# بۆ بەرێزان⁄ –سەرۆكايەتى پەرلەمانى كوردستان –دەستەى دەسپاكى –داواكارى گشتى

به پنی یاسا به رکاره کان، سه رو کی حکومه تی هه ریمی کوردستان سه رو کی دامه زراوه ی خزمه تی گشتییه، له ئیستادا له رو ژنامه یه کی به ناویانگی ئه مه ریکی به ناوی (The American prospect) را پورتیکی (بنکو لکاری) به ناونیشانی (ده رمانخانه یه کی کاوبویی... پاشماوه ی گه نده لی له عیراقه وه بق میامی) بلاو کردو ته وه، تیایدا ئاما ژه به کرینی مولکیک کراوه به به های (۱۸ ملیون) دولار، که تیایدا ها تو وه خاوه نه راسته قینه که ی به پیز مه سرور بارزانیه، له همان را پورتدا باس له بریکی زوری سه روه ت و سامان کراوه که بردراوه ته ئه مریکا که به ها که ی (ملیاریک و ۲۷ ملیون) دولاره.

ئەمە لەكاتێكدايە ھەرێمى كوردستان بەدەست قەيرانى داراييەوە دەناڵێنێت، پرۆژە خزمەتگوزارييەكان وەستێنراون، چەندىن موچەى سالآنى رابردووى فەرمانبەران لاى حكومەت ماوەتەوەو لەئێستاشدا موچە لەكاتى خۆيدا نادرێت، پێداويستييەكانى ھێزى پێشمەرگە دابين ناكرێت، خۆپيشاندانەكانى خوێندكاران بەمەبەستى گێڕانەوەى دەرماڵەكانيان بەردەوامە كە ماوەى حەوت ساڵە بڕاوە، ئەمانەو چەندىن گرفت و كەموكوريى ترى پەيوەست بە قەيرانى داراييەوە.

ئەم راپۆرتە ھەڧتەيەكە بلاوكراوەتەوەو وروژىنىراوە، كەچى نابىنرىت ھىچ بەدواداچوونىك كرابىت، لەكاتىكدا پەرلەمانتاران لەسەر ھەموو بابەتىك لىدوان دەدەن، كەچى لە ئاست ئەم بابەتەدا بىدەنگى! دەستەى دەسىپاكى موخبىرى ھەيە بى بەدەستەپىنانى زانىيارى، كەچى لەئاست ئەم راپۆرتەدا بىدەنگە كە لەرۆرىنامەيەكى موعتەبەردا بلاوكراوەتەوه ! داواكارى گىنتى لەسەر پۆستىكى تۆرى كۆمەلايەتى و كۆمىنتىك خەلكى داوە بەدادگا، كەچى لەسەر ئەم بابەتە بىدەنگە ! ھەر بۆيە ئىمە وەك رىكخراوەكانى كۆمەلى مەدەنى كاتىك ئەم بىدەنگىيەمان بىنى بە پىرىسىتمان زانى داوا بكەين پەرلەمانتاران و داواكارى گىنتى و دەستەى كۆمەلىتەتى و كۆمىنتىك ئەم بىدەنگىيەمان بىنى بە پىروسىتمان زانى داوا بكەين پەرلەمانتاران و داواكارى گىنتى و دەستەى دەسپاكى بەئەركى ياسايى خۆيان ھەلسىن و لەسەر ئەم پرسە بەدواداچوون بكەن، روونى بكەنەوە ئاخى ئەو بابەتە راستە يان نا. ئەگەر راست بىت دەبى ئىجرائاتى ياسايى بكەن، ئەگەر راستىش نەبىت پىرىيەتە رەئكى كەنەۋە بەخەلكى كوردستان بەدى و لە دەرەۋەش بە ڧەرمى سكالاى ياسايى بكەن، رۆرىنامەنوسەكەو ئەو دەزگايە تۆمار بكەن كە بلاويان كردۆتەۋە، چونكە ئەم جۆرە راپۆرت و ھەۋالانە ئەگەر بىنەمايان نەيەبىت و ناپاست بىن، ئاسايشى ناوخىيەر تېدەن و لەدەسەر ھەرەر رايىت يەلىرەن و دەدەن كەچى يەسەر نەمەيەر رىستەر بەيەن دەزىدەسە بە خەلكى كوردىستان بەيەن و لە دەرەۋەش بە ڧەرمى سكالاى ياسايى بەيەر رۆرىرىمەنوسەكەو ئە دەزىگايە تۆمار بكەن كە بلاويان كردۆتەۋە، چونكە ئەم جۆرە راپۆرت و ھەۋالانە ئەگەر بىنەمايان تەبىت و ناپاست بىن، ئاسايشى ناوخۆيى تىكەدەرەن و ھاۋلاتيان تورەۋ نائومىدىت دەكەن و ناۋبانكى ھەرىمى

لەگەل رێزدا

**وێئەيەك بۆ:** – ليژنەى دەسىپاكى لە پەرلەمانى كوردستان. – سەرجەم فراكسيۆنەكان لە پەرلەمانى كوردستان. – سەرجەم ئەندامانى يەرلەمانى كوردستان.

# **هاوپیچ:** – بهلگهنامهکان و دهقی راپۆرتهکه به زمانی ئینگلیزی و کوردی. –لینکی راپۆرتهکه:

https://prospect.org/power/cowboy-drugstore-traces-of-akleptocrat/?fbclid=IwAR1xOVVvdjuqXgChi\_bXrpTv1ih1sSahMpmvFk-UAh20lupBgtBHr\_OkqIE

# يوختهى را يۆرتەكە رۆژنامەى ( زە ئەمريكان يرۆسپيكت ) بە زمانى كوردى

# دەرما نخانەيەكى كاوبۆيى ياشماوەي گەندەٽى لەعيّراقەوە بۆ ميامى )

له دوورییهکی کهمهوه له دهریا، له ناوجهرگهی (ساوس بیچ)ی سهرهنجراکیّش له میامی، دهرمانخانهیهك ههیه که لهوانی تر ناچیّت، گهشتیاران که کریّمی دژه خوّرو کلّاوی لهپوش دروستکراو له دهرمانخانهی (CVS) له شهقامی واشنتوّن دهکرن، پارهکهیان بوّ پیاویّکی گهندهلّ دهروات له روّژههلّاتی ناوهراست.

