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The Year in Review

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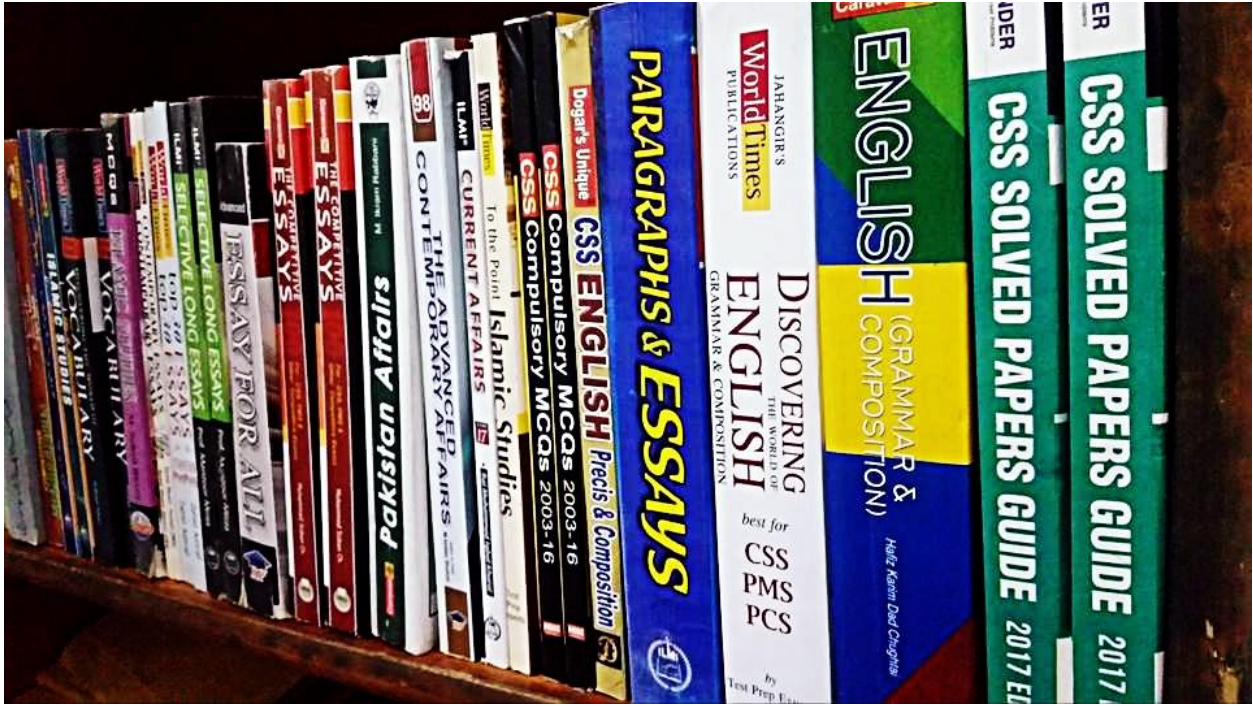
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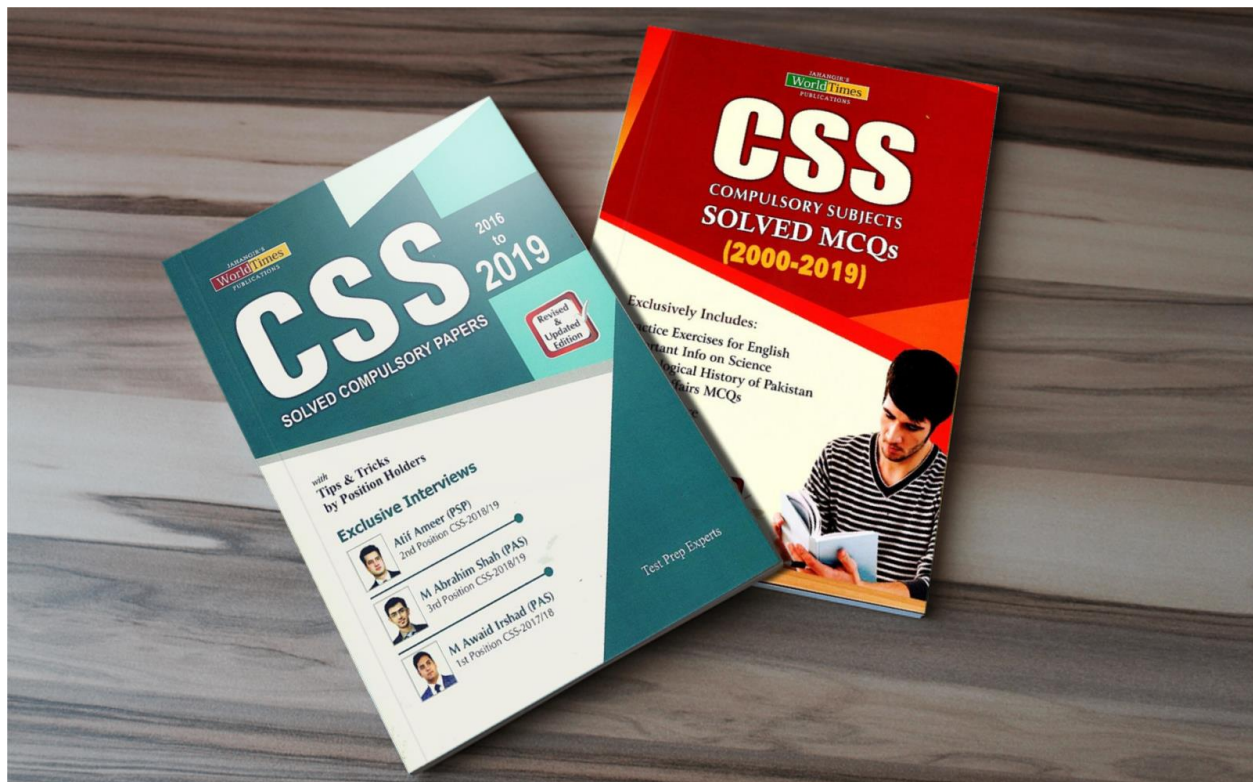
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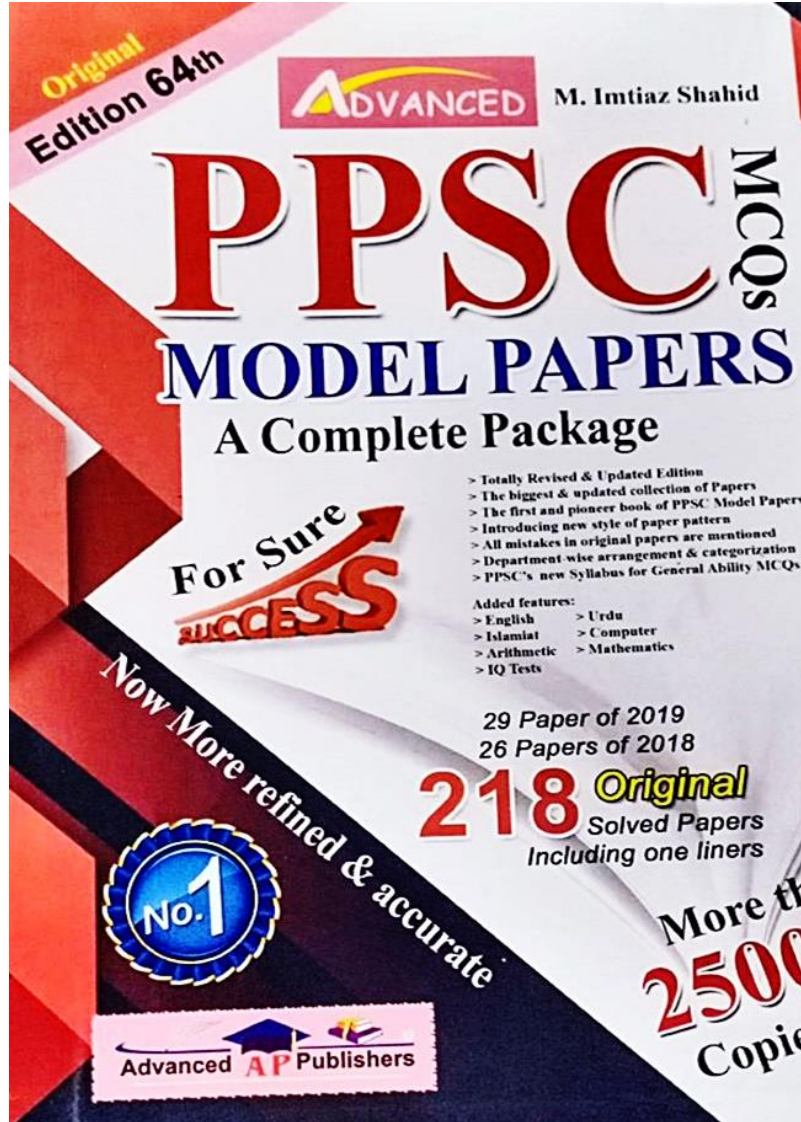
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SPECIAL **TIME** EDITION

The Year in Review 2019

As F-16 fighter jets flew above, U.S. Air Force Academy graduates tossed their hats into the air after an address by President Donald Trump on May 30.

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Fans of the U.S. women's national soccer team showed their colors as the Americans faced France, the host nation, on June 26 in Paris.

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Parts of this edition appeared previously in TIME.





Spire Afire

By definition, great monuments are built to last. Yet as the world was reminded on April 15, the beloved Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris was vulnerable. An iconic structure built from stones more than 850 years old, with a roof supported by wooden timbers hewn in the 13th century, the cathedral met its match in a raging fire. At 7:50 p.m. that night, the roof fell—taking with it the church's exquisite spire, which dated to the mid-19th century.

Donations toward restoring the cathedral came pouring in from countries around the globe, and by autumn, efforts to stabilize the structure were in full progress: after all, our love for the great Gothic edifice is here to stay.

Photograph by Geoffrey Van Der Hasselt/AFP/Getty Images

Images

Wrath of Dorian

When Hurricane Dorian slammed into Great Abaco Island in the Bahamas on September 1, instruments measured the speed of its furious winds at 185 mph—tying the legendary Labor Day hurricane of 1935 for the highest wind speeds recorded as an Atlantic hurricane made landfall.

But then, in a paradox of meteorology, Dorian didn't keep moving on, as most hurricanes do. Instead, it hunkered down over Grand Bahama: the storm itself was moving at a glacial pace of 1 mph, even as its ferocious rotating winds battered the island.

The toll of Dorian's unwelcome lingering across the Bahamas: more than 60 fatalities and at least 600 people missing, an estimated \$7 billion in damages, and at least 70,000 Bahamians left without their homes.

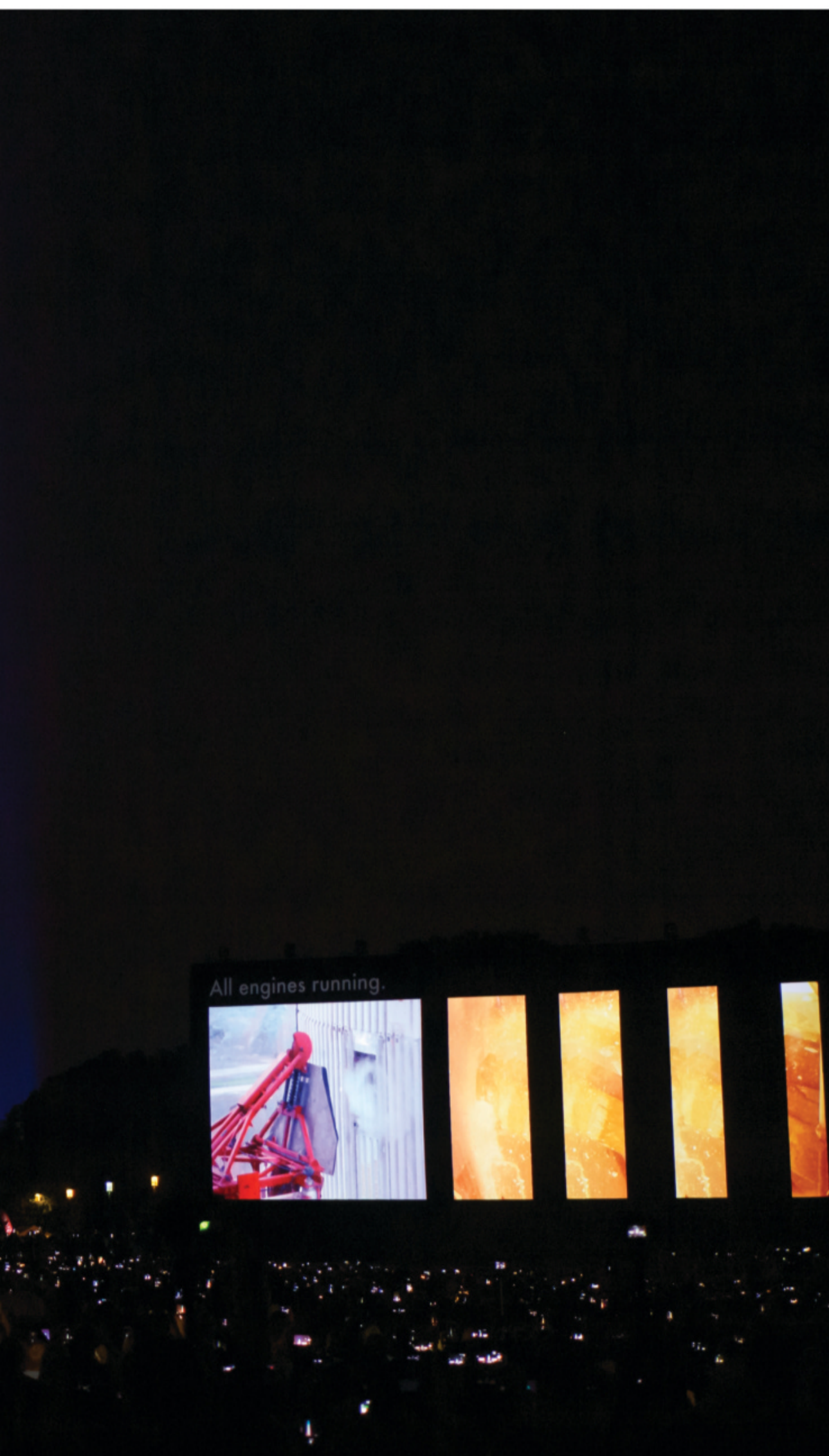
*Photograph by Jose Jimenez/
Getty Images*





Images





Monumental Achievement

Call it NASA's greatest hit: back in the summer of 1969, three brave astronauts flew to the moon in a rocket ship whose computer was much less powerful than the one in the cellphone in your pocket. In 2019, as Americans looked back 50 years to '69, so many memories resurfaced, welcome and not so welcome: Woodstock and the Manson murders, *Abbey Road* and Chappaquiddick.

Yet no memory touched hearts quite so powerfully as that of the Apollo 11 mission and moon landing. Over five nights in July, half a million people gathered on the National Mall in Washington, D.C., as the National Air and Space Museum showed a film of the historic launch of the Saturn V lunar rocket on the Washington Monument.

Photograph by Bill Ingalls/NASA/Getty Images

Images

A Quiet Crisis

As sunrise lightened the sky in Kulusuk, Greenland, on August 16, three icebergs recently calved from glaciers floated in a bay, a study in eerie beauty. But the tranquility was deceptive: the soundtrack to this scene should be screaming with sirens. Nowhere have the impacts of global warming been more devastating than in the Arctic, where temperatures are rising more than twice as fast as the global average, glaciers are retreating, and ice is quickly disappearing.

By the end of the summer, scientists estimated, about 400 billion metric tons of ice—and maybe more—was expected to have melted or calved off Greenland’s giant ice sheet. That’s enough water to flood Pennsylvania or the country of Greece about a foot deep.

Photograph by Felipe Dana/AP/Shutterstock





Images





A Standoff in Hong Kong

When Mao Zedong took power in China in 1949, Hong Kong remained under British rule. Fifty years later, Britain handed control of the city to the People's Republic, and relations between Hong Kong and Beijing have been strained ever since, with China aiming to assert its hegemony over the major financial center.

In April 2019, Hong Kong's Beijing-approved chief executive, Carrie Lam, announced a proposed extradition law that would leave anyone—including U.S. citizens—vulnerable to extradition to mainland China. Thousands in Hong Kong protested. By June, some rallies turned violent, as more than a million people gathered to demand the bill's withdrawal. (At left, police, at bottom, used tear gas on June 12 to quiet protesters.) In late October, the extradition bill was officially withdrawn.

*Photograph by Anthony Wallace/
AFP/Getty Images*

Images

Head over Heels

Gymnast Simone Biles won four gold medals in the 2016 Olympics in Rio, and she just keeps getting better. At the 2019 U.S. Gymnastics Championships in Kansas City in August, Biles, 22, unveiled two historic maneuvers. She became the first gymnast to attempt and land a double-double dismount off the balance beam, right. Then she became the first female gymnast to land a triple-double (two flips and three twists while airborne) in the floor exercise.

The stunning new beam dismount will be known as the “Biles” and the triple-double floor maneuver the “Biles II,” pending approval by the sport’s international governing body.

In October at the world championships in Germany, Biles added five more gold medals to her hoard of 30 world and Olympics titles.

*Photograph by Jamie Squire/
Getty Images*







'It's healthy for your self-esteem to need less internet praise.'

TAYLOR SWIFT, singer-songwriter, in a piece for *Elle* about lessons she's learned before turning 30

'His is a government with no mandate, no morals, and as of today, no majority.'

JEREMY CORBYN, leader of Britain's Labour Party, speaking on September 3 in the House of Commons following the defeat of Prime Minister Boris Johnson's proposal that the U.K. exit the European Union without an agreement



'YOUR QUARREL, SIR, IS WITH MY CREATOR.'

PETE BUTTIGIEG, South Bend, Ind., mayor and Democratic presidential hopeful, who is gay, at a campaign event, addressing Vice President Mike Pence's policy positions on LGBTQ rights

'There can be no separate college admissions system for the wealthy ... and there will not be a separate criminal justice system either.'

ANDREW LELLING, U.S. Attorney for the District of Massachusetts, announcing on March 12 the largest college-admissions racket ever alleged by the Justice Department

'HOW DO YOU SAY NO TO GOD?'

AN ANONYMOUS WOMAN, one of nine who accused renowned opera singer Placido Domingo of sexual harassment in an August 13 AP investigation. The number later grew to 20





'I think the gutsiest thing I've ever done, well, personally, [is] make the decision to stay in my marriage.'

HILLARY CLINTON, promoting *The Book of Gutsy Women*, which she co-wrote with daughter Chelsea, on *Good Morning America* on October 1



'My dad was a little mad that the name wasn't George.'

JENNA BUSH HAGER, *Today* show co-host, recalling the joking reaction of her father, former president George W. Bush, to the August 2 birth of her third child and first son, Henry



'No one else writes like that on a map with a black Sharpie.'

AN ANONYMOUS WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL, per the *Washington Post*, after President Trump showed a National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration map hand-altered to show Hurricane Dorian hitting Alabama, as the president had previously said it would.

'Thirty years is a long time, ain't it?'

SPIKE LEE, reacting to his first Oscar nomination in the Best Director category, for *Black KKKlansman*



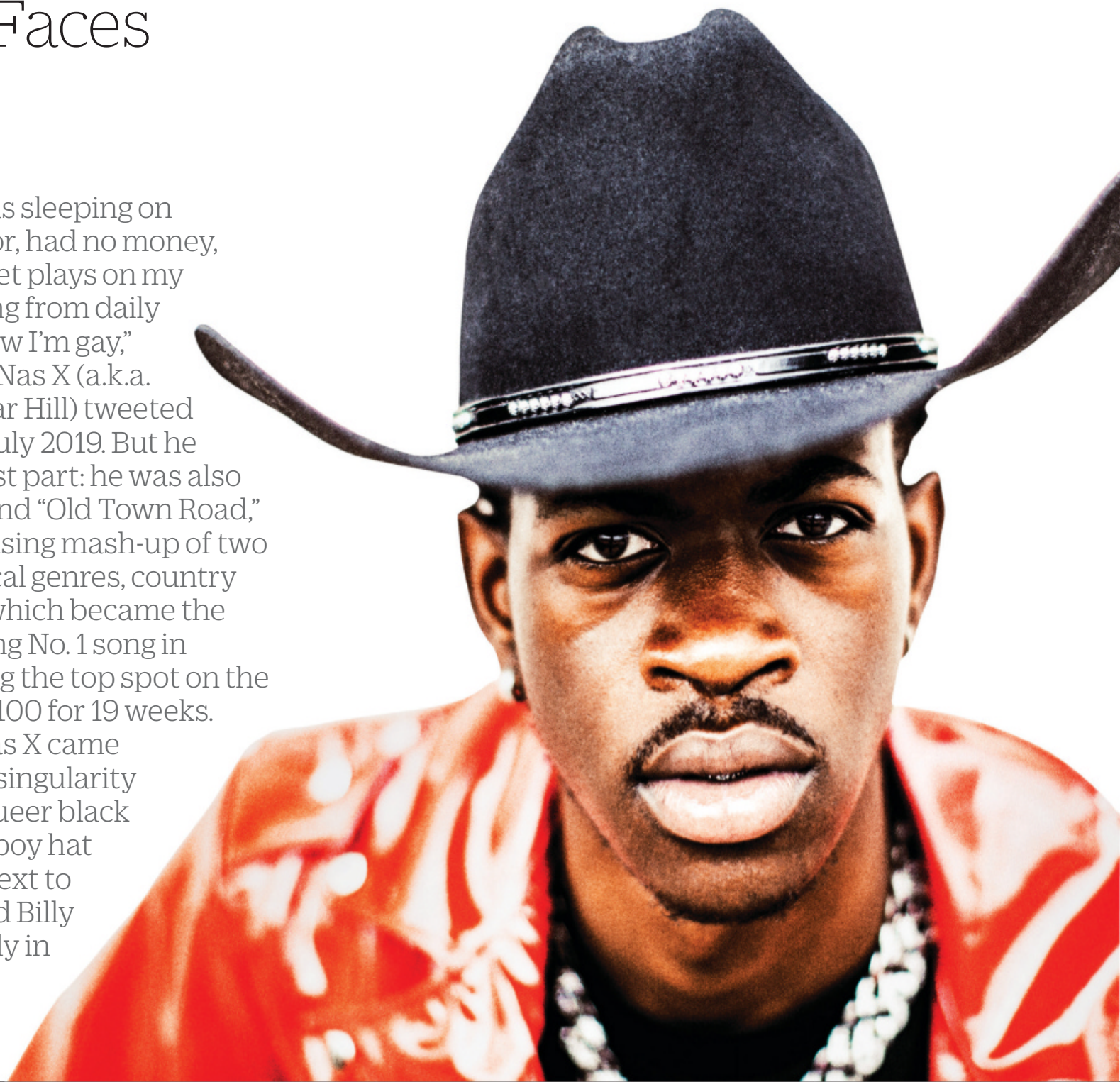
Fresh Faces

ENTERTAINER

Lil Nas X

“Last year I was sleeping on my sister’s floor, had no money, struggling to get plays on my music, suffering from daily headaches, now I’m gay,” the rapper Lil Nas X (a.k.a. Montero Lamar Hill) tweeted at the end of July 2019. But he left out the best part: he was also the artist behind “Old Town Road,” a slurry, surprising mash-up of two popular musical genres, country and hip-hop, which became the longest-running No. 1 song in history, holding the top spot on the *Billboard* Hot 100 for 19 weeks.

When Lil Nas X came out as gay, his singularity increased: a queer black artist in a cowboy hat was rapping next to country legend Billy Ray Cyrus. Only in America.



ATHLETE

Coco Gauff

At only 15 in 2019, tennis player Coco Gauff operates on her own schedule, and it’s a fast one. In 2017 she became the youngest player ever to reach the U.S. Open girls’ final. In May 2019, she became the youngest to win a women’s qualifying match at the French Open. At Wimbledon in July, she beat her idol, Venus Williams, 39, then won two more matches before losing in the fourth round of play to the eventual champ, Romania’s Simona Halep. Gauff’s consolation prize wasn’t too shabby: \$227,786 in earnings.

At summer’s end, Gauff—by then a crowd darling wherever she took the court—reached the third round at the U.S. Open before falling in two sets to 2018 champion Naomi Osaka, 21. Gauff shared her ultimate goal with *TIME*’s Sean Gregory: to be the greatest female player of all time. Our advice: don’t bet against her.





