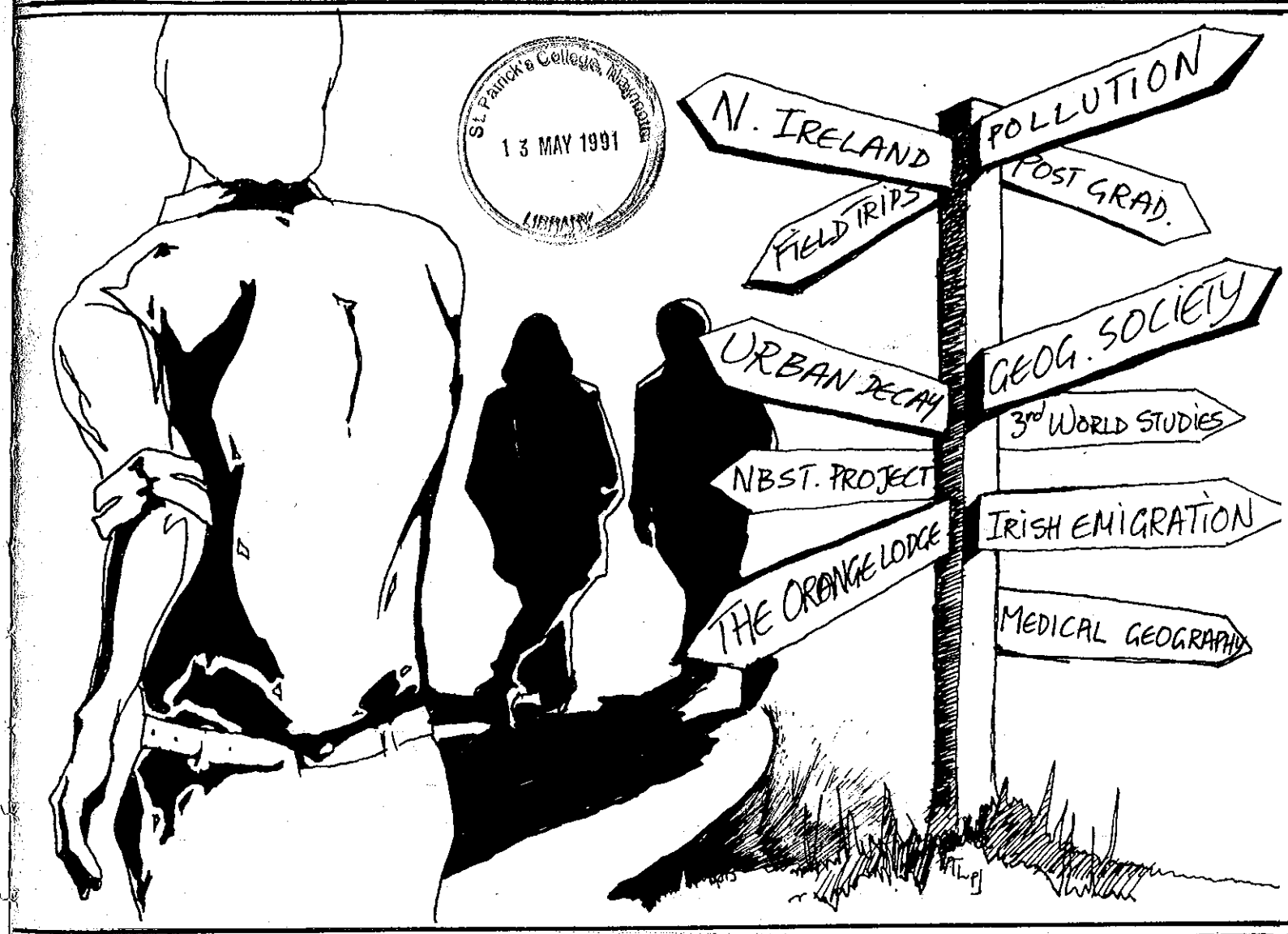


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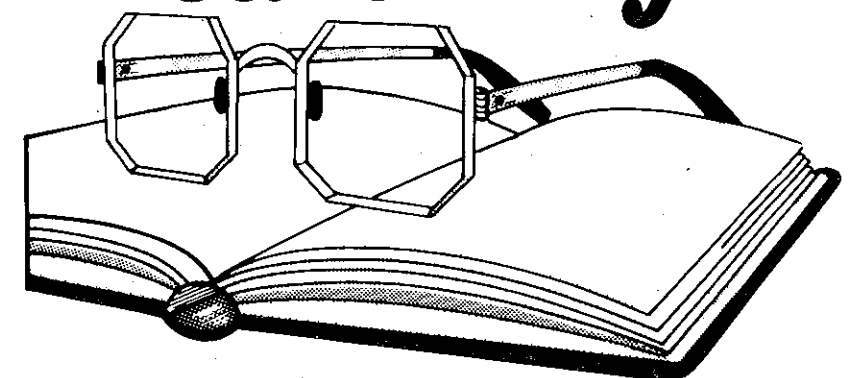
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EDITORIAL — THE CHALLENGE OF RELEVANCE

