



The Natural Gas Policy During The Period of Justice and Development Party (AKP)

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ABSTRACT

After being understood that natural gas is an energy source having the least damage to the environment, a significant dissemination activity has been started about its use on the world. Such that, this event has risen to the position of being one of the most important actors of the international relations in the later years. In addition, as supplier countries bring the security of supply into the forefront, consumer countries have also started to give importance to the security of the countries that will be corridor. Besides, One of the most important problems for countries has been to take steps about not being depend on only one source by increasing the number of supplier countries. When looking at the policies on natural gas of the government of AKP having been ruling in last 12 years in Turkey, it has been seen that it has taken important steps about realizing the targets that it has put forth at the first step. However, it has been unlikely to take step on some matters according to international agreements that interest it, too. One of the most essential matters that Turkey hasn't still solved at the present is inability of increasing the number of supplier countries for energy.

KEYWORDS : Natural Gas, Energy Security, the Ak Party (Justice and Development Party)

INTRODUCTION

The natural gas as an energy source that gives the least damage to the environment and as its ease of use has been started to be used in many areas. In addition to this, it has risen to the position of being an important actor of international relationships. Therefore, it has gotten a position right in the middle of the political games. As with this respect, natural gas has not only remained as an energy source giving the least damage to environment and economy, but it has also been an important determinant of the international policy. At this point, especially consumer countries have entered into new funding sources in order to eliminate the negatives that dependence on a single source may bring and promoted the use of natural gas in their countries.

NATURAL GAS AND ITS IMPORTANCE

Natural gas is an hydrocarbon-originated energy source from fossil fuels group. It is an organic fuel that consists of the result of chemical change of plant and animal wastes by the effect of high pressure under the earth. Generally, it is found congestedly among rocks and it is a colourless, scentless and light gas. It is found especially on petrol areas. Gases such as methane, ethane, butane, propane, carbon dioxide, oxygen, nitrogen and hydrogen and sulphite are found in its composition. Besides, it has been revealed that its basic chemical composition is methane¹.

It doesn't cause environment problems as a very important factor than the fuels like coal and petrol. Other fossil fuels contain highly dangerous gases and they are released to atmosphere as a result of their burning. As they cause considerable pollution the atmosphere, they cause global warming by the greenhouse effect. However, at this point, the effect of pollution environment of natural gas is considerably little in comparison with others. One of the most important reasons of using natural gas in the production of electricity can be described as not to harm the environment in the establishment and operation processes of the power plants

It is possible to sort other properties of natural gas, as well. Firstly, it is found gaseous in atmospheric pressure and in room temperature and is a non-poisonous gas relative to others. It doesn't do negative impact as much as other fuels in case of inhalation. Because it is in a rising trend in the atmosphere, when the gas leaks, it is known from ventilation holes.

Especially its another side to be considered superior than others is to burn completely and provide maximum energy. In addition to all of these, its easy to use and its not requiring more manpower gives the result of being preferred very much².

In addition, there is a negative side of natural gas economically. This side is its being cost to store and its being used by conveying to the consumption place after being taken out. At this point, the factor that makes natural gas to be used very effectively is conveying it to harsh

regions by pipelines. As of today, it is in the position of the primary energy source used very much in the production of electricity and in warming. It should also be noted that natural gas's coming to a very important position economically is the product of recent times. In the first times, encountering with natural gas by those who sought petrol didn't please them. Because, conveying natural gas to market at that time didn't seem possible. Therefore, the petrol that was very easy to be transferred was preferred instead of natural gas. However, in time, natural gas has been an energy source used very much as a result of laying pipelines and transferring to the consumption places. Especially, causing to considerably environment problems by other fuels in the industrialized countries and their needs for more energy day by day have made natural gas more attractive. Besides that, nuclear energy used highly in developed countries carries also the potential of causing big problems and refers states to alternative energy sources. Besides, the petrol crisis in 1970s has been one of the most important reasons urging the use of natural gas³.