ROYALS

Britain Welcomes Baby Archie

It's a boy! On May 6, 2019, the Duke and Duchess of Sussex—better known as Britain's Prince Harry and his American-born wife, former actor Meghan Markle—announced the birth of their first child, a baby boy who will be seventh in line to the throne. Queen Elizabeth's eighth great-grandchild was christened with a stately moniker, Archie Harrison Mountbatten-Windsor, but you can call him Archie. "It's magic. I have the two best guys in the world, so I'm really happy," the duchess said.

In September the Sussexes undertook their first major official tour as a family, visiting southern Africa on a royal trip. In Angola, Prince Harry walked through an abandoned minefield, re-creating a famous moment when his mother, the late Princess Diana, made the same journey in 1997.



ACTOR

Ali Stroker

At the Tony Awards ceremony in June, Ali Stroker, 32—who plays Ado Annie in a widely hailed reimagining of Rodgers and Hammerstein's classic 1943 musical *Oklahoma!*—became the first person who uses a wheelchair to receive a Tony, winning for Best Performance by an Actress in a Featured Role in a Musical. After a standing ovation, Stroker said, "This award is for every kid who is watching tonight who has a disability, who has a limitation, or a challenge, who has been waiting to see themselves represented in this arena—you are."

POLITICIAN

Volodymyr Zelensky

It was a stunning victory that might have been cooked up in Hollywood: an actor who played the role of the president of Ukraine in a popular TV comedy actually ran for the office—and he won, beating both incumbent president Petro Poroshenko and a former prime minister. The kicker: Volodymyr Zelensky, 41, steamrolled over his foes, winning 73% of the ballots.

TIME analyst Ian Bremmer declared that the win was a response to neighboring Russia's hyperaggressive foreign policy, its failure to steer events in Ukraine, and also a chance for the nation to make a fresh start. Zelensky's honeymoon was brief: in September he was caught up in the crisis involving his relationship with embattled U.S. president Donald Trump.



TRIALS AT THE TOP

The House moves toward impeaching President Trump

THERE'S ONE PERSON IN AMERICA WITH the power to make Donald Trump's impeachment happen, and she keeps insisting she's not interested," TIME reported in a cover story in 2019. "I'm not for impeachment," Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi told the *Washington Post*. "Unless there's something so compelling and overwhelming and bipartisan, I don't think we should go down that path."

It was the timing of the quote that mattered: Pelosi's comments were published on March 11, at a time when Democrats had recently taken control of the House after the November 2018 election, and some upstart voices in the chamber were loudly calling for the president's hide—absent evidence of any high crimes and misdemeanors on his part. The veteran Pelosi shut them down, hewing to conventional Washington wisdom, which holds that impeachment proceedings, like those against President Bill Clinton in 1998–99, hurt the party that presses them more than the party of the president.

Pelosi held her restless troops under control throughout the year. But in September, an issue arose that soon proved to be compelling and overwhelming: a whistle-blower in the intelligence community had complained on August 12 that the president had pressured a foreign leader to investigate one of Trump's top Democratic rivals in the 2020 election, and the administration had blocked the complaint from being made public. The whistle-blower's knowledge of the call was secondhand.

The details quickly emerged: The foreign leader was Ukraine's new president, Volodymyr Zelensky,

>
New Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi saluted President Donald Trump at the State of the Union address on Feb. 5 with a gesture that spoke volumes.





Nation

and Trump had allegedly pressured him in a phone call on July 25 to reopen investigations into previously dismissed and widely debunked accusations of corruption involving Joe Biden, the former vice president and front-runner in the Democratic race to run against Trump in 2020, as well as his son Hunter, an international consultant who had been a member of the board of a Ukrainian oil company.

In return, the whistle-blower alleged, Trump told Zelensky he would release \$400 million in military aid approved for Ukraine by majorities of both parties in Congress, to be devoted to that nation's war against Russian irregular forces fomenting civil war in his nation. Trump had delayed release of the funds earlier in the summer. The alleged quid pro quo in the phone call: no investigation of the Bidens by Ukraine, no U.S. military aid for Ukraine.

After the call, per the whistle-blower's complaint, the transcript of it was moved into an inaccessible electronic system used for highly sensitive, classified information. (It was later revealed that a White House lawyer ordered that decision.)

"If the accusations were true," TIME's Molly Ball wrote in September, "Trump's behavior would be an abuse of power unseen since the Nixon era: using the presidency and the powers of the U.S. government to conscript foreign help in a domestic political campaign." As further details emerged about Trump's telephone conversation with Zelensky, TIME reported that by September 23 more than 200 House Democrats, roughly 90% of the caucus, supported an impeachment inquiry.

The next day, Pelosi acted. Trump's actions were a "betrayal of his oath of office, betrayal of our national security and betrayal of the integrity of our elections," the Speaker said in a brief address from her offices in the Capitol. "Therefore, today I'm announcing the House of Representatives is moving forward with an official impeachment inquiry."

On September 25, the White House released an incomplete transcript of the July 25 phone call; in this version, the conver-

sation included Trump's request for Zelensky to investigate the Bidens but did not include a quid pro quo for him to do so.

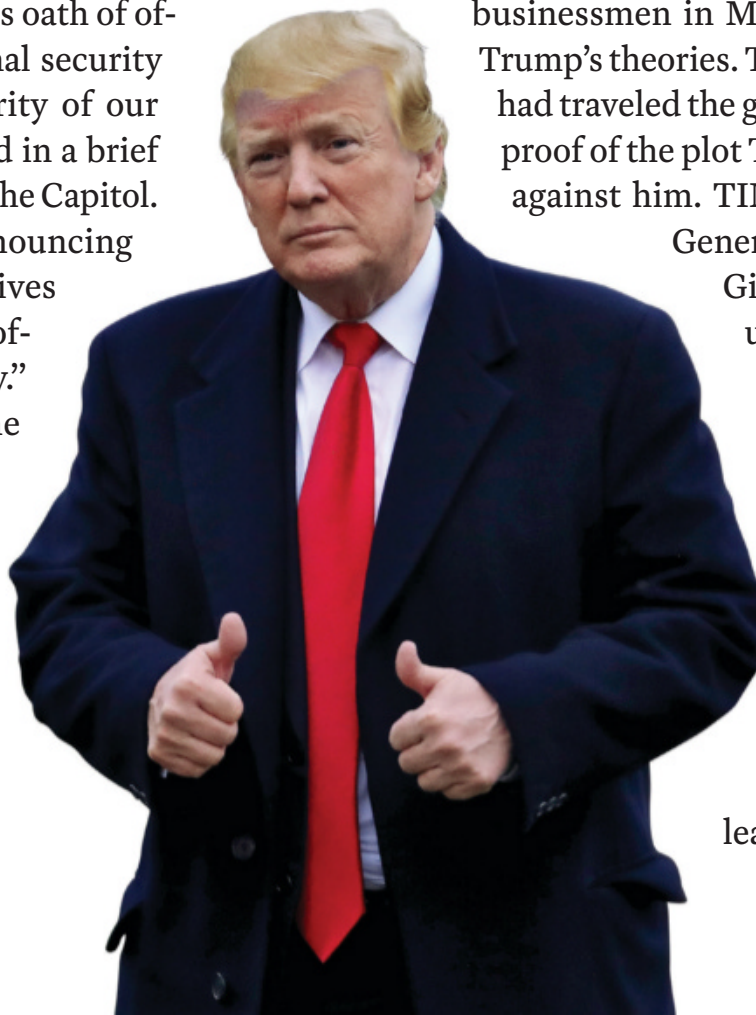
Trump's frustrations with Ukraine also involved another conspiracy theory, one involving the 2016 election: that Ukraine, a nation consumed over the past five years by a crippling armed conflict with Russia, had found a way to conspire against Trump during the 2016 election and to collude with his rival, Hillary Clinton, by hiding a Democratic National Committee email server and feeding her allies dirt about Trump. It was an idea Tom Bossert, Trump's first homeland-security adviser, described as a "completely debunked" conspiracy theory.

Many of Trump's advisers had urged him earlier to accept the consensus of U.S. intelligence agencies: the true conspiracy of the 2016 election was that Russia interfered on his side. But those voices were long gone by the summer of 2019, replaced by a network of far-right internet denizens, conservative media and members of Trump's inner circle—fertile ground for the seeds of conspiracy theory.

It slowly emerged that Trump had mobilized the vast resources of his presidency, including Attorney General William Barr and the U.S. Justice Department as well as America's national-security apparatus, to investigate the rumors involving the Bidens and Clinton. Also enlisted: Trump's personal lawyer Rudy Giuliani, 75, the former mayor of New York City, who held no position in the administration.

Giuliani had drawn on a wide network of sources, including a former prosecutor in Kiev, a wanted fugitive in Vienna and a pair of Russian-speaking businessmen in Miami, in pursuit of his and Trump's theories. This band of conspiracy cops had traveled the globe in a disorderly hunt for proof of the plot Trump believed had worked against him. TIME reported that Attorney General Barr was frustrated with Giuliani's unofficial role in the unorthodox investigation.

Pelosi appointed veteran Democratic lawmaker Adam Schiff of California, chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, who was aware of the whistle-blower's complaint before it was filed, to lead an inquiry into the matter that could lead to a possible House vote



>
A defensive Trump and his supporters called the House hearings a "witch hunt."

Trump at Home

The president weathered a report he feared and fired up his base

MOVE ALONG, NOTHING TO SEE HERE On March 24, a summary of special counsel Robert Mueller’s report on Russian interference in the 2016 presidential campaign, which Donald Trump had been fearing for 22 months, was made public. The result: after more than 2,800 subpoenas, nearly 500 search warrants and a similar number of witness interviews, Mueller’s investigation did not establish that the Trump campaign conspired with Russia during the election, although the report confirmed intelligence-agency reports that Russia certainly interfered. Mueller also declined to draw a conclusion about whether Trump had obstructed justice. The news was a big win for the president, and Democrats who hoped the report would implicate his team called Mueller to testify on Capitol Hill in July, right—but again, there was no single dramatic moment that called for further action.



NEW TARGETS Democratic control of the House offered the president new faces to lampoon. His favorite targets: New York City’s Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and the three others in her “squad”: from left, Ayanna Pressley (Mass.), Ilhan Omar (Minn.), Rashida Tlaib (Mich.) and Ocasio-Cortez. On July 14, Trump invited them in a tweet to “go back and help fix the totally broken and crime-infested places from which they came.”

Only Omar was not born in America; she is a Muslim refugee from Somalia. Pressley is African American; Tlaib, also Muslim, was born to Palestinian immigrants; and Ocasio-Cortez is from a New York and Puerto Rican family.

THE NEVER-ENDING TOUR

Throughout 2019, President Trump continued to hold campaign-style rallies for his conservative base to keep it fired up; he was the first president to do so. By the end of October, he had rallied tens of thousands of people in 14 cities, drawing energy from escaping Washington, connecting with his most devoted admirers and replaying greatest hits from his 2016 campaign, with some minor adjustments: the “Build the Wall” chant became “Finish the Wall.” Even so, 2019 was quieter than 2018, an election year, when Trump held more than 40 such gatherings.



Nation

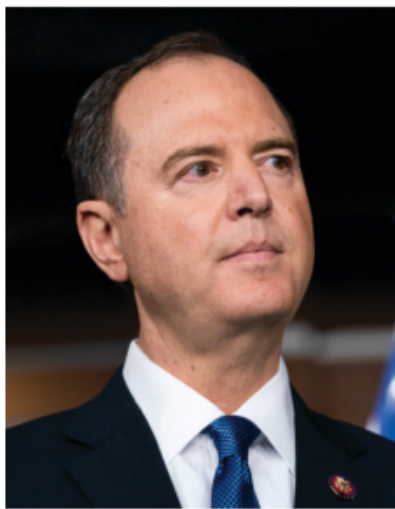
for impeachment. The House Oversight and Reform Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee also scheduled depositions, and between the end of September and the end of October, the story mushroomed in a steady drumbeat of revelations, accusations and rumors.

On October 8, the White House sent a letter to House Democratic leaders officially declining to cooperate with the inquiry, which it described as an illegitimate effort to overturn the 2016 election and saying administration officials would not testify in the matter.

The next day, Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman, Soviet-born real-estate investors and naturalized Americans who worked on Giuliani's behalf, were arrested at Dulles National Airport in Washington and charged with planning to direct funds from a foreign government to U.S. politicians while trying to influence U.S.-Ukraine relations. The indictment also connected them with attempts to remove U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch, seen as a Trump critic, from her post.

On October 14, Fiona Hill, the former top Russia adviser in the Trump White House, told the committee that National Security Advisor John Bolton, who had resigned weeks before, had called Giuliani "a hand grenade who's going to blow everybody up."

On October 17, Acting White House Chief of Staff Mick Mulvaney held a disastrous press conference in which he seemed to acknowledge that there was a quid pro quo in Trump's withholding of military aid to Ukraine—the question at the heart of the inquiry. "We do that all the time with foreign policy," he said. "I have news for everybody: get over it." He walked back his remarks hours later, saying, "There was absolutely no quid pro quo between Ukrainian military aid and any investigation into the 2016 election." But the damage was done.



Caught up in the network of conspiracy theories: Rudy Giuliani, Trump's personal lawyer, top; Adam Schiff, chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, middle; Hunter Biden, son of the former VP, bottom

The president branded the House inquiry a witch hunt and called on Republicans in Congress to defend him more aggressively. On October 23, some 30 Republicans, led by Florida representative Matt Gaetz, entered the closed-door hearing room in the Capitol and refused to leave, holding up the proceedings for five hours.

The U.S. public reacted generally along party lines as the crisis unfolded, but sentiment seemed to shift against the president. In an early-October *Washington Post* poll, roughly two thirds of adults found Trump's alleged request to Zelensky inappropriate. When Trump's preferred news source, Fox News, released a poll on October 9 noting that a "new high" of 51% of registered voters wanted Trump impeached and removed from office, up from 42% in July, he responded: "Whoever their pollster is, they suck."

On October 25, Judge Beryl Howell, the chief judge in the federal D.C. District Court, ruled that secret grand-jury materials from the Mueller Report could be handed over to the inquiry committee and that the White House could not defy subpoenas from it.

On October 31, amid GOP jabs that the House inquiry had not been endorsed by the full chamber, Pelosi held a vote establishing rules for the process, which passed, 232–196, with no GOP votes in favor and two Democrats voting no. The tally revealed that the issue remained highly partisan on Capitol Hill, where votes are driven by

home-district sentiment—and the polls that showed independents moving in favor of impeachment showed Republicans still strongly opposed it.

Pelosi's March formulation called for impeachment to address issues that were compelling and overwhelming. It was the third leg of her triangle—that the process be bipartisan—that would be the most difficult to achieve in today's Washington. □

Trump on the Road

Trade wars and diplomacy tested the president and his top advisers



WHO WILL BLINK FIRST? The stakes in the tariff duel between the U.S. and China kept rising in 2019. Trump tariffs that had already led to cutbacks in the U.S. were joined on September 1 by a new round of 15% levies on some \$125 billion in imports; Beijing then put new tariffs on 1,717 U.S. exports. China's economy was hurting: in August, manufacturing growth slowed for the fourth month in a row. The fate of tariffs on China's goods due to kick in December 15 was uncertain, and a mid-November meeting between the U.S. and China at the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation summit was delayed when host country Chile canceled the event due to ongoing national unrest.

A DISAPPOINTING SEQUEL

The first meeting between President Donald Trump and North Korea's Chairman Kim Jong Un in Singapore in June 2018 dominated headlines around the globe and led to a welcome detente between their nations. But the leaders' love wasn't lovelier the second time around: when the two met in Hanoi in February 2019, their negotiations broke down.

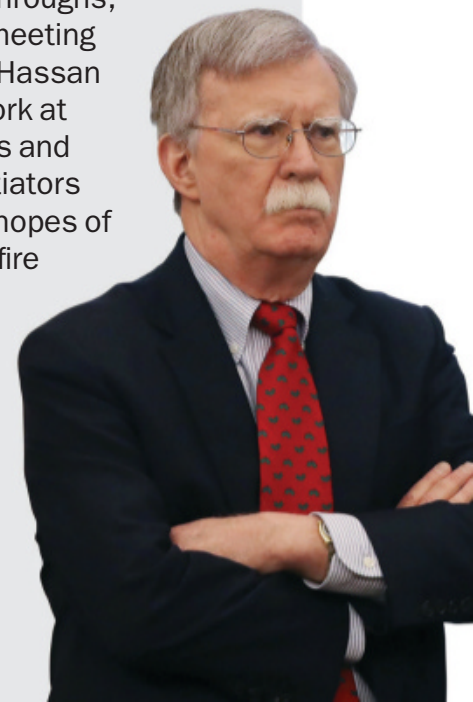
TIME analyst Ian Bremmer explained: "Kim reportedly wanted Trump to lift all [economic] sanctions in exchange for less-than-complete denuclearization, which Trump balked at." Or, as the president put it, more succinctly: "Sometimes you have to walk."



IN FAVOR: Mike Pompeo Working for the mercurial President Trump is not for the faint of heart. But Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, 55, emerged as one of the president's closest advisers in 2019. Pompeo is a Kansas conservative who was elected to the House in the Tea Party wave of 2010 and served four terms. After Trump chose him to lead the CIA, he won the president's trust, then replaced Rex Tillerson as secretary of state. As he and John Bolton battled for Trump's ear on foreign policy in 2019, Pompeo became Trump's man, a fixer and enabler. Bolton was always his own man, and Pompeo prevailed.

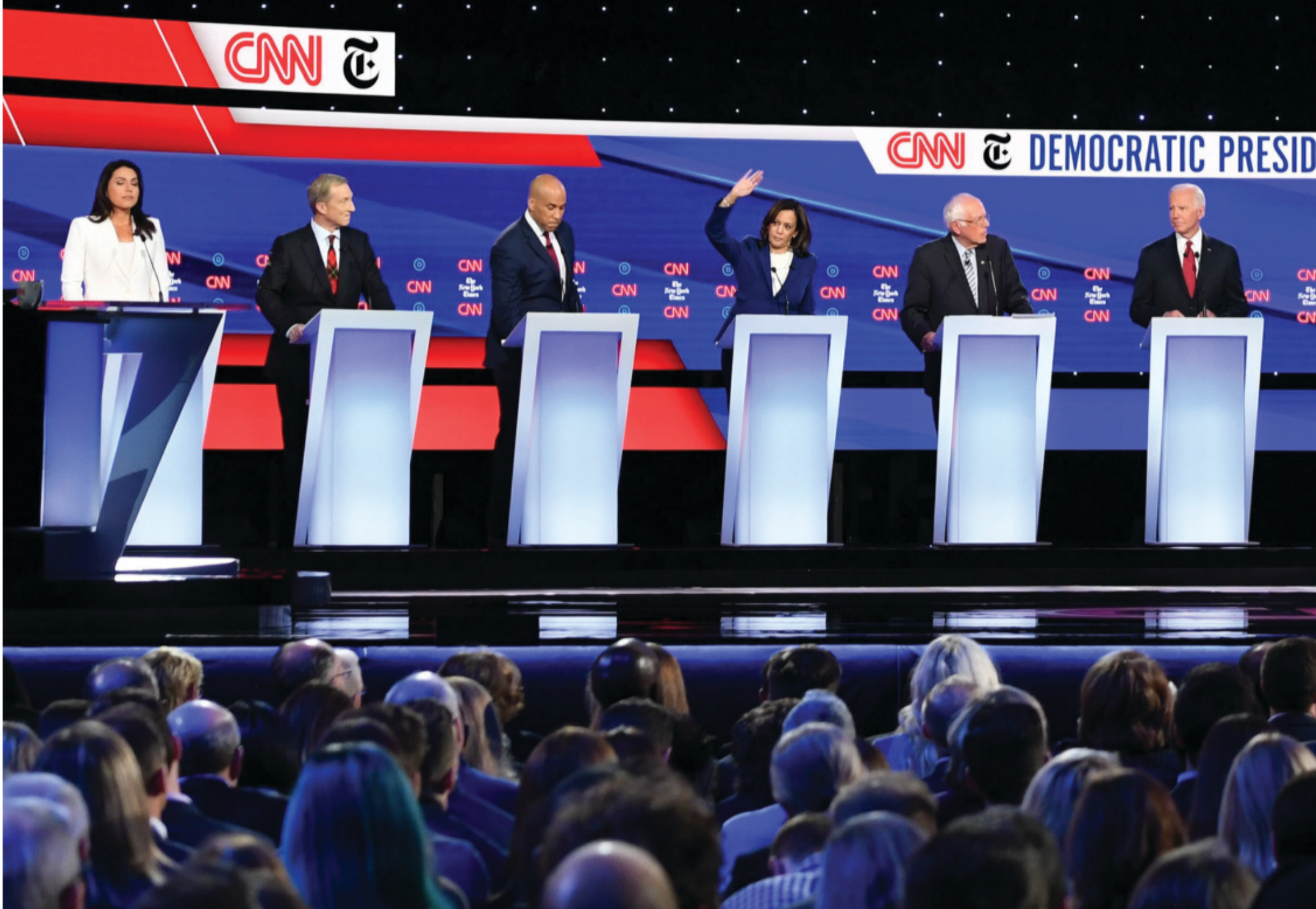
OUT THE DOOR: John Bolton In his 520 days as Donald Trump's third National Security Advisor, Bolton, a lifelong hawk, tried to steer the president toward a hard-line foreign policy. But over time, Trump came to favor Mike Pompeo's more ingratiating style to that of the blunt Bolton.

When Trump, eager for diplomatic breakthroughs, was considering meeting with Iran's leader Hassan Rouhani in New York at the United Nations and with Taliban negotiators at Camp David in hopes of reaching a cease-fire in Afghanistan, Trump and Bolton met for a showdown in September—and Bolton was toast.



A DOZEN DEBATERS

Democrats began the race for the 2020 presidency with a big field that shrank from 26 to 19 by the fourth debate in Ohio on October 15; 12 of them qualified for that event, below. By November 1, 17 were still running



Tulsi Gabbard

The Hawaii representative, 38, is a Hindu and a veteran of the Iraq War who speaks her mind, questioning her party's orthodoxy and leaders.

Tom Steyer

The billionaire philanthropist, 62, is a strong environmentalist and longtime supporter of liberal causes in health care and immigration.

Cory Booker

The New Jersey senator and former Newark mayor, 50, is a mainstream liberal who also supports many progressive proposals.

Kamala Harris

The senator from California, 55, a former attorney general of the state, supports progressive and liberal causes in health care and tax policy.

Bernie Sanders

The Vermont senator, 78, known for his progressive stances, suffered a heart attack in October but quickly returned to the campaign.

Joe Biden

Obama's V.P., 77, began as the front-runner and stayed at or near the top, despite verbal gaffes and Trump's label "Sleepy Joe" that mocked his age.



Elizabeth Warren

The senator from Massachusetts and advocate for consumers, 70, surged thanks to crisp policy proposals and hard work.

Pete Buttigieg

The South Bend, Ind., mayor, 37, is a gay combat veteran who vaulted from near total obscurity toward the front of the Democratic pack.

Andrew Yang

One of two non-politicians to stay in the race, the high-tech guru, 44, offered fresh policy proposals and urged us to “Make America Think Harder.”

Beto O’Rourke

The former rep from El Paso, Texas, 47, is a personable liberal who didn’t find traction. He withdrew from the race on November 1.

Amy Klobuchar

The senator from Minnesota, 59, is a former attorney and mainstream liberal who is a tough boss but is also admired for working across the aisle.

Julián Castro

The upbeat former mayor of San Antonio and Obama cabinet member, 45, favors Medicare for All and other progressive proposals.

THE GUNS OF AUGUST

Consecutive mass shootings in Texas and Ohio kill 31 people and intensify America's battle over legal weapons

FROM THE FIRST TO THE LAST SHOT, ONLY 32 seconds elapsed. Yet in that time, a 24-year-old gunman with an AR-15 semi-automatic rifle and a 100-round drum magazine was able to kill nine people and wound 27 others on a crowded street in Dayton, Ohio, in the early Sunday morning hours of Aug. 4, 2019. One of the dead was the gunman's sister, who had been seen in a bar with him earlier that night in the city's Oregon District, a nightlife neighborhood bustling with diverse theaters, bars and restaurants.

