



FOR PEOPLE & PLANET

Remembering Terry McDonough

Edited by Cian McMahon

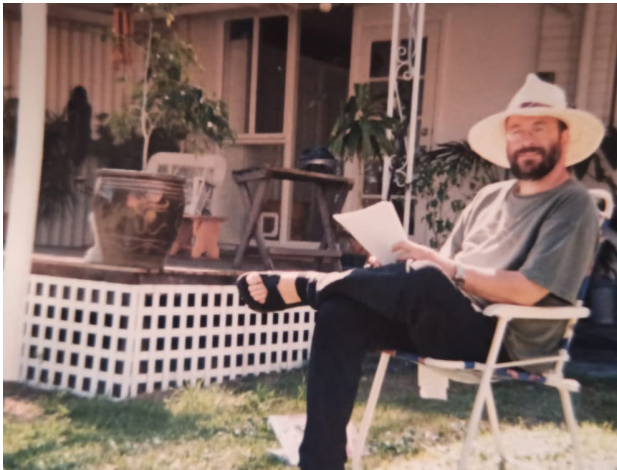
Edited by Cian McMahon

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“Terry’s commitment to combining his rigorous academic research agenda with an ongoing commitment to popular education and movement building, sharing his knowledge and ideas freely with union activists and other social justice fighters, set an outstanding example for other progressive economists. It’s one thing to think and write about great ideas. It’s quite another to get down and dirty in real-world justice struggles, dedicating your own resources and passions to actually building the better world we dream of. Terry did both, and workers’ movements and unions around the world are stronger for it.”

Jim Stanford, trade union economist and author of *Economics for Everyone: A Short Guide to the Economics of Capitalism* (Pluto Press)



Terry McDonough catches up on some reading during his visiting professorship at the University of Newcastle, Australia, in 2000.

“We were all enormously saddened to learn of the passing of Professor Terrence McDonough... For a number of years, Terry served on the Academic Stewards Committee here at NUI Galway. Moreover, he was Co-Chair of the Committee for a period and worked hard to ‘put members first’ and to improve the terms and conditions for all members; not only at NUI Galway but across the wider labour and trade union movement. An incisive and socially committed Marxist economist, Terry’s life and work symbolised his devotion to intellectual rigour and the ethics of solidarity. He will be very much missed.”

SIPTU (Academic) Stewards Committee,
NUI Galway, 13 September 2021

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Preface

Cian McMahon

The passing of Terrence (Terry) McDonough on 7 September 2021 came largely out of the blue, and doubtless far before his time. Only a few weeks earlier he was still quietly confident, as were those around him, that he could beat this illness. Terry continued to read, to think, to write, and to engage right up until his eyes closed for the last time, even as his energy levels began to wax and wane under successive rounds of treatment. It was a measure of the Marxist that he persevered in the face of it all – that he remained committed until the last to something he considered bigger than himself – that he retained courage and hope. But, alas, as anyone who has studied under Terry can recite ad infinitum, the future is fundamentally uncertain. It falls to us to take up his torch.

Terry was but a few years into his well-deserved retirement – if he ever truly retired – from a life of fulltime teaching to earn his keep. I know firsthand that he spent much of this subsequent “downtime” reading hefty tomes; writing papers, chapters, and political manifestos; editing books and journals; travelling around the country to teach in trade union and community halls; and collaborating with local and national activists (not to mention informally advising straggler students!). It’s a good thing for Marian (and better again for Terry) that she was by his side encouraging and assisting him at every turn; otherwise she might not have seen him at all (and I might not have seen the end of my formal studies)!

Still, Terry knew when to let his hair down (even if shorter than during his hippie days) as the occasion arose. His good humour and affable character is remembered fondly by all who passed his way. Not your typical Emeritus Professor of Economics by any stretch of the imagination.

Throughout his career, Terry was a popular and respected figure within academic, teaching, community, political, trade union, and civil society circles. He struck a commanding presence when he spoke, deliberate in manner, but always eager to hear from others. It is an admirable personal quality that he displayed in all aspects of his life and work. Terry was also exceedingly generous with his time and with his considerable reservoirs of knowledge, giving freely to various social and environmental justice campaigns, as well as to students who demonstrated an extracurricular interest in radical political economics.

It is our hope that his example will continue to inspire future generations in the pursuit of a better, fairer, greener, and healthier world system.

The contributors to this collection – family and friends, comrades and coauthors – share formative memories and amusing anecdotes of a dearly missed companion. We follow Terry from childhood through adolescence and into adulthood, as remembered through the eyes of his sister, Bridget McDonough; his life partner, Marian Brady; his childhood friend and lifelong comrade, Geoff Thale; his niece, Catherine Wylie; his closest academic collaborators, Maria Alejandra Gonzalez-Perez, Brian O’Boyle, Eamonn Slater, and David Kotz; and his closest activist collaborators, Ann Irwin, Steve Thornton, Vicky Donnelly, and Tish Gibbons.

They gave voice to written word during a memorial event held in early 2022, as did Sarah Clancy who read one of her poems, and Lillis Ó Laoire who sang a traditional Irish language lament. We are eternally grateful to support received from the Irish Centre for the Histories of Labour and Class (ICHLC), especially memorial coorganisers Sarah-Anne Buckley and John Cunningham; Dan Carey and Martha Shaughnessy of the Moore Institute for Research in the Humanities and Social Studies; Paddy Gillespie and the Economics Discipline at NUI Galway; and the SIPTU (Academic) Stewards Committee, NUIG.

Together we can begin to unravel the wondrous enigma that was, and that through us still is, Terry McDonough.

Rest in Power, comrade, inspiration, friend.

Cian McMahon, *Nova Scotia, 21 January 2022*

Economics professor, campaigner, and loving husband

Catherine Wylie

Terrence McDonough was born in Pasadena, California, on 22 December 1952. Known to friends and family as Terry, he would go on to settle in Ireland and become a professor of economics, an environmental campaigner, an advocate for social justice, and a loving husband to his wife Marian.

Terry's great-great-grandfather Patrick McDonough left Strokestown, County Roscommon in 1847, and settled on a farm in Montello, Wisconsin. Many years later, in 1974, Terry returned to his ancestors' homeland to study in Dublin for a semester abroad. It was during this time that he met Marian Brady from Coalisland, County Tyrone, who was a student of geography and archaeology at University College Dublin. The pair became friends whilst staying at the same boarding house in the city. But they lost contact when Terry travelled back to the US, and it wasn't until 1990 when Terry returned to Ireland with his father Jim on a trip to celebrate receiving his PhD that the pair would be reunited. Terry posted a letter in an envelope with just Marian's name and "Coalisland" marked on the front, and it miraculously arrived at her office in the town. As it turned out, both Terry and Marian had remained unclaimed treasures in those intervening years, and the rest, as they say, is history.

The couple lived in Dublin where Terry lectured at Dublin City University, before relocating west where Terry would become a professor of economics at National University of Ireland, Galway. Much loved among his students, his passion for the subject and how it shapes the world inspired hundreds of young people. His deeply thought out lectures with course titles such as "How to Argue with an Economist" left a lasting impact on those he taught. Terry became a well-known

name on the political left in Ireland, and was invited to speak at events and conferences around the world. He developed a significant body of work based on a Marxist analysis, authoring and contributing to books including *Was Ireland a Colony? Economics, Politics, and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Irish Academic Press) and *Contemporary Capitalism and Its Crises: Social Structure of Accumulation Theory for the 21st Century* (Cambridge University Press).

