# Operatives in London, Washington, and Cairo seek U.N. action in Sudan

by an EIR Investigative Team

The speaker came right to the point: "Probably in the next two weeks, Sudan will formally be placed on the official list of terrorist nations; when that happens, this opens the door to anything. There are only a few countries on that list. These are the countries we will do anything to destabilize." Whether or not military intervention will take place, he continued, is tied to whether or not the U.S. is able to "really use the New York terrorist incident [the bombing of the World Trade Center] to maximum advantage. If they take the fact that the Sudanese were involved in that New York situation, and they really push that angle . . . on that basis they could carry out some kind of action."

The speaker is John Prendergast, one of the co-chairmen of the U.S.-based Coalition for Peace in the Horn of Africa. He was speaking approximately two weeks before the U.S. State Department's Aug. 18 announcement that indeed Sudan had been placed on this U.S. hit list.

Prendergast officially works for the Jesuit-founded Center for Concern, but he contracts his services also to other non-governmental organizations such as Bread for the World and Africa Watch. He is described by the Council on Foreign Relations as their "main Sudan expert."

Prendergast, and his partner in running the Coalition for Peace in the Horn, Sharon Pauling of Bread for the World, together drafted legislation against the Sudanese government that was introduced in the Senate in April by Sen. Paul Simon (D-III.), with whom they have regular contact. The working relationship is no doubt facilitated by the fact that Paul Simon's older brother, Arthur Simon, founded Bread for the World and was its president for 18 years before his retirement two years ago. But Paul Simon is not just a senator, and the Simon brothers' concern is not just hunger in southern Sudan.

Paul Simon is also closely tied to the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and regularly praises ADL legislation on the Senate floor. Indeed, it is widely known that he is in the U.S. Senate today because the ADL and the American-Israeli Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) launched a very well-funded propaganda and smear campaign used to defeat Sen. Charles Percy, who they claimed was too "pro-Arab."

Prendergast, Pauling, and the Simon brothers are among the primary operatives organized in interlocking institutions with altruistic-sounding names, that are operating from London, Cairo, and the United States, with the immediate goal of bringing down the Sudanese government of Gen. Omar Hassan Ahmed Bashir. For many in this cast, the principal mechanism for accomplishing this goal is the United Nations.

The operation against Sudan has now been placed on a fast track—no doubt connected with the fact that the splintered opposition groupings in the south are losing in their battle against the government in Khartoum. It must be kept in mind that the targeting of Sudan is part of the targeting of the entire Horn of Africa and Africa in general, where the cast of characters involved in the various manipulations differs from country to country, but the funding mechanisms remains largely the same.

Beneath the platitudes about "multiparty democracy" rolling back "the size and influence of overly centralized African governments" to "end the rule of African dictators," there lies a much different agenda: the recolonialization of the region. Establishment policy—as hammered out behind closed doors among participants of such ruling councils as the New York Council on Foreign Relations and its mother institution, the Royal Institute of International Affairs (RIIA) in London—is to weaken governments of African countries so as to destroy any resistance to the looting of raw materials by multinational corporations. Inflaming religious and ethnic conflicts is a means to this end.

One of the script writers is Michael Clough, Senior Fellow for Africa at the Council on Foreign Relations, whose blueprint for steering the Clinton administration, U.S. Policy Toward Africa and the End of the Cold War, was published by the CFR in 1992 (see box). Among Clough's points are that: 1) the nation-state - particularly in Africa - is dead; 2) the United States cannot lead a crusade to save Africa from poverty, political repression, and civil war; 3) what the United States can do is support the U.S. constituencies concerned about issues "that happen to involve Africa" such as relief, human rights, population, women's rights, and the environment, groups that are funded by "the larger foundations, such as the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Carnegie Corp. of New York, and the John T. and Catherine MacArthur Foundation"; 4) The U.S. must channel assistance through non-governmental organizations within the African countries and

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must cease funding strong central governments.

Clough's prescription tends toward the dissolution of nations in favor of their tribal components. In light of Africa's tribalism and the low levels of literacy and education resulting from the denial of technology to the continent, the form of government that has worked best has been precisely the strong central government that Clough rejects.