As he made his way down the street toward a particularly popular restaurant called Ned Peppers, the young gunman was confronted by six Dayton police officers who had heard gunfire and seen a crowd of people running away from the area. The officers ran toward the blasts of gunfire and confronted the shooter. Six of them fired, killing him.

Another killer armed with a high-powered weapon had struck in America. But the carnage he unleashed was particularly devastating in this case: the tragedy in Ohio came only 13 hours after a horrific shooting at a Walmart in El Paso, Texas. Twenty-two people were killed in that rampage and more than two dozen were injured. After the shooting, the suspect drove to a nearby intersection, where he identified himself as the shooter and surrendered to authorities.

The two episodes of mass murder were similar in



some ways. Both were carried out by young white men. Both involved semiautomatic assault-style rifles capable of firing dozens of rounds in seconds. Both elicited similar responses from politicians and authorities—the familiar offers of “thoughts and prayers” that have come to be scorned by many as a tired excuse for those who voice them to avoid addressing the causes and potential remedies for the epidemic of shootings that has ravaged the nation since the Columbine High School murders in 1999.

As police worked the two cases, a number of clear differences emerged between them. In Dayton, a police search of the home of Connor Betts, the young white man identified as the Ohio shooter, found evidence indicating an interest in violence and mass shootings. Yet early assessments by authorities did not indicate that his murder spree was driven by racial or political motives; some of those involved in the case described him as being more a misogynist than a political extremist. Explorations into his past revealed that he might have been bullied in school and had expressed intentions of committing violence, including rape, against other students. More recently, the shooter had made online references to Satan and described himself as a leftist.

In contrast, the suspected El Paso shooter, identified as Patrick Wood Crusius, 21, made his motivations perfectly clear: he was a white supremacist who told police in his first interview that he had



driven 10 hours from his home in the affluent suburb of Allen, outside Dallas, to target Mexicans in his rampage. Authorities believe Crusius was the author of a white-supremacist manifesto titled *The Inconvenient Truth* that was posted on the online message board 8chan shortly before the attack. The manifesto hailed the assailant who killed 51 Muslims and injured 49 more in a March 2019 attack on mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand, as an inspiration for his deeds.

The Texas shooter thus fit a steadily developing profile: white nationalists have become the face of terrorism in America, replacing Islamic jihadists. Since 9/11, white supremacists and other far-right extremists have been responsible for almost three times as many attacks on U.S. soil as Islamic terrorists, the government reported. From 2009 through 2018, the far right has been responsible for 73% of domestic extremist-related fatalities, according to a 2019 study by the Anti-Defamation League. More people—49—were murdered by far-right extremists in the U.S. in 2018 than in any other year since the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995.

The back-to-back shootings hit the start button on an all-too-familiar cycle. It begins when a mass shooting prompts calls for stricter gun-safety measures. Gun owners respond by raising fears of firearms confiscation and cite their constitutional rights. Politicians make promises they know they

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In Dayton, left, and El Paso, above, grieving citizens took to the streets to mourn the lives taken by highly armed mass murderers.

can't keep. Intensity fades. Congress ends up doing nothing. Time passes, and the horror of the moment fades. Repeat. And repeat. And repeat.

But in the aftermath of the twin August shootings, there were initial signs that the response might be different. President Donald Trump has carefully cultivated the support of the powerful gun-lobby group the National Rifle Association (NRA), a pillar of his loyal base. But apparently moved by the tragedies, the president tweeted on the day after the Dayton shooting: "We cannot let those killed in El Paso, Texas, and Dayton, Ohio, die in vain. . . . Republicans and Democrats must come together and get strong background checks." Expanded checks have long been regarded by gun-control advocates as the first and most attainable goal to achieve in checking the nation's epidemic of firearms violence.

On August 9, Trump told reporters: "We have tremendous support [in Congress] for really commonsense, sensible, important background checks." Surprising many observers, Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell had cracked open the door to legislation the day before, telling a local radio station in his home state of Kentucky that ex-



panded background checks would be atop his list when lawmakers returned to Washington in September. “I want to make a law,” he said. “Not just see this kind of political sparring go on endlessly.” The Democratic-controlled House had passed legislation calling for enhanced background checks in February 2019, but under McConnell’s leadership, the Senate had not taken up the measure before adjourning for the summer recess.

McConnell’s rhetoric came amid a gradual shift in public opinion, which is notoriously tricky to measure when it comes to guns. By broad strokes, vast majorities of Americans—topping 90% in some polls—support enhanced background checks for all gun sales. At the same time, the once-mighty NRA’s political clout has taken a ding in recent years, and Democrats have turned the powerful lobbying group into a bogeyman they can mock. Proof of the shrinking potency of the NRA? In the 2018 midterm elections, polling showed that only 8% of voters ranked guns as their top issue—and of that 8%,

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Former Democratic presidential candidate Beto O’Rourke joined a march to commemorate the victims of the El Paso massacre in August.

4 in 5 voted for Democratic candidates, who are generally far more open to weapons-control legislation.

For a short period, it seemed that the shootings might have tilted the standard narrative of the gun debate. But after expressing support for expanded checks, the president spoke on the phone with NRA president Wayne LaPierre—and soon declared that he had changed his mind on the issue. “A lot of the people who put me where I am are strong believers in the Second Amendment, and I am also,” Trump told reporters in the Oval Office on August 20.

Trump then deployed the familiar NRA argument that efforts to restrict gun sales would inevitably lead to confiscation of privately owned weapons from law-abiding citizens, although such dramatic action had never been part of the potential legis-



lation McConnell and other Republicans said they supported. “They call it the slippery slope,” Trump said. “And all of a sudden everything gets taken away. We’re not going to let that happen.” It was clear that LaPierre had regained the president’s ear and had tamped down the mercurial Trump’s support for enhanced background-check legislation.

Meanwhile, the crowded field of Democrats seeking their party’s presidential nomination assailed both the Senate and the White House for their inaction. Among those who called for more stringent legislation were New Jersey senator Cory Booker, South Bend, Ind., mayor Pete Buttigieg, Ohio representative Tim Ryan, Vermont senator Bernie Sanders, Massachusetts senator Elizabeth Warren and Silicon Valley entrepreneur Andrew Yang.

Former representative Beto O’Rourke, an El Paso native, interrupted his presidential campaign to return to Texas and join a memorial march in his home city. Later, in the September 12 Democratic presidential debate, he declared, “Hell, yes, we’re going to take your AR-15, your AK-47,” drawing criticism for supporting the charge that Democrats were in favor of confiscating all private firearms.

With Congress and the White House seemingly deadlocked on the issue, a newly roused player suddenly appeared on the field of battle: corporate America. On September 3, retail giant Walmart—one of whose stores was the scene of the El Paso massacre—said it would stop selling ammunition for handguns and short-barrel rifles, such as the .223 caliber and 5.56 caliber that can be used in military-style weapons. Walmart also said it would request that shoppers no longer openly carry firearms in its stores, with exceptions for law enforcement.

“It’s clear to us that the status quo is unacceptable,” Walmart CEO Doug McMillon said in a memo to employees. Some 40 white-collar Walmart employees in California had walked out on the job in August to protest the company’s gun policies. McMillon, who is a gun owner, said the company was also calling on the president and members of Congress to advance “commonsense measures” such as more-stringent background checks.

Common sense. That was the name of the 1776 screed by Thomas Paine that helped tip colonial Americans into revolution against Great Britain. Today, it’s often a commodity in short supply when the divisive topic of gun control is brought into sharp focus by another incident of mass murder by firearms in America. □

LOBBYING

Has the NRA Lost Its Sway?

For years, the National Rifle Association has been one of the most powerful forces in Washington. The pro-gun lobbying group has marshaled enormous funds to shape public opinion, mobilize its more than 5 million fired-up supporters and elect candidates who support its positions. But in 2019 the NRA’s image as a rock-solid force marching in lockstep to achieve its political goals was tarnished by self-inflicted wounds.

In April 2019, the NRA sued its longtime advertising and PR agency, Ackerman McQueen, accusing the firm of refusing to justify its billings. The dispute reached into the NRA’s executive offices and came to a head that month when a bitter power struggle between Wayne LaPierre, the NRA’s CEO of 28 years, and its then president, Oliver North—long a hero of right-wing Republicans—ended with North’s being forced out. North had alleged that LaPierre had made wardrobe purchases of more than \$200,000 and charged them to a vendor, while

LaPierre accused North of extortion. In June, Christopher W. Cox, the NRA’s top lobbyist and No. 2 man, was suspended before resigning.

In 2018, before internal battles spilled into public view, the NRA had sued New York governor Andrew Cuomo and financial regulators, alleging that the state engaged in an unconstitutional “political blacklisting campaign” to prevent banks and insurers from doing business with it, threatening its future. The NRA was also under fire from congressional inquiries into its relations with Russia. In the meantime, opposing groups—including ones backed by former New York City mayor Michael Bloomberg and led by former Arizona representative Gabrielle Giffords—have amassed war chests that allow them to compete with the NRA in messaging.

Small wonder that Trump tweeted, as the NRA’s woes made headlines in April: “Stop the internal fighting & get back to GREATNESS—FAST!”

Wayne LaPierre



BATTLE OVER THE BORDER

Barriers between parties in Washington defeat the will to address the barriers between the U.S. and its southern neighbors



THE YEAR 2019 BEGAN WITH THE U.S. GOVERNMENT partially shut down by President Donald Trump, who responded to the Republican Party's loss of control of the House of Representatives in the November 2018 election with a show of executive power, demanding that new Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi and her party agree to legislation authorizing \$5.7 billion to build a new wall and update existing barriers along the U.S.-Mexico border. Trump took his crusade to the airwaves on January 8 in a national address, declaring, "The federal government remains shut down for one reason and one reason only: because Democrats will not fund border security."

The showdown dragged on for 35 days, becoming the longest such freeze in history, as trash spilled out of trash cans on the National Mall, vandals hacked at Joshua trees in Joshua Tree National Park, and some 800,000 employees of federal agencies stayed home from work. But it ended with no legislation authorizing funds for new construction.

On February 15, a frustrated Trump took another tack: in a 50-minute appearance in the Rose Garden at the White House, he declared the problems on the southern border a national emergency, one that called for redirecting federal money to construct more than 230 miles of barriers along the border.

The budget: \$600 million from Treasury Department forfeiture funds, \$2.5 billion from a Pentagon program for countering drug activities and a final \$3.6 billion from military construction accounts.

In both his televised address and his Rose Garden remarks, the president repeated the rhetoric that inspired his Republican base but did not reflect reality. "We're talking about an invasion of our country with drugs, with human traffickers, with all types of criminals and gangs," he said. He used the word "invasion" seven times in his remarks.

Yet U.S. government data showed that drug traffickers primarily attempt to smuggle hard narcotics through ports of entry, not through gaps between border barriers. They also showed that the primary driver of activity on the border in recent years has been a surge of families from violence-prone nations in Central America seeking to cross into the United States and claim asylum, overwhelming border agents and U.S. facilities.

Trump's emergency order proved a nonstarter, with even congressional Republicans decrying it as setting a dangerous precedent for future executive attempts to bypass the legislative process.

On the border, illegal crossings spiked early in 2019, hitting a 12-year high for the month of March. Asked if the crisis was driving Trump crazy, a for-



◀ *Central American migrants were detained in a U.S. customs facility after crossing the U.S.-Mexico border to seek political asylum.*

▼ *The bodies of a Salvadoran father and daughter who died crossing the Rio Grande were found on the shore.*



mer aide told TIME: “Not crazy—insane.” The president’s pledge to build such a wall was the signature promise of his 2016 campaign, and his inability to do so rankled. On April 9 he argued that since June 2018, when a federal judge ordered him to reunite families separated at the border under his policies, “that’s why you see many more people coming. They’re coming like it’s a picnic.” But a January 2019 Gallup poll had found that 58% of Americans still opposed his pledge to significantly expand the southern border wall.

Stymied in Congress and in the court of public opinion, the president focused on his own team: on April 7 he forced Homeland Security Secretary Kirstjen Nielsen to resign. On April 9, the Pentagon drew controversy when it said it had bid out two military contracts worth \$976 million to begin construction on a border wall. On May 16, the president returned to the Rose Garden to preview a sweeping new proposed program that would establish a merit-based system for legal immigration. The visionary proposal was just that—Democrats in the House would never support it—but in contrast to Trump’s rhetoric at pep rallies with his base, it did constitute a coherent vision for an immigration overhaul that could

“WE’RE TALKING ABOUT AN INVASION OF OUR COUNTRY.”

appeal to members of both parties in a future when political divisions might be less stark.

The high stakes involved in the issue were underlined in June in a photo (above) by Julia Leduc that was widely published in newspapers and became viral across social media. It showed the bodies of Salvadoran father Óscar Alberto Martínez

Ramírez and his 23-month-old daughter Valeria, both of whom died in a failed attempt to cross the Rio Grande and seek asylum from their violence-racked nation. The picture was an indelible reminder to Americans across party lines

that the political stalemate in Washington led to tragedy thousands of miles away.

Throughout the summer and fall, the battle over immigration was primarily fought between the administration and the courts, as the White House played small ball, steadily chipping away at current immigration policies through federal agencies, while opponents filed suit to block the moves. This low-level skirmishing would never resolve the complex issues driving the crisis at the U.S.-Mexico border. But in 2019 the political barriers in Washington were far more impregnable than any walls, real or imaginary, at the nation’s southern border. □

Nation Notes

A crisis at the top in Puerto Rico

After 12 days of massive protests in the streets of San Juan in July, Puerto Rico governor Ricardo Rosselló resigned his office on August 2. The move followed the release of a profane phone-app chat in which Rosselló and 11 confidants **insulted women, LGBTQ people, political foes and celebrities.** Earlier in July, six former government officials and contractors had been arrested on corruption charges. Rosselló's secretary of justice, Wanda Vázquez, took over.

No retreat for Robert E. Lee

Virginia judge Richard E. Moore issued a ruling in September that **blocked attempts to take down a statue of Confederate General Robert E. Lee in Charlottesville, Va.** Judge Moore said that to remove the monument would violate the state's law on historic preservation. The statue had sparked the protests that turned deadly in the city in 2017.

Admission scandals test colleges

Actress Felicity Huffman became the face of a scandal in which 50 people were charged in March for allegedly paying bribes to have their children **falsely certified as athletic recruits at elite colleges and universities** or to facilitate cheating on their kids' SAT and ACT exams. Huffman, below, served an 11-day term in jail.



LAW

Judgment day for opioid peddlers

On October 21, three major drug distributors and an opioid maker reached a \$260 million settlement with two Ohio counties to avoid a looming first federal trial over opioid sales. Drug distributors and other defendants were pursuing a global deal, to be joined by attorneys general in multiple states, to resolve all opioid lawsuits against them. Above, protesters in Connecticut assailed the Sackler family, owners of Purdue Pharma, makers of OxyContin and other opioids.

CRIME

Forgiveness in Dallas

The murder trial of Dallas police officer Amber Guyger, 31, made headlines at a time when the relations between white police officers and black citizens are strained. Guyger, returning home from a long shift in 2018, parked on the wrong floor and mistook black neighbor Botham Jean's apartment for her own. Finding the door ajar, she entered and shot him, thinking he was a burglar.

On October 1, after a Dallas jury convicted Guyger and she was sentenced to 10 years in prison, Jean's 18-year-old brother Brandt asked the judge's permission to give Guyger a hug. His gesture was a rare moment of grace when a divided nation most needed it.





PROFILE

William Barr

In June 2017, President Donald Trump invited veteran Washington attorney and civil servant William Barr to the Oval Office. It was the first time the two had met. Trump asked Barr to join his personal legal team, but a wary Barr refused. In the fall of 2018, the president called again, this time to ask if Barr would replace Attorney General Jeff Sessions, who had lost Trump's trust. This time, Barr said yes: sworn in on February 14, he became one of Trump's most trusted advisers. Bright, decisive and competent, Barr, 69, lends gravitas to a tweet-besotted administration.

Barr was born in 1950 and grew up on New York's Upper West Side; he was attracted to conservative politics from an early age, telling his high school counselor he hoped to lead the CIA one day. After graduating from Columbia University, he joined the spy agency in 1973 and then headed to law school and a slot at the Department of Justice, where his rise was meteoric. He became George H.W. Bush's A.G. in 1991 and then left Washington to lead a major telecommunications company. One reason he consented to be A.G. after 26 years: Barr and Trump share an expansive view of executive power.

Nation Notes

A public utility pulls the plug

Giant California utility Pacific Gas & Electric imposed unprecedented shutoffs that left **almost 800,000 homes and workplaces without power** in early October, as gale-force winds and dry weather posed a critical fire threat in northern California. Damage to electric lines helped spark some of the state's most devastating wildfires in recent years. PG&E filed for bankruptcy in January, citing potential civil liabilities in excess of \$30 billion from wildfires linked to its outdated equipment.

A mass shooting in Virginia

A disgruntled city employee opened fire in a Virginia Beach, Va., city office building on May 31, killing 12 people and wounding four more. He was shot by police and later died. The shooter had **legally purchased two semiautomatic pistols** within the past three years.

Chicago meets the new boss

Chicago voters elected the city's first openly gay mayor, Lori Lightfoot, below, on April 2. She **vowed to address gun violence, improve schools** and dismantle the city's policy that grants aldermen special powers. She faced a test in October when city teachers went on strike, leaving some 300,000 students shut out of class.



CLIMATE

Extreme floods—or simply the new normal?

As record-setting weather events continued to test planet Earth, the period from January to May registered the heaviest rainfalls ever recorded across the U.S. Severe floods hit Midwestern and Southern states throughout the Mississippi River region; at least 14 million people were affected by what some called “The Great Flood of 2019.” Record river levels were set in 42 places, and some 1 million acres of farmland flooded. On March 14, rain, snow and ice led to the collapse of the Spencer Dam on Nebraska’s Niobrara River, releasing an 11-foot wall of water that swept away bridges downstream.



LAW

Battles over abortion rights roil the states

Frustrated in their efforts to overturn *Roe v. Wade* at the federal level, foes of abortion rights have fought to ban the procedure in individual states in recent years. In 2019 several states, led by Alabama, passed aggressive anti-abortion laws. If enacted, they would permit abortions only if the mother's life is at risk or if the fetus cannot survive, and most didn't except cases of rape or incest.

The battleground shifted again when the now conservative-leaning Supreme Court agreed in October to hear a case on a 2014 Louisiana law that limits abortion rights.

REPRESENTATIVE

Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez

She is America's human Rorschach test. Wonder Woman of the left, Wicked Witch of the right, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, 30, has become the second-most-talked-about politician in America, after—well, you know who. Since taking her seat in the House to represent New York's 14th District on Jan. 3, 2019, the former bartender has pressured 2020 presidential candidates into supporting her Green New Deal, made campaign-finance reform go viral and become one of the president's top Twitter targets. No lawmaker in recent memory has translated so few votes into so much political and social capital so quickly.

The issues the young Hispanic woman ran on—the Green New Deal, Medicare for All, a federal jobs guarantee, abolishing ICE—are animating a new generation of Democrats. She's a political phenomenon: part activist, part legislator, arguably the best storyteller in her party since Barack Obama and perhaps the only Democrat right now with the star power to challenge that of President Trump.



TO BREXIT OR NOT TO BREXIT

That is the question that turned Britain into a house divided

SOMETHING THERE IS THAT DOESN'T LOVE a wall. In a historic referendum in the United Kingdom in 2016, that something constituted 48% of the public: the percentage of voters who wanted the U.K. to retain its place in the 28-member European Union (E.U.), where centuries-old barriers to trade and travel between nations have been eliminated. But their view was defeated when 52% of voters cast ballots approving Britain's exit from the Union—a.k.a. Brexit, which would restore such walls.

In 2019, three years after that consequential and controversial vote, following endless debate, discussion and division over the pros and cons of Brexit, polls showed that the percentages of those supporting or opposing the U.K.'s withdrawal remained close to where they had been at the time of the 2016 vote.

The United Kingdom in 2019 was anything but united over a question crucial to its identity and future. And at this profoundly polarized moment, the man tasked with leading the U.K. forward was one of the most deliberately divisive politicians ever to serve as prime minister, Conservative Party leader Boris Johnson. Shambolic, pugnacious, quotable and a born bomb-thrower, Johnson had opposed the E.U. since the days in 1989 to 1994 when he was a newspaper correspondent in Brussels, E.U. headquarters, and had filed fictitious tales of the bloc's supposedly dictatorial sway over Britons' daily lives.

How did Britain back itself into such a tight spot?

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Renowned graffiti artist Banksy painted a mural in Dover, a primary trade seaport, commenting on Britain's withdrawal from the European Union.







In June 2019, TIME asked British writer Jonathan Coe to offer perspective. In his report, “How Brexit Broke Britain,” Coe argued that the slim majority for Leave in 2016 was driven by a grumbling coalition of discontents. Britons were suffering the effects of a punishing government austerity program born of the 2008 financial crisis. Anxieties about immigration were stoked by populist newspapers, and there was a growing mistrust of the political class after a 2009 flap over lawmakers’ bogus expense claims.

The 2016 referendum was called for by then-P.M. David Cameron, whose primary goal was to heal long-term splits within his Conservative Party. But a national debate about membership in an economic and political bloc morphed into a bitter battle about immigration and the future of British culture. When Brexit won, Britain’s tabloid press celebrated the vote as an occasion for frenzied triumphalism—and, as Coe wrote, “the rift between Leavers and Remainers became even more bitter and entrenched, setting the tone for what was to come.”

What came—after Cameron declared he would step down in defeat the day after the Brexit vote—was Theresa May, a longtime Conservative Party minister the Tories chose to replace him. May was not a commanding leader, and she never united her party, much less her nation. But she insisted the vote

▲
A senior citizen protested Brexit outside the Houses of Parliament on March 25.

expressed the national will, and she backed Brexit.

It soon became clear that Brexit supporters had not established the effect of the split-up on average citizens or how Britain’s future relationship with E.U. rope would work. This issue coalesced into the question that drove events in 2019: Would Britain exit the E.U. with clear rules for the new relationship—in short, a “deal” with the E.U.? Or would the details be worked out after the split, with no guiding agreement to refer to—in short, a “no deal” Brexit?

As May’s government twisted itself in knots negotiating a withdrawal deal with the E.U., her authority slipped away, and she lost her parliamentary majority in a disastrous June 2017 snap election. By the time negotiators emerged with a draft deal, in November 2018, lawmakers again refused to engage with the reality of the sacrifices Brexit would require. Three times in the first three months of 2019—on January 15, March 12 and March 29—May brought deals worked out with E.U. ministers to a vote in the House of Commons. Three times she was denied. On April 10, 2019, the E.U. set a date of October 31 as the deadline for Brexit—deal or no deal.

By then, much of the debate over Brexit centered on a specific problem: if the U.K. were to withdraw from the E.U., the dividing line between the two Irelands—the six counties of Northern Ireland that are part of the U.K. and the 26 counties of the Republic of Ireland that are independent of it—would be a so-called hard border, a wall guarded by military, immigration and customs officers. That prospect was a nightmare that defied solution.

Thrice soundly defeated in Parliament, May announced her resignation on May 24, 2019. In the Conservative leadership ballot that followed, Boris Johnson prevailed—and on July 23, one of the loudest, most controversial voices for a no-deal Brexit was charged with leading the U.K. through the process. Johnson argued that Britain not only could survive a no-deal exit but also would prosper from it.

Soon after Johnson became P.M., Parliament adjourned for its summer recess. As September 3 approached—the date for lawmakers to resume business—Johnson unleashed a daring gambit: he would adjourn Parliament from mid-September to mid-October, thus effectively sidelining the nation’s legislators from debating policy on Brexit even as the October 31 deadline loomed.

Johnson’s move was a calculated risk—and it failed. In a parliamentary mutiny on September 3, Johnson’s Tories lost their working majority in the House of Commons when a cross-party alliance of MPs (including 21 rebellious Tories) banded to pass legislation that prevented Johnson from pulling the U.K. out of the E.U. absent a firm deal.

Johnson exiled his party’s rebels, but in a supreme irony, he was now forced to deal with his foes in Brussels. On October 17, two weeks before Brexit was to take effect, E.U. and U.K. negotiators declared they had struck a new agreement.

But the next day—as thousands of anti-Brexiteers marched in the streets outside the House of Commons—Parliament rejected the deal. At that point, Johnson had not won a single major vote in the House in his three months in office.

