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The New York Times

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Killing TPP won't solve imbalance

Jared Bernstein

OPINION

WASHINGTON President Trump wasted no time tackling his campaign promise to reverse America's trade deficit: On Monday he signed a memorandum withdrawing from the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a move he promised would be a "great thing for the American worker." The withdrawal dovetails with promises to impose tariffs on imports and crack down on American companies that manufacture overseas.

These steps make for great optics. But in economic terms, they're unlikely to move the needle. For the country to improve its trade balance, the president's going to have to do a lot more.

Ripping up trade deals won't achieve much. A new study by the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office found that estimates of the impact of "trade agreements on the U.S. trade balance are very small and highly uncertain." Large tariffs are also unlikely to help. Yes, they'll lower imports, but they'll probably lower exports as well, both through a stronger dollar and through retaliatory tariffs from our trading partners.

If President Trump is serious about balancing imports and exports, he needs to think bigger.

And it's hard to imagine much good emanating from Twitter-shaming China, or writing a check to the occasional factory to prevent it from outsourcing some of its jobs. Such measures are far too ad hoc to make a systemic difference.

So what *would* work?

Factors in the trade deficit include how much countries save and invest, the demand for traded goods and services, the relative competitiveness of the companies that produce them and, most important, exchange rates. Even as productive as they are, our manufacturers can't compete in foreign markets if exchange rates — the value of the dollar in terms of the currencies of our trading partners — are tilted against them.

A few years ago, Congress passed legislation that would allow the administration to impose duties on specific imports, like a particular grade of tire, that were subsidized by exchange rate manipulation. Though the bill got large majorities in both houses, congressional leaders and the Obama administration killed the measure. Given today's climate around trade, such a bill might well sail through Congress with bipartisan and leadership support.

That's a narrow approach to exchange-rate manipulation. A more sweeping way to level the playing field is a plan by the trade expert C. Fred

BERNSTEIN, PAGE 13

LAM YIK FEI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

In China, a culture fades A floating village in Datang, Guangdong Province. Members of the Tanka group, an ancient people scattered across southern China who have survived on coastal waterways and on the margins of society, are seeing their way of life disappear amid the region's economic boom. *PAGE 2*

Quandary in South Sudan

NAIROBI, KENYA

New country falling apart, but proposal to let it be run by outsiders hits resistance

BY JEFFREY GETTLEMAN

Tens of thousands of civilians dead, countless children on the verge of starvation, millions of dollars stolen by officials, oil wells blown up, food aid hijacked and as many as 70 percent of women sheltering in camps raped — mostly by the nation's soldiers and police officers.

Just a few years ago, South Sudan accomplished what seemed impossible: independence. Of all the quixotic rebel armies fighting for freedom in Africa, the South Sudanese actually won. Global powers, including the United States, rallied to their side, helping to create the world's newest country in 2011, a supposed solution to decades of conflict and suffering.

Now, with millions of its people hungry or displaced by civil war, a radical question has emerged: Should South Sudan lose its independence?

As international frustrations and worries grow, some momentum is growing for a proposal for outside powers to take over South Sudan and run it as a trusteeship until things calm down.

Several academics and prominent opposition figures support the idea, citing East Timor, Kosovo and Bosnia as places where, they say, it has worked, though of course there are plenty of cautionary tales where outside intervention failed, like Somalia and Iraq.

The Ugandan scholar Mahmood Mamdani recently floated a plan in which the African Union would take the lead in setting up a transitional government for South Sudan. Ideally, Mr. Mamdani said, none of the current South Sudanese politicians who have helped drag their nation into civil war would be able to participate, and the trusteeship would last around six years, requiring United Nations support.

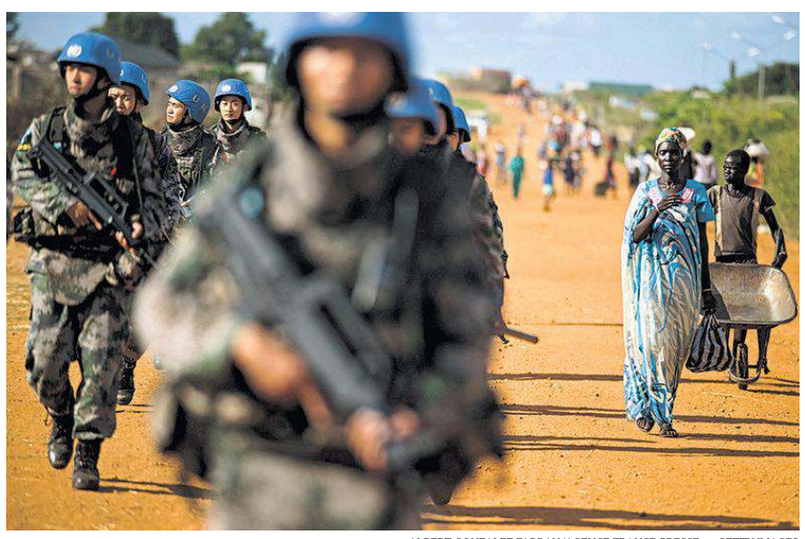
"The response to the crisis will need to be as extraordinary as the crisis," he said.

But there is one not-so-little problem. Many South Sudanese might not go for it.

According to James Solomon Padiet, a lecturer at Juba University, most members of the nation's largest ethnic group — the Dinka, who include South Sudan's embattled president, Salva Kiir — are adamantly set against an international takeover. While smaller ethnic groups would welcome it, he said, the powerful Dinka see it as an affront to their sovereignty.

For that matter, so does Mr. Padiet, a soft-spoken scholar who is not a Dinka. He called trusteeship "offensive" be-

SOUTH SUDAN, PAGE 3



ALBERT GONZALEZ FARRAN/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

United Nations peacekeeping troops outside a civilian protection site last year in Juba, South Sudan's capital. Bloodshed continues in a civil war between ethnic groups.

When the national bird becomes a burden

FROM THE MAGAZINE

Long America's emblem, bald eagles are a nuisance in parts of the country

BY WYATT WILLIAMS

The bald eagle, a bird that lives only in North America, is sometimes mistaken for an idea. Take the Great Seal of the United States: The eagle clutches an olive branch in one claw, a set of 13 arrows in the other. His wings stretch out tall and wide from behind a shield, and his fulsome beak holds a ribbon inscribed with Latin: "E pluribus unum." That is a collage of symbols about peace and war and history and unity, not a bird. A real bald eagle is made of flesh and feathers and talons — a thing of nature, not a pastiche of concepts. Noble virtues do not map neatly onto apex predators, a fact that troubled Benjamin Franklin as early as 1784. In a letter to his daughter, he wrote: "I wish the Bald Eagle had not been chosen as the Representative of our Country. He is a Bird of bad moral Character. He does not get his Living honestly."

