

Turkish Neoliberalism under Pressure from above? The Impacts of legal Nihilism.



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The rationality of the Copenhagen Criteria

Neoliberalization of European
Integration

Maastricht
Treaty

EU's Eastern
Enlargement

Copenhagen
European
Council 1993

Democratic
Criteria

Economic Criteria

„Membership requires that candidate country has achieved stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights, respect for and protection of minorities, the existence of a functioning market economy as well as the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union. Membership presupposes the candidate's ability to take on the obligations of membership including adherence to the aims of political, economic and monetary union.“ (Presidency Conclusions, Copenhagen European Council 1993, 7.A.III)

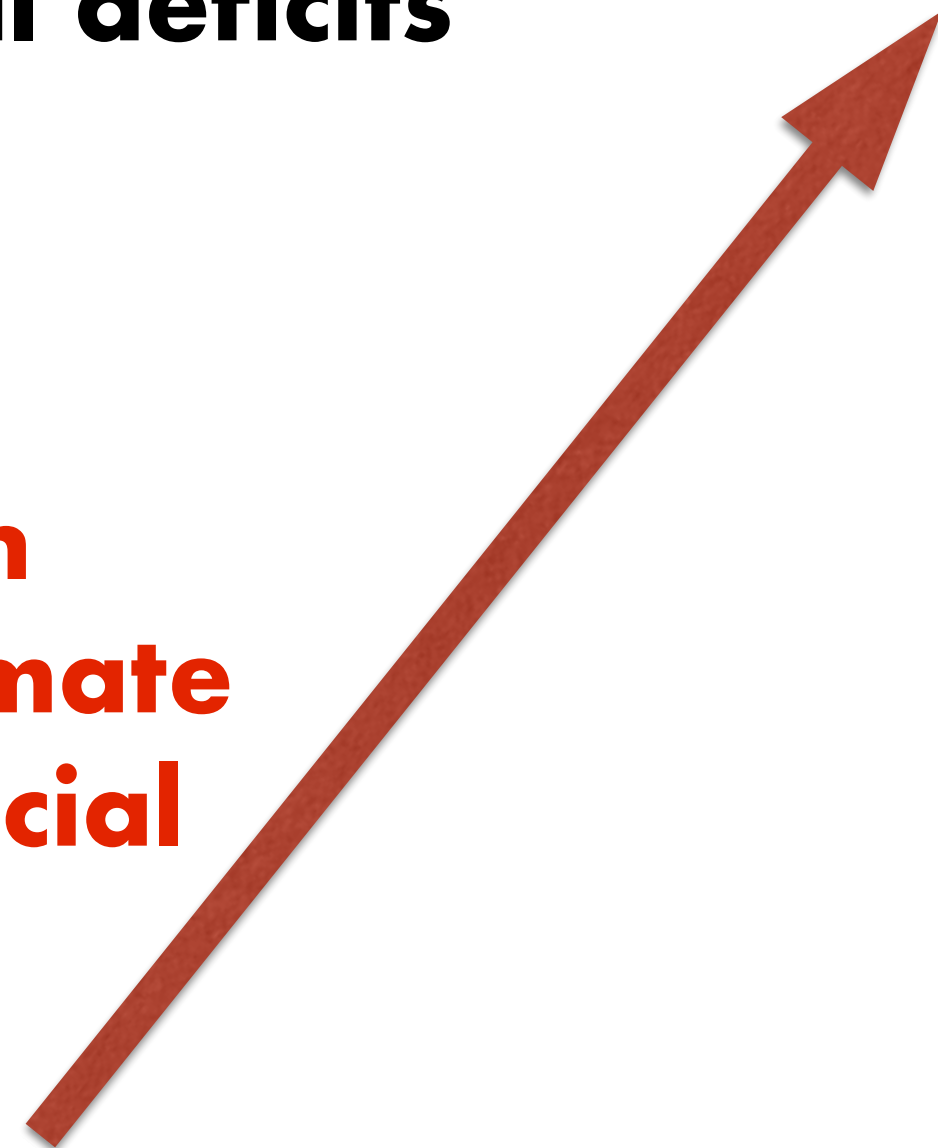
Lacking legal and (macro) economic stability – The neoliberalism of the 80's and 90's

Accumulation of external debts and internal contradictions led to collapse of developementalism in 1979 when international donators to continue financing external deficits



Neoliberal turn impossible in a climate of widespread social unrest

12.09.1980 military coup & neoliberal turn



Weakly regulated Turkish neoliberalism

Wild financialisation + neoliberal populism

Frequent and deep economic crisis



State & large holding companies



Searched for stability, tried to keep popular demands out.