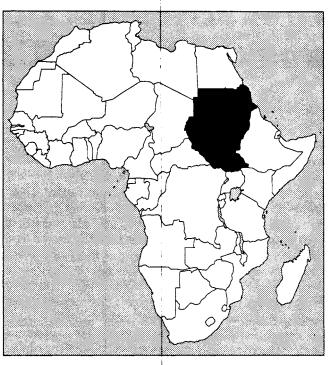
Clough was Africa policy adviser to Bill Clinton's presidential campaign, although he was not brought into the administration. Though leaders of the non-governmental organizations have accepted Clough's thesis, it is still an open question whether the Clinton administration has also done so. A State Department spokesman, in making the announcement on Aug. 18 that Sudan had been placed on the U.S. hit list as a terrorist nation, admitted that the Clinton administration, in this case, was following up a process that had been begun by Bush: "Last December, then-Secretary of State Eagleburger ordered a systematic 180-day review to determine whether Sudan should be designated a state sponsor of acts of international terrorism." He added that the review "is now completed."

## The U.S. Congress-handlers

Sharon Pauling of Bread for the World and John Prendergast of Center for Concern are the undisputed U.S. Congresshandlers, both in shaping the "public opinion" upon which U.S. congressional action is taken, and in assisting in drafting legislation. Pauling laid out the strategy of the Coalition for Peace in the Horn of Africa: "We want to give [Clinton's] administration a chance. We are working hard on Assistant Secretary for African Affairs George Moose, and [National Security Adviser] Tony Lake. And apparently Tony Lake in the National Security Council and Frank Wisner in DOD [Department of Defense] are very concerned about Sudan. I think we really have something to work with here. . . . We need much more action. The U.S. needs to be a player on all of this, but it cannot act all alone. The last thing that we want to see is unilateral action like we saw in Somalia. We want multilateral action. We want the Security Council to act. . . . We are asking for a U.N. envoy. . . . We are asking for human rights monitors in the country to send a signal to everybody, including [rebel leader John] Garang. . . . They need to be in the transition zones like the Nuba Mountains; they need to be all over the south. We are asking for demilitarized areas."

Pauling explains that the coalition that she and Prendergast coordinate "helped to draft the resolution that the Senate is currently considering, that was introduced by Sen. [Paul] Simon. And the one from Rep. [Harry] Johnston, who is the new chairman of the Africa Subcommittee on the House side." The House resolution says that the United States supports the self-determination of the Sudanese people. "That's a major threat" for the Khartoum government, says Pauling.

### Sudan in the African continent



"What it stops short of is — it doesn't call for separation — but 'self-determination' is a vague term that, at the bottom line, means separation of sorts. The first threat was the U.S.-led intervention into Somalia. They said: 'If it can happen there, it can happen to us.' The second threat was that [U.N.] General Assembly in December passed a resolution that was fairly unanimous. I think there were only eight countries that didn't sign on to it—basically condemning human rights violations in the Sudan."

Bread for the World is an adjunct of the massive World Council of Churches-National Council of Churches apparatus, which also links up with the major establishment foundations, such as the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. It was John D. Rockefeller, Jr. who donated the first millions in 1946 to expand the Federal Council into the World Council of Churches. Because churches also provide support to the Council of Churches apparatus, and tend at times to be critical of the kinds of operations that the Council of Churches funds, some of the dirtier operations are funded directly by the Ford Foundation, according to Diane Knipper from the D.C.-based Institute for Religion and Democracy. The Ford Foundation, for instance, funds the Sudan Council of Churches. Although the Ford Foundation was established in 1936 by Henry Ford, by 1961 it was under the policy influence of the Rockefeller-Council on Foreign Relations crowd. There are currently interlocking board members between the Ford Foundation and the World Council and National Council of Churches.

Willis Logan, director of the Africa Office of the National Council of Churches (also called Church World Service) "used to be *very* outspoken on the Sudan issue . . . but now he refers calls to me," notes Pauling. Bread for the World publications include articles authored by other Council of Churches personnel. Pauling said Bread for the World gets no foundation money, and gets "maybe 10% of our income" from churches. The finance office of the National Council of Churches admits that BFW contributions "probably come up on our computer."