On October 28, help arrived from Brussels: the E.U. agreed to extend the deadline for U.K. withdrawal to January 31, 2020. The next day, relieved MPs voted, 438 to 20, to endorse Johnson’s proposal to hold a “snap” general election on December 12, in hopes it would clarify the people’s will.

Or not. As Coe had foreseen in *TIME*, Brexit seemed to have broken Britain—and all the Queen’s horses and all Boris’s men were struggling to put the nation back together again. □

Britain’s Brexit Brawl in Brief Biographies

Theresa May

Charged with uniting her riven Tory party after the 2016 vote in favor of Brexit, May, 63, could not reach a deal with the E.U. that most of her party or British voters could rally behind. She left office in July 2019.



Nigel Farage

A longtime Euroskeptic and voice for British nationalism, Farage, 55, became the face of the pro-Brexit forces in 2016. He speaks for Britons who fear that their ancient culture is being nibbled to death by Eurocrat meddling.



Jeremy Corbyn

Labour Party leader Corbyn, 70, an old-school leftist, led his forces to a 2017 win at the polls that weakened May’s government, but that was a high point: the Brexit brawl was primarily fought within governing Tory circles.



Angela Merkel

Germany’s chancellor since 2005 has been the public face and leader of the E.U. for years. But Merkel, 65, stepped down as party leader in late 2018, and her last term will end in 2021—creating a gap atop the E.U.



Emmanuel Macron

At home, France’s P.M. was plagued by a revolt of disgruntled working-class “yellow vests” in 2019. But Macron, 41, has worked hard to become the successor to Merkel and is now the E.U.’s most passionate defender.



A SURPRISING POWER SHIFT ROCKS SYRIA

In a stunning decision, the U.S. abandons its Kurdish allies

SAY THIS FOR THE FOREIGN POLICY OF President Donald Trump: it is reliably inconsistent. Rather than stick to a detailed script provided by his aides, Trump has opted to improvise, judge risk on the fly and quickly make a decision, often contrary to the advice of top U.S. generals and national security advisers.

In the run-up to a scheduled October 6 call with Turkish president and NATO ally Recep Tayyip Erdogan, TIME reported, aides repeatedly warned the president about the dangers of abandoning America's Kurdish allies in northern Syria, according to three administration officials familiar with the conversations. Erdogan had long sought to launch a military offensive against the U.S.-backed Kurdish Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) militias across the border in Syria. The U.S. had promised ongoing support to the Kurds, who had been a vital partner in the five-year war that had almost entirely eliminated ISIS power in the region.

But Trump abandoned them anyway.

During or immediately after the call, the officials say, Trump decided on the fly to pull U.S. forces out of a 20-to-30-mile-wide buffer zone in Kurdish-held territory in northern Syria ahead of a declared Turkish attack. "There was none of the usual process behind this decision," said one of the three officials, all of whom work on Mideast issues and spoke to TIME on condition of anonymity because they were not authorized to speak publicly. "No NSC meetings, no deputies' meetings, no principals' committee, not even a dedicated intelligence briefing."

The president's decision to remove the more than 50 U.S. troops from the area, which was announced hours after the phone call in a White House press release, was a major shift in U.S. foreign policy that surprised officials at the State and Defense departments, including Defense Secretary Mark Esper and Jim Jeffrey, the administration's special representative for Syria engagement.



Defending his decision the next day, Trump said it was "time for us to get out" and let others "figure the situation out." But lawmakers in Trump's own party criticized the president's unexpected move. "We have sent the most dangerous signal possible—America is an unreliable ally," tweeted Republican Senator Lindsey Graham of South Carolina, a close confidant of Trump's. Fellow GOP senators Marco Rubio and Mitt Romney highlighted the risks of ceding influence to Iran, whose proxy forces support Syrian president Bashar al-Assad's regime, and Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell, a Trump loyalist, urged the president to reverse course.

As expected, on October 9, three days after Trump's decision, the Turkish Air Force launched air strikes on border towns, forcing at least 160,000 people to leave their homes. Also on the move as Kurdish troops left, per early reports: more than 800 suspected ISIS detainees who escaped a camp in northern Syria. Conditions at an SDF camp for 70,000 displaced women and children were chaotic and rife with disease and malnutrition.

On October 16, the House of Representatives



Syrian rebel fighters backed by Turkey headed for the northeastern border zone abandoned by Kurdish troops on October 8.

passed a nonbinding resolution rebuking Trump’s policy in a bipartisan 354–60 vote. A day later, Vice President Mike Pence announced a cease-fire agreement with Turkey to allow the SDF to leave the buffer zone in northeast Syria. On October 22, another interested nation weighed in: Russia’s President Vladimir Putin—with Iran, one of the two strongest supporters of Assad’s regime—reached a deal with Erdogan to expand Turkey’s reach in Syria. Soon, Turkish and Russian troops were patrolling the area recently held by U.S. and SDF forces: international politics abhors a vacuum of power.

Kurds who found themselves defenseless against invading Turks had responded in their own way the day before: as a convoy of U.S. armored vehicles drove through the northeastern city of Qamishli, people in the street hurled potatoes at them, shouting “No America!” and “America liar!” in English. □

Middle East Update: Cauldron of Crisis

Brinkmanship in the Gulf

Tensions have flared among the U.S., its allies and Iran since President Trump pulled out of the Iran nuclear deal and reimposed tough sanctions that hit Iran’s economy hard. On June 20, Iran shot down an unmanned U.S. intelligence drone. Trump quickly ordered a U.S. air strike on select Iranian military targets but called off the mission when the planes were in the air. On July 4, British marines took control of a tanker off Gibraltar that was carrying Iranian oil to Syria, in violation of E.U. sanctions. On July 19, Iran seized a British tanker in the Strait of Hormuz, below.



A terrorist kingpin is killed

On Sunday, October 27, President Trump announced from the White House that Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, 48, the leader of the Islamic State, or ISIS, had been killed by U.S. military forces in Syria. In the previous year, ISIS agents or their allies had conducted deadly attacks in France, Afghanistan, the Philippines, Sri Lanka and other nations. The news followed a September 14 announcement that Hamza bin Laden, son of terrorist mastermind Osama bin Laden, had been killed in a military action in the Afghanistan-Pakistan region.

Yemen’s long civil war continues

In a proxy conflict reminiscent of the height of the Cold War, Yemen has been brutalized by a years-long civil war that has possibly claimed 100,000 lives, as outside powers support client armies on the ground. In 2019, Houthi rebels supported by Iran and Russia increased their use of drone and missile strikes against neighboring Saudi Arabia, whose allies include the U.S., the U.K. and their allies. The Yemeni people were the primary victims; in 2019 some 250,000 were displaced from their homes by fighting.



POLITICIAN

Boris Johnson

The United Kingdom has become a Divided Kingdom in recent years, and on July 23, the man who helped stir Britain's pot of turmoil became prime minister. Boris Johnson, 55, likes to have it both ways: raised on the playing fields of British leadership, he prefers to play the outsider, mocking and attacking the elites he scorns as fusty bureaucrats.

Royal heritage? Check. Eton? Check. Oxford? Check. Oxford's all-male Bullingdon Club, notorious for heavy drinking? Check. A foreign posting as a newspaper journalist? Check. Indeed, Johnson first emerged as a "character"

via his reports from Brussels, where he scorned the E.U.'s Eurocrats and reported "news" of their diktats that he simply invented. Elected to Parliament in 2001, he emerged as a likable toff on TV and made headlines as mayor of London from 2008 to 2016, then as P.M. Theresa May's Foreign Secretary.

In 2016, as Brexit began to preoccupy Britons, Johnson was undecided on the subject. He wrote two articles—one in favor, one against. He chose the former: after all, it offered him a greater opportunity to play the rebel, break windows and command the spotlight.



ISRAEL

Once more unto the polls

Voting's so nice, Israelis did it twice in 2019. National elections in April proved inconclusive due to the defection of incumbent prime minister Benjamin "Bibi" Netanyahu's former deputy Avigdor Lieberman, who turned his support away from Netanyahu's Likud Party in favor of former Army chief Benny Gantz's Blue and White Party.

When Bibi could not form a governing coalition in the Knesset, voters returned to the polls in September. The result was tight again, and although Gantz won one more seat in the Knesset than Bibi, Israel's President Reuven Rivlin gave Netanyahu, 70, the first chance to form a government. On October 21, Netanyahu again failed to amass a majority coalition in the Knesset. Gantz will try to do so, but a third election may ensue.

ASIA

India's power play in Kashmir

In 1947 British colonial India was partitioned into two parts, largely Hindu India and largely Muslim Pakistan. The region of Kashmir is divided among India, Pakistan and China, with the semiautonomous, primarily Muslim state of Jammu and Kashmir within India. The Kashmir region has seen many conflicts between nuclear powers India and Pakistan.

On August 5, emboldened by a landslide re-election in May, India's PM. Narendra Modi unilaterally declared that his nation would end Jammu and Kashmir's autonomy and take control of it. The power grab thrilled Modi's Hindu nationalist supporters but sparked a regional crisis that could erupt into a major conflict.



Canada

The election campaign of PM. Justin Trudeau, 47, was rocked when old photos of the Liberal Party politician **in brownface makeup surfaced**. Trudeau quickly apologized, and the Liberals eked out a victory to retain control of Parliament in the October 21 election.



Italy

In the byzantine world of Italian politics, the self-styled "people's lawyer," Giuseppe Conte, 55, who became prime minister in May 2018, **resigned under pressure in August 2019**. He went on to form a new government, dubbed Conte II, in September. Ciao!



Japan

On April 30, Japan's Emperor Akihito, 85, became the nation's **first ruler to abdicate since 1817**. The next day, he was replaced on the throne by his eldest son, Naruhito, 59, above. The enthronement was formally observed in late October.



India

The Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party, led by the popular PM. Narendra Modi, 69, won **a landslide victory in the May election**, increasing its majority in Parliament and allowing Modi to test neighboring Pakistan's resolve over disputed Kashmir.

World Notes

One small step for Saudi women

In August, Saudi Arabia's government said it would reform the *wilayah*, or guardianship, system that has long oppressed the nation's women.

The reforms include **allowing women to obtain passports without a male relative's permission** and to register births, marriages and divorces on their own. Earlier, Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, the nation's de facto leader, had blunted the power of religious police and lifted the ban on women driving. At the same time, many activists who called for change remained in jail or on trial.

North Korea, digital pirate

North Korea has earned as much as \$2 billion through **large-scale cyberattacks on banks and cryptocurrency exchanges**, according to a report to the U.N. leaked on August 5. The document said the funds were being channeled to the country's weapons-of-mass-destruction program.

Netanyahu in a tight spot

Even as Israel's P.M. Benjamin Netanyahu, 70, fought in 2019 to craft a ruling coalition in the Knesset, he faced a threat of **indictment in three cases of corruption and influence peddling**. Israeli law allows for a prime minister to remain in office while being prosecuted.



ASIA

Strangers in a strange land

The Rohingya, a majority-Muslim ethnic group from majority-Buddhist Myanmar's westernmost state of Rakhine, fled to Bangladesh in large numbers in late 2017, when the Myanmar army began a systematic campaign of arson, rape and murder that the U.N. has called genocidal. Spread across the coastal district of Cox's Bazar lie dozens of makeshift ghettos that together make up the world's largest refugee camp. The government of Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina denies the Rohingya formal education, bars them from working, proposes surrounding parts of the camp with barbed wire and wants to send 100,000 of them to an isolated and flood-prone island. And there they remain: some 1 million people with nowhere to turn.



VENEZUELA

Nation in despair

Venezuela's political crisis has spawned a humanitarian crisis. President Nicolás Maduro, the heir of socialist icon Hugo Chávez, has steered the country that boasts the largest oil reserves on the planet into misery. The nation's infrastructure has fallen into ruin, its people are impoverished, and UNICEF declared that the ongoing crisis threatens the lives of 7 million citizens, including 3 million children.

POLITICIAN

Jacinda Ardern

On Friday, March 15, 2019, a 28-year-old white supremacist attacked two Muslim mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand, killing 51 people and injuring 49 more. The killer live-streamed the first attack online. On April 10, less than a month later, the nation's Parliament, led by Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern, 39, voted 119 to 1 to pass gun-control legislation that banned most of the country's automatic and semiautomatic weapons.

Ardern said that while there is a "practical purpose and use for guns," at the same time, "that does not mean you need access to military-style semiautomatic weapons. You do not. And New Zealanders by and large absolutely agreed with that position." Ardern became the world's youngest female national leader in 2017 and was named to TIME's list of the world's 100 Most Influential People in 2018. "She's not just leading a country," wrote Facebook COO Sheryl Sandberg at the time. "She's changing the game."



ROARING FIRES AND A GREEN NEW DEAL

As denial declines, efforts to address climate change accelerate around the globe

SCIENTISTS HAVE UNDERSTOOD FOR DECADES that climate change is happening and that humans are causing it; unfortunately, recent studies, including a landmark report in October 2018 from the U.N., have shown that matters are even worse than we thought. Global temperatures have already risen about 1°C above preindustrial levels; if the planet heats by much more than an additional half a degree, we could see some of the most catastrophic effects of climate change, including the death of the world's coral reefs and the inundation of entire island nations.

Climate change is a planetwide problem, but in 2019 two specific crises dominated headlines: the increased ravaging of the Amazon jungle and the accelerated melting of polar ice regions. Yet 2019 also brought some glimmers of hope for the planet's imperiled climate, as growing awareness of the emergency drove new political efforts to address it.

The origin of the fires that roared through the Amazon rain forest can be traced back five decades, to the days when Brazil, South America's largest nation, incentivized millions of its people to colonize the nation's interior: the Amazon. Today their logging yards, cattle enclosures and soy farms sit on the fringes of a vanishing forest. Powered by murky sources of capital and rising global demand for beef, a frontier rife with violence and corruption is now



Burned areas in the Amazon near Novo Progresso in Brazil's state of Pará smoked in late August 2019.





Life

pushing into indigenous land, national parks and one of the most preserved parts of the jungle.

Brazil's new president, Jair Bolsonaro, is an unapologetic cheerleader for the exploitation of the Amazon. He has supported the colonists by sacking key environmental officials and slashing enforcement of green laws, with a message that the Amazon is open for business. Bolsonaro has been ruthless in gutting protections: he intervened to block a government action against loggers in the western state of Rondônia, he fired 21 of the environmental agency's 27 state heads, and he created a new body to pardon environmental fines. As a result, across the Brazilian Amazon in 2019, tribal lands and national parks were invaded like never before. Since the president's inauguration in January 2019, the rate of deforestation has soared by as much as 92%, according to satellite imaging.

Scientists warn that decades of human activity and a changing climate have brought the jungle near a tipping point. The rain forest is so called because it's such a wet place, where the trees pull up water from the earth that then gathers in the atmosphere to become rain. That balance is upended by deforestation, forest fires and rising global temperatures.

Experts fear that soon the water cycle will become irreversibly broken, locking in a trend of declining rainfall and longer dry seasons that began decades ago. At least half of the shrinking forest could give way to savanna. With as much as 17% of the forest lost already, scientists believe that the tipping point will be reached at 20% to 25% of deforestation even if climate change is tamed. If, as some studies predict, global temperatures rise by 4°C in the coming decades, much of the central, eastern and southern Amazon will certainly become barren scrubland.

Late in August, the smoke signals began to appear. Aided by rare atmospheric conditions, a vast black plume drifted from the Amazon and darkened afternoon skies as far away as São Paulo, more than 1,700 miles to the southeast. As dramatic images of

the blackout and fires crossed the globe, protests broke out in Brazil and other nations. After the G-7 leaders held emergency talks during their August summit in France, Bolsonaro relented. "I have a profound love and respect for the Amazon," he said in a TV address. "Protecting the rain forest is our duty." He dispatched warplanes and army units to Rondônia to fight the blazes. That tamped down his critics for the moment, but the larger, burning question of the future of the region still looms.

The forest stores up to 120 billion metric tons of carbon, equivalent to almost 12 years of global emissions at current rates. If it is cleared, much of that carbon will go into the atmosphere. That alone



▲
A settler was seen burning brush in the Amazon. Deforested tropical lands in the Brazilian Amazon release more carbon emissions than any country except China and the U.S.

could push the global climate beyond safe limits.

The Amazon tipping point could also lead to a cascade of other potential climate dominoes. Forest dieback is strongly interconnected with other phenomena such as the melting of the Greenland ice sheet and other polar ice regions, which would cause sea levels to rise, and the degradation of the frozen soil in the Arctic known as the permafrost, which would release greenhouse gases held in the ice and perhaps a number of long-dormant diseases. Scientists believe that these changes combined could result in runaway global warming that humans would find impossible to reverse. Small wonder that efforts to address the global crisis gained new urgency throughout the year. □



Marching for a Green Future

The reality of climate change sinks in. Can politics also change?

AROUND THE GLOBE, THE DAMS OF DENIAL THAT had kept politicians from addressing climate change for far too long began to sprout leaks in 2019. The signs of the problem were too obvious to ignore: natural disasters driven by storms of new intensity; changing weather patterns that afflict farmers globally; rising sea levels, driven by melting polar ice, that imperil Pacific islands and global coastlines.

The list marches on—and so did a new generation of alarmed young activists, such as Swedish schoolgirl Greta Thunberg, whose concerned voices broke through the stale standoffs of recent years and put the planetary crisis at the forefront of the World Economic Forum in Switzerland in January, the G-7 talks in August and the U.N. General Assembly in September—and on the streets of hundreds of cities across the planet, as some 4 million protesters joined Thunberg's crusade.

One result: more than 70% of Americans now understand that climate change is taking place, according to data from the Yale Program on Climate

^
Young protesters in London marched on September 20 as part of a global demand for action on climate change.

Change Communication. And it's not just Democrats who suddenly want to focus on the issue. President Donald Trump chose to double down on his denial of climate science, but other Republicans have begun recalibrating their messaging. A February 2019 NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* survey found that two thirds of Republicans believe their party is "outside the mainstream" on the issue.

Into this new political reality came the Green New Deal—equal parts policy proposal and battle cry. The program, introduced in March by two Democrats, Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York and Senator Ed Markey of Massachusetts, called for the U.S. to launch a broad "mobilization" to decarbonize the economy while tackling a slew of other social ills.

The response was mixed. People loved it. People loathed it. Others were confused by it. But in D.C., where climate has long been relegated to third-tier status, lawmakers could no longer simply avoid the issue.

Some Republicans gathered in working groups to come up with a viable climate position, fearing that they risked further ceding the issue to the Democrats. Love the Green New Deal or hate it, the conversation it unleashed has represented a shift in the discussion of climate policy in the U.S. The outcome of the debate will help determine if humanity can avoid the most catastrophic consequences of a rapidly warming world. □

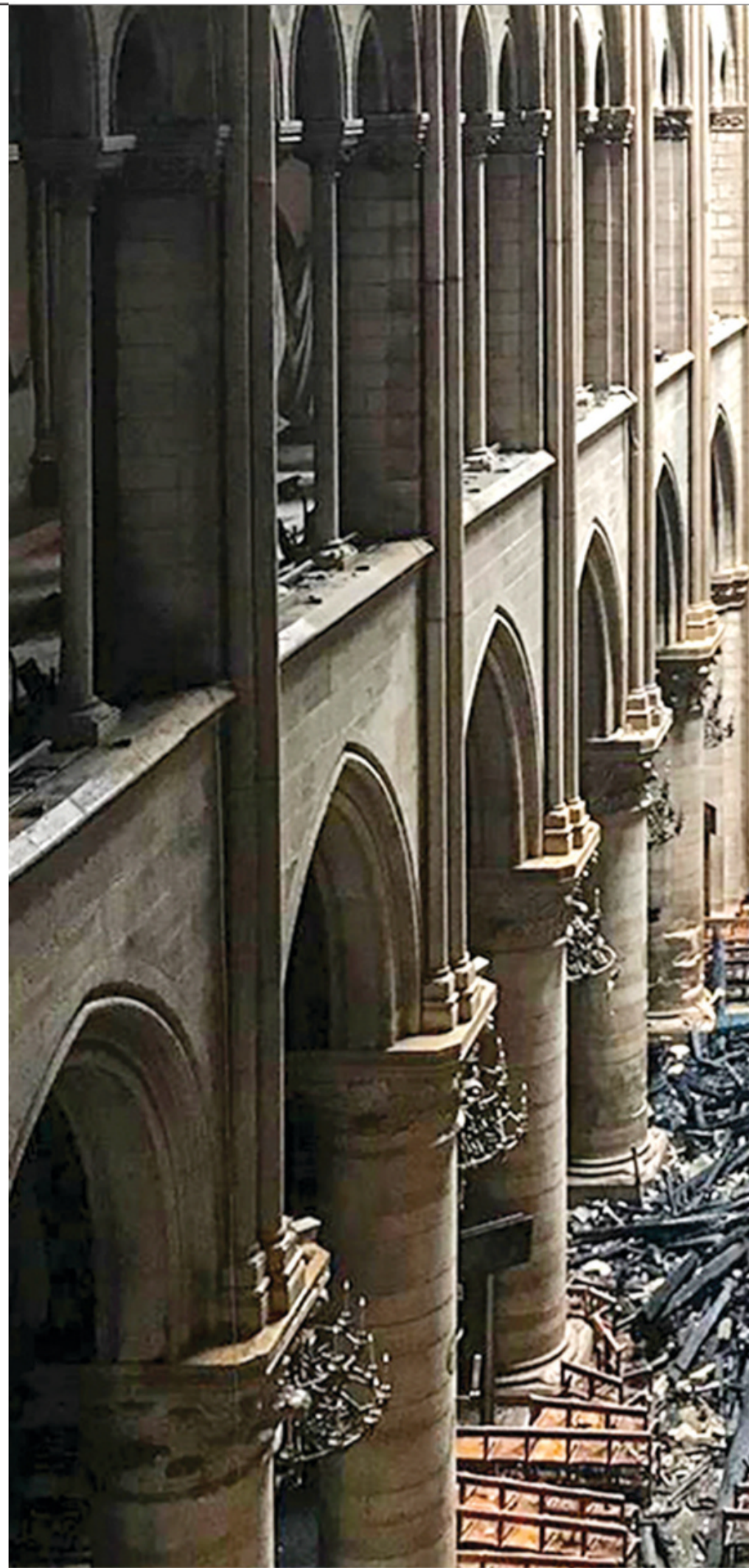
A SACRED SPACE IS RAVAGED BY FLAMES

Notre Dame, France's historic cathedral, weathers a raging fire

ON MONDAY, APRIL 15, 2019, AT 6:52 p.m.—only six days before Easter—a person in Paris posted a video on Twitter that showed smoke emerging from the roof of Notre Dame Cathedral, the 859-year-old Gothic masterpiece located at the very center of the city, on the Île de la Cité in the Seine. About 30 minutes before, an alarm switch in the building had triggered a warning of a fire inside. But due to a string of missed communications, the fire went undetected until it had spread across the centuries-old wooden timbers that upheld the roof of one of the world's most beloved and historic buildings.

