

For Six Month Period Ending 12/31/2009  
(Insert date)

**I - REGISTRANT**

1. (a) Name of Registrant  
TS Navigations LLC

(b) Registration No.  
5943

(c) Business Address(es) of Registrant  
5205 Cathedral Ave, NW  
Washington DC 20016

2. Has there been a change in the information previously furnished in connection with the following:

(a) If an individual:

(1) Residence address(es)	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
(2) Citizenship	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
(3) Occupation	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

(b) If an organization:

(1) Name	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
(2) Ownership or control	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
(3) Branch offices	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

(c) Explain fully all changes, if any, indicated in items (a) and (b) above.

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**IF THE REGISTRANT IS AN INDIVIDUAL, OMIT RESPONSE TO ITEMS 3, 4 AND 5(a).**

3. If you have previously filed Exhibit C<sup>1</sup>, state whether any changes therein have occurred during this 6 month reporting period.

Yes  No

If yes, have you filed an amendment to the Exhibit C? Yes  No

If no, please attach the required amendment.

<sup>1</sup> The Exhibit C, for which no printed form is provided, consists of a true copy of the charter, articles of incorporation, association, and by laws of a registrant that is an organization. (A waiver of the requirement to file an Exhibit C may be obtained for good cause upon written application to the Assistant Attorney General, National Security Division, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, DC 20530.)

4. (a) Have any persons ceased acting as partners, officers, directors or similar officials of the registrant during this 6 month reporting period? Yes  No

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name Position Date connection ended

(b) Have any persons become partners, officers, directors or similar officials during this 6 month reporting period?

Yes  No

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name Residence address Citizenship Position Date assumed

5. (a) Has any person named in item 4(b) rendered services directly in furtherance of the interests of any foreign principal?

Yes  No

*N.A.*

If yes, identify each such person and describe his service.

(b) Have any employees or individuals, who have filed a short form registration statement, terminated their employment or connection with the registrant during this 6 month reporting period? Yes  No

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name Position or connection Date terminated

(c) During this 6 month reporting period, has the registrant hired as employees or in any other capacity, any persons who rendered or will render services to the registrant directly in furtherance of the interests of any foreign principal(s) in other than a clerical or secretarial, or in a related or similar capacity? Yes  No

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name Residence address Citizenship Position Date assumed

6. Have short form registration statements been filed by all of the persons named in Items 5(a) and 5(c) of the supplemental statement?

Yes  No

*N.A.*

If no, list names of persons who have not filed the required statement.

**II - FOREIGN PRINCIPAL**

7. Has your connection with any foreign principal ended during this 6 month reporting period?

Yes  No

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name of foreign principal

Date of termination

8. Have you acquired any new foreign principal<sup>2</sup> during this 6 month reporting period?

Yes  No

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name and address of foreign principal

Date acquired

9. In addition to those named in Items 7 and 8, if any, list foreign principals<sup>2</sup> whom you continued to represent during the 6 month reporting period.

Kurdistan Regional Government

10. **EXHIBITS A AND B**

(a) Have you filed for each of the newly acquired foreign principals in Item 8 the following: *N.A.*

Exhibit A<sup>3</sup> Yes  No   
Exhibit B<sup>4</sup> Yes  No

If no, please attach the required exhibit.

(b) Have there been any changes in the Exhibits A and B previously filed for any foreign principal whom you represented during the 6 month period? Yes  No

If yes, have you filed an amendment to these exhibits? Yes  No

If no, please attach the required amendment.

<sup>2</sup> The term "foreign principal" includes, in addition to those defined in Section 1(b) of the Act, an individual organization any of whose activities are directly or indirectly supervised, directed, controlled, financed, or subsidized in whole or in major part by a foreign government, foreign political party, foreign organization or foreign individual. (See Rule 100(a)(9).) A registrant who represents more than one foreign principal is required to list in the statements he files under the Act only those principals for whom he is not entitled to claim exemption under Section 3 of the Act. (See Rule 208.)

<sup>3</sup> The Exhibit A, which is filed on Form NSD-3 (Formerly CRM-157), sets forth the information required to be disclosed concerning each foreign principal.

<sup>4</sup> The Exhibit B, which is filed on Form NSD-4 (Formerly CRM-155), sets forth the information concerning the agreement or understanding between the registrant and the foreign principal.

**III - ACTIVITIES**

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11. During this 6 month reporting period, have you engaged in any activities for or rendered any services to any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, and 9 of this statement?                      Yes                       No

If yes, identify each such foreign principal and describe in full detail your activities and services:

Speech writing, media relations, research, analysis, memo writing, media training, press interview creation, content creation for written materials and web sites - *KURDISTAN REGIONAL GOVERNMENT*

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12. During this 6 month reporting period, have you on behalf of any foreign principal engaged in political activity<sup>5</sup> as defined below?                      Yes                       No

If yes, identify each such foreign principal and describe in full detail all such political activity, indicating, among other things, the relations, interests and policies sought to be influenced and the means employed to achieve this purpose. If the registrant arranged, sponsored or delivered speeches, lectures or radio and TV broadcasts, give details as to dates and places of delivery, names of speakers and subject matter.

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13. In addition to the above described activities, if any, have you engaged in activity on your own behalf which benefits any or all of your foreign principals?                      Yes                       No

If yes, describe fully.

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<sup>5</sup> The term "political activities" means any activity that the person engaging in believes will, or that the person intends to, in any way influence any agency or official of the Government of the United States or any section of the public within the United States with reference to formulating, adopting or changing the domestic or foreign policies of the United States or with reference to the political or public interests, policies, or relations of a government of a foreign country or a foreign political party.

**IV - FINANCIAL INFORMATION**

**14. (a) RECEIPTS -MONIES**

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received from any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement, or from any other source, for or in the interests of any such foreign principal, any contributions, income or money either as compensation or otherwise? Yes  No

If no, explain why.

If yes, set forth below in the required detail and separately for each foreign principal an account of such monies<sup>6</sup>.

Date	From whom	Purpose	Amount
12-20-09	KRG	As defined in Question #11	\$8,000.00
11-20-09	KRG	"	\$8,000.00
10-20-09	KRG	"	\$8,000.00
9-20-09	KRG	"	\$8,000.00
8-20-09	KRG	"	\$8,000.00
7-20-09	KRG	"	\$8,000.00

\$48,000.00

Total

**(b) RECEIPTS – FUND RAISING CAMPAIGN**

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received, as part of a fund raising campaign<sup>7</sup>, any money on behalf of any foreign principal named in items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement? Yes  No

If yes, have you filed an Exhibit D<sup>8</sup> to your registration? Yes  No

If yes, indicate the date the Exhibit D was filed. Date \_\_\_\_\_

**(c) RECEIPTS – THINGS OF VALUE**

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received any thing of value<sup>9</sup> other than money from any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement, or from any other source, for or in the interests of any such foreign principal?

Yes  No

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name of foreign principal	Date received	Description of thing of value	Purpose
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<sup>6, 7</sup> A registrant is required to file an Exhibit D if he collects or receives contributions, loans, money, or other things of value for a foreign principal, as part of a fund raising campaign. (See Rule 201(e).)

<sup>8</sup> An Exhibit D, for which no printed form is provided, sets forth an account of money collected or received as a result of a fund raising campaign and transmitted for a foreign principal.

<sup>9</sup> Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks," and the like.

15. (a) **DISBURSEMENTS – MONIES**

During this 6 month reporting period, have you

(1) disbursed or expended monies in connection with activity on behalf of any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement? Yes  No

(2) transmitted monies to any such foreign principal? Yes  No

If no, explain in full detail why there were no disbursements made on behalf of any foreign principal.

Not my duty nor job to handle money for client

If yes, set forth below in the required detail and separately for each foreign principal an account of such monies, including monies transmitted, if any, to each foreign principal.

Date	To whom	Purpose	Amount
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Total

**(b) DISBURSEMENTS – THINGS OF VALUE**

During this 6 month reporting period, have you disposed of anything of value<sup>10</sup> other than money in furtherance of or in connection with activities on behalf of any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement?

Yes  No

If yes, furnish the following information:

Date disposed	Name of person to whom given	On behalf of what foreign principal	Description of thing of value	Purpose
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**(c) DISBURSEMENTS – POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS**

During this 6 month reporting period, have you from your own funds and on your own behalf either directly or through any other person, made any contributions of money or other things of value<sup>11</sup> in connection with an election to any political office, or in connection with any primary election, convention, or caucus held to select candidates for political office?

Yes  No

If yes, furnish the following information:

Date	Amount or thing of value	Name of political organization	Name of candidate
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<sup>10, 11</sup> Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks" and the like.

V - INFORMATIONAL MATERIALS

16. During this 6 month reporting period, did you prepare, disseminate or cause to be disseminated any informational materials <sup>12</sup>?  
Yes  No

IF YES, RESPOND TO THE REMAINING ITEMS IN SECTION V.

17. Identify each such foreign principal.  
Kurdistan Regional Government

18. During this 6 month reporting period, has any foreign principal established a budget or allocated a specified sum of money to finance your activities in preparing or disseminating informational materials? Yes  No

If yes, identify each such foreign principal, specify amount, and indicate for what period of time.

19. During this 6 month reporting period, did your activities in preparing, disseminating or causing the dissemination of informational materials include the use of any of the following:

- Radio or TV broadcasts
- Magazine or newspaper articles
- Motion picture films
- Letters or telegrams
- Advertising campaigns
- Press releases
- Pamphlets or other publications
- Lectures or speeches
- Internet
- Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

20. During this 6 month reporting period, did you disseminate or cause to be disseminated informational materials among any of the following groups:

- Public officials
- Newspapers
- Libraries
- Legislators
- Editors
- Educational institutions
- Government agencies
- Civic groups or associations
- Nationality groups
- Other (specify) THINK TANKS

21. What language was used in the informational materials:

- English
- Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

22. Did you file with the Registration Unit, U.S. Department of Justice a copy of each item of such informational materials disseminated or caused to be disseminated during this 6 month reporting period? Yes  No

23. Did you label each item of such informational materials with the statement required by Section 4(b) of the Act? Yes  No

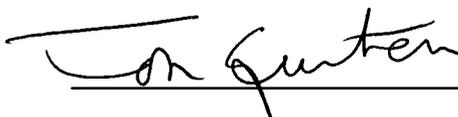
<sup>12</sup> The term informational materials includes any oral, visual, graphic, written, or pictorial information or matter of any kind, including that published by means of advertising, books, periodicals, newspapers, lectures, broadcasts, motion pictures, or any means or instrumentality of interstate or foreign commerce or otherwise. Informational materials disseminated by an agent of a foreign principal as part of an activity in itself exempt from registration, or an activity which by itself would not require registration, need not be filed pursuant to Section 4(b) of the Act.

**VI – EXECUTION**

In accordance with 28 U.S.C. §1746, the undersigned swear(s) or affirm(s) under penalty of perjury that he/she has (they have) read the information set forth in this registration statement and the attached exhibits and that he/she is (they are) familiar with the contents thereof and that such contents are in their entirety true and accurate to the best of his/her (their) knowledge and belief, except that the undersigned make(s) no representation as to the truth or accuracy of the information contained in the attached Short Form Registration Statement(s), if any, insofar as such information is not within his/her (their) personal knowledge.

