

December 23, 2014

David S. Jones, Esq.  
U.S. Department of Justice  
U.S. Attorney's Office Southern District of New York  
86 Chambers Street  
New York, NY 10007  
United States of America

Re: Syrian Sanctions Regulations - Prohibitions on Publishing Activities

Dear David:

I am writing on behalf of The Association of American University Presses, Inc. ("AAUP"), The Professional/Scholarly Publishing Division of the Association of American Publishers, Inc. ("PSP"), and PEN American Center, Inc. ("PEN") to express our concern that the Syrian Sanctions Regulations, recently amended and re-issued in their entirety on May 2, 2014, do not permit American publishers to engage in the necessary activities to publish and market books and journal articles written or co-authored by Syrian authors. *See* 31 CFR Part 542. The Syrian Sanctions Regulations violate federal law and the First Amendment, and by severely restricting the ability of American publishers to publish works by Syrian academics, dissidents and opponents of the Assad regime and/or ISIS, make a terrible policy decision at odds with this country's longstanding traditions at a time when the American public most needs to educate itself about Syria.

As you know, AAUP, PSP and PEN filed a suit against OFAC in 2004 alleging that certain sanctions regulations promulgated by OFAC regulating and prohibiting activities necessary for the publication in the United States of written works by authors in Cuba, Iran and Sudan violated the Trading With the Enemy Act, the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, and the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Following our filing of the complaint and a motion for a preliminary injunction, OFAC published new regulations, codified at 31 CFR §§ 515.577, 538.529 and 560.538, which effectively granted the publishers of books, journals and newspapers a general license to engage in all transactions necessary and ordinarily incident to the publishing and marketing of written publications authored by writers in Cuba, Iran and the Sudan ("General License"), with certain limited exceptions for works authored by the governments of Cuba, Iran and Sudan. Shortly thereafter, a similar General License for written publications was added to OFAC's Burma regulations.

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Although the AAUP, PSP and PEN remained of the view that the revised OFAC regulations continued to violate the above-cited laws and the First Amendment, the General Licenses for written publications at least allowed publishers to publish many (although not all) of the works that they desired to publish. Before agreeing to dismiss the suit without prejudice, however, our firm expressed repeated concern on behalf of our clients that any future sanctions regimes against other nations contain similar protections for written publications. You and I discussed these concerns at length, and you provided several assurances culminating in a “Whereas” clause in the Stipulation of Dismissal filed on Oct. 2, 2007 stating that:

OFAC acknowledges that many of the same or similar policy considerations that contributed to the issuance of the General Licenses are likely to apply with respect to any additional countries subject to trading sanctions and that OFAC will take such policy considerations into account in the event that it issues regulations pertaining to additional countries under trading sanction.

*See* attached Stipulation of Dismiss Pursuant to Fed. R. Civ. P.41, Exh. A.

Despite this provision, OFAC’s recently amended and re-issued Syrian Sanctions Regulations appear to prohibit American publishers from engaging in many of the core publishing and marketing activities necessary for publishing written works by Syrian authors. Moreover, for the first time, the May 2, 2014 regulations prohibit “services” to all Syrians, not just specially designated individuals found to be supporting terrorism and the like. Despite these broad-sweeping restrictions, the General License for written publications is nowhere to be found in the Syrian Sanctions Regulations.

The recently issued Syrian Sanctions Regulations contain many of the same essential prohibitions that were the subject of our earlier suit. Thus, although the Syrian Sanctions Regulations are structured somewhat differently than, for example, the Iranian Transaction Regulations (Part 560), Section 542.207 prohibits the exportation or supply, directly or indirectly, of any “services” to Syria by a U.S. person. Section 542.405 clarifies that this prohibition applies to services performed on behalf of any “person in Syria,” in addition to the Government of Syria. Critically, §542.211 prohibits a broad range of editing and marketing activities that are often central to publishing, and is structured in the same fashion as the OFAC regulations targeted in our earlier suit. Thus, while subsection (1) of §542.211(b) contains the required language from the Berman Amendment stating that the prohibitions of this part do not apply to the import or export of information and informational materials, subsection (2) contradicts that core premise by listing many routine publishing-related activities that are not subject to the exemption for information and informational materials and presumably qualify as prohibited “services” according to OFAC:

This section does not exempt from regulation or authorize transactions related to information or informational materials not fully created and in existence at the date of the transactions, or to the substantive or artistic alteration or enhancement of informational materials, or to the provision of marketing and business consulting services. Such prohibited transactions include, but are not limited to, payment of advances for information or informational materials not yet created and completed (with the exception of prepaid subscriptions for widely circulated magazines and other periodical publications); provision of services to market, produce or co-produce, create, or assist in the creation of information or informational materials; and payment of royalties with respect to income received for enhancements or alterations made by U.S. persons to such information or informational materials.

