

# TIME

## THE TRIAL OF **EL CHAPO**

**INSIDE THE  
CASE AGAINST  
THE WORLD'S  
MOST INFAMOUS  
DRUG BARON**

**BY IOAN GRILLO**

*Leiniak!*

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^ A shrine to **Jesús Malverde**, considered the patron saint of drug traffickers, in Culiacán, Sinaloa, northwest Mexico

Photograph by **Kirsten Luce** for TIME

ON THE COVER:  
Illustration by **Piotr Lesniak** for TIME

## ROYAL REFORM

RE “THE AUTOCRAT’S Ascent” [April 16]: This story is highly welcome and timely to diffuse the anxiety and reservation of the puritanical Wahabi Saudi Arabia that the world has been accustomed to over the years. The crown prince, a shrewd choice of the ailing monarch to succeed him, is a breath of fresh air to the young men and women of Saudi Arabia who realize drastic changes for a moderate form of Islam are now just around the corner. He is overdue bringing good fortune to that country and consequently the rest of the world. Long may he reign.

Ronen Ghose,

GRANGE PARK, ENGLAND

## RESIST THE NAME GAME

RE “WHY ‘LATINX’ HAS SUCCEEDED Where Other New Labels Have Failed” [April 16]: Political correctness has reached new heights of absurdity with the kerfuffle over the neologism “Latinx.” If we need a gender-neutral term for somebody of Latin ancestry, what’s wrong with “Latin”? It can function both as an adjective and a noun (“He/she is (a) Latin”). As for the claim that “it’s even less obvious how to utter @,” it’s pronounced “at.” That’s the preposition it was originally invented to replace. That the

politically correct lunatics have been reduced to debating such nonsense is further proof of their intellectual bankruptcy.

S. Tsow, BANGKOK

## FIGHTING THE WRONG FIGHT

RE “WHY I’M NO LONGER A Second Amendment Absolutist” [April 16]: Elise Jordan is to be congratulated for changing her mind—though it seems a rather incomplete change. Her article still expresses too much understanding for the gun lobby. It is important to remember that NRA policy leads to tens of thousands of victims of civil terrorism in the U.S. As long as this terrorism continues with the support of politicians, the U.S. could save a lot of money by suspending all measures against international terrorism, which in comparison plays a rather negligible role. One can undoubtedly state that “America kills itself.”

Tom Klingenheben,  
BONN, GERMANY

## PSYCHOLOGY, APPLIED

“DEPRESSION ON CAMPUS” [April 9] describes a problem I battled in 1967 as a college sophomore. On the dean’s list but lonely, withdrawn and anxious, I was so unhappy that I made an appointment with the campus psychologist. His solution: make more friends,

don’t worry, be patient. His suggestions, which neatly summed up all the things I was unable to do, resulted in my having a nervous breakdown. The college administration couldn’t get me off campus fast enough. Its attitude was, “You have deeply embarrassed us, you’re not tough enough for this school, so please take your problems elsewhere.” They refused me any thought of readmission, even after therapy. Your article describes a much needed volte-face concerning college-student priorities. In the past, students were blamed for having mental-health issues. They were then exiled and treated as pariahs. Now, it seems, colleges are at last extending a hand to help students up, not to slap them down.

Marjorie Sportès,  
BIOULE, FRANCE

## WHEN TRUMP MEETS KIM

RE “HIGH-STAKES SUMMITS” [April 9]: The history of the past 25 years indicates that North Korea will not give up its intention of developing nuclear weapons. Kim Jong Un’s only intention is to break up international sanctions. I would not be surprised if Trump failed to denuclearize North Korea. But if he succeeds, he will surely be recorded as one of the greatest and smartest Presidents in history.

