

Center Theatre Group/Music Center of Los Angeles County



Gordon Davidson, Founding Artistic Director
Michael Ritchie, Artistic Director **Charles Dillingham**, Managing Director
Presents the Fifth Production of the 2004-2005 Season
May 25 – July 17, 2005
American Premiere

Stuff Happens

by **David Hare**

Directed by **Gordon Davidson**

Set Design by **Ming Cho Lee**

Costume Design by **Candice Cain**

Lighting Design by **Christopher Akerlind**

Sound Design by **Jon Gottlieb**

Music by **Karl Fredrik Lundeberg**

Casting by **Amy Lieberman, CSA**

Production Stage Manager **Mary Michele Miner**

Stage Manager **Susie Walsh**

CAST (in alphabetical order)

Tyrees Allen, Henry Brown, Jane Carr, Keith Carradine, Mitchell Edmonds, Brian George, Kip Gilman, James Gleason, Francis Guinan, James Handy, Jay Harik, John Michael Higgins, Anna Khaja, John Rafter Lee, Dakin Matthews, Paul Messinger, Alan Oppenheimer, Julian Sands, Stephen Spinella, Lorraine Toussaint, Inger Tudor, John Vickery

President **George W. Bush**

Laura Bush

Vice President **Dick Cheney**

Donald Rumsfeld
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

Colin Powell
SECRETARY OF STATE

Condoleezza Rice
NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR

George Tenet
HEAD OF CIA

Paul Wolfowitz
DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

Paul O'Neill
SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

John Negroponte
U.S. AMBASSADOR TO THE UN

Senator **John McCain**

Jessica Stern
LECTURER IN PUBLIC LIBRARY

Dan Bartlett
WHITE HOUSE COMMUNICATIONS DIRECTOR

Michael Gerson
PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITER

Keith Carradine

Jane Carr

Dakin Matthews

John Michael Higgins

Tyrees Allen

Lorraine Toussaint

Mitchell Edmonds

Kip Gilman

James Handy

Mitchell Edmonds

James Handy

Jane Carr

James Gleason

Mitchell Edmonds

British Prime Minister Tony Blair
Cherie Blair
Jack Straw
BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY
David Manning
DOWNING STREET FOREIGN POLICY ADVISOR
Jonathan Powell
DOWNING STREET CHIEF OF STAFF
Alastair Campbell
DIRECTOR OF COMMUNICATIONS
Sir Richard Dearlove
HEAD OF MI6
Philip Bassett
SPECIAL ADVISOR TO TONY BLAIR
Alan Simpson
MEMBER OF BRITISH PARLIAMENT
Jeremy Greenstock
BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO THE UN
Robin Cook
MEMBER OF BRITISH PARLIAMENT
Trevor Macdonald
INTERVIEWER
Bereaved Mother

French President Jacques Chirac
Dominique de Villepin
FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER
Maurice Gourdault-Montagne
ADVISOR TO CHIRAC
Jean-David Levitte
FRENCH AMBASSADOR TO THE UN

Hans Blix
EXECUTIVE CHAIRMAN, UN MONITORING,
VERIFICATION AND INSPECTION COMMISSION (UNMOVIC)
Kofi Annan
SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UN
African Official

Julian Sands
Anna Khaja
Francis Guinan
John Vickery
Stephen Spinella
Paul Messinger
John Rafter Lee
Jay Harik
Kip Gilman
James Gleason
Paul Messinger
Henry Brown
Jane Carr

James Handy
Stephen Spinella
Brian George
James Handy

Alan Oppenheimer
Henry Brown
Inger Tudor

VIEWPOINTS

Francis Guinan, Jane Carr, Anna Khaja, John Vickery, Jay Harik

Other parts played by members of the ensemble.

There will be one intermission

A generous anonymous donation by a member of Center Theatre Group's family of donors helped make this production possible.
Stuff Happens was first presented in the Olivier auditorium of the National Theatre, London on September 1, 2004.

Author's Note

Stuff Happens is a history play, which happens to center on very recent history. The events within it have been authenticated from multiple sources, both private and public. What happened happened. Nothing in the narrative is knowingly untrue. Scenes of direct address quote people verbatim. When the doors close on the world's leaders and on their entourages, then I have used my imagination. This is surely a play, not a documentary, and driven, I hope, by its themes as much as by its characters and story.

I must thank all those people — some at the heart of these events, others to the side — who generously gave so much of their time and their knowledge to help my understanding. I owe much to Dr. Christopher Turner, visiting scholar at Columbia University, who assisted me throughout. No bland formulation of thanks can do justice to the depth and details of the research.

—DAVID HARE



L to R: Keith Carradine and John Michael Higgins.

Trying to eliminate Saddam, extending the ground war into an occupation of Iraq, would have violated our guideline about not changing objectives in midstream, engaging in "mission creep," and would have incurred incalculable human and political costs. Apprehending him was probably impossible...We would have been forced to occupy Baghdad and, in effect, rule Iraq. The coalition would instantly have collapsed, the Arabs deserting it in anger and other allies pulling out as well. Under those circumstances, there was no viable "exit strategy" we could see, violating another of our principles. Furthermore, we had been self-consciously trying to set a pattern for handling aggression in the post-Cold War world. Going in and occupying Iraq, thus unilaterally exceeding the United Nation's mandate, would have destroyed the precedent of international response to aggression that we hoped to establish. Had we gone the invasion route, the United States could conceivably still be an occupying power in a bitterly hostile land. It would have been a dramatically different — and perhaps barren — outcome.

— George H. W. Bush and Brent Scowcroft, *A World Transformed* (Alfred A. Knopf, 1998)

I asked about his father in this way: "Here is the one living human being who's held this office who had to make a decision to go to war. And it would not be credible if you did not at some point ask him, what are

the ingredients of doing this right? Or what's your thought, this is what I'm facing."

"If it wouldn't be credible," Bush replied, "I guess I better make up an answer."

"No, no," I said "I'm being hard and direct because..."

"No, no, no," the president replied. "You should be. Look, I talk to him of course. I cannot remember a moment where he said, 'Don't do this' or 'Do this.' I can't remember a moment when I said to myself, maybe he can help me make the decision...You know, he is the wrong father to appeal to in terms of strength. There is a higher father that I appeal to."

— Bob Woodward, interviewing George W. Bush, *Plan of Attack* (Simon & Schuster, 2004)

[The Ten Commandments are] a symbol of the fact that government derives its authority from God... That seems to me an appropriate symbol to put on government grounds.

— Antonin Scalia, quoted in *New York Times*, March 2, 2005

Therefore I say to you that God, who implanted this in your breasts, has drawn it forth from you. Let that, then, be your war cry in battle, because it is given to you by God. When an armed attack is made upon your enemy, let this one cry be raised by all the soldiers of God: 'It is the will of God! It is the will of God!'

