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The Kurdistan Region's share of Iraq's 2024 budget: More than meets the eye

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Iraq's 2023-25 federal budget proposal,[1] as initially proposed by the Council of Ministers (CoM), included three major departures from prior budgets in terms of its unprecedented spending plans, its three-year period instead of the usual one, and in how it dealt with the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI)'s share of the budget.

In particular, the sections of the 2023-25 budget proposal that address the KRI's share in exchange for its contributions in oil exports addressed the contentious issue of federal allocations for the costs for the KRI's oil production and exports. This was made by the inclusion among sovereign expenditures of around 50 percent of the payments[2] to the international oil companies (IOCs) operating in the KRI, as well as the transportation costs of the KRI's oil exports. The result was the end of contradictions inherent in similar sections that bedevilled prior budgets, which did not to take into account the key structural inconsistency of the Kurdistan Regional Government's (KRG) own budget. Essentially the KRG budget needed the revenues both of its independent oil exports and of its share of the federal budget to meet most of its spending obligations. Consequently, the KRG could not honor its contributions to the federal budget in the form of oil exports, and therefore the GoI could not release the KRI's share of the budget, as that share was conditioned on its contributions in oil exports according to the same sections of prior budgets.[3]

Promisingly, the 2023-35 budget proposal's sections pertaining to the KRI's share in return for its contributions in oil exports, combined with the April 2023 agreement between the government of Iraq (GoI) and the KRG on the resumption of the KRI's oil exports,[4] effectively amounted to an oil and gas revenue sharing mechanism. This mechanism had the potential to end the linked disputes over the developments of the country's hydrocarbon resources and over the KRI's share of the budget—and in time could have become a building block for a federal oil and gas law.[5]

This oil and gas revenue sharing mechanism, and with it the potential for a federal oil and gas law, were derailed by the Council of Representatives (CoR)'s major changes to the 2023-25 budge proposal's articles dealing with the KRI's share of the budget.[6] However, intentionally or not, the CoR did not make the corresponding changes to budget tables that dealt

1. Ahmed Tabaqchali, "Debt and Ides of March: An Overview of Iraq's 2023 Federal Budget Proposal," London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), Middle East Centre blog, May 8, 2023, https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/mec/2023/05/08/debt-and-taxes-of-what-can-we-be-certain-in-iraqs-2023-federal-budget/

2. These are payments that are owed to the IOCs for the oil production (i.e., exploration, development, and extraction) that is sold by the KRG.

3. The conflict over the KRI's share of the federal budget stemmed from agreements between the GoI and the KRG that conditioned the KRI's share on the KRG's contributions in oil exports. However, these agreements did not address the issue of federal allocations for the costs for the KRI's oil production (which itself stems from a deeper fundamental conflict between the two over the development of the country's oil and gas resources). As such, the KRG was required to cover these costs from its share of the federal budget, thereby reducing this share. But the KRG's own budget needed the revenues from both its independent oil exports and its share of the federal budget to meet its spending obligations. Ultimately, these agreements were unworkable, not mutually advantageous, and non-enforceable, as addressed by the author in pieces linked below. Interestingly, the only partial exception to the conditionality was in the 2019 budget, which stipulated that the GoI would continue to make payments for the salaries portion of the KRI's share, even if the KRG fails to contribute oil exports. See Ahmed Tabaqchali, "The Debate over Iraqi Kurdistan's Share of the Federal Budget," Al Bayan Center for Planning and Studies, June 22, 2019, https://www.bayancenter.org/en/2019/06/1940/; Ahmed Tabaqchali, Hamzeh al-Shadeedi, and Sarwar Abdullah, "Breaking the Impasse: The Baghdad-Erbil Budget Divide," The Institute of Regional and International Studies (IRIS), May 2021, https://auis.edu.krd/iris/sites/default/files/20210516-IER2-Final.pdf.

4. The KRI's oil exports came to a halt in late March 2023, in response to the International Chamber of Commerce's (ICC) arbitral award in Iraq's favor in its nine-year arbitration case against Turkey over the Iraq-Turkey Pipeline (ITP) Agreements. Ben van Heuvelen et al., "Turkey Halts Iraq's Northern Exports after Landmark Arbitration Ruling," Iraq Oil Report, March 25, 2023, https://www.iraqoilreport.com/news/turkey-halts-iraqs-northern-exports-after-landmark-arbitration-ruling-45601/; Ben van Heuvelen and Mohammed Hussein, "Baghdad, Erbil Sign Temporary Deal to Resume Northern Exports," Iraq Oil Report, April 4, 2023, https://www.iraqoilreport.com/news/baghdad-erbil-sign-temporary-deal-to-resume-northern-exports-45634/.

