

Namaste Sahchars,

We share the first set of readings for you that we would like you to read as a preparation for the Sangat meetings.

Don't worry about the length of the reading list. You are not expected to read them all. Not before Sangat (weekly lecture-discussion) or Mandal (weekly small group interaction). We are aware that each one of you come from a different background and have different levels of familiarity with what is going to be discussed in this Silsila. Yet, each one of you has potential and commitment to develop an understanding to deal with the issues of our time, and so we have tried to organise the readings in ways that could be accessed by everyone. 'Readings' include written materials, podcasts and videos and we include the actual copies and links, so that you can begin to consult them right away. And may wish to read some of these a few months later!

We have grouped all readings in four levels, and we encourage you to choose where to begin, depending on your background.

1. The first one is **introductory**, which will help those who have little or no background to reading on these issues.
2. The second will be **exploratory**, a step up for those who already have some background, or those that wish to go beyond the introductory.
3. In the third set, we include **originals** – books and articles, written by political leaders/thinkers themselves.
4. And finally, we offer a set of **deep dive** readings that discuss the issues with depth, nuance and rigour.

Each week we shall send you readings for Sangat and Mandal sessions that week. Here is the offering for the first week. Hope that these will help you in the journey of Silsila.

Week 1 : An Ideology for Our Times

Sangat: Do we still need an ideology to guide public life? What insights do we inherit from the great ideological traditions of the twentieth century? If the old certainties are fading, what kind of moral and political compass might guide democratic action today? (In the break-away session, you would be invited to respond to some the proposals made in the bayan by Yogendra Yadav)

Mandal: Learning from the legacy of modern ideologies – liberalism, socialism, communism, nationalism, feminism, Phule-Ambedkar, Gandhism, environmentalism. What remains useful, and what must be reconsidered? (In your Mandal session you


would be expected to make a short presentation on one or more of these ideological traditions and say what is relevant and what needs to be reworked)

I. **Introductory** (Readings that require no background)

1. योगेन्द्र यादव(2026), “इक्कीसवीं सदी में स्वराज की ओर ले जाएगा यह अष्टांग मार्ग”, गणराज्य का स्वधर्म, सेतु प्रकाशन.

Link:  Ganrajya ka Svadharma.pdf

2. Yogendra Yadav, Where are our political thinkers? Indian Express, 20 August 2024.

Link:  Where are our political thinkers_.pdf

3. YADAV, Yogendra(2021).. *India's Most Pressing Challenge Now is to Shift the Middle Ground*, The Print, June 9, 2021 (online).

English link:

<https://theprint.in/opinion/indias-most-pressing-challenge-now-is-to-shift-the-middle-ground-yogendra-yadav/674509/>

Hindi Link:

<https://hindi.theprint.in/opinion/india-most-pressing-challenge-now-is-to-shift-the-middle-ground-yogendra-yadav/221283/>

4. Yogendra Yadav, “The Left is dead, but India deserves a new Left that dares to think afresh,” ThePrint, 3 July 2019.


English Link:

<https://theprint.in/opinion/the-left-is-dead-but-india-deserves-a-new-left-that-dares-to-think-afresh/257583/>

Hindi Link:

<https://hindi.theprint.in/opinion/left-party-india-deserves-a-new-left-that-dares-to-think-afresh/72155/>

5. Pratap Mehta. “Across the world, foundational ideas of major political systems are under challenge” — The Indian Express, 6 Oct 2022

Link:  Across world, foundational ideas of major political systems are under challen...


6. Pratap Mehta: “The End of Liberalism” — You Tube Video Lecture:

Link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_fORKyvPx7Y

7. Suhas Palshikar, Politics in the Times of Hegemony” — Seminar, No. 725 (2020)

Link: https://www.india-seminar.com/2020/725/725_suhas_palshikar.htm

8. Prabhat Patnaik, Socialism and the Indian Constitution (Chapter 1)

Link:  Socialism and the Indian Constitution.pdf

9. Introductory videos by Dhruv Rathee.

(i) *What is Capitalism? | How Does Money Make Money?* (Youtube video). Link:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cf4uQg03jYg>

(ii) *What is Communism? | Success and Failures of Communism* (video). Link:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4UJM4RFQjpU>

(iii) *What is Socialism? Ideologies of Gandhi, Nehru and Bhagat Singh* (video).

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zwtfDT4fZ5o>

II. Exploratory (textbook level readings)

1. Political Theory, Textbook for Political Science, Class XI, NCERT.

English Link:

<https://www.drishtias.com/images/pdf/NCERT-Class-11-Political-Science-Part-2-1.pdf>

Hindi Link:

https://www.sanskritias.com/uploaded_files/NCERT-Book-Hindi/Class-11/Class-XI-NCERT-Books-Political-Science-Part-1.pdf

2. Heywood, Andrew(2012). *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2012 (5th ed.).

Link: [pdf, 65.77 MB](#)

3. योगेन्द्र यादव(2026), “भारत के स्वधर्म को पहचानकर ही होगा आज के संकट का मुकाबला”, गणराज्य का स्वधर्म, सेतु प्रकाशन.

