

THE NEHRU CENTRE NEWSLETTER

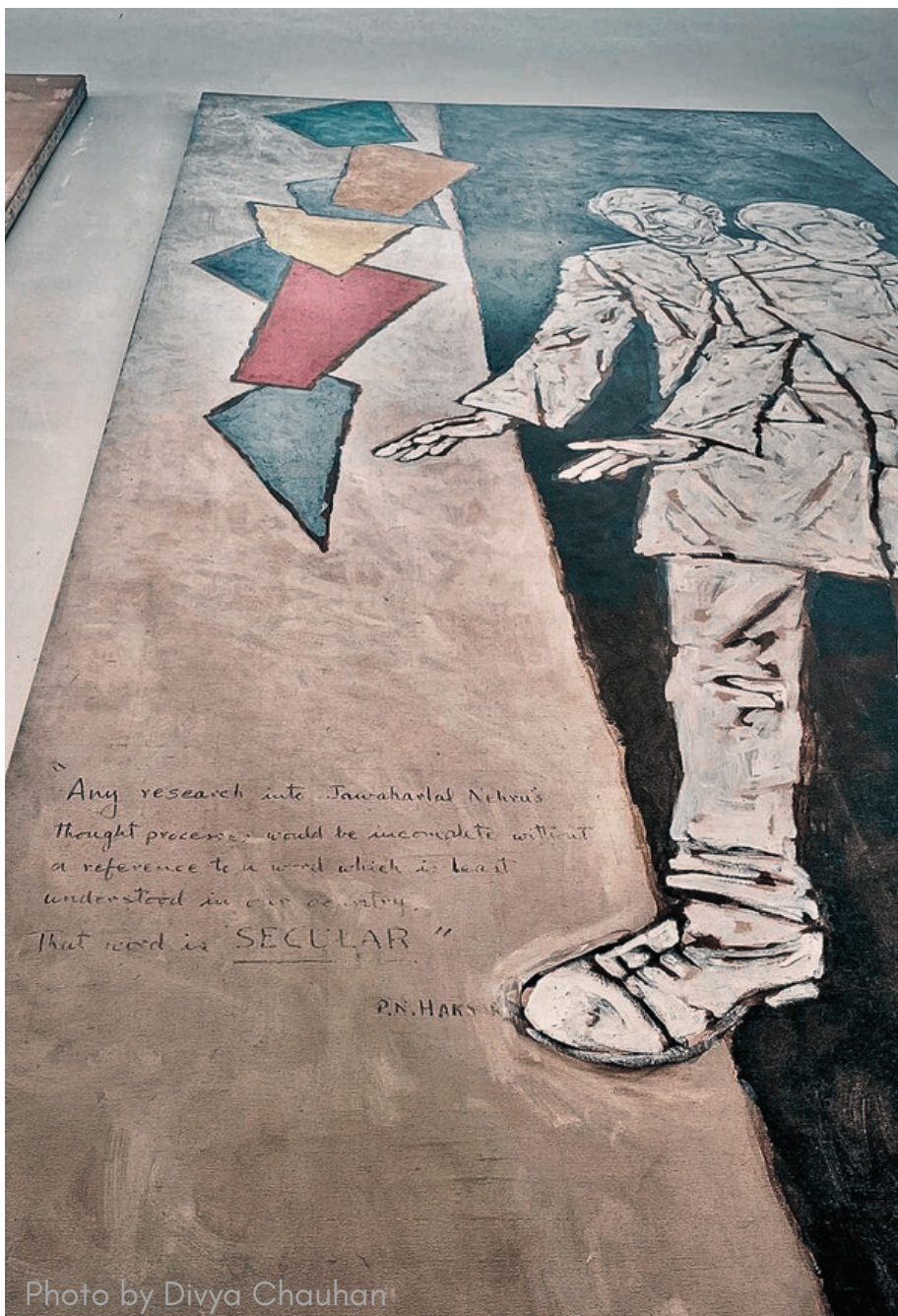


Photo by Divya Chauhan

The Nehru Centre (TNC) is an independent think tank based in New Delhi, dedicated to research and critical analysis in the fields of history, law, policy, and governance in India. Committed to the principles of democracy, secularism, and progress, we strive to provide well-researched insights that contribute to informed discussions and policy decisions. Our work aims to foster dialogue, challenge perspectives, and promote a deeper understanding of India's evolving social and political landscape.

