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## Foreign Gifts and US Imperial Ambiguities: The Kennedy Years

Cyrus Schayegh

Mrs FAKHRI GARAKANI  
C/O Mr. A. MALEKI  
Ferdowsi Street  
Teheran- Iran.

Tehran 16th December 1961.

H.E. The President of The United States,  
White House,  
Washington,  
U.S.A.

Dear Mr. President,

During 62 years of my active life, I made a few portrait of well known international figures, among them,

The late Reza Shah the great,  
The president Shahanshah of Iran,  
Jesus Christ,  
Mahatma Gandhi,  
Abraham Lincoln,  
Pope John XXIII.

The portrait of Mahatma Gandhi, was presented by H.I.M. the Shahanshah of Iran during his state visit to India, to the Government and people of India.

I have always desired to present my work of art in an International Show in U.S.A. and as I am getting too old, and I have not the chance to come over to U.S.A. I am sending you one of my work.

As the Christmas coming you may be interested for a present for his Holy Pope John XXIII, so I am sending his portrait which is made of silk embroidery with total working hours of 3,200.

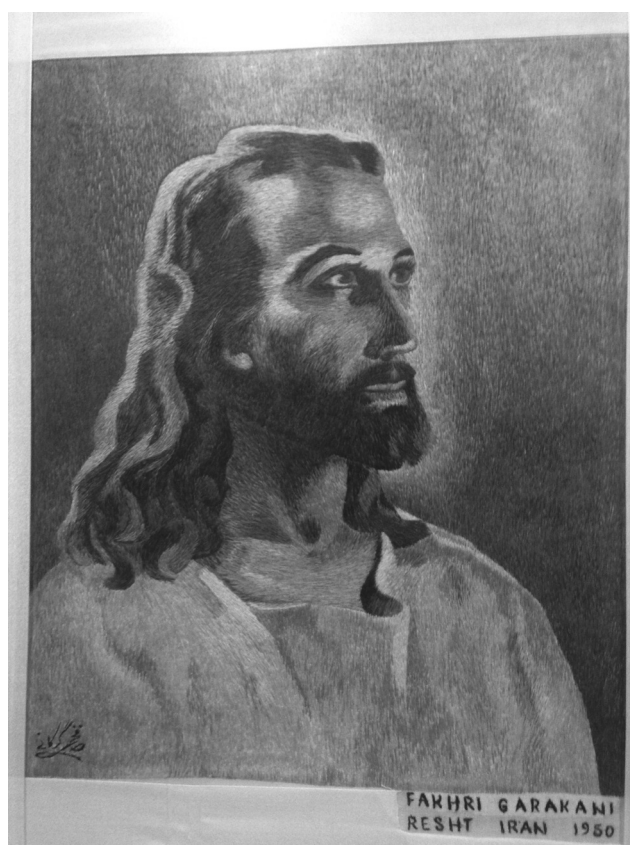
I hope, you find my work interesting, and I leave the value of it to your own judgment. If you really don't like my work, it could be arranged to be returned to me in Iran.

I deeply apologise for the trouble which I am making,

Very respectfully Yours.

F. Garakani (Mrs)<sup>1</sup>

Fakhri Garakani was born in 1898 in the northern Iranian town of Rasht. The child of a Francophile merchant and an educated mother, she learned French. Aged fourteen, she was married. She gave birth to four children, of whom one died early; soon widowed, she self-confidently insisted they bear her name. Her granddaughter, Alaleh Garakani, remembers that Fakhri “and her mother were close” to the Americans at Rasht’s US Presbyterian missionary hospital and school, founded in 1906, where both taught handicraft and confectionery and learned English, as the above letters, some mistakes notwithstanding, patently show. While they did not convert, Garakani was not a devout Muslim either. Around 1937, she moved to Tehran, opening a tailor shop; soon returned to Rasht, where she ran a tailor shop, too; and, middle-aged, followed her children to Tehran, where she passed in 1992. She had picked up embroidery as a



**Figure 8.1** Fakhri Garakani, portrait of Jesus.

child from her mother, eventually coloring her pictures' threads herself. "Flower and portrait embroidery was her great love" and her art.<sup>2</sup> "It almost literally lived," is how Jesseman Robert Pryor, one of Rasht's Americans, described her papal portrait. "The colors used were only shades of black, grey and white. In my opinion it was a three-dimensional masterpiece."<sup>3</sup> While I have not found the portrait, Garakani's family sent me an image of a portrait of Jesus she created (Figure 8.1).<sup>4</sup>

Garakani's art was exceptional; her interest in embroidery was not. Embroidery had been known already in premodern Iran. By the late nineteenth century, some new state primary schools included it in home economy courses' sowing lessons. So did US missionaries, whose "agenda emphasized providing 'modern,' high quality social services such as health care and education . . . to the urban middle and upper classes."<sup>5</sup> A 1939 issue of the *Torch*—the magazine of the Rasht Presbyterian Girl School, where Garakani taught—noted, "during the past two weeks we have had hand-sown articles (novelty) and embroidered towels in the 'show case.' The girls have gotten many patterns from the display and are now sowing some for themselves."<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, enterprising Iranian women other than Garakani, too, elevated what educational manuals defined as a housewifely skill to a female art.<sup>7</sup>

As for her papal portrait, Garakani did not hear back from Kennedy. After three months, her patience ran out.

Mrs. FAKHRI GARAKANI  
C/O Mr. A. Maleki  
Ferdowsi Street  
Tehran Iran.

Tehran 19th March 1962.

H.E. The President of the United States,  
White House,  
Washington,  
U.S.A.

Dear Mr. President,

I refer to my letter 16th December 1961 and avail myself of the opportunity of enclosing herewith, a copy of my previous letter, together with the relative receipt from the Luft Hansa Office, here in Tehran, indicating that the delivery of our parcel to the White House has taken place on the 22nd of December 1961.

Although a considerable time has elapsed since the dispatch of the a/m parcel, but we profoundly regret for not having heard as yet, anything from you with regard to this matter.

With best compliments,  
Respectfully yours,  
F. Garakani<sup>8</sup>

The same month she sent this second letter, Garakani devised another way of reaching the American president, Iran's patron since the US-British-Iranian royalist coup d'Etat of 1953, which had deposed Prime Minister Mohammad Mosaddeq and re-empowered

Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi (r. 1941–79).<sup>9</sup> She recalled that in 1961, at the house of Pryor and his wife Mary Louise, she had run into a former Presbyterian missionary, T. Cuyler Young, a Princeton professor of Iranian Studies who from 1927 to 1936 had served in Rasht, and his American wife Helen, who had served there, too; she must have known them from that time. She asked Pryor to contact Young. Pryor agreed, enclosing copies of her letters.<sup>10</sup> Young responded. “I shall tuck [your letter] into my pocket when I go down to Washington on Friday night for Secretary Rusk’s dinner in honor of the Shah,” incidentally on a state visit.<sup>11</sup> In May, he received a letter from Harold Saunders, an acquaintance at the executive office of the president’s National Security Council. “The White House mail room tells me they sent Mrs. Garakani’s embroidered portrait of Pope John XXIII to our embassy in Tehran on February 20<sup>th</sup>, asking that it be returned to her with thanks.”<sup>12</sup>

Garakani indeed received the portrait back<sup>13</sup>—which is where this story ends, and our questions begin.

