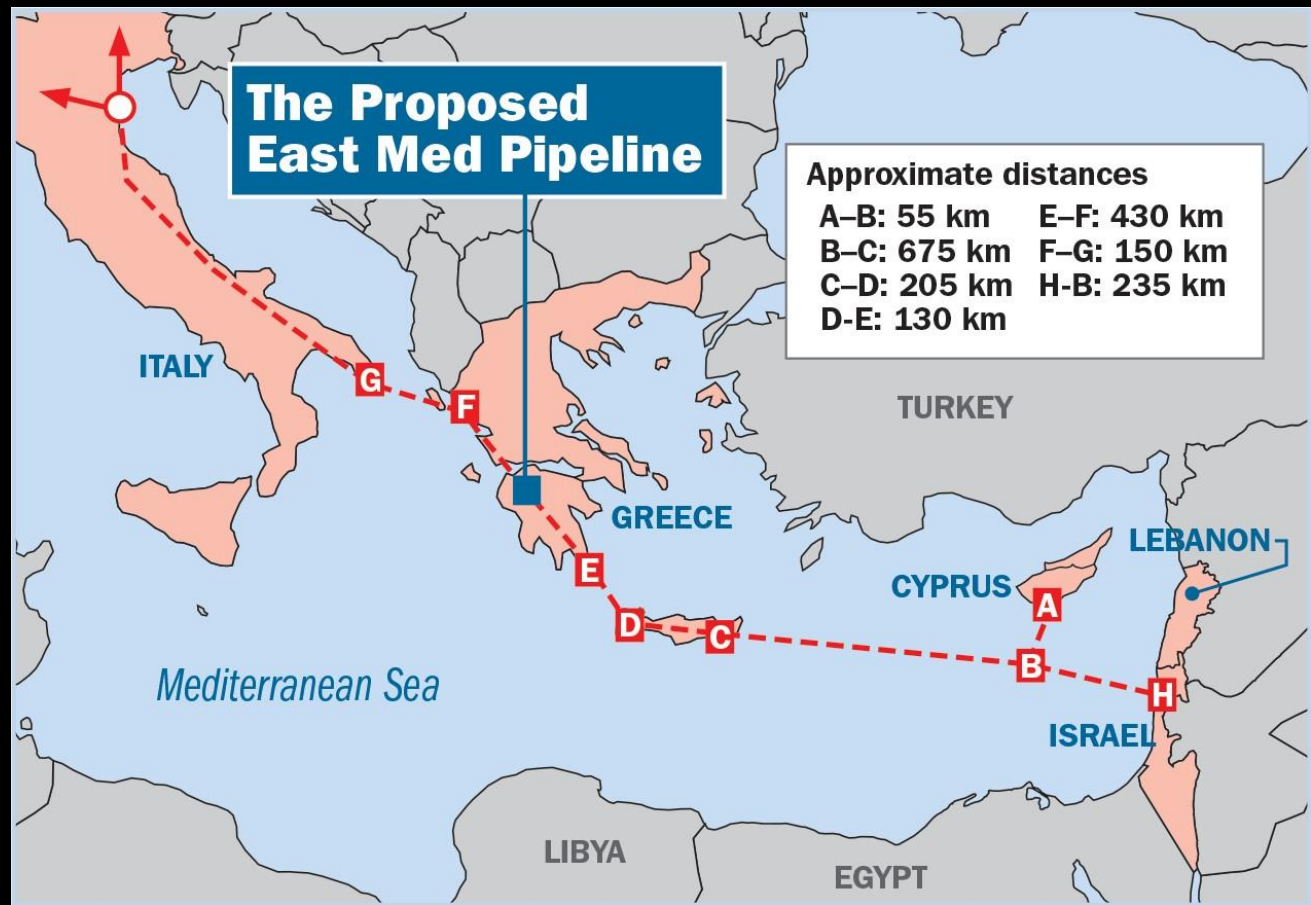
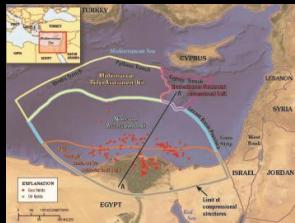


# On Hazardous Infrastructure and “Geopolitical Numbers”:

## Greek Gas Pipelines and Deposit Estimates

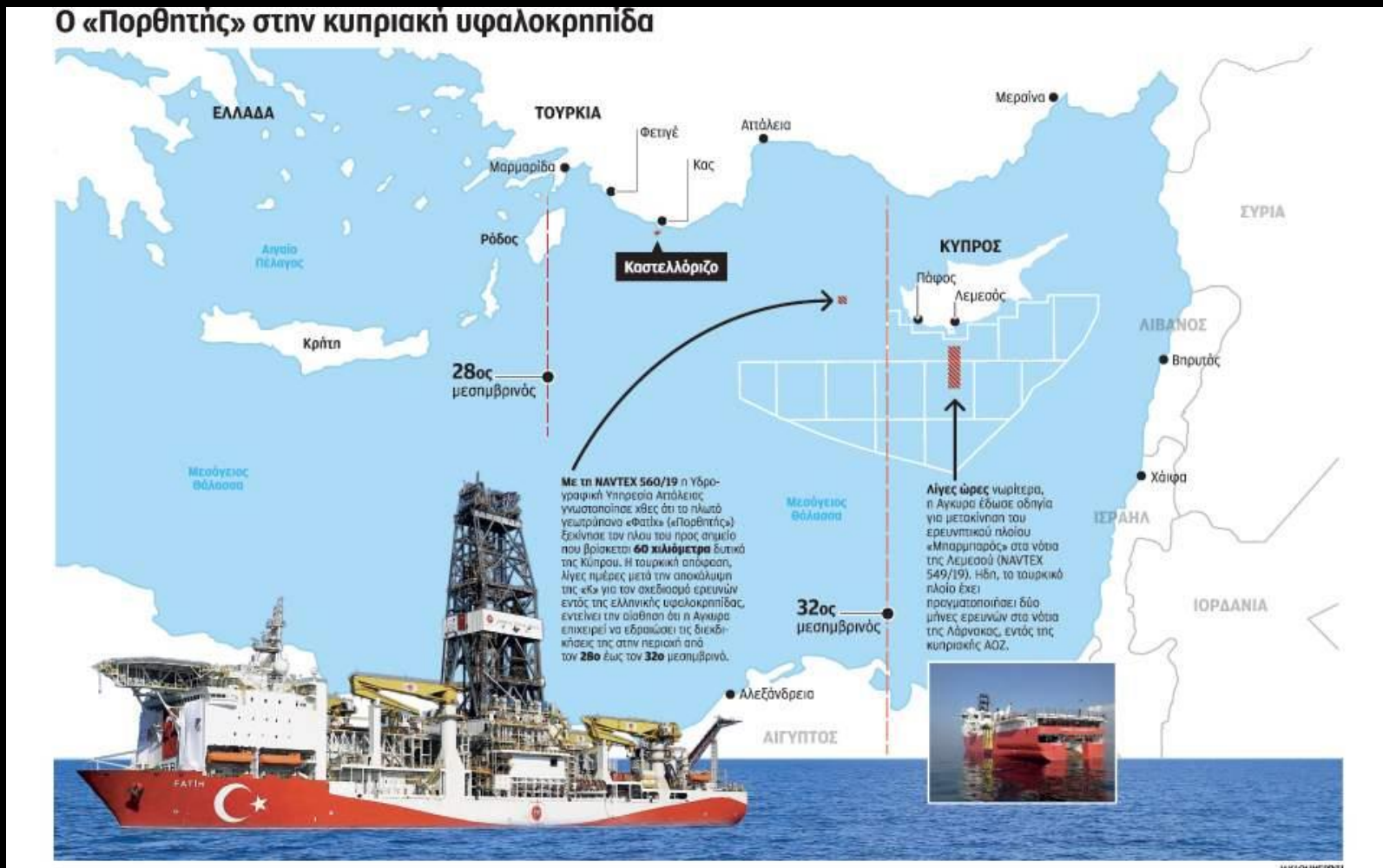
from the Eastern Mediterranean to the Balkans, 2009-2021