Shin Hak Soo,  
SEOUL

## SETTING THE RECORD

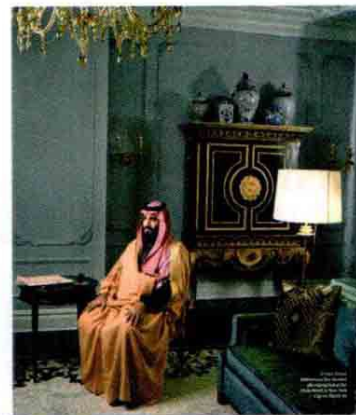
**STRAIGHT** ▶ In “The Masters of Mind Control” (April 23), we misnamed a psychologist at the University of Oxford. He is Andrew Przybylski. In that same issue, 6 Questions mischaracterized NBC’s Lester Holt as the first black network news anchor. Max Robinson was an anchor of *ABC World News Tonight* from 1978 to 1983.

World

## THE AUTOCRAT’S ASCENT

Saudi Prince Mohammed bin Salman is getting the thumbs-up from the Middle East. By Carl Hays

There may not even be a name for what the crown prince of Saudi Arabia has been doing in the U.S. for three weeks, but he has been doing a lot of it. By the time 32-year-old Mohammed bin Salman departs, he will have visited five states plus the District of Columbia, four Presidents, five newspapers, uncounted moguls and Oprah. America has not seen the like



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**'We are not coming here to teach Italians how to make coffee.'**

**HOWARD SCHULTZ**, Starbucks CEO, confirming that the chain will open its first Italian location, in Milan, in September

*'Find a different way to annoy them. Preferably by scoring some goals, that way would be the best way.'*

**BRUCE CASSIDY**, Boston Bruins coach, on how he relayed a warning from the NHL to player Brad Marchand, who had been licking opponents' faces

**'The theme to me is like, Be yourself. You were made in God's image, right?'**

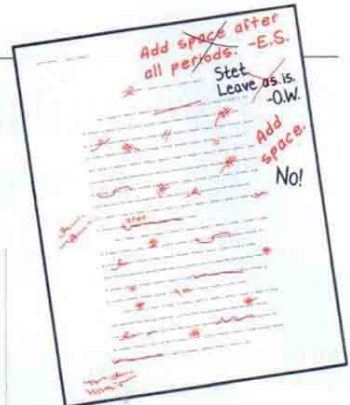
**LENA WAITHE**, actor and producer, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art's annual Costume Institute gala; this year's theme dovetailed with the opening of the exhibition "Heavenly Bodies: Fashion and the Catholic Imagination"

**'THEY FUNNELED THROUGH A LAW FIRM, AND THE PRESIDENT REPAID IT.'**

**RUDOLPH GIULIANI**, former mayor of New York City and a member of President Trump's legal team, claiming that the President repaid his personal lawyer for payments made to dissuade Stormy Daniels from talking about her alleged sexual relationship with Trump; he had previously denied doing so

**\$8.24 million**

Approximate amount of money in college scholarships to be donated by the estate of Brooklyn legal secretary and secret millionaire Sylvia Bloom; the *New York Times* reported that Bloom, who died in 2016 at age 96, amassed her fortune by copying her boss's investment strategy



**2**

Number of spaces needed between sentences for maximum ease of reading, according to a study in *Attention, Perception & Psychophysics*; TIME stands by its one-space stance

*'This is the fight Dr. King envisioned, even 50 years later.'*

**LISA RICE**, president of the National Fair Housing Alliance, on a suit filed against the U.S. government by advocates who say the Fair Housing Act is not being properly enforced

**122.4°F**

Temperature in the city of Nawabshah, in southern Pakistan, on April 30; meteorologists believe it may have been the hottest day ever recorded in the month of April

**Orangutans**  
Scientists say a Chinese-backed dam will disrupt their Indonesian habitat



**Gorillas and chimps**  
A census finds that their population in western and central Africa is roughly double what was thought

# The Brief

A photograph of Richard Cordray and Betty Sutton celebrating at a campaign event. Cordray, on the left, is wearing a dark suit and a red and blue striped tie, smiling broadly with his right arm raised. Sutton, on the right, is wearing a blue blazer and a pearl necklace, also smiling with her right arm raised. They are holding hands. In the background, there are signs with the names 'CORDRAY' and 'SUTTON' in red letters. A sign in the foreground shows 'CORDRAY' and 'SUTTON' with a blue outline of the state of Ohio to the left of 'SUTTON'.

