

People

Photographs by Chet Susslin



Chris Campbell

The Senate Finance Committee's majority staff director prepares for a showdown on trade.

WHEN I MEET CHRIS CAMPBELL in his modest office in Hart, the Senate Finance Committee is bracing itself for the biggest trade policy fight in decades—a showdown likely to include a vote on whether to give the president the authority to fast-track global trade agreements. As the committee's new majority staff director—responsible for coordinating the Republican agenda on tax, trade, and health

policy—and the right-hand man to Chairman Orrin Hatch, Campbell will be in the thick of it. The biggest projects on Campbell's docket are tax reform and getting a mutual agreement between the parties on trade; specifically, he'd like to see a fast-tracked version of the Trans-Pacific Partnership passed. "We're becoming more anticompetitive as a country," he says. He believes TPP would help remedy that if passed. (It would also be the largest trade deal in history, involving some 40 percent of the world economy.) Campbell acknowledges the challenges to achieving that goal, including internal disputes across the aisle. "Trade is extremely difficult on the Democratic side," he says. "We recognize that."

But Campbell has never been one to let a little challenge get in his way. He grew

up one of six kids, in a relatively poor family, in the small, rural town of Hemet, California—a background that has strongly influenced his worldview. “I have a lot of empathy, a lot of empathy,” he tells me. “But I know, with a lot of hard work and education, you can get past the circumstances you were born into.” Campbell graduated from the University of California at Santa Barbara with a bachelor’s degree in political science and, through a friend of a friend, landed a job as national field director on Hatch’s 2000 presidential campaign. Hatch’s bid was short-lived, and after it was over, Campbell helped get him reelected to the Senate. Campbell then took some time off to get an MBA and dabble briefly in business consulting before returning to work for Hatch in 2006, this time as his legislative director. In 2011, he became the Republican staff director for the Finance Committee’s minority side; he assumed his current role when Hatch became the panel’s chairman in January.

But it was that first job with Hatch’s presidential campaign, he says, that opened doors to “so many things I never would have been able to see given my background.” While he’s eternally grateful

to Hatch, he objects when I refer to the opportunity as a bit of good luck: “What may appear as luck is a product of hard work and planning,” he says. “There is an element of blessing, but you still have to allow yourself to be ready for unique opportunities and challenges. You have a better chance of finding happiness when you’re living right.”

For Campbell, currently a resident of Arlington, Virginia, “living right” includes regular CrossFit workouts and a carefully monitored diet. (He confides he lost between 70 and 80 pounds on the workout in the years after college and has managed to keep the weight off for the better part of a decade.) It also includes practicing his faith—he and Hatch are both Mormons—and treating people with respect. “Your intern today could be your boss tomorrow,” he says. “Even if the intern doesn’t become your boss, you should treat them as your boss.” Why? Because on the Hill, he says, reputation and relationships are everything.

It’s not surprising, then, that even Democratic staffers have nice things to say about him. Sean Neary, who was communications director to the committee’s previous

chairman, then-Sen. Max Baucus, calls Campbell’s team “some of the best in the business,” adding that “while we were on opposite sides of the aisle, there was a lot of mutual respect.”

The other thing that stands out about Campbell, even to those outside the fold, is the strength of his connection to Hatch. “He’s someone who has the chairman’s ear and who Chairman Hatch listens to for his counsel and advice,” says Jon Selib, a former chief of staff to Baucus, who worked across the committee aisle from Campbell in drafting the health care reform law. “You know that when you’re talking to Chris, you’re hearing what you’re likely to hear from the chairman, which is a very valuable thing as a negotiating counterpart, because you know whatever you negotiate, you’re going to be able to take it to the bank.”

And Hatch, it seems, can rely on Campbell. When I ask why he made the move from Hatch’s legislative staff to Senate Finance, Campbell replies that it was a chance to help a greater number of people. Then he adds, “Also, Chairman Hatch asked me to do it, and I do everything he asks me to do.”

