

EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY OF LEFKE
INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES & RESEARCH
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
MASTER THESIS



**THE PROBABLE CONTRIBUTION OF THE
HYDROCARBON DISCOVERY IN EASTERN
MEDITERRANEAN TO THE SETTLEMENT OF
THE CYPRUS CONFLICT**

AYTAÇ KURT

SUPERVISOR
ASSIST. PROF. SALİH EGEMEN

LEFKE 2015

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İntihal Farkındalık Bildirimi

Öğrenci Adı & Soyadı: Aytaç KURT

Öğrenci Numarası : 130051

Programı : Uluslararası İlişkiler Yüksek Lisans Programı

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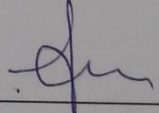
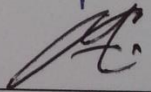
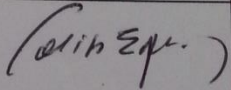
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LEFKE AVRUPA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
LİSANSÜSTÜ EĞİTİM, ÖĞRETİM VE ARAŞTIRMA ENSTİTÜSÜ
ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI
YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

Aytaç KURT tarafından hazırlanan “*The Probable Contribution of the Hydrocarbon Discovery in Eastern Mediterranean to the Settlement of the Cyprus Conflict*” konulu Yüksek Lisans Tezinin Sınavı 15.06.2015 tarihinde pazartesi günü saat 17:30’da yapılmış olup, tezin oybirliği/oyçokluğu ile kabul edilmesine karar verilmiştir.

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TEZ MERKEZİ TEZ VERİ GİRİŞ FORMU

Referans No

Yazar Adı / Soyadı Aytaç KURT

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Tezin Dili English

Tezin Özgün Adı The Probable Contribution of the Hydrocarbon Discoveries in Eastern Mediterranean to the Settlement of the Cyprus Conflict

Üniversite European University of Lefke
Institute of Graduate Studies & Research

Anabilim Dalı Department of International Relations

Tez Türü Master

Yılı 2015-06-15

Sayfa 182

Tez Danışmanları Assist. Prof. Salih EGEMEN

ABSTRACT

In this study, repeatedly entering a deadlock in negotiations for several times has become a major problem towards the process of Cyprus peace talks. In particular, the failure of the initiative carried out negotiations for the solution of the issue revealed many facts. To have the continuity of the agreement, the parties are required to hear each other mutual dependence. In addition, healthy and long-lasting solution of the international crisis possible only all parties gain "win-win" results with the acquisition. Annan plan revealed that the Turkish Cypriots are ready for a solution. Because the Turkish side of the win-win shaped politics depends "*Including International Rights*" and "*Political Equality in the Island*" principles. The important thing is to convince the Greek Cypriot side back to negotiation table a new "*Earnings will be provided dependency*" status to be able to identify. The equilibrium between the parties has agreed cannot be sustained implementation of existing solutions, thereby creating the need to create a new equilibrium point. Besides the new equilibrium point is necessary to examine in terms of Cyprus's strategic stakeholders. Win-win principle within the scope of a new equilibrium point for resolving the Cyprus problem, "*energy - political equality*" should be searched in plane.

The purpose of this research is to identify the requirements of the hydrocarbon reserves in the the eastern Mediterranean in the probable settlement of Cyprus conflict and to reveal whether the discovery of hydrocarbons may constitute a new balance point in the solution process. So they have that available in the region about the future energy supply situation is dealt with in the framework of potential problems. The main arguments of this work is that *hydrocarbon resources in the Mediterranean Sea may contribute to the solution of the Cyprus conflict, with the "energy - political equality" equation.*

Keywords: Cyprus issue, hydrocarbons, Eastern Mediterranean, win-win, Energy geopolitics.

ÖZET

Araştırmada Kıbrıs sorununun defalarca yapılan müzakere girişimlerinde çıkmaza girilerek çözümsüzlük noktasında sıkışması temel problem olarak tespit edilmiştir. Özellikle konunun çözümüne yönelik gerçekleştirilen müzakere girişimlerinin başarısızlıkla sonuçlanması şu gerçeği ortaya koymuştur. Yapılan anlaşmaların sürekliliğinin olması için tarafların birbirine karşılıklı bağımlılık duymaları gerekmektedir. Ayrıca uluslararası krizlerin sağlıklı ve uzun soluklu çözümü ancak tüm tarafların “kazan-kazan” şeklinde sonuçlar elde etmesiyle mümkündür. Annan planı ortaya koymuştur ki Kıbrıs Türkleri çözüme hazırdır. Çünkü Türk tarafının kazan-kazan şeklindeki bağımlılığı “*Uluslararası Hukuka Dahil Olma*” ve “*Adada Siyasal Eşitlik*” ilkesi doğrultusundadır. Önemli olan Rum kesimini masaya oturmaya ikna edecek yeni bir “kazanç sağlanacak bağımlılık” durumu tespit edebilmektir. Zira mevcut uygulanan denge noktasının taraflar arasını çözüme kavuşturmayacağı anlaşılmış, dolayısıyla yeni bir denge noktası oluşturulması gerekliliği ortaya çıkmıştır. Kazan-kazan prensibi kapsamında Kıbrıs sorununu çözüme ulaştıracak yeni denge noktasının “*enerji– siyasal eşitlik*” düzleminde aranması gerekmektedir.

Bu araştırmanın amacı, Kıbrıs sorununun çözümüne Doğu Akdeniz’de bulunan hidrokarbonunhangi gerekçelerle katkıda bulunacağını saptamak ve çözüm sürecinde yeni denge noktası teşkil edip etmeyeceğini ortaya koymaktır. Böylece bölgede var olduğu düşünülen enerji kaynakları ile ilgili mevcut durum muhtemel sorunlar çerçevesinde ele alınmıştır. Bu çalışmanın temel argümanı, *Akdeniz’de bulunan hidrokarbon kaynakları Kıbrıs sorununun çözümüne “enerji–siyasal eşitlik” denkleminde katkı sağlayabileceğidir.*

Anahtar Kelimeler:Kıbrıs sorunu, Hidrokarbon, Doğu Akdeniz, Kazan-kazan, Enerji jeopolitiği.

PREFACE

Because it is still developing a current topic of the thesis topic I'm working on, and on published literature infertility, especially think tanks reports, including domestic / foreign research centre reports, symposium papers, theses, journal papers and newspaper articles has led to concentration obligation. In particular, local, regional and global actors, hydrocarbon-oriented attitude towards the solution and rhetoric, especially with the way the press has been demonstrated.

During my thesis, I thank to my advisor Assist. Prof. Salih EGEMEN who show me the path and help and give me the best critics that I need and support me in every situation. In Namik Kemal University, continued the task of teaching duties, guiding me throughout my working thesis in literature, Asst. Assoc. Dr. Emre ÖZŞAHİN, I extend my gratitude. In addition, the intensive post-graduate studies I could not devote adequate time to the next period and nevertheless accepting understand and support whenever I need, thank my wife forever established Gülçin KURT.

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ABBREVIATION LIST

EU	:	European Union
GCASC	:	Greek Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus
TRNC	:	Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus
US	:	United States
USSR	:	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic
UK	:	United Kingdom
UN	:	United Nation
TRO	:	Turkish Resistance Organization
RF	:	Russian Federation
TGNA	:	Turkey Grand National Assembly
TFSC	:	Turkish Federated State of Cyprus
UNSC	:	United Nation Security Council
UNLSC	:	United Nations Law of the Sea Convention
RC	:	Republic of Cyprus
LNG	:	Liquefy Natural Gas

TPC : Turkish Petroleum Corporation

EEZ : Exclusive Economic Zone

BTC : Bakü-Tiflis-Ceyhan

TCF : Trillion Cubic Feet

MCF : Million Square Feet

MCM : Million Cubic Meter

BCM : Billion Cubic Meter

BTU : British Thermal Unit

INTRODUCTION

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, during a military manoeuvre carried out in 1930 in the Mediterranean region on the map of Cyprus showing "Gentlemen, As long as the Cyprus enemy hands, blocked supply routes of the region. Be sure to Cyprus! This island is very important to us." he pointed to the importance of the island with words. Indeed, Cyprus is situated in a key geopolitical and geostrategic point. However, the proximity to Turkey, as climate and geopolitics are also considered as part of Anatolia. (Mermerkaya, 2013, s. 1).

For over fifty years, the world maintains its place among the long-standing political problems in Cyprus, has emerged as a political issue in 1963. Many times to solve the problem states, international organizations, and prominent individuals have become involved in the process in the international arena as official or unofficial. On the other side the parties of this problem, sometimes choose a path to freeze the problem and remain still, and sometimes to attempt to resolve through negotiations. In this political atmosphere it came under the sovereignty of a peace process frozen since 1974, and moved the guns silent until today. Problems officially and unofficially way involved with the state and even international organizations strategically located at the intersection of the interests of Cyprus qualified talent has become the area with the new solution proved to attempt to have a voice actor in the world.

An important development that changes the size of the Cyprus problem has been occurring because of the Annan plan the Greek Cypriots for EU membership. This plan in a referendum held on 24 April 2004 although be accepted by Turkish Society, was rejected by the Greek Society. Ongoing negotiations on the Cyprus problem after many unsuccessful efforts made to find a solution by becoming more problematic since the middle of 2012, have been suspended.

In this study, repeatedly made jammed in the entering an impasse in negotiations deadlock point attempt of the Cyprus problem has been identified as the main problem. In fact the failure of the negotiations revealed this fact. The parties, for the continuity of the agreement, are required to hear each other mutual needs. Healthy and long-term solution of the international crisis, which should result in a win-win by

all parties. Accordingly, it sets forth a formula can be conducted by application of the win-win equation solution of the Cyprus problem. In addition, problems related to the elimination of Turkey's opening of new chapters in the EU accession process as a result of the elimination of blockage in the NATO-EU cooperation, the NATO-Israel, and even the NATO-Cyprus relations will be conducive to positive developments, such as creating new opportunities. (Sanberk, 2014).

Annan's plan revealed that the Turkish Cypriots are ready for a solution. Because dependence on the Turkish side as a win-win "Involvement in International Law" and "Political equality on the island" policy is in line. The important thing is to convince GCASC to return negotiation table, a new "dependency" patients should be identified. Understanding the fact between the parties will not resolve the current attempt to reach the point of equilibrium, and thus emerged the necessity of establishing a new equilibrium point. Besides the new equilibrium it is necessary to examine the terms of Cyprus's strategic stakeholders.

Increasing competition for energy in the region has enabled the emergence of a new geography of energy scene. In addition, ongoing problems detected on the issue of resources have made the competitive environment more complex. About the transfer of power in the region Turkey detected the presence of options can be realized in the short term and in terms of cost and requires a minimum of Cyprus is the most rational choice for both Israel. In this case all parties on behalf of the Cyprus problem, the solution will appear along with energy design raises to be a zero-sum game. So this new game will be based on a win-win equation. Win-win principle within the scope of a new equilibrium point for resolving the Cyprus problem, "energy - political equality" should be searched in plane.

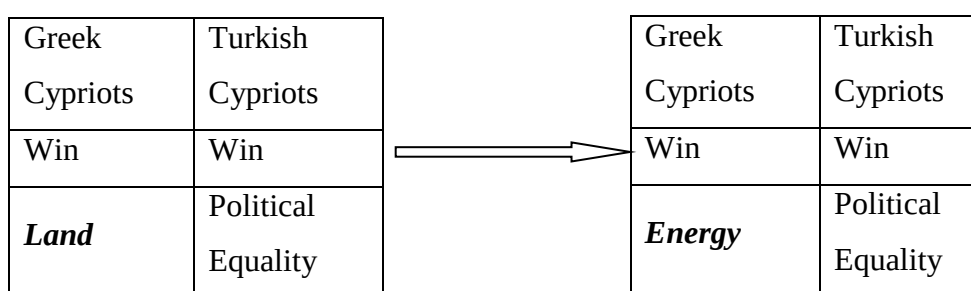
PURPOSE, SCOPE AND IMPORTANCE

This research aims to solve the Cyprus problem "of hydrocarbons in the Eastern Mediterranean" to examine to what extent would contribute and reveal whether the settlement process constitutes a new balance point. So they have that available in the region about the future energy supply situation and possible problems should be discussed within the framework of TRNC and Turkey in this

regard is intended to create an awareness among the public. In contrast, the new equilibrium to be established in the negotiations impasse could be built on the discovered hydrocarbon resources in the region. All local energy resources is a new ray of hope may be the solution in the interest of regional and global actors.

Hypothesis as disclosed herein; in the context of the principle of win-win solutions cannot be successful "territorial - political equality" has lost the validity of the balance of the new equilibrium solution can be reached "energy - political equality" will be as it should be dialled on the plane.

The basic arguments of mine; Hydrocarbon in the eastern Mediterranean, the solution process "energy - political equality" can contribute to the balance point.



Sub Argument 1: hydrocarbons in the Eastern Mediterranean, Turkey's solution process in Cyprus open hydrocarbons detected most cost-effective and can contribute because it is the most secure export route.

Sub Argument 2: hydrocarbon in the eastern Mediterranean, to save the EU and the US energy market settlement process Russia from the monopoly, developing alternative hydrocarbon resources, improve energy efficiency and contribute because not want to create new energy corridors.

Sub Argument 3: hydrocarbon in the eastern Mediterranean, which will connect the largest hydrocarbon reserves with Israel's appropriate export market, the EU hydrocarbon safest and least in the region to export cost to Turkey of open Cypriot transport routes in the Mediterranean, the solution process because it can contribute to a pipeline.

Sub Argument 4: hydrocarbon in the eastern Mediterranean, due to the inability to identify sufficient reserves and economic failure for the GCASC's hydrocarbon

resources could contribute to the solution process alone cannot be applied because export policy.

This work is important to resolve with the new equilibrium has been deprived for years of the Turkish side to engage in international law and the terms of the meeting with political equality rights on the island half a century for over will be provided to the Cyprus problem cannot be resolved. It is known that East energy exploration that took place recently in the Mediterranean region as demonstrated in terms of hydrocarbon resources is rich. This has brought the issue of field sharing of hydrocarbon in the eastern Mediterranean also on the agenda. Problems related to the sharing of resources in a fair manner in the region, especially Turkey are discussed intensively in the international arena. This discussion of political developments in the region, economic, military makes a thorough legal and energy aspects needed to be addressed. This study has been drafted for these reasons.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework of the study related to the topic of this work is the basis to explain the approach of the state in the field of international relations, foreign policy-making process. (Bektaş, 2013, s. 5). With this approach, depending on various factors that cause conflicts which arise from occurring in the international system and may be removed in accordance with how predictions made. One of the classic realist theory of international relations discipline in this matter until today studies on Cyprus (classic and neorealist) and liberalist (classical and neo-liberalist) evaluated based and were explained in this direction (Hürsoy, 2013, s. 260).

As it is known, while a security concept based on the state-centred realism, liberalism represents a tradition of political thought with a certain purpose and ideals. According to realism in a rational way the state is making efforts in the direction of the target strength it is necessary for their safety and survival. The action of the state, preferences and basic dynamic forces that determine the political horizon is particularly military power. Intergovernmental military balance of power, is a major factor shaping the current political order on an international scale (Kolodziej, 2005, s. 153-157; Sandıklı, A. ve Kaya, E., 2012, s. 213). Also serving the common

interests based on realism and distrust capable of eliminating an intergovernmental cooperation is not in question. Interstate interaction "*zero sum game*" takes place in accordance with theory. (Mearsheimer, 2004, s. 66; Sandıklı, A. ve Kaya, E., 2012, s. 215). If it made a cooperation between states in the international system against the other actors and is considered a temporary situation. Thus realist theory is correct working beyond the status quo does not change the facts and explain to the Cyprus problem (Hürsoy, 2013, p. 260).

Status of the states in the international system according to the liberal approach, is equal in terms of rights and responsibilities. So not all states are equally enjoys inviolable rights such as protection of independence and national interests. (Ari, 2013, s. 28). The development of freedom form the basis of liberalism requires international cooperation. At the same time, this cooperation will lead to prosperity addition to reducing potential losses and interdependence are essential for ensuring justice and peace. (Zacher, M, W ve Richard, A, M, 1995, s. 110, 117-118). It also states in the international political and economic interdependence as a result of interaction is encouraged to move the process of peaceful resolution of disputes. (Sandıklı, A. ve Kaya, E., 2013, s. 62). Liberalism argues that states could win more than the benefits to be achieved by unilateral action and cooperation. Zero-sum game approach is said to provide a collaborative approach could allow the parties together instead of earnings. This collaborative approach by the state, other states may be collected from the collaboration focuses on the absolute gain considering the welfare of the people rather than the opposite relative position. (Kolodziej, 2005, s. 153-157; Sandıklı, A. ve Kaya, E., 2012, s. 228).

All neorealist by them, standing on the concept of relative earnings, neoliberals remains absolute earnings and on the harmony of common interest. Seen in this context of disputes between the two sides in the first period caused by developments in Cyprus in the late 1950s coincided with a realistic approach based on open power struggle and mutual distrust. (Sandıklı, A. ve Kaya, E., 2012, s. 228). Indeed realistic attitude to the parties in the dispute between the two parts of Cyprus has been effective over the years since the 1970s. Side of the mutual threat perceptions related disputes in bilateral relations has brought to the fore. After the 1974 Cyprus Peace Operation on developments on the island and prepared

environment to strengthen the mutual threat perceptions during the 1980s and 1990s. Thus, the parties have given impetus to the arms act with each other realistic security policy and defence / offensive capabilities, taking into account a possible preparation for war in order to increase their military spending. Consider the hot war party risks involved in resorting to armed forces following these developments have begun to think big losses could give the two countries a realist approach.

Liberal understanding of the developments in the Cyprus problem within the scope of security that led to the settlement and post-2002 period, to solve the problems caused to turn to diplomatic means. In fact, as of 2002, the Turkish Government in the past on the Cyprus problem in experiencing a turning point in current policy with radicalization policies and rhetoric, though shareholders, the 1999 Helsinki Summit decisions and then represents the beginning of a different era (Özcan, M. ve Tezcan T., 2008, s. 16). Because in this period the parties have made efforts towards a solution on the Cyprus issue by establishing two dialogue channels. In this context, the facility is the first level dialogue channel, the two countries have established contact with foreign officials. Secretary level talks launched since 2002 has provided more air pro-solution between the two countries. However, the relevant time period is stuck in a deadlock point in many negotiation attempts between the two countries sought to be realized. In particular, the negotiations carried out under the Annan Plan in 2004 showed that more prone to the solution of the Turkish Cypriots. This tendency is due to the one-sided dependence on the Turkish side.

Environmental conditions play out in the new energy of energy in the region in recent years has eliminated the need to be zero-sum. Strengthening the climate of dialogue between the parties since 2014, it has initiated a period dealt with the liberal concept of security of the Cyprus problem. Indeed, the Greek Foreign Ministry of Energy and Marine Politics and Policy Planning in charge of Acting Director General, Ambassador Tasos Conis he made the Fileleftheros Newspapers "*Cyprus was a lot of changes in the problem and they would dictate that we change our approach regarding the content of the desired solution. This is as relevant now no gas*" (KıbrısPostası, Askersizleştirilmiş Devlet, Devlet Değildir, 2014) explanation of the concept of security in the region shows that the shift to a liberal line.

However, the relevant period of confidence-building measures taken initiatives between the two sides has been made and discussions were initiated with the cooperation of the problem to be resolved. However, beyond the solution of the liberal approach to security of possibilities familiar dialogue and cooperation process of the Cyprus problem, under the two countries' common interests in the service will be a win-win principle must be addressed with a new point of equilibrium energy and equality dimension can be reached Cyprus solution. Since both sides out of the vicious cycle of continuous increases in defence spending, taking into consideration the risk of the conflict but does not seem to be possible with such a route.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

As part of the research model research method it was used qualitative research methods. Published scientific research on the subject of data collection, books, theses, newsletters, periodicals, reports of think tanks, magazines, almanacs, newspapers, prime minister / ministry agreement between the publication and the parties were examined in detail to the width of the documentary screening method and depth. Classified according to the content in an integrated manner in the result of the examination and judgment / review does not include factual data obtained from direct sources were obtained. Parties are also supported by factual data collected in parallel with attitude and rhetoric created a win-win equation judicial data and interpreted. Only in the final stages of developing a new perspective "that" not "should be" normative propositions are presented as saying. By studying here in order to enrich previously written work effectively on the subject, to deepen, to synthesize and to gain a new perspective. Also what work needs to be seated in a historical context and the subject has been studied to reveal how it should be done.

The study submitted under way, images, and tables have been compiled from the works published.

PREVIOUS WORK

Ediğer et al. (2012), "*Levant'ta Büyük Oyun: Doğu Akdeniz'in Enerji Jeopolitiği*" says study threats in the Eastern Mediterranean facing today in terms of energy and examined the opportunities and then making inferences about the conflict and cooperation opportunities in the region, the main regional actors strategies were evaluated. In Levant which also featured a major power in the region will create new energy geopolitical threats and opportunities for Turkey were discussed.

Sandıklı et al. (2013), "*Doğu Akdeniz'de Enerji Keşifleri ve Türkiye*" says the report, the region to identify the current situation related to future energy sources that there are, possible problems put forward and aim to ensure the formation of an awareness in Turkey the public about it is prepared with. The study discovered problems caused by energy sources in the eastern Mediterranean basin, economics, law, politics, and in addressing the energy security perspective offers an alternative policy proposals should follow Turkey's.

Canyaş et al. (2013), "*Doğu Akdeniz Güvenlik Mimarisi ve Küresel Güç İlişkileri Bakımından İsrail, Kıbrıs İlişkileri*" is the study of the political stakeholders of Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean security dimension has been examined in terms of the Cyprus-Israel relations.

Mermerkaya, M. (2013), "*A.B. Üyelik Sürecinde Türkiye'nin Kıbrıs Politikası*" has the work, relations between Turkey and the EU of the Cyprus problem within the framework of Turkey-EU relations, describes how influenced.

Örmeci, O. (2013), "*Kıbrıs Müzakerelerinde Yeni dönem: Enerji Jeopolitiği ve Akdeniz Birliği Olgusu*" is broadcast, East of discovered natural gas reserves of energy policy built on the Mediterranean place in the solution of the Cyprus problem were discussed and the Mediterranean Union has been emphasized in the case.

Sandıklı, A. (2009), "*Yeni Kıbrıs Stratejisi-Tanınma*" from the work, the solution to the Cyprus problem have been described how he brought a historical perspective to this situation. In addition, solutions have been put forward with a new strategy for a rational projection and recognition, and has been studied for evaluation.

Yılmaz, S. (2009), "*Büyük Güçler ve Kıbrıs*" says the study, the scenario is intended to be taken by the major powers and evaluated the roles of Cyprus tried to cut him. At this stage, the geopolitical importance of Cyprus on the island repeated and expectations focused on the great powers. It has also tried to determine the scope of possible scenarios for the future is likely to be.

Aktaş (2013), "*Doğu Akdeniz'de GKRY-İsrail Yakınlaşmasının Türkiye Açısından İncelenmesi*" at work, Turkey's political developments in recent years as Israel emerged both as a result of the collapse of their relationship with GCASC-Israel be evaluated in terms of Turkey and in the region interests have been discussed in scientific terms.

A.Gülen and F. Mullen (2014), "*Eastern Mediterranean gas a new diplomatic opportunities Do?*", Roberts, J. (2013)"*Energy in the Eastern Mediterranean: Promise or Peril?*", Henderson, S. (2013)"*Natural Gas Export Options for Israel and Cyprus*", Giamouridis, A. (2013) "*Natural Gas in Cyprus - Choosing the Right Option*", Tagliapietra and Mattei (2013),"*Natural Gas Developments Between Market Opportunities and Geopolitic Risks*"named article / report in Israel with GCA's analysis of export options and strategies for the use of hydrocarbon reserves it has been made in making inferences.

Şenay and Ekinci (2014) "*Birleşik Kıbrıs için son şans*" and Sibel, A. (2014) "*Kıbrıs'ta yeni müzakere heyecanı*" political dimension of the negotiations in the analysis has dealt with the main line, examined the positions of the direct or indirect actors in the issue and the future of the peace process It was made on the assessment.

International Crisis Group (2014) "*Divided Cyprus: Coming to Terms on an Imperfect Reality*" reports in the Turkish Cypriot community has been made in putting forward the recommendation to the parties agreed should be taken into account on behalf of the independence option.

1. THE GEOSTRATEGIC IMPORTANCE AND HISTORY OF CYPRUS

Acting as a bridge between East and West Eastern Mediterranean region which throughout history has been one of the focus of attention in the world(Özkan, 2012, s. 375).Egypt, in the presence of fertile soil in this region as Anatolia and Mesopotamia, has increased interest in the eastern Mediterranean Sea and the region has struggled to be the judge of many civilizations.This activity has contributed to the emergence of a vibrant trade in the Mediterranean basin and the eastern Mediterranean was once one of the most important crossroads of international trade(Sandıklı, A., vd., 2013, s. 3). Since the 2000s, it gained prominence in the direction of abetting the hydrocarbon resources in this area in the heart of Cyprus, with its geo-strategic point of view as well as from a historical perspective has a very important position (Erol, 2010, s. 197; Ediger,V.Ş., Devlen, B. ve McDonald, D.B, 2012, s. 74).

In this part of Cyprus's geostrategic position and was subsequently referred to the importance and history of Cyprus and the issue was discussed.

1. 1. Cyprus's Geostrategic Position and It's Importance

The northeast of the Mediterranean 33'-35 ° 41' north latitude, 34 ° and 32 ° 17'-34 ° 35' eastern longitude located between Cyprus is the third largest island in the Mediterranean Sea (Öztürk, 2003, s. 51). Area 9282m², east-west distance of 225 sq. km island, north-south distance is 93 kilometers (Ülger, 2001, s. 2).

Cyprus, Asia, the Eastern Mediterranean, is located in an important place together as the closest of the European and African continents. The geographical location of the island has brought the present on power lines and waterways and increased trade with major strategic importance (Ergör, 2011, s. 152). Indeed, within the whole theory of sovereignty of Cyprus, which controls several strategic areas it is seen as a strategic goal (Ülger, 2001, s. 2). In fact, studies in which controls the eastern Mediterranean due to its geo-strategic position of a country that has been emphasized that it is impossible to ignore Cyprus may be effective in the global and regional policy (Davutoğlu, 2003, s. 175-176; Sivriservi, 2011, s. III).

Global and regional geo-strategic importance in terms of which Cyprus has always been throughout history have played a key role in the effort and not controlled by the major powers. Therefore directly to Cyprus regional stability, the possibility of having an indirect impact on global stability. Since there is no power in the Middle East with global objectives, the Persian Gulf, the Caucasus, the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean it has been expressed that controls could not ignore Cyprus (Sayın, 2008, s. 55). However, Cyprus; 68% of world oil reserves, and 41% of natural gas reserves in the Middle East with the West energy corridor constitutes the source of the shipment by sea. Middle East and a large part of the oil is transported from the Caspian basin to world markets via the Eastern Mediterranean.

Island has great strategic importance both the EU and the US. Ensuring European security, the development of the economy, commercial relations with the world, and the transfer of energy in the region in Europe has a different role and importance of Cyprus (Kaya, 2012, s. 5). EU High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy Javier Solana, stated that the move is of strategic importance because of the Cyprus EU candidate special attention, Cyprus has drawn attention to the role of Europe's political security (Azer, 2007, s. 76). Especially during the cold war, the United Kingdom, Cyprus was used as a base against the USSR with the support of the United States. Today, however, still remains a number of privileges on Britain's Cyprus. US officials in the Middle East, the Caucasus and the proximity to the energy basin in Africa, because of its importance in terms of security of energy corridors such as the Baku-Ceyhan was stated that Cyprus has seen its strategic location (Azer, 2007, s. 76).

1. 2. Cyprus History and Problems

Cyprus means come from, Phoenician origin "kubru" is derived from the word "coast" (Manisalı, 2002, s. 11). In contrast to some sources, by name, the name of which is currently being operated copper mine in Latin rich "Kuprum" from, according to some sources also say that the Hebrew "Koper" comes from the henna tree (Atalay, 2003, s. 30). Turkey, located 70 miles south Cyprus, It has a history that reaches up to 7000 years old (Keser, 2007, s. 463; Önder, 2007, s. 57). This radical

past of the island have, the effect of the presence of various civilizations were born fused at a position which is great (Tuncer H. , 2005, s. 49-51; Ergör, 2011, s. 8). Especially since the early history of Cyprus came under the rule of different nationalities, from 1571 until the First World War, while farmers in Anatolia and has earned the position as an island of craftsmen emigrated. Since Cyprus, and functions as a part of Anatolia due to the natural characteristics of the historical process (Öçalan, 2014). Even Anatolia to the Mediterranean has been described as the single most important initiative point (Ündücü, 2010, s. 192).

Cyprus history of BC, respectively. Egyptians between 1450-1320 BC 1320-1265 between the Hittites, BC Re Egyptians between 1265-1000 BC 1000-709 of Phoenicians, BC Assyrians in 709-669 BC Independent Kingdoms between 669-558 BC Egyptians still between 588-525 BC 525-333 among Persians, BC Macedonians in 333-301 BC 301-59 among Egyptians, BC 59 - M.S. 395 between Romans, M.S. 395-1191 between Byzantines, M.S. Crusader knights between 1191-1192, M.S. Lusignans¹ between 1192-1489, M.S. Between 1489-1570 has been dominated by the Venetians (Anonim, Kıbrıs'ın Fethi, 1986, s. 14). Cyprus subsequently entered in 1571 under the Ottoman Empire rule.

1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian war in England, was hired at an annual 92,000 gold in Cyprus aimed at helping the Ottoman Empire. In the First World War, the Ottoman Empire annexed the island reported that due to go to war alongside Germany. In contrast with the Lausanne Peace Treaty of Cyprus entered the UK legally under management (Memiş, E ve Köstüklü, N., 2005, s. 69; Uçarol, 1998, s. 99; Bozkurt, E. ve Demirel, H., 2004). Cyprus act sovereignty over the UK with the signing of the Lausanne Peace Treaty after gaining a legal basis for Turkey and Greece have behaved true to this status. However, after the Second World War, the island was given to Greece Twelve move some day face nationalist expectations regarding Cyprus. Thus the Greeks broke out Enosis and the idea of annexation of the island to Greece. Especially with the end of the war, coupled with Greece taking

¹ Lusignans, King of Jerusalem in 1192 by Guy de Lusignans of Cyprus began with the purchase of Richard Coeur de Lion and who also ended with the invasion of the Venetians in 1489 to a French-born Dynasty.

the discussions aimed at independence from Britain in the Greek Cypriot community has started. Greek Parliament on February 28, 1947 and unanimously adopted a decision on annexation of Cyprus to Greece. The Greek government, the island in exchange for the United States and Britain have announced themselves on the island can give a base. In subsequent stages, the Greeks on November 21, 1949, the people in line with the UN enosis have applied and subsequently applied for the island to Greece annexation rating have access to the study. Greeks continue similar initiatives in the 1950s, which made it difficult for the situation in the island of the Turks (Öçalan, 2014).

At the beginning of the 1950s, the problem in Cyprus since 1955 has led to a constant tension in Greek-Turkish relations. In 1954, the Cyprus problem, the Greek government after the UN said the international dimension of transport, Turkey has made clear that the thesis formed on the subject. Greek Cypriots and Greece and then corresponds to the idea of self-determination Enosis Turkey, the respective parts of the island, which means to connect to Turkey "partition" has defended the thesis (Öçalan, 2014; Önder, 2007, s. 60). That took place between Turkey and Greece over Cyprus unresolved process that has been discussed at a conference organized by the UK on 30 June 1955 in London. Greek side Enosis idea of the conference, Turkey has defended the status quo and the division of the thesis (Oran, 2009, s. 602; Öçalan, 2014). Thus the conference in London Turkey, the Cyprus problem has announced that world public opinion itself is a party. Official talks at the London conference quite negatively affect relations between Turkey and Greece have erupted while events of September 6-7 which causes the disintegration of the conference. Greece, not being resolved because of the subject's solution was carrying 23 September 1955, subject again to the UN agenda. However, any decision on the matter has come from the UN. As a result of this application remain unanswered Greece, Cyprus, whether understood himself, it began to increase the dose of terrorist activities on the island. To do this, perform armed action in 1954 and the island has been established in order to achieve Enosis EOKA organization called imaginary clearing the Turks. (Yalçın, D., vd., 2008, s. 484). However, the Turks on the island to prevent the activities of this organization in 1957 founded the Turkish Resistance Organization.

Cyprus Constitution in 1956 by the British in order to avoid tensions in the territory of Cyprus has been prepared. However, Greece has not accepted the thesis claiming that close to the division of the respective constitutions of the Turkish side. England, Greece, the constitution was set into effect, although this attitude and a Turkish representative in this direction has begun to formally task. All these developments Turkey have gained the right to speak about the results of official Cyprus.

In 1958 the island became widespread in the Turkish-Cypriot parties were brought together in order to prevent conflict and was signed on February 11, 1959 Zurich Treaty and the Treaty of London on February 19, 1959. These two treaties August 16, 1960 in accordance with the entry into force of the Constitution of Cyprus was established officially the Republic of Cyprus (Öçalan, 2014; Özarslan, 2007, s. 27).

Greeks are disturbed from the current constitution has presented a number of proposals related to the actual nature of the change on the island Turkey. However, Turkey has rejected this proposal. Greeks on the rejection of the constitutional proposal, the Turks have put the Akritas Plan envisages the application of the disposal and destruction of Cyprus. In this context, first date 21 December 1963 "Bloody Christmas" which will act as the genocide began (Mütercimler, 1998, s. 93,98,100; Öçalan, 2014; Vatansever, 2010, s. 1512).

This incident occurred on the island results in Turkey, Greece and Britain urged to act in accordance with the Treaty of Guarantee. Therefore all three states has entered before a joint force between the two sides is formed, and then the Green Line. (Armaoğlu, 2007, s. 786). Thus, the Republic of Cyprus was established to be able to survive only three years.

Re-exposed and out in the 1963-1964 year conflict on the island and the Greek attack began to turn into a massacre. Then Greeks to declare that they not to recognize the London and Zurich Agreements (Mütercimler, 1998, s. 93). In his capacity as guarantor States Turkey, Greek, giving rise to the conflict deterrence has become increasingly genocidal war planes bombed the National Guard. Being involved with the UN and Greek Cypriots on the island made the cease-fire after the express will lift the blockade on the Turks (Oran, 2009, s. 739; Öçalan, 2014), but

the conflict has come to an end. On March 16, 1964 with the decision taken by the army of Turkey Grand National Assembly is given the authority to intervene if necessary. In Turkish political history "Johnson Letter referred to as" (Sahin H., 2002, p. 123) and the Turkey-US relations at the end of the process of deeply affecting the United States, has prevented a possible incursion by Turkey in Cyprus. In the later period with the effect of a change in power in Greece, albeit short-term positive atmosphere in bilateral relations has occurred in Greece in 1967, but the atmosphere has deteriorated with the arrival of US-backed military junta in power. Unfortunately, the continued massacres carried out against the Turkish community in Cyprus and prints began again (İşyar, 2013, s. 606; Öçalan, 2014). The current situation in the negotiations between Turkey and Greece in the absence of any outcome between the parties has experienced a quiet period until 1974.

With new events that erupted in June 1974, relations between Turkey and Greece were dragged into another war environment. As a guarantor state has carried out actual attacks and to prevent the massacre of July 17, 1974 with the intention of going to England a series of interviews with the other guarantor powers for the island, especially the Turkish community in Turkey has proposed a joint intervention in the UK. But by Turkey as a result of failure to obtain the desired final result of these negotiations has been made on July 20, 1974 military intervention in Cyprus (Armaoğlu, 2007, s. 801-804). By carrying out operations to an end the *de facto*² situation on the island has created initiatives for the people of Turkey stopped the massacre, has prevented Cyprus to Greece and Cyprus are guaranteed the existence of the Turkish people.

For the establishment of a lasting peace between the parties after the operation carried out with the supervision of the UN talks it lasted so long and there have been occasional congestion in these negotiations. February 13, 1975 in front of the opening of the Turkish Cypriot talks congestion experienced by the people and the Greek Cypriot side of Cyprus a federation likely to encourage the establishment of peace in the future will constitute the Turkish wing of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus was established (Atun, 1999, s. 113).

² In legal language "application", "actually," "reality" or "practice" used in Latin words meaning.

UN in August 1975 through the date of exchange of population living in the south of the island, made with Turkey to the north, in the north of the Greek experience is provided to pass to the south. This exchange, Turkish Cypriots, for the first time in history, with all its population, which is a collection of boundaries in certain regions, and the opportunity to have been able to protect. Population transfer is a result of a bi-communal, bi-zonal laid the foundations of the federal republic(Öçalan, 2014; Vatansever, 2010, s. 1517).

Between the two communities after 1980 it was made in the bilateral negotiations, but did not get any result. The Turkish side has been in favour of establishing a bi-zonal federal structure. The Greek Cypriot side, that Turks are minorities and have argued that the right of self-determination. It also attempts to deal Greeks instead of referring to the UN at every opportunity tried to remove part of judgments against Turkey. This reference to the UN resolution No. 37/253 dated 13 May 1983, based, as is the right of Greek Cypriot domination and control of the entire island, the island also described as occupying power is emphasized that the withdrawal of Turkish troops. Issues of representation in the Council of Europe simultaneously, Cyprus only after the approval by the TFSC that represents the Greek Parliament on 15 November 1983 proclaimed TRNC State (Akmaral, 2004, s. 150; Arıkoğlu, 2010, s. 185).

TRNC, which is recognized in the international arena announced by any country other than Turkey, in fact, is nothing more than the existing de facto legalization of a situation on the island. The UNSC, TRNC declared legally invalid seeing No. 541 took the decision and called for the withdrawal of the independence decision. Turkey does not recognize the decision was announced that the UNSC has (İşyar, 2013, s. 626; Özarslan, 2007, s. 33). Taking the TRNC's declaration of independence issues between the two communities know each other has become a problem between the two states. On an ongoing basis the Greek Cypriot side has refused to recognize any agreement pursuant to the comfort of the Cyprus Government in the whole world. World public opinion recognized and applied all alone TRNC isolation have increased the country's dependence on Turkey (Arıkoğlu, 2010, s. 186).

1990 and the period from 1991 submitted by the UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar in both reports; that the two politically equal communities, the state bodies will be established to ensure this equality, both communities should be represented on the sovereignty of Cyprus has been demonstrated that the two communities should share (Özarslan, 2007, s. 34). However, the parties in terms that cannot be demonstrated mutual consensus in a meeting. The Turkish side bi-regional, will not abandon the property rights and guarantee political equality and Turkey, while the Greek side of travel, freedom of establishment and the recognition of ownership, has stipulated the withdrawal of Turkish troops and the return of the refugees.

