

Vision Change and Foreign Supports in Turkey's Foreign Policy

Türk Dış Politikasında Vizyon Değişimi ve Dış Yardımlar

Abstract

When a country's foreign policy vision is considered, that country's targets and purposes which can be realized in future come to the mind. Word 'vision' is about the act of seeing as per the meaning of word and it means the distance of sight and farsightedness. The equivalent of this in the foreign policy can be accepted as being interested and developing policies. Vision of a country is in close relation with the geographies it is interested in and the subjects of policies it develops. This situation also shows the relation between the countries' visions and their positions within the international system. Vision discussion is one of the main discussion subjects going on in Turkish foreign policy for years. The question, whether Turkey has a foreign policy vision and/or which geographies are included in this vision, goes back to the years when Republic was founded. Turkey, which adapted a status quo foreign policy approach based on protection of the borders with Treaty of Lausanne (except participation of Hatay to the main land) on the first periods of foundation, has tried to stay far from the developments in this area with the related policy. After the World War II, it adopted a passive foreign policy by taking part in NATO with the Western countries and it kept its relation with the world out of West in minimum. This situation changed with end of the cold war and disintegration of the Soviet Union and Turkey has started to be interested in Central Asia, the Caucasus, the Balkans and the Middle East. However, instability of interior policy due to coalitions has not given way to develop in this subject. In 2002, new attempts were made with change of understanding in foreign policy after Justice and Development Party has come to power alone. Solid policies on different geographies of the world were developed by providing vision expanse in foreign policy. Subject of this study will mark the expansion in Turkey's foreign policy vision especially in the latest term. Moreover, aforementioned vision expansion will be materialized by telling foreign supports given in the latest term.

Öz

Bir ülkenin dış politika vizyonundan söz edildiğinde o ülkenin geleceğe ilişkin gerçekleştirilmesi mümkün olabilecek hedefleri ve amaçları aklı gelmektedir. Vizyon kelimesi sözlük anlamı itibarıyla görme eylemi ile ilgilidir ve görüş mesafesini, ileri görüşlülüğü anlatır. Bunun dış politikadaki karşılığı ise ilgi duymak ve politika geliştirmek olarak kabul edilebilir. Bir ülkenin sahip olduğu vizyonun genişliği de hangi coğrafyalara ilgi duyduğu ve nerelere yönelik politikalar geliştirdiği ile yakından ilişkilidir. Bu durum bir anlamda ülkelerin vizyonları ile uluslararası sistem içerisinde işgal ettikleri konumları arasındaki bağlantıyı da göstermektedir. Vizyon tartışmaları Türk dış politikasında yıllardan beri sürdürülen temel tartışma konularından biridir. Türkiye'nin bir dış politika vizyonunun olup olmadığı ve/veya bu vizyonun hangi coğrafyaları kapsadığı meselesi Cumhuriyet'in kuruluşuna kadar uzanmaktadır. Kuruluşunun ilk dönemlerinde Lozan Antlaşması'yla ortaya çıkan sınırların muhafazasını -Hatay'ın anavatanına katılması hariç- esas alan statükocu bir dış politik yaklaşımı benimseyen Türkiye, bununla bağlantılı olarak bölgesindeki gelişmelerden uzak kalmaya gayret etmiştir. İkinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra ise iki kutuplu yapıda Batı ülkelerinin yanında NATO içerisinde yer alarak pasif bir dış politika takip etmiş ve genel anlamda Batı dışı dünya ile ilişkisini asgari düzeyde tutmuştur. Bu durum Soğuk Savaş'ın sona ermesi ve Sovyetler Birliği'nin dağılması ile değişmiş ve Türkiye, Orta Asya, Kafkaslar, Balkanlar ve Orta Doğu coğrafyasına ilgi göstermeye başlamıştır. Ancak koalisyonlardan kaynaklanan istikrarsız iç siyasi yapı bu konuda mesafe alınmasına imkan vermemiştir. 2002 yılında Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi'nin tek başına iktidar olması ile birlikte dış politikadaki anlayış değişikliği paralelinde yeni atılımlar gerçekleştirilmiştir. Dış politikada bir vizyon genişliği sağlanarak dünyanın farklı coğrafyalarına yönelik somut politikalar ortaya konulmaya başlanmıştır. Bu çalışmanın konusu öncelikle son dönemde Türkiye'nin dış politika vizyonunda yaşanan genişlemeye işaret etmek olacaktır. Devamında ise son dönemde yapılan dış yardımlar anlatılarak bu konu üzerinden söz konusu vizyon genişlemesi somutlaştırılacaktır.



