

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

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70. Tiffany Lethabo King proposes another land/water formation—the shoals—as a medium and metaphor for comparative ethnic studies. However, while King risks reifying Blackness as water and Indigeneity as land, this book insists upon the nonopposition of land and water, of Indigenous and refugee. See Tiffany Lethabo King, *The Black Shoals: Offshore Formations of Black and Native Studies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019).

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81. After World War II, the Northern Marianas voted in favor of reintegration with Guam in a series of four referendums. Decades of colonial divisions, however, prompted Guam's residents to reject the proposed integration in 1969. In the 1970s, the Northern Mariana Islands (NMI) decided to push for commonwealth status instead of independence, and in 1978 it officially established the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI) as an insular area and commonwealth of the United States.

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1. ARCHIPELAGIC HISTORY

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2. James A. Hebert, "U.S. Marshal Injured in Violence at Asan," *PDN*, 2 Sept. 1975, 1.
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5. Lisa Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015), 6.
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7. Amy Kaplan, "Violent Belongings and the Question of Empire Today: Presidential Address to the American Studies Association, Hartford, Connecticut, October 17, 2003," *American Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (2004): 12.
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9. Kris Manjapra, *Age of Entanglement: German and Indian Intellectuals across Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 13.
10. "A Heartfelt Welcome to Guam," *Guam Daily News* (hereafter *GDN*), 20 Mar. 1967, 4.
11. George Mariscal, ed., *Aztlán and Viet Nam: Chicano and Chicana Experiences of the War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 37–46. During the Vietnam War, Chicano soldiers expressed "uneasy recognition of shared experiences with the Vietnamese"—an analytic that also pertains to Chamorro soldiers (38).

12. For more on how all archives are political projects of a given state, see Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

13. A note regarding citations: many of the documents archived and anthologized by the Institute of Palestine Studies (hereafter IPS) in the annual *International Documents on Palestine* (hereafter *IDP*) anthologies have been previously published. In order to credit the work of the IPS, to which I am indebted, I have cited both the original publication and its placement in these anthologies.

14. This section builds on existing scholarship on Chamorro soldiers. See Michael Lujan Bevacqua, "The Exceptional Life and Death of a Chamorro Soldier: Tracing the Militarization of Desire in Guam, USA," in *Militarized Currents: Toward a Decolonized Future in Asia and the Pacific*, ed. Setsu Shigematsu and Keith L. Camacho (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 33–61; and Keith L. Camacho and Laurel A. Monnig, "Uncomfortable Fatigues: Chamorro Soldiers, Gendered Identities, and the Question of Decolonization in Guam," in *Militarized Currents*, 147–79.

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18. Jodi Kim, *Ends of Empire: Asian American Critique and the Cold War* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 9.

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20. George W. Ball, "We Should De-escalate the Importance of Vietnam," *New York Times* (hereafter *NYT*), 21 Dec. 1969, 35.

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38. See also the "Statement of Policy Released by the First International Convention for the Support of the Palestinian People," originally published in *Al-Sha'b*, Algiers, 30 Dec. 1969, repr. *IDP 1969*, ed. Walid Khadduri, Walid Qaziha, George Dib, George K. Nasrallah, and Husain Sirriyyah (Beirut: IPS, 1972), 853: "Zionism is a racist, expansionist and colonialist system that is inseparable from world imperialism, headed by the United States. It is a tool in the hands of world imperialism, directed not only against the Palestinian people but all Arab peoples and other national liberation movements in the world as well."

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65. Yasser Arafat, "Press Interview Statements on Relations with Socialist States and the Proposed Democratic State in Palestine to the Correspondent of the Algerian News Agency in Cairo," June 1970, Cairo, printed in *al-Sha'b*, Algiers, 6 June 1970, trans. from Arabic and repr. *IDP 1970*, ed. Walid Khadduri, Anne R. Zahlan, Hussein Sirriyyah, and George K. Nasrallah (Beirut: IPS, 1973), 829.

66. Talhami, interview with author.

67. Saadi Salama, interview with author, Hanoi, Vietnam, 22 July 2015.

68. This would be the first of more than ten visits Arafat made to Vietnam over his lifetime. Salama, interview with author.

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77. See also "Declaration by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on the Middle East Cease-Fire," 12 Aug. 1970, broadcast on Hanoi Radio, issued as an article in the official daily *Nhan Dan* and printed in *Free Palestine* (Washington, DC), II, 5 Sept. 1970, 6, repr. *IDP 1970*, ed. Walid Khadduri, Anne R. Zahlan, Hussein Sirriyyah, and George K. Nasrallah (Beirut: IPS, 1973), 250–51; and "Message from President Nguyen Huu Tho of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam to PLO Executive Committee Chairman Arafat expressing support for the Palestine Revolution," June 1974, printed in *Wafa*, 27 June 1974, Beirut, 1, trans. from Arabic and repr. *IDP 1974*, ed. Jorgen S. Nielsen and George K. Nasrallah (Beirut: IPS, 1977), 309–10.

78. Yasser Arafat, "Speech at the First International Conference of the Committees for Solidarity with the Palestinian People," 27 Dec. 1969, Algiers, printed in *Al-Sha'b*, Algiers, 29 Dec. 1969, repr. *IDP 1969*, ed. Walid Khadduri (Beirut: IPS, 1972), 834.

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89. Mark Forbes, "Military," in *Kinalamten Pulitikât*, 43.

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96. "Gov. Guerrero Issues Welcome," *GDN*, 15 Mar. 1967, 1.

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they had made in the camps. Shannon Murphy, interview with author, Mangilao, Guam, 27 May 2016.

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143. Manglona, interview with author.
144. Frank Cruz San Nicolas, interview with Isa Kelley Bowman, "Hongga Mo'na: For the Future" project, emailed to author on 8 June 2016.
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156. Raymond T. Baza, interview with Nancy Bui, Guam, 12 May 2012, Vietnamese in the Diaspora Digital Archive (ViDDA), accessed 14 Sept. 2019, <https://vietdiasporastories.omeka.net/items/show/9>.
157. Baza, interview with Bui.
158. J. San Nicolas, interview with author.
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160. Blaz, interview with author.
161. Manglona, interview with author.
162. Taitano, interview with author.
163. J. San Nicolas, interview with author.
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165. Taitano, interview with author.
166. Baza, interview with author.
167. Baza, interview with Bui.
168. Lee T. Baza, interview with author, Tamuning, Guam, 10 June 2018.
169. Raymond T. Baza, interview with author.
170. Allan Ramos, interview with author, Tamuning, Guam, 10 June 2018.
171. Joaquin "Danny" Santos, speech, Guam Congress Building, 11 June 2018.
172. See PL 114–328. Previous National Defense Authorization Acts had sought to combat discrimination against potential Medal of Honor recipients by authorizing the review of files of African American, Hispanic, and Jewish veterans, as well as Asian American and Native American Pacific Islanders who had fought in World War II specifically. It wasn't until the 2017 National Defense Authorization Act that the Department of Defense mandated the review of service records of Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander war veterans who had fought during the Korean and Vietnam wars for possible upgrade to the Medal of Honor.
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174. F. San Nicolas, interview with Bowman.
175. Judith Won Pat, interview with author, Hagåtña, Guam, 7 June 2016.
176. Mariscal, *Aztlán and Viet Nam*, 41.
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105. "Gold Rush in Guam," *South China Morning Post*, 23 May 1975, 1; "Bilking of Refugees Claimed," *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, 28 May 1975.