Greek side of Cyprus on July 3, 1990, in his capacity as full membership application to the European Community and the application for membership of the Greek Cypriot decision taken in 1993 has been recognized continue. In 1994 the EU carried out by the inclusion in the EU expansion program in the Republic of Cyprus, represented by GCA Corfu summit that led to the reaction of the Turkish side and the deadlock has led to further deepening. Thus, the problem moved to the EU level and the Greek Cypriot side has made in the negotiations further improve this situation by removing the uncompromising attitude to the fore. In this respect, the decision was taken to further improve Turkey's relations with Cyprus (İşyar, 2013, s. 63; Arıkoğlu, 2010, s. 187).

In 1997, the EU's strategy for the Cyprus problem has been serious differences. The most obvious example, in a statement dated 24 February 1997 by the EU, Cyprus has noted that for the realization of EU priority should be finding a political solution on the island. But the appeal to the EU held by Greece and thrown a step back because of pressure, resulting in Cyprus by the Greek Cypriot Administration, carried out in 1997 alone was represented at the Luxembourg Summit³ (Öçalan, 2014).

³ Luxembourg 12 to 13 December 1997 for the EU Heads of State and Government Summit statement released at the end; See.: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/lux1_en.htm

By TRNC President Rauf Denktas in the period August 31, 1998 the establishment of associations⁴ for lasting peace proposal was put forward. However, this proposal was not accepted by the Greek Cypriots for EU membership hearing the excitement. UN support for a comprehensive settlement between years 1997-2000 with the aim could not be achieved directly and indirectly result from any of the negotiations.

November 2002 raised the Annan plan and the fundamental changes in Turkey's Cyprus policy with the national change of power took place in Turkey. Even in some periods by the ruling of the Cyprus problem, Turkey is considered as a factor blocking the negotiation process with the EU. Laid parallel to the power shift in Turkey's foreign policy in relations with Greece was followed a new vigour to the dialogue on the Cyprus issue (Şenay ve Ekinci, 2014, s. 21). The process that began with developments in November 2002 Annan Plan in Cyprus relationship showed itself more clearly. In fact, the Annan Plan, the island is an independent federal government and the region outside British bases envisages the consolidation to be established. This plan, prepared with only the basic structure is destroyed in terms of actually forecasting continued to be represented by the GCASC and the RC is considered only as a constitutional issue. The Annan Plan, was finding space and sovereignty for the Turkish side has not clarified the status of the Turkish Cypriots. Therefore, the Annan Plan by the Greek Cypriot domination and weight of the approach set out in Turkish Cypriot people are losing privileges and rights that allow him to be public (Vatansever, 2010, s. 1522).

The scope of the solution of the Cyprus problem, the UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan prepared presented a peace plan to the side and made the referendum a result of the Turkish side than 64.91% on the island in April 24, 2004 "yes," while the Greek part of the island's merger ratio 75.83% "no," he said (Milliyet, 2010). Referenda held with the Turkish side is "yes", saying that the willingness to merger "political equality" and "to engage in international law" revealed his desire. The Greek Party "no", saying it was a lack of interest to be earned, rejected the

⁴ Confederation; by independent organizations and institutions, provided that they maintain their sovereignty, in order to ensure a common and limited interests, are established by a treaty community

unification of the island with the perception that offer attractive advantages of the solution. Greek part of one of the biggest reasons for the unwillingness to draw a line combination of attitude is the only state to recognize themselves in the international platform vendors are playing tough in negotiations. Referenda held in the TRNC would be recognized in the results and constructive approach towards a solution although given the isolation of the insulation has to be removed in the form of promises relaxation or softening happen. As a result, the Turkish side of the "yes" vote for the party was punished in his case, even if the Greek Cypriot side no voting May 1, 2004, representing the whole island became a member of the EU (Özarslan, 2007, s. 37). However, the Turkish Cypriot Greeks by the TRNC and Turkey does not have the authority to represent in any way, it was emphasized that Turkey's EU membership of GCASC change the rights and obligations based on the 1960 treaty on the island.

On 28 May 2004, announced by Secretary of the mission of good offices the UN report; During the negotiations of Turkey and the TRNC have been met with appreciation of the constructive and positive attitude, responsibility for the Failing been uploaded to the Greek part of the settlement plan. It also appears that the Greek side rejected the resolution is not essentially placed the Annan plan was emphasized that a lasting solution should be based on the political equality and partnership in Cyprus. The report also dealt with the isolation imposed by the international community on the status of the TRNC, it is stated that the embargo should be lifted and restriction (Sandıklı, 2010, s. 12).

Turkey to solve the Cyprus problem in 2006 by an action plan consisting of 10 items proposed. Ports and airports to Greek Cypriot ships and planes in this action plan envisages the opening to Turkey was rejected by Greek Cypriots. The time period in 2008, TRNC President Talat and Christofias won the presidential election of new negotiations were to resume decisions. In wide-ranging talks which started on September 11, 2008, particularly the progress has not been achieved on the property (Baransel, 2010, s. 107). April 18, 2010 in winning the Presidency's term in the TRNC Dervis Eroglu, UN Secretary General Ban Ki Moon has reported that they are ready to continue from where it left the negotiations by sending a letter. This

application was carried out after the interviews could not get any results (Öçalan, 2014).

Meanwhile, Greek problem starting to make agreements with countries in the Eastern Mediterranean shores of the Mediterranean a rule, the Ministry of Education, has also included issues such as oil exploration. GCASC, February 17, 2003, Egypt on 17 January 2007 with Lebanon and Israel on 17 December 2010, "*EEZ of Limitation Agreement*" was signed (Gürgen, 2011). These studies carried out in the respective year, in defiance of the Greek part of the TRNC official evidence that the EEZ has begun to share with other states (Vatansever, 2010, s. 1524).

To become the Eastern Mediterranean energy corridor and energy exploration carried out in Cyprus it has become more important. GCASC perform agreement in the area of the eastern Mediterranean area in which Israel declared exclusive partner by the American company Noble Energy on September 19, 2011 began to study oil and gas exploration. Thereupon between Turkey and the TRNC on 21 September 2011 "*Continental Shelf Delimitation Agreement*" was signed (Radikal, Türkiye ve KKTC karasuları Anlaşmasını İmzaladı, 2011). The main purpose of this agreement is one-sided nature of GCASC preventive measures to dissuade the hydrocarbon exploration work carried out by the Cyprus EEZ. In the parallel period of cooperating with the Greek after the agreement Prime Minister R. Tayyip Erdogan has warned oil companies. In addition, in respect of these companies are deprived of energy projects in Turkey's energy ministry has started work (Sabah, Kritik Anlaşma İmzalandı, 2011).

In the talks until 2012 as part of the solution process of topics although always the same because of the considerable differences existing between the two sides failed to reach a final conclusion. Period GCASC leader Christofias mandate ends in less than had 4 in a press conference in January 2013, "5-year rule over their fight to remain in force of the embargo on the TRNC" by expressing announced that they have seen it as a success (Sayarı S. , Hristofyas'tan 'KKTC' itirafı, 2013). This description is an example of why not to reach a final result. February 24, 2013 instead of the date of Christofias was elected president Nikos Anastasiadis task after starting the process, he expressed the need to deal with the economic crisis in the

GCASC in the search for a solution to the Cyprus issue and the matter has taken a heavy work.

The discovery of hydrocarbons in Cyprus Aphrodite in open field, hopes turned green and changes in balance with the impact of rising energy geopolitics for the solution of the Cyprus problem occurred knotted. In relation to the new solution process in Cyprus, both sides also agreed that the text of the joint statement was issued on February 11, 2014⁵. Text on the basis of political equality as stipulated by the UN underlined that the current situation was unacceptable, it was reported bi-communal and bi-zonal configured to begin negotiations on the establishment of a unified Cypriot state (Şenay ve Ekinici, 2014, s. 13). Initially this text later that caused the crisis, Turkey has approved the introduction with the United States. Indeed, immediately after the US Assistant Secretary of State Victoria Nuland interviews with leading mediation it has become common text clarity. Following the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding between the parties in the period up to the suspension of negotiations and power-sharing government, the EU, the economy, property, territory and guarantees, including a detailed and intensive negotiations were conducted on six main topics (Şenay ve Ekinici, 2014, s. 14).

Negotiations took a positive atmosphere during the time until the second half of 2014. But the Cyprus problem by the GCASC gas / oil exploration on land starting pulled overboard, applied to the escalating crisis policy and negotiations have been subjected to a standstill. Turkey, GCASC against unilateral conduct by drilling, issued in accordance with agreements made with the Turkish Cypriot NavTex with two warships began its seismic research. GCASC conducted by propaganda carried out in the UN negotiations for the solution of the Cyprus issue and the United Nations has sovereign rights of termination, claiming it violated the international agreement on law of the sea. In short, the 1974 Cyprus two geographically segmented shape, starting with Operation experience has become a kind of solution of the deadlock.

⁵ The original text (in English) and Turkish translations refer to; <http://www.kibrispostasi.com/index.php/cat/35/news/125,963>

2. EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN HYDROCARBONS OPPORTUNITIES

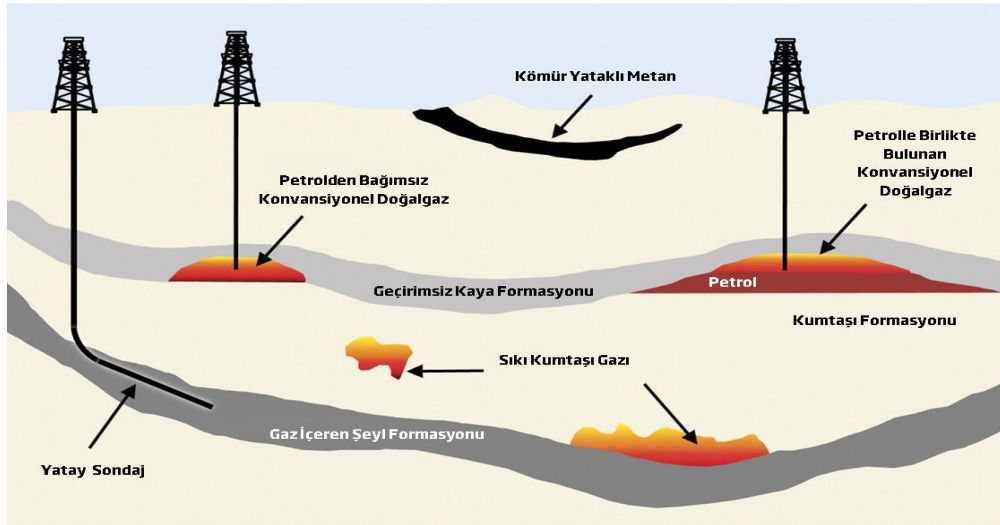
Exploration of hydrocarbon reserves recently discovered in the eastern Mediterranean and continued on, bringing the power transmission in the region rather than a strategic crossroads beyond (Coutinho, 2012, s. 45). Indeed, when the competent authorities of the states concerned and involved in drilling the oil / gas companies to estimate considered together, are referred to the total value of the energy assets reached a trillion dollars in the Eastern Mediterranean. Based on all of these estimates very recently been reported that won the characteristic energy centre (Sandıklı, A., vd., 2013, s. 7).

This section in the eastern Mediterranean have demonstrated the presence of hydrocarbons in detail and provides information about the socio-economic dimension of energy in the region.

2. 1. Description of Hydrocarbons, Cost and Eastern Mediterranean Hydrocarbon Systems

Hydrocarbons plants and animals lived millions of years ago is now buried deep in the heat of the earth's crust over time / pressure rise and oil / natural gas conversion occurs in the sequel. After initially formed hydrocarbons, including oil and gas, it is rising to the surface of the pores of the rock by finding ways in which they arise. Hydrocarbon coinciding with simultaneous impermeable rock layers of sediment is trapped in rocks or reservoir rocks called underground space. Conventional oil and natural gas production, which is below the impermeable rock layer and place the opening of the wells in the underground reservoir where the accumulation of hydrocarbons (Demirtaş, 2013, s. 9). (Figure 1)

Figure1. Schematic of Natural Resources Geology



(Demirtaş, 2013, s. 9)

Transporting hydrocarbon conversion process is completed is carried out in various ways. In particular, the natural gas transmission poses quite diversity in this regard. Large quantities of gas to be used cannot be stored for a short time. It should be connected directly to the place of consumption therefore pipelines. Transport of natural gas over long distances at high pressure is provided by gas pipeline systems. These lines may be national or international. Late in the country that supply / discharge if it goes without "transit pipeline" is called (Anonim, Enerji Terminolojisi - Türkçe, İngilizce, Fransızca, Almanca Teknik Sözlük, 1991, s. 199). Handling with overseas natural gas pipeline is not possible (Sünnetçioğlu, 2011; Henderson, 2013, s. 4) LNG method where no pipelines are used. In this technique, liquefied natural gas is stored at -161°C in the liquid phase at atmospheric pressure at the surface. Meanwhile, about 650 times the volume of the gas due to the shrinkage can be transported more easily made with specially cooled tankers. The liquefied natural gas exporting countries to perform the liquefaction and export trade terminals, and storage of the importing country has imported LNG re-gasification terminal and needs (Avcı, A., vd., 1995, s. 2). It is also costly to the liquefied natural gas. An atmospheric pressure 80 times the pressure of gas to existing technical methods can be moved up to 140 cm diameter pipe with 6000 km. Liquefaction methods are used for transport to or from greater distances.

The International Energy Agency (IEA, How Will Global Energy Markets Evolve to 2035?, 2013) as the account be removed over the globe, according to data to be about 790 tcm reserves, it is stated that so far 105 tcm's depleted it. The average production cost of the natural gas consumed to date is about 8 USD. Important aspects of gas supply; it is removed from the gas production and transportation costs. The calculated average unit cost of removing 220 tcm of natural gas in the world 20 cents / Mbt⁶ with 9 USD / Mbt varies between. The total reserves in deep sea waters has been identified by experts to be issued is approximately 50 cm unit costs 5 USD / MBTI 11 USD / Mbt is emphasized that changes between (Yorucu, 2014). According to the information on which it bases the same report, the pipeline method of transport options; the cost of transport of natural gas supplied from every 1000 km pipeline is approximately 50 cents. However, according to the route of the pipeline mountainous terrain, according to the roughness and bridge infrastructure conditions vary infrastructure costs, the cost of 1 Mbt average natural gas transported by pipeline 1,000 km ranged from 30 cents to 1.20 USD. Also pipelines over land, the land is able to be installed under the seabed or the cost varies depending on the selected method. Other costs that are variable in LNG transport methods; The construction of the LNG terminal, the LNG tanker transport cost, liquid gas re-gasification terminal building size, the distance of LNG gas to be transported by road and ship capacity. In addition to these variables, customs, insurance, average LNG transportation costs and environmental taxes when the security costs also added 3.10 USD / Mbt with 4.70 USD / Mbt varies between (Yorucu, 2014).

2. 2. Discovery of Hydrocarbon Reserves in the Eastern Mediterranean

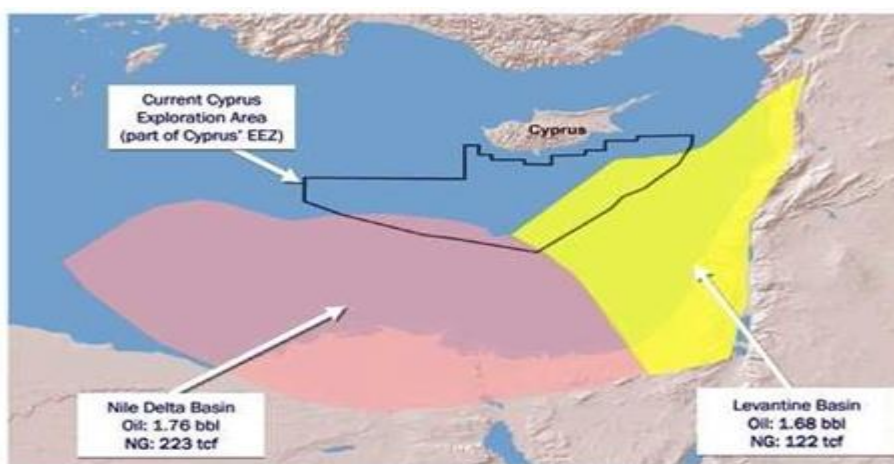
New hydrocarbon reserves in the world Eastern Mediterranean is an important point where the end of the exploration period. It has moved beyond being discovered thanks to energy deposits in the Eastern Mediterranean itself a strategic

⁶ Btu (British Thermal Unit): The amount of energy equals as 1055 joules, a pound of water is to express the amount of heat required to heat 1 degree Fahrenheit natural gas pricing is also used as a standard (MBTI = million Btu)

crossroads power transmission lines, considering the size of the estimated energy source has brought to the energy centre of the region recently (Sandıklı, A., vd., 2013).

Eastern Mediterranean in hydrocarbon research until the 2000s, to be quite deep at some points of the source and did not see much because of the demand does not exceed 2 kilometres (Gürel, A., Mullen, F., Tzimitras, H., 2013, s. 1; Örmeci, O., 2013, s. 379). Economic rise of the value of hydrocarbons in international markets along with the technological developments that facilitate the hydrocarbon exploration in the deep seabed, since the early 2000s led to the acceleration of work in the eastern Mediterranean. In this context, Israel for the first time, in the coastal area near Noa in 1999 and in 2000 he discovered a small amount of hydrocarbon deposits in the area called Mari-B (Gürel, A., Mullen, F., Tzimitras, H., 2013, s. 2; Sandıklı, A., vd., 2013, s. 10). But in 2004, the most satisfying attempts made on the subject in the northeast of the Nile Delta area in Egypt NEMED is the discovery made by Shell (Gürel, A., Mullen, F., Tzimitras, H., 2013, s. 1; GulfOilAndGas, 2004; Sandıklı, A., vd., 2013, s. 10). (Figure 2)

Figure2. Nile Delta in the Eastern Mediterranean and Levantine Basins



(Pipes, 2013)

Energy research studies conducted in the Eastern Mediterranean with this discovery in Egypt has increased. Continued drilling activities in the open Israeli US-Texas-based Noble Energy and Israel's Delek Group, Isramco, Anvar and Dor Alon companies have to identify a significant amount of natural gas reserves in the Tamar-

1 field in 2009. In the same year, followed by Israel, the Dalit-1 has identified the natural gas field. Tamar-1 and Dalit-1 gas field belonging to the total amount found in the bed of the sea 5000 m depth is estimated to be 255 bcm (Gürel, A., Mullen, F., Tzimitras, H., 2013, s. 2-3; Sandıklı, A., vd., 2013, s. 10). In 2010, Noble capacity of 450 bcm by Leviathan Energy fields has been identified.

Both Egypt as well as Israel, the attention of the global powers and major oil companies by the detection of hydrocarbon deposits in a row in the open is concentrated in this region. In this context, given the seismic velocity and potential energy reserves in the Mediterranean region were studied to determine. Indeed, in 2010, a report released by the US Geological Survey Centre, Leviathan (Schenk, CJ, et al., 2010), Nile (Kirschbaum, MA, et al., 2010), Herodotus and regions approximately 30 billion barrels of oil equivalent of total energy reserves around Cyprus It has been estimated to be in place to arrive at a figure. The market value of this figure has been calculated as approximately \$ 1.5 trillion (Schenk, CJ, et al., 2010; Sandıklı, A., et al., 2013, p. 10). However, the existence of assets identified as potential energy reserves in the eastern Mediterranean there are serious differences between the proven energy reserves. Depending on the technological advances in the ratio of total energy reserves in the eastern Mediterranean is likely to occur changes. Nevertheless, this source of supply is likely to contain Europe safely is a development that will satisfy all parties with the capacity to reduce the EU's heavy energy dependence on the Russia (Örmeci, O., 2013, s. 379; Henderson, 2013, s. 5).

The countries of the Eastern Mediterranean were discovered in 2014 and which continues to be developed summarizing the resource base;

Israel:

Tamar: Discovering field that took place in 2009, Israel's first high amount of reserves have been identified field. West Haifa is 80 km from the open field at a depth of 1700 m (Livnat, 2014, s. 1). Noble Energy (36%), Delek (15.6%), Houston-based Isramco and Israeli company Dor Alon Energy (operated by 4%) partnership⁷. Resource reserves 275 bcm / 10 is tfc (Shaffer, 2014, s. 2; Roberts, J., 2013, s. 26; Henderson, 2013, s. 1). A large offshore platforms in the field went into production in

⁷ See here for details. Noble Energy Company's Official Page: <http://www.nobleenergyinc.com/>

March 2013 with the introduction. Complete daily production of 636 mcf July 2013, the equivalent of 18 constitute 94% of Israel's daily gas production by MCM (Roberts, J., 2013, s. 26; EIA, 2013, s. 5).

Leviathan: The discovery in December 2010 that took place in the open field is 130 km Israel is deeper than 1 525 m(EIA, 2013, s. 5).Delek and operated by Noble Energy with Avner. Source reserves 481-566 bcm / 17-20 is TFC(Shaffer, 2014, s. 2; Roberts, J., 2013, s. 26; Tagliapietra, S. ve Mattei, F. E. E., 2013, s. 11; Henderson, 2013, s. 1). According to estimates, it said field is believed to be close to 600 million barrels of oil reserves (EIA, 2013, s. 5).

Noa, Mari-B, Dalits, Dolphin, Tanin, Shimshon: Discovered 1.13 bcm in Noa realized in 1999 / 0.04 tcf, which took place in 2000, Mari-B 42.5 bcm / 1.5 tcf, which took place in 2009, the Dalits 14:15 bcm / 0.5 tcf in 2011 occurred in Dolphin 2:27 bcm / 0.08 tcf, the actual discovery in 2012 Tannins in 34 bcm / 1.2 tcf and Shimshon 8.5 bcm / 0.3 tcf amount of reserves set is the sum of the field resource reserves of 114-127 bcm / 4-4.5 is tcf(Roberts, J., 2013, s. 27; EIA, 2013, s. 5).After the Tamar and Leviathan Tanin, Israel has become the third largest gas field.

Karishma: The discovery in 2013, is operated by Noble Energy realized field. Estimated resource reserves of 51 bcm / 1.8 is TFC(Roberts, J., 2013, s. 27; EIA, 2013, s. 5).

GCASC:

Aphrodite: GCASC 180 km from the coast at a depth of 1700 m, is the largest natural gas deposits discovered by GCASC(Giamouridis, 2013, s. 4). Which made the largest gas discovery in the region in 2011 by Noble Energy in block 12 it has emerged as a result of discovery obtained. The source region 102-170 cm reserve / 3.6-6 The TFC, due to resource revisions as described in October 2013 has remained in the background (Roberts, J., 2013, s. 27; EIA, 2013, s. 6).

Find more resource base effects have been reported to be the determination of additional natural gas resources around 56 bcm to the existing natural gas deposits covered by Noble Energy Company by Aphrodite field of 12. The seismological researches carried out in parcels according to the Greek press, the scope of work picture made in line (Samar, 2014).

Especially along the southern coast of Block 13 research throughout the

island of Cyprus it has been identified. The Italian company Eni for 2,3 and 9 plots in auctions for the diversification of exploration work carried out in accordance with these blocks and the South Korean company KOGAS has won the French company Total for the parcels of 10 and 11 (EIA, 2013, s. 6).

Eni (80%) - KOGAS (20%) trust that the license holder 2, 3 and 9 have done in plots that, according to data obtained from the three-dimensional seismological research in these three parcels were identified a total of 10 potential field. 9. The first drilling conducted in field Onasagoras in parcels but has been found to be dry on December 22, 2014(Sabah, Rum kuyularından "Onasagora" boş çıktı, 2014).

Total tangible indication that the Greeks were not met in the search for reserves they have a license block in September 2014 has been forwarded to the authorities. On January 23, 2015 GCASC Energy Minister Yiorgos Lakkotrypsis, Total's, Cyprus has announced that continued in open area can be taken from oil and gas exploration activity has not been detected disclose any hydrocarbon structure (EnergyWorld, Total Doğu Akdeniz'den Çekiliyor, 2015).

Palestine:

Gaza Marine: Located 30 kilometres offshore in Palestinian territorial waters, 603 m deep at first in 2000 discovered the Gaza Marine in (Gaza Marine-1 and Gaza Marine-2) commercial and run approximately 28 bcm / 1 TFC (Shaffer, 2014, p. 2) reserves are available. Palestinian and Israeli authorities in the development of the gas field talks made no progress in this area because of the issues but reluctant to Israel by Palestine's development could not be saved (EIA, 2013, s. 6; Tagliapietra, S. ve Mattei, F. E. E., 2013, s. 12; Habertürk, Filistin'in 4 milyar dolarlık rezervi!, 2014).

Turkey and TRNC:

In 2011, Turkey and the TRNC, is authorized drilling on the continental shelf boundaries will make the entire coast of the island, made the agreement on Turkey. Turkey Petroleum began its work in April 2012, despite the determination of reserve resources beach in Cyprus was not in any drilling attempts. Sources identified the purpose of the reserve is to protect the rights of Piri Reis research vessel in the area so the TRNC and highly qualified seismic research vessel in waters controlled by the GCA Barbarous Hayrettin Pasha studies were conducted. On 10/07/2014 by GCA as

a reason to suspend the negotiation process of the Greeks of Barbarous Hayrettin Pasha ship to be sent to his region it is described as drilling (DeutscheWelle, 2014).

Egypt:

According to a report published by the Central US Geological Survey in 2010, 1,763 billion barrels of oil can be obtained in the Nile Delta, TFC 223,242 natural gas and liquid gas were said to be 5,974 billion barrels (Kirschbaum, M.A.; vd., 2010). After the elections, the election of Mohamed Morsi government of Hosni Mubarak rather than Shell, Eni and BP Group of companies increased their interest in the Nile Delta. Eni-BP joint venture in the Egyptian coast at 60 km off the field Seth 4.8 mcf per day from a depth of 80 m has started natural gas production capacity. (Eni, 2012). In August 2012, BP announced that the Nile Delta and North Taurt find two new sites in Southern Seth (BP, BP Makes Two Gas Discoveries in Egypt's Nile Delta, 2012). Of proven natural gas reserves in Egypt following the report published in June 2013 by BP has announced that 72 TFC (BP, BP Statistical Review of World Energy, 2013).

Lebanon:

East Mediterranean basin Israel and Lebanon from other countries in the region which are determined by the Egyptian energy sources has also been mobilized. May 2013, the resource base of reserves Shell, including the scope of the research and detection, Total, ExxonMobil and Chevron as large firms are also located that 52 companies have launched the first licensing activities with the participation was accepted the application of these 46. But the parliamentary majority in Beirut has caused steadily throughout 2013 and the lack of government will provide ongoing conflict experienced in the determination of the border between Israel and Lebanon Ministry of Education to cancel the licensing work. Oslo Peace Research Institute report prepared by hundreds of millions of barrels of oil also in the Lebanese Ministry of Education BMC 708/25 natural gas reserves are estimated to be circa TFC (Gürel, A., Mullen, F., Tzimitras, H., 2013, s. 5; TheDailyStar, 2012). As a result of seismic studies conducted in the southern sector of the Lebanese Ministry of Education has been identified as 12 to confirm the source of the TFC is a need for additional studies (Roberts, J., 2013, s. 27)

Greece:

Resource-based research and identify the scope as of July 2013 extending to the south of the Ionian Sea in the spring of Crete Norway-based Petroleum Geo-Services (PGS) seismic studies have been initiated by. A sign does not appear to exist about the possible reserves. Starting from Crete, in the area extending to the exclusive economic zone of Cyprus did not reveal any seismic activity.

Syria:

Resource-based by research and diligence of the Syrian government began the first licensing activities in 2007 but due to the current conflict and civil war in the country, British Dove Energy has been cancelled by the government due to the emergence bidder outside the company. The second license tender was held in March 2011. The results of the auction of 9.038 square kilometres, especially for RF and unexplained international partners because although discussions have taken place with the country's current problems, such as China and the results could not be obtained. (Roberts, J., 2013, s. 28; EIA, 2013, s. 7)

2. 3. Jurisdiction in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea Problems and Limitations Conflicts

Greece and Turkey in the Eastern Mediterranean, Israel-Lebanon, GCA-TRNC, limiting the area of maritime jurisdiction between the Israeli-Palestinian conflicts as long as serious from time regarding the final result cannot be obtained. The discovery of hydrocarbon resources in the region are occurring more exacerbate the existing disputes. Due to the Cyprus problem is the focus of our work has focused on the triangle of Turkey-TRNC and Greek Cypriot Administration.

Continental shelf, the coastal state is the natural extension of the ideological bottom of the sea bounded by the area up to 200 m depth. He signed in 1982 The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea⁸ outer limit of the continental shelf, to demonstrate compliance with the concept of MNE "extending up to 200

⁸ Provisions relating to exclusive economic zones are arranged between the substance of the 1982 United Nations Convention 55-85'Inc maritime law. Access Address: http://www.un.org/depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/unclos_e.pdf

miles and six of them is a natural extension of the land with the sea bed of the black country" and has been defined (Sandıklı, A., vd., 2013, s. 14). Continental shelf, coast that gives rights to the existing wealth of the seabed and subsoil of the state of the masses. The water mass on the continental shelf is offshore status. Contract, if the width of the sea, is not large enough to accommodate the width is 200 miles, envisages the conclusion of an agreement between the coastal states. In addition, the contract, indicating the EEZ declared the EEZ proclaimed map indicates that coastal states should send a copy to the UN Secretary General by publishing⁹.

United Nations Law of the Sea Convention states the determination of the EEZ by the "ad" and "agreement" has the form of two methods (Taşdemir, 2012, s. 21). GCA has chosen the TRNC and Turkey with the principle of limitation have made a fair and take into account the views of right and 2 April 2004 announced by way of mutual agreement with the coastal states which stipulated by international law. GCA 24 miles unilaterally with effect from 21 March 2003 to the EEZ has announced wide and 200 miles wide adjacent area. (Erhan, "Kıbrıs'ın Kuzeyinde de Biz Petrol Arayalım", 2011)¹⁰ (Figure 3)

Figure 3. Evaluation of limiting the scale of Turkey in the eastern Mediterranean maritime jurisdiction areas



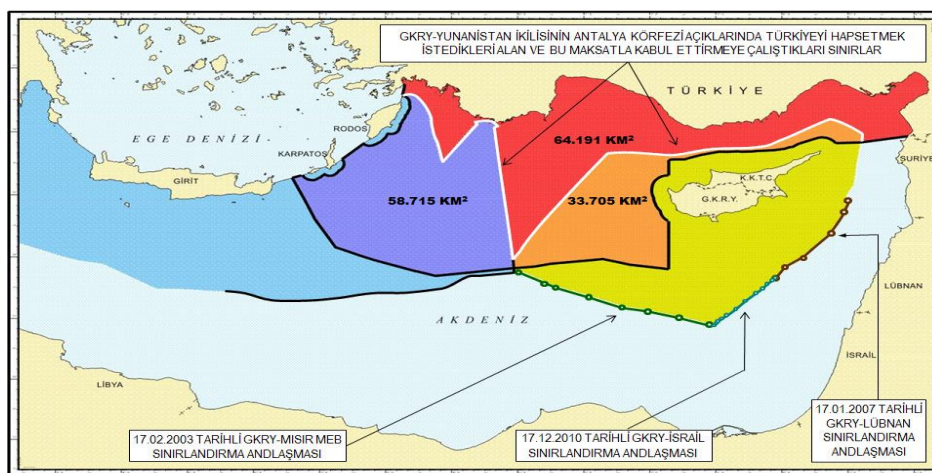
(Sandıklı, A., 2013)

⁹ UNSLC - Md. 75 Parag.2

¹⁰ Turkey, on March 2, 2004, giving a note to the UN secretary general, Turkey has reported the presence of their rights under international law. See. Turkish Foreign Ministry's press release of 30 January 2007 No. 18 to 30 January 2007 of the country in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea GCA Jurisdiction Concerning the Bilateral Agreement on Making Efforts to.

GCA, the UNLSC 74 and Article 83 of the ICJ Statute so as not to constitute a violation of Article 38 of Egypt on 17 February 2003¹¹, on 17 January 2007¹² and on 21 December 2010¹³, with Lebanon and Israel median based on the principles of treaties made line. Turkey is opposed to note that the date given in several of these treaties¹⁴. (Figure-4)

Figure 4. Limitation of maritime jurisdiction in the Eastern Mediterranean



(Sandıklı, A., vd., 2013, s. 23)

GCA, representing the whole island of Cyprus in any jurisdiction in disputes in the Eastern Mediterranean who sees himself as the sole and legitimate government. GCA riparian countries to the continental shelf and EEZ limit, hydrocarbon reserves located within the area in question argues that the right to research and businesses. In addition, some other states as those subject to limitation treaty is drawn according to the EEZ boundaries of the rules of international law, it argues that in this way carried out in respect for the rights of third parties established

¹¹ For the text of the agreement. <http://www.un.org/depts/los/LEGISLATIONANDTREATIES/PDFFILES/TREATIES/EGY-CYP2003EZ.pdf>, Accessed: 06.02.2015

¹² For the text of the agreement. http://www.un.org/depts/los/LEGISLATIONANDTREATIES/PDFFILES/cyp_2004_eez_proclamation.pdf, Accessed: 06.02.2015

¹³For the text of the agreement. http://www.un.org/depts/los/LEGISLATIONANDTREATIES/PDFFILES/TREATIES/cyp_isr_eez_2010.pdf, Accessed: 06.02.2015

¹⁴ Turkey has made his first appeal to the Greek Government occurred between 17 February 2003 delimitation agreement with Egypt. See. BM Deniz Hukuku Bülteni-UN Division for Ocean Affairs and the Law of the Sea Office of Legal Affairs Bulletin No.54, s.127. New York, 2004

limits. In addition, GCA, Turkey has no right to intervene made to limit between their coast adjacent or mutual non shores, Turkey's border equity in accordance with agreements with scratching defending that ignore deliberately the obligation to comply with international law, to them of the declaration by the UN of national regulations There are certain rights as it gives theses. While also benefiting from the rights of the states bordering on Turkey's semi-closed sea argues that the need to cooperate with them (Özkan, 2012, s. 375). GCA international meetings that Turkey signed the 1958 Geneva Convention and 1982 UNLSC; To EEZ announced that the Mediterranean is working to create a continental shelf of any state to deal with the public perception that he and GCA in no way inclined to make a deal to limit the jurisdiction of the sea in the eastern Mediterranean. Greek Management representatives of Turkey's Ministers of Cyprus and the hydrocarbon bearing exploration licenses given to TPC with the Council of EEZ and the continental shelf openly violated, affirms its potential EEZ and enjoy the area going beyond the continental shelf space and biased act (Sandıklı, A., vd., 2013, s. 26).

The entire island of Cyprus in the thesis that Turkey no authority to represent itself, GCA is not a legal judgment of his limitation treaty, and the TRNC in the sea area of Cyprus that there were also rights advocates recognize the GCA-Egyptian Treaty. However, in order to determine the limits of the agreement signed between the EEZ in the Eastern Mediterranean with Israel, GCA considers that contribute to the solution of the Cyprus problem (Özkan, 2012, s. 377).

TRNC should be carried out in the EEZ in parallel with the island of Cyprus by Turkey and the continental area of limiting the with all the relevant countries bilateral agreements in the region, including Turkey, in accordance with international law, this restriction is primarily not be possible without reaching an agreement with Cyprus, GCA authority to make alone limitation treaty There is, it is obliged to act together with the TRNC, as otherwise it will defend the rights of the TRNC should have been declared in various statements. In addition to entering into irresponsible behaviour will be a new source of crisis in the region and the relevant government stated that the GCA should not allow such acts contrary to law (Özkan, 2012, s. 377).

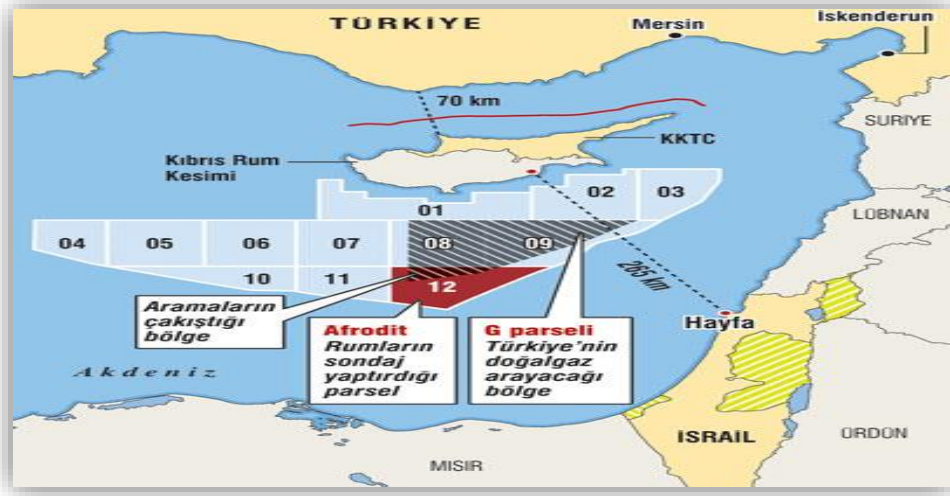
GCA, located south of the island of Cyprus in 2006 and began unilaterally declared by the Ministry of Education within the boundaries of an area 51,000 km² in

energy exploration. Greek Cypriot Administration on the basis of seismic data obtained in the study, the islands south of 13 parcels in the natural gas and oil exploration licenses on 26 January 2007, came to an international tender. Noble Energy has won the tender and 12 companies were licensed to conduct research on the parcel (Kıbrıs Enerji, Ticaret, Sanayi ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2007; Sandıklı, A., vd., 2013, s. 13). Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey¹⁵ and the TRNC President of this initiative (AnadoluAjansi, Turkish Party will not hesitate to take steps in the equivalent 2011) reactions shown for that move of GCA. Initiated drilling activities on September 21, 2011 in New York continental shelf delimitation agreement¹⁶ for the region between Turkey and the TRNC has been signed between Turkey and the northern part of the island. Following the deal, TRNC Council of Ministers oil and gas exploration permit granted by the Board of TPC and Koca Piri Reis ship were started by 3 overlapping plots seismic data with GCA. TRNC President Eroglu stated that the preventive measures to dissuade the signature of the GCA's behaviour put the treaty. But the results were not enough to stop the drilling operations of the treaty GCA and Noble about three months later by Energy 12 parcels in the southeast of the area called located and Aphrodite, the average reserves of 198 bcm were identified natural gas deposits that (NobleEnerji, 2013; Sandıklı, A., vd., 2013, s. 13).(Figure 5)

¹⁵ T.R. Ministry of Foreign Affairs No. 181, August 5 2011, the GCA's Eastern Mediterranean Oil and Gas Exploration Activities. Press Release, Access Address: http://www.mfa.gov.tr/no_-181_-5-agustos-2011_-gkry_nin-dogu-akdeniz_de-petrol-ve-dogalgaz-arama-faaliyetleri-hk_.tr.mfa, Accessed: 06.02.2015

¹⁶ T.R. Ministry of Foreign Affairs No. 216 of 21 September 2011, Turkey-TRNC Continental Shelf Delimitation Agreement Regarding the Signing Press Release, Access Address: http://www.mfa.gov.tr/no_-216_-21-eylul-2011-turkiye_-_kkkc-kita-sahaneligi-sinirlendirma-anlasmasi-imzalanmasina-iliskin-disisleri-bakanligi-basin-ac_.tr.mfa, Accessed: 05.02.2015

Figure5. The Thirteen Plots in the Eastern Mediterranean



(Sandıklı, A., vd., 2013)

Determined not yet licensed beds as a result of this energy to increase interest in other parcels are quite tender issued by the Greek Board of plots on 11 February 2012. Following the Continental Shelf Agreement signed between Cyprus and Turkey with TPC to the license area, the Second International Hydrocarbons Search field in which GASC tender was opened overlap. The statement made by the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs¹⁷; Could be faced with international companies can enter the illegal open tender GASC and TRNC and TPC has drawn attention to the emergence of stress they can cause undesirable. In addition, description of the violation of the license given by the TRNC in the south of the island and to protect the rights and interests in the sea area of Turkey's responsibility for the motherland and guarantor country, TRNC was stated to be given every support. (Boncukcu, 2012, s. 22). But the Greek Cypriot Administration, including Total, Eni, and Petronas and found that the giant energy companies like Gazprombank has managed to take a total of five private companies and one consortium consisting of fifteen proposals (Kıbrıs Enerji, Ticaret, Sanayi ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2013; Sandıklı, A., vd., 2013, s. 13) (Şekil 6). Taken signed Italian Eni

¹⁷ T.R. Ministry of Foreign Affairs No. 140 on 18 May 2012, Press Release Regarding the Second International Hydrocarbons Search GASC tender Open. Description of the Access Address: http://www.mfa.gov.tr/no_-140_-18-mayis-2012_-gkry_nin-actigi-ikinci-uluslararasi-hidrokarbon-arama-ihalesi-hk_.tr.mfa, Accessed: 05.02.2015

and South Korean KOGAS Company with more than 6 February 2013 the agreement for the French Total company with 10 and 11 hydrocarbon exploration licenses in the plot for this proposal to reference the GCA primarily parcels 2 and 3 and 9. In the January 24, 2013. 150 million and 24 million euros respectively, revenues from this agreement have also been reported to be obtained (EnerjiEnstitüsü, Güney Kıbrıs Total ile Anlaştı, 2013; EnerjiEnstitüsü, Güney Kıbrıs, İtalyan ENI ve Güney Koreli Koga ile anlaştı, 2013). However, Turkey's undisclosed bidder for EEZ and 1 in 4 of the parcels declared that coincided with plots, although the proposal has not been given 5, 6 and 7. if the parcel license.