MESSAGE FROM THE EDITORIAL TEAM

Dear Readers,

We're excited to share with you the second issue of our newsletter! It's been an incredible journey, and we're so grateful for all the support and interest we've received.

This time, we invited guest writers to contribute, and we're thrilled with the insightful and diverse pieces we've received. A big thank you to all our writers for sharing their thoughts, and to our hardworking editors and designers who have brought everything together to make this issue what it is.

We also want to express our gratitude to you, our readers. Your continued support means the world to us, and we're thankful for your engagement and feedback, which help shape this publication.

We look forward to your continued engagement and contributions in future editions!

Warm regards,
The Editorial Team
The Nehru Centre, New Delhi



Researching Truth, Reimagining Democracy

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OUR TEAM

DR. MIHIKA SINGH

Senior Research Associate

Mihika holds a PhD in International Studies from Jawaharlal Nehru University, along with a Master's and Bachelor's degree in History from the University of Delhi. Her academic and professional interests lie at the intersection of history, culture, and international relations. She has significant experience in academic and policy research, having previously worked at South Asian University and Swaniti Initiative in New Delhi.

At The Nehru Centre, Mihika is responsible for managing the Centre's activities, coordinating with external stakeholders, facilitating communication, and conducting in-depth historical and political research.



MANSI SINGH

Research Associate

Mansi holds an MA in History from Banaras Hindu University, following her undergraduate studies in History Honours at Gargi College, University of Delhi. Rooted in a Gandhian background, Mansi embraces the philosophy of *Sarvodaya*—the upliftment of all—guiding her commitment to fostering inclusivity and equity.

At the Nehru Centre, Mansi works as a Research Associate, where she actively engages in historical research and contributes to presenting evidence-based narratives. Her expertise lies in modern historiography and critical examination of facts, sources and historical interpretations.



AMARTYA

Research Associate

Amartya is a political analyst and researcher holding an MSc in International Relations from the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). His interests include political communication, geopolitics, and emerging tech.

At The Nehru Centre, he focuses on researching Nehruvian foreign policy, evolving information landscape, and contemporary political discourse in India.



DIVYA CHAUHAN (SHE/HER)

Research Associate

Divya is a lawyer and social worker with an LLM from University College London (UCL) and a Master's in Social Work from TISS, Mumbai. She has previously worked with vulnerable populations including women survivors of violence, children in need of care and protection, and rural communities. Her legal practice has focused on service matters at the Central Administrative Tribunal and the Delhi High Court.

At The Nehru Centre, Divya contributes to researching and disseminating knowledge related to legal history, gender, human rights, and constitutional law, while also handling the Centre's social media outreach to engage with external stakeholders.



MIDHAT SAMRA

Research Associate

Midhat graduated from Jamia Millia Islamia with a Bachelor's degree in Economics and a Master's degree in Conflict Analysis and Peacebuilding. Her previous work includes extensive research on hate crimes, hate speech, and violence, along with the production of *The State of the Indian Republic*—a podcast series by *The Scroll*. She also has editorial experience and has contributed to the production of *The Caravan* magazine's fortnightly talk show-Baatcheet. Midhat has a keen interest in history, culture, and politics, with a deep passion for heritage.

At The Nehru Centre, Midhat contributes to research on post-independence economic, social, and political developments. She leads the production and editing of the Centre's podcast series and contributes to its social media outreach.



