

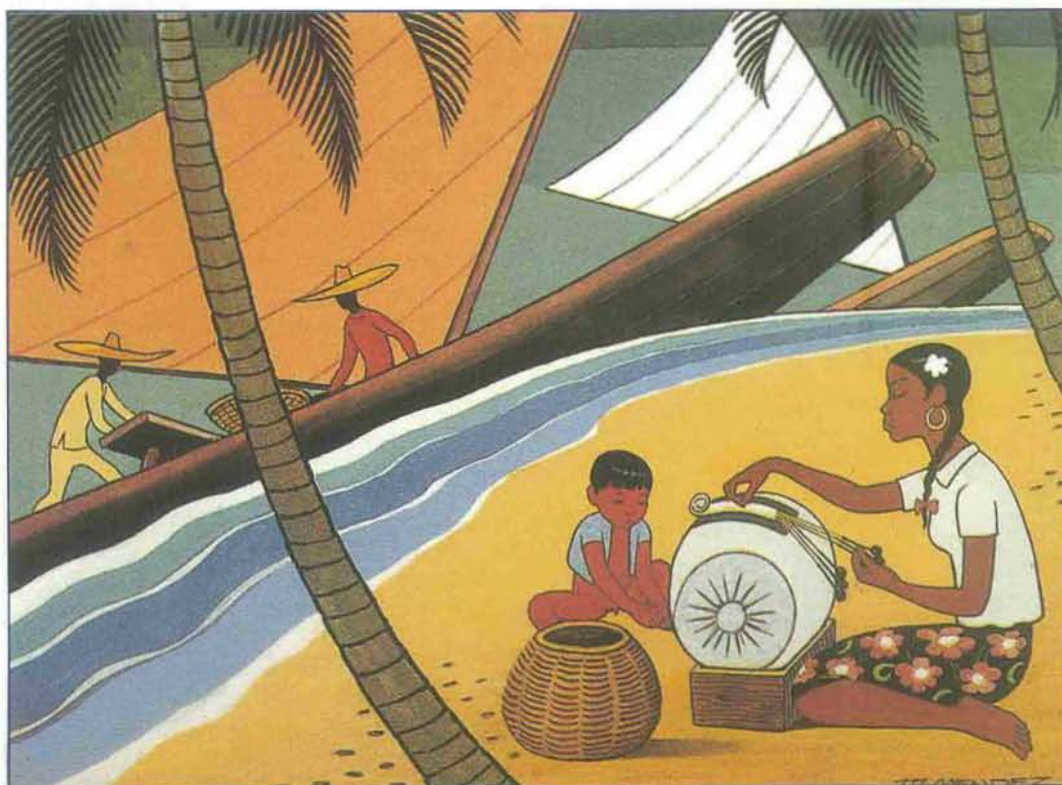
No. 21

December 1998

SAMUDRA

REPORT

INTERNATIONAL COLLECTIVE IN SUPPORT OF FISHWORKERS



THE ACCRA WORKSHOP

MALIAN FISHERIES

PREPARING FOR CYCLONES

SEAFARING WORKERS

HISTORY OF JAPAN'S CO-OPERATIVE FISHERIES

NORWAY'S CONFLICTING UNIONS

ECOLABELS

EL NIÑO AND LA NIÑA

WOMEN IN PERU'S FISHING

NEWS ROUND-UP

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What price subsidies?

One of the most important reasons for overfishing is excessive fishing capacity. This was the main focus of the recent FAO Consultation on the Management of Fishing Capacity, Shark Fisheries and Incidental Catch of Seabirds in Longline Fisheries (see page 36). According to FAO, between 1970 and 1989, total gross registered tonnage (GRT) of the world's fishing fleets increased from 13.6 million to 25.3 million GRT. About three-quarters of this capacity belonged to the large-scale, industrial sector, which accounts for about 75 per cent of total capital investment and global marine fish production. This situation is further complicated by the fact that new fishing vessels have enormously increased their fishing power. A recent study by Greenpeace International shows that the efficiency of fishing vessels has increased over time with advancements in fishing technology. A vessel built in 1990, for example, is no longer comparable, in terms of efficiency, with a vessel of the same tonnage built in the 1970s.

The world's fishing capacity grew at an alarming rate of 4.6 per cent in the 1980s, almost double the average rate of growth in fish landings. This growth in fishing capacity, according to FAO, was made possible by the higher levels of subsidies to the fisheries sector. Ever since FAO, in 1993, established the links in fisheries between excess capacity and subsidies, the international community has been focusing more attention on this issue. There is no real agreement yet on which of government financial contributions actually constitute subsidies. The information on subsidies in developing countries is scantier still. In spite of these drawbacks, there is clear indication that the levels of subsidies, at least in OECD countries, are quite high. A recent study by Matteo Milazzo, published by the World Bank, estimates the figure for environmentally harmful global fisheries subsidies at between US\$15 billion and US\$20 billion. According to Milazzo, these subsidies constituted about 20-25 per cent of global fisheries revenues, and are comparable to subsidies provided to producers of competing protein foods.

As we have argued earlier, such subsidies not only help add to excess capacity, they also facilitate fleet migration to the waters of several low-income, food-deficit countries, under the aegis of international fishery access agreements or joint ventures. In the process, the highly efficient and locally beneficial domestic artisanal fleets are often put to disadvantage. Without effective monitoring, control and surveillance systems, and in the absence of competent Flag State control, many of these fishing arrangements—for example, between the European Union and China with other developing countries—have clashed with the livelihood interests of disadvantaged coastal fishing communities.

Distorted economic incentives, in the form of subsidies and concessional credit, have also fuelled the anarchic growth of large-scale, industrial fisheries, even in developing countries. Many of the large-scale, industrial vessels, which depend on destructive and non-selective fishing methods and practices, may not even remain economically viable without such incentives.

Subsidies in the large-scale, industrial sector for indiscriminate expansion of capacity and fleet migration should be replaced with incentives for better fisheries management practices, such as rights-based fisheries and vessel buy-back schemes. Training fishers in the use of selective fishing gear and practices, implementing programmes to relocate fishers into responsible fishing, as well as non-fishing activities, are other avenues that could be explored under an incentive scheme.

However, in the small-scale, labour-intensive sectors of developing countries, a legitimate need to continue with current subsidy regimes, at least in the short run, may exist. This is because of the vital social dimension of current subsidies. In many developing countries, subsidies are often introduced to offset the negative impact of large-scale industrial fishing on artisanal fishers. In these contexts, it would not be meaningful to dismantle subsidies to the artisanal and small-scale sector until a level playing field has been established. The issue of subsidies in the artisanal sector should be taken up only after solving the problems created by subsidies in the large-scale, industrial sector.





An African briefing

A recent ICSF training programme in Accra, Ghana, dealt with issues in fisheries, social analysis and organizational strategies for Africa

The fisheries sector in Africa is an important source of food, employment, income and livelihood. The artisanal sub-sector is vibrant, providing employment and income to coastal fishing communities, and, in turn, contributing significantly to the local economy and to food security. However, developments over the past few decades are increasingly threatening the livelihood of coastal fishing communities as well as the health of the fishery resource base. Some of these issues were discussed at a recent ICSF training programme on 'Fisheries, Social Analysis and Organizational Strategies', held in Accra, Ghana between 17 and 28 August 1988.

Africa has seen a rapid expansion in industrial fisheries, employing highly efficient and non-selective fishing technology, which has caused an exponential growth in fishing effort in the region. This is leading to overexploitation of fishery resources in many areas. The practice by countries in the region of entering into fishery agreements, thereby granting access to the often highly subsidized industrial fleets of the European Union (EU) and other distant-water fishing nations, is exacerbating this situation. With resource scarcity and degradation, conflicts between the artisanal and the industrial sector are increasing. Even as returns from fishing decline, the increased costs of inputs required to remain competitive are eating into the profit margins of small-scale fishers.

Similarly, the access to fish of women fishworkers from coastal communities, traditionally involved in marketing and processing fish, is also being affected by the expansion of the industrial processing sector, as well as by resource scarcity and habitat degradation.

Even though there are several such challenges facing the artisanal sector in many African countries, fishworkers in the sector in most of these countries, with the exception of Senegal, are not politically or economically well organized. Some sporadic efforts at political organization have been sparked off in recent years, as artisanal fishworkers try to defend their interests, as in Ghana, South Africa, Guinea Conakry, Madagascar and Benin. These initiatives are often supported by local and international NGOs. They are often quite localized and need strengthening at the national and regional level.

It is in this context that ICSF responded to a request by TESCO (Technical Services for Community Development), an NGO working with artisanal fishing communities in Ghana, to organize a training programme for people working at the community level. This request was supported by organizations working with fishworkers in Senegal. It was decided to also invite organizations working with fishing communities in other parts of Africa. The purpose was to bring together such organizations to reflect on the common issues facing fishworkers in the region, such as resource degradation and inappropriate policies, and to strengthen networking and co-operation between them.

Programme objectives

The objectives of the programme were to:

- enable participants to develop an understanding of fisheries development and management, especially in the African context;
- develop skills related to organizational work and social analysis; and



- facilitate exchange of experiences and networking between organizations working with artisanal fishing communities in the African region.

Twenty-one participants from nine African countries—Benin, Cape Verde, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea Conakry, Madagascar, Mozambique, Senegal and South Africa—participated in the programme. The participants were from diverse backgrounds. Most of them belonged to NGOs working with fishing communities in their countries, such as those from Benin, Cape Verde, Ghana, Guinea Conakry, Madagascar and Senegal.

There were two participants representing CNPS, a fishworker organization from Senegal. The three participants from Mozambique represented a government body, the Institute for Development of Small-scale Fisheries (IDPPE), which deals with small-scale fisheries in the areas of production technology and socioeconomic development.

The participant from South Africa belonged to an association, the Informal Fishing Communities, which is fighting, in the post-apartheid era, for recognition of the rights of traditional fishers to fish resources. The resource team for the programme included persons from within and outside Africa, with extensive

experience in working with fishworkers and their organizations.

A questionnaire, to collect information on various aspects of marine fisheries, was sent to participants prior to the programme. Participants were requested to prepare reports, based on this questionnaire, on the fishery sector in their country, and changes within it. These reports were presented by the participants on the first day of the programme, and set the tone and agenda for the rest of the programme.

The 12-day workshop itself dealt with the following themes:

- Fisheries development in the West African context
- Global fisheries development in the context of the development debate
- Framework for social analysis
- Organizational strategies skills and strategies
- International agreements of relevance to fisheries
- Fisheries agreements
- Fishery management options

For most of these sessions, resource material was put together by the ICSF Secretariat and the resource persons, and made available to participants in both English and French. The sessions were organized in a participatory manner, and the experiences of the participants were brought in at every stage. There were several sessions of group work to stimulate discussion and reflection and to draw in the knowledge and experience of the participants. After every two-day session, the resource team met with a small group of participants selected by the large group, to obtain feedback and to incorporate their suggestions into the programme content and structure. Sessions were conducted either in French or English, with simultaneous translations.

The workshop provided an excellent opportunity for participants to identify the problems facing their fisheries and their communities. It provided an opportunity to reflect on the kind of development and fishery they would like to work towards.

They stressed that development should lead to economic growth with equity (including gender equity), an improvement in living conditions, and the sustainable use of environmental resources. They were clear that all that is modern and technologically advanced has not lead to 'development'. In the fishery sector this has been more than evident, given the overfishing and destruction that has been made possible by 'modern technology'. As a consequence, fish resources and fishing communities are both in crisis in most parts of the world.

The workshop also helped participants to develop a greater appreciation of traditional science and traditional systems of fishery management. It was recognized that traditional knowledge systems and technologies have developed over generations of interaction with the coastal ecosystem, but are often considered backward and inefficient. However, this may not be the case. In Senegal, for instance, fishers continue to prefer the traditional craft, the pirogue. Participants felt that traditional knowledge systems and local, community-based systems of

fishery management have a great relevance today.

Participants were also emphatic about the need to question modern technologies and value systems, where production is for profit, not for need. The logic in the present system is to create more and more needs and wants, and to increase profits. People are consuming more than they need to live and survive, and, in the process, are destroying the resource base and jeopardizing their own future. They felt the need for a new value system based on caring and sharing, where the well-being of people is the focus, not on the wealth generated.

A sustainable development of the fisheries, said the participants, would require: strong organizations of fishworkers at all levels; local control and management of resources; regular consultations with all persons with a stake in the fishery; use of appropriate and locally specific technology; use of selective gear and practices by the artisanal fleet, i.e. exercising rights with responsibility; ban on industrial fisheries using destructive technology; promotion of sustainable forms of aquaculture only for local consumption, not for export; elimination of wastes at all levels, for example, by utilizing by-catch; promoting safety of fishers at sea by making use of available technology; micro-enterprises for fish-processing managed by community groups; and a regional approach to fishery management, since fish is a mobile resource.

The participants highlighted the need to work towards a sustainable fishery, where nature, men and women matter, and where fish is for life and livelihood. To work toward this ideal, participants identified three main areas they have to focus on: information and training, influencing government policy, and strengthening fishworker organizations.

Future plans

On their plans for the future, participants were clear that they would work systematically towards a sustainable fishery, as discussed during the workshop, at the local, national and regional levels. The participants from West Africa agreed that they will work

The Accra Workshop

This is the Statement of the Participants of the Workshop of Fisheries, Social Analysis and Organizational Strategies in Africa, presented in Accra, Ghana on 28 August 1998.

We, the supporters of artisanal fishworkers from nine countries in Africa namely, Benin, Cape Verde, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea Conakry, Senegal, Madagascar, Mozambique and South Africa, are concerned about the growing crisis in the fisheries sector and the impact of this on food security. Millions of women and men whose dependence on the fisheries is economic, as well as cultural and social, are experiencing a growing threat to their life and livelihood.

Our concerns:

Large, foreign industrial fishing and processing companies are manipulating the political system and are, therefore, influencing the future of small-scale fishworkers at the global level. They are undermining the sovereignty of the State and reducing it to an executive institution.

The growing overcapacity of the world's fishing fleets, and the increasing deployment of these fleets from other continents to African waters, is further adding to the existing overcapacity.

Despite their sovereignty, their rich natural resources, and their numbers, the 70 ACP (African, Caribbean and Pacific) countries have no power in the negotiations, both on the Fishery Access Agreements and on the Lome Convention. This situation arises from a complexity of historical factors which have provoked dependence and led to a disintegration of their economies.

The new-generation fishery access agreements between the EU and ACP countries favour the creation and the development of joint ventures, thereby marginalizing the professional organizations in the small-scale fisheries sector in the process of negotiations.