Greek flag in the subsequent period "EDTA Argonaut" & "Flying Enterprises" in the company of the ship is Singapore-flagged "Reform Sovereign" is 8,9 and the 12 plots in Norway by ship seismology has made three-dimensional seismographic research(AnadoluAjansı, Rumlar 2019'da Doğalgaz Satmaya Başlayacak, 2013).

Figure6. The plots in the Eastern Mediterranean and some parcels to bidders



(Sandıklı, A., vd., 2013)

Greek Energy Minister Giorgos Lakkotripis the July 30, 2014 Bahamian flag in the conduct of research in a statement Saipem1000 is ships with 2,3, and 9 plots in Onasagoras, Zino's, Kiniras, Amathus to, Evagoras and Praksandros is stated that the determination of the six potential new field. The statement also most of the drilling

ENI (80%) and KOGAS (20%) will be initiated in partnership with Onasagoras¹⁸ was stated to be determined according to the following order of the first drilling results(GündemKıbrıs, Eni-Kogas Yaz Bitmeden Sondaja Başlıyor, 2014).

The TRNC Foreign Ministry said in a statement on October 3, 2014 *"of the GCA in the period in which the conduct of interviews of illegally exploration unacceptable that started in the area of the TRNC which coincides with the license area gave to TPC "*stated that(Haberkkctc, 2014). Likewise T.C. By the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the statement made on 4 October 2014 the Greek Cypriot side provocative and unilateral steps to prevent the international community has been invited to act. The statement also expressed to provide all kinds of support to all steps to be taken towards sent to the region TRNC supply drilling rig and seismic research activities necessary for the protection of the fundamental rights over those resources and to be determined(DoğanHaberAjansı, 2014). T.R. Chief of Staff has announced to the public that followed closely monitored website called 6 October in a statement made in 2014 Bahamian flag started its performed drilling work by the GCA SAIPEM-10000 is the platform ship TCG spear from gunboats and TCG Bafra(AnadoluAjansı, Rum Yönetiminin petrol arama faaliyetleri izleniyor, 2014). October 20, 2014 Barbarous Hayrettin Pasha seismic research vessel, Cyprus and Turkey signed an agreement with the NAVTEX published on 20 October - 30 December, began its work in Larnaca and Limassol open to conduct seismic surveys.

Republic of Turkey General Staff and Greek people, the Greek Cypriot leader in parallel with the explanation that they follow the activities of the Mediterranean Anastasiadis, published NavTex citing maintained that Turkey's themselves openly threatened and on October 7, 2014 is announced unilaterally that they decided to withdraw from talks (Milliyet, Rumlar müzakere masasından kalktı, 2014). The TRNC government are united in the opinion that Ankara is unacceptable attitude of the Greeks. A written statement that Eroglu, *"The Greek Cypriot side's efforts for a solution in the Cyprus issue with the way the negotiations were not sincere in this attitude showed once more. We are always ready for a solution"*to continue the talks,

¹⁸ In December 2014 the Eni-KOGAS conducted in partnership drilling is described as Onasagoras bed dry out

saying demonstrated their intention to respect (Karahasan, 2014). Greece, GASC and Egyptian foreign ministers met in Nicosia on October 29, 2014 in case of withdrawal of the search ships of Turkey stated that they resorted to international law (AlJazeera, Doğal Gaz İçin Üçlü İttifak, 2014). Turkey by the NSC meeting held on October 30, 2014 by reviewing developments in the Eastern Mediterranean Turkey's statement was made in the direction to be taken with determination all the measures needed to protect its continental shelf within and rights in the area where the TRNC licensing as a guarantor country and interests. On November 8, the Egyptian President Sisi, Greek Prime Minister Samaras and GCA president Anastasiadis, gathered together to make joint energy work in the Mediterranean in Cairo and in their joint statement where they want to stop their operations in Turkey's EEZ (AlJazeera, Mısır, Yunanistan, Rum Yönetimi Zirvesi, 2014). Turkish Naval Forces to the Eastern Mediterranean on November 11 in a statement during the exercise, emphasizing that the Turkish side is renewed authority to intervene against harassment will not step back from their research activities (Sabah, Rum ısrarına karşı Barbaros Hayrettin, 2014). And on November 12, 2014 Greek Foreign Minister Evangelos Venizelos stated that violates the international legality of the operations in Turkey in the Eastern Mediterranean and has said Athens could seek legal action against it (AnadoluAjansı, Yunanistan: Tepkimiz Hukuki Özellikler Kazanabilir, 2014).

On November 22, 2014, US Vice President Joe Biden gave the message of the negotiations the parties should return visit to Turkey carried out. During the same visit, Prime Minister Davutoglu emphasized the rights of the Turkish Cypriots in the gas field. November 25, 2014 from TRNC Prime Minister Ozkan Yorgancıoğlu with the Republic of Turkey Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu condensed by the Greek Cypriot side at a joint press conference in Ankara has made calls to negotiate. Davutoglu, *"known to you that Turkey and TRNC Eastern Mediterranean cannot be closed. Eastern Mediterranean and Cyprus have equal rights in all Ministry of Education in the two communities. Towards the exercise of these rights cannot be shown no hesitation"* he said (AnadoluAjansı, Davutoğlu: Türkiye ve KKTC'ye Doğu Akdeniz Kapatılamaz, 2014).

With the authorization of the Cyprus Government the Turkish Cypriot people the duration of the NAVTEX issued by Turkey for the protection of the rights of

performing the task of researching the expiry of 31 December 2014. Barbarous Hayrettin Pasha, pausing to seismic survey ship mission is anchored in the Famagusta port. The GCA to conduct research in three areas take advantage of the new NAVTEX expiry of the period 2 January 2015 issued its NAVTEX. This has been a provocative attempt by the TRNC and Turkey and the Turkish people of Cyprus GCA conducted without taking into account the legitimate rights and interests are disclosed whether unilateral actions thick unresponsive (StarKıbrıs, Çavuşoğlu: “Her zaman KKTC’nin yanındayız”, 2015).

The recent events in the Eastern Mediterranean developing that needs to be done within the framework of mutually agreed equitable principles of semi-enclosed sea, which limit the Mediterranean EEZ has once again reveals. But the current situation, the parties indicate that they are far from the eastern Mediterranean to go to such an agreement (Sandıklı, A., vd., 2013, s. 17).

The struggle of the share of energy sources in the eastern Mediterranean will increase even more in the coming period considered, increasing competitiveness in the face of international companies TPC supported, it is important to ensure the protection of the interests of TPC hands of the EEZ.

2. 4. Economic Value of Energy in the Eastern Mediterranean and Export Options

The hydrocarbon reserve in the eastern Mediterranean is important to be declared in terms of economic value. Because one of the world's largest natural gas deposits according to estimates conducted based on 8 April 2010 report published by the USGS (Schenk, C.J.; vd., 2010) is assessing where in the eastern Mediterranean. Indeed, in the island of Cyprus is equal to Azerbaijan's proven gas reserves of natural gas discovered in the total amount of light has been proposed discovered the total amount of gas equal to the deficit has been suggested that the proven natural gas reserves (Dede, İsrail’in Doğu Akdeniz’deki Alternatif Politikaları, 2012).

Associated with power in the eastern Mediterranean is the subject mentioned the presence of some basic problems. Eastern Mediterranean region associated with newfound energy priority problems stems from the fact the field made of concrete

identify a reserve. Indeed, the presence of related areas are said to be in line with the amount of energy as a potential study shows a marked difference between the amounts made proved. These differences are, allowing for detection of a healthy reserve. In addition, even if the political problems in the region prove the existence of reserves in the region is causing an increase in production costs.

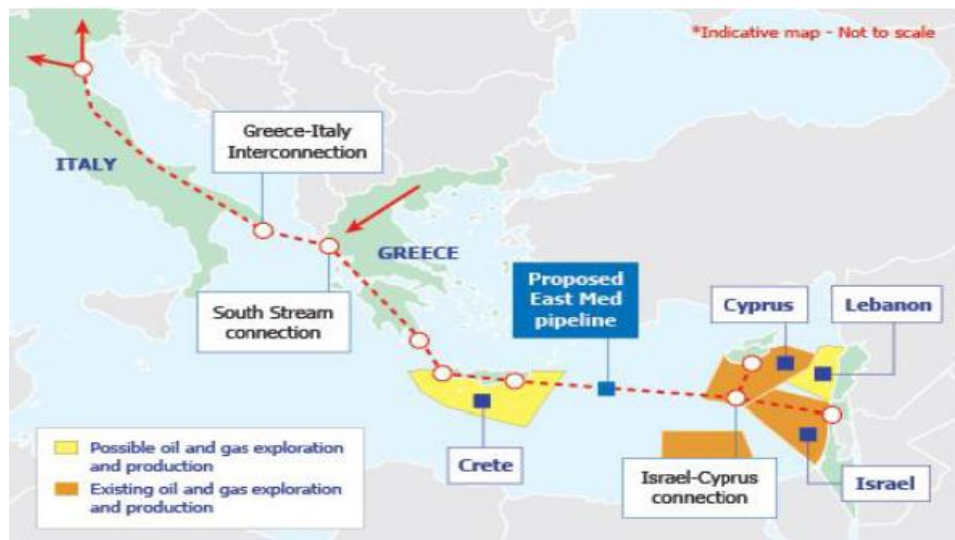
In fact, the key point of being able to use the economic advantages of energy in the Eastern Mediterranean, the removal of the surface of reserves and consumption is based on lower costs for the delivery to market (Sandıklı, A., 2013). To have a very deep field of energy in the region is one of the main problems in this regard. Therefore, the opening point of energy production through the use of very advanced technological facilities is possible. Related situation reduces the profit margins are increasing costs, so advanced and expensive technological possibilities leads to major energy companies not to invest. Since energy costs vary according to the method and route will be selected to achieve the energy obtained from the consumer market of countries of the region and its related companies are considered to be preferred by the cheapest method of transport options.

Theoretically natural gas transport takes place by two methods. With the first method the pipeline, the second method is a form of transport LNG procedure. Pipeline and LNG options between preferences should be taken when considering the issue until 2000 nautical miles long distance pipelines and LNG facilities more economically is that while much more economical option is more appropriate. Here is how to reach an acceptable price of gas to the world markets and will be issued questions to be answered is where the target market. Compared to Asian and European markets natural gas prices price range of European markets, including the United States it is higher than in other markets. On behalf of the European market in terms of cost target pipeline method is the most appropriate option. Furthermore, the European market for hydrocarbons in the eastern Mediterranean is a ready market for wanting to reduce the EU's energy dependence on RF.

GCA found that the Aphrodite gas field to the consumer market can be delivered in three ways (Sandıklı, A., 2013; Henderson, 2013, s. 13; Şenay ve Ekinci, 2014, s. 15). Before the laying of a gas pipeline under the sea route to the first gas will be increased to Crete, there is delivered to Europe via Greece and Italy.

However, the technical realization of this option in front of the great difficulties and has a financial point of view. The line must be laid between Crete and Cyprus length of this line is 675 km and the depth varying from 800 to 2000 m required to be established to demonstrate that it is difficult from a technical point of view. In addition, \$ 25 million per year with a capacity of 28 bcm per km cost line at 2000 m depth, and the total estimated cost is around \$ 20 billion (Tagliapietra, S. ve Mattei, F. E. E., 2013, s. 20) (Figure 7). According to the New York Times article dated December 12, 2012 it is approximately \$ 17 billion (Karabat, Afrodit Sayesinde Müzakere, 2014).

Figure7. Eastern Mediterranean Pipeline Route



(Tagliapietra, S. ve Mattei, F. E. E., 2013, s. 21)

Cyprus to the EU have made Greece explanation of Environment and Energy Minister Yannis Maniatis feasibility study on the well will be transferred from there to Europe for natural gas in Greece will be in the Eastern Mediterranean Pipeline option and stated that the qualities that will secure the energy flow to Europe. This description corresponds to the period of the Turkish Cypriot negotiator Kudret Ozersay *"I thought it was an alternative. When compared with other options in front of Israel and resources of Cyprus does not have a comparative advantage. Regional sense, which will contribute to peace and stability are very interdependent projects. Multiple stakeholders and interested parties will be included in the project are much more reasonable. Such a structure is not mentioned in this example. Very costly and*

*risk are areas where the deep waters and experts say that this is a dream job. Moreover, in case of such a pipeline cannot be added here too to increase the capacity of other energy sources. Just to be transferred to Greece from Cyprus, and from there to Europe. However, today there are already ready infrastructure already in Turkey and in northern Iraq with TANAP which energy sources combined at some point to move to Europe. Compared with the TANAP project is not in a position to compete"*as has been said in a statement. Also Özersay attended so far, based on his impressions of the international conference of academics and energy company in question can be approached objectively event project manager has said they look so hot (Kalfaoğlu O. , 2014).

The second way to transport gas to Cyprus and liquefied natural gas tankers processed in a liquefaction plant to be built in Vasilios on the road can choose the transportation of hydrocarbon resources GCA is transported to consumer markets in Europe and Asia both directions. GCA provision of this option by government delays a solution in Cyprus situation is the most desirable method (Utku, 2014; CyprusNewsAgency, 2014; KıbrısPostası, Doğalgaz şirketi Güney Kıbrıs'ta arazi arıyor, 2014). According to optimistic estimates of GCA officials if it can be built in such a power plant in 2020, 7 bcm, 2025 at 35 bcm capacity could be exported gas, moreover, the case of Israel and Lebanon's reserves with the participation of the Eastern Mediterranean LNG centre is expected to reach an annual 50 bcm capacity (Henderson, 2013, p. 14). However, the cost of constructing power plants in Vassilikos' is estimated to be around US \$ 10 billion. The EU is reluctant to support a fund that may be mentioned the cost issue, the most important reason for the reconstruction of the explosion that occurred at Vassilikos in 2011, the GCA to the 130 million of € credit support is shown. You're such a facility remains leaving only two ways to make high cost reasonable. GCA or realizing new discoveries will operate with its own facilities or at a much higher capacity reserve a certain portion of the reserves will persuade the government of Israel in Vassilikos liquefaction. Another alternative sources to bring the Lebanese removed due to suspected gas Vassilikos even in 2020 GCA does not seem to realize the project will contribute to the resolution of the source of the problem in the short term. GCA also reach new sources of priority objectives at every opportunity, the resources to convince other

countries of the region to be processed and to express their goals to become the centre of Vassilikos energy to build.

GCA also announced that Energy Minister George Lakkotripis terminal of the main objectives and stated they are working in this direction. Aphrodite tells the world that the standard, but that alone is not enough to show Lakkotripis terminal operations, has pointed out could change the terms of the possible discovery of a new source (Gazeddakıbrıs, Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti Enerji Bakanı: Elimiz Kolumuz Bağlı Oturmuyoruz, 2014).Lakkotripis stated so that they are compelled to seek out more natural gas drilling confirmed the same result with the first estimate. Natural gas liquefaction terminal that changes in land plans, but stated that the need for new natural gas discoveries for it (KıbrısManşet, Mısır Terminaliyle İlgili Anlaşma Bizi Etkilemiyor, 2014).

Lakkotripis make another statement on the subject, the LNG terminal would be an expensive investment but that, for the provision of natural gas to better markets worldwide has stated that it is possible to provide the flexibility. Greek Government stated that gas was LNG terminal's preferred strategy for the assessment. Besides, referring to the difficulty in the choice of the construction of the LNG terminal, the pipeline laid in field until Cyprus has stressed that it is difficult due to the high sea depth is morphology (Gazeddakıbrıs, Doğalgaz Konusunda Kıbrıs Hükümeti İçin İlk Tercih LNG Terminali, 2014).

Kasulidis Greek Foreign Minister, US Secretary of State in May 2014 after his visit Biden said that the establishment of natural gas in Vassilikos has said that the planned method's main export terminal. In his statement also stated that a portion of the field with Israel for the sustainability of the terminal due to the amount of available resources in the Aphrodite field they wait for a decision on the issue to include in Cyprus (KıbrısGazetesi, ABD'nin Maraş Çabası Sürecek, 2014). However, in contrast to the expected Israel, which a certain portion of the Leviathan natural gas liquefaction terminal in Egypt concerning the transfer has signed a preliminary contract with the British company BG. July 2, 2014 Date of the Greek Energy Minister Giorgos Lakkotripis *"those who will not be sent to Egypt from field in the Leviathan that they examine the possibility of supporting our data so far"* (kıbrısmanşet, Egypt terminal Agreements does not affect us, 2014) statement by

GASC finding terminal, additional resources they dream he reiterated his intention.

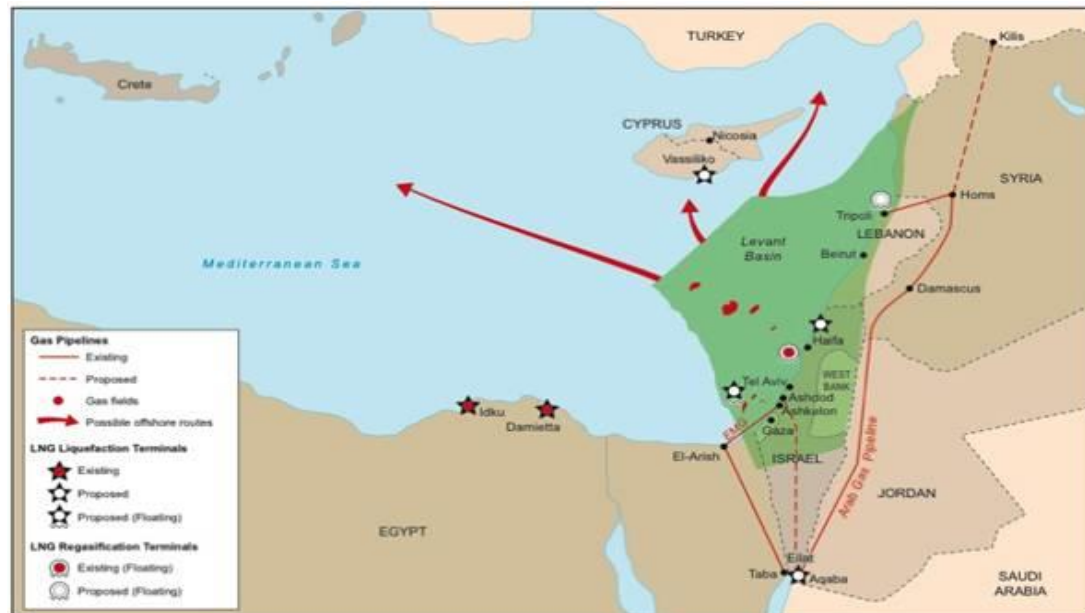
Greek Hydrocarbons Company former President Charles Ellinas in the production of liquefied natural gas terminal on the most important issues in the plant in Vassilikos is noted that the high cost. Ellinas, manufacturers gain without calculating the natural gas extraction, transport to the Vassilikos, approximately the cost of sending the liquefaction and buyers, he has been pointed out that close to a million dollars per 10. Ellinas, explaining that large European consumers tend down the purchase price of natural gas, has not found ways to reduce the costs would run counter to the expressed interests of the LNG terminal and ground terminal stated that negatively affected the strategic objectives for the establishment (GündemKıbrıs, Güney Kıbrıs enerji planlarını ileri götürmeye çalışıyor, 2014). July 2014, the Greek authorities also hydrocarbons company EIC 12 is not enough for the cost of building power plants in the plot reserves, have announced the discovery of new natural gas field needed for the implementation of this option (Gazeddakıbrıs, Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti Enerji Bakanı: Elimiz Kolumuz Bağlı Oturmuyoruz, 2014). However, there was no new reserves could be used in studies so far.

The third way of transporting hydrocarbon resources on the GCA may choose to deliver gas directly to Turkey and is here to provide the consumer market with the transfer of existing pipelines (Yanardağ, 2012; Giamouridis, 2013, s. 16). Although the current political restrictions that prevent the realization of this option and choose the most economically sensible trade. At first GCA energy, energy requirements without obligation to move 80 km away from the ever-increasing distances and an annual average of 40 bcm will be delivered to target markets such as Turkey engaged in consumption. Also in the transit country, Turkey's current line without the need for additional infrastructure will easily get transport facilities to the EU market.

On the transportation of hydrocarbon resources in the event of GCA to choose one of these three ways different costs arise in the economic sense. The required investment of 19.5 billion dollars for the first way, the necessary investments for 12.6 billion dollars in the second path and the third path is calculated for the necessary investments will lead to cost \$ 4.7 billion. Accordingly, the delivery of gas to Turkey and from there to the final market, according to the first road about 15 billion dollars, according to the second way is more cost about \$ 8

billion (Giamouridis, 2013, s. 16) (Figure-8). All of these cost calculations that clearly show why the parties should co-operate even in the Eastern Mediterranean. (Sandıklı, A., 2013; Sandıklı, A., vd., 2013, s. III). Indeed, the Greek Cypriot Orthodox Church Patriarch II in early 2013. Hristosomos, the gas is to be stated in accordance with the national interests of the sale will be in place through Turkey (Sayarı S. , “Doğalgazımızı Türkiye satsın”, 2013; Şenay ve Ekinci, 2014, s. 16). Greek Cypriot Administration leader Nicos Anastasiades in the form of natural gas extracted from the region to end the island's 40-year division could be distributed through underlined Turkey (Aljazeera, Cyprus-Turkey pipeline proposal, 2014). In a similar GASC holds the natural gas drilling company Noble Energy has been expressed by officials. According to company officials, 12 parcels of natural gas in the eastern Mediterranean transported by pipeline via Turkey to the EU is the best option (Sayarı S. , Kıbrıs doğalgazı Türkiye’den geçmeli, 2014). Indeed, Turkish Republic Energy Minister Taner Yıldız also to Cyprus in which natural gas to Europe via pipeline to be used for transporting stressed that the most appropriate route to Turkey, about the benefits of a pipeline between Turkey and Cyprus that Turkey was optimistic as stated (Portturkey, Enerji Bakanı: “Kıbrıs’ın doğalgazı için Türkiye en iyi rota”, 2014). Again, Minister Yıldız, Turkey's Biomass Energy Potential Atlas introductory meeting, the source of the westward movement of the Cyprus issue through Turkey; *"My hope unfavourable political environment scattered in the Mediterranean, is paving the way for energy-related projects. How do we take water to Cyprus by the pipeline; likewise made of a pipeline through Turkey, I believe that will be transferred to Europe. As long as you have the appropriate political feasibility. Energy sector which is authorized in terms of both financial as well as technical, I think* was found in the evaluation (Haberkıbrıs, Enerji Bakanı Taner Yıldız'dan Kıbrıs Değerlendirmesi, 2014).

Figure8. Lines that can be used to transfer energy to foreign markets of hydrocarbons in the Eastern Mediterranean



(Henderson, 2013, s. 13)

GCA in the Aphrodite gas is the fourth road on the transportation of hydrocarbon resources as an option we can put Egypt or Jordan marketing. Israel, a certain amount of gas in the Leviathan result in an agreement on the transfer of the terminal in Egypt GASC power to take a share of this market seems to be difficult as long as the price of energy supply on the break. However, goodwill has signed an agreement with Egypt in February 2015 according to media reports, this option will contract with GCA's market alternatives and alternative press as if to prove that despite being curtailed. According to the agreement, which has not been officially confirmed as the official to reveal the volume of Noble Energy Aphrodite field and need technical work on the pipeline will be shipped to Egypt will start negotiations on the commercial aspects of both issues. However, unofficial sources estimate that in the still surface of the gas from Aphrodite will need at least 6-8 years to reach Egypt (CihanHaberAjansı, Doğalgazı Mısır'a Aktarabilmeleri İçin 6 Yıla İhtiyaç Var, 2015).

FLNG method is illustrated by GCA among the options. According to the news media covered this topic as well as the LNG terminal on the evaluation of the gas to be removed from the Cyprus Ministry of Education has also reportedly

considering FLNG. Greek Energy Minister Giorgos Lakkotripis, this possibility has been pointed out to examine seriously Delek and Noble Energy's Leviathan field (Gazeddakıbrıs, Doğalgaz İçin Yüzen Sıvılaştırılmış Tesis Gündemde, 2014).

Cyprus, which has four times the reserve and Cyprus and Israel in the major decision point in the future of the natural gas pipeline in exporting can choose on the transportation of hydrocarbon resources, LNG, FLNG and to enable them to reach the world's major markets, including CNG focuses on all the alternatives.

Due to the anti-Israel route all neighbours in the pipeline as alternative method of first choice leads to Turkey. Cyprus and Greece over pipeline transportation option is difficult from a technical perspective as we said before, if it is burdensome in terms of cost. Turkey clearly needs to ensure that it is meeting the EU's gas transit country position. Increased every year in Turkey as a country of high population and energy needs will not have to carry the gas to Israel thousands of km away, it makes the lowest cost and ready market position. The presence of war-induced security restrictions that took place on the route of the pipeline will be transported to Turkey in Syria, Lebanon and Syria, it eliminates the possibility of passing the open. Applicable optimal route is the route that passed through Cyprus EEZ and the state of the Cyprus problem related to implementation of this option must be resolved through cooperation. Although the October 7, 2014 in the interview process by GCA suspended unilaterally, even though the leaders of both sides in the February 10, 2014 by acting as a catalyst of energy issues local-global powers previously with the support than ever began to cross the interview. Besides, the Turkish-Israeli government officials believe the Cyprus issue can be resolved before the establishment of an intermediate formula pipeline.

Of companies operating in the oil and energy sector in Turkey it has also been attempts to establish the pipeline. US Energy Company Noble and Delek Israel, under the tough choices to come to Turkey, where natural gas interests in the Mediterranean, Turcas, Çalık and the ENKA Company called "*preliminary assessment*" has requested a report. Those companies that make working a manager target of Israeli than 10 bcm gas a year Turkey in one, said: "*In this regard, the parties reached no later than 2 years of gas to Turkey in agreement*" as has been said in a statement.

He also said Turkish companies could take part in the construction of the pipeline (Haberturk, Mediterranean 4 Turkish companies to bid for gas, 2014). Likewise, in September 2013, Turcas by pipeline project cost study has been carried out and Leviathan from the south of Turkey will be drawn Çekisan warehouses or in Mersin 16 bcm volume of 470 km of a 2.55 billion dollar cost for the project for the dual pipeline is foreseen (Bilge, Zorlu ve Turcas'tan Boru Hattı Teklifi, 2013). But somehow unresolved Cyprus problem and the political conflicts caused by the Turkey-Israel tensions currently does not allow the use of this method in the present circumstances. In spite of having bad relations with Turkey, Israel, via Turkey to Europe to carry the energy interests in the Eastern Mediterranean basin it is considering seriously.

LNG transportation of hydrocarbon resources on Israel in a second method may be preferred in theory focuses on the different options for improving their facilities. Aqaba Gulf Coast is reasonable for markets in Asia and the Pacific for Israel, but it is manoeuvring in a small area of the gulf's most extensive area of just 24 km from where Considering the LNG tankers will be very difficult. For facilities to be constructed in the area close to Israel's Jordan's Aqaba port to take the risk to invest in Jordan, where there are means of political instability. LNG platform will be built in the near Eilat on the Red Sea, the Suez Canal offers direct access to the Asian market through the facilities. However, the lack of adequate width in the area for such a platform, and Egypt / air can be carried by Jordan and is not meant to be susceptible to rocket attacks as commercial due. Israel Navy Planning, Mr. Ad Lavin, the Reuters told the tanker option to apply for the Israeli navy to pass in front of the can that security problems caused by a terrorist organization \$ 700 million needs to invest and said that in addition, each year an extra \$ 100 million required to spend (Barker, A. ve Baird, J., 2013). Another option is the Mediterranean coast, which will be built in the open FLNG, the risk of being open as potential targets for anti-Israeli Hezbollah organization is a large facility in sizes that can carry up to four aircraft are vulnerable because of transport and includes security problems (Roberts, J., 2013, s. 34; Henderson, 2013, s. 13).

Israeli issue, taking into account the negative aspects of resource reserves of betting options 6 bcm of LNG, it has signed an agreement with Egypt to Ashkelon

line to bring the capacity of the unused idle LNG plant in Egypt. Askelon line 2012 is a line from Egypt until ready to export gas to Israel because it is used as a line. However, due to the amount of natural gas to market in Israel is targeting 18 bcm Turkey and Europe still remains the options during the first. The biggest reason is that despite the preliminary agreements signed with Israel, Egypt is reluctant to terminal options not available on their sovereignty.

Indeed, the investor company in the energy sector Specific Group Chairman Ömer Faruk about specific Israeli gas to be transported to Europe via Turkey of Israel, stated that due to cheaper Cyprus-Turkey line to warmer look. To increase the bargaining power of the LNG deal carried out in Israel said Egypt made specific, *"wants to create the impression that there are alternative routes possible for Israel"* he was found in the declaration (Acar, 2014).

Despite the backbone of the international gas distribution systems to build on the existing pipelines and LNG it is likely to leave their place to a third option. This option also begun to be raised in the eastern Mediterranean, it is in the form of CNG transport by sea. Yet untested technology in Canada, though the company has received certification for Sea NG is able to carry the gas from the tanker, which amounts from 1.87 to 17 mcm. It seems to be able to compete with LNG for the presentation made by officials of Sea NG pipelines with the option for short distances and long distances up to 2000 kilometres. (Roberts, J., 2013, s. 34). However, until now that unwritten practice of this system and the lack of a functioning point of experience in the commercial sense reveals the need for confirmation as to whether reasonable or not (Sandıklı, A., vd., 2013).

The line passing through Turkey in this whole alternative ways discussed in the preceding paragraph seems to be the most economical and feasible option. Indeed, company Noble Energy has stated that the manager Charles Davidson realized that the plan for the natural gas reserves in the Mediterranean visit to Israel is the best option among the alternatives of a gas pipeline from Turkey to Israel (Yıldırım, 2013). However, the relevant option in Turkey, Israel requires that long-term stability in its relations with the Greek Cypriot Administration and Greece.

East transported through Turkey's energy to be issued in the Mediterranean, it is also an important economic advantage for Turkey (Henderson, 2013, s. 10). In

addition, this method is not preferred not secure an energy centre of Turkey's policy followed in recent years is believed to provide a significant contribution (Sandıklı, A., vd., 2013, s. 39). Indeed, according to a study conducted at Oxford University to accelerate Turkey's energy market reform and more investment in natural gas infrastructure in his case, it was determined that the realistic vision of becoming an energy hub. In this research, although Turkey's own limited energy resources from Central Asia in the middle of almost all gas pipelines to Europe, explained to have a say in regional markets for decades. Besides the growing importance of Turkey in the energy markets, economic and political as Central Asia, it has stated that strengthen the claim of being a serious player in the Middle East and the EU.

Turkey's current annual 47 bcm annual gas needs of the 81-year study in 2030 expected to be reminiscent of the bcm, if the necessary infrastructure work carried out foresees natural gas trade could rise to 100 bcm. Besides this, a physical blend with each other pipelines to Turkey's export and import gas trading centre will be recorded (Portturkey, Oxford'a göre "Türkiye'nin gaz ticareti merkezi olma hayali gerçekçi", 2014).

ISRO Eurasia and Energy Expert Hasan Selim Özertem, Cyprus negotiations, energy facilitator will be a factor, but alone in not be decisive, while in Turkey to Cyprus and Israel gas has emphasized that there is a large market in terms of final consumption. Özertem, *"Turkey is currently in talks about renewing and increasing the capacity of the pipeline infrastructure. If this point of view, Turkey can also play an important role in terms of a transition route to reach Europe"* shape is found in the description (Abay, 2014). Turkish Republic Energy and Natural Resources Minister Taner Yıldız also said in a statement on the subject, both communities living in Cyprus justice of groundwater resources has stressed the importance of establishing a structure that will provide a way to distribute. Yıldız, *"a negative political environment scattered in the Mediterranean, should pave the way for energy-related projects. How do we take water to Cyprus by the pipeline; likewise made of a pipeline through Turkey, I believe that will be transferred to Europe. As long as you have the appropriate political feasibility"* it was found in the evaluation. (TürkAjansıKıbrıs, Akdeniz'deki Doğal Gaz Önce "Diplomasiyi Isıtıyor", 2014).

This route is seen as the most economical and viable option, despite the political deadlock, with the consent of all parties to the sole method of being able to implement, "*the pipeline and LNG promise*" is available at the option might be called. PRIO Cyprus Centre senior research consultant Ayla Gurel and Sapient in Economics penned by director Fiona Mullen and the Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI) this method in particular technical aspects as well expressed in the articles published can be implemented as soon as possible and the most attractive to serve the interests of all parties it is the option. According to the article it must first be resolved in a way that the solution of the Cyprus problem. Israel began passing through the Cyprus Ministry of Education is designed to establish a natural gas pipeline that will extend to Turkey. Israel also left an estimated 800 bcm to 320 bcm exports will no kinder to supply gas to the LNG plant in Cyprus said the current gas reserves. All parties to this model introduced significant gains (win-win) will provide. Turkey, some cheaper than existing options will be able to obtain an alternative source of natural gas; Israel, the natural gas to diversify export markets and geopolitical advantage will be achieved; GCA desire that LNG facilities more quickly and to reach export markets as an opportunity to build without dependent on Turkey; Cyprus will be able to receive a share of the gas revenues (Gürel, A. ve Mullen, F., 2014).

3. EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND ENERGY GEOPOLITICS

Discovered vast energy deposits in the Eastern Mediterranean in recent years, not only geopolitical balance in the Mediterranean region, but also character could affect the dynamics of the rest of the Middle East region in this field within the coverage area (Sandıklı, A., vd., 2013, s. 1). Especially prosperity, which will be formed by shared between the parties in a fair way of discovered hydrocarbon reserves in the eastern Mediterranean off Cyprus and Israel will certainly play a positive role in solving the Cyprus problem.

Indeed, TRNC President Dervis Eroglu of the period, the period of Turkey's Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan and 07 in his interview in June 2014 that

carries over the Mediterranean Sea 70% of the energy needs of Europe, Turkey has carried out 30% of maritime trade from the eastern Mediterranean that, thus emphasizing that constitute a key role in this region of the island of Cyprus. Eroglu, *"oil in this case, natural gas, liquefied natural gas and welding, as well as newly discovered in the area, not likely to have established facilities, add the planned ones and the pipeline establishing pronounced the more important in Cyprus. In short, everyone Cyprus attaches great importance to today's world because of the state for standing strong economy, there is a need for the energy economy. Cyprus has routes of the most important energy path is close to the major energy source, perhaps, but that amount and precise has a very important natural resources in its axis"*of the discourse in the form of energy has emphasized the importance of Cyprus in terms of geopolitics (KıbrısGazetesi, İstanbul'da Kıbrıs Zirvesi, 2014).

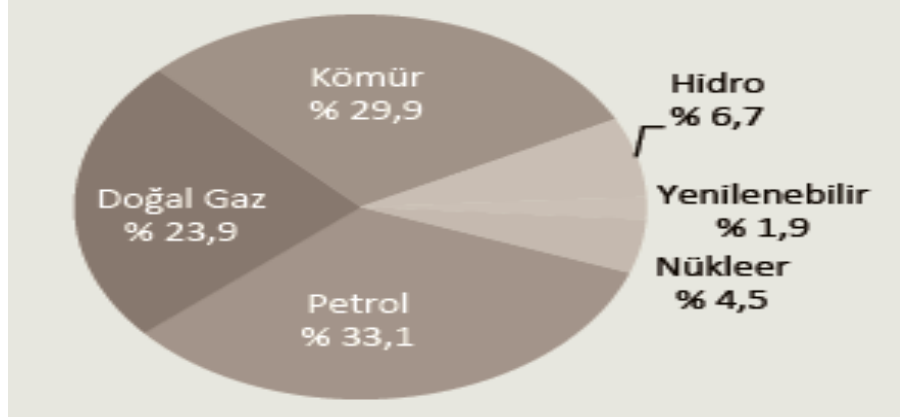
However, in parallel with the developments in recent years the EU's way too often with the Ukrainian crisis of energy dependence on RF in an environment where pronounced, it is estimated that the benefit of everyone to be resolved under the influence of the energy dynamics of the Cyprus problem (Örmeci, O., 2013, s. 379). The International Crisis Group scope In fact, these issues (InternationalCrisisGroup, 2012) and GMFUS (Leigh, 2012) of such ideas in the report prepared by the organization are also problems in the region discovered the power field in the eastern Mediterranean has underlined that it will serve as a solution. In this section, the geopolitical importance of energy in the Eastern Mediterranean and the likely impact on the solution of the Cyprus problem was discussed in terms of the issues relevant parties.

