

devastating. In addition if uneven buildup of various band fleets goes unchecked the situation described for the Lummi could be replicated. Commonly conflicts within user groups emerge as a result of increased resource extraction. To use the Lummi example again, by 1985 the Lummi were capable of harvesting over half of the total Native allocation for the twenty-four tribes of western Washington State. This was the result of economic, political and environmental factors. Once the Native treaty share was allocated, there was no mechanism to equitably allocate the resource among the treaty tribes. The Lummis entered the fishery with large scale gear putting them at an advantage over the other tribes using smaller gear. In addition, the location of the Lummi tribe is such that they have access to the U.S. share of Fraser River sockeye and thereby take most of the Native share of the U.S. allocation under the Pacific Salmon Treaty (see Boxberger 1988 for a discussion of the effect of the Pacific Salmon Treaty on the Lummi fishery.) The treaty tribes of western Washington are restricted to fishing within their traditional use areas (called "usual and accustomed areas"). The usual and accustomed areas of the Lummi are ideally situated to intercept many of the runs of salmon entering Puget Sound as well as the Fraser River runs. The Fraser River system likewise presents an allocation problem, particularly for the up-river bands. Since Native fishing rights only extend to traditional use areas, those bands nearer the mouth of the river have first opportunity at harvest. With the build-up of the Native fleet the pressure to increase harvest has given an advantage to those down-river groups. To overcome the potential for inter-band conflicts it is essential that a mechanism for allocation be adopted before unequal build-up reaches a critical point. In western Washington allocation among the twenty-four treaty tribes is facilitated by the