Bibliography

ARCHIVES

Presidential Libraries

George Bush Presidential Library Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library Jimmy Carter Presidential Library Ronald Reagan Presidential Library William J. Clinton Presidential Library

Congressional Materials

Rudy Boschwitz Papers, Minnesota Historical Society Library
Robert and Elizabeth Dole Archive and Special Collections, Robert J. Dole
Institute of Politics, The University of Kansas
Edward M. Kennedy Oral History Project, Miller Center, University of Virginia
The Senatorial Papers of Claiborne Pell, University of Rhode Island Library,
Special Collections and Archives

Nongovernmental Archives

Families of Vietnamese Political Prisoners Association Collection, Vietnam Center and Archive. Lubbock, Texas

Ginetta Sagan Collection, Hoover Institution and Archive. Stanford, California Preliminary Inventory to the International Rescue Committee Records, Hoover Institution and Archive. Stanford, California

PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

- The Aurora Foundation. Report on the Violations of Human Rights in the Socialist Republic o Vietnam, April 1975-December 1988. Atherton: The Aurora Foundation, 1989.
- Baez, Joan. And a Voice to Sing With: A Memoir. New York: Summit Books, 1987.
- Carter, Jimmy. White House Diary. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2010.
- Dawson, Alan. 55 Days: The Fall of South Vietnam. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1977.
- Ford, Gerald R. A Time to Heal: The Autobiography of Gerald R. Ford. New York: Harper & Row, 1979.
- Isaacs, Arnold R. Without Honor: Defeat in Vietnam and Cambodia. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.
- Kennedy, Edward M. "Refugee Act of 1980." The International Migration Review, 15, no. 1/2 (1981): 141–156.
- Kissinger, Henry. Crisis: The Anatomy of Two Major Foreign Policy Crises. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2003.
 - Ending the Vietnam War: A History of America's Involvement in and Extrication from the Vietnam War. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2003.
- Levenstein, Aaron. Escape to Freedom: The Story of the International Rescue Committee. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1983.
- Mondale, Walter F., with David Hage. *The Good Fight: A Life in Liberal Politics*. New York: Scribner & Co., 2010.
- Nessen, Ron. It Sure Looks Different from the Inside. Chicago: Playboy Press, 1978.
- Reagan, Ronald, and Douglas Brinkley. *The Reagan Diaries*. New York: HarperCollins, 2007.
- Sagan, Ginetta, and Stephen Denney. *Violations of Human Rights in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, April 30, 1975–April 30, 1983*. Atherton: The Aurora Foundation, 1983.
- Snepp, Frank. Decent Interval: An Insider's Account of Saigon's Indecent End Told by the CIA's Chief Strategy Analyst in Vietnam. New York: Vintage Books, 1977.
- Solarz, Stephen J., and Norman Ornstein. *Journeys to War and Peace:* A Congressional Memoir. Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 2011.
- Solomon, Richard H. Exiting Indochina: U.S. Leadership of the Cambodian Settlement and Normalization of Relations with Vietnam. Washington, D. C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2000.

INTERVIEWS

Phyllis Oakley, Interview with author, September 12, 2013. Pete Peterson, Interview with author, September 22, 2013.

SECONDARY LITERATURE

- Allen, Michael J. *Until the Last Man Comes Home: POWs, MIAs, and the Unending Vietnam War.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009.
- Anderson, Carol. Eyes Off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944–1944. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Anker, Deborah E., and Michael H. Posner. "The Forty-Year Crisis: A Legislative History of the Refugee Act of 1980." San Diego Law Review 191, no. 1 (December 1981): 9–89.
- Appy, Christian G., American Reckoning: The Vietnam War and Our National Identity. New York: Penguin Books, 2016.
- Armitage, David. "Civil Wars, from Beginning ... to End?" *American Historical Review* "Ending Civil Wars" Roundtable, 120, no. 5 (2015): 1829–1837.
- Asselin, Pierre. *Hanoi's Road to the Vietnam War*, 1954–1965. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
- Bacevich, Andrew J. *The New American Militarism: How Americans are Seduced by War*, updated ed. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Bailey, Beth. *America's Army: Making the All-Volunteer Force*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Barnett, Michael. *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011.
- Bass, Thomas A. Vietnamerica: The War Comes Home. New York: Soho Press, 1996.
- Belew, Kathleen. Bring the War Home: The White Power Movement and Paramilitary America. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2018.
- Blight, David. Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory, rev. ed. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Bradley, Mark Philip. The World Reimagined: Americans and Human Rights in the Twentieth Century. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Brigham, Robert K. ARVN: Life and Death in the South Vietnamese Army. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006.
- Brooks, Rosa. *How Everything Became War and the Military Became Everything*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016.
- Bon Tempo, Carl J. Americans at the Gate: The United States and Refugees During the Cold War. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- Borgwardt, Elizabeth. A New Deal for the World: America's Vision for Human Rights. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005.
- Buchanan, Tom. "The Truth Will Set You Free: The Making of Amnesty International." *Journal of Contemporary History* 37, no. 4 (2002): 575–597
- Bui, Long T. Returns of War: South Vietnam and the Price of Refugee Memory. New York: New York University Press, 2018.
- Cabanes, Bruno. *The Great War and the Origins of Humanitarianism*, 1918–1924. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Chollet, Derek, and Samantha Powers, eds. *The Unquiet American: Richard Holbrooke in the World.* New York: Public Affairs, 2011.