ILLUSTRATION BY KELSEY DAKE

But the first time Will Harris saw a bald eagle on his farm, six years ago, Franklin's lesson was one he had not yet learned. Harris, the owner and patriarch of White Oak Pastures, a thriving family farm in Bluffton, Ga., is a fourth-generation cattleman. Just the sound of his South Georgia drawl can move a herd of half-ton heifers, so how much trouble could a 10-pound bird be? Besides, he sort of liked them.

They came to Bluffton, a small agricultural town in the southwestern corner of the state, one or two at a time. To the bare eye, they might have been any other raptor, any bird of prey. One day in 2011, Harris picked a pair of binoculars off the dash in his Jeep and pointed his gaze toward the sky. Sure enough, perched in the high branches of a loblolly pine was that unmistakable silhouette: wings broad as shoulders, beak

EAGLES, PAGE 10

In scrapping Asia trade pact, U.S. looks inward

WASHINGTON

Trump signals reversal of long-held policy and a tough stance with partners

BY PETER BAKER

In abandoning the ambitious, 12-nation Trans-Pacific Partnership brokered by his predecessor, President Trump declared an end to the era of multinational trade agreements that has defined global economics for decades.

He demonstrated that he would not follow old rules, effectively discarding longstanding Republican orthodoxy that expanding global trade was good for the world and America — and that the United States should help write the rules of international commerce.

With a stroke of a pen on Monday, Mr. Trump, signaled that he planned to follow through on promises to take a more aggressive stance against foreign competitors as part of his "America First" approach.

His decision not only doomed former President Barack Obama's signature trade achievement, but it also carried broad geopolitical implications in a fast-growing region. The deal, which was to link a dozen nations from Canada and Chile to Australia and Japan in a complex web of trade rules, was sold as a way to permanently tie the United States to East Asia and create an economic bulwark against a rising China.

Instead, Mr. Trump said American workers would be protected against competition from low-wage countries like Vietnam and Malaysia, also parties to the deal.

But some in both major American political parties worry that China will move to fill the economic vacuum as America looks inward, and will expand its sway over Asia and beyond.

Mr. Trump's decision to scrap the Trans-Pacific Partnership, or TPP, reversed a free-trade strategy adopted by Democratic and Republican presidents dating to the Cold War and aligned him more with the political left. When he told a meeting of union leaders at the White House on Monday that he had just terminated the pact, they broke into applause.

"We're going to stop the ridiculous trade deals that have taken everybody out of our country and taken companies out of our country, and it's going to be

TRADE, PAGE 9

PRESIDENT REPEATS ELECTION LIE
At a meeting with lawmakers, President Trump again blamed illegal ballots for his popular vote loss. *PAGE 6*

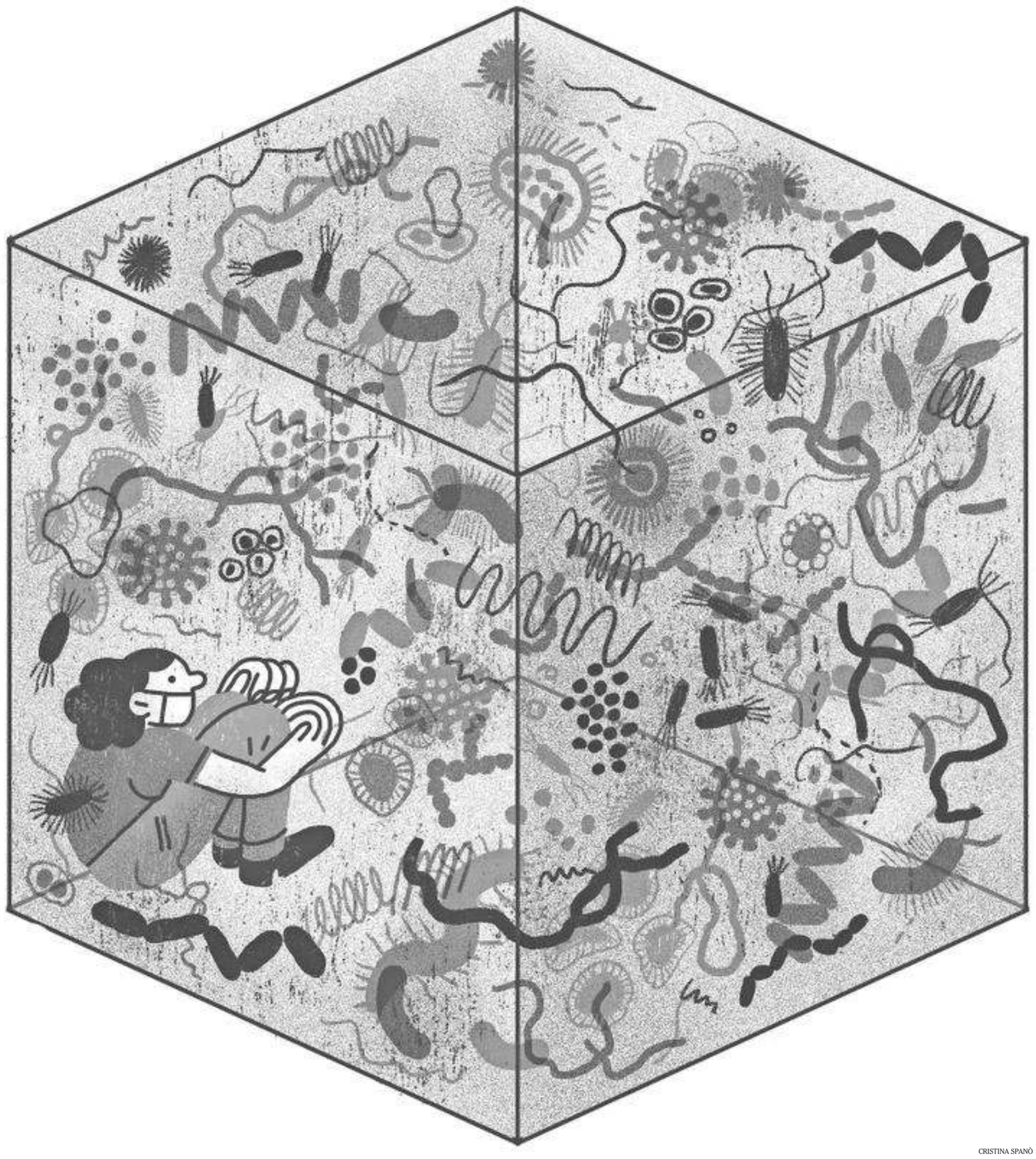
A CALL TO CREATE AMERICAN JOBS, OR ELSE
President Trump, in trying to counteract larger market forces, tests his sway among big companies. *PAGE 7*

Opinion

New power for C.D.C. is troubling

The administration of Donald J. Trump has even more authority to detain people than the Obama administration had during the Ebola crisis.