بەھای ئەم بینا شوشەییە كە دەرمانخانەكەی تێدایەو روبەرەكەی نزیكەی (۱۲ ھەزار) پێ چوارگۆشەیە، (۱۸ ملیۆنو ۳۰۰ ھەزار) دۆلارە.. سالّی ۲۰۱۹ لەسەر بنەمای تۆماری خانوبەرەی میامی، میدیای لۆكالّی خاوەنداریّتی ئەم بینایەی گەراندەوه بۆ كۆمپانیايەكی خانوبەرە لە ڤێرجینیا بەناوی (KLNB)، بەلّام نویّنەری ئەم كۆمپانیایە وتی: ئیّمە خاوەنی ئەو بینایە نینو بەشدارن نین لە گریّبەستەكەیدا.

بیناکه لهلایهن کۆمپانیایهکی وههمییهوه له دیلاویّر کردراوه، له تۆماری دامهزراندنی کۆمپانیاکهدا ناوی خاوهنی راستهقینهی بیناکه که (مهسرور بارزانی سهرۆك وهزیرانی ههریّمی کوردستانه) شاردراوهتهوه.

كوردستان ناوچەيەكى نيمچە سەربەخۆيە لە باكورى عێراق، لـه هـەموو شـتێكدا پادشـايەتىيەكى پشتاوپشـتە تـەنيا لـه ناوەكەيدا نەبىّ، ماوەى چەندىن دەيەيە، بنەمالّەى بارزانى ھەژمونيان بەسەردا كردووە، سـەرۆك وەزيرانى كـورد دەسـەلّاتى خـۆى بـەكارھێناوە بـۆ ھێرشـكردنو ئەشـكەنجەدانو كوشـتنى ئەوانـەى رەخنـەى لێـدەگرن، لەناويشـياندا تيرۆركردنـى رۆژنامەنوسان لەسەر شێوازەكەى سعوديە، خوێندكارێكى زانكۆ بەناوى (زەردەشت عوسمان) لەسەر وتـارێكى تـەنزئامێز كـه داواى ھاوسەرگيرى لە يەكێك لە خوشكەكانى سەرۆك وەزيران كردبوو، روبەرووى ئەشكەنجەدانو كوشت د

کەس قەبارەى سەروەتو سامانى ناياسايى شاردراوە لەناو ئەمرىكا نازانىّت، ياساكان پارىّزگارى لە نھىّنىبوونى كۆمپانياكان دەكەن، بەلام سەرمايەگوزارى بنەمالەى بارزانى لەنمونەى ئەم دەرمانخانەيە لـە مىامى، نيشانى دەدات بۆچى ئەمرىكا بووە بە سىمايەكى سەرەنجراكىّش بۆ پارە قىّزەونەكان.

بەھۆی نەوتو گەندەلىيەوە، بارزانىيەكان برىكى زۆر سەروەتو سامانيان كۆكردوەتەوە، بۆ نمونە وەبەرھىنان كە بوارى خانوبەرەدا لە كوردستان ھى كۆمپانيايەكە كە بەشىرەيەكى نھىنى بەستراوەتەوە بە يەكىك لە براكانى سەرۆك وەزيرانەوە، كە بەھاكەى بە (مليارىكو ٢٧ مليۆن) دۆلار ئەژمار دەكرىت، وەكو ستەمكارەكانى تـر، بارزانىيەكان پەنايان بۆ پەناگە نھىنىيەكان بردووە، لەنمونەى ئەو شوىنانەى كە لە بەلگەنامەكانى (پەنەما)و (باندۆرا)دا بۆ شاردنەوەى پارە ناويان ھىنراوە.

پەناگە نەێنىيەكان ئە شوێنانەن كە تێياندا داواى ئاشكراكردنى ناوى خاوەنو پشكدارى كۆمپانياكان ناكرێت، ئەمە دەرفەت بۆ ھەموو جۆرە تاوانێكى دارايى خۆش دەكات، لەوانە ھەڵاتن لە پێدانى باج، شتنەوەى پارە، ئاسانكاريكردن بۆ بەرتيلدان، بەڵام بەپێچەوانەى پادشاى ئوردنو سەرۆكى پێشووى ئەرژەنتينەوە كە كۆمپانيا نەێنىيەكانيان لە بەلگەنامە دزەپێكراوەكاندا ئاشكرا بوو، سەروەتو سامانى بارزانىو گرێبەستە بازرگانىيەكانى لە بەلگەنامەكانى پەنەماو باندۆرادا ئاشكرا نەكرا.

له تۆماری خانوبەرەدا له دوبەی، وردەكاری لەبارەی سەروەتو سامانی بارزانی له كۆمەلگەی بورجی خەليفەی گرانبەھاو دورگەی (نەخلە) ئاشكرا بوو، شان بەشان لەگەل پەيوەندی بنەمالەی بارزانی لەگەل بنەمالەی شاھانەی ئیماراتی عەرەبی. لهبری کهناراوهکانی دورگهی کایمان، بارزانییهکان بینای ئۆفێسـهکانیان لـه دیـلاوهر ههلّبـژاردووه، کـه کۆمپانیـای ( CT Corporation) خاوهنـداریّتی دهکـات، کـه لقـی ئـهمریکای کۆمپانیایـهکی هۆلهندییـه بـهناوی (Wolters Kluwer)و تایبهتمهنده لهبواری دروستکردنی کۆمپانیای نادیاردا.