Terry's interest in social justice, as well as his anti-war sentiments, began in school. These passions stayed with him for the rest of his life, shaping his professional career. So enthusiastic was he that his school was unhappy with his activities and he was asked to leave after his junior year. That tussle with authority would thankfully not deter Terry, and his passion combined with his intellect ensured that he would become a figure widely admired for his ideas and vision.

Terry's commitment to protecting the environment and tackling climate change led to him becoming a prominent figure at the Galway Environmental Network, where his wisdom, knowledge, and foresight were invaluable to the work of the group.

Terry's friends and family will fondly remember that, even in his downtime, he was rarely without a newspaper or book. Reading glasses perched on his head, Terry devoured a variety of genres, from science fiction novels to physics textbooks, from restaurant and film reviews to current affairs.

But academia, economics and environmental issues were not his only passions. Terry lived life to the full and zealously pursued his many interests outside of work. A more enthusiastic foodie you are unlikely to find, and he was as happy cooking from an old sauce-stained cook book in his kitchen as he was trying out a restaurant recommended in the Lonely Planet guide of whatever city he found himself in. An adventurous eater, he was once applauded by local chefs in a hilltop village in China for finishing their very authentic breakfast.



Terry pictured at Catherine's wedding in 2017. (Photo via Catherine Wylie)

A keen traveller and walker, Terry covered many miles around the world in countries including Peru, India, Australia, Mexico, Russia, and on his beloved Camino de Santiago. His home in Moycullen, on the scenic edges of Connemara, is testament to his love of the world and the melting pot of cultures within it, with prints from various galleries and pottery from local artisans.

Terry also comfortably fell into the category of the absentminded professor, having once gone to see Riverdance wearing his bedroom slippers.

Terry will be remembered by his family and many friends for his intelligence, kindness, generosity, his sense of justice, his commitment to the merits of equality and his one-off unique personality.

Terry died on 7 September 2021 following a short illness. He is survived by his wife Marian, his 98-year-old father Jim, sisters Bridget and Colleen, and niece Claire.

Ní fheicimid a leithead arís.

The early years – and a McDonough returns to the Emerald Isle

Bridget McDonough

Terry was born in Pasadena, California, on 22 December 1952. That made him a native Californian, which at the time of his birth was rare. In the 1950s most Californians had come from somewhere else. Terry's parents, James and Lois (Hunzinger) McDonough, had moved from Milwaukee, Wisconsin for Jim's work at General Electric. Soon they moved to Seattle, Washington, where Jim worked for a short time for Boeing.

While still a baby, Terry was moved again to Milwaukee, Wisconsin. His mother Lois had lived there since she was a child and Jim returned to resume work at Allis Chalmers and make his wife happy. Lois wanted to be back near her family. Terry's sisters, Bridget (me) and Colleen, came along in a few years.

Terry grew up in Brookfield, Wisconsin – a western suburb of Milwaukee. He attended St John Vianney Grade School from grades 1 to 8. The school was attached to the parish church.

He was often surrounded by many cousins, aunts, and uncles from the Hunzinger side of the family, as they all lived nearby. "Grammy and Pappy" Hunzinger had a cottage on Pearl Lake, about two hours north of Milwaukee, and many summer days were spent "up north" (a Wisconsin tradition) swimming, boating, fishing, barbecuing, and more at "the lake".



*A portrait of the Marxist as a young boy.
(Terry, aged 7 or 8, circa 1960; Photo via Bridget McDonough)*

In the summer the family also made a regular trip “out west”. We would visit national parks such as Yellowstone, Glacier, Mount Rushmore etc., and then end the trip by spending a week or so with Grandma and Grandpa McDonough in Jim’s hometown of Glendive, Montana. During those visits Terry was able to hang out and visit with his McDonough cousins, aunts and uncles, and many other extended relatives.

During his childhood he was, of course, a good student. He was also a “rock hound”. He was very interested in rocks, minerals, and fossils. All the trips “out west” involved fossil and agate hunting in the badlands of North Dakota and Montana. He belonged to the Waukesha County Geological Society (I think he was the youngest member) and would exhibit his finds at the local rock show. Terry was also a cub scout and a boy scout.

When people ask me what Terry was like as a kid, I usually answer that my main memory is that he was always in his room reading!

One time our mother opened his bedroom door to find him lying on his bed starrng at the ceiling. She said, "I thought you were supposed to be writing your essay for school". Terry answered "I am".

Terry attended Marquette High School in downtown Milwaukee. He was educated by the Jesuits. He was one of the top students in his class and participated on the debate team.

In high school, Terry began his anti-war sentiments and his interest in social justice. These passions stayed with him for the rest of his life and shaped his professional career. The school administration was not happy with his activities, and despite his academic achievements, was asked to leave Marquette High School after his junior year.

He spent what would have been his senior year in independent study with a group of similar-minded young people at the Milwaukee Independent School. (As this was not an accredited school, Terry actually never received a high school diploma.)

He was accepted at Goddard College in Vermont. He left Wisconsin for good in 1971 to begin his undergraduate studies. (Goddard's system was year-round.)

It was during his junior year that he did a semester abroad in Dublin, Ireland, and that is where he met Marian Brady for the first time.

They would not "get together" until 17 years later, when in 1990 Terry, along with his father, Jim (Lois had died the previous year), made a trip to Ireland and they found Marian in Coalisland and stopped for a visit. (They made the trip to celebrate Terry receiving his PhD.)

Before Terry moved to Ireland in 1992, he lived and taught school in Hartford, Connecticut; attended graduate school in Amhurst,

Massachusetts; and lectured at Canisius College in Buffalo, New York.

I credit a lot of Terry's success as an academic and activist to our parents, Jim and Lois. They valued education and never discouraged us from pursuing our passions. They recognised Terry's intellect at an early age and supported his achievements.

Our Irish ancestor Patrick McDonough left Strokestown in Roscommon in 1847. He settled on a farm in Montello, Wisconsin. His son Michael left for North Dakota and Montana to work on the railroad. Michael's son Roy and his grandson James were both born in Glendive, Montana. Terry (Patrick's great-great-grandson) moved to Ireland in 1992, bringing a McDonough back to Ireland after almost 150 years.

Coming of age – a lifelong friend and comrade

Geoff Thale

Terry McDonough was one of my oldest friends – we met as freshmen in a Jesuit boys' high school in Milwaukee in 1967, and were close friends and political comrades for many years.

In high school, Terry was one of the leaders of a group of anti-war student activists, as well as a vigorous opponent of our school's dress code for students. We were part of a student group that wore armbands in support of peace activists who had burned draft board records in Milwaukee, and we quit the school debate team together when told we had to cut our long hair in order to compete.

Terry didn't finish at Marquette High. A series of confrontations with school administrators led to a session in which authorities suggested that if Terry couldn't follow the rules, he might want to leave the school. Terry, involved in an effort to create a student-led alternative school, would have been happy to quit Marquette and join the nascent Milwaukee Independent School (MIS). But his parents had been opposed, until his father Jim, angered by the school's self-righteous and condescending tone in the meeting to discuss his future at Marquette, announced the end of Terry's enrolment, and walked out. Terry happily did his senior year at MIS, free of grades and dress codes, and surrounded by other student activists.

Terry and I wrote our first political leaflet together while he was at the Milwaukee Independent School. It was a call to participants in a local anti-hunger march to recognise that charity was insufficient, and that hunger was the result of inequality under capitalism. (I still have a copy of the leaflet, with its clenched fist, printed gratis by a local Trotskyist group on the long-dead technology of the mimeograph.) We



Terry (second from left) and Geoff (third from right), along with Geoff's wife, her two sisters, and his brother. Pictured at Geoff's wedding in 1989.

