

Vijayalakshmi Pandit

Gendering and Racing against the Postcolonial Predicament

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International law portrays the year 1945 as the beginning of the discipline's success story, culminating in the San Francisco Conference, also known as the United Nations Conference on International Organization (UNCIO). Often, while highlighting the role played by the representatives of the Great Powers and Allied nations of the Second World War, one forgets that dependent states like India played an influential, but ambivalent, part in the United Nations' founding. Although India was represented at the conference by three cabinet members of the British Indian government (or the Viceroy's Executive Council), one unofficial member of the Indian delegation became the lone radical voice to represent the state's presence as the 'pivot of the whole system of imperialism and colonialism'. It was the voice of Indian diplomat, Vijayalakshmi Pandit (1900–1990), born Swarupa Kumari Nehru. Calling the other representatives 'the three stooges' of the British government, Pandit used the opportunity at San Francisco to put the UN to what she called an 'acid test' of its principles.¹ Willing to detract from the official Indian (British) course of action, Pandit projected the Indian example to pressure the UN to adopt a categorical stance on the independence of colonial territories.² What was the outlier voice in 1945, of the British Indian delegation, later became the common voice of the anticolonial pursuit at the UN and outside. Pandit became independent India's lead representative to the UN until 1968.

Against the background of a growing polarization in the geopolitics of the Cold War, Pandit's work in steering India into 'non-alignment', already prior to the Bandung conference of 1955 and thereafter, is often overshadowed by the prowess of her famous brother and India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964), albeit sometimes of her own choosing.³ Following her years as Indian Ambassador to the Soviet Union from a newly independent India in 1947 and later to the United States in 1949,

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¹ Manu Bhagavan, *The Peacemakers: India and the Quest for One World* (HarperCollins 2012) 52.

² Julie Laut, 'The Woman Who Swayed America': Vijayalakshmi Pandit, 1945, DEP: Deportate, esuli, profughe (Deported, Exiles, Refugees—Journal of Women's Memory Studies) 10 July 2018.

³ Vijayalakshmi Pandit, *The Scope of Happiness: A Personal Memoir* (Speaking Tiger Books 2018). On the Bandung Conference as the first big milestone for Asian and African nations coming together, both newly independent and on the cusp of independence, see Luis Eslava, Michael Fakhri, and Vasuki Nesiah (eds),



Figure 19.1 Vijayalakshmi Pandit during a visit in the Netherlands, 1965.

Source: Photograph by Ron Kroon, Anefo. National Archives of the Netherlands.

she became the United Nations General Assembly's first female President in 1953. The 'first female' label inevitably projected her as a feminist icon. However, her feminism was mostly non-confrontational, and sometimes accused of elitism.⁴ If redistribution (the economy), recognition (culture), and representation (politics) are the three pillars of the modern feminist manifesto,⁵ one could look back at Pandit as enjoying the luxury of caring mainly about representational or identity politics. Her worldview was perhaps a consequence of her upper class and caste status, as many Indian Marxist feminists begrudged her for at the time. Yet, there were a few notable instances of her championing revolutionary causes of the left.

Much like her feminism, Pandit felt she could rise above the distributional differences that subjugated many postcolonial states by focusing on political equality. From struggling to placate the East and the West in the initial years of free India and trying to forge a South-East Asian alliance, Pandit later championed a precarious neutrality for newly independent states like India. Exalting the burgeoning internationalism on the one hand, Pandit also denigrated the absence of a strong Asian presence in the UN Security Council. Her efforts allow us to re-examine the pre-Bandung era less as

Bandung, Global History, and International Law: Critical Pasts and Pending Futures (Cambridge University Press 2017).

⁴ Geraldine Forbes, *Women in Modern India* (Cambridge University Press 1996).

⁵ Cinzia Arruzza, Tithi Bhattacharya, and Nancy Fraser, *Feminism for the 99%: A Manifesto* (Verso Books 2019).

heralding the Third World as a force to reckon with, and more as a complex tactical measure during the Cold War. The complexity of India's role in what later became the 'Non-Aligned Movement', when studied through Pandit's associations and dissociations, tells us a story of various shifting alignments that led to such a stance. Whether as a consciously laid path towards neutrality or as a path of least resistance, Pandit's voice can help us appreciate a nuance in the early developments of the Third World.