NATURAL GAS PRODUCTION

As of today, it is possible to say that natural gas lives a golden era. At this point, the production of natural gas has been increasing day by day on the world. The reason of increasing in the production derives from naturally the consumption need. For example, 3,3 trillion cubic meter natural gas production in 2012 all over the world is expected to be reach the level of 5,3 trillion cubic meter in 2035. Besides, the rock gas discovered in the North American countries opens both new use fields and reduces the external dependence for countries. The natural gas reserves and production amounts all over the world as of 2011-2012 years are as following:

Table 1: Natural gas reserves and production amount by country⁴

	End of 2011 reserve (trillion cubic meter)	End of 2012 reserve (trillion cubic meter)	Percentage	2012 production amount (billion cubic meter)
Iran	33,6	33,6	%18	160,5
Russia	32,9	32,9	%17,6	592,3
Qatar	25	25,1	%13,4	157
Turkmenistan	17,5	17,5	%9,3	64,4
USA	8,8	8,5	%4,5	681,4
Arabia	8,2	8,2	%4,4	102,8
BAE	6,1	6,1	%3,3	51,7
Venezuela	5,5	5,6	%3	32,8
Nigeria	5,2	5,2	%2,8	43,2

Algeria	4,5	4,5	%2,4	81,5
Australia	3,8	3,8	%2	49
China	3,1	3,1	%1,7	107,2

As it is seen, the countries such as Russia, Iran and Turkmenistan being on the tops of the reserve and production of natural gas are located in a very close position, and as this situation brings a number of advantages with it, it contains a number of disadvantages as well. Firstly, Turkey's being on the neighbourhood of two countries like Russia and Iran, which look at natural gas not only as an economic value, but also use it very well at the point of acquiring political gains, and Turkey's requirement of natural gas considerably constitute a significant disadvantage. In addition to this, if it is taken account that an important part of the current deficit given by the economy of country is due to energy, it is considerably high at this point to bear positive consequences potential for Turkey. However, because of the place where Turkey has positioned itself, its desire to be a energy transit corridor can turn this situation into an advantage. The natural gas consumption amounts of countries are important in terms of both for demonstrating their industrialization situation and for demonstrating the politics that they carry out to the environment

Table 2: The Natural gas consumption amounts of the countries as of the year 2012 (billion cubic meters)⁵

USA	722,1
Russia	416,2
Iran	156,1
China	143,8
Japan	116,7
Arabia	102,8
Canada	100,7
Mexican	83,7
England	78,3
Germany	75,2
Italy	68,7
Uzbekistan	47,9
Turkey	46,3

It should be specified here that the height in amount of natural gas use of the countries are always not in the position of demonstrating the development in the industry point. For example, it can be said that an important reason of spending so high rate by Iran and Russia is having these reserves by themselves and not depending on external countries. External dependence and current account deficit problem show themselves as important criteria in the use of natural gas

THE CONDITION OF TURKEY

Turkey made its first natural gas purchase agreement with the Soviet Union in 1984. The important reason urging Turkey to such an agreement has been a need for new energy sources considerably by the country as a result of increasing economic mobility and increasing air pollution in some cities. Then, it signed a contract lasting 20 years with Nigeria in 1988 and gas delivery started in 1994. It made an agreement lasting 25 years with Iran in 1996 and gas delivery started in 2003. Then, again, it made two different agreements with Russia Federation in 1997 and 1998, getting gas from blue stream and west line was started in this two agreements as of 1998. Again, it made an agreement with Turkmenistan in 1999, but, it switched to gas purchase. It signed a 15-year contract with Azerbaijan in 2001 and gas purchase was started in 2007⁶.

The natural gas importation in 2012 in Turkey came true in a way of million cubic centimetres:

Russia: 26 thousand 491
Iran: 8215
Azerbaijan: 3354
Algeria: 4076
Nigeria: 1322

The countries that Turkey realized natural gas importation showed up in percentage base as following:

Russia: 58 percentages
Iran: 18 percentages
Azerbaijan: 7 percentages
Algeria: 9 percentages

Nigeria: 3 percentages⁷

Only 1,36% of the natural gas consumed in Turkey has been being gotten from the domestic production. 98,64% of the rest has been being imported⁸.

All these data show that Turkey is in advanced level of external dependence about natural gas. At this point, the countries such as Iran, Russia, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, which are the producers of natural gas, being around Turkey and its having neighbourhood to the Middle East basin can bring Turkey to an important level as geopolitical. In its natural gas policies:

Alternatives should be revealed against the countries such as Iran and Russia that see natural gas as a political material about external dependence.

