

Protecting the Columbia River Gorge (A)

Bowen Blair Jr., Executive Director of Friends of the Columbia Gorge, had just waited six hours to deliver testimony to several visiting members of the U.S. Senate's Subcommittee on Public Lands and Reserved Water of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee. He was anxious to make the 50-mile drive back to Portland by daylight and so he left the Skamania County Recreation Center through a side door and avoided the knot of participants that had gathered out front. There were certain people in particular that he did not care to encounter because it would mean a renewal of earlier discussions of the strategic differences that now divided the environmental groups working for federal legislation to protect the Columbia River Gorge. It was frustrating for him to recognize that the issue of protection no longer had just two sides, for and against, and that the Friends were spending as much time arguing with their alleged allies as with their opponents. Perhaps nothing is ever that simple, but as he drove from the parking lot and got his first unclouded view of the Gorge in weeks, it was hard for him to imagine how anyone who cared about protecting this natural and geologic marvel could let seemingly minor strategic differences get in the way.

In order to dispel growing perceptions that the environmental community could not agree on the basic provisions of Gorge legislation, a local environmental group, the Columbia Gorge Coalition, had recently circulated a letter addressed to Oregon Senator Mark Hatfield. The letter hoped to represent a united environmental community's position:

The conservation and environmental community has reached a conceptual consensus on some basic environmental protections that should be included in the Columbia Gorge legislation. Recently, there has been some confusion as to our position. We hope this helps to clarify our basic position.

Previous proposals, while containing some laudable provisions, have always failed to address two major [components which we propose be included in Columbia Gorge legislation:]

- 1) Protection for the major tributaries and canyons of the Columbia River Gorge and
- 2) Designation of the Columbia River Gorge as a unit of the National Park system.

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So far the letter had been signed by over 20 local and national environmental groups, but the signature line for Blair's group, Friends of the Gorge, was still blank. It had long been the position of the Friends that advocating Forest Service management of the Gorge (rather than Park Service) was an important concession to foes of Gorge legislation, and that tributary protection should remain beyond the scope of a Gorge bill. Therefore, while he did not disagree in principle with the position set out in the letter, Blair had some reservations about endorsing it. Tonight Blair had to make a recommendation to his Board of Directors whether or not the Friends should join the other groups in signing.

From Stevenson, on the Washington side of the Columbia River Gorge, Blair drove Route 14 a short distance west and took the ramp for the Bridge of the Gods. (A map of the Gorge is attached as Appendix A.) Named for an Indian legend which claims that a natural land bridge once spanned the river, this ordinary steel bridge hardly lives up to its appellation, but on a day like this, the surrounding scene certainly evoked otherworldly comparisons. Waterfalls on the north-sloped and more lush Oregon side had been replenished by the recent rains and the low sun struck a reddish glow into mists that drifted from the falling water. The drier forests and grasslands of the Washington side created patterns of green and brown on the less steep south-facing slope. But today Blair's appreciation for the scenery was overshadowed by his uneasiness about the letter. While Blair had hoped that the hearing would help clarify his thoughts and make his decision easier, the hours of testimony had only served to increase his confusion.

As he expected, many representatives of the Gorge's 41,000 residents had spoken out against federal legislation to protect the Gorge. They held that any outside intervention would jeopardize the economic well-being of the region and their rights as property owners. These residents had become a well-entrenched opposition, and Blair recognized that the Friends could not overcome this resistance without the help of other environmental groups. Blair was tempted by the opportunity to join in signing the letter, thinking this action could help create a strong alliance in the ongoing struggle to gain congressional support for Gorge legislation.

On the other hand, Blair had reservations because he believed the position presented in the letter was too extreme and could ultimately destroy the chance for passage of any legislation. He had personal concerns as well. The letter was written by the Columbia Gorge Coalition, the first local group formed to seek protection for the Gorge. While the Friends and the Coalition were ostensibly working toward the same goal, marked differences in their philosophy, especially regarding the need for compromise and conciliation, had resulted in an antagonistic relationship and a series of turf battles. Blair was concerned about the potential backlash from signing the letter and aligning themselves with the Coalition which was viewed as a more "radical" group. In fact, it had been the director of the Coalition that Blair had most hoped to avoid by exiting the side door of the recreation center this afternoon.

While Friends of the Gorge board members had very strong opinions, Blair was certain that they would give weight to his recommendation before

making a final decision on whether or not to sign the letter. He was also well aware that a strategic error at this point could result in a major setback for the Friends. It was now 1984, four years into their battle to save the Gorge.

#### Background: History of the Gorge

From Crown Point, 25 miles east of Portland, the Columbia River cuts an 85-mile canyon between the states of Oregon and Washington. The origin of the Gorge dates back several million years to the time when the volcanoes of the Cascade Range began to form, and the Columbia, then an inland sea, cut a course through the erupting mountains to find an outlet to the Pacific. As the mountains erupted and grew, the Columbia continued to carve its near sea level path, and though frequently dammed by lava flows, it kept pace with the rising Cascades. Later, great surges of water and debris caused by cataclysmic flooding at the end of the last Ice Age further deepened and widened the Columbia's path.

Because the Cascade Mountains block moist Pacific weather there are striking transitions in landscape and climate within the Gorge. The vegetation changes from lush coniferous forests in the west to pine-oak grasslands and then to sagebrush in the eastern high desert. While rainfall in the western forest might measure 75 inches a year, no more than 12 inches can be expected in the east. As a result of the varied climate and topography the Gorge is a naturalist's delight with over 800 native species of wildflowers and a wide variety of wildlife including peregrine falcons, bald eagles, elk, cougar, black bears and deer.

The Gorge has been continuously inhabited for over 11,000 years by native Americans whose culture and trade were based upon the rich harvests of salmon they took from the river. After the coming of Lewis and Clark in 1806, the Gorge became the major route for settlers traveling to the northwest, though the wild rapids and steep cliffs did not make this route an easy one. Early settlers were attracted to the Gorge by its riches of fish, timber, and beaver to be trapped for pelts. Salmon were so abundant that they were used by the wagonful as cheap fertilizer, but the most valuable resource was the thick forests of Douglas firs that were harvested to help build the growing settlements of the northwest.

The legendary salmon runs have declined drastically, largely due to the construction of federal hydropower dams, and the beaver have all but disappeared, but the Gorge's economy is still predominately resource-based, specifically timber, agriculture and related manufacturing such as lumber mills and fruit canneries. Tourism is a new and growing industry. In addition to spectacular scenery, the Gorge offers extensive recreational opportunities, including 300 miles of hiking trails, fishing, rockclimbing, boating, whitewater rafting on the Columbia's tributaries, and some of the best windsurfing in the world due to the high winds that are funnelled through the sea level pass. The Gorge is also a major east-west transportation route, with heavy barge traffic on the river, and a highway and railroad running along both shores.

## The Issue of Protection

Around the turn of the century, spurred by the national conservation movement and with an eye toward promoting tourism, Oregonians became interested in protecting the Gorge. In 1913, Simon Benson, a lumber baron from Portland, began to finance construction of the first all-weather road through the Gorge. President Theodore Roosevelt called the building of the Columbia Gorge Scenic Highway "the most remarkable road engineering in the United States, which, for scenic grandeur is not equalled anywhere."

In 1915 Benson bought Multnomah Falls, the highest and most spectacular falls in the Gorge, and deeded it to the city of Portland. Benson's action set an important precedent for Portland's social elite who continued to take an active and philanthropic interest in the Gorge. Also in 1915, the Portland business community, hoping to help promote tourism, encouraged the U.S. Forest Service to protect from logging 14,000 acres on the Oregon side of the Gorge. The Forest Service managed 14 percent of Gorge lands in Oregon and Washington as parts of the Mt. Hood and Gifford Pinchot National Forests respectively. Civic groups from Portland organized work crews to help build hiking trails. Over the years wealthy Portlanders continued to donate small parcels to public agencies for preservation, but these efforts, largely restricted to the Oregon side of the Gorge, were gradually overcome by the inevitable push toward development.

The first comprehensive study of the Gorge was conducted in 1937. Devoted mostly to planning efforts that would aid in the economic development of the region, the study did recognize the natural values of the Gorge and the damage that could result from development:

The important changes confronting the area at the present time through public works entail, in the near future, physical modifications which will be more extensive in effect than the combination of all that has previously occurred in the Columbia Gorge. This rapid acceleration of activity precipitates a crisis in the destiny of the area, in which the perishable natural values of a phenomenal region would, under ordinary circumstances, have no protection comparable in authority or scope to the various forces which endanger them.

The excitement over the completion in 1938 of the Bonneville Dam, the first of two federal hydropower projects in the Gorge, greatly overshadowed concerns about the potential harmful effects of development. However, by the early 1950's, extensive timber harvesting on the western edge of the Gorge prompted some Portlanders to again focus their attention on preservation efforts. In 1953, under pressure from these concerned citizens, the Oregon legislature created a state Columbia Gorge Commission. Washington followed Oregon's lead, creating their own commission six years later. The state commissions were charged with adopting a comprehensive plan for the Gorge with the goal of creating a bi-state recreation area. Though still in existence in the early 1980's, the commissions lacked the resources and authority to fulfill this mandate. As a former commission staff member

recalls, they had a limited ability to impose their management plans on local governments in the Gorge:

Initially the Commissions were very loose organizations which had little state funding, no office and no staff. [Later, staff was hired, but] the Commissions were only advisory. Local and state agencies were to give consideration to the guidelines they developed, but that was the extent of their authority.

The failure of past efforts to achieve a comprehensive policy for the Gorge is due in part to the great political diversity represented there. Over 50 governmental bodies have jurisdiction in the Gorge, including two states, six counties, seven port districts and nine incorporated cities. The pattern of land ownership increases the complexity as well. The federal government is the largest single land-owner with 20 percent of Gorge lands, two-thirds of which is administered by the U.S. Forest Service. Seventy-one percent of the Gorge is privately owned, and the distribution of these holdings between the two states is highly disproportionate. In Washington, 90 percent of the Gorge is private land, while in Oregon the figure drops to 30 percent. The states own nine percent of Gorge lands and, here again, these public holdings predominate on the Oregon side; within the Gorge there are 30 state parks, 26 in Oregon and four in Washington.

Washington has historically exhibited a more casual attitude toward the Gorge which can be partly attributed to its distance from Seattle, the major population center of the state. In Oregon, most of the Gorge is located in Multnomah County, the wealthiest, most populous and politically powerful county in the state. Portland, the largest city in Oregon, is only a 20 minute drive from the western edge of the Gorge. By contrast, Skamania County, which contains most of Washington's Gorge lands, is the least populous county in the state of Washington with the highest unemployment rate.

State land use policies also differ dramatically. For example, Oregon has a statewide comprehensive land use planning process in which all counties are required to adopt plans and zoning ordinances which must then be approved by the state and be consistent with its land use goals. Washington, on the other hand, does not require counties to have zoning ordinances, and views comprehensive land use plans as strictly advisory.

A final factor which complicates protection efforts is the dilemma posed by the existing development. The Gorge, crisscrossed by highways, railroads and powerlines, is far from pristine. It has 41,000 residents, most of whom rely on its resources for their livelihood. Seventy percent of the Gorge is covered by forests, 14 percent is rangeland, nine percent is incorporated urban areas, and seven percent is agricultural land.

## The Making of an Interest Group

In the late 1970's a new grassroots push for protection of the Gorge began to take hold. Chuck Williams is often credited with initiating this movement, or at least with marshalling a burgeoning opposition to development. Williams' interest in the Gorge grew from his strong personal ties with the area. His grandmother was a full-blooded Cascade Indian descended from the first inhabitants of the Gorge. His grandfather worked on the Scenic Highway, and his father helped build the Bonneville Dam. Williams was born in Oregon, but moved to California with his family when he was a child. An engineer by age 19, he "dropped out" at 25 and became a VISTA volunteer and active environmentalist. In 1975 Williams was hired as the national parks representative for Friends of the Earth.

Drawn by his family roots in the Gorge, Williams returned to Oregon in 1977. He moved into his grandmother's sheep shed on their family land in the Gorge and set to work writing a book about the national park system. He was sidetracked from this project, however, after wandering into a tourist bureau in one of the small Gorge towns. A flashy brochure caught his eye. On the cover was a glossy photograph of the Gorge. The caption read, "Industrial Sites Here?" Williams remembers his reaction:

I thought it was a Sierra Club brochure on the Gorge. But I opened it up and read: "Yes...Prime Industrial Sites in a Protected Environment for a Few Lucky Firms! When you drive through the Columbia River Gorge and the tributary Hood River Valley, you'll agree they provide one of nature's grandest settings. The thought of locating an industry in this scenic and highly livable area may never have occurred to you. Yet the port authorities of Hood River and Cascade Locks, Oregon, have made available some sites where a selected few industries can be established." (The text of the brochure is attached as Appendix B.)