CALL FOR GUEST WRITERS

The Nehru Centre (TNC) is now accepting submissions from guest writers on a rolling basis for our newsletter. Please read our editorial guidelines carefully before sending us your submission.

We invite submissions in the following formats:

1. Well-researched analytical pieces (600-800 words)
2. Opinion pieces – Arguments backed by facts and figures (not rants) (500-700 words)
3. Socio-political, law & policy, and historical articles – National or international scope (600-800 words)
4. News reports – Curated or original reporting based on primary field research (500-600 words)

How to Submit ?

1. Email your submissions (pdf) to thenehrucentre.india@gmail.com with a short author bio & your social media handles.
2. Mention the title of your piece in the subject line and specify if it is time-sensitive.
3. For the write-ups, please use English (UK), Times New Roman, 12pt, and line spacing 1.15.
4. If selected, an editor will review your work and provide feedback if necessary.
5. You will be informed about the expected publishing date & receive a link once the newsletter goes live.
6. Your article will be shared on TNC's multiple social media platforms and you will be tagged (depending on social media accounts provided by you).
7. Due to a high volume of submissions, please allow 5-7 business days for a response. If you do not hear from us within a week, feel free to send a reminder email.
8. We retain the final say over headlines, publishing dates, and images used.

AI & Plagiarism Policy

We value original thought and authentic writing. While AI tools can assist in proofreading, structuring, or shortening content, all AI usage must be disclosed to the editor. AI-generated content without human oversight will not be accepted.

Terms & Conditions

1. Indicate if your article is exclusive to The Nehru Centre or has been published elsewhere. We prioritize original content and typically do not republish blog posts.
2. Copyright for material that is published exclusively is held jointly by The Nehru Centre, New Delhi and the authors.
3. If others request to republish your article, you must seek TNC's informed consent before granting permission.
4. Once an article is published, it cannot be removed/ taken down except in legal, copyright, or safety-related cases.
5. With the exception of trans writers, we do not allow any writer to change their name or write under a pseudonym for The Nehru Centre to ensure complete transparency and to avoid any legal hassles going forward. However, writers wishing to publish personal narratives can choose to write anonymously for us (editorial records will still require full author details).

HISTORY IN FOCUS

SUBALTERN HISTORIOGRAPHY: A BOTTOM-UP VIEW

Written by Mansi Singh

Emerging in the wake of postcolonial discourse, subaltern historiography challenges traditional Eurocentric and elitist interpretations that have long shaped the construction of historical knowledge. The term *subaltern*, originally coined by Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci, refers to social groups that are politically, economically, and socially subordinated within hegemonic structures. Gramsci's use of the term subaltern gained prominence in historical scholarship through the work of the Subaltern Studies Collective, particularly in India during the 1980s. The scholars of the Subaltern Studies Collective were influenced by Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks*. As explained by historian Partha Chatterjee in an interview:

“*When the Subaltern Studies Collective began, our initial move was reading Antonio Gramsci's Prison Notebooks, which had just been published in English. We were compelled by the fact that Gramsci used the term “subaltern” instead of “proletariat.” Now, he used this term because he was writing in prison under conditions of extreme censorship; therefore, he didn't want to use the standard Marxist term and coined the term “subaltern.” But as a result, Gramsci was fundamentally altering the core definition of classes in the orthodox version of Marxism at the time. By simply renaming the proletarian class to the subaltern, he was suggesting that classical Marxist division of European industrial society into classes was not entirely adequate*”

This reinterpretation of class distinctions significantly shaped the methodological foundations of subaltern historiography.

Led by historian Ranajit Guha, the Subaltern Studies Group sought to correct the biases inherent in colonial and nationalist historiographies, which often overlooked the roles played by peasants, laborers, tribal communities, and women in shaping historical events. Guha's seminal work, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India*, laid the groundwork for understanding the agency of subaltern groups in resistance movements, asserting that subalterns were not passive victims of colonial oppression but active agents in their own right. This perspective directly challenged earlier historical frameworks that portrayed these groups as mere objects of colonial control.



