

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years ending after December 31, 2015.

## TITLE II—HEALTH, EDUCATION, LABOR AND PENSIONS

### SEC. 201. REPEAL OF THE PREVENTION AND PUBLIC HEALTH FUND.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 4002(b) of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (42 U.S.C. 300u–11(b)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (2), by striking “2017” and inserting “2015”; and

(2) by striking paragraphs (3) through (5).

(b) RESCISSION OF UNOBLIGATED FUNDS.—Of the funds made available by such section 4002, the unobligated balance is rescinded.

### SEC. 202. FUNDING FOR COMMUNITY HEALTH CENTER PROGRAM.

Effective as if included in the enactment of the Medicare Access and CHIP Reauthorization Act of 2015 (Public Law 114–10, 129 Stat. 87), paragraph (1) of section 221(a) of such Act is amended by inserting after “Section 10503(b)(1)(E) of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (42 U.S.C. 254b–2(b)(1)(E)) is amended” the following: “by striking ‘\$3,600,000,000’ and inserting ‘\$3,835,000,000’ and”.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the consideration of H.R. 3762 now be for debate only during today’s session of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, the Senate is now considering the House-passed Restoring Americans’ Healthcare Freedom Reconciliation Act of 2015. We finally have a chance to vote to end ObamaCare’s cycle of broken promises and failures with a simple majority vote. I look forward to completing action on this bill this week.

## MORNING BUSINESS

### TRIBUTE TO TOM OWEN

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, respected public servant and renowned historian Tom Owen has announced that he will be retiring from the Louisville Metro Council after next year. Tom is a friend of mine, and I want to take this opportunity to express my gratitude for his many years of public service. His deep knowledge of Louisville’s past and his great passion to shape our city’s future will be greatly missed and impossible to replace.

Tom is one of the original members of the metro council, having served since that body’s inception in 2002. In 2010 he served as metro council president. Tom previously served on the old Louisville Board of Aldermen from 1990 to 1998.

Tom represents district 8, which includes most of the Highlands neighborhood. I should mention here that Tom is not only my friend but also my councilman. He is currently the chair of the committee on sustainability and a member of the committees on public works, bridges and transportation and planning, and zoning and land design.

Tom is also a full professor at the University of Louisville; and he has

served as a history instructor, an archivist, and a community relations associate at the University of Louisville since 1968. His knowledge of the city of Louisville is vast, and he frequently speaks on local television and radio about Louisville history. He also leads walking tours of historic Louisville and famous city landmarks and makes videos of these walking tours available to the public.

Tom earned his Ph.D. in American history from the University of Kentucky, a master’s in history from the University of Louisville, a bachelor of divinity from Methodist Theological School in Ohio, and a bachelor’s degree from Kentucky Wesleyan. He is an elder at Highland Presbyterian Church, and of his many hobbies, I know he enjoys bicycling and commuting by bicycle, as he has championed bicycle commuting as one his causes on the metro council.

Tom has been awarded the Distinguished Service Award from the Louisville Historical League, the Outstanding University of Louisville Employee Award, an honorary membership in the Kentucky Chapter of the America Institute of Architects, and a Patron Service Award at the University of Louisville libraries. As all these awards make clear, Tom is widely respected as Louisville’s unofficial historian, and his absence from city government will be felt deeply.

Tom and I don’t always see eye to eye on every issue, but I have great respect for Tom as a legislator, as an advocate for the citizens of the 8th district, and as someone who set out to make a difference for all the citizens of Louisville. Our shared hometown is better off thanks to Tom’s many years of service. I wish him well in retirement, and I am sure his wife, Phyllis, and his children and grandchildren will be glad to spend more time with him. I wish my friend, Tom, all the best in whatever exciting endeavors await him after his time in office draws to a close.

The Louisville Courier-Journal published an article detailing Tom’s career and decision to retire. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Louisville Courier-Journal, Nov. 25, 2015]

#### HIGHLANDS COUNCILMAN TOM OWEN RETIRING (By Phillip M. Bailey)

Longtime Metro Councilman Tom Owen announced Wednesday he will not seek reelection next year, opening up a possible avalanche of candidates who will run for his seat representing much of the Highlands neighborhood.

Owen, 76, who is an archivist at the University of Louisville, has served on the council since 2003 and was a member of the old Board of Aldermen before that. He told The Courier-Journal last week he was still deliberating on retirement, but said after careful and lengthy consideration that now is the time to step away.

“I had been mulling on this decision for a good two months and that’s why there had

been rumors out there,” Owen, D-8th District, said. “Once I got closer to pushing the send button the more hesitant I became.”

Owen, a former council president, was first elected to the old board in 1989 when he defeated incumbent Alderwoman Linda Solley in the Democratic primary. In that campaign, Owen ran on his credentials as a local historian, saying at the time he was the “only candidate who knows the city of Louisville edge to edge and has a vision of the whole city’s history and needs.”