Williams was appalled, and without looking too hard he soon found plans for development everywhere he turned: six dams proposed on the White Salmon River, a tributary of the Columbia, a zirconium plant trying to locate in Dallesport, plans to fill and industrialize the Steigerwald wetlands, and residential subdivisions proposed on productive agricultural lands.

Much to his relief Williams also found out that these threats were not going unnoticed. The Mid-Columbia Concerned Citizens had formed to fight the zirconium plant. Friends of the White Salmon were working to stop the dams, and groups of neighbors were joining together to protest the subdivisions. Many of these groups were successful in their fights, but Williams realized that something more than this piecemeal approach to fighting development was needed. "It became real obvious that we might win some big battles, but we were losing the war. We might block a major project here and there, but the Gorge was being developed and it was going to take federal legislation [to stop it]." Williams began to focus all his efforts on the Gorge, and, distracted from his writings on national parks, he began work on a book about the Columbia Gorge. Aside from his belief that it would serve to educate people about the Gorge, he had a notion that this book might be a useful fundraising tool later on.

Williams started meeting informally with the leaders of groups fighting Gorge development. Despite his connection to Friends of the Earth and his more national orientation, he felt strongly that the Gorge protection movement needed to be a local one:

I had been involved in many National Park fights in the country in the last 15 years, and they always turned into horrible pissing matches where it is the local people against the urban environmentalists. We didn't want to go through that. I knew we shouldn't. We purposely stayed local.

One of William's first recruits was Craig Collins. Collins was working as a backcountry ranger for the Forest Service in the Mt. Hood National Forest when he met Williams. One day, while Collins hammered up a sign along a trail, Williams approached and introduced himself. Collins remembers, "Before, I'd always taken the Gorge for granted. I saw there was a national forest, there were state parks, so I assumed everything was O.K. Chuck pointed out how unfinished the job was." Collins was soon persuaded to quit his job with the Forest Service to join Williams in a full time effort to organize an interest group to help expand efforts of existing groups and gain broader support for Gorge protection.

Though Collins' recruitment probably marked the birth of the Columbia Gorge Coalition, it was largely a "coalition" in name only and a great deal of time seemed to pass before area groups began to show interest in participating. Williams recalls how they went about gaining support for their cause:

It's something you build up slow. We started out with groups that were sympathetic to our cause. Then we started going to the Granges. As we went more public we started talking to bigger groups.... a lot of endless meetings, just meeting with people and talking up the issue.

While these efforts at education and recruitment were important and necessary, results were not always encouraging. Though they hoped to attract people from a wide range of orientations, it was mainly from existing anti-development groups in the Gorge that the Coalition drew its support. The Coalition had no office as yet and little to offer these somewhat disparate groups except the prospect of safety in numbers and a common ground from which to build an effective resistance.

In January of 1979, after a year-and-a-half of local organizing, Williams, along with David Brower, president of Friends of the Earth, wrote a letter to Secretary of the Interior Cecil Andrus urging the Park Service to undertake a study of the Gorge:

We feel strongly that [one of] the major legislative thrusts for the Park System in this Congress should be the enactment of a National Scenic Area Act. It should include at least three severely-threatened areas of overwhelming national significance:

Jackson Hole, Lake Tahoe and the Columbia Gorge.... The time has come to explore new ways to protect nationally significant scenic areas that are no longer natural enough to meet traditional criteria for national parklands.... The situation is reaching crisis stage in the Gorge (more industrial plants, roads, subdivisions and dams are planned) and immediate federal action is needed.

As a result of this request and additional pressure from Friends of the Earth, the Park Service initiated a nine month comprehensive study of the Gorge. The Park Service carried out its study under the provisions of P.L. 94-458 which directs the Secretary of Interior to "investigate, study, and continually monitor the welfare of areas whose resources exhibit qualities of national significance and which have potential for inclusion in the National Park System."

Williams anticipated local opposition to the Park Service study because, historically, many people in the area were suspicious of government interference. He recognized that whatever the outcome of this study the issue would be gaining visibility and that the time had come to muster and channel what local support was available. In May of 1979 William's group decided to incorporate. Due to distinctions in the tax status given to non-profit organizations according to their activities, two separate organizations were formed. One, the Columbia Gorge Coalition would be classified as a 501(c)(4) and, while not tax exempt, its lobbying efforts would be unrestricted. The second body, the Columbia Gorge Environmental Center would be directed by a separate board and provide educational programs. This organization would enjoy tax exempt status with a 501(c)(3) classification.

In the first major attempt to publicize their efforts, Williams and Collins developed a brochure and acquired mailing lists from sympathetic groups. The brochure explained the Coalition's proposal for protecting the Gorge by making it a National Scenic Area:

A National Scenic Area is a new approach to scenic preservation--a park with a minimum of public acquisition. The Columbia Gorge could have been a superlative national park the equal of Mt. Rainier, Crater Lake, or Yosemite, but is already too developed to make such protection practical. The proposed National Scenic Area, like Japanese and European national parks, would let appropriate uses continue under mixed public and private ownership. Critical lands and recreation would be protected, as would farms and fisheries.

The proposal called for the National Park Service to manage a core area, and for the formation of a joint local-state-federal commission to develop a management plan for the entire area.

The Coalition also used the brochure to advertise William's soon-to-be-completed book about the Gorge. Williams planned that advance sales of the book would help defray operating expenses of the Coalition.

While at the time this appeared to be a sound idea, Collins believes that this tactic may have done more harm than good: "The books were late, and there were a lot of disgruntled people.... The book was a tremendous burden. I was trying to keep the issue alive while Chuck was off working on the book." They did raise enough money, however, to open an office in Hood River and pay Collins and another staff person a subsistence salary. Collins has mixed memories of those times:

My salary was about \$350 a month. I was eating, living and breathing this stuff. We had an office in the basement of the First National Bank building in Hood River, but I would only get there once or twice a month. I lived at the other end of the Gorge an hour away. Nobody spent much time in the office. Somebody gave us an answering machine, but it didn't work with our phone system, so the phone went unanswered a lot.

Despite these internal difficulties, the Coalition was able to continue building support for their cause. Most of the Coalition's early efforts involved fighting brushfires. Every time there was a new clearcut or residential subdivision the organization put its efforts into focusing media attention on the proposed development. They also continued the less exciting but necessary work of meeting with local groups, listening to their concerns, and explaining why they believed the Gorge needed protection. Feeling as if they were making progress on the local level, Williams and Collins began to lobby Oregon and Washington legislators, none of whom had yet taken a position on federal protection for the Gorge. With the issue just heating up the legislators would be feeling out their positions, and the Coalition was determined to present a strong front.

Perhaps the biggest boost to their efforts was the completion of the Park Service Study. The 300 page study identified four alternatives for protecting the Gorge:

- 1) Continuation of existing policies in which there would be no change in land ownership and the state Gorge Commissions would continue as advisory groups.
- 2) Expansion of the role of the state Gorge Commissions to give the Commissions more resources and authority to implement a management program.
- 3) Establishment of a multigovernmental commission consisting of local, state and federal representatives to develop a comprehensive preservation plan.
- 4) Establishment of central federal management with one federal agency designated to manage the Gorge.

The study is viewed by many as the turning point in the fight to preserve the Gorge. The participation of the federal government helped give credibility to Gorge protection efforts, and the four alternatives suggested by the study would lay the foundation for all future discussions. The conclusions of the

study, while not making a specific recommendation, seemed to lean against maintaining the status quo:

The Columbia River Gorge is an area where natural and man-made forces have combined to create a visually distinctive, diverse, and dramatic landscape that prevails upon human perceptions in an appealing manner. These resources make the Gorge a nationally significant resource that warrants protection.

Meanwhile, however, with the increased demands of lobbying and of expanding their base of support, the Coalition was showing further signs of organizational wear and tear. Williams recalls, "We were having money-raising problems. I know as much about national parks as anyone alive, but I'm not a good fundraiser. I don't know rich people, and we just weren't doing a very good job fundraising." Additionally, despite the Coalition's membership of nearly 500, mechanisms were not in place to achieve anything resembling smooth operation. According to Collins:

The Coalition wasn't really getting going as an organization. We weren't attracting enough of a power base. There was no real volunteer network and the board was totally scattered [geographically]. We were able to make a lot of noise and get some good press attention, but we were not a viable group at all.

Because Williams was seen to be instrumental in bringing about the Park Service study he was often described by his supporters as a visionary. His detractors, though perhaps not willing to deny this, might have been quick to point out that being a visionary is not always coincident with being an effective organizer or strategist. He had strong ideas and would not always show himself willing to compromise. By his own admission he was at times abrasive and extremist. This was, he felt, what was necessary to achieve the best possible solution for protecting the Gorge. He felt a growing tie and duty to the Gorge that could not be explained away as a desire for personal triumph. He recalls how, during a full moon, he liked to climb up Beacon Rock, a huge monolith on the Washington side of the river, and imagine how the Gorge might have looked a hundred or a thousand years ago. "I dream about the day, not too far off, when I and the other residents of the Gorge who worship the beauty and history surrounding us can again relax and not be tormented by daily assaults on our home."

In November, 1980, Ronald Reagan was elected president. In light of the new administration's views on the environment and the Coalition's financial and organizational difficulties, the prospect for securing federal legislation to protect the Gorge seemed increasingly dim.

#### A Second Group Enters the Fray

In 1980 Don Clark was the Chairman of the Multnomah County Board of Commissioners, the highest elected position in Oregon's most politically powerful county. He was a liberal Democrat and long a prominent civic leader. Clark knew of Williams' efforts and had long been concerned about

development in the Gorge (his own forebears had passed through in covered wagons). His interest in the issue was heightened in the fall of 1980 when he learned that George Rizer, a Washington resident of the Gorge, had requested approval to subdivide 65 acres that he owned in Skamania County, directly across from Multnomah Falls. As a county without zoning regulations and generally known to be unopposed to development, Skamania County approved Rizer's request to divide the land into 24 homesites. Multnomah Falls is considered by many to be the gem of the Columbia Gorge and it would be the rare Portlander who would fail to react with outrage at the thought of a housing development across the river from the Falls. This was a turning point for Clark. He recalls having a sudden recognition that "Rizer's development was symptomatic. It was the leak in the dike. I saw how this could be the generation that lost the Gorge, and I didn't want to be known as part of that generation."

Clark was quick to act. He fired off angry letters to the Skamania County Planning Commission which responded by telling him to mind his own business. He wrote to Secretary of the Interior Cecil Andrus and requested federal intervention, and finally filed a lawsuit against the county to force them to reverse their decision.

Clark talked to friends, too. As Multnomah County Sheriff he had once joined with then Governor Mark Hatfield to prevent the State Department of Transportation from replacing the old stonework along the Columbia Gorge Scenic Highway with modern steel guardrails. Knowing something of where Hatfield's sympathies lay, Clark approached the senior senator from Oregon about protection of the Gorge. Hatfield was in a position to be very influential in securing federal legislation, but he told Clark that while he realized this was necessary, he was not ready to go out on a limb. He promised that if Clark could put together a public interest group that included constituencies from Oregon and Washington when the time came he would guide the legislation through Congress.

Senator Hatfield had presented a challenge, and Clark set out to meet it. Clark realized that the Gorge was a cause that could attract constituencies that were not usually pro-environment. The Portland social elite, beginning with Simon Benson, had always shown an interest in preserving the magnificent scenery of the Gorge, so Clark decided to build his group with the support of wealthy and powerful Portlanders. With this in mind he contacted Nancy Russell, a Republican and the wife of a prominent Portland attorney. Clark had learned of Russell's interest in the Gorge through a mutual friend. Russell was an active member of the Portland Garden Club and very knowledgeable about the wildflowers of the Gorge. As chairperson of the Club's Conservation Committee, she was concerned about any development in the Gorge that might threaten rare native plants. Clark, a Democrat, saw how Russell was poised to act as the perfect link between conservation interests and the conservative Portland elite.

Russell was shocked when Clark suggested that she take the lead in organizing a public interest group, but the idea appealed to her:

I thought about it awhile, and if I knew how hard it was going to be I would have said no. I was too naive to know how hard it would be to move two states to the point of federal legislation, particularly under a Republican President. I had never been in politics, but Don Clark thought I would have a better chance, being a Republican, to pull it off.

Clark and Russell recruited Dave Cannard and Mitch Bower, businessmen from Vancouver, Washington, and asked them to serve as Washington representatives on a steering committee for a new group. Craig Collins from the Coalition was invited to serve as an Oregon representative along with Russell. Clark knew that Collins' experience and knowledge of the Gorge would help bring the rest of the group up to speed on the issue. These five comprised the steering committee of the new-fledged Friends of the Columbia Gorge.

