

counter-drug strategy in Colombia that was never sustainable and has largely failed, as it has failed in Mexico and Central America. As long as the demand for illegal drugs in this country remains high, the only solution in source countries like Colombia is a strategy based on sustainable social and economic development, a professional, accountable police force, and a judiciary that is independent, accessible, and that the people trust.

Colombia has the advantage of being a democracy with exceptionally talented people and extraordinary geographic and biological diversity. But if the underlying causes of conflict and poverty are not addressed, the country's future stability is far from assured. I urge the White House, the State Department, and the Defense Department against pursuing the same old failed strategies. With a new government in Bogota, there is the chance to avoid repeating past mistakes and to measure progress not in the short term by the amount of money spent or the number of hectares of coca destroyed, but by long-term investments in institutions and local communities. The people of rural Colombia need our support, but not in the form of myopic approaches that have consistently failed to get at the root of the injustice, impunity, and inequality they have been struggling with for generations.

The U.S. Congress will do its part to support a strategy designed by the Colombians that is not just more of the same, that is consistent with the peace accord, that has the support of civil society, and, most importantly, that has the support of rural Colombians who have paid the highest price of past policies that have failed them.

#### SOUTH SUDAN

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, I have spoken twice this year about the despair and insecurity that are a daily reality for the people of South Sudan, despite independence 11 years ago that held so much promise and hope for that country.

On January 6 and 31, I noted that the country's independence was a result of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement—CPA—which took years of negotiations facilitated in part by the United States, Norway, and the United Kingdom. It provided a roadmap for political stability, economic development, respect for human rights, and justice. I further noted that since then, two former warlords, President Kiir and First Vice President Machar—who were never elected—have dominated the political landscape. It is they, throughout these formative years, who have had the executive power and the responsibility to turn the aspirations of independence into meaningful improvements in the lives of their people.

Eleven years later, the country is in a state of political paralysis, and its people are coping with a widening hu-

manitarian crisis, brought on by violence instigated by government security forces, severe flooding, skyrocketing fuel costs, and acute food shortages compounded by the war in Ukraine which was a major source of grain imports for South Sudan. Millions of people have been displaced from their homes by the fighting, flooding, and hunger.

I will not take time today to recount the litany of failures of the Kiir-Machar government which I enumerated in January and which have only worsened since then. Rather, I want to call the Senate's attention to a Vatican mission of peace, unity, and reconciliation to South Sudan in early July. The visit by Cardinal Pietro Parolin came at a time when the country's leaders are apparently, though not surprisingly, seeking to evade elections and extend their stay in office illegitimately, even though the peace agreement mandated that elections be held this December.

Kiir and Machar have now proposed extending their unpopular authoritarian rule for 3 years without the consent of the people of South Sudan. The parliamentary faction of President Kiir has passed a political parties bill in which they have changed political parties' registration requirements in order to limit those who could pose a serious challenge to their continued hold on power. The text of the bill that was negotiated and agreed to by the parties was changed by Kiir's parliamentary caucus and rammed through the Parliament despite boycott and serious objections from the other parties. All these actions provide sufficient evidence to suggest that President Kiir and Machar are determined to cling to power by any means necessary.

It is no secret that President Kiir and his Deputy Machar have made the conditions for holding free and fair elections impossible, for all the reasons noted earlier. The country's leaders have done nothing to prepare for elections, preferring instead to retain power by default. By fomenting civil unrest and violence and threatening and arresting their critics, they have transformed the peace agreement into a meaningless document. Rather than peace and prosperity, it has brought dictatorship, corruption, violence, and misery.

As I said on January 31:

The sad reality is that while the South Sudanese people won their independence from Sudan, they remain captives of the same ruthless and corrupt warlords who created so much ethnic conflict, bloodshed, and misery during the civil war and who have not been held accountable.

They simply reinvented themselves as political leaders, with a stamp of legitimacy from the international community, while continuing to act like the warlords they are and always were.

They have shown no interest in implementing the R-ARCSS or any other peace agreement.

They have shown no interest in the welfare of their people.

They have shown no interest in anything except holding onto power, avoiding justice, and enriching themselves.

Real peace requires justice, and it requires respect for fundamental rights regardless of ethnicity, race, or religion. It requires free and fair elections and equitable economic development. Cardinal Pietro Parolin conveyed a clear message to President Kiir and Vice President Machar. Their churches played an indispensable role in the international effort that culminated in the 2005 comprehensive peace agreement, and they, too, have a stake in its success. Above all, President Kiir and Vice President Machar should know that the world is watching.

