

Malatesta , the anarchist and
syndicalist movements in England :
1902 -1919

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PAPOR
This ~~essay~~ is intended to act as an introduction to a longer work dealing with Errico Malatesta's London exiles.

It is hoped that this introduction will illuminate certain patterns and effects that Malatesta's exiles had on the host country's socialist and anarchist movements and the large population of foreign exile socialists and anarchists. In turn this paper will attempt to highlight the influences the British labour and socialist movements left on Malatesta's anarchism. In this ~~short~~ piece we will conclude with a discussion of Malatesta's last two periods of London exile, focussing however on the pre-World War One syndicalist revolt. Other equally fascinating topics such as Malatesta's activities at the London 1881 Revolutionary Congress, the Italian contribution at the 1896 London congress of the Second International, Malatesta's ties with William Morris's Socialist League, his fight against international terrorism in the 1890s or his relationships with the Italian left and the Russian Revolution during his last exile will only be briefly reviewed.

I

Malatesta spent the following years in London : 1881-1882, 1889 - 1897 , 1900-1913 and 1914- 1919 . His entre into the English socialist movement was via contacts in London's large , vibrant socialist and libertarian exile community . These contacts rounded off his multifaceted political concerns. In London Malatesta was able to involve himself in the evolution of international anarchism and syndicalism, specific Italian problems and the politics of the English socialists , anarchists and syndicalists .

London was the home of several waves of exile anarchists and

anti- parliamentary socialists. The French came in 1871 after the suppression of the Comune , and in 1894 during the anti- anarchist repression. Malatesta became close friends with Louise Michel , Auguste Hamon , Charles Malato and Emile Pouget . Through these friendships, and directly during the International Socialist congress in 1896 , he influenced the proto- syndicalist propaganda of Pelloutier in France. (10)

His ties with Spanish anarchism were also deepened during his London exiles. Malatesta had been introduced to Bakuninist anarchism through Giuseppe Fanelli , veteran of Pisacane's ill- fated expedition and later a Neapolitan Internationalist, who carried Bakunin's ideas to Spain. Malatesta went on a mission to Spain for Bakunin in the middle seventies , but deepened his personal ties during a lecture tour in the last half of 1891 . ~~XXXX~~ At this time he took a major part in resolving the bitter controversy between collectivists and communists. (11) After the deportation of leading anarchists from Barcelona's Montjuich prison in 1897 , a forcible ejection of tortured intellectuals to England, which the British government protested about to the Spanish authorities in private, many of these refugees settled in London .

X Now Malatesta had the opportunity to become intimate friends with the ^{two} ~~two~~ most important Spanish anarchist intellectuals - Riccardo Mella and Tarrida del Marmol . Max Nettlau , , Kropotkin , Malatesta and the Spaniards started a discussion circle, during the participation of other exiles ~~xxx~~ as well as more radical British labour leaders. (12) Nettlau's ' indoor picnics ' became something of an institution in exile London .

From his London exile Malatesta also made the acquaintance of Francesco Ferrer , who in the early 1900s , made several visits to the exile anarchist community. Charles Malato - Malatesta's comrade in arms during the 1890s- appears to have been involved in Ferrer's underground activities against the Spanish monarchy . Malatesta coordinated support for the Spanish anarchists in London , France and Italy (13) .

Another ~~XXX~~ Spanish refugee , who remained close to Malatesta , although he settled in Liverpool , was Lorenzo Portet , the executor of Ferrer's will . The Spaniards , along with Malatesta and the Italian community , were involved in the earliest period of British syndicalism . (14) Tarrida lectured to Welsh syndicalist miners and Portet drummed up interest for direct action in Liverpool . But Malatesta and ^{his} English comrades ~~followed these~~ furthered these developments by popularising Ferrer's type of positivist libertarian education - alist theories (The Modern School) - even if Malatesta always tried to draw a line between liberal sympathisers and anarchist comrades . In the years before World War One Ferrer's influence was married to the ^{growing} syndicalist movement . Such radical working class educationalist associations as the Plebs League , which produced a network of self- educated syndicalist miners and industrial organisers were inspired by Ferrer . And leading militants in the Plebs League respected and carefully listened to Malatesta's advice , even if they didn't always agree with his every proposal . (15)

The Russians - Kropotkin and Cherkov (actually Georgian) - and the Russian Jews of the East End , led by the German gentile Rudolf Rocker , were probably Malatesta's closest comrades in the immigrant community . (16) If Kropotkin's eminence was officially ^{up}challenged , Malatesta and Saverio Merlino (who lived in London intermittently from 1884 to 1894) began to question his overly optimistic anarchist communism during the early nineties . Major shifts in international anarchist doctrine were ratified within London exile circles . Merlino's early revision of Marxism , his criticism of many aspects of Marxian sociology and political economy , germinated through his ~~contacts~~ with George Bernard Shaw and the Fabian Society , the Socialist League and his readings of British marginal economists and the native utopian socialist tradition . He was for ^{all} ~~intent~~ and purposes a revisionist socialist antelitteram . During his decade in London he developed similar arguments that his fellow Fabian - Eduard Bernstein - would carry back to a much scandalised German Social Democrat party one decade later .

Within Max Nettlau's discussion circles other reciprocal influences were at work. For instance, the Russian Populist tradition carried on by Kropotkin and Cherkov no doubt influenced Merlino, while concurrently many of Merlino's attacks on the Marxian theories of the falling rate of profit and the immiseration of the proletariat were taken up by Cherkov. Cherkov, even more so than the more intellectual Kropotkin, played a part in disseminating syndicalist ideas in the British labour movement. Later, he played an important role behind the scenes in the first international ~~anarchist~~ congress held in London in 1913. (17) *syndicalist*

Rudolf Rocker's untiring organisation of Russian and Polish Jewish East End tailors served as an example for Malatesta of the proper uses of syndicalism - not only catering to key industries, but seeking to organise the sweated trades as well. Some of Malatesta's earliest London comrades were found in the Yiddish anarchist clubs of the East End. One friendship of the early 1900s, was a bizarre figure, Siegfried Nacht, also known as Arnold Roller, the spirited ~~elder~~ *elder* brother of Max Nomad, a Jewish electrical technician from Polish Galicia, with a talent for languages and a penchant for extravagant dress. He tramped Europe spreading the gospel of syndicalism, living and working in Rome for a time, helping Malatesta uncover provocateurs and police spies. (17)

The Jews greatly assisted in organising the famous Amsterdam Anarchist Congress of 1907. In its aftermath a correspondence committee, which included Malatesta, Rocker, Schapiro and John Turner (the anarchist secretary of the British Shop Assistants Union) published a Bulletin until 1914 from their office behind the Jubilee St Club of the East End Yiddish anarchists.