There is an unwillingness on the part of governments and other international institutions to inform and communicate with the public, and in particular, with coastal fishing communities. The consequent alienation of fishworkers from their resources results in their disinterest towards fisheries management policies that do

not keep their long-term interests in mind. It leads to the increasing use of intensive and destructive fishing practices by the artisanal sector, which threaten fish stocks and consequently the future of their fisheries.

There is a lack of transparency in (and often contradiction between) development policies and practices. There is an absence of collaboration and/or co-ordination between the different actors who are involved in the development of the fishery sector.

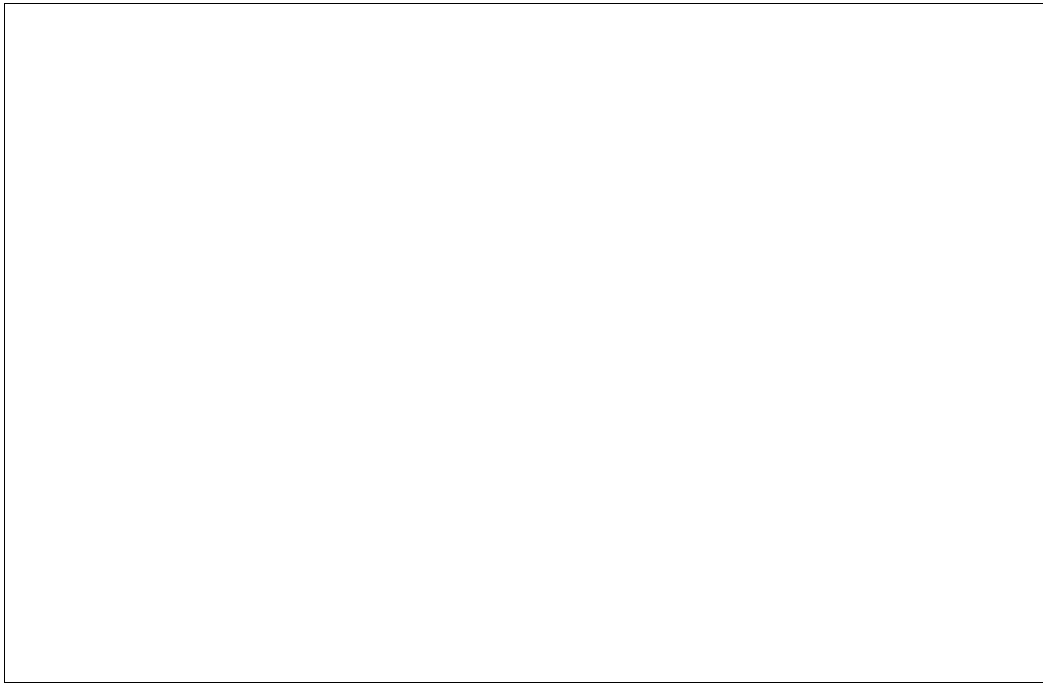
The lack of information about, and recognition by society of, the role of women in the artisanal and traditional fishery sector leads to their marginalization in the fishery and in decision-making processes.

There is increasing pollution and degradation of coastal zones by human activities at sea and on land. With the coastal zone being targeted for modern development activity, including tourism, coastal communities are being marginalized and are losing their rights of access to the coastal zone.

With the increasing demand for shrimp and other high-value species in the work market, we fear that the West African seaboard will soon be targeted for intensive aquaculture, thereby causing irreparable damage to the coastal ecosystem and to coastal communities, as has happened in several part of the world.


The working conditions of seafarers on board foreign industrial fishing vessels are inhuman and violate international standards of safety and conditions of work. We recognize that, in general, the fishworkers in Africa are not well organized and are, therefore, unable to combat the impact of adverse global and national government policies. This also hinders debate on issues that need to be dealt with at the regional level.

We are also conscious of the fact that their counterparts in Northern countries also face similar problems and that this calls for better partnership among small-scale fishworkers around the world. Given these concerns, we pledge that we will do our utmost to work towards a fishery that will sustain the life and livelihood of coastal communities, and that of coming generations.



together on the following areas: strengthening fishworker organizations and their participation in resource management at the local and national level; strengthening networks at the regional level; strengthening regional marketing networks and the exchange of indigenous processing technologies.

Participants agreed to work towards a concrete plan of action for these goals. They proposed a small committee consisting of representatives from TESCO (Ghana), ADIPEG (Guinea Conakry), CNPS and CREDETIP (Senegal) to lead and facilitate the process. The participants from the southern part of Africa were also keen to develop a network of southern African states, which could include Madagascar, Mozambique, South Africa, Angola and Namibia.

For the participants, the workshop was an opportunity to gain information, develop analytical skills to help in their work with fishing communities, and to develop a strategy to work together in the future. 

This report was written by Chandrika Sharma, Programme Associate, ICSF

Mali

Invasion by sea

Imports of marine fish into land-locked Mali is spelling doom for the traditional freshwater Malian fishers

Although Mali is a land-locked country, fish eating and fisheries-related activities are very important for the local population. According to an FAO study, around 71,000 fishers, operating 25,000 canoes, produce about 100,000 tonnes of fish annually. A further 213,000 people earn their living from fishing-related and ancillary activities.

Mali's per capita fish consumption is estimated to have risen from 6kg/yr in the post-drought 1980s to around 9 kg/yr, about average for sub-Saharan Africa. For many generations, an abundant supply of fish in the major rivers has provided the basis for family-based fish catching, processing and marketing activities. However, according to a recent article in *Bonga* (the fortnightly bulletin of the EU-financed Regional Fish Processing Programme in West Africa), Mali is facing an invasion of marine fish. Imports of sea fish are now strongly competing in the market with locally caught freshwater fish.

There are two main factors which favour imported sea fish over locally caught freshwater fish: supplies are more reliable, and sea fish is cheaper than freshwater fish. In the words of Aminata Kanta, the wife of a local fisherman, "While I can no longer rely on my husband's catch to supply my clients' needs, there is an abundant variety of sea fish for them to—choose from. While locally caught fresh-water fish costs around 1,300 CFA francs/kg, imported sea fish costs only 750 CFA francs/kg. It is not that people prefer sea fish, but it is so much cheaper and meatier."

There are also other reasons for selecting sea fish. Dietary preferences are changing, and *attieke*, a typical Ivory Coast dish, is

becoming increasingly popular. And, as the women fish merchants will not cease emphasizing, you need sea fish to make *attieke*!

Due to its low cost and high demand, trade in sea fish has become a highly popular business. Sea fish now lands in Mali from the Ivory Coast, Senegal and Mauritania. At the moment, fish from Mauritania is particularly cheap, selling for around 450 CFA francs/kg. Customs officials estimate that these countries are supplying several thousands of tonnes of sea fish. In Bamako, the fishmongers are organizing themselves as best as they can. According to one fishmonger in Bamako, "We are constantly ordering fish, but there are only a limited number of agents to supply us with the fish we need."

But it would seem that this is adversely affecting the local fishery. According to Kanta, "There are some days when, come evening, we have to throw away the morning's catch. There is no fridge in my house, and I don't have any alternative way of keeping the fish. All that I can do is to smoke the fish, but there is no price advantage in doing that." She feels that import taxes on fish should be much higher, and that the government should reduce taxes on nets and other fishing gear. For many Malian fishworkers like Kanta, the "invasion of sea fish is proving to be a threat to their livelihoods."

This article has been adapted by Brian O'Riordan of ITDG from 'Invasion du Poisson de Mer' by Alexis Kalambly. *Bonga*, November 1997.

Natural disasters

Cyclone warning

Under an FAO project in India, a pilot scheme for disaster preparedness training in coastal villages is under way

The FAO project on Training in Sea Safety Development Programmes to Reduce the Loss of Life Amongst Fisherfolk During Cyclones was initiated as a result of the high loss of life amongst fisherfolk in the November 1996 cyclone in East Godavari, Andhra Pradesh, India. Balusuthippa, Bhairavapalem and the surrounding hamlets were amongst the worst affected, resulting in this project being focused there.

A baseline survey commissioned by FAO shows that of the 1,435 fisherfolk lost during the cyclone, the vast majority were from two categories: 830 were shrimp-seed collectors lost from the outlying sand banks and islets; and 569 were fishermen lost at sea from capsized trawlers. The study shows that very few lives were lost in the villages.

For these reasons, this project has been focusing its efforts on reducing the vulnerability of these two most affected groups, namely, the shrimp-seed collectors and the fishermen on trawlers going for several days of fishing. (Fishermen of *navas* and other craft generally go for much shorter fishing trips and, having watched the weather signs, generally do not get caught out in severe conditions).

For both groups, the project intends to work to increase their confidence, comprehension and response to cyclone warnings, and improve their ability and diligence in monitoring them. Wider use of transistor radios and two-way VHF radio communication systems will be encouraged and demonstrated. One hundred VHF sets, provided by the project, are to be installed, mainly in trawlers, but also in fishing villages. The sets in the villages will be mobile ones

which could be relocated to other villages, if required. The District Collector's office and the Department of Fisheries in Kakinada will also have a set each. Two continuously manned VHF shore stations, with 30-in antenna towers, complete the network for this pilot project. The system operators will be trained to communicate timely and appropriate warnings to the villages and trawlers, in addition to general weather and fishing information at other times of the year.

For the trawler fishermen, direct communication about weather conditions and with their colleagues on other craft is intended to assist them in taking more appropriate action in the face of deteriorating weather.

Additionally, the project aims to provide at least 50 lifefloats to trawlers. The lifefloats are based on an established US Coast Guard design adapted by FAO's naval architect for fabrication in local boatyards. A prototype has been tested in Kakinada and meets the approval of the boatowners, fishermen and the Department of Fisheries. Each lifefloat easily supports 10 men in the water.

In the 1996 cyclone, most fishermen drowned after their trawler capsized, because no floatation devices were available—crafts are observed to contradict Marine Fishing Act regulations stipulating the carrying of lifejackets and lifebuoys. However, experience shows that very few crew know how to correctly don a lifejacket. The crews have little confidence in them and the owners do not ensure that they are carried.

Uses of lifefloat

The lifefloat, on the other hand, sits on the roof of the wheel-house, is easily accessible and its use is instinctive. It can

be produced locally and relatively inexpensively, probably cheaper than 10 lifejackets. Initially, pressure from crew may see its more widespread installation, but later, legislation might ensure that it becomes mandatory equipment.

In efforts to reduce the vulnerability of shrimp-seed collectors, it is important that they are brought back from the outlying and low-lying areas before conditions deteriorate to a point where this becomes impossible.

As mentioned above, the village is a much safer place than the shrimp-seed collection grounds. Disaster preparedness training in the villages is under way in a pilot scheme being implemented by a team of 20 Storm Safety Extension Officers (SSEOs) trained by the project.

These SSEOs will mobilize volunteer Storm Safety Action Groups (SSAGs) in up to 30 pilot villages. They will facilitate the development and rehearsal of a community-developed contingency plan of action for each village. These plans are intended to complement the government's Cyclone Contingency Plan of Action and the work of the local revenue officers.

These plans will have two main components developed and rehearsed by the community SSAGs: preparation in the weeks before the cyclone-prone periods;

and actions to be taken in the event of an imminent cyclone. They will be location-specific, but will include:

- collection and storage of food, fuel and water at safe houses and cyclone shelters in the weeks before the cyclone-prone periods;
- continuous monitoring of weather bulletins and sharing of information in the community;
- plans for helping sick, infirm, aged and handicapped persons and pregnant women in the event of a cyclone; and
- plans for retrieving shrimp-seed collectors from the outlying areas and bringing them to cyclone shelters and safe houses.

The project will endeavour to provide the SSAGs with some basic equipment, such as transistor radios and yellow hard hats for protection and identification as managers in a crisis situation.

Constraints at work

The retrieval of shrimp-seed collectors from their collection grounds is constrained by the lack of motorized craft in some villages. The project has 12 diesel engines which will be installed in *navas* in villages with significant numbers of people engaged in shrimp-seed collection,



but with very few motorized navas. The beneficiaries of these engines should agree to use their *navas* for retrieval of shrimp-seed collectors, under the co-ordination of the SSAG, in the event of a cyclone.

A video, promoting diligent monitoring of weather bulletins and making sound preparations in the village in the pre-cyclone weeks, has also been planned. The Director of Doordarshan (India's national state-owned TV network) in Hyderabad has offered full support in producing this material.

During 1-3 February 1999, a workshop entitled 'Measures to Reduce Loss of Life Among Fisherfolk during Cyclones' will be held. This will review the events of November 1996 and seek to learn from them. It will also seek to draw on the responses to similar events in other countries and [he experiences gained in this project. The workshop hopes to produce concrete recommendations on reducing loss of life amongst fisherfolk during these type of natural disasters.

The project also proposes a vision for SSEOs' work so that fishing communities become very much more aware of:

- the causes, nature and behaviour of cyclones, and the effects they induce and why their track is hard to predict; and the need for increased confidence in the Indian Meteorological Department/All India Radio weather reports and cyclone warnings;
- what they themselves can do to be better prepared for cyclone disasters; and
- how the government machinery will interact with them in such emergencies.

The SSEOs will, by working closely and participatorily with volunteers, facilitate the development of SSAGs in each village and will be able to co-ordinate their own community-developed contingency plan of action. The result should be that the SSAGs and village community very much

feel ownership of, and commitment to, their plan.

Although many components of the community developed contingency plans of action may be similar, each will probably display a number of specific details which are appropriate to their location and their situation.

The measure of success will be how well the SSAGs are able to sustain and demonstrate the contents of their village plan, rather than how impressive it looks on paper. It is hoped that they will not have to put their plans to the ultimate test, but if they do, it is expected that the diligence of the SSEOs in this work now and SSAGs in future will save lives and minimize suffering. **3**

This report has been written by Paul Calvert, an independent consultant formerly with ITDG, UK

Protest, don't sit still

The increasing cases of abuse of non-domiciled fishermen employed on fishing vessels must not go unchallenged

The International Transport Workers' Federation (ITF) has, from time to time, received alarming reports about the abuse of fishermen, especially those employed as non-domiciled fishermen on some national flag and on flag of convenience fishing vessels. This information was generally at an anecdotal level but is becoming more concrete and it is now clear that a picture of systematic abuse is emerging, which amounts to the denial of basic human and trade union rights.

There have been cases of physical and sexual abuse, fishermen being put in chains when the vessel is in port to prevent them jumping ship, and cases where fishermen have attempted to swim to shore in order to secure essential medical treatment. This matter was discussed within the ITF by the Fisheries Section Steering Committee and it was agreed that urgent action was required.