106. Betty L. Johnson, "Voice of the People," *PDN*, 1 May 1975, 26 (emphasis added).

107. Espiritu, *Body Counts*, 55.

108. Johnson, "Voice of the People," 26.

109. Johnson, 26.

110. James A. Hebert, "Feeding Tent City Refugees: \$1.6 Million," *PDN*, 24 May 1975, 3.

111. Hebert, 3.

112. David Nally, "The Biopolitics of Food Provisioning," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 36, no. 1 (2011): 37–53; Taylor Chloe, "Foucault and Food," in *Encyclopedia of Food and Agricultural Ethics*, ed. Paul B. Thompson and David M. Kaplan (Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer, 2014), 1042–49; John Coveney, *Food, Morals, and Meaning: The Pleasure and Anxiety of Eating* (New York: Routledge, 2000).

113. Chau Nguyen, interview by Thuy Vo Dang, 12 Feb. 2013, UCI Libraries, University of California, Irvine, <http://hdl.handle.net/10575/11973>.

114. Minh quoted in Gannett News Service, "Refugees Find Pennsylvania Camp 'Nicer,'" *PDN*, 5 June 1975, 4.

115. Morrison quoted in John M. Achterkirchen, "Arrivals Here Steady," *PDN*, 30 Apr. 1975, 1.
116. Ronald Klimek, "The Refugee Success Formula: Group Effort and Hard Work," *Islander*, 30 May 1976, 6; Perez, interview with author.
117. Jim Eggensperger, "Island Was Safe Haven for 1,000s," *PDN*, 14 Jan. 1976, 3A; "Refugees May Be Here through Summer," *PDN*, 31 May 1975, 10.
118. Klimek, "The Refugee Success Formula," 6.
119. Guerrero, "The Economic Development of Guam"; Anne Hattori, "Guardians of Our Soil: Indigenous Responses to Post-World War II Military Land Appropriation on Guam," in *Farms, Firms, and Runways: Perspectives on U.S. Military Bases in the Western Pacific*, ed. L. Eve Armetrout Ma (Chicago: Imprint, 2001), 186–202.
120. Dave Hendrick, "The Black Market Is Everywhere," *PDN*, 15 June 1975, 1, 4.
121. Hendrick, 4.
122. Anonymous 2, interview with author, Mangilao, Guam, 3 June 2016.
123. Wendy Tuyet Tougher, interview with Nancy Bui, 13 May 2012, Guam, ViDDA, accessed 14 Sept. 2019, <https://vietdiasporastories.omeka.net/items/show/8>.
124. Anonymous, interview with author, Dededo, Guam, 29 May 2016; Lipman, *In Camps*, 30.
125. Perez, interview with author.
126. Perez, interview with author.
127. Guffey, "Evacuee Flood Flows On," 3.
128. Guffey, 3.
129. Jim Eggensperger, "Flow of Refugees from Island Now Below 1,000 Daily," *PDN*, 15 May 1975, 3.
130. Edward F. O'Connor, associate commissioner of examinations for the Immigration and Naturalization Service, quoted in Leanne McLaughlin, "Processing Speeded Up," *PDN*, 30 Apr. 1975, 9A.
131. O'Connor quoted in McLaughlin, 9A. My Bà Ngoại was also allowed to bring her maid to the United States from Vietnam.
132. James A. Hebert, "Man, Fiancee [*sic*] Reunited Here," *PDN*, 9 May 1975, 1; James A. Hebert, "New York Man, Viet Bride Have Guam Wedding License," *PDN*, 10 May 1975, 3; "A 3-Year Wait Ends Today," *Sunday News*, 11 May 1975, 1; James A. Hebert, "Pair Recite Vows," *PDN*, 12 May 1975, 1, 3; Ed Kelleher, "Love Story—In Full," *PDN*, 14 Jan. 1976, 16A.
133. Kelleher, "Love Story," 16A.
134. Dave Hendrick, "At Barrigada, Refugees Form Own Cleaning, Cooking Crews," *PDN*, 28 Apr. 1975, 5.
135. Hendrick, "At Barrigada," 5.
136. Hendrick, "At Barrigada," 5.
137. Susan Guffey, "Asan Camp Picks Own Commander," *PDN*, 26 Apr. 1975, 3; Susan Guffey, "Four Weeks Later, Tony Still Manages Asan Camp," *PDN*, 26 May 1975, 1, 6–7.
138. "Refugees Celebrate July 4 under a Flag of Freedom," *PDN*, 5 July 1975, 1, 5.
139. Quoted in "Refugees Celebrate July 4," 5.
140. Susan Guffey, "There's Nothing to Do but Wait," *PDN*, 18 May 1975, 3.
141. Susan Guffey, "Asan Loses Leader," *PDN*, 24 July 1975, 3; John M. Achterkirchen, "Beach Provides a Way to Beat Camp 'Security,'" *PDN*, 30 Apr. 1975, 7A.
142. Achterkirchen, "Beach Provides a Way," 7A.

143. Achterkirchen, 7A.

144. Susan Guffey, "Camp Asan Celebrates First Mass," *PDN*, 28 Apr. 1975, 3; "Clean and Cool in Mud and Heat," *PDN*, 30 Apr. 1975, 12A; "Fun and Food Playing Roles in 'New Life,'" *PDN*, 1 May 1975, 1; P. J. Ryan, "Photo of Refugees at Black Construction Co. Playing Basketball," *PDN*, 19 May 1975, 1; David V. Crisostomo, "Guam Hosts Refugees in 1975," *PDN*, 18 July 2005, 1; Josephine Mallo, "His Art, Himself Are All He Has," *PDN*, 4 Aug. 1975, 22; Joe Murphey, "Pipe Dreams," *PDN*, 2 July 1975, 18; P. J. Ryan, "Furry . . . but Bearable," *PDN*, 13 June 1975, 3.

145. Dinh, "Of Luggage and Shoes," 163; Dave Hendrick, "Sinbad Soothes the Long Wait," *PDN*, 4 May 1975.

146. Lipman, "Give Us a Ship," 6; "Some Refugees Badly Homesick; Others Worried, Nearing Suicide," *PDN*, 14 May 1975, 21.