During the immediate years before the war, Malatesta became acquainted with Silvia Pankhurst, whose companion ~~witxx~~ was a fellow Italian exile and collaborator, Silvio Coria. (18) Pankhurst's revolutionary socialism was always tinged with anarchism. If her political ideas can be traced back to William Morris and Edward Carpenter, her close association with the exiled Italian anarchist movement contributed to

the federalist council communism of her Workers' Dreadnought . Malatesta in turn brought back the experiences of London's suffragettes to his male dominated country . In articles written ^{for} ~~for~~ Volontà ^{in 1913} and Umanità ^{for} ~~for~~ Nova in 1920 , Malatesta exhibited a surprising sensibility ^{for} ~~for~~ the specific problems of women within the socialist and labour movements ; largely ignored by the Italian press. (19)

Corio , Pankhurst and Malatesta had established contacts with the Third International by early 1919 . These ties were based on personal friendships with Bolsheviks and Russian anarchists who lived in London and had been involved in ~~The~~ English socialist organisation or frequented the exile clubs of ~~St~~ St John , Clerkenwell and the East End. (20)

Malatesta's international activities were therefore conducted from his long-term London refuge. His connections with the European exile community spanning three generations , from the First International to the Third, is a fascinating aspect of his life. For ~~these~~ purposes of this paper, we would like to stress the role that Malatesta played as a mediator and translator of foreign models and ideas to individual British syndicalists , anarchists and socialists, and how Malatesta enriched his international perspective by synthesising it with the British experience.

II

Malatesta's influence on British socialists has been largely obscured because of his insufficient command of the English language. Malatesta lived in London for nearly thirty years. He learned English very gradually and didn't use the language publicly until the turn of the century. (21) Nettlau claims that he didn't develop any fluency until 1910 .(22) In any case Malatesta was still attending English language courses, held at the libertarian exile community's Communist Club in 1910-1911. (23)

Malatesta's articles in the anarchist and socialist press

were usually translated from French or Italian by friends. Original contributions to the local press were infrequent, and for the most part translations of published material that had previously appeared in the foreign anarchist press. (25) When he spoke at meetings, usually to ~~commemorate~~^{commemorate} the Comune or the Chicago martyrs, Malatesta generally used Italian or French. Malatesta's public role was also restricted because he feared that an overtly militant attitude in London could forfeit even this refuge, his last in Europe. Since Malatesta remained deeply attached to the Italian movement, resettlement in the Western Hemisphere would have probably meant his alienation from the domestic movement. In any case he was nearly deported in 1912, in a case which revealed how closely some elements of Scotland Yard and the Italian embassy wanted Malatesta removed from the country. Malatesta spent a good deal of his time countering police spies and agents from Italy and from Europe, and his discretion was well merited. Malatesta's influence was therefore largely personal, transmitted through discussions with foreign and native activists, carried out in the myriad exile and local workingmen's clubs.

As we have seen, London served as a clearinghouse for European exile socialists. Since relatively tolerant laws regulated the exiles' lives, revolutionaries tended to gather here. The anarchists congregated in well-defined exile communities in Soho and Clerkenwell. Political ideologies and tactics were modified and revised by the exchange of viewpoints facilitated in these closely knit communities. Continental revolutionaries established clubs where they could continue their native social life within an alien and mostly indifferent host culture.

Club life stretched back to the post-Napoleonic settlement. In the 1890s an array of clubs and societies were still very much present. Rudolf Rocker mentions three sections of the German Communist Educational Union (GABV), a French Autonomie Club, a Russian - Polish Association, the Swedish Socialist Section, a Dutch Socialist Group, another French anarchist group and the Yiddish speaking Workers Club. (7) The Italians usually allied themselves with the French, but in the early

20th century several short lived clubs were established by rival Malatesta and anti-organisationalist ~~Italian~~ anarchists.

These clubs acted as provident societies protecting their large artisan membership from unemployment and guaranteeing a decent burial. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries various forms of radicalism and socialism ~~located~~ preached by these exile clubs were present in London's native craft workers' clubs and societies as well. In Soho and Clerkenwell, areas populated for generations by radical printers and shoemakers, the transition from an earlier Chartist and O'Brienite traditions to a modern socialist labour movement was in part fashioned by the encounter with foreign exiles. The political content of London's 'club socialism' centred upon agrarian and artisanal types of radicalism. In the early period themes such as land nationalisation schemes, radical republicanism - what Royden Harrison has termed proletarian republicanism - and secularism predominated. In this setting Risorgimento exiles and later Italian Internationalists and socialists contributed significantly. Buonarroti, Mazzini and Garibaldi shaped the political leadership of two generations of Victorian London radicals. (8) In the final decades of the nineteenth century, a younger generation of Italian exiles participated in the formation of modern socialist organisations. Malatesta, Merlino and Pietro Gori - as well as lesser figures at the grassroot neighbourhood level - were active in the Social Democratic Federation, the Socialist League, the anarchist groups and the Fabians. Malatesta's involvement was therefore part of a long established tradition. Indeed the remark of Malatesta's longtime Italian police spy shadow - 'Virgilio' - that he had replaced Mazzini as London's selfless Italian revolutionary - would have been seconded by many native and foreign comrades.

III

Throughout his exile Malatesta keenly sensed his isolation from the broader British labour movement. Unlike his public activities in Argentina in the late 1880s, Malatesta was never a leading figure in the British left. For one thing Malatesta always felt slightly uneasy in English society. After he finally returned to Italy he claimed that his wider propagandist work had been limited because he had been a foreigner in *un paese che è forse il più xenofobo del mondo* : (26) Malatesta remembered the anti-foreigner hysteria in the 1890s when Soho's anarchist clubs were attacked by crowds. He recalled London at the height of the Boer War, when in vain he tried to protest against its continuance. He also ~~recalled~~ recalled the great fear generated by the 1905 Alien's Registration Act, which he had fought tooth and nail, and which many of his old acquaintances in the New Unionism movement and the Independent Labour Party viewed ~~in~~ a sympathetic light. (27)

Malatesta's wider activities in London were mediated, and no doubt to a certain extent circumscribed, by his immersion in the exile communities. In the early 20th century Malatesta had settled with a family of anarchists - the Defendis. They first lived in Islington and then in Soho. Malatesta was intimately tied to this ~~family~~ family. Emilia Defendi had been Malatesta's lover in the 1870s and she continued to remain so. In the 1890s she and Malatesta had a daughter. Malatesta remained a close friend of Giovanni Defendi, an ex-Garibaldian, ~~who~~ ^{who} had spent ten years in a French prison after being arrested in the aftermath of the Commune. Free and open relationships were not unusual in London socialist circles in these years and even extended ~~into~~ ^{to the} the staid, bourgeois Fabian ~~circles~~. (67 t 68)

Most of Malatesta's energies were taken up in his electrician's shop and journeying about London and the surrounding countryside during gas fitting and electrical installation work. (60-65) His health suffered, a chronic bronchial condition ~~did~~ ^{did not}

improve during a long grey, damp English winter. So another reason ^{was} Malatesta didn't take a noticeably public role in local politics was his demanding work load and his rather frail health. Although it was his business which almost landed him in trouble, for it was a gas cylinder lent by him to one of the Latvian social democrats killed during the seige of Sidney Street and found ~~durin~~ at the scene of the robbery which preceded the ~~xxsig~~ fiery finale, that circumstantially tied him to this affair. (65)

Locally, however, Malatesta was a popular figure. In Islington he was remembered with affection, indeed when he was almost deported in 1912, thousands in the area signed petitions to stay the court order. A member of the Board of Guardians, W.B. Parker, wrote to the Daily Herald recalling how 'Comrade Malatesta had lived in the ward for upwards of twenty years and during that period has deservedly earned the respect of his neighbours by his uniform courteousness and upright life.'