31 CFR §542.211(b)(2).

Further, the Syrian Sanctions Regulations lack critical safeguards regarding works written by academics at state institutions. While the General License in the revised Iranian Transaction Regulations, for example, limits American publishers' ability to engage in publishing transactions with the "Government of Iran," the Iranian regulations clarify that "Government of Iran "does not include any academic and research institutions and their personnel" and only extends to government employees acting on behalf of the government with respect to the publishing transactions. The other sanctions regulations contain similar (although not always identical) protections. The Syrian Sanctions Regulations, however, contain no such protections for publications authored by academics at state universities or employees of research institutes, and define "Government of Syria" extremely broadly, including any corporation or association in which the government of Syria owns a 50% interest, and any person acting on behalf of the government in any capacity.<sup>1</sup>

The Syrian Sanctions Regulations violate the Trading With the Enemy Act, the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, and the First Amendment for all the same

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<sup>1</sup> The Syrian Sanctions Regulations also provide that all property of the Government of Syria is blocked and may not be paid or otherwise dealt in. 31 CFR §542.201. Such property includes royalties, trademarks or copyrights, "services of any nature whatsoever" and "contracts of any nature whatsoever." 31 CFR 542.315. Such provisions would also appear to impair the ability of American publishers to engage in the usual publishing and marketing activities with authors who are government employees, including academics, or with scientists at corporations in which the Syrian government owns a 50% interest.

reasons set forth in our 2004 brief in support of our motion for a preliminary injunction against the OFAC regulations. Since I know you are extremely familiar with our legal arguments, I will not repeat them here. Suffice it to say, Congress twice has made very clear that OFAC is not supposed to be regulating the import or export of information, directly or indirectly. As Representative Berman eloquently expressed: “The fact that we disapprove of the government of a particular country ought not to inhibit our dialog with the people who suffer under those governments . . . . Consistent adherence to our own democratic principles is the surest way to promote our political values abroad.” 138 Cong. Rec. E1856-04, E1857. OFAC’s attempt to draw a fine-line distinction between its acknowledged lack of authority to regulate the import or export of information and informational materials, directly or indirectly, and its alleged ability to regulate the basic steps involved in publishing information as so-called “services” cannot stand. Further, the regulations impose an unconstitutional burden on core First Amendment rights which cannot survive either exacting or intermediate scrutiny. OFAC cannot establish that it has a compelling interest in preventing American publishers from editing and marketing works authored by the Syrian people, including human rights advocates, dissidents opposed to the Assad regime or ISIS, doctors, and scientists – when one of the key Executive Orders authorizing sanctions states that their very purpose is to protect “the people of Syria” from “the Government of Syria’s escalation of violence against [them].” Executive Order 13582 of August 17, 2011.

A review of a few of the works published by Syrian authors quickly demonstrates that they make valuable contributions to the public’s ability to understand Syria, including its history, politics, society and current conditions – information that is critical as the U.S. grapples with the proper course of action to pursue in that war-torn country. As Senator Mathias stated in sponsoring the predecessor bill to the Berman Amendment, “Through open and robust debate in the marketplace of ideas, American citizens inform themselves of choices that affect their lives.” 132 Cong. Rec. S3707-04 (1986). Here are a few examples:

- Sami Moubayed is a professor at the University of Kalamoon in Syria and a well-known historian. His books on modern Syria include *Damascus Between Democracy and Dictatorship* (2000) and *Steel and Silk: Men and Women Who Shaped Syria 1900-2000* (2006). His most current book, *Syria and the USA*, published by the British publisher Palgrave MacMillan, is the winner of the CHOICE Outstanding Academic Titles of 2012. Mr. Moubayed’s articles on Middle East Affairs have appeared in a variety of newspapers, and he is a blogger for The Huffington Post.
- *Syria Speaks* is an anthology of works by Syrian writers and artists, edited by two Syrian writers and a British writer. It won an English PEN award for “showcasing the works of over fifty artists and writers who are challenging the culture of violence in Syria. . . . In Syria, culture has become a critical line of defence against tyranny.” See Exh. B hereto.