3. 1. The World Energy Treder

As is known, the energy consumption is one of the basic inputs for economic and social development. This entry is a growing population, urbanization, is continuously increasing in parallel with the expansion of industrialization and technology (Kocaoglu, 1996, s. 39; Olçar, 2010, s. 96). Increased dependence on energy process that began with the Industrial Revolution, people in this situation have also fuelled the increase in energy consumption. Close to some of the world's

energy consumption today to 87% of the demand for oil is met from fossil sources such as natural gas and coal (Figure 9). Reserve areas because these resources to meet the demand of the majority of fossil resources and power lines in the increasingly global agenda day is more space (Türkiye Petrolleri, 2014, s. 4).

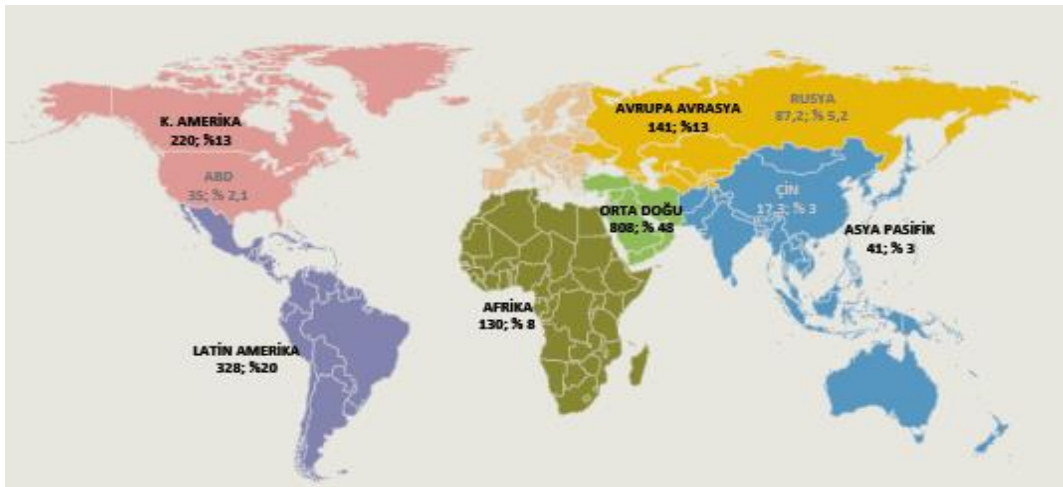
Figure 9. Year 2012 Global Primary Energy Consumption Rate



(Türkiye Petrolleri, 2014, s. 4; BP, BP Statistical Review of World Energy, 2013)

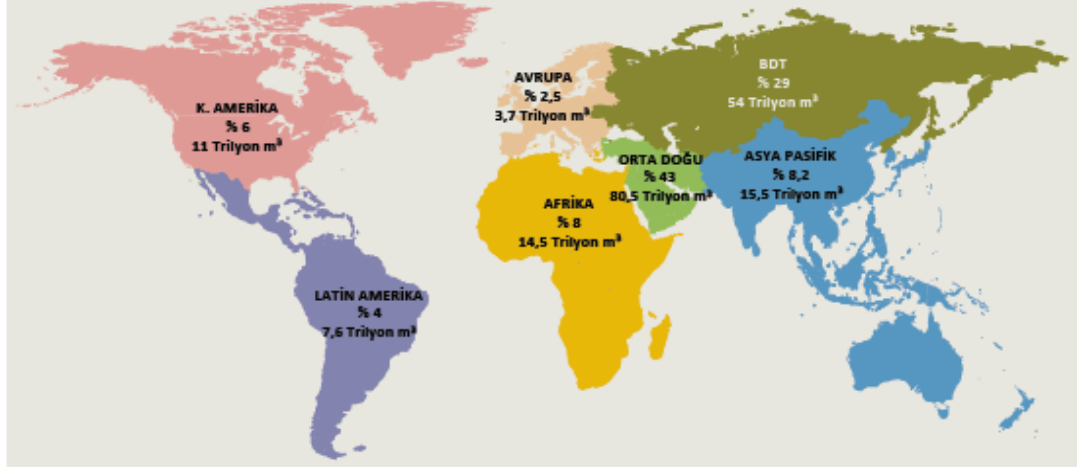
In addition, oil and gas, hydrocarbon resources in the exhausted characteristic is. Today is available proven oil reserves and natural gas reserves are 2.7 billion barrels in 1189 TCM. Considering the current global consumption trends, the life of the oil reserves in 41 years, the life of the natural gas reserves are estimated at 55 years. 72% of 62% of world oil reserves and natural gas reserves are in the Middle East and RF regions (Pamir, Enerji Politikaları ve Küresel Gelişmeler., 2005, s. 67; Sevim, C., 2010, s. 54). (Figure 10-11)

Figure 10. Year 2012 World Proven Oil Reserves by Region



(Türkiye Petrolleri, 2014, s. 6)

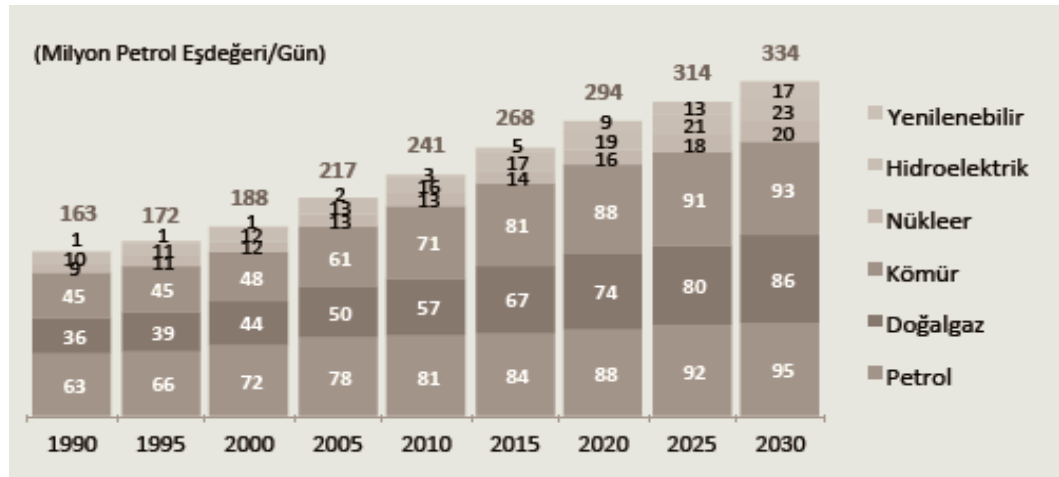
Figure 11. Year 2012 Proven Natural Gas Reserves by Region



(Türkiye Petrolleri, 2014, s. 16)

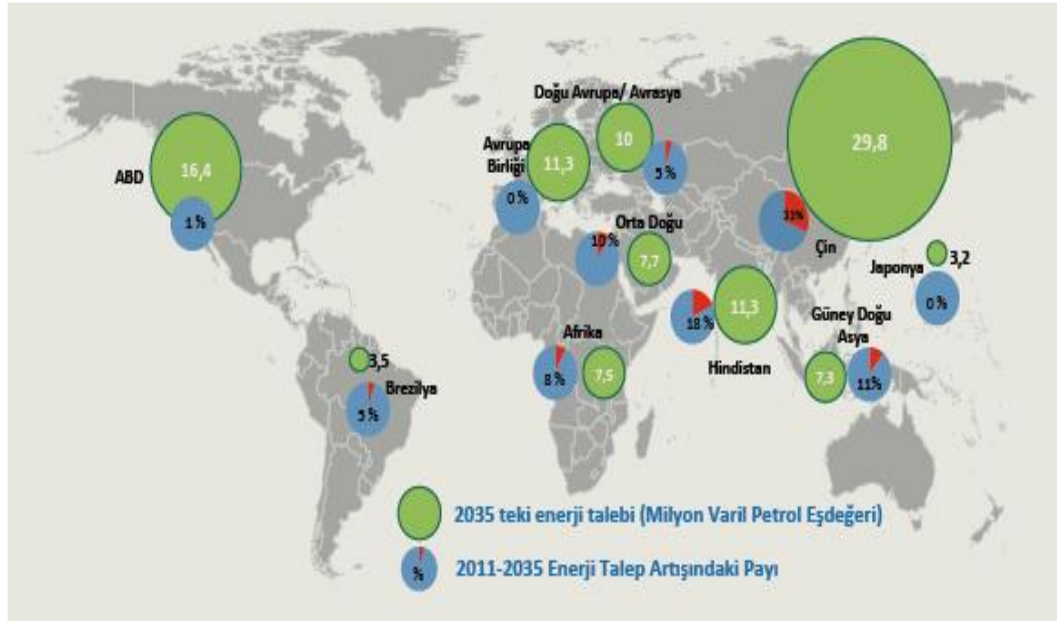
According to the scenario put forward by the IEA countries in 2035 due to the global energy demand, including demand for follow their policy available third is expected to increase up to. The increase in the period up to 2035 in 2012, 13% of energy sources on the basis of oil, 17% coal, 48% natural gas, 66% nuclear, and renewable resources are estimated to be 77% (Türkiye Petrolleri, 2014, s. 6). (Figure 12-13)

Figure 12. World Energy Consumption (Unit: Million Oil Equivalent / day)



(Türkiye Petrolleri, 2014, s. 4; BP, BP Energy Outlook 2035, 2015)

Şekil 13. Region / Country-Based Energy Demand and Demand Growth Rate



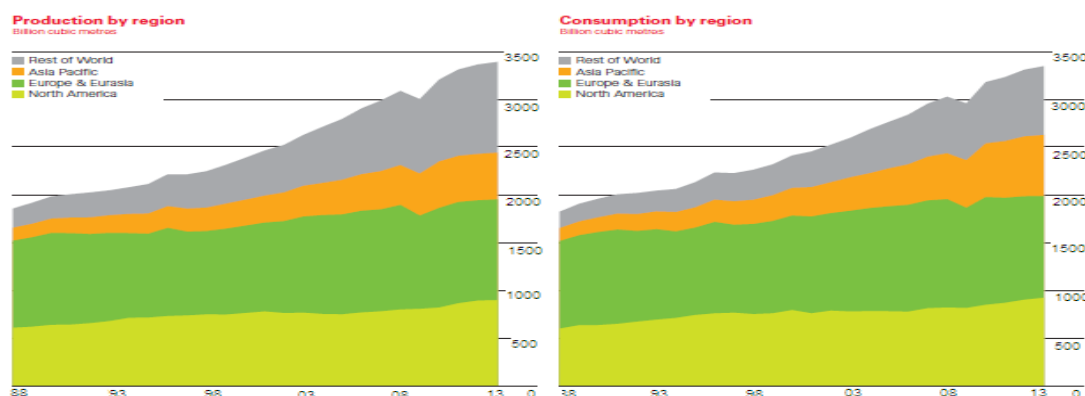
(Türkiye Petrolleri, 2014, s. 5; IEA, World Energy Outlook 2013, 2013)

For example, the energy source of global demand for oil has been increasing an average annual rate of 2%. Given the current industrial trends of the time period up to 2030, daily oil needs are expected to reach 105 million barrels. A large part of this demand, the US, EU, belongs to China and India (Stern, 2007, s. 275; IEA, 2009). In the near future oil extraction / processing will return to the high cost of a transaction process. Besides, due to the increasing demand for cleaner and more efficient fuels from fossil fuels in the face of rapid industrialization and environmental factors such as pollution with natural gas it is no longer important to have oil (Olçar, 2010).

Gas consumption in Europe has led to a regional basis with 33%. The driving force in the global natural gas consumption in China and India. World natural gas consumption in 2012 stood at 3314.4 bcm (ATIG Research Unit, 2014). According to the statistical report of the global energy market, published in June 2014 by BP (BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2014, p. 4); Natural gas in the global primary energy consumption in 2013 has had a share 23.7'lik%. World natural gas consumption in 2013 increased by 1.4%, which was below the average of 2.6% of all time. In addition, the EU's gas demand has fallen to its lowest level since 1999. Global natural gas production in 2013 increased by 1.1%, but the average remained

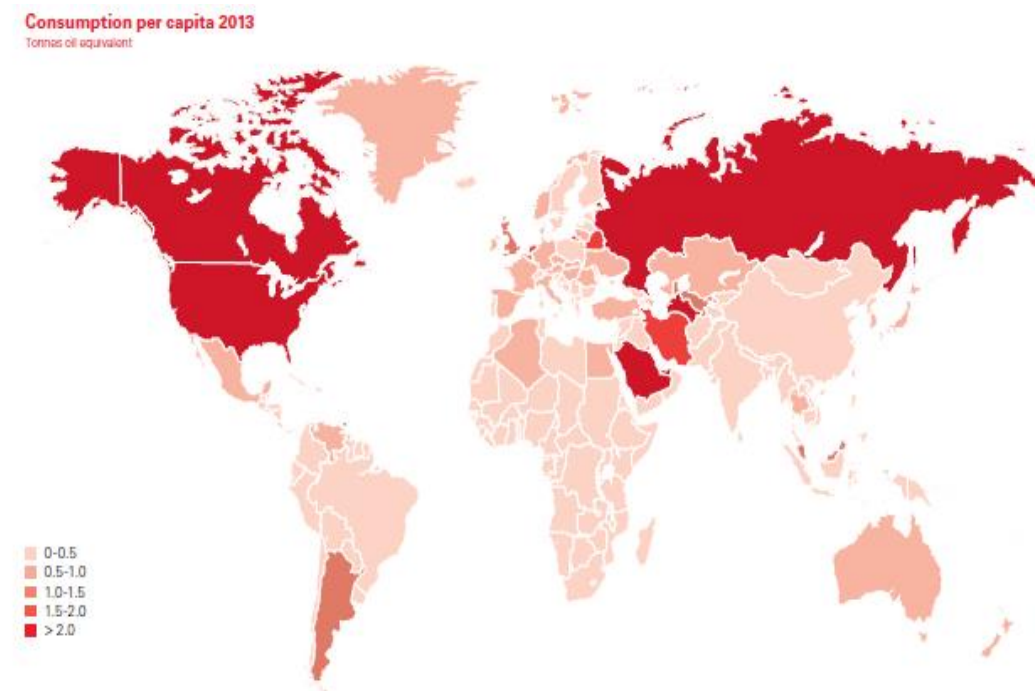
below the 2.5% in the last 10 years. In 2013 from 1.3% in the country, the largest US natural gas producer, RF 2.4%, while China increased its production by 9.5%. India recorded a maximum decrease in the amount of resources (-12.2%) was recorded as the country. (Figures 14-15)

Figure 14. Some regions in Natural Gas Production and Consumption



(BP, Statistical Review of World Energy, 2014, s. 26)

Figure 15. Natural Gas Consumption in the Global Base-2013

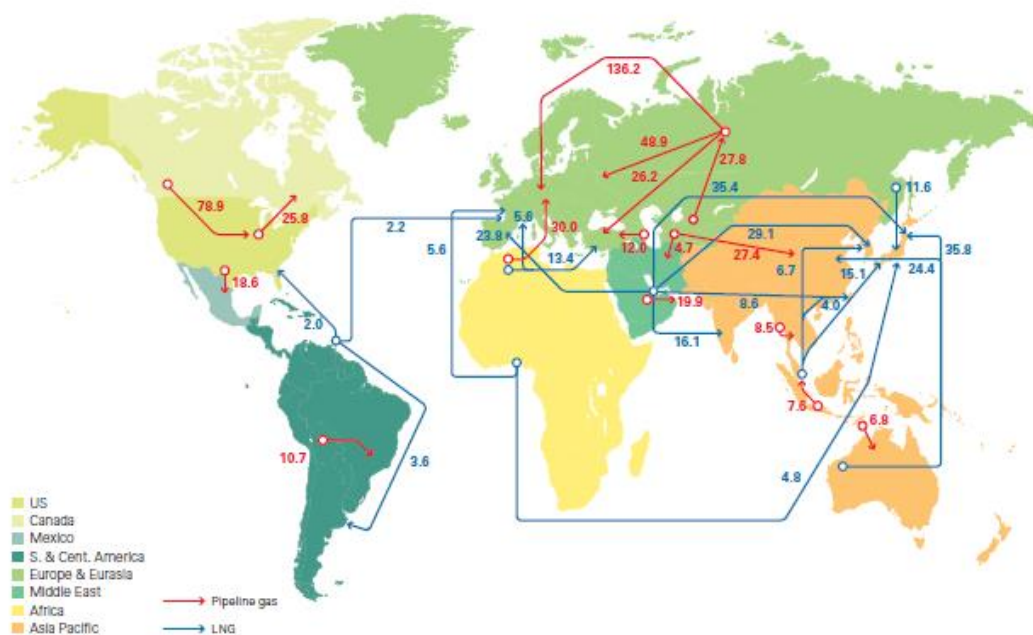


(BP, Statistical Review of World Energy, 2014, s. 26)

Nowadays pitted against the country with the world leadership in energy resources has a direct relationship. Exhausted hydrocarbon countries, including the

US and the EU to take measures against the reserves are developing new strategies to make significant investments in energy policy and diversification of regional resources. The international trade of natural gas pipeline in 2012 706 BCM, BCM took place in 1033, including a total of 328 bcm LNG. IEA's new policies scenario report published in 2013(IEA, World Energy Outlook 2013, 2013); showing an average annual growth of gas demand by 1.6% to 2035 to reach 5 TCM and non-OECD 85% of this increase is expected to originate from the demands of the country. In Asia Pacific, the share of gas in energy consumption of limited demand is expected to increase four-fold, especially due to the expected high demand in China. The emergence of new actors on the scene and in parallel with the increase in demand is expected to consist of new trade routes in parallel.

Şekil 16. 2013 Realized World Trade movement in general



(BP, Statistical Review of World Energy, 2014, s. 29)

3. 2. The EU and Turkey's Energy Needs and Addiction

Despite the fact that one of the areas where most of the energy consumption on the EU the world does not have enough possibilities in terms of energy resources. EU meets the imported half of the total energy consumption in the world's energy

consumption ranks second after the United States. (Biresselioglu, NATO'nun Değişen Enerji Güvenliği Algısı: Türkiye'nin Olası Konumu, 2012, s. 238). Discovered 750 million tons of oil reserves are located within the EU. However, only 9.9% of EU oil consumption can meet with their own resources (Sevim, C., 2010, s. 62-63).

European Commission Directorate General for Energy and Transport in the energy sector in the 2000-2030 period, the energy consumption of petroleum in the world, has an estimated natural gas and coal will continue to protect their interests. Because these estimates of energy related research activities are also conducted by many organizations overlapping projections. Whereas the EU is estimated to increase by 9.7% of the energy needs will emerge in 2020. This point is particularly important that the energy consumed is covered from which source. According to the calculations of the total energy consumption of natural gas by 2030 and will increase the share of renewable forms of energy, while solid fuels and nuclear energy has been proposed rate decreases (Enerji2023, 2008) (Table 1).

Table1. EU Import Dependency Ratio

	2000	2010	2020	2030
Solid Fuel	30.1	37.4	50.8	65.7
Liquid Fuel	76.5	81.4	86.1	88.5
Natural Gas	49.5	61.4	75.3	81.4
Total	47.1	53.3	62.1	67.5

(EC, 2013)

EU enlargement process in the dependence on foreign energy is increasing dramatically. Approximately 37% share of EU energy consumption and 56% in first place in oil transport, 23% industry, and 15% in the petrochemical, 6% are used in the production of electricity and heating. (Sevim, C., 2010, s. 62-63). Besides, except for the European production of natural gas by the year 2035 according to the IEA estimated the world will increase in all regions. Thus, long-term planning to achieve

the new resource reserves to meet the needs of the EU must implement. For example, the Eastern Mediterranean gas located between the new natural gas supply sources remains to be an important alternative source for the EU. Greek Energy Minister Giorgos Lakkotripis knows this fact, European countries have been found to be potential customers in the description of hydrocarbon deposits in Cyprus (KıbrısManşet, Rum Enerji Bakanı Yorgos Lakkotripis İle Söyleşi, 2014).

Especially in the EU countries Denmark, Germany, Italy, Britain, the Netherlands and Poland, including 2940 bcm of natural gas reserves it has been identified. In contrast, just over 500 bcm of natural gas consumption in the EU in 2008 has been realized. Section of approximately 10% of natural gas consumption in EU countries will be met by its own resources and to correct the ratio of 5.9% is predicted for 2030 (Tonus, 2004, s. 3-8; Sevim, C., 2010). The increasing dependence of the EU's natural gas, where high concentrations of gas reserves and RF having closed market to competition, Iran, creating the result is tied to countries such as Algeria. RF is particularly addictive in the first place. Because the EU, more than one-third of imported hydrocarbons is available from RF. EU next 20 years, increasing the dependence of the RF energy source is expected to reach to 70% (Figure 17). In particular, the EU is facing challenges on two natural gas. First, the continuous increase in dependency on natural gas from RF, and the second is the increased reliance on natural gas for the EU economy. Therefore, the RF power in the hands of its holdings in energy use as a foreign policy tool, the EU wants to reduce the asymmetric dependence on RF. RF, instead of the block to improve relations with EU member states prefer to develop bilateral energy relations (Şahin Y. , 2013, s. 9). For this reason in March 2006, published by the EU "*reliable, competitive and European Strategy for Uninterruptible Power entitled*" Green Paper on energy supply security is the primary objective as stated. Security of energy supply for the EU "*all the good of society and the best prices for all consumers in all energy products within the framework of sustainable development goals for a functioning market economy, providing continuous physical access*" is defined as. Parallel to this objective by applying the policy of multiple pipelines, the diversity of sources of energy imports are pursued. In addition, the EU wants to diversify suppliers in countries and international transit pipeline projects and is working to

develop alternative routes. In addition, the construction of LNG terminals and gas storage and LNG is increasing its gas purchase dwell on the alternatives.

Figure 17. Dependence of European Russia Natural Gas



(AlJazeera, AB Enerjide Yeni Kaynak Peşinde, 2014)

EU countries, energy supply security of their annual natural gas consumption in order to minimize the risk as much as 20% have gone some way to the store. For example, the US strategic oil reserves are stored under the name of its oil needs for about 90 days underground. A similar application is an effort on EU policies to be implemented (Enerji2023, 2008).

EU's security of energy supply best demonstrating the need to produce targeted policies and most obvious example is the maturing crisis that started in the 2013 final in Ukraine and the annexation of the Crimea in 2014 RF. Ukraine crisis turning into a kind of almost occurred between the US-EU and RF and power struggles turned into a cold war. US and EU sanctions in protest various policies implemented by RF to Crimea in Ukraine has implemented. However, RF sanctions but rather on the supply of energy in particular have been taking serious threat to the EU. Long-time employees to produce strategies for reducing energy dependence on RF was forced to confront the fact that he will be exposed to the real EU sanctions.

To discuss the emergency action plan and the date of the first Ukrainian crisis due to participation suspended the Russian Federation in a joint statement issued at the G-7 summit in Rome, RF energy due to the Ukrainian issue is given the message cannot be used as a political pressures. During the summit, Germany Economy - Energy Minister Sigmar Gabriel said, "*the world to us, I do not know anybody that he might end as soon as the gas dependence on Europe's RF*" statement in the direction of the summit cannot find a solution in the short term for the recovery of Europe's RF gas dependence It is revealing clear evidence. Also in Europe, in the implementation of the RF to tougher sanctions it is pull the closure of the gas valve. Summit host country at a press conference organized by Italy's Economic Development Minister, peak reduction based on the energy dependence of the topics discussed strategies and risks, the development of a transparent and competitive energy market, diversification of energy sources, development of technology for production technology and distribution, more powerful and integrated energy It has announced the creation of factors such as the requirements of the network (Posta, 2014).

The number of members apply the EU's diversification of sources of failure as a result of the expansion of the Union in the next 28 to reach the policy has led to a significant increase in terms of energy import dependence. Indeed, it is perceived as a serious security challenge in growing dependency Union (Ayhan, 2009, s. 155). This situation in terms of security of energy supply makes it mandatory for new initiatives and approaches to the EU (Hasanoğlu, 2014).

However, the EU Energy Commissioner Gunther Oettinger's press conference with the announced European Energy Security Strategy report, the crude oil of the union countries 90%, 66% natural gas, 42% nuclear fuel in the solid fuel has been shown to be dependent on foreign 40%. 6 members of the EU, especially in the energy supply is entirely dependent on gas imports in the RF safety are shown as an urgent problem (Sabah, AB'nin Enerjide Umudu Türkiye, 2014). Again, the EU carried out 39% of total gas imports from RF in 2013, which corresponds to 27% of its total consumption, 71% of the RF's natural gas export to Europe, was highlighted as the biggest market share. Also in the report, alongside the strengthening of relationships with existing supply countries of the EU's political objectives that reach out to new resources, "*the EU, the Mediterranean Sea with the aim of bringing a*

natural gas supply hub for southern Europe with North Africa and the eastern Mediterranean partners should enter into intense political and commercial dialogue" as it has been emphasized (EnergyWorld, Güney Koridoru En Önemli Alternatif, 2014; Sabah, AB'nin Enerjide Umudu Türkiye, 2014).

To come to the freezing of relations between the RF and the EU with the Ukraine crisis, the EU is in need of a reliable and sustainable energy supply "*Energy Union*" has been instrumental in the efforts to set up. In this context, the spring summit in Brussels has started to work on the establishment of the Energy Community (abhaber, Avrupalı liderler Enerji Birliği'nde anlaştı, 2015).

The steps taken so far in order to diversify the EU's energy supply cannot say it was successful. EU Russian gas to the Shah in the Caspian Sea is one of the ambitious projects aimed at reducing dependence on the sea area from the resulting gas for the transportation to Europe entered the Nabucco pipeline project impasse and was replaced by a more modest project Nabucco West. In contrast, the RF-2012 operations in addition to the Nord Stream pipe will pass through the Black Sea at the end of 2012 for the transportation of natural gas to South and Central Europe has ridden the button for the South Stream project (Şahin Y. , 2013, s. 10). However, the RF with RF in the EU in the period we are witnessing the opposite sanctions move the party to the conversion to the energy and the cold war pretty wild in Ukraine crisis has revealed the EU and the economic embargo in exchange for energy trump applied for the US itself. A portion of the first moves the supply of natural gas by \$ 400 billion deal with China shifted to areas outside the EU. South Stream will transport over 61 bcm in the continuation of the project was cancelled, and inflicted a loss of 2.5 billion euros in EU firms. In addition, sales of natural gas by 30 bcm want to lower the price of the planned 63 bcm Turkey Current line to establish a strong containment facilities will be found in front of the Iranian gas (Erdil, 2014) (Figure-18). Thus, this RF will continue to be the most economical source of RF for the EU to maintain its hegemony in the chess moves and addictive game will have been inconclusive attempts at reduction.

Figure 18. Instead of the planned South Stream Cancelled "Turk Movement" Natural Gas Pipeline Project



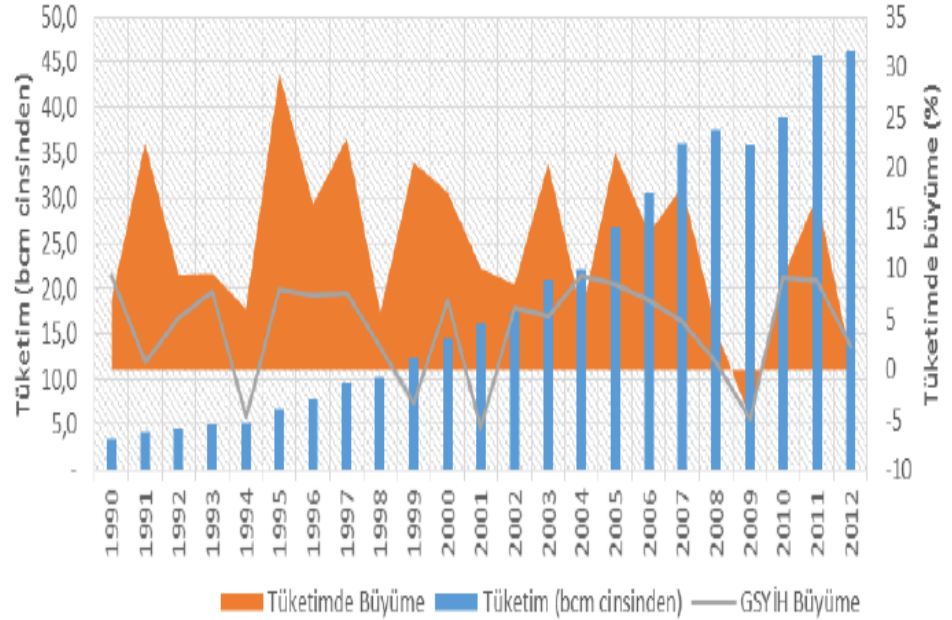
(Erdil, 2014)

In parallel with these developments, the EU's energy policy recently started implementing the reasons has increased the importance of the discovered hydrocarbon in the open with Cyprus, and Israel. This situation will change drastically with the EU policy of mutual RF. EU countries to reduce dependence on energy-intensive RF get a little bit, maybe in the long run will reduce it to a certain extent (Kantörün, 2010, s. 100). In addition, various political crises, the EU will be able to show the attitude required RF broke across the silence. However these resources in terms of current form, the EU's energy needs will only see the reinforcing function is also open (Örmeci, O., 2013, s. 379).

Turkey global energy level when considering all the surrounding regions but the world is located in the position of a transit country because of the deployment of more than 72% of the oil reserves around the security of supply is a serious problem for Turkey. The biggest reason is natural to show the direct and indirect use of the share increase from year to year. Turkey's energy consumption growth is greater than GDP growth (Taştan, 2013, s. 240) (Figure 19-20). In 2012, 119.2 million tons

Turkey's primary energy demand, which constitutes about 1% of world demand. Turkey's first with 31% of primary energy consumption of natural gas resources, in second place with 29% of oil is located. Turkey's oil consumption in 2013 averaged 600,000 barrels / day, while natural gas consumption average of 35 bcm / year, respectively. Turkey due to the limited hydrocarbon reserves of oil and 92%, while natural gas imports to 98%. Approximately 25% of total imports of the country is a share of our energy imports (EnergyWorld, TPAO Ses Getirecek Yatırımlar Gerçekleştirecek, 2014). Energy consumption in Turkey is increasing in line with the economy's growth rate and level of development. Due to expansion of the difference between domestic power generation is increasing gradually with an increase in consumption dependence on outside. 90% of primary energy demand in 2023, according to Energy Department estimates an increase is expected to reach 218 million tons (ATIG Araştırma Birimi, 2014).

Figure 19. Türkiye'nin Doğalgaz Tüketim Serisi ve Tüketimde Büyüme



(BP, BP Statistical Review of World Energy, 2013)

Figure20. Turkey's natural gas imports (1987-2013)

(milyon m³)

Yıl	Miktar		Yıl	Miktar	
	BOTAŞ'IN İTHALATI	TOPLAM İTHALAT		BOTAŞ'IN İTHALATI	TOPLAM İTHALAT
1987	433	433	2000	14.822	14.822
1988	1.136	1.136	2001	16.368	16.368
1989	2.986	2.986	2002	17.624	17.624
1990	3.246	3.246	2003	21.188	21.188
1991	4.031	4.031	2004	22.174	22.174
1992	4.430	4.430	2005	27.028	27.028
1993	4.952	4.952	2006	30.741	30.741
1994	5.375	5.375	2007	36.450	36.450
1995	6.858	6.858	2008	37.793	37.793
1996	8.040	8.040	2009	33.619	35.856
1997	9.874	9.874	2010	32.466	38.037
1998	10.233	10.233	2011	39.723	43.874
1999	12.358	12.358	2012	43.092	45.200
			2013*	38.424	45.100

* EPDK 2014 Tahmini 46.500

(Türkyılmaz, 2014)

Referring to Turkey's energy strategy; to go to the diversity of energy consumption, renewable energy to remove the foreground, efficient energy use, energy market competition and trying to ensure diversity in energy supply, the price centre also aims to become energy hub in the region. Energy Exchange, which is the most important step taken in this context (Taştan, 2013). Indeed, December 1, 2014, the RF President Vladimir are described Putin's be transported to Europe via Bulgaria after the official talks carried out in Turkey targeted South Stream Gas Pipeline instead be cancelled project of 63 bcm of gas a joint project to move through Turkey will be made. This is Turkey, "energy hub" and "price centre" is an improvement even closer to that goal. The resulting fall in prices, thanks to the opportunity to compete and will provide the terminal with the advantage of being the country will obtain gas at rates lower than the EU countries and also the security of supply shall be provided.

All of these developments as a reflection of Turkey, the RF and the Caspian region with the neighbouring there are no limits to the Middle East with large hydrocarbon resources, including Iran and Iraq, and particularly marking the most

appropriate route of transmission of the eastern Mediterranean hydrocarbons to Europe has an important position (Chow, 2009; Taştan, 2013, s. 3; Kantörün, 2010, s. 87). Pursuing the goal of becoming an energy terminal and price central Turkey, the transfer of resources from the eastern Mediterranean to Europe can strengthen its geostrategic position for the western world by providing over itself. It may also be resolved with positive motivation provided by the energy factor of the Cyprus problem (Özdağ, 2014).

The question here is the answer must be sought. Transferring from the Eastern Mediterranean to Turkey pipeline, which will connect to the probable hydrocarbon resources? The pipeline to the fore at this point; The Azerbaijan-Georgia-Turkey route Greece and TANAP continuing through Italy (Figure 21). June 26, 2012 the signing of the agreement entered into force on TANAP resources in the Shah Deniz in Azerbaijan basin has a European transport purposes by pipelines (Kısacık, 2013; Örmeci, O., 2013, s. 381). The Republic of Turkey on TANAP by Energy and Natural Resources Minister Taner Yıldız, Turkey's gas portfolio diversification and Turkey will make significant contributions to their national energy supply. 16 bcm of natural gas per year is planned to produce 6 bcm to Turkey as of 2018, it is expected to export to Europe one year after the 10 bcm. In this context, on March 16, 2014 in Kars, Turkey, Azerbaijan and Georgia, the ground-breaking ceremony of the 9.5 million dollar project was realized with the participation of presidents (Hürriyet, 2015).

Figure 21. Extending or Extension Planned Turkey International Oil and Gas Pipeline Project



(Türkiye Petrolleri, 2014, s. 41)

A large rapidly developing made through TANAP the transfer of resources in the eastern Mediterranean to Europe, Azerbaijan and Georgia, as two important countries in the Caucasus, Cyprus and allow the general to be involved new geopolitical and support in the eastern Mediterranean (Örmeci, O., 2013, s. 382). Likewise, instead of delivered to Turkey and Bulgaria in the process of negotiating with the received RF planned South Stream is brought to life in the case of the eastern Mediterranean hydrocarbons can be transported to Europe via this route. RFI will also have the right to speak in this way the geopolitical processes in the eastern Mediterranean.

3. 3. GCA Ecomonic Situation

GCA between the years 1978-1999 and a total of four financial cooperation protocol was signed between the European Union. These protocols are covered by the GCA is intended to provide a total of 210 million euros in EU aid. This aid of 152 million euros of loans; 51 million euros and 7 million euros of grants section is devoted to risk capital. After 2000, the "*Pre-accession Aid*", the 57 million euros of financial assistance in the period up to 2004 is planned to be provided. The European Investment Bank has been provided by the GASC in 2002-2006 is 950 million euros aid (European Investment Bank Group, 2006; Çapanoğlu,S.,G. ve Zeynep, Ö., 2013, s. 8).

GCA in 2004 after January 1, 2008 to become members of the EU has started to use the euro common currency. In this process, renewed its economy and financial assistance with a number of advantages brought by the EU, it has become an important trade centre in the Eastern Mediterranean in progress. However, particularly in Greece, the effects of the economic crisis in the EU since 2009 has spread to GCA (Çapanoğlu,S.,G. ve Zeynep, Ö., 2013).

Only integrated into the Greek economy with a closed economic structure GASC, July 1, 2012, the EU presidency is laid in front of the eyes of the financial crisis, the Union has had with the acquisition, following the December 5, 2012 in the official bankruptcy of the statement were among the countries that support mechanism by the EU. Greece has declared bankruptcy in the period that takes the

presidency of the GCA, particularly in Spain, many EU member states, including Portugal and Ireland have struggled with the economic crisis. Greece and the Greek Cypriot Administration economies because they are organically integrated with each other GCA has a direct impact on Greece's bankruptcy. The factors that triggered the bankruptcy deeply shaking the GCA economy has fallen into crisis comes at the beginning of uncontrolled growing banking sector. Another important reason is on July 11, 2012 Vassilikos Power Plant in heavy damage caused by the explosion. Problems are a result of the crisis in the banking sector experienced an explosion occurred not only on the economic life of society on the social and political climate also led to significant influence. Salaries covered by austerity policies, has been realized in increments lowered taxes. The rise in the unemployment rate to a 12% level of proof that the issue has been reached serious proportions. (Figure 22)

Figure22.Greek Cypriot Administration Unemployment Rate

İşsizlik Oranı	2010	2011	2012
Güney Kıbrıs Rum Kesimi	6,2	7,7	11,7
Fransa	9,7	9,6	10,1
Almanya	7,0	5,9	5,2
Yunanistan	12,4	17,3	23,8
İspanya	20,0	21,6	24,9
Türkiye	11,8	9,7	9,4

(Özçelik, 2013)

GCA increasingly maligned public financing in the last period. The ever-increasing public debt remained at levels well above the EU's Maastricht criteria limit, which is 60% (Çapanoğlu,S.,G. ve Zeynep, Ö., 2013). This situation was also taking into account the international rating agency Fitch lowered its credit rating by two levels to remain silent than to Cyprus's going bad. Weak macroeconomic outlook of the country as the reasons for the Fitch decision to remain in the country and well below the expected level of bank capital budget showed uncertainty in the cost of strengthening (Özçelik, 2013). (Figure 23)

Figure23. Cyprus Fitch Issuer Default Rating

Uzun Dönem Kredi Notu	BB ⁻	25.01.2013	Derece İndirildi
Kısa Dönem Kredi Notu	B	25.01.2013	Onaylandı
Yerel Para Biriminin Uzun Dönem Notu	BB ⁻	25.01.2013	Derece İndirildi
Ülke Kredi Limiti	AAA	25.01.2013	Onaylandı

(Özçelik, 2013, s. 5)

In June 2011, the European Commission regarding the Cyprus crisis lived in primarily employment-oriented macroeconomic imbalances and prepared a report consisting of a set of solutions. Conditional fails to solve problems highlighted in the report would be inevitable implementation of the financial assistance program. Indeed GCA referring to the EU support program to exit the current crisis on 25 June 2012 and agreed to open all financial institutions in the EU supervision. Thus, for the first time in the history of the EU support mechanism first took over the rotating presidency of the EU has been found in the control of state GCA (Çapanoğlu,S.,G. ve Zeynep, Ö., 2013). Economic crisis to stop purchasing new weapons and continue living GCA has requested 17.5 billion loan from the EU. It has announced the requirement for land combat money saving package that includes February 12, 2013 from a combined Eurozone Finance Ministers in Brussels on GCA bankrupt financial assistance of up to 10 billion euros (Ozcelik, 2013, p. 6). A total of 10 billion euros aid to be provided is equivalent to approximately 50% of GCA's national income. According to the envisaged agreement will reduce the Greek Cypriot Administration to clean up the banking system and applications has committed to implement. EU GCA to have been presented that this rescue package was offered the opportunity to opportunity to change the public and private sector business models, but not based on production, not only an economy which rely on tourism and the service is fragile and vulnerable to shocks (Çapanoğlu,S.,G. ve Zeynep, Ö., 2013).