It should evaluate the opportunity of being energy corridor very well.

Especially, saving increasing measures should be inclined in the consumption for heating purposes in household.

THE POLICIES OF JUSTICE AND DEVELOPMENT PARTY (AKP)

The situation prior to the AK Party

Turkey came up against the fact that it would not stand alone against the Soviet Union demanding a new status determination about the straits and staking a claim on the lands after the Second World War. In this situation, it was in quest of finding alliance and it felt the necessity of using a preference in the situation where, in bipolar worldwide, the Soviet Union was on the top of one of them and the United States of American was on the top of another of them. Within this context, when it was positioned on the side of the United States of America, it started to feel safe, at a point, against its just beside neighbour, the Soviet Union⁹. After that day, Turkey that was found in the position of an outpost for the Western world had known this position how to use for its business till 1990s. Although it was in a bumpy course due to its strategic location, it eventually could find a place for itself in the western alliance. The situation of Russia, on the head of the communist world increasing this strategic importance to the highest degree, would have undergone changes substantially when it came to 1990 year. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, an important debate started to arise within Turkey. The existence of the Soviet Union till that day, therefore, Turkey that was perceived as an important strategic partner in the Western world was in uncertainty for from now on. However, it came to the 2000s. Very important changes started to be removed in the world and in the geography it was in. As well as Turkey was a very poor country concerning petrol and natural gas for itself, many neighbours' countries around it had important sources. The use of natural gas that started to be became widespread after 1990s would gather speed considerably, and the use of natural gas that was at minimum level in comparison with other fuels about damage to the environment would increase substantially.

After a point, there were a number of parameters that were the determinant for Turkey to be said that it reached its former strategic importance.

Before anything else, on the point of energy that the states around it had got, the some markets that they would market their reserves, which were above their needs, safely offered a situation vital for them. Especially, Turkey that situates near to a geography where conflicts like the Middle East continue every time was in an important market position by its crowded population that it had about the energy supply point together with its stability rate relatively it was in.

When the Western countries, whose sensitivities were developed significantly for the environment, started to break through about natural gas, they had been seeing Turkey as a corridor to transmit the natural gas that they demanded for themselves in the best way. Because, how much important was the security of supply for the states having got energy sources, on the other hand, the demand security had importance to that extent for the countries that would be in consumption situation¹⁰

In addition to all these economic requirements, a different impor-

tance of Turkey had already been started to emerge for the Western World. It is also possible to explain as follows; like a number of countries that won their independences after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the unstable countries in the Middle East also stayed far behind about the democracy that was the ideology of the twenty-first century at one point. The Western countries showing great care about the Central Asia countries' not re-entering into Russia's guidance started to demonstrate Turkey to them almost as a role model¹¹.

Under these circumstances, Semerci transit corridor started to revive the strategic importance of Turkey as a role model about democracy even for other countries. A majority of the people of the almost all other countries that would take Turkey as a role model being Muslim was another one of the important reasons that shone Turkey at this point.

Turkey that was aware of such kind of position started to prepare itself to especially such a future. Turkey, that was in the lack of the energy source and that tried to close as a transit corridor, henceforth, would determine its policies according to this. For example, in 2003,

There were statements supporting these points in the written report related to the entrance process to European Union of Turkey¹².

Besides, like all western countries, as an important problem of Turkey, too, the diversification works of the supplier countries about the natural gas started to have importance.

The following text has been taken from the report mentioned above:

" Within the framework of strengthening the security of energy supply, the efforts to diversify the supply sources and ways have been maintained. The Blue Gas natural gas pipeline connecting Turkey and Russia over the Black Sea was entered into service in December 2002. The technical works in relation to Caspian and Mediterranean petrol pipeline have been still going on. The transportation of petrol and natural gas in the direction of east-west is increasing day by day because of Turkey's being an important transit country...Regarding petrol transportation, the construction works of Caspian –Mediterranean petrol pipeline were started in 2003, the pipeline mentioned is expected to be entered into service in 2005¹³."