The logo (right) is from the first political leaflet they produced together almost two decades earlier in the spring of 1971.



Economic exploitation of Third World nations by American business. (In 1964 and 1965, the total drain on Third World countries by Western industrialized nations was over \$ 12 billion dollars.)

Hoarding of land and natural resources by a small local elite. (In Latin America, 1% of the population owns 71.6% of the farmland.)

U.S. military suppression of nationalist movements in Indochina, Bolivia, Uruguay, and elsewhere.

U.S. military and economic support of right-wing governments.

Gross misplacement of United States priorities.

Overconsumption of the world's resources by Western nations, fostered in our schools and entertainment media, thus draining the resources of the non-Western world. (In 1965, 60% of the world's total gross domestic product was consumed by Western nations, who make up less than 20% of the population; the Third World consumed only 11.5% of that wealth.)

An extract from Terry and Geoff's first political leaflet, produced in the spring of 1971.

(Photos via Geoff Thale)

handed out several thousand copies in the course of a 25-mile march.

We organised our first demonstration together, in what we hoped would be a militant protest against the renomination of Richard Nixon for president, in the summer of 1972. Unfortunately, there were only seven participants at the rally, because we had no organisations backing it. Still, we were pleased at the number of police who showed up to monitor and keep us from disruption.

We spent the summer after high school living in an abandoned farmhouse in northern Wisconsin. In the fall, Terry went off to Goddard College in northern Vermont, a loosely structured college that attracted hippies, young radicals, and free thinkers. Terry got a degree in education, focusing on alternative schools. He did a term in Dublin, and internships at a small free school in New Mexico, and at the Shanti School, an alternative public high school in Hartford, Connecticut. (I worked at Shanti at the same time, and Terry and I roomed together for much of the 1972-1973 school year.)

After graduation, Terry moved to Hartford, and taught at Shanti for two years. While there, living in a group house, Terry got engaged in community organising efforts, and in the political currents of what was then called the New Communist Movement. He began to study economics seriously, taking courses at the University of Hartford, then moved on to a doctoral programme at the University of Massachusetts (UMass) Amherst, one of the few US economics programmes that took Marxist and heterodox economics seriously. At UMass, Terry first got interested in long wave theory and in the study of social structures of accumulation, which became the focus of his academic interests.

Terry continued his activism, involving himself in local efforts in the Pioneer Valley in Massachusetts, and participating in ideological and political debates on the left. At UMass he was involved with the Center for Popular Economics, which offered short courses on left-wing economics for trade unionists and activists. He was involved with a journal called *Theoretical Review* that ran from 1977 to 1983,

edited the journal *Socialist Politics* from 1984 to 1989, and was involved with its successor, *North Star Review* in 1990. All sought to critically re-examine Marxist thinking and the political practice of the post-Vietnam generation of the US left.

While completing his doctorate at UMass, Terry found a job in the Economics Department at Canisius College in Buffalo, New York. (He told me once that the faculty was divided between older Keynesians and younger neoliberals, and that he was hired because the senior faculty would rather have a Marxist than another neoliberal.) He was at Canisius until he reconnected with Marian, then moved to Ireland.

Terry was deeply intellectually interested and deeply politically engaged. But he also loved the movies, to eat at restaurants, and to try new cuisines. I spent three days with him in Toronto once, seeing two movies a day and sampling ethnic meals, and I tried every restaurant in Northampton Mass and Buffalo while visiting. The last time I saw him and Marian in Washington we enjoyed Laotian food.

Along with food, movies, and politics, we shared the ups and downs of our personal and romantic lives for two decades. He was one of the huppah holders at my sorta-Catholic/Jewish wedding. He was an intellectual, an activist, a teacher, and a friend. I miss him.

The academic years – thinking long and hard

David Kotz

I met Terry in 1979, when I was in my first year as an assistant professor of economics at the University of Massachusetts Amherst and Terry was a first year PhD student. At that time the UMass Amherst Economics Department was one of several in the U.S. that had hired a bunch of Marxist faculty. As a result, we attracted many PhD students who wanted to change the world, and Terry was among them. Terry enrolled in a small US economic history class I taught. They were all student activists and sometimes a bit challenging for the instructor. One day I cancelled the class since I was ill, but, not recognising that I had any special authority to do that, the five students went ahead and held the class without me.

Terry became interested in social structure of accumulation (SSA) theory, a new theory of stages of capitalism. SSA theory offers an analysis of the forces that lead to alternations between a long period of rapid economic expansion and a long period of economic crisis. He decided to do his PhD dissertation on SSA theory, with me as his committee chair. Some PhD students do a quick dissertation on a topic that is abandoned after its completion to turn in other directions. For Terry, SSA theory would define his academic trajectory and major research interest.

Terry and I worked together in building a new popular economics institution at UMass Amherst, the Center for Popular Economics. It ran summer institutes and workshops for progressive activists in many different movements, including the trade union, peace, anti-poverty, women's rights, Black and Latinx rights, and environmental movements. It was an exciting project, that brought together local activists, who often had an ungenerous view of academic folks, with our group of Marxist academics. Somehow we got along well, at least in the end, and each side learned from the other.



China, in October 2019. (Photo via David Kotz)

In the mid-1980s Terry and I decided to join the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), which was then a small, sleepy, and rather moderate organisation. It was born from a merger of a party descended from the pre-World War I American Socialist Party and the New American Movement from the American New Left of the 1960s-70s. Terry and I formed a tiny “Marxist caucus” at the DSA’s annual conventions, which was tolerated by the bemused leadership who had distant memories of their own youthful interest in Marxism. It turned out the DSA was not going anywhere at that time. It would take decades of an increasingly oppressive capitalism, and the rise of both Trump and Bernie Sanders, to suddenly propel DSA from 8,000 members to 95,000. The SSA analysis turned out to be designed to analyse such developments.

In 1985 Terry left Amherst to take a faculty job at Canisius College in Buffalo, New York. In 1992 he moved again, this time to take up a visiting fellow position at Dublin City University (DCU) in Ireland. In 1995 he got a faculty position at National University of Ireland Galway (NUIG), where he remained for the rest of his academic career. As capitalism became increasingly globalised, it spilled over into academic

life, and Terry spent time as a visiting researcher or faculty member at institutions in Australia, France, and China. After I started making regular visits to China in the early 2000s to give lectures and meet with colleagues, Terry and I began to work as a team, mainly in Shanghai where we both got positions at the Shanghai University of Finance and Economics. Some faculty there had begun to work on a Chinese version of SSA theory, and we did our best to bridge the gulf between Marxist economics in China – where Marxism is the official ideology of the state – and Marxist economics in the West where it is associated with opposition to existing economic and political systems.

Our time together in China was not all serious work. We often boldly visited small local restaurants where no one spoke English and the menu was only in Chinese. Wielding my English-Chinese pocket dictionary, we would show the server the Chinese translation of food items that seemed okay, while hoping not to see unfamiliar body parts of animals on our plates. Sometimes that worked and sometimes it didn't.

SSA theory became the main focus of Terry's academic career. This started with his dissertation and next led to a 1994 edited book, *Social Structures of Accumulation: The Political Economy of Growth and Crisis*. It had chapters explaining, analyzing, and applying SSA theory. That book had three coeditors. Terry needed a book on his curriculum vitae to get tenure at Canisius College. Michael Reich of the University of California at Berkeley had been the coauthor of the influential 1982 book *Segmented Work, Divided Workers*, that had launched SSA theory into the academic arena with the prestigious imprint of Cambridge University Press. My role was that I knew both of them. Our triumvirate of coeditors was born. Terry got stuck doing most of the work, Michael got Cambridge University Press to publish it, and I linked the other two together. We did a second edited book on SSA theory in 2010, *Contemporary Capitalism and Its Crises: Social Structure of Accumulation Theory for the 21st Century*. Those two books helped to spur interest in SSA theory among not just heterodox economists, but academics in political science, criminology, sociology, and history. Terry was established as the leading authority on SSA theory.