— Pope Urban II, summoning the faithful to the First Crusade, 1095

Center Theatre Group
of Los Angeles

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
2004/2005 OFFICERS
HONORARY CHAIRMAN
Lew R. Wasserman †
CHAIRMAN
Phyllis Hennigan
PRESIDENT
Richard Kagan
VICE PRESIDENTS
Susan Grode
John Ohanesian
SECRETARY
Martin C. Washton
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
Ernest M. Hiroshige
TREASURER
O. Kit Lokey
ASSISTANT TREASURER
Martin Massman

BOARD MEMBERS
Mara Brock Akil
Harold Applebaum
Ronald J. Arnault
Pamela Beck
Judith Beckmen
Sheri J. Biller
Geoffrey Cowan
Gordon Davidson
Charles Dillingham
Barbara Fodor
Shelley Freeman
Ava Fries
Patricia Glaser
Brindell Gottlieb
J. David Haft*
Brian Hargrove
Tommy Hawkins
Charlton Heston*
Stephen F. Hinchliffe, Jr.
Leonard Mirshani
James B. Hunt*
Andrew Kane
Samuel X. Kaplan*
Charles R. Kenis*
Diane Kessler
Joanne Corday Kozberg
Darell L. Krasnoff
Sandra Krause
Dr. Stephen Liu
Nancy Olson Livingston*
Carol Mancino
Walter Mirisch
Diane Morton*
Jo Muse
Susan M. Palm
Lawrence J. Ramer
Sanford C. Sigoloff
Louise Taper
Richard Thomas
Corina Villaraigosa
Frederick R. Waingrow
Hugh Waters

PAST PRESIDENTS
Lew R. Wasserman
Marshall Bergest
Armand S. Deutsch
Walter Mirisch
Henry C. Rogerst
Richard E. Sherwoodt
J. David Haft*
Lawrence J. Ramer
Stephen F. Hinchliffe Jr.
Phyllis Hennigan

* Director Emeritus
† Deceased



A Message from Gordon Davidson

It has been my pleasure for the past 38 years to welcome you (subscribers and single ticket buyers) with these notes from the Artistic Director. It is a special pleasure to greet you on the American premiere of *Stuff Happens*, David Hare's magnificent portrayal and exploration of how and why we went to war in Iraq. *Stuff Happens* is the last show I will direct here as Artistic Director (although not the last I will produce; that will be August Wilson's *Radio Golf* this summer), and it feels to me that it was inevitable, a kind of destiny, that this play should come to our theatre at this time.

The American invasion of Iraq remains, some two years after the "end" of "major combat," an ongoing, seemingly permanent, element of the daily news cycle and a burning political and moral issue with profound implications for America and for the world. The Taper, of course, has always been committed to the principle that not only can the theatre address the urgent political questions that confront our community but that it *must* do so because theatre is particularly suited to the task. For me, *Stuff Happens* is a brilliant play on an urgent issue; it is also a tribute to the power of theatre to explore such issues and an opportunity for me to celebrate and continue a Taper tradition that started in our founding years with *In the Matter of J. Robert Oppenheimer*, *Murderous Angels* and *The Trial of the Catonsville Nine*.

First, it is worth noting what *Stuff Happens* is not. It is not a documentary or docudrama (although it is based on intense and comprehensive research). It is not a diatribe or agitprop and does not place blame or point fingers (although it certainly gives *you* permission to do so). It is, rather, a drama. Engaging, thoughtful and provocative, *Stuff Happens* has a great plot (an American story) and sub-plot (a British story), national and international resonance, profound themes, dazzling language, and, perhaps most of all, fascinating characters — Bush, Blair, Cheney, Rumsfeld, Powell and Rice, for starters. David Hare gives the leaders and their advisors magnificent theatrical life. *Stuff Happens* is historical drama in the tradition of Shakespeare's great political/history plays — but, of course, the story of the Iraq War is far from finished and so the tragedy of these events and the personal lives of the play in this ongoing drama will be "on-call" for some time to come.

It takes a great artist to transform "real life," even the most urgent "real life," into profound

drama, and *Stuff Happens* is the work of such an artist, David Hare, who has for decades been one of the preeminent playwrights in the English language. CTG audiences know him as the author of such masterpieces as *Plenty*, *Skylight* and *Racing Demon*, but these wonderful plays represent just a small part of his astonishing body of work. I am deeply honored that David has allowed us to present the American premiere of *Stuff Happens* and very grateful for the time he has spent with me and the acting company — illuminating the play and sharing with us his vision of how crucial the work of the actor is to theatre even when that theatre is based upon real events and people. It has been a great joy to have him at CTG.

I particularly want to single out the enormous contribution of the creative and production team assembled to bring *Stuff Happens* to life. Symbolically, they stand for all the teams I have had the privilege of working with as a director for all these years. However, because they are part of the finale, this team of designers, technicians, backstage personnel and CTG staff holds an extra special place in my heart's memory. And, in turn, when given a script, a story, a stage on which to perform, a universe to explore and bring to life — this company of actors, this band of artistic brothers, has given me the thrill of a lifetime. And to this, we add you, the audience. It all contributes to making this experience the highpoint of a career loaded with highpoints. Watch this company work — it's a treat to behold and enjoy.

Mine has been, I suspect, one of the more extended retirements in show biz. It has taken time to arrange for a transition that would be both smooth and exciting for all concerned. As I welcome Michael Ritchie to the artistic directorship of CTG, I can imagine no better way to end my 38 years as the head of this wonderful theatre than by directing *Stuff Happens* and producing our next show, *Radio Golf*, the final play of August Wilson's monumental 10-play saga of African-American life in the 20th century. I will have more to say later about August's achievement, which is, quite simply, unlike anything else in the history of American theatre. But for now I will leave you to David Hare, George Bush, Tony Blair and the grand themes of *Stuff Happens*. It is a provocative and important play and I know we'll have a lot to talk about afterwards. Look for me in the theatre — I'll be there. ●



L to R: John Rafter Lee, Tyrees Allen, Paul Messinger, Lorraine Toussaint, Keith Carradine, Dakin Matthews, Mitchell Edmonds, John Michael Higgins, Jane Carr, Brian George, James Handy.

Shock and Awe: The Back Story of Babylon

by Christopher Breyer

“And a mighty angel took up a stone like a great millstone; and cast it into the sea, saying, ‘Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all.’”

—The Book of Revelation, Chapter 18, Verse 21.

If there is a place of which we can say, “This is where the history of civilization begins,” that place is the land the ancient Greeks named Mesopotamia

or “between the rivers,” the rivers being the Tigris and the Euphrates as they flow, mirroring one another, through what is now Iraq to the Persian Gulf.

This land is not only the birthplace of civilization but for much of recorded history (certainly Western history) it has been the center of the world, a place of power and learning where humanity achieved many of the things by which we would prefer to be defined.

It was in southern Mesopotamia that agricultural innovations such as irrigation and the plow provided the stability and surpluses, the freedom from bare subsistence, which made possible in the 4th millennium BCE the first cities and the first civilization, Sumer. The Sumerians invented the wheel — both literally and metaphorically in terms of developing the technology, ideas, arts and organization

needed to create and manage a sophisticated society. They pioneered engineering, astronomy and mathematics (we still use their math, which was based on the number 60, to measure time). They created writing — absolutely necessary to human advancement — which allowed them to keep track of property (double-entry bookkeeping is a Sumerian creation), to preserve and pass on knowledge, to record their experiences, and express complex ideas about the world. Literature begins at Sumer, most famously with *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, a saga of a harsh king's unsuccessful attempt to avoid death which includes descriptions of the world's creation and a great flood that prefigure similar accounts in the Book of Genesis. It is in Sumer that mankind first considers such philosophical questions as the meaning of life and the just relationship between a ruler and the people.