The Blue Stream Project which was started between Turkey and Russia before Justice and Development Party were brought to agenda by an agreement signed in 1997. Together with this line, per annual 16 billion cubic meters natural gas was decided to be transported to Turkey, it was stated that the agreement would remain in force for 25 years. At this point, the end of 25 years of the gas that would be started to be bought as 2 billion cubic meters, its total amount would be 365 billion cubic meters. Although, firstly, within the project, the date of arrival of natural gas to Turkey was stated as 2000 year, 15 October 2001 was determined as the date when the first gas would be given by signing a protocol because of delays. When both sides induced delay in the agreement made, the sanctions to be introduced were stated, as well. For any delay stemming from BOTAŞ, about 133 million dollars penalty was foreseen for each six month, for any delay stemming from Russia, it was stated that 8 percentage in winter months, 4 percentage in summer months would go on sale.

However, Russia was able to deliver the project on 30 December 2002. But, there happened many debates in Turkey related to this project, especially the unit price of the natural gas that the state didn't want to explain caused great debates. Then, according to the information leaked to press, 153 dollars were given for thousand cubic meters. Russia press stated that the amount was 126 dollars. However, it should also be noted that Russia was selling natural gas as 20 dollar for its own labour market¹⁴.

This situation in natural gas was reflected in the press and parliamentary questions were given for the government of the time on the ground that it carried out wrong policies¹⁵.

The AK Party Period

The Ak Party that came into power under these conditions, firstly, formed the 58th government under the presidency of Abdullah Gül on 18 November 2002. After a few months, 59th government would be

formed under the presidency of Tayyip Erdoğan as of the date of 14 March 2003. When it looked at the programs of these governments, the general aims of Turkey mentioned above are seen that they repeated.

In this context, the presidents of this government stating that they would behave carefully about energy supply and security also stated that they would go to diversification for supplier countries

There were the following statements in the 58th government program related to energy issue:

"In order to provide supply and source security and diversity, to determine the need for investment and to supply the energy needed as economic and reliable, long-term strategies and policies will be developed.

Our country's opportunities to be distribution terminal about opening petrol and natural gas in our neighbours to the world market will be evaluate very well, the energy in our country will become a regional power. In this context, importance will be given to develop transmission infrastructure and market layout that will enable the electricity exchange with Europe and the region countries in the field of electricity energy. Especially, the policies for transporting the natural gas and petrol in the Caspian Sea will be maintained.

An energy policy prioritising the domestic sources in the production of energy will be developed.

By bringing our petrol and natural gas policies into conformity with our foreign policy, a unifying element will be provided in our relationships with the countries of fellow Central Asia and Caucasus.

By considering that the environment is a value and cost element, the contaminants emerged during the energy conversation processes will be controlled carefully and clean energy sources and conversation technology will be benefitted in order to protect the environment¹⁶."

In the same way, when it was looked at Tayyip Erdoğan government that was formed a few months later, the following statements were met in the program:

"All energy sources will be benefitted in the most effective and efficient way. In order not to be pressed for money, a planning considering cost and pricing will be made, environmentally friendly nuclear energy sources will be activated. The foreign energy sources and its facilities will be evaluated by diversifying without ignoring the economic criteria.

On the basis of our government's energy policy is to protect our national interests, to ensure the security of energy supply and the continuity, to create an energy market based on free competition and to protect the human health and the environment that we are sensitive. At the same time, our government will be in maximum effort in order to turn Turkey into an energy bridge¹⁷."

Accordingly, it is possible to state the energy policies of the governments under the following headings:

Turkey will be an energy corridor.

The natural gas on the Caspian region will be opened to Europe market over Turkey.

The use of local sources will be priority.

The Turkish Republics in the Central Asia will be prioritized by the policies to be carried out in petrol and natural gas.

Importance will be given to the environment, clean energy sources and conversion technology will be benefitted.

A planning will be made by considering the cost and pricing in order not to be pressed for money of the country.

By diversifying the energy sources coming from the outside the country, a single source will not be heavily relied on a single source.

The interests of the country will be protected; the supply and security of energy will be ensured.

Free competitive energy market will be created.