**Christos Karampatsos, Spyros Tzokas, Giorgos Velegrakis, Gelina Harlaftis**

**Host:** Institute for Mediterranean Studies (IMS) of the Foundation of Research and Technology-Hellas (FORTH)  
*This research is co-financed by Greece and the European Union (European Social Fund- ESF) through the Operational Programme “Human Resources Development, Education and Lifelong Learning 2014-2020” in the context of the project “Oil Exploration in the Greek Territory, 1920-1980” (MIS: 5050480)*

# A complicated story



Turkish oil exploration inside “Cypriot EEZ”, as depicted in the Greek press, 2019

# **Part I: Methodology**

**The material conditions governing oil and gas production**


# Oil's 'materiality'

- Oil and gas are 'point resources'.
- Transport and processing networks of a planetary scale.
- Control in a planetary scale: A state rather than a corporate project.
- Not only access, but also denial of access.
- Any "new deposit" equals an extension of the global transport network, leading to state contest.

# **Part 2: The “Deposits of Hope”:**

**Discovery of Hydrocarbon Deposits in the Eastern  
Mediterranean, 2010**

# USGS assessments, Spring 2010



World Petroleum Resources Project

## Assessment of Undiscovered Oil and Gas Resources of the Levant Basin Province, Eastern Mediterranean

The U.S. Geological Survey estimated a mean of 1.7 billion barrels of recoverable oil and a mean of 122 trillion cubic feet of recoverable gas in the Levant Basin Province using a geology based assessment methodology.



World Petroleum Resources Project

## Assessment of Undiscovered Oil and Gas Resources of the Nile Delta Basin Province, Eastern Mediterranean

The U.S. Geological Survey estimated means of 1.8 billion barrels of recoverable oil, 223 trillion cubic feet of recoverable gas, and 6 billion barrels of natural gas liquids in the Nile Delta Basin Province using a geology-based assessment methodology.

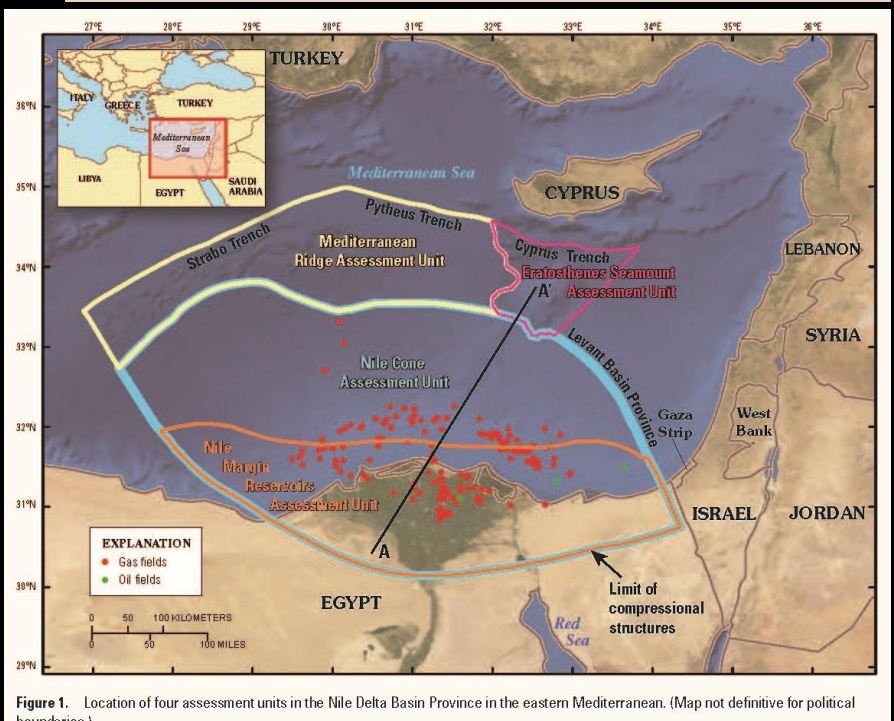
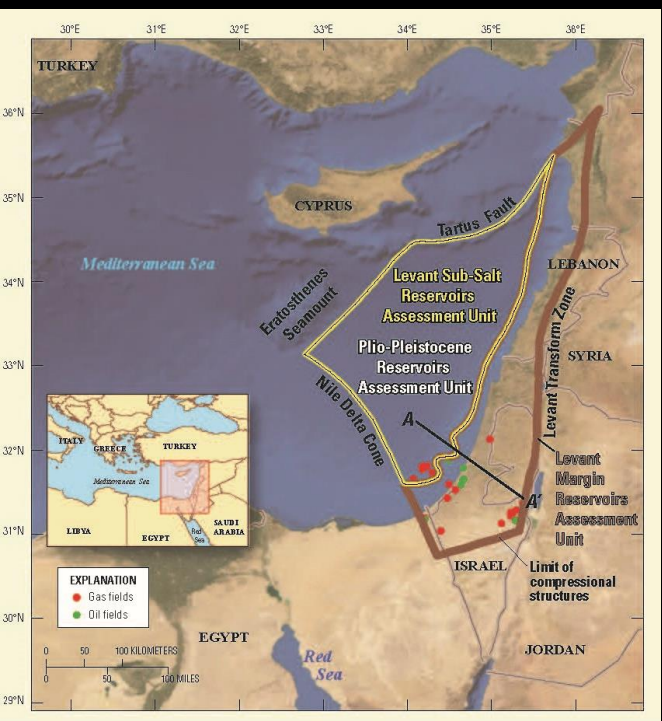