The Mesopotamian-based empires of Akkadia, Babylonia and Assyria absorbed and advanced the achievements of Sumer. The great Babylonian Emperor Hammurabi (1792-1750 BCE) created the first known code of laws, the model for the Mosaic laws and, indeed, all modern legal codes. Revived by Nebuchadnezzar II in the 6th century BCE, the city of Babylon, located some 50 miles south of present day Baghdad, contained one of the world's seven "wonders" — the Hanging Gardens — and was considered by both the Greeks and Romans the greatest city of the ancient world. Indeed, the city was so appealing that many of the Jews exiled to Babylon after Nebuchadnezzar conquered Israel chose not to leave when they were freed by Cyrus of Persia. The city became a center of Jewish learning where in the 5th century CE scholars created one of the two central compilations of Jewish knowledge, the Babylonian Talmud. It is not entirely surprising that the Jews would be at home in Babylon; Abraham, patriarch of both the Hebrews and Arabs, was originally from the Sumerian-Babylonian city of Ur (home also of the earliest known versions of *Gilgamesh*).

Fired by Islam, the Arabs conquered Mesopotamia in the 7th century and made it once again preeminent. In 762 CE the Abbasid Caliph al-Mansur built on the shores of the Tigris a new city, Baghdad, that was soon renowned for its beauty and culture — its universities, hospitals (including the first free public hospital), libraries (containing hundreds of thousands of



L to R: Keith Carradine and Julian Sands.

books), philosophers, scientists and scholars. And poets. The classic *Arabian Nights* was inspired by, and its first tales written in, 9th century Baghdad.

While Europe was lost in what is appropriately called the Dark Ages, great scholars and artists from throughout the Islamic world and beyond were drawn to Baghdad, known as the "City of the Civilization of the World," to study the works of Aristotle, Plato, Hippocrates and Galen, and make new advances in art, philosophy, medicine and science. Algebra (an Arabic word) and trigonometry were developed there and Baghdad's astronomers correctly calculated the circumference of the Earth five centuries before Europeans even recognized the world was round. Indeed, the 14th century "Renaissance" of Europe would be born of

the cultural achievements of Baghdad when Baghdad was the center of Islam and Islam the world's most advanced culture.

There is a drawback to being a center of civilization and wealth, one that is all the more troublesome for a place, such as Mesopotamia, that is one of the world's great crossroads: it attracts conquerors.

Countless armies, generals, empires and peoples have brought war to the land between the rivers. Some have preserved and at least attempted to build upon Mesopotamia's achievements; others have not. In 1258 the Mongol Kahn Hulagu destroyed Baghdad — its buildings, libraries, dams and irrigations systems, and its people. The city, the region, would not really begin to recover until oil money began to flow in the mid-1950s, and for most of the last seven and half centuries Iraq has been a backwater colony for, variously, the Mongols, Turks, Persians, Ottomans, and, in the 20th century, the British.

Seven hundred and fifty years is a vast period for America to contemplate but less so for Iraq, which over five thousand years has witnessed the rise and fall of many proud empires (each of which believed, like King Gilgamesh, that it could beat death) and has more than once felt its own greatness flame, flicker and fade only to again shine bright upon the world. ●

CHRISTOPHER BREYER is a frequent contributor to *Taper* programs.

Stuff Gets Said:

An Assembled Symposium of Interesting Views

"Allow the President to invade a neighboring nation whenever *he* shall deem it necessary to repel an invasion, and you allow him to do so *whenever he may choose to say* he deems it necessary for such purpose — and you allow him to make war at pleasure..."

—Congressman Abraham Lincoln, letter to William Herndon, Feb. 15, 1848

"And what an immense mass of evil must result...from allowing men to assume the right of anticipating what may happen. Ninety-nine percent of the evil of the world is founded on this reasoning — from the Inquisition to dynamite bombs."

—Leo Tolstoy, *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*, 1893

"All of us have heard this term 'preventative war' since the earliest days of Hitler...In this day and time...I don't believe there is such a thing, and frankly I wouldn't even listen to anyone seriously that came in and talked about such a thing."

—President Dwight Eisenhower, Press Conference, 1953

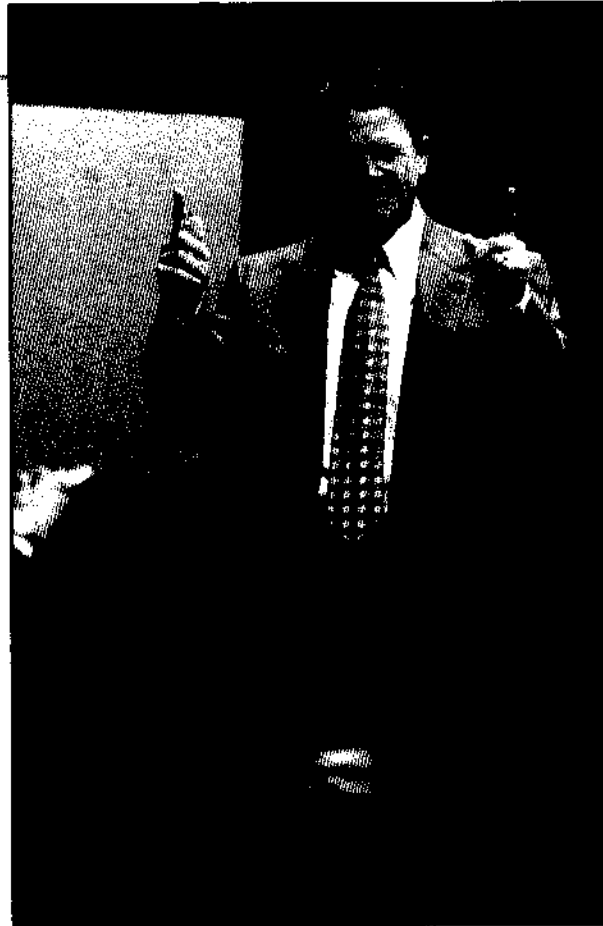
"Every 10 years or so, the United States needs to pick up some small crappy little country and throw it against the wall, just to show the world we mean business."

—Michael Ledeen, American Enterprise Institute

"Congress, in fact, should immediately declare war. It does not have to name a country."

—Robert Kagan, "We Must Fight This War," Washington Post op-ed article, September 11, 2001

"Why, of course, the people don't want war...But, after all, it is the leaders of the country who determine the policy and it is always a simple matter to drag the people along, whether it is a democracy or a fascist dictatorship or a Parliament or a Communist dictatorship.... All you have to do is tell them they are being attacked and denounce



John Michael Higgins.

the pacifists for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger. It works the same way in any country."

—Nazi Reichsmarschall Hermann Goering, interviewed by Gustave M. Gilbert, April 18, 1946

"Either you are with us or you are with the terrorists."