147. Jennifer Ada, interview with author, phone, 4 June 2018.

148. Ada, interview with author.

149. Ada, interview with author.

150. Quitugua, interview with author.

151. Dinh, "Of Luggage and Shoes," 163.

4. REFUGEES IN A STATE OF REFUGE

1. This war is alternatively known as the June War, the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, or the Third Arab-Israeli War.

2. Most sources identify the *Yuvali* as an Israeli cargo ship. Documents in the Israel State Archive (hereafter ISA) provide more details: the ship was owned by the Israeli firm Ofer and steered by an Israeli captain and crew but flew a Liberian flag of convenience. See Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Telegram 151 to Washington DC," 10 June 1977, ISA, Vietnamese Refugees File, 5733/29—37, trans. Kobi Fischer (hereafter KF); Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Secret Telegram 943," 12 June 1977, ISA, Vietnamese Refugees File, 5733/29—37, trans. KF; Israeli Embassy in Japan, "Telegram 62," 17 June 1977, ISA, Vietnamese Refugees File, 5733/29—37, trans. KF; Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Secret Telegram," 19 June 1977, ISA, Vietnamese Refugees File, 5733/29—37, trans. KF; Cuong Nguyen Tuan, interview with author, Tel Aviv, Israel-Palestine, 1 July 2016. When Cuong resettled in Israel-Palestine at the age of eighteen, he adopted the name "Jimmy Caldron" in honor of President Jimmy Carter.

3. "66 Vietnam Refugees Find Asylum in Israel," *Victoria (TX) Advocate*, 26 June 1977, 2A.

4. Cuong, interview with author.

5. Initially, Israel hoped the United States would resettle the refugees. When this plan fell through, Israel realized it would have to absorb the refugees or risk bad publicity. There was also some concern that once Israel absorbed the refugees, they would be ineligible for parole to the United States. See Ben Zur, "Secret Telegram 373," 24 June 1977, ISA, Vietnamese Refugees File, 5733/29—37, trans. KF; Ben Zur, "Top Secret, Urgent Telegram 297," 23 June 1977, ISA, Vietnamese Refugees File, 5733/29—37, trans. KF.

6. The exact numbers of Vietnamese refugees who were resettled in Israel remains inconsistent across government documents and media reports. Most sources report that 370 refugees total were absorbed. Some documents report that the second wave consisted of 103 refugees, and some report 102. Although Israel set out to accept 200 refugees for the third

wave, they actually accepted 197. The number 366 comes from my calculation of 66 refugees in the first wave, 103 in the second, and 197 in the third.

7. "66 Vietnam Refugees Find Asylum in Israel."

8. Menachem Begin, in "Visit of Prime Minister Menahem Begin of Israel Remarks of the President and the Prime Minister at the Welcoming Ceremony," White House Lawn, 19 July 1977, American Presidency Project, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/243233>.

9. Jimmy Carter, in "Visit of Prime Minister Menahem Begin of Israel."

10. Shabtai Rosenne, "Letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs," 5 Jan. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—עז, trans. KF; Dr. Ovadia Sofer, "Telegram 507," 6 Sept. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix C, 7248/28—עז, trans. KF; Yoel Alon, "Telegram," 24 Aug. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix C, 7248/28—עז, trans. KF; Moti Levi, "Letter from Bonn, Germany to the Journalism Department regarding Israeli Humanitarian Aid to the Vietnam Refugees," 31 Oct. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix C, 7248/28—עז, trans. KF; Yoel Alon, UN Delegation in New York, "Telegram 8635," 22 June 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix C, 7248/28—עז, trans. KF; Ruth Raeli, "Telegram 6286," 13 Sept. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix C, 7248/28—עז, trans. KF; M. Mendes, "Letter to Mr. A. Efrati, Director of the Department for Communications, and Mr. M. Sasson, Special Ambassador of Journalism and Public Relations, regarding the reception of refugees from Vietnam," 29 Jan. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—עז, trans. KF; David Ben-Dov, "Letter regarding Australia Sun's coverage of Vietnam Refugees to Israel," 26 Jan. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—עז, trans. KF; Yoel Alon, "Telegram 548," 24 Jan. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—עז, trans. KF; Yaish, "Telegram 79," Athens, 23 Jan. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—עז, trans. KF; Dubi, "Handwritten note regarding publicity of refugees in Ofakim," 10 Jan. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—עז, trans. KF.

11. Israel absorbed Vietnamese refugees in order to represent itself as "a nation fully engaging liberal discourses of diversity"—a rhetorical move that can be described using Candace Fujikane's term "yellowwashing," since the resettlement of 366 Vietnamese refugees did not necessarily "advance justice" but rather "appropriate[d] their histories to camouflage Israel's own status as an apartheid state." See Candace Fujikane, "Against the Yellowwashing of Israel: The BDS Movement and Liberatory Solidarities across Settler States," in *Flashpoints for Asian American Studies*, ed. Cathy J. Schlund-Vials (New York: Fordham University Press, 2017), 151. For a critique of Israel's manipulation of humanitarian rhetoric in the context of its attack on Palestinians during the Gaza War of 2008–9, see Rebecca L. Stein, "Impossible Witness: Israeli Visuality, Palestinian Testimony, and the Gaza War," *Journal for Cultural Research* 16, nos. 2–3 (2012): 135–53. The term "humanitarian alibi" refers to the ways the Israeli media drowned out Palestinian voices while focusing on the figure of the humanitarian Israeli who mourned the loss of the "good Palestinian" caught up in the violence allegedly initiated by Hamas.

12. Smadar Lavie, *Wrapped in the Flag of Israel: Mizrahi Single Mothers and Bureaucratic Torture* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014), 1–4, 42–46.

13. "Begin Mandates the Absorption of Vietnamese Refugees," *Ha'aretz*, 24 June 1977; English translation quoted from Adriana X. Jacobs, "Where You Are From: The Poetry of Vaan Nguyen," *Shofar* 33, no. 4 (2015): 84.

14. Kurt Rene Radley, "The Palestinian Refugees: The Right of Return in International Law," *American Journal of International Law* 72, no. 3 (July 1978): 609; United Nations General Assembly Resolution 3236, 29 GAOR, Supp. (No. 31) 4, UN Doc. A/9631 (1974).

15. Ilana Feldman, "The Challenge of Categories: UNRWA and the Definition of a 'Palestine Refugee,'" *Journal of Refugee Studies* 25, no. 3 (2012): 392.

16. Feldman, 392.

17. In 1948, Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen voted against UN General Assembly Resolution 194. For more on the UNRWA and its relation to the 1951 Refugee Convention, see Lex Takkenberg and Riccardo Bocco, eds., "UNRWA and the Palestinian Refugees 60 Years Later," special issue, *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 28, no. 2–3 (2009): 227–661.

18. Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, "Press Release REF/1358: High Commissioner Stresses Universality of Refugee Problems in Speech to Executive Committee," 9 Oct. 1978, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—77.

19. Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, "Press Release REF/1365: UNHCR Executive Committee Takes Decision Concerning Refugees in Southern Africa and South East Asia as well as Displaced Persons in Lebanon," 17 Oct. 1978, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—77. See also UN General Assembly, "Report on the Twenty-Ninth Session of the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme," 20 Oct. 1978, "Section IV—UNHCR Assistance Activities," 20, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—77.

20. Eviatar Manor, "Report on the Thirtieth Session of the Executive Committee of the UNCHR," 17 Oct. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix C, 7248/28—77, trans. KF.

21. Manor.

22. Hueber quoted in "66 Vietnam Refugees Find Asylum In Israel," 2A.

23. Levi quoted in Shoshana Bryen, "Israel and the Boat People," *Times of Israel* (Jerusalem), 6 Jan. 2012, <http://blogs.timesofisrael.com/israel-and-the-boat-people>.

24. Department of Information for Olim, Office of the Spokesman, "The Absorption of Vietnamese Refugees: The Israel Experience / L'Integration des Refugies Vietnamiens: L'expérience d'Israël," July 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix C, 7248/28—77.

25. Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, Office of the Spokesman, "The Story of the Absorption of the Vietnam Refugees," 1 Jan. 1980, ISA, 105.5, Appendix C, 7248/28—77.

26. Micha Shagrir, Kastel Films, "Letter to Yigal Efrati, the Israel Film Service," 20 Dec. 1978, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—77, trans. KF.

27. Ze'ev Yeffet, "'China Town' in Afula," *Ha'aretz*, 26 Oct. 1979, clipping found in ISA, 105.5, Appendix C, 7248/28—77, trans. KF.

28. Daniel Bloch, "The Government Decided to Permit the Entry of a 100 Refugees from Vietnam," *Davar*, 8 Jan. 1979, in ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—77, trans. KF.

29. "Transcript of Knesset Debate on Vietnamese Refugees on the Ship *Hai Hong*," 11 Nov. 1978, trans. KF; "Deciding which Committee will Deal with the Procedural Motion of MKs Nof and Shilansky about the Subject of the Problem of the Vietnamese Refugees who are in the Middle of the Sea," 21 Nov. 1978, private archive, trans. KF; "The Conclusions of the Committee of Interior Ecology about the Subject of the Vietnamese Refugees in the Middle of the Sea," 30 Jan. 1979, ISA, trans. KF; Dara Marcus, "The *Hai Hong* Incident: One Boat's Effect on Canada's Policy towards Indochinese Refugees," 2013 Gunn Prize Paper, International Migration Research Centre (Wilfrid Laurier University), accessed 9 Nov. 2021, 1–21, <https://srdjanvucetic.files.wordpress.com/2015/01/sample-paper-20pgs.pdf>.

30. Ruth Raeli, "Letter to Mr. S. Z. Katz," 13 Dec. 1978, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—77, trans. KF; "Statement by Ambassador Joel Barromi" and "Consultative Meeting with

Interested Governments on Refugees and Displaced Persons in South East Asia (Geneva, 11–12 December 1978),” 19 Dec. 1978, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—עז, trans. KF.

31. Joel Barromi, “Telegram 35,” 7 Dec. 1978, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—עז, trans. KF.

32. Joel Barromi, “Telegram 82,” 20 Nov. 1978, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—עז, trans. KF.

33. UNHCR, “Refugees from Indochina: Situation on 31.1.79,” 31 Jan. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—עז.

34. It was initially rumored that Israel would accept 400, not 100, refugees. See Ruth Raeli, “Telegram 10,” 3 Jan. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—עז, trans. KF. For more on the acceptance of the second wave of refugees, see Poul Hartling, “Letter to Dr. Joel Barromi, Permanent Representative of Israel to the UN Office at Geneva,” 12 Jan. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—עז; Hanoch Zimmering, Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, “Summary of the Protocol of Meeting No. 2 Regarding Bringing Over the Vietnamese Refugees, Held on the 9th of January 1979,” 11 Jan. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—עז, trans. KF; Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, Director General’s Office, “Decision-Making Procedures and Treatment of the 100 Refugees from Vietnam, Operation Paper No. 1,” 14 Jan. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—עז, trans. KF; Masok, “Telegram 842,” 9 Jan. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—עז, trans. KF; Youssef Waxman, “The Government Will Decide Today to Absorb Vietnamese,” *Ma’ariv*, 7 Jan. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—עז, trans. KF.

35. “Cabinet Agrees to Admit-100 [sic] Vietnamese Refugees to Israel, Also Discusses Problem of the Falashas,” *JTA: The Global Jewish News Source* (New York), 8 Jan. 1979. See also Uzi Benziman, “The Government Decided to Absorb a 100 Refugees from Vietnam,” *Ha’aretz*, 8 Jan. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—עז, trans. KF.

36. Eytan Bentsur, Israeli Embassy in Washington, DC, “Telegram 386 to the North American Department in Jerusalem,” 22 Nov. 1978, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—עז, trans. KF; David Lazar, Israeli Embassy in Paris, “Letter to the Department of Public Affairs, Foreign Ministry, Jerusalem,” 22 Nov. 1978, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—עז, trans. KF; Members of Kibbutz Lohamei Hagetaot (“Ghetto Warriors”), “The Fate of the Vietnam Refugees is Ours (handwritten note),” Jan. 1979, ISA, “Committee for the Absorption of Refugees from Vietnam,” 9474/19—גז, trans. KF; Faculty of Architecture at Technion, Haifa, “Letter in support of Absorption of Vietnamese Refugees,” 2 Jan. 1979, ISA, “Committee for the Absorption of Refugees from Vietnam,” 9474/19—גז, trans. KF. For a rare letter of protest against absorbing more Vietnamese refugees, see Asher Levkovitz, “Letter to the Minister of Building and Housing, Mr. Yaffe (typewritten),” 8 Jan. 1979, ISA, “Committee for the Absorption of Refugees from Vietnam,” 9474/19—גז, trans. KF.

37. “The Conclusions of the Committee of Interior Ecology.”

38. “Cabinet Agrees to Admit-100 Vietnamese Refugees to Israel.”

39. “The Conclusions of the Committee of Interior Ecology.”

40. Avi Pazner, “Telegram 98,” 9 Jan. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—עז, trans. KF.

41. Asia-Pacific Section of the Department of Foreign Affairs (MASOK), “Telegram 510,” 8 Jan. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—עז, trans. KF. Israel was not unique in having selection preferences. The United States, for example, selected refugees for

resettlement based on anticommunist ideology and prior connections to Americans during the Vietnam War.