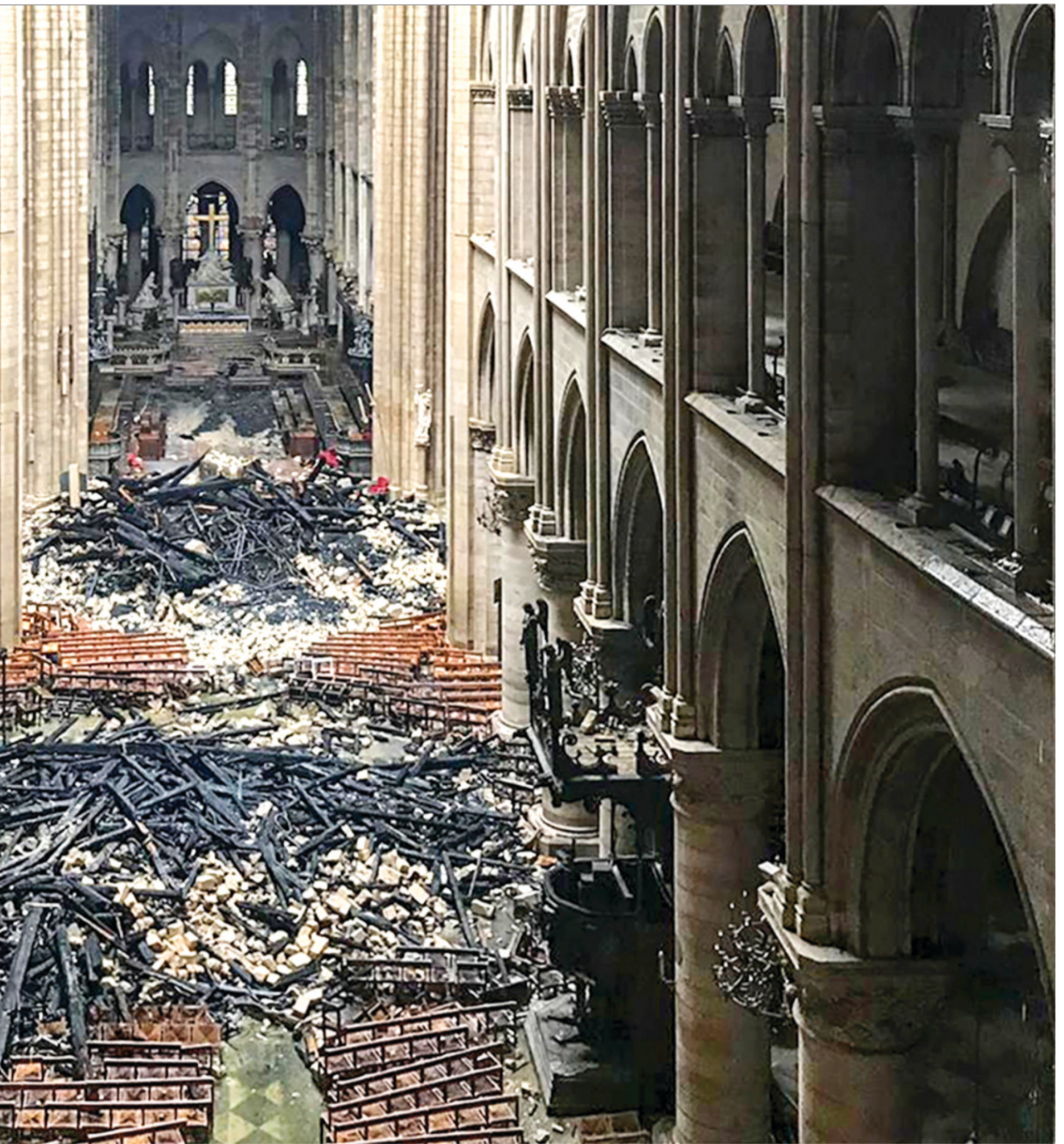
While the fire grew and flames became visible on the roof, regular Parisians, as well as priests, nuns and tourists, filled the vast square outside the bell towers, singing hymns—including “Ave Maria”—and gazing on in shock. Meanwhile, a digital firestorm also broke out, as news of the blaze flickered around the world on social media. When the flames reached the Roman Catholic cathedral's famed spire, it seemed as if the entire globe held its breath, for Notre Dame, a magnificent example of medieval architecture, transcends religions, cultures and nationalities; the sacred space is universally regarded as a world treasure equivalent to Stonehenge, the Pyramids, the Great Wall of China or Machu Picchu.

The building is also woven into the history of France. On the Île de la Cité, Parisian Christians first carried stones to the site and built a church around the 6th century. That building was razed by the Nor-



mans in the middle of the 9th century. A new basilica lasted the better part of three centuries, but by 1140 it was too small, and in 1163, under the direction of Maurice de Sully, Bishop of Paris, construction of today's Notre Dame began.

The bishop raised the money and assembled the workforce of some 1,000 masons, metalsmiths, carpenters and others. And he took daring archi-



tectural gambles. Notre Dame’s ceiling would rise higher (107 feet) than any other cathedral then built, thanks to the strength of its then relatively untested ribbed vault; the structure was one of the first cathedrals to employ a new technology, the flying buttress, to support the soaring height of its walls.

In the 16th century, Huguenots—French Protestants—damaged some of the statues they con-

After the fire, the cathedral’s nave was littered with remnants of the fallen roof and spire.

sidered idolatrous, and in 1793, during the French Revolution, anti-royalists stormed the cathedral, stripped away some of its sacred trappings and declared it a “temple of reason.” Napoleon I crowned

himself emperor there in 1804. It was celebrated in Victor Hugo's classic 1831 novel *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*, and Pope Pius X beatified Joan of Arc at its altar in 1909. Its bells rang out to celebrate the end of World War I, and in 1944, when Charles de Gaulle returned from his World War II exile during Germany's four years of occupation, a sniper fired at him as he entered the building.

Small wonder the cathedral draws about 13,000 tourists a day—even more than Paris's other indelible symbol, the Eiffel Tower. Yet the building's great age caused it to fall into a state of disrepair in recent years. A multimillion-dollar restoration of its roof and spire was underway, with the structure's heights sheathed in scaffolding, when the fire broke out.

That roof is original to the 13th-century building; made of 5,000 oak trees, it is called “the Forest.” The cathedral's original spire atop the roof was removed in 1786 because it wasn't stable; it was then rebuilt during the 1860s, when Napoleon III was in power, in a splendid design conceived by Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc. In the most shocking moment of the fire, at around 7:50 p.m., the delicate 300-foot spire tilted to one side and then snapped off almost like a twig, tumbling into the inferno.

By that time, some 500 firefighters had been mobilized to battle the blaze. Working frantically, they managed to save most of the landmark's signature elements, including the two iconic 226-foot bell towers flanking its entrance. The cathedral's 18th-century organ, one of the world's most famous musical instruments, was preserved intact, as was its great Rose Window. After some nine hours, the fire was brought under control before dawn on Tuesday.

Early that morning, Parisians ventured out in a soft drizzle to see the cathedral up close, as if to grasp for themselves that the fire had not simply been a terrible nightmare. Meanwhile, French firefighters and architectural experts ventured into the devastated building to survey what remained. They finally declared, to the relief of millions, that most

of the building's main structure had been preserved.

French president Emmanuel Macron promised to launch a rebuilding fund without delay. Within two days, some \$995 million in pledges toward reconstruction had been raised, much of it from France's wealthiest individuals and companies.

Later investigations revealed the heartbreaking sequence of events that almost led to the full collapse of the great Gothic structure. A security employee who had spent only three days on the job, and was serving his second eight-hour shift of the day, was the first to see a warning light indicating a fire was in progress. He dispatched a church guard to the wrong part of the building to investigate. Con-

fused, the security employee then called his manager, rather than the fire department, to report the suspected fire. Compounding the threat to the building, no sprinklers or fire walls had ever been placed in the Forest, so its original architecture would be preserved.

In early July, Philippe Villeneuve, chief architect of the cathedral, took TIME journalists—the first to visit the site—to the devastated rooftop. “The scene atop the almost 900-year-old building is dismaying,” TIME's Vivienne Walt reported. “The roof's frame is now just a giant tangle of molten lead, twisted and bent like spaghetti in the fire. The roof itself is a gaping hole with nothing between it and the nave 226 feet below.”

Walt saw a mammoth crane on the building's north side hoisting a seven-ton wooden frame constructed in the shape of an arch up to the roof level. Outside, two workers rappelled down the side of the building to begin installing the wooden arches, which will support the flying buttresses during reconstruction. Inside the nave, netting was in place to catch loose debris from the roof, and robot vehicles cleared rubble from the floor.

The sense of buzzing activity, if not the tools in use, might have seemed familiar to Bishop De Sully, the cathedral's builder. After 859 years, Notre Dame—its structure tested but its spirit preserved—was bustling again, sailing into a new millennium. □

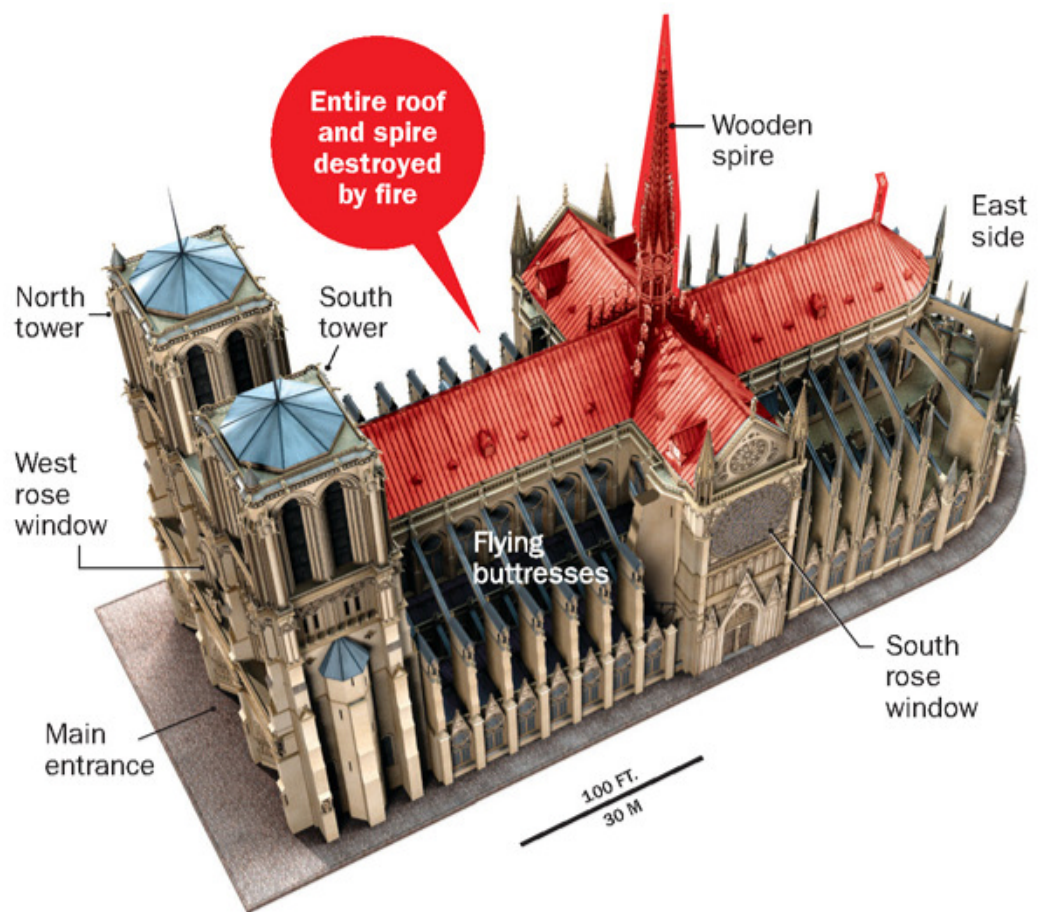


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Priests (in apt headgear) returned to the cathedral on June 15 to say Mass.

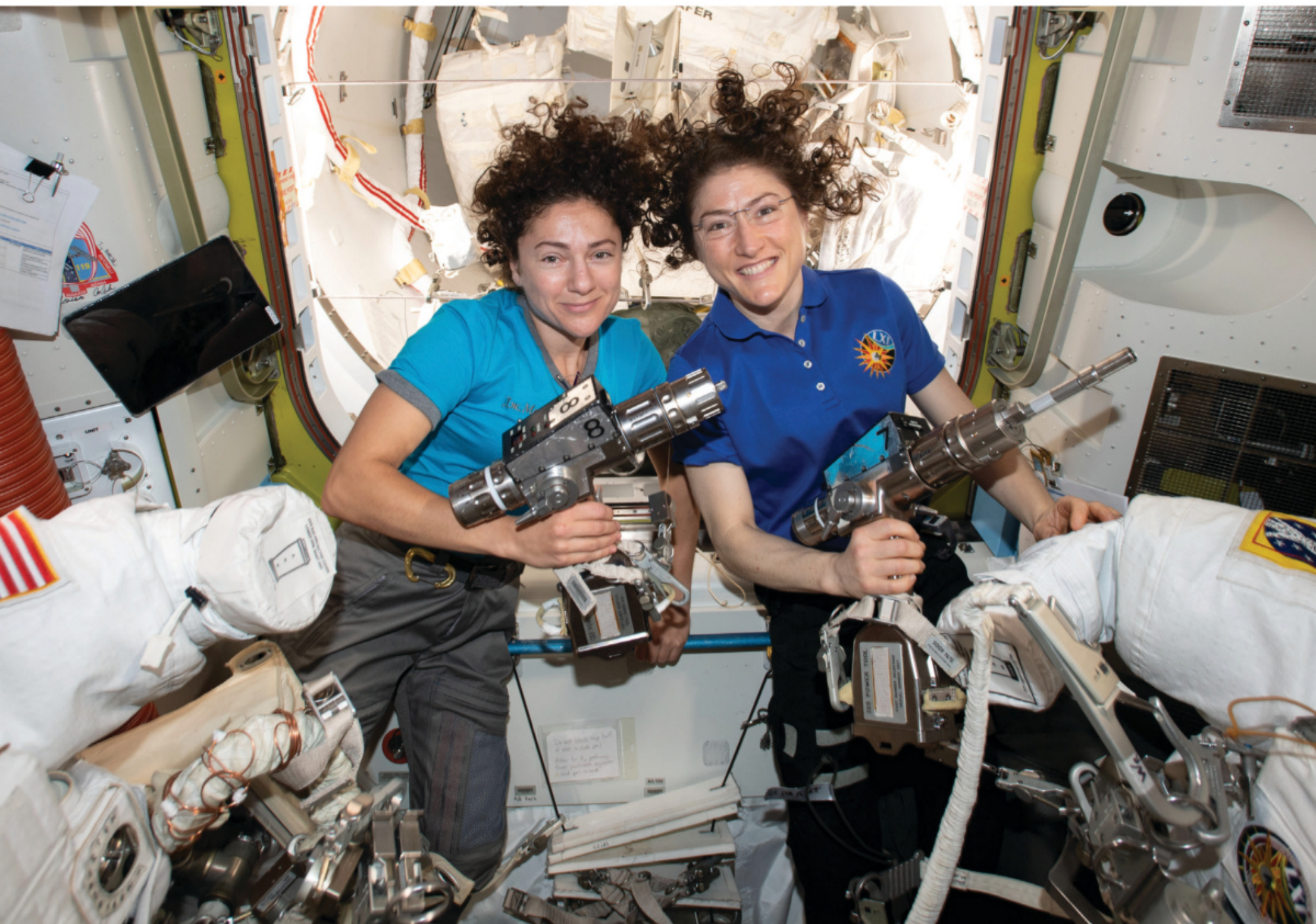
Can a Historic Cathedral Take a Step into the 21st Century?

The illustration at right shows the damage to Notre Dame from the April fire. Most of the roof, made of 13th-century oak timbers, collapsed into the nave, including the roof's 19th-century wooden spire.

The French government is sponsoring a competition to redesign the cathedral's roof and spire. Among the early proposals: Alexandre Chassang's spire is made of triangles of glass (below); Rome-based Studio Fuksas imagined a tall spire of crystal that lights up at night (top right below); Spain's POA Estudio envisioned both a roof and spire of glass (bottom right below).



Life Notes



SPACE

Christina Koch, Jessica Meir

In a giant, um, walk for womankind, on October 18, NASA astronauts Christina Koch and Jessica Meir conducted the first all-female spacewalk, making history outside the International Space Station. Both women joined NASA in 2013; their entering class was half women, half men. They described their seven-hour mission as routine: replacing a malfunctioning exterior battery.

Maine native Meir, 42, at left above, is the daughter of a Swedish mother and an Israeli father of Iraqi Jewish heritage. The stargazer's dream, noted in her high school yearbook, was to walk in

space some day. Her Ph.D. from the Scripps Institution of Oceanography involved spending time scuba diving with emperor penguins under the ice at McMurdo Sound in Antarctica (well, somebody has to do it).

Michigan native Koch, 40, also grew up aiming to become an astronaut. Close friends with Meir, she also spent more than three years working and studying in Antarctica. Koch is slated to return to Earth in February 2020, after spending 328 days on the ISS: the effects of spaceflight on her body will be researched as NASA prepares to land a craft on the moon in 2024, perhaps with multiple women onboard.



HEALTH

Clearing the air about a new addiction

On Dec. 18, 2018, U.S. Surgeon General Jerome Adams issued a public-health advisory to address the “epidemic” of youth e-cigarette use, after federal data showed that vaping among high school students soared by 78% from 2017 to 2018. Worse news came in 2019: the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention reported more than 2,000 cases of serious lung illness and dozens of deaths related to vaping and advised Americans not to use e-cigarettes.

Several U.S. states banned most flavored e-cigarettes; other nations, including India and China, also began restricting sales. Retailers took notice, and early in October, Kroger and Walgreens declared they would join Walmart in deciding to stop selling e-cigarettes.

CRIME

Wealth, fame—and a noose

Concluding a historic fall from grace, Jeffrey Epstein, 66, the financier arrested on July 6 and charged with sex trafficking of minors and conspiracy, was found hanged to death August 10 in a Manhattan federal jail in what was ruled a suicide—igniting a host of conspiracy theories.

Once best known for his vast wealth and his friendships with powerful men—including President Donald Trump, former president Bill Clinton and billionaire retailer Les Wexner—Epstein had a long history of consorting with underage girls and was a registered sex offender based on a 2007 guilty plea on Florida felony charges. Following his July arrest, he pleaded not guilty and was facing up to 45 years in prison when he was found dead in his cell.



An eight-way tie at the National Spelling Bee

The 2019 Scripps National Spelling Bee ended with eight youngsters sharing the crown, as exhausted judges threw in the towel, ending the **annual exercise in orthography** after three and a half hours of competition. Perhaps they had no one to spell them?

So gifted were the competitors, the hosts declared that it was the dictionary that ultimately lost this year’s event.

Alex Jones loses his megaphone

Early in August, Apple, Spotify, Facebook and YouTube each removed the majority of conservative radio show host Alex Jones’s content from their platforms, citing **community guidelines against hate speech**.

“This sets a chilling precedent for free speech,” an employee of Jones’s InfoWars company tweeted. In 2018 Jones was sued by some parents of Sandy Hook, Conn., victims for claiming the 2012 mass school shooting in that town was a hoax.

The last straw?

Canadian prime minister Justin Trudeau announced in June that his nation would set a goal to **ban single-use plastic items** by 2021. Trudeau said that the nation throws away about 3 million metric tons of plastic waste yearly. In March, the European Union voted to ban plastic products for which alternatives exist by 2021; India said it is aiming for 2022.



Life Notes

Uber, Lyft and WeWork stumble

Ride-sharing unicorn Uber held its initial public offering (IPO) in May and failed to hit the low end of its target share price, \$44–\$50; shares were below \$32 on November 1. Competitor **Lyft's stock declined by 20%** in the first month after its IPO in March. And Adam Neumann, CEO of the hot workspace outfit WeWork, resigned after the company postponed its IPO amid growing concerns over its governance, valuation and long-term outlook.

Ebola in Congo

The second-largest Ebola outbreak in history ravaged the Democratic Republic of Congo, where **more than 2,100 people have died** since the epidemic began in 2018. Local officials and world health agencies scrambled to contain the contagious virus.

Meet the meatless

The buzziest tech product out of Silicon Valley in 2019 wasn't another app: it was **a hamburger with no meat**. Increasingly popular burgers from Impossible Foods and Beyond Meat provided the mouthfeel of real meat minus any guilt over the harm cattle-raising inflicts on the environment.



AVIATION

A jet is grounded, and its fate is up in the air

On March 10, 2019, an Ethiopian Airlines Boeing 737 Max 8 aircraft crashed minutes after taking off from Addis Ababa, killing all 157 people onboard. That tragedy followed the October 2018 crash of an Indonesia Air Lion 737 in which 189 people died. Airlines around the world quickly grounded the jetliners, which are suspected of having a flight-control system that can automatically push a plane into a catastrophic nosedive if it malfunctions. Critics accused the U.S. Federal Aviation Administration of allowing Boeing employees to stand in for federal regulators during safety approval tests.

SPACE

Light-year buzz

Pictures of black holes, by definition, can't exist: their gravity fields are so powerful that visible light can't escape them. What we see is the event horizon, the swarm of gas, dust and light circling the gravitational drain before being swallowed. But in April, scientists at six locations around Earth—who teamed up to use eight telescopes as one giant instrument—released a photo of a black hole's event horizon at the center of Messier 87, a massive galaxy in the Virgo galaxy cluster, 55 million light-years from Earth.





ACTIVIST

Greta Thunberg

“Can you hear me?” Greta Thunberg, 16, asked her audience in the U.K. Houses of Parliament in April. She tapped the microphone, but the gesture was meant as a rebuke; she was asking if they were listening. She was there to talk about the climate: a catastrophe is looming, her generation will bear it, and she knows whom to blame. “You did not act in time,” the Swedish high school student said. Castigating the powerful is routine for her. In December 2018, she spoke at the U.N. Climate Change Conference in Poland; in January 2019 she berated billionaires at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland; later, she met with Pope Francis. In August she sailed from Sweden to New York City, where she led a September 20 protest at the U.N. and later addressed the General Assembly. “How dare you?” she asked delegates, chastising their failure to act in the face of a planetwide emergency.

A year earlier, Thunberg had had no such audiences. She was a lone figure sitting outside the Swedish Parliament, carrying a sign that read *School Strike for Climate*. While studying climate change at age 11, Thunberg, diagnosed with Asperger’s syndrome, suffered an episode of severe depression. She launched a weekly schoolwork strike, and social media quickly disseminated her message. Organizers estimated that some 4 million people around the globe joined in her September 20 climate strike. Yes, Greta Thunberg: we are now hearing you.





WE ARE WOMEN; WATCH US SCORE

The U.S. women's soccer team wins its fourth World Cup trophy

THE EXPECTATIONS COULD HAVE EASILY crushed any other team. The U.S. Women's National Soccer Team entered the 2019 World Cup in France as the top-ranked women's team in the world. Its squad was so deep, according to many observers, that a roster made up of its bench players could have contended for a title. And there was a legacy to be upheld: going into the tournament, the U.S. players wore three stars on their jerseys, symbols of the three previous World Cup championships won by their predecessors, beginning in 1991 and continuing with the unforgettable 1999 victory on home soil and another in Canada in 2015.

Meanwhile, on the other side of the pitch, competitors were rapidly improving. Seven of the eight teams to make the 2019 World Cup quarterfinals hailed from Europe; the continent's traditional soccer powers, coming to their senses, had begun investing more time and money in their women's teams. After breezing through its early matches, the U.S., in its last three games, faced a daunting trio: an ascendant French power playing at home; England, a team that had won a Cup tune-up tournament in the U.S. earlier in 2019; and, in the final, Europe's reigning champion, the Netherlands.

The U.S. women beat them all. And after their 2–0 victory over a strong Dutch team, they began singing, “We’ve got four stars on our shirts.”

The team didn't waste any time getting down to business. In their first group-stage game, Team USA

They are the champions: members of Team USA celebrated their victory in Paris on July 7.

Sports

soared to a 13–0 win over its overmatched opponent, Thailand, breaking the record for the largest margin of victory ever in women’s and men’s World Cup history. Brilliant striker and co-captain Alex Morgan—one of TIME’s 100 Most Influential People in the world in 2019—scored five of the 13 goals to tie the U.S. team record for most goals in a game.

Critics pounced. The Americans celebrated their goals with too much exuberance, they howled. They were arrogant bullies. Yet rather than recoil under the heat, the U.S. players doubled down on their joy. After scoring in the semifinals against England, Morgan refused to apologize for pretending to take a sip of tea. “You see men celebrating all over the world in big tournaments,” she said.

A loss would have satisfied the team’s naysayers, who longed for the American braggarts to get their comeuppance. But the Americans never did, since they failed to concede any big goals. The U.S. never trailed in a game the entire tournament. They outscored their opponents 26–3.

Even as they faced down Europe’s best players on the pitch, the players faced criticism and controversy off the field. During the Cup, President Trump tweeted criticism at openly gay U.S. co-captain Megan Rapinoe: emulating former NFL quarterback Colin Kaepernick, the star forward chose to stand stoic during the U.S. national anthem, declining to put her hand over her heart or sing the words. Trump charged that Rapinoe disrespected her country, the White House and the flag. (A viral clip, shot months earlier, emerged in June featuring Rapinoe saying “I am not going to the f-king White House” in response to a reporter’s inquiry about whether she’d accept the traditional invita-

tion after the tournament.) Some critics on social media said that, due to Rapinoe’s words and actions, they’d refuse to watch the team in this World Cup.

