

## I Saw It All

by

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## I Saw It All

## I saw it all:

the judge's tone
from condescending fall to quarried stone:
The defendant will answer to the questions put.
I tried: more laughter, and was probed again:
lamentable to watch a tenderfoot
in courtroom manners pit his acumen
against the courtroom bullyboys in words
of explanation, point out all he did
was publicize the post, no more than that —
against the regulations, but a bid
to stay abreast of where his game was at.
I used one woman badly where the great
impose their vast infractions on the state.

My stomach clenched. I heard the gallery fall silent as the eyes bore down on me: *Unanimous, your Lordship. Guilty*. It was done. Completely. I could lodge appeal, and have my case reviewed, but bit by bit the courts would let it drop: an imbecile would know society had little time for idiocy like mine. In going down the narrow stairway to the courtroom cell, I'd feel the weight of precedent, the Crown loom high above me, and the pungent smell of cold grey concrete hit me: what I'd face unless and quietly I left this place.

What could I do? Silvered Sir Roderick's head inclined itself towards me, though had said but little, teasingly, as I had done when first they brought our friends in from the Yard: who went through noting how the place was run, to whom give preference, whom press hard. Two months, and slowly, week by week, I went on charming with a devilish glee: That's clearly possible, but I can say no hint of that was authorized by me. They opened notebooks, closed them, glanced away. No: no one bothers with a stray remark for all it light up, like a match, the dark.

Yours is a difficult and onerous task, gentlemen, no doubt, but you will ask for any help you need. Here nothing's lost or can be covered up. We've been on through a sea of correspondence—at some cost, I'd add, to schedules we were working to.

They'd smile. I'd smile. A pause, and then I'd ring the bell and in would come my secretary, to pose at them, pour tea, hand biscuits out: the well-endowed Fiona, fragrantly she'd drift in front of them, in place throughout as friend and more, and put a hint across to treat with deference her helpful boss.

How modestly they saw her, how she'd drape patrician manners on a winning shape, and smile ingenuously, when they could view the blue eyes friendly to them, and could sense how full the body was, which takes its cue in swelling quietly from a long defence of hemline dropping to the small court shoe. But all bound in, a recklessness and weight controlled by breeding and decorum, holding up by never stooping to that state of careless falling on them and enfolding—such as gives a restlessness to lives spent too much sleeping quietly by their wives.

I took them round, and said, So here we come to Whitehall's policy of keeping mum.

They laughed, but warily, a game of cat and mouse they slowly warmed to, learned to play by rules of my designing, merely that, although of course by promise and delay

I held them firmly in my palm, agreed as much as possible, conferred, applied myself to every aspect of the leak, assumed it came from here, that someone lied.

No more can I account for it, that streak of malice, than you'd want to take the heat for some poor plodder lapsing on his beat.

Sir Roderick doddered after, fought each breach of privilege as he ought.

Those famous faculties were still in tune with what the Government would want to do. His little game, high destiny at noon for anyone he'd want to pass on to: a doubtful policy in truth, which now was choosing bright-faced Hewison or me. My rival is that earnest, useful tool for politicians keen on strategy, but for the rest of us a nodding fool who turning with each point of view has not the slightest notion what to do.

I do and always did: the one who played the outside to the centre, never stayed for explanation, fall-out, taken blame for what the meek in spirit always get.

Life is what it is, a bruising game, and those who are nonentities, or let themselves be thought so, have no role to play—more, say, than critics get to write the script, or those who timidly await their drinks at merit's overcrowded bar have sipped much at life's pre-eminence or sinks.

I have at both, of course, and why I'm in with tricksy Tony as his pal and kin.