Among those needs in 1989, Owen said, was a trolley service for the Bardstown Road corridor, safer pedestrian traffic and a citywide paper recycling program. He was the only challenger to beat an incumbent in the nine board primary races that year.

“I love being involved and I’m honored as a historian to think I have shaped the destiny of Louisville even one percent,” Owen said Wednesday.

In a statement, Mayor Greg Fischer said, Owen “has long been the city’s unofficial city historian, quite literally a walking encyclopedia of Louisville history.”

Former Councilwoman Tina Ward-Pugh, who also served with Owen on the Board of Aldermen for four years, said the two were political soulmates on a number of issues such as the environment, transportation and gay rights. She said Owen’s departure will create a “vast cavern of institutional knowledge” for the council.

“Tom and I were virtually joined at the hip on many progressive and social justice issues over the years,” Ward-Pugh said. “I probably pushed him a little more than he was comfortable and he held my hand when I was headed out a little too far, so we balanced each other.”

Owen ran for mayor in the 1998 Democratic primary where he came just shy of beating Dave Armstrong, who went on to be the last mayor of the old city.

The newspaper archives show Owen was one of the early supporters of a Fairness law when the city was first debating adopting an anti-discrimination legislation to protect gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgendered individuals in housing and other public accommodations. Today, Owen is most associated with his push for better public transportation and bicycle advocacy, and he has championed the city adding more bike lanes to major thoroughfares.

As a UofL professor of libraries since 1975, colleagues say Owen was always able to put the council’s current actions in a historical context.

“Tom’s a person I always go to for that information, so I hope he keeps his same phone number,” Councilman David James, D-6th, said.

“Tom has institutional knowledge, he has brains, he is thoughtful and I have thoroughly enjoyed working with him,” said Councilman Kelly Downard, R-16th, who is also retiring after this year. “The council is going to miss him heavily, and boy, there’s going to be a hole.”

Only half of the Metro Council’s 26 members are from the original class who were elected when city and county governments merged in 2002.

Owen said he doesn’t want to look back on his career just yet and has a lot more he’d like to accomplish in his last year, but he said there are plenty of talented people who can represent the district.

William Corey Nett, a member of the Tyler Park Neighborhood Association, filed as a Democratic candidate this month. It is expected that several more contenders will jump in the race to represent the district, which encompasses most of the Highlands neighborhood.

The deadline for candidates to run for Metro Council is Jan. 26.

# RECOGNIZING PAST CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY IN INDONESIA

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, the realignment toward Asia has focused our attention on partnerships with countries in the region. We share political, economic, security, and humanitarian interests, creating complex and multidimensional relationships. But our commitment to the protection and promotion of human rights must continue to be a foundation for our relations with these countries, as with others around the world. We must continue to advocate for open societies where dialogue and dissent are encouraged and where security forces are professional and accountable. At the same time, we cannot ignore history.

Fifty years ago, under the guise of a state-sanctioned Communist purge, hundreds of thousands of Indonesian men, women, and children were murdered. Many more were rounded up and led to concentration camps where they were imprisoned, and many were tortured by the security forces of a dictatorial and brutal regime that had the backing of the United States. It has been widely recognized as one of the worst mass atrocities of the 20th century, but efforts to establish a truth and reconciliation commission to come to terms with these crimes have stalled at every turn. The atrocities are still not recognized or discussed by the Indonesian Government, and the perpetrators were long celebrated as heroes for their actions.

The United States should lead by example in acknowledging this tragic history and reaffirm that human rights are at the forefront of our strategic relationships in Indonesia and beyond. As the most senior member of the Appropriations Committee, I have supported conditions on foreign assistance, including requiring recipient countries to protect freedoms of expression and association, respect the rule of law and due process, reform their judicial systems and security forces, and strengthen other key elements of a democratic society.

Through the "Leahy Law," I have sought to encourage reform of Indonesia's military and police forces, promote cooperation with civilian authorities, and hold human rights violators accountable. I have also supported efforts to demilitarize West Papua and stop the human rights violations associated with the militarization of that island.

Unfortunately, while Indonesia has made important economic and political strides since the systemic repression of the Suharto years, impunity for the horrific crimes of the 1960s and during the final years of the independence struggle in East Timor remain glaring examples of unfinished business that are inconsistent with a democratic society based on the principle that no one is above the law.

We need to recognize the role of our own government in this history, declassify relevant documents, and urge

the Indonesian Government to acknowledge the massacres and establish a credible truth and justice mechanism.

I ask unanimous consent that a poignant opinion piece on this subject that was published in the *New Yorker* on September 29, 2015, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the *New Yorker*, Sept. 29, 2015]

SUHARTO'S PURGE, INDONESIA'S SILENCE

(By Joshua Oppenheimer)

This week marks the 50th anniversary of the beginning of a mass slaughter in Indonesia. With American support, more than 500,000 people were murdered by the Indonesian Army and its civilian death squads. At least 750,000 more were tortured and sent to concentration camps, many for decades.