That's why the most important one of the reasons GCA insisted on standing policy applications discovered energy reserves in the eastern Mediterranean is that economic instability. Thus, both the hydrocarbon reserves that can be used both as a source of energy can be considered as an economic resource. GCA's main energy

policy in respect of domestic shares is intended to more exports is very low. To put into action as soon as possible about the current financial situation of the GCA are forced to implement energy policy. But the fact that she could not lift the financial burden will bring energy exploration activities due to instability of GCA has entered into fundraising quest existing gas reserves as collateral. Indeed, recently made a big difference between natural gas explorations works identified with reserves estimated reserves in the region have shown that the results are available. Therefore, any company on which estimates of reserves well below does not want to enter due to the low profit margin under the burden of high costs. Today, the point of this stage is a glimmer of hope for GCA energy sources in the eastern Mediterranean is unlikely.

3. 4. Probable Scenarios for Cyprus and the Cyprus Strategic Stakeholders against New Developments

Today 30% of world trade is carried out over the Mediterranean. In about 70% of oil is transported through the Mediterranean needs of the European continent. Cyprus, in the midst of the commercial traffic; Africa, Asia and the line at the junction of Europe, strategically located at a point priceless (Dede, Rusya'nın Doğu Akdeniz Politikaları, 2012). For this reason the island has a centre at the intersection of the dominant global powers of Eurasia-Middle East policy on the Balkans and. The key to strategic expansion from Europe to Asia and Africa could be considered Cyprus, geopolitical, geo-strategic and geo-economic importance due to been seen as one of the leading players of the world political agenda (Canyaş, H., Kocakuşak, S., Canyaş, F.O., 2013, s. 114). Therefore, there are multiple stakeholders working to become effective on Cyprus in international politics (Yilmaz, 2009, p. 1). These global forces are trying to Cyprus mower different roles in the scenario they create in their own policies. This section of the local Cyprus will focus on regional and global strategic stakeholders with their new developments realized within the framework of the Cyprus-oriented attitude and rhetoric.

3. 4. 1. Recent Developments Strategic Stakeholder Approach opposite of Cyprus

Hence the popularity of Cyprus from the geo-strategic location and interesting history since ancient times has been one of the centres of the world (Öztürk, 2003, s. 120; Ergör, 2011, s. 153). RF around the island in particular, energy-hungry Middle East and North Africa, including the EU, USA and that is due to take place in the middle of a triangle formed by the main source of energy supplying the Far East (Özer, 2013, s. 69). Hydrocarbon reserves discovered in recent years that these qualities have thus further consolidated the island. Parties of this case, has brought a change in the structure of regional and global actors and policy thinking on the island (Özer, 2013, s. 78). Because Cyprus and taking decisions together GCA energy matters is the common act necessity of Turkey to be advantageous to transit countries provides the geographic location and with the mission of reducing energy dependence on RF of European countries, many countries have joined the energy equation in the Eastern Mediterranean (Table 2).

Table2.Cyprus'sStrategic Stakeholder

LOCAL STAKEHOLDERS	Turkish Cypriot, Greek Cypriot Administration
REGIONAL STAKEHOLDERS	Turkey, Greece, Israel
GLOBAL STAKEHOLDERS	EU, US, RF, Britain, China

Both discovered a new hydrocarbon reserves in the region, both in terms of the approach of all the stakeholders in the solution of the Cyprus problem, attitudes and discourse are important in terms of influencing the balance on the island. Besides, the Crimean issue of vital neediness to Cyprus and Israel hydrocarbon riches of Western civilization, heavy blows that are being hit the NATO-EU security cooperation of the Cyprus problem today, US, UK and is easy to understand the interest in the Cyprus problem they also encouragement of the UN secretary-general (Kanlı, 2014).

3. 4. 1.1. Local Stakeholders

Today, the island of Cyprus is still shared by the TRNC and Greek Cypriot Administration could qualify as local stakeholders. 36% of the total area of 9251 sq. km territory of the island of Cyprus, British bases, including 61% Greek region and consists of intermediate 3%. These stakeholders are very important in terms of influencing the political balance in the region compared to other attitudes and other stakeholders.

3. 4. 1.1. 1. TRNC

The island is the north the first time in 13 February 1975 the Turkish Cypriots is the Federated States (Atun, 1999, s. 113), in subsequent processes in order to force GASC to peace "self-determination" will be based on the right and was established in Cyprus in a way on 15 November 1983 to highlight the political equation. (Sönmezoğlu, 2006, s. 414). Although not recognized by any country except Turkey, is one of the main actors on the Cyprus issue. Various attempts unsuccessfully for problem solution have been realized so far. However hydrocarbons factors have occurred change in the balance with the emergence of increased hopes and expectations for a solution on the Turkish side in parallel. In this regard he stated that they thought would bring the natural gas deposits located around the Cyprus problem of the period to contribute to the solution President Dervis Eroglu of his explanation of hydrocarbons due to the struggle with the Greek economic problems to deal the Greek side, but against the party cannot exist sincere desire to be observed (StarYıldız, 2014). However, in interviews he stated that they agreed that the rights of Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus on natural gas will be released. Also not a war because of the desire hydrocarbons in Cyprus in the eastern Mediterranean has been noted that the establishment of friendship (StarKıbrıs, "İmza Atmaya Hazırım", 2014).

Another statement of the Turkish Cypriots in natural wealth around in the same way Cyprus also stressed that equal rights and stated that acceptance of it by Eroglu, what happened in the past will live again and will take into account what happened the last 40 years stated that they were in agreement quest. Eroglu also examples showing the contacts on the island of Cyprus to the outside world's

attention US Vice President Joe Biden that increases every day; especially natural gas and oil in the Mediterranean, has announced that it no longer attracts everyone's attention to the situation (KıbrısGazetesi, Her iki halk da huzur içinde yaşayabilmeli, 2014).

Expressing his views on the contribution to the solution of problems of the discovery of hydrocarbons second TRNC President Mehmet Ali Talat, can lead to problems if the hydrocarbons, he could put forward as a solution. That of European gas needs, has said that the US interest in the region in terms of peace. He also stated that the Greek Cypriot side as the owner of resources can lead to tension, this approach only if you see them. Talat, in this context, acting discreet, with solutions that emphasized the importance of the economic value of water can be taken (KıbrısPostası, Talat: "Eroğlu çözümü sağlarsa aday olmam, desteklerim", 2014).

Talat has announced that South Cyprus in Paphos on the island at a conference given by the probability is high that the solution can be reached and results to believe. Every economic collapse is happening on both sides to profit from natural gas, which will be able to eliminate underlined the most rational way to solve the Cyprus problem (StarKıbrıs, Halk Çözümünden Yana, 2014).

On April 22, 2014 to evaluate the approach of the Greek side, Talat on a solution to a publication; *"Recently, the new dynamics also appeared. Greek economy collapsed, suffered a serious crash. He was found, as well as natural gas. Both the solution of the Cyprus problem in order to assess the natural gas well located to end up collapsing the economy has become a necessity. For the first time the Greek Cypriots began to look around warmer"* was found in the discourse form (StarKıbrıs, 'Rumlar Çözüme Sıcak Bakmaya Başladı', 2014).

Solution conditions and hydrocarbon resources Talat made a statement to Aljazeera about suitable transport options for, mentioned that it was conjuncture suitable for solution *"in Cyprus for many years continued deadlock change the direction of natural gas with the deposits in the eastern Mediterranean that"* he stated. Indicating that the economic crisis an opportunity for GCA field of Aphrodite, Talat is the biggest obstacle in front of them stated that it will be moved from the natural gas. Talat underlined at this point that broke the cheapest and shortest way was expressed that Turkey and does not occur, the competitiveness of the pipeline

will be laid for the desired gas to move to Europe and very little could be shipped out of gas. In contrast, he stressed that delivery of the rights of Turkish Cypriots in Turkey and the TRNC requirement. As well as the case of the selection of Greece from different route alternatives have said would be the cost of the distance to be built because it is remote, if elected in Lebanon and Syria, as an alternative route has drawn attention to narrowing of the preferred market. Options for the liquefaction of natural gas, indicating that sufficient infrastructure Talat has long-term, but the end of the economic crisis experienced by the Greek side, and emphasized that this is an option that can be used in case of the development of the technology (Tuncer G. , 2014).

TRNC Foreign Minister Ozdil Nami also in the transportation of natural gas supply, gas would be in everyone's interest to be taken to the EU through pipelines via Turkey and the people on both sides have said they need to focus on solutions if they want to benefit from it (StarKıbrıs, "Her Şeyi Müzakere Etmek İstiyor", 2014).

Prime Minister Ozkan Yorgancıoğlu also said about the transportation of gas to Europe, has stated that it belongs to all the people of the island of natural gas in Cyprus. Cyprus as well as in the eastern Mediterranean, Israel, Lebanon and reminded that natural resources found in Yorgancıoğlu Egypt, they are safe to Europe, to move in a continuous and cheap way has said it must pass through Cyprus and Turkey. Yorgancıoğlu, said gas will contribute to resolving the dispute between the parties on the island, *"the Turkish Cypriots and the problems between the Greeks, dissolving through the natural gas owned by both the public, the maximum degree of behalf of improving the quality of life and unsustainable current energy situation is maintained, we think it is important in order to attain the structure. It's not only the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriots, between Israel and Turkey, Lebanon and Israel will help the development of relations between Egypt, dependent on Russian gas for Europe we think it would be an alternative"* was found in the review (StarKıbrıs, Yorgancıoğlu: Doğalgaz Tüm Ada Halkına Ait, 2014).

Eroglu found in warning about the start of a rapprochement and cooperation activities between Israel and GCA as a result of ongoing tensions between the parties in the Mediterranean policies; *"The military exercises that began to emerge, considering the fact that they began to let down the Israeli air base in Paphos in*

Cyprus as we enter into some concerns. This will be the Greek Cypriot side to pamper natural gas, in collaboration with Israel, if they intend to enter into some different movements, the Mediterranean is not only theirs. But we want to warm of waters in the eastern Mediterranean. We want everything is resolved in peace. I think it will be as fanatical as the Greeks on natural gas to Israel. Because natural gas to Israel via Turkey in some circles, we see that the judges thought that they should send to the European market. I believe that the Greeks probably not as well as some of the excess demand" in the description. Besides Eroglu, TRNC from Turkey to 75 mcm capacity will contribute to a comprehensive settlement of the water "*laying the second pipeline for natural gas pipe laying is easy after this*" drew attention to the words (KıbrısPostası, Eroğlu: "Erdoğan'ın iki kurucu devlet vurgusu bizi rahatlattı", 2014).

For the first time in November 2014 and went to a Turkish Cypriot Foreign Minister Tel-Aviv. TRNC Foreign Minister Ozdil Nami, "*2014 Israel Energy and Commerce Meeting*" coordination of all actors in the opening speech at the particular in the region to arrive in the region to peace and stability on the climb to the tension in the Eastern Mediterranean reported that the need for effort. The solutions in this regard the Minister has been creating interdependence through trade agreements and energy transportation networks¹⁹.

On the island of Cyprus Deputy Prime Minister Serdar Denktas said that the gas issue for the final solution should be used with caution. East Denktash, indicating the natural wealth of the Mediterranean cannot be considered commercial because of the political problems, very large numbers of reserves for Aphrodite located in world markets is a valuable, if not stated on behalf of the region and Europe. GASC did research by the EEZ agreement European transmission of natural gas to be extracted from the area that you need to go through the approval of all littoral countries Denktas stated that natural gas in Cyprus or even require Turkey's approval to

¹⁹ TRNC Ministry of Foreign Affairs Official Web Page, "Nami Ministers' Meeting in 2014 gave a speech in the Israeli Energy and Commerce.", 03.11.2014, <http://mfa.gov.ct.tr/tr/bakani-nami-2014-israil-energy-and-business-meeting-n-talk-made-in-2/>, Accessed:20/02/2015

transfer the West without Turkey (AlJazeera, Doğalgaz siyasi çözümü bekliyor, 2014).

TRNC Foreign Minister Ozdil Nami, the contacts he made in the US that lasted 50 years and has announced the Cyprus problem is no more of a size that will be negotiated for years. In the case of hydrocarbon research carried out separately by both sides on the island, but the agreement stated that the two communities could continue seamlessly as legal and political. In addition, the revenue to be derived from all types of hydrocarbon products is the agreement which stated that she must belong to the federal government (AlJazeera, Nami: Önemli bir fırsat penceresi önümüzde, 2014).

Britain's first ambassador to the ethnic immigrant Turkish Cypriot Mehmet Alper in his assessments about the progress of the problem, *"the discovery of hydrocarbon accumulation around Cyprus has changed everything. GCA and Israel, Cyprus and Turkey and the agreement with touches of this wealth without sharing this wealth certainly in the Mediterranean"* was found in the form of a statement (KıbrısGazetesi, İki taraf da tazminat ödemeli, 2014).

Hydrocarbon riches have attracted attention Greeks alone they cannot. He also noted that the United States recently to overlap with Özersay executing policies for their interests closely with the Cyprus negotiation process is important that the interests of the Turkish Cypriots and the island's future care (StarKıbrıs, "Yol Haritasına İhtiyacımız Var", 2014). Özersay for the negotiation process, *"which will motivate the Greek Cypriot side to the comprehensive settlement, the means to capitalize on the use of natural wealth, to connect to a comprehensive solution is necessary. If it does not expect the solution, then it must be conditional on the consent of the Turkish Cypriots. When the facts about natural gas settled, irreversible recognition, just as the EU and the situation will arise"* stated the opinion (KıbrısGazetesi, Yol haritası taraflara esneklik getirecek, 2014). TRNC Presidency made by prior resolution in March 21, 2013 dated statement of having to save money on the natural resources of the island is the only way, as proposed in the

TRNC in 2011 and 2012, the UN Secretary General has announced to make a deal and Turkish Cypriots consent under supervision can be realized by taking open²⁰.

The crisis in Ukraine in terms of the TRNC is thought to be effective on the solution of the Cyprus problem. In an interview with the Washington Representative of Cyprus he had given Ahmet Erdengiz has announced that the Ukrainian crisis reinforces the need for a solution in Cyprus as justification shows the need for Europe to the Eastern Mediterranean natural gas and alternative energy fields. Therefore, for the first time as well as problems with the internal dynamics underlined that including the external dynamics (Erdengiz, 2014).

GASC on unilateral conduct natural gas exploration and drilling activities in the natural gas exploration off Cyprus agreement was made between the TRNC and Turkey. Posted by virtue of Navtex accompanied by Turkish warships open to Cyprus from Barbarous Hayrettin seismic research vessel GCA has abandoned the negotiating table as a pretext for action here. Talks are appointed rather than acting as a negotiator Kudret Ozersay negotiator of the Turkish side of Cyprus Mustafa Ergun Olgun GCA negotiations have made statements about the suspension. Cases of GCA's objective *"to bring to the point that they want their Cyprus The insulation of the Turkish side continued to maintain their status and allegedly seized unjustly sustain the claim that Cyprus is the only owner"* has announced that it is. In mature natural resources criticized the attitude of the GCA, *"the Greek Cypriot side does not manage the discovery of hydrocarbons true. The discovery of natural resources on the island, if managed correctly a serious plus, a very serious gain, would be a boon. But if mismanaged will is a curse. We do not want this to be a curse. The respect for the rights of stakeholders among the reasons to be hell, 'always has me always told me be called",*he said(Demirci, 2014).With GCA field of water coming from Turkey cooperation can express Mature done, *"we are in this area have also obviously hydrocarbons in an effort to expand it. Hydrocarbons issue is part of the negotiations. To use the catalytic power of the hydrocarbons, which are committed to*

²⁰ Ministry of Foreign Affairs "No. 83, March 23, 2013, GASC East Hydrocarbon Resources in the Mediterranean on the Claims Press Release." Description,http://www.mfa.gov.tr/no_-83_-23-mart-2013_-gkry_nin-dogu-akdenizdeki-hidrokarbon-kaynaklari-uzerindeki-iddialari-hk_.tr.mfa, (Accessed: 07/14/2014)

be a part of the negotiation process", he said. Indicating that a solution to the achievement of economically to both sides positively reflected in mature businesses for the GCA to open the Turkey market, restrictions are to be lifted on the TRNC, has told hydrocarbon resources can be marketed in the most profitable way (İhlasHaberAjansı, Kıbrıs müzakerelerinde bazı konularda sona gelindi , 2014).

President Dervis Eroglu of the period, on January 14, 2015 from TRNC to hold official talks Turkey Foreign Minister Mevlut Cavusoglu in his press conference by making statement Cyprus has said that the Turkish side desperate and alternatives. In addition, Turkish Cypriot sovereignty, economic interests and equal status of the initiative of the Greek Cypriot side, pointing out that mercy or defence be left to the approval, *"We are peaceful in Cyprus, conciliatory, we follow a policy in favour of a comprehensive solution. There is no one's rights and interests in our eyes. But also committed to defending our own rights and interests"*has exerted (StarKıbrıs, Çavuşoğlu: “Her zaman KKTC’nin yanındayız”, 2015).

President Dervis Eroglu of the period, with residents in the village visit was carried out on March 18, 2015 have made statements about the negotiations met. Nikos Anastasiadis’ board had expressed its coming back as he left and within 2 years, emphasizing that it cannot continue as the open end of the negotiations at this time and has claimed that connects to a conclusion of the Cyprus problem within the framework of a time limit (İhlasHaberAjansı, KKTC Cumhurbaşkanı Eroğlu: ‘Anastasiadis masayı terk ettiği gibi geri gelecek’, 2015).

3. 5. 1.1. 2. GCASC

For the solution of the Cyprus problem in 2004, a referendum on the Annan Plan, the federal solution "no" is not approved by the GCA. But along with the resulting energy geopolitics realized hydrocarbon discovery has created significant change in approach to the issue.

The most important benefits it will bring a solution, including the energy factor for economic development and the development of GCA. The most important factor to ensure the development of the economy is the normalization of relations with Turkey. Turkey's economy to the global crisis has limited impact on the stability

and vitality continues for a long time. In addition to this, Turkey's foreign trade volume is well past the level before the crisis quickly recovered after the crisis. The absence of direct economic and commercial relations with Turkey in this context GCA is seen as a significant loss for this country. In case of settlement of the Cyprus problem, Turkey port using the GCA will be able to trade, investment will be realized as well from Turkey and foreign aid reception. Water trucking project, a recently from Turkey to the TRNC will come to life in the island's south that extended to meet the water needs that GCA may also be provided to benefit. Solutions will be able to also become an important energy link between Cyprus and Israel be obtained from the waters with less cost by allowing natural gas to be transported to international markets Cyprus, the West and the East in a short time. All of these potential benefits to the solution of the political environment in recent years GCA has been suggested that contribute to a warmer look (Şenay ve Ekinçi, 2014).

The availability of the axis for the solution of the Cyprus problem discovered natural gas resources around Cyprus and the Greek Cypriot Administration, there are different attitudes in different discourses. However, GCA, it is not possible to carry natural gas in the world economically without the contribution of Turkey. GCA gases is to use the most appropriate option for the pipeline from Turkey to move economically. Greek Cypriot leader Christofias about the issue because of marketing problems faced by many times "*the island will be transferred to Turkey if the gas peace*" was found in the description. In this case the gas to move to Turkey, here in the Nabucco, Turkey-Greece-Italy natural gas pipeline, connecting the Trans-Adriatic Pipeline, or TANAP project is emerging as the most appropriate option. In contrast, stable gas sold as LNG does not seem to be possible. Because in addition to the \$ 10 billion investment cost of production it stands out against the \$ 6 billion cost of the LNG plant. Another option is the choice pipelines to reach the Mediterranean from Cyprus are also considered impossible by experts. Because this line can be exceeded \$ 30 billion cost of receiving construction permits, especially in the context of Turkey's Ministry of Education it does not seem possible (Euractiv, 2011). GCA despite extreme nationalist groups began to look through the geopolitical emerging energy solutions to more moderate.

December 7, 2012 from Vassilikos power station on 11 July 2012 has deeply affected the economy and the explosion occurred GASC has gained huge profits to be gained from energy crisis to terminate the importance behalf. British the Guardian newspaper, speaking Anastasiadis, mentioned that the financial crisis continued cooperation with Turkey in the GCA and emphasized the contribution that found rapid growth. In the article, the major oil companies to invest are taken care of as soon as you want to solve the Cyprus problem (Ntvmsnbc, "Petrol Kıbrıs'ta çözüm dayatıyor", 2014).

In England's capital London, "London School of Economics (LSE)" 27 January 2012 the Greek Cypriot Administration Foreign Minister Erato Kozakou period a speech Marcoullis, the presence rich hydrocarbon deposits in the Mediterranean, noting that a historic development for Cyprus, "*the game to change the rule*" he argued. Marcoullis, in the future, after the island's reunification stating that they hoped to be in a relationship with Turkey, all citizens of Cyprus to the said gas supply affecting positively the island's reunification, and one has said that predispose to live in co-operation. In addition, due to the increased interest in Natural Resources Island of international energy companies; In the energy security of the EU on this point it is dependent on foreign energy, as well as positive effects of the creation, neighbouring countries and noted that mean new business opportunities for the EU (Euractiv, 2011).

On the other hand Anastasiadis, in August 2014 on natural gas, "*Energy resource conflicts cannot, should not. Energy, should be an opportunity for peace and prosperity of our country to all legal residents. Those who want to evaluate the hydrocarbon region and there is a way for those who need it: the peace and stability in the region can be achieved with the solution of the Cyprus problem and that they themselves decide whether to be profitable*" has explained (GündemKıbrıs, Anastasiadis Türkiye'den yeni bir yaklaşım ve rota değişikliği bekliyor, 2014).

Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs Cyprus Problem, Energy and announced Marine Policy and is also engaged Ambassador Tasos Conis General Manager Acting responsible for political planning cannot be discussed with the presence of natural gas in the eastern Mediterranean and conditions in its assessment of the requirements of the so has changed the approach to the solution content of the

Cyprus problem a decade. Also, if it continues the policy pursued so far in the Cyprus problem has stated that he believes will continue to drift to the swamp and predicament of the Cyprus problem. Conis be transported via Turkey through the pipeline gas is in the interest of the GCA of the subject and, in particular companies, and natural gas from the Eastern Mediterranean to meet the needs of Turkey stated that both were interested in moving to Turkey by pipeline to export to EU countries (StarKıbrıs, “Askersizleştirilmiş Devlet, Devlet Değildir”, 2014).

Anastasiadis, Agence France Presse (AFP) 'to make a statement on the result of an agreement with other countries of the discovered natural gas in the region to be reached in Cyprus stated that Turkey could help to ensure continuous. In addition, a direct pipeline to Turkey to build the Anastasiadis said that there is a much cheaper alternative would be an economic boon for the island have expressed their potential gas wealth in Cyprus (AFP, 2014).

The newspaper Kathimerini, President of GCA participated in an interview with an emphasis on the importance of solving Nikos Anastasiadis, "*Hydrocarbons are the determining factor*" by highlighting both the solution of the Cyprus problem, Turkey both Israel and stated that opens wide horizons for Cyprus. In remarks to be established in Cyprus with a planned natural gas liquefaction terminal, Israel, Lebanon, the closer cooperation with Egypt will take place, Turkey is also noted that given the possibility of significant regulation of energy purchasing and energy issues over Cyprus. Anastasiadis Ankara also connect with a pipeline of natural gas to Europe via Turkey has given the opinion that will make super-regulator (StarKıbrıs, “MEB’imiz İhlal Edilirse Müzakerelerden Çekiliriz”, 2014).

Anastasiadis told the Turkish media again to Hurriyet newspaper, the Cyprus problem remains suspended supplying gas to Turkey claimed could occur. In his statement, "*If reserves are located, if they are also confirmed, it will give the market decide how to evaluate the most suitable way. Turkey is a big market for energy needs. You do not have a problem to supply natural gas to Turkey however, you know it cannot be realized without resolving the Cyprus issue*" stated as opinion (Kırbaki, 2014). However, Anastasiadis' ignored that point on Turkey's implementation and planned energy projects due to various energy supplies is no dependence on the eastern Mediterranean hydrocarbons. Turkey has reached an

agreement with the RF "Turkey Current Project", with the goal of becoming energy hub in the region are clear examples for Turkey.

GCA will be carried out in a solution through income derived from hydrocarbons, it is pursuing the idea of giving share to the Turkish Cypriots in the framework of the federal structure. Anastasiadis who spoke to CNN about this subject, take advantage of the wealth from natural gas deposits in the statement of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots together also expressed the belief it will help the reunification of Cyprus hydrocarbons. As for the Turkish Cypriots Anastasiadis, "Come, let's find the solution agreed upon on a floor, and then you get the corresponding share" was the phrase used (KıbrısGazetesi, Doğalgaz Kıbrıs'ı yeniden birleştirecek, 2014).

Government policy, indicating that natural gas is the main export terminal in Vassilikos establishing the method to be Kasulidis *"But Aphrodite terminal will not be sustainable due to lower than expected amount in field. Companies, if the amount of gas can be added to those of Cyprus sustainable decision by Israel of part of the bed in order to see the data, then the terminal construction can begin immediately. Floating terminal or should be alternative options, such as Egypt. In case of settlement of the Cyprus problem remains the existence of cooperation perspective on the pipeline to Turkey, but does not eliminate the terminal project"* made in the form of explanations. Greek criticizing the cutting of energy policy in South Cyprus Hydrocarbon Company President Charles Ellinas natural gas for export via Turkey, the people of the East Mediterranean gas using a striking statement about the export noted that the only solution would be to begin to believe and stated that urgent natural gas liquefaction must start the terminal building (İhlasSonDakika, 2013).

EIC Greek Hydrocarbons Company, the expected natural gas liquefaction terminal to be built in Vassilikos, reported that the strategic objectives for the Greek side. Because gas deposits, but not enough for the desired liquefaction plant to be built in Vassilikos is a need for new discoveries to production together. Therefore, the *"Aphrodite"*, known as the 12th state due to need more than that revealed by the new natural gas deposits in the parcel will decide on the construction of the target terminal. On the other hand, the liquefaction terminals related to the slanted floating natural gas liquefaction plant or reserves between the alternative scenarios are to be

transferred to Egypt (KıbrısManşet, Rum Hidrokarbon Şirketi EİK'in Açıklamaları, 2014).

Greek Energy Minister Giorgos Lakkotripis of at a natural gas in Vassilikos press conference in liquefaction black terminal to be built, located in the centre of the government in terms of the operation of the natural gas policy but that it was also said that should not have alternative plans. In addition, natural gas more sustainable in terms of international presence and it was noted that they plan for the terminal must be competitive the base (KıbrısManşet, Lakkotripis: "Avrupa Ülkeleri Hidrokarbon Yataklarının Potansiyel Müşterisi", 2014).

Anastasiadis, stating that the solution to the biggest causes of energy said about playing the lead role of the United States may be created by the presence of hydrocarbons in the eastern Mediterranean was mentioned relatively rid of monopolies and dynamism of the current political dependence (StarKıbrıs, "MEB'imiz İhlal Edilirse Müzakerelerden Çekiliriz", 2014). ANT 1 is the first publication of *"conjecture is essential because our interests overlap with the interests of our assessment of the Americans. Without peace in neither Cyprus to serve the interests of the region nor America"* has explained (KıbrısPostası, Biden - Eroğlu ve Anastasiadis yemekte biraraya gelecek, 2014).

Washington's geopolitical control of the Greek press stated that work on various scenarios for the noted that the main reason as to reduce Europe's energy dependence on RF. The resulting crisis alarmed the American diplomacy in Ukraine, emphasized that the Tamar and Leviathan field in the search for alternatives to give priority to the eastern Mediterranean where. Biden's visit to Cyprus of the delegation there are more people interested in energy issues, noted that the main objective of the relevant confirmed that hydrocarbons with Biden's visit to the island. In contacts with Americans pipeline through Turkey that Cyprus take on board the scenario of natural gas transported to Europe but did mention that it's not the only scenario. Biden's visit is not the only addition of the Cyprus problem on the island, all developments in Turkey-Cyprus-Israel-based sub-system consists of a geographic triangle in the Eastern Mediterranean has claimed that puts the road (KıbrısManşet, "Biden'in Ana Hedefi Hidrokarbonlar", 2014).

Similarly, speaking to NTV Anastasiadis, to build on the win-win equation solution has stated that the interest of all parties to the referring solution needed. After the solution has been noted in a statement that he believes will become an energy centre of Cyprus. In Cyprus and in the region, natural gas and oil resources on a lot of predictions have pointed out that no, it was noted that significant political and economic benefits to Turkey. Greek Cypriot leader, a solution will be found in Cyprus, Israel, Cyprus, a new understanding between Turkey and Greece has highlighted the collaborative environment will be provided. In Anastasiadis said, *"I will win the two sides, in diplomacy" win-win "I want a solution called. I would be the winner or a loser who is not a solution, it can handle, and I want to live a permanent solution. This solution will be the product of a compromise. The two sides should be really willing to reach a solution ... If we reach a lasting and viable solution, which will benefit Turkey and Greece. The constituent states will benefit. Turkey's economy will also provide that income. It will cease to finance the government in the North, to withdraw troops from the island and will provide significant savings in this way. In addition, a united Cyprus will defend Turkey's EU process. Unlikely not against Turkey's EU membership of Turkey in the EU would like to be our partner"* he has made the statement. On the other hand Anastasiadis, including the USA because it is located in the heart of Cyprus's energy underlining that gained the attention of all actors *"in the increased international interest in Cyprus, the importance of the Eastern Mediterranean in the estimated amount of hydrocarbons in the Levant the basin occurs on quite a few are large. As well as Ukraine crisis, developments in neighbouring Iraq and other crises in the region has increased the interest in the Cyprus problem. Alternative routes on Europe's energy security and energy transport was also effective. It seems that they drew the most interest in the United States. US Vice President Joe Biden, a candidate for his visit to Cyprus "our strategic partner" he said. Energy insecurity that prevails will be an element of peace in this region"* reported the opinion said (KıbrısGazetesi, Erken çözüm mümkün, 2014).

The inclusion of a strategic partner in the geopolitical balance of power equation in the region to press their relations with Greece and Kasulidis evaluating RF, Cyprus has not changed its relations with the RF "Nothing disturbed by RF. We

are of our foreign policy in the field of RF that respects our right to practice in the EU. "Revealed the promise. Indeed, GCA has been proved that the Andreas Papandreou military base, taking the decision to open the RF as England, (Bilge, İngiltere uyardı, Rum lider tehdit etti, 2015) including the bond strong enough to take the risk of conflict of interest with the EU in Paphos ongoing crisis between the RF and the EU. As for Greece, where there are historical ties, which Venizelos Kasulidis closely all developments in Greece and said that it was always assured alongside the GCA (KıbrısPostası, Kasulidis: "Türk tarafı bizi küçük düşürmek istedi", 2014; KıbrısGazetesi, ABD'nin Maraş Çabası Sürecektir, 2014).

GCA natural gas benefited from the implementation of the plan is experiencing delays. It also failed to develop policies and strategies on the use of energy resources in the region yet. Greek public opinion cannot be settled in a kind of reserve diligence has led to the thought that now thick and response. AKEL Examples of Response and Energy Policy Office of the President Lambros Lambrou, Noble, Delek and Avner of the Israeli natural gas in Egypt, pointing to the agreements made to liquefy natural gas to Europe and for the transportation to the world markets in danger of missing the opportunity to GCA a regional energy hub It has warned that exposed (KıbrısManşet, Akel'den "Bölgesel Enerji Merkezi Haline Gelme Fırsatını Kaçırma" Uyarısı, 2014).

GCA because energy production and strategy of many organizations and companies have been answered implicitly by the Greek Energy Minister Giorgos Lakkotripis way to raise some of the crack sound. Lakkotripis, *"At the moment we are carrying out more than ten simultaneous procedures. We are trying to step up its exploratory drilling but no shortcut. We do need to do. Currently ahead of us, as a matter of finding more natural gas reserves. There is nothing that can be done while yet. So that we can have a comprehensive indicator, at least in the eastern parcel that is running the Italian ENI company we have to wait about 12-18 months, but we are confident that we will get some of the first indicators until the end"* was found in the form of a statement. But it was announced that the first drilling point of 22 December 2014 Onasagoras field dry out. On the other hand, former President of Greek Hydrocarbons Company KRETİK Haralambos Ellinas was found in the assessment to be closer to install FLNG facility. Whether the problem is being

observed in the natural gas of a technical nature emphasis Ellinas, GASC, the current data will be ready to export to 2024, so that only exports lose the Far East market has been warned of that had to be satisfied with the EU. KRETİK former Vice President, Solo Kasinis, said in a statement, *"Our minds confused, do not know what we want to do about natural gas"* was the phrase used(KıbrısManşet, Güney Kıbrıs'ın Doğalgaz Projeleri, Lakkotripis: "Kestirme Yol Yok", 2014).

GCA also slanted in perspective with reference to the above description perform the export of natural gas to Egypt is working on three options. In this context, according to media reports in the GCA 12 parcels of Aphrodite, it stated that focuses on natural gas exports to Egypt or other countries via Egypt. According to the report in case of cooperation with Egypt in this direction will be the three options for gas exports to Egypt GASC. The first of these, *"Egypt's state natural gas company and gas sale to be distributed to the local market with a great need"* will be. The second option, *"the natural gas, natural gas liquefaction terminal in Damietta in Egypt and the sale of two companies operating in the maritime governing İdku"* is. The third option is the *"natural gas, with a right to benefit from GCA and Aphrodite parcel under the responsibility of the companies, one or transporting the two gas companies in Egypt, to be met by GCA liquefaction costs and liquefied fuel, which previously Greek Cypriot Administration and has signed a contract with Noble-Delek companies / sold to the country"* will be(KıbrısManşet, Rum Yönetimi Mısır'a Doğalgaz İhracı İçin 3 Seçenek Üzerinde Çalışıyor, 2014; GündemKıbrıs, Rumlar, Mısır'a doğalgaz ihracının yollarını arıyor, 2014).

Cyprus problem has been progress towards the resolution as requested and initiated the process encountered some difficulties. UN Secretary General Ban-Ki Moon's emphasized the importance of taking the guarantee of all kinds of reports concerning the extension of the Peace Corps UNFCIYP's mandate in Cyprus, in the region in the draft of the natural wealth of both communities also benefit. In response to the statement made by the Greek press, the Turkish Cypriots as long as the so-called occupied Cyprus have allegedly not be able to benefit from the natural resources and it was suggested that the recommendation should be addressed to Turkey in this respect(KıbrısGazetesi, Bizi ilgilendiren çözüme varmadır, 2014).So on behalf of the Cyprus problem is getting more complicated by the GCA gas / oil

exploration on land taken starting to sea, it has tried to gain time on the crisis escalation was applied policies and negotiations. GCA, remove energy reserves owned by the island without solving the Cyprus issue and to gain postponement to obtain the rights of the TRNC attempt to give later. Turkey, against the south of the island, declared that 9 GCA conducted drilling operations on the land, in accordance with agreements made with the Turkish Cypriot NAVTEX broadcasts by Barbarous Hayrettin Pasha drilling vessels and warships were sent to the region of 2 who accompany him. Greeks have turned to negative propaganda about the situation in Turkey. For example GCA Greeks on natural gas occurred in the so-called Ministry of Education calls crisis and its effect on negotiations Presidential Palace Diplomatic Bureau Chief of Nikos Hristodulidis by Anastasiadis case of maintaining the threat of Turkey's GASC so-called EEZ has announced he will have the right to interrupt the negotiations (KıbrısGazetesi, Anastasiadis müzakerelerden çekilir!, 2014). Similarly, the President gives interview to the newspaper Kathimerini Greek Cypriot Administration Nikos Anastasiadis, GASC has criticized the Ministry unilaterally declared that circulate in the region of Turkish vessels in the eastern Mediterranean Sea. He claimed it was emphasized that the damage supposedly done to violations being created to make the confidence by Turkey and has threatened to withdraw from talks if the continuation of the infringement (StarKıbrıs, "MEB'imiz İhlal Edilirse Müzakerelerden Çekiliriz", 2014). As a result, Turkey and the propaganda carried out by GCA has accused interfere with natural gas drilling in the Mediterranean, the negotiation of sovereignty carried out in the UN for the resolution of the Cyprus issue and the United Nations was ending, arguing that the violation of international conventions on maritime law (AnadoluAjansı, Güney Kıbrıs Rum Yönetimi müzakere sürecinden çekildi, 2014).

Simerini newspaper, "LS Prime Market Research and Consulting Ltd." has published the results of a survey conducted between 10-14 October across Cyprus by the named company. Accordingly, 80% of the Greek people, Anastasiadis' negotiations with the anti-compromise, giving full support to the decision to suspend attitude demonstrated. In fact, participants combine the opinion that the negotiations they find sufficient for the suspension and other measures need to be said, "Do you think we should take additional measures to paid political cost to the Turkish side?"

86 percent of respondents to the question "yes" gave the answer (Ruhluer, 2014). Anastasiadis said about withdrawing from the negotiations, Turkey will not bow to the so-called drive because the task given to him by the people he withdrew from the negotiations in response to threats said that it requires. The daily Kathimerini published by Navtex the Anastasiadis negotiations that Turkey has been forced to suspend summer. Also newspaper, *"Turkey's Cyprus natural gas energy players in the region using the issue of the pipe with soil that could be spent trying to recall"* has also been advocated (KıbrısPostası, BM için harita hazırlığı, 2014).

GCA decided to start seismic surveys in Turkey corresponds to the region, which is in close relations with Israel and Russia held joint military exercises. Movements in Turkey in retaliation for the region and further escalation of military tension held in the name of joint naval and land exercise took two days (Sayarı S. , Türkiye'ye tatbikat misillemesi, 2014).

Anastasiadis Greek presidency of the National Council has been collected to ensure that Ankara's political and diplomatic pay a price. Turkey's Council consisting of GCA's alleged money they thought would be effective to continue pressing the EEZ to a violation of Article 8 of sovereignty measures adopted package (abhaber, Rum Ulusal Konseyi'nden 8 maddelik Türkiye önlemi: Türkiye'nin AB müzakereleri bloke edilecek, 2014).

SIS Parliamentary Group spokesman Nikos Tornaridis, has blamed Turkey for the solution and stated that Turkey should change the attitude. Description *"Turkey tries in good faith to the Cyprus problem is solved, the Turkish Cypriots will benefit like all other legal residents of Cyprus. The threat of withdrawal of Barbarous and Turkey is encouraged first priority"* he said (GünlükKıbrıs, 2014).