For him so effortless. His frank blue eyes, disarming boyishness, and how he tries to understand you, make you laugh: good lord the man had genius to frame a war in not too subtle falsehoods we applaud by then electing him to think of more. Such stoic martyrdom, for having killed Iraqi poor with sanctions, promptly calls their feeble fight back grossest wickedness. Illegal flights and tortures: how he stalls to bring his Bushite cronies to redress. A very Daniel in the blaze of eyes: how must his God be great, or he be wise!

of equal and a caring state, the guise was all so masterly in veiled contempt of country, cabinet and commons. Most would quail at questioning, but, made exempt from just this scrutiny, he acts as host who, when his dinner party breaks to many voices, moves them on, majestically. The path of peace must sometimes be through war. We fight for lives we hold in common decency. Quite, quite brilliant, knowing what we're for is bombs and killings, where for him he'll look to cash and chat-shows from the latest book.

But all so different when he came to power:
the cheers and handshakes of that smiling hour
on which he'd build a quiet, solid base
of power so absolute, that no defaulters
from his policies he'd need to face,
or opposition from his own supporters.
A Britain sold off like the family silver,
but all so different and the place to be
beneath a glittering skyline wholly new—
except for the Lords, who with their history
of caution, prudence and of thinking through,
were now anachronisms from an age
that cramped performance on a wider stage.

They had to go: and by the simple ruse of calling democracy the power to chose they did. Everything that might confuse us in a flash replaced: just them or us. Doubts, complexities—they stood as Judas: treacheries not worth his minder's cuss. His show on TV was the modern House: a stage for slap-stick actors where he knew to mask the phoney with a candid look. Ineluctably, impenetrably there grew more legislation on the statute book as Tony tightened up the terror laws he'd made more needful by his doubtful wars.

In fact the shock and awe worked rather well, the more so on the innocent: the sell went on relentlessly: a dozy stroll as cities fell to bombings and surrenders mounted: Endless were the killed, but on the whole the enemy's and therefore never counted. Such is war, my friend, and truth is hurt as much as men are. Much is burned away: amidst the blaze of victory, much is lost in families and maimings. Who will pay as pain grows steadily and treatments cost? Others. Tony's was the right address, I thought, but now must backtrack or digress.

My hero went to public school, where mine was rather different, a production line that turned out copies of a ten-bob note: crisp and convertible. It never did to speak of salary or how you'd vote.

Ours was small, tight world, and one that hid no doubt much loneliness, much grief, but none of this came through, and all those dates in boy scout dances, cricket fixtures, girls in flounced their dresses through the garden fetes, at last turned tawdry as the twinset pearls in Tatler photographs the middle class will strive to get before the season pass.

Of course I'm not like Tony, couldn't say just how contemporaries, from day to day, should live out purposes. I only saw a world of outer suburbs, quietly run in leafy parks and bus-lanes, general store, in keeping up appearances, where one could be a cut above, but not that much: not showing off. I went to Sheffield, where my attic through small windows looked across a row of red-brick back-to-backs, the air sulphurous with disappointment, urban loss that underpinned my reading social science: all quite trendy then, which breathed defiance.

The young are impressionable: my tutors spoke of class divisions, how those classes broke the spirit of the working man. I knew the truth of that from digs and launderette: the shabby pointlessness of lives soaked through with little thought of change, at least not yet. Men are the authors of their fate as well, of course. I looked at broken glass on walls round smokestack industries and defunct mills, and saw how tawdry was the light that falls on faded photos, cinematic stills of lives used up, retired or thrown away in yearly wrangles on small points of pay.

Yet how they told their stories, had their say, not noticing how lifetimes slipped away, and what was sunshine grew more overcast. Behind those hemmed-in walls they stood to watch the minutes on the clock tick past from junior trainee through to parenthood and age at last that threw them out. They had their beer and whippets, skittles, Whitby trip, a flutter on the dogs, occasional wedding, the lassies lechered at, who took no lip, the skirt the owner's son was likely bedding, or so the talk went: frankly no one knew, though money counted, in that old world too.

Those were the Thatcher years, and all the same was anyone with sense who played the game to gated residences, private schools,
Bermuda holidays, and weekend breaks.
Doubtlessly they worked for it, not fools my artful fellow students: few mistakes they made in fixtures or in fielding well.
I had no quarrel with them, sometimes see, in city offices or chauffeured car, a well-dressed businessman who could be me.
Why not? I wasn't born a commissar.
But now I had to make a living fast, well-trained in social consciousness at last.

