

ATA 59N

**PUTTING CAPITAL ACCUMULATION, WEALTH & REDISTRIBUTION
AT THE CENTER OF REPUBLICAN HISTORY**

Spring 2025

Nadir Özbek

Wednesday 10:00-13:00

Office Hrs: Wednesday 14:00-16:00 and by appointment

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Course Description: The seminar introduces students to issues ranging from capital accumulation, social justice, inequality, social welfare, income distribution, wealth and poverty, and taxation both in Ottoman and Turkish history and in contemporary world. We'll pay special attention to fiscal systems and taxation as an instrument of distribution. During the first part of the semester we are going to make common readings which will provide students with conceptual tools and help them formulate own research agendas and questions as to Ottoman/Turkish history and contemporary society. Students are expected to carry out one small research project and an in-class book report, both should be related to the general issues that we will be discussing throughout the first part of the semester. Research topics and books for report may be on historical issues, as well as on contemporary social problems.

Themes and Weekly Readings:

W1: Introduction:

W2:

Akyol, Ezgi. "Kapitalizmin Tarihyazımında Türkiye'de Milli İktisat." *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, no. 21 (2023): 271-94.

Çetinkaya, Y. Doğan. "İtibar-ı Milli Bankası ve İş Bankası Birleşmesi (1927): Bir Banka Birleşmesi Üzerinden Müslüman/Türk Burjuvazisi Üzerine Tarihyazımını Düşünmek." *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, no. 21 (2023): 153-203.

Cora, Yaşar Tolga. "Nemlizadeler: Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Ekonomipolitliğinde Milli Tüccarı Aramak." *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, no. 21 (2023): 247-70.

Başaran, Neslişah Leman. "Özel Teşebbüs, Tekel ve Devlet: Türkiye'de Cumhuriyet'in Kuruluşunda Ticaret ve Sanayi Burjuvazisi." Marmara Üniversitesi, 2014.

Ülker, Erol. "Osmanlı Savaş Ekonomisi ve Bir Muhalefet Programı Olarak Temsil-i Meslekî: İmparatorluğun Son Yıllarında Sermaye-İktidar İlişkileri Üzerine Notlar." *Alternatif Politika* 12, no. 1 (2020): 260-80.

W3:

Karakoç, Ulaş, and Alp Yücel Kaya. "Şevket Pamuk ile Söyleşi: 1960'lardan 2000'lere İktisat Tarihi." In *İktisat Tarihinin Dönüşü*, edited by Ulaş Karakoç and Alp Yücel Kaya, 25-48. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2021.

Pamuk, Şevket. "Cumhuriyetin Devraldığı Osmanlı İktidadi Mirası." In *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Süreklilik ve Değişim: Zafer Toprak Armağanı*, edited by Mehmet Ö Alkan, 75-80. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2022.

Keyder, Çağlar. "Türkiye'de Burjuvazinin Gelişimi." In *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Süreklilik ve Değişim: Zafer Toprak Armağanı*, edited by Mehmet Ö Alkan, 133-44. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2022.

Buğra, Ayşe. *Kapitalizm Tarihi İçinde Sosyal Politika: Yoksulluk, Çalışma ve Toplum*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2025.

W4:

- Goncalves, Guilherme Leite, and Sergio Costa. "From Primitive Accumulation to Entangled Accumulation: Decentring Marxist Theory of Capitalist Expansion." *European Journal of Social Theory* 23, no. 2 (2020): 146-64.
- De Angelis, Massimo. "Marx and Primitive Accumulation: The Continuous Character of Capital's "Enclosures"." *The Commoner* 2 (2001).
- Roberts, William Clare. "What was Primitive Accumulation? Reconstructing the Origin of a Critical Concept." *European Journal of Political Theory* 19, no. 4 (2020): 532-52.
- Nichols, Robert. "Disaggregating Primitive Accumulation." *Radical Philosophy*, no. 194 (2015): 18-28.