The victims were accused of being "communists," an umbrella that included not only members of the legally registered Communist Party, but all likely opponents of Suharto's new military regime—from union members and women's rights activists to teachers and the ethnic Chinese. Unlike in Germany, Rwanda or Cambodia, there have been no trials, no truth-and-reconciliation commissions, no memorials to the victims. Instead, many perpetrators still hold power throughout the country.

Indonesia is the world's fourth most populous nation, and if it is to become the democracy it claims to be, this impunity must end. The anniversary is a moment for the United States to support Indonesia's democratic transition by acknowledging the 1965 genocide, and encouraging a process of truth, reconciliation and justice.

On Oct. 1, 1965, six army generals in Jakarta were killed by a group of disaffected junior officers. Maj. Gen. Suharto assumed command of the armed forces, blamed the killings on the leftists, and set in motion a killing machine. Millions of people associated with left-leaning organizations were targeted, and the nation dissolved into terror—people even stopped eating fish for fear that fish were eating corpses. Suharto usurped President Sukarno's authority and established himself as *de facto* president by March 1966. From the very beginning, he enjoyed the full support of the United States.

I've spent 12 years investigating the terrible legacy of the genocide, creating two documentary films, "The Act of Killing" in 2013 and "The Look of Silence," released earlier this year. I began in 2003, working with a family of survivors. We wanted to show what it is like to live surrounded by still-powerful perpetrators who had murdered your loved ones.

The family gathered other survivors to tell their stories, but the army warned them not to participate. Many survivors urged me not to give up and suggested that I film perpetrators in hopes that they would reveal details of the massacres.

I did not know if it was safe to approach the killers, but when I did, I found them open. They offered boastful accounts of the killings, often with smiles on their faces and in front of their grandchildren. I felt I had wandered into Germany 40 years after the Holocaust, only to find the Nazis still in power.

Today, former political prisoners from this era still face discrimination and threats. Gatherings of elderly survivors are regularly attacked by military-backed thugs. Schoolchildren are still taught that the "extermination of the communists" was heroic, and

that victims' families should be monitored for disloyalty. This official history, in effect, legitimizes violence against a whole segment of society.

The purpose of such intimidation is to create a climate of fear in which corruption and plunder go unchallenged. Inevitably in such an atmosphere, human rights violations have continued since 1965, including the 1975–1999 occupation of East Timor, where enforced starvation contributed to the killing of nearly a third of the population, as well as torture and extrajudicial killing that go on in West Papua today.

Military rule in Indonesia formally ended in 1998, but the army remains above the law. If a general orders an entire village massacred, he cannot be tried in civilian courts. The only way he could face justice is if the army itself convenes a military tribunal, or if Parliament establishes a special human rights court—something it has never done fairly and effectively. With the military not subject to law, a shadow state of paramilitaries and intelligence agencies has formed around it. This shadow state continues to intimidate the public into silence while, together with its business partners, it loots the national wealth.

Indonesia can hold regular elections, but if the laws do not apply to the most powerful elements in society, then there is no rule of law, and no genuine democracy. The country will never become a true democracy until it takes serious steps to end impunity. An essential start is a process of truth, reconciliation and justice.

This may still be possible. The Indonesian media, which used to shy from discussing the genocide, now refers to the killings as crimes against humanity, and grassroots activism has taken hold. The current president, Joko Widodo, indicated he would address the 1965 massacre, but he has not established a truth commission, issued a national apology, or taken any other steps to end the military's impunity.

We need truth and accountability from the United States as well. U.S. involvement dates at least to an April 1962 meeting between American and British officials resulting in the decision to "liquidate" President Sukarno, the populist—but not communist—founding father of Indonesia. As a founder of the nonaligned movement, Sukarno favored socialist policies; Washington wanted to replace him with someone more deferential to Western strategic and commercial interests.

The United States conducted covert operations to destabilize Sukarno and strengthen the military. Then, when genocide broke out, America provided equipment, weapons and money. The United States compiled lists containing thousands of names of public figures likely to oppose the new military regime, and handed them over to the Indonesian military, presumably with the expectation that they would be killed. Western aid to Suharto's dictatorship, ultimately amounting to tens of billions of dollars, began flowing while corpses still clogged Indonesia's rivers. The American media celebrated Suharto's rise and his campaign of death. Time magazine said it was the "best news for years in Asia."

But the extent of America's role remains hidden behind a wall of secrecy: C.I.A. documents and U.S. defense attach papers remain classified. Numerous Freedom of Information Act requests for these documents have been denied. Senator Tom Udall, Democrat of New Mexico, will soon reintroduce a resolution that, if passed, would acknowledge America's role in the atrocities, call for declassification of all relevant documents, and urge the Indonesian government to acknowledge the massacres and establish a truth commission. If the U.S. government recognizes the genocide publicly, acknowledges its