—Lucia Graves

AROUND THE AGENCIES

Jim Hock *Commerce Department*



JUST WEEKS AFTER becoming chief of staff to Commerce Secretary Penny Pritzker at the beginning of this year, Jim Hock found himself winging his way to India with his new boss to witness a landmark trade meeting between President Obama

and Prime Minister Narendra Modi. Trade is one of the pillars of Pritzker’s “Open for Business” policy agenda—which Hock helped to shape in his previous job as senior adviser and director of public affairs at Commerce. Before joining the department in August 2013, Hock, 45, cofounded the strategic-communications firm 463 Communications. He says he and Pritzker immediately hit it off when they met in 2013, exchanging stories from the private sector and ideas about how government could help businesses. Born in California and raised in New Jersey, Hock, who has also served as a spokesman for Sen. Dianne Feinstein, says that, after 21 years living in the state, he now considers himself a Virginian.

—Laura Ryan

CORPORATE LIFE

Cathy Koch *Ernst & Young*



CATHY KOCH first became interested in economics during a break in her undergraduate education, she says, when “my father—as a throwaway line—told me, ‘Just go take a course in economics ... see if you like that.’” During the same period, the Pennsylvania native also took a job as a bank teller and customer-service representative in Princeton, New Jersey—where she assisted some economists who now know her as a peer. As Ernst & Young’s new Americas tax-policy leader, Koch will advise corporate clients on U.S. tax policy and policy developments across North, South, and Central America. It’s the latest step in a career that

began with an internship at the Joint Committee on Taxation while she was working on her Ph.D. in economics at Georgetown University. Koch went on to hold senior positions at the Senate Finance Committee and General Electric. Directly before moving to Ernst & Young, she was Senate Democratic Leader Harry Reid’s chief adviser on tax and economic policy.

—Laura Ryan



Lori Wallach

The advocate seeks “a trade policy that respects the fundamental tenets of American democracy.”

LORI WALLACH was 27 and lobbying for food-safety improvements as a staff attorney for the consumer-advocacy group Public Citizen when she noticed that industry lawyers were routinely citing trade agreements as a reason to lower food-safety standards. That launched her on a mission to find out more. She wound up poring over a draft of the agreement that would establish the World Trade Organization—and coming to the conclusion that trade negotiations were affecting a whole lot more than just trade.

This “awakening,” as she calls it, kicked off two decades of work educating legislators and the public as the director of Public Citizen’s Global Trade Watch. She and her 11-person team spend their days translating the arcane language of trade policy to help people understand it, tracking the outcomes of existing trade deals and measuring them against free-trade advocates’ claims, and lobbying Congress for what Wallach calls “a trade policy that respects the fundamental tenets of American democracy.”

“What I do is a combination of the

‘Dracula strategy’ and translation,” she says. “I translate what the terms mean and then basically drag into the sunshine what the real implications are. The thing is,” she adds, “just like Dracula, once exposed to the sunshine, the details of these agreements do not fare well.” Her efforts have made the 51-year-old perhaps the biggest thorn in the side of the free-trade movement—but if they want someone to blame, she says, they should talk to Big Food: “If the agro-business companies hadn’t gotten greedy about food-safety laws through the WTO and NAFTA, I’d still be working on fish inspection.”

Now, with Republicans in control of Congress and the Obama administration prioritizing trade deals—including the largest in decades, the Trans-Pacific Partnership, which involves a dozen Pacific Rim countries—Wallach is gearing up for the fight of

her career, and both friends and foes expect her to give it her all. Rep. Rosa DeLauro, who has helped lead the House Democratic fight against the presidential trade negotiating power known as fast-track authority, and who counts Wallach as a friend, calls her “indefatigable.” Bill Reinsch, the president of the National Foreign Trade Council, which supports free trade and the TPP, chooses a different term: “relentless”—a rare point of agreement between him and Wallach, who uses the same word to describe herself. “I’ve found her over the years a very formidable adversary,” Reinsch says. “It’s made a little bit easier by the fact that she’s wrong, but that’s small consolation sometimes.”