As one book reviewer stated, “The people shown living, dreaming and speaking here are far more than victims and only silent if we refuse to hear them.” See Exh. C hereto.

- Sadik J. Al-Azm is one of Syria’s most prominent intellectuals and a recipient of the 2004 Erasmus Prize. He is the author of a lengthy scholarly article titled “Syria in Revolt: Understanding the Unthinkable War,” published by *Boston Review*.
- *Voices Revealed: Arab Women Novelists, 1898-2000*, written by Bouthaina Shaaban, professor of English at Damascus University, was widely praised as a great addition to the field of Arabic literature at large and Arab women’s literature in particular.

Moreover, Syrian authors make vital contributions to the advancement of knowledge in numerous scientific fields, including medicine, geology, agriculture and the study of ancient civilizations. Scientific and medical publishers in prior years have published dozens of articles a year authored or co-authored by Syrians. It is critical to the advancement of science that Syrian scientists and doctors continue to be a part of the world community in their fields, and that American scholars continue to be able to collaborate with them. Some illustrative articles authored or co-authored by Syrians include:

- “Prevalence of antibiotic resistance among *Acinetobacter baumannii* isolates from Aleppo Syria,” *American Journal of Infection Control* (Oct. 2012), written by faculty members at the University of Aleppo and a collaborator at the Albasel and Ibn Rushd hospitals;
- “Insecticide-treated bednets to prevent anthroponotic cutaneous leishmaniasis in Aleppo Governate, Syria: results from two trials,” *Transactions of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene* (April 2007), co-authored by doctors at the Leishmaniasis Control Center, an institute under the auspices of the Aleppo Health Directorate ;
- “The Neglected Hepatitis C Virus Genotypes 4, 5 and 6: An International Consensus Report,” *Liver International Journal* (2010), written by a doctor at the Al Mouassat University Hospital, Damascus, Syria;
- “Efficacy and Safety of Deferasirox, An Oral Iron Chelator, In Heavily Iron-Overloaded Patients with Beta-Thalassaemia: The Escalator Study,” *European Journal of Haematology* (2009), written by a doctor at the National Thalassaemia Center, Damascus, Syria;
- “Seismicity and volcanism in the rifted zone of Western Syria,” *Comptes Rendus Geoscience* (April 2009), written by a faculty member at Damascus University;

- “Chemical composition of crustal xenoliths from Southwestern Syria: Characterization of the upper part of the lower crust beneath the Arabian plate,” *Geochemistry* (Nov. 2009), whose leading author is a faculty member at Damascus University;
- “Reality and Prospects of Wind Power in Syria,” *Energy Procedia* (2012), written by faculty at Damascus University; and
- Several journal articles from scientists at the International Center for Agricultural Research in the Dry Areas in Aleppo or the Arab Centre of the Studies of Arid Zones and Dry Lands, including “A holistic generic integrated approach for irrigation, crop and field management: 1. The SALTMED model and its calibration using field data from Egypt and Syria, *Agricultural Water Management* (Sept. 2005).<sup>2</sup>

In light of the statutory and constitutional infirmities with the Syrian Sanctions Regulations, our clients call upon OFAC to promptly revise them by deleting 31 CFR § 542.211(2) and wholly exempting from regulation all activities incident to written publications. Without waiving this long-held view, we submit that, at the very least, OFAC must promptly include a General License for written publications in the Syrian Sanctions Regulations, as it has with the other sanctioned countries.<sup>3</sup> As you know from prior experience, these issues are extremely important to the publishing community and PEN, and they have not hesitated to file suit against OFAC in the past to preserve their freedom to publish works from authors throughout the international community and protect the right of the American public to receive important information.

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<sup>2</sup> OFAC issued an interpretive ruling dated April 2, 2004 to the Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers stating that peer review of completed manuscripts by scholarly journals and routine style and copy editing does not constitute “substantive alteration or enhancement of informational materials” under the then-current sanctions regimes. While this ruling remains on OFAC’s website, it only reinforces that the standard for “substantive enhancement” set forth in 31 CFR 542.211(b)(2) is wholly vague and ambiguous, which in turn has a significant chilling effect on publication. Further the April 2, 2004 interpretive ruling states that co-authorship would constitute “substantive alteration or enhancement of informational materials,” thus forbidding an American author from co-authoring a work with a scholar in Syria. In scientific and medical journals, co-authorship is the norm.