Kyle Edwards
Wendy Parmet
Scott Burris



CRISTINA SPANÒ

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention issued new regulations this month that give it broad authority to quarantine Americans. The rules outline for the first time how the federal government can restrict interstate travel during a health crisis, and they establish in-house oversight of whether someone should be detained, without providing a clear and direct path to challenge a quarantine order in federal court.

State and local authorities had previously been the ones to usually deal with issues like this during epidemics. Now the administration of Donald J. Trump has even more authority to detain people than the Obama administration had during the Ebola crisis. It's imperative that whenever the next outbreak hits, emergency health measures are grounded in scientific evidence and guided by clear, fair rules to protect people from wrongful deprivation of their liberties.

Emergency health measures must be guided by clear, fair rules to protect people from wrongful deprivation of their liberties.

Consider what happened to Kaci Hickox three years ago, when she landed at Newark Liberty International Airport after volunteering as a nurse for Ebola patients in Sierra Leone. Upon her arrival, federal health officers flagged her for an additional health screening. Ms. Hickox had no symptoms and had always worn heavy protective gear as she worked, so she had no known exposure to Ebola. So she should have been allowed to monitor herself at home, according to the guidelines that the C.D.C. had in place at the time. That's what happened to dozens of other volunteers. Instead, Gov. Chris Christie ordered her quarantined in a tent at a Newark hospital. She eventually won her freedom, but only after being held for three days.

That incident wasn't an anomaly. During a bubonic plague outbreak in 1900, for example, government officials quarantined the entire Chinatown neighborhood of San Francisco. The quarantine applied only to Chinese residents, and lacked any scientific basis. It was fueled by little more than naked fear and racism. Given this history, we want to ensure that federal officials applying the new regulations will act on the basis of science and evidence and not on politics and public fear.

Until now, most quarantines have been imposed by states and local governments, which have primary responsibility for protecting the health of their populations. In recent years, some state legislatures have added much-needed protections to their quarantine laws (with notable exceptions like New Jersey and Connecticut, which both face litigation over their conduct during the Ebola crisis).

Prompt judicial review has always been important during epidemic scares. People can usually challenge a state's order of quarantine immediately. Indeed, in several states, the government has to get a judge's approval *before* quarantining someone.

Unfortunately, the new rules give the C.D.C. significant oversight of the decision to quarantine, with up to three layers of internal agency review. This review has no explicit time limit and could easily stretch on for weeks while a healthy person languishes in quarantine. And since federal courts often wait until an agency has completed its internal process before it will consider hearing an appeal, we won't know until the next crisis hits whether a federal judge will agree to hear a petition from someone detained before the C.D.C. review is completed.

In addition, the C.D.C. now has clear legal authority to take over the quarantine role from states in many cases, and to restrict interstate travel. This raises questions not just of federalism but also of practicality. Local health departments have staff, relationships and the experience to set up and manage quarantine facilities. The C.D.C., whose main job is to provide expertise, does not. Nor does it have the infrastructure for or experience in managing travel disputes and adjudicating quarantine appeals. And in many cases, states and local governments may be better equipped to handle the situation and have no need for the federal government to take over.

During the 2014 Ebola outbreak, Mr. Trump tweeted, contrary to the judgment of Ebola experts, that West Africans and American health care workers returning from "Ebola-infected countries" should be barred from entering the United States. During his campaign, he said that Mexican immigrants bring "tremendous infectious disease" across the border, which is a lie. Given this history, we cannot dismiss the possibility that his administration would respond to an epidemic (real or feared) in a way that is sensational, discriminatory or ignorant of science.

Congress must make sure that the nation's top health agency has what it needs to do its job effectively and constitutionally: respected leaders and appropriate funding. In the confirmation hearings ahead, the Senate should insist that the nominees to lead the Department of Health and Human Services, the Public Health Service and the C.D.C. have the experience, scientific knowledge and integrity to respond to frightening health threats appropriately.

And Congress should ensure that the C.D.C. has the funding and mandate to fulfill the broader role it seeks. It should amend the federal quarantine law to ensure the availability of immediate judicial review of all C.D.C. quarantines. With good leadership and good law, we can protect public health without compromising basic rights.

KYLE EDWARDS *is a student at Yale Law School.* **WENDY PARMET** *is the director of the Program for Health Policy and Law at Northeastern University.* **SCOTT BURRIS** *is the director of the Public Health Law Research Program at Temple University.*

The banal belligerence of Donald Trump

Americans will have to fight for their civilization and the right to ask why.

Roger Cohen

The soldiers, millions of them, came home from the war. They dispersed across the country, in big towns and small. It was not easy to recount what had happened to them, and for the dead it was impossible.

Something in the nature of their sacrifice was unsayable. The country was not especially interested. War had not brought the nation together but had divided it. The sudden flash, the boom, the acrid stench and utter randomness of death were as haunting as they were incommunicable.

This was war without victory, the kind that invites silence. For the soldiers, who fought in the belief that their cause was right and their nation just, the silence was humiliating. They bore their injuries, visible and invisible, with stoicism.

Resentments accumulated. The years went by, bringing only mediocrity. Glory and victory were forgotten words. Perhaps someone might mutter, "Thank you for your service." That was it. There was no national memorial, for what would be memorialized?

Savings evaporated overnight in an economic meltdown engineered by financiers and facilitated by the abolishers of risk.

Democracy, the great diluter, slow and compromised, was inadequate for the expression of the soldiers' emotions. Reasonable leaders with rational arguments could not assuage the loss. They seemed to belittle it with their parsing of every question and their half-decisions.

No, what was needed was a leader with answers, somebody to marshal a popular movement and cut through hesitations, a strongman who would put the nation first and mythologize its greatness, a figure ready to scapegoat without mercy, a unifier giving voice to the trampled masses, a man who could use democracy without being its slave.

Over 15 years national embitterment festered and yearning intensified. But which 15 years? Anyone these days may be forgiven for moments of disorientation. The 15 years from the devastating German defeat of 1918 to the electoral victory (with 43.9 percent of the vote) of Adolf Hitler in 1933? Or the 15 years from the devastating 9/11 attack on the United States to the electoral victory (with 46.1 percent of the vote) of Donald Trump in 2016?

Over 15 years national embitterment festered and yearning intensified. But which 15 years?

National humiliation is long in gestation and violent in resolution.