Figure 1. Location of four assessment units in the Nile Delta Basin Province in the eastern Mediterranean. (Map not definitive for political boundaries.)

March 2010: 1.7 billion barrels of recoverable oil in the Levant Basin

May 2010: 1.8 billion barrels of recoverable oil in the Nile Delta Basin

# The Greek bankruptcy, April 2010



**USGS**  
science for a changing world

World Petroleum Resources Project

**Assessment of Undiscovered Oil and Gas Resources of the Levant Basin Province, Eastern Mediterranean**

The U.S. Geological Survey estimated a mean of 1.7 billion barrels of recoverable oil and a mean of 122 trillion cubic feet of recoverable gas in the Levant Basin Province using a geology-based assessment methodology.

**March 2010**

**April 2010:** Greek Prime minister George Papandreou publically admits the Greek bankruptcy. He chose to announce it from the frontier island of Kastellorizo.

**USGS**  
science for a changing world

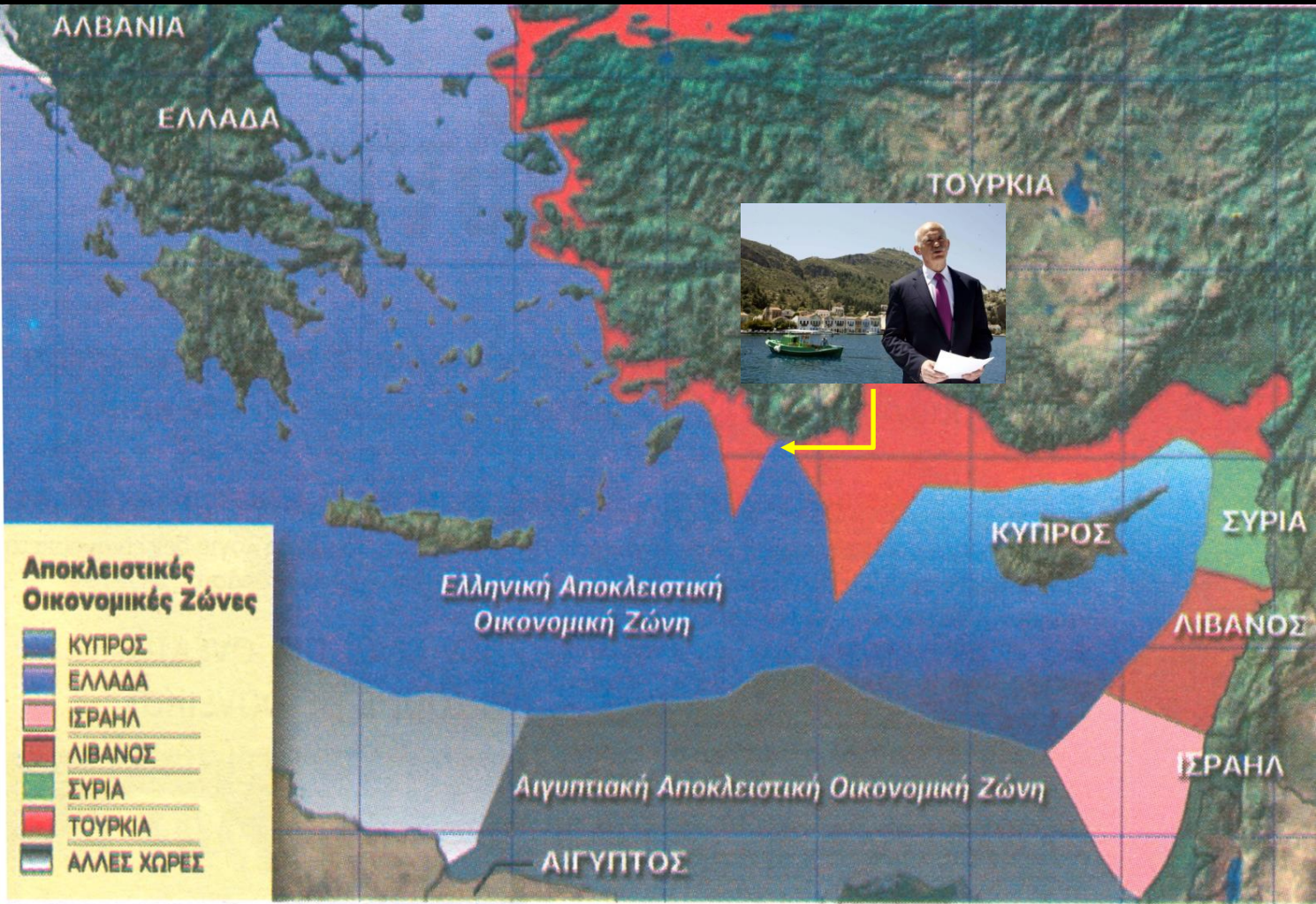
World Petroleum Resources Project

**Assessment of Undiscovered Oil and Gas Resources of the Nile Delta Basin Province, Eastern Mediterranean**

The U.S. Geological Survey estimated means of 1.8 billion barrels of recoverable oil, 225 billion cubic feet of recoverable gas, and 6 billion barrels of natural gas liquids in the Nile Delta Basin Province using a geology-based assessment methodology.