سەربارى ئەوەى سيستمى نەينيبوونى كۆمپانياكان لە ئەمريكا كەمتر سەرەنجراكيشە، بەلام بەنزىكەيى ھاوتايە لەگەلا ئەوەى كە لە ھەر دورگەيەكى كاريبى لەم بوارەدا ھەيە، لە زۆرىك لە ولاتان لەبرى ئاشكراكردنى ناوى خاوەنى راستەقىنەى مولكەكان، دەكرى كەسانى دەولەمەند ناوى بريكارو نوينەرى خۆيان بخەنە سەر نوسراوى كۆمپانياو ھەرگىز داوايان ليناكريت زانيارى لەبارەى خاوەندارىتىيەكەيانەوە بدەن، تۆرىك لە ژميريارو كۆمپانياى پارىزەرايەتى، راوي خارەنى داولىان لىناكرىت كۆمپانياى (Wolters Kluwer) ھەلدەستى بە دروستكردنى ئەم كۆمپانيا ھەينىدى بەرىيدە بەركەر داوايان لىناكرىت

بارزانىيەكان موڭكو ماٽى نەينى پيۆيسىتيان ھەيە، كە كۆشك لـە كاليفۆرنىاو فىرجينىا لـەخۆدەگرىتو تائىستا چوارجار لەكاتى شاردنەوەى پارەكانياندا لە ئەمرىكا دەستگىركراون، ئەوان پارەكانيان لە ئەمرىكا دەشارنەوە، ئەم خىزانـە تـەنيا بۆ ئەو چوار موڭكە زياتر لە (٧٥ مليۆن) دۆلاريان داوە، رەنگە ئەمـە تـەنيا بەشـىكى بچوكى سـەروەتە نەينىيـەكانى بنەمالـەى بارزانى بىت لە ئەمرىكا، ھىچ يەكىك لەم چوار مولكەى بنەمالە لە بەلگەنامەكانى پەنامەدا ئاشكرا نەبوون، چونكە كەسانىك بە وەكالەت يان كۆمپانيا پارىزەرليەتى گرانبەھا خاوەندارىتىيان دەكـەن، بـەلام بريكارەكانى ھەنـدىك ھەلـەى بچوكىان كىردووە بەقرى ئەو ھەلانەوە ئاشكرابوون.

سەبارەت بە (CVS) پىدەچىت كۆمپانىاى پارىزەرايەتى (Cozen OConnor) كە بارەگاكەى لە ويلايەتى پەنسلۋانيايە، لەماوەى دوو مانگدا كريارە نھىنىيەكەى خىزى ئاشكراكردبىت، سەرەتا لە دىسەمبەرى ٢٠١٨دا كۆمپانياى پارىزەرايەتىيەكە سى كۆمپانياى لە فلۆرىداو كۆمپانيايەكى لە ديلاوير بەناوى (دەرمانخانە لە شەقامى واشىنتۆن) كىردەوە نوسراوى تايبەتى كۆمپانياكانى فلۆرىدا ناو و ئيمزاى سەرۆك وەزىرانى ھەرىمى كوردستانى لەخۆگرتبوو لەگەل ناوى يەكىك لە

برپار نهبوو ئهم ناوانه بكهونه بهرچاوی خهلك، دوای ماوهیهكی كهم له كرینی دهرمانخانهكه، كۆمپانیا پاریّزهرایهتییهكه ناوی بارزانییهكانی سـرپیهوهو لهشـویّنی ئـهوان نـاوی بریكارهكانیـان كـه پاریّزهریّكه بـهناوی (كـوزین ئوكونـور)و (ماسـیۆ وینسـتاین) دانـرا، ئهمـه چارهسـهریّكی نمونـهیی نـهبوو، بـهلّام وایكـرد نـاوی ئـهوان لـه تۆمـاری كۆمپانیـا بهناوبانگهكانـدا دهرنهكهویّت، ئهمه بهس بوو بۆ ههلخهلهتاندنی رۆژنامهنوسه لۆكالّییهكان.

گرید استی (CVS) تیشك دەخاتەسەر ئەوەی پاریزەری كۆمپانیاكان تا چ ئەندازەيەك دەرۆن بۆ پاریزگاریكردن لە كریارە دیكتاتۆرە دەولەمەندەكانیان، كاتیك بانگكرا بۆ ئەوەی قسە بكات، وینستاین رەتیكردەوە بنەمالهی بارزانی خاوەنی ئەو بینایه بن یاخود تەنانەت لای كۆمپانیای (Cozen OConnor) كاربكەن، لەبری ئەمە وتی ئەو بەلگەنامانەی كە لای بەرپرسی دەرەوەی فلۆریدایە، ھەلەن"...

قسەكانى لە ھەموو شوێنێك بڵاوبونەوە، بەڵام بانگەشەكانى واينستاين لەبارەى ئەوەى تۆمارەكانى بەرپرسى كاروبارى دەرەوەى فلۆرىدا ھەڵەن، جێگا باوەپ نەبوون، چونكە ناوى سەرۆك وەزيرانى ھەرێمى كورددستانو كەسە نزيكەكانى بەشێوەيەكى ھەپەمەكى لە ھەموو بەلگەنامەكانى كۆمپانيا جۆراوجۆرەكانى فلۆريدا بەبى ھۆكار نەسراونەتەوە، رۆبەرت ئەبلىتۆن گەورە داواكارى گشتى پێشوو لە وەزارەتى داد وتى" ناو بەشێكى گرنگە لە تۆمارى كۆمپانيا". ئەم بەلگەنامانە لەلايەن (كوزين ئوكونور)ەوە ئامادەكراونو زۆربەيان لەلايەن (وينستاين)ەوە ئيمزا كراون، ئامادەكردنى بەلگەنامـەى سـاختە بۆ تۆمارى كۆمپانياكان لە فلۆريدا بە تاوان ئەژمار دەكريّت، بەلّام وينسـتاين دەلّىّ ئەمـە لەلايـەن نوسـينگەى پاريّزەرايـەتى تايبەتى بەخۆيەوە كراوە، وەكو ھەوليّك بۆ شاردنەوەى ناوى كړيارەكەى.

روونه که بنهمالهی بارزانی له ههله خوّش نابن، بهلّام ئهوه ههلهیه کی هاوشیّوه بوو که کوّشکه کهیانی له فیّزجینیا ئاشکرا کرد، که سالّی ۲۰۱۰ لهلایهن کوّمپانیایه کی نادیاره وه کریبویان.. بهلّام چاودیّران له کوردستان پیّشبینییان کرد ئهوه مولّك مالّی مهسرور بارزانی بیّت، ههرچهند بهلگهنامه کان ئهمهیان نیشان نه دا تا ئهوکاته ی کهسیّك به ههلّه ریّگه ی دا به ههلّوه شاندنه وه ی تومارکردنی کوّمپانیای فیّرجینیا، نوسراوه که لهلایه ن سهروّکی گروپی (ستیّر)هوه ئیمزا کرابوو، که کوّمپانیایه کی کوردییه و بهگویّره ی بروسکه کانی وهزاره تی ده موی به میکا که سایتی (ویکیلیکس) بلّاویکردنه وه "گروپی ستیّر لهلایهن ئهندامانی بنه ماله ی بارزانییه وه خاوه نداریّتی دهکریّت".