<sup>3</sup> My clients continue to have concern about the restrictions in the General License on publications authored by the governments of the sanctioned countries, and believe that there should be no such restrictions at all. In drafting any General License for Syria, we encourage OFAC to bear in mind that in the past, numerous scholarly journal articles have been authored or co-authored by employees of government ministries, such as the Aleppo Health Directorate under the Syrian Ministry of Health, or the Ministry of Petroleum and Mineral Resources.

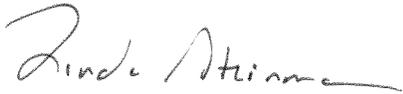
December 23, 2014

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We have directed this letter to you because of your representation of OFAC in executing the stipulation of dismissal. Please call me at your earliest convenience to discuss how best to proceed given my client's concerns and the likely timetable for reform of the regulations. Both our firm and/or AAUP, PSP, or PEN would be happy to answer any questions or meet directly with OFAC to help facilitate reform of the regulations.

This letter is not intended to be a full recitation of AAUP, PSP, PEN or their members' objections to the OFAC regulations, and they reserve all rights, remedies and defenses.

Sincerely yours,

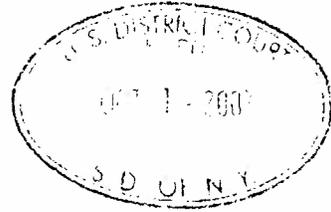
A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Linda Steinman".

Linda Steinman

cc: Peter Berkery  
Allan Adler  
Suzanne Nossel  
Mark Seeley  
Jan bij de Weg  
John Tagler

# **EXHIBIT A**

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
SOUTHERN DISTRICT NEW YORK



THE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN  
UNIVERSITY PRESSES, INC.; THE  
PROFESSIONAL/SCHOLARLY PUBLISHING  
DIVISION OF THE ASSOCIATION OF  
AMERICAN PUBLISHERS, INC.; PEN  
AMERICAN CENTER, INC.; and ARCADE  
PUBLISHING, INC.,

Plaintiff,

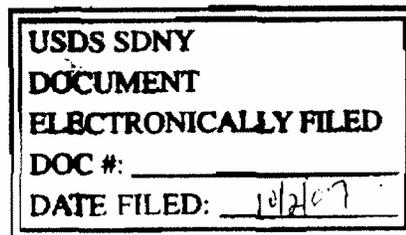
- against -

THE OFFICE OF FOREIGN ASSETS  
CONTROL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE  
TREASURY; JOHN W. SNOW, SECRETARY  
OF THE TREASURY, in his official capacity;  
and R. RICHARD NEWCOMB, DIRECTOR,  
OFFICE OF FOREIGN ASSETS CONTROL, in  
his official capacity,

Defendant.

Civil Action No.

04 Civ. 7604 (CM)



**STIPULATION OF DISMISSAL PURSUANT TO FED. R. CIV. P. 41**

WHEREAS, on September 27, 2004, the Plaintiffs filed their Complaint and Motion for Preliminary and Permanent Injunction in the above-referenced action, alleging that certain regulations promulgated and enforced by the Office of Foreign Assets Control ("OFAC") of the Department of the Treasury (the "Department") violated the Trading With the Enemy Act ("TWEA"), the International Emergency Economic Powers Act ("IEEPA"), and the First Amendment to the United States Constitution, by regulating and prohibiting activities necessary for the publication in the United States of written works by authors in Cuba, Iran and Sudan; and

WHEREAS, on December 17, 2004, OFAC published new regulations, codified at 31 CFR §§ 515.577, 538.529 and 560.538, concerning the status of certain transactions relating to the publication of written works involving persons in Cuba, Iran or Sudan; and

WHEREAS, upon the issuance of amended sanctions regulations related to Burma on August 16, 2005, OFAC added a new regulation, codified at 31 CFR § 537.526 (collectively with 31 CFR §§ 515.577, 538.529 and 560.538, the "General Licenses"), to authorize certain transactions relating to the publication of written works involving persons in Burma; and

WHEREAS, following its initial issuance of the General Licenses, OFAC, on August 30, 2007, further revised the General Licenses with respect to software; and

WHEREAS, Defendants have no present intent to revoke or rescind the General Licenses (as recently amended as set forth above) or to materially narrow the General Licenses by forbidding any of the activities enumerated in them as ordinary and incident to the publishing and marketing of written publications, nor does the Government presently foresee circumstances occurring that might require the relevant regulations to be revoked, rescinded or materially narrowed as described above in the future; and