German soldiers, two million of them killed in the Great War, came home to fractious and uneasy democratic politics, the ignominy of reparations, the hyperinflation of the early 1920s, the crash of 1929, and the paralysis of a political system held hostage by the extremes of left and right.

Some 2.7 million American soldiers came home to a country that had been shopping while they served in the Afghan and Iraqi wars, with 6,893 killed and more than 52,000 injured. They returned to an increasingly dysfunctional and polarized polity; to the financial disaster of 2008; to the mystery of what the spending of trillions of dollars in those wars had achieved; to stagnant incomes; to the steady diminishment of American uniqueness and the apparent erosion of its power.

Every American should look at the map in Kael Weston's powerful book, "The Mirror Test." It shows, with dots, the hometowns of U.S. service members killed in Iraq and Afghanistan. No state is spared. The map should be hung in classrooms across the country.

I have tried to tread carefully with analogies between the Fascist ideologies of 1930s Europe and Trump. American democracy is resilient. But the first days of the Trump presidency — whose roots of course lie in far more than the American military debacles since 9/11 — pushed me over the top. The president is playing with fire.

To say, as he did, that the elected representatives of American democracy are worthless and that the people are everything is to lay the foundations of totalitarianism. It is to say that democratic institutions are irrelevant and all that counts is the great leader and the masses he arouses. To speak of "American carnage" is to deploy the dangerous lexicon of blood, soil and nation. To boast of "a historic movement, the likes of the which the world has never seen before" is to demonstrate consuming megalomania. To declaim "America first" and again, "America first," is to recall the darkest clarion calls of nationalist dictators. To exalt protectionism is to risk a return to a world of barriers and confrontation. To utter falsehood after falsehood, directly or through a spokesman, is to foster the disorientation that makes crowds susceptible to the delusions of strongmen.

Trump's outrageous claims have a purpose: to destroy rational thought. When Primo Levi arrived at Auschwitz he reached, in his thirst, for an icicle outside his window but a guard snatched it away. "Warum?" Levi asked (why?). To which the guard responded, "Hier ist kein warum" (here there is no why).

As the great historian Fritz Stern observed, "This denial of 'why' was the authentic expression of all totalitarianism, revealing its deepest meaning, a negation of Western civilization."

Americans are going to have to fight for their civilization and the right to ask why against the banal belligerence of Trump.

OPINION

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EUROPE AND THE ANTI-TRUMP PROTESTS

Europeans marching in solidarity with Americans are putting the far-right on notice.

Europe's far-right leaders gathered in Koblenz, Germany, on Saturday to cheer the rise of populist nationalism that they believe is sweeping the West, from Britain's exit from the European Union to the election of President Donald Trump. With national elections coming up this year in the Netherlands, France and Germany, Marine Le Pen of France's National Front party predicted 2017 "will be the year of the Continental peoples rising up."

As she spoke, millions in the United States and around the world, including in cities across Europe, were rising up, but not to support the populist right. They marched in an astounding display of global solidarity with the Women's March on Washington to express their outrage at Mr. Trump's attack on hard-won rights, and at the politics of division that helped propel him to office.

The latest poll now pegs Ms. Le Pen as the front-runner in France's two-round presidential elections in April and May. And polls suggest Geert Wilders's anti-Islam Dutch Freedom Party will win a majority of the seats in Parliament in elections in the Netherlands on March 15. The fortunes of the far-right Alternative for Germany are also on the rise, and while the party is far from taking power, it is expected to garner enough votes in the federal election in September to win seats in Germany's Bundestag for the first time.

Still, polls can be fickle. Witness François Fillon's victory over Nicolas Sarkozy in France's center-right Les Républicains party's primary in November, and Sunday's first round of the Socialist party's primary vote in which the left-wing candidate Benoît Hamon took a surprising lead over Prime Minister Manuel Valls. In December, Austrian voters rejected the far-right candidate Norbert Hofer's bid to become president, handing victory instead to the Green Party leader, Alexander Van der Bellen. Alarm over the election of Mr. Trump, and his punches at the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, may have contributed to Mr. Hofer's defeat.

Trying to replicate the victory of Mr. Trump — who won the Electoral College vote but lost the popular vote by nearly three million — could prove a bad bet for Europe's far-right candidates, whose elections are based on the popular vote. The falsehoods Mr. Trump issued in his first days in office, his contemptuous treatment of the press and the rollbacks of important policies are sure to fuel even stronger resistance in the United States.

That resistance is resonating in Europe, putting additional pressure on mainstream political leaders, but also sounding a warning to far-right challengers: When citizens realize what upending, rather than fairly reforming, the existing economic, social and security order actually means, they will most likely hit the streets.

OPENING SALVOS IN A NEW TRADE WAR

A border tax would violate treaties with other countries.

President Trump seems intent on starting a trade war. On Monday, he told business executives at the White House that he would punish companies that shut factories in the United States and moved jobs overseas by imposing a "very major" border tax. Such a tax would probably be illegal under American law and would definitely violate treaties with other countries.

Mr. Trump's remarks came on the same day that he withdrew from the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a trade agreement the Obama administration had negotiated with 11 countries, including Australia, Japan and Vietnam, but Congress never ratified. He also pledged to renegotiate the North American Free Trade Agreement with Canada and Mexico. In this flurry of activity, he seemed oblivious to how his actions might affect the economy and millions of Americans who stand to lose their jobs if he tears up trade agreements and causes other countries to retaliate by penalizing American goods and services.

Congress has given the president authority to raise tariffs on imports in certain situations — as in war or during an international economic emergency or when foreign businesses sell products below the cost of production. But that authority has not been used to take aim at the products of individual companies that moved manufacturing of their goods abroad. Mr. Trump told a German newspaper this month that BMW might have to pay a 35 percent border tax on cars imported from a new factory in Mexico. In that case, BMW is not even moving production out of the United States, but moving it from Germany, China and South Africa, to Mexico. Experts say federal courts would most likely strike down such a tax if Mr. Trump tried to impose it. Even Congress might not have the authority to impose such taxes, because the Constitution's bills of attainder clause bars lawmakers from singling out specific businesses or individuals for punishment.

Foreign countries would almost certainly respond if Mr. Trump tried to impose a border tax. They would file cases against the United States at the World Trade Organization, which has the power to authorize retaliatory tariffs on American products, potentially hurting exporters like Boeing, General Electric and farmers in the Midwest. The leaders of some countries, including China, which Mr. Trump frequently criticizes, could create a similar tax to force American manufacturers to set up more factories in those countries.

In his inaugural speech, Mr. Trump railed against trade: "The wealth of our middle class has been ripped from their homes and then redistributed across the world." But the protectionism he champions assumes trade provides no benefits. In fact, it brings Americans cheaper goods and drives economic growth and innovation.