(68) Those socialists who had the chance to make his acquaintance were impressed by his honesty and happy personality. A former Anglo-Italian anarchist - Isabella Rossetti - described Malatesta as 'a man rather of character than of intellectual brilliance - fighter and idealist, not a theoriser.' (52)

A journalist friend - Harry Slocombe - of the Daily Herald simply called him 'the only perfectly consistent anarchist I have ever known, a man utterly pure of heart.' (53)

And in 1912 the crowds which gathered in Trafalgar Square to support the Daily Herald's anti-deportation campaign seemed to have heard of his reputation through this popular newspaper, but no doubt through an informal grapevine which spread his reputation beyond the confines of Islington and Soho. Years later Malatesta recalled the monster demonstration called in the hot summer of 1912 which stopped his expulsion from England. He stayed, he explained to the readers of Umanita Nova, 'malgrado il governo inglese per volontà del popolo inglese.' (31)

Malatesta's estimations of the English public varied from apathetic acceptance of their rather cold and distant social life, to

an admiration for their ability to defend their civil rights and liberties. And like many exiled revolutionaries in London Malatesta was at once attracted to, and repelled by, the British trade union movement. He admired its pragmatic qualities: the instincts of self-help, solidarity and autonomy which its rank and file were capable of exhibiting. (28) On the other hand, especially in the early 20th century, when the earlier New Unionist movement of unskilled workers had lost its way, British labourism became synonymous in Malatesta's mind ~~of~~ narrow greed and corporatism.

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IV

When Malatesta returned to London in late 1901 he was confronted by a demoralised British left. Its more ~~conventional~~ conventional elements, the Independent Labour Party and the Social Democratic Federation, had suffered from the jingoism of the Boer War. The native anarchist ~~movement~~ movement barely existed. After the break-up of the Socialist League a decade before, followed by the jailing of several anarchists for involvement in the Walsall bomb plot, the movement gradually disintegrated. ~~There~~ There was a brief upsurge in the period 1894-96, partially forwarded by the energies of James Tochatti, an Italo-Scottish tailor and close friend of William Morris, whose short-lived newspaper Liberty fought a brave battle against terrorist and anti-organisationalist currents. Malatesta aided his friend by contributing a series of articles pleading that anarchists should enter the trade unions and leave their terrorist fantasies behind. Another newspaper, produced by the Rossetti sisters, the third generation of the illustrious artistic Anglo-Italian family, was the spirited Torch. It rallied a large group of Italian and French refugees present in London during the mid-nineties, more or less endorsing Tochatti's and Malatesta's proto-syndicalist position. Olivia Rossetti was married to the Italian anarchist Antonio Agresti. And a group

of Italian exiles - including Pietro Gori - actually slept in the newspaper's ~~office~~ shabby offices until better accomodation could be found.

Domestically , the anarchist movement briefly flourished in the north of England where a series of bitter strikes recruited some workers to libertarian socialism. By the late nineties , however, with the rise of a new imperialist spirit and a rightwards shift in British politics generally, the anarchists were broken and demoralised. There remained the exiles and Kropotkin 's Freedom , which unfortunately grew duller and less tied to the day to day concerns of the working class as the years passed. It was all a far cry from the eighties when anarchists and anarchist ideas had infected the Socialist League , the SDF , the provincial labour clubs and even the Fabian Society .

Malatesta lived in London during most of the turbulent nineties , and although the decade ended on a depressing note , this period was rich in events and personalities , and deserves our attention since Malatesta 's influence on the British syndicalist movement of the early twentieth century found its origins here.

The nineties were a crucial period in Malatesta 's life. Now in his late thirties and early forties Malatesta had finally come to the forefront of the international anarchist movement. With the European repression , the keenest and brightest members of Europe 's anarchist and libertarian socialist movements gathered in London . At the same time , unlike during his first exile in 1881-1882 , London had fully developed socialist and libertarian movements. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ In this rich and stimulating atmosphere Malatesta 's modern anarchism developed. Through the offices of Freedom and the financial assistance of a group of Italian anarchists , Malatesta

republished his Fra Contadini , now modified to contest his previous belief in the inevitable immiseration of the peasantry and the workers. In series of pamphlets like Anarchy and Parliamentary Politics and the Socialist Movement he remained firmly within the anarchist communist tradition.

The nineties were , however , above all a period of frenetic action. Although his residence was London , Malatesta was constantly on the move. A brief survey of his movements may explain how he earned the appellation ' stormcock of anarchism ' .

Malatesta arrived in Europe in the summer of 1889 after four years in Argentina. He is reported in Nice during this period , publishing the shortlived , if important L' Associazione , whose final numbers were published in London . Nettlau claims that he lived in Nice until his ~~ex~~plulsion after unmasking a police spy. He records that Malatesta arrived in London in the autumn of 1889 where he met him at a Socialist League meeting , during which the Italian made the acquaintance of William Morris. But of some interest , especially when we turn to investigating Malatesta 's changing attitudes towards trade unionism , is evidence which shows Malatesta in London during the summer of 1889 . Two reasons lead me to think so. First , he apparently had a Readers Card at the British Museum since August , and secondly in the first issue of L' Associazione , an article appears which described in great detail the great dock strike of that summer, which culminated ⁱⁿ mass processions through the City in the last week of August . This article arrives ~~at~~ conclusions consistent with Malatesta 's new trade union orientation which he developed while in Argentina.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

Malatesta settled in London and stayed ~~out until~~

put until May Day 1890 , when he was off to participate in the demonstrations held in Paris. From the summer of 1890 until January 1891 he was again in London , but preparing for the congress of Italian anti-parliamentary socialists held at Capolago. He returned to London to address a meeting ~~commemorating~~ *commemorating* the Commune that March , but by the middle of April was off to Italy to prepare for May Day and canvas support of his proposed revolutionary socialist party . After the disastrous riots on May Day in Rome and Florence , Malatesta slipped out of the country , but was arrested in Lugano and held by the Swiss authorities for most of the summer. Crispien de Wier wanted his extradition , but he is reported back in London by the end of September. He only stayed ~~two~~ months when he was invited by the Spanish anarchists to tour their country . From November to January of 1892 Malatesta mediated between collectivists and communists and left the country just before the Jerez revolt.

