# NEW YORKER

# IN THIS WEEK'S ISSUE

### Donald Trump's Ghostwriter Tells All

In the July 25, 2016, issue of *The New Yorker*, in "Trump's Boswell Speaks" (p. 20), **Jane Mayer** talks exclusively to Tony Schwartz—the ghostwriter of presumptive Republican Presidential nominee Donald Trump's best-selling 1987 memoir, "The Art of the Deal"—who is speaking out for the first time about his regret over helping to create "a character far more winning than Trump actually is," and his belief that Trump is unfit to lead the country. Schwartz describes how, starting in 1985, when he was a young journalist, he shadowed Trump's life for eighteen months—in his office, at meetings, and at his Manhattan apartment and Florida estate. Trump permitted Schwartz to listen in on virtually all of his office phone calls. But as he interviewed Trump he became increasingly disturbed. He discovered that it was impossible to keep him focussed on any subject for more than a few minutes. "He has no attention span," Schwartz reveals. "If he had to be briefed on a crisis in the Situation Room, it's impossible to imagine him paying attention for a long period of time." An alarming result of this inattention, Schwartz warns, is that Trump has "a stunning level of superficial knowledge and plain ignorance." During the time he observed Trump closely, he never saw a book, he says, on Trump's desk, in his office, or in his apartment. As he checked Trump's tales, Schwartz also discovered that "lying was second nature to him . . . Trump has the ability to convince himself that whatever he is saying at any given moment is true, or sort of true, or at least ought to be true." Schwartz recalls thinking of Trump as "a living black hole" with an insatiable hunger for "money, praise and celebrity."

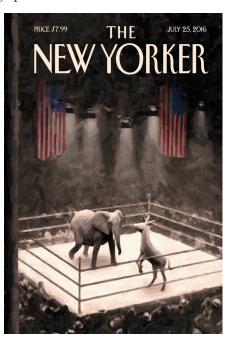
Schwartz's concerns about Trump are not just hindsight. He documented them in a 1986 journal, entries from which he shared with Mayer, including one describing Trump's behavior as "if not morally reprehensible, at least ethically questionable." Now, decades after "The Art of the Deal" was published, Schwartz feels an obligation to set the record straight because he is "terrified" by the prospect of President Trump. He tells Mayer, "I put lipstick on a pig. I feel a deep sense of remorse that I contributed to presenting Trump in a way that brought him wider attention, and made him more appealing than he is."

Schwartz predicted that Trump would attack him for speaking out, and he was correct. Informed that Schwartz had spoken critically of him, Trump told Mayer, "It's great disloyalty. I guess he thinks it's good for him—but he'll find out it's not good for him." Minutes later, Trump called Schwartz and said, "I hear you're not voting for me . . . That's your right, but then you should have just remained silent. I just want to tell you that I think you're very disloyal." Schwartz replied, "Donald, you're running for President. The stakes here are high." "Yeah, they are," Trump said, "Have a nice life," and hung up.

Schwartz—who left journalism—has decided to pledge his royalties from sales of the book in 2016 to charity, but he tells Mayer, "I'll carry this until the end of my life. There's no righting it." If Trump is elected President, Schwartz warns, "the millions of people who voted for him and believe that he represents their interests will learn what anyone who deals closely with him already knows—that he couldn't care less about them."

## In a Bizarre Presidential Race, Gary Johnson Might Actually Have a Shot

In "Flying High" (p. 28), **Ryan Lizza** profiles Gary Johnson, the Libertarian Party's 2016 Presidential candidate, speaking extensively to the third-party candidate and his running mate, William F. Weld, who together give their party its most mainstream ticket since its founding, and could potentially draw enough votes from Hillary Clinton or Donald Trump to upset the outcome of November's election. When pollsters include Johnson with Clinton and Trump in their surveys, he is the choice of roughly twelve per cent of respondents; if his standing in the polls rises to fifteen per cent, he will qualify to participate in the Presidential debates. Johnson tells Lizza, "If you're not in the debates, there's no way to win. It's the Super Bowl of politics." Lizza writes, "If he is allowed to debate Trump and Clinton, the two most unpopular presumed nominees in decades, then the most unpredictable election in modern times could get even weirder." Johnson, who served as governor of New Mexico from 1995 to 2003, as a Republican, became the highest-



ranking elected official in America to call for the full legalization of marijuana, in 1999. He ran for President in 2012 and received less than one per cent of the vote; when he decided to enter this year's Presidential race, he stepped down as C.E.O. of Cannabis Sativa, Inc., a marijuana-branding company based in Nevada. With the rise of Trump, Johnson saw an unprecedented opening for the Libertarian Party, telling Lizza, "I think Trump alienates more than half of the Republicans." Johnson wants to raise the retirement age for Social Security, limit Social Security benefits for the wealthy, abolish the I.R.S. and replace most of the tax code with a single consumption tax, and drastically pull back the American military from its commitments around the world.

