

risk for pension default and should be required to do more to keep plans afloat.

'SKY IS NOT FALLING'

Boehner, The Ohio congressman, says such tough medicine would "kill the patient" and prompt some employers to drop their plans.

AK Steel, for example, says its credit rating has been below investment grade for years, yet it has never missed a payment.

Business groups such as the National Association of Manufacturers acknowledged pension rules require tightening. But they question the administration's alarming projections and say companies with pension problems don't represent the majority.

"Our message is the pension sky is not falling," says NAM spokesman Darren McKinney. "The problem is not as big as some would have you believe."

He says the PBGC's statistics show only 15% of private defined-benefit plans were funded below 70% in 2002, the latest data available.

What seems to gall reformers most is the recent pattern of big companies using Chapter 11 of the bankruptcy code to jettison the debt of underfunded pension plans, then exit bankruptcy and survive. U.S. Airways did it, and United is in the process. Huff and Big Bear did the same in the bankruptcy court.

Now, reformers fear Delta Air Lines, Northwest Airlines and auto-parts maker Delphi, all of which filed Chapter 11 cases recently, will make the same argument to their bankruptcy-court judges.

"People are using the pension system and bankruptcy code as a business strategy," charges Walker of GAO.

AK STEEL FEELS PENALIZED

AK Steel agrees. It has seen plenty of competitors unload their plans. AK says its pension and retiree medical costs make its steel at least \$40 a ton more costly to produce than some of its competitors'.

"We are penalized because we didn't go bankrupt," says Vice President Alan McCoy.

So, AK has been going to its unions during contract talks, asking them to agree to freeze members' pension plans so benefits don't keep growing and so new employees aren't covered. Three unions, representing 20% of AK's unionized workforce, have agreed.

"They told us they needed that relief to stay competitive and stay out of bankruptcy," says Tim Imes, president of the United Steelworkers union in Ashland, KY, that represents AK workers there. Given pension-plan terminations at Bethlehem Steel, National Steel and elsewhere, the union knew "the monster was real."

AK officials say they still believe in good pensions but can't ignore their competition.

"We are disturbed that the bankruptcy system allows what has happened to happen," says McCoy. "We don't think that's right."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. BURGESS) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. BURGESS addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

HONORING EDWARD R. ROYBAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California (Ms. LEE) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. LEE. Mr. Speaker, I rise this evening to recognize and honor and pay

tribute to the extraordinary life of Congressman Edward R. Roybal. Throughout his career, including 30 years in the United States Congress, Congressman Roybal championed the rights of the underprivileged and broke down barriers for social justice.

I would like to express my deepest sympathy to his family and his friends, especially to his devoted daughter, my colleague and friend, Congresswoman LUCILLE ROYBAL-ALLARD, and say with the passing of her father, we lost a great man, a man who stood up for his convictions, a man who stood up for what he believed, and one who stood up for those who needed a voice who did not have a voice in our country. He will be deeply missed.

Like many, I feel very blessed to have known Congressman Roybal personally. He lived his life and I always noticed how he did this: by his actions and by his words. He had principles. He had principles that guided each and every one of his actions, and I think all of us should really understand that those principles are absolutely necessary for us to fight for the rights and the well-being of all human beings, especially those who have been shut out of the American Dream.

His life was not only extraordinary; it was an example to follow for generations to come. Each one of us, I believe, has a duty to carry on the legacy of this great man. Our young people must get to know Congressman Roybal, for he made history taking on tough issues when they were not popular. What a role model he was.

Congressman Roybal not only cared about his own congressional district, which he did very deeply, but he also worked very hard to help communities throughout our country. As a member of my predecessor's, Ronald Dellums, staff, I vividly remember Congressman Roybal's unbelievable efforts to help bring a Federal building to downtown Oakland. Congressman Roybal and Congressman Dellums had a deep friendship and mutual respect for each other. As a result of their partnership, we have a beautiful Ronald V. Dellums Federal Building where my congressional office is presently located.

And in the Federal Building, we also have an Edward R. Roybal Auditorium. And each time I walk into this beautiful building, I am reminded of this great man and his magnificent spirit and his love for his country and for our district.