# London base for opposition forces

While Bread for the World and friends work on getting the United States to lead the charge against Sudan, London is organizing the opposition to Khartoum. The National Democratic Alliance — the coalition of anti-Bashir Sudanese political parties and trade unions — has offices in Britain, the United States, and Egypt, but London plays the key role. The NDA is also strongly backed by Saudi Arabia, and it is allowed to use Egypt as an important base of operations. It includes not only Sudan's northern political parties, including the Umma party of Sadiq Mahdi and the Democratic Unionist Party, but also the trade union movement in the north, the Legitimate Command of the Sudanese Armed Forces, and western darling Gen. John Garang's Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA) in the south.

Prof. Peter Woodward, one of Britain's "opposition handlers," insists that it is the creation of such opposition alliances that is the tried-and-true method, and complains that "the U.S. media-led military operation" in Somalia didn't

# CFR spokesman plans dissolution of nations

The following points are made in a policy proposal by Michael Clough, who is Senior Fellow for Africa at the New York Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), a board member of Africa Watch, and affiliated with the globalist Stanley Foundation. Clough's book Free at Last: U.S. Policy Toward Africa and the End of the Cold War, was financed by the Rockefeller Foundation and published in 1992 by the Council on Foreign Relations. During the same period, Clough was Africa adviser to the Clinton campaign.

Clough says that it "would be a mistake to pretend the United States can lead a crusade to save Africa from poverty, political repression and civil war"; that it does not have the resources or the "inclination" to do so. The only precedents for such an effort "are the postwar reconstruction of Europe and Japan."

He argues that "the U.S. no longer has any substantial geopolitical interests in Africa," and that the outcome of "the many ongoing struggles for political supremacy in Africa" will not threaten the security or welfare of the United States.

The nation-state is dead, Clough maintains. He adds that "events have usually confounded those who heralded the dawn of a new age in which relations among peoples would supplant relations among nations," but that nevertheless, "there are compelling reasons for believing that a quantum expansion of transnational society is currently under way."

"The most important influence on U.S. policy toward Africa is coming from groups not interested in the continent per se," he writes, but instead are concerned about "issues or causes that happen to involve Africa," such as human rights, women's issues, overpopulation, relief, and the environment. The advantage of these interest groups are: 1) they have a sophisticated network of global relationships linking them with other private groups and international organizations; 2) they have well-organized national offices with effective public information, media and lobbying operations and close working relationships with key members of Congress.

Clough acknowledges the significant role "the larger foundations" currently play in influencing "U.S. relations with the world." He acknowledges that not many organizations concerned with international relations could survive" without the support of "the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the John T. and Catherine MacArthur Foundation." Foundations are playing "a more active foreign policy role by directly assisting private individuals and groups overseas working for economic and political change."

In countries ruled by dictators, which is how Clough classifies Sudan, "all official U.S. assistance must be channeled through independent non-governmental organizations." He also proposes that with respect to Africa as a whole, "No less than 50% of all official U.S. aid to Africa must be channeled through U.S. non-governmental organizations."

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accomplish the task. Things are "a worse mess now than when you arrived," he said. "It [the United States] never had a strategy from the beginning!" Woodward may be right: London has never been short on "strategy" to subvert governments and create new ones of its liking.

The Royal Institute of International Affairs referred a U.S. reporter to Woodward for information about Sudan. A professor at University of Khartoum in the 1970s, Woodward now teaches at the University of Reading, England. The day Woodward was reached, two members of the National Democratic Alliance – Dr. Abdul Wahaba Sinada, chairman of the Sudan Human Rights Organization, and Dr. Khalid al-Kidd, a leader of the Sudan Communist Party—were late for tea. "I don't know where they are; they are not good timekeepers," the professor said. "I've also got the phone number and fax number for the assistant secretary of foreign affairs of the Unionist Party – that's one of the biggest parties; he is one of my former students, as most of these people are." How did all these Sudanese political figures end up being Woodward's students in Reading, 30 miles west of London? Woodward bristled: "I don't go around organizing political parties, if that is what you mean!"