**THE MIDTERMS  
BEGIN**  
Ohio Democratic  
gubernatorial  
nominee Richard  
Cordray celebrates  
a primary win with  
his running mate,  
Betty Sutton

**INSIDE**

ARMENIA'S NEW LEADER  
MAKES THE LEAP FROM  
PROTESTER TO PRIME MINISTER

WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT  
CIA DIRECTOR NOMINEE GINA  
HASPEL'S RECORD ON TORTURE

READING INTO THE RELEASE  
OF THREE AMERICANS FROM  
DETENTION IN NORTH KOREA

## POLITICS

### Are American voters acting normal again?

By Molly Ball

**E**VER SINCE DONALD TRUMP CAME ALONG, politics has been upside down and backward, the conventional wisdom rendered useless and the old rules thrown out the window. Political professionals regard the American voter warily, never sure when the next weird surprise might come. Would Republicans vote for a man accused of pursuing teens for sex? Roy Moore nearly won a Senate seat in Alabama despite such allegations, which he denies. Could a Democrat capture a congressional district Trump won by 20 points? Conor Lamb in Pennsylvania did just that. In these topsy-turvy times, anything is possible.

And so, on May 9, the so-called experts braced for the latest insanity. But instead, in the first major round of primary voting ahead of this fall's midterm elections, Republican and Democratic voters made generally conventional choices. In primaries in West Virginia, Ohio and Indiana, voters eschewed the most out-of-the-mainstream candidates, and both party establishments exhaled.

In West Virginia, Republican voters chose Patrick Morrisey, the state attorney general, as their Senate nominee to challenge the Democratic incumbent, Joe Manchin. A former Washington lobbyist who positioned himself as the conservative in the race, Morrisey edged out a sitting Congressman, Evan Jenkins, as well as the race's most notorious contender, Don Blankenship, a former coal-company CEO who spent a year in prison for mine-safety violations after an explosion that killed 29 miners.

In the final days of the campaign, Blankenship released a bizarre ad in which he assailed the unpopular Senate majority leader, Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, for favoring "China-people" over Americans. Trump, presumably without intending any irony, warned voters that Blankenship was too crazy to win a general election, comparing him to Moore, the Republican candidate who managed to lose the Alabama race in December. The voters listened, giving Washington Republicans what they see as a better chance at taking the seat. Manchin is personally popular, but Trump won the state by 42 points in 2016.

In Ohio, it was Democrats who were on edge, thanks to a late surge by a colorful but unconventional candidate. But the establishment's preferred candidate for governor, former state attorney general Richard Cordray, easily defeated Dennis Kucinich, the far-left former Congressman

#### NOT SO CRAZY AFTER ALL

Voters in three states nominated electable candidates



**PATRICK MORRISEY**

**State:** West Virginia  
**Party:** Republican  
**Establishment cred:** State attorney general and a former lobbyist



**RICHARD CORDRAY**

**State:** Ohio  
**Party:** Democrat  
**Establishment cred:** Obama appointee and a former state attorney general



**MIKE BRAUN**

**State:** Indiana  
**Party:** Republican  
**Establishment cred:** Businessman and a former member of the Indiana house of representatives

and two-time presidential aspirant. Cordray is hardly a corporate-friendly Democrat—he was handpicked for his last job, director of the bank watchdog Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, by liberal warrior Elizabeth Warren—but he lacked Kucinich's crusading zeal and new-age vibes. The result was a reminder that for all the apparent political energy on the left, hardcore liberals don't necessarily have the numbers to win Democratic primaries. (See also: Bernie Sanders, who did not win the 2016 presidential nomination against Hillary Clinton.) In November, Cordray will face Republican state attorney general Mike DeWine, who also easily fended off a primary challenger. It will be a rematch of sorts: DeWine defeated Cordray for his current position in 2010.