In this chapter, I examine different approaches to reading and understanding Pandit by reclaiming her role in postcolonial politics and, in turn, the development of international law. The archival materials and scholarship distil her memory as the innocuous sister, feminist visionary, privileged Indian elite, freedom fighter, staunch anti-imperialist, South-East Asian integrationist, and a Cold War neutral imbued with a liberal and left internationalism. Her multi-faceted appearances, at times seemingly contradictory, allow us to examine the spirit of the postcolonial state, while engaging with the intricacy of its contingencies in the international legal order.

(En)Gendering a Path to the United Nations

When international law scholars confront the inequalities facing the Global South, whether through its participation or resistance, they often mark them by the Bandung moment in 1955.⁶ United in their stance against European imperialism, delegates from twenty-nine Asian and African states, either newly independent or on the cusp of independence, attended a conference in Bandung, Indonesia. The images from the conference with faces of top delegates—Jawaharlal Nehru, Kwame Nkrumah, Josip Broz 'Tito', Gamal Abdel Nasser, Sukarno—allow us to imagine an all-male cast of crucial actors who propelled into limelight what the Third World alliance meant for the rest. In the face of racism, sexism seemed a non-issue. At Bandung, sexism was subsumed in the rhetoric of social and economic freedoms and progress. If the fight was against the Western, imperialist foundation upon which institutions and other world structures were built to propagate inequality, Bandung signified a win. However, as Aziza Ahmed notes, 'the Final Communiqué [spoke] to human rights, [but] it [made] no mention of women, gender, or women's rights.'⁷

Almost ten years prior, in 1946, as a leading member of the Indian delegation to the United Nations, Pandit encouraged its members to fight racial inequalities, no doubt, but also discriminations against women. In her first speech at the United Nations, Pandit took the opportunity to highlight the work of two leading Indian women—Hansa Mehta⁸ and Lakshmi Menon⁹—and their worthy contributions to the various Committees' work in connection with the United Nations Organization.

⁶ Eslava, Fakhri, and Nesiah, *Bandung* (n 3).

⁷ Aziza Ahmed, 'Bandung's Legacy Solidarity and Contestation in Global Women's Rights', in Eslava, Fakhri, and Nesiah, *Bandung, Global History* (n 5) 450.

⁸ Hansa Mehta represented India on the Nuclear Sub-Committee on the status of women in 1946. As the Indian delegate on the UN Human Rights Commission in 1947–48, she was responsible for the gendered changes in the language of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights from 'all men are created equal' to 'all human beings'.

⁹ Lakshmi Menon was India's delegate to the Third Committee, argued in favour of non-discrimination based on sex and 'the equal rights of men and women' in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Putting 'gender' on the table, she expressed her hope that 'women of all countries will have the occasion to participate more fully with men in all departments of life, including the world of this Assembly'.¹⁰ Projecting Indian women to the forefront was in itself a powerful statement, which focused on the inequalities of race and sex, whether Pandit intended it like that or not.

However, Pandit's early years demonstrated a more conflicting view and experience regarding the role of women. Growing up as the daughter of a top Indian lawyer and political leader of British India, Motilal Nehru, and sister of a leading Indian nationalist, Jawaharlal Nehru, Pandit felt early on that she would always play a secondary role to the men in her family. Praising her father's 'championship of women's rights', she notes the paradoxical disregard for his own daughter's education.¹¹ Home-schooled by an English governess and a slew of tutors, Pandit's education was in line with the 'foreign-oriented' way of living that was accessible only to the privileged classes in India. Yet she was not allowed the access her brother availed by attending Harrow, a premier boy's school in London. The Anglophile education worked to create a favourable international persona for her, while her Indian attire often kept her under an 'orientalist gaze'.¹² Furthermore, it also signalled, in the postcolonial, a narrative of 'self' and 'other', marginalizing non-English speakers in India.¹³

Accustomed to Western ways and manners, Pandit's notions surrounding progressiveness constituted equal rights for men and women, since advocating for women's rights was considered a signpost of modernity among Third World feminists.¹⁴ However, she often related her 'modernity' to the British lifestyle, even though the participation of Indian (and Pakistani) women in the drafting of the Indian Constitution was something even most of her Western counterparts could not boast of having done.¹⁵ Calling her family a touch arrogant, she ascribed it to being 'different' from other Indians, more British than them. Nevertheless, offended by the restrictions imposed upon Indians by the British, Pandit separated her appreciation for the British from the antagonism she felt towards British colonialism.