Terry pressed on with his work on SSA theory. He initiated two more edited books on SSA theory with Edward Elgar Publishing, one in 2014 (*Social Structure of Accumulation Theory*) and another in 2021 (*Handbook of Social Structure of Accumulation Theory*). In the new one, Cian McMahon, his former student, replaced Michael Reich as the third coeditor, when Michael shifted his focus toward policy work in support of the labour movement in California. At the same time, Terry also wrote about the economics, politics, culture, and history of his adopted country, Ireland.

Terry's intellectual style was one of thinking long and hard about an issue and surveying a large and diverse literature related to it. He paid attention to the underlying philosophy and methodology of social science analysis. He thought in complex ways and sometimes expressed his thoughts in complex ways. His average sentence about serious matters, spoken or written, was usually two or three times as long as mine. I always learned a new way of thinking about an issue after a long conversation with Terry.

It's not just economies that go through stages. A left-wing professor's relationship with a PhD student also goes through stages, and at its best it grows from the inevitably unequal relation of teacher-student to that of colleague, comrade, and close friend. All of those stages happened for Terry and me.

Terry was a kind and considerate person and a loyal friend. He always laughed at my jokes, even the bad ones, which make up a substantial portion of them. He found a soul mate in Marian. When my wife Karen and I visited Ireland during the week of the Thanksgiving holiday, Marian organised an American-style Thanksgiving dinner for us at their home.

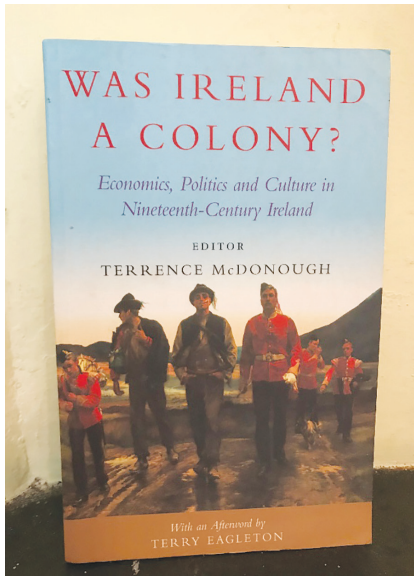
A child should outlive her/his parents. Likewise for a PhD student and her/his professor. Terry's passing came much too early. I remember him fondly and miss him dearly.

A great intellectual hunger

Eamonn Slater

It is the title of his book, that he mostly wrote and edited, which allows us an insight into Terry and the intellectual trajectory of his endeavours – *Was Ireland a Colony?* A simple question, but with huge implications when we become aware of the time period it was applied to – the 19th century. By asking this question of 19th century Ireland, Terry was challenging the orthodoxies of many who had a vested interest in not recognising that Ireland was (and still is) a colony of Britain. Of course, politicians and intellectuals of the status quo both in Britain and Ireland have a nervous disposition to such a question, as it reminds them that the past which they have inherited and attempt to control has a darker side than just a steady and even flow of modernising.

Asking such a question of the past, Terry was not only interrogating the neutrality of historical facts to speak for themselves, but, in doing so, he was also defying empiricism the sole right to recall the past objectively. The book, and its diverse contributions, is a testimony to the courage, tenacity, and intellectual power of its instigator and editor, to present such a coherent and sustained argument of the colonial reality of Ireland that ran through all aspects of Irish society and economy. But to pose this question, Terry had to engage with two of the most powerful intellectuals of the 19th century, who have extensively discussed the colonial conditions of 19th century Ireland – Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. And again, Terry did not retreat from such an intimidating encounter with such maligned intellectuals, whose work on Ireland was either ignored or shunned, and rarely consulted.



Terry's edited volume, which includes coauthored chapters with Eamonn Slater and Tom Boylan relating to the Great Irish Famine. (Irish Academic Press)

So, the title question – *Was Ireland a Colony?* – was a result of a long investigation into not only the historical development of 19th century Ireland, but also the works of Marx and Engels, a task that became a collaborative effort with myself. Our project became one of deciphering the diverse insights that Marx and Engels made on Ireland, and to do this we soon discovered that we had to cover not only their Irish material, but also their more general accounts of capitalism. The breakthrough point in our research occurred when we realised that they were applying their dialectical methodology to the Irish situation. Reassessing their work through a dialectical lens, we were able to uncover a number of new insights that Marx and Engels developed in their investigation of colonial Ireland. I summarise some of these findings in the following:

1. *Colonialism is a social process which evolves over differing phases and thwarts all aspects of the colonialisèd society.*
2. *Colonialism created the conditions for the emergence of a feudal economy that prevented the rise of capitalism and especially industrial capitalism.*
3. *Rent rather than profit was the determining factor of this colonialisèd economy.*
4. *The colonial process dominated not only the social aspects of Irish society but also its ecology.*
5. *Engels and Marx engaged in in-depth analysis of Ireland's ecological conditions, especially Marx's discussion of the metabolic rift in the context of colonial Ireland.*
6. *The Famine was equally determined by colonial social conditions as by the potato blight.*

The key point of Marx and Engels's work on Ireland, which struck us late in our research, was how they saw Ireland as an organic totality where every material thing and every social aspect were interconnected. This interconnectedness of societal organic totality needs to be further explored as a way in which society is actually determined, and especially its relationships, with its ecological base. Recently, our efforts have begun to be recognised by Marxist ecologists John Bellamy Foster and Brett Clark, who described our investigations on colonial Ireland as "pathbreaking work" (see "The Rift of Éire", *Monthly Review*, 2020, 71(11), 64).

Terry was a thinker who effortlessly went beyond the world of economics. For an intellectual whose day job kept him in the confines of the "dismal" science of economics, Terry was remarkable in his ability to break out of such an "iron cage"; to discuss with equal mastery of innovative insights the post-colonial literature of William Butler Yeats and James Joyce (see Terry's chapter on this from his colonialism book).

However, Terry's wisdom was not just intellectual, it also incorporated an inspiring sense of a commitment to combatting injustice and using his intellectual ability to give a voice to the voiceless, whether of the past, or of the present. His intellectual power came from the need to unravel the complexity of reality, never letting his own ego get in the way. The coming together of these traits in Terry, allowed him to reach the highest point of intellectualism in many fields of endeavour, but he never forgot that the true purpose of that gift was to help his fellow human beings. To grasp the essence of Terry as a thinker, we cannot just remain with him; Terry was Terry because of his partner in life - Marian. She provided not only a sounding board for our ideas, but also a constant source of encouragement to get our ideas out in a published form. We should have listened more to her advice!

I have been so lucky to have travelled some of the route on life's journey in the company of such a humane intellectual, whose quiet and unassuming disposition was a constant source of reassurance in times of personal crises. It will be up to the next generation of scholars to assess our work, and I hope they will be as lucky as I have been to be able to do so in the company of a Terry-like intellectual and humane person.

These words could never be enough!