During the first months Russell remembers endless hours on the phone:

Don had a list of people, and I had a list of people, and we called them to ask for their support. Most of them said you can use my name but I'm not going to give you any money, but still the names alone were important to us because they showed we had a respectable base of support. We couldn't expect to get the resources until we appeared to be a bona-fide organization.

In the spring of 1981, the Friends held a news conference to make a formal announcement of the creation of their new group. The conference was held at the Portland Garden Club in the city's exclusive west hills. Present were some of Oregon and Washington's most influential citizens, many of whom were not known for taking pro-environment positions. There were also many who had been involved in the Gorge issue before. As one observer noted:

The Gorge was an old issue in Oregon. When Don Clark jumped in it was really just a reawakening of that old Portland gang that had been working on and off for years. But this was the first time they jumped the river to include Washington in their effort.

It was an auspicious debut, and, if Clark cannot be credited with inventing the notion of federal protection for the Gorge, it is still mostly to Clark that this "old Portland gang" owed its reawakening. As the Seattle Times noted:

Clark's entry into the fray legitimized the movement, gave it steam and clout. In only six months the Friends of the Columbia Gorge has collected an impressive array of supporters--former Oregon governors Tom McCall and Bob Straub, former WA Governor Dan Evans, and chairman of the Board of Weyerhaeuser Co., among others.

Clark's stewardship provided inestimable benefits to the daily upkeep of the movement as well. The difficulties of fundraising and organizing were greatly eased by Clark's willingness to place the offices of the Multnomah County Commission at the group's disposal. Nancy Russell explains that they, in effect, had local government behind the effort "in the form of Don

Clark. We used the County Attorney, we used the County public relations man to write articles, and we operated out of the basement of the courthouse." Craig Collins is more ecstatic in his recollections:

Suddenly we had all the resources of the County Commissioners. We had word processors and people running around doing errands for us and making phone calls. This was really terrific. In the space of a month or two we got a tremendous amount done. Things were really going somewhere.

For Clark this fight to preserve the Gorge was perhaps more than just an expression of his sense of civic duty. He had his eye on the Oregon gubernatorial race in 1982, and insiders say he planned to use the Gorge issue as a springboard for his campaign. Whatever his reasons, in a matter of months he had advanced this cause to within striking distance of federal legislation.

#### Turf Battles

Though Chuck Williams had not been invited to serve on the steering committee of the Friends, it had been Clark's expectation that Collins' participation would not only mollify Williams but would bring the Friends and the Coalition into a satisfactory relationship. If Clark and Russell were not enthusiastic about working with Williams directly, they did have respect for the work done thus far and had no desire to make enemies or put the Coalition out of business. They did expect, however, that soon the influence of the Coalition might be superceded by the vaster resources of the Friends, and that a friendly merger of the groups would be to everyone's advantage.

Meanwhile, back in the Gorge, Collins, who shared that opinion, raised the suggestion of a merger to the Coalition board. Williams disagreed, contending that the Coalition was a Gorge-based, grass-roots organization that should not be given over to "outsiders". Williams predicted that because of the Friends' entry, the fight to protect the Gorge would soon be cast as "rich urban environmentalists" against the defenseless locals. Because Gorge residents opposed to protection efforts have historically used xenophobia to push their causes, Williams reasoned that uniting with the Friends would play into the hands of the opposition. He also held that a merger would weaken the Coalition's affiliations in the Gorge.

Still, disagreement was rife among Coalition board members. Several saw redundancy in two organizations with such similar focus. They saw only benefit in having access to greater resources and they thought that bringing the two groups together would further strengthen the movement. In April 1981, the Coalition board met to take a formal vote on the merger. The majority voted to maintain a separate organization, but those who voted to merge, including Collins, felt it necessary to resign.

As the groups began to diverge, the differences in approach became more clearly delineated. The Friends were not only geographically more broad in their mission, but they had what they believed to be a more sophisticated

view of how public opinion drives the political process. Russell, a strong proponent of the Friends' educational programs, including organized hikes and bus tours of the Gorge, felt that most people have misconceptions about politicians and the issues they choose to support:

Citizens have the wrong idea of what comes first, the chicken or the egg. They don't realize that it is people thinking things are good ideas that makes politicians go along. They see politicians as generating ideas, but politicians just respond. Unless you develop support from the people, politicians won't take an interest.

The Friends' early efforts were based on a plan developed by a large Portland public relations firm which donated its services, then worked on retainer for a small monthly fee. As Russell explains, their main strategy was to increase the visibility of the issue:

We were to get ourselves out before the public. They took me to this place and taught me how to handle a T.V. interview. They coached me because they decided that I would be the spokesperson. Then they said you've got to get a Seattle office. I remember how impossible that sounded, renting an office up there where no one had ever heard of the Gorge. Most importantly, they said you are going to have to do a tour of Washington state twice a year and get in to speak at all the universities, radio stations, TV stations and newspaper editorial boards.

The public relations firm also recommended developing a professional quality slide show to impress upon people the beauty of the Gorge and to present the argument for protection. Because the Friends had not yet incorporated, Russell asked the Columbia Gorge Environmental Center, the educational arm of the Coalition, to accept donations for the slide show under their 510(c)(3) tax status. The Environmental Center agreed and Russell proceeded to contact local foundations and businesses, raising about \$12,000. Collins, an accomplished photographer, was hired to produce the show which was completed in August of 1981 and met with rave reviews. The success was clouded, however, by the battle that ensued over the rights to the production. The Environmental Center and Williams claimed it was theirs because donations had been made to them, while the Friends claimed that they alone had raised the money and done the work. The battle raged for several months, with the Friends threatening to contact donors and have contributions withdrawn.

The dispute was damaging to all parties but especially to the Coalition and the Environmental Center. Whether or not it had been bad judgment for the Friends to take advantage of the Environmental Center's tax status, it was clear to most observers that the show was the Friends' property since they had financed it and done all the work. Some Coalition members felt disaffected by the actions of the Environmental Center and saw that the Friends ultimately held the upper hand. Weakened by the departure of Collins and others after the merger was voted down, the Coalition and the Center were strained even further by this dispute. It had begun to seem that operating

two organizations was beyond the group's now more limited resources, and in its last official act, the Environmental Center handed the slide show over to the Friends and then disbanded its board, dissolving the organization.

The dispute seemed to end any hope of the Friends and the Coalition working together. The Coalition found it necessary to close its office in Hood River, but the group, with Williams as its spokesperson, continued to play an active role in the Gorge issue. To this day Williams is critical of the Friends and very bitter:

Portland socialites had always been in the forefront of protecting the Gorge, but they were doing nothing to help us in the 1970's. When local groups sprouted up the Portland bluebloods got real upset that the dumb locals were doing their job. They decided it was up to the rich people to come to the rescue of the Gorge, and they used their money and power to destroy our organization.

By the end of 1981 the Friends were able to hire a staff person and move from the basement of the courthouse to a private office in downtown Portland. A Seattle office was slated to open in several months. The Friends' board had grown to 13 members, including many prominent business and civic leaders.

### The Opposition Coalesces

Skamania County, Washington, has more land in the Gorge than any other county, and the smallest population, with just over 7500 residents. In Skamania County, timber is king. Its economy is based on the dense forests of Douglas firs that blanket the hills north of the Gorge toward Mount St. Helens, and over half of the county's privately owned land is logged. More telling, however, is the fact that 91 percent of the county is publicly owned, and virtually all of that lies in the Gifford Pinchot National Forest and is used in timber production. Timber receipts from the federal lands make up 40 percent of Skamania County's total annual revenues, but by 1981 the strength of the timber industry was waning, and so was the county's economy. A Louisiana-Pacific mill had closed, and another mill was only operating four days a week. Unemployment in the county was 50 percent higher than the state-wide average.

Despite the economic problems, most Skamanians were strongly tied to the area. As Ed McLarney, editor of the weekly Skamania County Pioneer explained, people live in Skamania County not to get rich, but to enjoy a certain lifestyle:

It isn't just a place-- it's a way of life, an ethic. Most families have at least one four-wheel drive. We hunt. We fish. We aren't oriented toward discos or things like that.... Sure, it may seem like Skamania County is just coming out of the dark ages. But we don't worry about sending our kids down to the store for something after dark.

Word had spread about the campaign to protect the Gorge, and the reaction in Skamania County was rapid and negative. The portion of the county that falls within the Gorge contains the bulk of its population and most of the private land. Residents saw such a plan as a further expansion of federal control over their county, and although the government could be seen as the county's major benefactor, few residents were unaware of the frustrations to be met in dealing with the federal bureaucracy. Many were afraid that federal involvement would mean condemnation of private holdings. They worried, too, about the effects of protection on the local economy. A further hampering of the timber industry or restrictions on industry or development would mean a worsening of an already bleak picture. Most acutely, however, they saw this as an issue of self-determination for the county and for its citizens. Having avoided the imposition of even local zoning restrictions, they certainly were not going to stand by and have the federal government impose its own.

Additionally, just as Chuck Williams had expected, the battle began to be cast as a fight between Gorge residents and meddling Portlanders. Ed McLarney from the local paper wrote to disparage the hordes of environmentalist hikers with "their fat calves" and "granola bars". He complained of the outsiders who were coming in to "protect the environment from us," A local real-estate agent observed, "It's the people down in Portland. They say, 'Hey, the Gorge is a neat playground-- let's make it a park.'" A similar sentiment led a Klickitat business leader to say:

Portland may see the Gorge as a nice place to drive on Sunday afternoons, but they don't have to earn a living here. It's easy to say, "Let's go in and lock it up" when you don't own it. We don't want to put in any development to hurt the environment, but if a guy comes in and says he wants to build a steel mill and create 250 jobs, we'll sure take a look at it.

Skamania County Commissioner Ed Callahan, spoke for many when he insisted that environmentalists were making a lot of noise about a non-existent problem:

This county has been quiet for years. There has been no influx of people... and I don't think there ever will be. Some places, there isn't potable water. A lot of the land won't perc. The topography is bad. The climate here is bad eight months of the year. The wind blows all the time.... You see, there's not really a problem. And, even if there is one, local government can handle it...

Skamania County quickly became the center of the opposition movement. Essen Smith, a retired Columbia River tugboat captain and lifetime resident of the Gorge, remembers how he and many others responded to talk about federal legislation to protect the Gorge:

When we first heard of the Friends of the Gorge and what they were going to do, we called a meeting over at the courthouse [in Stevenson, Washington] of about 15 businessmen to figure out what

we should do. There were a couple of county commissioners there, the county prosecutor--lots of prominent people. We decided at that time to fight this thing in any way or manner that we could.

In May 1981 the Columbia Gorge Defense League was formed as a lobbying organization to work for maintaining local control of the Gorge. The Defense League's board included the Skamania County Public Utility District manager, a timber industrialist, the president of the Columbia Gorge Bank, and the publisher of the Skamania County Pioneer. The Skamania County prosecutor, considered by some to be the county "boss", was also a very active and outspoken member. The Defense League relied on volunteer labor and donations from businesses and individuals to carry out its activities. The majority of the members were local business people and residents who believed they had a personal stake in the issue.

To promote their efforts, the Defense League hired Charles Cushman. Cushman is the founder of the National Inholders Association, a group organized to protect and promote the rights of people who own private land within federally protected areas such as national forests and parks. He started the organization in 1977 after he and several others who owned land within the boundaries of Yosemite National Park filed suit against the Park Service to prevent "creeping federal encroachment." They lost the suit, but Cushman recognized the opportunity to organize other inholders to fight for their rights against the federal government. The Defense League paid Cushman an initial consulting fee of \$10,000 followed by a monthly salary.

Cushman came to the Gorge in the summer of 1981. In presentations likened by Chuck Williams to tent revivals, Cushman described what would happen if the federal government gained control over the Gorge:

When the federal government comes into an area, it creates a pall of fear. Seventy thousand families have lost their homes and lands to the Park Service since 1966. The rural homestead culture of this country has been under seige for 15 years.... What will happen here is structural disenfranchisement. Elected officials will lose power. It's a strangulation process that can squeeze the life from a community. Federal agencies will ignore the law, and condemn land at will, throwing people out of their homes, destroying their communities. Once you let federal bureaucracies in, they will nibble, nibble, nibble you.

Not surprisingly Cushman's preachings angered the environmental community. They accused him of grossly misrepresenting the facts. Cushman continually insisted, however, that his horror stories were all true and documented. His credibility was also bolstered by his recent appointment by Secretary of the Interior James Watt to the prestigious National Park System Advisory Board. While there was continued debate over the accuracy of his claims, no one, even his most strident opponents, underestimated his skill as an orator. Even Chuck Williams, who heard Cushman speak on several occasions, admits to being awed by his presence: "He's an incredible demagogue. I can hear him and know that every single thing he is saying is an outright lie, and he still scares me."

But Cushman spoke to the three major concerns of the Gorge residents: the issues of local control, economic vulnerability, and the expropriation of private land. Residents echoed his view of federal control:

The government would come in like storm troopers. They'd shut down our mills-- that's our whole economy...They're telling us what we can do with our land. We don't need others to come in and plan for us.