At the end of May, William F. Weld became the Libertarian Party's Vice-Presidential nominee. Weld is a former moderate Republican governor of Massachusetts who, like Johnson, found himself out of step with the G.O.P. on numerous social issues, telling Lizza, "I was in favor of needle exchanges, all the gay and lesbian stuff, medicinal marijuana. They were not typical positions." Johnson and Weld represent the first Presidential ticket with two governors since 1948; one of their campaign slogans is "A Credible Alternative to ClinTrump." Johnson tells Lizza, "It is beyond my wildest dreams that Bill Weld is my running mate." He continues, "I think the national media really likes me and likes what I have to say. But, at the end of the day, 'He's a Libertarian,' and that denotes some loose screws, maybe. But Bill Weld? . . . I think it gives us amazing credibility." Some leading voices in the Never Trump movement doubt that Johnson is a credible alternative, and polls so far show that he takes more voters from Clinton than from Trump. Tim Miller, a former spokesman for Jeb Bush who now works for an anti-Trump super PAC, tells Lizza, "Picking Bill Weld was smart, but he needs to carry himself like someone who could seriously be President," adding that at this point, he is inclined to vote for Johnson. Johnson compares the idea of him as President to his crusade to legalize marijuana, both of which seemed unfathomable at the outset: "For those who wanted to implement the death penalty for marijuana, they don't go from death penalty to legalizing. They go from death penalty to 'O.K., let's forget about the death penalty.' So you move the needle. And right now we're moving the needle."

### Narendra Modi's Grand Plan to Clean Up the Ganges

In "Purifying the Goddess" (p. 46) George Black reports from India, where he considers whether Prime Minister Narendra Modi, a Hindu nationalist, can save the Ganges, one of the ten most polluted rivers in the world. The Ganges absorbs more than a billion gallons of waste each day, three-quarters of it raw sewage and domestic waste. Indian governments have been trying to clean up the river for decades, but to little effect—largely as a result of widespread corruption. In 2014, shortly after winning a landslide victory, Modi announced an ambitious initiative called Namami Gange. But corruption remains a major obstacle. Black writes, "Local officials commonly skim off a substantial percentage of the fee paid to private contractors working on public-service projects, such as water supply, electricity, and sewage treatment." Rakesh Jaiswal, the head of an environmental group in Kanpur, told Black, "Sometimes all the money is pocketed by the authorities, a hundred per cent, and the work takes place only on paper." When Black asked if things improved under Modi, Jaiswal replied, "Not even one per cent has changed." Just as significant, Modi's promise to clean up the Ganges "plays directly into India's charged religious and caste politics," Black writes. The tannery industry, which is centered in Kanpur and is the most serious source of industrial pollution, is almost entirely Muslim-owned. Meanwhile, in Varanasi, an ancient city considered the spiritual center of Hinduism (as well as being Modi's own parliamentary constituency), the river is an open sewer. Kanpur and Varanasi are both in the state of Uttar Pradesh, notorious for communal violence, in which most of the victims are Muslims.

To head the newly created Ministry of Water Resources, River Development, and Ganga Rejuvenation, Modi chose Uma Bharti, a controversial Hindu nationalist who faces six criminal charges in connection with mob violence that led to the destruction of a mosque in Uttar Pradesh. Ramgopal Mohley, the mayor of Varanasi, told Black, "Everyone loves Uma Bharti," but he declined to say whether Muslims might feel the same way about her. With vital state elections in Uttar Pradesh next year, and Hindu-Muslim tensions again simmering, Black found Muslim tannery owners in Kanpur apprehensive about a victory for Modi's ruling party. "When someone has an absolute majority, it can be misused," said Taj Alam, the president of the Uttar Pradesh Leather Industry Association. "And it is being misused."