There was no obviously radioactive candidate in the Indiana Senate primary, where Republicans chose Mike Braun, the CEO of an auto-parts distributor, over two sitting members of Congress. Braun spent millions on ads depicting himself as a political outsider, though he previously served in the state legislature. His opponents scurried to position themselves as the most loyal to Trump: one candidate, Todd Rokita, campaigned with a cardboard cutout of the President, while another, Luke Messer, wanted to nominate Trump for a Nobel Peace Prize. In this and other Republican primaries, the candidates have clearly concluded that Trump boosterism is their base voters' overriding priority, more than any particular credential or policy stance. But members of the Republican Congress, which many Trump backers blame for stalling the President's agenda, are a tough sell even to their own party these days. In Braun, Washington Republicans hope they will have a nominee who can contrast favorably with the Democratic incumbent, Joe Donnelly, by running against the mess in Washington.

**IT IS A TESTAMENT** to the distinctiveness of the President's personality that *Trumpy* or *Trumpian* has become shorthand for every exaggerated or outlandish political gesture, from not-so-veiled racism (Blankenship) to affection for dictators (Kucinich has met repeatedly with the brutal Syrian ruler Bashar Assad) to questionably gained riches (Braun's company is accused of labor violations). Voters of both parties remain annoyed with the corruption and disarray that they perceive in Washington, and both parties are in the throes of identity crises. But that doesn't mean they're just going to go for, as one Republican Congressman put it, "the craziest son of a bitch in the race."

The opening round of primaries showed that Democrats and Republicans alike might be looking for something more prosaic: candidates who can follow the traditional rules of politics—and, hopefully, win.



Protesters in Yerevan on May 2 wave the Armenian flag from a truck displaying a photograph of opposition leader Nikol Pashinyan, who was appointed interim Prime Minister days later

## THE BULLETIN

### Armenia's peaceful protester takes power in a bloodless revolution

ON MAY 8, PRO-DEMOCRACY PROTESTER Nikol Pashinyan was appointed interim Prime Minister of Armenia, the tiny Moscow-friendly former Soviet state bordering Turkey, Georgia, Iran and Azerbaijan. Pashinyan, 42, has been praised for staging a peaceful revolution to topple a long-term leader. Now he must grapple with the reality of governing in Russia's shadow.

**RABBLE ROUSER** Pashinyan first received attention as a student journalist in the 1990s, railing against corruption and an entrenched elite. He later founded and edited the country's leading opposition newspaper and was briefly imprisoned in 2009 for his involvement in street protests. Pashinyan went on to found his own party, Civil Contract, which was elected to parliament as part of an opposition coalition in 2017.

**VELVET REVOLT** In April, Pashinyan led 10 days of peaceful demonstrations across the country against Serzh Sargsyan, who was appointed Prime Minister after spending a decade as President. Protesters

said Sargsyan, who has close ties to Russian President Vladimir Putin, had abused the system to cling to power. Armenia's "velvet revolution" came to a head on the eve of April 24, Genocide Remembrance Day. Sargsyan resigned, admitting, "I was wrong." Two weeks later, parliament elected Pashinyan Prime Minister.

**OPEN QUESTIONS** Although Russia said intervening in the mass protests would be "inappropriate" and praised Sargsyan for resigning, it is unclear whether the Kremlin will warm to the self-styled revolutionary who now leads the country. With a population of just 2.9 million, Armenia depends heavily on Russia for economic support and security, as it is locked in a decades-old conflict with Azerbaijan over disputed territories. But left-leaning Pashinyan may be more inclined to forge links with the E.U., a move that would likely displease Putin. Pro-democracy activists will hope that Armenia's revolution does not go the bloody way of those in ex-Soviet states like Georgia and Ukraine.

—KATE SAMUELSON

## NEWS TICKER

### Melania Trump to focus on kids

First Lady Melania Trump on May 7 unveiled a campaign called "Be Best," which she said would aim to help children by encouraging social, emotional and physical health. Her choice to include cyberbullying in the platform drew attention because of the President's tendency to use insults on social media.