(Date of signature )

(Type or print name under each signature<sup>13</sup>)



1/10/2010

Tom Squitieri

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<sup>13</sup> This statement shall be signed by the individual agent, if the registrant is an individual, or by a majority of those partners, officers, directors or persons performing similar functions, if the registrant is an organization, except that the organization can, by power of attorney, authorize one or more individuals to execute this statement on its behalf.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FARA REGISTRATION UNIT  
NATIONAL SECURITY DIVISION  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20530

**NOTICE**

Please answer the following questions and return this sheet in triplicate with your Supplemental Statement:

1. Is your answer to Item 16 of Section V (Informational Materials – page 8 of Form CRM-154, formerly Form OBD-64-Supplemental Statement):

YES \_\_\_\_\_  \_\_\_\_\_ or NO \_\_\_\_\_

(If your answer to question 1 is “yes” do not answer question 2 of this form.)

2. Do you disseminate any material in connection with your registration:

YES \_\_\_\_\_ or NO \_\_\_\_\_

(If your answer to question 2 is “yes” please forward for our review copies of all material including: films, film catalogs, posters, brochures, press releases, etc. which you have disseminated during the past six months.)

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\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

1/10/2010  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

Tom Sgoutieri  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Please type or print name of  
Signatory on the line above

Principal  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Title



**U.S. Department of Justice**

**National Security Division**

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*Washington, DC 20530*

THIS FORM IS TO BE AN OFFICIAL ATTACHMENT TO YOUR CURRENT SUPPLEMENTAL  
STATEMENT - PLEASE EXECUTE IN TRIPLICATE

SHORT-FORM REGISTRATION INFORMATION SHEET

SECTION A

The Department records list active short-form registration statements for the following persons of your organization filed on the date indicated by each name. If a person is not still functioning in the same capacity directly on behalf of the foreign principal, please show the date of termination.

**Short Form List for Registrant: TS Navigations, LLC**

<u>Last Name</u>	<u>First Name and Other Names</u>	<u>Registration Date</u>	<u>Termination Date</u>	<u>Role</u>
Squitieri	Tom	09/21/2009		

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U.S. Department of Justice

National Security Division

Washington, D.C. 20530

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SECTION B

In addition to those persons listed in Section A, list below all current employees rendering services directly on behalf of the foreign principals(s) who have not filed short-form registration statements. (Do not list clerks, secretaries, typists or employees in a similar or related capacity). If there is some question as to whether an employee has an obligation to file a short-form, please address a letter to the Registration Unit describing the activities and connection with the foreign principal.

Name	Function	Date Hired
		NA

Signature: [Handwritten Signature]

Date: 1/10/2010

Title: Principal

# 5943

Brookings Institute, December 8, 2009

Washington, D.C.

**The Future of Iraq: The Kurdish Perspective**

Good morning. It is a pleasure to be back at Brookings. We share many things, including the belief that intelligent discussion and wise examination of facts and reality can make our most hopeful theories come true.

When I think about the question raised by this topic - *The Future of Iraq: The Kurdish Perspective* - my emotions demand that I remember the admonition of a wise examination of fact. I see things from the Kurdish perspective and I see things from the Iraqi perspective - even see things from the American perspective and - increasingly and startling - sometimes from the Turkish perspective.

Ideally, all those interests align. That is one of my personal wishes and that is also the desire of the Kurdistan Regional Government and, I would suspect, the vast majority of our fellow Iraqis, the Americans, the Turk and all our other friends.

But it is hard to say that is what today's reality == today's facts - prove. So in our time today I wish to share how we in the Kurdistan Region see the future of Iraq - both as we wish and as we see it moving.

On the positive, 2009 has been a year of significant progress in many areas. While that makes up hopeful for the future, it does not yet ensure all will turn out well.

Some are the positive changes are the result of old fashioned hard work and determination, to get to the next goal. Some are the result of help from old friends like the United States and surprisingly newer friends, like Turkey. I must be honest - I would have never predicted that by my next visit here would be after Turkey announced it would be opening a diplomatic consular office in Erbil, the capital of the Kurdistan region. Two years ago, Turkey would not even acknowledge our existence as a constitutionally recognized autonomous region of Iraq! Their officials would not talk to our officials, despite close economic ties that existed and a vivid need for political dialogue to solve important problems.

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Today, not only do we talk, we had the amazing – and wonderful – spectacle of seeing Kurdish children on the streets of Erbil waving Iraqi Kurdish flags AND Turkish flag as the Turkish foreign minister went by.

That was a remarkable day of progress for us.

Another notable day of progress was in July, when there was a historic set of elections for the President and the Parliament of Iraq's Kurdistan Region. These elections were truly a milestone in Kurdistan's journey to democracy as there was both a lively and free campaign period, along with a relatively smooth and trouble free Election Day.

It showed the rest of Iraq and the world what we all knew: that we know how to take the strong steps to make our country better – that we know how to stand up for democracy and move further down that path.

Almost 80 percent of the Region's 2.5 million eligible voters took part in the elections, which the Independent High Electoral Commission of Iraq and international observers trumpeted as fair and transparent.

These elections are a significant landmark in our Region's history. Several entirely different slates of candidates divided the vote in meaningful way in accordance with the wishes expressed by the citizens of Iraqi Kurdistan. The parties in power lost some support, while continuing to be the largest bloc in the new government, while a healthy opposition gained strength. That means our new government, which took office last month/earlier this month, has both the experience and continuity of progress along with expanded ideas, robust debate and new energy.

Add to those impressive numbers the fact that at least 30 percent of the new Parliament is female. That percentage is greater than in any national or regional government in the Middle East, North America and most of Europe. Moreover, the Parliament has representation from every religious and ethnic constituency within the region.

Thus, the real winner in these elections was the Kurdistan Region itself and not anyone party or slate.

We were challenged by some to hold the gold standard in elections. We accepted that challenge – and we stood up and delivered. That showed the world and our brothers and sisters in Iraq that democracy is strong in our nation.

All of those who observed, monitored or worked the elections praised the way it was run, the enthusiasm and excitement of the voters, and the transparency of the process. “The electoral process took place in accordance with international standards,” the Independent High Electoral Commission of Iraq said in a statement. Among those offering praise were the U.S embassy in Baghdad, the presidency of the European Union, the United Nations Assistance Mission in Iraq (UNAMI) and bipartisan members of the Kurdish American Congressional Caucus, which said that the July 25 election “is just the latest example” of the Kurdistan Region “moving forward in fulfilling its democratic aspirations.”

Fulfilling our democratic aspirations is the key to us. I am quite proud of how democracy is finding a welcome in the Kurdistan Region. None of us had any experience in building a democracy before the opportunity presented itself. But from the moment the political dynamic changed in Iraq in 1992, and then again in 2003, we have been taking steps to ensure that our opportunity is not wasted.

The July 25 elections were about the maturing of our society, the emphasis on the nuts-and-bolts domestic issues that affect people every day of their lives. One of the great Speakers of the U.S. House of Representatives, Tip O’Neill, made famous the phrase “All politics is local” and that mantra was evident in Kurdistan on July 25. On key national issues there was not much difference between the slates. Instead it was perspectives on government performance, roads, education, concerns regarding corruption, economic development, water and electricity that shaped the debates and decisions that led up to the July 25 vote. It was a clear marker in the shift from where Kurdish leaders were once hailed for their revolutionary skills to now, where they are chosen on their visions of governance and ability to make each person’s life better each day.

As I stated earlier, now there will be an even more vibrant opposition within the Kurdistan parliament. We all expect vigorous debate and there certainly will be new dynamics WITHIN the Kurdistan Regional Government and throughout Iraqi Kurdistan. While President Barzani was reelected by an impressive 69% in the other vote cast on July 25, we will have a new cabinet along with many new members in parliament.

The new dynamic naturally raises questions about what comes next – both within the Kurdistan Region and its relations with the federal government in Baghdad. While it was evident that these elections were primarily about Kurdistan, and not Baghdad the strong voter turnout shows that

all citizens of Iraqi Kurdistan rightfully demand a voice in their affairs and their future – both within the KRG and by extension the federal government.

The Kurdistan Region showed the rest of Iraq and the world what we all knew: that we know how to take strong steps to make our country better—that we know how to stand up for democracy. We are capable to lead Iraq to a new era, as we have proven. We overcame our internal conflicts to establish a Regional government that united the warring political parties. We have worked hard to secure our area from the scourge of terrorism and extremism. We are proud today that not one American has been killed, injured in combat or kidnapped in the Kurdistan Region.

How the U.S. leaves – and remains – in Iraq – is crucial to the stability of the nation and the region. There remain tough internal issues that we Iraqi must work out – revenue sharing, a hydrocarbons law, the future of the dispute territories. Solving these issues is a great priority to our friends in the United States. We realize this and look to whatever guidance and support they can give us. But solving these issues is even a greater priority to us.

While Iraqis of all walks of life have stood up to overcome the gravest of challenges, including terrorism, sectarian violence, political stalemates and regional interference, we remain well aware that in order for the U.S. to stand down, and Iraqis to stand up, in a sustainable and viable federal democracy, continued U.S. engagement, and more importantly, continued U.S. interest in Iraq is paramount.

When we talk about the future of Iraq, here are some points that we feel need to be recognized and appreciated:

- We seek a long term, positive and growing relationship with the United States. We represent what many have declared is impossible – a moderate region which practice Islam but believes in the hope and history of democracy. A coalition of moderate Islam nations and moderate Islam populations, of which the KRI and Iraq is a part, would be a major step forward to a more peaceful world. US strategic interests are best served by close, true working relationships with a coalition of moderate nations.
- The Kurdish people, as well as the KRG, want to continue to build the democracy that we started in 1991 and then accelerated after 2003. We see Iraqi Kurdistan as the gateway for both DEMOCRATIC development and ECONOMIC development for all of Iraq. As citizens of Iraq, we are grateful to have this opportunity to help the nation move forward.
- As many of you know, Kurds have been oppressed for most of the last century and most likely before that. So we are wary of too much power concentrated in the hands of a

central government. We see the Iraqi constitution, which mandates federalism and a devolution of power to the regions and local governments, as the best way to ensure that ALL Iraqis feel safe as well as empowered. And importantly, the constitution is the law of the land – we follow it and expect others to do so as well.

- We have a democracy. It is a new democracy. It is an imperfect democracy – but indeed, it is a true foundation for a strong, vibrant democracy. We have a new press freedom law, which no one else has. When we had our regional elections in July, more than 30 percent of those elected were women – far, far better than anywhere else. EVERY religion and sect that lives in Iraqi Kurdistan is represented and voting in our parliament. All independent observers declared our election free and without incidents – a gold standard, according to some U.S. politicians. We agree. We are not a perfect democracy, but we are on the right path.
- Kurdish political demands are limited, but are fair, deserved and reasonable. The intricate web of relationships between Kurds and regional states means that the future of the Middle East is closely tied to Kurdish futures. Regional and Western policy-makers need to appreciate the role of the Kurds in Iraq, our sacrifices and our contributions. All we ask is to be treated fairly and to work WITH us.
- Article 140 needs to be understood clearly.
- Kurdistan's commitment to being part of Iraq is unshakable and is not hedged.
- It is not accurate (nor fair) to deny the progress being made in Iraqi Kurdistan on a plethora of key benchmark issues – free elections, rights for women and minorities, transparency, security and the war against terrorism, press freedom and democratic principles.

It is time for those of us throughout Iraqi to stand up and lead. The federal parliament was able to reach a consensus of a new election law, so that national elections can take place in January 2010 as required. That showed leadership and an understanding of how to reach agreement in a democratic system of compromise and unity. We stood up that day; we need to do more of that.