I started with that mixed-up invitation which led to Falklands, when a sovereign nation rose as one beneath the flag, a waste of frost-chapped hills and peat in truth, but still a part of England, inviolable and chaste. How dare the Argies test the British will? While Europe dithered those nice Chileans helped; our navy steamed up to the isles of sheep, their long-lost destiny at last fulfilled. The Argies gave up what they couldn't keep. Manoeuvres, skirmishes, some men got killed. The mainland sent its fighters over: one by one our missiles downed them, just for fun.

20. Also the Belgrano, sunk as known outside a self-imposed exclusion zone. War, the Almirante said, is not for fools, but if that country means to rule the waves would it please not also waive the rules in pitching conscripts into watery graves? One ran the bunting up: the other mourned. But what are fifteen hundred young men lost among so many in the flood of war? And did it matter what the error cost to grieving families, that silent corps? Or that the log afterwards of the submarine had sunk mysteriously and left the scene?

Obvious scribblings, but they made my name where that Westminster village has the claim of being national talking shop. It's true but also baleful, rather: no one likes the closeting of minds, the poisonous brew of quid pro quo. Indeed it sometimes strikes me I'd have done much better if I'd gone as Guardian correspondent to the Middle East or China, though it doesn't pay unless you have some sideline or can fiddle the expenses or the rake-back, but, as I say, still hopeful, wanting a convenient perch, I angled winningly and got research.

We thought alike. Our PM put aside high-minded principles and beer-soaked pride to be as our Americans and know the cost of all things, which and when to buy in policies and people, things which go no doubt against the grain of times gone by, but now quite necessary, which also worked. Our Tony knew that, and was also bored by self-important fools who make it rich in social consciences we can't afford. In calculating how to bait and switch it would be years before the one high-flyer need fall to earth at last as one B. Liar.

Ten years, I calculated, till that war knocked all our futures sideways. We were for the all-American and decent way of Wall-mart, shopping malls and barber's shops. Influence and oil would make it pay, we planned, but in that land of fuzzy-tops, of ranting mullahs and incendiary faiths who'd want to poke the wasps' nest when we were succeeding nicely through the UN route of killing millions off, where deaths incur no awkwardness of photo: soldier's boot, his rifle, air support, the rain of shells that turn the playgrounds into pock-marked hells.

And when to secret airports, sad, downcast, the quiet and flag-draped coffins came at last, did Tony stand there, chastened, and reflect beside the families and sober dress, how oddly can a fool-proof plan be checked by a few score martyrs and perverted press? Of course not. Sensibly he gave the orders that none be photographed, or more than facts allowed us in these private hours of grief. Unless so dignified the case detracts from that high hope, or more: a firm belief that history will judge him and in ages hence award him prescience in world events.

The needed counsel of a wise old head could trade for stand-up comic's part instead. So Campbell told him and so Tony thinks of all the stratagems his artful mind can serve up smiling as his rating sinks. How hard for us, who were his friends, to find the stale banality and bloated phrase, the self-apostasy of righteous laws, the vote of Parliament for peace or wars, the scourge of terrorists and their prime cause, become the toast of Congress, long applause that spoke of armaments, at which a wall of silence and discretion buries all.

If lust for notice is a fearful thing then so are women and a two-month fling. Such urgent longing for the female shapes that rose to mind beneath their walks. I knew the high slopes of each swelling bust, the nape's descent in shadowed vertebrae, each hue of desperation in the eyes, the long release to hopelessness, beyond the stop for pity's sake, and then the lift within the surge of buttocks and the haunch's crop: I knew the wet abrasiveness of skin and most of all, within the eye's wide stare the brief astonishment of being there.

Continually I saw them in their slips, their breathing torsos swaying from the hips, a reaching outward in each swelling breast as quiet as weather-bells in clouds, a lift to fullness in the cloths that pressed to apparitions in their blouse or shift.

I saw the soft betrayal of the skin so beautifully arranged there was no sound upon that blest-and-long-astounding day, but soft as mushrooms scattered on the ground, there came that beaching in a dawn-swept bay with cinders following as that old fire burnt out at Babylon or new-built Tyre.