It goes without saying that the ITF is horrified by such abuse and is committed to taking measures to combat it. It is in these circumstances that I am requesting ITF Inspectors and ITF Fisheries affiliates to provide information which will enable us to assess the extent of this abuse and to make appropriate representations at relevant international forums, including the International Labour Organization.

We envisage that the ITF will address the abuse of fishermen at two levels. The first is to collate documentation on the abuse of fishermen which show that it is, in some instances, institutionalized and systematic. We, therefore, need to secure as much historical information as possible. At the second level the effort is to ensure that the ITF and its affiliates take a strong line in future cases.

If you become aware of any such cases, you are requested to take decisive action and, in addition to contacting the ITF Secretariat immediately, to report the matter to your local law enforcement officers, as the perpetrators must be brought to justice.

In this regard, it is worth noting that the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) expressly provides in Article 2 that the sovereignty of a coastal State extends beyond its land territory and internal waters (i.e., ports and harbours) to the territorial sea. The lip will raise the matter with the flag and port State and, if other options fail and it is legally feasible, we may be prepared to instigate private criminal prosecutions in the more extreme cases.

Reporting form

In order to facilitate the correlation of the information, both in the case of past instances and future cases, we have, in co-operation with Amnesty International, prepared a standard reporting form. You are requested to complete one form for each case of abuse. Completed forms should be sent to Tom Holmer of the ITF Maritime Department. ITF Inspectors are also requested to routinely visit foreign flag fishing vessels which visit their ports and to liaise with the crews, 3

This appeal comes from Mark Dickinson, Assistant General Secretary, Seafarers' and Fishermen's Sections, ITF, ITF House, 49-60 Borough Road, London SE1 1DS, UK Tel: +44-171- 403 2733. Fax: 44-171-357 7871

A saga of success

This is the first in a series on the pioneer of Japan's fishery co-operative movement

We in Hokkaido, Japan's northernmost island, can not talk about the fishery co-operative movement on our island without recalling the outstanding contributions of Takatoshi Ando. During his long career, Ando worked in every one of the major fishery federations in Hokkaido—Dogyoren, Shingyoren and Shidorenas well as in the national federation, Zengyoren. From the time he began working in the Hokkaido prefectural government's Fishery Co-operative Association (FCA) Section in 1993 until he retired from his post as President of the national Zengyoren in 1971, he was wholeheartedly devoted to FCAs and their development. The Hokkaido FCAs have thrived on the firm foundations established by the work Ando did during the infancy period of the movement.

Takatoshi Ando was born in 1894, the second son in a family that raised silkworms in Fukushima prefecture. After primary school, he began work as an apprentice photographer in his home town, but he soon passed the public servant exam and became a police officer.

As there was not much for a policeman to do in rural areas then, he had plenty of time to study. After passing the necessary exams, he was promoted several times. He then passed an exam administered by the central government, one so difficult that most university graduates could not get past it. In 1925, on the basis of passing that exam, he was appointed by the Hokkaido prefectural government to investigate unlawful fishing operations.

Soon after joining his new job, he began visiting fishing villages throughout Hokkaido. Since there were few railroads running through Hokkaido then, he often

had to travel by boat or horse-drawn carriage and, occasionally, on foot through snowstorms.

He was appalled by the pitiful conditions in which the fishermen lived. He became convinced that the only way to improve the standard of living in the fishing villages was by establishing co-operatives, and he soon decided to work for the well-being and prosperity of those in the fishing communities.

The fishing villages of Hokkaido are now thriving communities, thanks to Ando's many accomplishments. Towards the end of his career, he narrated many of his experiences in his autobiography. I was motivated to translate that work so that members of foreign co-operatives could learn about, and benefit from, Ando's experiences.

Many visitors from Asian and African countries have recently been coming to Hokkaido to study our FCAs. When I explain how the FCAs developed, my audiences often show great interest in the infancy period of the FCAs and they are particularly impressed by the contributions of Ando. Though I have often spoken of Ando and his great achievements, I thought it would be better if these stories were told in Ando's own words.

Therefore, I have selected the most relevant and important episodes from Ando's autobiography, and have narrated them here for the benefit of those in fishing co-operatives throughout the world. I understand that the historical, economic and social conditions of your countries may differ greatly from those of Japan, but I am sure that we all share the same goals—those of economic independence and self-reliance. If you find something of

help in the stories of our struggles and successes, I will be very pleased.

The FCAs, at both the local and prefectural levels, have faced many difficulties and overcome many obstacles. I am sure that we could not have succeeded if we did not keep in mind the fundamental philosophy that Ando instilled in us over the years. He always reminded us that every fisherman must be strong in the face of any difficulties that may arise, and should realize that he must help himself; all fishermen must unite and participate in the operation of the FCAs; and if the fishermen consolidate their finances and product distribution channels through the FCAs, they will then be able to support other people and organizations which need assistance. I hope that you come to realize the importance of these tenets, and that your fishing communities become as successful as those in Hokkaido.

I would like to add that Ando did not actually sit down and write his autobiography; he narrated his memories to his secretary, who simply copied down his stories verbatim. Since he repeats himself on many occasions and sometimes does not make himself clear enough, I have taken the liberty of adding certain words, phrases and sentences, while deleting some others. Be that as it may, I have tried to remain as true as possible to the original.

I have also included a preface and opening and closing chapters which I myself wrote. These should clarify many points Ando may not have referred to and which are essential for a complete understanding of the current situation of FCAs.

I would like to thank James Colyn, my long-time friend, for his great help in correcting errors in grammar and syntax. He rewrote virtually all of the copy to make it as easily understandable as possible. I can assure you that this was particularly difficult, considering how we tried to remain true to the original. We both hope you will find our work satisfactory.

Historical Background of FCAs

The motivations behind the establishment of Japan's fishery co-operatives are unique to the Fishery Co-operative

Associations (FCAs) in Japan—such motivations played no part in the establishment of either agricultural or consumer co-operatives. The FCAs' unique characteristics are largely due to the historical background of Japan's fishing industry and the way in which the industry grew.

Modern co-operatives in Japan developed with the spread of capitalism. During the first half of the 19th century, farmers, labourers and others who had little economic power began to establish co-operatives so that they might overcome the various difficulties brought about by the growth of capitalism.

In Japan, capitalism did not take root until 1868, after the Meiji Restoration. For the previous 250 years, the shoguns had kept Japan isolated and its economy feudalistic. Various customs and habits developed steadily over that long period, and many of these are still evident in the behavioral patterns and way of thinking of the Japanese people.

The hundreds of fishing villages along the coast of Japan had been ruled by about 300 feudal lords. The samurai soldiers worked for these lords, collecting taxes from the farmers and fishermen in the region. The lords and their samurai lived in castle towns, and, once or twice a year, they would go out into the territories to collect taxes. They did not interfere with the management of the fishing grounds. As long as they received the taxes from the fishermen, they were not concerned with who engaged in what kind of fishing or when and where. All such matters were left to the discretion of the chief of the community in question, and, often, these matters were simply decided by the customs and rules of the community.

After the collapse of the shogunate in 1868, the central government tried to strengthen its financial base. One of its first acts was to declare that the sea was the property of the State, and, in this way, it tried to control the fishermen directly. It collected fees and then issued them permits to use the fishing grounds.

This, of course, created problems. A great number of fishermen applied for the permits, with the result that there were too

many fishermen competing for limited stocks of fish. Understandably, many conflicts broke out among the fishermen and among the various communities. Since local administrative systems had not yet been satisfactorily established, the government could not deal with these conflicts properly. In 1886, in order to solve that problem, the government introduced its Fishing Association Regulation, which encouraged fishermen of all communities to organize themselves into associations. These regulations did not contain any reference to fishing rights, but they were the first steps in the movement to allow the fishermen the right to control their fishing grounds according to the rules of their own associations. In this way were sown the seeds of the fishery co-operatives.

In 1901, the Fishing Association Regulation was replaced by the Fishery Law. Under this law, the new concept of 'fishing rights' was introduced. That was a very important landmark in the development of Japan's fishery co-operatives. It was after that that fishermen's associations became established as autonomous organizations with the authority to manage fishing rights.

Legally, the Japanese system is an 'open membership' one—the New Fishery Co-operative Law of 1949 states that anyone who desires to join a local Fishery Association may become a member if he is qualified and meets certain requirements. It should be noted here, however, that most co-operatives are apt to restrict membership to prevent too much of the work force getting engaged in only one field. The binding force resulting from joint ownership of fishing rights by the FCAs is the major reason for FCAs being such strong organizations.

Since the first fishery law was promulgated in 1901, there have been many revisions. These new laws have included provisions regarding marketing, transportation, processing and savings. With these changes, Fishermen's Associations have gradually become multipurpose co-operatives.

In the first few decades of the 1900s, various co-operative ideas from abroad

were introduced into Japan, such as those of the Rochdale Pioneers from England and the Raiffeisen's Co-operative in Germany. The government established the Central Bank for Industrial Co-operatives, and Fishermen's Associations were changed to Fishery Co-operative Associations (FCAs), so that these FCAs could access the financial services of that bank. Equally important, the government also worked to develop infrastructure such as fishing ports, roads and railroads.

In those days, merchants played a large role in the fishing communities. Prior to each fishing season, the merchants supplied the communities with not only fishing gear but also food, clothing and other daily necessities. In order for the fishermen to settle their accounts with the merchants—and partly in return for the services which the merchants provided—the fishermen often sold the majority of their catch to the merchants. The fishermen were thus truly at the mercy of the merchants.

As Hokkaido was still a relatively new and undeveloped region, the fishermen had a low standard of living. Therefore, the leaders of the fishing communities, and Ando in particular, understood that this relationship with the merchants had to be abolished. They realized that the only way to do this was through joint marketing and mutual financing.

Their efforts to achieve those goals took a long time to bear fruit. Not until the mid-1960s could they claim to have attained any degree of success. But they did succeed, and there are many interesting stories to be told of their pioneering activities. The stories of Ando that follow are among the most informative and helpful. 3

The Autobiography of Takatoshi Ando was translated, compiled and edited by Naoyuki Tao and James Colyn. Tao is General Manager of Shidoren (the Hokkaido Educational Federation of Fishery Co-operative Associations) and the Director of Hokkaido FCA College in Sapporo, Japan. Colyn works as an editor at ESL Institute in Sapporo

One sector, two voices

The conflict between small-scale and corporate interests in Norway's coastal fisheries has polarised the fishers' unions

Since 1990, the Norwegian Fishermen's Association has been contested by a new organization, the Norwegian Coastal Fishermen's Union. The union was founded in 1990 by coastal fishermen who felt that their mother organization at that time, the Fishermen's Association, would not espouse their case.

The Norwegian Fishermen's Association was originally founded by small-scale fishermen in 1926. It grew to a powerful tool in the hands of the coastal fishermen, fighting for their rights to own vessels and to establish co-operatives to sell their products. Their struggle was crowned with success when, in 1938, they managed to get the Norwegian Parliament to pass the Raw Fish Act and, in 1951, the Act on Ownership of Fishing Vessels.

The Raw Fish Act gave the fishermen's co-operatives the exclusive right of first sale for their products, and the right to establish the price and conditions of such sale. The Act on Ownership of Fishing Vessels stated that only active fishermen could own fishing vessels, and banned external capitalized ownership of fishing vessels.

The counter-attack, in both cases, came from the bigger enterprises, which saw profits to be extracted from the fisheries sector. Among these was the multinational food giant, Nestle, which wanted to establish a fish processing plant close to the resource base in the Barents Sea, and claimed that it needed its own fleet of trawlers to collect the resources.

Money talks, and, in this case, it managed to talk the Norwegian government into changing the law. The Norwegian government licensed the establishment of a fleet of more than 100 cod and

bottom-fish trawlers owned and controlled by the fish processing industry.

Developments in the herring fisheries took another path. What had originally been a coastal fishery developed through the 1960s and 1970s into a highly capitalized fishery on the high seas, leading to overfishing and depletion of the herring stocks. After the breakdown, fisheries input regulations were introduced, and the herring fisheries were closed. Herring fisheries became a protected sector, giving rise to further capitalization. Today they are a totally industrialized and corporate-owned sector.

So, in spite of the Act on Ownership, the capitalized fisheries sector grew. To enhance their influence and bargaining power with the fisheries authorities, the players in this sector organized themselves into their own owners associations outside the Norwegian Fishermen's Association. So, for many years the organizational structure of the Norwegian fisheries featured, on the one hand, regional associations of coastal fishermen organized under the umbrella of the Norwegian Fishermen's Association, and, on the other hand, a corporate fisheries sector organized in its own owners' associations.

One man-one vote

However, in 1972, they all merged under the umbrella of the Norwegian Fishermen's Association. While the influence of the coastal fishermen was decided by their numbers, following the principle of one man-one vote, the representatives of the corporate sector were given influence according to their economic power. And so, money started talking from within the Fishermen's Association—and it did not talk in favour

of the type of small-scale fishermen that in 1926 had founded the organization. The corporate sector now accounts for 70 per cent of the income from harvesting of the Norwegian marine resources.

In the 1980s, following a resource crises in the cod fisheries, the question of introducing ITQs (Individual Transferable Quotas) came up. This dragged the conflict between the corporate and coastal sectors out into the open. The majority of the coastal fishermen were against ITQs, and in Flakstad, one of the coastal fishermen's strongholds in the Lofoten islands, an initiative was taken by a local branch of the Fishermen's Association to form an opposition to the vessel owners' influence within the Association.

This kind of opposition was, however, soon deemed illegal, and its initiators were not welcomed any longer as members of the Association. Thus, the Coastal Fishermen's Union was formerly established in November 1990.

However, it soon became clear that even if the fishermen's Association did not see fit to have these spokespersons for the coastal fishermen as their members, they were not willing to let go of their membership fees. This was because the major part of the income of the Association came from charging a levy on the first sale of fish. It might seem

reasonable enough for the fishermen's sales organizations to take a levy for handling the sale of the fishermen's catch. But what not everybody was aware of was that, along with that levy, they also charged a fee to finance the Association—and that fee was charged no matter whether the fisherman considered himself a member of the Association or not.

On establishing their own organization, the members of the Coastal Fishermen's Union claimed that the levy charged from them should be payable to their Union, not to the competing Association which did not want them as members.

The sales organizations, the Ministry of Fisheries and the Fishermen's Association itself claimed that charging the levy was absolutely legal. The Ministry furthermore claimed that they preferred to see the Fishermen's Association as the prime spokesperson for the whole fishing industry, and thought it vital to safeguard their financial basis.

Old establishment

So, the Norwegian Coastal Fishermen's Union was, from the very start, up against a united front of the old establishment within the fisheries sector. To survive, they had no choice but to go to court. In January 1994, four members filed a case against the biggest and most prestigious of the sales organizations—and they

finally won, after having lost at the lower levels. On 6 July 1997, the High Court of Norway ruled completely in their favour, stating that the charging of a levy for financing the Norwegian Fishermen's Association was illegal. The practice was promptly stopped.