While known for many conspicuous utterances in favour of women at the United Nations, Pandit often shrugged off any relevance or impact from being the first female President of the UNGA, stressing that 'she would like to consider it as an honour to India rather than as an honour to women'.¹⁶ Whether as a sign of privilege or a

¹⁰ Speech delivered by Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, leader of the Indian Delegation, at the General Assembly of the United Nations, on 25 October 1946. South Asian American Digital Archive.

¹¹ Pandit (n 3) ch 8.

¹² Julie Laut (n 2). The Chicago Tribune praised her 'dazzling white robe [...] alluring curves [...] Oxonian accent', quoted in Bhagavan (n 1) 52.

¹³ In a letter from Nehru to Pandit, he wrote about another Indian representative sent to the United States, Amarnath Jha. Calling him unimpressive on the basis of his 'affected way of speaking English' that would 'get on the nerves of Americans' in Nayantara Sehgal (ed), *Before Freedom: Nehru's Letters to his Sister 1909–1947* (The Lotus Collection, Roli Books 2004). Elsewhere I refer to the postcolonial's reproduction of self-other dichotomy as 'internal othering' Parvathi Menon, *Self-Referral to the ICC: A Continuation of War by Other Means* (2016) 106 AJIL Unbound.

¹⁴ I thank Vasuki Nesiah for highlighting the link between feminism and nationalism as modernity in the pre-independent Global South.

¹⁵ Rebecca Adami, *Women and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (Routledge 2018) 118.

¹⁶ Lady Hartog, *India: New Pattern* (George Allen & Unwin Ltd 1955) 150. See also Chronoscope, Madame Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, interview by Larry Le Sueur and Edward P Morgan (Columbia Broadcasting System 1953).

testament to her sense of self, Pandit's engagement with women's issues adopted a liberal stance, which later became visible in her foreign policies. However, this was not unlike the suffragists and other liberal feminists all over the world, whose focus was often on women's autonomy and equality of the sexes, undermining the complexity and fluidity of identity. In furthering such agenda, Indian women like Hansa Mehta, Lakshmi Menon, Begum Hamid Ali, and Rajkumari Amrit Kaur were responsible for bringing about the gendered perspective in the international through their work for women in India.¹⁷

Mehta, Menon, and Amrit Kaur together authored the 'Draft of Indian Woman's Charter of Rights and Duties' ('Draft'), prepared under the aegis of the All India Women's Conference (AIWC) and submitted to the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) on 1 May 1946. AIWC was a non-governmental organization founded by an Irish woman, Margaret Cousins, in India in 1927. Almost all the Indian women who were delegates to the UN had ties to AIWC, which Pandit joined in 1946. AIWC held several conferences across India, presided by female heads of Princely States like the Maharani Chimnabai Saheb Gaekwar of Baroda, Her Highness Jahan Begum of Bhopal, and others. The working class and rural members supported many of AIWC's political goals and ideologies, even if shunning its liaisons with the higher echelons of society.¹⁸ Renu Chakravartty and other Marxist feminists did not treat Gandhians like Pandit as an ally, considering them representatives of the Indian power elite.¹⁹ Despite the animosities, they all came together for the causes AIWC put forward as its goals. The AIWC Draft was wide-ranging in the issues it addressed, even if much of it did not go beyond the tenets of liberal feminism: from women's education, health, property ownership, and the right to work. Positioning women's oppression within the larger context of economic exploitation, the Draft also demanded that housework by women be recognized as labour entitled for compensation.²⁰

Although AIWC presented their ambitious Draft before the ECOSOC at the UN, they were never given a seat on the dais of the Commission on the Status of Women, chaired by the Danish activist and diplomat, Bodil Begtrup. Nor was their mandate adopted in the Convention on the Political Rights of Women in 1953, drafted mainly by members of the Commission on the Status of Women.²¹ What followed in the international arena was equally a feminism sanitized of any revolutionary fervour. ECOSOC along with the UN General Assembly's Third Committee (dealing with social, humanitarian, and human rights issues) diluted any goals beyond 'equality

¹⁷ E/HR/ST/5, Draft of Indian Woman's Charter of Rights and Duties Prepared by India by all India Women's Conference and Submitted by Mrs. Hansa-Mehta for Information of Sub-Commission, New York, UN ECOSOC 1 May 1946.