**May 2010**

# The “Exclusive Economic Zone”, 2010



The Greek “Exclusive Economic Zone” as depicted in the Greek Press, 2010-2011. The geographical position of Kastellorizo is indicated by the yellow arrow.



# The “hydrocarbon discourse”, 2010



“Deposits of hope”

Verified by the USGS

Enough to cater for Cypriot needs for the next 150 years

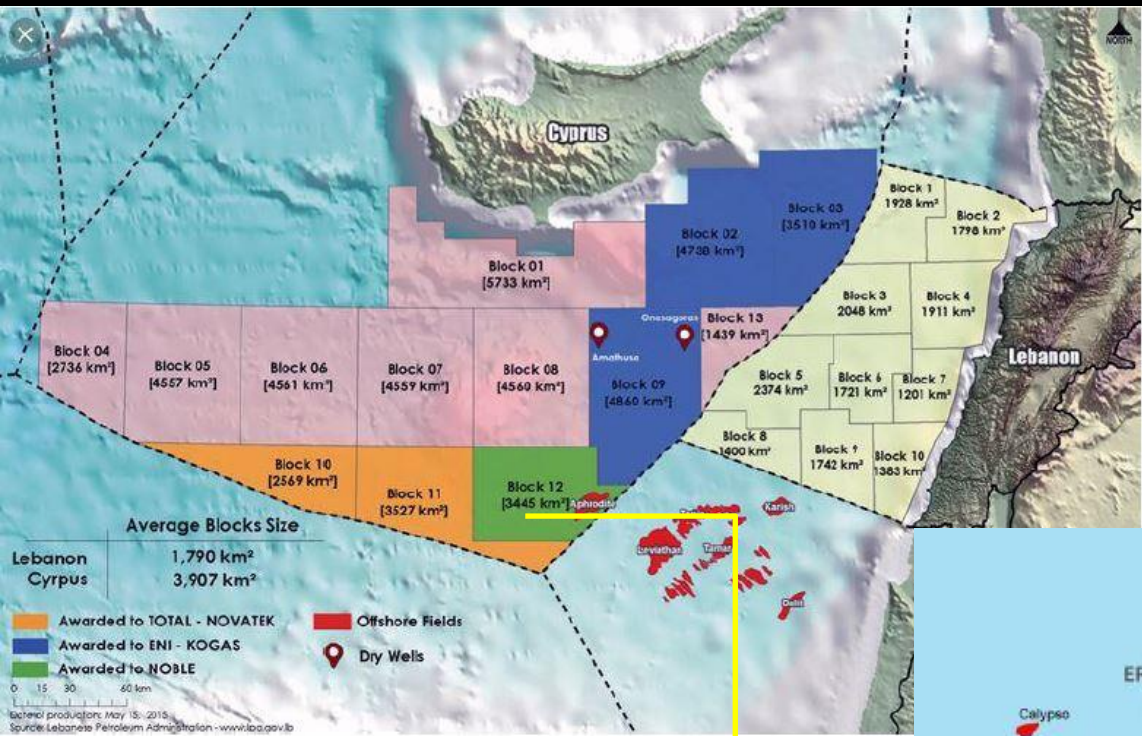
Instant fiscal salvation

Placed inside the “EEZs”

## **Part 3: Mixed outcomes:**

**Greek and Cypriot hydrocarbon exploration attempts,  
2011-2021**

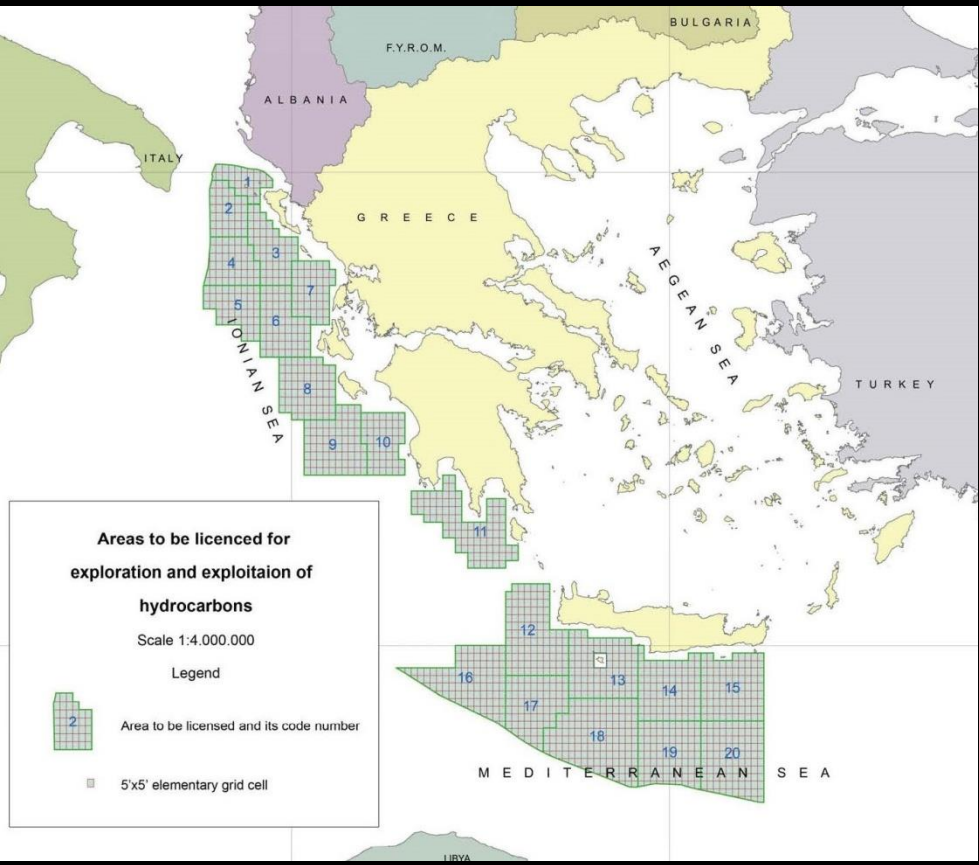
# Cypriot exploration attempts, 2011-2021



“More discoveries are needed in order to support large investments in the Cypriot gas”  
*Hellenic Hydrocarbon Resources Management Agency, 2/2020*

# Greek calls for tenders, 2012-2019

Blocks “to be licensed for exploration for and exploitation of hydrocarbons”