- Citino, Robert M. "Military Histories Old and New: A Reintroduction." *American Historical Review*, 112, no. 4 (2007): 1070–1090.
- Clark, Ann Marie. Diplomacy of Conscience: Amnesty International and Changing Human Rights Norms. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Clymer, Keyton. "Jimmy Carter, Human Rights, and Cambodia." *Diplomatic History* 27, no. 2 (April 2003): 245–277.
 - The United States and Cambodia, 1969–2000: A Troubled Relationship. London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004.
- Cmiel, Kenneth. "The Emergence of Human Rights Politics in the United States." *Journal of American History* 86, no. 3 (1999): 1231–1250.
 - "The Recent History of Human Rights." *American Historical Review* 109 (2004): 117–135.
- Cohen, Gerald Daniel. *In War's Wake: Europe's Displaced Persons in the Postwar Order*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Curtis, Heather D. Holy Humanitarians: American Evangelicals and Global Aid. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018.
- Dang, Thanh Thuy Vo. "Anti-communism as Cultural Praxis: South Vietnam, War, and Refugee Memories in the Vietnamese American Community." PhD diss., University of California, San Diego, 2008.
 - "The Cultural Work of Anticommunism in the San Diego Vietnamese American Community." *Amerasia Journal* 31, no. 2 (2005): 65–86.
- Daniels, Roger. Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants Since 1882. New York: Hill and Wang, 2004.
 - Prisoners Without Trial: Japanese Americas in World War II, rev. ed. New York: Hill and Wang, 2004.
- Davies, Sara E. Legitimising Rejection: International Refugee Law in Southeast Asia. Leiden and Boston: Martinus Nijhoff, 2008.
- DeMars, William E. NGOs and Transnational Networks: Wild Cards in World Politics. London: Pluto Press: 2005.
- DeMonaco, Mary Kim. "Disorderly Departure: An Analysis of the United States Policy Toward Amerasian Immigration." *Brooklyn Journal of International Law* 15, no. 3 (1989): 641–709.
- Demmer, Amanda C. "Forging Consensus on Vietnamese Reeducation Camp Detainees: The FVPPA and U.S.-Vietnamese Normalization," in Andy Johns and Mitch Lerner (eds.), *The Cold War at Home and Abroad: Domestic Politics and U.S. Foreign Policy Since 1945*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2018.
- Dinh, Truong-Nhu, and Tran Thi Truong Nga. *The Last Boat Out: Memoirs of a Triumphant Vietnamese-American Family*. Leander, TX: GASlight Publishing, 2006.
- Dower, John W. War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War. New York: Pantheon Books, 1986.
- Downs, Gregory P. *After Appomattox: Military Occupation and the Ends of War.*Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2015.
- Dudziak, Mary L. "War and Peace in Time and Space." Seattle Journal for Social Justice 13, no. 2 (2014): 1–18.