—George W. Bush, Address to Joint Session of Congress, September 21, 2001

"To announce that there must be no criticism of the president, or that we are to stand by the president, right or wrong, is not only unpatriotic and servile, but is morally treasonable to the American public."

—Theodore Roosevelt, Kansas City Star, May 7, 1918

"If this were a dictatorship, it'd be a heck of a lot easier, just so long as I'm the dictator."

—President-Elect George W. Bush, in first meeting with bipartisan Congressional leadership, December 18, 2000

"When people are feeling insecure, they'd rather have someone who is strong and wrong than somebody who is weak and right."

—Bill Clinton, speech to Democratic Leadership Council, December 3, 2003

"Simply stated, there is no doubt that Saddam Hussein now has weapons of mass destruction."

—Vice-President Dick Cheney, August 26, 2002

"We know where [the weapons] are. They're in the area around Tikrit and Baghdad and east, west, north and south somewhat."

—Donald Rumsfeld, ABC Interview, March 30, 2003

"[President Bush] turned to [CIA Director George] Tenet... and said, 'I've been told all this intelligence about having WMD, and this is the best we've got?'"

"It's a slam-dunk case," Tenet replied, throwing his arms in the air. Bush pressed him again.

"George, how confident are you?"

"Don't worry, it's a slam dunk."

—William Hamilton, Washington Post, April 17, 2004

"Those were the two dumbest words I ever said."

—George Tenet, April 27, 2005

"As I said on my program, if, if the Americans go in and overthrow Saddam Hussein and it's clean, he has nothing, I will apologize to the nation, and I will not trust the Bush administration again."

—Fox News entertainer Bill O'Reilly, on *Good Morning America*, March 18, 2003

"Right here let me make as vigorous a plea as I know how in favor of saying nothing that we do not mean, and of acting without hesitation up to whatever we say."
—Theodore Roosevelt, "National Duties," speech at the Minnesota State Fair, Sept. 2, 1901

"There's overwhelming evidence there was a connection between al-Qaeda and the Iraqi government. I am very confident that there was an established relationship there."
—Vice President Dick Cheney, January 22, 2004

"We have no credible evidence that Iraq and al-Qaeda co-operated on attacks against the United States."
—9/11 Commission, June 16, 2004

"The reason I keep insisting there was a relationship between Iraq and Saddam and al-Qaeda is because there was a relationship between Iraq and al-Qaeda."
—President George W. Bush, June 17, 2004

"There clearly was a relationship. It's been testified to. The evidence is overwhelming."
—Vice President Dick Cheney, June 17, 2004

"I have not suggested there's a connection between Iraq and 9/11."
—Vice President Cheney in the vice-presidential debate, Oct. 5, 2004

"A government that must hold Senate hearings to discover whether it has a reason to go to war is a government which doesn't know the meaning of war."
—Lewis Lapham, *Theater of War*, 2002

"When the political objective is important, clearly defined and understood, when the risks are acceptable, and when the use of force can be effectively combined with diplomatic and economic policies, then clear and unambiguous objectives must be given to the armed forces. These objectives must be firmly linked with the political objectives. We must not, for example, send military forces into a crisis with an unclear mission they cannot accomplish — such as we did when we sent the U.S. Marines into Lebanon in 1983. We inserted those proud warriors into the middle of a five-faction civil war complete with terrorists, hostage-takers, and a dozen spies in every camp, and said, "Gentlemen, be a buffer." The results were 241 Marines and Navy personnel and a U.S. withdrawal from the troubled area."
—Colin Powell, "U.S. Forces: The Challenges Ahead," *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1992

"The Southern rebellion [American Civil War] was largely an outgrowth of the Mexican war. Nations, like individuals, are punished for their transgressions. We got our punishment in the most sanguinary and expensive war of modern times."
—Ulysses S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs*, 1885



Lorraine Toussaint.

"The people of England have been led in Mesopotamia into a trap from which it will be hard to escape with dignity and honour. They have been tricked into it by a steady withholding of information. The Baghdad communiques are belated, insincere, incomplete. Things have been far worse than we have been told, our administration more bloody and inefficient than the public knows. It is a disgrace to our imperial record, and may soon be too inflamed for any ordinary cure. We are to-day not far from a disaster."
—Ex.-Lieut.-Col. T.E. Lawrence, *The [London] Sunday Times*, August 22, 1920

"Everything will be measured by results. The victor is always right. History ascribes to the victor qualities which may or may not actually have been there. And similarly to the defeated."
—Karl Rove, George W. Bush's Chief Political Strategist

"The verdict of history is inconsequential; the verdict of eternity is what counts."
—John Ashcroft, George W. Bush's 1st Attorney General, in *On My Honor*, 1998

"The President said he didn't want other countries dictating terms or conditions for the war on terrorism. 'At some point,' he said, 'we may be the only ones left. That's okay with me. We are America.'"
—Bob Woodward, *Bush at War*, 2002

"In working with allies it sometimes happens that they develop opinions of their own."
—Winston Churchill, *The Second World War*, v. 4: *The Hinge of Fate*, 1948-53

"[America] well knows that by once enlisting under other banners than her own, were they even the banners of foreign independ-

ence, she would involve herself beyond the price of extrication, in all the wars of interest and intrigue, of individual avarice, envy, and ambition, which assume the colors and usurp the standard of freedom. The fundamental maxim of her policy would insensibly change from liberty to force... She might become the dictatress of the world. She would be no longer the ruler of her own spirit..."
—Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, Fourth of July Address to the House of Representatives, 1823

"I'm the commander—see, I don't need to explain—I do not need to explain why I say things. That's the interesting thing about being the president. Maybe somebody needs to explain to me why they say something, but I don't feel like I owe anybody an explanation."
—President George W. Bush, *Bush at War*, 2002

"We must face the fact that the United States is neither omnipotent or omniscient — that we are only six percent of the world's population — that we cannot impose our will upon the other 94 percent of mankind — that we cannot right every wrong or reverse each adversity — and that therefore there cannot be an American solution to every problem."
—John F. Kennedy, speech at the University of Washington, November 16, 1961

"You can't kill unless you are prepared to die."
—Michael Walzer, co-editor of *Dissent*, in Summer 1999 issue

"For the soldier's trade, verily and essentially, is not slaying, but being slain."
—John Ruskin, *Unto This Last*, 1862

"As you know, you have to go to war with the Army you have. They're not the Army you might want or wish to have at a later time...And if you think about it, you can have all the armor in the world on a tank, and a tank can be blown up."
—Donald Rumsfeld, answering a soldier's question about why, after three years in Iraq, their vehicles aren't armored, at a town hall meeting at Camp Buehring, Kuwait, Dec. 8, 2004

"Why should we hear about body bags and deaths and how many, what day it's gonna happen? It's not relevant. So why should I waste my beautiful mind on something like that?"
—Barbara Bush, the day the war started

"History. We won't know. We'll all be dead."
—Pres. George W. Bush, *Plan of Attack*

"Stuff happens, right?"
—Kobe Bryant, Los Angeles Laker guard, on why the Lakers had just been eliminated from playoff contention, April 2005 ●