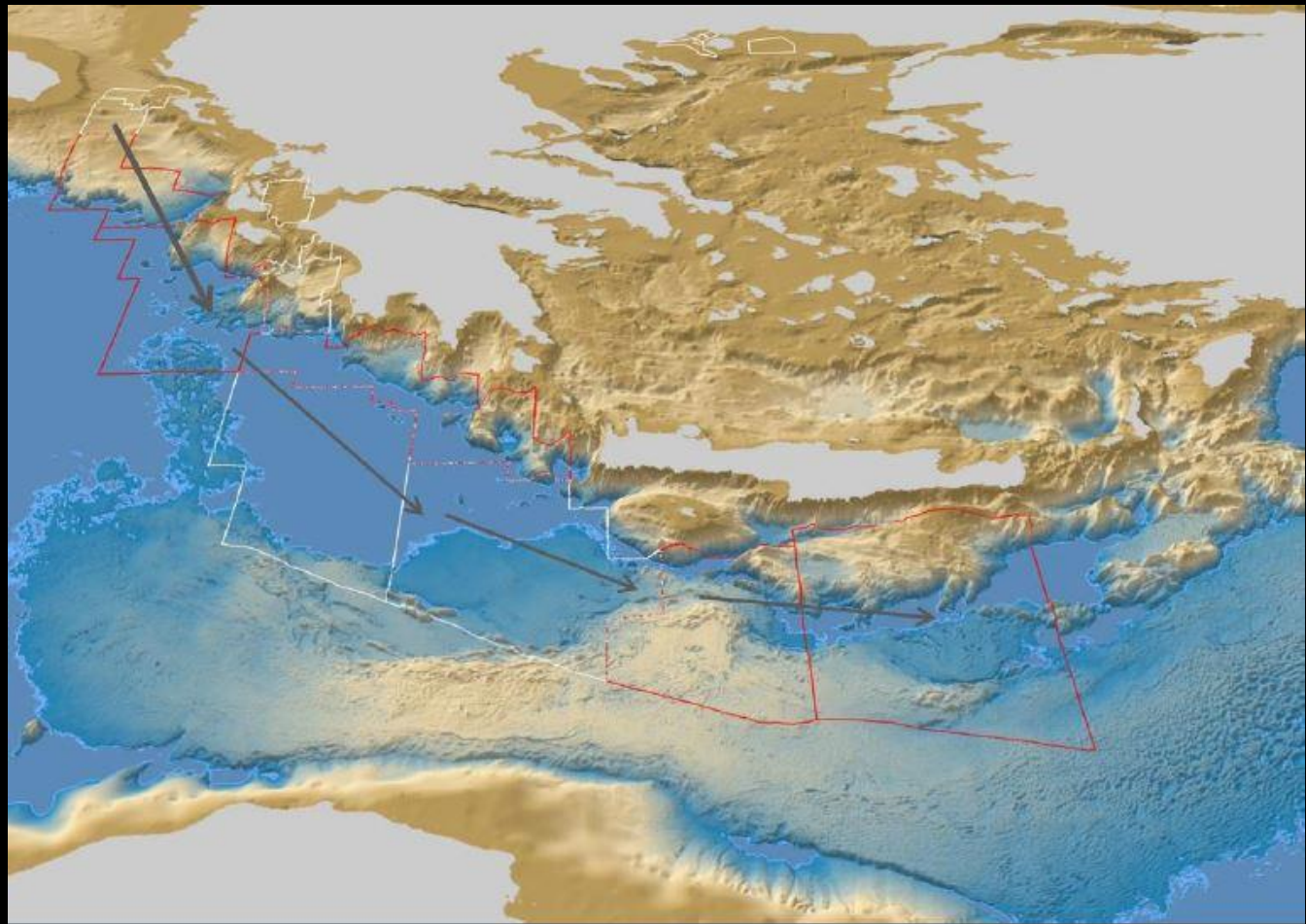


2014



2019

# “Frontier areas” – a technical problem

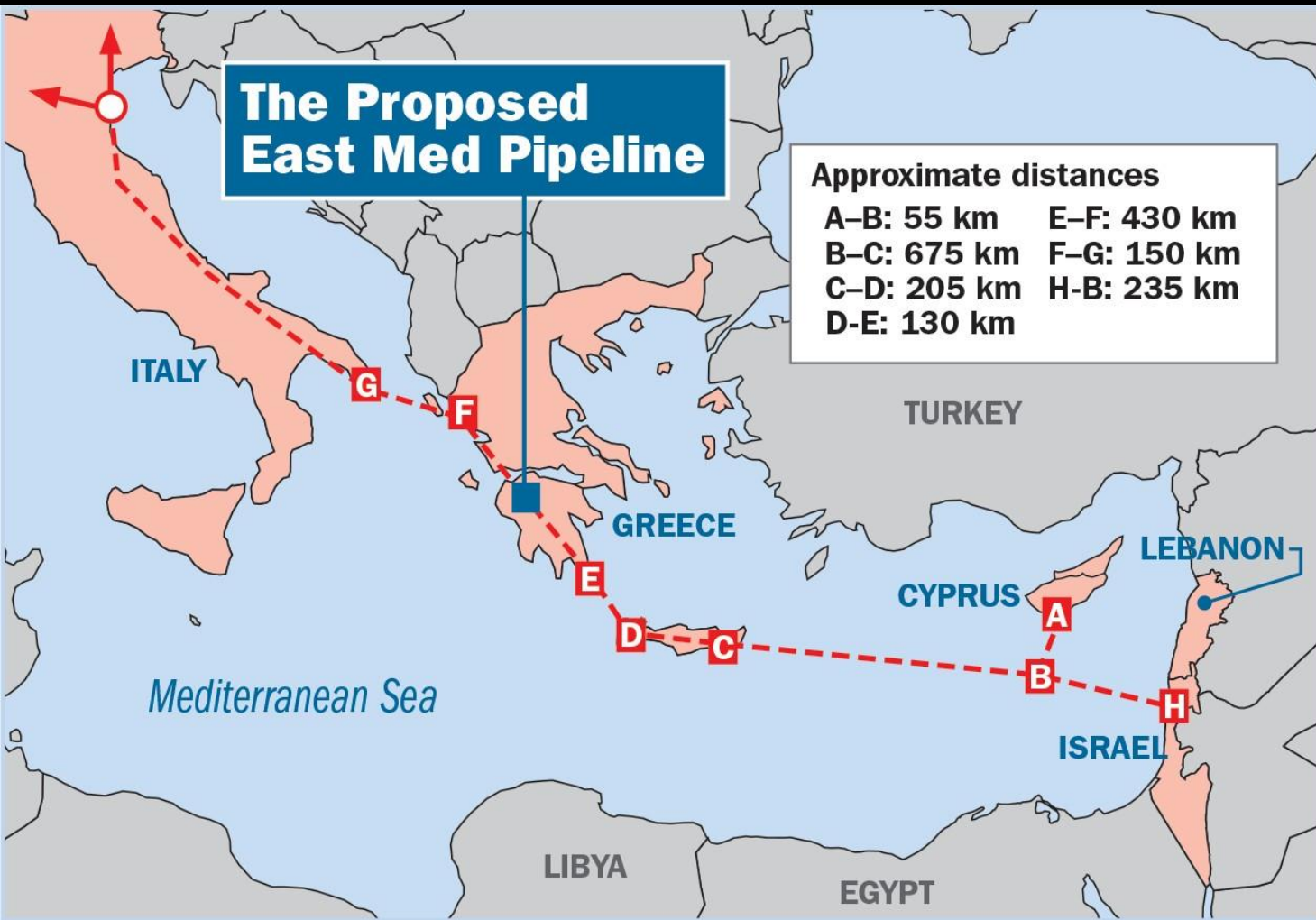


Areas where sea depth exceeds 3.000 meters are colored blue.

# **Part 4: The Eastmed pipeline**

**The technopolitics of the “deposits of hope”**

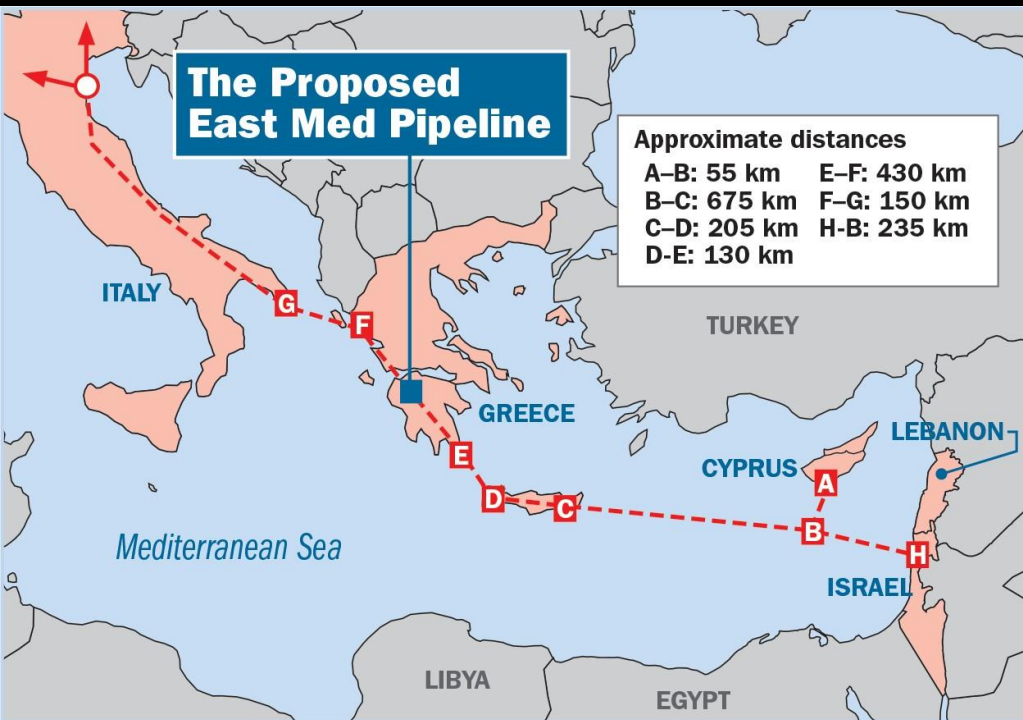
# 2011: The Eastmed pipeline



A 10 billion offshore pipeline connecting Israel, Egypt and Cyprus to Greece and Central Europe.

# Geopolitical significance of the Eastmed

Providing large European countries with non-Russian hydrocarbons by a non-Turkish route, aligning Greek national interests to those of the United States.