Fiona walking on as though in sleep
I saw continually as those who keep
within a circuit they can circle through
but rationally, appropriately, the same
as other women keep to, and must do
to have no catcalls to afflict their name.
What can I say to those who more and more
walk out delighting in the summer air
and lift the instep from its undone thong
as though a silent sound was threaded there
and brought them travelling, as will a long,
soft, silent welling through some ocean reach
say nothing till it rises on some beach—

to curl there distantly with all the pride of unused summer in its foaming tide? That's what I thought and felt but always hid beneath those silly politicians' shows of power in purposes of all I did.

I saw that proud, long-stemmed and swelling rose as mine, or almost mine, and would be soon: despite the name, good family, with brains, to cede in any group to whom the nod is given, finally, and thereby gains the bold and ever fragrant under God.

My meetings with her were a sonic boom of fragrant quiet in an upstairs room.

30. It took some doing, plausibly, a few demanding recompense, to pull her through, but still she came, replacing my PA who stared and bit her lip, but had to go. But all done easily, with extra pay and pension rights of course, and super show of missing her, with pressies: we all got drunk a little, anyway, and my long speech with anecdotes I trawled from Personnel with tears brought back the things from time's long reach that made us thoughtful when we wished her well. Afterwards of course I walked on air: just one more conquest and your man was there.

To cross that obstacle the plan said more, a Red Sea passage to Sir Roderick's door, some means of knowing what the old fox did to help or hinder Tony's rule. It's true he didn't like me, but the manner hid much ruse and posturing: he had to do, he said, as Tony wanted. That I doubted, but wasn't privy to the battered box of party secrets (yes, forgive the pun) that Liz presided on. I heard the clocks now ticking furiously that Brown had won but then more halting, maddening and slow as when for certain did our PM go?

I knew what my fraternity had done in plays of gallantry and teasing fun. But not with her: Sir Roderick's own PA was not some empty-headed little fool but had a truly Alpine rate of pay. No doubt in helping me she broke some rule or regulation, showed me things, or warned of moves afoot, but for a price that clocks be wound up nightly by her partner's toil. The world of politics is one of knocks, that tells you never let them off the boil, but hold them closer as they clench and cry, as in her little deaths I saw them lie

out in their undressed hundreds while the blood congealed and hardened into Baghdad's mud. Vicariously, of course, not yet PM, I went on playing with this grim old trout, abused the power I had, as he with them, and pounded harder till she wanted out. At last, with correspondence copied, say I couldn't understand it, really, such a bubbly figure and such glorious fun, well, I was sorry, desperately, and much more angry at myself for what I'd done. Always obfuscating, but the loner still to Liz now, and of course Fiona.

And so it went, though slowly, Fiona mad at all the presents that her rival had: one so beautiful and half neglected, the Liz the opposite, but spruce and smirking. The danger was Sir Roderick who'd detected some subtle change in us, we two now working amicably for once, in close rapport. He wondered at it, called me in and tried to fathom patterns in the always shifting me that was and is. I never lied but felt my purposes were also drifting. But not for long: I knew now what to do. He left in August and my Liz would too.

For all was fading, dropping out of reach because of that most idiotic breach of protocol and common sense—I mean the dossiers, the sofa government, the brimming confidence of having been much, much cleverer than the papers sent by experts and his own FO, he saw the shades now gathering on his shabby reign, that what he'd promised us could now be pressed to measures, simple measures to attain what ten year's government had not addressed. He hung on hatching one success to last above the tawdry scandals of the past.

I need not tell you I expected this, and got all ready for the parting kiss of Chancellor's appointment. True, a few of Roderick's old chums would go, but in the main it was the time-befuddled do of pouring old wine into new wine's skin. The which it must be, for the great machine runs with and for our civil service. All as I say, was organized, each man had case and dossiers close on call: this was my masterstroke, but, if you can, just think how simpler things would all have been if Tony had as promptly left the scene.

I stuck it out, of course: procrastination, lies and promises and more evasion.