Peacemongers: As American as Cherry Pie



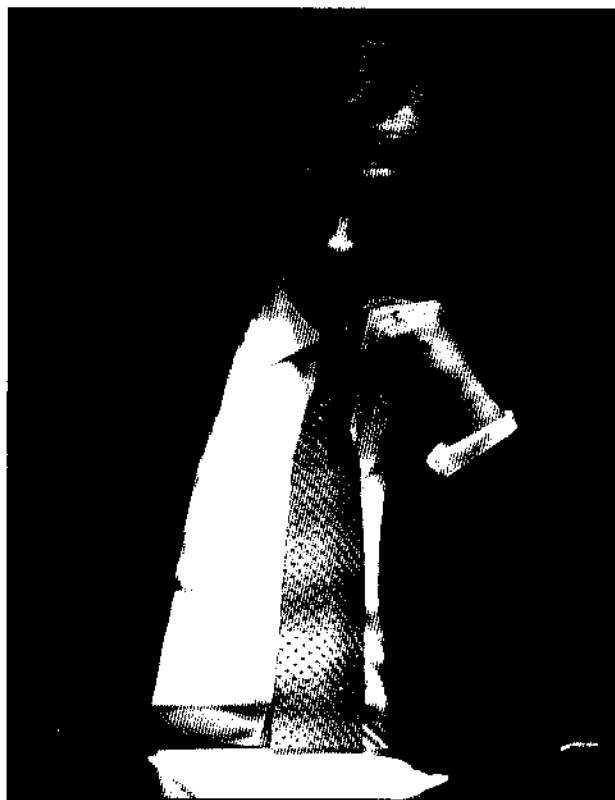
Lorraine Toussaint and Tyrees Allen.

by Christopher Breyer

IT SEEMS INEVITABLE IN OUR COUNTRY THAT CRITICS OF A WAR will be called “un-American” and instructed that debate should end when the shooting starts. Such exhortations are, at worst, cynical attempts to silence opposition and at best ignorant; for Americans have almost always spoken out when they believed a war was illegitimate, ill-advised or poorly managed. And, more often than not, America’s wars have been opposed by large numbers of its citizens. Indeed, the United States was founded by a conflict in which, according to John Adams, “only one-third of the people supported the Patriot Cause” while “a second third wished to remain loyal to King and Country” (the rest were undecided or indifferent). Throughout the Revolution, Rebels and Loyalists spoke, wrote and published their opinions even when it meant alienating their communities or families or being imprisoned (or worse).

The Revolution was not long over when America was again divided by war — or rather the prospect of war. In the late 1790s hotheaded conservatives of the dominant Federalist Party pushed for an alliance with England against Revolutionary France, a campaign fiercely opposed by Thomas Jefferson’s Republicans who considered the French to be brothers in Liberty. President John Adams, a man of exceptional intellect, integrity and independence (too much so, perhaps, to be a successful politician), loathed the French but recognized that war was not in America’s interests and, unlike too many of his successors, resisted the “hawks” in his own party. War was averted but the controversy was the occasion for one of the first and most shameful attempts by the U.S. government to suppress anti-war dissent. Using the supposed French menace as an excuse, the Federalists passed the Sedition Act of 1798, which made it illegal to publish “malicious” criticism of the government. Not surprisingly, the law was used exclusively to silence opposition Republican journalists.

Often referred to as the most unpopular war in American history, the War of 1812 was in many ways the inverse of the non-war of 1798. Now the Anglophobic Republicans were in power and hardliners from the South and West were able, albeit by a narrow margin, to pass a Declaration of War against England that President Madison duly signed. Opposition to "Mr. Madison's War" was unrelenting, especially in New England, where several states considered seceding from the union. Dissenters objected that the war was offensive, not defensive ("We will give you millions for defense; but not a cent for the conquest of Canada," declared a New York Congressman), and could not succeed in changing British policy. Indeed, the war ended without settling any of the issues that provoked it.



Keith Carradine.

President James Polk made no secret of his desire to acquire Mexican territory and managed in 1846 to concoct an incident to justify attacking our Southern neighbor. Widely recognized as not just a land-grab but an effort to spread slavery into the West, Polk's war inspired Henry David Thoreau to write his famous essay *Civil Disobedience* and spurred a young Congressman named Abraham Lincoln to publicly challenge the president's honesty and ability (Polk, declared Lincoln, was a "completely bewildered man" and his war policy like "the half insane excitement of a fevered dream"). In 1848 the House of Representatives resolved that the war was "unnecessarily and unconstitutionally begun by the president of the United States."

Fifteen years later Lincoln was president and faced with a mass rebellion that remains by far the most terrible crisis and most bitter conflict in our history. Many people in the North sympathized with the Southern states and even those who wanted to preserve the Union were often hostile to ending slavery or risking their lives to free blacks. ("Willing to fight for Uncle Sam" but not "for Uncle Sambo," declared a Pennsylvania newspaper.) Widespread and ferocious, opposition to the war was inflamed by the Emancipa-

tion Proclamation and even more by the establishment of the draft, which provoked violent protests in major cities, including a five day riot in New York that remains the worst in our history (over 100 were killed, including 11 blacks who were lynched).

By 1864 the pro-South "Copperheads" who controlled the legislatures of Ohio, Illinois and Indiana were proposing to recognize the Confederacy and few believed that Lincoln would win re-nomination much less re-election. No president has faced such savage criticism — in the media, in the streets, and within the government — as did Abraham Lincoln in these years, and this was the only period in our history when sedition posed an actual "clear and present danger" to the nation. Yet Lincoln, unlike so many much less beleaguered presidents (Wilson, Johnson, Nixon, etc.), resisted the temptation to suppress dissent — although it must be acknowledged that he never managed to get his generals to share his respect for civil liberties.

Throughout the mid-1890s, jingo imperialists such as Teddy Roosevelt and press baron William Randolph Hearst agitated

for war with Spain so that the U.S. could seize Spain's colonies and become a global super-power like England and France. Republican President William McKinley was able to resist the warmongers (and the public outcry created by the lurid, largely fictional reports of Spanish atrocities in the newspapers of Hearst and his arch-rival Joseph Pulitzer) until the mysterious 1898 explosion of the U.S.S. Maine in Havana harbor forced him into a conflict which he would forever insist was unnecessary. The action in Cuba was over within weeks, but combat continued for four years in the Philippines where American troops fought not the Spanish but the native Filipinos who wanted independence and not a new colonial master. Costing over 4,000 American and (at minimum) two hundred thousand Filipino lives, the Philippine fighting inspired America's first anti-war organization, The Anti-Imperialist League. Members

included Mark Twain (who suggested that the flag for America's Philippine colony should be the American flag but with "the white stripes painted black and the stars replaced by the skull and bones"), industrialist Andrew Carnegie, and psychologist William James (who wrote that "our conduct there [the Philippines] has been one protracted infamy towards the Islanders, and one protracted lie towards ourselves"). Thanks to the League's agitation, ending the war became part of the Democratic Party platform in the 1900 presidential campaign.