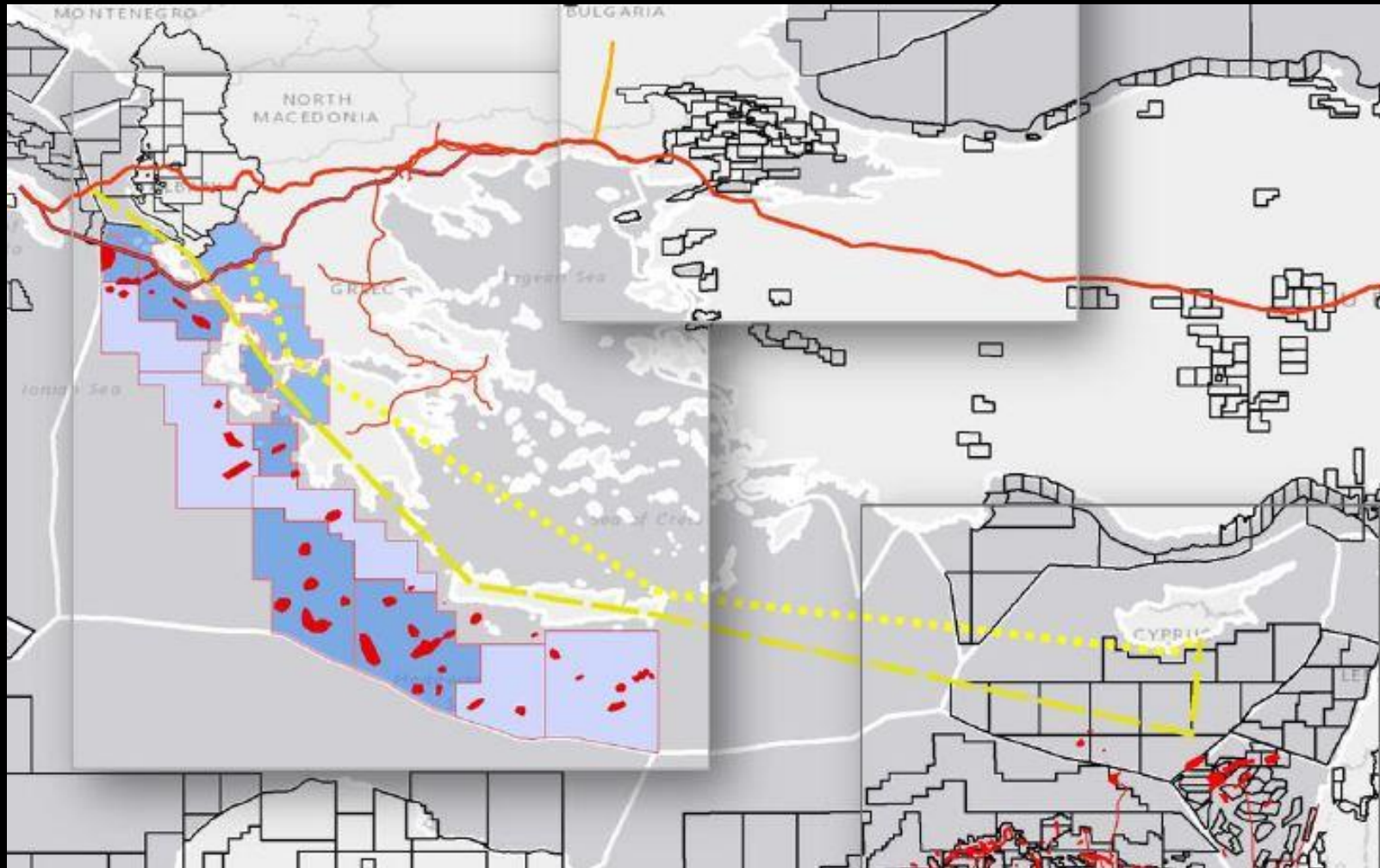


Eastmed pipeline (on paper)

Baku - Ceyhan pipeline (existent)



# Problems of the Eastmed



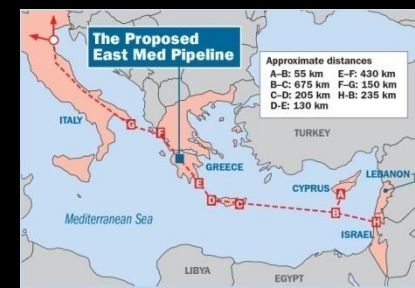
Alternative routes of the Eastmed according to “the deposits discovered”.

# Greek deposit estimates, 2011.

The Cypriot energy director called me and asked: ‘Is there something to the south of Crete?’

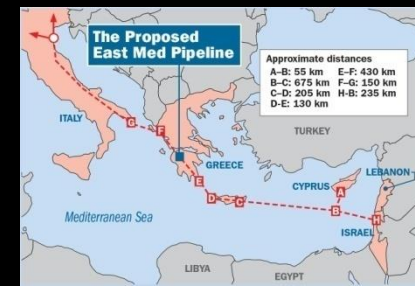
I answered : ‘I cannot tell, it’s only a possibility’.

And then he tells me: ‘Even if there is nothing to the south of Crete, the area should be opened to research for geopolitical reasons. Just imagine how much the transport cost will be reduced if against all odds we find something’.



# Producing “Geopolitical numbers”

- “Official and unofficial seismic data”
- Data processing in the French Petroleum Institute
- A 50% chance to discover hydrocarbons to the south of Crete
- “I call these numbers geopolitical numbers”.



# **Part 5: Conclusion**

## **On hazardous infrastructure**

# A summary

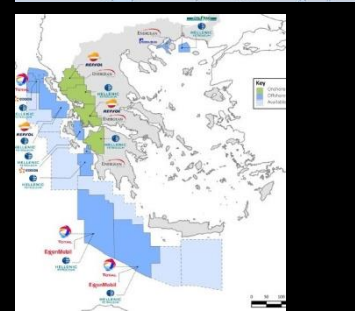
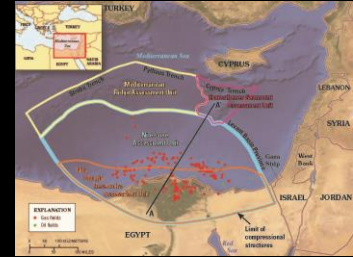
3/2010: USGS assessments