As I look at the journey of democracy that is underway in the Kurdistan Region, something the Greek poet Homer once said keeps returning to my mind – “It is not the journey but the destination.” In 17 years since the first elected Regional Government of Kurdistan, those of us who believe in democracy have mapped out our journey and know the destination to which we head. The path has been bumpy – at times very bumpy – and sometimes the route has been obscured. On occasion, the journey has faced roadblocks, some that we have placed for ourselves. But each day, each week, each month, the journey moves forward toward that destination of democracy.

That, to me, is the key.

Knowing where we want to go – where we insist we MUST go – and persevering and pursuing that destination.

The July election is just the latest ingredient of this fervent desire for democracy, peace and opportunity in Iraqi Kurdistan. Decades of oppression and persecution, years of calculated destruction of our homes and genocide of our people, a civil war – all have steeled us with resolve to ensure a better life for our children, our grandchildren and our homeland.

This journey to a democracy is not in a vacuum – it is shaped by the tragedies of the past, the opportunity of the present, and the aspirations of the future.

That is why the world saw so much excitement and passion in the weeks leading up to the July election and in the turnout for the vote. The people of Iraqi Kurdistan are committed to their vision of the future. We have only had 17 years in order to build the foundations for a democratic society. We all know we have much to do. There are many changes to come; just as we have made important progress already, so we will continue to make progress in the future.

We also want to see what we have started blossom throughout Iraq.

Delivery of services, transparency of government and concerns over possible corruption were much talked about issues in the campaigns and rallies and the votes cast at the ballot boxes sent us a clear message – it cannot be business as usual in our approach to tackling these important concerns.

July also was the month when the KRG took another major step to ensuring it can be even more transparent and efficient in its governing. We made a good governance initiative a priority. To that end, we teamed up with world-renowned consultants PriceWaterhouseCoopers to review current conditions, the way our government works and all governance related issues – to help us develop a clear-eyed, blunt critique and action plan to address the crucial issues of good governance, anti corruption and transparency.

We know corruption and its allies are dangerous enemies of democracy, because they eat at much of what we in the KRG and those living in Iraqi Kurdistan desire. They make the public cautious about believing in democracy. Corruption and its allies can be an acid that disintegrate democratic progress – and we will not let that happen.

Good governance is a major pillar to securing our democracy. We are confident the strategy outlined by our government, will help us tackle this vital issue.

We've made our region safe and secure. We've overcome our internal conflicts. We've established a system to provide improved services for our citizens. Now we're moving to guarantee that all of this progress is maintained and built upon. The benefits of this strategy are clear and vital for our future. It will help to ensure that public funds are used properly, and make government more efficient and more effective. It will improve the delivery of services to the people of the Kurdistan Region. And it will help improve international and domestic confidence and increase investment and job development, while helping to raise the living standards of our Region.

We understand that democracy is an evolutionary process, both in Iraq and elsewhere.

A young America saw political turmoil through trial and error. Only after a few years of uncertainty and eventual stability, and a decreased threat from outside, did its leaders produce the Constitution of the United States – a document whose noble ideals have been embraced for centuries by freedom seeking people around the world.

Democracy takes time, and the U.S. is more than aware of this fact. That is why we began to act long before the outside world wagged their fingers at us.

For example, large-scale power generation and water delivery progress cannot be bought off the shelf. We have been working for several years to implement effective power and water distribution projects for the key cities. In 2008 the KRG had to deal with TWO failing hydroelectric dams, with the result that government generated electricity fell to only three hours a day in the region.

Of course we found that unacceptable.

Today, our energy projects are nearing completion. We now will have more than 18 hours of power in major cities in the region.

We know there are 24 hours in a day. But we also know that 18 hours is far better than 3 hours. It is a journey.

Likewise, recent completion of a large scale water project in Suleimani complemented a similar project completed in 2008 in Erbil. Those projects will combine with existing systems to provide clean water to much of the Erbil, Dohuk and Suleimani provinces. So that is also getting better.

These are significant accomplishments that have been accomplished by the KRG, and Kurdistan's developing private sector, as the fundamental critical issues that need to be addressed so that those living in Iraqi Kurdistan have the basic needs to start each day with hope and freedom from want.

Providing such essential services is only part of good governance. While that is going on, we have also taken determined steps to strengthen the judiciary and the rule of law -- another vital element needed to build a strong democracy.

In 2008 the judiciary was separated from the rest of the government to create an independent judiciary in Iraqi Kurdistan. That judiciary now is learning how to stand on its own feet, be objective and to uphold the rule of law.

We did this our own. We knew it was the right thing to do. We took these initiatives because this is part of what democracy entails.

This is how we stand up and lead.

These are not the only priorities being pursued. A new press freedom law was passed; religious freedom was strengthened, health care, infrastructure, education reforms are being addressed -- and many more.

Now I must say clearly and bluntly that I am not making excuses about the challenges we face in Iraqi Kurdistan. I am not justifying or rationalizing our less than perfect system, nor am I pretending that problems do not exist. I know we have, on occasion, stumbled, made mistakes and misread circumstances.

Democracy is hard work, but the destination is worth it. Difficult issues remain and the journey faces tough terrain. However, we are still moving forward. This is not a sprint and it should not be. This is the foundation of our future, for our children and grandchildren, for Kurdistan, and Iraq.

Earlier in these remarks, I quoted Homer's view of the journey and the destination. Homer has relevance not for just the statement. It was the Greeks who first developed the principles of democracy that the world has then built upon. Developed by the Greeks and idealized by Americans, democracy in all of its forms remains the most promising form of government ever developed. We in Iraqi Kurdistan are on that journey to that destination of democracy.

Thank you very much. I look forward to your comments and questions.

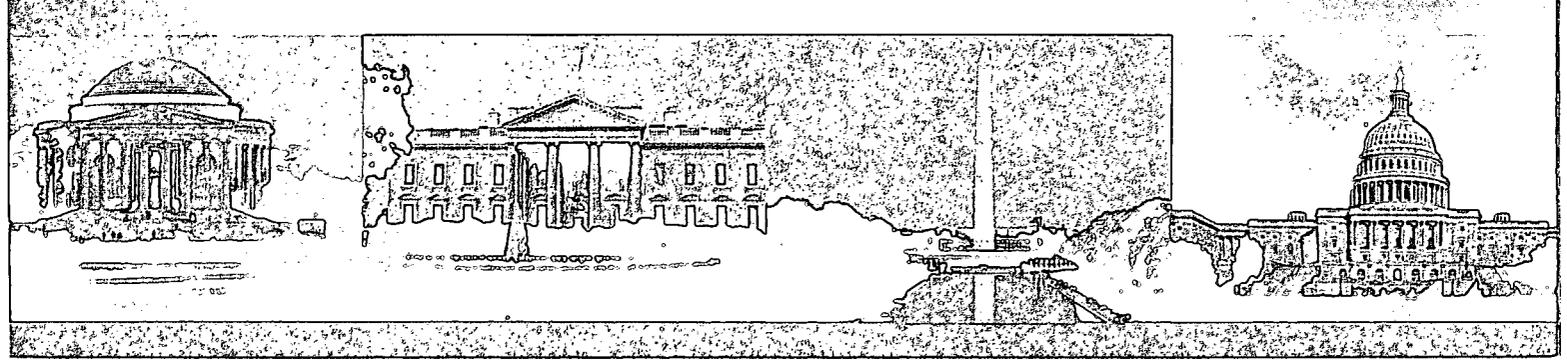
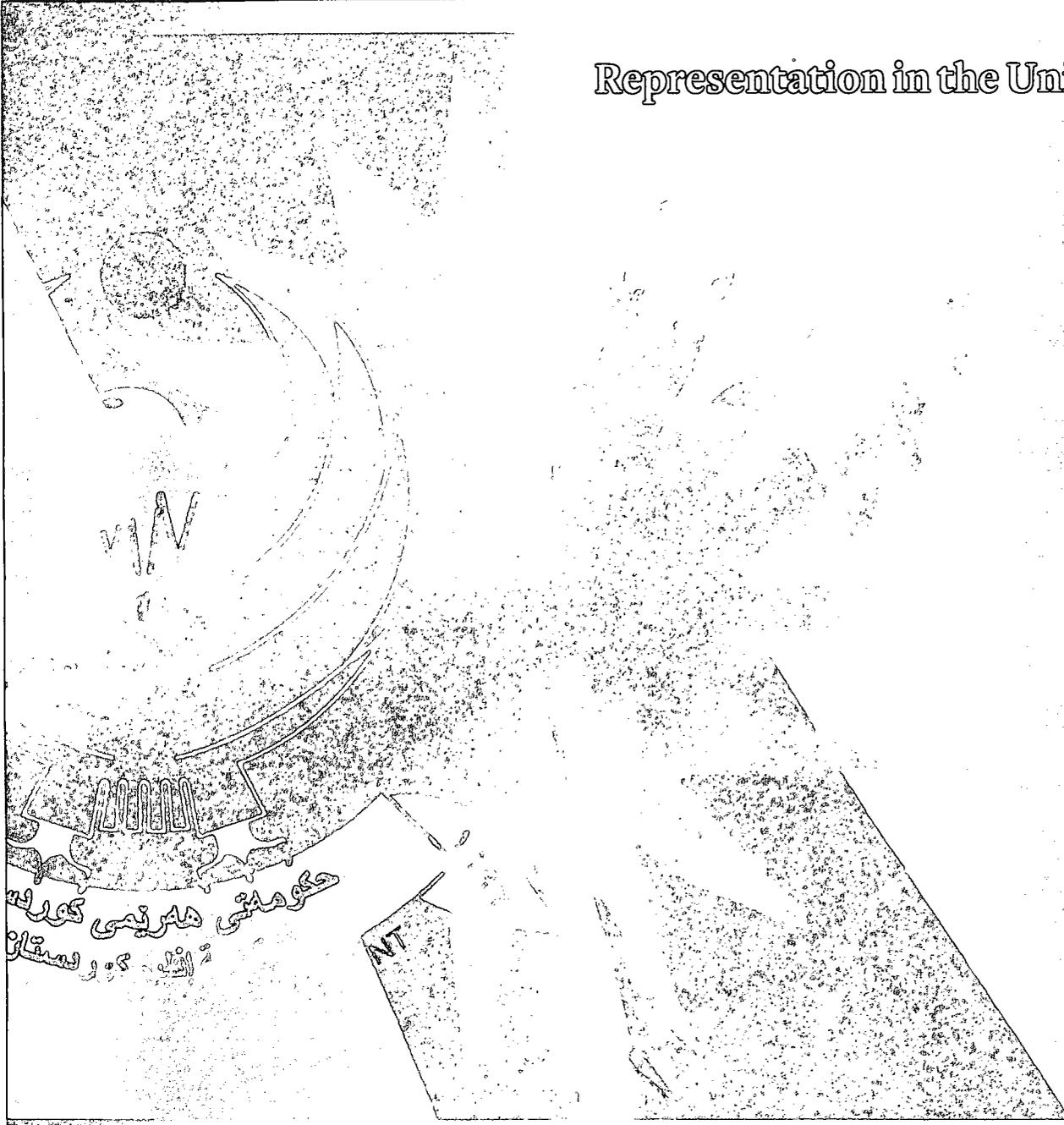
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COMMISSION/REGISTRATION UNIT

# KURDISTAN REGIONAL GOVERNMENT

#5943



## Representation in the United States





**Qubad Talabani**  
KRG representative to the U.S.

# We look forward to being of service

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## The Kurdistan Regional Government eagerly welcomes friends and visitors to its U.S. liaison office.