### Hizballah makes gains in Lebanon vote

The Iran-backed militant group Hizballah made gains on May 6 in Lebanon's first parliamentary elections since 2009. Western-backed Prime Minister Saad Hariri said his party lost a third of its seats, while Hizballah leader Hassan Nasrallah declared the vote a "great political and moral victory."

### NASA launches Mars InSight lander

On May 5, NASA launched the Mars InSight lander, a small spacecraft designed to conduct studies of the Red Planet's interior. The lander is on a two-year mission to drill into the surface of Mars, using a probe reaching as deep as 16 ft.

## Netflix risks turning the drug war in the Philippines into fiction

By Joseph Hincks/Manila

A WEEK AFTER IT PREMIERED, FEW OF THE EXTRAS WHO appear in Netflix's first Filipino series had even seen the show. Outside the barbecue stand Nerisa Perez runs in the Manila neighborhood where award-winning director Brillante Mendoza shot *Amo* (pronounced "am-ohr," meaning boss), she recalled acting in one scene. A fictional SWAT team raided a nearby shanty, killing her brother, and Perez had to sink to her knees and lament his death. "What did my brother do?" was her line. None of the dozen or so people outside Perez's stall—some of whom also appear in *Amo*—had caught their neighbor's big moment, but their memories of the shoot were vivid. "It felt so real," one said. "We were afraid."

*Amo* proved controversial even before its worldwide release on April 9. The series is set against the backdrop of President Rodrigo Duterte's drug war and follows a high school student who is entangled in the drug trade. But unlike the popular but controversial Netflix drug-war series *Narcos*, this show isn't critical of the conflict at its center. In fact, Mendoza, 57, has said Duterte's campaign is "necessary" for his country. He has directed both of the President's State of the Nation addresses, and previously worked on government antidrug films.

**'A lot of Filipinos have been persuaded that there's no hope for these people.'**

KIRI DALENA, an activist filmmaker in the Philippines

As a result, some see Mendoza, the Philippines' most famous director, as a state propagandist and *Amo* as an apology for the bloody war on drugs, under which human-rights groups say more than 12,000 suspected drug dealers and users have been killed in police operations or by vigilantes and other unknown assailants. A group of 13 human-rights groups recently called on Netflix to cancel the series, and a petition against it started by a Filipina mother whose disabled son was murdered in the drug war has gathered more than 10,000 signatures. "Anyone familiar with the Duterte drug war will find little in *Amo*'s 13 episodes that corresponds to the reality of the state-backed campaign of unlawful killings," Human Rights Watch deputy Asia director Phelim Kine told TIME by email.

Other Filipino movies have cast the drug war in a positive light, but *Amo* has an extraordinary platform, thanks to Mendoza's international reputation and the involvement of entertainment giant Netflix. In response to the criticism, Netflix told TIME in an email statement that the service "offers a diverse choice for consumers" and understands "that viewers may have opposing opinions but leave it to them to decide."

The controversy over *Amo* comes amid a broader debate on how the world perceives the Philippine drug war. In February, the International Criminal Court (ICC) launched a preliminary



▲  
Luzviminda Siapo at the coffin of her son Raymart during his funeral on April 3, 2017

examination into allegations of crimes committed by the state. In response, Duterte announced that the Philippines would withdraw from the ICC's founding treaty and threatened to arrest its prosecutor. Foreign Secretary Alan Cayetano claims that Human Rights Watch is "misrepresenting" the drug war, portraying "an unfair and unjust image of our country."

**ON A CORNER TABLE** in the house Luzviminda Siapo shares with her mother and daughter is a shrine to her dead son Raymart. In front of a framed photograph of the smiling 19-year-old are flowers, cookies and a motorcycle helmet—because of a promise Siapo had made to buy her son a motorcycle.

Speaking with TIME at a safe house near Manila, Siapo says she was working as a domestic helper in Kuwait when relatives informed her of Raymart's death. After an argument, a neighbor had formally accused Raymart of selling marijuana. The next day, 14 masked men arrived on motorbikes and abducted





Raymart, took him to a parking lot and shot him twice in the head.