بارزانییهکان تهنیا بق شاردنهوهی پارهکانیان سود له کوّمپانیا نهیّنییهکانی ئهمریکا وهرناگرن، به لّکو بهکاریشیان دههیّنن بق فریودانی ئیدارهی ئهمریکا، ههردوو کوّشکهکهیان له کالیفوّرنیا پهیوهندیدارن به فیّلو فریّك که لـه پـهنتاگوّن كراوه، ئـهم کوّشکانه سـالّی ۲۰۱۸ له لایهن کوّمپانیا نادیارهکانهوه لـه دیلاویّرو فیّرجینا کردراون، لهریّگهی نویّنهرانی کوّمپانیایهکی پاریزهرایهتی بچوك، ئهم کوشکانه له گهورهترین پروّسهی کرینهکان له میژووی (بیّفرلی هیّلز)دا، ئهمهش کاتیّك ئاشکرا بوو که کهرتی خانوبهره له (Variety) ناوی کارمهندهکهی بنهمالّهی بارزانی (هـهڤالّ دوّسکی) لهسهر نوسراوی تایبهت بهو مولّکانه ئاشکراکرد.

هەڤال دۆسكى نێوەندگير بوو لە پلانێكدا كە تێيدا كـرينى سـوتەمەنى بـۆ بنكـەكانى ئـەمريكا لـە كوردسـتان دەدات بـەو بەڵێندەرانەى كە سەربە بارزانى بوون، ئەمەش نرخێكى زياتر لە نرخى بـازارى خسـتە ئەسـتۆى وەزارەتـى بـەرگرى ئـەمريكا (پەنتاگۆن)ەوە، پێدەچێت بە داھاتى ئەو گرێبەستانە پارەى ئەم كۆشكانە دابين كرابێت.

هەموو ئەمانە ئەو پرسيارە دەوروژيّنن: ئايا بارزانىيەكان ھاوشيّوەى ستەمكارەكانى تر چەنديّك مولّكو مالّى شاراوەيان لە ئەمريكادا ھەيە؟ پاريّزەرى كۆمپانياكان ھەلّە دەكەن، بەلّام ھەموو جاريّك نا، رەنگە زۆريش ھەلّە نەكەن.

زۆرىنەى لىكۆلىنەوە رۆژنامەوانىيەكان لە كۆمپانيا وەھمىيە ناديارەكانو كريارى خانوبەرە نھىنىيەكان بە شكست كۆتاييان دىت، تەنانەت لەكاتى ديارىكردنى پارچە زەوييەكەشدا، نەمتوانى تۆمارى مولكيەتى خانويەكى تر كە ئەگەرى ھەيە ھى بارزانى بىت لە كاليفۆرىيا بەدەست بخەم، پارىزەرەكان كە لەپشت ئەم كۆمپانيايەوەن، ھىچ ھەلەيەك ناكەنو ناسىنامەكە بەتەواوەتى بەشاراوەيى دەھىنىدە، بەتايبەتىش كە ويلايەتىكى وەكو ديلاويدر پارىزىگارى لە ياساى بەنھىنى ھىشىتىنەوەى كۆمپانياكان دەكات، بۆيە لىكۆلىنەوە، بەتايبەتىش كە ويلايەتىكى وەكو ديلاويدر پارىزگارى لە ياساى بەنھىنى ھىشىتەدەى كۆمپانياكان دەكات، بۆيە لىكۆلىنەوە رۆژنامەوانىيەكان لە گەندەلىيەكان، بەشىرەيەكى بەردەوام بە بىبەست دەگات... ئەم كۆمپانيا نەيىنىيانە ھەر دەمىنىن تا ئەدەكاتەي خەلكانى وەكو بىنەمالەى بارزانى پارەيان ھەبىت بۆ ئەوەى بىشارىنەوە، تاكە چارەسەرى راستەقىنە ئەرەيەيە، دىزە بەلىلەيەنى دەلەرىيەكان لە گەندەلىيەكان، بەشىرەيەكى بەردەوام بە بىبەست دەگات... ئەم كۆمپانيا دەكات، بۆيە لىكۆلىنەوە رۆرنامەوانىيەكان لە گەندەلىيەكان، بەشىرەيەكى بەردەوام بە بىبەست دەگات... ئەم كۆمپانياكان دەكات، بۆيە لىكۆلىيەيە يەھەريەيەكان يەكان يەكرىيەكان، بەتىرەيەتى يەردەيەم بىت

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# Cowboy Drugstore Traces of a kleptocrat from Iraq to Delaware to Miami

# BY ZACK KOPPLIN DECEMBER 7, 2021

Masrour Barzani, Iraqi Kurdistan prime minister and owner of a Miami building housing a CVS

This article appears in the November/December 2021 issue of The American Prospect magazine.

A few blocks from the water, in the heart of Miamis glitzy South Beach, is a drugstore not like the others. Tourists buying sunscreen and straw hats from the CVS on Washington Avenue are financing a Middle Eastern kleptocrat.

The plexiglass building housing the roughly 12,000-square-foot pharmacy is worth \$18.3 million and, because of favorable rent terms negotiated with CVS, should generate significant profit for its landlord. In 2019, based on Miami property records, local press credited a Virginia-based real estate company, KLNB, with purchasing the building. But the Virginia firms inclusion in the property registrar was a diversion. "KLNB is not the owner of this property and had no involvement in the transaction," a company representative said.

The actual purchase was made by an anonymous Delaware shell company. Buried in incorporation documents for this Delaware companys Florida branch is the name of the buildings real owner: Masrour Barzani, the prime minister of Iraqi Kurdistan.

# More from Zack Kopplin

A semi-independent region in Iraqs north, Kurdistan is a hereditary monarchy in all but name and has been dominated by the Barzani family for decades. The Kurdish prime minister has abused his power to attack, torture, and kill his critics, including Saudi-style assassinations of journalists. While he previously served as the regions intelligence chief, Barzani had a local university student, Zardasht Osman, tortured and killed for publishing a satirical poem about the social advancement that would come with marrying one of the prime ministers sisters.