Jim Walsh

This issue of *Milieu* commemorates 10 years of Maynooth Geography. It is a justifiably proud occasion for all those involved in the initial holycon days to review the progress made in this decade of growth. A recent visit to the annual Conference of Irish Geographers in Limerick confirms the esteem Maynooth now commands, with the reason not hard to locate — a quarter of all papers read at the conference been delivered by Maynooth representatives. Furthermore, the topics covered by the papers illustrated clearly that Maynooth is in the vanguard of new developments in Geography. Perhaps the most outstanding recent development in Maynooth Geography is the securing of a £30,000 grant from the National Board of Science and Technology — the largest social science grant yet given by the NBST. It is to finance a study of strategies of rural development, especially those followed by the state and community co-operatives, in the west of Ireland. An interesting addition to the brief is the need to outline concrete proposals, in the final report, for better implementation of rural development strategies. The development of 3rd World Studies, under the guidance of Colm Regan, focuses the attention of geography students on the greatest problem facing the world today. It is heartening to see the favourable response, it allowing students adopt a critical approach to the involvement of Ireland in the 3rd World. Other research activities include an analysis of possible air pollution in the Shannon region (J.Sweeney); the study of inner city problems in Belfast along with new interpretations of the "National Question" (D. Pringle); and a book on Orangeism in Canada (W.J. Smyth). The future orientation of the department as regards content and focus of lectures seems also well assured with the aim, as Professor Smyth outlines in his article, "To produce graduates with identifiable and useful skills."

These new developments and orientation of the Geography Department are indicative of recent trends both within the discipline itself and outside happenings in society. The main implication is that Geography has descended, albeit slowly and unevenly, from the Ivory Tower whereby it remained aloof from the immediate goings-on in the society. The *empetus* for geographical

research and study stems increasingly now from a desire to be relevant to social issues and problems. To be involved in change, either directing it or criticising it, seems to be the *new raison d'être* of Geography replacing previous justifications based on 'distinctiveness' e.g. regionalism or scientific analysis of the 'spatial factor.'

The evolution of this perspective — which Maynooth illustrates quite well — can be traced to an internal uneasiness in the early '70's that Geography's contribution to social progress and development was minimal. The failure of the Quantative Revolution and its main operational vehicle — the computer — to analyse, explain or offer solutions to major issues like development/underdevelopment, urban decline, desecration of the environment and industrial location patterns left geographers frustrated and disillusioned. A new and more fruitful mode of analysis was sought that encapsulated a definite value stance while also locating the underlying processes at work.

The outcome of this change of focus — equal to a change of paradigm — is best exemplified by the rise of Radical/Marxist Geography. The Marxist framework offered a critical standpoint (social justice) along with an analytical framework (historical materialism) by which the problems in society could be tackled. Other responses included Humanistic & Phenomenological Geography, Ecological Geography and more recently 'Christian' Geography.

Outside geography, the growth of the interventionist model of the state under the ethic of social engineering, provided outlets for geography graduates. This emergence of the professional geographer is illustrative of further orientation of Geography to the needs of the real world. Functionary positions like planners, development officers and administrators have drawn ever increasing numbers of graduates. Largely these individuals have been adopted as technocrats, fitting into the 'establishment' view and strategy of development. Consequently, their own personal views, if they are any different, have to be subjugated to the demands of officialdom. The assumptions of the 'given' policy are neither questioned nor debated, this being beyond their supposed scope — 'technocrats only implement policy not

formulate it', is the justification. This ethic applies to many state-sponsored bodies ranging from Bord Failte and the I.D.A. to An Foras Taluntais and ACOT.

These related developments provide new horizons for Geography in the '80s. Both the internal search for new perspectives and external demand for 'professionals' illustrates how more relevant the discipline is becoming to developments in society.

The growth however of this 'relevance' Geography is fraught with difficulties for the 'independence' of the discipline. The first attack emanates from the breakdown of interdisciplinary boundaries by social science practitioners (including geographers). This results from no longer concentrating on pre-given areas of study, rather letting the issue at hand dictate the boundaries. The second challenge, more fundamental than the first which could be construed as a progressive move, is the obviously value-laden nature of much of modern day research. This arises when the assumptions of Radical, Humanistic, Christian Geographers are uncovered and questions such as 'relevance to whom?' 'who defines the problems?' 'where are causes to be sought?' 'does working for the state not compromise on the outlook of the geographer?' are asked. Traditionally, Geography had (supposedly) avoided the issue of values, largely through distancing itself from contemporary society and focusing on non-controversial and largely esoteric areas of study. By necessity of the new *raison d'être* of Geography, the complex political issue arises in an unavoidable manner.

It is imperative that the value-laden nature of applied and professional Geography be understood. Otherwise, geographers or scientists will never challenge reality, but accept conventionally the norms and traditions of society, becoming apologists for the status quo.

Similarly, the different value underpinnings of various perspectives or schools in Geography must be revealed. No approach that is relevant and says something is neutral — students are entitled to be shown the ideological assumptions as well as explanatory value of different theories. Geography then, for both internal and external reasons, must examine its own moral values and political stance. Not that it

will get agreement on any one position, but will allow students and practitioners of Geography to be more critical of the reality that confronts them and the methods they use to change and direct that reality. We have not yet heard of the freedom of conscience in planning or other technocratic activities as we have in the medical world and it is because we have assumed all these activities to be neutral. In fact, many of the technocratic elite Geography tends to criticise for economic or ecological disasters have been graduates of the discipline.

The call is not however for geog-

raphers to become ideologues of the right or left, or of any specific religious persuasion. It is for Geography to realise its value-laden nature and adopt a critical approach to applied professional work. This heightened awareness is a necessary adjunct to a more 'relevant' Geography. In more senses than one, the future 'research frontier' will be very close to home.