42. Sarah Ihmoud, "Policing the Intimate: Israel's Anti-miscegenation Movement," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 75 (2018): 91–103.

43. Tran Tai Dong, interview with author, Tel Aviv, Israel-Palestine, 21 July 2016.

44. Tran, interview with author.

45. Weissberger quoted in Colin Bicker, "Reuter Telegram from Manila Bay, Philippines," 15 Jan. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—חכ.

46. Weissberger quoted in Bicker, "Reuter Telegram."

47. "Cabinet Agrees to Admit-100 Vietnamese Refugees to Israel."

48. Moshe Dayan, "Telegram 2596," 1 Feb. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—חכ.

49. Justin Leroy, "Black History in Occupied Territory: On the Entanglements of Slavery and Settler Colonialism," *Theory & Event* 19, no. 4 (2016), <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/633276>.

50. Homi Bhabha and Jonathan Rutherford, "The Third Space: Interview with Homi Bhabha," in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. Jonathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990), 211; Claire Jean Kim, "The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans," *Politics & Society* 27, no. 1 (Mar. 1999): 105–38; Ella Shohat, "Taboo Memories, Diasporic Visions: Columbus, Palestine, and Arab-Jews," in *Taboo Memories, Diasporic Voices* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 201–32.

51. MASOK, "Telegram 510"; Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, Office of the Spokesman, "Protocol of the Public Relations Committee's Meeting Regarding the Vietnam Refugees Reception Procedures in Case of a Landing in Athens," 16 Jan. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—חכ, trans. KF; Ministry of Immigrant Absorption and Department of Absorption Services, "Treatment of the Refugee Group from the Moment of Landing: Responsibility and Implementation by the Ministry of Absorption and the Jewish Agency," 17 Jan. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—חכ, trans. KF; Department of Information for Olim, Office of the Spokesman, "The Absorption of Vietnamese Refugees." The KLM actually landed in Dubai before traveling on to Athens; therefore, Israeli representatives such as Weissberger had to travel separately to Athens. See Ambassador in Manila, "Telegram 56 to MASOK," 18 Jan. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—חכ, trans. KF.

52. Tran, interview with author.

53. Yeffet, "China Town' in Afula." See also Avshalom Ginnat, "Vietnam Refugees—A Month in Afula," *Al HaMishmar*, 15 Feb. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—חכ, trans. KF.

54. Dayan, "Telegram 2596."

55. "Joint Communique: Twelfth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting," Bali, Indonesia, 30 June 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix B, 7248/27—חכ.

56. Kurt Waldheim, "Telegram to Menachem Begin," 25 May 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix A, 7248/26—חכ.

57. Menachem Begin, "Letter to Secretary General Kurt Waldheim," 5 June 1979, Jerusalem, ISA, 105.5, Appendix A, 7248/26—חכ (emphasis added).

58. Begin, "Letter to Secretary General Kurt Waldheim."

59. Prime Minister of Malaysia, "Press Release SG/SM/2735," 18 June 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix A, 7248/26—חכ.

60. Prime Minister of Malaysia, "Press Release SG/SM/2735."

61. "Shoot on Sight": Malaysia Will Evict 76,000 Boat People," *Los Angeles Times*, 15 June 1979; M. G. G. Pillai and Patrick Keatley, "Malaysia Threatens to Shoot Refugees," *Guardian*, 16 June 1979; Henry Kamm, "Malaysia Is Said to Drop Plan to Fire on Refugees," *New York Times*, 17 June 1979.

62. Menachem Begin, "Telegram to Heads of State," 19 June 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix A, 7248/26—ח.

63. Begin, "Telegram to Heads of State."

64. Relations with the Palestinian Liberation Organization, 19 July 1979, UNHCR Fonds II, Series 2, 391.46, International Conference on Indochina, 1979, Vol. 4, Box 597, quoted in Lipman, *In Camps*, 81.

65. See ISA, 105.5, Appendix B, 7248/27—ח, and Begin's letters, 4346/12—א.

66. Aryeh Rubinstein, "Knesset Asks Worlds' Parliaments: Take in Vietnamese Refugees," unidentified newspaper, 21 June 1979, clipping in ISA, 105.5, Appendix A, 7248/26—ח. At Begin's request, a summation of the Knesset debate on Vietnamese refugees was sent to heads of state around the world. Israel received letters of reply from countries such as Great Britain, Thailand, and Switzerland. See ISA, 105.5, Appendix B, 7248/27—ח.

67. Joel Barromi, "Telegram 7083," 20 June 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix A, 7248/26—ח; Poul Hartling, "Telegram 3710," 27 June 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix A, 7248/26—ח; Kurt Waldheim, "Letter to Menachem Begin," 30 June 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix A, 7248/26—ח.

68. Menachem Begin, "Telegram 6828 (Letter to Kurt Waldheim)," 4 July 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix A, 7248/26—ח; Kurt Waldheim, "Telegram 7575 (Details of Geneva Conference on 20–21 July 1979)," 5 July 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix A, 7248/26—ח; United Nations Press Release, "Statement by United Nations Spokesman on Indochinese Refugees," 30 June 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix A, 7248/26—ח.

69. David Levi, "Letter to Government Secretary Aryeh Naor regarding Vietnam Refugees—Government Decision (no. 854) from 1 July 1979," 21 Oct. 1979, ISA, "Committee for the Absorption of Refugees from Vietnam," 9474/19—ג, trans. KF; Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, Office of the Spokesman, "The Story of the Absorption of the Vietnam Refugees."

70. Office of the Vice President's Press Secretary, "Press Release of Vice President Walter F. Mondale's speech to the UN Conference on Indochinese Refugees," 21 July 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix B, 7248/27—ח. See also Lipman, *In Camps*, 79.

71. Office of the Vice President's Press Secretary, "Press Release of Vice President Walter F. Mondale's speech."

72. Stephen J. Solarz, "Letter to Zvi Rafiah," 9 Nov. 1978, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—ח.

73. Solarz, "Letter to Zvi Rafiah." In his speech to the US House of Representatives in September 1978, Solarz also refers to the Southeast Asian refugee crisis as an "Asian Holocaust." See "Aiding the Victims of an Asian Holocaust," *Congressional Record*, Vol. 124, No. 155, Washington DC, 29 Sept. 1978, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—ח.

74. Letter from Vietnamese Groups of Orange County to UNHCR, 20 July 1979, UNHCR Fonds II, Series 2, 391.46, International Conference on Indochina, 1979, Vol. 4, Box 597.