More than a mentor – “Terry was a father to me”

Maria Alejandra Gonzalez-Perez

I'm tremendously fortunate to have met Terry. It was a blessing for me in my personal and professional life. I vividly remember our first meeting. In the first minute of our conversation, Terry mentioned that his wife's name was Marian. I asked him if this was in honour of Lady Marian, Robin Hood's lover. He gave me a sweet and naughty smile and told me that it was because Marian was born in 1954, and that was a year of the Virgin Mary (a Marian year) ordered by Pope Pius.

Terry had been awarded an Irish government research grant on structural transformation. I was very lucky that he hired Emlyn Nardone from Lahinch, Brian O'Boyle from Dublin, Fidelma Murphy from Longford, and me from Medellin under that grant. The four of us are different breeds of people. I remember our meetings with Emlyn and Brian at Terry's office in the economics department on the second floor of Saint Anthony's building in NUI Galway. Terry noticed that our knowledge of political economy was very dissimilar. Well, Brian and Emlyn were advanced, and I was at the pre-kindergarten level. But Terry decided to put us at the same level through a weekly seminar. He tailored those sessions very carefully and passionately to ensure we learnt the principles of social structures of accumulation, Kondratieff's long waves, Marx, Ricardo, Schumpeter, Keynes, and many other fascinating theories and theorists. Terry was good at writing and drawing on the blackboard. His drawings of grains and farmers on his blackboard were paramount in helping me to understand the dynamics of capitalism.



Maria Alejandra and Terry pictured at the former's PhD award ceremony in 2011. (Photo via Maria Alejandra Gonzalez-Perez)

Terry had different “holy” physical spaces where he read and wrote. One of them was his personal library on the second floor of his home; another was a comfy armchair in his living room by the fireplace; and yet another was the dining table in his kitchen. Breakfasts and dinners with Terry, Marian, and Toby (their dog) were an enormous pleasure. Memories in that place are treasures in my heart. A yellow kitchen with a charming fridge, a dining table, and finches.

I met lovely people in that space, such as Terry's dad (Jim), Father Jim, Katherine, and other dear members of the Brady tribe. I witnessed Toby opening the kitchen door to the back garden and carefully carrying eggs from the hens in his mouth. It was amazing!

We had several deep conversations and shared anecdotes from the past in that space. Memories from Milwaukee, Australia, the North of Ireland, Dublin, China, and many other places he visited, and experiences he had. For instance, we often laughed at requests from a neighbour for Terry to sing the American classic “Me and Bobby McGee”.

I was very proud when Terry travelled to Medellin and delivered a lecturer on social structures of accumulation at my university. I couldn’t be more proud to announce that Professor McDonough was my supervisor!

In addition, he exercised his politics in different ways: educating citizens and students; writing for local and national newspapers; and even canvassing for local politicians, offering economic advice, and writing public speeches.

My first trip with Terry was to Porto Alegre in Brazil. Marian gave him plenty of instructions on what to do and what not to do. He always counted on Marian’s advice for everything. Terry had prepared a list of spots to visit and dishes to try. Terry was a great explorer. We explored all the places we could while walking around Porto Alegre. We walked by the river and visited all the stands at the World Social Forum (a civil society alternative to the World Economic Forum).

We travelled together to Poland from the border with Slovakia, and to the very edge with Ukraine. We spent an Easter break in Biala Podlaska, and he loved eating a traditional dish of fish with jelly (Marian can recall that fish intensely). Terry and Marian were fascinated with the Eastern traditions in Poland and were surprised that there was still much Soviet influence in the decoration of homes and in people’s clothing. He enjoyed the Jewish quarter in Krakow, the mountains in Zakopane, and Lech Walesa’s land.

Terry wasn’t a man of too many words at social gatherings. Regardless, it was straightforward to tell when he was interested in a conversation. He communicated with his eyes and his smile.

Terry and Marian found us a home in Moycullen. How lucky we were that, finally, we lived within walking distance of them. I can't think of Terry without evoking Marian. To me, they were like a unit – made for one another. Marian gave me acupuncture, proofread my writing, and drove me to the university. Marian introduced us to her family in Tyrone.

Terry was a wonderful companion to his friends, the best teacher to his students, and the best supervisor one could dream of. To me, he was an intellectual hero. Terry was extremely patient with me; I was very demanding. Marian told me that I was almost a slave driver, but Terry was unbelievably patient. This was not only because my background wasn't in economics, but also because my world was in the tropics, and my first language wasn't English. I admit I was emotionally demanding.

I assisted Terry in organising a conference with world experts on social structures of accumulation in November 2006 (see <http://ssagalway.blogspot.com>). Terry invited academics from Egypt, France, China, England, Greece, Mexico, the United States, and other countries. David M. Kotz, Barbara Harriss-White, Hawa Diawara, Minqi Li, Victor Lippit, Enid Hill, Stavros D. Mavroudeas, Wendy Olsen, Michael Reich, William K. Tabb, John Asimakopulos, Andrew Glyn, and others accepted Terry's invitation to attend the conference and discuss capitalist crises and growth. And, of course, his disciples Brian O'Boyle, Emlyn Nardone, and Fidelma Murphy presented their research at that conference.

In 2006, those academics already anticipated the global crisis of 2008-2009, and analysed why we were heading there.

Terry was not only involved in studying capitalism and its variants. His work on Irish history was impeccable. We also researched informal immigrant workers during the Celtic Tiger period alongside Tony Dundon. Terry studied the negative impacts of globalisation in the banana industry. He was very critical of the ideology and practice of so-called "corporate social responsibility" (CSR). He considered it

insufficient to compensate for the unfair conditions that globalisation foisted upon many workers and peasants. He suggested that social responsibility networks were required to ensure meaningful local community participation in designing corporate social responsibility initiatives and monitoring such initiatives.

Terry had also foreseen the environmental and climate change disaster. Terry knew that the ecological and environmental dimensions of politics and economics were pivotal in aiming for a fair future for all.

Terry's knowledge was immense. He was almost an encyclopedia. He knew about birds, films, geography, poetry, history, religions, wine, food, arts, dogs, climate change, activism, politics, and more.

I miss Terry's spoken and written words, his gaze, his laugh, and his silence. I was super fortunate, and I'm thankful I realised how lucky I was. Terry was a father to me. And he knew it.

Inspirational teacher, mentor, and friend

Brian O'Boyle

Terry was an inspirational teacher and a vital asset to countless students looking to make sense of capitalism in an era of imperialist war. I first met Terry as an undergraduate in quite unusual circumstances. I had returned to education in 2000 after a five-year gap and had begun a degree in economics at St Angela's College, Sligo. NUI Galway were delivering the programme and in my second year I was confronted with a VCR recording of a bearded American lecturing on Marx (there are about 100 miles between the two campuses explaining the need for the recording). I soon discovered this was Terry McDonough, a man, who with unparalleled clarity, was teaching the course on comparative economic thought with Professor Tom Boylan.

Prior to this module, I was delighted at how well I was coping with (neoclassical) economics, but found the subject pedestrian. Terry and Tom changed this completely. Economics suddenly came alive. I was from a working-class family and a strongly Republican background. My instincts were already left-wing and suddenly I was confronted with a theoretical framework that explained the nature of British imperialism, the exploitation of working people, and much else besides.

I was convinced more or less immediately and when I moved to Galway for the final year of my undergraduate studies, I joined the Socialist Workers Party to get active against the Iraq War. Terry's influence was vital in my discovery of Marxism – a discovery that ensured I have remained politically active in the socialist movement for the last 20 years. This is one small example of an influence that spanned decades in time, but far more in quality of instruction and integrity of character. Terry is an enormous loss to the Irish left.