The Kurdish prime minister is not a benign pharmacy operator. But because of Americas underappreciated role as an enabler of corporate secrecy, if not for a clerical error, South Beach residents would have no idea about the Washington Avenue CVS.

No one knows the extent of the illicit wealth hidden inside the United States. Corporate secrecy laws, maintained by states like Delaware, keep it that way. But tracing the Barzani familys investments, like this Miami pharmacy, explains why America has become an appealing destination for dirty money.

THROUGH OIL AND CORRUPTION, the Barzanis, whose agents did not respond to requests for comment, have amassed enormous amounts of wealth. For example, a real estate investment in Kurdistan, owned by a company secretly connected to one of the prime ministers brothers, has been valued at \$1.27 billion. Like other despots, the Barzanis turned to secrecy havens, the kind of places exposed by the Panama and Pandora Papers, to conceal their money.

Secrecy havens are jurisdictions that dont require public disclosure of the names of the owners and shareholders of companies housed within their borders. This enables all sorts of financial crimes, from tax evasion to money laundering and facilitating bribery. But, unlike the king of Jordan and Argentinas former president, whose secret companies got busted in previous offshore leaks, Barzani assets and business deals were not exposed in the Panama and Pandora Papers.

Theyve only been caught in one major leak, a database of Dubai property records, obtained by the nonprofit Center for Advanced Defense Studies, which contains details about the Barzanis assets in the uber-expensive Burj Khalifa complex and one of the citys artificial islands, Palm Jumeirah, along with the familys connections to United Arab Emirates royalty.

This is because instead of Cayman Island beaches, the Barzanis opted for an office building in Delaware owned by the CT Corporation, an American branch of a Dutch company, Wolters Kluwer, that specializes in creating anonymous companies.

Though less picturesque, Americas corporate secrecy regime is virtually equivalent to what is offered by any Caribbean island. In many states, rather than disclosing real ownership, wealthy individuals can hire agents and representatives to put their names and addresses on corporate paperwork instead, or arent required to supply ownership information at all. A network of accountants, law firms, and consultants, like Wolters Kluwer, will set up and manage these secret companies for anyone who can pay.

The Barzanis have enough secret property, which also includes mansions in California and Virginia, that theyve now been caught hiding money in America four times. Collectively, the family has paid over \$75 million for these four properties alone. These investments likely represent only a small fraction of the familys secret wealth in the United States. None of these properties were discovered through a Panama Papers–style leak. Instead, all four properties, which had proxy owners and expensive law firms to protect them, were only unmasked because their agents made small slipups.

Tracing the Barzani family investments explains why America has become an appealing destination for dirty money.

In the case of the CVS, it was a Pennsylvania-based law firm, Cozen OConnor, that appears to have exposed their own secret client. Over two months, beginning in December 2018, the law firm opened three Florida companies and a Delaware company all named after the pharmacys Washington Avenue address. The paperwork for the Florida companies included the Kurdish prime ministers name and signature, along with that of one of his other brothers, Muksi Barzani.

Those names were not meant to become public and, shortly after the pharmacys purchase, the law firm removed them from the companies. The Barzanis were replaced with one of Cozen OConnors own lawyers, Matthew Weinstein. It wasnt a perfect solution, but this legal triage was highly effective. You wont find their names in popular corporation research databases, and it was enough to fool local journalists.

The CVS deal also highlights how far corporate lawyers will go to defend their wealthy dictator clients. When called for comment, Weinstein categorically denied that the Barzanis owned the building or were clients of Cozen OConnor. Instead, he said the corporate documents held by the Florida secretary of state were incorrect. (Later, in response to follow-up questions, Weinstein denied saying any of the things that he had previously said. "If you choose to write an article about the Barzani family, your characterization of my response to you must be 'Mr. Weinstein would not comment on these matters," he wrote in an email(.

His statements were all over the place, but Weinsteins core claim, that the Florida secretary of states records were wrong, is implausible. The names of the Kurdish prime minister and his relatives dont just randomly end up all over incorporation documents for multiple Florida companies for no reason. "The name is a significant piece of the corporate registry," said Robert Appleton, a former senior prosecutor for the Department of Justice. These documents were prepared by Cozen OConnor and many were signed by Weinstein personally. Submitting falsified documents to the Florida corporate registrar is a felony, but thats essentially what Weinstein claimed his law firm had done, in a last-ditch attempt to conceal the identity of his clients.

Obviously, the Barzanis do not tolerate errors, but it was a similar mistake that exposed their Virginia mansion. It was purchased in 2010, by an anonymous Virginia company put together by a local law firm. For years, Kurdistan watchers had speculated the property belonged to Masrour Barzani, but documentary evidence didnt emerge until someone accidentally allowed the registration for the Virginia company to lapse. Its reinstatement paperwork was signed by the chairman of Ster Group, a Kurdish conglomerate. According to State Department cables published by WikiLeaks, Ster Group is owned by members of the Barzani family.

APPLICATION FOR OF A VIRGINIA LIMITED	C 11
OF A VIRGINIA LIMITE	DEIABILITY COMPANY _
Date: 12/10/2015	
To: State Corporation Commission	L oot Day for Poinstatement
Office of the Clerk	Last Day for Reinstatement January 31, 2020
From: APEKS, LLC	10
SCC ID No. S341159 - 4	
Sincerely	DCN:
(signature)	DON
SARWAR PEDAWI (printed name) Manager	Reinstatement Fee:   \$00
(title (e.g., manager or member))	R/A? Yes: No: V N/C:   P/O7: Yes: No: V N/C:   Exam By: O O Date: Io
CHECK IF APPLICABLE:	Lam by. 123 Date. 12-14-15
The person signing this application on behalf the right and power to manage the company's	of the limited liability company has been delegated business and affairs.
This application <u>must</u> be signed by a person who is a man person with some other title who has been delegated the affairs (with the box checked). "Owner" is not an accepta	right and power to manage the company's business an
Provide a name and mailing address to which correspondenc eft blank, it will be sent to the address on a cover letter, if any	
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CORPORATION SERVICE COMPANY 1201 Hays Street Tallhassee, FL 32301 Phone: 850-558-1500