Woodward says that the Sudanese elite were all educated at the University of Khartoum, "where I used to teach, and so I knew or I taught at various times, either there or here in Britain, a lot of the elite." He claims that he uses BBC broadcasts to keep in touch with contacts in Sudan. "They still all keep in touch with me . . . to tell me what is going on. . . . I'm also a regular commentator on BBC World Service. It goes out on the World Service. That's one of the ways I keep in touch with them. I get responses back from them." Woodward said he and friends from the back benches in the House of Commons – Robert Banks (Conservative) and Tony Worthington (Labour) – see themselves as "playing the role of mediators" and "putting new ideas to the Sudanese." Woodward claims, however, that there is not a strong inclination in Britain to intervene militarily or even to push the U.N. into such action.

On Aug. 17, Baroness Caroline Cox, a member of the British House of Lords, floated a trial balloon for a United Nations-led intervention against Sudan. "The international community must urgently discourage Khartoum from continuing its offensive in the South and the Nuba Mountains," she wrote in the International Herald Tribune. "The United Nations will be sending the right signals to the Khartoum government if it moves rapidly to impose an embargo on the shipment of weapons and oil to Sudan and to establish a military air exclusion zone over the South and Nuba Mountains." A London source insisted that "whatever she does, is done on behalf of the government and the establishment."

Archbishop of Canterbury George Carey has also signalled British interest in a more immediate "solution." "The time has come for world attention to be turned from BosniaHercegovina to southern Sudan," the archbishop said in a statement issued from Nairobi earlier this summer. "I will get in touch with the British government and other organizations to see what could be done."

Among this cast of characters attempting to manipulate policy toward the Sudan, there is clear agreement on the desirability of a power play by the United Nations at Anglo-American urging. At the same time that the London-based NDA is forming a new "government in the wings," its members are desperately calling for international assistance to put them in power. The U.N. and the international community must apply to Sudan the same kind of sanctions that they put on Iraq, Sudanese Communist Party leader Dr. Khalid al-Kidd told a U.S. reporter. "Because the [Sudanese] regime is facing very, very severe economic difficulties," he said. "One of the most important things is oil, and they are getting this from Libya, from Iran. So if the oil is stopped, if the country is cut off-Port Sudan, the Red Sea-and if it is made sure that countries like Libya do not give Sudan oil and things like wheat — these things that they desperately need this will hasten the overthrow of this regime. Definitely!" Dr. al-Kidd is calling for "safe havens" in southern Sudan. He also made clear that the NDA has "very strong backing" from Saudi Arabia. "After the stance the Sudanese government took backing Saddam Hussein, we especially started getting strong Saudi support."

Dr. al-Kidd emphasizes that what happens to Sudan is not unimportant for the United States and Britain. "Sudan has the Nile, which makes it vital to Egypt, Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia. And now they are speaking about very, very vast oil wealth in the Sudan, especially in the southern part. Sudan is rich with resources, very rich. It hasn't had a chance for these things to be produced."

Dr. al-Kidd says that the real feat that has been achieved in the various NDA conferences in London, Cairo, and Nairobi in the recent period, is that the Umma party and the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) have finally agreed to a plan for a totally secular government. He explains: "These two parties, the Umma and the DUP, used to be traditional parties advocating Islamic laws in the Sudan themselves. . . . They were hesitant to sign the charter [at a London meeting in 1992] which clearly separates religion from the state. But they signed." Making clear how fragile the stitched-together alliance really is, al-Kidd added that "many people don't think they [the two traditional Islam-based parties] are wholeheartedly for this new, secular constitution," in that the parties bases are "grassroots religious sects." Dr. al-Kidd boasts that the Communist Party was the initiator of the Alliance itself, and that it was his party, in particular, that "is trying to make the NDA adopt the complete separation of politics from religion." The Sudanese Communist Party is widely known to have strong ties to the Israeli intelligence service, the Mossad.

### A little help from the Ford Foundation

One of Dr. al-Kidd's close associates, though higher up the ladder, is Dr. Amin Mekki Medeni, who heads the Sudan Human Rights Organization. Dr. Medeni was educated in London, and was employed first by the United Nations, and later by the World Bank, before returning to Sudan in 1979. He now operates from Cairo. Medeni told a reporter in early August that the Ford Foundation in Cairo "has helped the organization establish itself abroad. They helped members, individual members of the organization. They had Abdullahi A. An-Na'im as a visiting fellow for a year. Until last week he used to work for the Ford Foundation in Cairo, but now he has taken up his position as the director of Africa Watch in Washington. His office is going to be in Washington, D.C., but he will also head the Africa Watch program in New York."