***Brian and Terry pictured at the former's PhD award ceremony in 2011.
(Photo via Maria Alejandra Gonzalez-Perez)***

Academically, Terry's influence on me was no less important. Having completed a thesis under his guidance for my master's degree, Terry invited me to undertake a PhD as part of an SSA project he had received government funding for. Terry wanted the project to look at long-term trends in the global economy, but he was fully supportive when my philosophical bent and desire for first principles pushed me to investigate the links between critical realist philosophy and the Marxist framework.

Terry's expert guidance helped me through the PhD, and the work that resulted was the catalyst for four jointly authored articles and a book chapter looking at Marxism and the philosophy of science, the nature of mainstream economics, and the nature of Althusserian Marxism. I think Terry enjoyed this sojourn into philosophy. He

certainly enriched the work we did together with his intelligence, his patience, and his ability to see the key arguments and force us to develop them.

Finally, it is important to say a few words about Terry, the man. Over the course of 20 years, Terry went from being an inspirational teacher, to being a valued mentor and one of my best friends. Always part of a double act with Marian, Terry invited me to stay in his home, he invited me into his life, and he inspired me with his kindness, integrity, and his sense of the possible. Knowing Terry has made my life richer and more meaningful. He was a valued comrade and friend. He will be sorely missed. RIP comrade.

Thirty years together – partners in life

Marian Brady

I first met Terry in January 1974; he was attending the School of Irish Studies in Harcourt Street in Dublin for a semester, and I was in my first year at University College Dublin (UCD). We lived in the same boarding house. Terry and I had breakfast together most mornings for about six months; there was a spark of attraction there, but we were both very shy and so nothing developed between us!

Terry returned to the US when the semester finished after some trekking around Ireland to find “The Old Bog Road”, and I went to London with my friend Mary for summer jobs. We exchanged a few letters for a short while after, but that was that.

Then in 1990 (16 years later!), I came back to work after the Easter holidays and noticed a familiar scrawl on a letter with a US postmark – I recognised it immediately! Terry was coming to Ireland on a trip with his dad, and he asked whether we could meet up for lunch.

Well, we met up for lunch with his dad – Terry being the only person I know of to bring his dad on his first date – but it worked out. We were both “unclaimed treasures” and he invited me to visit him in the US that Christmas, to a conference in Washington DC to start our trip, and then we travelled to Charleston, North Carolina; Savannah, Georgia; and New Orleans. This was a real eye-opener for me, as I had always thought that food was just food before I met Terry. Food is not just food. This was pre-internet days, so travel books were consulted, miles were walked, checking out menus every night before a dinner venue was chosen. Now I knew the shape of things to come, you better not be too hungry before you set out with Terry for dinner, or you could get a bit irritable with all the research!



Terry and Marian pictured together at a meeting of the Galway Environmental Network in 2019. (Photo via GEN)

Terry came to Dublin the following year on sabbatical, and we got married on 22 September 1992.

Terry had a real passion for cooking as well as eating. He loved to cook Sichuan Chinese food and was an excellent cook. He extended his skills to Mexican and Italian food as time went on, and he loved nothing better than a good dinner party with friends, plenty of conversation, and good wine.

Terry had a lot of quirky interests people might not know about. He had a great interest in Haida Indian art and culture and our walls are covered with examples of their art. When he was 12 years old, he saved his pocket money to buy a replica of a seal oil lamp in the museum and we still have it in a prominent place in our sitting room. When we spent a sabbatical in Australia, he got interested in Aboriginal art and, as you might guess, we could open a small art gallery in our house.

For relaxation he liked to read science fiction and studied evolution and quantum physics. His musical tastes stretched from the Pogues, Patsy Cline, and Bob Dylan, to Bob Marley and Howlin' Wolf, and a lot in between. During lockdown he discovered Spotify and had

an extensive playlist. We went on a music tour in the US a few years ago with my nephew; we started in Nashville, travelled to Memphis and Graceland, and down the Mississippi Delta to Clarkesville, the home of the blues, and then on to New Orleans for the Zydeco and Cajun music.

We travelled extensively over the years and Terry was never afraid to travel close to the edge. One memorable moment was in Katmandu after we had travelled overland from Lhasa in Tibet with four complete strangers, and we needed to change some money. We went into a bank and were directed outside again, and further on down an alleyway to bargain with black market money changers, with a large audience of onlookers and in the middle of a monsoon downpour!

Over the years, we got into walking and in 2013 we walked the entire Camino de Santiago in a six-week block. He was probably the only person who lost no weight on this gruelling walk; he just loved that Galician food and wine too much!

Terry was not a person for “small talk” and he loved that I could talk for Ireland, as that made his social path a bit smoother. He always referred to me as his “life coach”, but really he was my life coach, and his optimism, sense of justice and fair play, and lack of cynicism taught me a lot.

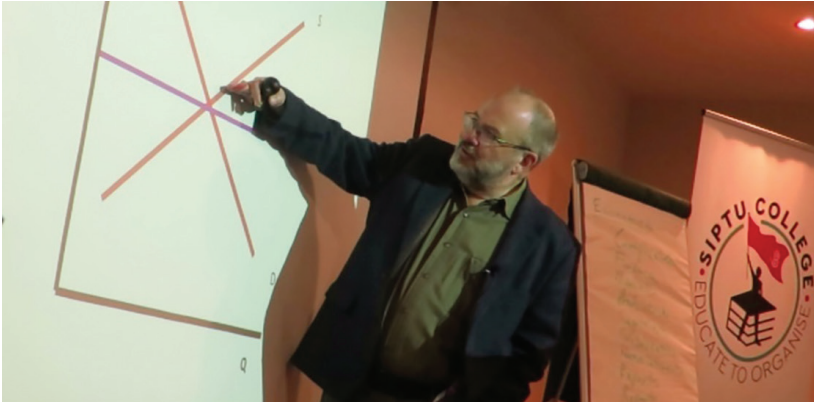
These are some of my memories of my beloved Terry and I hope you cherish them as I do.

The cause of labour

Tish Gibbons

No matter where I turn there is evidence of Terry's contribution to the Irish labour movement: from his coauthoring (with David Jacobson and Keith Warnock) of *Mind Your Own Business: Economics at Work* (Oak Tree Press) for SIPTU in 2001; to the development (with Jason Loughrey) of the HEAP (Hierarchy of Earnings, Attributes, and Privilege) chart for the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU) and Thinktank for Action on Social Change (TASC) in a 2009 report; to his cofounding of the Irish Centre for the Histories of Labour and Class (ICHLC); to his teaching at ICTU and at the People's College; to his work with SIPTU College in redesigning our economics modules – his legacy is profound. And these are just some examples from Ireland alone. Many of those who worked with him on these ventures were in touch at the time of his death, or while preparing for his memorial. Without exception, they all remarked on his popularity and the esteem in which he was held, not only for his clear thinking and Marxist perspective, but also for his gentle but engaging manner. They also shared an anecdote or two that I have tried to include here – space permitting.

Terry's commitment to the labour movement and labour education was honed long before he came to Ireland. He taught at the Shanti School Without Walls in Hartford in the 1970s, the first regional alternative to traditional high schools in the US. He subsequently worked at the School of Industrial and Labour Relations at Cornell University and developed campaigning materials with the United Auto Workers Union. Terry first worked with SIPTU in the late 1990s, culminating in 2001 with the publication of *Mind Your Own Business*. This was not, and was never intended to be, a typical business text.