What has obviously been won in this struggle is the cause of the liberty to organize. Some will perhaps argue that for as long as Norway has been a democracy, the fisherfolk have enjoyed the freedom to organize, and that the court ruling was only about the charging of a levy—But when you are forced to pay your money to an organization which you feel is working against your own interest, the claim that you are free to organize wherever you want is hard to swallow.

Today, both the Coastal Fishermen's Union and the Fishermen's Association charge their membership fees through the sales organizations. However, while the Union asks for a written statement of consent from each individual fisherman before levying a membership fee from his account with the sales organization, the Association just hands over its outdated membership list to the sales organizations, and asked them to charge all those who do not protest. This has, not unexpectedly, led to some complaints against the Association. Yet, at least now, the fishermen have a real choice. For the first time, they can choose to support one or the other of the organizations—or not to support any of them.

For the Fishermen's Association, losing the case meant losing more than half of its income overnight. Consequently, it had to cut down on costs, reduce staff, and, at the same time, raise membership fees considerably. This has led an increasing number of small-scale fishermen, who remained faithful to their old organization, to now reconsider their membership.

The corporate sector now pays over half the membership fees of the Association. Accordingly, they demand more influence. This has enhanced the immanent conflict between the coastal and the corporate sector within the Fishermen's Association, and the

corporations have more than once threatened to take back their money and leave the Association.

The last conflict was over the distribution of the mackerel resources this summer. The Norwegian quota grew by 23,900 tonnes between 1997 and 1998, and the corporate sector claimed that the total increase should be to their benefit, leaving them with 87 per cent of the Norwegian mackerel quota. The coastal lobby within the Association managed to put through a recommendation to the Ministry, granting the coastal fleet an increase of 5,000 tonnes.

The Ministry of Fisheries, however, decided to follow the recommendations of the Coastal Fishermen's Union, granting the coastal sector an increase of 10,000 tonnes, from 20,000 tonnes to 30,000 tonnes, and leaving the corporate sector with 'only' 80 per cent of the resource. This immediately created an uproar among the corporate owners, and even led some of the owners of the bigger purse-seines to discontinue their membership in the Association.

The Coastal Fishermen's Union, on its part, has always been poor, and still is. Having chosen the hard and difficult way of building the organization on personal membership fees from the very start, the Union is now, for the first time, able to compete with the Fishermen's Association on equal terms. The common problem they face, though, when it comes to organizing coastal fishermen, is that a great majority of them seem indifferent to the benefits of being organized.

What has been lost during this struggle is equally clear—the unity among coastal fishermen. But that was lost not through court rulings. Rather, it was lost when the coastal fishermen forgot who they were, and, consequently, chose to ally with the corporate sector.

Decreasing numbers

Although the coastal fisheries is still an important sector, and accounts for 10-30 per cent of the employment figures in many coastal communities along the coast of western and northern Norway, the number of fishermen has decreased considerably during the last decades.

There are now approximately 10,000 fishermen working on board coastal fishing vessels in Norway. It is evident that having two organizations competing with each other is not the cleverest solution, and it can hardly be seen as a lasting one.

So what does the future hold for Norwegian coastal fishermen? Evidently, the only organization that can uphold their case, at the moment, is the Coastal Fishermen's Union. It is, however, still a small organization, in terms of numbers, but it is building on a sound foundation, both ideologically and organizationally. It is also gaining influence.

Since it was founded, the Union has been advocating the view that marine resources should be considered a common property, and harvested in a sustainable manner. On fisheries regulations, the emphasis should be on technical regulations to secure a selective fishery on the basis of both species and maturity, rather than quotas. Quota regulation, if needed, should preferably be restricted to non-selective fishing gear, like trawl and seine-nets, and should be based on the number of fishermen on board the vessel, rather than on registered tonnage or vessel length.

When it comes to organizational democracy, all decisions are made on the

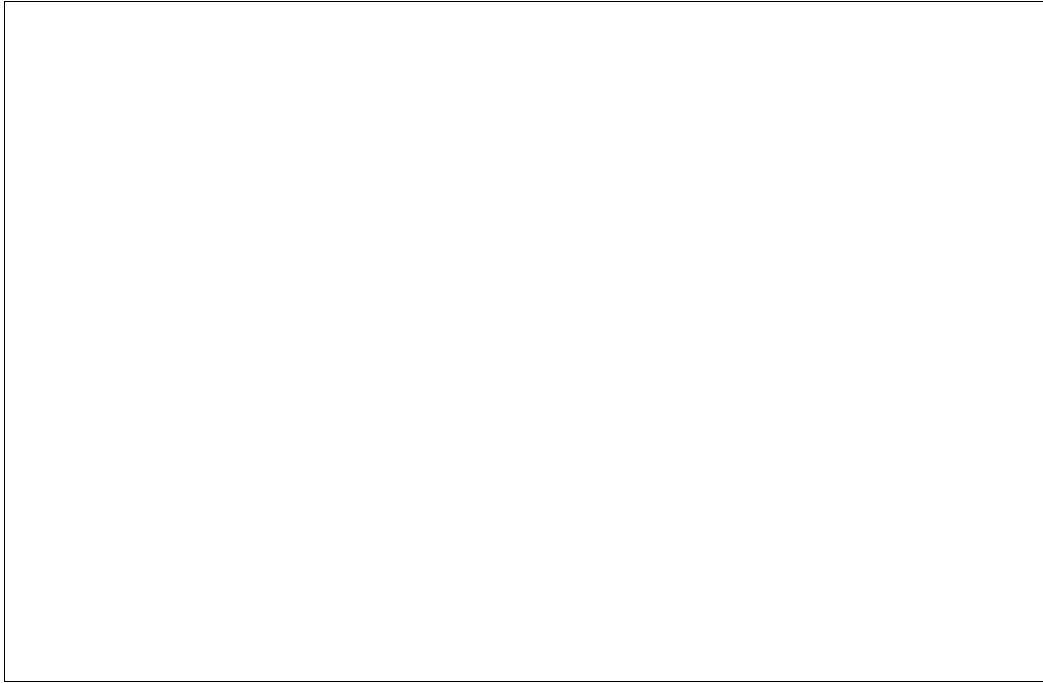
principle of one man-one vote. The membership base, although still smaller than that of the Fisherman's Association is as solid as a rock.

The fishermen's Association, having a glorious history to look back on as the champion of Norway's fisherfolk, is so troubled by internal conflicts that it has severe problems being credible spokespersons for anybody. This, of course, also affects its relationship with the public as well as with the fisheries administration. While earlier its representatives could be found sitting on every other chair around the table when matters of interest to the fisheries sector were discussed, there is now a growing frustration among the top-level representatives that their opinion is less valued than before.

Riddled by internal conflicts, a central objective of the Association's leaders has been to hold it together. In pursuit of that interest, they have gone a long way in not only accepting, but also applauding, the privatization of huge portions of the Norwegian marine resources in the hands of the corporate sector.

Conflict of interests

But, as these conflicts arise from basic and immanent collisions of interest between the coastal and the corporate fisheries sectors, the only way for the Association to rid itself of these conflicts is to throw the



corporate sector out. If the coastal fishermen left within the Association put in all their resources, they may still be able to do so. It is, however, more likely that the corporate owners will pull out, for the more pragmatic reason that they can put to better use their membership fees if these were all invested in their own owners association.

In any event, splitting the Association would not solve any of the basic conflicts between coastal and corporate fisheries in Norway. But it would bring the conflicts out in the open, where battles of opinion and interest, and questions of how national marine resources should be managed and distributed, rightfully belong. For the coastal fishermen who still retain their membership in the Association, it would mean that they need no longer see their views corrupted and hidden away as false compromises. And it would clear the path for once more building a united front among the coastal fishermen of Norway.



This article was written by Eirik Falch from the Coastal Fishermen's Union of Norway

Ecolabels

Sticky labels

Given the various contesting views expressed, the FAO's recent Technical Consultation on ecolabels may well have come unstuck

The FAO held a three-day Technical Consultation on the Feasibility of Developing Non-Discriminatory Technical Guidelines for Ecolabelling of Products from Marine Capture Fisheries from 21 to 23 October 1998. The Consultation was supported by the Nordic Council whose sponsorship was based "on the realisation that the present ecolabelling schemes in the fisheries sector do not fulfil the requirements of transparency and credibility, and, on a global level, this can only be achieved through a process through the FAO".

However, after three days of debate, such a process has still to get off the ground. Latin American countries, led by Mexico, argued that FAO has no competence in this area (ecolabels and other technical barriers to trade). Rather, this area must be dealt with exclusively under the auspices of the World Trade Organization (WTO).

At the root of this intransigency is Mexico's recent bitter conflict with the US over 'dolphin-friendly tuna'. Despite winning the battle in GATT, Mexico lost the tuna war which severely set back its tuna industry. This, and the subsequent experience with the Turtle Excluder Device (TED) issue, underpinned Mexico's strategy at this meeting. This seemed designed to prevent any discussion of the substantive issues around the development and application of ecolabelling schemes. They were supported by many of the delegates from developing countries, who felt that ecolabels would discriminate against their fisheries products, and wreck their precarious but highly valuable export markets.

Protagonists and observers alike at the FAO Consultation shared a certain

familiarity with the debate, and they all felt a certain inevitability about its outcome. For Johan Williams, Director General of the Norwegian Directorate of Fisheries, the sense of *deja vu* was coupled with acute chagrin. At the 1997 FAO Committee on Fisheries (COFI) meet, after a confused and vitriolic debate about ecolabels and the Marine Stewardship Council (MSC), the Norwegians had generously offered to host a workshop on ecolabels. This offer was strongly rejected. They must have, therefore, been highly disappointed to see this FAO initiative, funded by the Nordic Council, flounder.

For others working on the MSC, like the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) there was a feeling of wasted effort and wasted opportunity. In their view, the work undertaken over the last two years to establish the MSC, and their experience with the subsequent consultation process, are opportunities that the FAO could have benefited from.

This was not the view of the Nordic Council. In fact, it was the very founding of the MSC by Unilever and WWF that spurred this initiative. According to the Nordic Council's brochure, the MSC was "without support and contribution from all interested parties, and as such, (is regarded as) a process with a lack of transparency and thereby lacking credibility within both the fisheries sector and governments". Others also questioned how genuinely participatory the MSC consultation process had been.

Involving stakeholders

Genuine consultation should not merely involve informing stakeholders of an already devised scheme and the approval criteria. Stakeholders should also be involved in the process of establishing ecolabelling schemes and setting the

criteria they felt. Since 1996, the Nordic Council has, therefore, been researching the scope and for raising awareness about ecolabels for marine products.

According to the Nordic Council, “..the World Community has to be involved (with the development of ecolabels) in order to establish an alternative, transparent and democratic strategy on ecolabelling within the fisheries sector”. They targeted FAO “as the obvious international organization to undertake the necessary work related to ecolabelling of fish and fish products on a global level”. This view proved not to be shared by many others.

The Latin American position was based on the premise that there should be no obstacles to trade, and participants felt that ecolabels could represent a significant barrier. In this regard, they believe that ecolabelling should be the responsibility of the WTO, which has competence in this area, rather than FAO, and which leads the development of policy and guidelines on ecolabels and other technical barriers to trade. Latin American participants also felt that there could be a risk of duplicated and wasted effort if both organizations were to work on the same subject.

From FAO’s perspective, there was no such risk. In fact, the respective roles of the two organizations were complementary. The FAO, **with its specific competence in**

fisheries, and the WTO, with competence on trade-related matters, could usefully work together to develop guidelines for ecolabels.

There were many delegates who supported this view, and who felt that the FAO’s Code of Conduct for Responsible fisheries provided all the criteria required for developing technical guidelines for a universal ecolabelling scheme for products derived from marine capture fisheries. Other substantive issues discussed included:

Should guidelines for ecolabelling schemes be voluntary or binding? Generally, it was felt that as the Code of Conduct was voluntary in nature, guidelines for ecolabels should also be voluntary.

Norway observed that the whole purpose of ecolabels was to promote better production processes and to improve the environment. Ecolabels must be voluntary, and it would be up to the actors and stakeholders to decide whether or not to participate.

Universal standards

However, while participation should be entirely voluntary, there should be standards which were universally applicable. It should be up to the FAO to develop these standards. It was also felt that any efforts by FAC in this area should

How to do it

The FAO's Technical Consultation on the Feasibility of Developing Non-Discriminatory Technical Guidelines for Ecolabelling of Products from Marine Capture Fisheries came up with some guidelines:

There was unanimous agreement that if guidelines were to be developed for ecolabelling, then the criteria should be based on the FAO's Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries, and these should include all the relevant paragraphs of the Code. It also proposed the following principles for ecolabelling:

- They should be voluntary in nature.
- They should be on-discriminatory and ensure fair competition
- Promoters and certifying bodies of ecolabelling schemes should be accountable.
- There should be independent auditing and verification procedures.
- They should not disadvantage producers and exporters from developing countries.

- They must recognize the sovereign rights of States and adhere to all relevant laws and regulations.
- They should have safeguards in place to avoid the generation of perverse effects, such as the transfer of additional fishing capacity to already overexploited resources.
- They must ensure equivalence between certified products from different sources.
- They must be based on scientific principles.
- The criteria must be verifiable, measurable and able to be tracked from capture to consumer.
- They should be practical and feasible.
- They should meet consumers requirement for meaningful, reliable and adequate information.

take into account ongoing relevant work by other organizations. Also, in developing guidelines, the procedures adopted by the Codex Alimentarius Commission should be considered.

Should ecolabel certification apply to management processes or to the outcome of those processes? As consumers tend to be more concerned with the status of resources than with management processes, some delegates felt that greater emphasis should be placed on this aspect—a potentially good but failed management process was no use. However, given the need to protect the rights of small-scale fishers in such schemes, others felt that criteria must also be developed for responsible management. Criteria based on a product alone could discriminate against small-scale fisheries in developing countries, where issues of access and control over resources are key to sustaining small-scale fisheries. Sustainability can not be achieved by management alone: responsible

management must be promoted, but management must also achieve positive results. The development and application of criteria for fisheries management should, therefore, also incorporate a review process which monitors the results of its implementation.

Should ecolabelling have a purely scientific basis or should it incorporate socioeconomic criteria? This issue was hotly contested by several governments which felt that the inclusion of socioeconomic criteria might undermine national sovereignty. In their view, setting socioeconomic objectives for fisheries was a national responsibility, while the scientific basis for fisheries management was established by international law (UNCLOS, etc).