The ethnic and political violence, displacements, and destruction of villages and food stocks perpetrated against South Sudanese civilians in different parts of the country, including by forces loyal to them, must stop.

The arbitrary arrests, sexual assaults and rape, forced disappearance, and killings of religious, civil society, and political leaders must stop and justice done for the victims.

Those currently detained arbitrarily must be released, including Kuel Aguer Kuel, the former governor of Northern Bahr El-Ghazal, and Pastor Abraham Chol Maketh.

The daily corruption in South Sudan, including illegal loans and growing debt burden that has impoverished the current and future generations, must end, and South Sudan must begin to feed and care for its own people from its existing resources, which are sufficient if used prudently.

President Kiir and Riek Machar are responsible for the chronic hunger, insecurity, economic, and political crises in the country, and they have the power to bring peace and stability to South Sudan, which is a matter of urgent priority.

But the country is certain to disintegrate further if Kiir and Machar continue to hold it hostage to their individual interests at the expense of the lives and livelihoods of the South Sudanese people. They must prepare to step down and allow the country to recover and rebuild from the ruins of their policies.

I commend South Sudanese civil society and pro-democracy movements, such as the People's Coalition for Civic Action—PCCA—for their efforts in creating awareness about the plight of the people of South Sudan and for their nonviolent campaign for freedom and democracy. They have our support.

Finally, I want to again urge the Biden administration to listen to the people of South Sudan. I commend recent steps by the State Department to recognize the fallacy of continuing to support a failed peace agreement that South Sudan's own leaders do not support, and I urge the European Union and Intergovernmental Authority for Development—IGAD—countries to take similar action. There is no point in admonishing two failed leaders to

implement a peace agreement they have no intention of implementing. That is not a policy. It is a dead end.

Instead, the administration should join with other key governments and stakeholders in exploring the possibility of recreating a new political forum for South Sudan to address the challenge of the looming end of the transitional government and the reality of the impracticality of conducting democratic elections in the current environment. Given the failure of the leaders of the current transitional government, it is unacceptable to extend its mandate. It should be brought to an end. I also urge the IGAD governments, particularly President Museveni of Uganda and President Uhuru Kenya of Kenya, and the other regional leaders, to face the fact that the Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of Conflict in South Sudan—R-ARCSS—they helped mediate has been sabotaged by South Sudan's leaders. The time has come to do what is needed to help the South Sudanese people get back on a path to achieve their democratic aspirations and freedoms.

South Sudan needs a new broad-based political dialogue that is inclusive of all political forces and civil society. This political dialogue, which many political parties and organizations have endorsed, should focus on peace and stability in South Sudan beyond the confines of power sharing, taking into account key provisions of the R-ARCSS, combined with the outcomes of the South Sudan national dialogue. Such a broad-based political dialogue should aim at reaffirming a shared vision for South Sudan and building consensus on political and constitutional matters, ending violence, saving lives, uniting the nation, and preparing for elections.

The dialogue process should culminate in the establishment of an interim administration led by persons of consensus, technocrats, and individuals not politically aligned with the warring parties and not entangled in corruption and political violence. Such an administration should have a limited mandate to further political dialogue, rebuild public trust in government, strengthen the unified forces, deliver the constitution, return the IDPs and refugees, conduct a census, and culminate in free and fair elections.

The Biden administration should articulate a new policy that reinvigorates U.S. engagement and supports peace, stability, and democracy in South Sudan. No one should be under any illusion that this can be achieved quickly or easily. But without a competent or credible government to engage with, we must shift our focus to providing strong support to pro-democracy, nonviolent organizations to create the grassroots pressure necessary for a genuine political dialogue to take place and build the foundation for a better future.

#### TRIBUTE TO NORMAN LEAR

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, a remarkable American marked his 100th birthday last month. Marcelle and I were delighted to be able to wish Norman Lear our best on this milestone.

His achievements throughout his impactful life have broken important new ground at just about every turn. We all know Norman's credits in television, such as "All in the Family," "The Jeffersons," and "Maude." They helped shape 20th century American culture.

Norman's influence on America did not start in television. He was an U.S. Army Air Force pilot in World War II, flying more than 50 combat missions over Italy and Germany, and his heroism garnered the Air Medal with four oak leaf clusters.