- War Time: An Ideal, It's History and Its Consequences. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- "'You didn't see him lying . . . beside the gravel rode in France': Death, Distance, and American War Politics." *Diplomatic History* 42, no. 1 (2018): 1–16.
- Espiritu, Yen Le. Body Counts: The Vietnam War and Militarized Refuge(es). Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014.
 - "The 'We-Win-Even-When-We-Lose' Syndrome: U.S. Press Coverage of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the 'Fall of Saigon.'" *American Quarterly* 58, no. 2 (2006): 329–352.
 - "Thirty Years AfterWARd: The Endings That Are Not Over." Amerasia Journal 31, no. 2 (2005): xiii–xxiii.
- Espiritu, Yen Le, and Diana Wolf. "The Appropriation of American War Memories: A Critical Juxtaposition of the Holocaust and the Vietnam War." *Social Identities* 19, no. 2 (2013): 188–203.
- Feeney, Maureen P. "Freedom to Speak: Vietnamese Reeducation and the Search for Cold War Refuge." PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2002.
- Fitzgerald, David, "Support the Troops: Gulf War Homecomings and a New Politics of Military Celebration." *Modern American History* 2 (2019): 1–22.
- Fitzgerald, David, David Ryan, and John M. Thompson, eds., *Not Even Past:*How the United States Ends Wars. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2020.
- Franklin, H. Bruce. M. I. A. or Mythmaking in America. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992.
- Frazier, Jessica M. Women's Antiwar Diplomacy During the Vietnam War Era. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017.
- Friedman, Andrew. Covert Capital: Landscapes of Denial and the Making of U.S. Empire in the Suburbs of Northern Virginia. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013.
- Foot, Rosemary. The Practice of Power: U.S. Relations with China Since 1949. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.
- Forsythe, David P. Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy: Congress Reconsidered. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1988.
- Fowler, Linda L. Watchdogs on the Hill: The Decline of Congressional Oversight of U.S. Foreign Relations. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015.
- Gabaccia, Donna R. Foreign Relations: American Immigration in Global Perspective. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2012.
- Garcia, Maria Cristina. The Refugee Challenge in Post-Cold War America. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Glad, Betty. An Outsider in the White House: Jimmy Carter, His Advisors, and the Making of American Foreign Policy. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009.
- Glendon, Mary Ann. A World Made New: Eleanor Roosevelt and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. New York: Random House, 2001.
- Goedde, Petra. *The Politics of Peace: A Global Cold War History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2019.
- Gould, Eliga H. "Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds: The English-Speaking Atlantic as a Spanish Periphery." *The American Historical Review* 112, no. 3 (2007): 764–786.

- Haas, Michael. Cambodia, Pol Pot and the United States: The Faustian Pact. New York: Praeger, 1991.
- Haddad, Emma. The Refugee in International Society: Between Sovereigns. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2008.
- Hagopian, Patrick. The Vietnam War in American Memory: Veterans, Memorials, and the Politics of Healing. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009.
- Haley, Edward. Congress and the Fall of South Vietnam and Cambodia. London and Toronto: Associated University Press, 1982.
- Hanhimaki, Jussi. *The Flawed Architect: Henry Kissinger and American Foreign Policy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Hawley, Thomas M. The Remains of War: Bodies, Politics, and the Search for American Soldiers Unaccounted For in Southeast Asia. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.
- Heefner, Gretchen. The Missile Next Door: The Minuteman in the American Heartland. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012.
- Hellmann, John. American Myth and the Legacy of Vietnam. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986.
- Henehan, Marie T. Foreign Policy and Congress: An International Relations Perspective. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000.
- Herring, George C. America's Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950–1975, 9th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 2013.
 - From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations Since 1776. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
 - "The War That Never Seems to Go Away," in David L. Anderson and John Ernst (eds.), *The War That Never Ends: New Perspectives on the Vietnam War*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2014.
- Hitchcock, William I. The Bitter Road to Freedom: The Human Cost of Allied Victory in World War II Europe. New York: Free Press, 2008.
- Hoang, Tuan. "From Reeducation Camps to Little Saigons: Historicizing Vietnamese Diasporic Anticommunism." *Journal of Vietnamese Studies*, 11, no. 2 (2016): 43–95.
- Hughes, Ken. Fatal Politics: The Nixon Tapes, the Vietnam War, and the Casualties of Reelection. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2015.
- Hurst, Steven. *The Carter Administration and Vietnam*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, and Hampshire: Macmillan, 1996.
- Iriya, Akira, Petra Goedde, and William I Hitchcock, eds. *The Human Rights Revolution: An International History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Irwin, Julia F. Making the World Safe: The American Red Cross and a Nation's Humanitarian Awakening. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Isaacs, Arnold S. Vietnam Shadows: The War, Its Ghosts, and Its Legacy. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.
- Jasanoff, Maya. *Liberty's Exiles: American Loyalists in the Revolutionary World.*New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2012.
- Jeffords, Susan. Hard Bodies: Hollywood Masculinity in the Reagan Era. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994.