With the revolutionary party ~~in Italy~~ crushed in Italy , and Malatesta on the run from the Italian and Spanish police , he returned to London and remained the remainder of 1892 and most of 1893. In 1893 he took a brief trip to Belgium with Charles Malato to observe the social democratic general strike for universal manhood suffrage. If Malato's account is accurate the trip accomplished little. But it did give Malatesta a view of a legalitarian general strike. In January 1894 Malatesta was in Italy again staying until May. With the risings in Lunigiana and Sicily , he wanted to be present at home. Through Art 294 and other broadsheets Malatesta linked the workerism of the Fasci Siciliani with his own call for anarchists to enter mass peasants and workers organisations. Malatesta ~~and~~ , Merlino and Cipriani had attempted to assist certain libertarian oriented Fasci leaders . This came to little. But within the Fasci there was strong anarcho - workerist current

which no doubt pleased Malatesta. Support for the Fasci was drummed up in London via the reports that Auguste Hamon and the Rossetti sisters printed in the ~~anarchist~~ and socialist press.

Finally between 1894 and 1897 Malatesta remained in London. As we noted previously, he ~~involved~~^{involved} himself in the swollen exile community and in preparation for the 1896 Socialist Congress. During this period he became friends with Keir Hardie and Tom Mann, both of ~~whom~~^{whom} supported the anarchist campaign against the German Social Democrats drive to limit attendance at the congress to parliamentary parties. Hardie and Mann ~~through~~^{through} ~~opened~~^{opened} the socialist press to Malatesta. Hardie particularly gave prominent space to Malatesta's articles in his Labour Leader, the semi-official organ of the Independent Labour Party. Perhaps Mann was ideologically closer to Malatesta, but ~~Hardie~~^{Hardie} had a ~~strong~~^{strong} of libertarianism in his complex personality, and disliked the Germans' heavyhanded performance. The ILP delegation split over the issue. A young rising star, J. Ramsay MacDonald criticised Hardie's position, and he ~~was~~^{was} backed up by the Fabians, particularly Sidney and Beatrice Webb. The congress was a defeat for international anti-parliamentarian socialism, even if a magnificent demonstration was ~~put on~~^{put on} afterwards in support of the exiled anarchists. Keir Hardie delivered an impassioned speech in Malatesta's defence. And many moderate British socialists were shocked by the German attempts ~~to~~^{to} curtail freedom of speech.

Malatesta's return to Italy in early 1897 to direct L'Agitazione was a turning point. This publication was the fruit of fifteen years of anarchist revision. But what is notable is how his decade in and out of London affected his strategy. During his brief stay in Ancona in 1897 and 1898 Malatesta organised the ~~the sex dockers and coal porters of its ports (83)~~. His organisational techniques owed a lot to the London organisers of the

the ~~xxx~~ dockers and coal porters of ~~the~~ ^{its} port. (83)
His organisational techniques owed a lot to the London
organisers of the Dock Strike. Through L'Agitazione ,
a superb working class newspaper , Malatesta introduced
new forms of labour struggle into Italy. The British and
Irish concepts of the boycott, cacanny ; the sympathy
strike and the general trade union were first explained
in simple language to the rank and file of the
Italian labour movement. But even earlier in his
L'Associazione , the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ seeds of his
admiration ^{of} the solidarity of the
British labour movement were evident. The New Unionism
of the late 1880 s and the early 1890s , and partic -
ularly the Dock Strike of August 1889 , profoundly moved
Malatesta .

Malatesta was one of the first anarchists to articulate a
modern syndicalist strategy. The example of London 's
Dock Strike ~~and~~ the New Unionism clarified ideas and
practices which had been forming during his labour
organising in Florence in the middle eighties and later
in Argentina. The example of the Dock Strike reinforced
the possibilities of an anti-parliamentary socialism
based on mass mobilisation . This ^{form} of 'apolitical
socialism ' would shun parliament , stress direct action,
but also be ~~connected~~ ^{connected} to a purer anarchist position
through key activists inside the trade unions and by
the external propaganda of a well organised anarchist party
which would address problems which went beyond the trade
union arena.

From the strike Malatesta also learned the dangers of spon-
taneity , which in these years ^{plagued} the international
anarchist movement in the form of individual acts of violence ,
of propaganda by the deed , or as his friend ~~Martino~~ ^{Martino} termed
it : ' amorfismo ' .

Malatesta interpreted the Dock Strike in very similar terms
to Rosa Luxemburg 's later account of the Mass Strike . (91)
The Dock strike , like those rolling strikes which accom-

panied the Russian Revolution of 1905 , ~~was~~^{was} praised for its spontaneity , combativeness and creativity. ~~It~~ The strike wave had spread from one industry to another, affecting far more than the docks. The movement was sustained by a popular ingenuity which amazed observers. Both Malatesta and Kropotkin thought the mutual aid exhibited by the East End working class was proof of the strikers' revolutionary spirit . Unlike Kropotkin , however, Malatesta stressed the hard work which had preceded the explosion. Behind the seemingly spontaneous strike lay organisation and preparation . Malatesta remarked on the two years intelligent work by a small group of organisers, 'che han saputo ~~parlar~~^{parlar} ~~per~~^{per} loro un linguaggio intelligibile' , even to the demoralised and largely apolitical casual workers of the East India docks. (92) This small group of skilled workers who had gone down to the docks to organise were contrasted favourably to the ~~sectarian~~^{small} political sects which could only endorse what had already been done. And among this group were John Burns and Tom Mann, who caught Malatesta's imagination . In later years Burns' evolution to liberalism and respectability was used by Malatesta (along with the examples of Paul Bruosse's and Andrea Costa's careers) to expose the dangers of uncontrolled leadership.

In this light , almost a decade later , in L' Agitazione , Malatesta's anticipation of the problems which the Italian labour movement would face , once it left its first heroic first passage , went beyond explaining the growth of conservatism and opportunism merely by assigning guilt or innocence to ~~minor~~ individual personalities. Malatesta used the examples of the New Unionists , like John Burns , and other examples from the history of German Social Democracy , to pose a central problem : the growth of bureaucracy . His analysis , which anticipated Michels , asked a fundamental question K : How do revolutionary propagandists become careerists ? For Malatesta the creation of the German party or the New Unions of Great Britain necessarily developed a structure where the early propagandists became , 'un classe speciale che ~~era~~^{era} sul partito , ed ha interessi ed istinti analoghi a quello che

la classe conservatrice hanno sulla società generale." (88)

In his polemics with revolutionary syndicalism in the early 20th century Malatesta would ~~also~~ invoke his own "iron law of oligarchy" to discredit ^{pure} syndicalism ~~pure and simple~~. On the other hand, Malatesta didn't think that this tendency was inevitable. As we shall see, Tom Mann's type of syndicalism contained the possibilities, Malatesta believed, to counter bureaucratic involution.