Joe Wrabek, a member of the League, may have summed up the feelings of Gorge residents when he said:

I would rather trust the future of this area in which I have chosen to live, and the land I want to pass on to my children, to local people who have as much at stake in its preservation as I, and whom I get to elect, complain to, and recall if necessary, than to an appointed official 3,000 miles away whom I can't reach and can't control.

#### The "Friends" Meet the Locals...

At about the time that Cushman was brought into the controversy the first legislative proposal was drawn up by the Friends of the Columbia Gorge. Nancy Russell traveled to Stevenson to present it at a public meeting of the Skamania County Planning Commission which drew a hundred and fifty residents. The Friends proposed that approximately 500 square miles of land in the Gorge would be managed by the National Park Service with the guidance of a regional council made up of representatives from the Gorge counties and the two states. The Friends promised that no land would be condemned and that a management plan would be developed to protect the economic interests of the Gorge residents. Despite these assurances reaction was harshly critical of the proposal.

Many observers feel that this reaction had as much to do with hostility toward Russell, the embodiment of the big-city environmentalist, as toward the proposal itself. Apparently she did little to minimize the Skamania perception that the Friends held Gorge residents incapable of deciding Gorge issues themselves. They found her arrogant and presumptuous, and even supporters of the measure feel, in retrospect, that the Friends approached these early meetings with an unfortunate and self-righteous fervor. Russell is known to have announced before the meeting that this proposal was going to "make the local people pull up their socks."

The Camas, Washington Post-Outlook expressed the prevailing sentiment of Gorge residents toward the Friends in an editorial titled "Overlooking the Natives":

The Ugly American.... The best example we've found in the Northwest is the Friends of the Gorge. A more sincere group of environmentalists could hardly be found. Their goal of preserving the treasures of the Columbia Gorge is laudable.

With beautiful slide shows, moving lectures and persuasive wine and cheese lobbying parties they are doing a fine job of convincing those important people in Seattle, Portland and Vancouver that the scenic marvel dividing Washington from Oregon should be preserved for all time....

Just about everyone has been buttonholed, it seems, except the natives who call the Gorge home. To be sure, the "Friends" have gone out to the native villages to pow-wow and show the tribal chieftains the white man's plan for the land. But this pacification effort is all-too reminiscent of the calvary's parlaying with the Native Americans in the middle 1800s. The point of those negotiations was to get the braves to peacefully accept treaties already laid down by Eastern whites.... perhaps Gorge residents now know how the Native Americans must have felt when the British and Americans moved in to "protect" the Northwest from the Russian fur trappers. But never fear. Like those earlier, well-meaning pioneers perhaps Ms. Russell will even provide a nice reservation for the displaced natives.

Disregard of Gorge dwellers was also still a major source of conflict between the Friends and the Columbia Gorge Coalition. Though the groups were in basic agreement about the proposal, strategic differences continued to set them at odds. Chuck Williams scoffs at the irony in the so-called "Friends" name choice, and he faults the Friends for destroying any hope of gaining the support of the local residents:

Within three months the Friends had undone three years of unglamorous grass-roots work that the Coalition had done.... They went into the Gorge and said, 'You people are stupid. You don't know what to do here,' and polarized the whole thing.... That was the end of any environmental debate in the Gorge. After that it was 'those rich city folks who are trying to kick us out of our homes.' That was the highest the debate ever got.

### The Friends Tune Their Strategy

Regardless of their image problems in the Gorge, by 1982 the Friends were, by far, the strongest group working toward protection. By now the sides were clearly drawn, the interest groups were well-entrenched and working tirelessly for their respective causes. The Friends had incorporated as a non-profit and received 501(c)(3) tax status. Nancy Russell was still chief fundraiser and spokesperson, while Don Clark was busy with his campaign for Governor and less involved with the organization. Anticipating a change of focus toward the legislative arena, the Friends hired a new Executive Director, Bowen Blair Jr., a Yale-educated attorney.

Blair developed a three-fold plan to improve the effectiveness of the organization. First, Blair wanted to establish the group's credibility. In a climate of wild accusations and unfounded fears (Cushman continued to promote the notion that private land would be condemned) Blair wanted to maintain an even-handedness in dealing with the issues. In this way he felt

the Friends would be seen by officials, the press and the public as the most reliable source of information on the subject. His idea was that the Friends would become a regional authority on the Gorge, and this tied in well with ongoing education efforts. It was partly a matter of maintaining dignity and not resorting to the extremist positions of a Charles Cushman or of even, in the Friends view, a Chuck Williams. It was also a matter of keeping a clear view themselves so that the Friends could make sound judgments about what measures were actually necessary to preserve the Gorge:

We wanted to come up with the best data about what was happening in the Gorge. There was a lot of information out there, but nobody had put it together. We had to maintain credibility. We didn't send anything out of the office that we couldn't absolutely support.... and other groups didn't do that.... Our credibility was based on making damn sure that we had our facts right. We didn't go out and say one thing to one person, and something else to another.

Second, the Friends lobbied the editorial boards of the major northwest newspapers, working with them to gain popular support for their proposal and to begin to put pressure on the congressional delegation. Their first success was the Portland Oregonian, which showed its support in an editorial, "The Gorgeous Gorge Needs Federal Help":

The Gorge cannot be saved from narrow interests by divided interests in the states of Oregon and Washington. It must have special scenic legislation along the lines proposed by the Friends of the Gorge.... This means national scenic area protection, a new approach to protecting local, state and national interests. It is a job the congressional delegations of the two states need to complete before major land development begins.... Senior Senators Mark Hatfield, R-Ore., and Henry Jackson, D-Wash., logically could take the initiative to convene the regional congressional delegations and promote a bipartisan, coordinated drive to preserve and protect the national scenic treasures of the Columbia Gorge.

The third step was to transform their proposed legislation into a form that was palatable enough to gain the support of a congressional sponsor. Given their connection to Senator Hatfield through Don Clark, and the senior positions held by three of the four Oregon and Washington U.S. Senators, the Friends chose to focus their efforts on gaining senatorial sponsorship, feeling that support in the House would more easily follow the lead of the Senate. The Friends considered the potential sponsors:

Republican **Mark Hatfield** was Oregon's senior Senator. He had been elected to the Senate in 1966 and chaired the powerful Appropriations Committee. Of great importance to the Friends was Hatfield's position on the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, undoubtedly the committee which would consider Gorge legislation. As a near pacifist, Hatfield's positions, especially on defense issues, were often far from those of his party and had earned him a reputation as a "quixotic liberal moralist," but this did not

detract from the respect he had gained over the years. While Hatfield claimed a strong environmental record, having led the fight for several Oregon wilderness bills, he was also generally inclined to give lumber companies, known to be some of his biggest supporters, more access to Oregon forests than pleased the environmentalists. Hatfield's term would expire in 1984, but in 1982 it was unclear whether the Senator, at the age of 62, would seek re-election. Despite his seniority and reputation, many believed he would be vulnerable to challenges from younger Democrats who would pledge to spend more time in Oregon than Hatfield's 10 to 12 visits to the state each year.

Oregon Senator **Bob Packwood**, also a Republican, was first elected to the Senate in 1968, and while junior to Hatfield by only two years, he was not considered to carry as much political clout. He was Chairman of the Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee, and well-known for his strong stand as an advocate of abortion rights. Early in his career, he earned his reputation as an environmentalist by leading the fight to block dams in Hells Canyon on the Snake River. In later years though, Packwood seemed to be less consistent in his support of land conservation bills, but had sponsored other environmental bills including whale protection legislation and limits on disposable containers and aerosol propellants. Packwood was re-elected in 1980 with a 52 percent-44 percent margin, smaller than would be expected for an incumbent of his reputation running against a relatively unknown opponent who he outspent substantially.

While both Oregon Senators commanded substantial respect and power, Washington's Democratic Senator **Henry Jackson** was considered the powerhouse of the northwest. Elected in 1952, Jackson had a wide range of interests and influence. As a member of the Armed Services Committee he was a major force on defense issues. His support of increased defense spending reflected his strong ties to his home state's aircraft industry, and earned him the nickname "junior Senator from Boeing." As Chair of the Interior Committee (now Energy and Natural Resources), his list of environmental credits included passage of the National Environmental Policy Act and the creation of the Environmental Protection Agency. A former staff member recalls that Jackson had a good environmental record but he chose his issues carefully:

Jackson was an "institutional environmentalist." He took on the big oil companies--the bad guys--in fights he knew he could win.... He was an inside player, not the kind of guy to go into something without support. He was not a wide-eyed environmentalist. He was very shrewd in choosing what battles he wanted to fight.

Though Jackson had lost his Energy and Natural Resources chairmanship with the coming of the Republican majority in 1980, he appeared to have a secure Senate seat from which to wait out the Republican years. His re-election in 1982 was almost guaranteed. Jackson was the greatest career vote-getter in recent Washington state history, falling short of 55 percent only one time in 11 Congressional races.

In 1982 Senator **Slade Gorton** was two years into his first Senate term after defeating Warren Magnuson, a Democrat who had served in congress for 44 years. Gorton had the distinction of being only the second Republican Senator elected by the state in the last 50 years. He had been state Attorney General and was considered a moderate who was somewhat more liberal on environmental matters.

### Securing Sponsorship

By 1982 the Friends of the Columbia Gorge felt that they had gained sufficient bi-state support to hold Senator Hatfield to his earlier pledge to Don Clark. Hatfield had declared that when Clark could demonstrate a sufficient groundswell of interest in Gorge protection he would introduce the legislation. But when the Friends presented Hatfield's staff with their proposal, they found that the Senator hesitated to support it as written. Specifically, Hatfield's staff suggested that naming the Park Service lead agency would raise objections from the timber industry and needlessly increase resistance to the bill. They suggested that a more appropriate agency might be the Forest Service, and that, so altered, the measure would meet with Hatfield's approval.

The Park Service had long been considered the ideal agency for protecting the Gorge. The goal of the Gorge movement was preservation, and it was felt that the Park Service mandate allowed a greater "purity" than the multiple use, resource management approach of the Forest Service. It seemed, too, that the Park Service had more experience with areas like the Gorge, and that they would be less prone to industry pressures and local politics. The Friends were cool to the idea of involving the Forest Service.

The Friends approached Bob Packwood. They had made an earlier attempt to gain the support of a Packwood staff member, but as Nancy Russell remembers, they met with little success: "We took a Packwood aid to the Gorge, and I remember him saying, 'You know, I am sympathetic with this, but unless you develop more [regional] Republican support, the Senator isn't going to be able to take an interest in it.'" This time the Friends were careful to demonstrate that their membership had exceeded 1000 and represented a broad Republican base. (A Friends' membership survey is included as Appendix C.) Packwood responded enthusiastically and even agreed that the Park Service was the better choice, thus renewing hopes for Park Service management of the Gorge.

Hopes soon dimmed, however, when it was found that no interest could be mustered among the Washington Senators. With only Packwood pulling for them it would be a long, hard road. But were they to moderate their position and accede to Hatfield's wish, they would certainly not lose Packwood's help, and would gain the support of the more influential Hatfield. There began to be talk of a middle ground. The Friends were also finding that there were other interests to satisfy. As Russell discovered:

The plain fact is the timber lobby is a big hurdle. There is only one small National Park in Oregon, which is a disgrace, but you can thank the timber industry for that. It was hard to get the

politicians interested when the timber people were so nervous. It got to the point where we couldn't raise money, we couldn't get politicians to be friendly toward the idea, so in order just to keep the thing going we were forced to change to the Forest Service.

Because the Forest Service already owned and managed the bulk of the public land in the Gorge, giving them jurisdiction would represent less of a departure from the status quo. Many, including The Oregonian, saw the benefits of the Friends' new position:

This appears to us to be a better choice than an earlier proposal to place the area under the National Park Service. As noted, the area is a mixture of public and private holdings, devoted to multiple use which the Forest Service is used to. In addition, and perhaps more importantly, the private landowners have had the Gifford Pinchot National Forest and Hood River National Forest as neighbors for many years. They are used to dealing with Forest Rangers, and know the rangers are familiar with the problems in trying to make a living. Under those circumstances, federal control is more palatable.

To this the Friends added another concession, an adjustment to the boundaries of the area proposed for protection. The Columbia has eight tributaries in the Gorge, which are considered its most environmentally fragile lands. However, for the sake of expedience the Friends made the decision not to include tributary protection in their proposed legislation. They believed that the issue of tributary protection would only become another stumbling block and hinder any efforts to protect the main Gorge.