- Jespersen, Christopher T. "Kissinger, Ford, and Congress: The Very Bitter End in Vietnam." *Pacific Historical Review* 71, no. 3 (2002): 439–473.
 - "The Bitter End and the Lost Chance in Vietnam: Congress, the Ford Administration, and the Battle Over Vietnam, 1975–76." *Diplomatic History* 24, no. 2 (2000): 265–293.
 - "The Politics and Culture of Nonrecognition: The Carter Administration and Vietnam." *Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 4, no. 4 (1995): 397–412.
- Jian, Chen. Mao's China and the Cold War. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.
- Joes, Anthony J. *The War for South Viet Nam* 1954–1975, rev. ed. Westport, CT, and London: Praeger, 2001.
- Johnson, Robert David. Congress and the Cold War. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Kami, Hideaki. Diplomacy Meets Migration: U.S. Relations with Cuba During the Cold War. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Katsky, Clay Silver. "The Role of Congress in the History of U.S. Foreign Relations," in *The Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).
- Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998.
- Keys, Barbara. "Congress, Kissinger, and the Origins of Human Rights Diplomacy." *Diplomatic History* 34, no. 5 (November 2010): 832
 - Reclaiming American Virtue: The Human Rights Revolution of the 1970s. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014.
- Kim, Jodi. Ends of Empire: Asian American Critique and the Cold War. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.
- Kirby, William C., Robert S. Ross, and Gong Li, eds. *Normalization of U.S.-China Relations: An International History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005.
- Kramer, Paul. *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.
- Kruse, Kevin M., and Julian E. Zelizer. *Fault Lines: A History of the United States Since 1974*. New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2019.
- Kumin, Judith. "Orderly Departure from Vietnam: A Humanitarian Alternative?" PhD diss., Tufts University Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 1987.
 - "Orderly Departure from Vietnam: Cold War Anomaly or Humanitarian Innovation?" *Refugee Studies Quarterly* 27, no. 1 (2008): 104–117.
- Laderman, Scott. *Tours of Vietnam: War, Travel Guides and Memory*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2009.
- Laderman, Scott, and Edwin A. Martini, eds. Four Decades On: Vietnam, the United States, and the Legacies of the Second Indochina War. Durham, and London: Duke University Press, 2013.
- Lair, Meredith H., Armed with Abundance: Consumerism & Soldiering in the Vietnam War. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011.

- Lawrence, Mark Atwood. *The Vietnam War: A Concise International History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Lee, Erika. "The Chinese Exclusion Example: Race, Immigration, and American Gatekeeping, 1882–1924." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 21 (2002): 36–62.
 - The Making of Asian America: A History. New York and London: Simon & Schuster, 2015.
- Lee, Heath Hardage. The League of Wives: The Untold Story of the Women Who Took on the U.S. Government to Bring Their Husbands Home. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2019.
- Lembcke, Jerry. *The Spitting Image: Myth, Memory, and the Legacy of Vietnam.*New York and London: New York University Press, 1998.
- Lepore, Jill. The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity. New York: Vintage Books, 1998.
- Levi, Robin S. "Legacies of War: The United States' Obligation Toward Amerasians," Stanford Journal of International Law 29, no. 2 (1992): 459-502
- Lindsay, James M. Congress and the Politics of U.S. Foreign Policy. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994
- Lipman, Jana K. "'A Precedent Worth Setting . . . ': Military Humanitarianism The U.S. Military and the 1975 Vietnamese Evacuation." *Journal of Military History* 79, no. 1 (January 2015): 159–161.
 - "'Give Us a Ship': The Vietnamese Repatriate Movement on Guam, 1975."