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1. Vision in Turkish Foreign Policy

1.1. The Concept of Vision

Vision discussion has always been a popular subject in Turkish Foreign Policy. Many books and articles have been published covering this subject and whether a foreign policy exists is discussed in some of them while the subject of what a vision should be is discussed in many others. This concept which is not limited to being a subject for academic research has a wide-spread usage area in almost every aspect of our daily lives. It was entered into management literature starting from 1990s then became popular especially in the 21st century (Yılmaz ve Akdemir, 2005: 23; Akdemir, 2008: 7). With the increasing interest, it has a wide range of usage area starting from corporate management to states' foreign policies. Therefore, once its usage area expanded, it also experienced meaning expansion so that some other words happen to be using interchangeably as actually confusing the words. In this concept, it became a necessity to explain firstly the origins of the word of vision and what this word explains in the beginning.

The word of vision, which is a quite old word in terms of linguistic, is considered that it rooted back to the word of Visio, which was derived from the word of videre having many meanings in Latin language, used to mean to be awake and to comprehend (Akdemir, 2008: 11). The way of usage in Turkish language is derived from the word of vision in French which means to see, to watch, view and outlook (<http://fransizcasozluk.net>). Turkish Language Committee likewise defines the word vision as outlook, ideal, prudence, and in metaphoric meaning as foresig (<http://www.tdk.gov.tr>). The word of vision is defined in several different other ways by many authors. On the other hand, accomplishable goals and targets are mentioned in all of them shows that there is generally accepted approach in this particular subject. In another definition of this idea, the concept of vision is defined as the picture of the future which is tried to be reached (Yılmaz ve Akdemir, 2005: 15).

As before-mentioned, the word of vision is used in many areas of our daily lives and one of the areas in which it widely used is states' foreign policies. There are set of basic policies, which are required to be followed by the states whose primarily objectives are to sustain and prevent their existence, in order to reach their primarily goals. The foreign vision of the countries in question will be the guidance in the process of these policies' determination. Utilizing the definitions, the foreign policy vision of a country could be defined as the possible targets and goals which could be reached in the future in terms of the country in question. In the realistic manners, vision is differentiated from the dreams and they could not be used interchangeably (Gölbaşı, 2008: 9). The word of vision could also mean the view distance and the corresponding usage of area in the foreign policy is the geographical depth in the interest area of the country in question and the position the country locates itself in the international system.

Vision is the direction map which must be followed in a country' foreign policy and each county aims to create a vision which leads them to shape their foreign policies. The factors which must be taken into account while determining the foreign policy are composed of the tangible and intangible power items. Tangible factors including population military capacity, geography, economic structure and intangible factors including history, culture, national moral and the qualifications of the governments which create the countries' total power are important to determine the limits of the vision. In the analysis of the structures of the factors which are dominant on vision determination, the structures seem to be composed of constant and variable factors. This condition shows that the visions which are determined by the countries are not unchangeable and, as in the qualifications of the governments' examples, it is possible for vision to experience changes over time since the existence of the variable factors. Through the Turkish Republic perspective, it is observed that similar vision changes are experienced because of the internal and external developments during the 90 years.

1.2. Turkish Foreign Policy in the 20th Century

Turkish Republic, which was established over a new political regime after the I. World War, is continuation of Ottoman Empire in terms of many institutions and founding members although it presents a new country view which parted its connections with the past in its establishment

philosophy. In the analysis of the foreign policy which was followed during the Republic period, the same situation could be observed and also Ottoman foreign policy reflected on the Republic policy could be seen. The westernization approach which was started from the 19th century was one of the unchanged policies till the collapse of the Ottoman Empire (Işık, 2011: 45-61). This situation continued likewise in the Turkish Republic which was established after the Ottoman Empire and westernization was happened to be one of the main state policies (Oran, 1996).