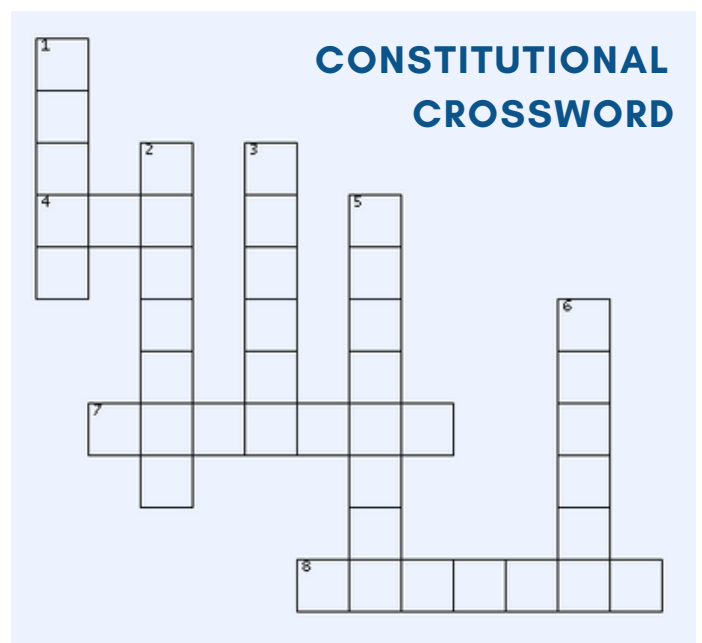
Traditional historical studies often rely heavily on state archives, colonial records, and elite-authored documents, which inherently marginalised the voices of those at the bottom of the social hierarchy. In contrast, subaltern historians have turned to oral histories, folklore, vernacular literature, and material culture as primary sources to reconstruct the lived experiences of the oppressed. This interdisciplinary approach aligns subaltern historiography with poststructuralist and postmodern critiques, emphasising the need to question not only what history is written, but how it is written and by whom. In this sense, subaltern historiography represents a radical rethinking of knowledge production in history.

However, while these methodologies have provided important new insights, they also pose challenges. The reliance on oral history and non-traditional sources raises questions of authenticity and reliability. Unlike official records, oral traditions are inherently fluid and prone to alterations over time, which can complicate efforts to establish historical facts. Critics argue that subaltern historiography, in its focus on resistance and agency, occasionally risks romanticising these experiences, while downplaying the structural constraints imposed by colonialism and capitalism. The debate in subaltern studies is about finding a balance—recognizing that subaltern groups had agency and fought back, but also understanding that they were up against powerful systems that limited their ability to change their situation.

Despite these challenges, subaltern historiography has made substantial contributions to historical scholarship. The shift in history writing has had a profound impact on postcolonial theories, with scholars like Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak using the concept of the subaltern to interrogate the limits of representation within hegemonic discourse. In her famous essay *Can the Subaltern Speak?* Spivak explored how subalterns are often silenced in the process of historical representation, asking whether their voices can ever truly be heard within structures of power that systematically exclude them.

The influence of subaltern historiography extends beyond South Asia, inspiring similar critical approaches in Latin America and other regions. These scholars have adapted subaltern methodologies to address local histories of colonisation, oppression, and resistance, demonstrating the global applicability of the subaltern approach. By focusing on the agency of the oppressed, subaltern school has democratised history-writing, providing a platform for marginalised voices that had long been excluded

from dominant narratives. In the postcolonial era, Subaltern Studies faces fresh challenges as emerging forms of inequality and exclusion reshape societies like India. Neoliberal economic policies, growing influence of religious nationalism, and increasing political centralisation have created new forms of subjugation. Thus a key challenge is to examine these contemporary forces that perpetuate exclusion in different ways.