Although witnesses told Siapo the group that abducted Raymart included police, his death is not counted in the 4,250-plus killings that the Philippine National Police (PNP) says have occurred when suspects fought back during “legitimate police operations.” Instead, it is classified as a death “under investigation.” Siapo says that’s only half true. “They haven’t closed the case, but nobody is investigating,” she says.

The number of unexplained homicides classified as under investigation may run into the tens of thousands; Antonio Trillanes, an opposition Senator, says the state’s own figures put the number at 16,355 at the end of 2017. Human-rights groups and journalists have tied the police, or mercenaries acting at the behest of the police, to at least some of these deaths. Mendoza’s series, Siapo says, does not show the reality of the war on drugs—the sheer brutality of police given carte blanche to slaughter as they please.

“They were killed,” she says of victims like her son. “The police killed them.”

In an email interview with TIME, Mendoza said he was “very sorry” for Siapo’s loss but denied that *Amo* is propaganda or that the government had a hand in making it. “What I want is for my audience to have their own take on the subject matter, have a healthy discussion among themselves, to scrutinize the show if they don’t agree on what they see,” he wrote.

To be sure, *Amo* does show negative aspects of the drug war, depicting corruption among both the rank and file and the upper echelons of the PNP. The first half of the series focuses on high school student Joseph (Vince Rillon), a drug runner who gets sucked deeper into the trade, supplying designer narcotics to Manila’s elite. To research the role, Rillon tells TIME, he talked with high school students in slum areas who actually pushed drugs. When the series premiered, Rillon, 20, brought a TV into the streets and binge-watched *Amo* with friends. (He says their neighborhood has not been much affected by the drug war and that he is too young to have an opinion on it.)

The second half of *Amo* fictionalizes the real-life kidnapping, ransom and killing of Korean businessman Jee Ick Joo by the PNP in 2016. In Mendoza’s telling, the victim—rendered as a Japanese national—is involved in the drug trade, and some of his killers end up in jail. In real life, Jee’s killers remain unpunished, according to reports in the *Philippine Daily Inquirer*.

Rather than overlook criticism of the PNP, *Amo* seems to show a country so irredeemably corrupted by “the drug menace” that it requires Duterte’s savage solution. That’s consistent with the government line. The Philippines’ last nationwide survey on drug use, in 2015, found 1.8 million users in this country of 103 million—far fewer than the 4 to 7 million claimed by Cayetano. But when the chairman of the country’s Dangerous Drugs Board repeated this 2015 finding, Duterte fired him. And when Vice President Leni Robredo criticized extrajudicial killings and advocated an evidence-based approach to treating drug addiction, the government’s top lawyer branded her “treasonous” and

threatened impeachment.

“The government has effectively muddled the issue, starting with the number of people killed,” says Maria Ressa, CEO of the news site Rappler. In January, the Philippine Securities and Exchange Commission ordered the site to shut down, and Duterte banned its journalists from covering his official events. “There is a concerted effort to file legal cases to intimidate and harass us into silence,” says Ressa.

**SOME IN THE PHILIPPINES** believe artists have an obligation to change minds. Activist filmmaker Kiri Dalena disagrees with Mendoza’s case for showing the drug war from various angles so the viewer can decide whether the drug war is necessary. “This is not a time to be ambiguous or to be safe,” she says.

Dalena helped form the art collective RESBAK, which aims to reflect the experience of poor urban communities that have been the most terrorized by the conflict. In December 2016, RESBAK filmed a powerful alternative version of a popular Filipino Christmas song, with relatives of drug-war victims holding up signs with empowering messages.

This work—including dance performances and murals—is vital given how widespread Duterte’s prejudices have become, Dalena says. “A lot of Filipinos have been persuaded that there’s no hope for these people and that they are no longer human beings. Therefore it’s justifiable to exterminate them.”

Indeed, Duterte’s portrayal of the country as a crime-ridden, quasi-narco state has fed his popularity. In January, his approval rating hit a new high.