5. The framework and the revenue sharing mechanism were reviewed by the author in Ahmed Tabaqchali, "It Takes Two to Tango: Ramifications of the Baghdad-Erbil Oil and Budget Deals," Institute of Regional and International Studies (IRIS), June 2023, https://auis.edu.krd/iris/sites/default/files/IER8 - Energy, Power %26 Politics Assessing the Baghdad-Erbil Oil Deal - June 2023_2.pdf

6. Mohammed Hussein, Kate Dourian, and Ben van Heuvelen, "Parliament Passes Budget after Gutting KRG Revenue Guarantees," Iraq Oil Report (IOR), June 13, 2023, https://www.iraqoilreport.com/news/parliament-passes-budget-after-gutting-krg-revenue-guarantees-45794/.

with the calculations of the KRI's share. These unchanged calculations were preserved in the updated 2024 budget tables which were the subject of a companion piece[7], "Iraq's 2024 budget: Not what it appears when it first meets the eye."

The KRI's share of the budget has always been more than meets the eye, a share that increased meaningfully in the 2023-25 budget and increased further still in the updated 2024 budget tables, as this piece will unpack. The first part reviews how this share is calculated, the details of the direct and indirect allocations making up this share, and the KRI's contributions to the federal budget. The second part revisits the significant departures introduced to the KRI's share by the 2023-25 budget and the 2024 updated tables. Finally, the third part looks at the reset of the GoI-KRG relationship that introduced these significant departures, even after the major changes introduced by the CoR to the budget's articles.

The Kurdistan region's more-than-meets-the-eye share of the budget

In return for its contributions to federal revenues, the KRI share of the federal budget takes the form of direct and indirect allocations. The direct allocations are calculated as 12.67 percent of total federal expenditures after the deduction of sovereign expenditures.[8] However, this share becomes larger when some of the KRI's related elements of sovereign expenditures are added to this percentage allocation. For instance, in the 2023 budget proposal,[9] the KRI's 12.67 percent of total federal expenditures after the deduction of sovereign expenditures amounted to IQD 14.8 trillion, which increased to IQD 16.6 trillion following such additions (Table 1).

However, the 12.67 percent percentage is more than meets the eye, as it is effectively 14.76 percent of total federal expenditures after the deduction of sovereign expenditures due to the peculiarities of the system used in the budget's preparation. In the 2023 budget proposal, for example, total federal expenditures were IQD 199.0 trillion, which included the enlarged KRI's share of IQD 16.6 trillion (see above). The system's peculiarities start with calculating the tables for sovereign expenditures using this IQD 199.0 trillion as a starting point, which is circular as it calculates the KRI share as a percentage of a figure that includes this share. Arguably, it is more logical to start with total federal expenditures that do not include the KRI's share and then to calculate the KRI's share as a percentage of this figure. Accordingly, an alternative calculation starts with federal expenditures that exclude the KRI's IQD 16.6 trillion allocations and yields a KRI share of IQD 12.7 trillion, which is then further enlarged to IQD 14.5 trillion (Table 1). Consequently, the peculiarities of the budget's preparation make the KRI's direct share IQD 2.1 trillion larger than what it should be under the alternative calculation.[10]

Table 1: Calculations for KRI's share of federal budget

IQD bn		Budget calcualtion	Alternative calcualtion
Federal expenditures-ex KRI	a	182,412	182,412
KRI share	b	16,610	0
Total federal expenditures	**c = a + b**	**199,022**	**182,412**
Sovereign expenditures	d	81,876	81,876
Federal expenditures less soverign expenditures	**e = c - d**	**117,146**	**100,537**
KRI share at 12.67%	f = 12.67% of o	14,842	12,738
Miscellaneous additions	g	1,767	1,767
Final KRI direct share	**h = f + g**	**16,610**	**14,505**

Data sourced from and calculations based on 2023 budget law

7 Ahmed Tabaqchali, Iraq's 2024 Budget: Not What It Appears When It First Meets the Eye, Atlantic Council, November 6, 2024, https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/in-depth-research-reports/report/iraqs-2024-budget-not-what-it-appears-when-it-first-meets-the-eye/

8 Prior to the 2017 budget, the figure was 17.0 percent. Crucially, this direct share is based on actual federal expenditures and not budgeted ones, and as such the full KRI allocation is contingent on the full execution of the federal budget. This in turn feeds the conflict over the KRI's share, as actual expenditures often lag budgeted ones and the KRI ends up getting less than its budget allocations.