Why did Garakani send Kennedy a portrait? One explanation is character. Sentences like “If you really don’t like my work” radiate self-confidence. A related second explanation is Garakani’s remark that “I have always desired to present my work of art in an International Show in U.S.A”—“My grandmother always desired to put her works in a museum,” as her granddaughter remembers.<sup>14</sup> This wish materialized in a telling detail in Garakani’s Jesus portrait. While in Persian she merely signed with her first and last name, in the portrait’s bottom left corner, in English she also included year and place. And unlike her Persian signature, the English note was not sown into the portrait but stitched to its bottom right corner later on, to internationalize her *oeuvre d’art*.

These two factors make clear why Garakani sent nothing less than a “child,” as she put it, across the Atlantic, and why she doggedly tracked it.<sup>15</sup> What they do not explain is why she deemed her act feasible in the first place.

What we need to do, then, is to reflect on the assumptions underpinning her action. We can discern three. Garakani believed her papal portrait was likely to reach Kennedy quickly and reliably. She assumed he knew her portrait’s papal subject and genre, embroidery, and would recognize it as a suitable gift. And, finally, she hoped the US president would be interested in a reciprocal gift transaction—for this was what she was proposing, as we will see—with an ordinary non-US citizen. For reasons of space, this chapter will focus on that last assumption.

## The argument

The fascination of Garakani’s story aside, its deeper interest lies in its ambiguities, uncertainties, and contradictions, and in the tentative nature of her assumptions. She wagered that the US president would exchange gifts with a foreigner following, as we will see, the Iranian *pishkesh*-versus-*en’am* (a gift to one’s superior versus a gift to one’s inferior) pattern of gifts traded between unequals—as if he were her president. Also, he at first view was not interested in her—but ultimately was. Moreover, as Kennedy

intensified Washington's "engagement" with the Third World,<sup>16</sup> and presented himself as young, open-minded, and approachable,<sup>17</sup> hundreds of foreigners sent him gifts—but these were ambiguous, too. Nonpolitical givers sought to get physically close to Kennedy and his might by way of a gift—again, as if he were their leader. And politically explicit gifts insisted on nations' equality—yet the very act of sending them recognized the US president's extraordinary power.

These ambiguities, uncertainties, and contradictions were characteristic of the type of imperial polity the United States grew into following the Second World War. This argument is built on the view that postwar Washington assembled an "international empire" that "achieve[d] imperial ends" importantly though not exclusively "by working through the states of others."<sup>18</sup> While rooted in prewar practices and firmly in place by the late 1940s, this *modus operandi* became truly worldwide in the early 1960s. "The United States' advent as a world power coincided with the opening of the second wave of decolonization, when the nation emerged . . . as the only legitimate state form in the 'international' order."<sup>19</sup> Kennedy's presidency coincided with the peak of that wave. Affirming that "the great battleground for the defense and expansion of freedom today, is the whole southern half of the globe,"<sup>20</sup> he responded to this historic juncture. Sure, already his predecessor, Dwight D. Eisenhower, felt compelled to somehow deal with this issue and, related, with US race relations, from the mid-1950s. But he did so grudgingly, even with "anger."<sup>21</sup> Not so Kennedy. Concerned with the nonwhite world from the 1940s, and taking "office at the moment in time when America's optimism was at its zenith," he engaged the many new nation-states of the Third World head-on, demonstrating genuine interest and considerable knowledge.<sup>22</sup> Policy wise, meanwhile, he and his administration advanced often authoritarian economic development programs, expanded counterinsurgency, and organized opinion polls worldwide and tried feeding postcolonial media more US news.<sup>23</sup> In Iran, the US Information Service (USIS) for instance pursued the "heavy coverage by all media, especially radio and TV" of Kennedy speeches, influencing media reports that Garakani likely consumed.<sup>24</sup>

The fact that postwar imperial Washington worked with nation-states while simultaneously circumscribing their sovereignty made it an ambiguous, contradictory polity, and bred uncertainty about its nature. And as Washington's international imperial *modus operandi* became truly worldwide in the early 1960s, so did ambiguity. The fact that the peak of postwar decolonization coincided with Kennedy's presidency, together with the tension between his outsize power and global ambition and his ability to be (seen by many as) an open-minded, fresh leader sympathetic to hopes for greater equality between nations, revealed the US international empire's inherent ambiguity like never before and, perhaps, after.

Asking what gifts ordinary non-US citizens sent to somebody who was not their leader, interpreting why, and examining the White House's reactions, helps us study that ambiguity. That's because gifts, though voluntary, imply reciprocity, and emerge from and cement, and thus reflect, a sociopolitical order, whether desired or existing. The view that gift exchanges underpin relationships just about everywhere was first conclusively developed in 1923 by Marcel Mauss in *Essai sur le don [The Gift]*.<sup>25</sup> Using anthropological sources, mainly on native North Americans and Pacific islanders, ancient European and Hindu legal documents, and some other sources,

this sociological-anthropological text by Emile Durkheim's nephew has remained the touchstone of its subject matter.<sup>26</sup> Mauss held that reciprocal gift giving constitutes a complex, all-encompassing "system of total services."<sup>27</sup> Embodying the donor's identity and hence possessing a "soul," according to Mauss, gifts help cement relationships in presumably "primitive" societies—a term whose normative implications he rejected<sup>28</sup>—but in ways also in the commercialized contemporary West.<sup>29</sup> The significance of gifts means, Mauss argued, that although respective "exchanges and contracts . . . in theory . . . are voluntary, in reality they are given and reciprocated obligatorily." Put differently, gifts are inherently ambiguous. This also means that though voluntarily given, a gift, if not reciprocated, triggers rancor and even symbolic or physical violence.<sup>30</sup> It becomes *Gift*, German for poison.<sup>31</sup> Disinterested gifts do not exist, Mauss concluded<sup>32</sup>—which is why every gift (we are coming full circle here) is reciprocal and why it underpins, and in this sense reflects, a sociopolitical relationship.<sup>33</sup> It's this insight that explains why so many foreigners sent Kennedy gifts, and why most hailed from regions that were very closely tied to Washington: Latin America, Western Europe, and East Asia.