Mendoza says he wants viewers to make up their own minds—but since Netflix doesn’t make its viewing figures public, it’s unclear how much of an impact *Amo* is having. One night in April, the presenters on local radio station Wave 89.1 riffed on shows like *Modern Family* that they said Filipinos binge-watched at the expense of other tasks. One listener admitted spending hours watching *Friends* 14 years after its finale, while another missed filing tax returns because of the legal comedy *Drop Dead Diva*. There was no mention, however, of *Amo*. —With reporting by MARTIN SAN DIEGO/MANILA □

## Sex and the City's Cynthia Nixon finds a new role in politics

By Daniel D'Addario

SITTING IN THE OPEN KITCHEN OF HER New York City apartment, the first-time political candidate snacks on pistachios and talks campaign-finance reform. "In New York, you can't call out Wall Street, right?" says Cynthia Nixon, who is running for the Democratic nomination for governor of New York. She rises to buzz in a delivery, and on the way to the door continues in campaign mode. "The private prison system is built on debt, right? Without the banks lending them all this money to expand, they would not be able to do what they're doing. Fundraising is monopolizing everything." Just before opening her door, she says, "That's why campaign-finance reform is so important. It's the mother reform, the reform that makes all the other reforms possible."

She opens the door to accept a large, thin box. "You look like an actress," the messenger says. Nixon has grown accustomed to this: "I am. *Sex and the City*." Nixon's most famous role is but a beat in a conversation dedicated to the role for which she's now auditioning.

To those who hadn't followed Nixon's activism before she announced her candidacy, she's still Miranda Hobbes, the tough-talking best friend from six seasons' and two movies' worth of Manhattan exploits. But to New York politicians, she's a rising challenger to Governor Andrew Cuomo. New York politics has long been defined by personality and often haunted by scandal. (The state's attorney general, Eric Schneiderman, resigned on May 7 after allegations of his abusing women were published by the *New Yorker*. "I have not assaulted anyone," Schneiderman told the magazine.) Nixon appears, for a celebrity, almost prosaically scandal-free. Her persona—the smart, relentlessly logical law nerd from *Sex and the City*—precedes her and may help make her case.

Supporters say Nixon has already begun pushing Cuomo further to his left. Since Nixon began her campaign in March, the governor has announced that he intends to restore voting rights to paroled felons and signaled that he may legalize marijuana, saying, "The facts have changed." Nixon's campaign calls this "the Cynthia effect."

Cuomo allies contest this, pointing to liberal accomplishments like New York's legalization of same-sex marriage in 2011 and the state's \$15 minimum-wage plan and paid family leave

policy. His campaign, in a statement, said, "The governor's long record of progressive accomplishment is irrefutable. Any claims otherwise should be seen for what they are: baseless election-year rhetoric."

A recent Quinnipiac poll shows Nixon's support among Democrats at 28%, trailing Cuomo by 22 points. "Power never concedes without a challenge," Nixon says. "And so that seems particularly true of Andrew Cuomo."

While the 2018 midterm election has many first-time candidates taking on establishment politicians, the most watched among them have been Democrats challenging Republican candidates who support the President. Nixon's opposition, a man who she says has few core beliefs, is a member of her own party. Nixon will need to convince Democratic primary voters that she's better equipped to carry out a governing vision than a two-term incumbent experienced at handling the levers of power. Listening to her clear, often lengthy but plainspoken answers, it doesn't seem impossible. Stranger things have happened, and recently.

**I TALKED WITH NIXON** on the afternoon of May Day, after she took part in a morning protest against private prisons. Nixon, closely trailed by reporters, is aware of her ability to draw the media's attention. "The press, I watched them," she says. "They were trying to get me in the crowd, and they were trying to find me, but then what was happening was so profound! You could see the cameras turn from me, and they started filming what people were doing and what people were saying."

The Emmy- and Tony-winning actor inherently understands politics' "theatricality," a word she used to describe her May Day rally. Up against a governor born into a political dynasty who has mastered the gestures that play in New York, she's willing to play the skeptic. "Cuomo is such a skilled politician that I think sometimes he's too skilled," she says. "Sometimes it bites him in the butt. He's very cognizant of investing money in things you can take a photo next to."

