

their work without obtaining, or even applying or attempting to obtain, federal or state permits,” Whitman wrote to Kitzhaber on June 20, 2014. “I am told that on the order of 1,000 (yes, that’s right, one thousand) small dams/water retention structures have been constructed without state removal-fill permits. State and federal agencies report that the work is blocking fish passage (redband), as well as killing riparian vegetation.”

Kitzhaber wanted the state’s concerns about Campbell’s ranch resolved before the summit. “He wasn’t comfortable attending if the regulatory matter wasn’t resolved,” Whitman says in an email to *WW*.

The Department of State Lands got Campbell to agree to a nine-page consent decree, which detailed the unpermitted in-water work he’d been doing at Silvies Valley Ranch for more than a decade.

Campbell tells *WW* he hadn’t known he needed permits to do the work. He agreed by January 2016 to file a plan to fix any damage to waterways. Instead of facing civil penalties, Campbell agreed to make a payment of \$10,000 to the Common School Fund.

A Department of State Lands spokeswoman declined to comment on the agreement.

Even as he and the state were finalizing the consent agreement, Campbell copied Kitzhaber on emails that illustrated his frustration with regulators, such as the Oregon Department of Environmental Quality. “Seriously, getting rid of two or three mid level egomaniacs there would increase economic growth in eastern Oregon by ten

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**SPECIAL TREATMENT:** Campbell wouldn't be able to operate his ranch as a resort if then-Gov. John Kitzhaber had not signed a 2011 bill intended solely to give Silvies Valley Ranch an exemption under land-use rules. Kitzhaber professed his dislike for such bills, and then signed it anyway to help Campbell, a campaign contributor.

percent all by itself when folks realized you could actually get something approved,” Campbell wrote on July 19, 2014.

Campbell’s Frontier Summit proceeded as planned on June 22 and 23, 2014. Eighty invitees—including eight lawmakers, the heads of the Oregon Business Council and Oregon Business Association, and the first couple—dined on barbecued goat, roasted vegetables and whiskey. A rare thunderstorm ripped the desert sky, but Campbell had ordered a tent more than large enough to accommodate his guests.

Kitzhaber and Hayes flew in from the Hillsboro Airport on Campbell’s private plane to kick off the event.

“She spoke a lot longer than John did,” says one attendee who asked not to be identified. “He didn’t say much at all.”

Emails show Kitzhaber had to leave the two-day gathering early for a fundraiser in Los Angeles hosted by Dean Devlin, producer of the television series *Leverage*, which filmed in Portland from 2008 to 2012.

Kitzhaber’s emails don’t show much follow-up after the Frontier Summit, except for two messages: He asked a fundraising consultant how much money Campbell had given his re-election campaign so he could hit up another summit attendee, New Seasons Market co-founder Chuck Eggert, for the same amount. Eggert gave \$2,500.

Campbell sent Kitzhaber a few messages of support later in 2014, especially as questions about Hayes’ consulting work grew.

In December, Campbell sent Kitzhaber an email (one he tells *WW* he now regrets) in which he railed against state natural resources agencies and the Oregon Government Ethics Commission, which was beginning an inquiry into Kitzhaber and Hayes.

“They take microscopes to try to find some rule they can over interpret to make any good deed look bad,” Campbell wrote Dec. 13, 2014. “I hope the ethics commission got themselves defunded in your budget—they are not helping Oregon be better, but rather taking us back to the Stone Age!” *WW*

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