ACROSS

4. Till now, the Preamble to the Constitution of India has been amended how many times?
7. Who was the first woman judge to be appointed to the Supreme Court of India?
8. Directive Principles of State Policy in the Indian Constitution were borrowed from which country's Constitution?

DOWN

1. Article 1 of the Indian Constitution says that India shall be a ____ of states.
2. The state does not hold any religion as its official religion.
3. The ideals of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity in the Preamble were borrowed from which country's Constitution?
5. Samvidhan Diwas is celebrated on the 26th of which month?
6. How many fundamental duties are there in the Indian Constitution?

ANSWER KEY: 1.UNION 2.SECULAR 3.FRENCH 4.ONE 5.NOVEMBER 6.ELEVEN 7.FATHIMA 8.IRELAND

OPINION

UCC: ONE NATION, ONE LAW, ONE SMOKESCREEN FOR MAJORITARIAN RULE

Written by Divya Singh Chauhan

The Uniform Civil Code (UCC) in India is a long-debated idea aimed at creating a single set of personal laws applicable to all citizens, irrespective of religion. Enshrined in Article 44 of the Constitution, it was envisioned as a future directive measure to promote national unity and gender justice. However, its contentious nature stems from the deep-rooted cultural and religious diversity of India. Personal laws, which govern marriage, divorce, inheritance, and adoption, have historically been linked to religious & caste identity. The UCC, while theoretically about uniformity & equality, in implementation always resembles an attempt to dilute these distinct identities.



The debate over the UCC goes back to the Constituent Assembly discussions in 1948, where it faced stiff opposition, particularly from some members who viewed it as an encroachment on religious freedom. Some proposed amendments to exempt personal laws from its purview, arguing that imposing a common civil code would disrupt communal harmony. Others contended that the UCC was essential for women's rights and national integration. The compromise reached was to include it as a Directive Principle, meaning the State was expected to work towards implementing it when it had the consent of all communities. The assurance was given that it would not be imposed unilaterally.

Fast forward to the present, the implementation of the UCC in Uttarakhand has reignited the controversy, raising serious concerns about its intent and execution. The Uttarakhand UCC (U-UCC), rather than addressing progressive legal reform, has introduced provisions that interfere in the personal lives of citizens, imposing unjustifiable restrictions and bureaucratic control.

One of the problematic aspects of the code is its regulation of live-in relationships. This legislation requires couples to submit a 'live-in relationship statement' to the Registrar within a month of cohabitation. Failure to do so can lead to - up to six months of imprisonment or a fine up to Rs. 25,000 or both. While supporters argue that this protects women, the reality is far more troubling. Registration of this cohabitation requires a No Objection Certificate (NOC) from their landlord, making it harder for couples to live together without legal marriage. The provision opens the door for a rise in vigilantism and moral policing of women.

The U-UCC also deserves criticism for its fundamentally majoritarian nature, with political motivations overshadowing legal equality. Brinda Karat (Peoples Democracy) has aptly described it as a regressive law, more focused on criminalisation than reform. While it targets Muslim personal law practices like Polygamy, it conveniently ignores the systemic issues within Hindu personal laws. The hypocrisy of advocating for uniformity while excluding tribal communities and pushing a Hindu-majority framework reveals the political agenda at play. By borrowing heavily from the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955, the UCC imposes a specific cultural framework rather than genuinely working towards legal parity.

Senior Advocate Kapil Sibal on behalf of Jamiat Ulama-i-Hind has argued that the U-UCC violates fundamental rights by infringing upon religious freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution. This concern is valid not just for the Muslim community but for all religious minorities whose customs and traditions shape their legal frameworks. The selective application of the UCC only strengthens the perception that it is less about equality and more about control & homogeneity.

Moreover, the UCC's implications are not limited to religious minorities. Many individuals and couples, irrespective of their faith, seek to personalise their ceremonies, moving away from traditional customs that they find irrelevant or inconsistent with their personal beliefs.