Historians struggle to find some rational or strategic purpose to World War I, either for the European empires that started it or for the United States, whose interests it hardly touched. Americans were so opposed to getting involved that Woodrow Wilson won the presidency in 1916 running on the slogan "He Kept Us Out of War." Wilson immediately flipped (to the disgust of his Secretary of State, William Jennings Bryan, who quit in protest) and took the unwilling nation to war by combining an unprecedented P.R. campaign that viciously demonized the Germans with an equally unprecedented

and vicious suppression of anti-war opinions. The Espionage Act of 1917 and complementary state laws effectively criminalized criticism of any aspect of the government's war policy. Despite the propaganda and intimidation (the government also encouraged vigilante groups to spy upon and harass dissenters), there was no shortage of anti-war protestors to persecute and prosecute. Many newspapers and magazines were shut down and

thousands of people were arrested for criticizing the war, among them ministers, writers, artists, editors, labor organizers (most famously, Eugene Debs), a congressman, and even a film-producer, Robert Goldstein, who was sentenced to 10 years in prison for portraying America's ally, Great Britain, in an unflattering manner in a film about the American Revolution.

Because of the horrors of World War I, both European and domestic, there was at the turn of the 1940s intense resistance to America entering World War II. Opposition was especially strong among conservatives — Isolationist Republicans, Charles Lindbergh and the America First Committee, and admirers of the European fascists — but many liberals also believed America should stay neutral. Pearl Harbor, however, changed everything. There remained some religious pacifists, such as the Jehovah's Witnesses, who refused to fight and far-right dissidents who claimed the conflict was a British-Jewish-Roosevelt conspiracy (Republicans in Congress never ceased suggesting — with some reason — that the Roosevelt administration deliberately provoked, and may have permitted, the Pearl Harbor attack) but World War II was the first American war to which a large portion of the country was not opposed.



L to R: Jane Carr, Dakin Matthews, Keith Carradine, Kip Gilman.

Other than a few leftover Isolationist Republicans and uncowed communists, Americans supported the Korean War (which was, of course, not a declared "war" but a United Nations "police action") when it began in 1950. Within a year, however, popular enthusiasm had evaporated. Polls indicated such broad opposition to the war that Harry Truman decided not to run for re-election and Dwight Eisenhower easily won the presidency in 1952 by promising to end the fighting. And yet there was virtually no public protest of the war. The memory and habits of World War II were still strong and, equally important, the poisonous "red scare" had begun and Americans were increasingly afraid to express potentially unorthodox opinions. This inhibition of dissent would continue through the 1950s, much to the detriment of America's culture and government. As a consequence, when Americans returned in the 1960s to publicly opposing a war, their protest was about far more than the fighting in Vietnam. Vast, varied and diverse, the protest against the Vietnam War was both the largest and only truly successful anti-war movement in our history. It is too often (and generally for partisan reasons) equated with the social movement known as the "counterculture," but, in fact, tens of millions of Americans who opposed the war had little or no sympathy for hippies

or the drug culture or "revolution." The anti-war movement first gained national prominence in 1965 when some 20,000 protestors gathered in Washington, D.C.

Two years later, when polls were indicating that the majority of Americans wanted out of Vietnam, an anti-war rally in New York City drew 300,000. With demonstrations increasing and many in his party and even his administration

opposing the conflict for either moral or pragmatic reasons, President Lyndon Johnson chose (like Truman) not to run for re-election. Richard Nixon became president promising peace but instead invaded Cambodia — which in turn increased opposition. In 1971, 500,000 people in Washington demonstrated against the war. Faced with dissent in the media, the streets, Congress, and even the military, as well as ongoing revelations that the government had long been lying to the public about the policy and progress of the war and illegally spying upon protesters, Nixon was forced to bring the troops home.

Dissent during wartime is not just an American tradition — it is essential to our democracy. Consider what happened when, in the run up to the Iraq War, dissenting voices within our military and intelligence services were silenced: bad information and erroneous assumptions went unchallenged and became the basis for policies and plans which later proved, to put it diplomatically, inadequate. The sad lesson of history is that our government has rarely been candid or wise in matters of war, and without dissent, the "free market of ideas" — which we rely upon to provide citizens with the information they need to give "informed consent" to their government's acts — simply cannot function. ●

The Long Road to Democracy —or Not



L to R: James Gleason,
Henry Brown, Keith
Carradine, Jay Harik,
John Vickery.

**Do not return evil to your
adversary; requite with kindness
the one who does evil to you,
maintain justice for your enemy,
be friendly to your enemy.**

—Advice of an Akkadian father to his son, c. 2200 BCE

**Be gentle to your enemy
as to an old oven.**

—Babylonian proverb from the Library of Ashurbanipal, c. 1600 BCE

2340 BCE – 1915 CE: Akkadian, Babylonian, Hittite, Kassite, Assyrian, Chaldean, Persian, Arabian, Mongolian and Ottoman Empires.

Before 3000 BCE: Founding of city-states of Sumer, which would become the heart of Babylonian Empire. “Babylon” is Akkadian word “babilani,” meaning “Gate of God(s)”; in the Bible, following the story of the Tower of Babel, Babylon becomes a symbol of confusion and godlessness.

1915: British occupy Iraq

1916: France and Britain divide Ottoman Empire in secret Sykes-Picot agreement (not implemented until 1919), which betrays the Arabs. (Before the WWI, in the

Hussein-McMahon Correspondence, Britain had promised the Arabs independence.)

1920: Using chemical weapons (“asphyxiating bombs”), Britain puts down Great Iraqi Revolt. (“I do not understand this squeamishness about the use of gas,” Winston Churchill had said the year before, according to War Office departmental minutes.

“I am strongly in favour of using poisoned gas against uncivilized tribes.”) Britain runs Iraq under a League of Nations Mandate.

1922: Britain sets up Hashemite monarchy.

1923: Oil is discovered in Iraq.

1932: Britain grants Iraq independence, though Iraq is



L to R: Brian George, Kip Gilman, Lorraine Toussaint, Alan Oppenheimer.

still closely tied to Britain by treaties and agreements.

1941: Anti-British coup seeks aid from Germany and Italy, but Britain restores pro-British monarchy.

1943: Iraq declares war against Axis powers.

1948: Iraq joins Arab League and fights in first Arab-Israeli War.

1958: Leftist, pan-Arab military coup overthrows the monarchy.

1960: Iraq, Iran, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela form OPEC.

1968: The Arab Socialist Baath Party stages successful coup.

1979: General Saddam Hussein becomes president of Iraq and purges leftist elements of Baath Party.

1980: September 23: Iraq invades Iran, beginning 8-year war.

1981: June 7: Israel bombs the Iraqi Osirak nuclear reactor.

1983: US Secretary of State George P. Schultz receives intelligence reports that Iraq is using chemical weapons against the Iranians. Shortly thereafter, a US National Security Directive states that the US would regard "any major reversal of Iraq's fortunes as a strategic defeat for the West." Donald Rumsfeld, Special Envoy of Pres. Ronald Reagan, meets with Saddam Hussein to assure him of US friendship and support.

1986

March: The US and Britain block UN Security Council resolutions condemning Iraq's use of chemical weapons. US is the only country to refuse to sign Security Council statement condemning Iraq's use of such weapons.

May: US Dept. of Commerce licenses 70 biological exports to Iraq between May of 1985 and 1989, including at least 21 batches of lethal strains of anthrax, and approves shipment of weapons-grade botulin poison to Iraq.

