



FPC Briefing: Cyprus: One step forward, two steps back

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Summary

As the Greek Cypriots get ready to take over the rotating EU Presidency for the first time, the UN-mediated Cyprus reunification talks are once again at an impasse. Except this time, the stakes are higher. Trust between the two sides is at an all-time low, with communities moving further apart, both politically and economically. After four decades of division, both Greek and Turkish Cypriot public opinion is shifting towards questioning the framework of these never-ending talks.

The Justice and Development Party government in Turkey is hardening its stance towards Cyprus with increasingly threatening rhetoric. Recent discoveries and unilateral drilling of rich offshore hydrocarbon reserves by Greek Cypriots have complicated the situation. In return, Turkey's cabinet has given approval for Turkey's state-run oil firm TPAO to explore in six offshore areas around the island. The Turkish Petroleum Corporation had already started onshore drilling at the 3,000-meter-deep Turkyurdu-1 well, close to the Greek Cypriot border. Naming the well Turkish Homeland One, Turkey's Energy Minister Taner Yildiz told during the launch ceremony in April that gas and oil exploration on Cyprus would represent a force for peace. Similar hopes, expressed by others when the rich gas reserves were first discovered, did not materialise. So far, the prospect of exploiting natural resources has done nothing but exacerbate the ongoing row.

In an already volatile region with a major crisis in Syria and unease with Iran and Iraq growing, any escalation of tension should cause concern. However, assuming there would be more of an impetus to end the stalemate in Cyprus, therefore avoiding one more potential flash point in the Middle East, does seem optimistic. After four decades of failed initiatives, it is still difficult to get the international community to be interested in Cyprus. It is even more difficult to seize a ripe moment towards a negotiated solution. Parties usually resolve conflicts when the cost of further escalation proves too much or the stalemate starts to hurt them both. A recent trip to the North and the South of the island as part of a delegation of Association of European Journalists (AEJ)¹ gave me the impression that the discomfort and the cost of this stalemate are no longer shared equally.

Talking North

The latest round of the UN-backed talks which began in 2008 has now come to a halt. On 21 April 2012, after meeting Alexander Downer, his special advisor on Cyprus, U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon announced that Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot leaders have not made sufficient progress during talks. There was not sufficient progress on core issues that would provide a basis for calling an international conference at this time. Ban Ki-moon had been pressing the two leaders to reach a settlement, and Downer said last month the Secretary-General planned to call an international conference by early May, bringing together the guarantor powers Britain, Greece and Turkey with the two sides.

With the Cyprus Presidency of the EU starting on July 1st and the presidential elections of February 2013 in the Republic of Cyprus, serious backtracking and intransigence have been displayed by both sides. So, when it became clear that the talks were at a standstill, it didn't really surprise anyone even though all sides expressed disappointment. Hours before the UN announcement, Dr Kudret Ozersay, Special Representative of the Turkish Cypriot leader Dervis Eroglu was in London, speaking to an audience at the London School of Economics. Dr Ozersay made it very clear that the Turkish Cypriot side felt the Good Offices mission of the United Nations was now almost completely

¹ <http://www.aej.org/>



exhausted. Forty four years and thousands of meetings later, all arguments and counter-arguments have been put forward, every kind of arbitration and mediation tried and huge amounts of money spent with no tangible results. These series of failed initiatives made the Turkish Cypriot side question not only the framework of the negotiations but the purpose and method of it, too. By suggesting a Cypriot-led, Cypriot owned process with Cypriots taking responsibility of reaching a settlement; Ozersay opened the role of the United Nations to question.

During our week-long meetings and interviews in Northern Cyprus², we, too, came across various expressions of impatience with the UN-led talks.

Prime Minister of the Turkish Cypriot side, Irsen Kucuk expected the talks to be interrupted during the Greek Cypriot presidency of the EU.³ He also blamed electoral considerations of the Greek Cypriot politicians and the increasingly hostile attitude of the Orthodox Church for the impasse.