Discovering feminism in the Mideast

Deborah Williams

ABU DHABI, UNITED ARAB EMIRATES "My grandmother told me that the man is the head and the woman is the neck," said an East European student in my class. "It makes me so mad. I don't want to be the neck."

The other students in the class, all women, and none of them from the same country (and none from the United States), nodded in agreement. They knew the sentiment, if not the specific grandmotherly aphorism. A young woman from South Asia said her parents told her it was all right to have a career, but "of course" she would stop working when she got married. Another student, from Hong Kong, said her family supported her desire to go to college but made it clear that a graduate degree would probably make it difficult to find a husband.

These students were all enrolled in my literature class on women writers at New York University Abu Dhabi. Twenty percent of the nearly 1,000 students here come from the United States, another 20 percent from the United Arab Emirates and the remaining 60 percent from everywhere else. The globalism of the student body forces us all to examine our assumptions, examples and interpretations, an examination that goes well beyond just diversifying the syllabus. In my first semester of teaching here, for example, I made a glancing reference to Oprah's Book Club, and a student raised her hand to ask what an "oprah" was.

Given the wide range of student experiences, I wasn't sure how the students would receive a course on women writers. In the United States, when I've taught similar courses, discussions often veered into the territory of "I'm not a feminist, but . . . " Students were sure that there should be equity between the sexes but "feminists," in their minds, were angry man-haters who did nothing but complain.

So pervasive was this dismissal that I'd chalked it up to a generational divide, and I assumed that my students in Abu Dhabi would also see feminism as old-fashioned and irrelevant. But I have come to reconsider that assumption. "I need to be a feminist so I can do general world-saving," said one student, slightly joking about the world-saving but dead serious about the feminism.

Over and over during the semester, I heard "you, too?" as students discovered points of connection that bridged their distinct cultural experiences. We all found common cause with Sor Juana, a 17th-century nun from what is now Mexico, who avoided marriage and motherhood by taking religious vows, thus freeing her to write and study. A student from Pakistan remarked wryly that Sor Juana had the right idea because once she became a nun, people probably stopped introducing her to eligible bachelors.

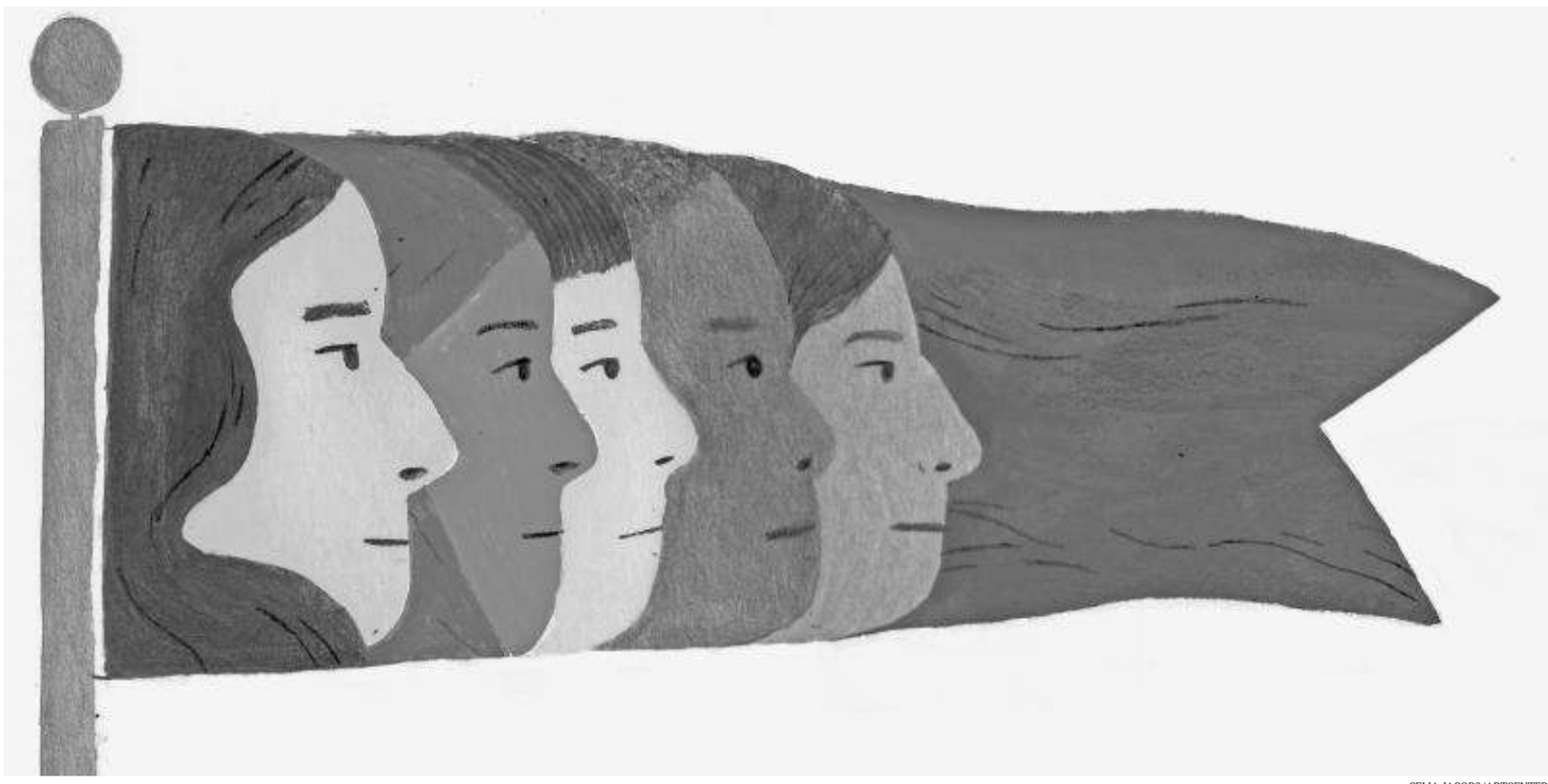
Women in Abu Dhabi were inspired by it to take risks and take charge of their lives.

"If you don't get married," asked a student from the Philippines, "won't you have to move home and take care of your parents?" That comment elicited murmurs of recognition and a discussion about the difficulties of resisting something we're told is "natural," such as the assumption that women are always caregivers. None of these students come from a country known for progressive gender politics, which may be precisely why they see the value in a feminist perspective: It helps them think about what needs to be changed — and how. Without ignoring the specifics of their experiences, they found the commonalities in being told to "be the neck," or to find a boyfriend, or to forgo graduate school.