Nixon has been an activist for progressive causes for 17 years. She says she has been urged to run for governor since at least 2010, the year Cuomo was elected. Billy Easton, executive director of the Alliance for Quality Education, a coalition that fights for public-school funding, recalls Nixon's working in 2007 to buttonhole Republican lawmakers in Albany, the state capital, to get more funds. "She's one of the key players in making that happen," Easton said.

Despite the availability of the governor's bully pulpit, Cuomo does not appear invincible. In 2014, a little-known law-school professor named

### NIXON QUICK FACTS

**Starting out**  
Nixon graduated from New York City's Barnard College in 1988. While there, she appeared in two Broadway plays—at the same time.

**The road ahead**  
She won't rule out running as a third-party candidate in November: "When [Cuomo] gives an answer to that question, I will give an answer to that question."

**At home**  
Nixon's wife, Christine Marinoni, is a longtime education activist.

An aerial photograph capturing a volcanic eruption. A massive, glowing orange and red lava flow dominates the upper left and center of the frame, cascading down a slope. In the lower left, a large house with a light-colored roof is engulfed in bright orange flames, with thick black smoke billowing upwards. Below the burning house, a paved road curves through a lush green landscape with palm trees and other tropical vegetation. In the lower right, another large house with a light-colored roof is visible, seemingly unaffected by the lava flow. The overall scene is one of intense natural power and destruction.

## LightBox

### 'So beautiful, yet so destructive'

Authorities ordered at least 1,700 residents to evacuate homes near Hawaii's Kilauea volcano after its crater floor collapsed on April 30, precipitating a series of earthquakes including a 6.9-magnitude temblor on May 4. Magma flow into the lower East Rift Zone has resulted in several lava- and gas-releasing fissures in the Leilani Estates subdivision near Pahoa, where more than two dozen homes—including these, photographed from a helicopter by Bruce Omori on May 6—have been overrun. "So beautiful, yet so destructive," Omori tells TIME. "If you've ever seen a flow move through an area, there's nothing that can stop it. Absolutely nothing."

Photograph by Bruce Omori—Paradise Helicopters/EPA-EFE/Shutterstock

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WHERE THE LEGEND OF

# EL CHAPO

WAS BORN

As Joaquín Guzmán finally faces justice,  
America's war on drugs is also on the defense

BY IOAN GRILLO/LA TUNA

WHEN JOAQUÍN “EL CHAPO” Guzmán was born in the rugged village of La Tuna in Mexico’s Sierra Madre mountains in 1957, the houses were made of mud, there was no electricity or running water and mules provided the only form of transport. His mother described how she and his father scraped by growing beans and corn on the rocky slopes to care for him and his 10 siblings. “They were difficult times. We longed for something better,” Consuelo Loera, Guzmán’s 88-year-old mother, tells *TIME* as she looks out at the homes and farmsteads clinging to the sun-soaked hillside. Known as El Chapo (or Shorty) for his diminutive, stocky stature, Guzmán toiled as a child to help bring food to the table, hauling sacks of oranges around the hills to sell to peasant farmers for a few pesos. “He always fought for a better life,” Loera says, “even as a small boy.”

Six decades later, Guzmán languishes in New York City’s highest-

security prison, accused of trafficking drugs worth \$14 billion into the U.S.—one of the biggest narcotics cases in U.S. criminal history. His mother lives not in a muddy shack but in a sprawling brick compound with guards outside on quad bikes brandishing Kalashnikovs. “I just talked to him by telephone,” Loera says. “He is putting on a brave face. He has always been someone who acts as if everything is fine.”

Loera and other locals say they hope Guzmán, who was extradited to the U.S. hours before President Donald Trump took the oath of office in January 2017, will beat the case and walk free—to return here as he did at times when he was on the run after escaping from Mexican prisons in 2001 and again in 2015. That would be quite a feat considering that Guzmán, 61, has been indicted in seven U.S. federal districts and is accused of being the leader of the Sinaloa Cartel, the murderous



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