The Ford Foundation annual report for 1992 lists Abdullahi A. An-Na'im as the recipient of \$250,000 for the period of October 1991 to September 1992. Living expenses must be high in Cairo.

There is clearly a very large operation in Cairo, which includes a significant so-called labor union component. The National Democratic Alliance is in fact an expansion and reorganization of the National Alliance for the Salvation of the Country, which was instrumental in bringing down an earlier government in Sudan, that of President Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri in April 1985. In that action, the so-called labor component was key. In an interview published by Business Week on Nov. 4, 1985, then-Executive Director of the U. S.-based African-American Labor Center Patrick O'Farrel discussed how the AALC, which is affiliated with the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), played a role in the events that brought down the Nimeiri government. "It was brought down largely by the unions, especially the doctors, and we had been helping to train them. . . . Now for God's sake, don't say we were training people to overthrow the government. . . . But the unions did go to the streets to bring down the government." Business Week added: "Today, Sudan's prime minister is a former leader of the doctors' union."

The African-American Labor Center is no longer in Sudan. A spokesman for AALC told a reporter that their pointman for Sudan, Gebra Bebra-Miram, now operates out of Cairo instead: "He was our representative in Sudan until we had to evacuate." The AALC works closely with the European-based International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU): "We are now in contact with what is called the Sudan Workers Trade Union Federation that is based in Cairo." He added, however, that the AALC was not just concerned with the labor movement, but "in Cairo we are in contact with the many [Sudanese] opposition groups; we enable them to make some representation on their cases. And we enable them to attend meetings of international organiza-

tions, for example, the ICFTU meetings, where they go and challenge the credibility of the [\$udanese government] unions....I don't know all the groups we support."

The AIFLD network was founded by "dirty tricks" specialists in the early 1960s, who were deployed into the American labor movement by the State Department and the CIA. The countries of Latin America have had extensive dealings with this apparatus, as AIFLD operatives have participated in the corruption, destabilization, and destruction of labor movements and governments across the continent.

#### The NED lends a hand

The African-American Labor Center is at least partially funded by the U.S. government, through National Endowment for Democracy grants. The NED's 1991 annual report, for example, lists a \$132,221 grant to the Free Trade Union Institute (FTUI), "to allow the African-American Labor Center (AALC) to help three regional trade union organizations in Africa to develop approaches to the serious political and economic problems facing workers in their respective regions." Other NED grants to this apparatus the same year were \$220,927 and \$215,970.

It is not only the AALC that gets money from the National Endowment for Democracy. In mid-July it looked like it was curtains for the NED, when the U.S. House of Representatives voted 243-181 to cut off its funds, but this "private CIA" agency was quickly rescued. Since its creation in 1983, the NED has financed hundreds of political projects internationally, including the destabilization of President Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines, and support for the Medellín Cartel of cocaine barons in Colombia. Current president of the NED is Carl Gershman, a member of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

According to a spokesman for the NED, one of the Sudanese dissidents whom the agency funds is Bonna Malwal, editor of the Sudan Democratic Gazette in London, a key member of London's opposition Alliance. Clearly, the NED and others fund him well. Malwal shuttles back and forth between London and Washington quite regularly, with a detour this summer to Aspen, Colorado for an Aspen Institute-sponsored gathering. In testimony to the congressional subcommittee on Africa hearings in early May, Malwal called for U.S. and U.N. intervention in Sudan, insisting that "there can be no solution within Sudan—this is what has been going on for the last 40 years. . . . The U.S. must lead the way."

The NED also funds the Horn of Africa project of a U.S.-based non-governmental organization called the Fund for Peace. Indeed, the one U.S.-based NGO that all the members of the NDA have nothing but good things to say about is the Fund for Peace. This was particularly emphasized by the Sudan Human Rights Organization leader in Cairo, Dr. Medeni, who works with the Fund for Peace in Cairo. Medeni was particularly appreciative that the Fund for Peace had

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organized and covered all expenses of a Cairo-based strategy workshop in November 1992. Fund literature notes that the event "brought Sudanese activists in exile from their various temporary havens together to decide how to coordinate and expand their activities, how to empower what remains of the internal human rights movement, how to assist victims of the current regime, and how to raise the visibility of conditions in Sudan in the international community." Dr. Medeni noted that he had coordinated the event with the Fund for Peace.