Occasionally during class, I would comment that it took courage to have conversations about, for instance, the role that religion played in shaping expectations for "appropriate" female behavior. The students didn't think of themselves as brave, however; they just enjoyed the conversations. Maybe they didn't think of conversations as brave because for each of them, the decision to study at New York University Abu Dhabi was itself an individually brave, even radical, break with convention.

For some, it was radical to study at a coed school; for others it was coming to live in a Muslim country, or leaving home, or even the simple act of enrolling in a class that studied novels. Each student took a risk — stuck her neck out, we might say — in an effort to become the head of her own life. And in their conversations about the risks and challenges that confront them as young women, they came to see that difference is not a threat but is instead an opportunity for engagement and a source of strength.

DEBORAH WILLIAMS *is the head of the literature and creative writing program at New York University Abu Dhabi.*



CELIA JACOBS/ARTCENTER

At Quang Nam, raid and reckoning

Marsh Carter

In January 1967, I was a 26-year-old Marine Corps captain commanding a 224-man rifle company — Company C, First Battalion, First Regiment, First Marine Division — near Danang, near the North Vietnamese border. I had been in the field for four months and was getting to be relatively experienced in small-unit combat operations. In a rifle company — clearly the pointed end of the spear of American policy — there isn't a lot of strategic thinking. Our day-to-day tactical responsibilities, designed to achieve our military objectives, dictated our activities.

Daily life was focused on continuous small patrols of 15 to 45 men with the mission of finding and killing or capturing Vietcong guerrillas. We would establish a base camp that could be defended by a third of our company, and the rest would be on patrols or, if it was rice harvest season, provide security for the farmers in the villages. We bathed from our helmets and ate a combat ration of canned meals that needed no cooking or heating. These were protein-fortified; our three full meals a day provided about 3,500 calories. Every few days armored vehicles would resupply us with food, clean clothing and mail, as well as ammunition, grenades, land mines, barbed wire, sandbags and replacement parts for broken or damaged weapons.

We were responsible for security in a roughly 10-square-mile district and carried out all sorts of tasks, including providing medical care to villagers and backing up the local Vietnamese militia, police and regular military forces. But our primary job was seeking out the Vietcong. One key to our operations was mobility: We carried everything we needed on our backs.

At the outset of 1967, it seemed to me that the war was entering a dangerous new phase. We had begun encountering hardened North Vietnamese Army soldiers who had come down the Ho Chi Minh Trail starting in mid-1965, after President Lyndon B. Johnson said he had no plans to physically invade North Vietnam. So now our challenge was multiplied: We faced local Vietcong guerrillas, who posed a substantial threat to Vietnamese civilians, while remaining ready to engage in conventional infantry combat with North Vietnamese regular units. Ho Chi Minh's objective had always been to reunify his country, and he needed his regular army in South Vietnam to counter the aggressive tactics of the United States and South Vietnamese forces.

The escalation of the war became clear in mid-January, when my company was assigned a mission outside our normal operating area — a raid on an enemy village and safe area that was to host a meeting of more than 100 Vietcong leaders. A few days before, an enemy courier had been killed in an ambush; his documents revealed that the meeting was set for noon on Jan. 14 in the village of Ban Lanh in Quang Nam Province. Rapid intelligence exploitation and the ability to insert units into the enemy's base area were two of the tenets of counterguerrilla operations. In order to kill or capture the maximum number of guerrillas, this one would do both.

So at noon on Jan. 14, 1967, 176 of us loaded into 12 helicopters and headed for the designated area. Arriving about 20 minutes later, we found ourselves in a "hot zone." All of our helicopters received fire as we prepared to land and offload troops, and remained under fire until they took off again.

We then commenced our mission, fighting our way into the village, while airstrikes, helicopter gunships and a smoke screen laid down by American jets kept the enemy contained. This was a fortified village; each house had fighting positions and bunkers, and the village was protected by bamboo groves that restricted our movements.

Even during the French Indochina War (1946-54), this area had been considered a Communist stronghold. As we attacked and started taking casualties, it became apparent that the enemy force was much larger than we had expected; we needed to accomplish the mission and to be extracted rapidly. I can clearly recall observing mountains to the southwest — I knew that the enemy had reinforcements in those hills, as they were outside areas that had been marked by the United States for pacification.

I was forced to wonder if winning on the battlefield would be enough to win the war.

All of us were impressed with the discipline, intensity and aggressiveness of the enemy. A few weeks later, we learned that the area was defended not only by Vietcong, but also by large North Vietnamese Army units who, once they saw that only 12 helicopters dropped troops off, began to reinforce the . It was here that our Marine training and precombat planning paid off — as junior leaders were wounded, their corporals and sergeants took over without skipping a beat.

Under heavy fire, we finally reached the meeting area, a Buddhist pagoda, around 4 p.m., but nearly all the Vietcong leaders had fled. There was nothing to do but to regroup for extraction. We had suffered many casualties on the trails and in the village, and it took time to recover them. At one point, some of us had to crawl under enemy fire to recover a wounded Marine.

In the end, we killed more than 50 North Vietnamese fighters and captured one senior cadre member. As we called for helicopters to evacuate our 32 wounded and five dead Marines, we needed airstrikes to break contact with the enemy and to protect the helicopters. We knew we couldn't stay overnight, as we were short of ammunition, and not in an area where we could be reinforced by other Marine units.

At this point in the war, we still felt confident that we could defeat the guerrillas and the North Vietnamese Army units. But it was also apparent that not enough was being done by the government of South Vietnam to remove the causes of the insurgency or the conditions that had driven so many Vietnamese to want to live under Communism. When, later, I had a few moments to think strategically, the nagging thought arose: Yes, we can win on the battlefield, but is that enough to win the war?

I was proud to serve in the Marines in Vietnam, and I believed in our mission. I later went on to a 35-year career in the financial sector, including positions as the chief executive of a Fortune 500 company and the chair of the New York Stock Exchange Group. But I never felt I had as much responsibility as being the commander of the 224 Marines of C Company, who put their faith in my leadership abilities, and entrusted me with their lives.

Marsh Carter holding an enemy flag in Vietnam, a month before the Quang Nam raid.

MARSH CARTER, *a West Point graduate who spent two years in Vietnam as a Marine Corps infantry officer, is a former chief executive of State Street Bank and Trust and was the chairman of New York Stock Exchange Group from 2005 to 2013.*

OPINION

After the women's march

David Brooks

The women's marches were a phenomenal success and an important cultural moment. Most everybody came back uplifted and empowered. Many said they felt hopeful for the first time since Election Day. But these marches can never be an effective opposition to Donald Trump.