During the life of Agitazione Malatesta used so many examples from his ^{exile} ~~leave~~ in London that he had to defend himself from being accused of 'inglesismo' - the anarchist intransigent's claim that Malatesta had become an advocate of reformist trade unionism. Instead, Malatesta replied, he was using the new tactics and structures invented during the first period of the New Unionism as a method for the anarchists to escape from the sterile choice they had ~~placed themselves~~ ~~limited themselves~~ found themselves limited to by the late nineties: either a cycle of bold and spectacular acts of terrorism leading to a vicious ~~ex~~ circle of revenge and repression, or isolated attempts at insurrection in the countryside quickly suppressed by the state and incomprehensible to the peasantry and workers alike.

Non intendiamo rifare sempre eternamente lo stesso cammino, il quale così: sei mesi di calma attività; poi una qualche microscopia sommossa o più spesso delle semplice minacce di sommosse, quindi arresti, fughe all'estero, interruzione della propaganda, disfaccimento dell'organizzazione per ricominciare di lì a due or tre anni la stessa storia. (90)

So the 1890s were a complex and ^{significant} ~~significant~~ period in Malatesta's life. He was attempting to connect three areas of interest: international anarchism, London politics and the Italian movement. His syndicalist orientation is founded at all three points ^{internationalism, the united opposition of anarchists against the state} ~~internationalism, the united opposition of anarchists against the state~~

dicalist orientation is found at all three points. Internationally he unsuccessfully attempted to organise a unified opposition of anarchist socialist and anti-parliamentarian socialist trends in ~~the~~ opposition to the domination of the emerging Second International by parliamentary parties modelled on the SPD. In Italy ~~this desire~~ ^{desire} ~~is~~ repeated through his effort to unite revolutionary and ~~anti-revolutionary~~ anti-parliamentarian socialists against the parliamentary PSI. The Fasci Siciliani and the labour upsurge of 1897-98 seemed ^{like} possible alternative routes, although by 1899 the libertarians had been jailed or exiled. In London Malatesta sought to encourage labour oriented anarchism and repair the ~~damage~~ ^{damage} ~~caused by~~ ^{caused by} ~~the~~ ^{in the} ~~war~~ of the demise of the Socialist League, but his main focus was abroad, using British examples to win ~~places~~ ^{places} ~~in~~ ^{within} the continental and Italian movements.

debates
within

Malatesta was arrested in February 1898 as social tensions built up to the bloody Milanese Fatti di Maggio. He remained imprisoned in Ancona in 1898 and later was sent to the penal islands. From London Kropotkin and Freedom protested his imprisonment. A large and impressive list of socialists and liberals - including scientists and novelists assembled by Nettlau and Kropotkin - petitioned for his release. ~~With the~~ ^{With the} help of friends, however, among whom was the reformist socialist deputy from Turin Oddino Morgari, Malatesta escaped from Lipari and made his way by fishing boat to Tunisia where his old friend and fellow anarchist Nicolo Converti greeted him. From Tunisia he sailed to Malta and then to London. It was an epic journey, reminiscent of Bakunin's escape from Siberia and appearance at Herzen's London doorstep in 1861.

He was back in London in May 1899, but still did not rest. He remained until August and was off across the Atlantic on speaking tour of the east coast of the United States. ~~The~~ exchanges between the libertarian

movements , both foreign and domestic , in Britain and the United States were frequent in these years. Emma Goldman was in London in 1898 and 1900 (and helped Malatesta in his anti - Boer War activities.) Voltarine de Cleyre arrived in 1898 ~~xxxxxxx~~ meeting Malatesta 's comrades in the Spanish movement who had just been deported from Spain. She had formulated , like Malatesta , an 'anarchism without adjectives ' , which settled the bickering between ~~anarchists~~ communists and collectivists. Harry Kelly , an anarchist and trade unionist from Boston, later to spread the Ferrer School movement in the USA, remained in London for a decade and joined Malatesta 's circle of confidants. In turn the British anarchists John Turner and Charles Mowbray made speaking tours of the United States . It was only after the passage of the anti ^{an}-anarchist laws of 1901 , in response to the assassination of President McKinley , that these exchanges became more difficult , if impossible.

During Malatesta 's tour of America and Cuba, he gave valid service to Questione Sociale of Paterson N.J. , founded by Pietro Gori on his tour of America in 1895. This paper, as is well known , was popular amongst the large Italian textile ~~worker~~ population of Paterson and endorsed Malatestan positions. Malatesta ran into some trouble when he confronted the anti - organisationalist , and was shot* during an argument , although not seriously. Later he was banned from public appearance in Cuba by the United States authorities , but addressed an anti - imperialist manifesto to the working class of Havana.

The combined effects of the Spanish American War, and the rabid chauvinism he encountered on his return to London , caused him to write a series of articles explaining his anti-imperialist position. Malatesta adopted a position close to the English radical liberal approach of Hobson. Imperialism was not a central dynamic of capitalism , like Kropotkin he believed that the capitalist system had much room to manoeuvre in . Instead imperialism was the product of

special interests: militarists , armaments manufacturers , colonial ~~politics~~^{lobbies} and civil servants . Imperialism was an example of the great autonomy the state possessed in carrying policies which sometimes even hurt the capitalist class. Later, in the 20th century, this approach would sometimes ~~place~~^{place} him in alliance with English radical liberals. The journalist Stead and Malatesta cooperated on an anti-Libyan war campaign in 1912. But Malatesta never was seen on the same platform during the war , since he feared that the Italian press would make him out to be a dupe of British imperial interests. (B) Malatesta also remained close to the ~~anti~~ pro- Boer press, particularly the popular Reynolds Newspaper , whose editor adopted a radical liberal , republican and anti - clerical position in the early 1900s and even had Malatesta write an article on Italian anarchism for the general public. Reynolds News - paper also participated in the campaign to stop Ferrer 's execution and invariably announced new exile anarchist publications in London . (C)

The anarchist movement and the left in general was threatened by the climate developing at the turn of the century .
With the Dreyfus Case , the dictatorship of Pelloux and the new jingoism spurred on by the opening of a new round of imperialist wars, libertarians ~~and~~ were forced either into coalitions with the rest of the left as in Italy and France or isolated as in Britain and the United States.