Norman's patriotism and public service continued throughout his television career. He addressed pressing social issues in ways others were not willing to do, touching hearts, and changing lives. The core of his message was always to bring people together on common ground, an idea which is so desperately needed today in all facets of our culture and media.

He founded People For The American Way, to champion American ideals that often were under fire or diminished by apathy.

Norman Lear has always understood that more things unite us than divide us as Americans, and to quote him, "we are all in this life together."

I was moved by his reflections, published in the New York Times on July 27, 2022, his 100th birthday, and ask unanimous consent to have them printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the New York Times, July 27, 2022]

ON MY 100TH BIRTHDAY, REFLECTIONS ON  
ARCHIE BUNKER AND DONALD TRUMP  
(By Norman Lear)

Well, I made it. I am 100 years old today. I wake up every morning grateful to be alive.

Reaching my own personal centennial is cause for a bit of reflection on my first century—and on what the next century will bring for the people and country I love. To be honest, I'm a bit worried that I may be in better shape than our democracy is.

I was deeply troubled by the attack on Congress on Jan. 6, 2021—by supporters of former President Donald Trump attempting to prevent the peaceful transfer of power. Those concerns have only grown with every revelation about just how far Mr. Trump was willing to go to stay in office after being rejected by voters—and about his ongoing efforts to install loyalists in positions with the power to sway future elections.

I don't take the threat of authoritarianism lightly. As a young man, I dropped out of college when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor and joined the U.S. Army Air Forces. I flew more than 50 missions in a B-17 bomber to defeat fascism consuming Europe. I am a flag-waving believer in truth, justice and the American way, and I don't understand how so many people who call themselves patriots can support efforts to undermine our democracy and our Constitution. It is alarming.

At the same time, I have been moved by the courage of the handful of conservative Republican lawmakers, lawyers and former White House staffers who resisted Mr. Trump's bullying. They give me hope that Americans can find unexpected common ground with friends and family whose politics differ but who are not willing to sacrifice core democratic principles.

Encouraging that kind of conversation was a goal of mine when we began broadcasting "All in the Family" in 1971. The kinds of topics Archie Bunker and his family argued about—issues that were dividing Americans from one another, such as racism, feminism, homosexuality, the Vietnam War and Watergate—were certainly being talked about in homes and families. They just weren't being acknowledged on television.

For all his faults, Archie loved his country and he loved his family, even when they called him out on his ignorance and bigotries. If Archie had been around 50 years later, he probably would have watched Fox News. He probably would have been a Trump voter. But I think that the sight of the American flag being used to attack Capitol Police would have sickened him. I hope that the resolve shown by Representatives Liz Cheney and Adam Kinzinger, and their commitment to exposing the truth, would have won his respect.

It is remarkable to consider that television—the medium for which I am most well-known—did not even exist when I was born, in 1922. The internet came along decades later, and then social media. We have seen that each of these technologies can be put to destructive use—spreading lies, sowing hatred and creating the conditions for authoritarianism to take root. But that is not the whole story. Innovative technologies create new ways for us to express ourselves, and, I hope, will allow humanity to learn more about itself and better understand one another's ideas, failures and achievements. These technologies have also been used to create connection, community and platforms for the kind of ideological sparring that might have drawn Archie to a keyboard. I can only imagine the creative and constructive possibilities that technological innovation might offer us in solving some of our most intractable problems.

I often feel disheartened by the direction that our politics, courts and culture are taking. But I do not lose faith in our country or its future. I remind myself how far we have come. I think of the brilliantly creative people I have had the pleasure to work with in entertainment and politics, and at People for the American Way, a progressive group I co-founded to defend our freedoms and build a country in which all people benefit from the blessings of liberty. Those encounters renew my belief that Americans will find ways to build solidarity on behalf of our values, our country and our fragile planet.

Those closest to me know that I try to stay forward-focused. Two of my favorite words are "over" and "next." It's an attitude that has served me well through a long life of ups and downs, along with a deeply felt appreciation for the absurdity of the human condition.

Reaching this birthday with my health and wits mostly intact is a privilege. Approaching it with loving family, friends and creative collaborators to share my days has filled me with a gratitude I can hardly express.

This is our century, dear reader, yours and mine. Let us encourage one another with visions of a shared future. And let us bring all the grit and openheartedness and creative spirit we can muster to gather together and build that future.