1988

March 16: Saddam Hussein uses mustard gas against Kurds in Halaja, killing nearly 5,000 people.

August 20: The long Iran-Iraq War ends in stalemate. Estimates of the number of dead range from 500,000 to 1.5 million.

September: US Dept. of Commerce approves shipment of weapons grade anthrax and botulinum to Iraq.

1990

August 2: Iraq invades Kuwait. The UN Security Council condemns the attack.

November 29: The UN authorizes the use of "all means necessary" to force Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait.

1991

January 16: US-led coalition forces begin aerial bombing of Iraq (Operation Desert Storm).

February 15: Pres. George H. W. Bush encourages Shiite and Kurdish rebellions, calling on Iraqi people to "take matters into their own hands and force Saddam Hussein, the dictator, to step aside."

February 27: First Iraqi scud missile hits Israel. Kuwait is liberated after a three-day ground operation; military operations are suspended before coalition reaches Baghdad. Under ceasefire agreement, the US allows Saddam's helicopters to fly through coalition force lines to slaughter the Shiite and Kurdish rebels, who had been encouraged by President Bush.

June 9: UN Special Commission (UNSCOM) carries out its first weapons inspection in Iraq.

1992

June: The Iraqi National Congress (INC), a coalition of Iraqi opposition groups, is created in Vienna.

1993

January 17: US warships fire cruise missiles at a suspected nuclear-weapons plant 21 km south of Baghdad in response to

Iraq's refusal to cooperate with UN inspectors.

June 27: US forces attack the HQ of Iraqi intelligence, prompted by "compelling evidence" of Iraq's role in a planned assassination in Kuwait of George H. W. Bush.

1995

March: The INC attempts an unsuccessful coup against Saddam Hussein.

August: Saddam Hussein's two sons-in-law defect to Jordan with evidence of Iraqi attempts to procure weapons of mass destruction (WMD).

1996

February 20: Saddam's sons-in-law, promised clemency, return to Baghdad and are killed.

August 31: Iraqi forces enter Northern Iraq, capturing Erbil, the capital of the Kurdish autonomous area.

December 9: The Oil-for-Food program begins.

1998

January 26: In a letter to President Clinton, 40 neo-conservative strategists and members of the group Project for The New American Century call for the removal of Saddam Hussein's regime from power. Signatories include Dick Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld, Paul Wolfowitz, Richard Armitage, and Jeb Bush.

October 31: The Iraq Liberation Act authorizes the president to grant up to \$97 million to arm and finance Iraqi opposition groups. Iraq ceases to cooperate with weapons inspectors.

December 16: UNSCOM removes all staff from Iraq. The United States begins a four-day bombing campaign, Operation Desert Fox, to destroy Iraqi weapons programs.

2001

January 20: George W. Bush is sworn into office as the 43rd President of the United States.

February 16: United States and British aircraft strike Iraqi air defence targets near Baghdad. Bush's first major foreign policy action signals the beginning of a new tougher stance on Iraq.

September 11: Terrorist strikes in the US kill nearly 3,000 people.

October 7: US and UK begin air and missile strikes against the Taliban and al-Qaeda in Afghanistan.

November 13: Northern Alliance enters Kabul.

2002

January 29: in his State of the Union Address, Bush describes Iraq, Iran and North Korea as an "axis of evil."

August 6: US Secretary of State Colin Powell advises Pres. Bush that if he goes to war and topples Saddam Hussein, "You will become the government until you get a new government...." Privately Powell refers to this as the Pottery Barn rule—"You break it, you own it" (though this is not in fact Pottery Barn policy).

September 12: Pres. Bush addresses the UN General Assembly, warning that the institution would be "irrelevant" if it failed to deal decisively with the "grave and gathering danger" posed by Iraq.

September 16: Iraq announces it will accept the unconditional return of international weapons inspectors.

September 24: The British Government publishes a dossier listing Iraq's weapons capabilities and nuclear ambitions. At its center is a claim—later strongly contested—that Iraq could deploy WMD within 45 minutes of an order to do so.

October 11: US Congress votes to allow the use of military force "against the continuing threat" posed by Iraq if the UN fails to rid Iraq of its WMD.

November 8: UN Security Council unanimously adopts Resolution 1441 ordering Iraq to disarm and to allow unrestricted access to inspectors from the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

November 25: The first team of UN weapons inspectors lands in Baghdad.

December 7: Iraq formally declares it has no WMD, giving UN more than 12,000 pages of documents.

2003

January 9: Hans Blix (UNMOVIC) and Mohammed El-Baradei (IAEA) brief the UN Security Council. They have not found proof—"the smoking gun"—that Iraq



Julian Sands.

has violated UN Security Council resolutions, but they are "not satisfied" with Iraqi cooperation.

January 19: The United States offers Saddam Hussein immunity from prosecution if he leaves Iraq.

January 27: Blix and El-Baradei report to Security Council.

They have found no weapons, but Iraq is still demonstrating "evasive" behavior. They express the need for more time to carry out inspections.

February 4: The British Government publishes a second dossier, Iraq — Its Infrastructure of Concealment, Deception and Intimidation, which is later discovered to have been plagiarized from an article by a California graduate student.

February 5: At the UN, US Secretary of State Colin Powell presents "irrefutable and undeniable" CIA evidence that Iraq is concealing WMD.

February 14: Blix and El-Baradei make their second report to the UN Security Council. They state that to date they have found no WMD in Iraq, but banned weapons remain unaccounted for. Of the permanent five members, France, Russia and China support continued

inspections in opposition to the US/UK call for force.

February 15: More than six million join anti-war protests in major cities around the world.

February 25: Army Chief of Staff Erik A. Shinseki testifies at Senate Armed Services Committee hearing that US will need, for successful occupation of Iraq, "something on the order of several hundred thousand soldiers." A few days later, Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz offers a rare public rebuke, saying the General's estimate was "wildly off the mark."

February 26: The House of Commons debates Iraq. 122 Labour MPs vote against the government, the biggest rebellion of Blair's premiership to date.

March 1: The Turkish parliament votes narrowly against allowing US forces to use Turkey as a platform for a possible invasion of Iraq from the north.

March 7: Hans Blix gives another mixed report to the UN. Britain proposes a March 17 deadline for Iraq to disarm or face war.

March 9: Worried by the domestic situation in the UK, Bush phones Blair and offers him the chance to

drop out of the coalition. Blair refuses. The US and UK begin a campaign to persuade the "swinging six" on the Security Council — Guinea, Cameroon, Angola, Mexico, Chile, and Pakistan — to vote for a second UN resolution authorizing military action against Iraq.

March 10: President Jacques Chirac appears on French television, apparently promising that France will vote no to a second resolution, whatever the consequences. The French later deny this interpretation of his words. UN Secretary General Kofi Annan warns the US that it will be in breach of the United Nations charter if it attacks Iraq without Security Council approval.

March 11: "Wobbly Tuesday." Geoff Hoon and the Ministry of Defence draw up a contingency plan to "disconnect" British troops from the probable invasion of Iraq. US Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld publicly claims that America would proceed unilaterally if necessary.

