turbot, shad, grey mullet and witch. For years the British Government sensibly prohibited this practice and punished any fisherman who landed undersize fish. Now it bows to EU pressure and stands its conservation principles on their head.

The third step required is an end to the trade in vessel licences and fish quota entitlement. This is a trade in people's jobs and in communities' welfare. The whole system of quotas ought to be



**Barbara Sobrielo, IU Secretary & Jose Mernane, Treasurer**

dispensed with, but while it remains, quotas, once allocated, should remain within the locality where the resources exist.

Other serious steps are required in order to address the growing problem of coastal pollution, to reduce fish predation by an excessive seal population, and to ensure that small scale processors in rural areas can obtain sufficient raw material to maintain the viability of their operations.