For instance, choosing gender-neutral vows, or avoiding religious ceremonies altogether. The imposition of a standardised civil code could undermine such personal choices, enforcing conformity at the expense of individual expression.

Marriage registration, in principle, is a progressive step, providing legal protection, particularly to women. However, in its current form, the U-UCC turns it into a tool of bureaucratic interference. The sub-registrar has the discretion to refuse registration without clearly defined grounds, and an appellate authority has the final say. This arbitrary power leaves room for discrimination, particularly against interfaith and inter-caste couples.

Even more concerning is the provision allowing marriage registers to be publicly inspected, an outright invasion of privacy that could fuel societal and familial pressure on couples. Rather than empowering individuals, this provision enables harassment.

Beyond this, the law also raises other constitutional & logistical gaps. Article 44 speaks of a UCC across India, yet Uttarakhand has implemented it at the state level, effectively creating a fragmented legal system. The central government has argued for a unified legal framework, yet this move contradicts that very idea. Where is the uniformity if each state begins implementing its own version of the UCC?

While the constitutional ambition for a Uniform Civil Code was originally conceived to foster national unity and ensure equal rights, its recent incarnation in Uttarakhand highlights the dangers of a majoritarian approach. The U-UCC, as currently framed, establishes a regressive precedent that prioritises political optics over substantive justice.

Finally, it is also important to note that U-UCC still follows a heteronormative and binary understanding of gender and family, failing to address issues of same-sex cohabitation, trans rights in inheritance, and non-traditional family structures. A reimagined UCC—one that upholds the principles of secularism and intersectional feminist justice—must be rooted in genuine consultation and aimed at protecting individual freedoms rather than imposing a one-size-fits-all morality.



GUEST COLUMN

RECLAIMING INTEGRITY THROUGH TRANSPARENT GOVERNANCE IN INDIA

Written by Suresh Kumar*

Corruption in India is more than a political issue—it is a deep-rooted challenge eroding governance, economic progress, and public trust. For decades, systemic corruption has undermined democratic institutions, stifled economic growth, and denied citizens the development they rightfully deserve. According to Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), India ranked 85th among 180 countries in 2023, underscoring the persistent nature of the problem. The urgency for transparent governance has never been greater.

In 2011, India witnessed a historic anti-corruption movement led by figures like Anna Hazare, demanding the establishment of a Jan Lokpal—an independent watchdog to investigate corruption at the highest levels. The movement, supported by millions, generated immense hope for a new era of accountability. However, when some activists entered politics, the movement lost much of its moral high ground. Some of its most vocal leaders, once staunch critics of corruption, found themselves entangled in the very system they vowed to reform. The public disillusionment that followed was a stark reminder of how power, without robust checks, can corrupt even the most well-intentioned reformers.

Corruption permeates every institution, from the political elite to the bureaucracy, judiciary, and law enforcement agencies. The inefficiency and bribery prevalent in these sectors result in subpar public services, economic inefficiencies, and deep-rooted social inequality. The 2017 report by the Centre for Media Studies estimated that Indians paid over ₹6,000 crore in



bribes to access basic services. Even the media, historically the fourth pillar of democracy, has faced increasing pressures due to financial dependencies and political affiliations, limiting its role as an unbiased watchdog.

One of the greatest challenges in tackling corruption is the culture of political opportunism. Instead of meaningful action, politicians often weaponize corruption allegations against opponents while ignoring similar transgressions within their own ranks. This hypocrisy has turned the fight against corruption into a political tool rather than a genuine moral crusade. As a result, the public has grown skeptical of reform efforts, viewing them as mere power struggles rather than true governance transformations.

Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister, laid the foundation for national integrity through his emphasis on good governance. He championed democratic institutions, built a robust bureaucratic framework, and prioritized scientific and industrial development to ensure equitable progress. Nehru's vision was to create a state where governance was driven by principles of fairness, secularism, and inclusivity. His establishment of institutions like the Planning Commission and the Election Commission

reinforced democratic processes and transparency. By promoting a merit-based civil service and investing in large-scale public sector enterprises, he sought to minimize economic disparities and ensure government accountability. Nehru's leadership underscored the importance of governance rooted in ethical values, setting the groundwork for India's democratic resilience. However, over the years, ethical governance has increasingly diminished.