March 16: Bush, Blair, and Aznar, the Spanish Prime Minister, hold an emergency summit in the Azores. Jack Straw, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, sends a memo to Blair, suggesting there is no need to commit actual British troops; moral and political support will be enough. Blair rejects the compromise.

March 17: Pres. Bush gives Saddam Hussein a 48-hour deadline to leave Iraq. Kofi Annan announces that all UN weapons inspectors, their support staff, and UN humanitarian personnel will be evacuated from Iraq. Blair holds an emergency cabinet meeting at which Robin Cook, the Leader of the House of Commons, resigns. US, Britain, and Spain agree to table the second UN resolution.

March 18: The House of Commons votes to go to war, though 139 Labour MPs rebel.

March 19: Operation Iraqi Freedom begins: air raid sirens sound just before dawn in Baghdad.

March 20: US and coalition forces cross the border from Kuwait.

March 21: "Shock and awe" bombing campaign begins in Baghdad, Kirkuk, and Mosul.

April 2: American forces take Najaf, Karbala, and Kut.

April 7: British troops take Basra.

April 9: US Marines and Iraqis pull down 40-foot statue of Saddam

Hussein in Baghdad's central square.

April 10: American Special Forces and Kurdish troops take Kirkuk.

April 12: Iraq National Museum in Baghdad is looted.

April 14: Saddam's home town, Tikrit, is taken without a battle.

April 15: 70 Iraqi leaders meeting in Ur with retired Lieutenant General Jake Garner, head of the Pentagon's Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance, agree to establish a democratic government for Iraq.

April 16: Pres. Bush signs a bill allocating \$80 billion dollars to pay for the war.

May 1: Pres. Bush lands on the deck of the aircraft carrier USS Abraham Lincoln, and, in a green flight jacket, under a banner reading "Mission Accomplished," proclaims the end of major combat operations in Iraq. Total US combat fatalities to date: 115.

May 12: L. Paul Bremer III, Bush's new Administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority, arrives in Baghdad. Bremer moves to disband the Iraqi army, which leaves an estimated 400,000 soldiers without jobs and provokes violent protests in the streets of every major city in the country, and also to ban senior Baathist Party Members (up to 30,000 people) from serving in any capacity in future Iraqi administrations.

May 22: UN Security Council votes to lift 13-year-old economic sanctions against Iraq.

July 7: The White House admits that Pres. Bush's claim, in his State of the Union Address, that Iraq had attempted to buy uranium in Africa to continue its nuclear weapons program, was based on uncorroborated evidence and should not have been made.

July 13: US and British officials appoint 25 Iraqi leaders as the interim Iraqi Governing Council (IGC). The IGC will help draft a new constitution for Iraq.

July 22: Saddam Hussein's sons, Uday and Qusay, are killed by US troops in Mosul.

September 7: Pres. Bush requests \$87 billion more for additional military costs and the reconstruction of Iraq.

November 27: Pres. Bush and National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice, disguised in baseball caps, slip away to share Thanksgiving meal with troops in Baghdad.



Francis Guinan and Anna Khaja.

December 13: Saddam Hussein is found hiding in a "spider hole" on a farm near Tikrit and captured by American troops without a struggle.

2004

January 25: Colin Powell, U.S. Secretary of State, says that no WMD may ever be found in Iraq.

January 30: Condoleezza Rice, U.S. National Security Advisor, says that Iraq may not have had any WMD.

March 8: The IGC signs an interim constitution for Iraq that includes a system of checks and balances, cites Islam as one source of Iraqi laws, includes some autonomy for the Kurds, and calls for national elections by the end of January, 2005.

March 11: Terrorists bomb Madrid trains during morning rush hour, killing 191 and wounding 1,800 more.

March 14: Spain's ruling People's Party suffers a surprising defeat in national elections.

April 18: Spain's new Prime Minister announces that Spanish forces in Iraq will be brought home as soon as possible.

April 29: Digital photos taken by guards at the Abu Ghraib prison west of Baghdad show widespread mistreatment and humiliation of prisoners.

June 23: John Negroponte appointed US ambassador to Iraq.

June 28: The US-led coalition transfers power to the interim Iraqi Government. Dr. Iyad Allawi, a former Baath Party member

but longtime enemy of Saddam Hussein, is the new Prime Minister. Sheikh Ghazi al-Yawar, a Sunni Muslim tribal leader, is the interim president.

July 2: Saddam Hussein and 11 other Baath Party leaders appear before an Iraqi judge to be formally charged with murder, torture and using chemical weapons. Hussein is cited for using poison gas against the Kurds in 1988 and for invading Kuwait in 1990.

August 18: The Iraqi National Conference chooses a national assembly (100 seats) to act as an interim parliament until the national elections set for January, 2005.

November 2: In very close election, President George W. Bush wins second term. Total combat deaths to date: 1088.

November 4: As security in Iraq continues to deteriorate, "Doctors Without Borders" announce they will end their mission in the country.

November 7: Prime Minister Allawi declares emergency martial law for 60 days.

November 8: American forces launch ground and air assault against the militant Sunni Muslim stronghold of Fallujah. After six days of intense fighting, the city is fully occupied, with 35 Americans dead, 1,600 militants dead, and the town in ruins.

November 9: The Iraqi Islamic Party (Sunni) withdraws from the interim Iraqi government. Sunni clerics call for a boycott of the elections.

2005

January 9: UN auditors are criticized by an independent commission for lax oversight of the Oil-for-Food program in Iraq.

January 12: The search for WMD in Iraq ends, the White House admits, without any evidence confirming their existence.

January 30: Iraqi elections: voters choose 275-member transitional National Assembly, which will write a new constitution. Voter turnout in the first multi-party election in Iraq in over 50 years is later determined to have been around 58 percent. The parties that gained the most votes were the United Iraqi Alliance (Shiite), 48 percent (140 seats); the Kurdistan Alliance, 26 percent (75 seats); and the Iraqi List (Prime Minister Allawi's party) 14 percent (40 seats). Total US combat deaths to date: 1433.

March 16: First meeting of the National Assembly.

April 5: National Assembly elects Kurdish leader Jalal Talabani as Iraq's president, a mostly symbolic office.

April 7: Pres. Talabani names Ibrahim al-Jaafari (Shiite) as prime minister.

April 20: Pres. Talabani announces that 50 bodies, including women and children, have been found in the Tigris River. The victims are thought to be Shiites, slain by radical Sunnis. Nineteen Iraqi soldiers are lined up against the wall of the Hadithi soccer stadium and executed.

April 28: The National Assembly approves a cabinet. These ministers constitute the first freely-elected government in Iraqi history.

May 5: Weakened by the Iraq War, Prime Minister Tony Blair manages to win reelection to a third term, but his Labour Party's majority in the House of Commons slips from 161 seats to around 60; he will face a call to step down before he completes his full five-year term.

May 8: US combat fatalities to date: 1,600. ●

—Based on "Build-Up to the Iraq War" by Christopher Turner in the National Theatre program for the world premiere of *Stuff Happens*. Timeline augmented for the Mark Taper Forum by Frank Dwyer and Christopher Breyer.