¹⁸ Elisabeth Armstrong, *Gender and Neoliberalism: The All India Democratic Women's Association and Globalization Politics* (Routledge 2014) 32.

¹⁹ Malini Bhattacharya, 'Communist Party and Indian Women's Movement' (1982) 17(1/2) Economic and Political Weekly 20–22. Ashoka Gupta, *In the Path of Service: Memories of a Changing Century* (Sipra Bhattacharya with Ranjana Dasgupta trs, STREE Publications 2005) 77. Gupta was also a member of the AIWC. On Gandhianism as liberalism see Bidyut Chakrabarty, *Confluence of Thought: Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr* (OUP 2013).

²⁰ Draft of Indian Woman's Charter of Rights and Duties prepared in India by All Women's Conference and submitted by Mrs Hansa Mehta for information of Sub-Commission, United Nations Economic and Social Council, E/HR/ST/5 1 May 1946.

²¹ Convention on the Political Rights of Women, 193 UNTS 135, entered into force 7 July 1954.

between the sexes.' Albeit sharing Begtrup's liberal ideologies, during the twenty-third meeting of the UNGA, Pandit veritably pushed against a garden-variety feminism. When the Danish delegation introduced a resolution for political equality of women at the UNGA in 1946, Pandit was one of the few members to disagree with the resolution. 'She feared that if the words "political rights" were mentioned in the resolution, they would imply, in fact, a limitation of the rights of women.'²² Pandit took issue with the 'political rights' angle because she was an ardent believer in 'equal rights' for women in all arenas, including allowing them to inherit property just like men could. It was also probably a reflection of the already existing political rights for women in India, which encouraged her to urge the UN to go beyond it. Countering Eleanor Roosevelt's fear that women were 'perhaps not yet ready to assume the responsibilities which it was proposed to give them,' Pandit fittingly questioned how one could know if women were ready or not, without first conferring on them those responsibilities.²³

Pandit's brand of feminism may have borne the burden of her British-influenced upbringing, showing less faith in working-class movements and more in the establishment's frameworks, but she found her foot (and support) among the left mainly owing to her approach towards colonialism. As a part of the group of 'notorious anti-colonials',²⁴ as the British referred to Pandit, Nehru, and VK Krishna Menon (the Indian representative to the UN from 1949–62), Pandit and many other Indian elites suffered severe hardships in their fight for India's independence from Britain. Therefore, it was predictable that she would carry the torch for other subjugated groups around the world when she represented India at the UN. She implicated a Wilsonian, liberal international law with radical anti-colonial pursuits.

Of Racial Allegiances and a Tactical Neutrality

In the early years of the UN, a newly Independent India became the voice of all oppressed people in the world. With Pandit at the helm of the Indian affairs, a multitude of resolutions and interventions on her part allow us insights into the role India played in shaping the Third World alliances. At the same time, the impressions she created upon foreign relations, not merely in Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States, but also African countries, go a long way in assessing Third World neutrality and its ignored trajectories.

After gaining independence, the British closely evaluated Indian policies to safeguard their own. It was clear to the British, quite early on, that India's international stature was steadily increasing, for which they credited Pandit and the success of the Indian delegation at the UN under her leadership.²⁵ At times, the British thought her more moderate than her compatriot, Krishna Menon, and preferred to negotiate with

²² Continuation of the discussion of the draft resolution regarding the political rights of women submitted by the delegation of Denmark, United Nations General Assembly, Twenty-Third Meeting, 15 November 1946, A/C.3/SR/23.

²³ *ibid*, Draft Resolution regarding Political Rights.

²⁴ The National Archives (TNA) Foreign Office (FO) 371/112214, Indian Government Policy towards British Colonialism, 1954 ff 109.