Finally, with the imminent departure of Colm Regan, I would like to take this opportunity to state, on behalf of all students, our gratitude for his commitment and enthusiasm, both personal and academic. Paulo Freire, in advoc-

ating an education based on liberation of the individual, sees the key role

"to be played by the revolutionary educators, whose task is to challenge both students and the reality which is to be studied"

I think Colm filled this role admirably.

This edition of Milieu has drawn on the writings and endeavours of many geographers. I would like to thank them all sincerely. A special appreciation is to Marie-Therese, Celine and Mary and Mick (Kairos). However, I accept totally the responsibility for all editorial decisions.

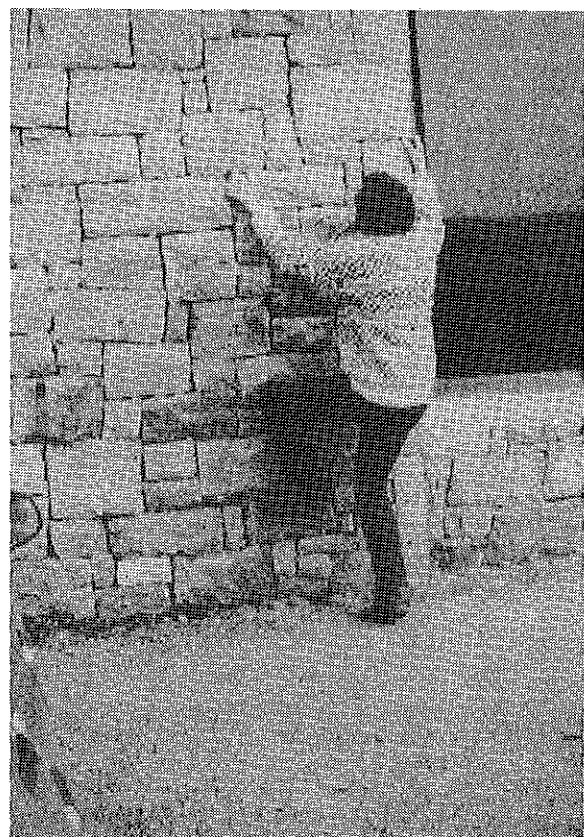
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THE GEOGRAPHY SOCIETY 1981-1982

Mary B. Ryan

Once more it is time to evaluate another glorious year in the Geography Society and its contribution to the intellectual Mecca of the East (i.e. Maynooth). This year the executive consisted of well known personalities, Auditor Gerard Toal, Secretary Mary B. Ryan, Treasurer Mary B. Ryan and P.R.O. Ailbhe Harrington. On the committee were Barbara Murray, Katherine Murphy and Deirdre Heaney. As can be seen from the impressive list there was a slight leaning towards the female side, only as it should be!

The year got off to a great start with a Quiz and Slide Show conducted by the renowned Fran Walsh. This was held especially for First Years in order to lay open the exciting horizons in Geography. To add a little entertainment there was punch, made to a secret geographical recipe. The night was a great success despite a few complaints about the shortage of punch. This was due by the zealous application by some of the consumption of the afore mentioned punch in order to discover its exact components. I would like to thank the many Science students who attended (no wonder so few had problems with their Geography lectures!).

Societies Day, although held very late this year was quite successful. After setting ourselves and our display in a prominent area and offering suitable enticements e.g. arm twisting, ninety eight new members joined.

On January 26th, the great debate was held in Theatre 1 between Jim Kemmy and Michael Farrell. No need to point out the importance of this event in the following days, it being reported on in all the major publications. Both men showed disdain for the present political situations but their solutions differed. Kemmy sees the removal of the Nationalist aspiration and replacement by 'relevant politics' as the way forward. Farrell on the other hand sees the removal of British Imperialist and Protestant hegemony as the way of progress. As Jim Walsh points out, it is their place of birth, more than anything else, that separates their strategic positions.

A film was shown on Tuesday 19th February on "Fatima Mansions". It must be said that the two film operators were seen in the canteen whilst the film was in progress. On listening outside classhall A, all one could hear were weird sounds. Needless to say the film was somewhat unintelligible. The dis-

cussion that evening on "Dublin's Inner City; Planning and People," given by Douglas Hyde and John Gallagher was chaired by Dennis Pringle. It is common knowledge that this topic is Dennis's baby, hence his attempts to dominate the question time. Fortunately the speakers were having none of it, asking each other questions instead. Refreshments were provided afterwards - 15 people arrived out of three gallons of tea!

The inaugural lecture of the year was given by Professor Bryan Roberts on the topic of "The Exploding City of The Third World - Myth or Reality."

The lecture was extremely well attended, attracting many geography disciples. Space doesn't permit me to summarise this lecture (for those interested, the Secretary's notes reveal all). The talk was followed by a wine reception, even better attended than the lecture. Professor Roberts gave a seminar the next morning on Latin America, to which only the dedicated Geography scholars attended. I would like to thank Fran Walsh for giving a guided tour of Dublin to Professor Roberts. Perhaps it is here that his true vocation lies, although passengers were somewhat cramped.