Another foreign policy approach which was inherited from the Ottoman Empire to Turkish Republic is the statuesque prevention approach (Oran, 1996). Ottoman Empire lost lands constantly –except the exceptions- caused that it adapted a defensive approach in foreign policy especially after the 18th century. The state, which was aware of its weakness conditions especially in late 19th century, followed a balance policy among the powerful countries in order to sustain its existence and kept itself away from the war policies unless forced (Işık, 2011: 47). This situation reflected itself on the new established Turkish Republic's foreign policy and the newly established state tried to be not involved in the spreading foreign policies so that it adapted preventing the boundaries which are derived on the Lozano Agreement as a main politic approach. Except the adding Hatay into Turkey land boundaries as using diplomatic methods, any kinds of land boundary changes were not experienced (Karakoç, 2009).

Turkish Republic which was established on the heritages of Ottoman Empire –in terms of location and humanity- experienced political regime and performed a set of revolutions in this respect. Some problems were happened in the phase of adaptation of these revolutions by the public during transition from the old order to new one led The Republic's management members primarily emphasize on the internal political developments. Therefore, foreign policy agenda was put on the second row and the operations which were given attention to was limited to the subject related to country safety. The result of this approach was to sign the Balkan Pact in the year of 1934 and the Sadabat Pact in the year of 1937 (Hülagü, 2006: 105-116).

Renowned statement by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, "Peace at home, Peace in the world" became the main principle of the Republic period foreign policy and the statement was identified with the statuesque policy which was implemented. The attempts, which were taken in the foreign policy before the II World War, were implemented in order to be accepted by the international communities as in the membership to the League of Nations in the year of 1932 or in order to create a support against the possible threats as in the Balkan and Sadabat Pacts (Talas, 2004: 348-250). Therefore, a foreign policy which was shaped through the possible threat occurrences, which targeted the country's survival, was implemented rather than creating a vision in order to be the dominant force in the regional and global developments.

Two-polar structure was occurred in the international system after the II World War and Turkey included into this structure as being involved in the Western Block. Taking and implementing this decision was highly influenced by the developments that Soviet Union created a threat for Turkey territorial integrity and sovereignty. Additionally, another factor that shaped the decision was the desire of Turkey being in the Western organizations and to act with the West as an extension of the westernization policy which was continued about two centuries (Sander, 2010: 266-267). In this concept, Turkey which became a member of NATO in the year of 1952, followed a foreign policy which was centered on safety during Cold War and adapted a West oriented foreign policy approach which was found suitable as the status of a member in the Western Block instead of creating its own foreign policies (Şahin: 12-13). Therefore, Turkey, which turned back to East, was the first Muslim country which accepted the sovereignty of Israel state in the year of 1948 and supported France while the sovereignty movements of Algeria in the year of 1958 in the international political platforms were recorded in the history as the solid examples of this approaches. However, the letter of Johnson in the year of 1964, Petroleum Crisis in the year of 1973 and Cyprus Intervention (Çiftçi, 2010: 279-284) in the year of 1974 were a set of developments which showed that Turkey's one sided Western-oriented foreign policy approach was wrong. Although Turkey, which worked on to diversify its foreign policies as leaving this wrong approach, tried to create warmer connections with

Middle East countries, it could not achieve successful progresses because of the limiting effects of the two-polar political structure.

With the disintegration of Soviet Union in the year of 1991, tight limits of two-polar structure were broken so that new opportunities were arisen for Turkey. Turkey which followed more active foreign policy comparing to the previous periods in the leadership of Turgut Ozal who became president after becoming prime minister started giving close attention to especially Middle Asia Region in which a power gap was experienced with the disintegration of Soviet Union (Ataman, 2003: 49-64). The concept of foreign policy became more often used a set of word in Turkey which followed foreign policy as an approach which was generally safety-oriented instead of as a framework of vision. In the period which started following the death of Turgut Ozal, an inconsistent period was begun due to coalition government in the internal political structure and this situation also affected the foreign policy. Till the period which Justice and Development Party established the government as sole power in the year of 2002, although active foreign policy statements (Efeğil, 2009: 356-363) were developed however the statements could be implemented (Çakıcı ve Sancak, 2012: 199).