Tahsin Ertugruloglu, the leader of the Democracy and Trust Party and a former Foreign Minister and negotiator under late President Rauf Denktas, was even more forthright. "Negotiations cannot continue on the same basis as they continued before. If there is going to be a new partnership, it should be based not just on political equality but also on sovereign equality" he said. He reminded us that despite being the foreign minister at the time, he had refused to sign the Annan plan and he was strongly criticised for that. He believed the events since then proved him right.⁴

Serdar Denktas, the leader of Democrat Party, who had served as deputy prime minister and foreign minister in previous administrations, believed the 1964 UN mandate on Cyprus was outdated. Now, the Turkish Cypriots have to decide whether to continue with these negotiations or to find new parameters. His party demanded a referendum to see what their people wanted.

Former president Mehmet Ali Talat, who served a term between the years 2005-2010, continues to maintain his bi-partisan, elder statesman role. In our conversation a few days before the decision of the UN Secretary-General, his advice was not to withdraw from negotiations. He saw taking a break from the talks during the Greek Cypriot presidency and then going back to the table as the best available option.⁵

Mr Talat acknowledged increasingly strong calls for changing parameters for negotiations. He thought this may be possible but at a cost. "Until now, Turkish Cypriots have kept the moral high ground. After the election of Dervis Eroglu to the presidency, enthusiasm for a solution died down. If you go to the negotiation table with no intention to solve the conflict, you cannot maintain this moral high ground" he said.

Talat's own party CTP (Republican Turkish Party) is struggling to gain its own moral high ground. The broad support the party enjoyed from all sectors of society vanished during their time in power. They promised to reunite and to take Northern Cyprus into the EU but failed to do either. The new leader of the party, Ozkan Yorgancioglu blames the Greek Cypriot side for Talat's defeat in the 2010 presidential elections. "Their rejection of the Annan Plan in 2004 and the Greek Cypriot President Demetris Christofias' lack of co-operation in negotiations made our task more difficult. As a result, Mr Eroglu, a leader who didn't believe in a solution was elected. With a Turkish Cypriot president

² AEJ visit 16-22 April 2012

³ Visit to Prime Minister's office, 17 April 2012, Nicosia

⁴ AEJ meeting with Tahsin Ertugruloglu 18 April 2012, Nicosia

⁵ Meeting with M Ali Talat in Nicosia, 18 April 2012



that isn't inclined to negotiate and the forthcoming presidential elections in the South, along with the ongoing economic crisis, we arrived at this dead-end".⁶

Republican Turkish Party's Nicosia deputy and the party's Foreign Affairs spokesman Ozdil Nami was the former negotiator in the Cyprus talks for Mehmet Ali Talat. Ozdil Nami says they were very close to an agreement two years ago. "Now, we're moving from stalemate to regression. We need to examine reasons for the failure of the process and ask some searching questions to ourselves, too".

There are few political voices beside Republican Turkish Party that still espouses to a bi-communal, bi-zonal federal Cyprus. The Social Democratic Party, led by Dr Mehmet Cakici has three members in the 50-seat Northern Cyprus Parliament. A pro-solution party, SDP is also fully committed to the EU membership. Dr Cakici says their dream for the new generations is to hold the next rotating presidency of Cyprus Republic in 2026 as the federal partner of the united Cyprus state.⁷

The once-highly visible and vocal bi-communal civil society groups seem to have lost their voice and their trust in their counterpart's commitment to a negotiated solution. "The Greek Cypriot civil society activists no longer see us as equals" was one common sentiment.

Ahmet Kaptan, President of Turkish Cypriot Civil Servants' Trade Union remembered the days when trade unions from both sides saw eye to eye on many issues and they were prepared to co-operate even when their politicians did not. In recent years, their relations have become weaker. "With one or two exceptions, Greek Cypriot trade unions are not as independent from their government as we are. Their instinct is to shield their government" he said. Kaptan told us that the media workers union in the South protested the Association of European Journalists visit to the North, claiming it was legitimising the illegal state in the North. "We regret this lack of communication and inter-communal debate" his trade unionist colleagues added.⁸

It is clear that every day that passes without progress, makes divisions deeper. In the North, there seems to be a growing belief that the UN-led talks would not produce any results in the foreseeable future. They have turned into talks about talks. Kudret Ozersay, Special Representative of Dervis Eroglu claims that the negotiations have become the opium for the Turkish Cypriots.