The 9th Congressional District of California, we owe Congressman Roybal a debt of gratitude; and we thank you and his family for really sharing this giant of a human being with us.

I have several personal and professional affiliations with Congressman Roybal. His son, Eddie, headed up a successful legal services center called Centro Legal De La Raza in Oakland, California. This center provides badly needed legal services to families otherwise unable to afford them.

Many years ago after leaving Ron's staff, Congressman Roybal called me

and he said, Barbara, please, you have to do this for me. I really want you to help us raise money for Centro Legal De La Raza.

Of course I was honored to receive this call from Congressman Roybal, and how could I say no. It was such a great honor to be able to work with him and his family to make sure that we raised the money for many years to provide these badly needed services.

His commitment to justice was unparalleled. His ability to use his clout for those without access to the halls of power, not for himself personally, but for all of those shut out, his love for human kind, his great spirit will be with me forever. He was such a gentleman, a kind human spirit. He was a respectful man, and many of us loved him so much.

So tonight, on behalf of the 9th Congressional District of California, we salute a great warrior; we thank him for a job well done. We also thank Congressman Roybal for a life well lived. In his memory, I think we should all rededicated ourselves to Congressman Edward R. Roybal's ideals and his vision for a better world.

Mr. Speaker, my thoughts and prayers are with you and your family, LUCILLE. May God bless you.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California (Mr. HUNTER) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. HUNTER addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. CUMMINGS) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. CUMMINGS addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

RETHINKING THE IRAQ WAR

Ms. WOOLSEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to speak out of order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California (Ms. WOOLSEY) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. WOOLSEY. Mr. Speaker, first, I need to say I did not know Congressman Edward Roybal; but if he did nothing more than bring his daughter, LUCILLE ROYBAL-ALLARD, into this world, he brought a gift to all of us. I honor him for that.

Mr. Speaker, I was struck by something that I heard the chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee say over the weekend. Now that it is all too clear that the intelligence leading up to the Iraq war was deeply flawed, he was brave enough to say, "I think a

lot of us would really stop and think a minute before we would ever vote for war or take military action." And then he added, "We do not accept this intelligence at face value anymore."

□ 2030

Great. I am glad that the gentleman from Kansas, Mr. ROBERTS, is so cautious and skeptical now, after more than 2,000 soldiers have been killed, after we have poured \$200 billion into this war, after we have squandered America's global credibility and goodwill.

Back when this could have made a difference, the chairman and so many others in this body and the upper Chamber fell in line behind the President, rubberstamping his war with barely a peep of dissent.

Where were the hard questions then? Where was the oversight and the scrutiny back when it could have saved lives and changed the course of history?

The latest line of argument from the White House is essentially this: Sure, we were wrong about Saddam and weapons of mass destruction, but we did the best we could with what we had.

Leaving aside whether they were mistaken about the intelligence or they actively manipulated it, I would like to see the President look a widow or a grieving mother in the eye and use that line.

The other thing they are saying is maybe we were wrong, but so were a lot of other people, including a lot of Democrats, so get off our backs. This attempt at spreading the blame is dishonest, and it is irresponsible. It was not the previous administration, nor was it the President's opponents in last year's election who launched a preemptive war and put American credibility on the line in selling it.

It was not some other Vice President that leaned on analysts at Langley to reach certain conclusions. It was not some other White House that was fixing the intelligence and the facts around the policy, as the Downing Street Memo put it.

There is only one Commander-in-Chief, and the buck must stop with him. Besides, there were plenty of us who were deeply skeptical about the case for war; and for raising our concerns, many of us had our patriotism called into question.

Ambassador Joe Wilson was among those who raised the red flag, and look what they did to him and to his family.

But of course, as the President is now implicitly admitting, we who questioned the intelligence were right. The very fact that they are trying to rewrite the history of the run-up to war is evidence that the war has been a disastrous mistake. If all were going well in Iraq, the President would not be in this defensive posture, casting about for scapegoats.

