

have already mentioned a few significant differences between the north's boreal fir forests and the west's Douglas fir forests). Also, residents fear that the cutovers won't regenerate because they are aware of a serious regeneration problem in central Newfoundland, where the invasion of sheep laurel (*Kalmia*) and red maple (*Acer rubrum*) hinder recovery of cutovers. On the peninsula, however, we observe that regeneration is slow but little troubled by invading species.

The foresters, on the other hand, are "exceptionists." They emphasize the differences between the peninsula's forest and the rest of Newfoundland and Canada, and their management decisions reflect these differences. They point out, for example, that more silviculture is conducted in the north than in other areas, that the proportion of fir is higher, that the regeneration rates are slower but more sure, that the Crown rather than the company manages more of the forest, that fires are less likely, that more of the extraction is converted to lumber, and that domestic users' timber supply is (in most subdistricts) more secure.

Residents often refer to logging, especially clearcutting, as "deforestation"—erroneously, probably, but indicative of their values. Foresters refer to logging as "harvesting," also an inappropriate term for extraction of undomesticated and uncultivated trees, but indicative of their values. The foresters' views are strongly influenced by their training, and many were trained at the same few universities, so they share a worldview and values. The University of New Brunswick, which graduates the largest share of Newfoundland's foresters, places highest priority on a sustainable timber supply, and UNB graduates speak a language of tree farming. Their goal has been to create even-aged stands of a few species which grow to maximum diameter at breast height in the shortest time, when they are to be removed and the ground plowed ("scarified") and replanted. Like a crop, the stand may be thinned and treated with fertilizer, pesticides, and herbicides. Graduates of universities where integrated resource management has been stressed are still likely to mix language codes, combining the language of timber supply with that of ecosystem management. For example, in an article defending clearcutting, one forester uses the terms "harvesting" and "forest crop" when speaking of logging stands of timber. Systematic rotation of even-aged stands of middle-aged fir and spruce is his goal. In the same column, however, he uses the language of ecosystem with terms like "renewable resource," and "habitat, water quality, carbon storage, ecosystem function, and biodiversity" (Pilgrim 1994).

Foresters appear confident in their data from remote sensing and computer modeling of forest resources, and they do not question the assumptions made in calculating the AAC. These assumptions include the definition of any tree over 80 years old as "overmature," (Meades n.d.) the development of even-aged stands, and the goal of accelerated 60-year cycles of "harvest." Their AAC calculations do set aside the category of "class two" lands, which are forested lands excluded from the base of harvestable timber for alternative uses—preserves, cabins, wildlife, power lines, industrial development, etc.—but foresters resist placing land in that category because it becomes "unproductive." Thus, though they are now obliged to be multiple-use managers, their predilection remains to maximize the merchantable,