There is now widespread expectation that the leaders will not go back to the table not only until after the Greek Cypriot presidency of the EU but also until after the 2013 national elections in the Republic.

However, it is not so clear-cut whether the majority of Turkish Cypriots have really given up on a comprehensive UN-led settlement. But it is clear that they have serious concerns that it may not happen anytime soon. Even those that want the UN role to be reviewed and negotiations to be down-graded did not want to shoulder the stigma of breaking off the talks. With the exception of a few marginal politicians, there doesn't appear to be a desire to suggest that the Turkish Cypriots' future should be decided outside the internationally accepted norms. Even the re-heated "Velvet Separation" or the "soft divorce" idea requires the unlikely agreement of the Greek Cypriot side.

I have not come across any Turkish Cypriot, no matter how fed up with the status quo, who expressed a desire to be annexed by Turkey. Yet, I have heard plenty of voices that objected to any steps, leading the isolated and abandoned Turkish Cypriots further away from the rest of the world.

⁶ Interview with Ozkan Yorgancioglu, at CTP Headquarters, Nicosia, 16 April 2012

⁷ Meeting with Dr Cakici at the Socialist Democracy Party headquarters, 18 April 2012

⁸ Meeting with Ahmet Kaplan of the Turkish Cypriot Public Workers Union, Nicosia, 18 April 2012



Broken Promises

If there is a deep disappointment with the never-ending UN-facilitated talks among the Turkish Cypriots, there is an even greater resentment towards the European Union. Even the Head of the EU Programme Support Office in Nicosia, Alessandra Viezzer admits the level of public discourse on the EU is largely negative. Her 17-member team, brought together after the EU Commission mandate to end isolation of Northern Cyprus, tries to promote social and economic development, particularly focusing on rebuilding infrastructure. They aim to foster reconciliation through confidence building measures and by supporting the civil society.

When the Turkish Cypriots overwhelmingly said “yes” to the Annan Plan for the reunification of Cyprus and for the joint EU membership in 2004, opinion polls showed 90% of Turkish Cypriots having confidence in the EU. A recent Eurobarometer poll shows this is now down to 36%. Gone are the days when the EU would be seen as a catalyst for uniting the island.

76% of Greek Cypriots rejected the EU-backed UN plan in 2004 but the EU chose to accept the membership of a divided Cyprus one week after the referendum. Having left the Turkish Cypriots out in the cold, The Council stated on 26 April 2004:

“The Turkish Cypriot community have expressed their clear desire for a future within the European Union. The Council is determined to put an end to the isolation of the Turkish Cypriot community and to facilitate the reunification of Cyprus by encouraging the economic development of the Turkish Cypriot community. The Council invited the Commission to bring forward comprehensive proposals to this end, with particular emphasis on the economic integration of the island and on improving contact between the two communities and with the EU.”⁹

The European Council’s suggested “Direct Trade Regulation” for Turkish Cypriots meant a preferential regime for Turkish Cypriot goods entering the EU customs territory. The Turkish Cypriot Chamber of Commerce was tasked to certify origin of goods. The Greek Cypriot government vetoed the trade proposal, fearing direct trade with the North would effectively recognise the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. They also claimed this would mean partial lifting of the suspended Acquis Communautaire in the North. With The Lisbon Treaty, in March 2010, the EU Commission asked the EU Parliament to consider a Direct Trade Regulation that would permit trade between Northern Cyprus and the EU. On October 18, 2010, the Legal Committee ruled that the Commission could not bypass the Government of Cyprus to implement direct trade with North Cyprus and thus the Commission’s proposal would not be taken up by the Parliament.

According to my Greek Cypriot sources, their authorities do not disagree openly to Direct Trade Regulation but they want it arranged under a different legal clause so it that does not imply recognition of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. The legal departments of the EU Council and the Parliament agree but Enlargement Directorate General and the Commission object. This was an issue for negotiations in the past with proposals including unblocking the Regulation in return for opening Varosha under the UN control or in return for opening the port at Famagusta under the EU management but no compromise was reached.

This is a sore point among Turkish Cypriots. Dr Gunay Cerkez, Chairman of the Turkish Cypriot Chamber of Commerce says that the claims by the Greek Cypriots that direct trade would result in discouraging Turkish Cypriots from accepting a political settlement are totally baseless. He believes

⁹ <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2004:0466:FIN:EN:PDF>



the opposite is true. Dr Cerkez says that the EU's failure to deliver its commitments caused the Turkish Cypriots to lose their trust and faith in both the EU and their own European future.