9 The calculations here use the 2023 budget proposal as presented in the final 2023 budget law. This is because the budget proposal includes tables for the calculations of sovereign expenditures, whereas the budget law does not. However, the differences between the two are extremely minor, and thus the use of the budget proposal conveys an accurate picture.

10 Based on the author's alternative calculations, which in turn are based on the same logic used in the budget. The difference lies in the use of a starting figure that excludes the KRI's share.

In addition to this direct allocation, the KRI receives indirect allocations in the form of federal Ministry of Defence (MoD) payments of some Peshmerga salaries and the social welfare allocations to the KRI's citizens, such as the food basket distributions under the Public Distribution System (the country's universal social safety net) and other welfare and subsidy payments. Furthermore, the KRG is allowed to keep 50 percent of the custom revenues that it collects directly.[11] The 2023-25 budget introduced to sovereign expenditures around 50 percent of the payments to IOCs operating in the KRI which are paid out of the federal Ministry of Oil (MoO)'s investment budget, as well as the transport costs of the KRI's oil exports. These amounts were maintained in the updated 2024 tables.

In the 2024 tables, the KRI's direct share increased by 26.7 percent over the previous year to account for 9.9 percent of total federal expenditures versus accounting for 8.3 percent in 2023 (Table 2). Within this share, there is an allocation to the KRI for debt servicing that is added to the KRI share as an allocation toward federal debt servicing (the GoI allocates funds to the KRI that then become the KRI's contribution toward federal debt servicing).[12] While the KRI's indirect share is estimated to have remained the same in 2024 and to account for 1.9 percent of total federal expenditures, the KRI's total share (direct and indirect) increased by 23.7 percent in 2024 over 2023 to account for 11.8 percent of total federal expenditures versus 10.3 percent in 2023.[13]

11 This will be explored by the author in a future piece. It is assumed in this piece to be IQD 3.6 trillion in custom tariffs and IQD 1.2 trillion in other non-oil revenues. This was based on prior works by the author (See Tabaqchali, "It Takes Two to Tango"). It is worth noting that during the negotiations between the GoI and KRG on the federal budget for 2023, the KRG's delegations were providing estimates that non-oil revenues for 2023 would be IQD 4.5 trillion, while MoF estimated these would be IQD 3.7 trillion.

12 The budget tables (for 2023 and 2024, as for prior budgets) only show the KRI's share for the amortization of debt, but it is not clear if the KRI receives an allocation for interest payments. It is assumed here that it does not receive an allocation for interest payments, nor does it make a contribution toward interest payments.

13 Estimates are made by the author and based on the updated 2024 tables and on the 2023-25 budget law, and they assume that, apart from the updated tables, all other aspects of the 2023-25 budget law are unchanged.

Table 2: KRI's share of federal budget in 2024

IQD bn	% Total federal expenditures		vs. 2023 (%)
Total allocations	11.8	**24,920**	**23.7**
Direct allocations	9.9	**20,910**	**26.7**
Share of current expenditures		**14,840**	**12.1**
Public sector salaries		9,556	2.8
Social welfare (mostly pensions)		2,020	74.5
Goods and services (including maintenance)		2,922	19.0
Grants, subsidies, foreign aid, etc.		342	4.2
Debt servicing		**1,116**	**179.0**
Amortization		1,116	
Interest payments		N/A	
Share of investment spending		**4,954**	**73.4**
Non-oil investment spending		2,254	-21.1
Oil investment spending (IOCs operating in KRI)		2,700	N/M
Indirect allocations	1.9	**4,010**	**0.3**
MoO payments for IOCs operating in KRI (est.)		2,448	0.0
MoD payments of Peshmerga salaries (est.)		228	0.0
Social welfare (PDS, medicines, rice and wheat subsidies, power imports)		1,219	-3.2
Others		114	80.9

