Contents

Acknowledgments xi
Preface to the Reprint Edition xiii

INTRODUCTION 1
The Political Exile and the Evolution of National Loyalty 1
Who Is an Exile? 7
The Political Exile as a Political Activist 13

CHAPTER ONE: Who Represents the Nation’s Will? 18
Loyalty and Disloyalty in the Nation-State 20
Political Exiles: National Loyalists or Traitors? 23

CHAPTER TWO: Exile Organizations: Competing Claims
to Represent the National Interest from Abroad 27
Governmental and Nongovernmental Claims 27
The Role of Origin 30
The Validation of Claims to Power 31
The Hope of Return and International Recognition 33

CHAPTER THREE: The Politics of Schism 38
Autonomy and Identity 39
Exile Coalitions 41
Ideological Purity 43
The Insider-Outsider Dilemma 45
Foreign Intervention 46

CHAPTER FOUR: Political Exiles and the Diaspora 50
National Diaspora 51
The Incentives for Mobilization  56
The Case of the Russian Diaspora  62
The Case of the Spanish Republicans  70

CHAPTER FIVE: Political Exiles and the
Domestic Opposition  77
Pre-exile Organizations and Loyalty at Home  77
The Internal-External Legitimacy Nexus  79
Exiles and Hegemonic Home Regimes  83
Mixed Regime or Pluralistic Hegemony  86
Collaboration with the Opposition or Infiltration  88
Exile-Insider Relations over Time  92
Italian Exiles Who Failed to Reach the Promised Land  94
Pragmatism in Exile Politics  97

CHAPTER SIX: Recognition in the International
Community  110
Patterns of International Recognition  110
Governments-in-Exile  113
National Exile Committees  116
Rationales for Support by Other Nations  118
Relations with the Host State  119
Exile Diplomacy: the Politics of Image  124
International Organizations and the Global Mythology  127

CHAPTER SEVEN: My Country Right or Wrong:
The Exile War Trap  130
The Government’s Defeat Is the Nation’s Victory  134
In Defense of a Home People, Not a Home Regime  139

CHAPTER EIGHT: Counterexile Strategies by
the Home Regime  145
Denationalization and Statelessness  147
Divisions and Splinters within Exile Organizations  153
Diplomatic Pressures on the Host Government  155
Assassinations and Kidnappings of Key Leaders 157
Likelihood of the Use of Antiexile Measures 161

CONCLUSION 163
The Moving Frontier of National Loyalty 163

Notes 169
Index 201