Wallach, for her part, is well equipped to counter that viewpoint. She grew up in the northern Wisconsin town of Wausau, and even when she was a kid, she tells me, people said she ought to be a lawyer. She recounts a time in third grade when, upon learning that a favorite teacher was getting transferred, she launched a “Save Mrs. Fitzgerald” campaign at John Marshall Elementary School. “I was either going to be in legal services or I was going to need them,” she says.

But after enrolling in Harvard Law School in the late 1980s, she found she didn’t really want to be a lawyer “in the traditional sense.” She knew she wanted to do something in the public interest, but it wasn’t until several years after she graduated that she would find the work that would come to define her. “The issue is what, in a way, has made me,” she says, “because it is so broadly affecting of everything, every policy, every facet of our day-to-day lives. And the prospect of the damage that can be caused has motivated me to do this work. It’s the issue that’s really interesting.”

—Lucia Graves



AFTER NEARLY FOUR years at the Treasury Department, Lisa Zarlenga returned at the beginning

AT THE BAR

Lisa Zarlenga
Steptoe & Johnson

of March to Steptoe & Johnson, the law firm where she spent the first 15 years of her career. She will cochair the firm’s Tax Group. In her previous job, as the tax legislative counsel to Treasury’s assistant secretary for tax policy, Zarlenga, 45, learned about a wide range

of tax issues—which was more fun than it sounds, she says: “I think a lot of people assume that tax law is very dry, and all you do is fill out tax returns. That is sort of the myth of what a tax lawyer does. The thing that I actually liked about tax law is that it’s actually pretty

creative.” The Ohio native’s memories of the collegial culture at Steptoe & Johnson helped distinguish it from the other firms she was considering, she says: “It seems more like a small Southern firm than a big Washington firm.”

—Laura Ryan



ON THE HILL

Tom Barthold
Joint Committee on Taxation

IN 2009, two Democrats tapped Tom Barthold to become the chief of staff for the Joint Committee on Taxation. Recently, two Republicans—Sen. Orrin Hatch and Rep. Paul Ryan, the new chairmen of the

Senate Finance Committee and the House Ways and Means Committee, respectively—announced that they’d asked him to stay on. Barthold, 61, warns me not make too much of it. “The press ... likes the narrative of, ‘Oh! Tom was named by two Democrats and now two Republicans have retained him,’” he says. “I know that makes a nice story, but that almost throws politics in on Joint

Tax, when we work hard to not be political.” The St. Louis native has spent nearly 27 years with the nonpartisan committee, which calculates the estimated costs of tax legislation. Thinking about and working on real-world problems in a room full of Ph.D.s turned out to be a dream come true, Barthold says: “It’s challenging, it’s engaging, and it’s fun.”

—Laura Ryan

PUBLIC-PRIVATE

Blake Marshall
International Tax and Investment Center

AFTER SPENDING 20 years working on business relations with Russia and other former members of the Soviet Union, Blake Marshall decided it was time to expand his horizons. Marshall, 49, found that opportunity at the nonprofit International Tax and Investment Center, where he became vice president late last year. “I realized I knew an awful lot about Russia, but not so much about places

like Brazil and India,” he says. ITIC’s research and education programs are aimed at promoting tax and investment reforms in developing markets, and Marshall now has the chance to work with countries ranging from Azerbaijan to the Philippines. He is also in charge of leading the group’s expansion into Latin America. Before joining ITIC, the North Carolina native made more than 100 trips to Russia while



helping to advise companies doing business there, first as executive vice president at the U.S.-Russia Business Council, and then at the strategic-communications firm PBN Hill+Knowlton Strategies.

—Laura Ryan