The Columbia Gorge Coalition was especially unhappy with the changes in the Friends' proposal. Williams accused the Friends of selling out much too early:

The Friends had no understanding of the political process. You have to go into the political process asking for more than what you can live with. We understood that. They went in there and gave away all our bargaining chips.... The Forest Service had never done anything like this. To have them managing the Gorge was totally ludicrous, but that is what the timber industry wanted because the timber industry knows they can manipulate the Forest Service, and the Friends were getting money from the timber industry.... They cut out all the tributary protection which ruined the whole coalition we had put together. It was cut back to where the only people working on the bill were rich urbanites looking to protect scenery whereas we had a huge constituency built up of people who wanted to protect fisheries, cultural sites--a range wider than they were looking for--and that was gone.

## A First Try in the 97th Congress

On March 31, 1982, the Columbia River Gorge Act of 1982 (S.2318) was introduced by Senator Packwood, on behalf of himself and Senator Hatfield. The legislation designated approximately 310,000 acres in the Gorge as a National Scenic Area to be managed by the Forest Service under the advice of a 13-member regional commission. The head of the Forest Service would select an interdisciplinary planning team to prepare a management plan for the area. The plan was required to protect, maintain, and enhance the scenic, natural and cultural values of the Gorge. Incorporated towns were exempt from the plan, and economic development was encouraged within urban growth boundaries. To protect the most sensitive lands, the federal government was granted condemnation powers; however no more than ten percent of the land could be taken, and no single family residences, farms, or grazing lands could be condemned.

In introducing the legislation, Packwood recognized the divisive nature of the issue and stressed his hope for regional cooperation. He concluded his remarks with a quote from a Gorge paper:

This argument does not have to be one of city versus country, Washington versus Oregon, development versus environment...If these elements become the tenor of the discussion, everyone is going to lose; the people who live deep in the Gorge who want to manage their own affairs, those of us who live on the edge of the Gorge and love the experience of visiting it, and the rest of America.

This first Gorge bill was short-lived. After its introduction on the Senate floor the legislation went nowhere. There were no hearings and no committee action. Supporters of the bill blamed Senator Jackson for its demise. A member of the Defense League cheerfully recalls how Jackson blocked the way:

Jackson was the major force that was preventing consideration of Gorge legislation. He didn't give any reasons; he never expressed official opposition to it. He was simply sitting on the fence doing nothing.... Sen. Jackson's reputation was such that the majority of the members on his committee [Energy and Natural Resources], both Democrats and Republicans, would follow him anywhere he wanted to lead. As far as the Gorge bill went, Jackson wanted to go nowhere and that's where they wanted to go, too.

The reasons for Senator Jackson's stonewalling were unclear. Jackson's staff claimed he was too busy with other environmental matters, such as legislation to designate Mt. St. Helens a "National Volcanic Monument" and to provide funds for the cleanup. Others suggested that a close advisor to Jackson owned land in the Gorge which he hoped to develop, and had pressured Jackson not to support the legislation. Still others conjecture that the issue simply did not have the support that it needed for Jackson to become involved. In any case, he was steadfast in his silence.

## The Opposition Strengthens

Although the introduction of this bill did not turn out to be a great threat, it did serve to galvanize opposition in the Gorge. But here, too, the interest groups experienced growing pains. While citizens' groups continued to form in many of the Gorge communities, the Defense League remained centered in Skamania County and became embroiled in county issues (primarily a debate over a zoning ordinance). Many members felt attention had been diverted and that the League had lost touch with the rest of the Gorge. In September 1982, several of the smaller groups, along with discontented Defense League members, formed a new organization, Columbia Gorge United: People Opposing Federal Control. The group was to serve as a coalition much as Chuck Williams had envisioned his own group to be. Columbia Gorge United's charter laid out the group's objective: "protecting the population of the Gorge from federal control."

Columbia Gorge United had representatives from the Defense League, the Committee to Preserve Property Rights in the Columbia Gorge, the Oregon State Grange, Washington Association of Realtors, the Industrial Forest Association and many local governments. A 13 member board was elected with representatives from the six Gorge counties. They sent a mailing to 20,000 homes, but as Columbia Gorge United secretary Essen Smith remembers, recruitment did not seem to be a problem, "It was easy to recruit people in those days. Every doggone person in the Gorge was mad."

The group relied on dedicated volunteers and a \$20 membership fee to keep the organization going. They acquired donated office space in Stevenson, Washington, and Joe Wrabek, an unemployed real-estate agent and former League member, became the non-salaried Executive Director. Because Columbia Gorge United planned to be primarily a lobbying organization, they did not want to operate under the restrictions of a 501(c)(3) tax status, therefore contributions were not tax deductible. As Jim Carpenito, the organization's first president explained, the group focused its efforts on orchestrating a united NO. "The idea is that when the legislation hits Congress, Columbia Gorge United and supporting groups will be ready to lobby against federal control and show there is no support for federal control"

## A Renewed Effort in the 98th

In December 1982 the case for protection was strengthened by new development pressures that were expected to result from the completion of another bridge over the Columbia ten miles east of Portland. Many editorial pages again sounded the alarm and urged the northwest to take action in the Gorge:

...completion of the Interstate 205 bridge linking the populous Portland area with the sparsely populated Washington side of the Gorge presages inexorable pressure for massive land development east of Vancouver.

In addition, a 120 acre subdivision on Burdoin Mountain in Washington's Klickitat County had been approved by the County Commission, who waived the Scenic Overlay Management Protection Plan, part of the county zoning regulations designed to restrict development in areas visible from the highways which run on both sides of the Gorge. Both the Coalition and the Friends had filed suits against Klickitat County's approval procedure, but this was clearly only a stop-gap measure for controlling development.

On February 10, 1983, Senator Packwood held the first official hearing on the Gorge in Hood River, Oregon. As a member of the Commerce Committee, Packwood focused upon the economic impact of legislation preserving the Gorge. The Friends, the Coalition and other local environmental groups presented testimony on ways in which federal protection would benefit the Gorge, emphasizing that an increase in tourism would more than offset any negative economic impacts of protection.

While Packwood was attempting to provide a forum for debate, his efforts were heavily criticized by the Gorge Defense League: "The Packwood hearing on the Gorge is a farce and a sham! It is a carefully orchestrated show by the Friends of the Gorge to make it look like there is support for a federal takeover of the Gorge!" The Defense League accused Packwood's office of not giving adequate notice of the hearing and of weighting the list of witnesses in favor of those supporting federal control.

Three weeks after the hearing the Columbia River Gorge Act of 1983 (S.627), was introduced by Senators Packwood and Hatfield. The 1983 Act was virtually identical to S.2318, the bill that had been introduced in the previous Congress. Senator Hatfield, however, in his remarks on the Senate floor, appeared more cautious in his support:

After introduction of the legislation during the 97th Congress, I received many letters from residents in the Columbia Gorge who were very concerned with the heavy involvement of the Federal Government in local land use planning decisions. That concern and divergence of opinion continues, and a great deal of discussion and cooperation with state and local governments, as well as Gorge residents on both sides of the Columbia River, will have to take place before this legislation moves forward.

Opponents were better organized and more vocal in their opposition this time. Carl Neuberger, Editor of the Portland Property Guard, and a member of Sierra Club until "the organization was captured by radical environmentalists" criticized the legislation:

Senators Hatfield and Packwood...who introduced this atrocious legislation should be called to account for abusing their Constitutional obligation to safeguard the people's freedom and right to own property. It passes all comprehension how our congressional leaders can continue to support a federal takeover of the Gorge when so many people from all walks of life have rejected it.

The opinion pages of northwest newspapers became a battleground for debating the Gorge issue. However, the distance between the two sides was so great that the debate rarely went beyond rehashing the fundamental question of local versus federal control. Bowen Blair presented the Friends' arguments for federal control in the Vancouver Columbian:

First, local authorities do not possess the financial resources necessary to manage the Gorge adequately. This is precisely the reason an area the size of the Gorge has never been protected by local interests....Also, the federal government has the ability to trade private land holdings within sensitive areas of the Gorge for less sensitive federal lands outside the Gorge. Second, the Gorge encompasses over 50 different jurisdictions.... The federal government is better able to coordinate these jurisdictions, particularly the federal ones, than local authorities. Third, local government is structurally more susceptible to developmental pressures than the federal government. Sooner or later any local government is going to be taken over for a time by people who would sell the scenery to the highest bidder. And that means that sooner or later the highest bidders will have their way with the Gorge.

An editorial in the Goldendale Sentinel, a local Gorge paper, argued for local control:

...By far the majority in favor of federal control of the Columbia River Gorge reside in areas not even listed in the Gorge visitors' directories. Then why is it such a hot item? Politics. The population, and voting population centers like Portland and Vancouver seem to have the lobbying abilities and budget to keep running their ideas up the flagpole to see if the legislators salute....

Gorge residents thought things were going on just fine, and still do, except for the fact that some people, from outside the area, want to tell them and us what to do.

And all this time us 'country folk' Gorge residents thought things were being handled just fine, and still do. The proof is in the fact that we now have the dams and the aluminum plants, and still kept the beauty of the Gorge intact. "Local" control did that.

Portland residents should content themselves with their own problems. Such as finding ways to keep their smog from entering the Gorge.

#### The States Get Involved

State government had been conspicuously absent from the debate on the Gorge, but because of the chronic failure of the state Gorge Commissions to make any substantial progress in protecting the area, environmentalists were just as glad that the states had stayed out of it. And, since opponents of legislation were, almost by definition, opposed to anything but local control, they had not missed the states' involvement either. State officials, however, suddenly saw the possibility that control of the Gorge

might slip through their fingers. Exactly two weeks after S.627 was introduced, Washington Governor John Spellman (R) and Oregon Governor Vic Atiyeh (R) announced at a well-publicized news conference, an "historic agreement" regarding the Columbia Gorge. As Governor Atiyeh explained:

It's historic because for the first time both states are on record in support of the overall objective of preserving and managing a tremendous natural resource... Formal discussions on Gorge preservation have occurred now and again over more than 40 years, but agreement has never been reached because of major differences between the two states. With our joint statement, however, the gap has at last been bridged.

The Governors' agreement set forth key elements they believed should be included in any federal legislation. Their proposal gave primary control of the Gorge to a bi-state commission and minimized the role of the federal government. The twenty-three person commission (ten local and state government representatives, ten state at-large representatives, and three federal agency representatives), would be responsible for developing and enforcing a management plan which would be implemented by the local governments.

Gauged to be a compromise position, the Governors' proposal appealed to neither side. The Friends viewed it as too weak, claiming that the bi-state commission would be too vulnerable to local pressures, while Columbia Gorge United felt the commission's authority over local government was too strong. It appeared that the Governors' sole supporter was the timber industry since the proposal exempted commercial forest land from any regulation by the commission.

Chuck Williams viewed the Governors' proposal as a sign that things had moved from bad to worse, and his outrage with the proposal prompted him to write a letter to the Oregon and Washington congressional delegations to set the record straight:

The Coalition was not exactly happy when the Friends formed and further compromised our original national scenic area proposal to well below our "bottom line." The Friends gathered such diverse support for their proposal, however, that, in the spirit of compromise, we somewhat reluctantly agreed to support their bill if it were not further compromised... We felt that such a compromise was at least worth trying. Unfortunately, however, judging by the attempts of the governors to further emasculate the already too-compromised pending bills, our sincere efforts to seek a reasonable compromise seem to have backfired on us.

On August 4, 1983, at the request of the Oregon and Washington Governors, Senators Hatfield, Jackson and Gorton introduced a bill based on the Governors' joint statement. The Senators' sponsorship, as Senator Jackson clearly indicated, was not an endorsement:

Mr. President, I want to make it abundantly clear to my colleagues in the Senate as well as others interested in the Columbia River Gorge that I have taken no position relative to the merits of the Governors' proposal. I am joining in the introduction of this bill as a courtesy to the chief executives of the two States involved so that their proposal may, in due course, be considered along with other measures that have or may be introduced regarding the Gorge. I would not want my introduction to be construed by anyone as an endorsement of the provisions of the concepts embodied in it.

Senator Packwood showed his strong dislike for the bill by declining to be a co-sponsor. The bill gathered little support.

Action on the Gorge seemed stymied once again. A year-and-a-half remained in the 98th Congress, but there appeared to be little hope of finding a middle ground between Packwood's bill and the Governors'. In the Senate, there were 42 co-sponsors for Packwood's bill, but it was expected that if the Washington delegation became vocal in their opposition, many of the supporters would drop out.

It was clear to the Friends that they desperately needed more support to keep the issue alive. They were determined to devote more effort toward Washington D.C., but the cost of hiring a lobbyist or travelling themselves seemed prohibitive. As a third and more viable alternative, they discussed the possibility of relying on the national environmental groups to do the lobbying for them. This assumed that the Gorge could be added to the environmentalists' national agenda. The Friends had only recently begun to court national groups, but several had shown a significant interest in Gorge legislation. Though the Friends were aware that Chuck Williams, through his ties with Friends of the Earth, had maintained contact with many of these groups, ideological differences with the Coalition, specifically on the issues of managing agency and tributary protection, made it seem that the Friends would have to cultivate their own separate alliances. But these very same ideological differences would be an impediment to strong links with national groups such as the Sierra Club and the National Wildlife Federation because they, too, felt that the Packwood Bill did not go far enough.