After this point, one of the first actions of the Ak party was to send Zeki Çakan and Cumhur Ersümer who carried out the Ministries of Energy and Natural Resources in the previous period to the supreme court. While sending them to the Supreme Court, the charges were reflected to the press as following:

"Ersümer was charged with scheming to the state trading in the natural gas purchase, with defeating the public damage by the wrong and illegal energy policies and with approving to illegal practices in DSI (General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works)... The commission wanted to send Çakan to the Supreme Court because of the crime of defeating the public damage by wrong and illegal energy policies during his Ministry as well as approving to the illegal applications in DSI¹⁸."

The constitutional court gave the decision of imprisonment sentence with the title of supreme court about these two ministers who were decided to be tried in the supreme court by passing through the parliament decision by the attempts of Ak Party.

The crimes of these two ministers were determined in the decision text of Supreme court as follows:

"Accordingly, by actualising the binding contracts with high tariff without need, Mustafa Cumhur ERSÜMER by the claim that he made the connections of gas purchase with the condition of "buy or pay" for electric power-plants, and that he didn't take into consideration the suggestions that the Constitutional institutions revealed by the scientific data related to planning, Zeki ÇAKAN by the claim that he gave permission to the autoproducer power plant more than enough by maintaining these projects and he caused to unutilised capacity and, by this way, to the public damage, in accordance with the 205. Article of TRL numbered 756, it was understood that they were wanted to be punished separately."

The claim that caused to constitute unutilised capacity and by this way led to the emergence of public damage is based on three main cases stated below:

- By actualising the binding contracts with high tariff without need, to make the connections of gas purchase with the condition of "buy or pay" for electric power-plants,
- Not take into consideration the suggestions that the Constitutional institutions revealed by the scientific data related to planning,
- To give permission to the autoproducer power plant more than enough by maintaining these projects¹⁹"

As it is also understood from here, in that day, Ak Party sued the former ministers on the ground that they damaged the state by the agreements made in the way of "buy or pay" and actualized the purchase more than need, and some penalties were given to them by making their trials about this matter.

The conclusion to be drawn can be read as; the Justice And Development Party behaved very sensitive about energy as of the first years and opened judicial remedy for the people that it thought that they damaged the country, therefore it tried to act appropriately to the principles that it determined initially.

When it was looked at the situations emerged in those years, Turkey depended on Russia about natural gas over 60 percentages together with the Blue Stream, this number exceeded over twice of 30 percentages that was the highest rate on the point of dependence, the single source of the European Union. The Germany that was the second largest customer of Russia after Turkey depended on Russia at the rate of 33 percentages about the natural gas. On the other hand, Austria was in the dependence at the rate of 45 percentages as the most dependent country in the Europe. This situation of Turkey presented violation to the understanding of energy security that NATO put forth²⁰.

In addition, those that made agreement on behalf of Turkey stated

that they went to a deal by foreseeing the need of natural gas of Turkey more than enough. About the agreements made here, there occurred important debates in Turkey on the point of personal interests and some corruptions²¹.

At this point, after the Ak Party government saw the overdependence of Turkey to Russia, it tried to pioneer to new projects. NABUCO Project came at the beginning of these projects. First of all, since the United States of America and the European Union countries that supported this project saw as a problem for the region countries to be overdependent to Russia, supported such a project. In accordance with this project, the plans of the natural gas that would come both Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan and the Middle East to be transmitted to the Europe market via Turkey intended to be implemented.

So, Turkey would both realize the dream of being a corridor country that it determined as a strategic target and enter into closer economic relations with the countries of European Union that it tried to be a member of it.

In addition to this, this project that would save Turkey depending on a single source like Russia would enable Turkey to enter into closer relation with the Central Asia Republics, Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan²².

However, very important issues were waiting Turkey on the point of realizing this project. Firstly, Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan that were intended to be included in NABUCO project had the problem about allocation due to the location of Caspian between each other, Turkey should take the initiative about solving this problem.

However, as Turkey didn't attempt to anything about this issue, the continuation of this problem served well for Russia's own business, on one hand, it brought Turkmenistan into a situation that it could not sell its gas by itself by sidestepping the status of Caspian, on the other hand, as a result of the agreements that it made with this country, it started to release Turkmen gas in Europe market over its own²³.