 American Quarterly, 64, no. 1 (March 2012): 1-31.
 - In Camps: Vietnamese Refugees, Asylum Seekers, and Repatriates. Oakland: University Press of California, 2020.
 - "'The Face Is the Road Map': Vietnamese Amerasians in U.S. Political and Popular Culture, 1980–1988." *Journal of Asian American Studies* 14, no. 1 (2011): 33–68.
- Lippman, Jr., Theo. Senator Ted Kennedy: The Career Behind the Image. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1976.
- Loescher, Gil. *The UNHCR and World Politics: A Perilous Path.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Loescher, Gil, and John A. Scanlan. Calculated Kindness: Refugees and America's Half-Open Door, 1945 to the Present. New York: Free Press, 1986.
- Logevall, Fredrik. Choosing War: The Lost Chance for Peace and the Escalation of War in Vietnam. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
- Martin, Frances P. "Freed Vietnamese Have Her to Thank': Khuc Minh Tho, the FVPPA, and the Use of Grassroots Diplomacy in the Release, Immigration, and Resettlement of Vietnamese Re-Education Camp Prisoners, 1977–2011." MA thesis, Texas Tech University, 2015.
- Martini, Edwin A. *Invisible Enemies: The American War on Vietnam*, 1975–2000. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007.
- Maul, Daniel. "The Rise of a Humanitarian Superpower: American NGOs and International Relief, 1917–1945," in Miguel Jerónimo and Jose Monteiro (eds.), Internationalism, Imperialism and the Formation of the Contemporary World: The Pasts of the Present, 127–146. London: Palgrave, 2018.

- May, Elaine Tyler. Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era, rev. ed. New York: Basic Books, 2008.
- Maynard, Christopher. Out of the Shadow: George H. W. Bush and the End of the Cold War. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2008.
- McCleary, Rachel. Global Compassion: Private Voluntary Organizations and U.S. Foreign Policy Since 1939. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- McCoy, Alfred M. "America's Secret War in Laos, 1955–75," in Marilyn B. Young and Robert Buzzanco (eds.), *A Companion to the Vietnam War* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2002).
- McGirr, Lisa. Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- McKelvey, Robert S. The Dust of Life: American's Children Abandoned in Vietnam. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1999.
- Menetrey-Monchau, Cecile. American-Vietnamese Relations in the Wake of War: Diplomacy after the Capture of Saigon, 1975–1979. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2006.
- Miller, Edward. Misalliance: Ngo Dinh Diem, the United States and the Fate of South Vietnam. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013.
- Miller, Edward, and Tuong Vu. "The Vietnam War as a Vietnamese War: Agency and Society in the Study of the Second Indochina War." *Journal of South Vietnamese Studies* 4, no. 3 (2009): 1–16.
- Moniz, Amanda. From Empire to Humanity: The American Revolution and the Origins of Humanitarianism. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Moten, Col. Matthew, ed. *Between War and Peace: How America Ends Its Wars.*New York: Free Press, 2011.
- Moyn, Samuel. *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010.
- Murachik, Joshua. The Uncertain Crusade: Jimmy Carter and the Dilemmas of Human Rights Policy. New York: Hamilton Press, 1986.
- Neuringer, Sheldon. *The Carter Administration, Human Rights, and the Agony of Cambodia*. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1993.
- Ngai, Mae M. Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014.
- Nguyen, Lien-Hang T. Hanoi's War: An International History of the War for Peace in Vietnam. Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 2012.
- Nguyen, Mimi Thi. *The Gift of Freedom: War, Debt, and Other Refugee Passages*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2012.
- Nguyen, Phuong. "The Evolution of Strategic Trust in Vietnam-U.S. Relations," in Le Hong Hiep and Anton Tsvetov (eds.), *Vietnam's Foreign Policy under Doi Moi*, 47–71. New York: ISEAS Publishing, 2018.
- Nguyen, Phuong Tran. Becoming Refugee American: The Politics of Rescue in Little Saigon. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2017.
- Nguyen, Van Canh, with Earle Cooper. *Vietnam under Communism*, 1975–1982. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1983.
- Nguyen, Viet Thanh. Nothing Ever Dies: Vietnam and the Memory of War. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016.
 - *The Sympathizer*. New York: Grove Press, 2015.