Costs and benefits

Who would bear the costs, and who would reap the benefits of ecolabelling schemes? There was a great deal of uncertainty as to whether the costs of ecolabelling schemes would just be

passed on to fishers, and would simply result in an increase in the transaction costs of fisheries, without leading to any net gains. There was also concern that ecolabelling schemes might hamper domestic food security.

Ecolabels could not be the primary instrument for achieving sustainable fisheries. Greater emphasis needed to be given to implementing the Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries.

Within the FAO itself there was a great deal of soul searching. Had the Consultation been a complete disaster, and what could be salvaged? In the process, the FAO Secretariat may have been wounded, but had “fought and run away, and would live to fight another day”. The effort put into the preparations for this meeting was apparent in the excellent quality of the background papers provided. This was widely noted and appreciated by delegates to the Consultation. However, no decision could be taken on the status of these papers. Some people felt that they could become ‘working papers’, but even this opinion was far from universal.

Within the FAO, there was also some doubt as to the status of any guidelines which might be developed. Would technical guidelines be subordinate to the Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries, or would they have some separate status? In any case, any technical guidelines must be consistent with, and not contradict, the Code of Conduct. Also, if the FAO did not take an initiative on ecolabels for fisheries, it was hard to see who else would. In any case, with or without the FAO ecolabelling schemes were bound to come up in the private sector.

Other unresolved issues included: how to address sustainability in multi-species resources through ecolabelling schemes; how ecolabelling schemes should define stock; and how to establish an institutional framework responsible for ecolabelling schemes.

Clearly, the way forward is not simple. A great deal of work remains to be done, if ecolabelling schemes are to become a tool of significant potential for sustaining fish stocks. The subject will be raised again at

the next FAO Committee on Fisheries meeting in February 1999. By then, it is possible that some new players with some alternative schemes may have emerged on to the scene. The International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources—The World Conservation Union (IUCN) is said to be considering developing ecolabels based on its existing Red and Green lists. Also, some German NGOs are developing criteria for social labelling in fisheries.

It is also interesting to note that two key people involved in establishing the MSC are changing their jobs. At the end of December, Carl-Christian Schmidt will return to the OECD, and his post as Manager is to be replaced by the new post of MSC Director. Also, WWF and the MSC will bid goodbye to Mike Sutton, the Director of WWF’s Endangered Seas Campaign and a leading protagonist in the MSC initiative. In this context, it may be pertinent to wonder whether this is a case of a sinking ship or of new hands at the tiller. Wherever the MSC goes, and whoever is at the tiller, the tremendous achievements of the project in raising awareness about ecolabels for fisheries products must be recognized and applauded—even by those who have criticised the process adopted.

Not the end

And whatever happens elsewhere, this is far from the end of the ecolabelling debate. Although the definitive glue has yet to be invented that will make ecolabels stick for good, there is no shortage of ideas on what should be put on them. **3**

This report was filed by Brian O’Riordan, Fisheries Adviser, Intermediate Technology Development Group, UK, and a member of ICSF

El Niño and La Niña

Blowing hot and cold

The terrible climatic twins—El Niño and La Niña—have periodically wreaked havoc on the Peruvian fishery

There is perhaps no other global phenomenon that has such a devastating local impact as El Niño, or ENSO (El Niño Southern Oscillation), as it is now increasingly known. The Southern Oscillation refers to the swings in atmospheric temperature and pressure between the Indian Ocean and the Eastern Pacific. After an El Niño, the system reverts back to 'normal', but, in the process, may overshoot. This brings abnormally cold waters off the coast of South America, and abnormally warm waters off Australia, Indonesia and the Philippines.

Such extreme changes have a pronounced impact on evaporation, which, in turn, changes where tropical storms occur, and this, in turn affects wind patterns more widely. El Niño suppresses tropical revolving storms (hurricanes and cyclones), while La Niña enhances them.

The 1997-98 ENSO has probably been the strongest of the century, and its impact over the last 18 months has been particularly severe. It has been blamed for drought and famine in Papua New Guinea and China; floods and land slides in Peru and Ecuador; parching in Indonesia and Australia; torrential rains in East Africa; and in flaming forest fires in Mexico and Florida.

Its impact in Indonesia became a factor in the overthrow of President Suharto, who was unable to deal with the combined impacts of economic, political and climatic crises. It has disrupted weather patterns and ocean currents worldwide, bringing death and destruction to hundreds of communities around the globe. Following in its footsteps, its chilling twin sister, La Niña, is currently being blamed for a debilitating drought

in Chile, floods in China and Bangladesh, and exceptionally strong hurricanes in the Atlantic.

According to popular folklore, it was Peruvian and Chilean fishermen in the 16th century who first coined the name 'El Niño'. They noticed that in some years, around Christmas time, the coastal waters became warmer, heralding the arrival of the Christ Child or El Niño in Spanish.

It is now known that the warming effects of El Niño extend far beyond the coastal waters off South America. This year's El Niño warmed waters stretching a quarter of the way round the world, from the coasts of Ecuador, Peru and Chile to a point North of Fiji.

While El Niño refers to a warming of the waters south of the equator off South America, La Niña refers to a cooling of these waters. La Niña is the 'saw' of El Niño's 'see': the flip side of the coin, or the volte-face of the Southern Oscillation.

As a rule, the trade winds in the tropical Pacific blow from east to west: from the west coast of South America to the eastern seaboard of Indonesia and adjacent areas. They set up a current which pushes warm surface waters away from South America towards South-east Asia.

Counter-current

An area of warm water is thus built up on the western edge of the Pacific (off Indonesia, Philippines and Australia), while a weak equatorial counter-current flowing from west to east helps to keep this in balance. The warm waters that accumulate in the south-west Pacific pump heat and moisture into the atmosphere, producing the monsoon rains which fall so prolifically in the South-east Asian region.

In El Niño years, the trade winds weaken, and the equatorial counter-current strengthens. Unrestrained by the trade winds, the warm waters built up on the western edge of the Pacific flow back towards South America, warming the coastal waters there.

This causes a dramatic change in local weather conditions, producing monsoon-like storms and heavy rains. In the Southeast Asian region, weather patterns are also disrupted. The cooling of the sea waters results in less moisture being pumped into the atmosphere. This causes a failure of the monsoon rains, bringing drought and famine to many areas.

In coastal Peru, floods may wash away roads, bridges and even entire villages, causing significant loss of life, limb and property. The Peru (or Humboldt) current is disrupted, and upwelling patterns off the coast of South America change.

As a result, fish stocks migrate south and into deeper waters, fish catches plummet and fish-eating birds die in thousands. Many believe that in 1972-73 the combined effects of overfishing and El Niño led to the collapse of the anchovy fishery. It subsequently took about 20 years for fish catches to reach pre-1970 levels. In theory, a strong counter-oscillation, or a Niña, should *enhance upwelling* and stimulate the fishery

production cycle. So the years after 1998-99—and failing another strong El Niño—could provide bumper harvests for the Latin American fishmeal industry.

Peru, the country which gave El Niño its name, is perhaps the most affected by this traumatic oscillation. According to the Peruvian National Weather and Hydrographic Service (SENAMHI) records, Peru has experienced El Niño phenomena in the following years: 1918, 1925-26, 1929, 1932, 1939, 1940, 1943, 1951, 1953, 1956-57, 1965, 1972-73, 1982-83, 1987, 1991-93 and 1997-98, Intensities are defined as 'weak', 'moderate', 'strong', and 'exceptional'.

Its arrival in Peru is heralded by an increase in sea and air temperatures in the coastal belt, torrential rain storms and flooding on the north coast, a lack of rain in the southern hills, a greater frequency of landslides on the western slopes of the Andes between 1000 m and 2800 m, and an increase in the flow rates of rivers entering the Pacific.

According to SENAMHI, the 1997-98 El Niño first appeared 40 miles off the southern coast of Peru, between Atico and Tacna in January 1997, through an inward movement of subtropical oceanic waters.

Temperature rise
These waters, moving in a northerly direction, increased the sea surface temperatures 20°C above average. From



El Niño: Opportunities and Threats

The perico or dorado (*Coryphaena* spp) is one species that has become particularly important during recent El Niños. A voracious predator with excellent white flesh and growing up to 1.5 m long, it prefers tropical waters with a minimum temperature of 24°C. It is widely dispersed throughout the surface equatorial waters of the tropical Pacific ocean, stretching some 6,000 miles (or 10,000 km) from the Gulf of Guayaquil (between Colombia and Ecuador) to the Tahitian islands.

Ever since its creation in 1970, the Ministry of Fisheries has kept records of the fresh-fish landings in each port. Its statistics for perico over the last 28 years show that it is usually caught only in the summer months, with catches of a relatively small size, averaging 35 tonnes per year. However, during times of El Niño, there is a marked difference. Thus during the exceptional El Niño which began in 1982 and ended in 1984, in just four months in 1983, recorded landings of perico reached 3,271 tonnes. In 1987, 3,718 tonnes were recorded. In 1992, 3,992 tonnes and in 1995, 6,598 tonnes. In January 1998, the Ministry of Fisheries recorded more than 2,340 tonnes passing through the wholesale fish markets in Lima. Estimated sales in February were around

4,300 tonnes, bringing the total for these two months to almost 7,000 tonnes. Taking into account the operational practices of the artisanal fishing sector, it is likely that, overall, more than 12,000 tonnes of perico were landed in the first two months of 1998.

The perico, like shark, sail fish, marlin and other tuna-like species, is generally found more than 25 nautical miles off the coast, in the zone between Pacasmayo in the north and Mollendo in the south. Vessels which fish these species belong to the artisanal deep-sea longline fishery. Fishing trips last at least eight days, and vessels must have an insulated fish-hold capable of carrying ice up to a third of their total carrying capacity.

In recent years, only a few specialized vessels have been able to profit from this fishery. In fact, the last census, undertaken in 1995, records that only 200 of a total of 6,258 artisanal vessels belonged to the high-seas longline fishery. Since May 1997 the perico fishery has grown steadily. Due to the continued presence of tropical and subtropical waters, perico has occurred along the length of the coast, and because it has been found within 10 miles of the coast, it has not required

March to July, tropical oceanic waters continued to flow in; causing sea temperature rises of 60°C in the north, 50°C in the central coastal area, and between 30°C and 40°C in the south. From August to September, the warm waters remained at the surface, maintaining a high temperature along the north and central coasts, which declined towards the south.

These climatic changes put the scientific institutions on full alert. They began to devote all their attention to recording them, and predicting whether they really heralded an El Niño, and, if so, what its intensity would be.

Subsequently, many predictions were made, but it is now widely agreed that the 1997-98 El Niño was one of the most severe this century. It was possibly even more severe than the exceptional 1982-83 El Niño, which is reported to have killed 300 people and left 1.15 million destitute in Peru alone.

The most devastating impacts of the current El Niño were recorded between December 1997 and March 1998. Some provisional figures put the death toll at around 300, with more than 16,000 injured, and with some 400 people missing. About 390,000 people have been left destitute, more than 13,100 homes wrecked, and 67,000 damaged. About 63,400 hectares of crops have been destroyed, and some 255,000 km of roads washed away. These figures do not include such indirect impacts as economic and production losses (from industry, agriculture, fishing, etc), and the impact on services (water, sewage, health, education, markets and transport). Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori has estimated that US\$800 million worth of damage has been done to his country. Others put the figure closer to US\$1.8 billion.

Hard hit

The Peruvian fisheries sector, more than any other sector, has been hit hard by El

fishing trips longer than one week. With prices paid rarely dropping below us\$1 per kg, there have been some powerful incentives for the artisanal fleet to convert to high-seas longline fishing. A boat of three tonnes, fishing no longer than three days at a time, can catch 2,000 kg of perico, providing gross earnings of 5,000 new soles (about us\$1,700-2000). This fetches an income of about 1,500 new soles (us\$500-700) for each owner-operator. Around 1,000 boats, some 20 percent of the fleet, have each invested at least us\$300 in equipping themselves with longlines and installing fish-holds, and headed out to sea.

However, on 15 January 1998, the Peruvian government enacted Ministerial Resolution 020-98-PE. This law allows the fleet of around 615 industrial purse-seines, which usually fish for sardine and anchovy during El Niño, to catch perico, bonito, marlin, sailfish and other species associated with this opportunistic fishery. Allowing the industrial fleet access to these resources completely undermines the management plans which have been developed for the fishery in recent months. It also conflicts with the main purpose of the new regulations which have been developed for the industrial fleet (Supreme Decree 008-97-PE, introduced in October 1997). After operating for more than two decades without effective

regulations, specific restrictions are now applied to the fleet. These place limits on hold and catch size, and restrict fishing licences to designated fish species.

Under the new law, and with a relatively small investment in a set of longlines and plastic iceboxes, large numbers of industrial vessels will now compete with small vessels with an average hold size of two tonnes.

The main objection to granting the industrial fleet access to this fishery is that, in the longer term, it can not support vessels which consume as much as 40 gallons of diesel per hour. Given the opportunistic nature of the fishery, and given the small shoals that these fish swim in, it will not be worthwhile for these boats to use longlines. They will, therefore, resort to using their purse-seines, and it will take only a few boats to greatly increase landings, causing prices to crash. The market, which, in February, had daily landings of 165 tonnes, will then be flooded. This will jeopardize the future of the newly converted artisanal fleet.

The introduction of this new law is a grave mistake. It will undermine the ability of artisanal fishermen to repay their loans and to meet their contractual obligations with FONDEPES, and the private banks. It must be withdrawn promptly.

Niño. Storms at sea disrupt fishing, while, on land, marketing and other services collapse, and access roads are destroyed.

Another striking effect of the El Niño phenomenon is the dramatic change in the fish species that become available. As a rule, all the usual species disappear, and are replaced by others more usually associated with tropical and subtropical waters.

The impact of these changes on the fisheries sector are clearly shown in the table overleaf, which compares the catches made in January 1997 with those made in January 1998.

In recent years, fisheries have been making an increasingly important contribution to the economy of Peru, representing about 3 per cent of GNP.

In 1995, Peru's fish catch was the second largest in the world next to China. However, catches of most of the

commercially important species have been severely reduced in recent months. According to one report, Peru's fish catch in the first half of the year totalled 1.23 million tonnes, more than 75 per cent down over the same period in 1997.

The fishmeal industry has been particularly hard hit. The resultant slump in production has contributed to a global scarcity which has sent prices of both raw material and processed fish rocketing. Worldwide, in 1998, catches of anchovies and jack mackerel destined for fishmeal production are expected to fall by 10 million tonnes—about 10 per cent of the global fish catch—due to the effects of El Niño. As a result of this, world fishmeal production for 1998 is projected to be two million tonnes less than in 1996-4.5 million tonnes, against 6.5 million tonnes.