In September of 1983 Senator Jackson died unexpectedly. Governor Spellman appointed former Governor Dan Evans, a Republican, to replace the Senator. Evans was a moderate and had been an extremely popular governor, the only one in the state's history to serve three consecutive terms. One of his most controversial actions had been to establish the Washington State Department of Ecology. It was significant to those involved with the Gorge that Evans' had been a member of the Friend's first Board of Directors. Although he had never actually attended a meeting and had never made a public statement on the Gorge, he had allowed his name to be used in a sign of tacit support. As he eased into his new role as Senator, however, Evans did not indicate support of either Gorge bill.

Later that fall the Coalition joined with another interest group working toward a Washington wilderness bill, and again opened an office, this time in

White Salmon, on the Washington side of the Gorge. They continued to push for an amendment to the Packwood bill adding Park Service management and tributary protection, while the Friends continued to support the bill as written.

#### Another Session Passes By

Opponents of Gorge protection breathed a sigh of relief when the 98th Congress adjourned on October 12, 1984. They had managed to fight off preservation efforts once again. However, the issue was rekindled less than month later when Senator Evans, a member of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, held a hearing on November 8 in the Gorge at the Skamania County Recreation Center in Stevenson, Washington. The odd timing of the hearing seemed to indicate that after a year in office, Senator Evans was taking an interest in the issue and preparing himself for action during the next session. In his opening remarks he made clear that he was not interested in the old arguments, but was looking for new ways to resolve the debate:

We start with a clean slate with the 99th Congress which will come into session on January 3, 1985. We will be subject to new bills and potentially new approaches. I want a new idea...We are trying to elicit information on which to make decisions as to, first, whether to introduce any legislation; second, if legislation is to be introduced, what kind and shape it should take.

-----

#### The Matter At Hand: The Dilemma of the Letter

By the time Bowen Blair had made the drive back to Portland from Senator Evans' hearing it was 7 PM. The Friends of the Gorge board meeting began in one-half hour. He sat down at his desk to sort his impressions of the hearing before deciding on a recommendation about whether or not to sign Chuck Williams' letter. This would mean a departure from the prescriptions of the Packwood bill, but it would align the Friends with growing environmentalist support for a measure that named the Park Service lead agency and did not compromise tributary protection.

Although the 98th Congress had just adjourned and no Gorge legislation was presently under consideration, over 200 people had turned out to present testimony. (A notice of the hearing distributed by Columbia Gorge United is included as Appendix D.) Much of it was a rehash of old arguments (despite Evans' injunction), but there were new developments that had the potential to alter the dynamics of the situation.

On November 6, 1984, only two days before the hearing, President Reagan had been reelected. Senator Hatfield had also been reelected, perhaps freeing him to speak out more forcefully for legislation. In Washington, Governor Spellman was defeated by Booth Gardner, a Democrat. A representative for governor-elect Gardner had made an unexpected appearance

at the Evans hearing, indicating that there would be a change in position from the Governor's office in Olympia:

Booth Gardner urges the Washington and Oregon delegation to join behind a bill that would do the following: First, the Federal Government should play the primary role in the management of the Gorge...Second, the governing commissions must represent the broad interests of all Washington and Oregon citizens, as well as the interests of local gorge residents...Third, key Washington tributaries that feed into the gorge need protection...And fourth, there must be a moratorium on development in the gorge until a comprehensive management plan is adopted.

His testimony met with hoots and boos from opponents in the audience, and mild shock from Blair.

While it appeared that environmentalists were finally making headway in the state of Washington, Senator Evans had made it clear in his opening remarks that he supported the Governors' bill:

The initiative of the Governors of Oregon and Washington, together with the cooperation of local governments, should represent the prime effort for preservation of the Gorge. Only if this effort falters should the Federal Government consider legislation to ensure protection of this unique natural resource.

Senator Gorton, though not in attendance, had sent a noncommittal prepared statement, indicating his commitment to protection of the Gorge, and his wish to strike a balance between local and national interests. Senator Packwood was the lone voice from Congress who spoke strongly in favor of the bill he and Senator Hatfield had introduced early in the session.

But if the political leaders seemed divided over the issue it was nothing to the divisions within the Gorge protection movement. The lack of consensus was an embarrassment to Blair. He spoke in support of the Packwood bill, still believing it was the only politically viable option. Then, the staff forester from the National Wildlife Federation's Washington D.C. office made a strong statement in favor of tributary protection:

In a recent annual meeting, representatives from the 4.2 million members and supporters of the National Wildlife Federation unanimously adopted a resolution supporting the National Scenic Area concept for protection of the Columbia River Gorge. As the issue was discussed in committee, it became obvious that Federation representatives were concerned with more than the issue of fantastic scenery. As staff biologists presented specific information, the committee was impressed with the unique diversity of fish and wildlife found in the Gorge. As we discussed the various options that might be employed to ensure protection for the area, the committee concluded that the most urgent need is for identification and interim protection of Columbia River tributaries.

The Oregon Natural Resources Council, an association of over 90 conservation, sportsmen, education, commercial and outdoor recreation member organizations, added its support to the position urging that the National Park Service manage the Gorge.

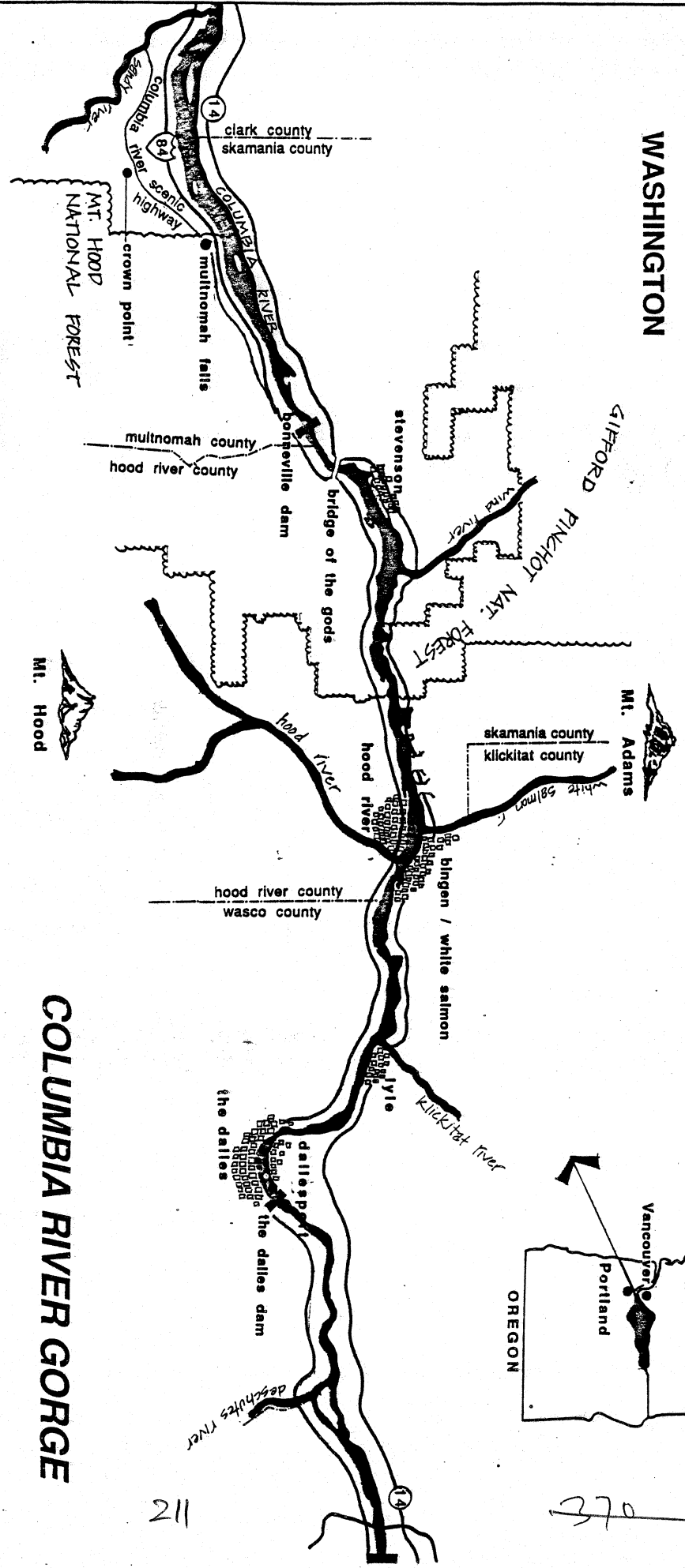
Oregon Natural Resources Council supports the designation of a Columbia Gorge National Scenic Area, administered by the National Park service, not the US Forest Service...The Forest Service has had two chances in Oregon to manage special congressional designations. In both Hells Canyon and the Oregon Dunes National Recreation areas, Oregon conservationists have been very disappointed with the performance of the Forest Service. In the Hells Canyon NRA, the agency's management plan was written and is being implemented with a severe bias toward timber exploitation at the expense of fish, wildlife, recreation and other values. Those values are what Congress sought to protect in 1976. In the Oregon Dunes National Recreation Area, the Forest Service has taken a slightly different tack. Rather than writing an awful plan, as in Hells Canyon, the agency in the Oregon Dunes wrote what appeared to be on paper an adequate plan. However, they simply ignore that plan whenever it pleases the agency. Only strong citizen pressure and the threats of lawsuit have today persuaded the Forest Service to follow the plan to the degree they have.

Blair believed that the 99th Congress presented the last chance for Gorge legislation to be passed. It would be the third consecutive session in which a Gorge bill had been introduced. If the Oregon and Washington Senators could not come to an agreement there was little hope for future support from legislators outside the northwest who were looking for regional consensus before committing their support on such a controversial issue. Blair realized that the Friends' decision about signing the letter was critical. It was essential for the Gorge protection movement to enter the 99th Congress in as strong a position as possible.

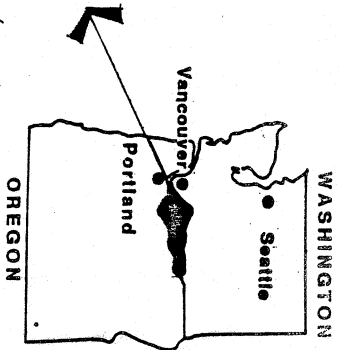
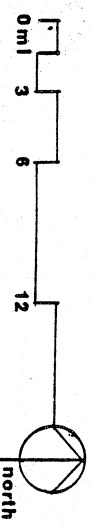
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WASHINGTON

OREGON



COLUMBIA RIVER GORGE



211

370

# Yes... Prime Industrial Sites in a Protected Environment... For a Few Lucky Firms!



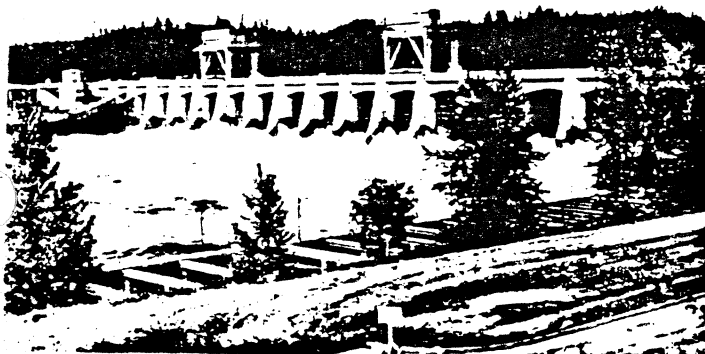
Port of Hood River nestles in the Columbia Gorge, offering prime industrial sites, ideal employee environment.



Bridge of the Gods, legendary river-crossing spot to the Indians, spans the Columbia below Cascade Locks.



Famous Eddie Mays restaurant is favorite stopping spot on the east-west Interstate freeway through Hood River.



The mighty Columbia River is held up momentarily by Bonneville Dam, first of the flood control projects on the river.

When you drive through the Columbia River Gorge and the tributary Hood River Valley, you'll agree they provide one of Nature's grandest settings. The thought of locating an industry in this scenic and highly livable area may never have occurred to you. Yet the port authorities of Hood River and Cascade Locks, Oregon, have made available some sites where a selected few industries can be established.

While space at both locations is limited—just 200 acres at Hood River and 90 at Cascade Locks—here is what you can enjoy:

## TRANSPORTATION

A location on deep slack water of the Bonneville Dam reservoir, easily reached by barge from Portland and other down-river ports, and from up-river points as far as Lewiston, Idaho.

Direct access to the main line of the Union Pacific Railroad.