Liz was pressing me, and more Fiona,

I went with one and then the other, each denying how the other thought I owned her.

In heaven's name what I had I done to breach such furies in them? Still I'd take them out to ever more expensive places: immense the capital for that. I got a loan but not sufficient to survive the sense that Liz's funeral might be my own.

But for Fiona there was some estate of coming wealth and privilege if she'd wait.

At last the ultimatum came: to chose the permed and dyed Elizabeth or lose the post I had been working for, along with liberty in short. How did he know? He laughed, Sir Roderick. I had got it wrong in climbing that back stair, he said, as though the correspondence copied wasn't his: the bets he hedged, his notes, the favours paid. He looked me up and down as though a cat had dragged me in, or I had gone and made a stinking puddle on his floor. So that was that, he said at last and with a grin buzzed to let his smirking PA in.

I smiled and clenched my jaw, but saw too well the last exclusive he would leak or sell. Is this how civil servants earn our trust? A woman used and dumped: who would not feel some tinge of rightful pity and disgust? A stainless character, who could not squeal because of protocol. How was it fair that men with prospects, perks and shorter day could act so caddishly and at the crunch — you get the tone of it — make women pay for all the extras to their canteen lunch? Richly beside the point, but on it went, and to the saintly tabloids heaven sent.

40. But life, as I have said, is only show.
I leaked his papers first: indeed he'd go
with face and quietly, keeping hands on wealth
and pension, contacts still, they all were his.
It was a sort of putsch by stealth,
and would have been but for discarded Liz,
who cut up rough of course: indeed for all
the nights I'd spent with her would choose for thanks
to threaten with her carefully detailed notes.
Such is the PA training, when the ranks
would suddenly be shown as scrambling goats.
He went, Sir Roderick. Fiercely, Liz hung on
until my one protector would be gone.

Tony at last resigned: a wave went round of frank relief and rush for higher ground. But I, no envoy, downward went and weighed success with errant follies, how I'd ranged advantage over principle, where strayed beyond the necessary, what had changed, when not so different looked those student notes on policies, hypocrisies, though now, of course, it was a murky grey when no one thought the State beneficent, or moral force lay in democracies but actions bought by oil and armaments. Although it's true our Liz was gone at last, but I was too

on threat of prosecution. Not so men who wrote and, pondering, would write again, scrupulous of custom, those who bought their shirts from Jermyn Street, wore Church's shoes: the wise old heads who took the weather, caught each shift of emphasis, the changing views that swirled through corridors and then lay dead, to be revived as all things are revived: the wise, the outrageous, the plainly daft all settle into period, yet are hived off to new adventures, starved or staffed according to that long deliberation that serves as measure of a thinking nation.

I saw the polished shoes on parquet floors, heard voices drifting down long corridors, saw plush recess of libraries, filed report, the endless annotation, summaries sent for consultation that are piquing thought in offices and board rooms, Parliament with privy councils and their witnesses.

I pictured all who hung there on my word, the lines of juniors who silently would stake their very life on how they'd heard I thought their prospects fared. There came to me sad laughter, empty rooms, the door on door, a bounty given me but now no more.

New names, new ministers: the order passes like wind through hayfields of the toiling classes: all to be cut down time in time, as all are reaped by policy not knowing what it should.

Small men on the whole, but honest, steeped in that long ethos of a public good.

Perhaps community is shared deceptions, but that I cannot know or where I next may pledge my services, but if there's trace of useful merit in a well-honed text it won't be long before I find some other place. And yet Fiona, my most desperate throw, now smiles at Hewinson, for all I know.

Sir Roderick was right: those feints and ploys are airy mobiles only, glittering toys.

I stared at all the windows: souls at work no less oppressed and hurting than my own but bought off quietly with that thoughtful perk of job security, a comfort zone that keeps them going, good days, bad, throughout their marriages, the high schools fees, that aunt who left them nothing after all, that night they woke up breathless, the hopes they can't reduce to office scheming or the girl that might. What's life? Advancement, graft, an artful game, and politics that follows just the same.