The easing of the economic isolation on Turkish Cypriots would contribute to a settlement and bring the Turkish Cypriots closer to the EU. The other two regulations, the Green Line Regulation and the Financial Aid Regulation are not seen as alternatives to the Direct Trade Regulation by the Turkish Cypriot side, even though €259 million has been provided by the EU to the Turkish Cypriot community under the Financial Aid Regulation. The legitimate transactions across the Green Line were estimated to be around €300 million in 2009. €200 million of that was in favour of the Turkish Cypriot community and €100 million in favour of the Greek Cypriot community.¹⁰

The economy of the Turkish Cypriot-administered area is dominated by the services sector. The public sector makes up a large part of it. Tourism and tertiary education are two important sectors. Around 6,000 Turkish Cypriots work in the Greek Cypriot economy. Smaller agriculture and very limited light manufacturing sectors need more than just intra-island trade to grow. Turkey is the main trading partner but even with Turkey, Turkish Cypriot trading is restricted.

It is the financial assistance from Turkey that keeps the economy going. Turkey signed a series of economic assistance packages with the Turkish Cypriot government and in return demanded economic reforms and fiscal discipline. Privatization and wage cut demands from the AKP government in Turkey have caused angry demonstrations by Turkish Cypriot trade unions. After another angry demonstration against austerity measures in February 2011, Turkish Prime minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan lashed out saying that it was the Turkish financial assistance that paid the salaries of the civil servants and that Turkish soldiers died to protect them. Even Serdar Denktas, one of the most Turkey friendly politicians took offence. "No Turkish Cypriot deserves to be labelled as getting a handout. This is an upsetting statement," he said.¹¹

In recent months, pressure to cut wages and employment rights has led to a wave of industrial action. Business leaders and some politicians agree that there is a need for reform. However, the leader of the Civil Servants' Union, Ahmet Kaptan says they will resist these measures. He also objects to changes in the law to make it possible for mainland Turks to be employed in Northern Cyprus. "Turkey has systematically changed the demographics of the island. There are many that will cast their vote according to the signal they receive from Turkey" he claims.¹²

Other trade unionists we spoke to complained about erosion of their democratic rights. They said there were scores of prosecutions against trade union activists charged after anti-Erdogan demonstrations last year. Some of these cases were taken to the European Court of Human Rights, with complaints of police violence against demonstrators.

Social Democratic Party has called for a Parliamentary investigation on torture claims in a Kyrenia police station. Party leader Dr Mehmet Cakici told us that the police force in question came under the authority of the military and refused to answer to the Parliament. He saw that as a serious shortcoming in their democracy and human rights record. But his criticism was not purely against the ruling party and the Turkish government. He said they were equally disappointed with the Republican Turkish Party rule. "When they had the chance, they didn't de-militarise the police and

¹⁰ The Economic Interdependence in Cyprus 2011 report produced by PEC in cooperation with CCTI and KTTO through the Economic Interdependence Project

¹¹ <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/default.aspx?pageid=438&n=pms-tough-words-on-protests-cause-stir-up-n.-cyprus--2011-02-04>

¹² Meeting with Ahmet Kaplan of the Turkish Cypriot Public Workers Union, Nicosia, 18 April 2012



the fire department. They accepted a Central Bank Governor sent from Turkey even though we have enough educated, qualified people here” he said.

When asked about the complaints that some religious communities and the Turkish government were said to be trying to create a more pious society in Cyprus, he answered: “Turkey may be a model to the Arab world but we don’t like it here. Growing religious fervour is definitely creeping in here. We now have more religious instruction in our schools, more green money and many more mosques than we need. We do not want to be forced to change our Cypriot way of life”.¹³

Not everyone is so outspoken about increasing Turkish religious, cultural and political influence. However almost everyone agrees that the isolation they have been subjected to for over three decades is starving their community into full submission to Turkey and for the gradual erosion of the Turkish Cypriot identity. Brain drain and migration from the island cause serious concern. It is frequently pointed out that there are more Turkish Cypriots living in London than on the island itself. With no prospects of a better future for the new generations, the net effect of the 35 year-long embargoes have been the gradual destruction of the Turkish Cypriot way of life, while increasing the influence of first the nationalist and lately, Islamist and nationalist mainland inspired ideologies.

Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce and his highly articulate colleagues at this -one and only- internationally recognised Turkish Cypriot organisation watched developments both in Cyprus and in the region with trepidation. They didn’t hide their feelings of deep frustration and impatience. As the chairman Dr Cerkez pointed out that the time was running out. “The Greek Cypriot side has to make up its mind quick. Because in a few years time, there won’t be enough Turkish Cypriots left on the island to negotiate” he said.

Too small to be divided?

It took a disaster in July 2011 to remind once again how small and interdependent an island Cyprus really is. When a depot at the main naval base in the South containing confiscated arms from the Middle East exploded, it killed 13 people and knocked out the electricity plant. The Electricity Authority was forced to lease generators and to buy electricity from Turkish Cypriots.

In a move that continues to be criticized by the Orthodox Church, an agreement to supply electricity from the North was negotiated between the leaders of the Greek and Turkish Chambers of Commerce. A leading economist, Costas Apostolides undertook the purchase of electricity from the Turkish Cypriot KIB-TEK producer and sold it to the Electricity Authority of Cyprus, south of the Green Line. Mr Apostolides says the agreement was built upon the EU Green Line Regulations which establishes the legal basis for trade across the Green Line. The EU had previously agreed to delegate powers to the Turkish Cypriot Chambers of Commerce. This was one way of overcoming the difficult issue of non-recognition. Costas Apostolides says that the deal, now in excess of €28 million, is a good example of cooperation between the two communities. When the Turkish Cypriot side had problems during the recent strike, electricity was supplied from the Greek Cypriot side. He says the two organizations cooperate well and have good personal and professional relations.¹⁴

Costas Apostolides is also involved in a joint project funded by United Nations Development Programme- Action for Cooperation and Trust (UNDP-ACT). The Economic Interdependence Project is implemented jointly by the Cyprus Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Turkish Cypriot Chamber of Commerce. The project started by examining the current state of economic interdependence between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities. In their 2011 report, they

¹⁴ Meeting with Costas Apostolides in Nicosia, 20 April 2012



underlined constraints and costs the present political situation imposes on the economy, with the Turkish Cypriot community being much more affected due to its smaller size and the political conditions.¹⁵

Economy is not the only area a closer cooperation is urgently needed. A trip by the AEJ delegation to Lefke region of Northern Cyprus revealed dire environmental effects of the copper mining activities. In an area of exceptional natural beauty lies an abandoned mine, with ponds of poisonous fluids, heaps of scrap materials and extensive soil, groundwater and sea pollution. A group of dedicated locals make up the Lefke Environmental Association. One of their members, Enver Bildir told us health problems in the area have reached crisis proportions. Half of all deaths in surrounding villages were from cancers linked to pollution caused by toxic waste lying uncovered. There are other environmental issues in Cyprus that threaten the eco-balance of the Eastern Mediterranean and they need island-wide or in some cases, international joint solutions, involving regional players, including Turkey.

Yet, there is no sign of taking the economic, environmental and political advantages normalisation between Turkey, Cyprus and the European Union would bring. On the contrary, tension is heightened in the eastern Mediterranean as Turkey is getting ready to boycott the European Union presidency while the Greek Cypriots take on the rotating lead. Ankara is locked in a row with Cyprus and Israel over offshore gas deposits. We may see a flare-up of the Greco-Turkish dispute over the Aegean Sea. Turkey is also intending to veto both the EU and Israeli participation in the upcoming NATO summit due in Chicago 20-21 May 2012.

Notwithstanding an increasingly tense region at its own backyard, Cyprus is moving towards taking over the EU presidency in the midst of the worst ever economic crisis in the Union's history. Its own banking crisis has deepened, raising the possibility that it may be the next euro-zone member state to seek a bail-out.