Link: [PDF भारत के स्वधर्म को पहचानकर ही होगा आज के संकट का मुकाबला.pdf](#)

4. अग्रवाल, पुरुषोत्तम. (2019). कौन है भारत माता? राजकमल प्रकाशन।

Link:

https://books.google.co.in/books?id=5hMlEAAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

5. दुबे, अभय. (2016). समाज विज्ञान विश्वकोश. वाणी प्रकाशन।

विश्वकोश में कुछ महत्वपूर्ण विषयों को जानने के लिए नीचे दिए गए लिंक पर पढ़ें:

i) अंबेडकर-गांधी विवाद:

Link: [PDF Ambedkar-Gandhiwad.pdf](#)

ii) बाजार समाजवाद:

Link: [PDF बाजार समाजवाद.pdf](#)

iii) नव दक्षिणपंथ:

Link: [PDF नव दक्षिणपंथ.pdf](#)

iv) नव उपनिवेशवाद और नवउदारवाद:

Link: [PDF नव उपनिवेशवाद और नवउदारवाद.pdf](#)

v) उदारतावादी लोकतंत्र:

Link: [PDF उदारतावादी लोकतंत्र.pdf](#)

vi) नारीवाद:

Link: [PDF नारीवाद.pdf](#)

vii) नयी सदी में मार्क्सवादी विमर्श:

Link: [PDF नयी सदी में मार्क्सवादी विमर्श.pdf](#)

6. Bottomore, T. (1983). *A dictionary of Marxist thought*. Blackwell.

Link :

[pdf, 25.51 MB](#)

III. Encountering Originals: (Those familiar with the basics and would like to read the thinkers in original)

1. AMBEDKAR, B. R. *Annihilation of Caste* (BAWS, Vol. 1, p. 23).
<https://ruralindiaonline.org/en/library/resource/dr-babasaheb-ambedkar-writings-and-speeches-vol-1/>
2. धरमपाल. (1994). *भारत का स्वधर्म*. भारत पीठम्।

Link: [pdf, 8.18 MB](#)

3. गांधी, मोहनदास करमचंद. (1909). हिंद स्वराज. नवजीवन प्रकाशन।

Hindi Link:

<https://www.mkgandhi.org/ebks/hindi/hind-swaraj.pdf>

English Link: [pdf, 3.58 MB](#)

4. Lohia, Rammanohar. (1963). *Marx, Gandhi and socialism*. Nav Hind Publications.

Link: [Marx, Gandhi and Socialismlohia todayhttps://lohiatoday.com > uploads > 2020/05 > ma...](https://lohiatoday.com/uploads/2020/05/ma...)

5. Nehru, J. (1946). Ahmadnagar Fort (Chapter 1). In *The discovery of India*. Oxford University Press.

English Link: [pdf, 2.90 MB](#)

Hindi Link: [pdf, 11.18 MB](#)

6. Phule, Jyotiba. (1873). *Gulamgiri (Slavery)*. LeftWord Books.

English Link: [pdf, 5.62 MB](#)

Hindi Link: [pdf, 1.25 MB](#)

7. पटनायक, किशन. (1992). विकल्पहीन नहीं है दुनिया. राजकमल प्रकाशन।

Link:

https://books.google.co.in/books?id=s_ZuJeRG-fUC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

8. सिंह, भगत. (1930). मैं नास्तिक क्यों हूँ.

Hindi Link: [में नास्तिक क्यों हूँ, भगत सिंह 1931Marxists Internet Archivehttps://www.marxists.org > hindi](https://www.marxists.org/hindi)

IV. Deep dive: (Those willing to engage with advanced level debates)

1. BHARGAVA, R. *Politics and Ethics of the Indian Constitution* (Introduction: Political Theory of Indian Constitution).

Link: [pdf, 1.84 MB](#)

2. GADGIL, M. & GUHA, R. *Ecology and Equity: The Use and Abuse of Nature in Contemporary India*.

Link: [pdf, 21.22 MB](#)

3. KAVIRAJ, S. *Marxism in Translation: Critical Reflections on Indian Radical Thought* in GEUSS, R. & BOURKE, R. eds. *Political Judgement: Essays in Honour of John Dunn*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008.

Link:

https://docs.google.com/document/d/1JfmFBBePAY7Vp1YkZevFh6MMPkfuLmRBcH_7iKm35zJM/edit?usp=sharing

4. D. R. Nagaraj — “Self-Purification vs. Self-Respect: On the Roots of the Dalit Movement”

Link: [pdf, 10.46 MB](#)

5. NANDY, Ashis. *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism*.

Link: [pdf, 28.71 MB](#)

6. पटनायक, किशन. (2024). भारत शूद्रों का होगा. सेतु प्रकाशन।

Link:  Bharat Shudron ka Hoga.pdf

7. SINHA, S. उपभोक्तावादी संस्कृति का जाल Roshanai Prakashan, 1985.

Link: <https://samtamarg.in/2021/11/30/the-web-of-consumerist-culture-satc-hidanand-sinha-first-installment/>

8. Ramachandra Guha, The Absent Liberal: An Essay on Politics and Intellectual Life, Economic and Political Weekly, Volume/Issue: Vol. 36, No. 50, Date: 15 December 2001, Pages: 4663–4670

Link: <https://www.outlookindia.com/society/the-absent-liberal-news-223448>

9. Yogendra Yadav, what is living and what is dead in Rammanhoar Lohia, EPW

Link:  What_Is_Living_and_What_Is_Dead_in_Rammanohar_Lohia.pdf