Greek Foreign Minister Yoannis Kasulidis by the fall of the mistakes made by Greece in the Aegean in a statement on 10 November 2014 and the issue of marine and underwater energy sources have said that they will meet with Turkey. Kasulidis in a statement, *"by suspending all activities in the Eastern Mediterranean will lead us to the situation experienced in the Aegean. Turkey will bring the issue we take very seriously drilling ship after doing seismic research in our region"*he said. Against Turkey, Egypt and Greece with 'stability front' they established, that they do cooperate on security issues with Israel Kasulidis natural gas for their interests in the

eastern Mediterranean it has stated that they intended to take on Egypt in the pipeline (Bilge, 2014). Greek Ecologists and Environmentalists Movement spokesperson Eleni Hrisostomu also heard the results of the tripartite summit in Egypt expressed with satisfaction. Hrisostomu, GASC has expressed only with significant alliance could play an important role in the eastern Mediterranean.

December 20, 2014 RF President Vladimir Putin at a press conference when talking about the traditional annual Northern Cyprus and Southern Cyprus and the Republic of Turkey Erdogan said for many years to the RF President praised the "*natural allies*" who were worried about the GCA as acceptable. Greek government that they are damaging the interests of the general public with Russia has been critical of the US-based one-dimensional foreign policy. Particular emphasis on the transition from a sensitive and critical stage of the Cyprus problem in signing agreements to revive relations Anastasiadis' visit to Moscow in the name of national interests that should have been revealed (İhlasHaberAjansı, Putin'in Erdoğan övgüsü Rum kesimini kaygılandırdı, 2014).

A total of 11 agreements were signed, including the use of Russian military cooperation that led to the first base of Andreas Papandreou visits between the parties in fact carried out in Moscow between 24, 27 February 2015. Anastasiadis. Britain's ambassador to the island for the realization of the agreement, Todd has warned react to the Greeks. England made a statement on behalf of GASC criticizing the attitude of the Greek Cypriot Administration spokesman Nikos Hristodulidis, on the activities of Turkey in the eastern Mediterranean, recalling the attitude of the British "*London Nicosia, strong message to support the demand for Turkey in violation of the sovereign rights of the Republic of Cyprus I did not. The agreements signed in Moscow would serve the interests of the Republic of Cyprus and the response needs to be shown*" he said (CihanHaberAjansı, Rusya'yla yakınlaşan Rumlar, İngiltere'nin tepkilerini önemsemiyor, 2015).

RF's South Stream project to be abandoned and instead the export of natural gas to Europe from Turkey and the Turkish-Greek border GASC plans to spend on the decision to perform a new pipeline was damaged. According to reports in the Greek press, the GCA asked not to be monopolized in the RF market dynamics start to discuss the negotiations to sell its gas to European countries wrote that

requirement (GünlükKıbrıs, Putin'in Ankara'da Yaptığı Sürpriz, Planlarını Bozdu, 2014). In addition to regional cooperation of Egypt GASC-Greece-Italy and the Arab Gulf countries have also moved to the agenda should be expanded by the participation.

3. 5. 1.2. Regional Actors

Regional stakeholders / actors with an impact on Cyprus are also available. In particular, these actors constitute themselves for political roadmap accompanied by guiding policies of global stakeholders.

3. 5. 1.2. 1. Turkey

One of the energy sources of regional actors geographically close to Turkey is located in a country with abundant. According to the BP Statistical Review of Energy 2011 data, Turkey is the world located in a region where 75% of its oil and gas reserves (Biresselioğlu, NATO'nun Değişen Enerji Güvenliği Algısı: Türkiye'nin Olası Konumu, 2012, s. 243; BP, Statistical Review of World Energy, 2011). When this is considered in terms of the role Turkey has an energy bridge, diversification of the western countries, it is an important centre for providing security of supply and routes (Biresselioğlu, European Energy Security: Turkey's Future Role and Impact, 2011, s. 92-93; Biresselioğlu, NATO'nun Değişen Enerji Güvenliği Algısı: Türkiye'nin Olası Konumu, 2012, s. 244). Indeed, many experts on the subject is an important power in the Eastern Mediterranean region are in agreement that the geopolitical impact of the changes in Turkey closely (Yıldız T. , Turkey's Energy Policy, Regional Role and Future Energy Vision, 2010; Roberts, 2010; Ediger, V.Ş., Devlen, B. ve McDonald, D.B, 2012).

Although Turkey is limited due to the presence of its own energy resources in the almost all natural gas pipeline stretching from Central Asia to Europe have to come to that position in the regional market with the weight gradually increases in global energy policy. In this context, the Eastern Mediterranean basin discovered a new way for the transfer of reserves to world markets via Turkey is required (Köseoğlu, 2014). Turkey in the energy equation; in accordance with their needs, the

great powers are also trying to create energy policy, taking into account the energy policy although it is not aimed to be an important transit country for energy producers. The planned projects with Turkey, as well as an important transit country for energy brought by the world's fastest growing energy market that is willing to meet the needs of problem. Besides all this, the pipeline will be integrated into the European energy market is willing to take advantage of the process of negotiations with the EU (Kantörün, 2010, s. 111).

Therefore, natural gas exploration and extraction activities in the Eastern Mediterranean gained momentum about the new alliance, Turkey has started to be more and more clear. For example, Israeli politicians are mentioning the risk finding that the Israeli private sector will pass through Turkey pipeline for reasons of political transported to Europe via Turkey's natural gas can reduce costs a quarter and insist preference towards ensuring via Turkey (Köseoğlu, 2014). According to a press reports, Israel Noble-Delek energy companies through year 10 bcm of natural gas via Turkey to sell to Europe four major Turkish energy company Zorlu, Turcas, Çalık and ENKA in touch with the past and the vision has proposed demand (EnerjiEnstitüsü, 2014; Aydılek, 2014).

In relation to energy policy in the region Israel, Energy and Natural Resources Minister Taner Yıldız stated that the transfer was a feasible project with the European gas pipeline through Turkey's East Mediterranean will produce of Israel. Stars, *"How do we take water to Cyprus through the pipeline; likewise made of a pipeline through Turkey, I believe that will be transferred to Europe"* in the words of support. But before it can be implemented *"politics feasible"* was noted in particular that there should be (EnerjiGünlüğü, Yıldız: İsrail'in Akdeniz gazı siyaseten fizibil değil, 2013). Taner Yıldız, stated that Turkey is the best route for the pipeline of the natural gas in Cyprus to be used for transport to Europe (Portturkey, Enerji Bakanı: "Kıbrıs'ın doğalgazı için Türkiye en iyi rota", 2014).

The Bosphorus Energy Club has announced that the Executive Board Chairman Mehmet Counsellor Full Leviathan field in Israel and discarding step towards early production will be held from equity investments should be made in this area. Blue Marmara crisis-induced problems between Turkey and Israel have told the

government that must be overcome to a certain point by not bringing private sector investment in some (Öğütçü, 2014).

ISRO is a huge market in terms of final consumption to Eurasia and Energy Expert Hasan Selim Özeren also found the major player position in the region expressed may change the course of the unfavourable political atmosphere in the area of natural gas exploration in Cyprus and Israel gas to Turkey, an important transit route for achieving Europe he emphasizes that it has the role (TürkAjansıKıbrıs, Akdeniz'deki Doğal Gaz Önce "Diplomasiyi Isıtıyor", 2014).

Indeed, Turkey's Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu period, his peace will come to Cyprus in a statement, will be the first step of a wider peace in the eastern Mediterranean has been identified. Davutoglu, to ensure lasting peace in the Mediterranean and that the emphasis should be terminated and the status quo *"Our pledge is ensured lasting peace in the Mediterranean from the rest. We are part of it. In the Mediterranean from one side to him, the Mediterranean in the north, while the economic crisis in a generation living in Europe; Huge upheavals taking place in the south of the Mediterranean, Turkey will put forward its own political perspective is important. Ultimately, peace in the Mediterranean basin occurs if we're going to benefit from it the most"* was found in the form of a statement (AnadoluAjansı, Davutoğlu: "Kıbrıs adasına gelecek barış, Doğu Akdeniz'e gelecek kapsamlı bir barışın ilk adımı olur", 2014).

The parties will negotiate with the introduction of the hydrocarbon factor strengthening has occurred, and increased interest in the eyes of the international community in the Cyprus problem. It also approached at an equal distance from the two communities by the international community for the first time this has been instrumental in the start of a new process. Obama, US Vice President Joe Biden's term President by qualifying as the visit Eroğlu, TRNC historic step *"a party to the equal approach"* in terms of mentioned that it was a positive message, and the visit is extremely time, underlined that the right agenda and the right frame (KıbrısGazetesi, Tarihi bir adım, 2014).

In addition to all this, he said Davutoglu did have a serious message for peace in the region, Turkey Anamur from the sea bottom already the 80-kilometer pipeline that is being laid to bring Cyprus to 75 million cubic meters of water planned project

in a statement. Due to the political importance of the future water will be a trump card that will strengthen the hands of the Turkish Cypriot side in negotiations. Cyprus water from Turkey to the future, not only of the Turkish Cypriots, Greeks and even the utmost importance for the future of other countries in the region. Therefore, the water will be brought from Turkey not only vital, it is politically important. Because the future of millions of cubic meters of high-quality drinking water from Turkey, Israel struggles with drought in the Eastern Mediterranean, Lebanon, countries like Egypt is closely related (Sayarı S. , Kıbrıs'ta "Asrın Projesi"ne aylar kaldı, 2014).

Government of the Republic of Turkey to the Cyprus problem on the policies applied for the solution of the most beautiful and concise description of Turkey Deputy Prime Minister Bulent Arinc made. Arinc, the EU and the Cyprus issue, Turkey is one of the global test *"Cyprus is not only political, energy policy, in terms of both Turkey and the EU is in a position to be solved urgent"* summed up the words. The solution to the Cyprus problem for the eastern Mediterranean hydrocarbons in the Ukraine crisis, along with the increasing importance and emphasis Arinc explanation towards energy policy should be applied to the EU; *"See, today Ukraine is the biggest problem of one issue in the EU's energy supply in the poor a policy issue. Currently one third of Gazprom's energy exports to European countries and the majority of these transfers are made via Ukraine. In fact, there is a political crisis in Ukraine and the EU responds only with economic sanctions against it. Are sanctions on a state that is dependent on energy input with the economy as it will be temporary and ineffective? Europe's energy dependence, the near future will be the most important test. Therefore, the EU should take steps on energy diversity. In this regard, Turkey seems to be a big attraction. The transfer of energy from Turkey 3 arm becoming the country. Reserves marketing and strive to win everyone's world. The energy reserves in the Eastern Mediterranean is an important field forward. In this regard, Turkey will apply smart strategies to protect their interests. This is both Turkey's three regions to benefit from significant energy reserves to the extent the rights of the EU is a major change and development"* has exerted (KıbrısGazetesi, AB, Kıbrıs konusunda iyi bir sınav veremedi, 2014).

Turkey, the TRNC without the approval of the Cyprus problem is solved in the area of energy resources from GASC oppose the work to benefit. Indeed, accompanied by seismic surveys done between October 20 and December 30, 2014 it is an important signal on behalf of military vessels riveting presence as an actor in the region of Turkey. Turkey's thesis that the TRNC is right on the island's south and discovered the energy source is that these resources belong to the whole island (Alptekin, 2015, s. 17)

Prime Minister Ahmed Davutoglu on the subject, US Vice President Joe the Biden attended, with 6 Atlantic Council in his speech at the Energy and Economic Summit, *"this energy, everybody wins if used for peace. I call the GCA. Unilaterally, if this source Only Taking the tender as belonging to them, Cyprus if Turkey also wanted to offer to the world market as it supplies unilaterally has the right, we did research together with the same in the Turkish Cypriot and there we use the same right"*in the description. Cyprus and establish a joint committee by the Greek Cypriot administration, proposing the removal of energy Davutoglu, *"Eastern Mediterranean Cyprus is a covered area to the Turks. We are doing research on where we want, we will remove oil we want, we agree with other countries, 'you say, this one, not the politics. Two, Mediterranean Those who know of in the world energy supply knows the topography, the easiest to reach the gas will be around Cyprus, the place is Turkey up to be used. Place to reach the most comfortable international market is Turkey"*it has noted cannot market a stand-alone energy GCA without Turkey (Altuncu, Ö. ve Tiftikçi,İ., 2014).

It would help resolve the political problems in the region of all energy solution of the Cyprus problem can be expressed. Indeed, immediately after theelections President of Turkey held President and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan on September 1, the first official visit of Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu had Cyprus on 16 September. In drawing attention to the peace talk here steps taken by Turkey and the TRNC, the Greek Cypriot Administration and Greece have emphasized the importance of peaceful solution in addition to making calls (İhlasHaberAjansı, Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan, Eroğlu ile görüştü, 2014; Bilge, Davutoğlu: Anadolu'dan Kıbrıs'a Su Gider, Gaz Gelir, 2014).

Turkey's perceived as threatening to send ships to the area to monitor drilling activities conducted by GCA has suspended negotiations on October 7, 2014. These issues related to Energy and Natural Resources Minister Taner Yıldız, because he made in the Mediterranean seismic studies that led to the so-called tension Barbarous Hayrettin Pasha seismic research Ark has said it will continue to work. He also stated that the right of these studies find that transformed the political crisis (EnerjiGünüğü, Yıldız: Çalışmalarımız Kıbrıs'ın Tamamına Dönük, 2014). The main reasons for Turkey's continued insistence on the reason though research activities to the political crisis, to prevent domination over Egypt's East Mediterranean sources with GCA and GCA and the two-state awareness cannot provide a fair solution unless there is energy security in Cyprus will snap back to the table.

Turkish Republic Foreign Minister Mevlut Cavusoglu stated that the date of December 15, 2014 Parliamentary General Assembly in his speech, citing the activities of the GCA Barbarous Ark hampered due to get up from the table of negotiations. Since Turkey is a continuation of the negotiations, but also because the right of Turkish Cypriots on hydrocarbons has emphasized that it is essential for the protection of these rights. Cyprus to take Turkey to take steps to guarantee the rights of the people stated that the objectives and ensure the continuation of the negotiations (GünlükKıbrıs, Çavuşoğlu: "Müzakerelerin Devam Etmesini İstiyoruz", 2014).

Cavusoglu on 14 January 2015 visit to the TRNC the period of the TRNC President Dervis Eroglu, in a joint press conference they held with the primary objective of Turkey's foreign policy Cyprus will guarantee the political equality of the Turkish side stated that a just and lasting way to resolve the Cyprus problem. Greeks would take steps in the descriptions that remain unpaid in good faith, but have said they will not allow to bring the minority Turkish Cypriots or Greek government in deadlock victim. Cavusoglu has only underlined that it is not possible to obtain results through the efforts of the Turkish side. Greek side of Cyprus on natural resources in the Mediterranean Sea that ignore the measures imposed by the Turkish side stated that continued expanding its exploration and drilling activities began unilaterally. Following the Greek side of the NAVTEX period ending on

December 30 that they expect to finalize the seismic activity related to drilling, but despite all the well-intentioned efforts noted that the Greek Cypriot side continues unilateral operations. The announcement issued by the Greek Cypriot side, it extends the term of the existing drill site and drilling will be Çavuşoğlu, indicating that the field has expanded, with the Greek Cypriot side announced on January 5 said that he did not see whether a change of attitude GCA. Barbarous Hayrettin Pasha ship TRNC government has decided to continue its work in the region reminiscent Cavusoglu, *"We expect that now; Greek government should stop as soon as possible from this error, the error must be returned. Two people who have shared the island, a clear stance on the new partnership will be established on the basis of political equality and should be adopted. Must return to the negotiating table in a friendly manner and should have exerted efforts to achieve permanent dissolution"* as underlined by speaking in favour of energy could benefit only if the realization of a permanent solution (StarKıbrıs, Çavuşoğlu: "Her zaman KKTC'nin yanındayız", 2015). As a result of all kinds are trying to establish an energy cooperation initiative focused in the eastern Mediterranean, Turkey is a very large extent on the presence and contribution of the dependent.

GCA hydrocarbon resources are located in the Eastern Mediterranean, including Egypt and Greece on the international agreements of the Republic of Turkey Foreign Minister Mevlut Cavusoglu, *"that there are no restrictions in Turkey in the Eastern Mediterranean, and this does not apply only escalate tensions in the region. Therefore, both our neighbour and our friend Greece and other countries were called on to consider this matter and we are"* made in the form of explanation. Turkey Barbarous Hayrettin Pasha is related to the sending of the seismic research vessel has said that such a request from the TRNC, Turkey as a guarantor country. Cavusoglu, the statement *"There is an illegal demand of Turkey in this region and we say when we drew stopped drilling operations. It is important that good intentions. Good faith if we are to protect the right of the two sides need to find a way to a solution"* he said (GünlükKıbrıs, Çavuşoğlu: "Doğu Akdeniz'de Türkiye'nin İçerisinde Olmadığı Hiçbir Kısıtlama Geçerli Değildir", 2014).

The Prime Minister Davutoglu made a statement on the issue during a visit to Greece, no arrangements could be made without the Eastern Mediterranean in

Turkey, and Greece in case of signing any agreement with Egypt has said it would not recognize this issue of Turkey. Cyprus if the start of negotiations between the two sides is stated that the Turkish ship that Barbarossa should be accustomed to the presence and the East Mediterranean sub-sea structure is very well known, stated that the removal of Turkey's natural gas route technically and economically impossible (Öztürk, A. ve Hatipoğlu, M., 2014).

President of the Republic of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdogan stated that Turkey Petroleum December 11, 2014 on the issue in his statement at the reception on 60th anniversary of Turkey's Cyprus will remain outside the south of the development. As long as they comply with the GCA and Greece it took note of warning will continue the work of Barbarous ship. Based on the law in the study it reiterates calls made in the equal rights of the Turkish Cypriots (GünlükKıbrıs, Erdoğan: Kıbrıs'ın Güneyindeki Gelişmeler Hiç Bir Zaman Dışında Kalacağımız Bir Gelişme Değildir, 2014).

3. 5. 1.2. 2. Greece

Another of the influential regional actor on Cyprus is Greece. For Cyprus, this actor has a double importance from a strategic viewpoint. Greece, historically called Enosis next candidate to get under their domination of thought wants to increase the strategic importance of checking Cyprus entirely (Diez, 2002, s. 41; Yılmaz, 2009). Thus, it is more important to think about the EU and to reach a position before the NATO partners. It also aims to bridge the increasingly strategic role of Cyprus between Europe and the Middle East from the hands of Turkey. On the other hand the island's geo-strategic advantages of being close to Turkey are also taken into account (Yılmaz, 2009; Laçın, 2009, s. 17; Manisalı, 2002, s. 113-117).

Together with hydrocarbon exploration in the region is seated backdrop in tense relations between Turkey and Greece. 2014 second half of the disruption of the federation focused on major causes tense negotiations on the Cyprus problem and the parties in the natural gas off the coast of Cyprus issue are insistent attitude towards their own interests (Kuru, 2014; Nikolouli, 2014). When we consider the energy policy in the region is subject to transfer natural gas through Turkey to Greek

Cypriot Administration and Greece is approaching the subject of very moderate. In contrast, gas in Turkey and Greece should GCA disabled, mainly focuses on transport by liquefying vessel leave any eventuality. Greece period of Environment and Energy Minister Yiannis Maniatis In this context, a feasibility study for the Eastern Mediterranean Pipeline has announced the start. Maniatis said in Athens, according to data from the first study, explained that it is technically feasible to establish a pipeline considering the Greek island of Cyprus, one of the closest to the GCA as Crete. Starting from GCA's hydrocarbon resources of the targeted pipeline after passing through Greece Greek minister noted that they plan to reach the EU market, GASC not only drew attention to create a robust context for Europe's security of supply of natural gas to Israel at interest. But experts say the most economical and safe way of delivering natural gas to the European market in Cyprus and Israel are united in the opinion that pass through pipelines in Turkey. US has also supported this formula, the Greek Cypriot Administration and Greece oppose the Cyprus problem, citing the common strategy. By the international community after the solution to the Cyprus problem until given the assurance that it will be eliminated by political concerns, while sympathetic to cooperate with the Turkish Cypriots tend to emphasize continuous alternative solutions to the transport of gas (Sayarı S. , Atina'dan "Ceyhan"ı by-pass planı, 2014).

Due to the economic crisis that swept into the eastern Mediterranean from Greece to income derived from the energy it has to be removed much needed. This is why the Greek Cypriots to show his support facilities obtained to transfer to the West next to the factors of energy sources and need to be translated into immediate cash. Greek Prime Minister Antonis Samaras period so the two seas has announced a study to declare exclusive economic zone (Erhan, Yunanistan'ın Akdeniz Manevrası, 2013). But it did not get any results so far.

In October and November 2014, Israel and Egypt GASC with Greece, Turkey to continue blocking the energy issues in the Eastern Mediterranean relations has changed the overall framework. This GCA scope of relations, energy drilling in the eastern Mediterranean and Greece in the Cairo summit held in Egypt, an agreement was reached in production and marketing. "*Trilateral cooperation*" by a joint statement calling for the termination of the activities carried out in the so-called

Ministry of GCA has been made to target Turkey. Speaking in a statement Samaras, in the framework of the common concerns about security in the eastern Mediterranean has announced that they discussed cooperation issues (CihanHaberAjansı, Kahire'de Türkiye'ye Karşı Enerji Deklarasyonu, 2014). In relation to the negotiations could be suspended, but resumed on condition that the withdrawal of Barbarous ship underlined (Kuru, 2014; Makris, 2014).

Greece's representative in the ongoing negotiations between Greece and Turkey to study ancient Greek National Intelligence Organization Honorary President, Ambassador Pavlos Apostolidis, drew attention to the fact that Turkey cannot be done in the absence of limitations in the eastern Mediterranean. Apostolidis, told the Kathimerini newspaper in the eastern Mediterranean has highlighted the issue of exclusive economic zones and determination in this regard, Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu "*Turkey cannot be done without any regulation*" pointed to justify the thesis. Apostolidis, energy issues become more complex because of the opposite opinion has announced that Turkey and Greece over Cyprus. In particular, the negotiations with Turkey to Greek Cypriot Administration noted that complicate the current situation (AnadoluAjansı, Yeni Müzakereciden Çarpıcı Sözler: Davutoğlu Haklı, 2015).

GASC is located in Turkey's so-called EEZ 2,3 and 9 coincide with the plot that following the declaration NavTex GCA has decided to withdraw from negotiations. Greek Prime Minister Samaras decision to suspend the period of negotiations has also given support. Greece's Foreign Ministry announced that Turkey gave a protest note by making a written statement. The statement "*Turkey's GASC Turkish research ship belonging to EEZ in Barbarous to create tension in the region should make the study published by the so-called illegal NAVTEX and was given a protest note to Turkey's initiatives about*" expression was used (AnadoluAjansı, Güney Kıbrıs Rum Yönetimi müzakere sürecinden çekildi, 2014). Turkish seismic ship Barbarous enhancing mutual tension with the introduction of these policies was initiated on October 20. Greece and the Greek Cypriot Administration, they play totally against Turkey's membership to the EU; Turkey, along with Egypt and Israel in the eastern Mediterranean disabled have taken steps to leave (AnkaraStrateji, 2014).

Greek Foreign Minister Evangelos Venizelos realized in the period November 28, 2014 before his visit to Turkey for the alleged violation of the sovereign rights of the Republic of Cyprus has urged Turkey (Kuru, 2014; TürkAjansıKıbrıs, Yunanistan Dışışleri Bakanı Venezilos: "Doğal Kaynaklar Kıbrıs devletine aittir", 2014; GünlükKıbrıs, Venezilos:Kıbrıs'ta Kesintiye Uğrayan Görüşmelerin Yeniden Başlamasını Yunanistan Da Destekliyor, 2014).Venizelos said at a joint press conference held during the visit to Turkey; Greece-GCA-GCA-Israel-Egypt and Greece to serve the purpose of an aggressive negotiations or agreements that have been said. However, Venizelos stated that the Turkish ship Barbarous GCA perceived as a threat to their own sovereignty (GünlükKıbrıs, Venezilos:Kıbrıs'ta Kesintiye Uğrayan Görüşmelerin Yeniden Başlamasını Yunanistan Da Destekliyor, 2014). As a result, with both countries to continue their relationship, it was confirmed that the dispute regarding energy (Kuru, 2014).

5-6 of December 2014, Prime Minister Davutoglu has paid a visit to Greece. Greek press, the visit of the mutual intention of keeping open the door when he says that kontranews newspaper carried, *"the open letter to the Prime Minister, Ahmet Davutoglu," the title of "Enough is enough bravado, let's agree on everything bride"* took the headlines. Turkish a letter published by the newspaper, *"Understand this, we want you as a friend and partner, not as enemies. Imagine what we can accomplish together, how we can have a power, Turkey, Greece and Cyprus"* he said (Kuru, 2014; Radikal, Yunan medyasından Türkçe karşılama, 2014).

Greek Prime Minister in performing the GCA his first visit abroad at a press conference on February 2, 2015 Alexis Çipras perform with Anastasiadis has sent messages to Turkey. Çipras his statement in the improvement of Turkey-Greece relations, pointing to the importance of Cyprus, it drew attention to the tensions due to hydrocarbon exploration in the eastern Mediterranean. As regards the Cyprus problem with a single international identity, bi-zonal, bi-communal basis by emphasizing the federation and the *"Cyprus decides, Greece implements"* he said as the last of the traditional policies. Greece indicating that the GCA Çipras interconnected in terms of a common future, Barbarous Research has advocated withdrawal from the region's Ark and *"negotiations and only then begin"* in the description(CnnTürk, 2015). Çipras showed strong support for the Greek thesis with

this statement. During his visit by signing a policy Çıpras met with NGO representatives, which consists of Greeks and Turks. Thus the first time a Greek Prime Minister in official visit to the Turkish Cypriot candidate has also addressed. GCA Ambassador of Greece Vasilis Papayoann in an interview with the newspaper Fileleftheros Barbarous Ark withdrawal and by making so-called explanation for the fulfilment of international law and affirmed its support for the Greek Cypriot thesis (KıbrısPostası, Yunanistan: "Müzakerelere yeniden başlanması için Barbaros çekilsin", 2014).

3. 5. 1.2. 3. Israel

The most important of another of the influential regional actor on Cyprus is Israel. Israel's attitude and behaviour of new hydrocarbon deposits in the region is particularly important. Generally, becoming a major gas producer with reserves found in the eastern Mediterranean following Israel on a regional basis regarding gas sales for the continuing search for new markets in the shadow of the political debate over Turkey and Egypt would prefer that scenario. However, political problems hinder rapid decision on this issue (Özertem, 2014). Israeli politicians are mentioning the risk finding Israeli private sector will pass through Turkey pipeline for reasons of political transported to Europe via Turkey's natural gas can reduce costs a quarter and insist preferred terms of use via Turkey (Köseoğlu, 2014).

Israel's Turkey lines for political reasons are the main reason for the breakdown of the risk in Turkey-Israel relations. This breaks influenced the course of political developments in the region. Relations, from Israel's 2008-2009 Gaza campaign has worsened steadily since. Between Israel and Turkey experienced in the first Davos in 2009, "*One Minute Crisis*" and the subsequent outbreak of "*Low Chair Crisis*" which later occurred in spring 2010 "*Blue Marmara incident*" has led to the worst period in the history of relations between the two countries. As a result of these developments, Israel and approached GCA Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean has begun to act in the name of the said three countries together (Sandıklı, A., vd., 2013, s. 42). In fact, the long-term goal of Israel with GCA and Greece to create a security perimeter in the eastern Mediterranean (Tamer, 2012).

Israeli-Greek rapprochement island of Crete Israeli and Greek air forces in the spring of 2008 began to exercise was organized jointly in the open, 2010-2011, gained momentum through the disruption of energy exploration and Turkey-Israel relations GCA has also expanded to cover. Israel, which has a very limited airspace, area where Turkey's airspace needed for the training of air force has achieved its closure by developing relations with these two countries. Greek and Israeli air force regularly organize joint exercises off the eastern Mediterranean since 2010. During the drilling crisis in 2011 Israel, which openly support the GCA and did not hesitate to fly fighter jets over the airspace of the TRNC and TPC research vessel (Sandıklı, A., vd., 2013, s. 42).

February 16, 2012 Date of GCA regulates an official trip, Netanyahu became the first Israeli prime minister to visit the country. The GCA town of Limassol during the visit was an exchange of views on a number of projects related to the extraction and use of energy resources in the eastern Mediterranean, including the establishment of a natural gas terminal in excess of \$ 10 billion in value to close. Netanyahu announced during contact with GCA among non-public content, including one in the other two defence agreements were signed from January to March (Ntvmsnbc, Askeri İşbirliğinin Ötesine Çıkamadık, 2012).

Besides all these developments, Israel, diplomatic and economic relations between the Greek Cypriot Administration and Greece have also gained momentum. October 8, 2013 Greek Prime Minister Samaras period in the history of the first high-level visit to Israel Cooperation Meeting has been made. During the meeting it was discussed especially energy issues in detail in the Eastern Mediterranean. Israel crossed the line GCA and Greece, the Eastern Mediterranean energy issues were discussed opening of a pipeline to move to Europe (Kathimerini, 2013). A series of interviews with GCA by Israeli Ambassador Michael Harari was conducted in Cyprus on the issue. Based on these discussions in Israeli relations with the Greek Cypriot Administration, which is described a great perspective, especially within the scope of hydrocarbon deposits (KıbrısManşet, Harari: "Kıbrıs-İsrail İlişkilerindeki Perspektif Büyük.", 2014).

Turkey, however, because it provides great advantages in terms of cost options, especially the private sector are not ignored by Israel. Israel's her work on

this issue, it clearly reveals. Moreover, Turkey is a profitable market that cannot be sacrificed. In this context, the main target of Israel; Greeks will produce its own gas and gas to Turkey before through a common pipeline is to pass through Greece and from there to Europe. The presence of the Turkish energy company willing to carry out the action in respect of Turkey's energy hub and the target may be particularly considers Israel. On March 22, 2013 the most important factor underlying the energy policy of Israel to apologize to Turkey (bbc, 2013) has come to the forefront so. Israel, an important part of the plan to provide gas through Turkey to the EU market, is also aiming to sell to Asia via the Suez Canal Egypt-making liquid part. Thus, in case of possibility to achieve the target of Israel; Egypt-Greece-join the triple alliance between the GCA does not shrink destination, Turkey is also found inside the business is to find the optimal solution (Tüysüzoğlu, 2014). In case of improvement of Turkey's relations with Israel can carry 10 bcm of natural gas with an energy treaty between Turkey and Israel will be put under sea pipeline will be carried out and emphasized it would cost 2.2 billion dollars. Israeli diplomatic sources in a statement, *"As a result, Egypt and Turkey needs energy. We also have our own energy sources combine with regional interests"* he said (EnerjiEnstitüsü, İsrail – Türkiye doğalgaz boru hattının inşaatına 2015'te başlanabilir, 2014).

In contrast to the current political negativity between Israel and Turkey, when commercially in 2013, the bilateral trade with \$ 3.4 billion in 2010, believed to be over \$ 5 billion, it will not be wrong to mention a very positive air in the presence of such a trade in order to apply on behalf of the business world. US private intelligence company Stratford analysis emphasized that despite the crisis between Israel and Turkey between the years 2009-2013, trade between the two countries come to 5.1 billion dollars from 2.6 billion dollars. Also Stratford, the transfer of Israel to Europe via Turkey with natural gas project in 2010 Blue Marmara raid could recover from the strained relations since the two countries and the management envisages collaboration can catch the chance again (Şanlı, 2014).

Israel's options for marketing its gas in front of potential targets energy cooperation with Turkey as the most profitable routes, there are two obstacles. First of Israel are imposed embargoes and military operations in Gaza. The other is the Cyprus problem. Cyprus News Agency interview that Israeli Ambassador to Cyprus

Michael Hariri, of the hydrocarbons discovered in the eastern Mediterranean region of the importance of further increasing has also been stressed that the positive effect towards finding a solution to the Cyprus problem (abhaber, İsrail Büyükelçisi Kıbrıs ve İsrail'in hidrokarbon kaynakları işbirliği konusunda iyimser, 2014). On the subject, The Atlantic Council of the Eurasian expert, David Korany Israel's Gaza attack that caused a decline in energy cooperation with Turkey, said: "*Israel via Cyprus to Turkey for a future pipeline also require approval and this approval possible to come to completion Cyprus talks not*" has been shaped in a statement. Certain that the only option, which is a great energy needs of Jordan's Korany advocate that to be issued by this gas, "*all other options in front of Israel in the troubled situation both politically and commercially*" he argued. Correspondingly Oxford energy consultant from the Institute of Energy Anastasios Giamouridis In his statement about the issues, the natural gas owned by the Israeli government, recalling only that it had decided to export 40% of Turkey stated that it is more profitable than other regional markets to export that amount. It also stressed that the pipeline would be safer in Egypt would extend a pipeline to Turkey (KıbrısManşet, İsrail Gazının İhracı, Gazze Saldırıları İle Tehlikeye Giriyor, 2014).

Indeed, according to a report in Al-Hayat newspaper talks of the Israeli government to agree on the Mediterranean in the west of natural gas deposits in Ankara and Nicosia it was allegedly found. International Crisis Group and the Europe and Central Asia Deputy Programme Director for the region, which will be in Israel by Bob Hauer pipelines to export natural gas to Turkey and the TRNC has been suggested that plan (EnerjiEnstitüsü, İsrail doğalgazını Avrupa pazarlarına ulaştırabilmek için Türkiye'ye muhtaç, 2013). According to other media reports in Israel, Noble-Delek energy companies through year 10 bcm of natural gas via Turkey to sell to Europe four major Turkish energy company Zorlu, Turcas, Çalık and ENKA in touch with the past and the vision has proposed demand (Enstitüsü, 2014; Aydılek, 2014) will be built at a depth of 2,000 meters and 2:25 billion cost of the pipeline will be 450 km long, it is estimated. According to Politics newspaper, the Greek press also wish to import natural gas from Israel to Turkey Turkish companies, 15-year contracts in exchange for 22-31 billion of these companies indicated that prediction of no import, when natural gas to Turkey and how that

would be the Israeli government and the region the meeting also expressed their countries to be required. The government of Cyprus, in the natural gas taken from Cyprus without solving the problem in Turkey announced it was emphasized that Israel would take no part in the cooperation (Gazeddakıbrıs, Kıbrıs Hükümeti İle Kıbrıs Bankası Arasında Doğalgaz İşbirliği, 2014).

A report prepared by the Reuters news agency, the neighbouring countries of Israel indicates that gas has promised to establish better relations. In an effort to export Israeli gas finds will help to correct the present tense ties with old allies, Egypt and Turkey. Israel, the natural gas pipeline and plans to export via FLNG will allow them to refer to the world's largest market. Reuters Israeli diplomatic source *"Egypt and Turkey's energy need and the fact that it creates a rapprochement we have our own regional interests"* as he referred to the statement by the pipeline project. Israel, the bilateral export policy, which is part of the price paid by Europeans in LNG has chosen to target Asia as a market because of capturing the doubles. Energy will reach the Asian market will be anchored on the Leviathan field in Israel aims to ship via a floating facility. Israel's National Economic Council Chairman Eugene Kendel, *"We want to consolidate certainly our economic ties with our neighbours but also do not want to be exposed in the mixed potential in the region, so Israel's need to market will limit itself to the region"* alternative export policies of expression stated that they planned. Israel's pipeline projects related to leading a Turkish official told Reuters that *"high-level negotiations at the lower level to ensure progress in the negotiations for the resolution of political issues of energy is always maintained. The normalization of relations will open the way to cooperation on investment and energy"*he said. Israel's Leviathan Consortium and the ongoing talks between Turkish resident Dispensers expected to cost 2.2 billion dollars, 10 bcm is focused on the construction of a water line underground pipes. Of gas from gas-related exploration and Israel will be subject to late access to Turkey, it has already reached a size gave fresh impetus to negotiations for the solution of the Cyprus problem (DetayKıbrıs, 2014).

Energy sector investor companies of the Specific Group's Chairman Ömer Faruk Specifically, Israel's attitude and to the press for policy in a statement to be taken to Europe via Turkey, the Israeli gas held in June 27, 2014 Bosphorus Energy

Club meeting said that the agenda with Americans It has. Specific, *"Israel said that the TRNC and Turkey look hotter because of the cheaper line"* he said. Specifically, Israel said that Egypt made 6 bcm of LNG agreement *"However, it is known that Israel wants to sell 18 bcm annually. This amount of 8 bcm is thought to be transported via Turkey to the west"* he said. Specific structures also argued that the routes likely to increase the bargaining power to perform LNG agreement with Egypt and create the impression that Israel no alternative (Acar, 2014).

But not pursue an agreement based on a single energy policy for the region have occurred even if an agreement on energy with Israel Turkey. GCA also with strategic allies in the region that has become one of the aims of sustainable cooperation in the energy field. Israeli Ambassador to Cyprus Michael Harrar in an interview with the Cyprus News Agency stated that he was optimistic about the cooperation in hydrocarbons between Cyprus and Israel. Harrar pointed out that the presence of the gas affects the finding a solution to the Cyprus problem, hydrocarbons that increases the importance of the Eastern Mediterranean and Cyprus also has said both Israel and the region is a real potential for other countries (abhaber, İsrail Büyükelçisi Kıbrıs ve İsrail'in hidrokarbon kaynakları işbirliği konusunda iyimser, 2014).

3. 5. 1.3. Global Stakeholders

Perhaps the most powerful party seem distant events on Cyprus are a global actor. Regional and local parties should direct the policies pursued by these actors are according to your wishes. They soon realize the EU and the US to accelerate the Cyprus settlement talks repeatedly about the problem, and high-level contacts in order to encourage leaders on the island.

3. 5. 1.3. 1. USA

Cyprus, as a geo-strategic for the country with global ambitions, such as the United States has a great potential. Aiming to maintain its world dominance the US to control the global economy in the world wants to get under the exclusive control of energy resources and transportation lines (Kantörün, 2010, s. 101). Only the US in

terms of the Caucasus and Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline, but also in the Persian Gulf, Central Asia and for security roles related to energy sources in North Africa also offers significant advantages in the island of Cyprus. Holding power in the hands of Cyprus, the island could turn into a military base and from the Balkans to the Persian Gulf, which could increase its influence in the field to the Caucasus and the Middle East (Yılmaz, 2009).