Data sourced from and estimates based on 2023 budget law; 2024 budget tables as released by Iraqi media; CoR's Finance Committee's reviews and notes on 2024 budget tables; author's review of 2023-25 budget and KRI's share of budget. Note: Total federal expenditures are those prior to the deduction of sovereign expenditures; N/A = not available , N/M = non-meaningful.ww

The KRI's contributions to the federal budget take the form of oil export revenues, based on exports of 400,000 bpd at USD 70/bbl, and non-oil revenues (Table 3)—for a total of IQD 15.6 trillion. However, this figure is in effect only oil export revenues as it is unclear if the figures for federal non-oil revenues include contributions from the KRI.[14]

Table 3: KRI's contributions to federal budget in 2024

IQD bn	% Total federal expenditures		vs. 2023 (%)
Total contributions	10.6%	**15,651**	**0.0**
Oil export revenues : 400,000 bpd at USD 70/bbl		13,286	0.0
Non-oil revenues- custom tariffs (est.)		1,804	0.0
Non-oil revenues- others (est.)		561	0.0
KRI contributions to budget less its share of budget		**-9,269**	

Data sourced from and estimates based on 2023 budget law; 2024 budget tables as released by Iraqi media; CoR's Finance Committee's reviews and notes on 2024 budget tables; author's review of 2023-25 budget and KRI's share of budget.

14. See Table 2 in Tabaqchali, Iraq's 2024 Budget, for composition of federal non-oil revenues as specified by the budget.

The KRI's budget contributions of IQD 15.5 trillion, amounting to 10.6 percent of federal revenues, and its share of IQD 24.9 trillion, amounting to 11.8 percent of federal revenues, yields a deficit of IQD 9.3 trillion (Tables 2 and 3). This narrows to IQD 7.4 trillion under the assumption of higher oil prices (i.e., if oil prices are USD 10/bbl higher than the budget's assumptions of USD 70/bbl).[15]

Break with the past

As argued earlier, the most significant departures in the 2023-25 budget and the 2024 updated tables from prior budgets are those that relate to payments to the IOCs operating in the KRI and the transportation costs of the KRI oil exports. The first departure, introduced in 2023 and unchanged in the 2024 tables, is the allocation of IQD 1.4 trillion toward transportation costs for the KRI oil exports. Because the IQD 1.4 trillion is treated as part of sovereign expenditures, the KRI's direct share is calculated after this figure is deducted along with other sovereign expenditures; it is then added to the direct share and appears within the KRI's allocation for goods and services. The mechanics of this allocation can be seen (Table 4) by reconstructing the calculations of the KRI's share of the 2023 budget proposal (Table 1). The IQD 1.4 trillion allocation more than covers the IQD 1.3 trillion that the KRG paid for oil export transport fees in 2022.[16]

Table 4: Reconstructing the calculations for KRI's share of federal budget

IQD bn		
Federal expenditures-ex KRI	a	182,412
KRI share	b	16,610
Total federal expenditures	**c = a + b**	**199,022**
Payments to IOCs operating in the KRI	d	2,448
KRI oil export transport fees	e	1,428
Federal sovereign expenditures	f	77,999
Sovereign expenditures	**g = d + e + f**	**81,876**
Federal expenditures less soverign expenditures	**h = c - g**	**117,146**
KRI share at 12.67%	i = 12.67% of h	14,842
KRI oil export transport fees	j = e	1,428
Miscellaneous additions	k	339
Final KRI direct share	**l = i + j + k**	**16,610**

Data sourced from and calculations based on 2023 budget law

15. The federal budget tables for 2024 made overly conservative assumptions for oil prices but compensated for this by making more realistic assumptions and using the difference between the two as a means of deficit financing. See Tabaqchali, Iraq's 2024 budget.
16. This is based on Deloitte audits of the KRG's oil exports for 2022, the last year for which full-year data is available as exports came to a halt in March 2023. See Deloitte Report on Oil and Gas Review in the Iraqi Kurdistan Region – 2022, https://gov.krd/english/information-and-services/open-data/deloitte-reports/deloitte-report-2022/ - :~:text=Deloitte releases audited report for,all the quarters of 2022.