75. Asia and Oceania Department, "Telegram 197," 19 Sept. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix C, 7248/28—ח, trans. KF; Israeli Embassy in Singapore, "Telegram 134," 20 Sept. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix C, 7248/28—ח, trans. KF; Asia and Oceania Department, "Telegram 1641," 21 Sept. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix C, 7248/28—ח, trans. KF; Israeli Embassy in Singapore,

“Telegram 4964,” 28 Sept. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix C, 7248/28—הכ, trans. KF; Asia and Oceania Department, “Telegram 47,” 1 Aug. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix C, 7248/28—הכ, trans. KF; Asia and Oceania Department, “Telegram 3410,” 8 Aug. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix C, 7248/28—הכ, trans. KF; Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, Office of the Spokesman, “The Story of the Absorption of the Vietnam Refugees.”

76. Asia and Oceania Department, “Telegram 3217 to Geneva, Manila,” 1 Aug. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—הכ, trans. KF; Asia and Oceania Department, “Telegram 4788 to Bangkok,” 20 Aug. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix C, 7248/28—הכ, trans. KF; A. Ben Yohanan, “Letter to the Ambassador at Bangkok,” 22 Aug. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—הכ, trans. KF.

77. Moshe Raviv and Yehuda Weissberger, “Telegram 2335,” 14 Sept. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix C, 7248/28—הכ, trans. KF.

78. Yehuda Weissberger, “Letter to Azriel Veldman, the Ministry for Immigrant (Aliya) Absorption,” 26 Oct. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix C, 7248/29—הכ, trans. KF; Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, Spokesman’s Office, “The Story of the Absorption of the Vietnam Refugees.” For more on Weissberger’s time in the Philippines, see Raviv and Weissberger, “Telegram 2335.”

79. Hoài Mỹ Nguyễn, interview with author, Jaffa, Israel-Palestine, 24 May 2015. Nguyễn’s wife prefers to remain unnamed.

80. See, for example, Moshe Raviv, “Telegram 3374,” 25 Sept. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix C, 7248/28—הכ, trans. KF.

81. See also Mordechai Lador, “Letter to Director of the Asia and Oceania Department,” Bangkok, 15 Oct. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix C, 7248/28—הכ, trans. KF.

82. Yehuda Weissberger, “Letter to Azriel Veldman, the Ministry for Immigrant (Aliya) Absorption,” 26 Oct. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix D, 7248/29—הכ, trans. KF.

83. Weissberger, “Letter to Azriel Veldman.”

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85. Asia and Oceania Department, “Telegram,” 4 Sept. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix C, 7248/28—הכ, trans. KF; Asia and Oceania Department, “Telegram 7425,” 14 Sept. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix C, 7248/28—הכ, trans. KF. In the second telegram, the Asia and Oceania Department notes that a baby on the ZIM ship *Sydney* died in transit, bringing the number of refugees down to 40. It is unclear whether the final total of refugees absorbed from Singapore was 40 or 41.

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87. Minister of Absorption Housing and Building, “Letter regarding ‘The Vietnam Refugees—Government Decision (No. 854) of the 1st of July 1979,’” 28 Oct. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix C, 7248/28—הכ, trans. KF; Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, Office of the Spokesman, “The Story of the Absorption of the Vietnam Refugees”; “200 Refugees from Vietnam Will Arrive Next Week,” *Davar*, 16 Oct. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix C, 7248/28—הכ, trans. KF; “200 Refugees Will Arrive Tomorrow in Israel,” *Yedioth Ahronoth*, 22 Oct. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix C, 7248/28—הכ, trans. KF.

88. Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, Office of the Spokesman, “The Story of the Absorption of the Vietnam Refugees.”

89. Dan Arkin and Ezra Yaniv, "New Refugees' from Vietnam Will Learn Hebrew at the Town Sderot before Absorption in Israel," *Ma'ariv*, 24 Oct. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix C, 7248/28—עח, trans. KF.
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91. Knesset Member Mordechai Vershovsky, "Letter to the Honorable Dr. Yosef Burg, Minister of the Interior," 25 Dec. 1979, ISA, "Committee for the Absorption of Refugees from Vietnam," 9474/19—גג, trans. KF.
92. "A Refugee Horror Story," *Jerusalem Post*, 18 June 1979, reprinted in *Jerusalem Post International Edition*, No. 973, 24 June 1979, clipping in ISA, 105.5, Appendix B, 7248/27—עח.
93. Mordechai Lador, "Letter regarding Bangkok Post Editorial—Indochina Refugees—The Arab OPEC States," 1 Aug. 1979, ISA, 105.5, Appendix C, 7248/28—עח, trans. KF.
94. "Refugee Viet Adopt Israel," *Features from Jerusalem*, 6 July 1979, clipping in ISA, 105.5, Appendix B, 7248/27—עח.
95. "Refugee Viet Adopt Israel."
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97. Levi, in Department of Information for Olim, Office of the Spokesman, "The Absorption of Vietnamese Refugees."
98. Tran Quang Hoa, in Department of Information for Olim, Office of the Spokesman, "The Absorption of Vietnamese Refugees," 9 July 1979.
99. Tran.
100. Long Li Tin Lau, in Department of Information for Olim, Office of the Spokesman, "The Absorption of Vietnamese Refugees."
101. Tran Thuan, in Department of Information for Olim, Office of the Spokesman, "The Absorption of Vietnamese Refugees."
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105. Immanuel, "Today's Focus." Today, Vietnamese Israelis are drafted into the IDF.
106. Immanuel, "Today's Focus."
107. Tran, interview with author; Cuong, interview with author.
108. Nguyễn, interview with author.
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110. Anat Ben-Dor and Rami Adut, "Israel—A Safe Haven? Problems in the Treatment Offered by the State of Israel to Refugees and Asylum Seekers," Report and Position Paper, Buchmann Faculty of Law: Public Interest Law Resource Center (Tel Aviv University),

Physicians for Human Rights, Sept. 2003, 21–23; Sarah Helm, “Bosnian Muslims Find Haven in Israel,” *Independent*, 17 Feb. 1993, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/bosnian-muslims-find-haven-in-israel-1473480.html>; Fran Markowitz, “Living in Limbo: Bosnian Muslim Refugees in Israel,” *Human Organization* 55, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 127–32; Karin Fathimath Afeef, “A Promised Land for Refugees? Asylum and Migration in Israel,” Research Paper 183, Policy Development and Evaluation Service, UNHCR: The UN Refugee Agency, Dec. 2009, <http://www.unhcr.org/en-us/research/working/4b2213a59/promised-land-refugees-asylum-migration-israel-karin-fatimath-afeef.html>.

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137. Weinglass.
138. Nguyen, quoted in Weinglass.
139. Nguyen, quoted in Weinglass.
140. Nguyen, quoted in Weinglass.
141. Tran, interview with author.
142. Cuc Huynh Sears, interview with author, Petah Tikvah, Israel-Palestine, 22 and 26 July 2016.
143. Le, *Unsettled Solidarities*, 5.

