

Treaty Past, Treaty Present: An Interdisciplinary Analysis of the Pacific Salmon
Treaty Through Examination of the Values, Culture and Political Structures that
Provide Definition

by

Paul L. Evans

A THESIS

Submitted to

Oregon State University

in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the
degree of

Master of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies

Presented November 14, 2000
Commencement June 2001

Master of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies thesis of Paul L. Evans presented on
November 14, 2000

APPROVED:

Major Professor, representing Political Science

Committee Member, representing Speech Communications

Committee Member, representing Political Science

Chair, Department of Political Science

Dean of Graduate School

I understand that my thesis will become part of the permanent collection of Oregon State University Libraries. My signature below authorizes release of my thesis to any reader upon request.

Paul L. Evans, Author

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Paul L. Evans for the degree of Master of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies in Political Science, Speech Communications, and Political Science presented on November 14, 2000. Title: Treaty Past, Treaty Present: An Interdisciplinary Analysis of the Pacific Salmon Treaty Through Examination of the Values, Culture and Political Structures that Provide Definition.

Abstract approved: _____
William M. Lunch

The Pacific Salmon Treaty was established by Canada and the United States to secure sustainability of salmon harvests within the Pacific Northwest. Renewed in June 1999, the treaty functions to legitimize and empower the Pacific Salmon Commission as the agent of fishery sustainability. The Pacific Salmon Commission serves as a bilateral recommendation-making body. Through its formal and informal communications, the commission suggests action and defines regional salmon policy. Over the past decade pressures related to overharvest, changing oceanic conditions, and an increasing demand for production have challenged the commission and the fishery as never before.

The Pacific Salmon Treaty was officially signed into existence in 1985. It was supposed to be re-ratified in 1992. This did not occur. From 1992 until 1999 numerous ratification processes were attempted, all but one failed. During this time tensions mounted and expressed frustrations nearly prompted overt violence. In August 1997 Canadian fishermen angered at the lack of a solution blockaded a U.S. passenger ferry thrusting the issue onto the world stage. In response to the

crisis Canada and the U.S. empowered a joint commission to find resolution.

While the resultant Strangway-Ruckelshaus Initiative proved to be a failure, its findings paved the way for eventual re-ratification.

The Pacific Salmon Treaty exists because salmon within the Pacific Northwest represent different but simultaneous values within rooted world view orientations. The respective political cultures of Canada and the U.S. have sustained administrative regimes consistent with their dominant understanding of salmon and its values. Divergent cultural expectations and shared economic pressures have sustained conflict over the fishery and led to political and economic uncertainty. The Pacific Salmon Treaty is a work in progress. Understanding the treaty's context, historical development and function is vital for the sustainability of the fishery.

The recent ratification of the Pacific Salmon Treaty represents an evolution in shared resource management. Based upon an "abundance-based management" regime the 1999 agreement provides the Pacific Salmon Commission with more discretionary capacity. However, the new pact may prove to be incomplete in form and function because of contradictory world view orientations. This research suggests that an emphasis on struggle management instead of conflict avoidance coupled with an enhanced bilateral commitment to the sustainability of the fishery may prove most helpful for the long-term outlook of the salmon. It also suggests that it is simply too early to tell whether this most recent attempt can or will "save the salmon."

©Copyright by Paul L. Evans
November 14, 2000
All Rights Reserved

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Over the past three years many people have helped me. To begin with, Dr. Bill Lunch, Dr. Robert Sahr, Dr. Mark Moore, Dr. Robert Iltis, Dr. William Robbins, Dr. Gregg Walker and Ms. Carmel Finley inspired my thinking through their courses and counsel. These professors challenged me to think critically and search for answers inside and outside the classroom. Ms. Nancy Wendt, Dr. Bill Keith, Dr. Trischa Goodnow, Dr. Celeste Walls, Dr. Barbara Loeb, Ms. Loril Chandler and Ms. Dixie Zimmer took the time to help me when they didn't have to. These people represent the best higher education has to offer. Without their help I never would have finished. I want to thank my graduate teaching assistant colleagues: Josie Woods, Michael Sugihara, Linda Miller, Rhonda Clemenhagen, Claire Warnicke and Chris Munson. Collectively they helped me learn how to teach and made the past three years as enjoyable as it was meaningful. Finally, I want to express my heartfelt appreciation for the reflective patience of Theresa Fitzgerald, the friendship of Thomas Thorson and Stephen Boyd, the guidance of Dr. Evan "Butch" and Julie Evans, the last minute "salvage operation" initiated by Bruce and Owanna Kay Madden, and most importantly for the continued and unquestioning support of my wife Karen Marie. I would not have finished without your encouragement, love and understanding.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
INTRODUCTION	
Central Questions of Analysis	2
New Agreement Overview	3
A Contextual Background	5
A Framework	7
CHAPTER ONE: SALMON & VALUE	
Salmon 101: The Basics	10
How People Developed Knowledge of Salmon	14
How We “Know” Salmon	15
Salmon as Resource	17
Salmon as Cultural Icon	26
Salmon as Religious/Mythic Symbol	28
Salmon as Endangered Species	30
Salmon as Problem	34
Chapter Summary	37

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

	<u>Page</u>
CHAPTER TWO: HISTORY OF A TREATY	
The Origin of the Debate (1800-1985)	40
The Origin of the Solution	47
The 1985 Pacific Salmon Treaty	49
Post-Treaty Years	61
The Search for Treaty Renewal	63
Forging a New Agreement	70
Chapter Summary	73
CHAPTER THREE: POLITICAL CULTURE	
A Foundation	78
Canadian – U.S. Political Culture	86
The Pacific Northwest(s)	95
A Comparative Assessment: Oregon, Canada, and the Origin of Culture	97
How Does Political Culture Relate to Salmon?	105
Governing the Balance of Interests	108
Chapter Summary	109

(Continued)

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

	<u>Page</u>
CHAPTER FOUR: A POLICY ASSESSMENT	
A Definition of “Treaty”	112
The Mechanics of the Pacific Salmon Treaty	121
The Pacific Salmon Commission	122
The Canadian Approach	126
The U.S. Approach	130
The Mission of the Pacific Salmon Commission	138
The Factors of Success	140
Conflict Defined, Struggle Assessed	137
Chapter Summary	149
CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS	
Simultaneous Values	151
A History of Crisis	152
Culture for Context	154
Cultural Product & Evolutionary Improvement	156
An Interdisciplinary Perspective	157
The Treaty We Need	158
Is Progress Possible?	159
Conclusion	161
BIBLIOGRAPHY	163

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure</u>	<u>Page</u>
1. The Policy Filter in Oregon	103
2. The PSC Recommendation Process	125

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>		<u>Page</u>
1.	Canadian – U.S. Cultural Inclinations	89
2.	Canadian – U.S. Institutional Orientations	90

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated in loving memory to my mother Chloe Lynn (Burns) Evans. Without her spirit this project would never have been attempted.