There is a way to make it right. There is a way to fix the problem. By

ending the war once and for all. It is time for the President not just to admit his mistakes but to correct them. It is time to return Iraq to the Iraqi people and return our troops home to the families that have gone too long without them.

HONORING CONGRESSMAN ED ROYBAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. POE). Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WATSON) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, Congressman Ed Roybal, who recently passed, will be remembered as a true pioneer in the struggle for human and civil rights. He was an advocate his whole life for the poor, disenfranchised and for seniors.

Ed was first elected to the House of Representatives in 1962, at a time when Henry Gonzalez of Texas was the only other Hispanic representative in the House of Representatives. Ed served with distinction in the House of Representatives for 30 years. He quickly earned the respect of his congressional colleagues and, in 1971, was elected to serve on the Appropriations Committee, where he remained for the rest of his career in Congress. He became Chair of the Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Subcommittee in 1981. There he became a powerful advocate for funding for education, civil rights and health programs. He was one of the first Members of Congress to support HIV/AIDS research funding.

Ed also had an abiding interest in the needs of our elderly and from 1985 to 1989 served as the Chair of the Select Committee on Aging. In 1980, he successfully restored funds to programs for the elderly and in 1982 played an instrumental role in maintaining the Meals on Wheels program.

He was a trailblazer for the rights of not only Hispanics but of all persons, white, black, brown, the young and the elderly, who had been denied an equal opportunity and were looking for a hand up. He always selflessly extended his hand and never lost sight of those in need throughout his distinguished career as a public servant.

I looked to Ed as he served on the Los Angeles City Council and then in Congress as a voice that could be trusted to consistently respond on behalf of those who could not speak for themselves. We saw him as the go-to guy on the City Council.

Ed's strong and dedicated message will never be silenced. He leaves behind a spiritual and an indelible legacy that will live on. God bless him.

RECOGNIZING THE LIFE OF CONGRESSMAN ED ROYBAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DAVIS of Kentucky). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 2005, the gentlewoman from California

(Ms. LOFGREN) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Ms. ZOE LOFGREN of California. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to recognize the life and work of Congressman Edward Roybal. As Chair of the California Democratic Congressional Delegation, I am proud to recognize the accomplishments of the pioneer of California Hispanic politics.

In his more than 30 years in Congress, from 1963 to 1993, Congressman Roybal opened many doors for immigrants and the less fortunate in this country, but more importantly he also opened many minds. As the first Hispanic to serve in Congress from California since 1879, his leadership was proof that our Nation's greatness rests in its diversity. He gave future generations the power to be involved in the democratic process by sponsoring legislation which funded bilingual education and inspired thousands to follow his noble example and enter into public service.

Californians are proud to call the visionary Congressman Roybal one of our own. But his contribution was not limited to Hispanics or Californians. Congressman Roybal's vision and passion for social justice issues transcended color lines, age groups and district and State boundaries. He worked tirelessly to extend the civil rights and push the Democratic Party to become more attuned to the needs of immigrants and minorities.

In addition to all the legislation he fought for and all the programs he sponsored, Congressman Roybal will also be remembered because of the legion of public servants he inspired. One of those, a man who fought for equal rights for farm workers of California, was a young man in San Jose named Cesar Chavez.

In 1947, Mr. Roybal first ran unsuccessfully for a seat on the Los Angeles City Council. Reacting to his defeat he founded the Los Angeles Community Services Organization, CSO, with a goal of mobilizing L.A.'s Mexican Americans against discrimination in housing, employment and education. The CSO was founded on the idea that people would learn from each other and would craft solutions to mutual problems, and the model caught on and chapters formed throughout California. In San Jose, Cesar Chavez's first experience in politics was registering voters for the San Jose CSO, and the rest is history.

Today, Congressman Roybal's legacy lives on in Congress and in cities across this country. More than 6,000 Hispanic elected officials have followed him into public service. His daughter and our colleague, the distinguished Congresswoman Lucille Roybal-Allard, now represents part of her father's old district in East L.A. Lucille carries on her father's work of fighting for compassion and diversity in our government.

Although he has passed from this earth, Congressman Roybal's passion