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ACCOUNT NO. : 12000000195

REFERENCE : 545454 4983A

AUTHORIZATION :

COST LIMIT : \$ 7 ena. 00 

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ORDER DATE : December 14, 2018

- ORDER TIME : 2:45 PM
- ORDER NO. : 545454-005

CUSTOMER NO: 4983A

## DOMESTIC FILING

NAME : 983 WASHINGTON SB, LLC

#### EFFECTIVE DATE:

	ARTICLES OF	INCORPORATION
	CERTIFICATE	OF LIMITED PARTNERSHIP
<u>XX</u>	ARTICLES OF	ORGANIZATION

PLEASE RETURN THE FOLLOWING AS PROOF OF FILING:

	CERTIFIED COPY
XX	PLAIN STAMPED COPY
a	CERTIFICATE OF GOOD STANDING

CONTACT PERSON: Emily Croft - EXT. 62925

EXAMINER'S INITIALS:

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## COVER LETTER

TO: New Filing Section Division of Corporations

983 Washington SB, LLC SUBJECT:

Name of Limited Liability Company

The enclosed Articles of Organization and fee(s) are submitted for filing.

Please return all correspondence concerning this matter to the following:

Matthew Weinstein, Esquire

Name of Person

Cozen O'Connor

Firm/Company

One Liberty Place, 1650 Market Street, Suite 2800

Address

Philadelphia, PA 19103

City/State and Zip Code

E-mail address: (to be used for future annual report notification)

For further information concerning this matter, please call:

MatthewWeinstein@cozen.com

15125.00 Filing Fee	Certificate of Status	S155.00 Filing Fee & Certified Copy (additional copy is enclosed)	S160.00 Filing Fee. Certificate of Status & Certified Copy
		(additional copy is choiced)	(additional copy is enclosed)

Mailing Address New Filing Section Division of Corporations P.O. Box 6327 Tallahassee, FL 32314 <u>Street Address</u> New Filing Section Division of Corporations Clifton Building 2661 Executive Center Circle Tallahassee, FL 32301

## ARTICLES OF ORGANIZATION FOR FLORIDA LIMITED LIABILITY COMPANY

#### ARTICLE1 - Name:

-

The name of the Limited Liability Company is:

983 Washington SB, LLC

(Must contain the words "Limited Liability Company, "L.L.C.," or "LLC.")

ARTICLE II - Address:

The mailing address and street address of the principal office of the Limited Liability Company is:

Principal Office Address:	Mailing Address:		
c/o Cozen O'Connor	c/o Cozen O'Connor		
One Liberty Place, 1650 Market St., # 2800	One Liberty Place, 1650 Market St., # 28		
Philadelphia, PA 19103	Philadelphia, PA 19103		

ARTICLE III - Registered Agent, Registered Office, & Registered Agent's Signature: (The Limited Liability Company cannot serve as its own Registered Agent. You must designate an individual or another business entity with an active Florida registration.)

The name and the Florida street address of the registered agent are:

. . . .

	Name	•
1201 Hays Street		
Florida street addre	ss (P.O. Box <u>NOT</u> a	cceptable)
Tallahassee	FL	32301

Having been named as registered agent and to accept service of process for the above stated limited liability company at the place designated in this certificate. I hereby accept the appointment as registered agent and agree to act in this capacity. I further agree to comply with the provisions of all statutes relating to the proper and complete performance of my duties, and I am familiar with and accept the obligations of my position as registered agent as provided for in Chapter 605, F.S.

Corporation Service Company 1 ro ed Agent gnature (REQUIRED)

(CONTINUED)

Emily Croft Asst. Vice President

SECRETARY UN STATE 18 DEC 14 NY 3 31 FILED

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ARTICLE IV-The name and address of each person authorized to manage and control the Limited Liability Company:

Title:	Name and Address:
"AMBR" = Authorized Member	
"MGR" = Manager AMBR	Masrour Barzani c/o Cozen O'Connor
	One Liberty Place, 1650 Market St., # 2800
	Philadelphia, PA 19103
	<u>,</u>
(Use attachment if necessary)	
(Ose attachment if necessary)	
ARTICLE V: Effective date, if other than the date of	filing: (OPTIONAL)
	ic and cannot be more than five business days prior to or 90 days after
Note: If the date inserted in this block does not meet the document's effective date on the Department of S	t the applicable statutory filing requirements, this date will not be listed as State's records.
ARTICLE VI: Other provisions, if any,	

REQUIRED SIGNATURE	
The Vith	
1/ and letomore	
Signature of a metpber or an authorized representative of a member.	
This document is executed in accordance with section 605.0203 (1) (b), Florida Statutes	
I am aware that any false information submitted in a document to the Department of State	:
constitutes a third degree felony as provided for in s.817,155, F.S.	
Harry Reichner, Paralegal and Authorized Person	
Typed or printed name of signee	
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Filing Fees:	
\$125.00 Filing Fee for Articles of Organization and Designation of Registered Agent	DEC
\$ 30.00 Certified Copy (Optional)	-
\$ 5.00 Certificate of Status (Optional)	5
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(City/State/Zip/Phone #)	FILED MAIS M917
Special Instructions to Filing Officer:	13 INR 15 ATTIO: 53
	NAR 1 8 2019

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CORPORATION SERVICE COMPANY 1201 Hays Street Tallhassee, FL 32301 Phone: 850-558-1500

ACCOUNT NO. : I2000000195

REFERENCE : 685876

4983A

AUTHORIZATION :

AUTHORIZATION : Squed Eleman COST LIMIT : \$ 25,00 -----

ORDER DATE : March 14, 2019 ORDER TIME : 10:01 AM ORDER NO. : 685876-005

CUSTOMER NO: 4983A

## FOREIGN FILINGS

NAME: 983 WASHINGTON SB, LLC

CORPORATE LIMITED PARTNERSHIP XX LIMITED LIABILITY COMPANY

XXXX AMENDMENT

PLEASE RETURN THE FOLLOWING AS PROOF OF FILING:

	CERTIFIED COPY	
XX	PLAIN STAMPED COPY	
	CERTIFICATE OF GOOD	STANDING

CONTACT PERSON: Emily Croft -- EXT# 62925

EXAMINER:

#### . . . .

# **COVER LETTER**

TO: Registration Section Division of Corporations

# SUBJECT: 983 WASHINGTON SB, LLC

Name of Foreign Limited Liability Company

Dear Sir or Madam:

The enclosed application, certificate and fee(s) are submitted for filing.