Dramatic decline

As can be seen from the table, there has been a dramatic decline in catches of fish destined for indirect human consumption

Fish Catches in Peru
('000 tonnes)

	January 1997	January 1998	Decline (%)
1. Direct human consumption	84.6	44.7	-47.2
Canned fish	27.5	9.3	-66.2
Frozen fish	26.8	12.2	-54.5
Cured fish	4.2	2.4	-42.9
Fresh Fish	26.1	20.8	-20.3
2. Indirect human consumption (fishmeal)	913.4	30.4	-96.7
Anchovy	784.1	0.3	-100.0
Other species	129.3	30.1	-76.7
3. Total (1+2)	998.0	75.1	-92.5

(Source: Ministry of Fisheries)

(fishmeal), with January anchovy landings reduced substantially. Due to warmer sea temperatures and changes in upwelling, this species, together with the sardine, migrated in search of colder and upwelling waters, moving from north to south and into deep water.

According to Ministry of Fisheries (MoF) reports, landings during the first quarter of this year totalled 281,000 tonnes. Compared to the same period in 1997, this represents a fall of 82.7 per cent. This is mainly due to a reduction in anchovy and sardine catches.

The MoF set precautionary quotas on anchovy of two million tonnes for the period November 1997 to February 1998, although the fleet reportedly landed only 600,000 tonnes. The MoF predicts that in 1998 fishmeal exports should be around 1.4 million tonnes, a reduction of 30 per cent over 1997.

As far as landings of fish for direct human consumption are concerned, in the first quarter of this year, MoF recorded 130,200 tonnes, 50.6 per cent less than catches in the same period last year. Overall, the value of fish exports over the period January-March 1998 dropped by 75 per cent, from US\$429.5 million in 1997 to US\$107 million in 1998: In January this year, processing plants in the canning industry were paralysed when

production was cut by 66.2 per cent, due to the scarcity of sardine, horse mackerel and mackerel. Similarly, at the beginning of the year, production in the frozen fish industry was cut by 54.5 per cent. This was due to a major reduction in the landings of its main species, hake, due to the dispersion of fish shoals.

The artisanal fishery is a strategically important sector in Peru. It catches a large part of the fish destined for human consumption, and provides 80 per cent of the fish eaten nationally. It also makes a significant contribution to export earnings.

It consists of a fleet of 6,258 vessels, which provide 50,000 jobs. It supports 450,000 people, most of whom live in conditions of considerable poverty. The sector and the communities it supports have been particularly hard hit by the impact of El Niño.

Northern region

The northern region is traditionally where most of the artisanal catch is taken, and it is also here that 51 per cent of Peru's artisanal fishermen are based. Rough seas, torrential rains and the dispersion of the shoals of hake have not only made fishing operations difficult, but even when there was fish to sell, market access was impossible due to the destruction of roads and bridges.

Although some new species appeared, few people were able to take advantage of this because they did not have the right fishing gears. Also, artisanal fish landing centres were damaged by the force of the sea. In addition, due to torrential rains and electrical storms, and the severe flooding they caused, many homes were wrecked.

Although many of the traditional species like *pejerrey*, *cojinova*, etc. almost completely disappeared, some other species have appeared. One of these species is the *perico* or *dorado* (*Coryphena* sp.), and for some fishermen who modified their boats and adopted different fishing methods, this has proved a boon.

Perico catches have increased by over 200 per cent since last year, and this has partially helped to make up for the loss of income from other species. The best landings were recorded in January and March 1998, but because most boats were not prepared for high-seas fishing, there were few who could take advantage of this.

Catches of several other species have also greatly increased, compared to 1997. For example, catches of mackerel and octopus increased by 498.5 per cent and 234 per cent respectively.

Also, the warm waters of El Niño have favoured several high-value fish species (destined mainly for export markets), including prawn, lobster and other varieties of shellfish, notably scallops. In the central area, the in-migration of prawns has been of particular significance.

Overall, a social crisis has arisen in the sector due to lower earnings from reduced catches of traditional species, and due to the loss of possessions, such as houses.

Many artisanal fishermen have fallen behind in repaying the loans they took to improve their boats and fishing gears, and to purchase refrigerated trucks to market their catches directly.

Debts are mounting due to interest rates and other charges, and are becoming difficult to repay. Agents threatening to

seize their equipment are now appearing in many of the fishing communities.

Despite this, no state of emergency has been declared for the fisheries sector. Government support to the affected artisanal fishing communities has been limited mainly to the provision of food parcels.

But what most artisanal fishermen urgently need is that their loans be refinanced. In this way, they will be able both to meet their obligations to the loan companies, and to purchase new fishing gear to take advantage of high-value species like prawns, which are now found in abundance.

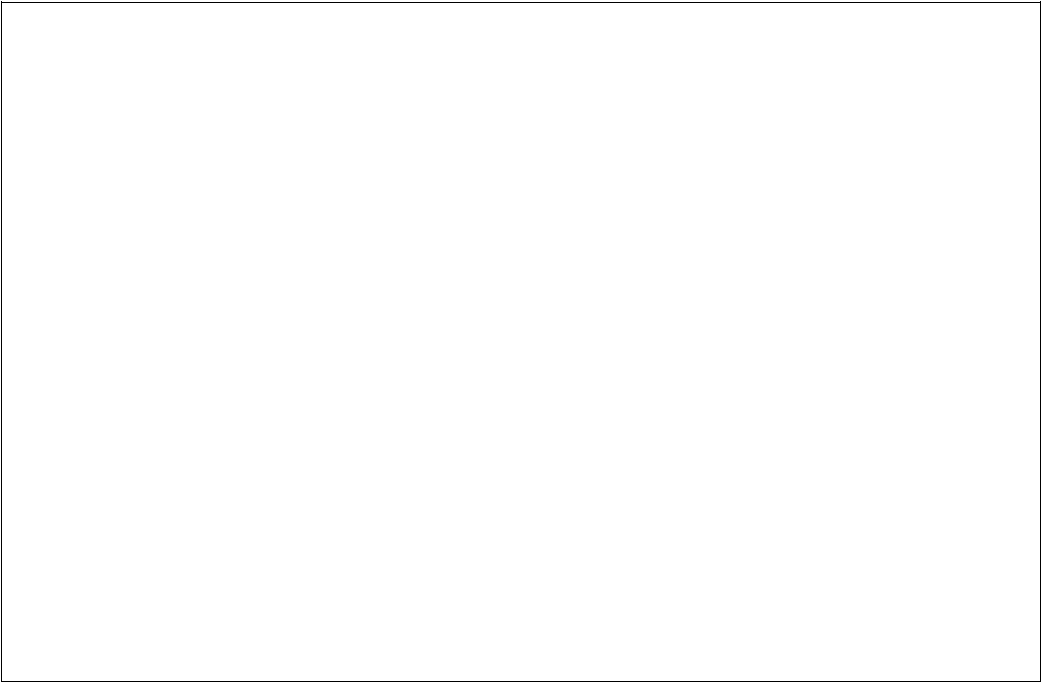
These problems, and many others, were the main focus of the IVth National Congress of Peruvian Artisanal Fishermen, organized in Callao between 28 April and 2 May 1998. As a result of this meeting, the Federation for Integrating and Uniting Peruvian Artisanal Fishermen (FIUPAP) initiated discussions with the authorities, requesting them to provide adequate and appropriate measures, such as the reconstruction and strengthening of the harbour infrastructure and rebuilding the main access roads.

There are several important lessons to be learnt from the 1997-98 El Niño. First of all, there is a need to greatly improve the accuracy of scientific forecasting techniques, and to establish effective early warning systems.

Secondly, there is a need for institutes of science and technology, universities, businesses, and local and national organizations to work together with the government in a more co-ordinated way, and to establish jointly an effective civil defence system. Thirdly, the reconstruction of damaged infrastructure networks needs to take into account that El Niño is a regular occurrence, forming part of the natural scheme of things.

Fresh evaluation

Now that climatic conditions are beginning to normalize, it is necessary to evaluate what has happened generally at a national level, and specifically in the fisheries sector. Of particular relevance to



the artisanal fisheries sector would be the design and provision of in-depth training and technical support services to enable the fishermen to adapt to changes and to learn how to live with nature. 3

This article was compiled by Brian O’Riordan from a number of sources. These include material prepared by Luz Pisua in Peru: articles in FIUPAP’s El Mundo de la Pesca Artesanal, No. 4, which focuses on the impact of El Niño, ITT Peru; Fishing News International and The Sacramento Bee, November 1997

Women can fish too

The role of women in Peru's artisanal fishing sector is often obscured by machismo and bureaucracy

The Lima-based Huayuna Institute has initiated a study to increase the understanding of the role of women in fisheries. This article describes some of the researchers' initial findings after visiting some *caletas* (fishing communities) in southern Peru. It provides a preliminary snapshot and commentary on the situation in the areas where the work is being developed.

Peru abounds with natural resource wealth. With a coastline of approximately 3000 km, it has one of the most productive fisheries in the world.

In 1994, the combined recorded landings of fish and shellfish amounted to 11,533,611 tonnes. In 1995, Peru recorded the second largest national fish landings worldwide, after China. However, as much as 90 per cent of the catch is composed of anchovy and sardine, destined for reduction to fishmeal.

The 1997-98 El Niño—the worst this century—had a major impact on Peru. The fisheries sector was particularly hard hit. With the main species declining or disappearing from the catches, the sector was beset by serious social problems.

Peru's population reached 24 million in 1997, half of whom were women. This means that there are 12 million women dispersed between the rural and urban sectors.

The most recent survey, in 1996, by the Peruvian Marine Institute, IMARPE, put the numbers of artisanal fishermen in the country at between 35,000 and 50,000 (including both owners and crew members) in marine fisheries and at 15,000 in riverine and inland fisheries. It is noteworthy that there are no statistics on the women who work in the different

segments of the artisanal fisheries sector. Historically, women have fulfilled a key role in the development of the sector, mainly in the processing and marketing of fish. However, in recent years, women are increasingly to be found in those areas more traditionally associated with men, such as fish capture and going to sea on boats.

There are many *caletas* distributed along the coast. In the south, the study focused on Pucusana, Tambo de Mora, San Andres and San Juan de Marcona. But it is in the north that the fishing population is concentrated—Tijmhes, Piura and Lambayeque account for 51 per cent of the total population, and it is here that the highest fish landings are recorded. It is also important to note that fishing activities are much more developed in the north, and, as a consequence, so is the work of women in their respective communities.

Pucusana is a fishing *caleta* about 70 km south of Lima. Although widely known as a tourist resort, tourism provides no advantages to the fishermen and their families who live there. Wealthy tourists push up the cost of living, and compared to other *caletas*, fishing families here receive hardly any social security benefits.

In Pucusana, there are women who do nothing else but clean fish in the artisanal landing centre. However, about 10 years ago, some women started going out fishing with their husbands, and many fishermen's wives and daughters have started fishing from an early age.

Worrying sight

On arrival at the local landing centre, we were greeted by a most worrying sight, which reflects what is happening along the entire Peruvian coastline. In the

aftermath of El Niño, most of the important fish species have not yet recovered to their historic levels and, because of this, most boats lie idle. Fishermen have to wait for the few boats to arrive, to help unload the catches or clean out the fish-holds. We also saw fishermen's wives competing for the same work as their husbands.

Maria, who married an artisanal fisherman after studying at the university, told us her story. They came to Pucusana eight years ago, and, for the last seven, she has worked alongside her husband to help raise their six children. Due to the difficult economic situation and the need to increase their family income, she decided to look for work. Of all the options open to her, she chose to go fishing with her husband. This has effectively doubled her workload.

Along with taking care of both the children and the household, she has to do the same jobs and work the same long hours as her husband—making nets, cleaning fish-holds, repairing boats, slicing up sharks, etc. She has to get up at 3 am. or 4 am., and does not get home until very late. Also, each day she goes fishing, she has to avoid being caught and fined for not having a fishing licence.

Although the men are totally convinced of the need for their wives to go out

fishing with them, women still face considerable difficulties in starting to work catching fish. The difficult economic situation and the problems which afflict that section of the population (alcoholism and drug addiction) make it difficult to find fit and reliable crew. All this makes fishermen keen to have their wives help them with their fishing activities.

Despite this, women still have to face up to the strong machismo widespread among artisanal fishermen. Women brave enough to venture out fishing or to do the work normally done by men are told: "This is men's work, go home and look after your children and do the cooking."

Initially, women find it very hard to enter into fishing. However, after they have been fishing for some time and have earned the respect of their fellows, they gradually gain acceptance and become considered as one of them.

In the past, the maritime authorities would not even consider giving women a licence to fish. Today, they say that they will certainly give licences to any woman who asks for one. Despite this, not one of the women working in fishing today in the *caleta* of Pucusana has a licence.

Women barred

Several years ago, in the *caleta* of Tambo Mora, women had tried to go out fishing with their husbands as part of the crew.

However, the local maritime authorities put a stop to this, and, in some cases, imposed fines on boatowners who had allowed their wives to go out fishing without a proper licence.

A fishing licence would allow women to join professional and social organizations of fishworkers, giving them the right to vote and speak. It would also enable them to gain access to training and formal education, which would enable them to carry out their activities more efficiently.

In the *caleta* of Tambo de Mora, 200 km south of Lima, there are many families who have been engaged for some time in processing saltfish. Fish curing is mainly carried out by fishermen's wives. It started many years ago when, at the end of the day, after the fish sales were over, there was always a large quantity left unsold. As there were no facilities for storing fish, it would spoil. It was, therefore, decided to start preserving fish by curing.

Fish processed by families in this way was used for their own consumption. The methods of washing, salting and sun-drying have been passed down through several generations. Over time, the technique has been improved, so much so that today it is not only the leftover fish that is processed and marketed, but also the fish freshly caught by the men in the family. This activity, which started as a way of conserving fish for family consumption, has gradually increased as women found new markets, which, in turn, has led to an increasing demand.

In this *caleta*, and in the others that were visited, marketing is actively carried out by a large proportion of fishermen's wives. It represents a significant activity for them. Women await the arrival of their husbands on the jetties, ready to start selling fresh fish straightaway. They also go to the local market to look for traders willing to buy from them. It is not only fishermen's wives who engage in this activity, but also their mothers and daughters. They also generate income from other activities, such as selling handicrafts, operating small shops and restaurants, etc. Employment in the processing plants found in various *caletas*

also provides women with an opportunity to earn a small salary (even if they are paid an unfair wage) and contribute to improving their family income.

