the Iraqi Declaration to the United Nations Security Council." The fact sheet listed eight key areas in which the Bush Administration found fault with Iraq's weapons declaration to the United Nations on December 7, 2002. Under the heading "Nuclear Weapons," the fact sheet stated:

"The Declaration ignores efforts to procure uranium from Niger. Why is the Iraqi regime hiding their uranium procurement?"

It was later discovered that this claim was based on fabricated documents. In addition, both State Department intelligence officials and CIA officials reported that they had rejected the claim as unreliable. As a result, it was unclear who within the State Department was involved in preparing the fact sheet.

On July 21, 2003, I wrote to Secretary of State Colin Powell, asking for an explanation of the role of John Bolton, Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security Affairs, in creating the document. On September 25, 2003, the State Department responded with a definitive denial: "Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security Affairs, John R. Bolton, did not play a role in the creation of this document."

Subsequently, however, I joined six other members of the Government Reform Committee in requesting from the State Department Inspector General a copy of an unclassified "chronology" on how the fact sheet was developed. This chronology described a meeting on December 18, 2002, between Secretary Powell, Mr. Bolton, and Richard Boucher, the Assistant Secretary for the Bureau of Public Affairs. According to this chronology, Mr. Boucher specifically asked Mr. Bolton "for help developing a response to Iraq's Dec 7 Declaration to the United Nations Security Council that could be used with the press. According to the chronology, which is phrased in the present tense, Mr. Bolton "agrees and tasks the Bureau of Nonproliferation," a subordinate office that reports directly to Mr. Bolton, to conduct the work.

This unclassified chronology also stated that on the next day, December 19, 2003, the Bureau of Nonproliferation "sends email with the fact sheet, "Fact Sheet Iraq Declaration-.doc." to Mr. Bolton's office. A second e-mail was sent a few minutes later, and a third e-mail was sent about an hour after that. According to the chronology, each version "still includes Niger reference." Although Mr. Bolton may not have personally drafted the document, the chronology appears to indicate that he ordered its creation and received updates on its development.

The Inspector General's chronology was marked "sensitive but unclassified." In addition, the letter transmitting the chronology stated that it "contains sensitive information, which may be protected from public release under the Freedom of Information Act" and requested that no "public release of this information" be made. In fact, however, the chronology consisted of nothing more than a factual recitation of information on meetings, e-mails, and documents.

Social Security

Andy Jacobs: The Second Battle of Parkersburg

by Nina Ogden

On Aug. 15, 1994, in a ceremony in the White House Rose Garden, President Bill Clinton signed the Social Security Independence Act with the same pen Franklin Delano Roosevelt had used to sign the Social Security Act of 1935. The 1994 Act returned the Social Security Administration to the status of the independent agency President Roosevelt had set up in 1935. President Clinton quoted President Roosevelt speaking to the New York State legislature in 1931, saying; "The success or failure of any government must be measured by the well-being of its citizens."

The legislative history of the Social Security Independence Act shows that it was passed unanimously by the Congress, as the then-chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee Subcommittee on Social Security, Andy Jacobs, Jr. (D-Ind.) said, to "establish the Social Security Administration as an independent agency and make other improvements." A reading of that legislative history shows that it was endorsed enthusiastically by some of the same Republicans who are now being pressured by the Bush Administration to dismantle the safety net that HR 4277 was designed to strengthen.

Among the improvements in the bill was a provision sponsored by Jacobs to require the Treasury Department to issue physical documents in the form of bonds, notes, or certificates to the Social Security Trust Fund, as a means of increasing public confidence in the Trust Fund investments.

In the hearings on the bill in 1994, Jacobs explained his provision: "As far as the Social Security trust fund itself is concerned, it has just as legal a claim on the U.S. Treasury for the interest and repayment of the loans of the surplus as any individual who holds U.S. bonds in this country. Yet it continues to be thundered across areas of this country that the money is being taken from the Social Security System without the inconvenience of borrowing and paying interest.

"I keep thinking about the story FDR once told about Uncle Jed and Ezra. Ezra said, 'Uncle Jed, aren't you getting a little hard of hearing?' And Uncle Jed said, 'Yes, I'm afeared I'm getting a mite deef.' Whereupon Jed went down to Boston to see an ear doctor, and he came back and said, 'That doctor asked me if I had been drinking any, and I said, 'Yes. I drink a mite.' He said, 'Jed, I might as well tell you now that either you cut out the drinking or you're going to lose your hearing