## The Iranian pishkesh-en'am gift exchange

"The giving of gifts, though not peculiar to Persian society, is particularly common in that society," famous late British historian of Iran Ann Lambton once stated with a touch of exaggeration.<sup>34</sup> Safavid Empire (1501–1722) historian Rudi Matthee has called gift exchanges between subjects and rulers "a conspicuous part of traditional social and political life. . . . Subordinates presented gifts to their superiors to express their fealty or to propitiate them, acknowledging past favors and anticipating future ones. The gift giving of superiors, by contrast, was designed to secure their subordinates' continued loyalty, but it also symbolized the munificence and magnanimity of the donor. . . . Generally, the gift that a social inferior gave to a superior was referred to as *pīškaš*, while a gift in the reverse direction was called an *en'am* . . . often given in money."<sup>35</sup> The Qajars (1785–1925) revived some Safavid practices.<sup>36</sup> "Gift exchange was a vital component of Qajar administration and political life," serving manifold functions, Assef Ashraf has stated—while insisting that this was not exceptional.<sup>37</sup>

General patterns of gift giving assume concrete form in contingent "historical circumstances":<sup>38</sup> what Ashraf affirmed for Qajar Iran holds also for the Pahlavi era (1925–79). Exceptions aside,<sup>39</sup> Muhammad Riza Shah (and his fellow royals) did not gift objects but handed out favors and *en'ams*, gratuities, to cement and symbolize dominance. In this sense, the shah acted quite like the Qajars. The Pahlavi court paid subsidies to lesser clergymen.<sup>40</sup> Some were one-time payments. The court minister from 1966 to 1978, Asadollah Alam, snickered in his diary that on December 31, 1969, "I received various mullahs [clergymen], falling over themselves to lavish praise on HIM [His Imperial Majesty]; clearly in expectation of some sort of hand-out."<sup>41</sup> High-ranking officials, too, like Prime Ministers Fazlollah Zahedi (1953–55) and Amir Abbas Hoveyda (1965–77), used *en'ams* as a personal political tool.<sup>42</sup> The shah also gifted "'Pahlavi' sovereign gold coins to select officials and individuals at Nowruz [New Year] or at some official ceremonies": a perfect blend of object, value, and self-

representation.<sup>43</sup> Other, nonmonetary, nongeneric favors representing the shah were royal medals and orders and signed photographic portraits, asserting his dominance while simultaneously raising the recipient's status, symbolically transferring a smidgen of royal power. Officials hung the photos in their office; some cried when unexpectedly awarded a high honor.<sup>44</sup>

In exchange for *en'ams*, the shah received *pishkeshs*. Take Garakani, for instance. As she told Kennedy, she had given Iran's ruler a portrait of Gandhi and, Pryor noted, of Nehru. In exchange, the Presbyterian wrote, the shah "gave her 10,000 tomans."<sup>45</sup> Although we possess no further details, Garakani most likely did not name a price, as in Kennedy's case. Ten thousand tumans were not the price of a good, then, but a royal gratuity for a subject's gift.

More important to the shah than material *pishkeshs* was political consent, by voicing support or at least withholding critique. Although he coveted political dominance from his inauguration in 1941 and attained it by the early 1960s, becoming an autocrat with far-reaching powers, he remained "haunted, and to an extent driven, by the stigma of illegitimacy, made more acute in his case by the popular view that he had been restored to the throne by foreign powers" in the 1953 coup.<sup>46</sup> Intersecting with this individual anxiety was a quest to legitimize modernizing socioeconomic reforms—a twin concern unknown to the Qajars. It showed in a particular favor to individuals: educational opportunity. Following the coup, the shah ordered that "the children of those convicted of treason under Mosaddeq be given a proper education, and fully offered 500,000 rials for the purpose." And in a fascinating case, he in 1958 gifted Ahmad Shams, a six-year-old prodigy from Chalus, close to his north Iranian honeymoon destination of Ramsar, a full education up to an MA degree for his impressive smarts and memory.<sup>47</sup> The twin concern was manifest, too, in how the shah framed signature policies: as his gift to the nation he believed to embody. He praised his own magnanimity; loyalists lauded him for "spending his own money and property to [ensure the] people's well-being and the country's development"; and stamps depicted him granting land deeds (Figure 8.2).<sup>48</sup>



**Figure 8.2** The Shah gifting land deeds to peasants. Source: Roman Siebertz, *Die Briefmarken Irans als Mittel der politischen Bildpropaganda* (Wien: ÖAW, 2005), Abb. 80.



## Garakani's papal portrait as an attempted *pishkesh*

Garakani's attempted contact with Kennedy was patterned on the Iranian *pishkesh-en'am* exchange. Her expectation of a monetary compensation did not contradict, but was congruent with, her papal portrait being a *pishkesh* gift, rather than a commercial transaction. This reading is affirmed by the fact that her first letter's conclusion, "I deeply apologize for the trouble which I am making," translated a Persian expression that, however rhetorically, signaled a power relationship. Further, she did not state a price; did not say how much the shah had paid for her Gandhi portrait; and did not indicate in which currency and how (by check? cash transfer? etc.) Kennedy may pay her. Neither did she set a payment deadline—and "temporal deferral is the essence of the gift."<sup>49</sup> Apropos timing: she sent the portrait as a Christmas *pishkesh*, congruent with the Iranian habit of giving rulers a *pishkesh* at particular occasions, including religious celebrations. And to cite Mauss, her object had a "soul."<sup>50</sup> She lived in and through it. Tremendously invested, she called it a "child." On a related note, its papal motif turned a generic object into a personalized gift for Kennedy, the first Catholic president of the United States.

Why did Garakani think Kennedy may be interested in a relationship with *her*, an Iranian from the provinces, by giving *her* an *en'am*? Whatever the answer, she must have thought he has a political stake in a non-American like her. But what political stake? I begin my answer by zooming out.