USA, various policies for geopolitical developments taking place with the emergence of hydrocarbon resources in the Eastern Mediterranean is pursuing. Overall these policies; RF energy to weaken the monopoly for Europe to reduce its dependence on Turkey's RF and Iran and the Eastern Mediterranean is to prevent the emergence of an energy design beyond its control. US geopolitically, RF is willing to exclude completely from the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East. Therefore, to reduce its effectiveness in the field RF is supporting alternative energy projects. For this occurred in the eastern Mediterranean it is important for the United States will take shape. Search for a comprehensive settlement in Cyprus or gas cooperation for this purpose it is necessary to enable sustainable way. As a result of Turkey-Israel cooperation of the solution or gas line can be re-established and provided RF interaction with GCA Cyprus and Turkey, with the addition of this line can be reduced. Thus the value of the RF chip in the hands of the transfer to Europe via Turkey, the Eastern Mediterranean hydrocarbons can be limited (Bingöl, Kıbrıs'ta Yeni Müzakere Sürecinin Dinamikleri, 2014).

US taking an active role in the Cyprus issue, he wants to have a say in planning the future of hydrocarbon resources. Indeed, the United States, in a joint statement in overcoming the crisis that the solution needed to start negotiations with Turkey have moved and have played an important role in the initiation of the negotiation process between the TRNC and Greek Cypriot Administration, dated February 2014. US Secretary of State John Kerry period with Turkey's Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu has held talks on the Cyprus problem. According to the US talks, within the framework of the good offices mission of the UN, bi-zonal, bi-communal support was alleged that the negotiation process towards a federation to reunite the island (abhaber, Kerry: "Kıbrıs konusunda sessizce çalışıyoruz, 2014). Pursuant to negotiations on the US State Department Spokesperson Marie Harf

Cypriot side, the historic opportunity to miss them and the candidate bi-zonal, was urged to ensure concrete progress towards a deal to reunite as a bi-communal federation. After this meeting, the US State Department Assistant Secretary for European and Eurasian Affairs Victoria Nuland has met various contacts with the February 4, 2014 between the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot leaders (Ntvmsnbc, Nuland Kıbrıs'ı ziyaret edecek, 2014).

US Vice President Biden in his contacts with Cyprus, former US President Johnson's 52 years have been the highest-level visit to the island of the US since the previous visit. Biden's focus on the theme on the island is located in the settlement of the Cyprus problem. Biden's oil and gas reserves in the eastern Mediterranean was also included in the agenda of strategic issues. The solution of the energy policy of the United States in the Middle East and the Cyprus issue will bring stability to the East Mediterranean emphasized (Sayarı S. , ABD Başkan Yardımcısı Kıbrıs'a gidiyor, 2014). The main reason for the US to implement this policy is to remove the political obstacles to the extraction of natural gas on the island. US energy resources to support the activities of the GCA is largely due to the energy dependence of the EU do not want to get rid of those who are dependent on RF.

In a statement given by US Vice President Biden, through close contact with all stakeholders to strengthen the settlement negotiations the US has announced that it is to enter the job seeking mutually beneficial initiatives. However, Biden, "*The solution will bring huge opportunities. These opportunities did not have 40 years ago. The impact on the region is very much a united island. I do not remember how many times the initiatives launched for an agreement. The truth is that some things have changed. People suffering has not changed but the opportunities have changed*" (KıbrısGazetesi, Çözümün getirileri, tavizlerden çok olacak, 2014) saying that emphasized the contribution of the energy solution. A parallel statement by the US State Department Spokesperson Jennifer Psai has that. Psai stated that, in achieving a comprehensive settlement in Cyprus as long as the US carried out under UN auspices stated his full support. Besides the United States, both sides of the island's two-zone towards the merger with bi-communal federation, real and substantial progress will continue to encourage the provision has also been stressed (Yitmen, Amerika Çözümü Destekliyor, 2014).

Cyprus, a UN diplomat, speaking to the press for the solution of the Greek problem is now headed to the only procedure, it has announced plans to play a leading role stating that the movement of US diplomacy aimed at ending Cyprus problem. He also underlined that form part of the relevant projects in the region with Washington's strategic demands of the United States to contribute to the Cyprus problem. Which it is linked to the evaluation of energy resources and the impact of the American locomotive has reported that targeted an ally of Turkey and Israel will be the axis countries. He argued that the Cyprus problem remains in the air to take the initiative in the US procedure for these two target affect (KıbrısGazetesi, Hedef, iki ayda çözüm, 2014).

To understand the intention of the United States on the transfer of natural gas in Cyprus can examine the statement of US origin Noble Energy's done. Noble Energy company officials told the newspaper they gave the TRNC published Havadis transported by ship liquefied natural gas in Cyprus are said to be a good choice economically. In this context, the only option available in the natural gas is also considered to be legally transported through the Turkish Cypriots of Turkey's natural gas Given where the right. Noble Energy Mediterranean East following closely the activities of the British Centre for Global Energy Studies, according to energy analyst Julian Lee, transporting natural gas through Turkey to Europe by pipeline is the best option in terms of both economic and technical. Lee, Turkey has stressed the need to overcome the political obstacles to the realization of the Cyprus problem in the alternative. The very high cost of the delivery of the natural gas pipeline to Europe via Greece and is described as a very difficult project. EU member struggling with the worst economic crises in its history GCA considers that the only option for the sale of natural gas out of the crisis. Therefore transported by pipeline to Europe via Turkey, the gas is seen as the most economical and fastest option. Experts at this point, as well as political issues at the centre of efforts to solve the Cyprus problem in order to indicate that the residual gas (Sayarı S. , Kıbrıs doğalgazı Türkiye'den geçmeli, 2014). US intelligence analysis company, according to the Styrofoam into resolving political disputes between Israel and Turkey have stressed that Turkey will extend the pipeline becomes operational. But the project that eliminates the possibility of passing through the territorial waters of Lebanon

and Syria under the influence of RF, in this case the line is expected to pass by the Cypriot attract attention. This project is also expected to ensure that there has been a compromise between the TRNC and Greek Cypriot Administration. In the analysis, the project's implementation in case of dependence on Turkey and Europe has underlined the RF will be greatly reduced (Şanlı, 2014).

USA, believes that both Cyprus and also bring new stability and confidence of the Israeli gas in the eastern Mediterranean. Said hydrocarbons Turkey-Cyprus-Israel pipeline as a result of reaching an agreement by the submission to the world market via Turkey considers both the regional stability is the most appropriate alternative in terms of security. Here protect and strategic factors that have to support together with US company Noble Energy origin plays an important role. USA, to choose the transportation of gas to European markets through Turkey Israel's path and the Turkey-Cyprus-Israel take place in the energy triangle thinks that Israel's long-term benefit. In this regard the United States, Turkey, Israel resolves the problems between them is the desire to meet in a certain agreement line (Erten, 2014). Here it is to ensure the long-term security by performing securely connected to Israel's regional system for the purpose of energy cooperation with Europe and the United States. With this intention the US, since March 2013, Israel carries out policies aimed at rapprochement between Turkey and TDMA. The most obvious example of this policy was to apologize about the Blue Marmara incident as a result of US pressure on Israel. USA, solutions to be reached in Cyprus, all parties in the region, including Israel, will be provided in confidence and stability, which is a healthy way to evaluate the management of important energy resources in the region in this regard (Sayarı S. , AB ve ABD'den Kıbrıs seferberliği, 2014).

US Department of State Energy Subject of Deputy Assistant Secretary Amos Hochstein, told the Ethnos newspaper published in Athens, that the rules of the game for many countries in the area of energy resources in the Eastern Mediterranean Region unchanged meant and when properly assessed can see strengthening of catalyst function of the collaboration stated. Besides the natural factors in Cyprus, and expressed the opinion that the two communities to be enough for neighbours to also play a role in solving the problem on the island encouraging Given the potential economic benefits to be provided. In addition, Cyprus, Eastern Mediterranean

turning into a major energy centre could play a key role in expressing Hochsteyn is noted that the growing leadership role in the emerging area of Cyprus. Hochsteyn primarily on the basis of their own interests in energy security and supply routes parallel to the diversity of investments in energy costs and emphasis on diversity, it noted that cooperation with neighbouring countries and partners is necessary. To ensure stability by increasing the energy security efforts in Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean Region, *"the diversity of energy sources and transportation routes of our European allies, we will continue to support efforts to ensure"* stated the sentence (KıbrısManşet, Hochstein'dan Kıbrıs Açıklaması, 2014).

US Ambassador to Cyprus John Koenig, November 14, 2013 in the Norwegian Peace Institute (PRIO) by the buffer zone in Nicosia, Chateau Status in the realization *"Eastern Mediterranean hydrocarbons"* to attend the conference and Turkish Cypriots, made a speech that encourages both Greek Cypriots. In Koenig speech, *"Cyprus hydrocarbon developments in open area in the making of important partnerships, economic prosperity increased and has created a potential to play a major role towards ensuring the energy security of neighbouring countries surrounding Cyprus"* has expressed. Also Koenig, about hydrocarbons found around Cyprus, drew attention to three key points in the opinion of the US official (StarKıbrıs, *"İdealist değil realist'im. aynı zamanda da iyimser'im"* – Amerikan Kıbrıs Büyükelçisi John M. Koenig, 2013).

1. *"RC, internationally recognized exclusive of all natural resources as they wish assessment that entitlements under the rights in the economic zone, has accepted the US politically, but the income obtained from the sale of natural resources, their support for a comprehensive solution with all Cypriots, the equal share to be reached, it highlighting as the official view of the United States deems it necessary. This also while expressing opinion, all parties concerned, and blood pressure believes that they should refrain from the amplifier explanation and action"*

2 *" , which is an American company Nobel Energy, Ministry of Education in Cyprus and have assumed a leading role in the territorial waters adjacent to Israel to work in hydrocarbons, is honouring them as the United States. Besides the Nobel Energy companies, subject to the relevant than any other American companies and natural gas extraction from Cyprus hydrocarbons assuming duties in the area of*

relevant experts and development and also for having served as related to managing effectively these resources is very significant for them. This development will allow the further development of trade relations between the US and Cyprus will help the development of the partnership between the two countries”

3. *"In the US, developments related to energy in the Eastern Mediterranean and we continue to follow closely these developments with interest. Ensuring the energy security of Cyprus and other countries in the region and opportunities to increase the economic prosperity we also support the creation”*

3. 5. 1.3. 2. European Union

Another actor with a global impact on the Cyprus EU. GCA and Greece in particular through the EU is implementing the policy towards Cyprus. EU countries with 80% of oil through the Mediterranean meet the needs of the Middle East largely it seeks to establish supremacy in the Mediterranean and Aegean seas for this reason (Kantörün, 2010, s. 97). Indeed, the European Commission's Energy Commissioner Gunther Oettinger, has stated that the EU is forced to import about 5 bcm natural gas each year (PolitisGazetesi, AB ile Güney Doğu Akdeniz ülkeleri arasında enerji işbirliği, 2012). Therefore, Cyprus, the Middle East, the EU entry "key" can be seen (Ergör, 2011, s. 154). It also controls the trade routes and energy centres, providing direct political advantages to the EU. Therefore energy security for the EU depends entirely on control of energy traffic in this region (Yılmaz, 2009).

EU Enlargement and Neighbourhood Policy Commissioner Stefan Füle, the presence of hydrocarbons found around the island at a press conference carried out in Cyprus and the associated potential revenue, said it was an important element that changes the game and has said that this is a unique opportunity to end the island's division. Also Füle, Turkey has played a constructive role in the negotiations process, the opportunities for both parties entering into closer relations with Turkey and expressed GCA would create (CihanHaberAjansı, Füle: Kıbrıs'ta Hidrokarbon Varlığı Oyunu Değiştiren Unsurdur, 2014).

In other news, France's ambassador, Jean-Luc Florent GCA, the region's significant stocks of hydrocarbons discovered in the Levantine basin will be pointed

to the important and continuous impact on geopolitics. In addition, the crisis in Ukraine to the EU, the need for change in energy supply sources emphasized the importance of the manifestation. Florentine out from this view, he stated that the source of the hydrocarbon in the Eastern Mediterranean has an important role on behalf of creating an alternative to the EU. For the solution of the Cyprus problem "*Today will be what it will be*" using expressions Florentine, is outdated in the current situation of a divided island and argued that it is in everyone's losing position. He also emphasized the importance of the role to be played by Turkey in the solution of the Cyprus problem (KıbrısManşet, Fransız Büyükelçi, Güney Kıbrıs'a Hidrokarbon Üretim, İhracat ve Naklinde "Rol Biçiyor", 2014).

EU, with the encouragement of hydrocarbon which has said it wants to play an active role in the solution of the Cyprus problem. European Council President Herman Van Rompuy said, "*If all Cypriots and the EU would benefit from the solution of the Cyprus problem and the request of the parties on the island and the UN to endorse the EU is ready to assume a more active role*" he expressed (TürkAjansıKıbrıs, Rompuy: "AB desteklemeye hazır", 2014). The European Commission President Candidate, Jean-Claude Juncker, during a visit to GCA Europe, the UN has, and stated that the parties to the Cyprus problem to be accurate and willing to play a more active role for a lasting solution. Juncker, thanks to the island's oil deposits in the Cypriot Ministry of Education has noted that it will play a more important role in the energy field of the EU platform (abhaber, Jean-ClaudeJuncker'den Kıbrıs sorunuyla ilgili açıklamalar..., 2014).

Although not want to take an active role in resolving the problem, the EU has supported the GASC during drilling and GASC bilateral agreements could be signed as an independent state, and the United Nations International Law reported that the right to use as they wish natural resources in the jurisdiction of the Law of the Sea Convention requires (Kohen, 2011). The EU also stressed the need to maintain their neutrality lost its good neighbourly relations with Turkey and the GCA member Turkey has warned not to use force against a state. In recent international meetings in areas envisaged by the Greek Cypriot Administration and Greece as the EU's Eastern Mediterranean economic area it seems to accept. The EU, on behalf of Cyprus to become an active force in the international system by taking advantage of geopolitics

in a way represents the whole island GCA has accepted as a full member of the EU (Ergör, 2011, s. 155). Such applications confidence between the parties in the Cyprus problem and issues are extremely negative effects bears a more complex dimension (Sandıklı, A., vd., 2013, s. 41).

GCA world trying to create the perception that they are the sole representatives of the island's public and has taken initiatives to strengthen the position of the EU energy supply Kind. Greek newspaper Simerini on the subject, GCA President Nikos Anastasiadis Israel and the Arab world drew attention to the statement that they are an important alternative energy supplier to the EU because of the good relations. Anastasiadis description in the eastern Mediterranean would be an alternative energy production and supply centre for the EU, in the position of being in the future, natural gas producers also argued that GCA is an integral part of these plans. In addition, the EU has expressed his satisfaction with the GCA's understanding of the possibility of an alternative energy corridor (KıbrısGazetesi, Maraş için baskı yapacak, 2014).

The problem with the EU energy supply security in the Crimean crisis peaked between RF and Ukraine. In case of crisis, the EU side, the road has experienced discrimination in its relations with the RF. European Commissioner responsible for Energy Gunther Oettinger, the message will work more closely with the administration in Kiev: *"Ukraine is a part of the EEC and we are in a period presidency of Ukraine. Due to the membership in a part of our domestic market"* has given the words (EnerjiEnstitüsü, AB Rus gazına bağımlılığı azaltmanın yolunu arıyor, 2014). EU gas imports from 30% of the RF and half of it is trying to reduce dependence on the rate due to RF through Ukraine. However, monthly income earned from RF EU to be around 5 billion dollars, and considering the continuous increase in domestic consumption in Europe to reduce its dependence on RF seems impossible in the short term. At the beginning of the important steps taken by the EU to reduce its dependence on RF in Rome on May 6, 2014 G-7 countries are becoming the meeting held between the ministers of energy. Primarily the reduction of energy dependence on RF energy policy at this meeting and the EU's experience has been tabled. The meeting agenda is a summary of the German Energy Minister Sigmar Gabriel, *"how could the RF to reduce dependence on short term I do not know*

anyone who can tell us" what he describes as the sentence. In fact, the interests of the energy companies have different rates and RF dependence of the EU Member States contrary to the EU, it is one of the factors that strengthen the hands of the RF (AlJazeera, AB Enerjide Yeni Kaynak Peşinde, 2014; abhaber, Rusya'sız G8'in gündemi enerji, 2014).

The role of hydrocarbon exploration in the Eastern Mediterranean and Cyprus, the Ukraine and the Russian gas crisis after the emergence of the problem to supply the European market increased considerably. Therefore, only the result of drilling in the Cypriot Ministry of Education confirmed that Cyprus and not foreign companies, the desire to diversify energy sources also expect the EU. Natural Gas analysis carried out in Europe for Ukraine crisis on the website, owned and transferred to the Eastern Mediterranean great perspective can provide solutions to the EU's efforts to be dependent on RF energy. In the analysis, it has been emphasized that it should be possible to resolve political issues in the region (TürkAjansıKıbrıs, Ukrayna Krizi Kıbrıs'ın Doğalgaz Beklentilerini Yükseltti, 2014).

EU, and RF to reduce its dependence on the beginning of the steps it intends to take for supply diversification strategy comes the Southern Corridor Project. Deputy Head of EU Delegation to Turkey on this project for Bela Szombati, held in Istanbul on "*Oil and Gas Conference*", the EU's energy sources and transfer routes has said it aims to diversify. Szombati, South Corridor will strengthen the long-term cooperation in the EU's energy policy with Turkey, "*Turkey Turkmenistan potentially, Iraq, Israel, Cyprus may perhaps make it possible for the flow of Iranian gas to Europe*" he is mentioned the words. Szombati, the European Commission is ready to work together with Turkey within the scope of energy "*provided new perspectives for exploration in the Eastern Mediterranean region. The studies showed that the economic benefits of a pipeline which will connect Israel and Cyprus to Turkey. The next 2 years to follow policies and investment decisions are extremely important. We are closely following developments related to exploration in the eastern Mediterranean. Cooperation between countries of the region and the EU will increase the potential here*" has approved the words (Szombati, 2014).

In addition to all these explanations the European Parliament on 12 March 2014 adopted in Turkey's progress report on Turkey, the move has been emphasized as central to the way energy is of strategic importance. The report also drew attention to the importance of the involvement of Turkey in the formulation of the EU's energy policy. Europe is particularly dependent on natural gas RF union. An important part of the gas is transported via Ukraine. The crisis in Ukraine is difficult to put the EU in terms of energy supply diversification and promotes seek alternative routes (Karabat, AB, Türkiye'yi rayda tutmak istiyor, 2014).

Be transported to Europe via Bulgaria by the EU targeted RF moves before seeking alternative routes South Stream natural gas pipeline through Turkey instead and they cancelled the project has announced a joint project to do and 63 bcm of gas will be transported through Turkey. The EU has taken on the East Sea in response to the RF Corridor agenda. EU Energy Commissioner Sefkovitc Maroni, in order to ensure the energy security of the EU Energy Ministers GCA and Greece on 10 December 2014 Israel, GCA, Greece and Italy met to consider the issue of the establishment of the Eastern Mediterranean Corridor. During the meeting different countries of the region politically viable options for the economic use of hydrocarbon deposits were made in the evaluation of the EU could benefit from the call. European Commission sources have indicated that the project in question has long been closely followed and account books of the subject matter (abhaber, AB, Rusya ve Türkiye'ye 'Doğu Akdeniz Koridoru'yla cevap vermeyi gündemine aldı, 2014). But it was not seen as a project that can be done to get more support so far by the EU.

3. 5. 1. 3. 3. Russian Federation

Its energy that could result in an efficient way to evaluate the economic and military potential of the international platform, an experienced RF government to develop policy in this direction, national interests should the global party acting on Cyprus is another. Because Cyprus, has an important place in Russian foreign policy since the Soviet era (Dede, İsrail'in Doğu Akdeniz'deki Alternatif Politikaları, 2012). Indeed, former Prime Minister of Greece George Papandreou's grandfather, George Papandreou, in June 1964, US President Johnson "*does not immediately connect to*

the NATO island of Cyprus, will be transferred to Cuba" has sent a letter of warning (Ellis, 2012). This letter is important RF Soviet era to demonstrate his interest in the island since then.

Cyprus important in geostrategic terms of oil transit lines from the Mediterranean controller has an advantage. Therefore, making the control of power lines in the region and in order to ensure the safety of the sea routes RF collaborating countries reached a high importance of Cyprus. Cyprus, RF in the Mediterranean in general, and in specific terms is one of the important pillars of the policy to maintain its influence in the Middle East. Therefore, RF, Cyprus still prefer to have an independent or at least a neutral, if not pro-Russian government. RFI also has the desire to be independent and to see the island as a NATO base. Therefore, the government's trend in Greece, is helping to determine the RF's Cyprus policy (Yılmaz, 2009).

RF energy security in the Middle East and East and the Mediterranean main goal is to have more powers as well as its strategic location as possible (Işık, 2010, s. 98; Kantörün, 2010, s. 87). Indeed, the RF Ambassador to Cyprus Vyacheslav Shumskiy Moscow's Cyprus's sovereignty, notably to support research into energy sources (Mominkulov, 2012). RF has submitted proposals therefore immediately into action with Gazprom via Cyprus and Israel for the construction of a pipeline to transport the gas supply to Europe will be issued before the open in Greece and in Cyprus (Ellis, 2012). On the other hand, Gazprom executives also did not hesitate to openly states that they want to have a say in the control of Israel before Europe has made efforts in the region to be affected by the monopoly and hydrocarbon bearing (CihanHaberAjansı, Gazprom, Kıbrıs'ta Petrol Aramaktan Vazgeçmiyor, 2012). RF investments in the energy sector by means of strengthening economic relations with Israel and seeks to create long-term cooperation GCA field.

Keep the geostrategic GCA will ensure that RF is the only port in the eastern Mediterranean. So he wants to keep a strong strategic relationship with GCA allies. RF, on a similar Soviet-era naval forces to provide military balance in the region has continuously take decisions in the Mediterranean. RF navy in the Mediterranean has established the Mediterranean Emergency Response group to operate permanently. Currently, the Mediterranean group alternately Pacific, Northern, Baltic and Black

Sea fleets are involved depending on the ship. This ship is the only official contracted logistics support RF port can be used in the Mediterranean port of Tartus is made from. Wanting to achieve strategic gains in the region of RF, it may cause the maximum chaos in Syria is willing to take advantage of opportunities that may arise uncontrolled embodiments.

RF hands of the most powerful warships in the Mediterranean has appointed for this purpose. One of them, named Peter the Great cruiser was anchored in the port of Limassol on 13 February, 2014. Greek Defence Minister Fotis Foti, the Russian warships have visited and said that in the following; that the affected vessels and warships from the firepower pointed to the political benefit of coming to the island. Foti is, while he fought for peace and stability factor in the region GCA of such visits, the good relations between the RF and GCA from the past and for the support they gave to the Greeks of Cyprus problem has thanked the RF. Relationships as GCA, including the security and defence stated that they wanted to strengthen at all levels (CihanHaberAjansı, Rus savaş gemisi limasol limanına demir attı, 2014).GCA also the Cabinet, proposing you to benefit from Andreas Papandrea air base near Paphos of Russian aircraft in the draft proposal of the Ministry of Defence has confirmed January 10, 2014 (Cyprus-Mail, 2014).

RF Navy is connected to a Northern Fleet "Vice-Admiral Kulakov" big anti-submarine ship at April 15, 2014 in the Mediterranean Emergency Response to attend the Group of Severomorsk movement of 21 thousand nautical floor by Spain's Ceuta port, two times in La Valletta in Malta Harbour View and three times visited the Limassol port in GCA. The ship also participated in joint exercises conducted in the Mediterranean regions of the Eastern Mediterranean Emergency Response Group has strengthened its presence and activity in the region want to RF (RusyanınSesiRadyosu, Akdeniz'de Görev Yapacak Rus Savaş Gemisi Türkiye'de, 2014)

Europe sold a total of only 167 bcm of gas in 2013, RF, East is not right to speak about the control of resources in the Mediterranean will be reduced if the share of the energy market and will suffer significant price losses. It will also have the chance to create an alternative to dependence on Russian gas supply to European

Eastern Mediterranean. RF, alongside the political and economic initiatives in the region wants to avoid such a possibility with a naval force planning.

RF Cyprus problem, the need to support the GCA national interests from the very beginning. GCA since former President Dimitris Christofias, RF has said they were ready to help in the solution of the Cyprus problem. RF Foreign Minister Sergei met with Lavrov Christofias, Lavrov said, *"Cyprus problem, the solution of that stated that the responsibility of the Cypriot and RF combined to ensure the independence of the Cyprus government is ready to help the right solution"* has told him. Christofias Lavrov, NATO has announced solutions that guarantee or they consent to Cyprus is the message for NATO membership. Christofias also GASC, so far the sanctions applied to the RF for the Ukrainian crisis motivated attitude that pleased the RF Council of Europe has also expressed (TürkAjansıKıbrıs, Rusya, çözüme yardımcı olmaya hazır, 2014). However, it led to the emergence of short-term market concerns about the RF energy crisis in Ukraine. Because half of the energy markets and distributes the EU via Ukraine.

RF Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the EU sanctions list expanded disclosures for relations with the EU, Moscow has been pointed out that showed that plans to terminate the cooperation. Ministry, *"was completely dependent on the EU tale told about the events in Washington and Kiev in Ukraine. He deprived himself as well as alternative source of unbiased information"* was the phrase used. RF Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at the EU's political and economic areas has stressed the need to bear the consequences of this irresponsible steps (abhaber, Rusya: AB Tamamen Washington'a Bağımlı Oldu, 2014). RF has implemented the new energy policy and rapid decision-making process. One of these policies has been the signing of a gas deal worth \$ 400 billion with China in May, 2014. According to the Eurasian RF market as a result of the agreement with China to realize, Gazprom since 2018 covering nearly one quarter of China's annual demand of new pipelines will start delivering gas quantities (AnadoluAjansı, Çin ve Rusya'nın Enerji İş Birliği, 2014). With this agreement made RF, much more self-confident attitude could insert his energy in the negotiations with the EU.

Besides China and RF energy agreements, in particular the increasingly powerful strategic cooperation in the Mediterranean began to act together. SCO

members have made these two countries at the end of a four-day exercise in the Eastern Mediterranean in January 2014 while carrying chemical weapons in Syria. SCO security agreement signed in 2007 within the scope of these two countries joint military exercises in the Mediterranean, China and RF in the new plans and strategies in the region against the US and its allies gave the message that they can find (Tarakçı, 2014). RF and China, targeting to achieve, in cooperation with the relevant geopolitical objectives they plan on Mediterranean First Deputy Chairman of the RF Academy of Geopolitical Issues Konstantin Sivkov; *"It will pass quite a challenge for the Eastern Mediterranean, which will be in the future. If this situation here better analyse RF and China has entered into an alliance to create a strong effort. What China, nor a group that can resist the RF NATO fleet does not have the capacity to create alone. But together they can overcome it if they do not move. Therefore, China's cooperation in the Mediterranean and RF is very realistic and concrete cases"* summed up the words (RusyanınSesiRadyosu, 2014).

RF and China in 2015 in the Mediterranean has decided to conduct a joint naval exercise. According to the RF Defense Minister Shoigu has stated that 2015 will be held in the Mediterranean in the spring of this exercise, which later turned into a regular exercise plan. RF President Putin is also extremely pleased RF and without the cooperation and convergence between the Chinese navy *"of cooperation between both countries say history is the highest level, not an exaggeration"* and expressed saying. Putin also is very important for Moscow in the Mediterranean *"RF's primary national interests of the Mediterranean area"* he explained the words (Gürdeniz, 2014).

The EU's political and economic areas to implement sanctions against RF. Another policy has been conducted cancel the South Stream project. South Stream instead of Turkey and Turkey agreed to build on the RF Movement has played its trump card against the sanctions. So Turkey has offered a kind of partnership, both economically and politically. Putin at a press conference held on the topic *"more guarantees from the pipeline will pass from Turkey, there is no more reliable routes. We have decided to turn a new pipeline project to Turkey direction. We have done well. Thus, the first Turkey needs additional natural gas will be taken from us. When it reaches the pipeline will pass through Turkey, Greece boundaries do not ask me*

what to expect. Think of it are European countries. I would say that only the most reliable and economical route of the gas pipeline will be based on the borders of Europe via Turkey" made a statement.

Said a news conference in RF Crimea answer to the question of linking Ukraine from tearing itself changing its stance on the Cyprus issue that Putin "*has not changed our attitude about our Cyprus. Russia will serve the interests of both sides on the island are in favor of a just solution. We will continue to monitor balanced policies for the solution of the Cyprus issue. We are not the best recipe offered outside the ideal solution in Cyprus, we believe they will find in consultation between the two communities*" he said (Hacıoğlu, 2014).

3. 5. 1.3. 4. England

Cyprus's guarantor status because England colonial past and is another global event on the side of Cyprus. Cyprus to England; Mediterranean via the Suez Canal and enjoys a strategic position to control the sea lanes extending the Pacific and Indian Ocean. Cyprus is available is an important tactical and strategic air force bases in the placement of characters. In this context, the protection of the Suez Canal and the Eastern Mediterranean in terms of security are the UK's two military bases in Dhekelia and Akrotiri. Indeed, the land, which can be used with air and naval bases in the UK will be able to use a regional candidate in the battle for communications and logistical support (Çakar, 2002, s. 327). With the establishment of the Cyprus Therefore, in 1960 the UK has set its policy on Cyprus through the main axis points towards continued presence of its own bases on the island. England can watch as all kinds of close military and diplomatic negotiations surrounding its digital listening systems in these centres can be controlled in the maritime transport (Canyaş, H., Kocakuşak, S., Canyaş, F.O., 2013, s. 111-128). Indeed, in England Cyprus problem, since the exhibit attitudes that produce a solution for the protection of the base with. Besides, England recently showed interest in exchange thoughts with access to the eastern Mediterranean occurred on energy geopolitics of energy resources in Cyprus, and even been involved. HMS Enterprise has made the British oil exploration off the Limassol between the British bases (Başeren S. H., 2011, s. 27). And also receives a

House of Lords decision in the territory of the base of hydrocarbon exploration in Cyprus is not in GASC authority argued that the jurisdiction of the British (Akşam, 2013). This implies a more active attitude to play if there is sufficient amount of hydrocarbon resources in the UK to Cyprus (Tamçelik, S. ve Kurt, E., 2014, s. 892).

Indeed GCA leader Nicos Anastasiades and Greek Foreign Minister Yoannis Kasulidis, in their statement, they put forward the view that the UK contributes to the security of natural gas in the region. In the said meeting British Defence Minister Michael Fallon, *"the presence of natural gas, the region in greater security and prosperity to the formation of the EU's energy needs which will provide a greater contribution"* stated the opinion that.

British Defence Minister Michael Fallon with GCA President Nikos Anastasiadis between Fallon's meeting held on August 17, 2014 *"evaluation of the field in the Cyprus Ministry of Education, the role of the more show is an important opportunity for Cyprus and in terms of being an element of stability in the region"* has been said. Fallon performs negotiations on behalf of the UK having previously served as the Minister of Energy is indicative of the energy task-cantered interview. During a call it has been made particularly emphasized the strategic importance of Cyprus for the first time after 1974, conducted a meeting with the Head of UK Defence Secretary GCA own initiative. Greek government sources Fallon-Anastasiadis interview 50 years after the actual US Vice President Joe left reconcile with Biden's visit and the talks *"West of Cyprus recognizes the very important role in the region"* they pointed out. As a priority issue in Fallon hydrocarbon-Anastasiadis calls are handled. Fallon, on behalf of natural gas is an element of stability in the region, especially in terms of Cyprus has pointed out that an important opportunity. Also Fallon, maintain Cyprus's progress in the energy perspective opened in Cyprus and expressed their satisfaction with the implication needed (GündemKıbrıs, Sürpriz Fallon-Anastasiadis görüşmesi, 2014).

British Foreign Secretary William Hague, the GCA is the law of the country in the so-called exclusive economic zone and said it fully supports. The Hague regarding the Cyprus problem, *"Britain in the Kingdom, as well as in all European countries want to see a solution in Cyprus. What we want to see the lines are very well established. We will continue to encourage all parties to progress towards a*

solution"has exerted. He also said the benefits to be obtained regarding the use of resources by the British that they were in favour of the future for all Cypriots (haberx, 2011).

Britain's Foreign Ministry spokesman on research and drilling in crisis between the TRNC and Greek Cypriot Administration by Turkey, the sovereign rights for the evaluation of the reserves in the country's EEZ has expressed their recognition of the GCA (İhlasHaberAjansı, Başbakan Davutoğlu Yunan Basınında, 2014).

However, while there Ukrainian crisis between RF and the EU Council of Ministers in January 2015 GCA opening of Andreas Papandreu RF base at Paphos town in RF by the Board were adopted. This situation has been confronted with a base on the island of GCA and Britain. Britain's ambassador to the island Damien Roberick Todd Greeks *"gas crisis in the eastern Mediterranean and RF bases"* in the subject has warned. Todd interesting contrast to the previous statement, the Greek Cypriots strongly opposed by Turkey and the TRNC by supporting the steps on the gas crisis in the eastern Mediterranean, *"Turkey has not signed the UN's maritime exclusive agreements in determining economic boundaries. Therefore, determining the borders of the Eastern Mediterranean is questionable agreements without Turkey. There are also negotiations on the Cyprus issue is now between natural gas. UN Secretary General's special adviser on Eide We fully support all efforts in the UK. Isolation of the TRNC should be lifted. UN Secretary-General also referred to the removal of this isolation. EU regulation for direct trade with the Turkish Cypriots also have"* been found in the words of warning for GCA. The Greek Cypriot leader Anastasiadis implicitly threatened Britain reacted to this statement and on the bases against England in Cyprus *"too much"* in that they make it easy (Bilge Ö. , İngiltere uyardı, Rum lider tehdit etti, 2015).

3. 5. 1.3. 5. China

Large land owned by large and productive population, natural resources, the economy continued to grow, to have veto power in the UNSC, in terms of nuclear weapons capability and international policies affect power, China today is identity is

an important global player in international relations (Tamçelik, Çin'in Son Gelişmeler Işığında Doğu Akdeniz ve Kıbrıs Algısı, 2012).

Until economic development initiatives in 1978, which does not need an international energy policy in China, planned the arrival of Deng's ruling and since the beginning of 1990 as a result of development initiatives that manifests itself mean there has been a growth of 9%. This growth has brought China to the forefront of its oil needs. In 1995, oil production-consumption balance in sync, and the country has become since then it produces more than it consumes (Karaca, 2003, s. 158). Depending on the growth trends experienced in China has become the second largest economy in the world since 2010. Indeed, in 1996 the world's energy consumption to 9.6% of China in 2020 is estimated to consume 16.1% (Cole, 2003). This consumption rate in 2035 according to the projections will be more than the total consumption in India and the United States. In an article in the press about the issue in 2013 to buy 24 bcm of LNG area of China, Japan and South Korea after it was emphasized that the third largest LNG importer in the world (KıbrısManşet, Çin, Doğalgaz Üretimini Üçe Katladı, 2014).

Energy for China to achieve seamless continuation of the economic development, the increase of people's welfare comes meant to ensure the continuation of the rapid modernization of the army and the regime. Therefore, to achieve reliable energy source to sustain the country's economy, it constitutes one of the main objectives of China's foreign policy. Countries with energy resources in China is seen as a priority for the country to build relationships. This underdeveloped or developing countries, most of the Middle East and African countries have also facilitate building relationships in China. (Karaca, Çin'in Değişen Enerji Stratejisinin Dış Politikasına Etkileri (1990–2010)., 2012, s. 93-95). However, Middle East countries, particularly from the US and EU countries to supply energy, dragging China into the narrow strait (Sevim, C., 2010, s. 62-63).

Energy security, which is the main cause of global strategy at the centre of attention in this work is the energy needs of China Eastern Mediterranean. China, in particular within the framework of policies to strengthen position in the eastern Mediterranean, Turkey, Israel, and has been trying to strengthen its relations with regional actors, including GCA. In this context, Chinese companies often began to

visit Cyprus. In fact, "China National Offshore Oil Corporation" of a Chinese company called natural gas, which will be issued as a result of the construction activities in the Mediterranean Sea pipe will carry ashore and was reported to be bidding for work to be done to liquefy natural gas. One of the major sources of the Greek press, according to Politis newspaper, the processing of natural gas in China of 12 parcels to be directly involved in the process thoroughly and have claimed they want. In addition to this, the Chinese have suggested that they want to get in the Delek Company with Noble Energy. Also by the newspaper, the Chinese company's interest in the carry only liquefaction terminal or natural gas to land pipeline construction in investing in the construction is not limited also on the export and liquefaction of natural gas, "*a key player*" has been the desire to be (PolitisGazetesi, Doğalgaza Çin de ortak olmak istiyor, 2012).

In a similar media reports China's, its investment plans for the development of hydrocarbon reserves GCA and especially natural gas liquefaction terminal is planned to be built in Vassilikos have mentioned that you want to play their role. In this context, a delegation from China was met with Greek Energy Minister Giorgos Lakkotripis. Lakkotripis press release on the subject, and expressed that there is a great interest in the energy sector in China. This interest in all production and distribution chain; pumping and transportation of natural gas in other words, processing, trade and distribution, said that it contained. In continuation of the same news at the meeting of officials from the Chinese delegation, in order to benefit from the research done and the plot was allegedly unilaterally declared parcels requested from the Greek Ministry of Education (KıbrısManşet, Çin Doğal Gaz Sıvılaştırma Terminalinde Rol İstiyor, 2014; CihanHaberAjansı, Çin'in Kıbrıs planı deşifre oldu, 2012). In another news that Chinese companies CNOOC's desire to take 30% of the shares of companies operating in the Aphrodite field, it has said that the GCA was quite satisfied with the wish to enter the game as a major player in China (KıbrısManşet, "Mısır Terminaliyle İlgili Anlaşma Bizi Etkilemiyor", 2014).

China has seen the Cyprus issue as a priority in terms of economic interests. The safety of the Cyprus issue and was interested only hydrocarbons due to serve a strategic purpose. Explaining he would support a solution to the Cyprus issue by the UNSC, China is looking so hot solution to be found within the EU framework.

Because of the NATO-wing interests in the region to prevent the Cyprus issue with the EU and regional balance it is willing to use to turn in his favour.

On the other hand, China, with 10 years of talks continued after the RF has signed agreements worth 400 billion dollars, corresponding to a quarter of annual natural gas requirements in May, 2014 (AnadoluAjansı, Çin ve Rusya'nın Enerji İş Birliği, 2014). And outside of China as a strategic partner of RF energy deal, the rich energy resources in the Middle East under Western control and to prevent the entry into NATO decided to deploy in the Mediterranean to make constant balance against the military. China, the region's sending the navy to the Mediterranean for the first time in history in 2012 showed the importance that the supply for himself (Erandaç, 2012). Chinese naval fleet arrived in the region in subsequent periods, the first time in 2015, Russian warships are planning to carry out joint exercises in NATO's borders. RF also welcomes the cooperation between the two countries navies. RF First Vice-President of the Academy of Geopolitical Issues Konstantin Sivkov about China's activities in the Mediterranean; *"China is making plans to deploy a team regularly in the Mediterranean. Because of the rich energy resources in the Middle East in terms of preventing the entry under the full control of the West needs a solid warranty. And act in accordance with this plan known as the West. This fact is well aware that China is eager to have a military and political support in support of the current policy in the Mediterranean by being focused on this area. Modern and powerful warships owned by the Chinese, the Chinese presence in the Mediterranean can become a brilliant display"* in the description (RusyanınSesiRadyosu, 2014).