1.3. Vision Change in Foreign Policy

With the consistency experienced in the internal policy in the beginning of the 21st century, certain changes in Turkey's foreign policy were implemented. As taking benefit of the geography on which it locates, and historical and cultural heritage (Oğuzlu, 2009) it has; Turkey, which incarnated its position for others as renowned statement of "a bridge between Asia and Europe", defined its position as the center country (Yeşiltaş ve Balcı, 2011: 12-13). Turkey started following more active, action taker and multi-sided foreign policy in the direction of this new approach over which Ahmet Davutoğlu has big influence who has been prime minister since the year of 2014 following that he had been minister of foreign affairs since 2009 and before, he was in prime ministry consultancy (Oğuzlu, 2009). Turkey, which positioned itself on the center with this approach changes, tried to re-evaluate the regional relationships as adapting the new foreign policy approach which was self-benefits oriented. In this concept, it created a new vision and added new geographical regions to its interest field (Davutoğlu: 2012: 6). Foreign Affairs minister Davutoğlu depicted which basics would be utilized on implementing new foreign policy with his statement that "we will follow a foreign policy which is based on a vision (Davutoğlu, 2012: 7)" while he pointed out the importance of the concept of vision for a country's foreign policy. As a result of this approach, a new foreign attempt was started which gave emphasize on East and South -as not ignoring West- instead of one-sided foreign policies which caused such understandings as " West's advanced gendarme station" (Oğuzlu, 2009). Turkey, which re-evaluated its regional relationships giving attention to national priorities, added new fields to its interest field as experiencing a vision expansion in terms of geography.

2. External Support and Supports That Turkey Gives As A Foreign Policy Tool

2.1. The Concept of External Support

The difficulties on giving definitions for the concepts belong to social sciences constitute one of the main problems experienced in this field. The problem in here is caused by the situation that putting forward common definitions which people has consensus on are most of the time not possible. This problem is also experienced in giving a definition for the concept of external support and there could be found many different definitions in the last -although they generally give similar meaning-. The differences in the structures, methods and objectives of official institutions and non-governmental organizations which operate in this field somehow explain the diversity of the definitions.

In the search of the word of help in Turkish Language Committee, Great Turkish Dictionary, as the second meaning, it is defined as "a grant or money and support items which are given as borrowed to a country" (<http://www.tdk.gov.tr>). On the other hand, the concept of external support in the same committee's dictionary is defined as "benefits in kind, grant or facilities provided through low interest rates and long termed credits which are generally given to less developed countries from developed countries for the purposes of social, economic, military and humanitarian

means" (<http://www.tdk.gov.tr>). Although there is a diversity of the definitions which are used in broader meanings besides its dictionary definitions, the definition of external support provided in below help to comprehend the concept:

"Benefits in kind and all kinds of monetary supports, which are made to developing countries from states, public institutions, non-governmental organization and charity organizations, as a grant without seeking any re-payment obligations or any other conditions, in order to provide the donated country's people's basic needs, social rights and human safety for the purposes only and only of to increase the country's development and welfare, except natural disasters." (Öztürk ve Öztürk, 2012: 18).

However, this definition excludes the investment operations which have profit intentions and similar operations. Likewise, the supports made during instances like natural disasters are not also included into this definition. As could be seen, the definitions which are made for this purpose are helpful to comprehend the concept however they are not fully complete. Besides the definitions, the subject should be detailed as paying attention to important items including for whom, in which purposes and through which methods the support is made in order to fully explain the concept.

One of the questions which could be occurred to mind while discussing the subject of external supports that why countries give external support. The question, in the most general perspective, could be answered as in order to perform humanitarian purposes and to reach the targets of foreign policy. (Chachage: 3). External supports which enable the cooperation and contribution inter-countries are positioned among the soft power items (<http://www.kdk.gov.tr>). In the recent periods where hard power items experienced power loss, these kinds of supports gain great importance as foreign policy tools. In analyzing the concept in this view of point, it could be understood as if the benefits of the country which gives support instead of the country which is given support are prioritized. However, the approach, that the benefits of the side which needs support must be prioritized, should be the common sense in the logic of giving support. This condition should be taken granted in order not to deviate the purpose of support relationship.