Andreas Mavroyiannis, Deputy Minister to the President for European Affairs told me that Cyprus is moving towards taking over the presidency in a decent and humble manner but with ambition. It aims to move Europe forward in difficult times. "European citizens don't see the light at the end of the tunnel and we hope to bring back solidarity so the euro-area members would support each other for achieving growth and jobs"¹⁶ Wasn't setting a goal of helping Europe solve its economic problems a little too ambitious, considering Cyprus' own exposure to Greek banks and the euro crisis? Mr Mavroyiannis said that they felt the economic pressure but their economic data were not catastrophic. 9% unemployment was better than most other EU countries.

"Presidency requires organisation. There will be over 200 meetings in Cyprus during our presidency. We will also hold 15 ministerial meetings. All of this requires the role of an honest broker in the Council to bring consensus and compromise. We have those skills and people. Being small is an advantage. We're trusted" he said.

"Priorities for a rotating presidency are mostly inherited, determined by the political, economic juncture we happen to be in. We won't consider it a failure if we don't manage to finalise everything. We don't think we will achieve miracles. As a small country with a big national problem, we are aware of our capabilities" Mr Mavroyiannis told me.

¹⁵ The Economic Interdependence in Cyprus 2011 report produced by PEC in cooperation with CCTI and KTTO through the Economic Interdependence Project

¹⁶ My interview with Andreas Mavroyiannis at his office in Nicosia, 20 April 2012



Relations with Turkey

Deputy Minister Andreas Mavroyiannis says that during their presidency they will behave towards Turkey the same way they will behave towards any other candidate country. With Turkey making it clear that it will not have anything to do with Greek Cypriot presidency, he hopes wisdom would prevail and it would not deter them doing their job well.

The minister for EU Affairs Egemen Bagis seems to be the Turkish official that upset Cypriots of both sides the most. In March 2012, he was reported to say that Turkey might annex Northern Cyprus if the current round of peace talks failed. This was quickly but not very convincingly retracted.

During our on and off the record conversations in Northern Cyprus, Turkish Cypriots didn't hide their displeasure over those comments. His statement that "a half-a-country was taking over a miserable union" didn't go down any better in the South. European Affairs Deputy Minister Andreas Mavroyiannis says this comment was more demeaning for Turkey than for the Greek Cypriots. "Because if we are a half of a country, it is because Turkey occupies the other half. If the EU is such a miserable union, why does Turkey want to join?" he asks. Mavroyiannis sees Turkey as an important partner of the EU that should be kept close. However, he believes that Egemen Bagis and others need to be cautious not to overdo it. He also fears Turkey's agenda is becoming less democratic and more Islamic.

This is similar to the view expressed more and more internationally.¹⁷ "Would an Islamic agenda complicate Cyprus problem further?" I asked the minister. "I used to think Mr Erdogan thought differently about Cyprus. If his government had the military under control, they would behave differently. But, I am increasingly doubting this is the case" he says.

He was not the only one to be disillusioned. In January 2011, President Christofias had said he wanted to sit down with Turkey's President Abdullah Gul and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan in Istanbul, on the Bosphorus, where they could "eat fish" and hear his vision for a Cyprus solution. He was quickly snubbed by Prime Minister Erdogan.

Recep Tayyip Erdogan, having consolidated his party's power with three straight parliamentary election victories and with a strong economy, is in a much more confident mood. Turkey has already raised the stakes by –unofficially– suggesting there may be a Plan B if the UN-led talks failed. Leaked suggestions included changing the name of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) to Turkish Cypriot State (TCS); opening Varosha, the fenced off area of Famagusta under Turkish Cypriot rule and seeking recognition for the North. Turkey did not confirm the existence of a plan B but almost every politician we spoke to in Cyprus seemed to think there was one. We heard models ranging from Kosovo-style recognition where the major powers will not recognize TCS but will not stop others recognizing it to Cyprus becoming Turkey's Abkhazia (Russian style).

Turkey was clearly testing the waters before its unilateral deadline of the 1st of July 2012 when the Greek Cypriots take over the rotating EU presidency. But at a time when Turkey faces serious domestic problems with its Kurdish insurgency, surrounded by an unstable neighborhood, with its long-coveted EU membership in question at a time of global economic crisis, it may be more prudent to tread the water rather than to test it.

¹⁷ <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/387d2f6c-77f9-11e1-b437-00144feab49a.html>