Those folks missed out on something spectacular. In one of the all-time great responses by an American athlete, Rapinoe scored the team’s first four goals of the knockout stage, added another one in the final and won the Golden Ball award as the best player in the World Cup, as well as the Golden Boot award as the tournament’s top scorer. When she smashed a penalty kick into the net in the final against the Netherlands to give the U.S. a 1–0 lead in the 61st minute, she spread out her arms, striking the “look at me now” pose she’d unveiled earlier in the tournament, athletic royalty shrouded in defiance.

The U.S. team faced another off-field foe during the games: gender discrimination. If you’re looking to avoid distractions going into a World Cup, choosing not to sue your employer would seem to be a wise strategy. But the Americans sought no one’s approval on March 8, three months before the start of the Cup, when 28 members of the team filed a gender-discrimination lawsuit against the U.S. Soccer Federation—the body that not only is their employer but also governs the sport in America. The suit demanded equal pay with the flailing U.S. men’s team, which infamously failed to qualify for the most recent Men’s World Cup, in Russia in 2018.

“We very much believe it is our responsibility,” Rapinoe told the *New York Times*, “not only for our team and for future U.S. players, but for players around the world and frankly women all around the world, to feel like they have an ally in standing up for themselves . . . and fighting for what they deserve and for what they feel like they have earned.”

Five Stirring Strides to Victory

For the Americans, the march to the trophy began with a blowout against Thailand. Later matches were closer, but the U.S. team never trailed in a game as they advanced to their fourth World Cup title



U.S. vs. Thailand, 13–0

Star striker Alex Morgan celebrated one of her five goals in the opening match against Thailand. Some critics charged the U.S. team with over-celebrating and running up the score.



U.S. vs. Spain, 2–1

Megan Rapinoe—who dyed her hair pink just before the Cup began—tangled with a Spanish player in the tournament’s knockout round. The co-captain scored both U.S. goals.



◀
Forward Megan Rapinoe struck a mock-heroic pose after scoring in the final match, while fellow co-captain Alex Morgan jumped for joy.

Chants of “equal pay” were heard on July 10, when the victorious women, back on home soil, were treated to a ticker-tape parade in lower Manhattan at the invitation of New York City mayor Bill de Blasio. U.S. defender Tierna Davidson held a sign reading: “Parades are cool. Equal pay is cooler.” Team members were seen swigging champagne, the beverage of choice for championships won in Paris.

Sadly, the fizz of victory went flat later in the summer: mediation talks between the two sides in the equal-pay dispute broke down in mid-August, and a judge slated a trial to begin on May 5, 2020, two months before the women head to Tokyo to contend for their fifth Olympic gold medal.

The Americans had absorbed every punch: darts from the president and other naysayers, their competitors’ improvement and an equal-pay dispute. Along the way, they set a new standard for unapologetic excellence, in sports and beyond. And Rapinoe emerged as a role model off the field as well as on, telling the crowd at City Hall after the parade ended, “This is my charge to everyone: We have to love more, hate less. We’ve got to listen more and talk less. We’ve got to know that this is everybody’s responsibility.”

Morgan summed up the team’s special magic when it was her turn to speak: “We have been known as ‘America’s favorite soccer team,’” she declared. “But from here on out, we’ll just be known as ‘America’s Team.’” Mission accomplished. ◻



U.S. vs. France, 2–1

France’s Delphine Cascarino and Crystal Dunn of the U.S. vied for the ball in the quarterfinal round. Once again, Rapinoe scored both goals as the U.S. won another close contest.



U.S. vs. England, 2–1

Goalie Alyssa Naehar made a fine save to keep the U.S. ahead in the semifinal contest. Christen Press scored an early goal and Morgan headed in a second as the U.S. advanced to the final match.



U.S. vs. Netherlands, 2–0

Tobin Heath, left, and U.S. players celebrated at game’s end. Rapinoe and rising star Rose Lavelle scored in the second half as the women earned their fourth World Cup victory.

Sports Notes

SOCCER

Megan Rapinoe

Some athletes embody their times: think Babe Ruth, Jackie Robinson and Muhammad Ali. In 2019 it was Megan Rapinoe—co-captain, forward and star of the World Cup—champion U.S. Women’s National Soccer Team—who excelled on the field and sparked controversy off it, becoming a public figure whose impact extended far beyond the field of play.

Rapinoe, 34, dyed her short hair pink just before the Cup, a message that she intended to be a dominating force in the event. And the California native was, winning both the Golden Boot, as top scorer in the Cup, and the Golden Ball, as best player.

Rapinoe used the spotlight she earned to illuminate her beliefs. Asked by TIME’s Sean Gregory why she created the victory stance she assumed after scoring, she replied: “That was me representing everyone fighting for the same things as I am—equal pay, more attention to race relations, migrants at the border . . .”

Rapinoe’s stances off the field were just as powerful as those on it: intense and articulate, she helped lead the team’s lawsuit against U.S. soccer’s national ruling body, demanding equal pay with the U.S. men’s team. Openly gay—her partner is WNBA star Sue Bird—she is a powerful voice for LGBTQ rights. Explaining to Gregory why she stood stoic during the national anthem at the Cup, she replied: “[America is] the land of opportunity. But it has to be for everyone. A lot of people have been cut out of that dream . . . Until people with the most privilege . . . put our own skin in the game, then things aren’t really going to change.”





HORSE RACING

A venerable sport veers off-track

Horse racing in the U.S. is a deeply troubled enterprise. In 2018, 493 horses died or were euthanized within 72 hours of sustaining a catastrophic injury in a race. Between Dec. 26, 2018, and Nov. 3, 2019, 36 Thoroughbreds died while racing or training at California's Santa Anita Park. The Kentucky Derby was awarded to Country House after a foul call, and Mongolian Groom was euthanized after fracturing a leg near the end of the Breeders Cup at Santa Anita. The frailties of the sport, which lacks a national governing body, were fully exposed in 2019.



GOLF

A red-letter, red-shirt day

It was one of the most thrilling comebacks in the history of American sports. On April 14, Tiger Woods, 43, won Georgia's Masters Tournament for the fifth time, 11 years after his last victory in a major tournament, after overcoming personal scandals and four back surgeries in three years.

Brooks Koepka won the PGA title, Gary Woodland won the U.S. Open, and Shane Lowry won the British Open.

Tour de Indy

A French-born driver won the Indianapolis 500 for the first time since René Thomas in 1914 when Simon Pagenaud, starting from the pole position, **took the lead for the last time just before the final lap**, extending Team Penske's record number of Indy victories to 18.

A full-court press on the NCAA

On September 30, California governor Gavin Newsom signed into law SB 206, a bill that would **allow college athletes in the state to profit off their name, image and likeness** and sign endorsement deals despite NCAA rules forbidding them to do so. The "Fair Pay to Play Act" passed the state's House and Senate without a single no vote. The NCAA strongly opposed the legislation, setting the stage for a coming battle in the courts—the legal courts, that is.

A new record for the marathon

Eliud Kipchoge of Kenya became the first person to run a marathon in under two hours on October 12 in Vienna, where he ran 26.2 miles in the **eye-popping time of 1:59:40**.

The heavily promoted event won't be recognized;

Kipchoge wore controversial Nike shoes, the race was not an open event, and it included a dense rotation of professional pacesetters.



Sports Notes



BASKETBALL

Kawhi Leonard

In a sport filled with bigmouths, Kawhi Leonard stands out for his modesty. But in the NBA Eastern Conference Semifinals against the Philadelphia 76ers, Leonard let out a howl when his buzzer-beater from the corner bounced four times on the hoop before falling in, giving his Toronto Raptors a seventh-game win and a ticket to the conference finals against a strong Milwaukee Bucks team. The Heave of the Year was a career moment for Leonard, who was traded to the Raptors for the 2018–19 season after playing seven seasons for the San Antonio Spurs.

Leonard's highlight-reel shot set a tone that carried the Raptors past the Bucks in six games and into the NBA Finals against the Golden State Warriors. The Warriors—winners of three of the past five NBA titles—were hampered by injuries, and Leonard continued to excel, leading the Raptors to another six-game victory and his second Finals MVP award. In the journeyman world of NBA superstars, Leonard moved on to join the Los Angeles Clippers only weeks after hoisting the O'Brien Trophy. Yet in his single season in Toronto, he helped earn Canada its first NBA championship.



BASEBALL

The Nationals win their first World Series

Coming from behind, as they had all season, a scrappy Washington Nationals squad beat the Houston Astros 6–2 on October 30 in a taut seventh game to win the first World Series since the Nats franchise was established in 2005, and the first for a team from D.C. since 1924. The fall classic was filled with strong pitching by such greats as the Astros’ Gerrit Cole, Justin Verlander and Zack Greinke and the Nats’ Max Scherzer and Series MVP Stephen Strasburg—and it was the first Series in which neither team won a game at home.



HOCKEY

Beating a bad case of the blues—after 52 years

What’s better than finally bringing the NHL championship to a sports-crazed town that had supported its hockey team for more than 50 years—with no trophy to show for it? How about going from worst to first in the league along the way?

That was the thrilling story of the 2018–19 St. Louis Blues, who as the new year began were dead last—31st place—in the league. But with rookie goalie Jordan Binnington anchoring a strong defense, the Blues powered their way to the finals against the Boston Bruins and then beat them on their home ice to hoist the Stanley Cup at last.

Serena battles the clock

Serena Williams aimed to regain her championship form after surviving life-threatening labor while giving birth to her daughter in September 2017, as a new cadre of young stars emerged. After Naomi Osaka, 21, won the Australian Open and Ashleigh Barty, 23, won the French Open, **Williams, 38 in 2019, lost to Simona Halep, 28**, in the finals at Wimbledon and then lost to Bianca Andreescu, 19, at the U.S. Open. The biggest winner: Father Time.

Three amigos—and still a thrill

The recent era of men’s tennis has been dominated by a stellar trio of all-time greats—**Novak Djokovic, Roger Federer and Rafael Nadal**. The beat went on in 2019, as Nadal, 33, won both the Australian Open and French Open. At Wimbledon, Djokovic, 32, below, outlasted Federer, 38, in a 4-hr., 57-min. final that was widely regarded as one of history’s greatest. Nadal took the U.S. Open, beating an appealing young Russian, Daniil Medvedev, a mere 23-year-old.







ONCE UPON AN ERA

Quentin Tarantino revisits a bygone Hollywood 50 years after the Charles Manson murders in the summer of 1969

HOW YOU RESPOND TO QUENTIN TARANTINO'S dazzling, elegiac fairy tale *Once Upon a Time in Hollywood* may depend on how much you like old guys, people who see how the changing of the guard is leaving them behind, who are beginning to reckon with the ways their bodies will betray them, who have seen their profession change so much that they can barely keep a toehold in it. You'll also need some affection for Los Angeles, past and present, for the way that, unlike other American cities, it keeps its ghosts around for a long, long time. You don't have to remember every television show—*Mannix*, *The FBI*, *Bonanza*, *The Green Hornet*—from 1969, when the film is set, to appreciate its special energy.

It also helps to have some feeling for the tragedy of one fledgling movie star who was murdered almost before anyone could get to know her name: Sharon Tate, the pregnant wife of famed director Roman Polanski, was stabbed to death in Benedict Canyon by members of the Manson family on Aug. 9, 1969, along with three friends. Tate had done some TV and a handful of movies at the time of her death; as an actor, she was winsome and elegant at once, and she seemed to have a sense of humor about how gorgeous she was. The career she didn't have is itself a kind of ghost, rustling through Tarantino's movie: it is, above all, a valentine to her. (Caution: there are spoilers further along in this story.)

Once Upon a Time in Hollywood is a tender, rapturous film, both joyous and melancholy, a reverie for a lost past and a door that opens to myriad imag-

◀
Three amigos: Tarantino sized up a scene between fading TV star DiCaprio and his best buddy, Pitt.

ined possibilities. It is also a welcoming picture, not an alienating one, an open door into a vanished world that still feels vital.

In some ways it is a story of outmoded gun-slingers getting their last blast of glory. Leonardo DiCaprio and Brad Pitt play Rick Dalton and Cliff Booth, a fading TV star and his longtime stunt double, two aging guys who were in clover back when Rick was a '50s TV star on the western series *Bounty Law*. But those days are gone, and Rick is now playing the heavy in random TV episodes. There's not much for Cliff to do but to drive Rick around and keep him company, and the loyalty between the two is unshakable.

Cliff is also the better-adjusted of the two, even though he has less money and less status than his TV-star friend. Rick lives in a comfortable house on Cielo Drive—his new neighbors are newlyweds Tate and Polanski. Cliff lives in a disheveled trailer. But while Rick is rattled by insecurity over his declining career, Cliff takes everything in stride. He tools around the city wearing a Hawaiian shirt as if it were a tuxedo—all of his class comes from the inside. He keeps seeing the same hippie girl around town, an underage cutie in tiny cutoffs who is always hitchhiking. One day, he offers her a lift. This zonked-out girl is part of the new generation that's taking over Rick and Cliff's world like a pernicious weed. She asks him to take them to a site formerly used in the making of movie and TV westerns. Now it's a commune headed by charismatic sicko Charles Manson. The old world has merged with a new, more sinister one.

Throughout *Once Upon a Time in Hollywood*, fiction and fact meet; sometimes they crisscross and hurtle in op-

posite directions. But the setting always feels bracingly real: Tarantino's 1969 Los Angeles is a dreamland of multi-hued bar and restaurant signs—in a lovely sequence, they blink on one by one at twilight. Yet there are moments in it that are purely terrifying. The movie's tone shifts drastically during the finale, a sequence marked by ruthless, cartoonishly orchestrated violence, almost jolting the picture out of whack. But the movie's final moment sets everything right, gently, a grace note of serenity in the context of an all-too-mad reality.

Pitt and DiCaprio are marvelous together; their faces, once as flawless as airbrushed high-school portraits, have now achieved a more weathered perfection. DiCaprio's Rick looks mischievously boyish, though you can't help noticing the tiny crow's-feet around his eyes. And Pitt is superb, striding through the movie with the offhanded confidence of a mountain lion who knows his turf.

Critics hailed the film and its stars, and Tarantino's devoted audience flocked to see it. Ten weeks after its July 26 premier, the film had grossed almost \$358 million at the global box office, a strong haul for an art film, and the *New York Times* had declared it the favorite for the Best Picture Oscar for 2019.

That success must have pleased the director and his two male co-stars. But the film really belongs to one person. Margot Robbie plays Sharon Tate, and in the movie's most stunning sequence, she comes upon a theater, the Bruin, that's showing her most recent film, *The Wrecking Crew*, a silly '60s spy caper starring Dean Martin.

Tate enters and sits down to watch her own image on the screen. Margot Robbie as Sharon Tate is watching, as we are, the real-life Sharon Tate acting in a movie. But for us, the two have blended into one person—a young woman, recently married, who has everything to look forward to. In real life, no one could save Sharon Tate. With *Once Upon a Time in Hollywood*, Tarantino and Robbie offer a welcome, surprising take on her hideous death. The magic spell lasts only a few hours. But no one has ever brought her closer to a happily ever after.

—STEPHANIE ZACHAREK □

**QUENTIN
TARANTINO
AND MARGOT
ROBBIE HAVE
A SURPRISE
ENDING FOR
THE TALE OF
SHARON
TATE.**





Good Guys: 22 Bad Guys: 0

Avengers: Endgame wraps up a smashing, 22-episode film epic

NOW, THAT'S A STORY ARC: WHEN THE SUPERHERO film *Avengers: Endgame* arrived in theaters on April 26, the 3 hr., 1 min. movie wrapped up a story line begun in *Avengers: Infinity Wars*, its 2 hr., 29 min. prequel released in 2018. More impressively, *Endgame* was the last of 22 major films involving Marvel superheroes that all converged in its plotline, beginning with *Iron Man* in 2008—a triumph of Hollywood engineering. But wait—there's more! We can trace all the Avengers films in the Marvel Cinematic Universe (MCU) to their origin in the seminal Marvel Comics created by the legendary duo of writer Stan Lee and artist Jack Kirby in the 1960s.

If this all sounds more like the blueprint for a Rube Goldberg machine than an inviting canvas for a creative and rewarding work of art—well, that was the challenge. Would the enormous number of plotlines to be wound up and characters to be given their proper due turn *Endgame* into one long to-do list rather than gripping entertainment? TIME's Steph-

anie Zacharek declared the film a success: "Directors Anthony and Joe Russo and their team of writers have ensured, with machinelike precision, that each Avenger gets his or her proper allotment of sensitive moments, as well as heroic ones."

The key to the film's appeal: it was meticulously crafted for people who care deeply about its characters. And the actors playing these comic-book heroes—performers such as Chris Evans, Scarlet Johansson, Robert Downey Jr., Zoe Saldana and Jeremy Renner—fully invested themselves in their characters. "Watching *Endgame*," Zacharek wrote, I realized that I *do* care about Marvel characters because these actors have made me care."

Avengers: Endgame was the most avidly anticipated film in years, and the question before its release was not whether it would make money but how much money it would make. The answer: \$2.8 billion at the global box office, making it the highest-grossing film in history—and an audience rating of 91% positive at the Rotten Tomatoes website.

If the big wrap-up of the 22-film franchise left you forlorn, movie fans, please take hope. Like the characters who "die" early in a film only to be revived later, the MCU will just keep rolling along: TIME counted 19 films scheduled to be released under the MCU umbrella in the next few years. You're going to need that umbrella, because it's raining superheroes! □

▲
From left: Gwyneth Paltrow (*Pepper Potts*), Tessa Thompson (*Valkyrie*), Elizabeth Olsen (*Scarlet Witch*), Brie Larson (*Captain Marvel*), Pom Klementieff (*Mantis*) and Letitia Wright (*Shuri*)

Arts Movies



PREDATORS

The Lion King

Released in July, the beloved modern classic *The Lion King* became the most successful entry in Disney's recent initiative to refilm many of its popular animated hits in live-action or CGI-driven versions, earning more than \$1.6 billion in ticket sales. But critics, including TIME's Stephanie Zacharek, found director Jon Favreau's photorealistic adaptation overly polished and handsome and thus strangely sterile—a lion that snored.



PLAYTHINGS

Toy Story 4

Disney seemed to have wrapped up its highly popular Pixar series of *Toy Story* animated films with a third successful installment in 2010. But in Hollywood, success is the father of sequels, and the entire gang of beloved toys returned in 2019. This year's model introduced some great new characters, including Forky, a bumbling retread of a spork with googly eyes and charm to burn. Critics ate it up and audiences forked over some \$1.1 billion.

SUPERHEROES

Captain Marvel

Brie Larson became a superstar in 2019 thanks to two megahit films, *Captain Marvel* and *Avengers: Endgame*. *Captain Marvel* was the first superhero film with a female lead to earn more than \$1 billion at the global box office. TIME named Larson, 30 in 2019, as one of the 100 Most Influential People of the year, noting her persistent calls for more inclusivity for women and minorities in Hollywood.



ARACHNIDS

Spider-Man: Far from Home

The second film in Marvel's reboot of its teen-superhero *Spider-Man* franchise was breezy and enjoyable when it concentrated on the teen aspect, said TIME's Stephanie Zacharek, but disappointingly predictable and dull when it turned to the superhero side of the equation and its now-obligatory, excruciatingly generic CGI battle scenes. Audiences demonstrated a more positive response, as the film snared more than \$1.1 billion in its box-office web.



Arts Television



HISTORICAL DRAMA

Chernobyl

Anyone who tunes in to a miniseries with a title like *Chernobyl* should expect five hours of anguish, terror and death. There's no bright side to the 1986 reactor explosion that likely killed thousands in Soviet Ukraine, rendering the region uninhabitable for centuries to come. But bleak as HBO's saga was, it still demonstrated what happens when societies stop listening to science—a critical message amid our rapidly worsening global climate crisis.



FANTASY

Game of Thrones

Millions of fans tuned in to the eighth and final season of HBO's *Game of Thrones*, TV's last cultural monolith, hoping to find a satisfying conclusion to a series whose clashes between would-be monarchs had depth because they were also a struggle between conflicting ideas about freedom, justice and leadership. Instead, declared *TIME* critic Judy Berman, the final season spent endless episodes flattening the multifaceted Westerosi of yore as it gorged on fire, ice and overwrought symbolism. The finale of one of TV's great creations had sound and fury to burn, yet it signified nothing.

COMEDY

Fleabag

Phoebe Waller-Bridge's 2016 breakthrough *Fleabag* (Amazon Prime)—a ferocious British character study adapted from the writer-performer's one-woman stage show—starred the creator as a sex-crazed, guilt-ridden young café owner. It needed no sequel. But what could've been a cash-in turned out to be a masterpiece.

The six new 2019 episodes of *Fleabag* were particularly invigorating, mining sex, guilt and familial dysfunction to question whether someone as broken as its self-loathing antiheroine could find transcendence.

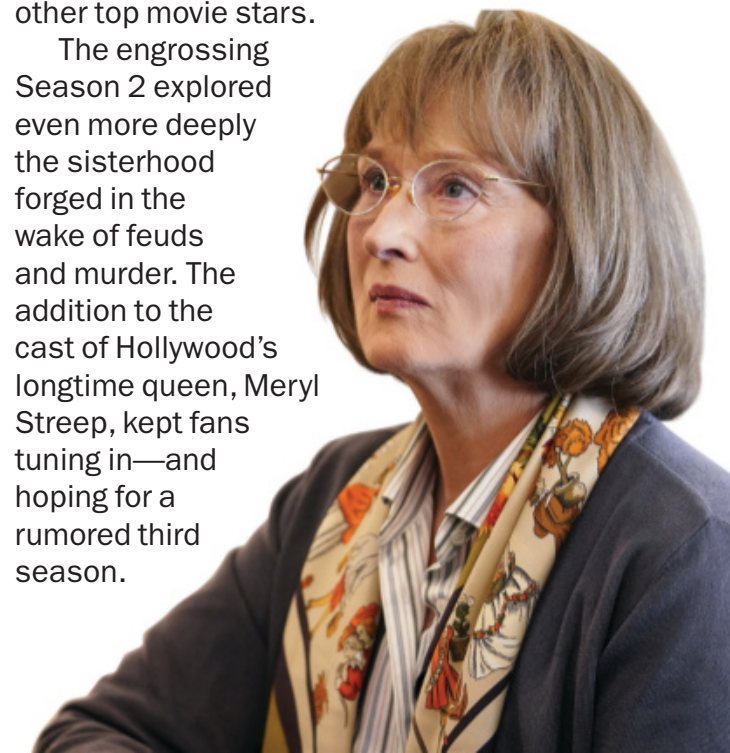


DRAMA

Big Little Lies

In 2017, the first season of HBO's California sunset-saturated masterpiece, an adaptation of Liane Moriarty's best-selling 2014 novel, elevated the national dialogue about domestic abuse. It also featured delicious social rivalries, wittily played by Nicole Kidman, Reese Witherspoon and other top movie stars.

The engrossing Season 2 explored even more deeply the sisterhood forged in the wake of feuds and murder. The addition to the cast of Hollywood's longtime queen, Meryl Streep, kept fans tuning in—and hoping for a rumored third season.



Arts Music

POP

Ciara

It's been 15 years since the singer Ciara erupted onto the scene, making her mark with breathy vocals and limber dancing. She shot from the hip sonically while using her music as a gateway to put her full abilities as a performer on display, in both creative music videos and electrifying live sets.

Her first album as an independent artist, 2019's *Beauty Marks*, saw her taking a step forward. Confidence is the mood: in one breath she's vulnerable; in the next she's assertive. Some songs are more immediate and visceral, with a newfound openness, perhaps reflecting positive changes in her life (she is now married to NFL quarterback Russell Wilson and has a daughter). This is the Ciara we deserve—and that she deserves too. Apparently it was hiding in plain sight all along.



COUNTRY

Maren Morris

Born and raised in Texas, Maren Morris made her way to Nashville as a songwriter in 2013. Her 2016 debut album, *Hero*, helped her win New Artist of the Year at the CMA Awards. But Morris aimed to bring her “flavor of country” past the bounds of the region, its built-in fan base—and its gender imbalance. Women were once a staple of the country charts, but in recent years, male stars have dominated them.

On her 2019 album *Girl*, Morris made room for stomping, boozy country, earnest soul and an unabashedly steamy R&B jam. In August she joined fellow country stars Brandi Carlile, Natalie Hemby and Amanda Shires to form the Highwomen, a supergroup that hopes to shake up Nashville's current tilt toward testosterone.

