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6	Uncertain seafood sustainability in a manufactured crisis
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20 Abstract

21 In 2025, the United States (U.S.) administration issued a new Executive Order (EO), 22 Restoring American Seafood Competitiveness, intensifying efforts to deregulate the seafood sector under the guise of promoting domestic industry. Building on the 2020 EO (Promoting 23 24 American Seafood Competitiveness and Economic Growth), this policy marks a significant 25 escalation in dismantling federal regulatory frameworks, weakening scientific authority, and 26 seemingly sidelining aquaculture development. This paper reflects on our first publication 27 assessing the 2020 EO during the COVID-19 pandemic and evaluates four major areas of 28 comparative concern: (1) regulatory dismantling rather than reform, (2) largely ignoring aquaculture from the national seafood strategy, (3) persistent and deepened data and research 29 30 infrastructure gaps, and (4) a continued mischaracterization and inconsistency of U.S. seafood 31 sourcing and trade realities. In contrast to science-informed management that enabled the 32 recovery of many U.S. wild stocks, the 2025 EO and other actions reduce the role of the National 33 Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, threatens legal mechanisms for agency expertise (via 34 Chevron deference repeal), and promotes ill-informed deregulatory timelines and actions (e.g., removal of marine protected areas). Aquaculture, the most regulated and underutilized sector, is 35 36 also overlooked, despite its actual potential to help meet domestic seafood demand. 37 Simultaneously, critical federal databases, climate-focused research, and inter-agency coordination mechanisms are being defunded or removed. Ultimately, weakening evidence-38 39 based governance structures and partnerships, as well as voluntarily inducing volatile trade dynamics jeopardize the ecological, economic, and food security benefits of a resilient seafood 40 41 system, putting America last instead of first. 2

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44	The new United States (U.S.) administration is upending agency structure and function,
45	regulations, and law itself, including when it comes to seafood. However, the new 2025
46	Executive Order (EO), Restoring American Seafood Competitiveness expands on a previous
47	Trump order from 2020: EO 13921, Promoting American Seafood Competitiveness and
48	Economic Growth. Both orders purport to strengthen the U.S. seafood industry, but the 2025
49	declaration outlines far more aggressive changes. Reflecting on our previous evaluation of U.S.
50	seafood disruption in 2020 [1], there are at least four major escalations worth highlighting:
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52	1) Regulatory dismantling instead of reform
53	2) Aquaculture overlooked
54	3) Data disconnect
55	4) Inconsistencies related to seafood consumption and sourcing
56	
57	Regulatory dismantling instead of reform
58	The 2020 order focused on streamlining existing regulations, while 2025 directs the
59	Secretary of Commerce to address overregulation within 30 days, mandating to suspend, revise,
60	or rescind "burdensome regulations" for wild capture fisheries, aquaculture, and processing.
61	Similar to the first order, it once again calls for improvements from Regional Fishery
62	Management Councils within 180 days. While aquaculture is the most regulated food sector in
63	the U.S. [2,3], wild capture fisheries have rebounded because of fisheries regulations, not in spite
64	of them [1] (Figure 1). Regardless of these facts, the abrupt and short timelines again
65	demonstrate the lack of understanding of the complex regulatory and agency structures that
66	ensure seafood is not only produced and distributed, but also safe for people and the
67	environment. One of the most stunning distinctions between the orders is that there is only one
68	mention of the National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS) – also known as National Oceanic and
69	Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) Fisheries, the operational arm of the Secretary of
70	Commerce established by Republican President Richard Nixon in 1970 and descended from the
71	Commission of Fish and Fisheries by Republican President Ulysses S. Grant in 1871 [4] – and
72	no mention of sustainability. This is in stark contrast to the 2020 order, which mentioned NOAA
73	and sustainability five times. The Magnuson-Stevens Fishery Conservation and Management Act
74	does not explicitly codify NOAA as the lead agency for fisheries, but Section 2 assigns