## Other foreign gifts to Kennedy

As it turns out, Garakani was not the only non-American who sent Kennedy a gift, in exchange for an *en'am* or not. Documents kept at the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library contain references to 717 gifts to Kennedy and/or his wife Jacqueline and their children from foreign citizens.<sup>51</sup> The real number was higher. The files are "incomplete"—Garakani's gift for example is absent—and do not list all addresses.<sup>52</sup>

The variety of gifts was mind boggling. Some represented virile presidential powers—a cast metal buffalo from the USSR, an Austrian wooden Hercules, and a Venus for Jacqueline<sup>53</sup>—or were depictions: a Swiss scrapbook of pictures, some from Kennedy's inauguration; canceled stamps portraits of the presidential couple, from Turkey, and of him, from India; an embroidered needle portrait by the Harvard Society of Taipei, Taiwan; an Iranian carpet bearing his face; a wood carving of the couple, gifted to the First Lady while visiting Italy; portrait paintings from Brazil, from Mexico, of daughter Caroline, and from Togo, of him in native cloths.<sup>54</sup> Others represented the donors' home: a tiny Colombian flag; pictures of Cologne and Berlin.<sup>55</sup> Yet others blessed—a Brazilian mother-of-pearl crucifix of Our Lord of Bonfim, Bahia's patron saint; a small painting of the Holy Virgin, from Mexico—or transferred religious powers: the white socks of a monsignore, from a sister in the Dominican Republic.<sup>56</sup> Most gifts were from individuals, a few from groups: Spanish children sent Caroline a doll; Sicilian artisans handcrafted a ceramic space-capsule-shaped cradle; and the

village of Utete, in Tanganyika, sent a canoe, a stuffed alligator, a mortar and pestle, a water jug, and three bamboo reels.<sup>57</sup> Some gifts were for daily use: a Colombian embroidered bedspread and pillow case; a hand painted china plate with bird design from Mexico.<sup>58</sup> Others were immaterial: the honorary membership awarded by a Barcelona swimming club, say, or the musical compositions “Carolina” and “The Great Alliance for Progress,” from El Salvador.<sup>59</sup> A few gifts were antiques, for instance a 2000-year-old amphora from Turkey, while some mirrored current events: after the mayor of Mexico, DF, had symbolically given Kennedy the city’s keys, the president received keys to El Paso; to “the hearts of all Mexicans”; and to San Remo, Italy.<sup>60</sup> Almost no donor asked for an *eniam* sort of exchange, but a few did, explicitly or not. Mrs. Deolinda Martinez Pavon, a Paraguayan, sent a white embroidered shirt for the president and noted “she would like to send a similar shirt to Mrs. K. and children.” Ismail Alpaslan, from Ankara, stated he had “spent 177 hours, completing the work done on [a] goose egg [that] has 29 letters, and 78 holes for riveting letters cut out of lead.” And when Kennedy visited Rome in 1963, a local tailor, Angelo Ritrico, sent him ties and asked for permission to visit him in his hotel, take his measurements, and tailor a suit and coat for him.<sup>61</sup>

Gifts hailed from seventy-two states on all inhabited continents, from Third World, capitalist democratic, and communist countries like Nigeria, New Zealand, and Poland. Even the frontrunners were geographically, economically, and religiously mixed. Measured by gifts per capita, the top twenty-five gift-giving countries sending at least five gifts were Costa Rica followed by Venezuela, Mexico, Ireland, Greece, Austria, Guatemala and Israel, Colombia, Switzerland, El Salvador, The Netherlands, Ecuador, Italy, Chile, Canada, Spain, Peru, Australia, Japan, South Korea, France, Turkey, Taiwan, and West Germany. In absolute numbers, Mexico’s 138 gifts were followed by Italy (57), Japan (46), Colombia (39), India (31), Venezuela (30), Greece and West Germany (23), France (22), Austria and Spain (19), Canada (15), The Netherlands (14), Brazil, Costa Rica, and Turkey (13), South Korea (12), Switzerland (11), Britain (11), Guatemala (10), Chile and Ireland (9), The Philippines (8), Iran (7), and Australia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Pakistan, Peru, and Poland (6).<sup>62</sup>

Differences notwithstanding these frontrunners, except Catholic Poland and populous India, shared a crucial commonality. The Latin American, European, and East Asian countries in the above list all entertained tight economic and/or political-military relations with Washington. Beneath this commonality, however, gifts reflected different types of tight political relationships. Some symbolized alliance: a German “desk set carved in metal, gilded with wood base . . . called the Berlin Brandenburg gate, and on top of it, the American Eagle.” Others invoked Pan-American equality. Consider the wool shawl “with white fringes appliqued flags of the countries meeting in Costa Rica for a conference” of American presidents, including Kennedy, in 1963. And yet others called for universal equality, for instance a Neapolitan priest’s poem entitled “The Universal Fatherland.”<sup>63</sup>

Whether a gift’s political message was explicit or not, donors hoped to obtain something in return. Their sentiment reflected on the ambiguities and contradictions inherent in Washington’s international empire. Those whose gifts lacked an explicit political message still recognized Kennedy as a figure whose power matters also to

citizens other than “his” own; but they did not explicitly refer to him as an imperial ruler. Many struck this balance as they were trying—by way of a gift that, so Mauss, embodies them—to get physically close to Kennedy, in order to partake of his might or add to it.<sup>64</sup> The afore-cited Dominican socks and Paraguayan shirt were for Kennedy to wear; a Colombian bedspread was to sleep under;<sup>65</sup> and Ritrico assured Kennedy that taking his measurements would make him, the Roman tailor, “the most happy of all the Italians you will meet” and called him “My Hon. President.”<sup>66</sup> Songs were meant for Kennedy’s ears.<sup>67</sup> For his eyes was the “piece of cloth with many signatures on it,” nothing else, from the “Peasant Federation of La Libertad [in] the Valley of Viru, Trujillo, Peru.”<sup>68</sup> And the “wine and a keg of brandy” he received in Wiesbaden were literally to be absorbed by him. In response, Kennedy played with the aura of the physical proximity to power and with Washington’s global presence, joking that “when he leaves the office of president he will leave an envelope in the desk for his successor that says “To be opened only in saddest moments,” and inside will be written, “Go visit Germany.”<sup>69</sup> A subset of gifts lacking an explicit political message was images of Kennedy: the afore-noted scrapbook, painting, and portraits made of canceled stamps, embroidered textile, carpet, and wood, for instance. “We see you, you matter to us,” their message was; “you are one of us,” detailed the portrait of Kennedy dressed as a Togolese. In exchange, these donors hoped to be recognized by Kennedy, if “only” through their portrait of him.

Donors of explicitly political gifts, too, hoped for something in return: the chance to be heard by a most powerful man. Many invoked non-imperial aims, rejecting political hierarchies. The afore-noted Italian poem “The Universal Fatherland” called for mankind’s equality; the Costa Rican shawl featuring flags of American countries conjured up Pan-American cooperation; the German desk set of the Brandenburg gate and the American eagle evoked binational friendship. But such egalitarian messages notwithstanding, those gifts were ambiguous and contradictory, too. The very act of sending them to Kennedy implied that he, as the US president, had particular powers to promote non-imperial, egalitarian politics. Else, why bother sending him these gifts at all? What is more, the very nature of these gifts hinted at inequalities, rendering them ambiguous in their own right. The poem was sent not only in Italian but also in the United States’ official language, English, lest it will not be understood. The shawl was sown on the occasion of Kennedy’s visit to Costa Rica. And the American eagle sat right on top of the German gate. These gifts expressed a hope for equality in the world while implicitly recognizing that the US president had a great say in this matter and, hence, was unequal to others.