As part of the KRG's commitment to maintain and deepen its relationship with the United States, the KRG liaison office provides the most comprehensive perspective of the region, its people and its position within Iraq.

Since opening, the liaison office has worked closely with the U.S. administration, Congress, businessmen and women, students, academic experts, the media, think-tank scholars, and many more, to provide updates on the latest developments in Iraqi Kurdistan. The service also offers guidance for those planning to visit or work in the area and information on relations with the region.

Furthermore, the liaison office promotes Kurdish culture in the United States and is an essential first stop for the hundreds

of thousands of Iraqi Kurdistan-born citizens who now reside in the United States, and for those with Kurdish roots. Our cultural outreach program ensures that home villages and provinces are remembered and traditions celebrated. The program also gives our American friends a taste of Iraqi Kurdistan's multi-ethnic and varied heritage, through cuisine, traditional costumes, music, dance and so much more.

Our headquarters, built in 1910, is situated in the historic center of Washington, D.C., just blocks north of the White House. Our determination to build deep, positive and lasting mutual ties between the peoples of Iraqi Kurdistan and the United States is testimony to the profound respect the KRG has for its friends in the United States.





Kurds in the Seattle area honor U.S. military in July 4 festivities

# OVERVIEW OF DUTIES



Vice President Biden greets Prime Minister Barzani, and Falah Bakir, Head of the KRG's Department of Foreign Relations

We have set forth a number of strategic and educational initiatives and programs to address the most pressing needs facing Iraqi Kurdistan. Here are just a few examples of our work, our goals and our priorities:

- As part of ongoing initiatives to encourage direct foreign investment to the Kurdistan Region of Iraq we have launched an annual publication, *The Kurdistan Region: Invest in the Future*. This book is an essential guide to the many investment possibilities in the region.
- We are continuing to develop a strong and important relationship with the Congressional Kurdish-American Caucus, which seeks to promote knowledge and understanding of the Kurdish people, and to give voice to the 55,000 Kurds currently residing in the United States. Launching the Caucus was central to the mission of the KRG liaison office, and the service will ensure that timely and ac-

curate news, data and facts are delivered to the lawmakers who determine U.S. involvement in the Middle East, Iraq and Iraqi Kurdistan.

- Each year the KRG-U.S. Representation organizes Kurdish delegation visits to the United States. We also facilitate American delegation visits to the Kurdistan Region, as well as academic, religious and other groups, to further strengthen relations.



KRG-U.S. liaison staff at weekly strategy meeting

- Cultivating educational links is another key part of the mission, and includes developing and helping to launch courses in Kurdish studies in U.S. colleges and universities, and by creating exchange programs for students and teachers between U.S. and Kurdish facilities.
- For those from Iraqi Kurdistan now living in the United States, we provide guidance with legal queries and help in pursuing educational opportunities. We also evaluate school diplomas for students, including Fulbright scholars wishing to continue their studies in the United States.

While much of our work is forward-looking, we also ensure that we do not forget our heritage and history. Each year, we honor those slain in the Anfal campaign, with a ceremony in Washington and coordinated ceremonies throughout the United States.

# BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT

There are a multitude of paths to investment and prosperity in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. We are dedicated to advancing the commercial opportunities and interests of the broader U.S. business community in our region. The possibilities of investment in Iraqi Kurdistan are endless.

Our liaison office is an indispensable first stop for those wanting to learn about investment laws and opportunities. We connect interested businesses with the appropriate agencies within Iraqi Kurdistan and provide guidance and assistance in nurturing these new relationships. *The Kurdistan Region: Invest in the Future* is an annual publication that provides a quick and clear understanding on the best ways to invest in the Kurdistan Region, how to submit business plans and who to contact.

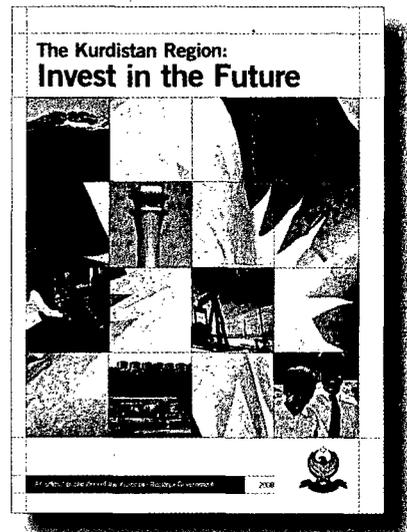
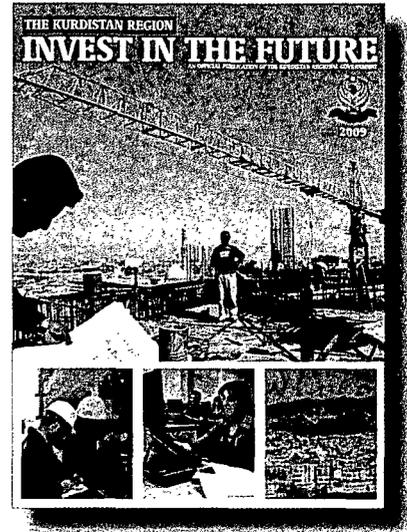
We also actively seek out and meet potential investors or those looking to expand ongoing operations. We work closely with leading organizations, such as the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, which sponsor trade missions to Iraqi Kurdistan

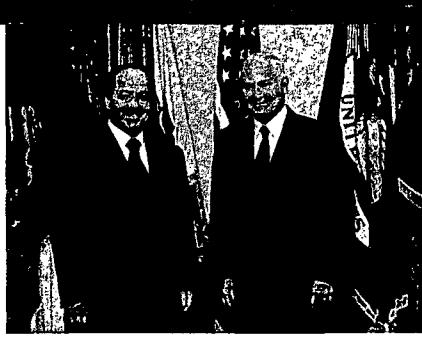
and created a Kurdistan Region of Iraq Investment Taskforce.

We also have strong ties with the U.S. Department of Commerce, which sent a delegation to Iraqi Kurdistan as part of the first official U.S. government trade mission to Iraq in 20 years, and the first official mission to the Kurdistan Region.

Iraqi Kurdistan is poised to be the key international trade link between the United States and Europe and Iraq. It provides excellent investment opportunities, which have been exemplified by the many companies that have already learned how profitable it is to do business in Iraq's Kurdistan Region.

From tourism and manufacturing, to agriculture and transportation, Iraqi Kurdistan is ready to welcome investors to play a bigger role in its economic future, which, in turn, will help to buoy economic foundation and stability throughout Iraq. It is the perfect location for companies to set up a regional base from which to generate profitable work, develop infrastructure or launch new businesses outright.





**From left: President Barzani greets well-wishers at a reception in Washington, D.C.; with Defense Secretary Robert Gates; with former U.S. President George W. Bush**

# POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

The KRG liaison office provides testimony, education and guidance on a wide range of issues, opportunities and challenges, while working to meet the KRG's goals and priorities as part of Iraq. One of the office's key priorities is to promote ongoing multi-level consultations on all aspects of relations between the Kurdistan Region and U.S. government entities. Long-term relationships are being nurtured with government and non-governmental organizations, as well as with Washington, D.C., and New York-based representatives of other governments. The KRG liaison office also focuses on targeted issues, such as efforts to revise the State Department travel advisory for Iraq, to reflect the accurate situation on the ground in Iraq's Kurdistan Region.

One of its most crucial activities is to arrange for delegations from Iraqi Kurdistan to visit the United States and meet with their counterparts. In a complementary effort, the Washington office launched and continues to coordinate "Leader-to-Leader" visits to and from Iraqi Kurdistan. These visits offer peers the chance to exchange legislative and executive experiences, foster closer ties between regions sharing agricultural, cultural and business activities, and to provide opportunities to enhance democratic traditions.

The U.S. office helped to organize and launch the congressional Kurdish-American Caucus, which seeks to promote knowledge and understanding of the Kurdish people, and to give a voice to

the many Kurds currently residing in the United States.

The KRG is united in its determination to build long-term relationships with all sectors of the U.S. government. We welcome visits to our region by members of Congress, state and local officials and military and civilian administrators. The KRG champions a free press, human rights, economic opportunity and democratic ideals. We are motivated in large part by the example that the U.S. government and Americans working in our region have shown through leadership, perseverance and vision. We work to be equal partners with our friends and allies.

# CULTURAL HERITAGE

The melody of the Oud is becoming familiar to more Americans thanks to the cultural outreach program spearheaded by the KRG liaison office. It is just one of the many ways that dance, folklore and cuisine from Iraqi Kurdistan have been sampled and enjoyed at cultural festivals throughout the United States and Canada. Even Hollywood now consults with the KRG's Washington D.C. liaison office in its bid to find new and exciting locations for filming

A highlight of Iraqi Kurdistan's cultural calendar is the annual festival of Nawroz, which celebrates the first days of spring and the start of our New Year. The Nawroz festival symbolizes the enduring hope and optimism of the people of Iraqi Kurdistan. In the United States, neighborhoods join in celebrations where traditional dress, food and music transport all back to the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. The festival is inclusive and all in the community are welcomed,

throughout neighborhoods, states and adopted nations.

The people of Iraqi Kurdistan possess a rich heritage that cannot be measured in monetary or political currency. It is a historic culture of universal appeal and traditional values. We are enthusiastic in sharing its magic with all.

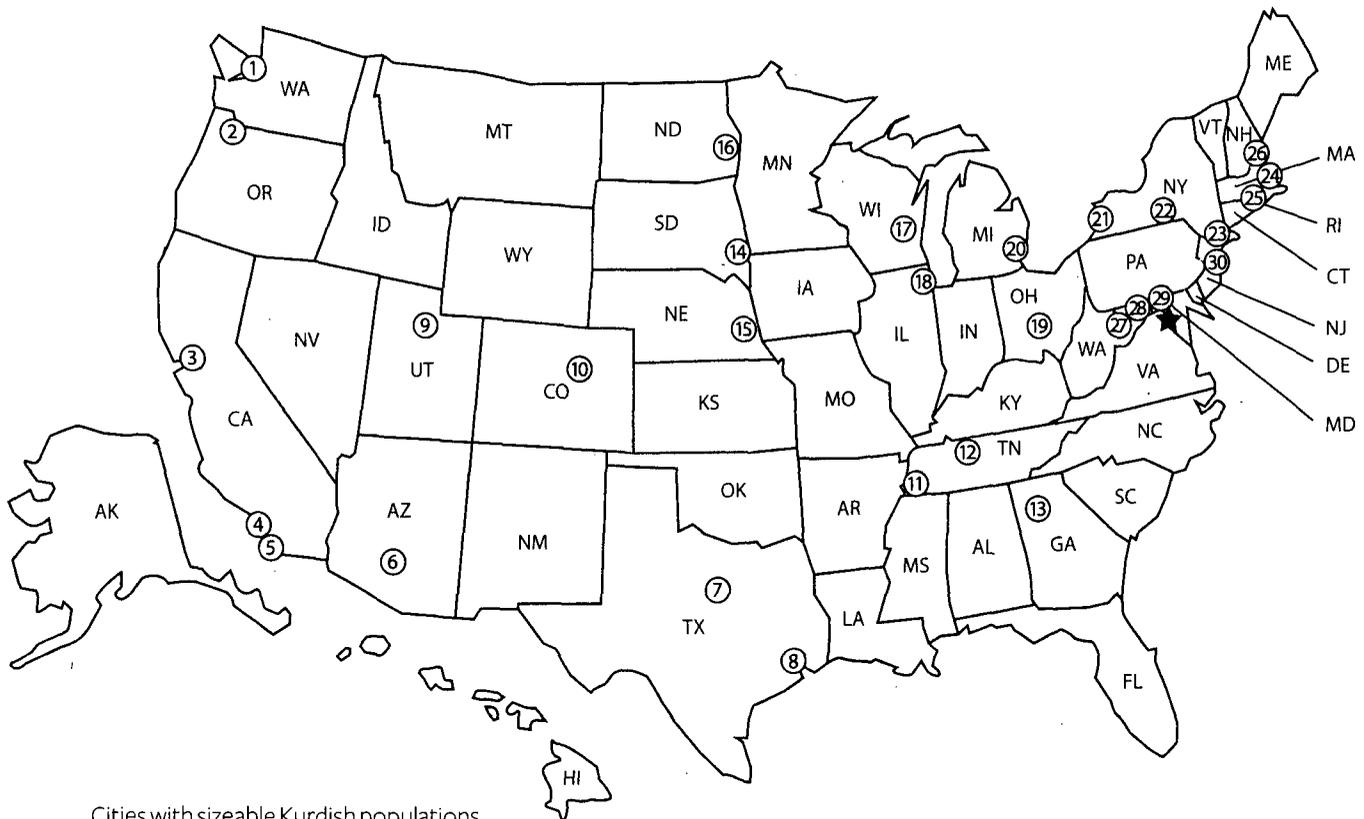


# OUTREACH

Our Washington home also serves as a resource center for all those from Iraqi Kurdistan and their families who live across the United States. When issues and concerns are presented, we work with groups and individuals to ensure that their voices are heard, their thoughts considered and their requests acted upon.