5. THE POLITICS OF STAYING

1. Andrew H. Malcolm, "Tent City Life Goes On," *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, 22 May 1975, C-10.
2. Malcolm, C-10.
3. Malcolm, C-10.
4. I encourage scholars to analyze whether this permanent/transient temporality applies to other militarized islands, such as Okinawa or Cuba.
5. Bettis, "Colonial Immigration in Guam," 111.
6. Bettis, 108; Flores, "No Walk in the Park?"
7. Bettis, "Colonial Immigration in Guam," 108.
8. Bettis, 117.

9. This immigrant transience also has economic implications: Chamorros in Guam are “expected to absorb the costs of providing for [the immigrants’] needs, even though many are transient and will eventually move on” and will “probably never return as productive or contributing members of the community.” Bettis, 113.

10. In 2006, the US military initially proposed the transfer of 8,000 marines and 9,000 dependents to Guam. The plans also included “the removal of 71 acres of coral reef from Apra Harbor to allow the entry and berthing of nuclear aircraft carriers, the acquisition of land including the oldest and revered Chamorro village on the island at Pãgat for a live-fire training range, and an estimated 47 percent increase in the island’s population, already past its water-supply carrying capacity.” See Lutz, “US Military Bases on Guam in a Global Perspective”; Na’puti and Bevacqua, “Militarization and Resistance from Guåhan.” Since then, protesters have convinced the military to decrease the buildup from 8,000 to 2,500, slow the process of transfer, and refrain from destroying Pãgat.

11. Loyd, Mitchell-Eaton, and Mountz, “The Militarization of Islands and Migration,” 70.

12. Loyd, Mitchell-Eaton, and Mountz, 70 (emphasis added).

13. Loyd, Mitchell-Eaton, and Mountz, 70.

14. Minh-Hanh Nguyen, oral history by Rachel Mock, 17 May 2012, UCI Libraries, University of California, Irvine, <http://ucispace.lib.uci.edu/handle/10575/5223>.

15. Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, 132; Le, *Unsettled Solidarities*, 24.

16. Edith Iriate, “Concert for Orote Point Refugees,” *Banana Leaf*, 16 May 1975, 8–9. Although Iriate does not reveal her ethnicity in this article, two facts make it safe to assume that she is at least partly Chamorro. First, George Washington Senior High has a predominantly Chamorro population. Second, “Iriate” is either a misspelling or deliberate variation on the name “Iriarte,” a common Chamorro last name.

17. Robyn Walls, “Chorus Sings at Asan,” *Banana Leaf*, 16 May 1975, 1.

18. Iriate, “Concert for Orote Point Refugees,” 8.

19. Iriate, 9.

20. For more on carcerality as a vector by which to connect Asian American and Indigenous studies, see Leong and Carpio, “Carceral States.”

21. Iriate, “Concert for Orote Point Refugees,” 9.

22. Iriate, 9.

23. Of the soldiers who served in Vietnam, 88.4 percent were white. Vietnam Veterans of America, Chapter 310, “Vietnam War Statistics,” accessed 9 Nov. 2021, <https://www.vva310.org/vietnam-war-statistics>.

24. Iriate, “Concert for Orote Point Refugees,” 9.

25. Iriate, 9.

26. Iriate, 9.

27. Iriate, 9.

28. Iriate, 9.

29. Iriate, 9 (emphasis added).

30. Lipman, “Give Us a Ship,” 9.

31. Vicky Ritter, interview with author.

32. Gordon Ritter, interview with author, Zoom, 19 Mar. 2021.

33. Lipman, “Give Us a Ship,” 15.

34. Lipman, 10.

35. "Give Repatriates a Ship, Bordallo," *PDN*, 20 July 1975; "The Ship Solution . . ." *PDN*, 25 Aug. 1975; Bordallo, interview with author.
36. Trần Đình Trụ, *Ship of Fate: Memoir of a Vietnamese Repatriate*, trans. Bac Hoai Tran and Jana K. Lipman (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2017), 137–43. The other 500 or so repatriates decided at the last minute to proceed to the continental United States.
37. Lipman, "Give Us a Ship," 2, 4; Trần, *Ship of Fate*, 112.
38. Trần, *Ship of Fate*, 165–81.
39. The HO program facilitated the immigration of former reeducation camp prisoners from Vietnam directly to the United States.
40. Lipman, "Introduction," 3.
41. Trần, *Ship of Fate*, 38–47.
42. Trần, 46, 54, 123.
43. Trần, 58.
44. Lipman, "Introduction," 3.
45. Trần, *Ship of Fate*, 110, 69, 206, 153, 137, 171.
46. Trần, 137.
47. Trần, 200.
48. Trần, 57–58.
49. Trần, 90–91.
50. Stephen R. Porter, *Benevolent Empire: U.S. Power, Humanitarianism, and the World's Dispossessed* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017).
51. Trần, *Ship of Fate*, 110.
52. Trần, 110.
53. Trần, 74.
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57. Quoted in Lujan, 22.
58. Anonymous 2, interview with author.
59. Anonymous, interview with author, Tamuning, Guam, 23 May 2016.
60. Bottcher quoted in Karen Jowers, "Vietnamese Close in Guam," *PDN*, 2 Feb. 1988, 3.
61. Hoa V. Nguyen, interview with author, Tamuning, Guam, 2 June 2016; "Hoa V. Nguyen," American Medical Center, accessed 5 Nov. 2019, <http://www.amc.clinic/providers/hoa-nguyen/>.

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63. Jennifer Berry, interview with author, Tamuning, Guam, 8 June 2016.
64. Berry, interview with author.
65. Anonymous, email to author, 25 May 2016.
66. Anonymous, email to author, 25 May 2016.
67. Anonymous, email to author, 25 May 2016.
68. Anonymous, email to author, 25 May 2016; Anonymous, interview with author, 23 May 2016.
69. Alana Chargualaf, "Guam Lone Sailor Statue Plaques Dedicated," *Pacific Island Times*, 30 Apr. 2019, <https://www.pacificislandtimes.com/single-post/2019/04/30/Guam-Lone-Sailor-Statue-plaques-dedicated>.
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88. General Assembly Official Records, Sixty-Second Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/62/23), 2007.
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Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,” 2007, 68, <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/605290?ln=en>.