75 responsibility to the Secretary [5], who typically delegates the role and actions to NOAA. Note, 76 after Magnuson-Stevens was passed - which increased regulatory oversight and funding to 77 support the management of wild capture fisheries -landings significantly increased over time 78 (Figure 1). Nonetheless, omitting NOAA is likely not an oversight, but an active omission tied to 79 the dismantling of the agency and threatening the very fisheries they espouse to support. 80 The administration has executed a multi-pronged assault on the agency responsible for 81 federally managing the ca. 500 U.S. commercial fishery stocks. A proposed nearly two-billion-82 dollar budget cut and elimination of 1,300 NOAA employees (ca. 10% of the workforce), so far, 83 dismantles much of NOAA's research division, especially focused on climate change [6,7]. In 84 addition, a 2024 case concerning an Atlantic herring fishery, spurred the Supreme Court to 85 overturn the *Chevron deference* (est. 1984), significantly reducing the authority of federal agencies, including NOAA, to interpret statutes [8]. Previously, courts deferred to agencies with 86 87 appropriately staffed experts to interpret and act on the statues written by Congress. Now, courts have greater power to decide what statutes mean, likely leading to more, not less, litigation, 88 89 uncertainty and instability for domestic seafood and beyond [9]. The administration also has 90 goals to transfer NOAA Fisheries' responsibilities for endangered species and marine mammal protection to the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service under the Department of the Interior. Given the 91 92 ecosystem context of U.S. fisheries (e.g., lobster and whale entanglement [10]), this move will undermine NOAA's integrated approach to marine conservation and fisheries management. 93 94 The removal of ecosystem considerations and protection is a continued misstep of the 95 new and previous orders. The administration made a modified proclamation in 2020 to open the 96 Northeast Canyons and Seamounts Marine National Monument to fishing [11], with little 97 evidence for increased landings [1]. In fact, U.S. and global landings have been relatively stable 98 for approximately 40 years because of management and protections [12–14] (Figure 1). Yet, 99 doubling down, the executive branch is expanding a review of all marine national monuments 100 and made another proclamation opening the Pacific Islands Heritage Marine National Monument 101 [15], one of the largest marine protected areas in the world and first designated by Republican 102 President George W. Bush in 2009 [16]. These actions ignore the long-term spillover benefits 103 from protected areas to commercial [17] and recreational fisheries [18], as well as biodiversity 104 [19,20]. Moreover, what fishing has occurred in the Pacific Remote Islands in the past – U.S.

- 105 tuna purse seining and drifting longlining is such a small fraction effort[21], it will again do
- 106 little to address the scale of the production gap [1], especially compared to aquaculture potential.
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109 Figure 1. Total U.S. production of wild capture (*top panel*) and aquaculture (*bottom panel*) over

- 110 time (1950-2022), with major wild and farm legislation, respectively. The 2020 executive order
- 111 applies across both sectors. Note the decline in 2020 was likely the effect of COVID-19
- disruptions across the supply chain [22]. All data sourced from [14].
- 113 Aquaculture overlooked

114 The recent efforts largely focus on wild capture fisheries, while aquaculture takes a 115 backseat compared to the 2020 order. Aquaculture is only mentioned twice in the new order, 116 compared to 47 times five years ago. Granted, the 2020 order was not overturned under the 117 Biden administration, but the aquatic food sector with the most potential to *actually*, *sustainably*

118 increase seafood production in the U.S. was given little to no attention. The regulatory reviews 119 and dismantling will affect aquaculture, but 30 days is not sufficient to address the regulatory 120 web of U.S. aquaculture. Aquaculture is the most regulated food sector in the nation [2,3], with 121 rules and regulations spanning nearly every agency at the federal level because it extends across 122 land, freshwater and sea [23]. Moreover, the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) largely 123 oversees aquaculture, but it is unclear if the agency will suffer the same or similar budgetary and 124 employee fate as NOAA. As of April 2025, states with the most reported aquatic farms (e.g., 125 Louisiana) and sales (e.g., Washington) are largely not those with the largest USDA funding cuts 126 and freezes (Figure 2). Instead, the loss of funding will disproportionally affect smaller aquatic 127 farms, likely compounding effects with NOAA reductions.