4/2010: Greek bankruptcy

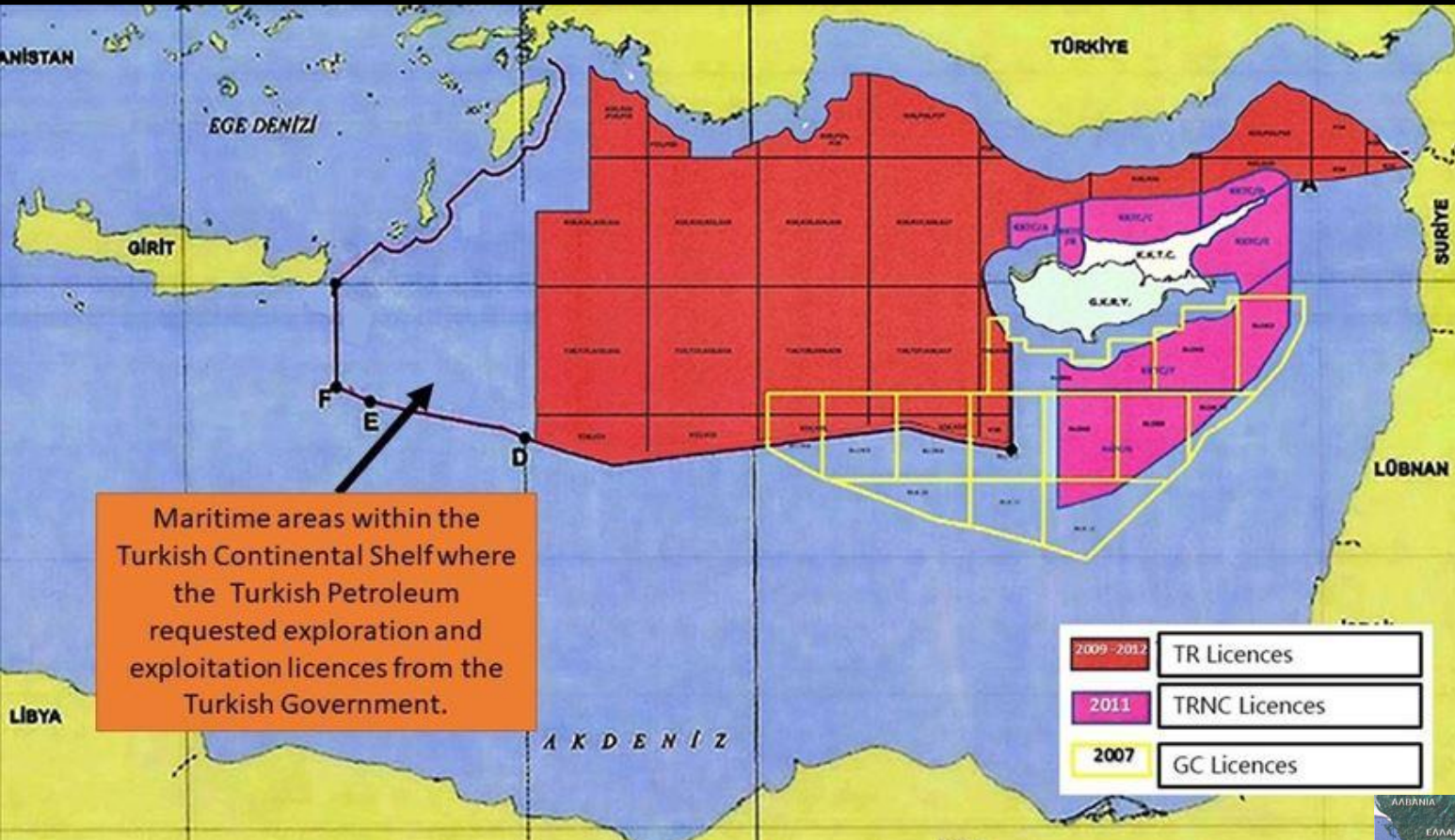
2011: Oil exploration in Cyprus

2011: Proposal for the Eastmed pipeline

2012: Oil exploration in Greece



# Further implications, 2011-2020



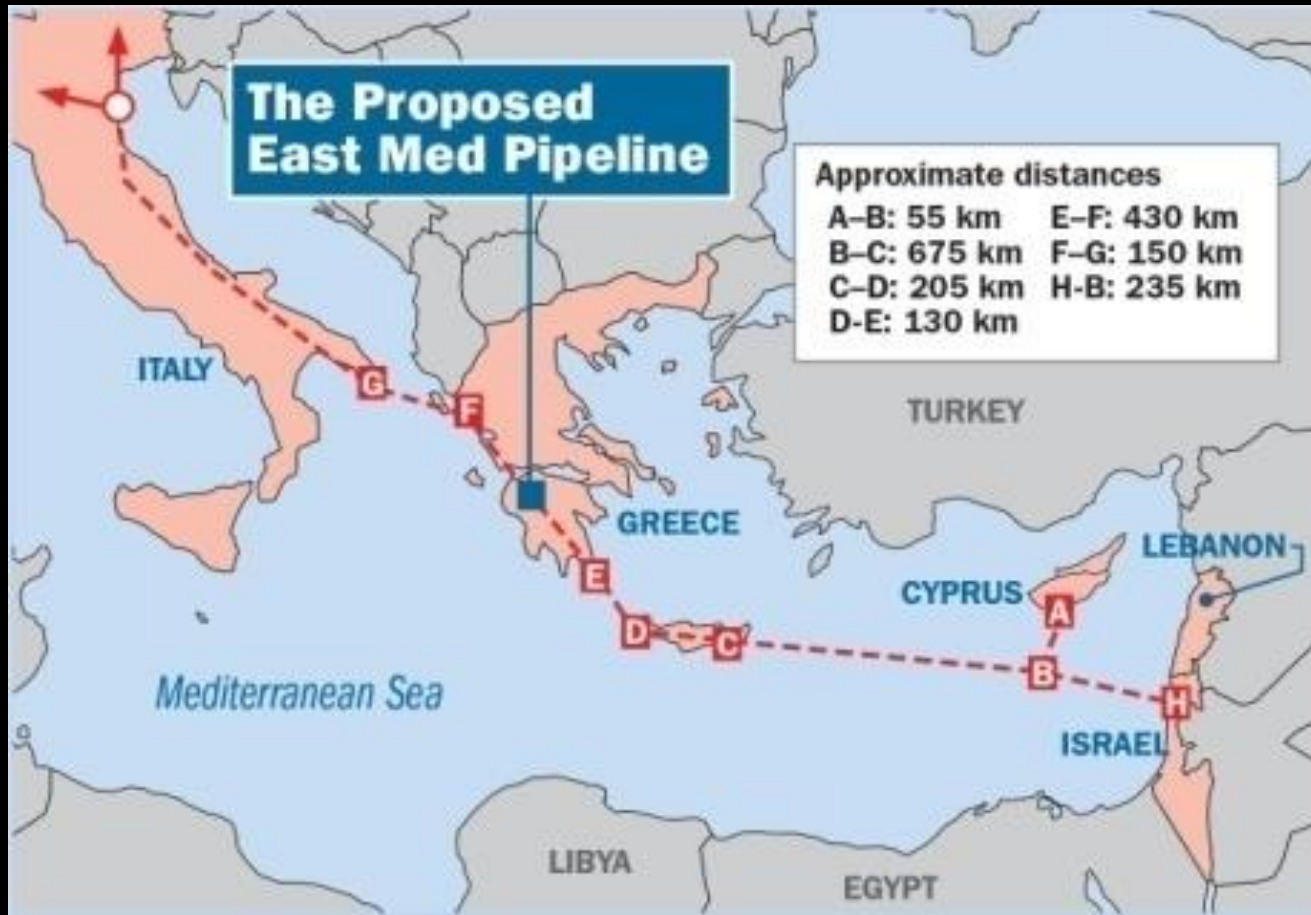
5. Hazardous infrastructure

Turkish "EEZ"

Greek "EEZ"



# On hazardous infrastructure



A material configuration intimately connected to inter-state conflict and shaped by it.