A site on Interstate 80-N, a four-lane expressway leading directly to Portland and all major trucking routes in the Pacific Northwest.

Airstrips for light private or company planes at both Hood River and Cascade Locks.

## AMENITIES

Unsurpassed modern meeting and dining facilities at an adjacent new motel-convention-restaurant complex.

Great recreational areas, including boating, hunting and fishing, skiing, hiking and camping, golf and other sports.

Proximity to the beauty and pleasant atmosphere of one of the nation's major tree-fruit producing areas.

All basic community amenities—grade and high schools, hospital, churches, parks, museum, etc.

An equable climate with annual rainfall averaging 29 inches, distinct but mild seasons with monthly averages ranging from January's 38 degrees to 65 in July.

## MARKETS

Immediate access to points in the State of Washington via the Bridge of the Gods (Cascade Locks) and Hood River-White Salmon Bridge.

Less than one hour's drive time to metropolitan Portland, with a five-county population topping 1 million.

## BUSINESS CLIMATE

Protection from encroachment by non-compatible enterprises, through "for industry only" restrictions.

The opportunity to have an important voice in the affairs of a small community of your own choosing.

Both communities have active Chambers of Commerce, development corporations and Port Districts interested in assisting prospective industries with information and financial assistance. Successful industries now located in this area include:

Cascade Wood Components  
Columbia Nyematics  
(wood products)  
Diamond Fruit Growers  
Fiber-Tech (molded  
fiber products)  
Hood River Distillers

Luhr Jensen (sporting goods)  
Nichols Boats  
Tallman Aluminum Ladders  
United Utilities  
U. S. Plywood Corp.  
(hardboard and lumber)

Act now, if you would like to be one of the select few industries enjoying the advantages of a Hood River County location on the Columbia River. Sites are limited. Write for details!

## PORT OF HOOD RIVER

P. O. Box 239, Hood River, Oregon 97031

## PORT OF CASCADE LOCKS

P. O. Box 416, Cascade Locks, Oregon 97014

212  
374



## 1987 MEMBERSHIP QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

### Part I

A total of 736 responses were received on the membership questionnaire distributed with the August 1987 newsletter. The responses have been entered on our office computer by volunteer Linda Hopkins, and we now have a wealth of information about our members.

Friends of the Columbia Gorge has a diverse and very supportive membership, with some interesting overall characteristics.

The overwhelming reason why members joined was to preserve the scenic beauty of the Gorge (94%). Two strong supporting reasons were preserving the wildlife and plants of the Gorge (78%) and helping to stop inappropriate development in the Gorge (72%). Favored activities of the 57% of members who frequently or occasionally enjoy recreation in the Gorge include sightseeing by car, hiking, picnicking, enjoying birds and wildflowers, and photography. Our members support many other nonprofit organizations in addition to Friends of the Columbia Gorge. Almost all belong to at least one other nonprofit, with over half belonging to five or more.

As might be expected, the largest concentration of our members (39%) live in Multnomah County, Oregon, the largest population center within an hour's drive of the Gorge. Another 7.7% live in the other 5 Gorge counties. We have members all over the Northwest, however, and even outside the Gorge states of Washington and Oregon.

A report on the results for Questions 8-16 will appear in the next newsletter, with information on demographics and how our members view FOCG's direction for the future.

Following is a chart showing the responses to Questions 1-7.

**1. Why did you become a member of Friends of the Columbia Gorge?**

I wanted to help preserve the scenic beauty of the Columbia River Gorge	94%
I wanted to help preserve the wildlife and plants of the Gorge	78%
I was disturbed by inappropriate development in the Gorge and wanted to help stop it	72%
I often visit the Gorge for recreational purposes, and wanted to be sure that I could continue to do so	46%
I live in the National Scenic Area and supported the National Scenic Area Act	6%
A friend urged me to join	5%
Other	6%

**2. Do you engage in recreational activities in the Gorge?**

Yes, frequently	21%
Yes, occasionally	36%
Yes, but rarely	32%
Never	8%

**3. Activities pursued in the Gorge:**

	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Total
Sightseeing by car	22%	42%	19%	83%
Hiking	20%	32%	18%	70%
Enjoying wildflowers	16%	34%	13%	63%
Picnicking	5%	29%	18%	52%
Photography	12%	25%	13%	50%
Birdwatching	6%	19%	10%	35%
Camping	2%	9%	18%	29%

Fishing	1%	4%	10%	15%
Windsurfing	1%	1%	9%	11%
Sailing	0.1%	1%	10%	11%
Hunting	0.1%	1%	8%	9%
Other	2%	3%	2%	7%

**4. Importance of FOCG membership benefits:**

	Highly Impor.	Somewhat Impor.	Not Impor.
Helping to preserve and protect the beauty and other special qualities of the Gorge through public education	89%	8%	0.3%
Helping to preserve and protect the beauty and other special qualities of the Gorge through litigation	83%	11%	1%
Helping to create new state or federal parklands in the Gorge	55%	27%	5%
Helping to create new recreational opportunities in the Gorge	21%	36%	22%
Receiving the newsletter	21%	53%	13%
FOCG-sponsored hiking trips in the Gorge	11%	34%	36%
Doing volunteer work for FOCG	5%	17%	48%
Socializing with other FOCG members	2%	19%	55%
Discounts on travel-related services such as restaurants and lodging	1%	15%	62%
Discounted or free posters, calendars, T-shirts, etc.	1%	12%	66%
Other	1%	0.4%	0.3%

**5. County of residence:**

Multnomah County, Oregon	39%
Wasco County, Oregon	2%
Hood River County, Oregon	0.7%
Sherman County, Oregon	0.1%
Other counties in Oregon	28%
Clark County, Washington	4%
Skamania County, Washington	0.7%
Klickitat County, Washington	0.3%
Other counties in Washington	16%
Outside Washington and Oregon	10%

**6. Membership in other nonprofit organizations**

Members belonging to:	
no other nonprofit organizations	2%
1-2 other nonprofit organizations	12%
3-4 other nonprofit organizations	28%
5 or more other nonprofit organizations	56%

**7. Membership in other conservation organizations**

Members belonging to other conservation organizations	86%
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213  
372

# 1987 MEMBERSHIP QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

## Part II

In August, 1987, Friends of the Columbia Gorge distributed a questionnaire to our members. We received a total of 736 responses which gave us a wealth of information about our members and their opinions. Part I of the results (Questions 1-7) was reported in last quarter's newsletter. The rest of the results are reported here.

Our members tend to be older than the general population. Almost two-thirds are over 45, and nearly one-third are over 65. However, much of our support—about one third—comes from people between the ages of 25 and 45. Less than one-half of one percent are under 25. Judging from the comments written on the questionnaires, our older members have a special concern for preserving the Gorge for future generations. Also, seniors who have lived in the area for many years remember what the Gorge was like before much of the modern-day development took place. As a result of what we learned from the questionnaire, last November we added a new "Student/Senior" membership category with a lower \$15 annual contribution, in order to encourage both more seniors, who are especially supportive of our goals, and more young people, who are under-represented in our membership, to support the Friends by becoming members.

A large majority of our members (72%) felt that our advocacy of the National Scenic Area Act was at the appropriate level, neither too strong nor too weak. Many members (33%) were concerned because the Act seemed to them to be weighted in favor of development. Other members (29%) did not take a position on the final form of the Act. From comments made on the questionnaires, it appears that they either felt the Act was too complicated for anyone but the experts to understand fully, or that its balance between conservation and development can only be judged after enough time passes to see how it is implemented and enforced.

Members give generously to Friends of the Columbia Gorge. This generosity is probably the result of their strong support of the Friends' goals. The vast majority want the Friends to continue monitoring legislation and governmental practices affecting the Gorge (97%) and litigating when necessary to protect Gorge lands from inappropriate development (91%).

Starting a land trust program is favored by 79% of our members. This would be a new direction for the Friends, and our Board of Directors voted in January to study the idea. Naturally, if we began a land trust program, we would want to get advice from and coordinate our efforts with other groups experienced in land trusts, such as the Trust for Public Land and The Nature Conservancy.

Following is a chart showing the responses to Questions 8-16.

8. What activities would you like to see FOCG pursue in the future?
- Continue monitoring legislation and governmental practices affecting the Gorge to assure maximum protection for Gorge resources ..... 97%
  - Continue litigating to protect Gorge lands from inappropriate development ..... 91%
  - Develop a land trust program for the purpose of purchasing or receiving donated property for new parklands in the Gorge.... 79%
  - Expand FOCG's role in providing the public with information about the history and natural resources of the Gorge and about recreational activities in the Gorge ..... 67%
  - Other ..... 5%
9. How did you feel about FOCG's advocacy in support of protecting the Gorge through a National Scenic Area Act?
- It was too strong ..... 0.5%

- It was not strong enough ..... 16%
- It was about right ..... 72%

10. How do you feel about the National Scenic Area Act in its final form?

- It is too weighted in favor of conservation ..... 0.4%
- It is too weighted in favor of development ..... 33%
- It provides a proper balance between conservation and development ..... 38%
- No answer provided ..... 29%

Optional Questions

11. Are you male or female?

- Male ..... 40%
- Female ..... 52%
- Couple answering together ..... 4%
- No answer provided ..... 3%

12. What is your age group?

- Under 25 ..... 0.4%
- 25-34 ..... 10%
- 35-44 ..... 23%
- 45-64 ..... 31%
- 65-75 ..... 22%
- over 75 ..... 10%
- No answer provided ..... 4%

13. Approximate level of annual support to FOCG, including membership contribution and supplemental contributions

- \$20 ..... 29%
- \$21-\$50, as an individual member ..... 33%
- \$30, as a family membership ..... 10%
- \$31-\$50, as a family membership ..... 7%
- \$51-\$100 ..... 8%
- \$101-\$500 ..... 2%
- over \$500 ..... 0.5%
- No answer provided ..... 10%

14. Annual family income level before taxes

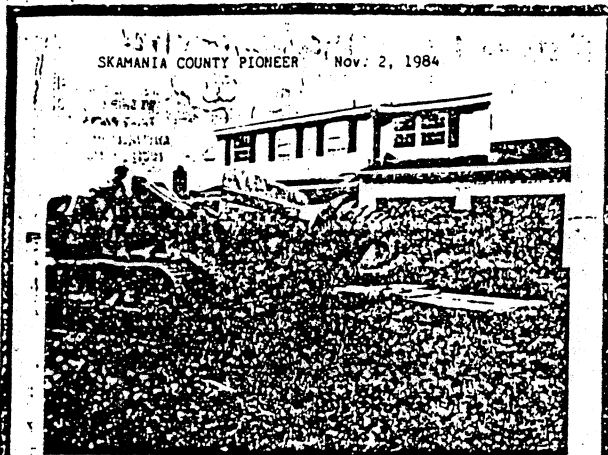
- Under \$10,000 ..... 4%
- \$10,000 - \$19,999 ..... 12%
- \$20,000 - \$29,999 ..... 18%
- \$30,000 - \$39,999 ..... 14%
- \$40,000 - \$59,999 ..... 19%
- \$60,000 - \$100,000 ..... 12%
- over \$100,000 ..... 5%
- No answer provided ..... 17%

15. Household status

- Single, no children ..... 29%
- Sole adult in household with children ..... 2%
- Married or living with partner, no children in household ..... 45%
- Married or living with partner, children in household ..... 14%
- No answer provided ..... 10%

16. Children

- Children under 12 ..... 10%
- Children 12-18 ..... 4%
- Children over 18 living at home ..... 3%
- Children over 18 not living at home ..... 32%
- No children or did not answer ..... 49%



# TOMORROW?

**WHEN** the CUYAHOGA VALLEY, in Ohio was made a FEDERAL PARK in 1974, residents were told only 20 homes would be acquired by the government.

**SINCE** then, **OVER 400 CUYAHOGA VALLEY HOMES** — including entire communities — have been bought or condemned. And over **80%** of the former residents have been forced to move.