Despite the setbacks, the aspiration for transparent and accountable governance remains strong. To transform this vision into reality, there is a need to adopt a multi-pronged approach that ensures long-lasting systemic change. Strengthening institutions like the Lokpal and Central Vigilance Commission (CVC) with complete autonomy, legal enforcement power, and financial independence is crucial. These agencies must be free from political interference and empowered to investigate and prosecute corruption cases effectively. Implementing robust open-data initiatives can help citizens monitor government actions.

E-governance reforms, such as digital tracking of public funds and AI-driven audits, can also reduce opportunities for corruption while increasing accountability. Civil servants must be held to the highest ethical standards through stricter accountability mechanisms. Performance-based promotions, transparent recruitment processes, and protection for whistleblowers can reduce corrupt practices within the bureaucracy. Strengthening the independence of the judiciary, increasing the speed of corruption trials, and ensuring non-partisan law enforcement agencies will reinforce accountability across all levels of governance.

Civic education programs should be introduced to instil values of integrity and responsibility in

young citizens. Encouraging citizen participation through platforms that allow public reporting of corruption can create grassroots accountability. Protecting press freedom through legal safeguards and independent funding models will ensure that media outlets remain fearless in their reporting. Investigative journalism must be encouraged and supported to expose corruption at all levels.

India stands at a critical juncture. As the nation moves forward in 2025, it has the rare opportunity to create a governance model where integrity, transparency, and accountability are not negotiable. The fight against corruption is not just a political battle; it is a socio-cultural imperative that demands collective action from politicians, bureaucrats, media, and citizens alike. The road ahead is difficult, but the potential for reform is even stronger. If India unites in this mission, it can reclaim its rightful place as a global leader in democratic governance. The time for change is now—before the aspirations of millions are lost to the shadows of corruption. The future of India's democracy depends on the choices made today.

**Mr. Suresh Kumar is a retired officer of the Indian Administrative Service. He has served as the Chief Principal Secretary to the Chief Minister of Punjab from 2017 to 2021.*

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BOOK REVIEW

THE GOLDEN PIGEON BY SHAHID SIDDIQUI

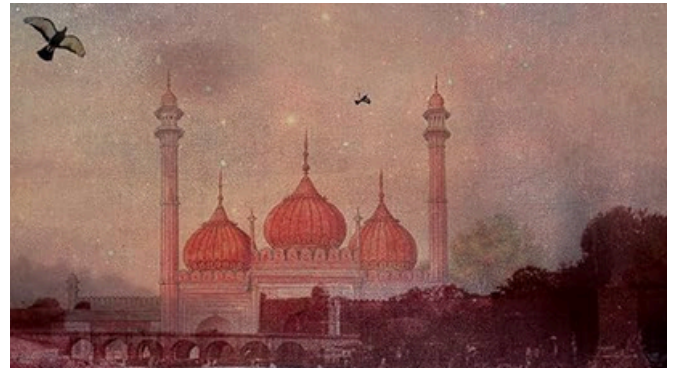
Written by Midhat Samra

Set against the backdrop of partition, *The Golden Pigeon* is a work of fiction that employs a range of metaphors to tell a deeply emotional and thought-provoking story. The book follows the lives of twin brothers, born on the night of August 14th and 15th, 1947—45 minutes apart—symbolizing the birth of India and Pakistan. Tragically, the twins are separated two years later. Aijaz, born on August 14th, ends up in Pakistan, while Shiraz, born 45 minutes later on August 15th, is raised in India by his nationalist mother and grandmother.