From rallies to community focus groups in areas such as Nashville, San Diego and Dallas, our outreach and community efforts are a key element of our day-to-day work. We organize our communities through direct meetings and events, support cultural initiatives and language schools, and involve youth groups in a wide variety of activities.

Our outreach also aims to build good relationships with non-governmental organizations that, in turn, build closer contact between the peoples of Iraqi Kurdistan and America.



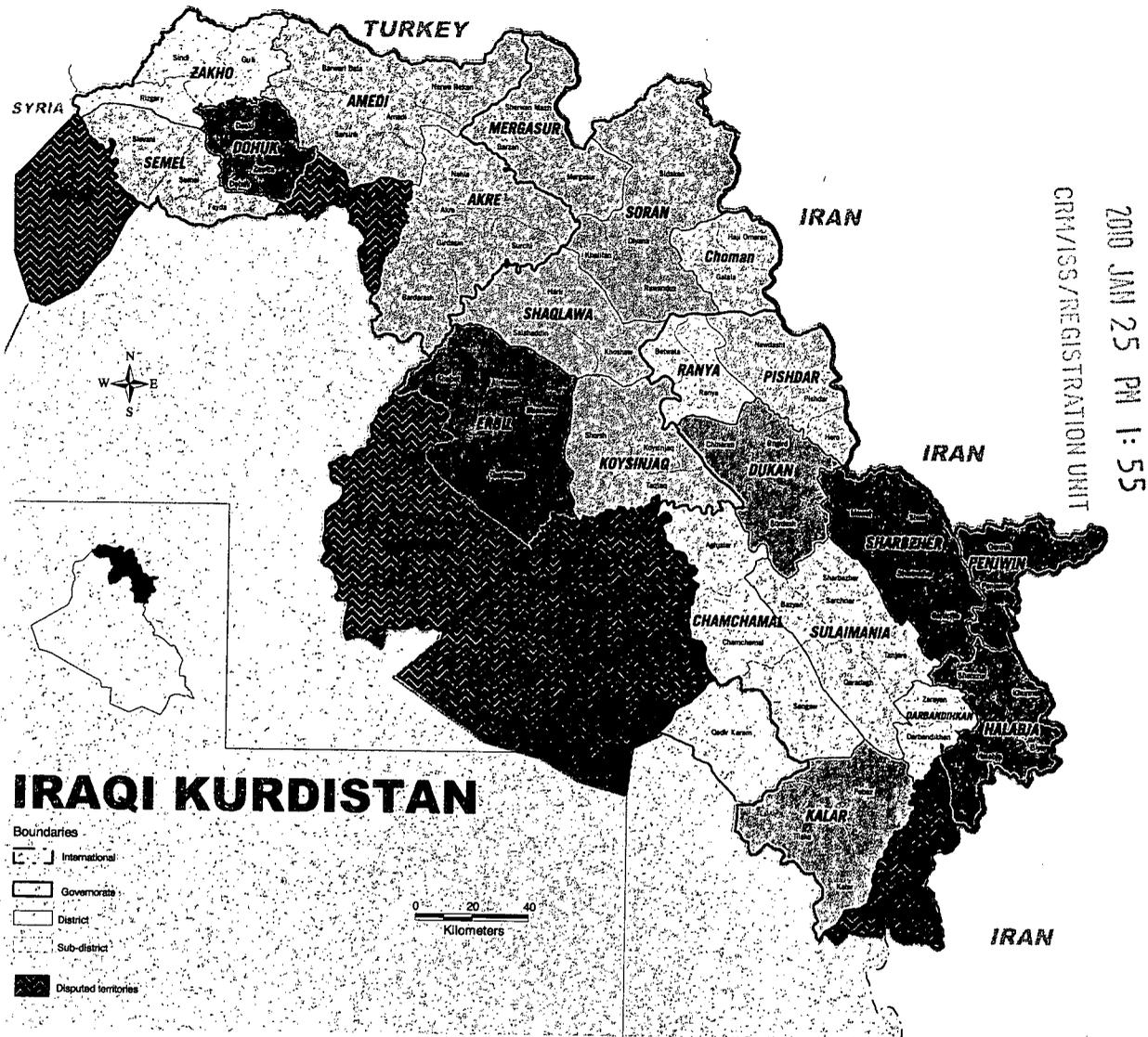
Cities with sizeable Kurdish populations

- |                  |                |                    |
|------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| 1 SEATTLE        | 11 MEMPHIS     | 21 BUFFALO         |
| 2 PORTLAND       | 12 NASHVILLE   | 22 BINGHAMTON      |
| 3 SAN FRANCISCO  | 13 ATLANTA     | 23 NEW YORK CITY   |
| 4 LOS ANGELES    | 14 SIOUX FALLS | 24 BOSTON          |
| 5 SAN DIEGO      | 15 LINCOLN     | 25 PROVIDENCE      |
| 6 PHOENIX        | 16 FARGO       | 26 MANCHESTER      |
| 7 DALLAS         | 17 FOND DU LAC | 27 ARLINGTON       |
| 8 HOUSTON        | 18 CHICAGO     | 28 WASHINGTON D.C. |
| 9 SALT LAKE CITY | 19 COLUMBUS    | 29 BALTIMORE       |
| 10 DENVER        | 20 DETROIT     | 30 NEW JERSEY      |



President Barzani at a community meeting in Virginia

# ABOUT IRAQI KURDISTAN



## Population

Total population: 3.8 million  
 Erbil region: 1,385,227  
 Sulaimania: 1,538,402  
 Dohuk: 879,694

## Area

80,000 square kilometers, 30,888 square miles (about the size of South Carolina)

## Capital

Erbil/Arbil/Irbil (also known as Hawler)

## International airports

Erbil and Sulaimania

## Currency

Iraqi Dinar (IQD)

## Official languages

Kurdish (Sorani and Kurmanji dialects) and Arabic, as well as Turkman and Assyrian in some areas

## Government

Parliamentary democracy

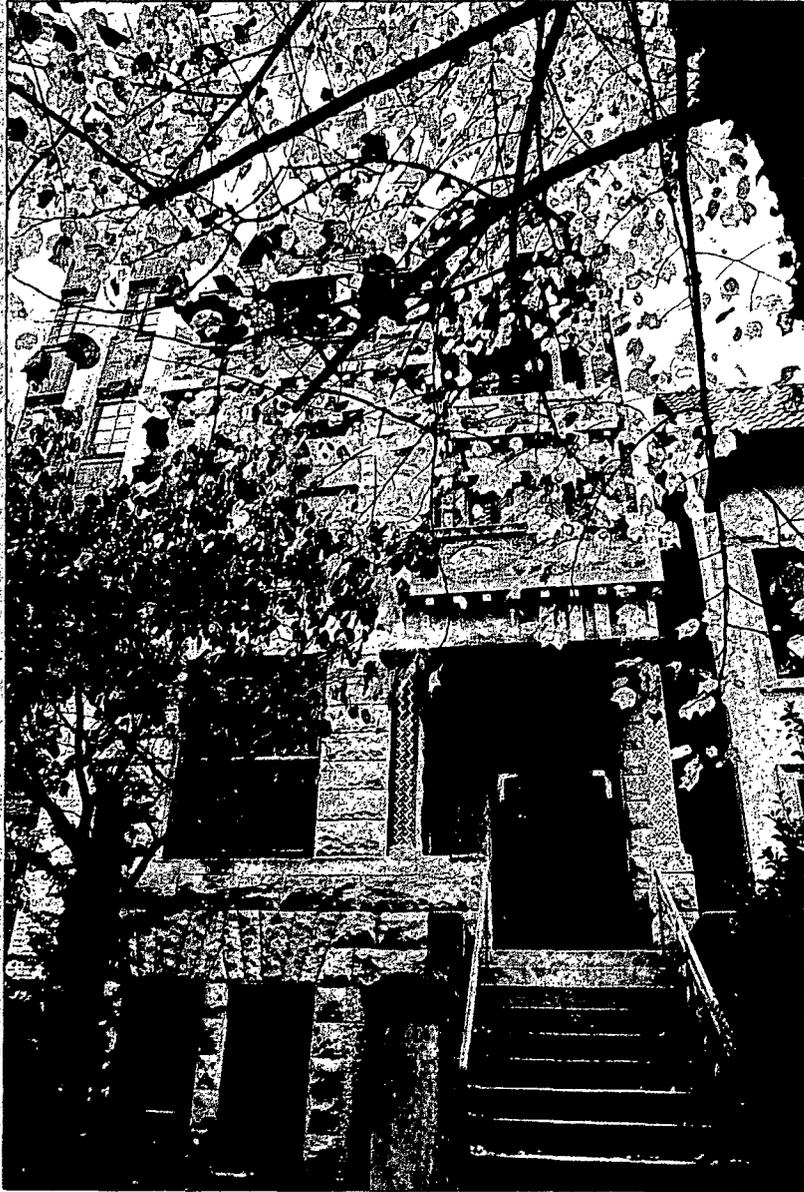
## Calling the Kurdistan Region of Iraq

International dialling code: +964  
 Time zone: UTC+3  
 (summer DTS-UST +4)

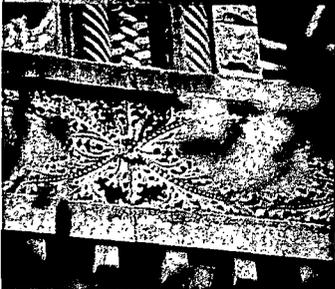
## Attractions

Erbil Citadel and Minaret, Khanes Heritage, Shanidar cave, Bekhal waterfalls, an irrigation system from 700 B.C., the remains of Neanderthal man, Textile Museum, Lalish Temple, Chewar Stoon Cave, the Church of Ith Ilaha, the Grand Mosque, the Charsten sculpture, the Museum of Dohuk, the Cemetery of Amadiya Princes and the Amadiya Gate, Dokan lake and Red Security Museum.