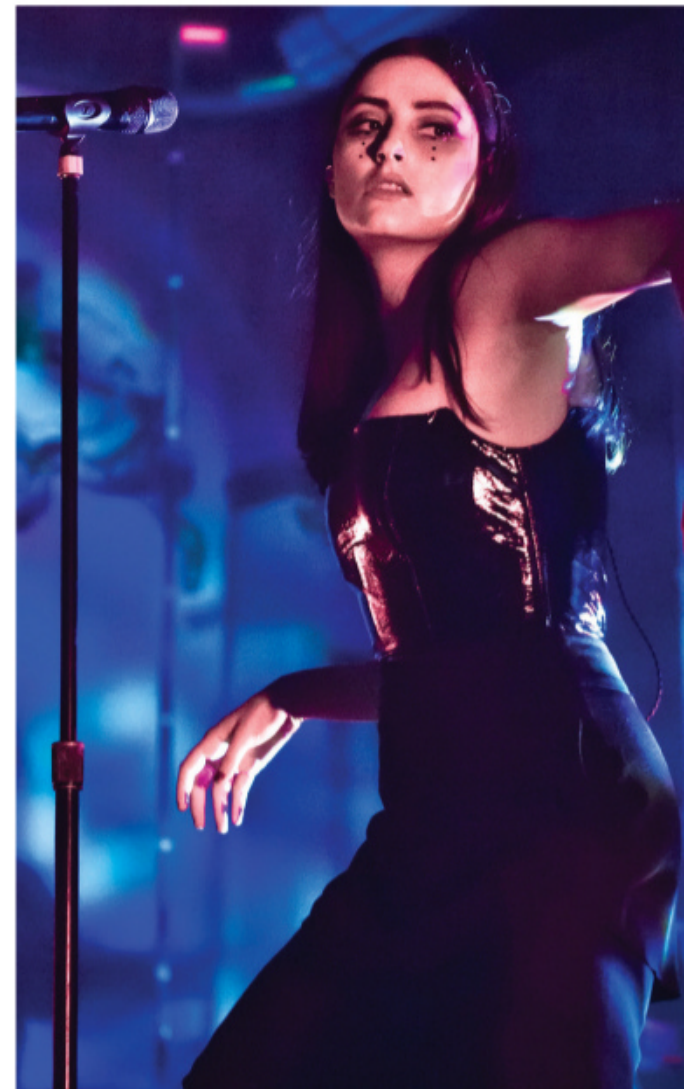


ROOTS

Rhiannon Giddens

In 2018 Giddens, a former member of the Carolina Chocolate Drops, began exploring the touchy subject of minstrelsy, with the aid of Leyla McCalla, Allison Russell and Amythyst Kiah—all, like Giddens, black women with a focus on the banjo and early string music.

The brilliant result: a new album, *Songs of Our Native Daughters*, which has one foot in acoustic minstrel sounds and is a tribute to the strength and resilience of black women fighting to survive in dark times.





POP

Billie Eilish

Kids these days! At only 17 in 2019, California girl Billie Eilish is a certified phenom. A singer-songwriter beloved by Gen Z—she had 40 million Instagram followers as of October 2019—she is a state-of-the-art streaming, meme-ing pop star.

Even before the March release of her debut album, *When We All Fall Asleep, Where Do We Go?*, Eilish had nearly 6 billion streams across platforms. In August, she dethroned Lil Nas X's "Old Town Road" from its record-setting 19-week run at the top of the *Billboard* Hot 100 chart with the hypnotic single "Bad Guy"—becoming the first musician born in this century to snag the top spot.

Eilish's image is part enigmatic, part open. She dwells on the macabre and favors androgynous, over-size athletic duds to avoid body stereotyping. Did we mention she's 17?



R&B

Banks

In her first two albums, singer-songwriter Jillian Banks, known as Banks, helped popularize the brooding R&B sound that's dominated pop this decade. In July 2019, after a two-year self-imposed hiatus, she returned with her third album, *///*. In it, she explores pain, desire and personal growth, mixing unguarded songwriting with experimental and genre-blending production, including her first attempts at rapping.

The new album sounds of the moment—dark, trappy R&B beats with distorted vocals—but the themes are timeless: self-discovery, femininity and, most critically, tapping into her own strength and vulnerability.

"Something I've had a hard time digesting," the singer, 31, told *TIME*'s Raisa Bruner, "is that things are not just black and white, and life is messy. I write about the messiness."



Arts Books

PRINT

Meet boys, normal people, women—and a British android



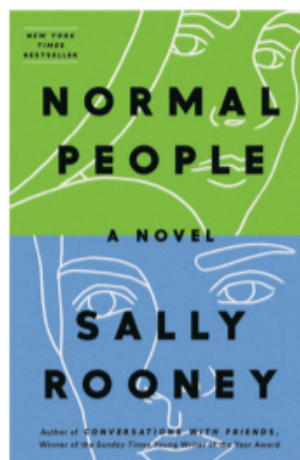
Machines Like Me

Ian McEwan's brisk take on the ménage à trois—man, woman, robot—allows him to train his incisive eye on the foibles that make us human. It's set in an amusingly alternative Britain in the 1980s.



The Nickel Boys

Colson Whitehead, author of the Pulitzer Prize-winning novel *The Underground Railroad*, again reckons with our country's devastating racist past, setting this haunting narrative tale at a Florida reform school in the 1960s.



Normal People

Sally Rooney, the young Irish novelist whose 2017 first novel, *Conversations with Friends*, was widely hailed, trains her incisive eye and droll wit on two young lovers and their lurching steps toward maturity.



Three Women

Journalist Lisa Taddeo found three women who let her explore their sexual lives. Distilling eight years of research into a powerful tale, she probes not only sex and desire but also the role memory plays in both.

Arts Notes

A new baton at the Metropolitan Opera

In 2019, Montreal-born Yannick Nézet-Séguin, 44, took over as **music director of the Metropolitan Opera in New York City**. For now, the energetic, diminutive musician known as “Mighty Mouse” will retain his two other positions, as director of the Philadelphia Orchestra and Montreal’s Orchestre Métropolitain.

More cowbell? How about more Prince?

Three years after the untimely death of pop’s purple potentate, Prince’s estate opened the vaults at Paisley Park and released *Originals*, a **collection of 15 demo recordings** the prolific artist made of songs he pitched to other artists, including the Bangles, Kenny Rogers, and the Time. In two words: pop perfection.

Foggy days in London town

Hailing Renée Zellweger’s turn as tormented singer Judy Garland playing dates in London late in her career in the film *Judy*, TIME critic Stephanie Zacharek said, **“Garland, beyond great and also too much, is the eclipse you can’t help looking at.”** Resisting caricature and probing Garland’s depths, Zellweger, who did her own singing, delivered a smashing performance.



THEME PARKS

Are these the droids you’re looking for?

Disney theme parks took a bold step into the future when a new theme land, Star Wars: Galaxy’s Edge, opened on May 31 at Disneyland and on August 29 at Disney World. Bringing planet Batuu and its trading post to life, the new land strives to invite visitors into the spirit of the spaceport not simply by mingling with *Star Wars* characters but by taking part in their lives. A Millennium Falcon–themed simulator ride offered lots of chills, but the promised jewel at both parks, the cinematic experience *Rise of the Resistance*, won’t open until the turn of the new year.



ART

Finally, fresh Frida

In recent years, Fridamania has tipped into Frida Fatigue. The iconic Mexican artist Frida Kahlo became a Barbie, a cartoon skeleton in the Pixar movie *Coco* and a Google doodle and appeared on totes, tattoos, nail polish, etc. But a spring 2019 exhibit at the Brooklyn Museum offered new insights into the artist, who died at 47 in 1954, by displaying a collection of Kahlo’s possessions—paintings, clothes, personal objects, photographs and archival footage—that was uncovered in 2004 after being locked away for 50 years.



AUTHOR

Margaret Atwood

In 2017, the Canadian writer's 1985 novel *The Handmaid's Tale* soared back onto the best-seller list when it became one of a handful of classic dystopias that explore troubling themes of the current Me Too era and evoke ongoing anxieties about women's rights. In April 2017, Hulu released a TV adaptation with Atwood's involvement, starring Elisabeth Moss as lead character Offred, that won 11 Emmys. Women's-rights demonstrators around the globe have donned the handmaid uniform of crimson cloaks and white bonnets to make their case.

In September 2019 Atwood released a sequel, *The Testaments*, to enormous advance interest. Its U.S. publisher announced a 500,000-copy first-print run, and the novel made Britain's Man Booker Prize short list. Atwood chose not to revisit the character of Offred; the story is narrated by three different women. As NPR reported, "Rather than taking readers on another descent into nightmare, Atwood here foresees the possibility of hope: hope that the forces of resistance and sisterhood will eventually triumph over misogyny, power-mongering and the despoiling of the planet." The author, 80 in 2019, told TIME's Lucy Feldman that she felt some nerves about the highly anticipated sequel to *The Handmaid's Tale* but declared, "What is life without challenges?"

Arts Notes



MOVIES

Gaga and Brad: Get a room?

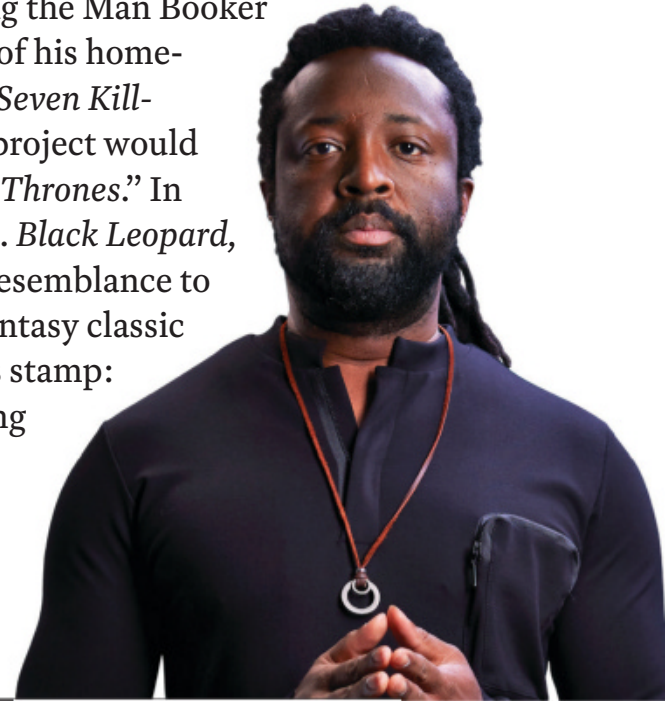
Who needs a big screen and popcorn? At the 2019 Oscar Awards ceremony on February 24, millions watched on small screens as the stars of the 2018 hit film *A Star Is Born*—actor-director Bradley Cooper and onscreen love interest Lady Gaga—shared a riveting live duet of the film’s power ballad, “Shallow.”

The two stars staged an intimate lovefest so steamy and persuasive that audience members at the Dolby Theatre in Los Angeles leaped to their feet in a standing ovation after the number—and celebrity magazines feasted for months on rumors that the two were a couple.

FICTION

An epic fantasy in a mythical Africa

In 2015, Marlon James made a comment he now insists was a joke. The acclaimed Jamaican author, fresh from winning the Man Booker Prize for his vast novel of his homeland, *A Brief History of Seven Killings*, declared his next project would be an “African *Game of Thrones*.” In 2019, the tale appeared. *Black Leopard, Red Wolf* bore a slight resemblance to George R.R. Martin’s fantasy classic but carried the author’s stamp: dense prose, meandering storytelling, 80 characters—and a bracing encounter with gay identity and black peoples’ African heritage.



THEATER

A second-line trip to the Underworld

Hadestown showed why it won the Tony Award for Best Musical on the live June 9 broadcast, as its star, André De Shields, playing Hermes, sent viewers to the Underworld, where a brilliant set, haunting music and carefully choreographed swinging lights created a mood that mingled Greek myths with New Orleans pizzazz.



Four feet of clay

Two 2019 documentaries depicted both the late singer-dancer Michael Jackson and veteran crooner R. Kelly as habitual sexual predators.

In *Leaving Neverland*, two of Jackson’s former protégés recount their

alleged abuse by the star. The men’s claims had been made public before but not in such detail. Critics and viewers described it as “devastating,” “shocking” and “essential.”

Allegations of sexual abuse of minors have

followed Kelly through his career. But the Lifetime docuseries *Surviving R. Kelly* amplified the voices of his many accusers. As of October 2019, Kelly was jailed in Chicago awaiting trial on state and federal charges, including sex trafficking.



MUSICIAN

Lizzo

She sings, she raps, she dances, and she plays classical flute—while twerking. Lizzo wasn't the only artist spreading a message of self-worth, body positivity and unabashed female sexuality in 2019, but she was by far the most memorable. Her music stretches from straight-up hip-hop to guitar-blazing soul to anthemic funk-pop, but no matter the medium, the message is one of joy and empowerment. It's feminism writ large, boisterous and unapologetic.

Lizzo—real name Melissa Jefferson, real age 31—grew up in Houston and spent time in Minneapolis backing up indie bands in her 20s. On her 2019 major-label debut album, *Cuz I Love You*, her story is one of undeterred self-love; it's a jubilant self-help manual delivered in danceworthy song form. "When you listen to a Lizzo song," she told *TIME*, "some people might be like 'Wow, she's so happy all the time.' But no, she's working on being happy. I want my music to be a self-fulfilling prophecy of where I want my life to be."

TELLER OF A NATION'S STORIES

Toni Morrison illuminated the hidden tales of black Americans

TONI MORRISON, THE PULITZER PRIZE-winning author who embodied the joys and agonies of black American life through breathtakingly vital novels like *Beloved*, *Song of Solomon* and *A Mercy*, died on August 5 at 88. Over her six-decade career, she wrote 11 novels, five children's books, two plays, a song cycle and an opera. She served as an editor and a professor, mentoring generations of young writers of color. She widened the nation's literary canon, serving as its conscience through trying times and establishing herself as the keeper of its marginalized histories. Through her inventive turns of phrase, graceful incorporation of African-American vernacular, textured character portraits, sharp historical gaze and tragic plot turns, she became one of the most accomplished and impactful writers in the history of American literature.

Morrison was born Chloe Ardelia Wofford on Feb. 18, 1931, in the Rust Belt town of Lorain, Ohio. She was the second of four children born to Ramah (née Willis), a homemaker, and George Wofford, a shipyard welder. Both of her parents witnessed the cruel racism of the South firsthand: her father, as a child, saw the lynching of two men and harbored a deep distrust of white people for the rest of his life. The family's life in the more integrated Lorain was nevertheless extremely trying, especially during the Great Depression: when Morrison was about 2, her family's landlord set their apartment on fire because they weren't able to afford the rent.

>
Morrison became a widely respected public figure who championed the cause of often-overlooked Americans.





Farewell

Stories were an integral part of family life. Her parents told her ghost stories and traditional African-American folktales; so did her grandmother Ardelia Willis, who also lived with them. “She told us stories to keep us working at tedious tasks,” Morrison wrote of her grandmother in the foreword to *Tar Baby* (1981), “picking through baskets of wild grapes to sort out the bruised; to take our minds off pain and chickenpox; to split open the dreary world to expose an enchanted one.”

Morrison was a precocious reader who devoured works by Jane Austen, Richard Wright, Mark Twain and many others. She converted to Catholicism when she was 12, and as a teenager she joined her school’s yearbook staff and debate team. To make money, she cleaned houses for white families and worked as a secretary at the Lorain Public Library.

When Morrison reached college age, she decided to attend Howard University; her father took on another job in order to afford the tuition, flouting union rules. There, she studied humanities under Alain Locke—the acknowledged “dean” of the Harlem Renaissance—and joined the Howard University Players, the school’s theatrical group, with which she toured the segregated South. After graduating in 1953, she went on to Cornell, where she received a master’s degree in English and wrote her thesis on William Faulkner and Virginia Woolf.

Morrison then embarked on her teaching career, first landing a job at Texas Southern University, and then returning to Howard. It was there that she met Harold Morrison, an architect, and the couple wed in 1958; the pair went on to have two children (one of whom, Slade, preceded her in death) before divorcing in 1964.

During this period, she began work on her first novel, *The Bluest Eye*, which depicted a victimized adolescent black girl, obsessed with white beauty standards, who begs God to turn her eyes blue. “I wanted to read this book and no one had written it, so I thought that maybe I would write it in order to read it,” she told the *Guardian* in 2015. She hoped to write a novel devoid of the white gaze, which she felt hovered over the work of even such celebrated black writers as Ralph Ellison and Frederick Douglass.

The Bluest Eye was published in 1970 to a minimal response, although the *New York Times* reviewed it positively, calling her a “writer of considerable power and tenderness.” To earn a living for herself and her two children, Morrison worked as an editor at Random House. In 1974, she published *The Black Book*, an anthology of African-American



President Barack Obama, who first read Morrison’s novels in his youth, awarded the novelist the Medal of Freedom in 2012.

life and history that greatly influenced the perception of black anthropology and culture.

As Morrison held down a full-time job and raised her children, she wrote whenever she could find time: at daybreak or in the midst of a commute. She stole enough writing time to be able to publish two more novels in the ’70s: *Sula* (1973), which traced a black Ohio neighborhood through the eyes of two best friends; and *Song of Solomon* (1977), a decades-

long epic chronicling the life of a black man.

Song of Solomon broke through to national audiences, winning the National Book Critics Circle Award. Its success convinced her that she could commit herself to being a full-time writer. Her best-known work, *Beloved*, was published in 1987. The novel is based on a true story Morrison came across while publishing *The Black Book*—of a runaway slave who kills her infant daughter after being recaptured by enslavers. An instant sensation, the novel remained on the best-seller list for 25 weeks, was added to school reading lists across the country and won the Pulitzer Prize for Fiction.

While Morrison became revered, she also became feared—for her works' graphic violence or sexually explicit content. Time and time again, her books were removed from school curricula; her novel *Paradise* was even banned in Texas prisons for fear it would cause a riot. "History has always proved that books are the first plain on which certain battles are fought," she said in the 2019 documentary of her career, *The Pieces I Am*.

The 1990s were full of awards and accolades for Morrison. She was chosen for a Nobel Prize in Literature in 1993, the Jefferson Lecture for the National Endowment for the Humanities in 1996 and the 1996 National Book Foundation's Medal of Distinguished Contribution to American Letters. She wrote two more novels (1992's *Jazz* and 1997's *Paradise*) and extensive essays about the racially charged controversies of the era, from the Anita Hill hearings to Bill Clinton's cultural blackness to the O.J. Simpson trial.

Morrison also developed a famous bond with Oprah Winfrey, who added some of Morrison's novels to her influential Book Club, and who starred in and co-produced a 1998 film adaptation of *Beloved*. "It's impossible to actually imagine the American literary landscape without a Toni Morrison," Winfrey said in 2018. "She is our conscience, she is our seer, she is our truth teller."

After the millennium, Morrison released four more novels to great acclaim and taught at Princeton until her retirement from that post in 2006. She remained active in public life through the 2010s, commenting on political issues, giving interviews and writing constantly.

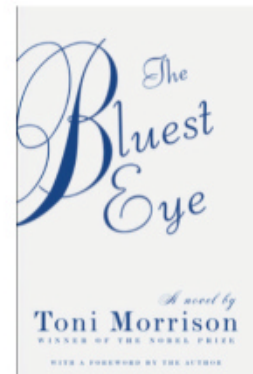
"What was driving me to write was the silence—so many stories untold and unexamined," she told *The New Yorker* in 2003. Morrison's stories brought those tales to stirring life for each of us to examine.

—ANDREW R. CHOW □

Four classic novels by Toni Morrison

The Bluest Eye

Morrison's first novel introduced the striking way in which the writer thoughtfully examined race and gender through her complicated characters. Set in 1941, the 1970 novel concerns an 11-year-old African-American girl living in Ohio who dreams of feeling "normal"—like the blond-haired, blue-eyed children around her.



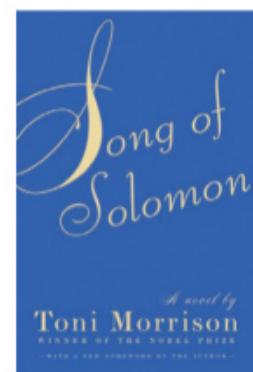
Sula

Two best friends come to terms with the different choices they've made in life in Morrison's 1973 book. Nel Wright and Sula Peace strike up an unlikely kinship as children, but as the years go by, they embark on divergent paths. Years later they face a dramatic reunion that forces them to navigate motherhood, adversity and betrayal.



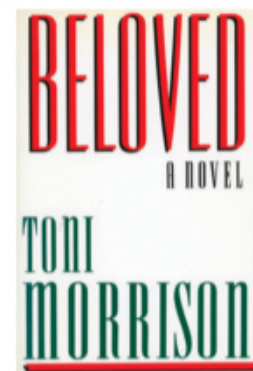
Song of Solomon

Melding realism, fantasy and folklore, Morrison's 1977 novel spans decades as it traces the life of Macon Dead, otherwise known as Milkman. The story follows his journey from birth and into his later years as he questions his cultural identity and place in America and comes to terms with dark secrets from his family's past.



Beloved

This 1987 novel won the Pulitzer Prize for Fiction and is Morrison's best-known work. It tells the story of Sethe, a former slave who has escaped to Ohio yet cannot escape the trauma of her past: she believes her house is haunted by the ghost of her dead child. Its urgent narrative explores the psychological effects of slavery.



A Giant of the High Court

John Paul Stevens was the third-longest-serving justice in Supreme Court history

FORMER SUPREME COURT JUSTICE JOHN PAUL Stevens, the third-longest-serving justice in the court's history, died on July 16 at the age of 99 after suffering a stroke on July 15. Over the course of his 35-year career, Stevens played a role in shaping most areas of the law; he was influential in majority opinions and firm in his dissents, marked by a practical jurisprudence and an increasingly liberal sensibility.

Brilliant and above reproach in terms of integrity, Stevens was also known for being unfailingly courteous—to his clerks, to his colleagues and to the lawyers who came before him. Born to a privileged family in Chicago in 1920, Stevens had “a very Midwestern style,” says Eduardo Peñalver, who clerked for the justice in 2000–01. “He’s just incredibly plainspoken and down to earth.”

Stevens was nominated to the Supreme Court by President Gerald Ford in 1975, after the country was rocked by the Watergate scandal. “You’re coming out of such turmoil, my understanding is the objective of President Ford and his staff was to find somebody who was as apolitical as possible and above reproach in terms of integrity,” said Jeffrey Fisher, who clerked for Stevens in 1998–99. “Those were the justice’s two calling cards all the way through his career.”

Stevens evolved over the course of his more than three decades on the bench, from being nominated by a Republican president to being considered a

leading liberal justice at the time of his retirement. He became more in favor of affirmative action during his years on the court, and more opposed to the death penalty.

In 1984, Stevens wrote the majority opinion in *Chevron U.S.A., Inc. v. Natural Resources Defense Council, Inc.*, establishing the principle that when federal law is ambiguous or silent, courts should

defer to federal agencies’ interpretations of the meaning. “Chevron deference,” as it is now known, has become increasingly controversial, and Stevens told TIME in May 2019 that he thought it was his most significant opinion.

Late in life, Stevens was increasingly vocal about what he viewed as the worst decision of his tenure, the 2008 ruling in *District of Columbia v. Heller*, which held that the Second Amendment protects an individual’s right to bear arms. “As history has demonstrated in recent years, the tragedies are multiplying one after another,” he told TIME. “And the decision of the court in *Heller* has contributed to that.”

In the 2000 decision in *Bush v. Gore* that resulted in the George W. Bush presidency, which was decided 5–4 along ideological lines with Stevens joining the liberals, the justice wrote in dissent, “Although we may never know with complete certainty the identity of the winner of this year’s Presidential election, the identity of the loser is perfectly clear. It is the Nation’s confidence in the judge as an impartial guardian of the rule of law.” □



Stevens served for 35 years, voluntarily leaving the Supreme Court in 2010 at age 90.