In the first place, this movement focuses on the wrong issues. Of course, many marchers came with broad anti-Trump agendas, but they were marching under the conventional structure in which the central issues were clear. As The Washington Post reported, they were "reproductive rights, equal pay, affordable health care, action on climate change."

These are all important matters, and they tend to be voting issues for many upper-middle-class voters in university towns and coastal cities. But this is 2017. Ethnic populism is rising around the world. The crucial problems today concern the way technology and globalization are decimating jobs and tearing the social fabric; the way migration is redefining nation-states; the way the post-World War II order is increasingly being rejected as a means to keep the peace.

All the big things that were once taken for granted are now under assault: globalization, capitalism, adherence to the Constitution, the American-led global order. If you're not engaging these issues first, you're not going to be in the main arena of national life.

Second, there was too big a gap between Saturday's marches and the Democratic and Republican Parties.

Sometimes social change happens through grass-roots movements — the civil rights movement. But most of the time change happens through political parties: The New Deal, the Great Society, the Reagan Revolution. Change happens when people run for office, amass coalitions of interest groups, engage in the messy practice of politics.

Without the discipline of party politics, social movements devolve into mere feeling, especially in our age of expressive individualism. People march and feel good and think they have accomplished something. They have a social experience with a lot of people and fool themselves into thinking they are members of a coherent and demanding community. Such movements descend to the language of mass therapy.

It's significant that as marching and movements have risen, the actual power of the parties has collapsed. Marching is a seductive substitute for action in an antipolitical era, and leaves the field open for a rogue like Trump.

The protesters' central issues were built on identity politics, and identity politics is too small to create a movement to counter Donald Trump.

Finally, identity politics is too small for this moment. On Friday, Trump offered a version of unabashed populist nationalism. On Saturday, the anti-Trump forces could have offered a red, white and blue alternative patriotism, a modern, forward-looking patriotism based on pluralism, dynamism, growth, racial and gender equality and global engagement.

Instead, the marches offered the pink hats, an anti-Trump movement built, oddly, around Planned Parenthood, and lots of signs with the word "pussy" in them. The definition of America is up for grabs. Our fundamental institutions have been exposed as shockingly hollow. But the marches couldn't escape the language and tropes of identity politics.

Soon after the Trump victory, Prof. Mark Lilla of Columbia wrote a piece on how identity politics was dooming progressive chances. Times readers loved that piece and it vaulted to the top of the most-read charts.

But now progressives seem intent on doubling down on exactly what has doomed them so often. Lilla pointed out that identity politics isolates progressives from the wider country: "The fixation on diversity in our schools and in the press has produced a generation of liberals and progressives narcissistically unaware of conditions outside their self-defined groups, and indifferent to the task of reaching out to Americans in every walk of life."

Sure enough, if you live in blue America, the marches carpeted your Facebook feed. But The Times's Julie Bosman was in Niles, Mich., where many women had never heard of the marches, and if they had, I suspect, they would not have felt at home at one.

Identity-based political movements always seem to descend into internal rivalries about who is most oppressed and who should get pride of place. Sure enough, the controversy before and after the march was over the various roles of white feminists, women of color, anti-abortion feminists and various other out-groups.

The biggest problem with identity politics is that its categories don't explain what is going on now. Trump carried a majority of white women. He won the votes of a shocking number of Hispanics.

The central challenge today is not how to celebrate difference. The central threat is not the patriarchy. The central challenge is to rebind a functioning polity and to modernize a binding American idea.

I loathed Trump's inaugural: It offered a zero-sum, ethnically pure, backward-looking brutalistic nationalism. But it was a coherent vision, and he is rallying a true and fervent love of our home.

If the anti-Trump forces are to have a chance, they have to offer a better nationalism, with diversity cohering around a central mission, building a nation that balances the dynamism of capitalism with biblical morality.

The march didn't come close. Hint: The musical "Hamilton" is a lot closer.

Brenda Barnes's wisdom

David Leonhardt

Brenda Barnes became a national figure 20 years ago when she quit her job as a top PepsiCo executive to become a full-time parent. Some people celebrated her decision, and others criticized it. But everyone seemed to agree that she was doing it for her children.

Her children, however, initially had a different reaction.

Because the family no longer needed to live near New York, Brenda and her husband decided to return with their three children — then ages 7, 8 and 10 — to the Chicago suburbs, where Brenda had grown up.

When I asked Erin Barnes, the middle child, this weekend how she and her brothers had reacted to the news that their mom would be around a lot more, Erin laughed and said, "I think we were all just mad we were leaving Connecticut for Chicago."

That's the thing about children: They have their own way of seeing the world. It's one of their best qualities, and often one of their most frustrating qualities, too. They live in the moment. They don't think ahead. If they're upset or happy, you can't just ask them to hold the emotion until you're done with a phone call. They operate on their timetable, not ours.

"The whole issue boils down to time," Brenda Barnes said in 1997, describing her decision to quit. "When you have very limited time windows, you are trying to force an interaction that a child might not be ready to talk about."

Barnes died last week, from a stroke, at the age of 63. She died at an unfairly young age, but lived a deeply fulfilling life. She reminds me of what the psychologist Amos Tversky said before his own early death: "Life is a book. The fact that it was a short book doesn't mean it wasn't a good book. It was a very good book."

Remembering a parent's 1997 answer to society's impossible demands.

Barnes always described her decision as a personal one, more for her own benefit than for her children's (although they quickly came to relish it). She hated judgmental debates over women's choices about work and family.

Yet there was really a larger wisdom in what she did. In her own graceful way, she called the country's bluff. She made clear that our society demands impossible choices from parents — and pretends otherwise.

Put simply, much of the economy functions as if children did not exist. Parents receive scant time off to care for young children, unlike in any other affluent country in the world. Public school doesn't start until children turn 5. Most employers make it impossible for people who spend time outside the work force to climb a career ladder.

Barnes was a lucky exception. Her prominence let her serve on a couple of corporate boards (including The New York Times's) while she was home with her children. When they were older, she became the chief executive of the food company Sara Lee. But she knew her path was outrageously rare.

For many adults, parenthood brings wrenching dilemmas, because so few good jobs and career paths acknowledge parenthood. Women, of course, pay a much higher price for these dilemmas than men. Much of today's gender pay gap, research shows, stems not from blatant discrimination but from the penalties for working fewer hours or taking time off.