The author brilliantly chooses the family to be direct descendants of Mughals—highlighting the complex situation of Muslims in India today. Shiraz is named after the Shirazi pigeon, a bird with golden feathers, which becomes a central metaphor throughout the novel. This golden pigeon represents both aspirations and unresolved pasts. It symbolizes the characters' internal battles between freedom and entrapment, mirroring the internal battles of those caught between identity and circumstance.

The prose is lyrical and captures the rawness of human emotions and experiences. Siddiqui's attention to details brings the story to life in a vivid way. The plot unfolds intricately, with twists that never feel forced, keeping the reader engaged. The characters are multi-dimensional, each development reflecting the broader themes of identity, belonging, and the impact of historical events on personal lives.

The book broadly focuses on the lives of Muslims who chose to stay back in India after Partition. It powerfully depicts their struggles, the marginalization they face, and the unjust arrests they endure simply because of their Muslim names—regardless of whether they are practicing Muslims or not.



Even a decade after its publication, every line feels strikingly relevant, as it reflects the enduring struggles of a community constantly targeted and cornered.

The book explores themes of love, loss, and the quest for self-identity. It masterfully delves into the complexities of familial bonds and the subtle impact of historical events on personal lives. Each character is layered and complex, breaking societal norms in various ways—a burqa-clad woman with an independent mind, a strong-headed matriarch leading the household, an interfaith couple challenging societal barriers, and a Muslim woman marrying a Christian Englishman in her late 40s.

The book highlights the ugliness of societal prejudice against minorities, showing how false allegations can turn lives upside down. The book invites reflection. It's not merely a tale of external events but an exploration of the internal landscapes of its characters. Siddiqui's evocative imagery and emotional depth provide a stimulating intellectual experience for those who appreciate literature that challenges preconceived notions and pushes the boundaries of storytelling.

The Golden Pigeon is a powerful, reflective read that resonates long after the last page is turned. Siddiqui crafts a narrative that is both deeply personal and broadly relevant, making it a compelling exploration of identity, history, and the complexities of human relationships.



THE TNC WATCHLIST: MOVIES & TV SERIES

Recommendations by Mihika Singh

MOVIES

Manthan (1976): Inspired by the White Revolution, the film highlights themes of rural empowerment, class struggles, political interference, and collective action against exploitation, and remains timely especially in the context of ongoing farmer protests.

The Pianist (2002): Based on the memoir of Wladyslaw Szpilman, *The Pianist* sheds light on the horrors of the Holocaust. With ongoing global conflicts and rising extremism, the film remains pertinent, emphasising the importance of remembering history to prevent similar atrocities.

Court (2014): The film follows the trial of folk singer Narayan Kamble, accused of inciting a worker's suicide through protest songs. The film highlights judiciary's slow bureaucracy while addressing issues of free speech and caste discrimination.

Jai Bhim (2021): Inspired by true events from 1990s Tamil Nadu, *Jai Bhim* follows the trial of a wrongfully accused tribal man who goes missing in police custody. More than just a legal drama, the film powerfully exposes caste discrimination, police brutality, and systemic injustice.

SERIES

MO: A heartfelt comedy drama that explores struggles with identity, immigration, and survival in America, balancing humor with the realities of being stateless. It is extremely relevant today in today's climate of political and social tension, exploring themes of immigration, cultural identity, and survival.

Godan: Based on Munshi Premchand's writing, *Godan* is a poignant story set in rural India. The serial explores themes of poverty, caste discrimination, exploitation by landlords and moneylenders, and the deep struggles of the rural poor against systemic oppression.

Derry Girls: *Derry Girls* is a sharp-witted coming-of-age comedy set in the 1990s Northern Ireland with the backdrop of political unrest. The series brilliantly captures the resilience, wit, and warmth of a generation growing up in turbulent times.

Paatal Lok: A crime thriller that exposes caste oppression, religious bias, media manipulation, and the nexus between politics and crime and also reflects real-world issues like fake news, mob violence, and systemic failures.

GET IN TOUCH



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