Even though Turkey tried to bring Turkmen gas via Iran, due to the current conjuncture, Iran that had greatly disputes with the USA about nuclear energy to be included in such a thing wasn't leaned toward by the USA. On the other hand, it didn't have no some problems about Iraq. Especially the behaviours and attitudes of Maliki, the president of Shiite, about Turkey impeded to the close relations with this country. As a result of all these problems, the NABUCO Project attributed a great importance wasn't realized, and fell behind the political objectives determined at this point.

As of 2010 year, the content of the report, a part of which will be given below about to what extent the Ak party approached to these policies in 2003, is in the informative quality at a point:

"... its another potential is to provide the geographical location of Turkey. The geographical location placed between the countries (generally European countries), the needs of which increase gradually for these sources and the countries, the producer of petrol and natural gas, provides a certain potential by the role of "energy corridor" to the country. This role has become a fundamental part of the Turkey energy policies, any more. Although Turkey isn't rich in terms of petrol and natural gas reserves, it is seen as a reliable "partner" providing a safe corridor for transporting natural gas and petrol because of geographical and political location. The policy of source countries and their diversification of route in terms of energy of the European Union strengthen this position of Turkey²⁴."

The issue of being a corridor country that was set as a target by the Ak Party in 2003 has been still standing as more potential as shown in this report written in 2010.

In other words, a very important development wasn't provided about this matter. Another important factor drawing attention in the report was to come these days by winning the trust of the European Union countries in the consequence of close relations that the Ak Party established with the European countries in years, and was to be a source of considerable confidence about in this regard.

However, the government that was in a very difficult situation due to

corruption charges emerged in recent years made laws that the European Union didn't want on many issues, and started to take steps backward about freedoms. It can be said that the government which took significant criticism on these points started to form a group opposed to the European Union. The saying of, the president of the republic, Tayyip Erdoğan "we don't have any trouble like entering the European Union" can be considered as the indicator of that it was entered into a new era on the relationships with the European Union at a point²⁵.

Thanks to environment of confidence constituted in the previous periods, it seems very unlikely to say something at the present about how the European Union, which supports the pipeline projects that will pass over Turkey by seeing it as a corridor, would enter in a relationship after this point. But, the fact that there isn't any former environment of trust is a different reality. After this point, it should be stated that Turkey that aims to feed the European Union by the big natural gas pipeline projects has significant problems about trust point.

These statements are very striking when it is looked at the 2003 legislation of Ak Party.

"On the basis of our government's energy policy is to protect our national interests, to ensure the security of energy supply and the continuity, to create an energy market based on free competition and to protect the human health and the environment that we are sensitive. Petrol and natural gas exploration will be focused on.

- * As alternative or replacement investment to the energy power plants where the dependent natural gas is used, nuclear energy power plants will be established on condition that required security and environmental protection measures should be taken. So, the cheap energy that the economy needs will have been ensured
- * Dependency on a single source of energy will be removed.
- * Our party is aware of that our country is in the position of a bridge in order to make the external petrol and natural gas be opened to the world market. This strategic position will be evaluate in effective way and our country will be turned into a distribution terminal.^{26"}

The fact that the problem of dependence on a single source would be removed in 2003 was repeated in 2013 legislation. In passing 10 years, now that the Ak Party came to power alone, repeating the 10 years earlier targets after 10 years is an important indicator that it stayed far behind the targets determined about this matter. In addition to this, the feature of the country's being a corridor stated in the party's own legislation was repeated. The Ak party authorities, who claimed that they were aware of this, should convince others about how much they would be realist on the point of realizing this target with the conflict environment that they entered with the European countries.

Besides, Ak Party's statement that the issue of nuclear plant that it put port as a next target was the method of getting cheaper electricity doesn't seem very realistic under the light of some data. Because it accepted to pay 12,35 cent for the electricity that would come from Akkuyu nuclear power plant having been made by Russia. However, the price of electricity wanders around 6-7 cent per kilowatt in the European countries²⁷.