- Nguyen, Y. Thien. "(Re)making the South Vietnamese Past in America." *Journal of Asian American Studies* 21, no. 1 (February 2018): 65–103.
- Oh, Arissa. To Save the Children of Korea: The Cold War Origins of International Adoption. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2015.
- Olson, James S., and Randy Roberts. Where the Domino Fell: America and Vietnam, 1945 to 1990. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991.
- Ong, Aihwa. Buddha Is Hiding: Refugees, Citizenship, the New America. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2003.
- Oyen, Meredith. The Diplomacy of Migration: Transnational Lives and the Making of U.S.-Chinese Relations During the Cold War. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015.
- Packer, George. Our Man: Richard Holbrooke and the End of the American Century. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2019.
- Peterson, Pete E. *The President, the Congress, and the Making of Foreign Policy*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994.
- Phan, Hao. "The Disjunctive Politics of Vietnamese Immigrants in America from the Transnational Perspective." *Central and Eastern European Migration Review* 4, no. 1 (2015): 81–95.
- Porter, Stephen. Benevolent Empire: U.S. Power, Humanitarianism, and the World's Dispossessed. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.
- Powers, Samantha. A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide. New York: Basic Books, 2013.
- Ramirez, Zachary Steven. "International Human Rights Activism in the United States During the Cold War." PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2013.
- Robinson, W. Courtland. "The Comprehensive Plan of Action for Indochinese Refugees, 1989–1997: Sharing the Burden and Passing the Buck." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 17, no. 3 (2004): 320–333.
 - Terms of Refugee: The Indochinese Exodus and the International Response. London and New York: Zed Books, 1998.
- Sachs, Dana. The Life We Were Given: Operation Babylift, International Adoption, and the Children of War in Vietnam. Boston: Beacon Press, 2010.
- Sahara, Ayoko. "Globalized Humanitarianism: U.S. Imperial Formation in Asia and the Pacific Through the Indochinese Refugee Problem." PhD diss., University of California, San Diego, 2012.
 - "Theater of Rescue: Cultural Representations of U.S. Evacuation from Vietnam." *Journal of American and Canadian Studies* 30 (2012): 55–84.
- Salyer, Lucy. Laws Harsh as Tigers: Chinese Immigrants and the Shaping of Modern Immigration Law. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.
- Sargent, Daniel J. A Superpower Transformed: The Remaking of American Foreign Relations in the 1970s. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Schaller, Michael. "Ronald Reagan and the Puzzles of 'So-Called Communist China' and Vietnam," in *Reagan and the World: Leadership and National Security*, 1981–1989, edited by Bradley Lynn Coleman and Kyle Longley, 34–58. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2017.
- Schlesinger Jr., Arthur M. *The Imperial Presidency*, rep. ed. New York: Mariner Books, 2004.

- Schmitz, David F., and Vanessa Walker. "Jimmy Carter and the Foreign Policy of Human Rights: The Development of a Post-Cold War Foreign Policy." *Diplomatic History* 28, no. 1 (January 2004): 113–143.
- Schulzinger Robert A. A Time for Peace: The Legacy of the Vietnam War. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
 - A Time for War: The United States, and Vietnam, 1941–1975. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Schwenkel, Christina. The American War in Contemporary Vietnam: Transnational Remembrance and Representation. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009.
- Scott, Katherine A. Reining in the State: Civil Society and Congress in the Vietnam and Watergate Era. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2013.
- Shaw, Caroline. *Britannia's Embrace: Modern Humanitarianism and the Imperial Origins of Refugee Relief.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Sikkink, Kathryn. *Mixed Signals: U.S. Human Rights Policy and Latin America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004.
- Skran, Claudena K. Refugees in Inter-War Europe: The Emergence of a Regime. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.
- Simpson, Bradley R. "Denying the First Right: The United States, Indonesia and the Ranking of Human Rights by the Carter Administration." *International History Review* 31, no. 4 (2009): 798–826.
- Small, Melvin. Democracy and Diplomacy: The Impact of Domestic Politics on U.S. Foreign Policy, 1789–1994. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Smith, Andrew F. *Rescuing the World: The Life and Times of Leo Cherne*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002.
- Snyder, Sarah B. "A Call for U.S. Leadership': Congressional Activism on Human Rights." *Diplomatic History* 37, no. 2 (April 2013): 372–397.
 - "The Defeat of Ernest Lefever's Nomination: Keeping Human Rights on the United States Foreign Policy Agenda," in Bevan Sewell and Scott Lucas (eds.), Challenging U.S. Foreign Policy: America and the World, 136–161. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
 - "Exporting Amnesty International to the United States: Transatlantic Human Rights Activism in the 1960s." *Human Rights Quarterly* 34, no. 3 (2012): 779–799.
 - Human Rights Activism and the End of the Cold War: A Transnational History of the Helsinki Network. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Søndergaard, Rasmus Sinding. Reagan, Congress, and Human Rights: Contesting Morality in U.S. Foreign Policy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.
- Steinacher, Gerald. *Humanitarians at War: The Red Cross in the Shadow of the Holocaust*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Stern, Lewis M. Defense Relations Between the United States and Vietnam: The Process of Normalization, 1977–2003. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Compa, 2005.
- Stur, Heather Marie. Beyond Combat: Women and Gender in the Vietnam War Era. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