During the height of repression in the late nineties Malatesta argued that anarchists should form alliances with liberals ~~and~~ and reformist socialists in defence of civil liberties . Anarchists ~~did~~^{read} not shun the more moderate left in its ~~defence~~ defence of civil liberties. Malatesta recalled that after the Walsall bomb trial David Nicoll , an old comrade from the Socialist League , was imprisoned for eighteen months ~~off~~ for

threatening a judge in a newspaper article. Then, 1894, the English public was frightened by the anarchist terror wave. A few years later, when the anarchists had proved that they were not the monsters the press made them out to be, ~~the liberal~~ opinion rallied to the defence of their civil liberties. (A 9 / 7 / 97). Malatesta admired this ability of the British and Irish to win their civil liberties through direct action. Indeed, as Malatesta pointed out, the Irish invention of the boycott had forced Gladstone to pass legislation through Parliament which abolished the cruder forms of ~~rack~~ rack renting, so prevalent in 19th Century Ireland. And he noted with admiration that; 'Il popolo inglese ha conquistato una libertà politica che ^{sembra} ~~sembra~~ grande a noi italiani abituate alla schivitu, ed è riuscite a migliorare le condizone di una parte dei lavoratori, ma vi è riuscito a forze di lotte terribile e grandiose combattute soprattutto quando nessun operaio aveva il voto.' (Ibid)

Malatesta could discern an extraparliamentarian tradition in British popular politics - something that Max Nettlau and Peter Kropotkin repeated in articles for Freedom. These foreign anarchists admired the struggles of the Chartists and their ^{professors} ~~predecessors~~ the Owenites, who initiated the first general strike movement - the Grand National Holiday. The mid-century struggle for extended manhood suffrage and the New Unionist movement all pointed to the continual vitality of this tradition. But like other revolutionary observers of British popular politics, Malatesta realised that compromise and cooptation had repeatedly ~~redirection~~ blunted radical thrusts. Parliamentarianism redirected these popular energies into more ~~ax~~ conventional channels. 'Invece', Malatesta argued, 'dopo allargate il suffraggio, dopo che il popolo ha incominciate a sperare non più sulla paura ch'esso poteva incutere al Parlamento ed ai padroni ma all'azione dei suoi eletti in ^{SENZA} ~~senza~~ al Parlamento non ha ottentue più nulla, o se qualche piccole ^{cosa} ~~cosa~~ ha ottentuo, è stata ancora coll'azione ma diretta, malgrado e contro il Parlamento.' (Ibid) Later during the syndicalist revolt and the suffragette campaigns Malatesta saw a re-

awakening of this direct action tradition. Writing in Volontà in 1913, ^{remembering} ~~remembering~~ with affection ~~thexx~~ ^{Emile} Davidson, dead in a suffragette prison hunger strike, Malatesta remarked that this determined form of direct action had humiliated the mighty British empire. And even if Malatesta could not directly associate himself with a movement which ultimately sought Parliamentary representation, sometimes, he noted, the means a protest movement employed had greater significance than its intended aims. (D)

Parliamentarianism and a corporatist labour movement were the twin pillars of conservatism which maintained the moderate politics of the British working class. The New Unionism seemed to point to a new radical departure, but the reemergence of new craft exclusiveness even in these unions, and the cooption of most of its original leadership into the trade union establishment, disappointed Malatesta. On the other hand the lack of a nationally based British Marxist party was considered a hopeful sign.

The ILP was a regionally based party with its strength in Yorkshire and Lancashire, and after 1901, it began to merge with the Labour Party which in effect represented the interests of the great lib-lab or conservative industrial trade unions. Malatesta always mocked, the ILP's marxist competitor, the SDF. Writing at the turn of the century, he noted that after fifteen years of agitation, its leader Hyndman could only win two hundred votes in a parliamentary by-election. The Fabians were considered an intellectual debating society by Malatesta. ^{Its} ~~The~~ most worthwhile ideas had been used by Merlino.

Therefore, after 1901, Malatesta placed his hopes on a reawakened New Unionist spirit, which would revolutionise the great trade unions and turn the Labour Party away from its moderate parliamentary road. In the period before the Liberal victory of 1906, Malatesta felt that the increasingly hostile intervention of the state into the affairs of the trade unions would discredit labourism. A series of court dec-

isions, the Taff Vale case being the most important, weakened the powers of the trade unions and made them liable to damages caused during strikes. This had driven many otherwise conservative unions into the Labour Representation Committee and finally the parliamentary Labour Party. In the long run ~~they~~ ^{they} hoped a coalition of socialist, lib-lab and Liberal MPs would pass legislation which would effectively protect the trade union movement. Malatesta thought that Taff Vale signalled the unravelling of the conservative trade union establishment. (RS 29/12/02) In fact Taff Vale, in the years ^{before} the Liberal government of 1906, reinforced the parliamentary wing of the Labour Party. But in a longer perspective Malatesta was correct. As Henry Pelling has explained, hostile court rulings at the turn of the century deepened the distrust of the middle class dominated judiciary and prepared the way for a full-fledged anti-statist way e during the syndicalist revolt.

VI

Between 1901 and 1910 Malatesta and the foreign exile community played a significant role in raising this inarticulate fear of ~~the~~ statist intervention into a conscious critique of bureaucratic trade unionism and state ^{assisted} reformism. In so doing they educated a generation of syndicalist activist who stimulated the great industrial upheavals of 1911-1913. Malatesta's aim was to unmask the bureaucrats, to ^{expose} ~~stimulate~~, what he believed, were the healthy roots of British trade unionism.

It had been the New Unions which encouraged ~~Malatesta's~~ ^{the} French and Malatesta's own proto-syndicalism of the 1890s. Now the examples of ~~the~~ conscious syndicalism in the early 20th century returned via Spanish, Italian and French exiles to present a series of models to British trade unionists gradually moving towards the left.

After 1900 the foreign exile community stabilised, except for a ~~new~~ new wave of Russian and Jewish revolutionaries in the aftermath of the 1905 Revolution, migration from Western Europe

legislation

died away with the ~~legislation~~ of socialist movements. The Italian community which had been swollen by scores of anarchists and socialists fleeing Crispi was reduced to longer term political exiles like Malatesta and others who had sunk roots in London . Perhaps during this period there were twenty to fifty Italian anarchists in London with a further two hundred to four hundred Italians attracted to the PSI. For long periods the anarchists were riven by ~~periodic~~ disputes and limited by their constant fear of Italian police infiltration , which was indeed quite persistent. (This is a theme which we cannot explore here. But suffice to say that the British authorities expressed concern that Italian spying increased rather than controlled the dangers of a return to anarchist terrorist action.)

Except for a trip to Paris and Amsterdam , Malatesta remained in London from 1902 to 1913 . Emilia Defendi helped Malatesta through a heavy depression in the winter of 1903 when he was disenchanted with the Italian movement and with revolutionary syndicalism . His depression had been brought on by the failure , following several attempts , to establish a viable newspaper in London . Later , in 1908 , she dissuaded Malatesta from returning to Italy to edit a proposed anarchist daily newspaper in Milan , because she felt that his comrades in Italy just wanted to exploit him. (70) Malatesta was disturbed by the growth of individualist anarchism in Italy and the overshadowing of ~~syndicalism~~ the anarchist movement by syndicalism in its many confusing varieties. Many times during this decade he expressed the desire to pass his mantle of leadership on to the younger generation . But these impulses usually were followed by a spurt of activity. In 1905 Malatesta lectured at the short lived Popular University set up by the exile community and even if his newspaper ventures were not great successes they opened up new avenues to the young British syndicalist movement.