At this point, it should also be noted that the agreements such as "buy or pay" that cause problems substantially for Turkey don't belong to the Ak Party Period. In the previous periods, agreements were made by this way with Russia and Iran, and these agreements were inherited to the Ak Party. One of the main factors of the agreements made by this way was the system emerged as the consequence of the efforts to minimize the risks of the supplier countries and to give importance to the infrastructure works in 90s when especially the agreements were made, at a point, this was emerged in order to ensure "security of supply". Although a set of discounts were made in the system of "buy or pay" as a result of the agreements made in 2003 with Russia, it was said that it had brought significant loses to Turkey. At this point, Turkey came up against a payment worth 4 billion dollars²⁸.

This issue occupying the agenda of Turkey for long years became the

main topic of the conversation many times in Turkish Grand National Assembly and many parliamentary questions were given about this issue. Taner Yıldız answering the parliamentary question issued in May of 2013 year stated that there were 6 agreements by this way in Turkey, and stated that there was not gas, which was not bought but was paid in this regard. In addition to this, the reason of not giving the desired numbers was given justification as the secrecy of the international agreements²⁹.

In the 2023 vision document issued in 2012 by the Ak Party, such statements were taken place about energy:

"An important area in our foreign policy is energy. While the issue of energy is used as a tension, even as a conflict argument, Turkey uses energy as a peace element. Therefore, energy opens the political channels instead of being charge in politics. We evaluate energy as a common ground with the neighbour and regional countries. Regardless of what happens in political relations with our neighbours, energy is important to establish the basic relationship. As the economic and political stability become stronger in Turkey, our reputation in the energy increases, too³⁰."

As it can be understood from the descriptions, one of the main agenda items of Turkey still stands as energy. However, from now on, it is seen that they evaluate the energy as not a gun, but as a tool to enter into good relations with neighbour countries. The future time will show us what kind of results will be emerged by such an optimistic Picture.

Because the issue of energy is one of the most basic elements of the international relationships, it has become possible to witness to the new developments within this geography about this issue. The South Stream Project that Russia developed NABUCCO Project as an alternative will pass from the Black Sea and reach to Bulgaria, from there, will be spreaded to the entire European market. However, on the ground that countries of the European Union would create unfair competition, they objected to such a project from the beginning. While Bulgaria became a member of the European Union in the recent period, as a result of pursuing the same line of policy, Russia explained that it shelved this Project completely. However, from now on, Vladimir Putin, the president of Russia, stated that he wanted to carry out this Project over Turkey. But, the countries of the European Union stated that the project like south stream wouldn't work, too, because ultimately, the European Union selected as a market would not accept such a situation³¹.

The issue that should be focused on is how Turkey will position itself against this situation. On one hand, the attempts that Russia will start on this issue, on the other hand, the issue that Turkey will become more dependent to Russia has begun to be agenda. The time will show the policy that the Ak Party will follow on this issue. However, it should also be stated that Turkey which has entered into tense relations can lean toward to such a propose given by Russia and this can ignite the new debates.

CONCLUSION

It is possible to understand from the texts that the Ak party has presented about what they have done about this issue from 2003 year when the Ak party came into power by putting forth important objectives till after 10 years. Because, as the Ak Party determined in both 2013 party program and 2023 objectives, it seems that the dream of Turkey about not be dependent even on a single source has been still continuing. At this point, being dependent especially on Russia considerably, against the country like Russia that holds this issue on international relationships, as it is extremely dangerous, by going beyond it, giving the tender of nuclear energy to this country gives the impression of that Turkey has gone back about the security of energy. In addition to this, the issue that the natural gas bought from the neighbour countries has always been too priced has been discussed in public opinion and this issue has always remained on the agenda before the government of Ak Party and during the government of Ak Party. Even if the government of the Ak Party has taken important steps about preventing this expensiveness, then nobody has dwelt on this issue. It can be also said that Turkey has stayed behind the target of being an energy corridor substantially. Especially, the countries of the European Union that supported Turkey in an important project like

NABUCCO and the conflict environment entered in last period against the USA defer such an objective further. Besides, Turkey hasn't taken any step about the issue of Caspian emerged between Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan that would be an important course on the point of increasing the natural gas supplier countries. In addition to this, the fact that no any purchase has been made from the Middle East countries aimed as the supplier countries about the natural gas purchase is a situation that must be underlined. In this regard, it is possible to conclude that the Ak Party hasn't reached to the objectives that they put forth in the program in 2003. Especially the issue of energy security has been remaining as an important problem of Turkey.

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