WHEREAS, OFAC has determined that, even if such General Licenses were to be revoked, rescinded or materially narrowed as described above, unless U.S. foreign policy, economic, or national security interests require otherwise, a revocation, rescission or material narrowing as described above of these General Licenses would be accompanied by a delay in effect of at least 30 days with respect to pre-existing transactions, and that, should such U.S. foreign policy, economic or national security interests arise, OFAC will articulate, to the extent possible, how those interests require that the revocation, rescission or material narrowing as described above be effective immediately with respect to all transactions, including pre-existing transactions, and

WHEREAS, OFAC acknowledges that many of the same or similar policy considerations that contributed to the issuance of the General Licenses are likely to apply with respect to any

additional countries subject to trading sanctions and that OFAC will take such policy considerations into account in the event that it issues regulations pertaining to additional countries under trading sanction; and

WHEREAS, Plaintiffs contend that the General Licenses, while permitting many important publishing activities, are in violation of TWEA, IEEPA, and the First Amendment to the United States Constitution because the government does not have the authority to grant or deny licenses for publishing activities, among other reasons; and

WHEREAS, the Government contends that all aspects of the regulations at issue, including the General Licenses, are fully authorized by law; and

WHEREAS, in reliance on the declarations of the Department described above, the Plaintiffs have agreed to the dismissal of the Complaint without prejudice;

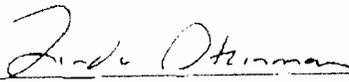
IT IS HEREBY STIPULATED AND AGREED as follows:

1. The agreement of the Defendants to this Stipulation shall not be construed as an admission of liability to the Plaintiffs for any of the acts alleged in the Complaint, nor shall such agreement be construed as an admission that the regulations at issue are in any way contrary to law.
2. The agreement of the Plaintiffs to this Stipulation shall not be taken as an agreement that the regulations of the Department, either before or after their amendment, comport with TWEA, IEEPA or the Constitution, and the Plaintiffs retain the right to challenge the regulations or their application at a later date.
3. This Stipulation does not constitute an adjudication on the merits of any of the claims asserted in the Complaint.
4. Pursuant to Fed. R. Civ. P. 41(a)(1)(ii), Plaintiffs hereby voluntarily dismiss this

action, without prejudice and with each party to bear its fees and costs.

Dated: September 28, 2007  
New York, New York

DAVIS WRIGHT TREMAINE LLP

By:   
Edward J. Davis  
Linda Steinman (5906)  
1633 Broadway  
New York, New York 10019  
(212) 489-8230  
Counsel for Plaintiffs

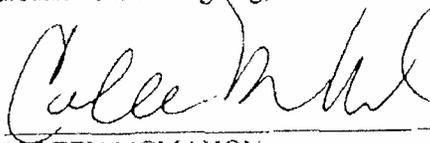
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Counsel for Defendants

Co-counsel for Plaintiffs PEN  
American Center and Arcade Publishing, Inc.:

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148 East 78<sup>th</sup> Street  
New York, New York 11021  
(212) 737-0400

Pursuant to the foregoing, it is SO ORDERED that this action is dismissed without prejudice.

  
COLLEEN MCMAHON  
UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE  
Oct 1, 2007  
New York, New York

# **EXHIBIT B**



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« All Events (http://www.englishpen.org/events/)

This event has passed.

Book Tour: Syria Speaks – Art and Culture from the Frontline

May 26 @ 1:00 pm - June 16 @ 8:30 pm



PEN award-winning title Syria Speaks (http://worldbookshelf.englishpen.org/Writers-in-Translation-books-syria-speaks) will be published by Saqi Books (http://www.saqibooks.co.uk/book/syria-speaks/) in June. The book, edited by Matu Halasa (http://worldbookshelf.englishpen.org/Writers-in-Translation-authors-Matu%20Halasa), Zaher Omareen (http://worldbookshelf.englishpen.org/Writers-in-Translation-books-authors-Zaher-Omareen) and Nawara Mahfoud (http://worldbookshelf.englishpen.org/Writers-in-Translation-authors-Nawara-Mahfoud), demonstrates how Syria's artists are at the forefront of the country's resistance. Rappers and chanters leading mass demonstrations, photographers, artists – working with diverse media from chalk and charcoal to digital media and installations – filmmakers, cartoonists and writers are finding new voices to challenge the culture of violence in Syria. Syria Speaks features work from Golan Haji, Khaled Khalifa, Samar Yazbek and others, and is translated by Ghias Aljundi, Emily Danby, Anne-Marie MacManus, Alice Guthrie and Leen Ziyad.