128 The 2025 EO claims success in "enhance[ing] the competitiveness of United States 129 seafood, streamlined regulations, supported maritime jobs and coastal economies, and improved 130 *data collection*," little of that is evident on the ground. Three Aquaculture Opportunities Areas 131 (AOAs) have been identified by NOAA since the 2020 order (e.g., [24]) and the total number of 132 aquaculture farms and sales has increased by 18 and 26%, respectively, since 2018 [25]. 133 However, the five-year growth is modest, likely due in part to the fact EOs do not allocate 134 funding, a Congressionally held power. This is evidenced by the passing of the National 135 Aquaculture Act of 1980 under Democratic President Jimmy Carter, which set out to promote 136 and support the development of (mostly freshwater) aquaculture and coordination among federal 137 agencies, appearing to correspond with a substantial and rapid increase in freshwater aquaculture production shortly after (Figure 1). 138



Figure 2. State level cut or frozen USDA grants (*red*) and total reported aquaculture sales (*black point*) per state. Data from [26] and [25].

142 Presently, the bolstering of the aquaculture industry we have seen has come from 143 Congressional actions. For instance, federal grants from Democratic President Joe Biden's 2022 144 Inflation Reduction Act, which provided Alaska's \$49 million grant for the Alaska Mariculture 145 Cluster, accelerating seaweed and ovster aquaculture in the state [27]. Or the 2021 expansion of 146 USDA's federal Emergency Assistance for Livestock, Honeybees, and Farm-Raised Fish 147 Program (ELAP) made available to aquaculture producers [28]. But instead of financially 148 supporting aquatic farming, funding research and development, and maintaining reliable seafood 149 purchase programs, they are being frozen or eliminated [29]. And again, the loss of Chevron 150 deference has increased instability and uncertainty [9]. Perhaps aquaculture could principally 151 benefit from regulatory release - more so than wild capture - but science, management and 152 stable markets are components to actually benefit from fewer regulations [1], which are all under 153 attack by the current administration.

154 Data disconnect

155 Data are power. In 2020, data were not a central focus of the administration, which we highlighted in Froehlich et al. [1], suggesting targeted needs in wild fisheries and aquaculture. 156 157 Notably, the 2025 order does call for "*NMFS to incorporate less expensive and more reliable*" technologies and cooperative research programs into fishery assessments..." which could 158 159 include vessel video monitoring for compliance [30]. That said, there was no reference or 160 directive to address the need for the dearth of aquaculture data, which is likely underestimating the diversity, scale, and value of the sector [31]. Of note, NOAA is well positioned to support 161 162 and house better marine aquaculture through the Fisheries Information Networks (FINs). Yet, 163 counter to the suggestions and potential solutions to benefit wild and farm systems, numerous 164 NOAA databases and online resources are slated for decommissioning, including those focused 165 on climate change [32]; which they aim to defund and de-emphasize in role and research more 166 broadly [33]. Yet, fisheries and aquaculture are on the front lines of climate change because the 167 species we harvest and consume are largely poikilotherms—organisms that cannot regulate their 168 internal temperatures and thus are more affected by their surrounding environment [34]. Because 169 of fisheries data collection, expert stock assessment scientists, basic animal biology, and the

170 understanding that anthropogenic climate change is real, when ten billion highly valuable snow

171 crabs disappeared in 2018 in the Bering Sea of Alaska, temperature driving starvation was

172 relatively quickly identified as the culprit and the fishery could respond accordingly [35].

173 Without the data, expertise, and capacity to study and understand these systems we run the risk

174 of fishery collapses becoming more common and long lasting.

175 Inconsistencies related to seafood sourcing

Around two-thirds of seafood consumed in the U.S. is imported [36]. While substantially lower than the 90% import reliance stated in the EO, it still supports the fact that the U.S. has

become increasingly dependent on imported seafood [36]. The EO places heavy focus on

179 reducing the "seafood deficit," but includes several inconsistencies related to seafood sourcing.