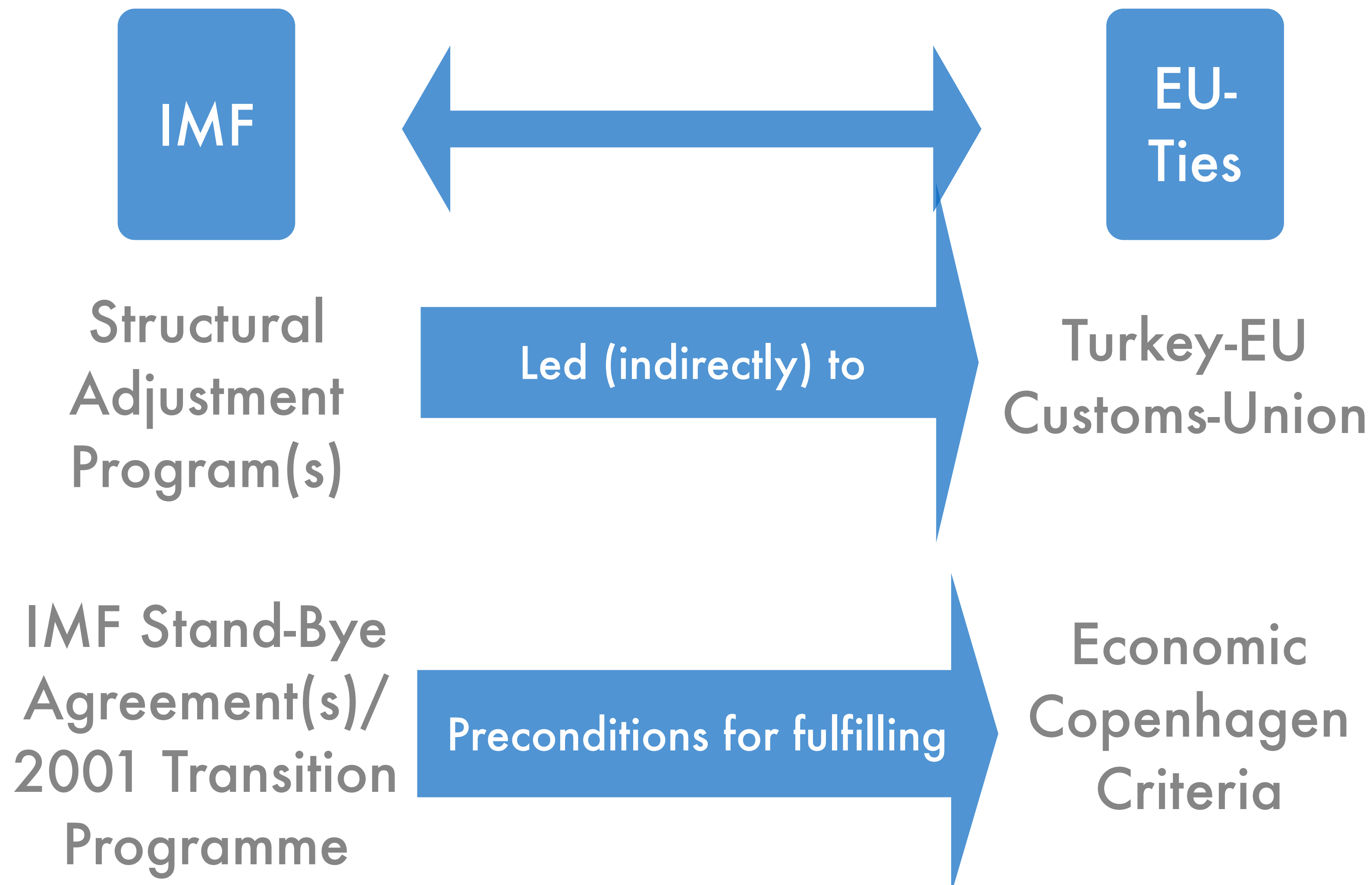


Post Washington Consensus: IMF + EU

Copenhagen Agenda and the Post Washington Consensus

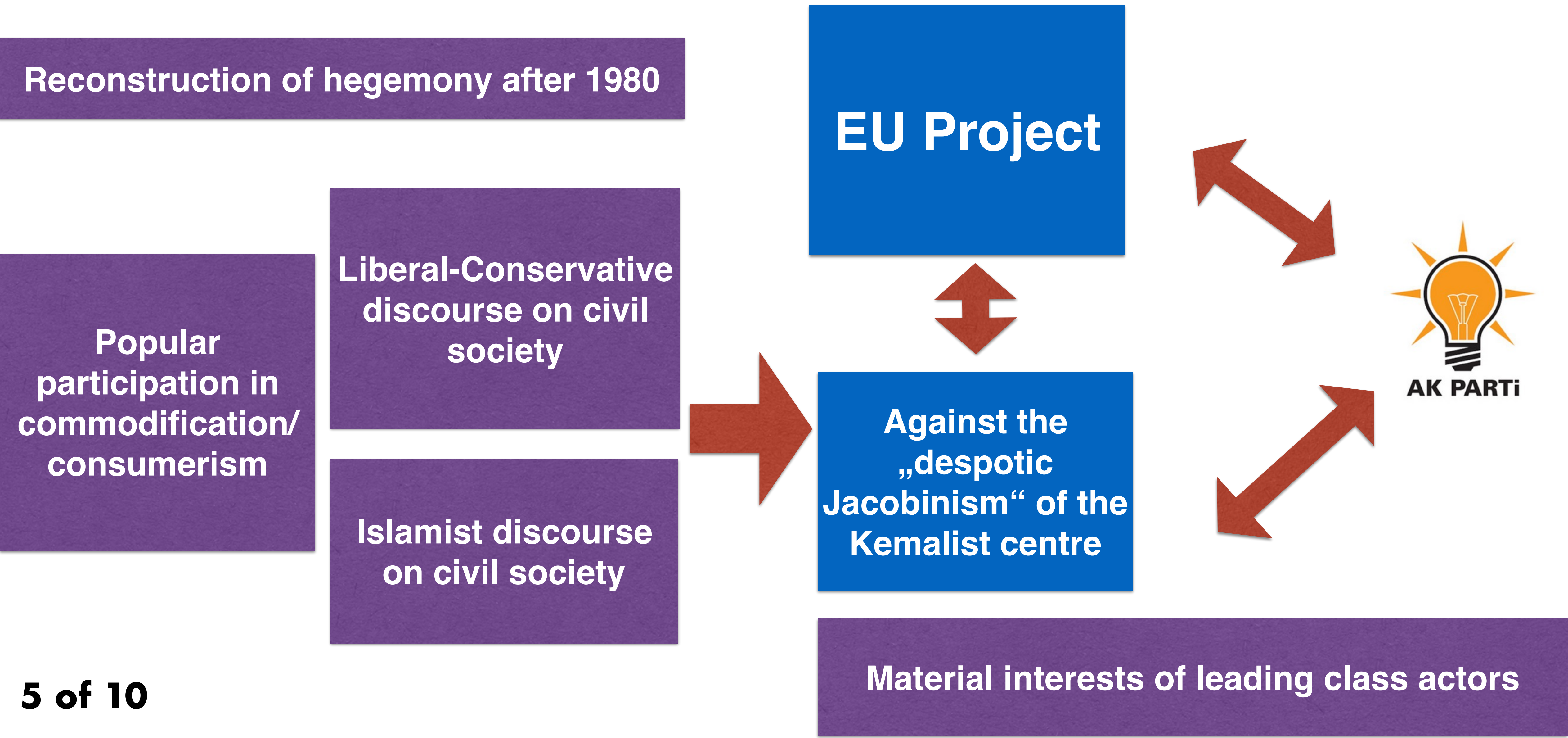
The legal Anchor of Turkey's regulated Neoliberalism

Copenhagens double
rationality



„Membership requires that candidate country has achieved stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights, respect for and protection of minorities, the existence of a functioning market economy (...).“