## Garakani’s attempted gift exchange as a reflection of ambiguity

This brings us back to Garakani’s *pishkesh*. Like the afore-noted gifts, it was ambiguous. The response to our earlier question—“what political stake did Garakani think Kennedy may have in her, prompting him to send her an *en’am* for her *pishkesh*?”—is that she was not sure. Her overture was a trial balloon.

On the one hand, Kennedy was a president-emperor to Garakani; the man at the helm of the state that was Iran's patron; a, if not *the*, world leader; in short, a man who should have a political stake in recognizing her and her gift. Hence, her overture was patterned on the inferior-superior *pishkesh-en'am* exchange. Hence, she stressed that the shah possessed one of her portraits: as a model for her overture to the US president. And hence, too, her afore-noted deferential language; the absence of a price tag and of a payment deadline and modus; the ceremonially charged timing of Christmas; the way in which she put her soul into her gift; and the personalized nature of her gift. This side of Garakani's understanding of Kennedy was likely formed by the Iranian press, all the more because she was literate and by the early 1960s lived in Tehran. The capital's daily *Ettela'at*, for example, covered the 1960 presidential campaign, Kennedy's election, his inauguration, and his subsequent work at much greater depth than any other third country's domestic politics. It described Kennedy as a regular man, approachable and normal, often by way of his wife and young children, and often through pictures: Caroline "smiling into the future" with her mother and president-elect father; the newborn John with his mother; Caroline's shenanigans at church and her father's attempts to calm her (Figure 8.3).<sup>70</sup> At the same time, *Ettela'at's* Kennedy was tough as nails—he wore neither hat nor coat on a freezing election day in Boston, it reported—and super-humanly committed, working twenty hours his first day as



Figure 8.3 Caroline Kennedy with her father at church.

president.<sup>71</sup> His election was historic, worldwide “the most important post-war event since Stalin’s death”; as for the new First Lady, she had motherly “advice to the women of the entire world.”<sup>72</sup> He launched “the era of the new frontier,” and did so from a mansion, the White House, whose architecture, and the First Lady’s redecoration of it, was covered in detail.<sup>73</sup> *Ettela’at* also ran a daily serialized translation of Kennedy’s Pulitzer-winning book *Profiles in Courage*.<sup>74</sup> And it repeatedly depicted gifts: the First Lady with a gift by Austrian citizens, for instance; a painting for her thirty-second birthday from a Parisian gallery; and a painting of Kennedy in traditional Chinese garb from Taiwan (Figure 8.4).<sup>75</sup>

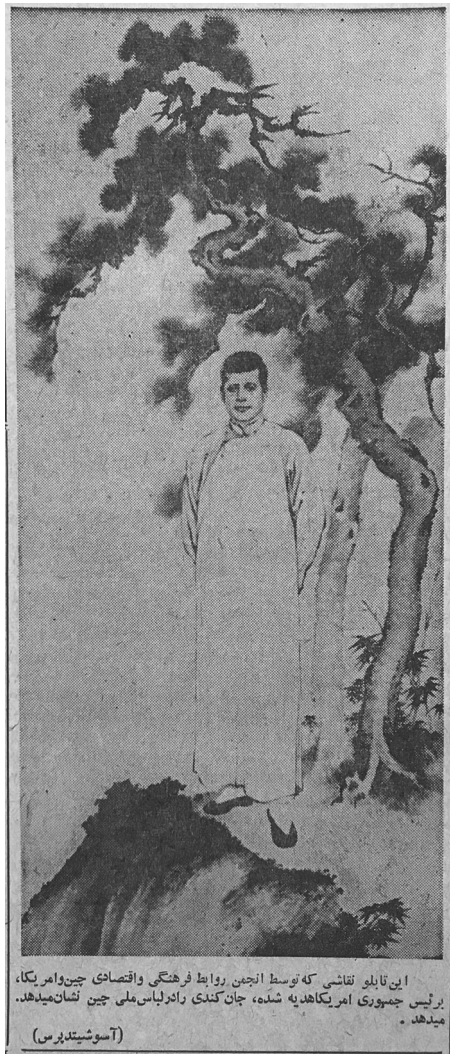


Figure 8.4 “Kenedi-ye chini!” (The Chinese Kennedy!).



On the other hand, the fate of Garakani's *pishkesh* to Kennedy exemplifies that gifts carry risks. They are "probes into uncertainty."<sup>76</sup> Her first letter's mention of her exchange with the shah may be read also as an explanation, to Kennedy, of how her gift exchange proposal actually functions, lest he does not understand. Further, she recognized he may not see her portrait as a gift or simply not want it: "If you really don't like my work, it could be arranged to be returned to me in Iran." And while insisting "I leave the value of [the portrait] to your own judgment," her note that its production took 3,200 hours was meant to help estimate compensation. Finally, her second letter can be interpreted as her turning her gift into a commercial object, or as an example of an unreciprocated gift becoming *Gift* (poison). This turn showed in her second letter's language, too. Unlike the first, it was terse; and Garakani had solicited aid.<sup>77</sup> There was barely a mistake here. Gone were the Persianisms, the "I *deplu* [*sic*] apologise for the trouble which I am making." The language was advanced. And not just any language, but that of the world's new leading empire: English. It's as if the certainty of proper English counterbalanced Kennedy's behavior. Garakani told Kennedy in his very own language that she was his equal, that she demanded certainty.

But certainty never came. The Iranian *pishkesh-en'am* exchange did not work with Kennedy. The US president did not have a political stake in Garakani after all.

## The White House's reaction to Garakani and US aid as a gift

Or did he? The White House's reply to Young's inquiry about Garakani's gift was ambiguous: an ambiguity that in effect mirrored Garakani's. Having explained that her gift had been returned, Saunders concluded "I'm sure you understand the necessity for handling such items this way and can put the best possible face on it in replying to your friend in Rasht." He also expressed his pleasure "to be of some help with this little problem in 'people-to-people diplomacy.'"<sup>78</sup> This referenced an initiative, in 1956, by Eisenhower, who had insisted that the United States needs "millions of individual Americans acting through person-to-person communication in foreign lands" to win the Cold War.<sup>79</sup> Saunders's note was ironic, then. As noted earlier, Kennedy presented himself as young and stylish *and* as open and accessible. But he evidently was not an ordinary citizen. He could not take up Garakani's offer precisely because he was the US president: he would have shown an official stake in her.