In the analysis of the external support relationship, there are two parties as one party is donor who gives the support and the other side is recipient who received the support. However, the fact that the relationship has two sides does not mean that the supports are implemented between two countries, all the time. The types of support are divided into two groups as giving attention to the amounts of the sides: two-sided supports and multi-sided supports. Two-sided supports are implemented depending on the relationship between only two countries while multi-sided supports are performed utilizing an international institution (Akçay, 2012: 5-6).

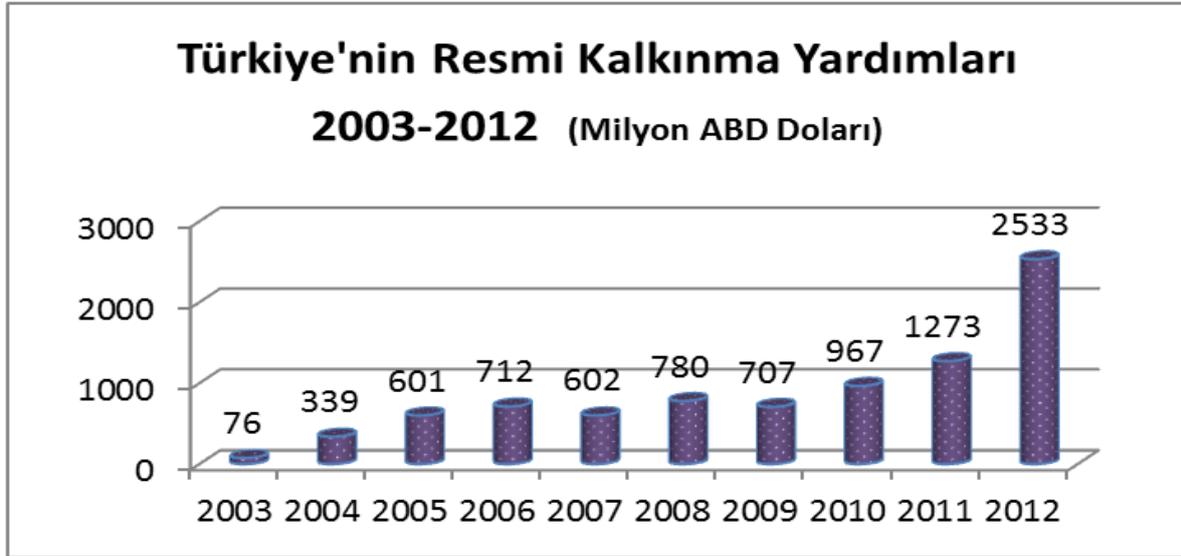
Official development assistance (ODA) is the most important one among the external supports. In order to be regarded as official development assistance, a support must carry the requirements of "on the basis, to target the development and welfare of the country which is given the assistance and 25% of the assistance must be a grant (Akçay, 2012: 6)." The content of the official development assistance is consisted of the project supports in dual level, humanitarian supports, immigration supports, technical cooperation and other supports made in similar purposes. Support type of being whether two-sided or multi-sided does not change the condition and the supports in this category must be publicly sources-official assistance (Akçay, 2012: 6). Additionally, "the supports, which do not have sufficient grant condition and are given for the purposes of contribution to the increase in the welfare level and given as economic development incentives to developing countries from public institutions and organizations are called as other official flow (OOF)" (Gür vd., 2013: 8). Direct investments, which carry the potential of economic development contribution for the countries in question, are categorized in the development supports (Gür vd., 2013: 8). All of the supports, which the supports of the non-governmental organization performing for the purposes of developmental cooperation or humanitarian supports are also included into, constitute the total development supports which are made by a country.