The second departure is the indirect allocation of IQD 2.4 for payments to IOCs operating in the KRI, an amount that is treated as a sovereign expenditure (Table 4) and appears as part of the MoO's allocations for oil investment spending alongside the payments[17] to IOCs operating in federal Iraq.[18] This allocation was clearly marked in the 2023-25 budget law and is assumed to have remained essentially the same in the 2024 tables.[19]

In 2023, it was assumed that the IQD 2.4 trillion payment would amount to 48 percent of the estimated IQD 5.0 trillion in payments that would accrue to the IOCs operating in the KRI had the KRG continued to pay for them from its independent oil exports.[20] Furthermore, it was inferred that the KRG would pay the balance (IQD 2.6 trillion) from its IQD 2.8 trillion share of the investment spending budget.[21] The 2024 budget tables have taken this further by adding an allocation of IQD 2.7 trillion for the KRI's IOCs as part of the KRI's share of the investment spending budget, thereby increasing that share by 73.4 percent (Table 2). Consequently, for 2024, the direct and indirect allocations for the KRI's IOCs increased by 110.3 percent to IQD 5.1 trillion, which equals 25.3 percent of the budget's total oil investment spending budget (Table 5).

Table 5: Oil investment spending allocation to KRI

IQD bn		vs. 2023 (%)
Total allocations	**5,148**	**110.3**
Direct allocation to KRI	2,700	N/A
Indirect allocation through MoO (as sovereign expenditures)	2,488	0

Data sourced from and estimates based on 2023 budget law; 2024 budget tables as released by Iraqi media; CoR's Finance Committee's reviews and notes on 2024 budget tables; author's review of the 2023-25 budget and KRI's share of budget.

Note: N/M = not meaningful.

The dramatic changes introduced by the CoR during the contentious passage of the 2023-25 budget significantly altered the language in the budget's articles that pertain to KRI's share. The most important of these changes affected the mechanics of calculating the costs of KRG oil production and export transportation. Specifically, the CoR introduced requirements that IOCs operating in the KRI would be paid in the same manner as IOCs operating in federal Iraq, and that the KRG oil export transport fees be the same as those for federal Iraq.[22] It is not clear why the CoR made no corresponding changes to the tables affecting the calculations of the KRI's share of the 2023-25 budget; in particular, no changes were made to sovereign expenditures or to the MoO's investment spending allocations. The 2024 updated tables imply, similar to the case here, that no changes were made to the tables affecting the KRI's share.

17. These are payments that are owed to the IOCs for the oil production that is sold by the MoO.
18. See Table 1 in Tabaqchali, Iraq's 2024 budget, and Table 1 in Tabaqchali, "Debt and Ides of March,"
19. This assumption is based on two factors: (1) The calculations of sovereign expenditures were not part of the updated budget tables for 2024, and they should be essentially the same as those for the 2023-25 budget proposal; (2) the MoO's oil investment spending allocations (most of which are payments for IOCs operating in federal Iraq and for those operating in the KRI) increased in the 2024 tables over those for 2023, which indicates that the IQD 2.4 trillion appears again in the 2024 tables.
20. The IQD 5.0 trillion is based on oil exports of 400,000 bpd at $70/bbl as specified in the budget. It then assumes that the IOCs' payments amount to a 37.3 percent share of revenues from these oil exports (based on the same percentage of oil export revenues that IOCs received as reported in the Deloitte audit for 2022).
21. The assumption and inference are made by the author as discussed in Tabaqchali, "It Takes Two to Tango."
22. This requirement is both vague and impossible to implement. This is because of (1) the different nature of oil production contracts (with different fiscal terms and consequently different calculations of IOC payments) signed by the KRG's Ministry of Natural Resources (MNR), which are Production Sharing Contracts (PSC), and those signed by the MoO, which are Service Level Agreements (SLA); and (2) the different oil transportation infrastructures, geographies, and transportation contracts pertaining to exports of the KRI's oil and exports of federal oil.

A reset of the GoI-KRG relationship

The 2023-25 federal budget proposal, as well as the updated 2024 tables, marked a major departure from prior budgets in in how they dealt with the KRI share of the federal budget. The trigger for this departure was a reset in the relationship between the KRG and the GoI, which was precipitated by two crucial developments.