The highlight of the year was a Joint Societies lecture given by E.P. Thompson. I don't have to highlight the fact that it was such a honour to have this famous and gifted speaker. The lecture was entitled: "The Politics of Confrontation; the Cold War, Thirty Years On". Nuclear weapons have been in existence for 37 years and the fact that the earth has not yet witnessed a nuclear war helps to bolster us in an "irrational" belief that "they" would never start a nuclear war. The 1950's and 1960's were the decades of the policy officially called Mutual Assured Destruction. This strategy was based on deterrence and worked through both sides knowing they could be destroyed by each other even if they were the first to push the button. This has been replaced today with the theory of "flexible Responses"; this involves the possibility of fighting a "limited" or "theatre" nuclear war. The obvious theatre for limited nuclear war would be Europe and therefore Ireland. With M.A.D. there was no winners, but the more nuclear war is made to appear winnable, the more likely it is to be fought. This means that one side could start a limited war in the mistaken belief that it would actually

win.

The lecture was packed, a video being also set up in Theatre 2 for those unlucky enough not to get into Theatre 1. Professor Thompson proved a moving and interesting speaker and hopefully it will have left many with food for thought and action.

Unfortunately all the geography plans had not such happy endings. As this was the 10th anniversary of the Geography Department it was hoped to have a reunion of past graduates on February 20th. Despite heroic efforts by Paddy and Fran in organising this event, it had to be cancelled due to lack of support. Our condolences to those involved.

The last planned event is on Tuesday 11th May, this will be given by Paddy Duffy and Fran Walsh competing for the Boring Lecture of the Year. Refreshments and the punch will follow.

On behalf of the Geography Society I would like to offer my congratulations to Paddy Duffy, Fran Walsh and Colm Regan on having their report "State and Community: Rural Development Strategies in the Slieve League Penninsula, Co. Donegal" published.

Finally, to all those who helped the Society throughout the year, with special mention to Fran Walsh (Staff Advisor) and Colm Regan (departing Maynooth), a heartfelt thanks.

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MAYNOOTH GEOGRAPHY: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

W.J. Smyth

The present issue of *Miliu* commemorates the Tenth Anniversary of the Department of Geography in Maynooth. As such it is appropriate that it contains articles written by present students, past graduates of the College, and existing academic staff.

The department of geography was established in 1971, some three years after Maynooth opened its doors to lay students. The subsequent development and transformation of the College has been reflected in the way in which the geography department has developed. Currently the department is staffed by five full time lay members of staff recruited from both sides of the political and religious frontiers of Ireland and with a student intake that is predominantly lay and larger than some longer established departments in this island. Graduates of Maynooth geography are now to be found in teaching, religious, business and planning professions in both Ireland and abroad and it is from their success that continued justification for the creation of the department must be derived.

The department here is the youngest of the university geography departments in Ireland; its teaching staff (with an average age no greater than 35 years) is also the youngest. Both factors have had an undoubted impact upon the type of geography taught, the manner in which it is taught, and the overall identity of the department. We are all products of our age. Founded in the early 1970s it was perhaps inevitable that Maynooth Geography should develop along lines somewhat different to those characterised in other Colleges. Geography in 1971 was emerging out of the constraining harness of logical positivism which had characterised it during the previous decade. Harvey's *Explanations in Geography* (1968) was three years old, his *Social Justice and the City* (1973) was in gestation and its birth anticipated. A generation of geographers capable of using the quantitative tools of positivistic geography but skeptical of the implied lack of social concern and appreciation of human and cultural values, was emerging and it was from this generation that Maynooth was to derive its academic recruits. Time as a differentiating agent was compounded by the spatial factor. Traditionally Irish geography derived its founding staff, and many subsequent additions, from the post graduate research bodies of British universities. Liverpool and Aber-

stwyth stand out in this regard and graduates of those colleges have served Irish geography well. By the mid-1960s, however, the heavily financed machinery of North American graduate programmes in geography had stirred into action. Many graduates of the National University of Ireland, Trinity College, Dublin, and Queen's University Belfast were attracted to North American universities by the attraction of generous scholarships, well-financed research facilities and the lure of being close to the research frontier in the discipline. Simultaneously the maturing Irish universities were beginning to produce a steady trickle of Masters and Ph.D. degrees in geography. It was from these two sources that the new geography department in Maynooth was to recruit most of its staff. By a further curious refinement of the spatial dimension Canada rather than the U.S.A. emerged as the main source of North-American experience. A further Celtic link was introduced by the appointment of a Ph.D. from Glasgow university. It is this background and training which is clearly apparent in the design of the geography programme in Maynooth. Yet while we indicate and appreciate the distinguishing characteristics of Maynooth geography we do not imply an isolationist mentality. Contact between Maynooth and other geography departments in this country has always been good and there is perhaps no better evidence of this than the close links which have bound this department with that of U.C.D. In the past decade three different heads have directed this department but, consistently, only one single individual, Professor Jones Hughes of U.C.D., has maintained a continuous presence in his role as external examiner. Through him continuity has been maintained and integration with Irish geography circles aided.

Future developments in the department are difficult to predict. Obviously the current climate of economic cut-backs will imply no additional staff recruits in the short term and acquisition of equipment especially in the area of physical geography. The future cannot be a static representation of the present, however, and the financial stringency does not absolve us from the need to adapt our programme to changing demands. Ultimately, however, the aim is to continue to produce graduates with identifiable and useful skills and to

maintain the reputation of the department through high quality, mature scholarship. We have but ten years of a past to celebrate but it is with considerable enthusiasm that we anticipate the future.