AUTOMAKER

Lee Iacocca

Describing auto executive Lee Iacocca in 1985 for a *TIME* cover story, Kurt Andersen noted of his writing and speech: “He goes hardly a page or a half-minute without mentioning ‘guys’—specific guys or guys in the abstract, guys who build automobiles (‘car guys’) or sell automobiles or buy them. He is a big guy (6 ft. 1 in., 194 lbs.), a driven guy, an earthy, passionate, volatile, funny and profane guy, a talkative guy who tells it like it is.”

In the insular world of Detroit automakers, Iacocca, who died on July 2 at 94, was the only man to sit in the driver’s seat of two of the Big Three companies: he brought Ford into the modern age with the sporty Mustang in 1964 and then went on

to save Chrysler from shutting down, turning the firm around by snagging a federal loan guarantee and introducing the affordable K-car, then leading the profitable revolution in minivans and SUVs.

With his memorable K-car challenge—“If you can find a better car, buy it”—Iacocca became an industrial folk hero in a postindustrial age and a corporate capitalist with populist appeal, admired by the working class and professionals alike. The proud descendant of Italian immigrants who passed through Ellis Island capped his career by leading the restoration of the Statue of Liberty in 1986. We gotta tell ya: few tycoons have occupied the national imagination as vividly as this guy.

A photograph of Ross Perot, an older man with short, light-colored hair, wearing a dark suit jacket, a white shirt, and a patterned tie. He is smiling broadly and waving his right hand high in the air. The background is dark and out of focus, suggesting a stage or a public event. A microphone is visible in the lower right corner of the frame.

ENTREPRENEUR

Ross Perot

Writing for *TIME*, longtime TV host Larry King recalled that he once asked Ross Perot, who died on July 9 at 89, to tell him the secret of his success. “He said that he sells umbrellas when it’s raining. He knew there was a right place and a right time to take advantage of an opportunity. And boy, did he ever!

“I’ll never forget the day he came on *Larry King Live* in 1992 to talk about President George H.W. Bush’s economic policies. As he was a wildly successful businessman [his fortune was built on electronic data systems], a lot of people were pushing him to run for Bush’s job himself. When he told me he wasn’t suited for it, something in me didn’t believe him. So I asked again later. Still no . . . so I asked a third time. This time he looked at me and said, ‘If I can get on the ballot in all 50 states, I’ll do it!’ We made history that night. His campaign began on cable TV. So, though Perot lost the election, he changed politics. Here’s this little man, who—let’s face it—didn’t have a typical presidential look, but he was able to speak to people directly. He brought an informality to TV politics, whether touting his economic plans via infomercial or coming on my show as a private citizen, after the election, to debate Vice President Al Gore about NAFTA. The audience had never been more informed. When I last spoke to him [a few months before his death], he was as curious as ever. I think he would have made an interesting president: he had a lot of deep-rooted American values, though he certainly went his own way.”

POLITICIAN

Robert Mugabe

A former freedom fighter who at one time was hailed as the liberator of his people, Robert Mugabe became a wily and ruthless autocrat during the 37 years he ruled over the southern African nation of Zimbabwe. He died on Sept. 6 at 95, two years after he was forced from office by the nation's military. Mugabe rose to power in the wake of Zimbabwe's battle for independence from Britain in 1980, promising prosperity and democracy only to undermine both in his single-minded pursuit of political dominance. The freedom fighter had become a strongman, ruling a weakened nation.



POLITICIAN

Jacques Chirac

He towered over French politics for nearly four decades, as mayor of Paris, prime minister and finally president for 12 years. To some, Jacques Chirac—who died on Sept. 26 at 86—seemed to lack strong views or convictions. But to others, he now seems to encapsulate a less troubled time in France: he found pleasure in meeting constituents and took up politics for the love of it.

Chirac was France's first leader to acknowledge its role in the Holocaust. He was also the first world leader to rush to New York after 9/11 to show unity. But Chirac broke with the U.S. in 2003 over its invasion of Iraq, a schism that took years to heal.



JOURNALIST

Cokie Roberts

Growing up in both Washington, D.C., and New Orleans, Cokie Roberts—who died on Sept. 17 at 75—developed a love for politics and a reverence for America's institutions, thanks to her father, Hale Boggs, the U.S. House majority leader when she was young.

With her bourbon-cured drawl and commonsense insights, Roberts was a voice of reason in political journalism for NPR and ABC and an inspiring historical storyteller. Most important, she was simply a good person, filled with love for those around her and for the institutions of her country.

—Walter Isaacson,
former editor of *TIME*

Farewell

MUSICIAN

Ric Ocasek

They were just what we needed. In the late 1970s, the mighty fortress of progressive rock was under siege by the unruly peasants of punk rock, and pioneer musicians were seeking a new sound. When longtime bandmates Ric Ocasek and Benjamin Orr formed the Cars and released their first album in 1978, they pointed the way forward with songs that brimmed with hooks and bright lyrics but were also coolly detached. The sound, like that of David Bowie and Queen, was polished to a sheen.

The gangly, sunglasses-wearing Ocasek, who died on Sept. 15 at 75, was the face of the group and wrote the songs that steered the Cars into a decade of success with hits that perfectly fit the MTV age—and landed them in the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 2018.



MUSICIAN

Ginger Baker

Writing in *TIME*, Police drummer Stewart Copeland noted that before Ginger Baker came along, the drums were a very simple instrument providing a very simple ingredient to pop music: the beat. Baker, who died on Oct. 6 at 80, threw in all kinds of stuff that was much more sophisticated. “Musicians will argue about the dividing line between rock and pop,” Copeland wrote. “But I think Baker—and his band Cream—was it. The difference was the power and the musicianship. . . . Hearing his thumpy drums is one of the reasons I picked up sticks myself. They sounded so strong—it was the sound of adult masculinity, which is what every 13-year-old boy yearns for.”



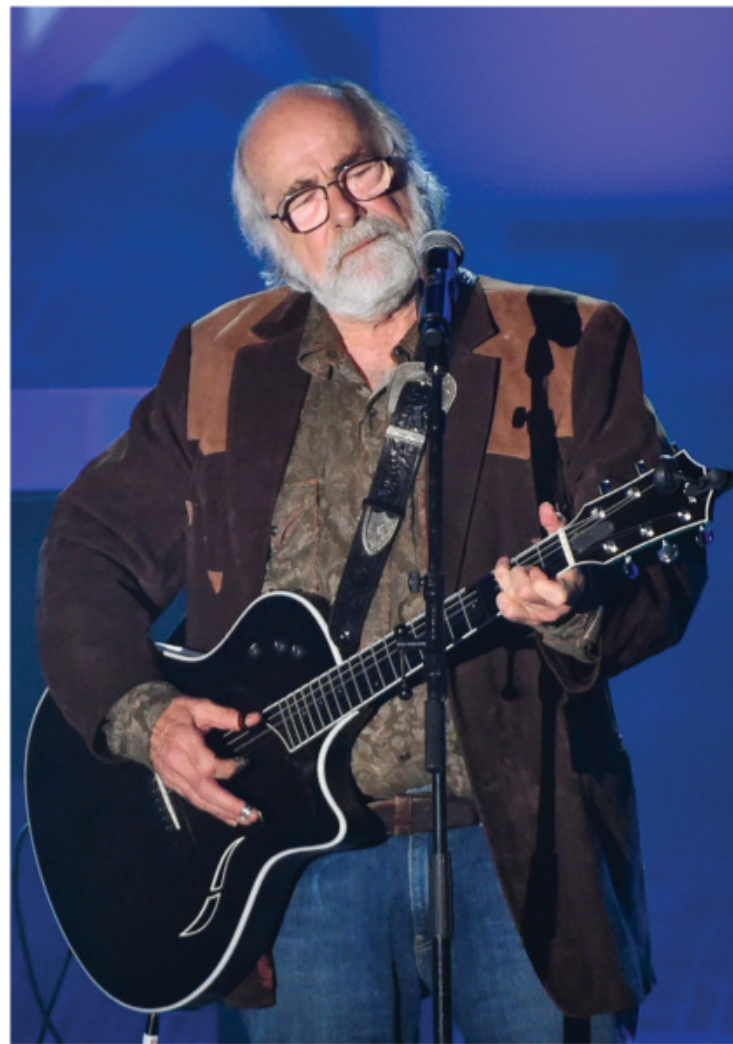


MUSICIAN

Dr. John

“Like so many musicians from New Orleans, Malcolm John Rebennack Jr.—known as Dr. John—played music for the pure love of it,” Grammy-winning trumpeter Terence Blanchard wrote for *TIME* after his friend’s death on June 6 at 77. “That love allowed him to be himself. I first encountered him when I was on tour in Japan in the 1980s; he was doing a double bill with the Neville Brothers, and when we saw those guys, it was almost like we were back home.

“Mac was a sweetheart, and when I would see him, we’d talk about the things New Orleanians talk about, which is mostly food and parties. It broke my heart to hear that he passed away, because he was such a typical illustration of what it means to be from the city: he was a combination of Cajun, blues and jazz—a little of everything, and you can hear it in the way he played piano, in the bluesy style of how he sang.”



SONGWRITER

Robert Hunter

“If my words did glow with the gold of sunshine.” So begin the lyrics to one of Robert Hunter’s most memorable songs, “Ripple.” But Hunter’s words *did* glow, lending gravity, wonder and shimmering poetry to the songs he wrote for the Grateful Dead. Hunter, who died on Sept. 23 at 78, met Jerry Garcia in Palo Alto, Calif., in the early 1960s; the beatniks formed a folk duo that somehow morphed into the Dead.

Hunter’s words ranged as freely as the Dead’s jams, touching on weird Americana—“Shake the hand that shook the hand of P.T. Barnum and Charlie Chan”—to backwoods tall tales—“When I awoke, the dire wolf, six hundred pounds of sin/Was grinning at my window . . .” He gave his era its indelible tagline in the Dead’s anthem “Truckin’”—“What a long, strange trip it’s been.” But his favorite lines, he said, came from “Ripple”: “Let it be known there is a fountain/That was not made by the hands of men.”

Farewell

ENTERTAINER

Doris Day

Casual moviegoers who know Doris Day only from the early-1960s comedies she did with Rock Hudson or James Garner would have enough reasons to love her. In those pictures, Day—who died on May 13 at 97—was a sunny, carbonated presence whose understated carnality bubbled just under the surface. Part of it was her speaking voice, an ambrosial, mysterious elixir. Her singing voice magnified that magic.

Day, born Doris Mary Ann Kappelhoff in Cincinnati, was so charming that it was often easy to lose sight of what a fine actor she was. As a 1920s songstress in *Love Me or Leave Me* (1955), she pulses between vulnerability and conviction, sometimes hitting both notes in the same beat. How lucky we were to have her.



SHOWMAN

Hal Prince

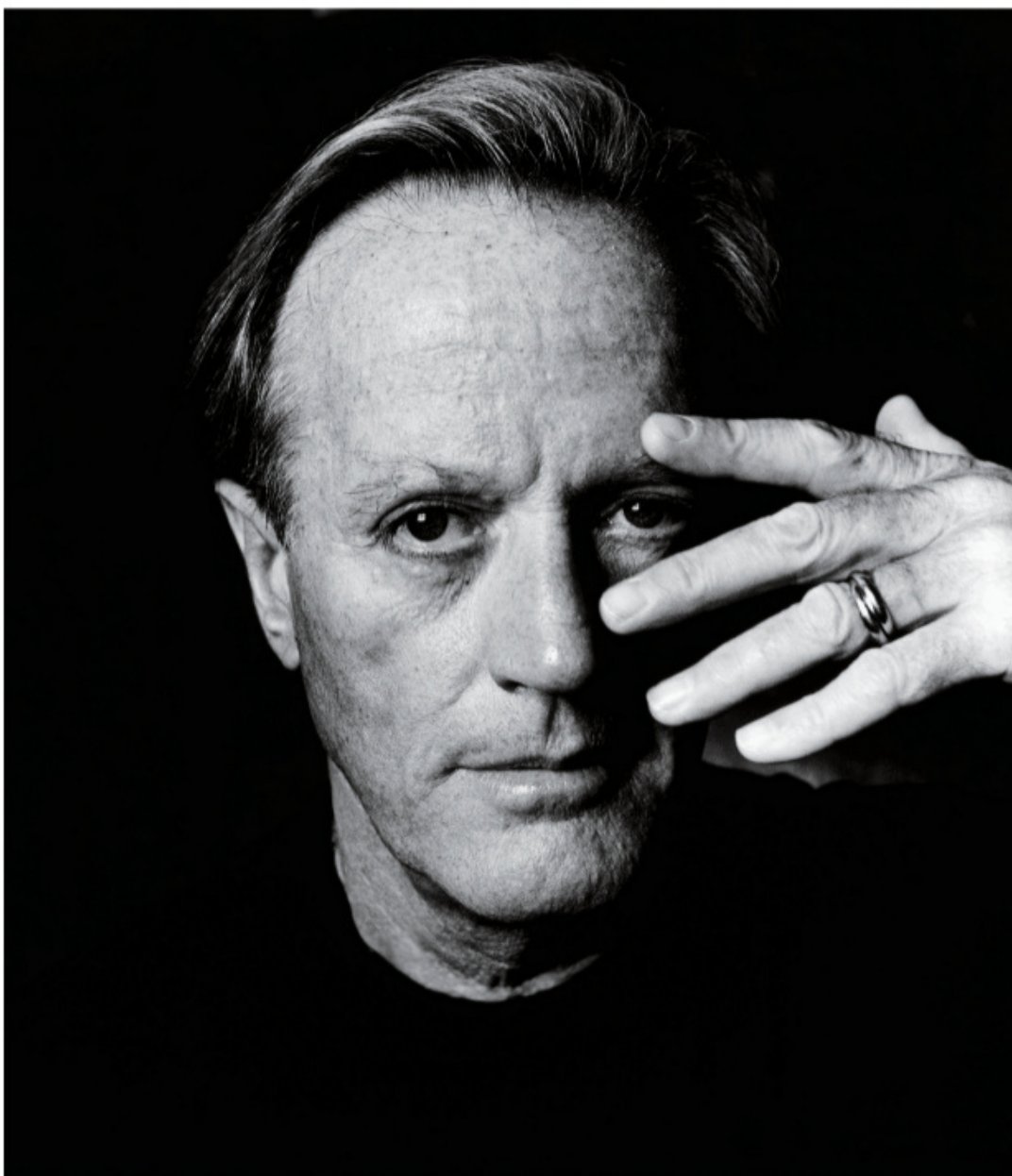
Taking the measure of legendary Broadway producer and director Hal Prince in mid-career in 1973, just before the opening of his staging of Stephen Sondheim's *A Little Night Music*, TIME sized him up as “the most creative man in the American musical theater today, with ten Tony awards for musicals he has either produced or directed—or both . . . he has produced not only the longest-running show in Broadway's history, *Fiddler on the Roof*, but also two of the most innovative ones, *Company* and *Follies*.” Driven, cranky and inspired, Prince—who died on July 31 at 91—also helmed such hits as *Sweeney Todd*, *Evita* and *Phantom of the Opera*. Over his 70-year career, 21 Tony Awards graced his shelf, the largest haul in the history of Broadway theater.

ENTERTAINER

Carol Channing

When Seattle-born Carol Channing first set Broadway buzzing as Lorelei Lee in the 1949 musical *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*, TIME put the new star on its cover and zeroed in on the qualities that would make her a beloved figure for decades to come: “Her big voice glides effortlessly from a low moo to an assured squeak; her huge, heavily lashed eyes roll dramatically. In a monstrous travesty of daintiness, she minces across the stage on squarely planted feet.”

And let’s not forget the enormous mouth, husky voice and ditzzy affect that made Channing, who died on Jan. 15 at 97, a national treasure. The star met her match when she gave one of Broadway’s most legendary turns as Dolly Levi in 1964’s *Hello, Dolly!*—a performance so delightful and beloved she toured in the show for decades to come.



ACTOR

Peter Fonda

He was the son of old-Hollywood royalty, and though Peter Fonda rejected the mantle of tinselly fame that he stood to inherit from his father, Henry Fonda, his own personal glamour was always something to behold. Fonda, who died on Aug. 16 at 79, got his start in small TV roles, then found his own road forward in the iconoclastic 1969 road drama *Easy Rider*. The film became a grand temple of countercultural cinema, and Fonda’s Wyatt, a lanky, untroubled adventurer open to the world, its patron saint. Though he was never a leading man in the traditional sense, Fonda’s later performances were gorgeously idiosyncratic, and the mere act of watching him was its own kind of freedom.

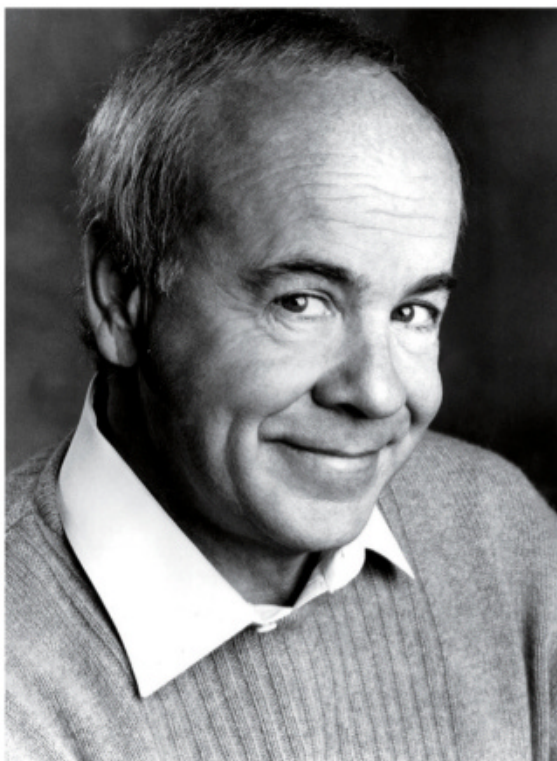
Farewell



FASHION DESIGNER

Gloria Vanderbilt

Born the heiress to a great railroad fortune, Gloria Vanderbilt led a life swirling with controversy, passion, achievement and fame. The center of a celebrated custody battle as a child, she grew into a beautiful, headstrong, artistic young woman who was a model at 15, then a minor TV actress and later a noted home decorator and fashion designer. Welcome in Manhattan's most elite circles; she was married four times and took a series of celebrated lovers; TV journalist Anderson Cooper is a child of her last marriage. Yet Vanderbilt, who died on June 17 at 95, was no mere social butterfly. In 1977, she debuted a line of Gloria Vanderbilt jeans, putting her name on the backsides of women everywhere and paving the way for future designers to sell branded glamour.



COMIC

Tim Conway

The impish, impulsive improviser impressed generations of Americans with his mastery of some of the oldest tricks in the comic's grouch bag. Tim Conway, who died on May 14 at 85, broke into show business while working at a Cleveland TV station, then went on to appear in TV's *McHale's Navy*, in his own TV series and in a classic series of sports videos based on his goofy character Dorf. But he will be best remembered for his long stint on TV's *The Carol Burnett Show*, where he tickled funny bones with his vaudeville-based hamminess and surprisingly athletic physicality—even as his verbal gymnastics and brilliant off-the-cuff improvisations often led his fellow comics to break character and join the audience in howls of laughter.



ARCHITECT

I.M. Pei

Brilliantly marrying modern and classical styles in buildings that dazzled and rewarded viewers, Chinese-American architect I.M. Pei, who died on May 16 at 102, became one of the most revered architects of the 20th century. His proposal to place a glass pyramid inside the courtyard of Paris's venerable Louvre Museum (left) was initially controversial, but the result is a meeting of ancient and modern styles now beloved around the world.

Writing of Pei's 1978 East Building of the National Gallery of Art on the National Mall in Washington, *TIME*'s then art critic Robert Hughes declared it "a masterpiece ... exquisitely attuned to its site and architectural surroundings, conveying a sense of grand occasion without the slightest trace of pomposity." The same could be said of Pei's entire career.

FASHION DESIGNER

Karl Lagerfeld

To the uninitiated, legendary designer Karl Lagerfeld, who died at 85 (or so) on Feb. 19, may have seemed a Dracula of the runway: his trademark white ponytail, leather gloves and dark glasses, combined with a penchant for making outrageous and eccentric statements, made him a slightly ghoulish figure in popular culture. Born in Germany, he moved to Paris as a teen and learned his trade at a series of leading fashion houses before taking the helm at Chanel in the early 1980s. Adding irreverent touches to the brand's classic designs, pioneering high-profile runway shows and expanding its perfume and jewelry lines, he helped turn Chanel into one of the most profitable luxury lines in the world while also steering his own highly successful private label.

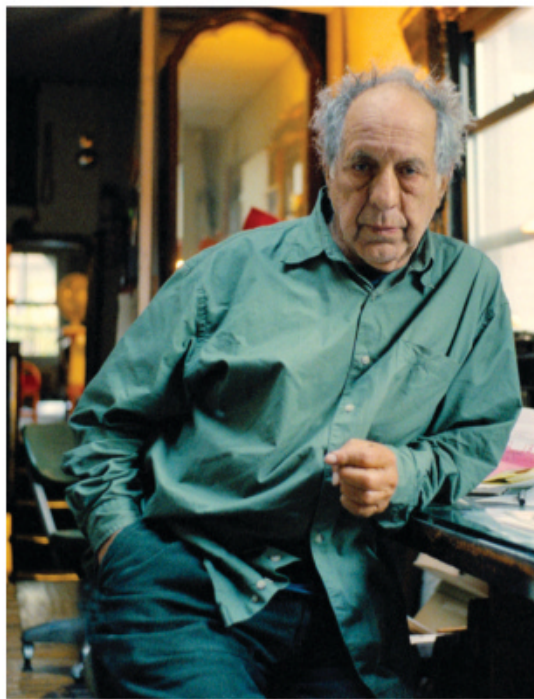


Farewell

PHOTOGRAPHER

Robert Frank

Born in Zurich in 1924, the photographer Robert Frank immigrated to the U.S. at 23 to work as a fashion photographer. But in 1955, Frank—who died on Sept. 9 at 94—took to the road, crisscrossing the nation on an epic journey of 10,000 miles and capturing indelible images of authentic American life as informed by an outsider’s astute, unblinking and sympathetic eye. The resulting volume of 83 photos, titled *The Americans* and culled from some 27,000 images, founded a “snapshot aesthetic” that favored spontaneity and authenticity over formality and composition. “He sucked a sad poem right out of America onto film, taking rank among the tragic poets of the world,” the novelist Jack Kerouac wrote of Frank’s influential work.



POLITICIAN

Elijah Cummings

In an era defined by division, Elijah Cummings, who died on Oct. 17 at 68 of long-term health issues, was a remnant of a past when bipartisanship wasn’t a talking point. In his 23 years in the House, the Democrat, a progressive institutionalist from Baltimore, was known for his fair mind and calming presence and as an orator who united listeners. “We respected him because he was good,” said House Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy, a Republican.

ACTOR

Valerie Harper

Over her six decades in show business, Valerie Harper played dozens of roles. Even after receiving a cancer diagnosis in 2009, she kept popping up, delightfully, in film, on TV and on the stage, where she started out as a chorus girl in the late 1950s. But the actor, who died on Aug. 30 at 80, will be remembered most for her irresistible performance as Rhoda Morgenstern, the mouthy, vivacious neighbor of television’s original single career girl, Mary Richards. First on *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* and then as the lead in hit spinoff *Rhoda*, Harper was a relatable foil to Moore’s aspirational hero as they both struggled with and benefited from women’s newfound independence.



MEME

Grumpy Cat

Her real name was Tardar Sauce, but for the millions who delighted in her frosty frown on the internet, she was known as Grumpy Cat. After her first scowl hit the web in 2012, she became a beloved symbol of non-amusement.



WOOKIEE

Peter Mayhew

His face was familiar to few, but he embodied one of the most beloved figures in film history: Han Solo’s towering sidekick, Chewbacca. Briton Peter Mayhew, 7-foot-3, died on April 30 at 74; he starred in five *Star Wars* films.



ROVER

Opportunity

NASA’s rover was expected to survive on the surface of Mars for only 90 days after it landed in 2004. But the robot explorer just kept rolling, sending data from the Red Planet until its mission was declared at an end on February 13.



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Blistering from the highest temperatures ever recorded in their city, 108°F, Parisians cooled off in the Trocadéro Fountain on July 25, with a globally beloved icon as a backdrop.







AUGUSTA NATIONAL, APRIL 14, 2019

Tiger Woods celebrated after winning his fifth Masters Tournament, and first in 14 years, coming back from a series of injuries, surgeries and personal trials.