### The Philosopher Martha Nussbaum's Emotions

In "Captain of Her Soul" (p. 34), **Rachel Aviv** profiles the sixty-nine-year-old philosopher Martha Nussbaum, whose work searches for the conditions of *eudaimonia*, a Greek word that describes a complete and flourishing life. An elegant and lyrical writer, Nussbaum disapproves of the conventional style of philosophical prose, which she describes as "scientific, abstract, hygienically pallid," and disengaged with the problems of its time. "What I am calling for," Nussbaum has written, is "a society of citizens who admit that they are needy and vulnerable." While she celebrates the ability to be fragile and exposed, she seems to control every interaction in her own life. She has a regimented workout and singing schedule, and she is intensely productive with her work. "Nussbaum is monumentally confident, intellectually and physically," Aviv writes. "She often seems delighted by the performance of being herself."

Nussbaum was raised in Pennsylvania in an atmosphere that she describes as "chilly clear opulence." Her half brother tells Aviv, "It was an emotionally barren environment." Their father was a racist, and was prejudiced in a "very gut-level way," but he was an

inspiration and a role model to her. "He really set me on a path of being happy and delighted with life," she says. Nussbaum's sister found her father's temperament less congenial. "I believe he was probably a sociopath," she tells Aviv. "There were very few people that my father touched that he didn't hurt. But one of them was Martha, because they were just two peas in a pod." After college, Nussbaum entered a graduate program in classics at Harvard, where she went on to teach. In 1983, she was denied tenure, a decision she attributes, in part, to a "venomous dislike of me as a very outspoken woman." Glen Bowersock, who was the head of the classics department when Nussbaum was a student, said, "I think she scared people. They couldn't wrap their minds around this formidably good, extraordinarily articulate woman who was very tall and attractive, openly feminine and stylish, and walked very erect and wore miniskirts—all in one package." Nussbaum left Harvard and began considering a more public role for philosophy, examining quality of life in the developing world. She devised a list of ten essential capabilities that all societies should nourish, including freedom to play, to engage in critical reflection, and to love. The capabilities theory is now a staple of human-rights advocacy. Over the course of her career, Nussbaum has published twenty-four books and five hundred and nine papers and received fifty-seven honorary degrees. Honors and prizes remind her of potato chips; she enjoys them but is wary of becoming sated. Her conception of a good life requires striving for a difficult goal, and if she notices herself feeling too satisfied she begins to feel discontent. She tells Aviv, "If I found that I was going to die in the next hour, I would not say that I had done my work. If you have a good life, you typically always feel that there's something that you want to do next."

Plus: In Comment, Jelani Cobb reflects on the recent calamities in Baton Rouge, St. Paul, and Dallas, and contends that if a killing of a police officer carries broader social implications, a killing at the hands of one does, too (p. 15); in Shouts & Murmurs, Jenny Allen offers a selection of verses to encourage mindfulness in everyday tasks (p. 27); in the Financial Page, James Surowiecki examines the success of the A.L.S. Ice Bucket Challenge (p. 19); Emily Nussbaum reviews "Mr. Robot," on USA, and BrainDead," on CBS (p. 60); Hua Hsu reads several books about evolving white identity in working-class America (p. 63); Kelefa Sanneh listens to Blink-182's new album, "California," and considers the band's lasting influence (p. 67); Peter Schjeldahl attends an Alma Thomas retrospective at the Studio Museum in Harlem (p. 70); Anthony Lane watches the new "Ghostbusters" movie, directed by Paul Feig, and "Absolutely Fabulous: The Movie," directed by Mandie Fletcher (p. 72); in a Sketchbook, Roz Chast depicts the journey that led her to say goodbye to her parents' cremains (p. 44); and new fiction by Joy Williams (p. 54).

**Podcasts: David Remnick** speaks with Gawker's Nick Denton about the company's recent lawsuits and Denton's unapologetic take on outing public figures; **Billy Collins** reads poetry by **Eamon Grennan**, and discusses it with **Paul Muldoon**; and **Joy Williams** reads her short story "Stuff."

**Digital Extras:** A slide show of paintings from the Alma Thomas retrospective at the Studio Museum in Harlem; a slide show of works from an exhibit of sports photography at the Brooklyn Museum; and **Yusef Komunyakaa** reads his poem.

The July 25, 2016, issue of *The New Yorker* goes on sale at newsstands beginning Monday, July 18.