In the artisanal fishing sector, the work of women in the processing and marketing segments is widely recognized. However, as far as fishing is concerned, women are still highly restricted, equally by the machismo which exists amongst their fellow fishers as by the maritime authorities who will not provide them with licences to fish.

With time and perseverance, the women can overcome this traditional machismo. But, in the short term, the issue of granting licences to women to fish alongside their husbands must be sorted out. Their right to work in any activity in the artisanal fishing sector should be respected. ♣

This article was written by Luz Pisua and Alicia Leonardo of The Lima-based Instituto Huayuna, and was translated into English by Brian O'Riordan of ITDG, UK

Fishing capacity

The globalization of overcapacity

ICSF's Submission to the FAO Consultation on the Management of Fishing Capacity, Shark Fisheries & Incidental Catch of Seabirds in Longline Fisheries

Overcapacity is a global problem affecting fisheries worldwide, leading to overfishing, economic waste and social disruption. It is also a problem that is becoming increasingly globalized through the export of the fisheries crisis.

International fisheries access agreements aimed at redeploying overcapacity fleets and securing fish supplies from stocks in other parts of the world have a direct impact on small-scale fisheries in many areas, particularly in West African and Latin American countries.

These impacts are threatening millions of fisheries-dependent livelihoods, and undermining the food security of entire regions. We would, therefore, propose that, in addition to biological and economic impacts, explicit mention be made about the impact of the overcapacity problem on the social conditions of many domestic fisheries and on domestic food security.

Large-scale vs Small-scale Fisheries

We are pleased that the draft International Instrument for the Management of Fishing Capacity proposes adopting a holistic approach as a basic principle (Principle iii, page 4). In this regard, we feel that a clear distinction needs to be made between how overcapacity manifests itself in the industrial, large-scale and small-scale fisheries.

The nature of certain resources, combined with geographic factors, implies that certain fisheries may perhaps be best exploited by industrial and other large-scale fleets. However, it is overcapacity of these fleets that is the cause of the greatest economic waste in world fisheries. As much as 70 to 80 per

cent of the total capital investment in fisheries is in these sectors. Furthermore, the unregulated use of non-selective fishing methods, such as bottom-trawling, by these sectors is the principal cause of negative impacts on the marine environment, fish stocks and on fishing communities.

Many small-scale fisheries are overfished because fish stocks are shared with industrial and large-scale fisheries, which take most out of the available resources. This is forcing segments of the small-scale fisheries sector to employ non-selective and destructive fishing methods.

By making fleet reductions in the industrial and large-scale sectors, governments can enhance the access to fisheries resources by the small-scale and artisanal sectors, which contain the greatest numbers of people. This would have the combined benefits of reducing overcapacity and economic waste, improving distributional justice, and ensuring a greater protection of marine habitats and resources.

Capacity reductions in the large-scale sector can only be made through a process which ensures that future actors are better off, and that those who leave this sector are properly compensated. Of particular note is that most decommissioning schemes compensate only the vessel owners, and do not address the problem of the loss of employment and income to crew members.

In this regard, support is required to enable former crew members to take up other employment. For example, this could be achieved, *inter alia*, either through providing grants for the small-scale sector, or helping them move from fisheries to non-fisheries activities.

At the same time, the State must prevent the re-entry of capital into the large-scale sector.

This latter aspect, *inter alia* underscores the importance of applying proper monitoring, control and surveillance (MCS) systems within national fisheries. With advancements in technology, it is becoming economically feasible to use vessel surveillance systems for controlling fishing operations in the industrial and large-scale sectors. Investment in such MCS systems for marine capture fisheries should be made a priority of all national development plans.

Capacity reductions and management of the world's distant-water fleets (DWFs) in national EEZs and on the high seas pose considerable problems. Such fleets are known to encroach into inshore coastal waters which contain the richest concentrations of fishery resources. In this process, they endanger life, damage the craft and gear of local small-scale fishers and cause overfishing. As the conservation and sustainable management of these and associated resources depends on the strict control of distant-water fishing fleets, stringent regulatory measures should be applied to international industrial and large-scale fishing fleets. In this regard, we fully endorse Principle vii (page 5), which advocates only allowing mobility where it does not negatively affect sustainability

and socioeconomic performances in other fisheries. The Flag State must also be made much more accountable to local regulatory bodies, and access should be made conditional on having in place modern vessel tracking systems, whose costs have steeply declined in recent years, and on the provision of catch and effort data, and other relevant information.

Medium-term and Long-term Objectives

We feel that in addition to the targets set for achieving an efficient, equitable and transparent control of global fishing capacity by 2005, more detailed medium-and long-term objectives need to be set. In the medium term, capacity reductions in the industrial and large-scale and capital-intensive fleets should be set, and modalities worked out for addressing capacity issues in small-scale and labour-intensive fleets in the longer term. However, it is important to ensure that capacity reductions in the large-scale sector do not lead to rapid reinvestment in the small-scale sector. This will require establishing criteria for limiting access, as pointed out in Paragraph 19 of the draft instrument. While the problems in the large-scale sector are mainly related to capacity, fisheries management problems in the small-scale sector are complex and contingent upon several social and economic factors. For example, very often small-scale fisheries are the employer of the last resort. It has to accommodate

spillovers from agricultural and other activities during floods, famines and other calamities. Unless these issues are addressed, the sustainable management of small-scale fisheries will remain an elusive goal. For these reasons, the capacity issues in small-scale fisheries can only be tackled in the longer term.

These medium—and longer—term objectives also need to be more fully reflected in the implementation programme.

Action to Be Implemented

Note needs to be taken of the fact that 90 to 95 per cent of world's fish resources fall within the 200-mile EEZs under national jurisdiction. We, therefore, feel that global plans have to be made for action to be taken by States at national and regional levels. Unless action is focused at this level, the opportunities for stakeholders to be involved in the decision-making and implementation process will be severely restricted. We believe that it is a fundamental right of fishworkers to have a say in the management of the living aquatic resources on which their livelihoods depend.

Subsidies

We feel that while the draft document (Paragraph 23, page 7) has correctly identified the negative role subsidies can play in increasing capacity, it does not

specifically refer to the significant availability of concessional credit facilities for industrial and large-scale fisheries. Not least for this reason, most of the subsidies accrue to these fisheries and, therefore, there is a clear connection between the removal of subsidies and the elimination of excess capacity in the large-scale, capital-intensive sectors. However, in the small-scale, labour-intensive sectors, subsidies often have an important social dimension. It may, therefore, be difficult to remove subsidies that have a bearing on overcapacity in the small-scale sector in the short and medium term without considerable social costs, particularly in countries with large fishery-dependent populations.

The document only talks about the reduction of subsidies. We feel that the application of certain subsidies, for example, for vessel decommissioning, re-training fishers to take up employment in other sectors or promoting more selective fishing practices (which do not aggravate overcapacity), could have positive benefits for reducing capacity. Therefore, one should talk of subsidies not only in connection with their removal but also in relation to them being re-targeted towards providing incentives for responsible fisheries. The blanket removal of subsidies would, therefore, be inconsistent with meeting the objectives of Paragraph 26 (under the implementation

programme). Financial assistance could be used to provide support to fishing communities and fishworkers in developing alternative sources of employment and livelihoods.

The need for a periodic review of subsidies also needs some mention. There should be some kind of a review mechanism for subsidies, particularly in those countries which are implementing subsidy removal programmes. This would document the extent to which the removal of subsidies actually contributes to capacity reductions and the reduction of overfishing.

Awareness Building and Education

The inclusion of awareness-raising in national and international capacity reduction programmes is also important. In this regard, we feel that it is important to document the positive impacts of capacity reductions (including the removal of subsidies) on fish stocks, and the economic and social condition of domestic fisheries and coastal communities.

Research Priorities

Appendix III of the draft instrument lists priorities for co-ordinated research on fisheries management methods and the management of fishing capacity. With respect to the small-scale sector, which presently provides by far the greatest employment in world fisheries, the management and eventual reduction of fishing capacity is inextricably linked to the creation of alternative job opportunities. Therefore, the analysis of the factors that can enhance the mobility of present and future generations of coastal fishing communities into other jobs is of utmost importance. These factors are likely to include improved education and vocational training, better status of women, improved access to social infrastructure and services including health, economic incentives for jobs, and overall coastal development.

This Submission was made by ICSF at the session on Elements of an International Instrument for the Management of Fishing Capacity of the FAO Consultation on the Management of Fishing Capacity, Shark Fisheries and Incidental Catch of Seabirds in Longline Fisheries, held in Rome between 26 and 30 October 1998.

A newcomer's appeal

At its first-ever participation in a meet of the FAO Committee for the Eastern Central Atlantic Fishery (CECAF), ICSF put forth its concerns

We would like to thank the FAO for allowing the ICSF to participate in this meeting, the 14th session of CECAF. It is the first time that our organization has attended such a meeting, and I would like to begin by giving a brief description of who we are.

The International Collective in Support of Fishworkers is an international NGO. It was founded in 1986 by a global network of community organizers, teachers, technicians, researchers and scientists working in close association with fishworkers' organizations. ICSF works mainly with, and in support of, fishworkers and their organizations, with a focus on small-scale and artisanal fisheries in the South.

Over the last eight years, ICSF has actively participated in a number of policy processes geared towards establishing the new international legal and policy framework in fisheries. This has included participation in the preparation of Chapter 17 of Agenda 21, the UN Agreement on the Conservation and Management of Straddling Fish Stocks and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks and the FAO Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries.

Since it was founded, ICSF has also been taking an active interest in West African fisheries. Our experience to date has convinced us that a regional approach to management, development and conservation is the most promising way to ensure the sustainability of fishery resources. In this regard, we feel that both formal and informal regional organizations have an important role to play in establishing such an approach.

We are, therefore, delighted to be able to participate here in this CECAF meeting.

We would like to take this opportunity to raise a number of issues which relate to the topics under discussion at this meeting.

1. We are very pleased that the FAO Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries has been included as a separate item on the agenda. ICSF was one of the few NGOs which took an active part in the processes which led to the production of this instrument, and we are keen to see that it is widely implemented. We feel that it is highly relevant to the sustainable management and development of fisheries in West Africa, where resource allocation issues, regulation of fishing effort, and sustainable development need to be afforded a high priority.

2. With regard to the establishment of fishing zones (under Item 4 of the agenda), we feel that Article 6.18 of the FAO Code of Conduct, which deals with the preferential access rights of the artisanal fisheries, is of particular relevance. The establishment of exclusive zones within the 12-mile territorial limits (as defined by UNCLOS) for artisanal fishing activities would go a long way in protecting fish stocks from destructive and non-selective industrial fishing practices, and would, at the same time, contribute to sustaining local fish supplies and food security.

3. We would like to express our concern over the recent Decree No. R561 of the Mauritanian government which establishes a closed season for the industrial pelagic fishery. While this initiative is to be welcomed as a serious conservation measure, we regret that vessels fishing under fishery access agreements are exempted from it. These vessels are the main protagonists of the industrial pelagic fishery in Mauritanian waters, and unless they are required to observe the closed season, its effectiveness

as a conservation measure will be severely diminished. Such a ruling also establishes a dangerous precedent for other fisheries.

4. We also feel that the emphasis given by this meeting to international and regional trade is highly important. However, we feel that it needs to be emphasized that in many countries, both the artisanal and industrial sectors target export species. In my own country, Senegal, the artisanal sector contributes more than 40 per cent of the fish destined for exports, and over 50 per cent of the needs of the fish processing industry. Thus, while the industrial fisheries may primarily target high-value industrial species for export in order to meet their high operating costs, the artisanal fleet has a more diversified capacity to supply fish to meet the needs of local, regional and international markets. In this regard, we feel that with appropriate infrastructure development, the artisanal sector would be well placed to provide the supplies of pelagic fish for sale in urban and upcountry areas (Item 7 on the agenda). As the artisanal sector is already providing large quantities of these species, and there is a long history of their involvement in supplying local markets, surely it would make more sense to invest in artisanal fisheries development than in new industrial fisheries.

5. In this regard, we would like to underscore the potential impact of non-tariff barriers (like health, hygiene

and sanitation restrictions) which, as highlighted recently by the FAO Subcommittee on Fish Trade, can be severe. In this context, we feel that the development of regional trade should be afforded a high priority, and fully endorse the proposal to harmonize rules and regulations governing trade. We feel that placing too great a dependency on international export markets outside the region would not be an appropriate strategy.

6. We also feel that the issue of international fishery access arrangements needs some careful consideration. At one level, the revenues obtained from foreign vessels fishing in African waters may generate foreign exchange earnings, but miss out on the benefits of adding value locally. With such arrangements, development possibilities are also restricted, where fisheries are essentially economic enclaves delinked from other sectors. We feel that greater emphasis needs to be placed on linking such fishery arrangements to other local economic sectors, for example, by insisting on local landing provisions and by channelling revenue earned from licensing arrangements directly into local fisheries development.

7. We share the concern over resources expressed in CECAF's Paper No 4: Fisheries Development issues and Trends. There would seem to be a great deal of evidence

to show that demersal stocks in West African waters are overfished, there is a need to restrict trawling activities in many areas.

8. We would also like to express concerns over the way that pelagic resources are being managed and exploited. They are particularly vulnerable to both natural and human influences. Subject to wide fluctuations in abundance, they are also under increasing levels of fishing pressure from local and international industrial fishing effort. Although comprising a number of species, they are often treated as a single stock for management purposes. Given the importance of these species in meeting nutritional needs in any CEEAF countries, we feel that the access of industrial fishing needs to be closely controlled, and that more sources need to be applied to understanding the population dynamics and migration patterns of the individual species which make up these pelagic stocks. In particular, the seasonal movement of these species across national boundaries, their spawning seasons and locations, and the impact of fishing effort on stock size needs to be studied.

9. We welcome the attention being given to issues of safety at sea. With the rapid development of artisanal fisheries, and the search for new fishing grounds further offshore, there is increasing loss of life due both to arduous sea conditions and the interactions between industrial and artisanal vessels. We feel that as well as addressing the symptoms of this problem (increasing support to search and rescue operations, etc.), there is also a need to have a clearer understanding of the underlying causes of increasing accident rates. This will shed further light on how to address this serious problem more comprehensively, particularly the dynamics of the often violent interactions among industrial, semi-industrial and artisanal fishing craft, gear and crew. 3

This Statement was submitted by Aliou Sall on behalf of ICSF to the 14th Session of the FAO Committee for the Eastern Central Atlantic Fishery at Nouakchott, Mauritania. 6-9 September 1998

Not everyone joins in

Fishery management systems do not work when some nations avoid signing international fishery treaties, as in the case of the tuna fishery

Thank you for sending me SAMUDRA Report No. 20 (May 1998). I have read with much interest the comment under the title of 'Shades of Trade' and the document titled 'Does Trade Always Make the Grade?'.