About the book

In Syria, culture has become a critical line of defence against tyranny. Syria Speaks is a celebration of a people determined to reclaim their dignity, freedom and self-expression. It showcases the work of over fifty artists and writers who are challenging the culture of violence in Syria. Their literature, poems and songs, cartoons, political

CALENDAR

Calendar table with columns for days of the month and corresponding event links.

EVENTS NEWS & REPORTS (HTTP://WWW.ENGLISHPEN.ORG/EVENTS/EVENT-NEWS-AND-REPORTS/)

Perspectives on poetry and protest: a report from Southbank Centre (http://www.englishpen.org/perspectives-on-poetry-from-southbank-centre/)



(http://www.englishpen.org/perspectives-on-poetry-and-protest-a-report-from-southbank-centre/)

A report from 'Literary Arts' strongest (http://www.on-poetry-southbank-

Salman Rushdie comes to the UK in October (http://www.englishpen.org/salman-rushdie-comes-to-the-uk-in-october/)



(http://www.englishpen.org/salman-rushdie-comes-to-the-uk-in-october/)

(http://www.rushdie.co

From 'The Time Machine' to 'The Time Traveler's Wife' (http://www.englishpen.org/from-the-time-travelers-wife/)



(http://www.englishpen.org/from-the-time-machine-to-the-time-travelers-wife/)

Audrey Niffen inaugural PEN August at London (http://www.machine-to-the

posters and photographs document and interpret the momentous changes that have drastically shifted the frame of reality in Syria. Moving and inspiring, Syria Speaks is testament to the courage, creativity and imagination of the Syrian people.

"Syria Speaks is a remarkable achievement and a remarkable book – a wise, courageous, imaginative and beautiful response to all that is ugly in human behaviour" *A.L. Kennedy*

Editors, authors and translators will tour the UK in June to promote the book. The tour, organised by Reel Festivals (<http://www.reelfestivals.org/>), features award-winning Damascus-based novelist **Khaled Khalifa**, cinematographer and video artist **Khalil Younes**, writer and filmmaker **Zaher Omareen**, and authors **Malu Halasa** and **Robin Yassin-Kassab**:

- Discussion on free expression in Syria at the Hay Festival (<https://www.hayfestival.com/p-8171-malu-halasa-and-zaher-omareen-talk-to-philippe-sands.aspx>) on **26 May** at 1pm
- An evening of readings, music and film at Rich Mix (<http://www.richmix.org.uk/whats-on/event/syria-speaks-art-and-culture-from-the-frontline/>), London, on **11 June** at 7pm
- Readings and discussion as part of the Festival of Ideas (<http://www.ideasfestival.co.uk/whats-on/>), Foyles Bookshop, Bristol, on **12 June** at 6pm
- Public lecture at the Ashmolean Museum (<http://www.ashmolean.org/events/SpecialEvents/?id=148>), Oxford on **13 June** at 6.30pm
- An evening of readings, screenings and discussion at The Bluecoat, as part of the Liverpool Arab Arts Festival ([http://www.arabartsfestival.com/event-detail.php?id=467#U3na7\\_LdWEt](http://www.arabartsfestival.com/event-detail.php?id=467#U3na7_LdWEt)), Liverpool on **14 June** at 5pm
- Readings and presentation at the FUSE Gallery (<http://wearefuse.co/>), Bradford on **15 June** at 4pm
- Public event at Durham University (<https://www.dur.ac.uk/sgia/?eventno=20127>), School of Government and International Affairs on **16 June**

#### EXTRA DATE:

- An evening of readings, discussion and screenings at Waterstones Piccadilly (<http://www.saqibooks.co.uk/2014/06/syria-speaks-waterstones-piccadilly/>), London on **17 June** at 7pm. This event is free, but RSVP to [piccadilly@waterstones.com](mailto:piccadilly@waterstones.com) is essential.

The visiting authors will also take part in workshops with English PEN at schools, refugee community centres and a prison.