Please return all correspondence concerning this matter to the following:

Mott	how	Maina	toin	Ena
wall	new	Weins	leni,	LSY

Name of Person

Cozen O'Connor

Firm/Company

# 1650 Market St., Suite 2800

Address

# Philadelphia, PA 19103

City/State and Zip Code

# MatthewWeinstein@cozen.com

E-mail address: (to be used for future annual report notification)

For further information concerning this matter, please call:

Matthew Weinstein, Esq.

Name of Person

# \_at (215 Area Code & Daytime Telephone Number

P.O. Box 6327

MAILING ADDRESS:

Division of Corporations

Tallahassee, Florida 32314

**Registration Section** 

STREET/COURIER ADDRESS: Registration Section

Division of Corporations Clifton Building 2661 Executive Center Circle Tallahassee, Florida 32301

## Enclosed is a check for the following amount:

S25 Filing Fee S30 Filing Fee & Certificate of Status Certified Copy

S60 Filing Fee, Certificate of Status & Certified Copy

CR2E055 (9/15)

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# APPLICATION BY FOREIGN LIMITED LIABILITY COMPANY TO FILE AMENDMENT TO CERTIFICATE OF AUTHORITY TO TRANSACT **BUSINESS IN FLORIDA**

#### SECTION 1 (1-4 must be completed)

1. Name of limited liability Company as it appears on the records of the Florida Department of

Enter new principal office address, if applicable:	
	19
(Principal office address	
<u>MUST BE A STREET ADDRESS)</u>	
	5 15
	1.2.1.2
Enter new mailing address, if applicable:	二世 星
(Mailing address	0.10
MAY BE A POST OFFICE BOX)	

2. The Florida document number of this limited liability company is: M19000000970

3. Jurisdiction of its organization: \_\_\_\_\_

4. Date authorized to do business in Florida: 01/28/2019

SECTION II (5-9 complete only the applicable changes)

5. New name of the limited liability company:

(must contain "Limited Liability Company, " "L.L.C.," or "LLC.")

(If name unavailable, enter alternate name adopted for the purpose of transacting business in Florida and attach a copy of the written consent of the managers or managing members adopting the alternate name. The alternate name must contain "Limited Liability Company," "L.L.C." or "LLC.")

6. If amending the registered agent and/or registered officer address on our records, enter the name of the new registered agent and/or the new registered office address here:

Name of New Registered Agent:

New Registered Office Address:		
	Enter Florida Street Address	
	. Florida	
	City Zip C	ode

<u>New Registered Agent's Signature, if changing Registered Agent:</u> *I hereby accept the appointment as registered agent and agree to act in this capacity. I further agree to comply with* the provisions of all statutes relative to the proper and complete performance of my duties, and I am familiar with and accept the obligations of my position as registered agent as provided for in Chapter 605, F.S. Or, if this document is being filed to merely reflect a change in the registered office address, I hereby confirm that the limited liability company has been notified in writing of this change.

> If Changing Registered Agent, Signature of New Registered Agent 3

. . . . .

7. If the amendment changes the jurisdiction of organization, indicate new jurisdiction:

8. If the amendment changes person, title or capacity in accordance with 605.0902 (1)(e), indicate that change:

\_\_\_\_\_

Title/ Capacity	Name	Address	Type of Action
Member	Muksi M. Barzani	1650 Market St.,	Suite 2800
		Philadelphia, F	PA 19103 Remove
Authented Preson	Matthew Weinstein	1650 Market St.,	Suite 2800
		Philadelphia, F	
			Remove
		<del>.</del>	Add
aforementione	certificate, if required: no more than 90 day ed amendment(s), duly authenticated by the ider the law of which this entity is organize	official having custody of re	cords in the
		authorized representative	
	Matthew Weinst		
	Filing Fee	-	

4

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RESIDENTS BUSINESS

GOVERNMENT

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CONT

SERVICES CONNECT PROPERTY SE

Address Map Number Map Search Search Home

Profile Sales Values Tax Details Residential Commercial Map Structure Size

MAP #: 03 APEKS LL	01 02 0019 C		1322 BALLS	HILL RD	1 of 1
Sales Histo	vry				Return to Search Results
Date	Amount	Seler	Buyer		Actions
10/29/2010	\$10,200	,000 DARVISHI MICHAEL MASOUD	APEKS LLC		A Neighborhood Sales
07/31/2002	\$849	,000	DARVISHI MICHAEL MASOUD		Printable Summary
08/01/1984	\$245	,500	LATHROP SHARONE C AND		Printable Version
04/25/1980	\$194	,000			
					Links
Sales				1 of 4 >	
Date		10/29/2010			Definition Of Terms
Amount		\$10,200,000			
Seller		DARVISHI MICHAEL M	IASOUD		
Buyer		APEKS LLC			
Notes		Valid and verified sale			
Deed Book an	nd Page	21333-1390			





Main Address 12000 Government Center Pkwy Fairfax, VA 22035 Phone 703-FAIRFAX TTY 711

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#### ARTICLES OF ORGANIZATION FOR FLORIDA LIMITED LIABILITY COMPANY

#### ARTICLE I - Name:

The name of the Limited Liability Company is:

983 Washington Manager, LLC (Must contain the words "Limited Liability Company, "L.L.C.," or "LLC.")

> Tallahassee City

ARTICLE II - Address: The mailing address and street address of the principal office of the Limited Liability Company is:

Principal Office Address:	Mailing Address:
c/o Cozen O'Connor	c/o Cozen O'Connor
One Liberty Place, 1650 Market St., # 2800	One Liberty Place, 1650 Market St., # 28
Philadelphia, PA 19103	Philadelphia, PA 19103
	5.
ARTICLE III - Registered Agent, Registered Office, & Registe (The Limited Liability Company cannot serve as its own Registerer another business entity with an active Florida registration.) The name and the Florida street address of the registered agent are	d Agent. You must designate an individual or Agent
Corporation Service Compa	ny 2 1.1
Name	
1201 Hays Street	E
Florida street address (P.O. Ho	N NOT acceptable)