The EO highlights eliminating illegal, unreported, and unregulated (IUU) fishing products 180 181 and products involving forced labor from supply chains as a priority and instructs the U.S. Trade 182 Representative to pursue negotiations or trade enforcement authority solutions. Simultaneously, the EO inaccurately states that the Seafood Import Monitoring Program (SIMP) was recently 183 184 expanded and suggests the expansion should be revised or rescinded even though SIMP and its proposed improvements focus on strengthening measures to eliminate IUU sourced products 185 186 from imports and to coordinate efforts across relevant agencies to address forced labor in supply 187 chains [37]. The EO also directs relevant agencies to improve thorough checks at ports to prevent 188 IUU sourced products from entering the U.S. markets and consider options to use improved 189 technology, which is aligned with the existing SIMP program and its proposed expansion [37]. Meanwhile, scaling back the coverage of SIMP creates more opportunities for products to enter 190 191 the U.S. under products not covered and the reduced data hampers efforts to improve risk 192 identification [38,39].

193 Next, treating seafood supply as a homogenous food item ignores the vast diversity of 194 species, production methods, and product forms, which cater to specific demand profiles and 195 price points [40]. The EO focuses on reducing the seafood trade deficit by replacing imported 196 seafood with increased consumption of U.S. production. However, in reality, U.S. imports are

197 dominated by farmed seafood which are not generally substituted by more expensive domestic 198 wild-caught seafood [36]. Indeed, the species the U.S. tends to produce in volume (e.g., catfish, 199 oysters) are not the species of highest demand domestically (e.g., salmon, shrimp, tuna) [41]. 200 While policy changes can increase growth of domestic aquaculture, providing greater federal 201 monetary support for expansion and diversification is essential - something USDA and NOAA 202 grant and loan programs have done and could expand [42,43]. These efforts also do little to 203 address the social resistance to aquaculture in the states as well, which we highlight in Froehlich 204 et al. 2021 [1]. If the U.S. is to expand its domestic seafood consumption going forward, policies 205 must acknowledge the diversity of species and production methods represented in U.S. consumption and funding will be critical to grow the national aquaculture sector. 206

In addition to the above-mentioned inconsistencies, the voluntarily induced trade war is an 207 208 extreme version of the administration's first term trade policies. The trade war is larger and more 209 sweeping than before, which will make both foreign seafood and U.S. landed but foreign-210 processed seafood more expensive for Americans, who already do not consume the 211 recommended level of seafood [44]. The administration initiated a baseline 10% tariff on all 212 trading partners, plus larger reciprocal tariffs on select countries [45], including China, which has escalated quickly to 145% [46]. China is a global leader in seafood production, consumption and 213 processing [14], and the top seafood exporter (by volume) to the U.S. While some fishermen 214 215 applaud the efforts (e.g., shrimpers in Louisiana) to potentially make local products price 216 competitive, the vast volume (ca. 90%) of shrimp is imported and cannot presently be met 217 domestically because the U.S. does not farm large quantities of shrimp [47]. In the absence of 218 strategic financial support to boost the infrastructure and management of our seafood systems, 219 instead of gutting them, these indiscriminate tariffs are likely to cost seafood consumers in the 220 states, potentially leading to higher consumption of less sustainable [48] and less healthy animal 221 source foods [49].

222 Conclusion

The 2020 and 2025 seafood EOs claim 'America first', but with the attacks and elimination of science, especially NOAA, overlooking financial support for aquaculture, and the manufactured trade crisis, the U.S. is at risk to come last in seafood and more [50]. While we

- reflect on our past study from 2020 focused on seafood, U.S. science and governance
- 227 collectively are in uncertain territory. No sector operates in isolation, no matter the seeming
- 228 potential benefits of a single EO. Larger endeavors to fundamentally diminish the partnership
- between government, industry, and academia some argue the backbone of the U.S. science and
- 230 innovation success [50] will likely undercut any intention of 'good' from a non-binding order.
- 231 Unfortunately, in fishery sciences we know what happens in the absence of science-informed,
- 232 responsive management: collapse, harming nature and the people who depend on those finite
- 233 resources [51,52].

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- 396