Inaugural Lecturers: T. Jones Hughes (UCD) 1974; J.B. Caird (Dundee) 1975; E.E. Evans (Q.U.B.) 1976; J.H. Johnson (Lancaster) 1977; T.W. Freeman (Manchester) 1978; Joseph Doherty (St. Andrews) 1979; Ted Ralph (Toronto) 1980; Brian Roberts of Manchester will give the inaugural lecture for the 1981-1982 session.

Auditors of Geography Society 1971-81.

Pat Goff, Jim Murphy, Tom Collins, Seamus Ryan, Marguerite Crosbie, Fintan Diggin, Mary Rose Bogan, Mary Smith, Anthony Leavy, Brendan Fleming, Ger Toad.

Easter Field weeks: South Tipperary (1974), South Wexford (1975), Sligo (1976), West Cork (1977), South Leitrim (1978), Scotland (1979), Glen-columbcille (1980), North Donegal (1981), Connemara (1982).

AN TÍREOLAÍOCHT IN ÉIRINN – CÁ SEASANN SÍ?

Prionnias Breathnach

gluaiseacht "Eire-Éireannach" – na tír ní hamháin tuathúil ach tréadach (pastoral), an Ghailge á labhairt inti, an creideamh caitliceach ag gach éinne, lán le feirmeacha beaga agus daoine ag comhoibriú agus ag déanamh siamsa le chéile.

Tá cur síos an-shuimiúil ar chumadh an mhíotais seo i gcaibidil ó leabhar a foilsíodh le gairid (Terence Brown: Ireland – A social and cultural history 1922-1979; Fontana 1981), gur fiú é a léamh. Saothar scríbhneoirí lit-eartha is mó atá fé chaibidil ag Brown, ach ba shuimiúil é saothar stáirithe agus tíreolaithe a scrúdú sa choimhthéacs seo. Níl aon dabht ach gur chuir Evans leis an saothar seo leis an dearchadh ar an tíreolaíocht a bhí aige .i. an bhéim ar leanúnach as ón "sean-am", agus ar ailtireacht, teicneolaíocht, córais pháirc-eanna agus gnéithe eile den chultúr traidisiúnta. Ní hé sin le rá nach raibh saothar Evans fiúntach – ar ndóigh, tá sé thar a bheith luachmhar. Ach sé an gearán atá agam ná go raibh sé roghnaíoch, agus dá bhrí sin gur chabhraigh sé – cibé d'aon ghnó nó a mhalairt – le hionmhá bhréagach a chur fé bhráid an phobail.

Gan dabht, tá feabhas mór tagtha ar chúrsaí chomh fada agus a bhaineann siad leis an gceist seo le déanaí. Tá aithbhreith mhór ar siúl imeasc na stairithe ar an sórt oibre a bhíodh á dhéanamh acu, agus tá tionchur na haithbhreithe seo le feiscint anseo in ansúid sa tíreolaíocht, ach fós, tá an-dul ar aghaidh ag teastáil.

Seachas an tíreolaíocht chultúrtha/stairiúil, sí an tíreolaíocht fhísiciúil (agus an gheomorfalaíocht go háirithe) is mó a bhí agus atá fós-jdir lámha ag tíreolaithe ollscoile na hÉireann. Ciallaíonn san gur beag an méad oibre a bhí á dhéanamh ar ghnéithe eile den saol daonna, mar shampla, an saol eacnamaíoch agus an saol cathrach. Mar shampla, chomh fada is eol dom, níl ach bheirt tíreolaithe sa Phoblacht go bhfuilsuim acu igcúrsaí tionsclaíocha, agus níl éinne ag obair mar léachtóir sealúchas (property) talún agus foirgintí sna cathracha – ceann de mhórfhadhbanna na tíre fé láthair.

Tréith fé leith eile a bhí ag an tíreolaíocht in Éirinn go dtí le deanaí ná an méad eachtrannach a bhí ag obair anseo; tá neart díobh fós ann, ach tá cothromaíocht mhór tar éis tárlú le deich mbliana anuas. Tháinig méadú mór ar líon na dtíreolaithe ag an triú leibhéal sna seachtóidí, agus thug sin

Dob é Estyn Evans an chéad tíreolaí lánaimseartha a ceapadh in aon ollscoil in Éirinn nuair a ghlac sé le post mar léachtóir in Ollscoil na Banríona in mBéal Feirste i 1928. Bhí an-tionchur go deo aige ar an treo a ghaibh an tíreolaíocht mar ábhar ollscoile in Éirinn ina dhiaidh sin. Tháinig Evans ó Aberystwyth na Breataine Bige, áit ar tréin-éaladh é fé stúru H.J. Fleure – rud a dhein cinnte de go mbeadh claonadh fé leith ina chuid oibre. Séard a bhí le tuiscint uaidh seo ná go mbeadh ardshuim aige in gcúrsaí cultúrtha, staire agus tuaithe, fite fuaite lena chéile – agus d'fhéadfaí a rá go bhfuil an phríomháit fós ag tíreolaíocht den tsórt seo in Éirinn go fóill. Mar shampla, is tíreolaithe den chinéal seo, a bheag nó a mhór, atá i gceannas sna ranna tíreolaithe sa cheithre choláiste a bhaineann leis an Ollscoil Náisiúnta. Ceann acu, ba as Aberystwyth freisin a tháinig sé (tionnchar Evans le feiscint anseo) nuair a ceapadh mar an chéad tíreolaí é i gColáiste na hOllscoile, Átha Cliath timpeall 1950. Is sa choláiste seo a tréineáladh beirt den triúr eile ina dhiaidh sin, agus tháinig an ceathrú duine díreach ó Bhéal Feirste go dtí an coláiste ina bhfuil sé. I dteannta na ndaoine thuasluaithé, tá slua eile den tsórt tíreolaí atá fé chaibidil scaipthe tríd na hollscoileanna agus na coláiste oiliúna.