Performing an “internal critique”, Terry dismantles the standard (neoclassical) economics (supply and demand) model during a SIPTU College workshop in February 2020. (Photo via SIPTU College)

Instead, it aimed at removing some of the mystique allowed to envelop the subject of economics and business. Its purpose was to provide Irish trade union members with the skills and knowledge they needed to understand the basics of the economy – that is, to provide a basic economic literacy. This is still a recommended text at SIPTU College, and we had had an initial conversation about a second edition before we were overtaken by Covid, by life, and by death.

A more extensive contribution to the labour movement by Terry was his work on the HEAP chart and booklet for ICTU and TASC. It was an incredibly clear and informative way of demonstrating basic facts regarding our socio-economic structure, exposing inequalities by reference to income, occupation, and household type. It is also used widely in labour education and by those campaigning on social and economic justice issues.

Although I was familiar with his work, I only met Terry for the first time about 10 years ago. As a newly appointed Head of SIPTU College, I knew I needed someone from his perspective to guide us through the replacement of an orthodox approach to economics in our programmes. I felt a bit intimidated at the thought of approaching this

Professor of Economics, and not least because my grasp of the social structure of accumulation theory amounted to just those same four words! As luck would have it, I met Terry when we both were part of the Ella Baker School of Organising inauguration at UNITE HQ in London. With our respective spouses, we spent a very convivial afternoon in a pub nearby, and Terry's easy manner facilitated my mission. Terry brought a breath of fresh air with him and the subject was anything but "dismal" in his hands. He not only cut through the mainstream orthodoxy, but did so with academic rigour and a quietly determined good humour. His method of delivery and legendary presentations and graphics ensured participants felt confident about reimagining and discussing economics. He never condescended – and he never once mentioned his social structure of accumulation theory either – not once. And, as was the way with Terry, and of course Marian, there was another convivial evening this time celebrating our achievements. We all remember something funny happened – something to do with Terry and pink champagne – but the detail is long lost in remembering the laughter and camaraderie.

But he could go the other way too. A colleague from TASC enjoys telling the story of how he and Terry were attending the same conference in Canada some years ago. They had each prepared their presentations, both from a sound Marxist perspective, no doubt. When they got there, it soon emerged that the audience was more conservative than they had expected. The colleague adjusted his paper to suit; Terry did the opposite, to provoke!

A bit like he taught us – his loss is not quantifiable.

Concern for community – “When Terry spoke, people listened”

Ann Irwin

I first met Terry when he did some work with national NGOs during the recession. He was intent on raising awareness of the role neoliberalism was playing in the Irish and European response to the crisis and was incredibly generous with his time.

A few years later, I was working as the coordinator of Galway City Community Network (GCCN), a network of social and environmental NGOs that regularly engages with local government, when our paths crossed again. Terry became deeply involved in GCCN and was the convener of the Environmental Linkage Group that later evolved into the Galway Environmental Network (GEN), with which he and Marian were very active.

He served as the Chairperson of the Local Community Development Committee (LCDC) in Galway City for a number of years and engendered a new importance into the work of implementing the Local Economic and Community Plan for the city, a plan second only to the City Development Plan in importance, for which the LCDC is responsible. At a national level, he represented GCCN on the National Public Participation Network (PPN) Advisory Group and the National Secretariat Network, and is missed by both.

Terry loved Galway and made an enormous contribution to the city. As an activist, Terry brought all his intellectual capacity to the table. His grasp of detail was matched only by his willingness and capacity to robustly engage in debates that were sometimes quite hostile. He never hesitated from challenging those in power, particularly when they made what he considered to be bad decisions.



Terry (left), with the Mayor of Galway City Neil McNeilis (centre) and the Minister of State for Health Promotion Catherine Byrne (right), pictured at the launch of the Healthy Galway City Strategy 2019-2021 in Westside Library. (Photo: Aengus McMahon, via Galway Advertiser)

Terry was incredibly supportive to me personally. We regularly collaborated on issues and approaches and he was always great for the advice.

In some of the many tributes that have been paid to him since his passing, Terry's kindness has been emphasised almost as much as his capacity for analysis and reason. He was witty and fun – in his own particular way – and he had an innate authority. When Terry spoke, people listened.

Terry was taken from us too soon and too suddenly. He still had so much to give and there is a real sense of loss and sadness that he is gone. He has left a void that won't easily – if ever – be filled. We miss him dearly.

Never has the Irish phrase been so apt. *Ní fheicimid a leithéad arís. We won't see his like again.*

The Shipping News

Vicky Donnelly

I used to call Terry McDonough “The Shipping News” because of the way he could deliver the most dire warnings of economic doom in this calm, unflappable, comforting tone. “Yes, the situation is appalling, but look, here’s a lighthouse. Let’s talk about how we can build a safe harbour”.

When the crash came in 2008, and I was looking for someone to speak at a One World Centre (OWC) event in Galway, someone put me in touch with Terry. I spent years afterwards tormenting him with questions, clarifications, and requests to speak at community education events. He was endlessly generous and possessed of a rare humility in sharing his vast expertise in a way that fostered genuine dialogue, rather than a one-way transfer of knowledge.

And he was so patient with me, and my questions, and my constant misspelling of his name and general clumsiness. The photo above, as far as I remember, comes from a talk he gave just days after the emergency liquidation of the Irish Bank Resolution Corporation (IBRC – a merger of the formerly nationalised Anglo Irish Bank and Irish Nationwide Building Society) in 2013. Most of us have forgotten that night (“Prom Night”, in reference to the promissory notes) – or if we do remember it, it’s for the scandal of the Dáil bar staying open till all hours of the night (“a very liquid liquidation”, as per newspaper headlines), while the matter of voting to transform tens of billions of private banking losses into sovereign debt, and cement it to our collective shoulders tends to be forgotten. It was a scandal that few of us really understood even as we watched it happen, and I rang Terry the next day, in a rage, asking him to explain, “what the fuck just happened?”



Terry delivers a talk for the One World Centre on the Irish banking crisis in 2013 (Photo: Conor McCabe)

And would he give a public talk on it a couple of days later. He agreed without hesitation. I named the talk “What the Fuck Just Happened?”, and he was patient about that too.

And this might seem like a long, rambling recollection of one event but it said so much about his humility and the way he put his own vast education at the service of the whole community. I can’t think of many other academics of his standing who would have touched this at such short notice, while the ramifications of the Anglo deal were still emerging. But there he was, sharing his best (brilliant, and funny) understanding of what the fuck just happened. And how do we fight it?

Rest in Peace, Terry. You will be so missed.

Standing your ground

Steve Thornton

Snow and ice rained down on Terry McDonough and a small group of activists, all crowded at the doorway of 18 Congress Street in Hartford, Connecticut. It's a one-way street between Wethersfield and Franklin Avenues where the city's south end begins. In the middle of the group was a young artist named Ray Adams, the building's last tenant.

The government inspector arrived to deliver an eviction notice on the morning of 29 November 1976. Ray's supporters continued to block the building's entrance. The inspector brought the police, but the protesters brought the TV cameras. The officials backed off. They would not come again for six months.

Thus, with Terry's help, Ray Adams began the public fight for affordable housing in Hartford. It was a campaign opposed to the "gentrification" scheme which replaces low-income and working families with upper-income residents. Officials hoped this influx would shore up the city's shrinking tax base. Those wealthy tenants - who had any number of other housing options - were dubbed "urban pioneers". "It's a class issue", Ray said.

Terry was a cofounder of the local chapter of the Peoples Bicentennial Commission (PBC). Nationally the group was formed to oppose the federal government's self-serving celebration of the American Revolution. They critiqued the dominant narrative of American capitalist exceptionalism, and posed "economic democracy" as an alternative. In 1976, PBC was deemed a subversive element, and a Congressional subcommittee issued an "internal security" report linking the group to revolutionary tendencies.