2.2. External Supports that Turkey Gives

In the parallel of the vision changes in Turkish Foreign Policy in the recent period, an expansion in the field of foreign policy planning and implementation is experienced. The necessity of giving

attention to a wider geography is realized in order to be a dominant power in both regional and global perspectives in the area of international policy. The political power existence which is able to perform this approach and the resource potential that the country has are very important elements in order for the mind-ful transition to carry a meaning. Consistency in the internal policy could be maintained after the year of 2002 and the developments in the economy enabled the implementation of attempts in the foreign policy. Turkey, which utilizes a growth model which is based on the exportation, started to give attention to the regions which it previously became distanced in terms of trade and politics for the purpose of this new policy approach. The politics and trade connections, which are recently established, started produce results in short term and Turkey began enjoying the results of these relationships. However, Turkey spent efforts to create these relationships based on a win-win situation instead of an approach which only cares for Turkey's own benefits. Therefore, it intends to be a country which also gives rather than only cares to take benefit. As an extension of this relationship approach, Turkey started making big amounts of supports for under-developed and needy countries in the world.

Turkey, since the years of National Independence, in spite of differences among the periods, has been a country which received external support. Especially the support, which was made by USA to Turkey through England in the framework of Lending and Leasing Law, was leveled up to a further degree with Truman Doctrine (Güler, 2004: 209-224). With the supports continued in the following periods, Turkey, which had been generally in the position of support receiving country, rose to a position of support giving country with 2000s. In this context, thirty times increase is experienced in the supports which are made by Turkey for the last twelve years. This situation had attention in the international platforms and Turkey as being the country which increased the external supports most in the year of 2012 was qualified as the rising donor by World Food Program (<http://www.kdk.gov.tr>).

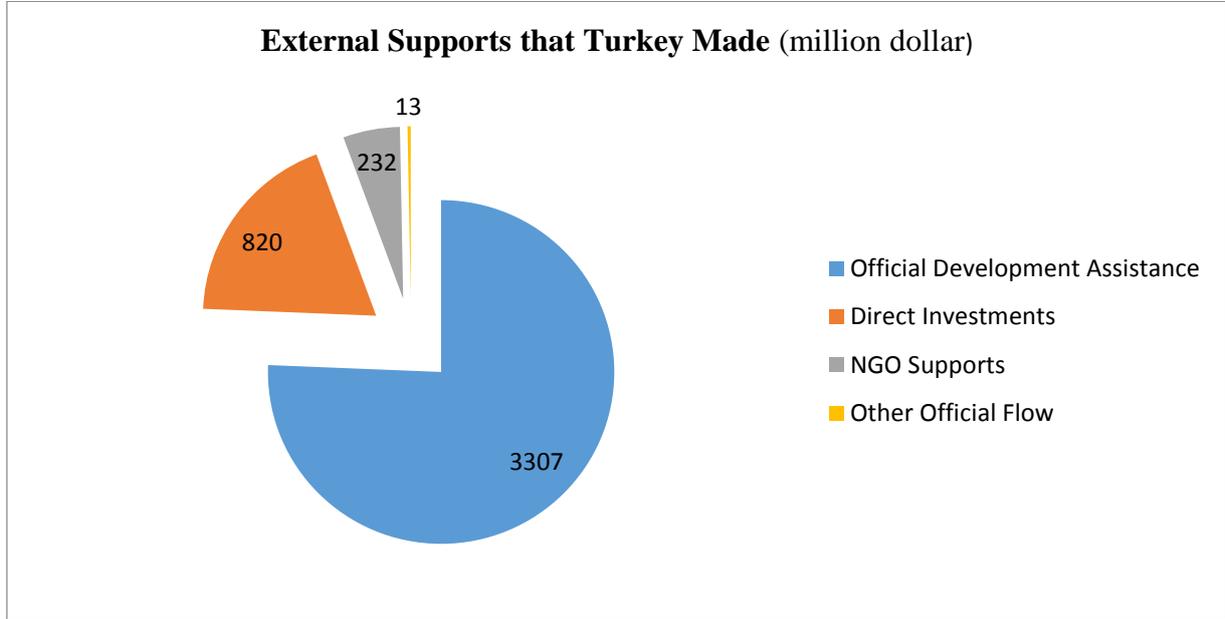


Graph 1. Official Development Assistanes Which Turkey Made through the Years of 2003-2012