Nuair a tháinig Evans go hÉirinn ar dtús, bhí éileamh mór ag fás don sórt oibre a bhí á dhéanamh aige. Bhí an Saorstát díreach tar éis neamhspléachas polaitiúil d'fháil, agus bhí dream ag teacht chun cinn go raibh mar cuspóir acu go mbeadh a cultúr difriúil fé leith ag Éirinn chun dul leis an neamhspléachas sin. Chuir an dream seo an bhéim iomlán ar an gnéithe sin nach raibh aon bhaint ar aon chur acu leis an Sasanach ná le rudaí Sasanacha – sé sin, is aibhbheochaint den cultúr Gaelach a theastaigh uathu. Dá bhrí sin, roghnaíodh gnéithe áirithe den sean-chultúr "Gaelach" (roimh teacht na Sasanach) agus gnéithe eile den cultúr Gaelach a bhí fós beo (dar leo) d'ainneoin iarrachtaí na Sasanach iad a chur fé chois. Toisc nach raibh ach gnéithe áirithe a roghnaíodh, agus toisc gur tuiscint bhréagach ar roinnt dena gnéithe sin a bhí ag an dream atá i gceist, ní raibh sa leagan den chultúr "fíor-Éireannach" a bhí mar sprioc acu le cur i bhfeidhim in Éirinn ach miotas (myth). Dob iad príomhthréithe an mhíotais a chum an dream seo – an

A RETROSPECTIVE RAMBLE WITH GEOGRAPHY IN MAYNOOTH 1971-1981

P.J. Duffy

Some Introduction.

Having been (a) the first academic geographer (protests, thud) to desecrate the hallowed spaces of Maynooth, opening them up to endless hordes of decadent, licentious, pluralist, radical, intellectual, protestant, gentile and female geography students,¹ not to mention staff (groans) and (b) being also the totally unpaid, overtaxed (yet humble and obedient) Patron of Maynooth's Geography Society and (c) being also partly a historical geographer (screams of anguish, enter masked gunman who fires six shots at the upper - (historical?) part of the Author but misses, and so I continue . . . more groans), it fails to be (crash, expletive deleted) to attempt to review the ten year progress (boomuffled gunshot) of geography in Maynooth.

Genesis.

Geography in 1971 in Maynooth consisted of one office, one table and chair, one empty wardrobe and one junior lecturer. The latter (the present aged and stooping Author)² had been informed by the present Bishop of Limerick³ that c.20 incoming students would be opting for geography in first Arts. Surprise, surprise when the then lithe and supple author crept timorously into Logic Hall and was faced by approximately 100 students, and a crucifix.⁴ Visibly shocked by the array of faces, slaving for geography, and the knowledge that there were only about two dozen books in the library, he outlined a lecture programme for the year. He then submitted an outline plan to the College Executive Council on the development of a geography department in Maynooth recommending (1) that geography continue for a few years as a First Arts subject only and (2) that additional staff, especially a Professor or Senior Lecturer, be appointed immediately. With astonishing insight, the powers that were ignored (1) and (2). They did worse. They appointed Fran Walsh,⁵ may God forgive them.

From the vantage point of November 1971, the following decade looked especially bleak: almost 100 students, c.32 books in Junior Library,⁶ £29 per week (and no pension), one battered mini, and Fianna Fail in power and no sign of 'em going . . . But things always brighten up. The Campus was very friendly: in contrast to Belfield, everybody you met in Joe's Square, students and staff, said hello. The charm

and joviality of the place was quite traumatic. Lecture courses were all-encompassing i.e., as broad a variety of themes as would fit into the limited library. However, to make some sort of impact with the masses, a tutorial system of mind-boggling simplicity was devised. The class was divided into groups of twenty which met fortnightly, the members producing one or two essays in the year. These monster meetings were held in a room opposite the Physics Hall, with people sitting on table-tops and floors, and hiding behind each other. Individuals like Coakley, Cunnane, Murphy (Jim and Tim), Kenny emerged. . .

By November 1971, in order to expose the 100 innocents to additional outside views of the lunacy of geography, the idea of a Geographical Society was mooted, elections were held and Pat Goff triumphantly entered history as the first Auditor of the Maynooth Geography Society. One of the devious reasons for establishing the society was the possibility of acquiring outside lecturers for nothing (or a cup of tea). U.C.D. was mined assiduously. And it worked. In spite of occasional limps and hiccups, it's still going strong. There was a very good staff-student relationship in the first year (a characteristic which has continued down the years) which reached a pinnacle of camaraderie during Rag Week 1972, when the geography department was mugged, muzzled and kidnapped for a day in a pub in remotest Kinnegad. Nobody was interested in paying ransom for the patron of the geography society however (what patron? what society?) so the department was duly dumped in a ditch in Kilcock. The perpetrators of this outrage later failed first arts, although some managed to make it later on to high pleases in the business and academic world.

Revolution.