W5:

- Federici, Silvia. *Re-enchanting the World: Feminism and the Politics of the Commons*. New York: PM Press, 2019. Part One: On the New Enclosures: pp.13-76
- Tsing, Anna Lowenhaupt. "Frontiers of Capitalism." In *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection*, 27-54. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Soiland, Tove. "A Feminist Approach to Primitive Accumulation." In *Rosa Luxemburg: A Permanent Challenge for Political Economy. On the History and the Present of Luxemburg's 'Accumulation of Capital'*, edited by Judith Dellheim and Frieder Otto Wolf, 185-217: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- Tsing, Anna Lowenhaupt. *The Mushroom at the End of the World: On the Possibility of Life in Capitalist Ruins*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021.

W6:

- Harootunian, Harry. "Marxism's Eastward Migration." In *Marx After Marx: History and Time in the Expansion of Capitalism*, 73-114. New York: Columbia University Press, 2015.
- Tomba, Massimiliano. "Layered Historiography: Re-Reading the So-Called Primitive Accumulation." In *Marx's Temporalities*, 159-86. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

W7:

- Harootunian, Harry. *Archaism and Actuality: Japan and the Global Fascist Imaginary*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2023.

W8:

- Marx, Carl. "Part Eight: So-Called Primitive Accumulation." In *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, 871-940. London: Penguin Classics, 1990.
- Harvey, David. "Chapter 11: The Secret of Primitive Accumulation." In *A Companion to Marx's Capital*, 289-313. London: Verso, 2010.

W9:

- Luxemburg, Rosa. "Section III: The Historical Conditions of Accumulation." In *The Accumulation of Capital*, 307-447, 2003.
- Harvey, David. "Accumulation by Dispossession." In *The New Imperialism*, 137-82. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

W10:

Piketty, Thomas. 2015. "Putting Distribution Back at the Center of Economics: Reflections on Capital in the Twenty-First Century." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 29 (1): 67-88.

Boratav, Korkut. "'21. Yüzyılda Kapital" Üzerine Notlar." *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi* 69, no. 3 (2014): 597-624.

W11:

Harootunian, Harry. "History's Interruption: Dispossession and Genocide." In *Harootunian, Harry. The Unspoken as Heritage: The Armenian Genocide and Its Unaccounted Lives*, 87-113. Durham: Duke University Press, 2019.

Kaya, Alp Yücel. "Balkanlar ve Batı Anadolu'da İlk Birikimin Gelişimi (1839-1914)." *Devrimci Marksizm*, no. 45-46 (2021): 11-66.

W12:

Dursun, Selçuk. "Dispossession bey Concession: Forest Commons in the Ottoman Empire and Early Turkish Republic." In *In Seeds of Power: Explorations in Ottoman Environmental History*, edited by Onur İnal and Yavuz Köse, 260-84. Cambridgeshire: The White Horse Press, 2019.

Akgül, Önder Eren. "Batı Anadolu'da Keresteciler, Köylüler ve Müşterekler." *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 312 (2019): 50-57.

Akyol, Ayla Ezgi. "War Tax Law (Tekalif-i Harbiye): An Instrument of Dispossession and Capital Accumulation in the Ottoman Empire During the Great War." *Turkish Historical Review* (2023): 1-44.

W13:

Azeri, Siyaveş. "'Ursprüngliche Akkumulation"nun Sürekliliği, Dolaylı Tahakküm ve Devlet." *Praksis*, no. 47 (2017): 93-118.

Göztepe, Özay. "Sunuş: İlkel Birikim-Sermayenin Kaldıracağı." In *İlkel Birikim ve Acele Kamulaştırma*, edited by Özay Göztepe, 15-36. İstanbul: Notabene Yayınları, 2020.

Özügürlü, Metin. "Marksizm ve İlkel Sermaye Birikimi." In *İlkel Birikim: Sermayenin Kaldıracağı*, edited by Özay Göztepe, 37-64. İstanbul: Notabene Yayınları, 2020.

W14:

Göztepe, Özay. *İlkel Birikim ve Acele Kamulaştırma*. İstanbul: Notabene Yayınları, 2020.