Having been named as registered agent and to accept service of process for the above stated limited liability company at the place designated in this certificate. I hereby accept the appointment as registered agent and agree to act in this capacity. I further agree to comply with the provisions of all statutes relating to the proper and complete performance of my duties, and I am familiar with and accept the obligations of my position as registered agent as provided for in Chapter 605, F.S.,

FL

State

Corporation Service Company miles By EQUIRED) Registered Agent's Signatu Emily Croft (CONTINUED) Asst. Vice President

32301

Zip



#### FLORIDA DEPARTMENT OF STATE DIVISION OF CORPORATIONS

# DISSOCIATION OR RESIGNATION OF MEMBER, MANAGER FROM FLORIDA OR FOREIGN LIMITED LIABILITY COMPANY

(Pursuant to 605.0216, Florida Statutes)

- 1. The name of the limited liability company as it appears on the records of the Florida Department of State is: \_\_\_\_\_Washington SB, LLC
- 2. The Florida document/registration number assigned to this limited liability company is:

L18000286169

- 3/15/19 3. The date this member/manager withdrew/resigned or will withdraw/resign is:
- Masrour Barzani 4. I.

(Print Name of Person Resigning)

Member

(Print Title) of this limited liability company and affirm the limited liability company has been notified of my resignation in writing. NAY OF STATE resignation in writing. 5

, hereby withdraw/resign as a

(T)

N. D

Ģ

00

Signature of Dissociating Member or Resigning Manager

\$25.00 (Required) Filing Fee: Certified Copy: \$30.00 (Optional)

ARTICLE IV-

The name and address of each person authorized to manage and control the Limited Liability Company:

Title: "AMBR" = Authorized Member	Name and Address:
"MGR" ~ Manager AMBR	Masrour Barzani do Cozen O'Connor One Liberty Place, 1650 Market St., # 2800
	Philadelphia, PA 19103
	T and the second
	in the second se
(Use attachment if necessary)	5

(Use attachment if necessary)

ARTICLE V: Effective date, if other than the date of filing: \_\_\_\_\_\_\_. (OPTIONAL) (If an effective date is listed, the date must be specific and cannot be more than five business days prior to or 90 days after

(if an effective date inserted in this block does not meet the applicable statutory filing requirements, this date will not be listed as the document's effective date on the Department of State's records.

ARTICLE VI: Other provisions, if any.

REOUD	ED SIGNATURE
	Signature of a perputer or an authorized representative of a member.
	This document is seeflined in accordance with section 605.0203 (1) (b). Florida Statutes I am aware that any false information submitted in a document to the Department of State constitutes a third degree felony as provided for in s.817.155, F.S.
	Harry Reichner, Paralegal and Authorized Person
	Typed or printed name of signee

- Filing Fees: \$125.00 Filing Fee for Articles of Organization and Designation of Registered Agent
- \$ 30.00 Certified Copy (Optional)
- \$ 5.00 Certificate of Status (Optional)

IN COMPLIANCE WITH SECTION 665,6902, FLORIDA STATUTES, THE FOLLOWING IS SUBJECTED TO REGISTER A FORDERY. LIMITED LIABILITY	
COMPANY TO TRANSACT BUSINESS IN THE STATE OF FLORIDA:	

1. 983 WASHINGTON SB, LLC

(Name of Foreign Limited )	Lability Company.	must include "Limited	Lubility Company."	LLC. a LLC.)

## Of none onwelsbic, over element more adopted for the purpose of messaring business in Florida. The abstract name tast include "United Liability Company," "L.L.C." or "LLC.")

	Delaware	1
	(Inradiction under the law of which foreign finated habits company is organized)	(FEI sunder, if applicable)
4.	12/14/2018	
	(Date first transacted basecess in Plands, if provide to a (See sections 601 0904 & 605 0905, F.S. to determine	epositeinen) se penaity: katelity;)

5. c/o Cozen O'Connor Great Address of One Liberty Place, 16	Praceal Cifice) 50 Market Street, Suite 2800	6. (Shellag Address)	14.5
Philadelphia, PA 1910	03		50 6
Nome and street addre	ss of Florida registered agent: (P.O. ) Corporation Service Company	llox <u>NOT</u> acceptable)	AN 28 AN E DARY SI HASSEE
Office Address:	1201 Hays Street		51 =

#### Registered agent's acceptance:

Having been named as registered agent and to accept service of process for the above stated limited liability company at the place designated in this application. I hereby accept the appointment as registered agent and agree to act in this copacity. I further agree to comply with the provisions of all statutes relative to the proper and complete performance of my duties, and I am familiar with and accept the obligations of my Traition as registered agent Roxanne Turner

8. The name, title or capacity and address of the person(s) who has/have authority to manage is/are: Title or Canacity: Name and Address: Title or Canacity:

Title or Capacity:	Name and Address:	Title or Capacity:	Name and Address:
Member	Muksi M. Barzani		
	One Liberty Place, 1650 Mark- Philadelphia, PA 19103	10 0000 - 10	

(Use attachments if necessary)

9. Attached is a certificate of existence, no more than 90 days old, duly authenticated by the official having custody of records in the jurisdiction under the law of which it is organized. (If the certificate is in a foreign language, a translation of the certificate under oath of the translator must be submitted)

10. This document is executed in accuritence	restriction 605.0206 (1) (b), Florida Statutes. I am aware that any false information
submitted in a document to the Distribution	Store provided for in s.#17.155, F.S.
1	Signature of an authorized person
	- 같은 같은 것

	THIS IS NO	T A STATEMENT OF	GOOD STAND	
File Number:	7249296	Incorporation Date / Formation Date:	1/23/2019 (mm/dd/yyyy)	
Entity Name:	983 WASHINGTON SB, LLC			
Entity Kind:	Limited Liability Company	Entity Type:	General	
Residency:	Domestic	State:	DELAWARE	
REGISTERED AG	INT INFORMATION			
REGISTERED AGE Name:	CORPORATION	SERVICE COMPANY	r	
			ſ	
Name:	CORPORATION		New Castle	
Name: Address:	CORPORATION 251 LITTLE FAL	LS DRIVE		