Kaynak: <http://www.kdk.gov.tr>

As also could be seen on the graph, an important increase in each year –exception of the years of 2007 and 2009- have been reached in the supports which Turkey made and the amount of total support 76 million USA dollar in the year of 2003 was risen to 2533 million USA dollar the 10 years. The same approach was continued in the year of 2013 and the official development assistance was 3307 billion dollar as creating 30% increase in the total support amount. This amount positioned Turkey in the second rank following Japan among OECD countries in the support increase rate ordering (<http://www.kdk.gov.tr>). The total amount of external support which is made by Turkey as of 2013 has been 4 billion 347 million dollar when direct investments and the supports made by non-governmental organizations are added to the official development assistance which is made on over

a hundred countries in the five continents. As also could be seen on the graph 2; 3,3 billion dollar of total amount is constituted by official development assistance, 820 million dollar by direct investments, 232 million dollar by NGO supports and 13 million dollar by other official flows (<http://kdk.gov.tr>).



Graph 2. Distribution of the total external supports of Turkey in the year of 2013

Kaynak: (<http://kdk.gov.tr>)

Turkey is also ranked in the upper positions in the world, in the list of the emergent humanitarian supports which are excluded from these supports. According to the data of the Global Humanitarian Support 2014 report, Turkey is ranked after USA and England in terms of the support amounts in the ordering of the countries which make the most support. On the other hand, Turkey is the country which makes the most of the humanitarian support when the supports amounts are compared to the country's national income (<http://www.aljazeera.com.tr>).

Table 1. Humanitarian Support Ordering for The Year of 2013 (First 5)

	Country	Support Amount (Dollar)
1	ABD	4,7 billion
2	UK	1,8 billion
3	<i>Turkey</i>	<i>1,6 billion</i>
4	Japan	1,1 billion
5	Germany	949 million

Kaynak: <http://kdk.gov.tr>

As could be seen on the amounts, official assistance which are made from Turkey constitutes the important part in the total supports. Additionally, the change in the foreign policy makes correspondents in NGOs and the shares in the amounts of the external support steadily increased over the years. Official foreign assistance operations are implemented in the parallel of the established foreign policy and the implementation is operated by Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency (TICDA). This issue is legally grounded with the law numbered as 4668 and in this context TICDA is given responsibility of making cooperation among institutions for the

subject matter of external supports which are made through institutions and organizations in Turkey and of keeping records of the inventory related to the supports (Kardaş, 2012: 170).

TICDA, which had produced 240 amounts of projects in average per year in the first 10 years after its establishment in the year of 1992, increased its annual average project amount to 1108 as experiencing a big increase in the operation amounts with the parallel of the economic opportunities and the changed foreign policy approach in the following 10 years. TICDA presents services with its 35 program coordination office in 32 countries in 5 continents as of September, 2013 (TİKA, 2013).

Conclusion

Turkey experienced an approach change in its foreign policy following that Justice and Development Party came into power in the year of 2002. In this framework, Turkey, defines itself as a center country rather than being a bridge between East and West, re-defined its foreign policy vision based on this approach in the new period. In the parallel of the economic growth and approach changes in the foreign policy, Turkey rose to upper ranks in the list of the countries, which made most of the supports in the world, as increasing the spending in the field of external supports.

In what degree the external supports are utilized for the original purposes and in what degree they make real contributions to the country development are the subjects discussed in the international relations. The desired results from the external supports which were made to underdeveloped countries could not be taken and the resources were not utilized for the benefits of public instead of management bodies have been criticized. For these purposes, how and to where the supports are spent should be well defined in order for the amounts of support to be meaningful. In the analysis of the supports which are made by Turkey, the necessary attention is paid for this matter. In the supports which are made in the leadership of TICDA, it is observed that an approach is followed to provide permanent solutions as mainly focusing the substructure services.

Comparing to Western countries which make external supports, Turkey seems to have advantages. This situation is rooted to the fact that Turkey was not involved in colonialism. The effects of colonialism history in the supports which are made by Western countries could also be seen today. It is important that Turkey, which is aware of this situation, gives attention to this in the relationships built among the region countries and Turkey should establish its policy in the framework of win-win condition in which both sides can provide benefit as not focusing on the one-sided benefit. The next step should be to make the subject matter supports reach more people as continuing the same approach with official and non-governmental organizations.

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