Beautiful olive and brown mountains with golden grasses flecked with lilac flowers under cornflower-blue skies. Snowy peaks, gushing white water, with fresh white mulberries growing in abundance.



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www.knowkurdistan.com  
www.theotheriraq.com



Rhodes College, November 18, 2009  
Buckman Hall  
Memphis, Tennessee

#5943  
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**It's all in the sauce**

Good evening. It is a pleasure to be back here at Rhodes College. A little over two years ago, I visited here. If, as the saying goes, "what a difference a day makes", it is clear that what a tremendous difference two years makes.

Thankfully, those differences in Iraq and in the Kurdistan Region are almost all for the better, with momentum flowing toward the positive. That is indeed heartening after years of uncertainty. While that makes up hopeful for the future, it does not yet ensure all will turn out well.

Thus the designated topic for tonight -- "Iraq: As U.S. Forces Leave Who Is Standing Up?" -- is indeed key. How that is answered in actions (not just words) in large part will determine if in two years hence should I return I will be able to report that today's positives have become tomorrow's foundations for good.

On one basic level, it is easy to answer that question. Who is standing up? -- We are in Kurdistan as are many others throughout Iraq. What cannot be answered TODAY is the follow-up, the NEXT question: we will stand up alone, as individuals or a region -- or stand together to build a new Iraq, one where everyone can enjoy what we in the Kurdistan Region have shown is possible?

As I said for the most part, it has been a very good two years -- we are closing well.

Some of the positive changes are the result of old fashioned hard work and determination, to get to the next goal. Some are the result of help from old friends like the United States and surprisingly newer friends, like Turkey, who are standing up in their own ways. Two years ago -- and I must be honest -- I would have never predicted that by my next visit here Turkey would be opening a diplomatic consular office in Erbil, the capital of the Kurdistan region. Two years ago, Turkey would not even acknowledge

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our existence as a constitutionally recognized autonomous region of Iraq! Their officials would not talk to our officials, despite close economic ties that existed and a vivid need for political dialogue to solve important problems.

Today, not only do we talk, we had the amazing – and wonderful – spectacle of seeing Kurdish children on the streets of Erbil waving Iraqi Kurdish flags AND Turkish flag as the Turkish foreign minister went by.

That was a remarkable day of progress for us – one of many since my last visit here.

So people are standing up. Sometimes by design, sometime after being poked to do so.

Perhaps the most notable achievement came in July, when there was a historic set of elections for the President and the Parliament of Iraq's Kurdistan Region. These elections were truly a milestone in Kurdistan's journey to democracy as there was both a lively and free campaign period, along with a relatively smooth and trouble free Election Day.

It showed the rest of Iraq and the world what we all knew: that we know how to take the strong steps to make our country better – that we know how to stand up for democracy and move further down that path.

Almost 80 percent of the Region's 2.5 million eligible voters took part in the elections, which the Independent High Electoral Commission of Iraq and international observers trumpeted as fair and transparent.

These elections are a significant landmark in our Region's history. Several entirely different slates of candidates divided the vote in meaningful way in accordance with the wishes expressed by the citizens of Iraqi Kurdistan. The parties in power lost some support, while continuing to be the largest bloc in the new government, while a healthy opposition gained strength. That means our new government, which took office last month/earlier this month, has both the experience and continuity of progress along with expanded ideas, robust debate and new energy.

Add to those impressive numbers the fact that at least 30 percent of the new Parliament is female. That percentage is greater than in any national or regional government in the Middle East, North America and most of Europe. Moreover, the Parliament has representation from every religious and ethnic constituency within the region.

Thus, the real winner in these elections was the Kurdistan Region itself and not anyone party or slate.

The American president John Adams wrote that "(legislatures] should be an exact portrait, in miniature, of the people at large, as it should think, feel, reason, and act like them." That is what our Parliament aspires towards.

We were challenged by some to hold the gold standard in elections. We accepted that challenge – and we stood up and delivered.

All of those who observed, monitored or worked the elections praised the way it was run, the enthusiasm and excitement of the voters, and the transparency of the process. "The electoral process took place in accordance with international standards," the Independent High Electoral Commission of Iraq said in a statement. Among those offering praise were the U.S embassy in Baghdad, the presidency of the European Union, the United Nations Assistance Mission in Iraq (UNAMI) and bipartisan members of the Kurdish American Congressional Caucus, which said that the July 25 election "is just the latest example" of the Kurdistan Region "moving forward in fulfilling its democratic aspirations."

Fulfilling our democratic aspirations is the key to us. I am quite proud of how democracy is finding a welcome in the Kurdistan Region. None of us had any experience in building a democracy before the opportunity presented itself. But from the moment the political dynamic changed in Iraq in 1992, and then again in 2003, we have been taking steps to ensure that our opportunity is not wasted.

The July 25 elections were about the maturing of our society, the emphasis on the nuts-and-bolts domestic issues that affect people every day of their lives. One of the great Speakers of the U.S. House of Representatives, Tip O'Neill, made famous the phrase "All

politics is local” and that mantra was evident in Kurdistan on July 25. On key national issues there was not much difference between the slates. Instead it was perspectives on government performance, roads, education, concerns regarding corruption, economic development, water and electricity that shaped the debates and decisions that led up to the July 25 vote. It was a clear marker in the shift from where Kurdish leaders were once hailed for their revolutionary skills to now, where they are chosen on their visions of governance and ability to make each person’s life better each day.

As I stated earlier, now there will be an even more vibrant opposition within the Kurdistan parliament. We all expect vigorous debate and there certainly will be new dynamics WITHIN the Kurdistan Regional Government and throughout Iraqi Kurdistan. While President Barzani was reelected by an impressive 69% in the other vote cast on July 25, we will have a new cabinet along with many new members in parliament.

The new dynamic naturally raises questions about what comes next – both within the Kurdistan Region and its relations with the federal government in Baghdad. While it was evident that these elections were primarily about Kurdistan, and not Baghdad the strong voter turnout shows that all citizens of Iraqi Kurdistan rightfully demand a voice in their affairs and their future – both within the KRG and by extension the federal government.

So when we ask who will stand when the U.S. forces leave, the elections helped show some of those faces – new and old, determined to move Iraq and the Kurdistan region forward in a progressive, transparent, safe and prosperous way.

How the U.S. leaves – and remains – in Iraq – is crucial to the stability of the nation and the region. There remain tough internal issues that we Iraqi must work out – revenue sharing, a hydrocarbons law, the future of the dispute territories. Solving these issues is a great priority to our friends in the United States. We realize this and look to whatever guidance and support they can give us. But solving these issues is even a greater priority to us.

It is time for those of us throughout Iraqi to stand up and lead. The federal parliament was able to reach a consensus of a new election law, so that national elections can take place in January 2010 as required. That showed leadership and an understanding of how to reach agreement in a democratic system of compromise and unity. We stood up that day; we need to do more of that.

As I look at the journey of democracy that is underway in the Kurdistan Region, something the Greek poet Homer once said keeps returning to my mind – “It is not the journey but the destination.” In 17 years since the first elected Regional Government of Kurdistan, those of us who believe in democracy have mapped out our journey and know the destination to which we head. The path has been bumpy – at times very bumpy – and sometimes the route has been obscured. On occasion, the journey has faced roadblocks, some that we have placed for ourselves. But each day, each week, each month, the journey moves forward toward that destination of democracy.

That, to me, is the key.

Knowing where we want to go – where we insist we MUST go – and persevering and pursuing that destination.

The July election is just the latest ingredient of this fervent desire for democracy, peace and opportunity in Iraqi Kurdistan. Decades of oppression and persecution, years of calculated destruction of our homes and genocide of our people, a civil war – all have steeled us with resolve to ensure a better life for our children, our grandchildren and our homeland.

This journey to a democracy is not in a vacuum – it is shaped by the tragedies of the past, the opportunity of the present, and the aspirations of the future.

That is why the world saw so much excitement and passion in the weeks leading up to the July election and in the turnout for the vote. The people of Iraqi Kurdistan are committed to their vision of the future. We have only had 17 years in order to build the foundations for a democratic society. We all know we have much to do. There are many

changes to come; just as we have made important progress already, so we will continue to make progress in the future.

We also want to see what we have started blossom throughout Iraq.

Delivery of services, transparency of government and concerns over possible corruption were much talked about issues in the campaigns and rallies and the votes cast at the ballot boxes sent us a clear message – it cannot be business as usual in our approach to tackling these important concerns.

July also was the month when the KRG took another major step to ensuring it can be even more transparent and efficient in its governing. We made a good governance initiative a priority. To that end, we teamed up with world-renowned consultants PriceWaterhouseCoopers to review current conditions, the way our government works and all governance related issues – to help us develop a clear-eyed, blunt critique and action plan to address the crucial issues of good governance, anti corruption and transparency.

We know corruption and its allies are dangerous enemies of democracy, because they eat at much of what we in the KRG and those living in Iraqi Kurdistan desire. They make the public cautious about believing in democracy. Corruption and its allies can be an acid that disintegrate democratic progress – and we will not let that happen.

Good governance is a major pillar to securing our democracy. We are confident the strategy outlined by our government, will help us tackle this vital issue.

We've made our region safe and secure. We've overcome our internal conflicts. We've established a system to provide improved services for our citizens. Now we're moving to guarantee that all of this progress is maintained and built upon. The benefits of this strategy are clear and vital for our future. It will help to ensure that public funds are used properly, and make government more efficient and more effective. It will improve the delivery of services to the people of the Kurdistan Region. And it will help improve international and domestic confidence and increase investment and job development, while helping to raise the living standards of our Region.

We understand that democracy is an evolutionary process, both in Iraq and elsewhere.

A young America saw political turmoil through trial and error. Only after a few years of uncertainty and eventual stability, and a decreased threat from outside, did its leaders produce the Constitution of the United States – a document whose noble ideals have been embraced for centuries by freedom seeking people around the world.

Democracy takes time, and the U.S. is more than aware of this fact. That is why we began to act long before the outside world wagged their fingers at us.

For example, large-scale power generation and water delivery progress cannot be bought off the shelf. We have been working for several years to implement effective power and water distribution projects for the key cities. In 2008 the KRG had to deal with TWO failing hydroelectric dams, with the result that government generated electricity fell to only three hours a day in the region.

Of course we found that unacceptable.

Today, our energy projects are nearing completion. We now will have more than 18 hours of power in major cities in the region.

We know there are 24 hours in a day. But we also know that 18 hours is far better than 3 hours. It is a journey.

Likewise, recent completion of a large scale water project in Suleimani complemented a similar project completed in 2008 in Erbil. Those projects will combine with existing systems to provide clean water to much of the Erbil, Dohuk and Suleimani provinces. So that is also getting better.

These are significant accomplishments that have been accomplished by the KRG, and Kurdistan's developing private sector, as the fundamental critical issues that need to be addressed so that those living in Iraqi Kurdistan have the basic needs to start each day with hope and freedom from want.

Providing such essential services is only part of good governance. While that is going on, we have also taken determined steps to strengthen the judiciary and the rule of law -- another vital element needed to build a strong democracy.

In 2008 the judiciary was separated from the rest of the government to create an independent judiciary in Iraqi Kurdistan. That judiciary now is learning how to stand on its own feet, be objective and to uphold the rule of law.

We did this our own. We knew it was the right thing to do. We took these initiatives because this is part of what democracy entails.

This is how we stand up and lead.