During the ~~brief period~~ interlude between the ~~failure~~ demise of the New Unionism and the syndicalist revolt, Malatesta's mature evaluation of the scope and limit of syndicalism was fully developed. With the experience of the British labour move-

in mind, Malatesta remained in close contact with the anarchist leaders of the French CGT, the Italians active in the American IWW, the Argentinian FORA and the Spanish movement. As a leader of the international anarchist movement, he could rapidly gather information from London based exiles and come to conclusions about the trajectory which international syndicalism was taking. His criticisms at the 1907 Amsterdam Anarchist congress, which saw him engage in a debate with the young Pierre Monatte over the identification of anarchism strictly with trade unions, was the fruit of this long period of reflection.

Malatesta edited two London newspapers in the early 1900s - Internazionale and Rivoluzione Sociale and closely collaborated on Sciopero Generale. These newspapers were internationally oriented, not only trying to spread syndicalist propaganda among London's exiles and immigrant worker population, but reporting on the state of the movement in Europe and the Americas. Special space was reserved for the young syndicalist movement in Italy. Malatesta carefully followed the fortunes of the syndicalist faction within the Italian Socialist Party and produced sharp criticism of its electoralism and productivist inclinations. (82)

VII

British syndicalism like its predecessor, New Unionism, was fuelled by an awakened militancy amongst semi-skilled and unskilled workers. This was accompanied by a general unease at the inflationary spiral eating away at the real wages of all British workers. Between 1910 and 1914 British trade union membership nearly doubled, much of this coming from previously apathetic transport workers. Civil disturbances broke out on a wide scale in the South Wales coalfields and in Liverpool, where the British navy ~~even threatened to~~ ~~send a~~ warship up the Mersey during a violent strike to intimidate the strikers. In both areas industrial rank and file movements largely influenced by libertarian ~~concepts~~ conceptions were prominent. In Liverpool the Spanish

refugees who had been actively propagating Ferrer's pedagogical ideas reinforced a local impulse to emulate European syndicalist institutions. In South Wales the Plebs League supplied the cadres who organised the rank and file miners movement. The South Wales miners published a profoundly libertarian programme for trade union democratisation known as The Miners Next Step . (95) This document which parallels Malatesta's own positions on how a trade union should be structured, argued for decentralisation into miners lodges and direct control of officials through revocable mandates. The movement was suspicious of proposed nationalisation schemes, instead it argued for socialisation of the miners, for a system of direct workers control. Malatesta remained in touch with these attempts through the London anarchist and syndicalist movements and through his Spanish comrades.

Malatesta's own earlier London based syndicalist newspapers were tied to the pre-history of "the syndicalist revolt." This, and his friendship with leading trade union militants, allowed him to participate in events. Many of the organisers of the New Unionists, such as Tom Mann and Ben Tillett, became prominent in "the syndicalist revolt." Mann, as we noted, knew Malatesta since the middle nineties. Although Mann's own form of industrially based socialism, had been introduced to him, by a fellow engineer Sam Mainwaring, an active anarchist since the 1830s and a member of the executive of the Socialist League, who became a member of Malatesta's circle.

In 1898 Tom Mann became the landlord of a pub in Covent Garden which served as a meeting place for foreign exiles. One group, called the Cosmopolitans, included Malatesta and Mann. (47) Here the older artisanal traditions of 'club socialism' mixed with the New Unionist

experience of Mann. Mann's activities in the ILP and the Workers Union (an organisation of the unskilled by the early ~~ILP~~ New Unionism) and his later involvement in Australian labour politics heightened his distrust of state reformism and Marxist political parties. When Mann returned to England in 1910 after a decade in Australia and New Zealand, he spurred ^{on} the syndicalist revolt ~~on~~ with his barnstorming of the ~~major~~ ^{major} industrial centres. By 1911 he had formally abandoned the statist SDF for an openly libertarian strategy. Tom Mann's and Guy Bowman's Industrial Syndicalist Educational League was praised by Malatesta for its libertarian ~~collocation~~ at a Freedom group New Years party. (85) *sedanation*

The ISEL's strategy most clearly resembled Malatesta's. Anarchists and syndicalists would try to change trade unions through militant agitation and education within their existing institutional structures. (85) The aim was to revive organisational democracy within the existing trade unions and make them more socially minded. In this way, if trade unions could not threaten the state without an anarchist party directing the movement towards insurrection, Malatesta hoped that a revolutionary consciousness might develop within renovated workers associations.

When Malatesta returned to Italy in 1913 and 1919 his advice to anarchists who had joined and later led the Unione Sindacale was conditioned by the experience of British syndicalism. Anarchists were intended to be educators and activists, attracting support for their conception of a libertarian labour organisation within syndicalist, socialist and corporatist trade unions. The trade unions were not sufficient to carry out the revolution by themselves, but on the other hand, unlike Lenin, trade unions were not mere 'transmission belts' where the revolutionary party recruited its cadres and explained ~~its~~ its policies to the less conscious rank and file. Through Mann's policies, Malatesta thought, a process of mass consciousness raising might be possible.

Malatesta's early syndicalist newspapers were generally bi or tri lingual ventures. The anarchist Mainwaring edited an English version of Sciopero Generale ~~xxxxxx~~ - The General Strike. And while the circulation of these newspapers was very limited, they did nurture a group of ~~industrial~~ industrial organisers who gained prominence during the 'Syndicalist Revolt'. While ^{an} ~~the~~ anti-statist ~~of anarchism~~ gradually surfaced during the syndicalist revolt, in its pre-history anarchism was only one of several sources of inspiration. Followers of the IWW's industrial unionism, Daniel DeLeon's SLP's dual unionism and ILP and SDF rebels argued amongst themselves over strategy. Malatesta rejected a pure syndicalist, industrialist or party oriented approach because he felt that such strategies threatened a wider solidarity amongst the workers and led to sectarianisms ~~xxx~~, preventing mass mobilisation ~~---~~

Although many activists in these contending movements did adopt anarchists arguments and a leading industrialist like WJ Allen lectured regularly at SoHo's Communist Club and remained within Malatesta's circle. The traditional pillar of the London anarchist group - Freedom - was slow to respond to the syndicalist movement. Kropotkin, Nettlau and their English associates Marsh and Keell had made the newspaper into an intellectual organ. By the early 20th century young anarchists, many of them disenchanted ex-ILPers or SDFers, were restless with this unimaginative policy. A veteran anarchist John Turner was assisted by Silvio Corio and the young firebrand Guy Aldred to found the shortlived Voice of Labour in 1907. Its aim was to inject anarchism into the emerging syndicalist movement. But Aldred and Turner fell out. Turner was a trade union official and Aldred felt that he had pandered to the sensibilities of the trade union officialdom. He was for a strenuous campaign in opposition to all forms of officialdom - a position which Malatesta endorsed, even if he found Aldred's bizarre behaviour tiresome.

Malatesta's friend Corio was important in these short-lived early ventures because as a journalist he had made a ~~athetnetwork~~ ^a network of friends in the established left and

rial organisers. In a series of articles in The Revue
~~forxinstana~~ (the organ of the caterers union) and
Freedom he clarified his controversial position .