The executive director of the Fund for Peace is Nina Solarz, the wife of Steven Solarz, the former chairman of the Subcommittee on Asian Affairs of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Steven Solarz was the Democrat who made the Persian Gulf war bipartisan, with his strong support for George Bush's bombing raids on Baghdad. Jewish weekly newspapers have been floating the possibility that he will be made the new director of the powerful American-Israeli Public Affairs Committee.

Among numerous Fund for Peace board members who are also members of the New York Council on Foreign Relations is Morton Halperin, now with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and soon to be Assistant Secretary of Defense for Democracy and Peacekeeping. Halperin's most recent proposal is that in the new world order, "the U.S. and international community should not only assist, but should 'guarantee' the results" of elections, as "constitutional democracy is the only legitimate form of government." These measures should then be institutionalized in organizations such as the United Nations and the Organization of American States.

Dr. Medeni insists that there is no connection between the Ford Foundation and Fund for Peace. However, for two years running, the *Foundation Index* reveals that the Ford Foundation made contributions to the Fund for Peace of \$200,000 in December 1987, and \$200,000 in June 1988, with a supplementary \$100,000 in November 1988. Never mind the hundreds of thousands of dollars from other foundations, such as the Carnegie Foundation and the Rockefeller foundations. The Fund for Peace also recently received a "special grant from the John Merck Fund [for] African human rights publications."

### The question of John Garang

Applying the same manipulative method that earned for Venice the name of the "Hinge of Europe," the Anglo-American establishment is keeping its options open by using the various Sudanese assets being supported by the West to keep several tracks going at the same time. The question now arises: Is SPLA leader John Garang now being hung out to dry?

Sharon Pauling insists that at the time of the Gulf war — once the Sudanese government backed Saddam Hussein — the U.S. welcomed Garang with open arms. At about that

point, "a number of us were trying to figure out if the United States was actually arming the SPLA. You just wondered—all this back and forth—you never really know with the CIA and State Department, what's really going on. I think there is a possibility [that the U.S. is arming Garang]—we are so strongly opposed to this regime right now!"

Garang holds press conferences at the New York law firm of Chadbourne, Parke, Whiteside and Wolfe, though a spokesman won't say exactly what the relationship is. This law firm handles some of the dirtiest companies around, such as United Brands Co., which has been part of American organized crime since the turn of the century, and the Gulbenkian Foundation, based in Lisbon, a pass-through for CIA money into African countries. On his June trip to the United States, Garang was hosted by the Ford Foundation as well as major think tanks. Garang has the kind of U.S. connections that would be able to help him hold out against the Khartoum government much better than he is now doing. But some of the groups that have split from Garang are being wooed by some sections of the "human rights" mafia.

The various spokesmen for the opposition NDA insist that Garang is solidly with them. And yet, certain establishment opinion has apparently turned against him. Stoney Cook from the African-American Institute — the organization set up by the CIA 40 years ago, where U.S. Africa policy is actually made — told a reporter: "There are people who feel that Garang is not interested in secession any longer, that he wants the whole pie. There are a lot of people who feel this is so; that total liberation is his objective at this point. . . . I'm not sure there is support for his taking over the whole country." Asked if breaking up the country was the only choice, Cook answered that history had proven that to be so.

Another signal that Garang's days may be numbered is that John Prendergast, of the Coalition for Peace in the Horn of Africa, is now going on loan to Africa Watch to write an exposé of human rights violations in *southern* Sudan, which will include the violations committed by Garang's SPLA. Explained Prendergast: "We're doing a major look at the human rights violations by all sides in southern Sudan. It's a horrible quagmire: We're looking at the SPLA main faction, the splinter faction—it's exhaustive."

Prendergast's "exhaustive" report will no doubt feed into the motion for U.N. intervention. It will make the case that southern Sudan has become another Somalia. The net effect of such intervention would by necessity keep open the option of breaking the country in two.

"I don't think there is much chance of getting rid [of the government in Khartoum] anytime soon, without starting a major war in the Middle East," notes Prendergast. "I don't think the U.S. is prepared to follow through with getting involved and tangling with Iran right now. They are not going anywhere soon, unless something major happens, in terms of outside intervention."