Trinity College students in Hartford, Connecticut “recreate” Union Place, where the Shanti School Without Walls once stood. The photo they hold is of Shanti students and director Gene Mulcahy. The red carnations represent Terry’s rebel spirit. (Photo: Steve Thornton)

PBC took on Ray's fight to keep his home. For nine months, Ray lived on Congress Street without heat or hot water. He was the last of 800 households who had been living in the four-block area, some of them for as long as 35 years. When the properties were bought by the City of Hartford and handed over to a private developer, living conditions rapidly deteriorated through neglect, vandalism, and, the tenants suspected, sabotage.

With Terry's help, Ray Adams had become a community celebrity. He used his fame to visit other apartment renters who were fighting evictions or landlord neglect. Hartford tenants began to organise for more control over their housing conditions, frequently raising the slogan "People Before Profit".

Six months after the failed eviction, police and city officials took Ray and his supporters by surprise, threatening to break down his door with a sledgehammer and axe, and prepared to throw his belongings into the street. Ray decided it was time to move. But his fight had defined the way Hartford looked at "urban renewal" and the housing crisis with new eyes.

Forty-five years later, a walking tour of college students stopped at one end of Hartford's enormous train station. That's where Terry worked: Shanti School, a publicly-funded alternative high school. The students unfurled a banner with a photo of the School's founder and Shanti students. They tucked red roses across the iron staircase. They weren't even born when Terry lived and worked in Hartford, but radical storytelling keeps his memory alive.

Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam.

Closer to the brink

Terry McDonough

*The following is extracted from an email correspondence between Terry and Cian McMahon on 8 November 2020, shortly after the US presidential election on 3 November 2020. It demonstrates, in typically casual fashion, Terry's firm grasp on both the historical moment and the *longue durée*.*

I think the results [of the 2020 US presidential election] indicate that the new SSA [social structure of accumulation, or latest stage of capitalist development] is very much still in flux. I think there are four political tendencies at play, two each in each major party. Trumpist quasi-fascism and business neoliberalism characterize the Republican Party. A revived social democracy under the flag of the Green New Deal and social neoliberal centrism are in contention in the Democratic Party. Fascism has received a serious setback. I think Trumpism is partially a manifestation of volatile politics in the internet age, a rightwing phenomenon similar to Syriza on the left. Setbacks can lead to rapid deterioration. That said, there is a serious popular support base for fascism among white evangelicals (the faith, family, and flag crowd) and the practitioners of white grievance politics especially in non-urban areas, plus Cubans in Florida. Whether the Trump family or some other group can consolidate this as a more permanent organisation either inside or outside the Republican Party is an open question. Rightwing neoliberals in the Republican Party are probably hoping they can emerge from their bunkers. The setback to Trumpism breaks its momentum, but the rest of the results on the Republican side don't resolve the tensions between the two factions.



Terry engages with a question during a SIPTU College workshop in February 2020. (Photo via SIPTU College)

There is now a socialist and left social democratic tendency in the Democratic Party. This is, however, dominated by “moderates” who are currently social market neoliberals. The immediate commentary believes that this dominance was fortunate in that a less centrist candidate would alienate the small numbers of flipped suburban Republican votes. The left response to this is that a strong left populist appeal would alternatively hold the potential to flip working class white Republicans. The narrow margin will invigorate Clinton Democrats. Whether this centrist faction can eventually be pushed to embrace the Green New Deal is the counterpart question to the organisational future of Trumpism.

I think the election results leave all these players on the field. One has to think that the future is dim for continued neoliberalism in that almost by definition it proposes no answers to the crisis of neoliberal globalization. This would make fascism the long-term main threat to the Green New Deal. However, the strong foothold neoliberalism has in each major party means it can’t be counted out by any means. The persistence of neoliberalism in various forms is not surprising. Building an alternative to neoliberalism on either the

right or the left can be expected to take a long period of struggle and institutional transformation.

The task of the left is to defend gains within minority communities, and for women and youth, while at the same time articulating an aggressive class politics showing a clear alternative to fascist nationalism. This will be done through building a strong alternative politics, not with compromise. In any case, it is not possible to compromise on so-called cultural issues or minority or women's rights. The immediate task is not to win a wider section of the working class to socialism. It is to break the hold of fascism in the white section of the working class, especially in "rural" America. But the necessarily uncompromising programme to resolve the crisis within the multi-national working class must bring us close to the brink of a socialist programme. A green new deal (or perhaps SSA) will probably be the indispensable beachhead in this effort.

End of maundering rant.

Best,

Terry

The poem below, written by Sarah Clancy and reproduced with the author's permission, was a personal favourite of Terry's, reflecting many of the themes he thought, wrote, and cared about deeply throughout his life, as evidenced by the sincerity of his educational and activist commitments.

And Yet We Must Live In These Times

In at the housing office the woman says
if I need a house then I'll have to tell the council
I'm homeless or else bunk in with my parents
and I feel the heat of tears in my eyes and let me tell you
it's not sadness I'm feeling, it's anger;
after all of my years insisting that no one
will ever call me victim, in they come
and do it from a whole different angle
I didn't see coming
and they call it helping –
these are the times that I live in
still paying the tail end of my mortgage
with no home to show for it
and I wonder what I've absorbed that means
even with all of my theories, my politics
this, the oldest human endeavour
of seeking out shelter
has become shame-filled
and on my way down through town

Rosali asks for a fiver. I give it
it's easier to offer than to ask, I reckon
she says "You are beautiful" showing the limits
of her English vocabulary but I'm not,
what I am is damaged and raging –
on days like this I seek the sea out and breathe it
and you, what do you do to get through it?

Don't call it apathy, we're not fine
we're not grand, thanks, we are hurt
and we're making it worse by pretending we're sorted.
I walk past Griffin's Bakery as if I am the only one
in this river of people on Shop Street
who's rocking a sub-plot
who's got things going on
in the background that take effort to deal with
and that's why it's called individualism isn't it?
Because we aren't telling anyone
in the separation of one from each other
of ourselves from ourselves
we're alienated, but sure it's grand isn't it?
We're on the pig's back
and yet we must live in these times,

and I write down past tense love affairs
all the while getting older and worn out
and what use is it? Resuscitating old lovers

for nothing recycling these slogans, these dictums
if I can't write about real things why bother?
If I can't mock the signs on the wall in Welfare
that say after two decades of working
I'm likely to drink in the daytime
to have poor personal hygiene,
or to spit and swear at the people who work there
and are only paying their bills same as anyone.

I fool myself that one of these days I might do it
might hurt someone, wreck something
and it might bring me to some other dimension
that's human so they tell me, competition
and viciousness but I hope that's fiction
I reassure you that I won't let it happen
the truth is, I don't have it in me
I'm lacking some cruelty
because I think what's human is order and interdependence
what's human is balance and kindness and humour
and us coming up with a way we can live
in these times without violence,
we must live in these times and no other.

I, for one, might need some help with it
is that too much to ask for?



Terry McDonough was a popular and respected figure within academic, teaching, community, political, trade union, and civil society circles. He struck a commanding presence when he spoke, deliberate in manner, but always eager to hear from others. It is an admirable personal quality that he displayed in all aspects of his life and work. Terry was also exceedingly generous with his time and with his considerable reservoirs of knowledge, giving freely to various social and environmental justice campaigns, as well as to students who demonstrated an extracurricular interest in radical political economics.

It is our hope that his example will continue to inspire future generations in the pursuit of a better, fairer, greener, and healthier world system.