3. 5. 2. Probable Scenarios for Cyprus

Acting in the interests of effective power in the strategic importance of Cyprus and it is possible to produce a wide range of scenarios for the future. On it accomplished in the short term in the equations established in the eastern Mediterranean hydrocarbons scenario Rinse and Cyprus over Turkey because it is the least costly and there is also accessible by road with the assumption transported to Europe. Many of the scenarios produced does not have the opportunity to realize a very short period of time. Because the deadlock has emerged as a solution as far. By

placing the interests of the countries of the energy factor into the equation it seems to be vary. However, the United States, with major powers such as the EU, like Turkey and Greece, with regional players can focus on the future outlines several scenarios considering. Possible scenarios are summarized focusing on the energy equation focus.

3. 5. 2.1. Cyprus Scenario 1: The only Greek in the Sovereign and the United Cyprus's EU Membership

Greek sovereignty and management designed to unite under the island will be assimilated into Turkish society over time. To give more concessions to the structure of the Greek scenario is fictional, it will ensure that dominates the entire island spread over time to the entire Greek Cyprus. All of the EU assistance will be carried out under the control of the Greeks to serve the purpose of the dissolution of the Turkish side. Which means the elimination of the Turkish society has no applicability in any negotiation process of this scenario.

The winners in this scenario will be applied in case of GCA and Greece. Greece Turkey's sovereignty over the Aegean Sea and over Cyprus to escape the guarantor of and activities will buttress. In addition, the whole of the island with the whole of Cyprus joining the EU will reach its goal of entering into its orbit. Partly to get rid of it by energy exports contained in the GCA can perform both of these problems, such as economic hardship will relieve Greece and EU policies.

The GCA has over forty years he dreamed of "*one state*", "*single citizenship*" will reach the dream. Also with actual scenarios derived from natural gas revenues to be obtained from the Cyprus territorial waters will be freed from the two communities to share. Ministry of Education in Cyprus eliminate the disappearance of another route option left Turkey international markets more costly and take longer, albeit in transport will be provided. But the failure to reach a solution on the Cyprus problem in a win-win plane and economic relations cannot normalize relations with Turkey will not be developed.

Fuzzy stakeholders in this scenario are the US, EU, Israel and RF; losers are Turkish Cypriot community and Turkey.

The most important target of the RF region and Middle East to the Mediterranean with the US scenario will allow for partially excluded. The interaction with countries of the region will be reduced and will emerge RF energy design it will take place under his control. However, the win-win equation that cannot be seated go to comprehensive cooperation on hydrocarbons with a solution and optimal projects on energy will not be realized. For example, Turkey, "*The Turkish Movement*" will be able to pursue policies aimed at further strengthening ties with alternative relationships RF on energy as it is. Such a state policy aimed at reducing the equity and efficiency of the RF shall be excluded from the negative developments in the US to pursue.

The island's hydrocarbon wealth with the solution of the Cyprus problem for the EU, albeit costly alternative ways of medium / long term stream will be provided in Europe, the EU's energy needs will be relatively satisfied. However, the EU wants Cyprus and a Cyprus as a whole is melted under the rule of the Turkish Cypriot side sees as a base. Thus the EU, in Turkey and in the area of energy planning will be addressed to get rid of both the Turkish side of the island. However, the Mediterranean's largest coastline in the energy policy issues of mutual tension with Turkey will not restrict the security of energy supply will continue to be implemented. In addition, the economically most advantageous routes from Turkey with this scenario, the option will be forced to risk being deprived.

Global stakeholders are excluded from the calculation of energy will make efforts to normalize relations between Turkey and Israel. Thus, this solution will be able to continue to export its gas via Turkey, Israel voltage policies will be deprived of a large market such as Turkey. Alternative transportation routes and costly projects such as GCA will be forced to turn to.

The eastern Mediterranean island of Cyprus RF and geopolitical events is greatly loses over US and EU will be lost. But with energy policy will apply in particular Turkey will try to maintain its influence in the region by drawing on their side.

Turkish Cypriot community is one of the losing side. The isolation of the Turkish Cypriot community for many years but exposed and to get rid of economic sanctions "*Involvement in International Law and Political equality*" rights will be

faced with the danger of assimilation searching. Greek domination on the island in time, will melt with the support of the EU and Turkish society will be destroyed. The red line of the Turkish society about bi-communality scenario is contrary to the bi-zonal and political equality.

Turkey will remain the guarantor of rights of audience due to expire over time to assimilate the Turkish presence on the island will be able to claim on the island. As a counterpart to the problems experienced with the Greeks because of the Cyprus EU territory will qualify by the EU will manifest factors. That may occur around the island of Cyprus security, it will be excluded from the calculation because of new developments relating to the economy and energy.

3. 5. 2.2. Cyprus Scenario 2: Based on the political equality of the bi-zonal and bi-communal Federation

Based on the political equality of the two communities, this scenario may result in an agreement in the form of a bi-communal federation. 1977-1979 High Level Agreements and the relevant UNSC resolutions envisage these parameters. The negotiations are continuing on the scenario created for the relevant parameters.

Turkish Cypriot negotiator Kudret Özersay period between Greek negotiator Andreas Mavroyannis at a meeting on June 4, 2014 notifications have been made for this scenario. After the meeting on the selection of the executive president of the federation newly formed Greek Cypriot Greek Cypriots, vice president of evaluating the proposal that Turkish Cypriots Özersay the proposal of the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot community "*politically equal*" was said to show that and equally it underlines the need for recognition of human rights to individuals It has drawn. In Özersay statement, "Political equality is a social right. Political equality is not a federation, if you reduce the unit you are talking about individual rights from the state. Moreover a special federation in Cyprus, which is a federation concerned to be its special properties. This bi-communal, bi-zonal and political equality, "he emphasized to Turkish society's red lines (Kalfaoğlu O. , 2014).

The Greek part of one state, one citizenship, is supporting a federal solution on the basis of institutional and economic union (Senay and Ekinici, 2014, p. 19).

Indeed, Cyprus 2015 report (Internationalcrisisgroup, 2014) by 58 percent of Greek Cypriots to the issue of shared jurisdiction of the two communities, 54 per cent of Turkish Cypriots oppose.

Although it is difficult under the current circumstances of this scenario, given that happen, especially to obtain a two-state gains it will be expressed in the resolution that the third scenario of energy issues and the EU-US-Turkey-Cypriot-Turk Cutting-Greece-Israel win-win will take the place of the equation. RF will remain in the turbid state. However, this scenario theoretical and opportunity there is little ability to operate in the long term successful solution may seem as a form of differentiated also by estranged for many years two separate societies of political equality and co-management factor in a system based on a federation on paper. In negotiating unsuccessfully for many years it is the clearest example. Specifically cited in a solid foundation for long-term and win-win equation in East sees as an alternative energy source to the EU Mediterranean, the case of realization of solutions that provide uninterrupted peace is a real reliable energy flow can be achieved. Who want to build on a remote secure foundation of chaos and the risk of EU energy policy but in this case it will be to provide an alternative source of energy security.

3. 5. 2.3. Cyprus Scenario 3: Two-State Scenerio

Forty years on the above-mentioned solution option clergy, businessmen and politicians that have participated in the parties is observed that in many ways stuck in the current deadlock in the negotiations so far carried out thousands of times. Greek state system by supporting the cutting unit in a way that contrasts strongly opposed to bi-communal division however, is to appeal to as many aspects of the bi-zonal federation. According to a study done by 32% of Greek Cypriots political equality (Beyatlı, D., Papadopoulou, K., Kaymak, E., 2011, s. 48), the federal government 31%, 19% two-zonality, bi-communality 18% and 15% support equal constituent states. The two communities on the sharing of powers is opposed by 58%. The Turks cut the first individual advocates a two-state solution by 79%. In case of realization of the principle of equality has to be based on 69% of the federation system is

supported. About the sine qua non of the Turkish Society for the federation system TRNC Presidential Spokesman Osman referring to Ertug Greek side, *"them a possible comprehensive agreement, but taking into account Cyprus's specific conditions and current realities, we would like to remind you might be on the basis of two constituent states of equal status"* as was found in the description (GündemKıbrıs, "Kıbrıs Türk tarafı, al –ver sürecine geçmeye hazır", 2014).In light of these facts ever direct / indirect parties in the negotiations, including initiatives and it is clear why none of the negotiations is not working.

In coming to this point is undoubtedly many causes. Nearly half a century the island's de facto division, the existence of two separate states, the population under the age of 50 on both sides threatened to have coexistence, coercion, abstraction, negotiation, mediation and be encouraged as all methods that could not be the result of ongoing negotiations for 40 years, although tested for significance It is an undeniable factor. In addition, experienced increasingly differentiated from each other in many areas of the two communities in the process, it has undermined the belief that a lasting peace is a federal or confederal solution (Bingöl, Kıbrıs'ta Yeni Paradigma: AB Üyesi Bağımsız KKTC?, 2014).

While the state is so essential to turn to untested ideas to reach a solution. According to the two-state International Crisis Group performs detailed research in this direction, the solution can be tried now. They perform research, interviews and analysis, demonstrate that severely reduced in recent years, the possibility of the reunification of the federal roof. Year unable to progress through peaceful status quo instead of models and studies can be initiated to reflect the interests of all Cypriots. This independence of the Turkish Cypriots in the EU should be the fact that the centre of the work should be mutually acceptable.

3. 5. 2. 3. 1. GASC and TRNC Agreement docking Recognition by a Group or Many States (Cyprus Taiwanization – Kosovoization to):

In this scenario to leave the negotiating table and GCA can occur if it is accepted by the international community of this situation. In such a case, the federation option will no longer be the only solution advocated by the international community. Thus, the links between Cyprus and the rest of the world will be strengthened in a normal way. Related scenario "*of Cyprus and Kosovo Taiwanization*" is called. Taiwanization, with many states without any formal recognition of Cyprus, which means the strengthening of the relationship. On the other hand Kosovoization TRNC is recognized by a group of state but refers to the condition of being a member of the UN (Sözen, 2014, s. 39).

In the context of sustainability and public welfare "Kosovoization" the probability they look intimate. Because this model with the current situation will not change, it will be established only international trade links (Milliyet, Kıbrıs için Tayvan modeli, 2011; Milliyet, Kıbrıs için B planı, 2013).

Kosovoization defenders of the idea of the TRNC should be promoted as well as an internationally recognized state with a legal personality, because of the lack of isolation of Turkish Cypriots, they think that means to gain economic independence (Beyatlı, D., Papadopoulou, K., Kaymak, E., 2011, s. 49, 51-52).

Indeed, the capital of Hungary on 16 October 2014 was opened representative office in Budapest Cyprus (Başaran, 2015). Located in Central Europe is an important step towards the removal of these developments, the recognition of the TRNC and embargo starting from Hungary.

Because of the no compromise when incorporated energy factor in the Eastern Mediterranean in hand on behalf of the transfer of power held by GASC's hand did not want to take advantage of different route options absence, and as soon as the power is expected to rise from the table in the long term. Therefore realization of the mentioned issues is very low probability scenario. Likewise, the Turkish Cypriot community also thinks there is a temporary solution to this model and are

not satisfactory (Taiwanization 50% Kosovoization 46%) (InternationalCrisisGroup, 2014).

3. 5. 2. 3. 2. Under the umbrella of the EU side, as Emergence of Two Different Countries (Czechoslovakiazation)

This scenario reflects the experience of the former Czechoslovakia into two sovereign states that are members of the EU. In case of failure to obtain any result from negotiations between the parties to the realization of the previous scenarios can be realized. According to the two communities about the scenario they decide to have two different countries. So already very difficult to live with two states will go his own way. In this context, the parties to emerge as the two countries "*Czechoslovakia-ning of Cyprus*" could be called. International resistance to the new government is generally strong; but peaceful separation of the Czech Republic and Slovakia will be able to create a model, if contracted parties in Cyprus. Indeed, the International Crisis Group in March 2014 issued a report that has been demonstrated that such an option should be considered. The report acknowledges that if the Greek Cypriots according to their own interests to such a solution, the TRNC's independence, drew attention can be carried out in a rational and systematic manner. Solutions formed two new states on the island in any future division of another "*opposing the division*" is seen as very unlikely the lead. Also reported in an overwhelming way the Annan Plan "*no*" in response to the Greek, the merger plan "*yes*" emphasizes that despite the exclusion of more injustice done to the Turkish Cypriots should not be left outside by the EU (InternationalCrisisGroup, 2014, s. 29)

Alternative energy markets to achieve a moment before asking the EU and therefore the United States, as long as they can support their desire to end the deadlock on. Once this model will be recognized as a separate state in the international arena and get recognized TRNC isolation can be both economically and politically self-sufficient (Beyatlı, D., Papadopoulou, K., Kaymak, E., 2011, s. 48). It also has the advantage of separating the two sides in the case when a harmless manner and under the EU umbrella, similar to the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic is continuing to pursue a civil relationship (Sözen, 2014, s. 39). Blood

objective for this scenario, due to the absence of almost any compromise solution on this model is not seen as a possible model. However, the survey data shows that in 2010 the Greek Cypriots in velvet divorce rather prefer to continue the statuesque (Beyatlı, D., Papadopoulou, K., Kaymak, E., 2011, s. 48). Especially not progress in the negotiation process started in 2014 with great expectations and the continuation of the Greek Cypriot side has been suspended as a result of the tensions policy process by lifting the table. The negotiation process has been suspended once again showed that the promotion of global players are moving, albeit imposing solutions dream. The failed negotiations provide the agenda again the velvet divorce ideas. Cyprus 2015 Initiative, Solving the Cyprus Problem Stakeholder Panel in the Greek-speaking participants *"This was our last chance to say cliché ... The next opportunity for us to solve our own volition and our Solutions division can even request. Obviously, this is no longer a worry me. I accepted this as a real possibility"* (Beyatlı, D., Papadopoulou, K., Kaymak, E., 2011, s. 48) that summarized the situation point to the words. Plane with the inclusion of the solution of the energy factor *"energy - not including international law"* to be established in the equation will eliminate the lack of consensus in this scenario.

According to the equation players to win two state solution scenario in the US, the EU, the Greek side, the Turkish side, Turkey and Israel are the main countries. The situation in Greece and the RF will remain blurred.

A moment before trying to reach the alternative energy market with economic advantages for the EU with the permanent settlement of the Cyprus problem, Turkey will be streamed over the route of the island's hydrocarbon wealth and the EU's energy needs will be met. Secure the supply of hydrocarbon resources to Europe would be an improvement that will satisfy all parties. EU countries, thereby reducing the price of energy-intensive and could reduce dependence on RF diversifying sources in the long term it will be able to substitute some extent. This will be possible to make the sound more powerful EU's hands are tied in the face of which appeared in a variety of RF political crisis.

US relations with its strategic foothold in the region as GCA uses RF weakening in the medium term intends to exclude completely from the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East. In the US on behalf of the Eastern

Mediterranean it is important to contribute to the stability of shape allies. The re-establishment and interaction with Cyprus and Turkey GCA RF solutions by adding this line can be reduced as a result of Turkey-Israel line. Keep the value of RF energy trump card in the hands of the transfer to Europe via Turkey, the Eastern Mediterranean hydrocarbons can be limited.

The Greek Cypriot side of the island for a form of partition and recognition of the TRNC with each other, mutual recognition of the Greek Cypriot side with the solution as a result of Turkey will result in economic as a sort of Greek Cypriot side will allow the normalization of relations with Turkey sees as a window to the world. The global crisis that only a limited effect is stable for a long time Turkey's economy as a great opportunity for the Greek Cypriot side is continuing on with the solutions results will take place the opening of Turkish ports, the start of bilateral investment and trade flows will create trade and economic opportunities. In addition, together with the international market solutions in Israel and Turkey over the Cyprus territorial waters of the hydrocarbons to be obtained faster, safe and profitable transport will be provided.

Biggest gain energy in this scenario is that it will strengthen Turkey's ambitions to become a transit centre and price. Cancelled South Stream project instead of the result of negotiations conducted with said RF line is designed to pass via Turkey. This is the power in the Eastern Mediterranean, in addition to strategic move, provided the peace of activities in the energy field in Turkey as a result of the realization of the transported via Turkey will increase further so that it will reach its goal of becoming energy prices and transit centre. Thus, Turkey will be able to strengthen its geo-strategic position in terms of the western world. In addition, lower rates of the eastern Mediterranean will be able to meet future by taking advantage of the diversity of hydrocarbon supply a certain portion of their energy needs. Cyprus decades of deadlock in a comprehensive manner with the termination of savings in other areas, including security of Turkey will be held mainly reserved. Realization of the solution to Turkey's EU accession process and in general will contribute positively to the development of relations with Europe. Officials in Turkey will solve the problem together with a foreign policy have achieved admirable success in domestic politics.

Including recognition of the TRNC in particular, freedom and independent country of departure of economic sanctions will have the opportunity to reach the final destination. Turkey cut ties with the world for many years to be able to launch the isolated country. TRNC with a solution that will be held under the aegis of the EU, Greek society will result in EU membership like. But there TRNC's EU membership until it has completed a period of time, even if the place was even stronger economic and political structure of Turkey's development needs support.

Realized that a comprehensive peace as a result of global forces also feel trapped because of being surrounded by her Arab country with the end of the Turkey-Israel tension with the pressure of Israel, natural gas in Leviathan the most economical and safest route to Europe by undersea pipeline at a cost of transportation facilities, such as \$ 3 billion through Turkey It will get. Israel-based energy relations with the Western world will be able to add a new dimension. Energy needs for increasing the rate of 4-5% per year Turkey is important for Israel to diversify gas sources. By the end of tension, Israel will have the opportunity to enter a lucrative market like Turkey.

Fuzzy case of countries that Greece will not make the Turkish presence in the Eastern Mediterranean on the island with the ideals of Hellenism registered and ensuring the place. Due to being a full member of the EU and the economic crisis is having issues must also give support to the creation of alternative energy. In other words, it is located in such economic difficulties GASC will perform with energy exports to get rid of these problems both in Greece and will relieve the EU policies. Also a member of NATO, an agreement will be reached between the two sides on the island that will provide benefits for relief of tension between Turkey and Greece.

If the efficiency of the RF and the Greek Cypriot part of the region will be able to move on. But at least in the United States and will be subject to restrictions and policies on reducing the threat of energy supply as a trump card to play on the EU to reach Europe by alternative energy sources (Table 3).

CONCLUSION

New changes in the structure of hydrocarbon reserves located in Cyprus in the eastern Mediterranean geopolitics will bring open. In this context, "*the Cyprus problem on the possible contribution of hydrocarbons found in the eastern Mediterranean*" is relevant changes have been studied in this thesis to be addressed within the world conjuncture, and has been tried to inferences for the future. This study showed that the following findings were obtained.

Located in key geopolitical and geostrategic position in the region in terms of the role of Cyprus, to the fore the discovery of hydrocarbon reserves increased more. Moving to regional cooperation and energy resources discovered in the eastern Mediterranean in the present conditions will be among the critical issues in the coming period both in terms of ensuring energy security. But more than made up for the number of players that have an impact on the region hampers reveal the true potential of the island, especially on energy.

The value of energy was discovered in the eastern Mediterranean is around \$ 1.5 trillion. Energy sources in the eastern Mediterranean have booked comparable with the world's energy supply and economic value. RF one-third of the EU's gas needs, and it carries over Ukraine the half. In energy-related crises result from reaching the RF-EU its climax with the Ukrainian crisis to reduce dependence on the RF, to energy sources diversification, reliable, and to ensure continuity of power supply is working to improve EU energy policy on a global scale. Achieving these policies in the light of the eastern Mediterranean countries is the target market. Indeed, the use of RF energy to the EU due to the crisis in Ukraine as a political trump card has been instrumental in the collection of energy ministers of the seven leading industrialized countries. In respect of a common energy policy to be developed in meeting medium and long-term report was discussed steps to be taken and then published. Therefore, the migration of new energy sources discovered in the West region, as set out in the attitudes and discourses in terms of energy security of the EU is an important alternative location to reduce the dependence on RF.

In the referral to the hydrocarbon resources in the Eastern Mediterranean and European routes, there is no definite strategy on method. That is the major cause of

political instability in the region. Decision point in the transportation of the hydrocarbon Israel. GCA's expulsion alone is not a reserve despite the ongoing research work that can be economically removed. Therefore GASC amount of about 36 tcf of gas reserves is obvious that you have to move parallel to the strategy to be implemented by Israel. GCA, inhabited by economic hardship due to the reserve will be able to export its own resources alone are expected to want to wait until you find. Natural gas reserves are very non-energy contained in a severe economic crisis and want to sell as soon as GCA, particularly Israel and is willing to cooperate with countries in the region, including Egypt. One option is GASC laying pipeline to Greece via Crete, but the distance is not too long and deep pipeline has to be laid as the high cost of 17 billion dollars. The other option is to market natural gas to Egypt and Jordan. However, this is also narrow market options. Another option is to build gas liquefaction plants in Vassilikos and sell here. However, the cost of building liquefaction plants is 10 billion dollars and the opportunity to watch such a way because of the GCA's economic incompetence, but the struggle will be possible with the participation of the Israeli project. If Israel does not have much choice. Bilateral relations in Vassilikos option to liquefy natural gas from the well, no matter how much is in another country does not want to look hot for liquefaction. Israel pipeline without liquefaction method is preferable to the risk of being attacked by tankers to carry the gas and occurs due to the high cost of providing the security. Under these conditions, the economic opening to the international market for Israel, feasible and safe routes to move clear of the island of Cyprus to Turkey to bring to Europe from there to the existing line. This option can be realized only factor which will be held on the island while serving the needs and interests of all stakeholders, comprehensive, lasting peace.

Removed safely and economically most appropriate route to the transportation of hydrocarbon resources in the Eastern Mediterranean via Turkey, will create significant economic benefits for Turkey, one of Europe's largest consumer. Due to resource diversification and competitiveness of energy supply as well as to obtain benefits from low prices as well as make significant contributions to Turkey's policy pursued in recent years have secure energy centre.

In the period ahead will continue to be the activities of US companies to actively increase the economic activity in the region will be instrumental in the United States. The US is also the continuing unrest in Syria, particularly in the absence of stability and security in the region is expected to increase the military presence of NATO. Especially in the cold war reminiscent of the recent strife between the EU and the NATO-Ukraine triggered by problems in the area of RF-China party jumped in the Mediterranean Sea has led to the realization of mutual exercises. In addition to the economic factors of the parties in the region to ensure energy security in the coming period, it is anticipated that new roles declines. Geopolitical position and being under the influence of multiple power which the region is particularly true potential of the block revealed on energy. In this context, especially Turkey, Cyprus and Israel association will be created through the energy axis in the region, it will provide a significant contribution in terms of peace and stability.

Between Turkey and Israel, "*then that one minute*" with the outbreak of "*low chair*" in the aforementioned and continue with the name "*Blue Marmara*" in which peaked with the event crises chain as a result has experienced the worst period in the history of relations between the two countries. However, despite this crisis, "there is no eternal friendship and hostility in international relations, there are benefits" principle on June 2014, although with TC although denied by the Ministry of Energy in the northern Iraqi oil sales to Israel via Turkey it has been realized. For this reason the political crisis in the interests of the environment in which it is found to express very meaning. Again in March 2014 opened a tender for the export of natural gas to Turkey from Israel Leviathan gas field off the coast and made two Turkish companies have made tender offers with Turcas entering challenging.

Turkey and the TRNC in the international arena should analyse well the actual balance change, in particular should develop policies to ensure maximum benefit out of the clash with the generated collaborations. For example, a kind of cold war over Ukraine and EU RF his time, GCA's decision to open a military base in RF Paphos particularly the base on the island has led to the opening of the cross with England. As a result of threats, veiled by each of the Parties England strategic and political moves of the agreement that determines Ministry of boundaries in the

Eastern Mediterranean in the increasingly February 9, 2015 change without Turkey is questionable and also on the Cyprus issue explained the need for the removal of the TRNC isolation. Another example of the RF President on December 20, 2014 Vladimir Putin held a traditional annual press conference. Putin will strengthen the link between RF energy and mutual interests will overlap with Turkey while referring to Cyprus because of Turkey Pipeline project was also north and South Cyprus. RF many years this approach a "*natural ally*" was seen as a concern of the GCA. No ideas, no matter the country, as seen is not fixed. The important thing is to create policies that can bring benefits.

The ultimate long-term solution to the Cyprus problem, to be converted to the crisis and is essential to good advantage as directed concluded for the benefit of all parties. The problem cannot be resolved with temporary measures and solutions in the form of patches or is fixed to half a century of experience. It should continue to use the leverage of existing energy policies pursued in Cyprus negotiations and be persistent. GCA's where the addiction to the TRNC and GASC can bring to the table and secured solution is the only solution to the issue of energy issues. Water project that will be brought to the TRNC from Turkey in addition to energy at a very topic subject that is one of the elements needed by GCA. Ensuring the cheapest and the realization of the economic crisis in a short time living GCA energy exports in exchange for "*the inclusion of international law*" and "*political equality*" should be insisting on demand.

Long-term solution to the problem, Turkey's role in the Mediterranean region will lead to more effective and powerful play. At the same time in Turkey with the reduction of problems in the ongoing negotiations between the EU and the relations will contribute to more rapid progress. The transportation of if we look at the economic role Solution of hydrocarbons to Europe and Turkey, assuming the transfer of resources from East Mediterranean Europe will be able to benefit from the facilities will be provided to him in terms of energy and will be able to strengthen its geo-strategic position with both energy terminal objective. In addition, certain parts of the energy it needs to be able to supply even now here.

The Prime Minister, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, the president is elected not selected the first official foreign visit to Cyprus on 1 September 2014 showed that

realize how important the solution of problems for Turkey. Guarantor said the problem should be solved as soon as possible during the visit and gave clear messages to global countries. Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu, the same way the prime minister is chosen period has not selected his first official visit to the TRNC on 16 September 2014 and has called here specifically calling on behalf of solving the problem with Greece and UN leaders. These two examples demonstrate that the Cyprus problem is essential in terms of how Turkey policies of the solution. However, at the beginning of the basic principles of the foreign policy of Turkey who want to solve the problem of the interests of Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot people should be protected in the best way. Therefore, Turkey should use the advantages of being a good bench players continued to rational behaviour.

In May 2014 during a visit by US Vice President Joe Biden Island perform, it has been passed on to the TRNC for the first time, an unrecognized country. Biden, the energy contained in the island has been announced that the absolute benefit of both society and noted that Cyprus could be an energy centre in the region. Get rid of the RF's monopoly on the world's natural gas, especially the EU which shows explanation is needed regarding the Mediterranean hydrocarbons. Although this is based on the year of the reconciliation between the two communities, though rooted differences of opinion should clearly express the international community is to take place around the island for the first time. Considering the fact that the regulation of the global power of the international system, as designed, the emergence of hydrocarbon reserves to global powers to resolve the Cyprus problem and made it necessary to reach a final conclusion. All parties put forward their views as well as regional and global side needs this energy and energy stability in the future.

It is clear that direct the parties, all regional parties and the global power position resulting from the solution of the Cyprus problem eager to energy matters with formal and informal organizations and representatives and stated that they support the rhetoric. But here in their own interests to solve the problem on the side of the main problems are not express otherwise. Here come to the fore the need for proper management of the crisis by the parties. If the crisis is managed correctly and the parties can take sincere steps to increase trust in each other, energy can be eliminated thanks to a deep-seated problems in the world stage for many years.

Due to the recognition of the TRNC, the Greek Cypriot side in the international system of rights holders in the area of the international community that unilateral advantage through its research and drilling work is only trying to create the perception that the Greek Cypriots. Bringing benefit to the issue of energy resources from GASC was in their own interests to over, Cyprus-Turkey seeks to prevent the use of the energy issue as a trump card in the Cyprus problem. October 7, 2014 the date of the sending of the ship to monitor drilling activities in Turkey and the Greek Cypriots to suspend the negotiations as a threat by sensing the voltage of the government have increased. TRNC and Turkey should continue to practice as determined by the existing common policies should never compromise. There should be to prevent the domination over Egypt and Cyprus in the eastern Mediterranean sources with the purpose of GCA solution in the form of a federation consisting of two constituent states create awareness of energy security cannot be achieved unless there. The Greek side will return to the negotiating table, but when he realizes that he cannot obtain concessions. The way to a stable and long-term solution is to pass the confidence-building process. Therefore, from liberal perspective, all parties should suspend their unilateral activities which often create crisis and tense, and instead focus on the peace talks to find a comprehensive settlement to the Cyprus conflict. However, if no resolution can be achieved in the negotiation process. Some other cooperative mechanisms can be considered in the context of natural resources. In the thesis the energy issue may be either the seal of the deadlock or the key to the solution.

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ANNEX

ANNEX I:

Figure24. A Turkish publication from Greek Newspaper called Kontranews²¹

kontranews
Kόντρα σε όλους. Κόντρα σε όλα.
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ΕΤΗΝ ΑΘΗΝΑ ΣΗΜΕΡΑ Ο ΑΧΜΕΤ ΝΤΑΒΟΥΤΟΓΛΟΥ, ΣΥΝΟΛΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΠΟ ΚΑΙΜΑΚΙΟ ΥΠΟΥΡΓΩΝ. Η KONTRANEWS ΑΠΕΥΘΥΝΕΙ ΑΝΟΙΚΤΗ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΗ ΣΤΗΝ ΤΟΥΡΚΙΚΗ ΓΛΩΣΣΑ, ΜΕ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΣΗ ΝΑ ΤΗ ΔΙΑΒΑΣΕΙ ΟΜΟΚΛΗΡΗ

Τürkiye Başbakanı Sayın Ahmet Davutoğlu'na açık mektup

YETER ARTIK KABADAYILIK GELİN HER KONUDA ANLAŞALIM

Şunu anlayın, sizleri Dost ve partner olarak istiyoruz Düşman olarak değil, son 100 boyunca olduğu gibi. Birlikte Neler yapabileceğimizi düşünün, Nasıl bir güce sahip oluruz, Türkiye, Yunanistan ve Kıbrıs

Saygıdeğer Sayın Başbakan,

Bizi dört yüzyıl köle tuttuğunuz. Günün birinde baş kaldırdık, siz kölelik, siz kölelik ve Ankara'ya kadar kovaldık... Sonra siz bizi kölelik ve denize attınız, öncesinde İslam'da evlamların yakarak. Devamla, İstanbul'da kalan Rumları kırıdığınız sonra, Kıbrıs'ın yarısını da benden aldınız... Sayın Başbakan, 100 yıldır kavgaya eden ve birbirinde gözü çıkarmaya çalışan iki halk görmekten şükledik. Yeter artık... Gelin anlaşalım... Bu didişmenin artık daha fazla devam etmesi imkansız... Artık nihayet doğru, dürüst, adil ve kalıcı bir çözüm bulmamız gerek. Tercihlerimizden birşey yapamaması ve sürekli elleri teçekte yaşamamız gerek. Tanrı bizi kumpas yapmasın. Bu bir "İşaretidir", Sayın Başbakan... Sizin için Allah, bizim için Tanrı asla hata yapmaz! Biz insanlar asla hata yapmayan yüzyümlere gözümlere buluyoruz. Kendi aramızda didişmeseydik, halklarımız neler başardırı... Barış ve dostluk içinde yaşasaydık, memleketlerimizi cennete çevirebilirdik... Tanrı bizi kumpas yapmadı güre, bizden daha iyi bildiği birşey vardı... Son yıllarda, bazı siyasetçilerimizin aptalca politikaları nedeniyle, ülkemiz çok zor günler yaşıyor. Açık ve zorluklardan siz de anlıyorsunuz... Bu dönemde biz, yamamada durmanın, bir tath ebe dahi olsa, bize yardım etmesini isterdik, siz de sorunlara sahip olduğumuzda, bizim de yardım yapmamız gerekir... Eski bir Yunan atasözünü der ki "İki yardım Tanrıdan, ikinci komşudan". Yani senden bir sorun yaşayınca ve tehlikeye girince insan, "Tanrıya" diye bağırsın ve sonra komşusunu yardıma çağırırsın - Gerçekten veya Ahmet - gel yardım et... Bu atasözünü biliyorsa düşünmek İSTİYORUZ. Çünkü biz Yunanlıları, iki halkın eski maceralarından çıkardığımız başka bir atasözüne daha vardık: "Türk dost gördüğün yerde, bir tane de sağa taşı". Bu atasözünü Sayın Başbakan, ki mutlaka benzeri sizde de vardır, unutmanız GEREK ve buna sizin de davranışınızla yardımcı olmamız gerekir... Ülkemiz ne zaman bir sorunda karşılaşırsa, "Kumpas, bir yardıma ihtiyacın var mı?" diye soracağımız yerde, hemen kavgaya girmeyiniz, ... balıkcı teknelerinizi ve uçaklarınızı çıkartıp Ege'de bulaşmaya başladığınız görüyorsunuz!

NEDEN Sayın Başbakan? Bizi korkutmak için mi? Bizden daha büyük bir endişeye sahip olduğumuz biliyoruz. Ayrıca Türklerin çok iyi savaşçı olduklarını da biliyoruz. Ama unutmayın Sayın Başbakan, tarihin de gösterdiği üzere, savaşları da daha büyük olan ordular kazanıyor... Biliyoruz saygıdeğer Sayın Davutoğlu, okuduğumuz iyi okullarda bizden çok daha fazla şey öğrendiniz. Ayrıca "yeter" gibi bir kelime olduğumu ve uluslararası politikayı çok iyi bildiğinizi de biliyoruz. Sizler, bu küçük ama büyük bir gazetedeki, çok fazla şey biliyorsunuz... Ama bizim yüreğimizle ve kalbimizle konuşmayı ve aklımızı çok kullanmayı öğrendik, özellikle de olayları gözlemlemeyi ve incelemeyi öğrendik... Dolayısıyla, size dikkat etmemiz gereken iki şey söyleyebiliriz. Birincisi: Bizleri dost olmamız ve iyi geçinememiz istemiyorlar; sadece iki üşşeye silah satmak için değil, aynı zamanda bizleri Hristiyan, sizler Müslüman olduğumuz için ve bu nedenle, ... işbirlikçiler bile, siz zamanla olayları ile bizleri sürekli kavgalı halde tutmak istiyorlar ve İkincisi: Bizleri diyor ki, günün birinde bize "şantaj" yapmak için, Ege'de sahip olduğumuz 3.000 insanı adan bazıları alabilirsiniz... Bu gerçeklerse bile, siz zannediyor musunuz ki Sayın Başbakan, herhangi bir insanı adayı - nefret eden adalara hayatta güvencesizdir - birkaç saatte fazla tutabilecektiniz? Tabii ki, hayır. Avrupa'da, Avrupa'ya pencereden girmenize müsaade edecek kadar aptallar mı? Avrupa'nın bir parçasına bir kere silah soruyla girdikten sonra - ki biz de fazla fazla Avrupa'ya - 40-50 yıl sonra bütün Avrupa'yı ele geçirip Müslümanlaştıracaklarını anlamıyorlar mı sizce? Ülkemizde muhtemel bir işgalinizi yol açacağı sorun, sadece bizim değil, aynı zamanda hem Avrupa'nın, hem Amerika'nın sorunu... Bu fırsatla da söyleyelim, ki mutlaka siz de biliyorsunuzdur, büyüklerimiz birileri sizleri Boğazlardan kovmak için "fırsat arıyorlar". Bu söylediklerimiz için duvar dileriz ama biz insanlarımızı söylemeyi ve yazmayı öğrendik... Son zamanlarda bir... burda gömü de çıkardınız ve Kıbrıs'ın Münhasır Ekonomik Bölgesinde turkiyosunuz. Sizler de, bizler de biliyoruz ki bölgelerimizde çok miktarda petrol ve yüksek miktarda doğal gaz mevcut. Gelin oturup anlaşalım o zaman. Siyasetçilerimizle ne düşündüğünü biliyoruz ama bu gazete'deki bizlerin çok da umurunda olmazdı birkaç varil fazladan petrol alınması. Bu petrolün zaten büyük bir kısmını da hakkınız olan siz komşularımızın almasını, tamamını veya büyük bir kısmını İngiliz ve Amerikalılara yemesine yeğleriz... Sayın Başbakan, herşey kötü olsa ama içgüdümlü bize bütün dünyadan çok büyük bir KARGASAYA girdiğini söylüyor, dostlarımızın ve düşmanlarımızın bizler için ne hazırladıkları ise meçhul... Kendi biliyorsunuzdur, birileri Yunanistan'ı da Türkiye'yi de 4-5 ayı devlete BÖLMEK isterdi, ki bu ilk kez yaptıkları birşey olmadı... O zaman gelin, birileri ne sizlerin ne de bizlerin istemediği çözümleri zorla dayatmadan önce, ADİL çözümler bulalım bizi ayıran bütün sorunlar hakkında. GELİN iki memleketimizi "Cennete" döndürelim.

Saygılarımla
GEORGE A. KOURIS, Yayımcı



Türkler (sola) Egeye varılacak yer ve Yunanlılar denize atılıyor. Amerikalılar ise olayları kaygı ve merakla bir şekilde izliyorlar (görselindeki Amerikan bayrağı görülmüştür)



Yunan ordusu Sakarya'ya geçiyor ve Ankara'ya ele geçirmek için yürüyor

²¹<http://www.frontpages.gr/d/20141205/504/Kontra-News>

ANNEX II:

Table3. Cyprus Issue Possible Solution Scenarios

scenarios	Results	winners	turbid	losers
<u>Scenario: 1</u> Greek domination of the United Cyprus's EU membership (Assimilation)	* In the short term, the Turkish Cypriots, to be assimilated * In the long run, the island, to be assimilated within the EU * EU power politics means (Europeanization) * Turks, no gain	*Greek Cypriot Community *Greece	*USA *EU * Israel * RF	* Turkish Cypriot community * Turkey
<u>Scenario: 2</u> Solution in the form of federation based on political equality of the two communities	* Two strong federal state with natural borders * A structure based on political equality * A common denominator that conducts relations * The two communities differ from each other in many areas increasingly live apart for 50 years * Red lines and contrasting views of the Parties to reduce the likelihood of agreement	* EU *USA *Greek Cypriot Community *Turkish Cypriot community * Turkey	*Greece * RF	None
<u>Scenario: 3</u> Two-state solution	1-a. <u>Taiwanisation to Cyprus</u> *Strengthening of relations without recognition of the TRNC 1-b. <u>Kosovoization to Cyprus</u> *TRNC, a group recognized by the state, but cannot be a member of the UN *To gain the economic independence of the lifting of isolation of Turkish Cypriots 2- <u>Czechoslovakization to Cyprus</u> * Calls upon receipt of any negative results, two separate countries recognized under the EU roof * Long-term stability and lasting peace * No external interference	*USA * EU *Greek Cypriot Community * Turkish Cypriot community * Turkey *Israel	*Greece * RF	None