Islamisms Marriage with European Liberal-Conservatism

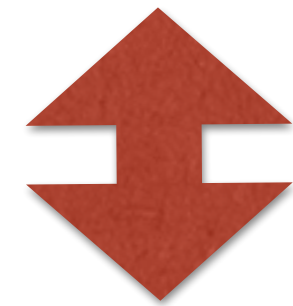




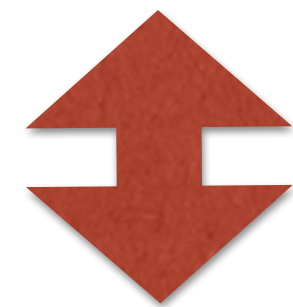
From Islamist Liberal Conservatism to Decisionism



Regulated neoliberalism
(Copenhagen Agenda)



**Competition between paradigms
and tensions in the power bloc**

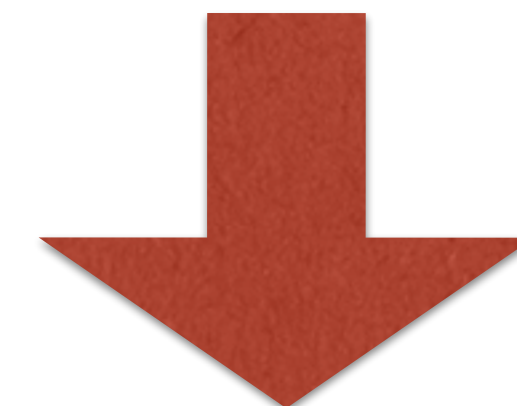


Populist neoliberalism
(Erdoğanism)