And yet, his administration did have a stake in her. This is why Saunders asked Young to "put the best possible face on it." Kennedy's administration felt it ought to keep its face vis-à-vis a sixty-two-year-old woman from a provincial town one ocean and two continents away from Washington.

On a final note, Washington's own gift to foreign countries—aid—and the ambiguity of this, as any, gift—self-less yet self-interested—reflected the US international empire's ambiguities and contradictions, too.<sup>80</sup> Robert Packenham's classic text on the matter put it well. While in his "1961 Foreign Aid Message to Congress President Kennedy spoke of the goals of 'an enlarged community of free, stable, and self-reliant nations,'" in practice aid programs pursued "anti-Communist, pro-American political stability."<sup>81</sup> On the one hand, US aid was meant to create goodwill, sending US taxpayers' money

abroad. Its anti-communism was shared by allies' and clients' governments; the 1947 US Marshall Plan is one example of many.<sup>82</sup> And it considered sovereign governments' political and developmental wishes. France insisted on spending Marshall's money in Algeria; and Iran cajoled Washington into cofinancing a dam that US engineers had criticized.<sup>83</sup> On the other hand, US aid sought to immunize sovereign countries against real or imaginary communist inroads, helping Washington to contain Moscow.<sup>84</sup> More broadly, it symbolized and deepened Washington's ability to influence sovereign countries. It was unilateral, and sometimes even surprised recipients; the Marshall Plan certainly did.<sup>85</sup> And as it often could not be repaid directly, and carried expectations of fealty, it could become poisonous. Many French resented Marshall money, and the shah was "tired of [still] being treated like a schoolboy" even when US aid, massive after the 1953 coup, had waned.<sup>86</sup> In sum, a reflection by Bruce Grant on Tsarist imperial gift giving matters to the US case, too: "As Bourdieu . . . recalls, [the] naturalness [of the gift] comes in the form of 'censured, euphemized . . . violence.' At its most fundamental symbolic level, gift giving is deeply ambiguous, exerting a violence that binds, keeping both loved ones and enemies close at hand."<sup>87</sup>

## Conclusion

The Garakani-Kennedy gift exchange attempt and other foreign gifts tell us a thing or two about how certain postcolonial (and some other non-US) citizens thought of Camelot's king in particular and of the postwar United States in general. Ambiguities, uncertainties, and contradictions characterized this encounter in both directions. Garakani was unsure whether Kennedy had an imperial sort of political stake in people outside the US metropole, and Kennedy's administration returned her portrait yet did not want her to get a wrong impression. This twin reality; the Iranian gift exchange pattern between unequals that guided Garakani's overture to a foreign president; the fact that most foreign gift givers treated Kennedy as their own while underlining their independence; and the circumstance that most came from regions closely tied to Washington: all this shows that foreign gifts to Kennedy were ambiguous.

This was not exceptional. Empires other than the United States have produced ambiguities, uncertainties, and contradictions, too.<sup>88</sup> It did, however, reflect the tension distinctly fundamental to the postwar US *international* empire, which accepted nation-states while simultaneously working through them. This approach peaked during Kennedy's presidency, who embraced many decolonizing movements and acknowledged their historic nature while striving to hold and expand Washington's global power.

## Notes

- 1 Copy of Garakani's letter, folder 2, box 4, group AC164, Seeley Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University, Princeton (SMML).
- 2 E-mail, Alaleh Garakani, October 22, 2018. I thank her for her biographical information, and Tatiana Garakani, a grandniece of Fakhri's, for connecting me with Alaleh and providing information, too.

- 3 Robert Pryor to T. Cuyler Young, Resht, March 31, 1962, folder 2, box 4, group AC164, SMML. For missions, see <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/christianity-viii> (Yahya Armajani, "CHRISTIANITY viii"). The Pryors served in Iran from 1957 to 1970, the wife, Mary Louise, working principally as a nurse: "Pryor, Rev. Jesseman Robert," RG360, and "Pryor, Mary Louise Rennice," RG360, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia (PHS).
- 4 Image: courtesy of Alaleh and Tatiana Garakani.
- 5 Quotes: Jasamin Rostam-Kolayi, "From Evangelizing to Modernizing Iranians," *Iranian Studies* 41, no. 2 (2008): 214. For home economics, see *ibid.*, 222–23. See also 'Ala Firouz, "Needlework," in *A Survey of Persian Handicraft*, ed. Jay and Sumi Gluck (Tehran: Bank-e Melli Iran, 1977), 217–64; Ministry of Education, *Ketab-e Honaramuz-e Dushizegan* (n.p. [Tehran]: Nehzat-e Sharq, 1924), 29–31. I thank Pamela Karimi for this text; also, see her *Domesticity and Consumer Culture in Iran* (London: Routledge, 2013).
- 6 "Now Let's Look Back," *The Torch*, April 1939, n.p., RG91-20-4, PHS.
- 7 One Fakhr al-Zaman Askarpur Khodadad exhibited embroideries in Brussels, and taught the Shah's first child, Shahnaz: "Naqashi ba suzan wa-nakh," *Kh'andaniha* 36 (1955): 34. From 1959, Queen Farah Diba patronized crafts including embroidery and commissioned artists to embroider state gowns: Firouz, "Needlework," 256.
- 8 Folder 2, box 4, group AC164, SMML.
- 9 For postwar Iran, see Ali Ansari, *Modern Iran since 1921* (London: Pearson, 2003), 75–165; Ervand Abrahamian, *A History of Modern Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 123–54.
- 10 Pryor to Young. For Young's missionary life in Rasht, see "Young, Theodore C.," RG360, PHS.
- 11 Young to Pryor, Princeton, April 10, 1962, folder 3, box 4, group AC164, SMML. Young, who had served at the Office of Strategic Services in the Second World War and in 1944–46 became the first US public affairs officer in Tehran, was involved in Washington's Iran policy as a voice rather critical of the shah's policies. Claudia Castiglioni, *Gli Stati Uniti e la modernizzazione iraniana* (Milan: Mondadori università, 2015), 46–47, 52–54; Matthew Shannon, "Reading Iran," *Iranian Studies* 52, no. 2 (2018): 289–316.
- 12 Saunders to Young, May 23, 1962, folder 3, box 4, group AC164, SMML.
- 13 E-mail, Tatiana Garakani to author, October 28, 2013.
- 14 E-mail, Alaleh Garakani, October 28, 2013.
- 15 Pryor to Young.
- 16 Robert Rakove, *Kennedy, Johnson, and the Nonaligned World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), xxi; Stephen Rabe, *John F. Kennedy: World Leader* (Washington: Potomac, 2010).
- 17 Mark White, *Kennedy: A Cultural History of an American Icon* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013); Lee Konstantinou, "The Camelot Presidency: Kennedy and Postwar Style," in *Cambridge Companion to John F. Kennedy*, ed. Andrew Hoberek (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 149–63.
- 18 Paul Kramer, "Power and Connection: Imperial Histories of the United States in the World," *AHR* 116, no. 5 (2011): 1366. *US modi operandi* varied: Geir Lundestad, "Empire by Invitation?" *Journal of Peace Research* 23, no. 3 (1986): 263–77, on Europe; Greg Grandin, *The Last Colonial Massacre* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), on Latin America. Washington also worked through international institutions it helped create—Victor Bulmer-Thomas, *Empire in Retreat* (New Haven: Yale