- "'Hiding behind the Humanitarian Label': Refugees, Repatriates, and the Building of America's Benevolent Image after the Vietnam War." *Diplomatic History* 39, no. 2 (2015): 223–244.
- Sutter, Valerie O'Connor. *The Indochinese Refugee Dilemma*. Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1990.
- Taithe, Bertrand. "The Cradle of the New Humanitarian System? International Work and European Volunteer at the Cambodian Border Camps, 1979–1993." Contemporary European History 25, no. 2 (2016): 335–358.
- Tang, Truong Nhu. A Vietcong Memoir: An Inside Account of the Vietnam War and Its Aftermath. New York: Vintage Books, 1986.
- Taparata, Evan. "'Refugees as You Call Them': The Politics of Refugee Recognition in the Nineteenth Century United States." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 38, no. 2 (2019): 9–35.
- Thomas, Sabrina. "Blood Politics: Reproducing the Children of 'Others' in the 1982 Amerasian Immigration Act." *Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 26, no. 1 (2019): 51–84.
 - Scars of War: The Politics of Paternity and Responsibility for the Amerasians of Vietnam. Lincoln, NE: Nebraska University Press, 2021.
 - "The Value of Dust: Policy, Citizenship, and Vietnam's Amerasian Children." PhD diss., Arizona State University, 2015.
- Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1995.
- Turek, Lauren Frances. To Bring the Good News to All Nations: Evangelical Influence on Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Relations. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2020.
- Ung, Loung. First They Killed my Father: A Daughter of Cambodia Remembers. New York and London: Harper Perennial, 2000.
- UNHCR. State of the World's Refugees 2000: Fifty Years of Humanitarian Action. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Valverde, Kieu Linh Caroline. "From Dust to Gold: The Vietnamese American Experience," in Maria P. P. Root. (ed.), *Racially Mixed People in America*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Books, 1992.
 - Transnationalizing Viet Nam: Community, Culture, and Politics in the Diaspora. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2012.
- Varzally, Allison. Children of Reunion: Vietnamese Adoptions and The Politics of Family Migrations. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017.
- Vo, Nghai M. The Bamboo Gulag: Political Imprisonment in Communist Vietnam. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Compa, 2004.
- Volkman, Toby Alice. "Introduction: New Geographies of Kinship," in Toby Alice Volkman (ed.), *Cultures of Transnational Adoption*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.
- Vong, Sam. "Compassion Gave Us a Special Superpower': Vietnamese Women Leaders, Reeducation Camps, and the Politics of Family Reunification, 1977-1991." *Journal of Women's History*, 30, no. 3 (2018): 107–137.
- Vu, Hoang Minh. "The 'Missed Chance' for U.S.-Vietnam Relations, 1975–1979" (unpublished manuscript, Fall 2014), typescript.

- Vu, Tuong. Vietnam's Communist Revolution: The Power and Limits of Ideology. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Vuic, Kara Dixon. "Women and the Air-Conditioned Soldiers." *Diplomatic History* 42, no. 3 (2018), 385–389.
- Watenpaugh, Keith David. Bread from Stones: The Middle East and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015.
- Wieters, Heike. The NGO Care and Food Aid from America, 1945–80: 'Showered with Kindness'? Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017.
- Westdad, Odd Arne, and Sophie Quinn-Judge, eds. *The Third Indochina War:* Conflict Between China, Vietnam, and Cambodia, 1972–79. London and New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Wetherby, Aelwen D. *Private Aid*, *Political Activism: American Medical Relief to Spain and China*, 1936–1949. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2017.
- Wu, Ellen D. "It's Time to Center War in U.S. Immigration History." *Modern American History* (2019), 1–21.
- Young, Marilyn B. *The Vietnam Wars*, 1945–1990. New York: Harper Perennial, 1991.
- Yuh, Ji-Yeon. "Moved by War: Migration, Diaspora, and the Korean War." Journal of Asian American Studies 8, no. 3 (2005): 277-291.
- Zaretsky, Natasha. No Direction Home: The American Family and the Fear of National Decline, 1968–1980. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.