Gezi-Uprising 2013 marked a
new wave of uprisings



Crisis of AKP and the state



Decisionist politics

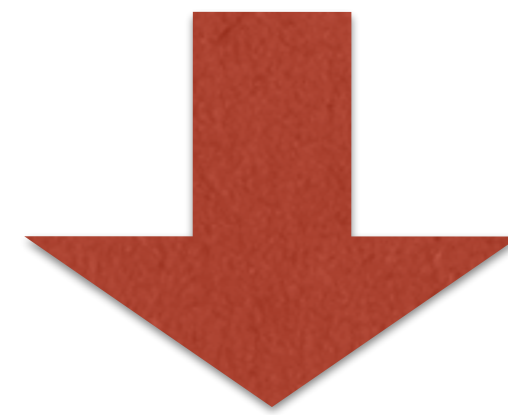
Legal nihilism and EU's response(s)

Gezi/June-Uprising 2013



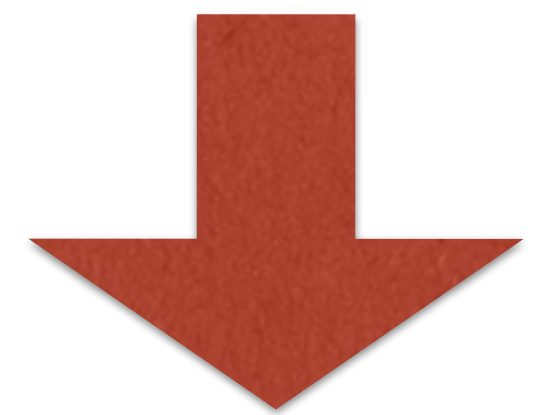
Conflict between
people and power bloc

Decisionist politics
2013ff.



Conflict between people
and power bloc and within
the powerbloc

Decisionist form of state
2016ff.



State further radicalises
and transnationalises
the conflicts



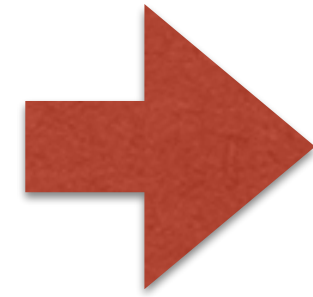
Officially positive EU-Turkey Progress Reports: Encouraging Turkey to undertake a new wave of liberal reforms

**EU-Turkey Progress Reports turn to express negative tendencies
negative Expression of concerns**

EU-Turkey Progress Reports are becoming politically obsolete. National actors are pushing their interests regarding Turkey

Conclusion (1): Pressure from above?

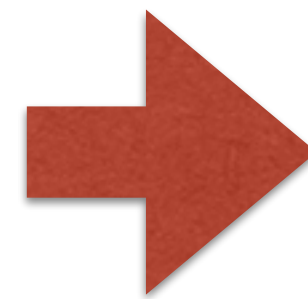
**Pressure from above
would mean, that EU
actively questions the main
legal anchors of Turkey's
regulated neoliberalism**



**(1995)
Customs
Union
Agreement**

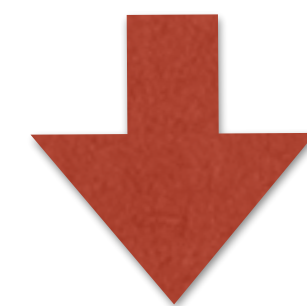
**(2001)
Accession
Partnership
Agreement**

**What is discussed within
EU?**

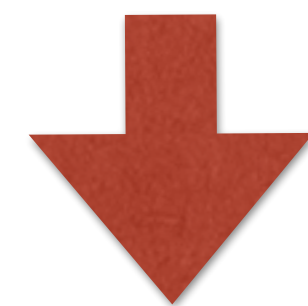


**Suspending the update of
the (1995) Customs Union
Agreement**

**Stopping the accession
talks**



No impact



No impact

**Note: There is even no
agreement on what is
discussed. Particularly EU-
Commission stands for
continuing integration efforts.**

Conclusion (2): Pressure from above: The special case in summer 2017

Background: Transnationalised decisionism – Turkey placed German companies on "terror lists"

German government changed its travel guidelines and decided to review its export policies toward Turkey

Turkey withdraw the list immediately

No relation to EU project

Measures with significant legal or material impacts are played on the national (levels)

EU's rationality is preserve the legal anchors of Turkey's (regulated) neoliberalism

Thank you for listening.



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DAHA MODERN,
DAHA GÜÇLÜ
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