With two classes in 1972-73 (including an honours class of thirteen) pressures on the geography department's staff (two) and space (two offices) increased. Initially peripatetic practicals were held: for the initiated and over-facilitated of today, these consisted of hauling maps and students from Music Hall this week, to the Aula Max next week. In November and December, the Aula Max was extremely cold and dark . . . By December the Author deserted his post,

elegantly remarking that he was pissed off with these practicals and telling them they could do what they liked, go to the President for all he cared . . . They did, and the current bishop of Limerick came steaming into the Geography Department roaring about the French Revolution . . . Out of this revolutionary situation, the department made its first territorial acquisition in Rhetoric House. Following this, and in order to supplement the inadequate, periodical coverage in the library, the xerox library was born - a service which was stood well to geography over the years. 1972 also marked the first field trip from Maynooth into the wilds of Wicklow, and all returned safely.

With increasing students, the department rapidly developed. Willie Smyth joined the staff as senior lecturer 1973/74. The fortuitous election of a fellow Tipperary man (Tom Collins) as Auditor of the Geography Society resulted in some marked innovations in department and society. The first Society Social was held, the first of many successful Society seminars on problems relating to contemporary Ireland and the first Society inaugural Lecture and dinner dance took place.

The first and historic week-end field trip was held in Donegal in 1973: it took most of the weekend to get there, where the group took cover in the bar of the Errigle View Hotel. The first Easter Field week (1974) ranged widely through East Cork and North Tipperary. Many people got to know Clogheen-Burncourt intimately.

Consolidation.

Driven by a territorial imperative of unstoppable magnitude, Willie Smyth took Rhetoric by storm in 1974/75. Sketches were dashed off, spaces spaded down and out of the shambles materialised the present-day Geography Laboratory, Map Library, Seminar Room, Dark Rooms and Cartographer's Office. A few miscalculations however, resulted in mammoth light tables in the Laboratory and an unfathomable sink in the Dark Room.

The Map Library was painstakingly build up from scratch and is now a resource of crucial importance to the department. It was catalogued meticulously in 1980 by Cathy Gunn, our highly esteemed and retired cartographer between 1978-80.

One of the more important developments occurred in the 1974/75 academic year, with the establishment of *Milieu*, the Journal of the College Geography Society. The title emerged from a competition among the students, and an attractive cover design (in 1976 and 1977 cover also) was created by Sean Casey. The first editor in 1975 was Jim Murphy who ultimately took an M.A. in geography (1980), and in conjunction the business-like efficiency of Seamus Ryan as Auditor, a collector's item was produced! *Milieu* has continued to appear successfully each year since 1975. An event of equal, if not greater importance in 1974 was the appointment of Dennis Pringle to the staff (groans), masquerading as an urban geographer.

A high point of 1976 was the inaugural lecture by Estyn Evans "one of the world's foremost cultural geographers and one of the founding fathers of geography as a university discipline in this island."⁷ In a memorably emotional meeting the following day, Evans reminisced on his coming to Ireland in 1928 and his work in Queens University for forty years. His visit coincided with a brainstorming seminar by Ann Buttimer (from Clark University).

In the 1976 field week to Sligo-Leitrim, the department experimented with self-drive minibuses, one of which stubbornly drove Dennis Pringle over the ditch spilling his team into the field. An irrespressible Malaysian, K.J. Nair, and an inscrutable garda, Pat Walsh, were suitably shocked at this type of field work. Nair was especially successful in the demographic survey of the Manorhamilton hinterland: with broolly and brief case in hand he announced to the suspicious populace that he was looking for a site for a factory. A highly successful opening gambit!

In November 1976 Maynooth hosted the Joint Societies' Annual lecture by Professor Pierre Flatres. Other visitors to the department included Dr. J. Kuchler from the Free University of Berlin and Professor John Mannion from St. John's, Newfoundland. The Society's Inaugural Lecture in 1977 was given by J.H. Johnson of Lancaster. The Easter Field Trip in 1977 consisted of a foray into West Cork by Willie Smyth and Fran Walsh. Much to the regret of students and staff in geography, and the general academic staff in Maynooth, Willie Smyth left in 1977 for greener pastures in UCC. Darina Healy replaced him for a couple

of exciting years between 1977 and 1979.

Comings and Goings.

T.W. Freeman, one of the early influences on Irish geography, was the inaugural lecturer in 1978. Finally in 1978 a chair was established in the geography department to which Seamus Smuth was appointed; he obviously liked the place having been one of the early speakers to the Geography Society in its first year of development! John Sweeney also joined the staff this year, masquerading as the department's first physical geographer, and a foreigner to boot.⁸ At the students' geography congress in 1979, one of our final year students, Eddie Henry, won the Fahy Memorial Trophy. 1979 was also the first year that Maynooth campus hosted the Conference of Irish Geographers. It was a highly successful affair, with concurrent sessions in the new Arts Building. The first in a series of departmental publications - the Maynooth Occasional Papers Series - was published in 1979. *Changing Forces Shaping A nineteenth century Irish Town* was written by Peter Connell, who obtained his M.A. in the department in 1980.⁹ A temporary respite was granted to staff and students in 1978/79 by the sabbatical leave of Fran Walsh who went to Canada for the year. In 1979/80 P.J. Duffy went on sabbatical to New Zealand and Disneyland (briefly) and returned not much the worse. He was replaced while away by Colm Regan¹⁰ who is happily (no, no, no) still with us. While on the subject of sabbaticals, Dennis Pringle left in 1980 but returned, misguidedly in 1981. His return coincides with the imminent publication (9th 1984) of MOPS 2 (*State and Community: rural development strategies in the Slieve League Peninsula, Co. Donegal*) by Colm Regan and Prionnsias Breathnach.¹¹ In 1981 three members of staff in the department were awarded a NBST research grant of £30,000 to undertake a project examining strategies of rural development in the west of Ireland.