The first was the Federal Supreme Court's (FSC) ruling in February 2022 that the Kurdistan Oil and Gas Law was unconstitutional.[23] The second was ending the KRG's independent oil exports in March 2023 as a consequence of the International Chamber of Commerce's (ICC) arbitral award in Iraq's favor in its nine-year arbitration case against Turkey over the Iraq-Turkey Pipeline Agreements. Interweaved with these two developments was the long political bargaining process that led to the formation of Iraq's current governing alliance, known as the State Administration Coalition, and ultimately the formation of the current administration. The government program presented to the CoR in October 2022 during its swearing-in stipulated that the GoI and the KRG should work toward a negotiated resolution of the conflict over the development of the country's hydrocarbon resources and the KRI's share of the federal budget.

The CoR's changes to budget's articles dealing with the costs of KRI oil production and export transportation, without making corresponding changes to the budget tables' allocations for these same items, introduced a significant contradiction to the final budget law. The same contradiction appears to have been repeated in the updated 2024 tables, in which the CoR approved the updated tables' increased allocations for KRG oil production and export transportation, while the text of the budget was preserved.[24] Nevertheless, the survival, intended or not, of the budget tables' calculations of the allocations for KRI oil production and export transportation saved the reset of the relationship between the GoI and the KRG.

The GoI and the KRG, meanwhile, continue to build upon this reset in their relationship, first by expanding the share of the KRG of the federal budget in the 2024 updated tables, and second by agreeing in early November to reverse the thrust of the CoR's changes to the budget proposal's articles dealing with the KRG.[25] While far from comprehensive, this agreement seeks to reestablish the essence of the original budget proposal and could ultimately reestablish the foundation for the oil and gas revenue-sharing mechanism.

The rub, though, is that the November agreement, which reverses the thrust of the CoR's earlier changes, must be approved by the CoR. Even with that approval, the agreement, as well as the KRI's share as reviewed in this piece, is contingent on the budget's validity during its effective period (2023-25). Which means that the KRI's share in subsequent federal budgets will be subject to new negotiations between the KRG and a new GoI formed after the October 2025 parliamentary elections, puting at risk all the departures introduced in the 2023-25 budget, including the updated 2024 tables.

23 Iraq Oil Report, "Iraqi Supreme Court Strikes Down KRG Oil Sector Independence," February 15, 2022, https://www.iraqoilreport.com/news/iraqi-supreme-court-strikes-down-krg-oil-sector-independence-44500/.

24 These are not the only instances that contradictions were introduced in a federal budget law. The most recent contradiction was introduced by the CoR in its review of the 2021 budget proposal, when, in a fit of fiscal sobriety, the CoR reduced CoM's propped expenditures from IQD 164.2 trillion to IQD 129.9 trillion, however the final budget as it passed into law contained both spending allocations. See: Law number 23 for 2021 "Federal Budget Law for Fiscal year 2021," Official Gazette for Iraq, accessed August 14, 2024, https://www.moj.gov.iq/upload/pdf/4625.pdf.

Contradictions such as these are an inevitable consequence of using a paper-based budget process (from planning and parliamentary oversight to approval, execution, and execution monitoring).

See: Ahmed Tabaqchali, Gone with the Muhasasa: Iraq's Static Budget Process, and the Loss of Financial Control, Atlantic Council, January 2021, https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/GONE_WITH_THE_MUHASASA-_IRAQS_STATIC_BUDGET_PROCESS_AND_THE_LOSS_OF_FINANCIAL_CONTROL.pdf.

25 The agreement essentially doubles the 2023-25 budget law's allocations for the KRI oil production and transportation (i.e., doubles the amounts set by the CoR in its review of the original 2023-25 budget proposal). Bachar Halabi, "Iraq Proposes Doubling Payment for KRG Crude," Argus Media, November 6, 2024, https://www.argusmedia.com/en/news-and-insights/latest-market-news/2625766-iraq-proposes-doubling-payment-for-krg-crude;
Ben van Heuvelen, Mohammed Hussein, and staff "Cabinet advances proposal for northern oil export restart', Iraq Oil Report (IOR), November 8, 2024, https://www.iraqoilreport.com/news/cabinet-advances-proposal-for-northern-oil-export-restart-46787/.

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