²⁵ TNA FO 371/63528/204 Folder 1, Transfer of Power to India.

her as opposed to him to foster goodwill between the UK and India.²⁶ At other times, they attributed her desire to create a neutral Third front to her friendliness with the Communists and hoped she would not influence her brother, Nehru.²⁷

Britain's aim in the initial years after letting go of its crown jewel, India, was to steer her away from Russian policy and the belief that the capitalist world must be disrupted.²⁸ Any information they received regarding alliances built in the South was a potential interference they were intent on quelling. Pandit became the Indian Ambassador to Russia a week before India became independent on 15 August 1947. In such capacity, she spoke with United States Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, regarding her wishes for a regional alliance between India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Siam, and Indo-China, alluding to USSR's interest in helping them.²⁹ Therefore, the impression that the Soviets would help build India's neutrality or create a regional group of Eastern nations was a crisis the West wanted to avert.³⁰ As evidence of this fear, the United States delegate to UNGA, John Foster Dulles, remarked during a speech that 'communism exercises a strong influence through the Interim Hindu Government' in India.³¹ After his comment made headlines in all the national daily newspapers, it was incumbent upon Pandit to respond. In her response, she made it very clear that India only espoused the cause of the 'dependent peoples' during the workings of the Trusteeship Committee, where Dulles and Pandit represented their respective countries. She went on to clarify that simply because India and USSR strove hard to 'liberalise the trusteeship agreements' did not imply that India was under Communist influence, since 'India will evolve her own policy according to her own interests'.³² At the same time, to improve relations with the Soviets, she was instructed (by her brother) 'to speak frankly to Molotov, Vyshinsky, and other important functionaries in the Soviet Foreign Office, and tell them that it is quite absurd for anyone to think that we are tied to the apron-strings of England or that we attach ourselves to the USA'.³³

Staying clear of any suggestion that India was hand in glove with the Soviets on the one hand, while ensuring that the Soviets did not think India was an extension of its former colonial power or the USA, on the other hand, the pre-Bandung era of 'neutrality' was a complex tactical positioning. It was not merely 'the delegates step[ping] out of the dynamics of the Cold War that was producing such conflicts into a free space of neutrality'.³⁴ Although there is evidence to suggest that India did champion the causes of many dependent peoples, it began as a case of extending support to Indians who entered Mauritius, Fiji, West Indies, Natal Colony (and other parts of

²⁶ This was discussed in reference to Indian representation at the Suez Conference in 1956. TNA FO 371/123590/2 ff 24.

²⁷ TNA Dominions Office (DO) 133/101, ff 61, India's Cooperation with other Countries in Asia and Pacific.

²⁸ TNA DO 133/99 ff 4, India's attitude towards the USSR.

²⁹ TNA DO 133/101, ff 49, India Cooperation with other Countries in Asia and Pacific.

³⁰ *ibid.*

³¹ TNA FO 371/63529 ff 164.

³² *ibid.*

³³ BR Nanda, *Jawaharlal Nehru: Rebel and Statesman* (OUP 1998) 228.

³⁴ Robert Young, 'Postcolonialism: From Bandung to the Tricontinental' (2005) 5 *Historein* 11, 14, quoted in *The Spirit of Bandung*, in Eslava, Fakhri, and Nesiha, *Bandung* (n 3) 13.

modern South Africa), and Malaya as indentured labourers in the 1870s, and East Africa as small traders and railway labourers.³⁵ It is against the background of India's support for other Indians that Pandit's assertion of neutrality and the reiteration of unity amongst 'dependent people' must be understood.

The allegiance India manifested towards its migrated populations played an important role in Pandit's case against South Africa's discrimination against its Indian inhabitants. It is here that her battle for the cause of oppressed peoples, much like her feminist aspirations, demonstrates her renewed faith in the internationalism heralded by the UN. At its inaugural session in 1946, UNGA passed a resolution initiated at Pandit's behest,³⁶ regarding the treatment of Indians in South Africa, urging both governments to abide by their bilateral agreements and the UN Charter.³⁷ When the resolution was discussed in 1947 at UNGA, the South African representative, HG Lawrence, relied on Article 2(7) of the UN Charter to support non-intervention by the international organization.³⁸ Citing the South African Prime Minister, Field Marshall Jan Smuts' irreverence for the UN, Pandit attacked South African land tenure laws' racial discrimination against Indians as being repugnant to the Charter.³⁹ The UNGA voted in favour of Pandit and The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, 1946, 'became apartheid'.⁴⁰ Therefore, her attack won her praise from many, including one of the founding figures of America's National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NCAAP), WEB Du Bois, who called it the 'successful assault upon the color line in the UN Assembly', while noting the deafening silence from the rest of the 'colored world'.⁴¹ Later, the NCAAP extensively engaged with Pandit for her support in their petitions to the UN and other conferences.