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6. THE POLITICS OF TRANSLATION

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9. Fujikane, "Against the Yellowwashing of Israel," 150–71.
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14. Erakat, *Justice for Some*, 238.
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29. Nguyen, 7.
30. Nguyen, 93.
31. Nguyen, 97.
32. Farag, *Politics and Palestinian Literature in Exile*, 87.
33. Barghouti, *I Saw Ramallah*, 40–41.
34. Erakat, *Justice for Some*, 234; Qutami and Zahzah, "The War of Words," 84.
35. Shohat, "Taboo Memories, Diasporic Visions."
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52. Sabine Huynh, "The Vietnamese Community in Israel: A Profile," paper presented at 12th Biennial Jerusalem Conference in Canadian Studies (June 2008); "Responding to the Challenge of Diversity in Canada, Israel, and Beyond," <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-02914986>; Weinglass, "35 Years On, Where Are Israel's Vietnamese Refugees?"; Anonymous, interview with author, Tel Aviv, Israel-Palestine, 13 May 2015.
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56. August, *The Refugee Aesthetic*, 55–77.
57. Malkki, “Refugees and Exile.”
58. Nguyen, “Refugeetude,” 110.
59. Nguyen, *The Truffle Eye*, 3.
60. Said, “Reflections on Exile,” 140.
61. Nguyen, *The Truffle Eye*, 3.
62. Nguyen, 21, 9.
63. Nguyen, 3.
64. Kaplan, *Our American Israel*.
65. Nguyen, *The Truffle Eye*, 55, 127.
66. Nguyen, 55, 127.
67. Nguyen, 55.
68. Nguyen, 3.
69. Nguyen, 3.
70. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 267–302; Agamben, “We Refugees.”
71. Nguyen, *The Truffle Eye*, 10 (emphasis added).
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73. Nguyen, *The Truffle Eye*, 27.
74. Sharif, “Vanishing Palestine,” 18.
75. Nguyen, *The Truffle Eye*, 27.
76. Jacobs, “Where You Are From,” 98.
77. Barghouti, *I Saw Ramallah*, 41.
78. David Farrier, “Washing Words: The Politics of Water in Mourid Barghouti’s *I Saw Ramallah*,” *Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 48, no. 2 (2012): 188; Barghouti, *I Saw Ramallah*, 41.
79. Barghouti, *I Saw Ramallah*, 41.
80. Erakat, *Justice for Some*, 238.
81. Barghouti, *I Saw Ramallah*, 157 (emphasis added).
82. Barghouti, 157.
83. Nguyen, *The Truffle Eye*, 3.
84. Barghouti, *I Saw Ramallah*, 38.
85. Erakat, *Justice for Some*, 229.
86. Yael Munk, “Duki Dror’s Journey of the Displaced,” *Cinematheque* 138 (Jan. 2006): 45–49.
87. Qutami and Zahzah, “The War of Words,” 84.
88. In this section, I refer to Hoài Mỹ Nguyễn by his first name, Hoài Mỹ, in order to distinguish him from his daughter, Vaan Nguyen.
89. Dror, *The Journey of Vaan Nguyen*.
90. Võ Hồng Chương-Đài, “When Memories Collide: Revisiting War in Vietnam and in the Diaspora,” in *Film in Contemporary Southeast Asia: Cultural Interpretation and Social Intervention*, ed. David C. L. Lim and Hiroyuki Yamamoto (New York: Routledge, 2012), 78.
91. Translation provided by Adriana X. Jacobs, with the exception of “Vân (Vaan) is a synonym for cloud,” which Jacobs mistakenly translates as “Nguyen is a synonym for cloud.” I have also changed “Philippine” to “Filipino.” Otherwise, this translation is more accurate

than the English subtitles provided in the film for this scene. See Jacobs, "Where You Are From," 100–101.

92. Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," 255.
93. Nguyen's mother prefers to remain unnamed.
94. Dror, *The Journey of Vaan Nguyen*.
95. Jacobs, "Where You Are From," 90.
96. This chapter refers to her as "Hong Wa Nguyen" because that is how she is credited in the film and how she self-identifies on Facebook.
97. For more on the "gendered process of racism" underlying this scene, see Vö, "When Memories Collide," 80–81.
98. Dror, *The Journey of Vaan Nguyen* (translation of Hebrew taken from the English subtitles).
99. For a discussion of the *Wizard of Oz* truism "There's no place like home" in relation to Jewish diaspora theory, see Jonathan Boyarin, "Tropes of Home," in *Jewishness and the Human Dimension* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008), 74–88.
100. Dror, *The Journey of Vaan Nguyen*.
101. Translation of the film's Vietnamese dialogue is taken from Vö, "When Memories Collide," 82.
102. Vö, 83.
103. Vö, 82.
104. "Freedom-Justice-Peace"; Evyn Lê Espiritu Gandhi, "Queer Love across Queer Time: Nonaligned Solidarity, Indigenous Incommensurability, and the Temporal Drag of the Vietnam War," *Critical Ethnic Studies* 5, no. 1 (Spring 2019): 116–17.
105. Dror, *The Journey of Vaan Nguyen* (English translation provided by author).
106. Dror.
107. Dror (English translation provided by author).
108. Qutami and Zahzah, "The War of Words," 84.
109. Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian and Sarah Ihmoud, "Exiled at Home: Writing Return and the Palestinian Home," *Biography* 37, no. 2 (Spring 2014): 394–95.
110. Perez, "Off-Island Chamorros."
111. Shalhoub-Kevorkian and Ihmoud, "Exiled at Home," 377.

AFTERWORD. FLOATING ISLANDS

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3. Quirk and Friedman, dust jacket.
4. Maile Arvin, *Possessing Polynesians: The Science of Settler Colonial Whiteness in Hawai'i and Oceania* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019), 3.
5. Malkki, "Refugees and Exile."
6. Nguyen, "Refugeetude."
7. Quirk and Friedman, *Seasteading*, 6.

8. Linh Dinh, "A Floating Community," in *Blood and Soap: Stories* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2004), 59.
9. Dinh, 59.
10. Nguyen, "Nước/Water," 72.
11. Rachel Yacaaʔaʔ George and Sarah Marie Wiebe, "Fluid Decolonial Futures: Water as a Life, Ocean Citizenship, and Seascape Relationality," *New Political Science* 42, no. 4 (2020): 505.
12. Dinh, "A Floating Community," 59.
13. *The Island*, Tuan Andrew Nguyen, accessed 21 Oct. 2021, <https://www.tuanandrewnguyen.com/theisland>.
14. Han Hai Van, quoted in Lesleyanne Hawthorne, ed., *Refugee: The Vietnamese Experience* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1982), 270–71.
15. Tuan Andrew Nguyen, *The Island*, video installation, Whitney Museum of American Art, 2017. For more on the memorial at Palau Bidong, see Quan Tue Tran, "Remembering the Boat People Exodus: A Tale of Two Memorials," *Journal of Vietnamese Studies* 7, no. 3 (2012): 80–121.
16. Nguyen, *The Island*.
17. Nguyen.
18. Nguyen.
19. Hau'ofa, "Our Sea of Islands," 148–61.
20. Nguyen, *The Island*.
21. Nguyen.
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23. Nguyen.
24. Nguyen, "Nước/Water," 66.
25. Nguyen, *The Island*.