These are not the only priorities being pursued. A new press freedom law was passed, religious freedom was strengthened, health care, infrastructure, education reforms are being addressed – and many more.

Now I must say clearly and bluntly that I am not making excuses about the challenges we face in Iraqi Kurdistan. I am not justifying or rationalizing our less than perfect system, nor am I pretending that problems do not exist. I know we have, on occasion, stumbled, made mistakes and misread circumstances.

Democracy is hard work, but the destination is worth it. Difficult issues remain and the journey faces tough terrain. However, we are still moving forward. This is not a sprint and it should not be. This is the foundation of our future, for our children and grandchildren, for Kurdistan, and Iraq.

Earlier in these remarks, I quoted Homer's view of the journey and the destination. Homer has relevance not for just the statement. It was the Greeks who first developed the principles of democracy that the world has then built upon. Developed by the Greeks and idealized by Americans, democracy in all of its forms remains the most promising form of government ever developed. We in Iraqi Kurdistan are on that journey to that destination of democracy.

Thank you very much. I look forward to your comments and questions.

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**Remarks to the Middle East Institute on the  
Kurdistan Region of Iraq elections of 25 July 2009  
by Qubad Talabani, representative of the  
Kurdistan Regional Government to the United  
States**

**August 11, 2009, Washington, D.C.**

Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen,

Thank you for giving me this opportunity to talk to you about our recent elections, and the general progress being made in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq.

I have just returned to the US, off the back of an historic set of elections for the President and the Parliament of Iraq's Kurdistan Region. These elections were truly a milestone in Kurdistan's journey to democracy as there was both a lively and free campaign period, along with a relatively smooth and trouble free Election Day.

Almost 80 percent of the Region's 2.5 million eligible voters took part in the elections, which the Independent High Electoral Commission of Iraq and international observers trumpeted as fair and transparent.

These elections are a significant landmark in our Region's history. Several entirely different slates of candidates divided up the vote in meaningful way in accordance with the wishes expressed by the citizens of Iraqi Kurdistan. The parties in power lost some support, while continuing to be the largest bloc in the new government, while a healthy opposition gained strength. That means our next government will have both the experience and continuity of progress along with expanded ideas, robust debate and new energy.

Add to those impressive numbers the fact that at least 30 percent of the new Parliament will be female. That percentage is greater than in any national or regional government in the Middle East, North America and most of Europe. Moreover, the Parliament has representation from every religious and ethnic constituency within the region.

So the real winner in these elections was the Kurdistan Region itself and not anyone party or slate.

The American president John Adams wrote that "[legislatures] should be an exact portrait, in miniature, of the people at large, as it should think, feel, reason, and act like them." That is what our Parliament aspires towards.

We were challenged by some to hold the gold standard in elections. We accepted that challenge – and we delivered. We have achieved much in our experiment in democratic self governance, – and of course there is much more to achieve. And we intend to achieve it.

All of those who observed, monitored or worked the elections praised the way it was run, the enthusiasm and excitement of the voters, and the transparency of the process. "The electoral process took place in accordance with international standards," the Independent High Electoral Commission of Iraq said in a statement. It said that only 651 complaints had been filed regarding just a small number of the total vote.

Because the objective voices of others are often not heard in the din of self-serving bloggings and pontificating, I also feel it is important to share what those with no vested interest have said about the election. I promise, just a few – but like a proud parent, I want to share ALL the great comments others have said about us.

- The **U.S. Embassy in Baghdad**, in a statement, congratulated “the people of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq for coming out to vote in large numbers for the regional presidential and parliamentary elections, thus demonstrating their commitment to the democratic process.”
- The **Presidency of the European Union**, which sent observers to polling stations across the region and helped with a long term electoral experts’ mission, congratulated the people of the Iraqi Kurdistan for holding the elections “in a relatively competitive environment and were carried out in a secure manner. The high voter turnout, preliminary 78.5 %, shows the commitment of the voters to express their political will in a democratic way,” the statement said.
- The **United Nations Assistance Mission in Iraq (UNAMI)** congratulated election officials and the people of Kurdistan “for the large turnout, especially among women voters, in last week's peaceful elections” and praised voters for exercising “their right to elect new regional, parliamentary, and presidential representatives, in an orderly environment, notably free of violence.”
- Bipartisan members of the **Kurdish American Congressional Caucus** said the successful elections “marked yet another milestone in the Region’s development towards a democratic and transparent society. For that, we applaud them.

They said the July 25 election “is just the latest example” of the Kurdistan Region “moving forward in fulfilling its democratic aspirations.”

Fulfilling our democratic aspirations is the key to us. I am quite proud of how democracy is finding a welcome in the

Kurdistan Region. None of us had any experience in building a democracy before the opportunity presented itself. But from the moment the political dynamic changed in Iraq in 1992, and then again in 2003, we have been taking steps to ensure that our opportunity is not wasted.

The July 25 elections were about the maturing of our society, the emphasis on the nuts-and-bolts domestic issues that affect people every day of their lives. One of the great Speakers of the U.S. House of Representatives, Tip O'Neill, made famous the phrase "All politics is local" and that mantra was evident in Kurdistan on July 25. On key national issues there was not much difference between the slates. Instead it was perspectives on government performance, roads, education, concerns regarding corruption, economic development, water and electricity that shaped the debates and decisions that led up to the July 25 vote. It was a clear marker in the shift from where Kurdish leaders were once hailed for their revolutionary skills to now, where they are chosen on their visions of governance and ability to make each person's life better each day.

AS stated earlier, now there will be an even more vibrant opposition within the Kurdistan parliament. We all expect vigorous debate and there certainly will be new dynamics WITHIN the Kurdistan Regional Government and throughout Iraqi Kurdistan. While President Barzani was reelected by an impressive 69% in the other vote cast on July 25, we will have a new cabinet along with many new members in parliament.

The new dynamic naturally raises questions about what comes next – both within the Kurdistan Region and its relations with the federal government in Baghdad. While it was evident that these elections were primarily about Kurdistan, and not Baghdad the strong voter turnout shows that all citizens of Iraqi Kurdistan rightfully demand

a voice in their affairs and their future – both within the KRG and by extension the federal government.

And I think Baghdad has already taken notice. Shortly after the elections the Prime Minister of Iraq, his Excellency Nouri al-Maliki, journeyed to the Kurdistan Region to meet with our Region's leaders. It was a significant gesture on his part to help revive discussions on the issues that MUST be resolved sooner rather than later in order for all of Iraq to move forward. We in Kurdistan appreciated the gesture and we are sending a delegation to Baghdad to continue to work on resolving these outstanding issues.

Solving these issues is a great priority to our friends in the United States. We realize this and look to whatever guidance and support they can give us. But solving these issues is even a greater priority to us.

No matter what the make up is of the parliament, the election leaders of the Kurdistan Region are united in our determination that the Region be treated fairly and in accordance with the nation's constitution, in terms of national laws regarding consensual governance , disputed territories and hydro carbons and revenue sharing. The July election may change some of the faces, but it will not change our focus and unity on resolving these issues fairly.

As I look at the journey of democracy that is underway in the Kurdistan Region, something the Greek poet Homer once said keeps returning to my mind – “It is not the journey but the destination.” In 17 years since the first elected Regional Government of Kurdistan, those of us who believe in democracy have mapped out our journey and know the destination to which we head. The path has been bumpy – at times very bumpy – and sometimes the route has been obscured. On occasion, the journey has faced roadblocks, some that we have placed for ourselves But each day, each week, each month, the journey moves forward toward that destination of democracy.

That, to me, is the key.

Knowing where we want to go – where we insist we MUST go – and persevering and pursuing that destination.

The July election is just the latest ingredient of this fervent desire for democracy, peace and opportunity in Iraqi Kurdistan. Decades of oppression and persecution, years of calculated destruction of our homes and genocide of our people, a civil war – all have steeled us with resolve to ensure a better life for our children, our grandchildren and our homeland.

This journey to a democracy is not in a vacuum – it is shaped by the tragedies of the past, the opportunity of the present, and the aspirations of the future.

That is why the world saw so much excitement and passion in the weeks leading up to this election and in the turnout for the vote. The people of Iraqi Kurdistan are committed to their vision of the future. We have only had 17 years in order to build the foundations for a democratic society . We all know we have much to do. There are many changes to come; just as we have made important progress already, so we will continue to make progress in the future.

We also want to see what we have started blossom throughout Iraq.

Delivery of services, transparency of government and concerns over possible corruption were much talked about issues in the campaigns and rallies and the votes cast at the ballot boxes sent us a clear message – it cannot be business as usual in our approach to tackling these important concerns.

July also was the month when the KRG took another major step to ensuring it can be even more transparent and

efficient in its governing. We made a good governance initiative a priority. To that end we teamed up with world renowned consultants PriceWaterhouseCoopers to review current conditions, the way our government works and all governance related issues – to help us develop a clear-eyed, blunt critique and action plan to address the crucial issues of good governance, anti corruption and transparency.

We know corruption and its allies are dangerous enemies of democracy, because they eat at much of what we in the KRG and those living in Iraqi Kurdistan desire. They make the public cautious about believing in democracy. Corruption and its allies can be an acid that disintegrate democratic progress – and we will not let that happen.

Good governance is a major pillar to securing our democracy. We are confident the strategy outlined by our government, will help us tackle this vital issue.

This multi-year endeavor will ultimately improve how our government serves its people. Compliant with the United Nations Convention Against Corruption, the KRG good governance and transparency initiative represents a very bold step.

We've made our region safe and secure. We've overcome our internal conflicts. We've established a system to provide improved services for our citizens. Now we're moving to guarantee that all of this progress is maintained and built upon. The benefits of this strategy are clear and vital for our future. It will help to ensure that public funds are used properly, and make government more efficient and more effective. It will improve the delivery of services to the people of the Kurdistan Region. And it will help improve international and domestic confidence and increase investment and job development, while helping to raise the living standards of our Region.

This strategy is based on four principles:

**Adherence to the Rule of Law:** To ensure that no one in government, regardless of position, is above the law.

**Every KRG Official is Accountable:** to act in the interests of the Kurdistan Region and its citizens, and will promote those interests above their own, their family or political party.

**Transparent Government Promotes Kurdistan:** To provide citizens with access to information on the operations of government, which is indispensable to ensuring that KRG officials remain accountable to the voters.

**Public Funds Must Always Be Used for Their Intended Purpose:**

The KRG's Good Governance and Transparency Initiative represents tangible evidence that we are not only aware of our shortcomings, but that we are actually doing something about them. While we work to address these shortcomings, it is imperative that we should not lose sight of how much progress has been made in a remarkably short, yet tumultuous period of time.

We understand that democracy is an evolutionary process, both in Iraq and elsewhere.

A young America saw political turmoil through trial and error. Only after a few years of uncertainty and eventual stability, and a decreased threat from outside, did its leaders produce the Constitution of the United States – a document whose noble ideals have been embraced for centuries by freedom seeking people around the world.

Democracy takes time, and the U.S. is more than aware of this fact.

In 1963, when Dr. Martin Luther King gave his "I Have A Dream" speech, African-Americans were barely able to vote in many parts of this country. Now, 45 years since passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and 44 years since enactment of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, Americans have elected an African American President. We say that is a huge step for democracy here. It took time, a long way since 1787, but it finally happened.

People are eager to declare that Iraqi Kurdistan has faltered in its journey to build a democracy, that we deserve scorn because we are not perfect after 17 years.

That is nonsense.