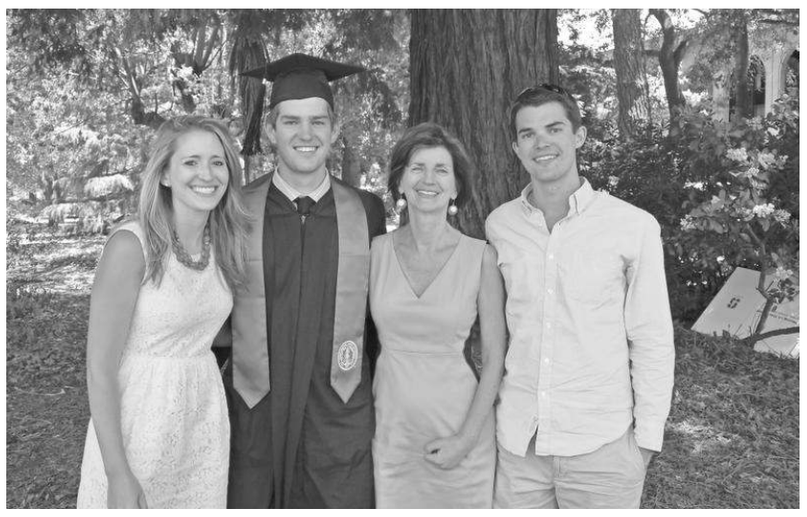
"These moms who do work and then stay home to spend some time with their children don't lose their minds, they don't lose any of their hard work," Erin Barnes said in an NPR interview about her mother.

Erin, now 28, faced her own dilemma a few years ago. She was working at an advertising agency and wanted to leave at a decent hour at the end of the workday — to help take care of her mother, who had suffered an initial stroke in 2010. It didn't make Erin popular at work. Eventually, she quit. She spent a year caring for her mother and is now enrolled in nursing school, while working in a neonatal intensive care unit.

She finds the work more meaningful than at her old job, and the health care sector has also been better than most fields creating good jobs that respect family schedules. That's a relatively new development, the result of people in the field pushing for change, as the economist Claudia Goldin has noted.

Brenda Barnes's life is a reminder that we need a lot more of that change (and men need to play a bigger role in it). On a more intimate level, it's a reminder of what we are each likely to remember when we are confronted with our own mortality. It is not the work email or meeting that, in the moment, seems urgent.

On Saturday, the Barnes family held a service near Chicago to celebrate Brenda's life. Afterward, Erin Barnes walked around, thanking people for coming and offering a parting thought: "My mom would want me to tell you, 'Don't work too hard.' "



Brenda Barnes in a photo with her children, from left, Erin, Brian and Jeff, in 2012.

From Readers

FREE MARKETS AND HEALTH CARE

Though he doesn't quite say so, David Brooks ("Do Markets Work in Health Care?," column, Jan. 14-15) provides something I have never seen before, except from insurance company executives: a full-throated defense of the status quo ante, the pre-Obamacare system of health insurance. It has troubled me for a long time that large for-profit companies could have any say at all in our health care. It was troubling, too, that the architects of the Affordable Care Act decided that they had no choice but to institutionalize the role of insurance companies in health care, while limiting their ability to toss the weaklings overboard. That may all change very soon with our new president.

Erik C. Strom,
Denver

Free markets and competition work when all other things are equal. Unfortunately, there is great disparity in this country as to income, pre-existing conditions, the health needs of an aging population, number of providers in rural areas and chronic diseases, to name just a few variables.

The analogy of the purchase of health care to the buying of a phone is misleading. Medical care is not a product; it is a uniquely personal service. Most consumers will not fare well in a completely unfettered health care market.

Ellen Silverman Popper,
Whitestone, Queens

Ten years ago, I went to my gastroenterologist for a routine colonoscopy. Afterward he called me into his office. He said: "I found a large tumor in your upper colon. It needs to come out *now*. While you were still under anesthesia, I made a call to an excellent surgeon I know at a nearby hospital. My office manager checked and confirmed that he will accept your insurance plan. The hospital thinks that it can fit you in on Wednesday. Any questions?"

Does David Brooks truly believe that in the situation I found myself, I would have taken the time to shop around for a hospital, a surgeon, compare prices and made a rational decision?

Chris Protopapas,
New York

Killing TPP won't solve deficit

BERNSTEIN, FROM PAGE 1

Bergsten for "countervailing currency intervention." In simple terms, it would allow American economic authorities to purchase the currency of the manipulating country "to neutralize the impact of that country's own intervention in the foreign exchange markets." This idea hits a sweet spot: It could be more effective against currency manipulation and wouldn't interfere with trade flows and market-driven (versus orchestrated) moves in the dollar.

Next, countries have long used capital controls (e.g., taxing foreign asset purchases; limits on currency purchases) to block unwanted inflows of money that made their currency rise. There's a risk here: Such inflows can be a valuable source of investment capital. But they can also increase the value of the dollar, worsen the trade deficit, and inflate credit bubbles. I wouldn't be at all surprised to see the Trump administration consider this route.

Another idea was introduced by Warren Buffett years ago: enforce balanced trade by providing exporters with "import certificates" worth the value of their exports. These could be traded to importing firms here or exporting firms abroad, in a version of cap-and-trade. (However, like Mr. Trump's ideas for large tariffs, this scheme could generate retaliation — and thus have little impact on the trade deficit — and significant inflation.)

As part of corporate tax reform, House Republicans are pushing a plan that subsidizes exports and taxes imports. That certainly sounds as if it's doing something about the trade deficit, but that may not be the case: In response to complaints by companies that depend on cheap imports, like big retailers, proponents of the tax argue that it will increase the value of the dollar enough to offset the tax (that is, it will lower the price of imports). If they're right, the trade deficit won't shrink.

One reason our trade deals have little impact on our trade deficit is that they fail to include enforceable rules on things like currency manipulation and rules of origin. For example, Trump officials are already talking about changes to Nafta that would, among other things, ensure that only goods with a true majority of member-country content receive the benefits of the trade deal. Making sure that any new trade agreements correct these omissions is a core part of establishing new rules of the road for international trade.

These are all big steps, but they may be worth it, given the global headwinds that are likely to drive up the deficit.

Because America is growing faster than other advanced economies, and because the Fed has increased interest rates while other central banks are holding them at zero or below, the value of the dollar has risen by over 20 percent since mid-2014. That appreciation helped put the brakes on manufacturing jobs; employment fell 45,000 in the factory sector last year.

And the dollar's rise has accelerated since the election, up 3.5 percent since Nov. 7. If this trend continues unabated, we could lose over 200,000 more manufacturing jobs over the next few years, my estimates indicate.

In the 1970s and '80s, as trade deficits became persistent, politicians did not hesitate to respond through these sorts of interventions. Our obsession with unfettered markets has since precluded such efforts, even though our trading partners have not been nearly so constrained. President Trump's ascendancy may change that equation. The question is whether his administration will get it right.

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