VIII

Malatesta realised that revolutionary syndicalism , like
the earlier New Unionism , faced similar problems to those
of the political socialist movement. If we have seen ~~that~~ ^{the} para-
mount importance of the growth and spread of bureaucratic
structures , closely connected was an even more alarming pros-
pect for Malatesta - state interventionism. A strike , Malatesta
remarked , was a ' moral revolt ' . It meant the solidarity
of the working class in pursuit of common ends. But as capi-
talist society became more mature , the state and employers
devised methods to split the solidarity of the working class.
Armed intervention by the state demanded a direct and ⁱⁿ
some cases violent response- although Malatesta was prudent
not to descend from generalities when talking about vio-
lence. But Malatesta was concerned by a war between strikebreakers
and ~~workers~~ striking workers. Malatesta connected the development
of an organised strikebreaking movement to the bureau-
cratic management of the trade unions. The power of
the unchecked bureaucracy lay not only in the failure of the
rank and file to participate in union business , but in its
acceptance of new corporate labour policies offered by
officialdom .

Malatesta was always opposed to closed shops , limited apprentice-
ships , arbitration and labour exchanges because he felt that
these policies split the working class . In the end
the unemployed , the unskilled and the immigrants became
the pool from which the employer's strike breaking
societies drew their recruits. (93) Perhaps it was from his
own experience as an immigrant that Malatesta understood
these problems . But it was only with the syndicalist re-
volt , when the concept of Belloc's Servile State became
popular amongst the ' rebel movement ' , did Malatesta
find a concept which cristalised his feelings into an
overarching critique.

Hilaire Belloc , former MP and a Catholic critic of reformist and statist socialism , gained tremendous popularity within the syndicalist movement , as well as, influencing these younger Fabians formulating Guild Socialism. Belloc , who wanted to return to a form of smallholder agricultural society , touched a deep chord in the British working classes' fear of middle class reforming and greater state regulation of daily life. (94) After the election of the Liberals in 1906 and the failure of the Labour Party to act as anything more than its messenger boy , the growth of syndicalism was married to a popular opposition towards Liberal social welfare legislation . In London and in the provinces many socialists criticised the statism of both the ILP and the SDF . Steadily parliamentarianism was losing its attractions.

In 1912 the movement coalesced around the iconoclastic socialist and feminist - George Lansbury, and his Daily Herald, and its Daily Herald Leagues. It was here that Belloc's critique of social insurance and state industrial arbitration schemes was fully aired to a popular public. (99) And it was here that the campaign to stop the deportation of Malatesta in the summer of 1912 received the same sympathetic coverage that Lansbury devoted to the suffragettes , the Irish nationalists , and European and American syndicalists and Herve's flamboyant campaigns in France. Through the Daily Herald libertarian ideas gained ground in London . In areas of old Socialist League strength like Hammersmith and Walthamstow an interlocking network of syndicalist building workers , Daily Herald Leagues , Pleb Leagues and anarchists created a rich and diversified rebel movement. Malatesta was a welcomed speaker.

When Malatesta returned to Italy in 1913 , he tried to draw parallels between the decade of Giolittian government and the liberalism of the Asquith - Lloyd George cabinet. When an anarchist in Volonta tried to present a sympathetic case for Lloyd George's ~~socialist~~ pacific intentions. Malatesta responded bitterly , calling

the Welsh Liberal a ~~hypocrite~~ pious hypocrite who talked of peace and busily ordered the construction of dreadnoughts. Liberalism had become warlike and its new statist orientation had ~~attuned it to xxxsocialxxx~~ frightening made it the party of the Servile State.

Both Italian and British liberalism, Malatesta explained, relied on new social welfare schemes and expanded suffrage to integrate the working class into a new type of capitalism which relied very much on the state. He pointed to the fact that the older model of liberalism was dead. No longer would the regulation of the working class by the mechanism of the free market place and the repressive apparatus of state suffice: *« i borghesi intelligenti incominciano a comprendere che i lavoratori ben nutriti e contenti produrre di più. »* (100).

In this system the reformists in the labour movement and in the socialist parties had played a notable role in adapting the working class to its new fate. For Malatesta the Servile State was the product of the trade union's corporate labour policy and the new interventionism of the state.

E dove il capitalismo individuale si mostra impotente a

a garantire la stabilità, cioè la perpetuazione della privilegia, già sta per essere sostituita dal capitalismo di stato, in cui privilegiati ... si chiamerebbero funzionari, ed il popolo di lavoratori sarebbe ridotto a gregge, forse in po' meglio pasciuto, un po' meno esposto alla incertezza della disoccupazione e della vecchiaia, ma più schiavo che in regime capitalista.

Da un altro lato il movimento operaio, ... che si allarga e si normalizza tende a salvaguardare gli interessi immediati come si può, mediante gli accordi coi padroni, e, peggio ancora, tende a creare privilegia ... ed a preparare un quarto stato, una nuova classe di privilegiati, che lascerebbe sotto di

quarto stato , una nuova classe di privilegiati , che lascerebbe sotto di se la grande massa piu oppressa ... che mai. (101)

But Malatesta called for an opposition from the left. He called on all anarchists and all 'real socialists' to oppose the 'servile state.'

Malatesta was not an individualist and did not propose an anarchism 'for small businessmen'. His answer was the winning of reforms by direct action. Reforms won through direct action, through the efforts of the workers and their own organisations would develop in 'ciascun individuo il sentimento di dignita personale e la coscienza dei suoi diritti.' (102)

It was a lesson which he taught Pelloutier in the nineties, whose organisation for the Bourses du Travail aimed at inculcating that sense of collective and individual responsibility which the more thoughtful anarchists and socialists saw as a solution to the growing bureaucratic threat. Like Gustave Landauer and William Morris, Malatesta's libertarian socialism centered on the problem of how one would create a conscious socialist so that the power structure within the socialist movement did not weaken its radical thrust or create a new hierarchy.

Malatesta's use of the imagery of the 'Servile State' during the year which climaxed with La Settimana Rossa was not out of place. Italian working class culture possessed equivalent anti-statist and anti-middle class undercurrents which ~~had~~ found 'servile state' arguments ~~so~~ appealing. And a similar opposition to Giolitti's social insurance plan developed in Italian industry in this year and later reappeared in 1920

when he reintroduced it. (5)

If revolutionary syndicalism suffered disorientation at the outbreak of war ^{its} spirit and many of its shop floor participants reappeared as activists ^{of} the 'councilism' of the Biennio Rosso- both in Turin and ~~the~~ the Clydeside. In 1917, Malatesta wrote to Armando Borghi explaining ^{that} the pre-war syndicalist movement had disappeared from wartime Britain, but in the northern industrial centres and on the Clyde, a new shop stewards movement was stirring. ^(A) In its origins the revolt on the Clyde owed a great deal to anarchist workers. Malatesta had a keen sense for these 'rebel' trade union movements. British syndicalism and its attendant manifestations helped him widen his ~~con~~ceptual horizons.