For someone who was an Indian nationalist and freedom fighter like Pandit, the state was a pivotal terrain for anti-colonial struggle. Therefore, it was unsurprising that she was also an ardent believer in the international's support for causes that had local impact and vice versa. Later, in the early-1950s, India extended support to all subjugated races, especially Africans, going as far as defending Jomo Kenyatta in the killing of the Kenyan Chief Waruhiu in 1952, for protecting British presence in Kenya.⁴² Along with Krishna Menon and Nehru, Pandit supported the 'African Students Conference' and the initiative to start an Indian Institute in African Studies in Delhi. By locking-in its foreign policies in domestic initiatives, both in India and in British

³⁵ TNA FO 371/112214, Indian Government Policy Towards British Colonialism ff 102.

³⁶ 'General Assembly of the United Nations: Indian Complaint Against South Africa', Memorandum by Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 17 October 1946, CP(46)373, CAB 129/13.

³⁷ A/RES/44(1), 8 December 1946.

³⁸ A/C.1/SR.111, Summary record of the 111th meeting: 1st Committee, 17 November 1947, Lake Success, New York, General Assembly, 2nd session.

³⁹ *ibid.*

⁴⁰ Bhagavan (n 1) 81.

⁴¹ WEB Du Bois *The Winds of Time*, WEB Du Bois Papers (MS 312) 30 December 1946, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries. See also Letter from Walter White to Indian Delegation to the United Nations, 18 September 1947 (*ibid.*).

⁴² *ibid* ff 105. Indian-born lawyers who had recently made Kenya their home—Ajeet Singh, Achhroo Ram Kapila, and Fitz de Souza—were a part of Kenyatta's legal defence team. See David Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged: The Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire* (WW Norton 2005).

colonies, Pandit encouraged Indian participation in a left-internationalism that in many ways co-opted the UN.⁴³

Conclusion

Anti-colonial histories of international law rarely put the spotlight on Pandit's efforts in the postcolonial shaping of what became the Third World, often highlighting the known names of Nehru and VK Krishna Menon.⁴⁴ For those who did, like Abdul Majid Khan, his biography on Pandit is perhaps a poignant reminder of her relegation to a 'relational status,' evident in the title: 'The Great Daughter of India: An Appreciative Study of Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit and Her Ideas in the Background of Nehru Family's Heroic Struggle for the Political Emancipation of India.'⁴⁵ That she remained in the background, despite holding eminent positions, seemed an inevitable eventuality for the sister of Jawaharlal Nehru. 'I have a mind of my own and have always been able to use it whether in small or larger decisions. But gradually I found myself accepting *Bhai's* [brother's] views without any questioning',⁴⁶ Pandit curiously remarks in her autobiography.

On the contrary, it was clear that she asserted her own place in the workings of an independent India and its role in the international. Whether appearing to the British more radical than Nehru in her anti-imperialism, or instrumentalizing the international in her pursuit to defend subjugated races all over the world, Pandit owned her politics and carved her own niche. Although the Bandung conference remains a milestone in the resistance by the Third World, it is worth recognizing through Pandit's work that the path to that moment is studded with efforts to invoke (even if naively) the international and its legal frameworks.

⁴³ Bhagavan (n 1) 34.

⁴⁴ There are exceptions among historians: Bhagavan (n 1); Annie Devenish, *Debating Women's Citizenship in India 1930–1960* (Bloomsbury 2019), where the author devotes a chapter to Pandit's role in the international sphere; Rakesh Ankit, 'Between Vanity and Sensitiveness: Indo–British Relations During Vijayalakshmi Pandit's High-Commissionership (1954–61)' (2016) 30(1) *Contemporary British History* 20–39; Laut (n 2).

⁴⁵ See also Mark Mazower, *No Enchanted Palace: The End of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations* (Princeton University Press 2009) 175.

⁴⁶ Pandit (n 3).