One cannot create a perfect democracy over night or even in 17 years. If that formula exists- please share it with us. When Saddam Hussein's tyranny was finally removed from Iraq, we had to start governing as best we could. We had to pick the priorities – what had to be done first – and bide our time until some other important measures could be addressed properly. Not with haste just so we can say we did it, but to do it with substance and long term stability.

In 2006, when the KRG unity government was formed we knew our priorities at that point. Stabilize the region and increase our security and counter-terrorism capabilities to prevent the insurgency that was tearing apart much of Iraq from inflicting its destruction in Iraqi Kurdistan. Create a safe haven for all Iraqis fleeing the violence – and do it in way that all were taken care of as best as possible.

That has happened. Without security and safety, nothing else can progress with certainty. So now, other priorities CAN be pursued, with good governance and performing essential services atop that list.

Some have chosen to question our delivery of services, noting that it is often below standard and needs improving. We know that – and we were just reminded of that fact by our voters! Decades of devastation, neglect by former Iraqi regimes, U.N., Iraqi and regional sanctions and our mismanagement did not give us a level playing field when our journey to democracy took its first steps.

That is why we began to act long before the outside world wagged their fingers at us.

As you all know, large scale power generation and water delivery progress cannot be bought off the shelf. We have been working for several years to implement effective power and water distribution projects for the key cities. In 2008 the KRG had to deal with TWO failing hydroelectric dams, with the result that government generated electricity fell to only three hours a day in the region.

Of course we found that unacceptable.

Today, our energy projects are nearing completion. We now will have more than 18 hours of power in major cities in the region.

We know there are 24 hours in a day. But we also know that 18 hours is far better than 3 hours. It is a journey.

Likewise, recent completion of a large scale water project in Suleimani complemented a similar project completed in 2008 in Erbil. Those projects will combine with existing systems to provide clean water to much of the Erbil, Dohuk and Suleimani provinces. So that is also getting better.

These are significant accomplishments that have been accomplished by the KRG, and Kurdistan's developing private sector, as the fundamental critical issues that need to be addressed so that those living in Iraqi Kurdistan have the basic needs to start each day with hope and freedom from want.

Providing such essential services is only part of good governance. While that is going on, we have also taken determined steps to strengthen the judiciary and the rule of law -- another vital element needed to build a strong democracy.

In 2008 the judiciary was separated from the rest of the government to create an independent judiciary in Iraqi Kurdistan. That judiciary now is learning how to stand on its own feet, be objective and to uphold the rule of law.

We did this our own. We knew it was the right thing to do. We took these initiatives because this is part of what democracy entails.

And these are not the only priorities being pursued. A new press freedom law was passed; religious freedom was strengthened, health care, infrastructure, education reforms

are being addressed – and many more. We can talk of those another day.

Now I must say clearly and bluntly that I am not making excuses about the challenges we face in Iraqi Kurdistan. I am not justifying or rationalizing our less than perfect system, nor am I pretending that problems do not exist. I know we have, on occasion, stumbled, made mistakes and misread circumstances, and we expect to make more mistakes going forward.

But these perplexing desires by many to highlight the negative makes us wonder sometimes of what people want from us. This is not a question of the glass being half empty or half full – to these individuals, the glass has a permanent sieve.

So why is this, these stories and pontifications, by some scholars and bloggers, talking only of the negative? Many of the reasons are clear – lack of true knowledge of what is going on in Iraqi Kurdistan, pure bias, the desire to make a name for one's self by being provocative regardless of accuracy. It has become a very successful cottage industry – one whose benefits achieve nothing toward the goal they proclaim they want – a better democracy in Iraqi Kurdistan OR in Iraq. But it serves their personal purposes.

Most reporters who now cover Iraq have a history of the country that starts in 2003, at best. They know little of the past, almost never visit the Kurdistan Region let alone spend time there. They do no “Know Kurdistan.”

It is telling to compare what is written or said by those who know the full story and history – the coverage is remarkably different. This past election proved that – the coverage was detailed and fair, instructive and objective and education. It is time that people truly “Know Kurdistan.” Our election opened many eyes. We hope that minds will also become open.

There are no shortcuts to democracy. It is hard work, but the destination is worth it. Democracy is the toughest political system in the world to achieve because it is the best. In our journey toward democracy, we will make mistakes, we will learn from them and hopefully we will not repeat them. And from those mistakes – and from the much greater that is being done correctly – the foundation for our democracy becomes stronger.

From 2000 to 2005 there was remarkable growth in democratic freedom in Iraqi Kurdistan. It has slowed down since then, but it is still moving forward. The July election, among other things, gave it tremendous new momentum.

Difficult issues remain and the journey faces tough terrain. But we are still moving forward. This is not a sprint and it should not be. This is the foundation of our future, for our children and grandchildren, for Kurdistan, and Iraq.

At the beginning of these remarks, I quoted Homer's view of the journey and the destination. Homer has relevance not for just the statement. It was the Greeks who first developed the principles of democracy that the world has then built upon. Developed by the Greeks and idealized by Americans, democracy in all of its forms remains the most promising form of government ever developed. We in Iraqi Kurdistan are on that journey to that destination of democracy.

Someday, we will get there. I guarantee it.

Thank you very much.

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## KRG 2009 Public Affairs Report

We devised and executed an aggressive and creative PR plan for the Kurdistan Regional Government-US Liaison office for 2009. The foundation of 2008 opened the door to the opportunity to be proactive, sturdy, steady and unrelenting. That is what we achieved.

The effort required coordination and consistency. We reduced freelancing off message. The 2009 Public Affairs activities captured many of the goals outlined and approved in January 2009, as well as dealing with the management of two major public relations agencies into both the media awareness activities and budget. The year's deliverables and focuses were bifurcated: there was attention and consistency to following the designed, pro-active and approved public relations plan (and building on those activities) and then there was the management, diversion and development of time/budget/creativity on support work and instructional monitoring.

### **Overview of the priority goals achieved:**

Major policy speeches and appearances that build on a consistent, pro-active and progressive message

Creation of an up-to-date media list, with key targeted media operatives for relationship development

Wider recognition of the KRG's progressive press freedom law

Construction, launch and implementation of an advertising campaign touting the KRG's progressive press freedom law

Interviews, assistance and response to more than 50 media outlets

Pure, unfettered analysis of public/media opinion of the Kurds and Iraqi Kurdistan

Smart, sophisticated brochures and collateral material for the KRG-US office

Crafted meaningful press releases on key visits, events and appropriate moments

Constructed pitch-perfect phrases and memorable message points in speeches

Successful cultivation of New York Times editorial board

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## **Team designated goal of four major hits (achieved)**

- Washington Times message story in the spring
- Washington Times message story in the fall
- Package of coverage in regards to opening of new KRG US headquarters
- Freedom of the press ad
- U.S. directed coverage/encouragement of KRI July elections; following up coverage

## **In connection and in concert with those game plan goals:**

Creation of a new web site for the Washington office

Creation of a new media kit

Created and wrote, then secured publication, of stories regarding the culture, art and history of the new KRG headquarters

Promotion of Qubad Talabani a key individual in Washington, D.C.

Resurrection of the Kurds vote web site for the KRI elections

Development of a more relevant press media list

Key analysis of KRG public image (May-June)

Drafted speeches

Content for web sites

Liaison and garnered press attention to the Halabja United Nations event in NYC

Last-minute creation of story board content for Halabja event

Research on women's Congressional women's caucus; Human rights groups, religious groups, to use as third party advocates during July election

Research on transparency groups to tout Price Waterhouse actions. (Global Financial Integrity)

Profiles of QT

Continual updating of message points

## **SPECIFIC EXAMPLES**

### **SPEECHES and REMARKS**

Houston chamber of commerce

Atlantic Council remarks

Oil and gas conference, Houston

Middle East Institute

Arizona State University

Chamber of commerce investment publication release 2<sup>nd</sup> year

Council of Foreign Relations

American University

George Mason University

Rhodes College

Knight Center for Specialized Journalism

Brookings's US National Security Policy

Idaho Farm Bureau

Carnegie Middle East Program (Preventing Conflict Over Kurdistan)

### **OTHER PUBLIC AWARENESS OUTREACH**

University professors going to KRI (Dr. Andrew Hess; Dr. Burdett Loomis)

Friends of Kurdistan list

"Thank You For My Eyes" pre-documentary work

Statement by KRG praising last January election (even though KRI did not participate)

Op-ed y Lincoln Davis and Joe Wilson on elections

Kurdsvote.org website

KnowKurdistan website

## **ADS**

Freedom of the press ad

Abraham Lincoln centennial

Package of ads designed for Ski Kurdistan; The Mountains Are Now Your Friend; Seeds of Democracy; A Great Place to Grow (Investment)

## **PRESS MEETINGS/comments/input include:**

CNN

Tammam Al-Barazi, Journalist, Al Watan Al Arabi

Kevin Bogardus, The Hill

Deborah Akel, Viewpoint with James Zogby

Laura Rozen, Politico/Foreign Policy Review

USATODAY/Jim Michaels and David Lynch,

Al Jazeera English

BBC

C-SPAN

United Nations Correspondents Association

Jill Junnola, Energy Intelligence

Roula Khalaf, Middle East Editor, Financial Times

Ahu Ozyurt, turkey CNN

Stars and Stripes

MSNBC

Al Hurra Television,

Peter K. Semler, Washington Bureau Chief, dealReporter

Elcin Poyrazlar, Cumhuriyet

Tolga Tanış Hurriyet

Capitol File

The Washington Dish

Washington Life

Josh Rogin, Staff Writer - The Cable, Foreign Policy Magazine

Farah Stockman, Boston Globe

Nada Charara ,MBN TV & Radio

Alhurra, Berivan Yousify

CNBC Anchor Erin Burnett

Roll Call

Global Security News

National Review

Ayla Jean Yackley, thomsonreuters.com

Cameron Barr, Washington post

National Public Radio

James Glanz, NY Times

Ben Lando, Iraqi Oil Report

Rania Todoulou World Profile Group

Oliver August, The Times of London & The Economist

James Verini, NY Times magazine

Marissa Taylor, McClatchy

The New Yorker

Sharmila Devi, The National

Peter Abraham, DC Magazine

Josh Rogin, Congressional Quarterly.

Gabriela Iancu, Columbia University (Re: Nation Building in Kurdistan)

Clinton Cossette, Impact Radio

Max Pringle, KPFA Radio in San Francisco.

**Free press law outreach:**

American Society of Business Publication Editors

AAJA

Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication

Association of Alternative Newsweeklies

Association of Health Care Journalists

Alternet

American Society of Newspaper Editors

ASNE High School Journalism Initiative

Capitol Correspondents Association of California

Center for Media & Democracy

CMPA

Committee to Protect Journalists

Dart Center for Journalism and Trauma

Education Writers Association

The Freedom Forum

I Want Media

Knight Center for Specialized Journalism

Knight Digital Media Center

Local TV News Media Project!

The Maynard Institute

Robert C. Maynard Institute for Journalism Education  
The Media Channel

The Media Institute

Media Tenor

NABJ

The National Association of Hispanic Journalists

National Freedom of Information Coalition

NLGJA

National Press Club

Native American Journalists Association

NewsLab

Overseas Press Club

Human Rights Watch

Committee to Protect Journalists

Freedom House

Christiana Aramapour

A-19 law group

Jane Arraf

Eason Jordan

Reporters Without Borders

International Freedom of Expression Exchange

World Association of Newspapers

UNESCO

Gene Policinski, vice president and executive director of the First Amendment Center



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