**DO YOU WANT THIS TO HAPPEN  
IN THE**

**COLUMBIA RIVER GORGE?**

SEND A MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

**VOTE FOR LOCAL CONTROL**

SKAMANIA COUNTY ADVISORY BALLOT — NOV. 6

**SIGN UP TO TESTIFY AT SEN. EVANS' GORGE  
HEARING NOVEMBER 8 IN STEVENSON!**

Call Evans' Aide, Cleo Kelly at (206) 442-0350

**IT'S YOUR FUTURE!  
ISN'T IT TIME YOU SAID SOMETHING?**

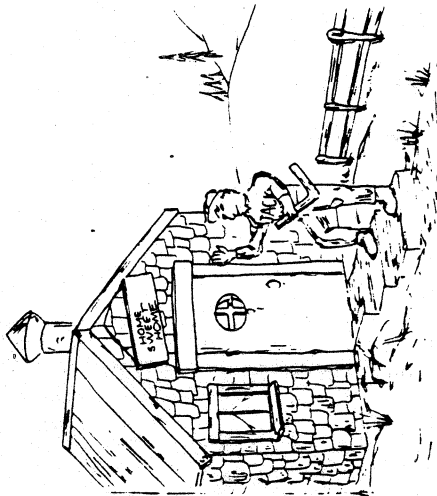
(This statement paid for jointly by COLUMBIA GORGE UNITED  
and THE GORGE DEFENSE LEAGUE)

# A COLUMBIA GORGE PRIMER

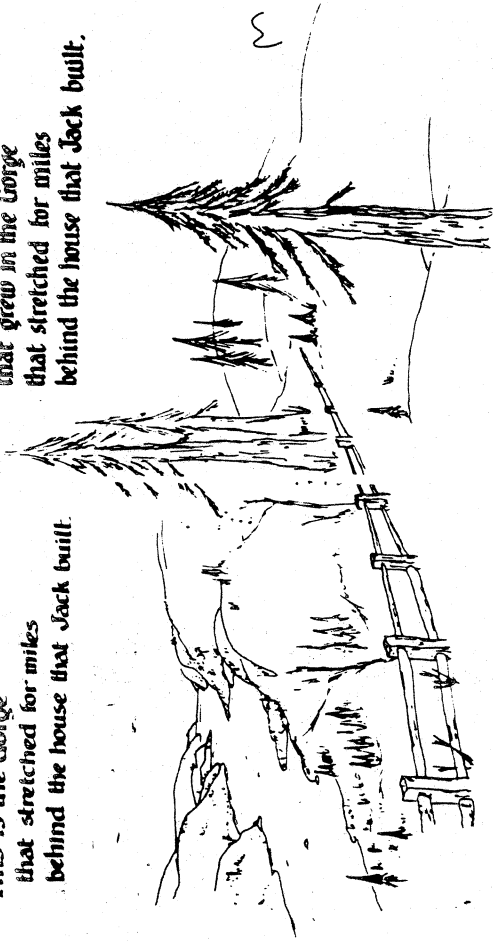
by Joe Wrabek

© PACE-MAN PUBLICATIONS 1983

This is the house that Jack built.

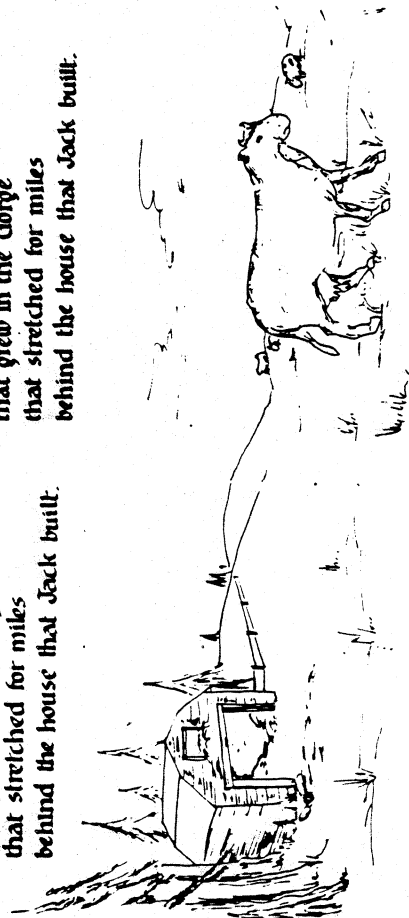


This is the Gorge that stretched for miles behind the house that Jack built.

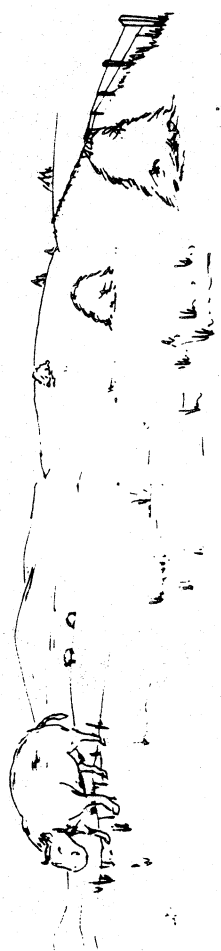


These are the trees that grew in the Gorge that stretched for miles behind the house that Jack built.

This is the barn that sat in the trees that grew in the Gorge that stretched for miles behind the house that Jack built.



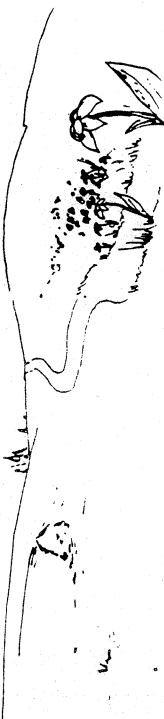
These are the cattle that lived in the barn that sat in the trees that grew in the Gorge that stretched for miles behind the house that Jack built.



This is the pasture that fed the cattle that lived in the barn that sat in the trees that grew in the Gorge that stretched for miles behind the house that Jack built.

216  
375

This is the trail  
 that led through the pasture  
 that fed the cattle  
 that lived in the barn  
 that sat in the trees  
 that grew in the Gorge  
 that stretched for miles  
 behind the house that Jack built.



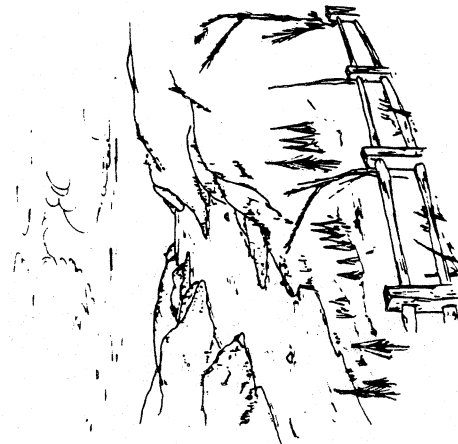
These are the flowers  
 that grew by the trail  
 that led through the pasture  
 that fed the cattle  
 that lived in the barn  
 that grew in the Gorge  
 that stretched for miles  
 behind the house that Jack built.



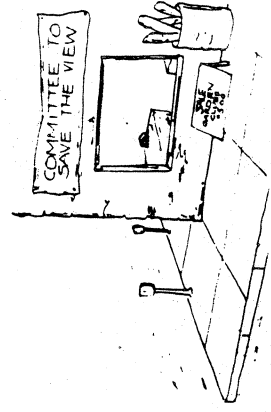
And this is the lady  
 that spotted the flowers  
 that grew by the trail  
 that led through the pasture  
 that fed the cattle  
 that lived in the barn  
 that sat in the trees  
 that grew in the Gorge  
 that stretched for miles  
 behind the house that Jack built.

217  
 376

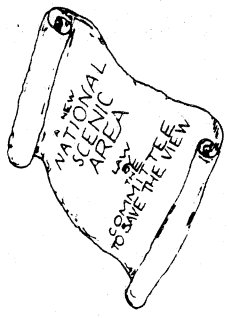
And this is the view  
 that was seen by the lady  
 that spotted the flowers  
 that grew by the trail  
 that led through the pasture  
 that fed the cattle  
 that lived in the barn  
 that sat in the trees  
 that grew in the Gorge  
 that stretched for miles  
 behind the house that Jack built.

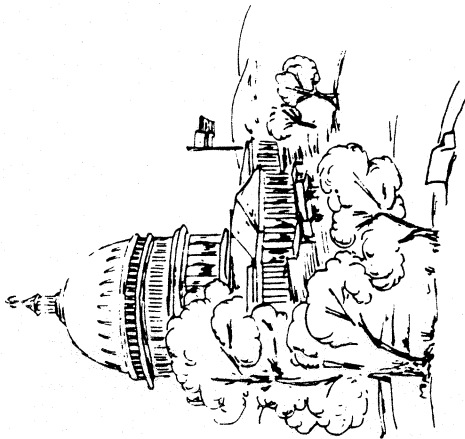


And this is the committee  
 to save the view  
 that was seen by the lady  
 that spotted the flowers  
 that grew by the trail  
 that led through the pasture  
 that fed the cattle  
 that lived in the barn  
 that sat in the trees  
 that grew in the Gorge  
 that stretched for miles  
 behind the house that Jack built.



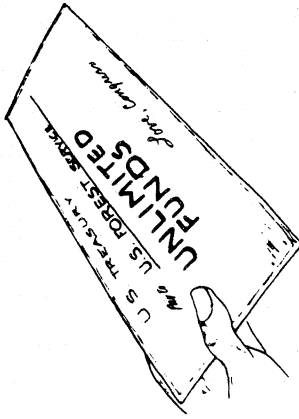
And this is the law  
 that was written by the committee  
 to save the view  
 that was seen by the lady  
 that spotted the flowers  
 that grew by the trail  
 that led through the pasture  
 that fed the cattle  
 that lived in the barn  
 that sat in the trees  
 that grew in the Gorge  
 that stretched for miles  
 behind the house that Jack built.





And this is Congress,  
 that passed the law  
 to save the view  
 that was written by the lady  
 that spotted the flowers  
 that grew by the trail  
 that led through the pasture  
 that fed the cattle  
 that lived in the barn  
 that sat in the trees  
 that grew in the Gorge  
 that stretched for miles  
 behind the house that Jack built.

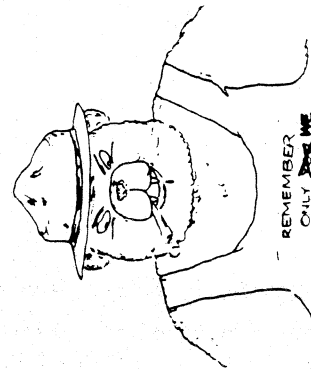
And this is the check,  
 that was signed by Congress,  
 that passed the law  
 that was written by the committee  
 to save the view  
 that was seen by the lady  
 that spotted the flowers  
 that grew by the trail  
 that led through the pasture  
 that fed the cattle  
 that lived in the barn  
 that sat in the trees  
 that grew in the Gorge  
 that stretched for miles  
 behind the house that Jack built.



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377

And this is the Bear,



REMEMBER  
 ONLY ~~WE~~ **WE**  
 CAN PREVENT  
 FOREST FIRES!

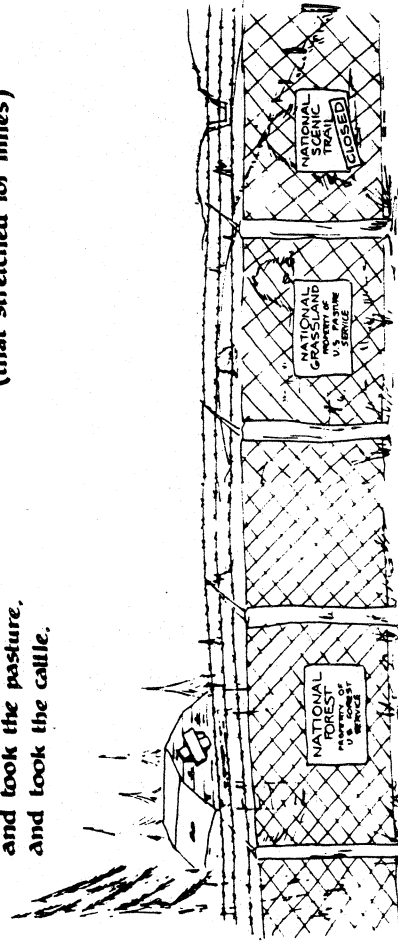
that took the check,



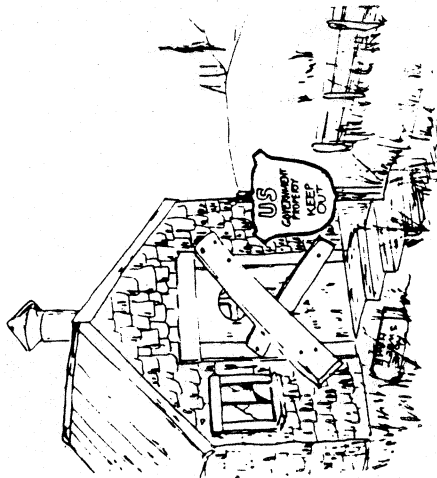
HEY, YOU  
 FORGOT ABOUT  
 THE LAW!

and took the view,  
 and took the flowers,  
 and took the trail,  
 and took the pasture,  
 and took the cattle,

and took the barn,  
 and took the trees,  
 and took the Gorge  
 (that stretched for miles)



— and look the house  
that Jack built.



*This is a true story.  
It hasn't happened here yet.  
But it HAS happened  
in a lot of other places  
and the same people who  
made it happen there  
are trying to make it happen here.  
If you don't like the idea,  
you'd better do something.  
Speak up in your own self-defense.  
No one else can do it for you.  
Only you can prevent  
a National Scenic Area.*

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Dedicated to  
MADGE KEYS  
who told me I should explain the  
issue in terms  
that everybody could understand.

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