- University Press, 2018), 129–58—and military dominance of the seas, air, and outer space and control of small non-sovereign spaces, many islands, mattered greatly, too: Barry Posen, “Command of the Commons,” *International Security* 28, no. 1 (2003): 5–46; Ruth Oldenziel, “Islands: The United States as a Networked Empire,” in *Entangled Geographies*, ed. Gabrielle Hecht (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2011), 13–42.
- 19 Kramer, “Power,” 1368.
- 20 Quoted in Vaughn Rasberry, “JFK and the Global Anticolonial Movement,” in *Cambridge Companion*, 128.
- 21 Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 88. See also Jason Parker, “Cold War II: The Eisenhower Administration, the Bandung Conference, and the Reperiodization of the Postwar Era,” *DH* 30, no 5 (2006): 871.
- 22 Stephen Ambrose and Douglas Brinkley, *Rise to Globalism*, 8th ed. (London: Penguin, 1997), 171.
- 23 Mark Haefele, “John F. Kennedy, USIA, and World Public Opinion,” *DH* 25, no. 1 (2001): 63–84; Bradley Simpson, *Economists with Guns* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), on Indonesia; Thomas Field, *From Development to Dictatorship* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), on Bolivia.
- 24 USIS Tehran, “Country Assessment Report for Calendar Year 1963,” January 30, 1964, 3, folder 7, container 51, Country Files 1950-1966, Record Group 306, National Archives, College Park.
- 25 Marcel Mauss, “Essai sur le don,” *L’Année sociologique* 1 (1923–24): 30–186; *The Gift*, trans. W. Halls (London: Norton, 1990).
- 26 Marcel Fournier and Jean-Christophe Marcel, ed., “Les présences de Marcel Mauss,” special issue of *Sociologie et sociétés* 36, no. 2 (2004): 5–245, esp. “Présentation,” 5–14; James Siegel, “False Beggars: Marcel Mauss, *The Gift*, and Its Commentators,” *Diacritics* 41, no. 2 (2013): 60–79 at 63; Marcel Fournier, *Marcel Mauss* (Paris: Fayard, 1994). Introduction include Mark Osteen, “Introduction,” in *The Question of the Gift*, ed. Mark Osteen (London: Routledge, 2002), 1–42; Aafke Komter, ed., *The Gift* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996); Marcel Hénaff, “Mauss et l’invention de la réciprocité,” *Revue du MAUSS* 36 (2010): 71–86.
- 27 Mauss, *Gift*, 5–6.
- 28 Hénaff, “Mauss,” 83.
- 29 Mauss, *Gift*, 66.
- 30 Mauss, *Gift*, 3 (quote), 5.
- 31 *Ibid.*, 62–63.
- 32 Many agree: Jacques Derrida, *Given Time* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); James Laidlaw, “A Free Gift Makes No Friends,” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 6 (2000): 617–34.
- 33 Among historians, such relationships have interested modernists—see the fascinating Eva Giloi, *Monarchy, Myth, and Material Culture in Germany, 1750-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), a monograph on gifts I am thankful Matthew Unangst pointed out to me—and especially pre-modernists: Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000); Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gifts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); Anthony Cutler, “Significant Gifts: Patterns of Exchange in Late Antique, Byzantine, and Early Islamic Diplomacy,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38, no. 1 (2008): 79–101; Linda Komaroff and Sheila Blair, eds., *Gifts of the Sultan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

- 34 Ann Lambton, "Piškaš," *Bulletin of SOAS* 57, no. 1 (1994): 145–58.
- 35 Rudi P. Matthee, "GIFT GIVING iv. In The Safavid Period," *Encyclopaedia Iranica* X/6: 609–14. Available online: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/gift-giving-iv> (accessed December 30, 2012).
- 36 Lambton, "Piškaš," 156. See also Willem Floor, "GIFT GIVING v. In the Qajar Period," *Encyclopaedia Iranica* X/6: 615–17. Available online: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/gift-giving-v> (accessed December 30, 2012).
- 37 Assef Ashraf, "The Politics of Gift Exchange in Early Qajar Iran," *CSSH* 58, no. 2 (2016): 553–54.
- 38 *Ibid.*, 554.
- 39 Asadollah Alam, *The Shah and I* (London: Tauris, 1991), 178, on souvenirs: Queen Farah Diba bringing from "a tour of Russia . . . gifts for all her admirers."
- 40 *Ibid.*, 116n2.
- 41 *Ibid.*, 116.
- 42 *Ibid.*, 509; Ardeshir Zahedi, *Khatirat* (Bethesda: Ibex, 2006), II, 72; Abbas Milani, *The Shah* (New York: Palgrave, 2011), 250, on SAVAK founder Teymur Bakhtyar.
- 43 Hence, regular people gifted cheaper Pahlavi gold coins, too: Anne Betteridge, "Gift Exchange in Iran," *Anthropological Quarterly* 58, no. 4 (1985): 192. Quote: E-mail, Ali Gheissari to author, July 18, 2018. E-mail, William Beeman to author, August 2, 2018, stated that "during the Festival of Arts, the frequent gift given to local performers were gold pahlavi coins."
- 44 Alam, *Shah*, 174 (on deputy foreign minister Abbas Ali Khalatbary), 201 (on Finance Minister Jamshid Amuzegar).
- 45 Pryor to Young.
- 46 Quote: Ansari, *Iran*, 126. See also Milani, *Shah*, 104.
- 47 Quote: Ansari, *Iran*, 132. E-mail, Alex Shams to author, July 23, 2018; he is writing a biography of his father.
- 48 *Hammeh behtar zendegi konim* (Tehran: Nashriyeh-ye edareh-ye koll-e amuzeshi-ye bozorgsalan, 1964), 101. See also Ansari, *Iran*, 132; Milani, *Shah*, 280.
- 49 Osteen, "Introduction," 15.
- 50 Mauss, *Gift*, 66.
- 51 The relevant files' digital identifiers, all in <https://www.jfklibrary.org/archives/search-collections/browse-digitized-collections>, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, Boston (JFKL), are JFKPOF-138-015, -016, -017, and -018 (all digital identifiers were accessed July 17, 2018).
- 52 JFKPOF-138-015, JFKL.
- 53 JFKPOF-138-017-p0013, JFKPOF-138-017-p0071, JFKL.
- 54 JFKPOF-138-015-p0072, JFKPOF-138-015-p0024, JFKPOF-138-017-p0012, JFKPOF-138-016-p0047, JFKPOF-138-017-p0045, JFKPOF-138-017-p0061, JFKPOF-138-018-p0034, JFKPOF-138-018-p0043, JFKL.
- 55 JFKPOF-138-018-p0040, JFKPOF-138-018-p0053, JFKPOF-138-018-p0060, JFKL.
- 56 JFKPOF-138-018-p0055, JFKPOF-138-018-p0041, JFKPOF-138-016-p0059, JFKL.
- 57 JFKPOF-138-015-p0095, JFKPOF-138-018-p0134, JFKPOF-138-016-p0082, JFKL.
- 58 JFKPOF-138-016-p0047, JFKPOF-138-018-p0057, JFKL.
- 59 JFKPOF-138-015-p0040, JFKPOF-138-018-p0057, JFKL.
- 60 JFKPOF-138-018-p0047, JFKPOF-138-018-p0120, JFKPOF-138-017-p0021 (quote), JFKPOF-138-018-p0105, JFKL.
- 61 JFKPOF-138-018-p0040, JFKPOF-138-015-p0044, JFKPOF-023-002-p0055, JFKL.
- 62 Author's calculation.