I fully agree with the comment that trade is not good in itself unless a proper management system is put into effect. I felt that this comment focuses on the problem from the viewpoint of disadvantaged coastal communities. However, I should like to call your attention to the fact that, in the case of tuna resources, there is another aspect to the problem caused by trade.

Tunas are the main marine fish species for international trade and some of them are currently overfished. In fact, tunas are managed by regional management organizations like the International Commission for the Conservation of Atlantic Tuna, under international treaties. But the problem is that there are some nations which do not become party to such treaties. Tuna fishing boats of such nations catch tunas freely, ignoring the international management measures, and export to major markets, such as Japan.

There are also some nations which do not become party to the international fisheries management treaties, so that their boats may catch tunas without observing international management measures and export to major markets. Their fishing activities obviously nullify the international efforts to conserve and manage tuna resources.

The Japanese government introduced the law to control imports of such tuna in 1996, but the law can not be implemented automatically, and lengthy procedures are required to actually control trade on

tunas and provide strict management measures for the status of the fishery to recover.

In the meantime, the pressure on Japan to accept free trade is very strong, although it is necessary to control trade when trade obviously has an adverse impact on the sound management of resources and is harmful to the sustainability of resources. I fully support the statements in your articles that studies need to be done to show the impact of trade on renewable resources and that it would be quite meaningless to leave fish to the dynamics of trade.

This letter came from Y. Harada, Staff Officer, International Division, Federation of Japan Tuna Fisheries Co-operative Associations

OYSTER WARS AND THE PUBLIC TRUST: PROPERTY, LAW AND ECOLOGY IN NEW JERSEY HISTORY by Bonnie McCay, University of Arizona Press, Tuscan, 1998, pp: xxxi + 246

Who owns tidal waters?

This book is an enlightening unravelling of the intricate web of legal institutions and the doctrine of public trust

This painstakingly researched book by anthropologist Bonnie McCay is about the fascinating realm of the evolution of law and the manner in which it is fashioned and utilized by individuals and social groups. It is a story of how New Jersey, once a major centre for oystering, lost that pride of place. The commonplace explanation for this unfortunate history puts population growth, industrialization, the technical and economic dimensions of microbiology, and sanitation high on the agenda. For McCay these are but proximate reasons. To her, the ultimate reasons revolve around a cultural problem about property and the moral dilemma, even in a market-driven economy, over the question of making nature a commodity.

The book is divided into five parts, each beginning with an introduction and composed of two or three chapters interspersed with legal cases to develop the argument of each part. The titles of the parts provide an insight into the basic structure of the book.

Part I is about Common, Private and States' Rights in New Jersey Oystering. It traces the early history from the 18th century. Part II is about The Public Trust Doctrine, which is the most important and far-reaching concept, central to the theme of the book. Part III is on the Local Customs and Enclosure of the Commons, which describes the manner in which the oystering commons was enclosed. Part IV is titled Riparian Rights and Oyster Wars and Part V brings us from Past to Present.

By examining court cases—mostly about the nature of rights to 'planting' oysters and clams or taking them 'in the

wild'—the study moves into the realms of legal anthropology, legal history and environmental law, as it relates to an understanding of the doctrine of public trust. This doctrine took shape in the 19th century, based on Roman law, natural law and English common law, but was a specifically American creation. Its interpretation was, however, not unproblematic. The analysis in the book clearly shows that this doctrine could be reinterpreted and contorted to favour privatization and also to support the idea that the State 'owns' and holds certain resources in trust for all its citizens to enjoy. Basically, the doctrine is an interesting cultural entity that has three 'meanings' which McCay tries to establish in the book: common-use rights; the notion of State ownership combined with an inalienability of public rights; and an expanded use of the doctrine for public advocacy and environmental law.

The distinctiveness of McCay's analysis is that it deals with the evolution of institutions not merely as a background to the main analysis but rather as the central dynamic theme. It provides a detailed perspective about how institutions are created, challenged, maintained and altered in human encounters and deliberations. All this happens not only by class conflict and long-drawn social processes alone, but by bold individual action at opportune moments as well.

Meaningful study

McCay's study breathes meaning into the current struggles of the small-scale fishworkers in developing countries as they say "No!" to the many ill-effects of the globalization process which is bent upon the privatization of the coastal waters, often with the sanction to the State.

As in India, the Philippines, Senegal and Chile, the variety of actions by fishworkers to protect the “blessing of their commons” illustrates how they have pushed the State to take seriously its role as the ultimate custodian of coastal resources which must be given in trust to labouring coastal communities to enjoy and safeguard as their property.

We have heard and read so much about common property rights in fisheries that we often fail to draw the distinction between common property which can effectively become the private property of a small group and common property which can truly become the property of the community as a whole.

In the context of a developing country, particularly from the point of view of the millions of labouring fishworkers in coastal marine fishing communities, it is this latter understanding of common property which needs to be stressed. Perhaps we need to “try the right” to establish its validity in the coastal waters.

Bonnie McCay’s efforts to unravel the specific reality of New Jersey thus give some general directions to the way fishworkers in developing countries can act to craft institutional arrangements to ensure a secure property right to the resources needed for their livelihood. Basically, this is a challenge to the State to use the autonomy of law to stand by the

poor and the powerless coastal commoners. At least in India, we have seen how the judiciary, an arm of the State, has ensured this by prioritizing fundamental rights: giving the right to livelihood (of coastal fishworkers) priority over the right of any citizen (to own fishing assets and fish) for *profit*.

It took me a while to get into’ the book. But once I situated its contents within the backdrop of my own reality, it revealed itself as immensely instructive. McCay’s ability to use delightful prose for complex issues of legal history only added to the satisfaction of my endeavour to understand who owns tidal waters in the US. For those who espouse the cause of fishworkers, reading McCay will be both invigorating and intellectually stimulating. 3

This review is by John Kurien, a member of ICSF and Associate Fellow, Centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum, India

News Round-up

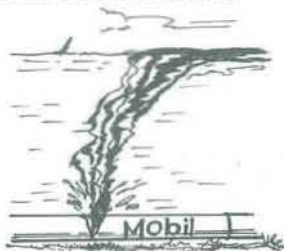
Mobil billed

Mobil, the US multinational which is now in talks with Exxon to grow into the world's biggest oil giant, is not everybody's hero. In Nigeria, thousands of claims for compensation have been flowing into Mobil for the environmental problems caused by a major oil spill at the company's offshore exploration rigs in Akwa Ibom State.

Mobil says that around 40,000 barrels of oil drifted west in an oil spill in January, after an underwater oil pipeline burst. The spill, about one-sixth of the notorious Exxon Valdez spill in Alaska, is the worst in Nigerian history.

Compensation claims began pouring in after Mobil offered to compensate all those affected by the spill.

One of them, Effiong Ikot, a fisherman and small business owner,



has demanded 490,000 naira (about US\$5,700) for the loss of fishing nets clogged by oil. Mobil, in response, has offered him US\$250, a sum he considers insulting. Mike Maru,

another fisherman in the village of Itafre, lost 350 bundles of nets and has claimed compensation of US\$3.4 million.

All claimants were expected to bring their nets to be inspected by Mobil officials and insurance agents. Once the inspection was over, the nets were burned. Many fishermen seeking compensation are angry with their nets being burned, since they find it difficult to survive in the absence of adequate compensation.

Illegally Japanese

Sometimes, fishing can be a pain. Recently, fishermen in Japan were found working illegally aboard vessels operating under flags of convenience to overfish Atlantic and Pacific tuna, outside international agreements regulating their harvest.

In mid-September, the Federation of Japan Tuna Fisheries Co-operative Association announced that 58 Japanese fishermen, including 39 who worked as captains or chiefs of fishing operations, had worked on vessels commonly registered in Central American countries, like Honduras, Belize and Panama.

Japanese authorities are not amused. As of January 1999, the Japanese Fishery Agency will ban

Japanese fishermen from working on ships under flags of convenience. It will require Japanese fishermen to get government approval before working aboard other foreign-registered tuna vessels. About 200 tuna vessels operate under flags of convenience. More than half of them are owned by Taiwanese companies, while most of the rest belong to South Korean companies.

Salmon escape

In what is believed to be a first-ever occurrence anywhere in the world, there has been a large escape of alien farm salmon, now invading the western coastal waters of Vancouver Island, Canada. In October, 20 Atlantic salmon of two different age groups were found in a river on the eastern side of Vancouver Island—a strong indication that escaped Atlantics had spawned there.

Over 40,000 Atlantic Salmon escaped from a farm in Esperanza Inlet in Nootka Sound, on the west coast of Vancouver Island. Scandic Sea Foods Ltd of Zeballos, British Columbia (B.C.) operates the fish farm from where they escaped.

"This is beginning to become a weekly occurrence," says Howard Breen, the Habitat Campaign Co-ordinator for the

Georgia Strait Alliance. "As the industry pummels the provincial government daily for not removing the fish farm expansion moratorium, their escaped fish threaten wild salmon," says Breen.

Over a million farm salmon have escaped on the B.C. coast since the inception of net-cage fish farms a decade ago. Environmentalists fear B.C. may soon have to systematically poison rivers to eradicate diseases or parasites from escaped Atlantic salmon.

The fish farm industry says that Atlantics will never gain a foothold in B.C. rivers, pointing at failed attempts at the turn of the century to deliberately colonize the Cowichan River with Atlantic eggs and fry.

But scientists fear that habitat changes, weakened wild stocks and large escapes of adult farm salmon have



changed the balance significantly in the rivers. This poses a real threat of colonization and disease transmission from escaped farm fish.

Rights booked

In the International Year of the Ocean, a new book seeks to examine how we can leave behind for future generations a more bountiful ocean full of fish. The book, *Property*

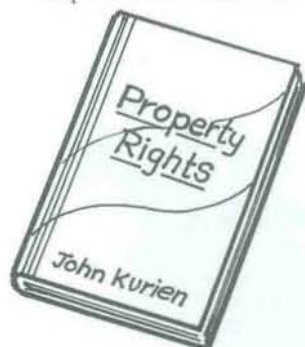
Rights, Management and Governance: Crafting an Institutional Framework for Global Marine Fisheries is the work of economist and social activist John Kurien, Associate Fellow at the Centre for Development Studies (CDS), Trivandrum, India.

The study looks at how the nature of property rights regimes affects the management and governance of natural resources.

Using the particular case of global marine fisheries, John Kurien analyzes the three most common regimes—private property, state property and common property. He introduces a fourth—the community property regime—for local management of property resources by ecosystem people.

The book is published jointly by CDS and the South Indian Federation of Fishermen Societies (SIFFS).

Copies can be obtained



from the Publications Officer, Centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum 695 011, Kerala, India (Fax: +91-471-447137. Email: krpcds15@giasmd01.vsnl.net.in [Attn: Publications Officer]) or from the South Indian Federation of Fishermen Societies at siffs@siffs.org.

Probe Forbes

A proposed US\$460 million investment by the American company Forbes in the offshore fisheries of Pakistan may not augur well, says the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF).

It has potentially damaging environmental and social impacts. Reportedly, the Government of Baluchistan Province believes that Pakistan's offshore fisheries can not tolerate the levels of fishing that would result from the project.

However, according to Arif Ayub, Pakistan's Permanent Representative to the FAO, the Government of Pakistan has kept in view the interest of small-scale fishermen as well as the sustainable use of fisheries resources.

The Government of Pakistan, says Ayub, is committed to the responsible management of fisheries and reaffirms its commitment to the FAO Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries.

World fishers...

21 November 1998 was designated as the first 'World Fisheries Day' by the World Forum of Fish Harvesters and Fish Workers (WFF).

The date marks the anniversary of WFF, which came into being on 21 November 1997 at an international meeting in New Delhi in which fishing representatives from 32 countries took part and resolved to stand together to save

the fishing communities worldwide.

President Bill Clinton of the US, formally proclaiming the World Fisheries Day, called upon US officials, fishery professionals, scientists and environmental experts to recognize the importance of conserving fisheries and protecting marine life.

US delegates to the World Forum have suggested that US fishermen celebrate this occasion by contributing a portion of their catch to food pantries or charitable organizations in their communities.

According to Thomas Kocherry, General Co-ordinator, WFF, the day was observed with



great fortitude and celebrations in various countries.

Net effect

Meanwhile, on the World Fisheries Day, a new network was launched by the Instituto Terramar (EarthSea Institute) in Fortaleza, Ceara, Brazil. Called RESFISHNET (International Network for Responsible Fisheries Management), its site on the World Wide Web (www.fortalnet.com.br/~fishnet) will feature examples from around the world of successful fisheries management experiences involving

community participation.

Asian talk

Earlier, on 11 and 12 November 1998, a workshop on Fisheries and Globalization was organized as part of the Forum on Land, Food Security and



Agriculture, organized during the Asia-Pacific People's Assembly (APPA), held between 10 and 15 November 1998.

The workshop was co-ordinated by two Philippines-based organizations, Pamalakaya (National Federation of Fisherfolk Organizations of the Philippines) and NACFAR (Nationwide Coalition of Fisherfolk for Aquatic Reform). It attracted participants from the Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand, South Africa and India.

Much of the discussion at the workshop focused on the impact of globalization processes on small-scale and artisanal fisheries in the Southeast Asian region. Participants felt that the livelihood base of small-scale and artisanal communities is being undermined by these processes. The workshop also acknowledged the vital role of women of fishing communities, especially in the Asian region, and the need to strengthen women's spaces in the fisheries.

The Fish Are All Sick

*The fish are all sick, the great whales dead,
The villages stranded in stone on the coast,
Ornamental, like pearls on the fringe of a coat.
Sea men, who knew what the ocean did,
Turned their low houses away from the surf.
But new men who come to be rural and safe
Add big glass views and begonia beds.
Water keeps to itself
White lip after lip
Curled to a close on the littered beach.
Something is sicker and blacker than fish.
And closing its grip, and closing its grip.*

Anne Stevenson

— From *Strictly Private: An Anthology of Poetry*,
chosen by Roger McGough



ICSF is an international NGO working on issues that concern fishworkers the world over. It is in status with the Economic and Social Council of the UN and is on ILO's Special List of Non-Governmental International Organizations. It also has Liaison Status with FAO. Registered in Geneva, ICSF has offices in Chennai, India and Brussels, Belgium. As a global network of community organizers, teachers, technicians, researchers and scientists, ICSF's activities encompass monitoring and research, exchange and training, campaigns and action, as well as communications. SAMUDRA REPORT invites contributions and responses. Correspondence should be addressed to the Chennai office.

The opinions and positions expressed in the articles are those of the authors concerned and do not necessarily represent the official views of ICSF.

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