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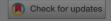
## Energy - A Geopolitical Game Changer?

Michael Leigh

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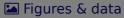
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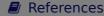
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- <sup>1</sup> Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, "President Gül Delivers Speech at Energy and Economy Summit", Istanbul, 21 November 2013,
- http://www.tccb.gov.tr/news/397/87824/president-gul-delivers-speech-at-economy-and-energy-summit.html
- <sup>2</sup> M. Leigh, "Exploring the Cyprus-Israel Alliance in the Eastern Mediterranean", GBF Blog, 20 April 2012, <a href="http://blog.gmfus.org/2012/04/30/exploring-the-cyprus-israel-alliance-in-the-eastern-mediterranean/">http://blog.gmfus.org/2012/04/30/exploring-the-cyprus-israel-alliance-in-the-eastern-mediterranean/</a>.
- <sup>3</sup> Author's interviews, November 2013.
- <sup>4</sup> Shaffer, Energy Politics, 30.
- <sup>5</sup> Gazprom is seeking a stake in Eastern Mediterranean gas principally to safeguard its role as dominant supplier to Europe.
- <sup>6</sup> Shaffer, Energy Politics, 28.
- <sup>7</sup> On the conditions applying to crossing the 'Green Line', see the relevant EU Council Regulation and subsequent amendments.



- <sup>15</sup> "The widespread assumption that pipeline sales of gas from Cyprus (or Israel) to Turkey would be the most attractive and natural export option in purely commercial terms is open to question." Giamourides, Natural Gas in Cyprus, 16-9.
- <sup>16</sup> Author's interviews, May 2013.
- <sup>17</sup> "Turkey Open to Pipelines Offers from Israel, Cyprus, Iraq", Hurriyet Daily News, 27 May 2013, <a href="http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-open-to-pipeline-offers-from-cyprus-israel-iraq.aspx?PageID=238&NID=47650&NewsCatID=348.">http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-open-to-pipeline-offers-from-cyprus-israel-iraq.aspx?PageID=238&NID=47650&NewsCatID=348.</a>
- <sup>18</sup> See, for example, "Turkey's Erdogan calls Israel a Terrorist State", Reuters, 19 November 2012, <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/11/19/us-palestinians-israel-turkey-idUSBRE8AI0FH20121119">http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/11/19/us-palestinians-israel-turkey-idUSBRE8AI0FH20121119</a>.
- <sup>19</sup> "Israel-Greece-Cyprus Power Grid Link Signed in Nicosia", Ekathimerini.com, 7 August 2013,
- http://www.ekathimerini.com/4dcgi/\_w\_articles\_wsite2\_1\_07/08/2013\_513220.
- <sup>20</sup> See Communication from the Commission, Long-term Infrastructure Vision, and the accompanying list of Projects of Common Interest.

<sup>21</sup> European Parliament and Council, "Safety of Offshore Oil and Gas Operations", and amending Directive, <a href="http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?">http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?</a>



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