- 63 JFKPOF-138-018-p0060, JFKPOF-138-018-p0117, JFKPOF-138-017-p0059, JFKL.
- 64 There is an imperial dimension here, too. One may reflect on this pattern while keeping in mind Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957) and Michael Hogan, *The Afterlife of John F. Kennedy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017).
- 65 JFKPOF-138-016-p0047, JFKL.
- 66 JFKPOF-023-002-p0055 (my italics), JFKL.
- 67 JFKPOF-138-018-p0057, JFKL.
- 68 JFKPOF-138-015-p0051, JFKL.
- 69 JFKWHA-198-005, JFKL.
- 70 "Siyasat-e jadid-e Amrika," *Ettela'at*, November 10, 1960, 1; "Nakhostin 'aks az nawzad-e ra'is-e jomhuri-ye montakhab-e Amrika," *Ettela'at*, December 1, 1960, last page; "Dokhtar-e Kenedi kelisa-ra behem zad," *Ettela'at*, November 28, 1960, 1. I thank Ekaterina Pukhovaia for collecting *Ettela'at* issues; all translations are mine.
- 71 "Hayajatangiztarin entekhabat dar Amrika enjam shod," *Ettela'at*, November 9, 1960, 3; "Kenedi dar awwalin ruz 20 sa'at kar kard," *Ettela'at*, January 22, 1961, 4.
- 72 "Kenedi, Rusewelt-e dowwom," *Ettela'at*, November 15, 1961, 6 (first two quotes); "Tawsieh-ye khanum-e Kenedi be-zanan-e khaneh-dar," *Ettela'at*, February 20, 1961, 2.
- 73 "Kenedi dawran-e 'marz-e jadid'-ra aghaz kard," *Ettela'at*, January 21, 1961, 1; "Banu-ye Kenedi qiafeh-ye kakh-e sefid-ra taghiir kh'ahad dad," *Ettela'at*, November 21, 1960, 4; "160 sal dar kakh-e sefid," *Ettela'at*, January 21, 1961, 5; photo of Jacqueline Kennedy shopping for the White House in New York, *Ettela'at*, March 27, 1961, 3.
- 74 "Sima-ye shoja'an," *Ettela'at*, December 25, 1960, 9 – February 5, 1961, 9. The original is John F. Kennedy, *Profiles in Courage* (New York: Harper, 1956).
- 75 "Zhaklin Kenedi," *Ettela'at*, June 7, 1961, 10; "Hediyeh beh-Zhaklin Kenedi," *Ettela'at*, August 8, 1961, 11; "Kenedi-ye chini!," *Ettela'at*, March 27, 1961, 5.
- 76 Stephen Gudemann, "Postmodern Gifts," in *Postmodernism, Economics and Knowledge*, ed. Stephen Cullenberg, Jack Amariglio, and David Ruccio (London: Routledge, 2001), 467.
- 77 E-mail, Tatiana Garakani to author, October 25, 2013, relates that some in the Garakani family say "the letter was actually written by . . . Fakhri's nephew . . . Fereydu Garakani. He was an author, and was translating books, plays to [Persian], was very interested in Pakistan and India, where he spent a bit of time. He also had a radio show."
- 78 Saunders to Young, May 23, 1962, folder 3, box 4, group AC164, SMML.
- 79 [www.eisenhower.archives.gov/research/online\\_documents/people\\_to\\_people/Bind erT.pdf](http://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/research/online_documents/people_to_people/Bind%20erT.pdf) (accessed November 25, 2018).
- 80 The question of war reparations was a key background to Mauss' *Le don*: Grégoire Mallard, "'The Gift' Revisited," *Sociological Theory* 29, no. 4 (2011): 225–47. See also Mallard, *Gift Exchange: The Transnational History of a Political Idea* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).
- 81 Robert Packenham, "Political Development Doctrines in the American Foreign Aid Program," *World Politics* 18, no. 2 (1966): 211, 213.
- 82 Odd Arne Westad, *The Cold War* (London: Penguin, 2017), 113–14.
- 83 Cyrus Schayegh, "Iran's Karaj Dam Affair," *CSSH* 54, no. 3 (2012): 612–43.
- 84 Packenham, "Doctrines"; Tony Judt, "Introduction," in *The Marshall Plan*, ed. Martin Schain (Houndsmill: Palgrave, 2001), 3.
- 85 *Ibid.*, 2.

- 86 Quote: Andrew Johns, "The Johnson Administration, the Shah of Iran, and the Changing Pattern of US–Iranian Relations, 1965–1967," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 9, no. 2 (2007): 64. For France and Europe, see Westad, *Cold War*, 112, 115; Volker Heins and Christine Unrau, "Gift-Giving and Reciprocity in Global Society," *Journal of International Political Theory* 14, no. 2 (2018): 131.
- 87 Bruce Grant, *The Captive and the Gift: Cultural Histories of Sovereignty in Russia and the Caucasus* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 156–57.
- 88 Antoinette Burton, *The Trouble with Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); Daniel Brückenhaus, *Policing Transnational Protest: Liberal Imperialism and the Surveillance of Anticolonialists in Europe, 1905–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press 2017).