*Presented in partnership with Reel Festivals, Saqi Books, LIFT Festival, Prince Claus Fund, CKU and the Arab British Centre. This project is supported using public funding by the National Lottery through Arts Council England.*

**Listen: global media reporting on Syria - a discussion**  
(<http://www.englishpen.org/listen-podcast-of-last-translating-the-syrian-news/>)



(<http://www.englishpen.org/listen-podcast-of-last-months-event-translating-the-syrian-news/>)

Listen back to discussion, Tr News. With P. [...] (<http://www.podcast-of-last-the-syrian-new>)

**Watch: European Prize for Literature winners at LBF**  
(<http://www.englishpen.org/watch-european-prize-at-lbf-2014/>)



(<http://www.englishpen.org/watch-european-prize-for-literature-winners-at-lbf-2014/>)

Three EU Priz Goldsmith at London Book [...] (<http://www.european-prize-2014/>)

**Watch: Kim Young-ha with Krys Lee at LBF 2014**  
(<http://www.englishpen.org/watch-kim-young-ha-v-2014/>)



(<http://www.englishpen.org/watch-kim-young-ha-with-krys-lee-at-lbf-2014/>)

Kim Young Ha Literary Salor 2014 [...] (<http://www.young-ha-with>)

# **EXHIBIT C**

HOME BOOKS ABOUT US NEWS EVENTS TELEGRAM THE WESTBOURNE PRESS Search  
 Browse Subjects Saqi Essentials New Releases Forthcoming Bestsellers

PREVIOUS BOOK



Imprint: Saqi Books  
 ISBN: 9780863567872  
 eISBN: 9780863567926  
 Published: June 2014  
 UK Price: £12.99  
 Format: 148mm x 210mm  
 Binding: Paperback  
 Extent: 328pp  
 Subject: Arts, Cultural Studies, Fiction, Language and Literature, Photography

Buy this book from all Saqi Bookshops

## Syria Speaks

### Art and Culture from the Frontline

Edited by Malu Halasa, Zaher Omareen and Nawara Mahfoud

In Syria, culture has become a critical line of defence against tyranny.

*Syria Speaks* is a celebration of a people determined to reclaim their dignity and self-expression. It showcases the work of over fifty artists and writers who are challenging the culture of violence in Syria. Their literature, poems and songs, cartoons, political posters and photographs document and interpret the momentous changes that have shifted the frame of reality so drastically in Syria.

Moving and inspiring, *Syria Speaks* is testament to the courage, creativity and imagination of the Syrian people.

Cover image: Poster by Alshuaib asiri aref tarekh showing a character by Mehmed Tayeb Zaytoon, the Little Refugee, from the Yarmouk Palestinian camp, at Damascus, is a political artistic and educational project, which contests the monopoly of power to write history.

#### ABOUT THE EDITOR(S)

Malu Halasa co-curated three exhibitions of Syria's art of resistance in London, Amsterdam and Copenhagen in 2012 and 2013. Her other works include *The Secret Life of Syrian Lingene*.

Zaher Omareen is a Syrian writer, who has worked on independent cultural initiatives in Syria and Britain. He is currently completing *Tales of the Orontes River*, a collection of short stories.

Nawara Mahfoud is a Syrian journalist and documentary producer who has worked for the *New York Times*. She blogs for the *New Yorker* among other publications.

#### REVIEWS

'*Syria Speaks* is a remarkable achievement and a remarkable book – a wise, courageous, imaginative and beautiful response to all that is ugly in human behaviour. This extraordinary anthology gives a voice to those we may have forgotten, or whom we may classify as simply passive and silent victims. The people shown living, dreaming and speaking here are far more than victims and only silent if we refuse to hear them.' A.L. Kennedy

'An extraordinary collection, revealing a dynamic and exciting culture in painful transition – a culture where artists are really making a difference... You need to read this book.' Brian Eno

'An invaluable and deeply moving testimony to resistance... this work clamours for liberty and turns its back not only on tyranny but on religious division... this anthology records and celebrates an extraordinary moment of liberated tongues and eyes.' Boyd Tonkin *Independent*

Essential reading for anyone interested in human rights or a better understanding of the current conflict. An impressive collection. *Syria Speaks* pays tribute to many extraordinary acts of courage and shines a light on the dark deeds of a brutal regime. *Independent on Sunday*

'A collection of brutal images, satirical cartoons, posters, moving memoirs and powerful fiction as well as thoughtful analysis – all arguing for dignity

NEXT BOOK

RECOMMENDED TITLES



and freedom'  
*Gulf News*

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