To conclude this increasingly boring review (hear, hear) there have only been four M.A. graduates in latter years from the department. This is probably a result of staff changes in the last few years, although postgraduate students were not encouraged too enthusiastically in the developing department. There have been approximately 680 geography graduates in the department over the past seven years, with slightly in excess of 100 honours grad-

uates. There are at present three students undertaking research for M.As.

Over the years, the Department and Society have had an impressive array of distinguished visitors. In addition to those already mentioned, one could note the most recent visit of Jim Kemmy T.D. (who spoke to us, on the eve of his Dail break, with Michael Farrell), Phil O'Keefe (from Clark University), Ted Ralph (from Toronto), in addition to many from closer to home - Fred Boal (twice), Damien Hannan (twice), Ken Nicholls, Thomas Rosengrave, John deCourcy Ireland, John Healy et. alia. (see *Milieu* 1975-1981).

Notes, references and supplementary observations.

1. See L.O. Queues, Maynooth, Yournooth, Whosenooth? *Milieu* 1977, 56-63; also Gibbons, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*; also Barbarian Invasion 300-600 AD; also Brady's or the Roost most weekends.
2. or read, "ageing and stupid?"
3. Formerly President of Maynooth College, professor of Sociology, priest, politician and author of innumerable books on sociology, theology, economics, history, planning, religion, piety, Maynooth . . .
4. Bishops make mistakes: see appointments (e.g. note 5) . . .
5. Alias Prionnsias Breathnach (1981+), President of Snooker Club.
6. As can be seen, the book acquisitions were rising rapidly. Paddy Mullanny, Chief Library operative and book-bearer in 1971 remarked petulantly one morning that there was "a fierish load of books coming into jagraphy."
7. Forward,
8. 'Boot' is not used in any violent sense. It should be noted that the Sweeneys first came to Ireland from Scotland as galloglasses in the 14th century (see *Annals of Ireland*); some claim, however, that they emigrated from Donegal to Scotland in the ninth century.
9. Copies available from D. Pringle £1.60.
10. Known as Red Regan.
11. alias Fran Walsh.

FEEDING THE MANY — DREAM OR REALITY?

Bob Kenny, Post-Graduate

Shortages of food appear to present the Third World with its most intractable problem. At present about 400 million people are malnourished and the situation doesn't appear to be getting better. This has often been blamed on over population and the low productivity of Third World agricultural methods. However, when looking at over-population, the density of people on the land is not the important question — for example, Taiwan, which has no malnutrition, has twice as many people per cultivated acre as does Bangladesh in which hunger is common. Control of the land is a far more central question regarding whether land is being made more or less productive, deciding who eats what is grown and whether the land is used to feed people or animals. The World currently produces enough grain alone to give everyone the same calorie intake as the average European or American — this indicates that the problem is one of distribution rather than of production.

The first priority for each country should be to grow food to feed its own people. But many countries, instead of doing this, devote large areas of their best land to the production of cash crops such as coffee or cocoa for export to the developed world. This is most often a legacy of their colonial past when they were used by the mother countries as producers of cheap raw materials. These are now the only sources of income for many countries and some are dangerously dependent on good prices for products which tend to fluctuate wildly in value on the international market e.g. coffee makes up 84% of Burundi's foreign exchange earnings and 61% of Uganda's, while 66% of Chad's earnings come from cotton, 80% of Cuba's from sugar, 60% of Sri Lanka from tea and 65% of the Congo's from wood. (Harrison, 1979 p. 338).

Cash crops take up valuable land that could be, and usually was, used to grow nutritionally worthwhile food for the local people. In Central America and the Caribbean 70% of the children are estimated to be malnourished while 50% of the land is producing export crops like tomatoes or cut flowers for North America. (New Internationalist). Cash crop production normally gets far more assistance from governments and international aid agencies than does cultivation of staple foods for the local population e.g. in Brazil small farmers

who produce about 75% of the country's staple foods get only about 5% of all agricultural loans (Burbach & Flynn, 1980 p. 104). This means that production of basic foods increases more slowly than does that of export crops e.g. in Brazil from 1968-78 export crop production grew annually by 5.4% while that of food crops grew by only 2.9% (Burbach and Flynn, 1980, p. 105). Another feather of cash crops is that they tend to impoverish the soil because crop rotation is not practised. They are usually grown on large plantations with no means of returning nutrients to the soil. This means that some of the best land is rendered useless and the shortfall must be made up by taking other land used for food production.

Another associated problem is that of landlessness. Third World landholding patterns are skewed very heavily in favour of the wealthier classes, for example, in Latin America in 1973, 47% of the agricultural land was controlled by only 2% of the agricultural population (New Internationalist). Also in Latin America in the early 70's over 65% of the rural households in 9 countries were made up of landless or near landless families while in Asia over 75% of the households in 5 countries were landless with the figure of 53% for India accounting for 86 million households. Thus most people don't even have access to the land. Big landowners don't feel the same need to use their land as intensively as do small farmers for whom agriculture can be a matter of life and death. Because of this, large areas of cultivable land are not used at all. In 1967 only 44% of the World's potentially cultivable land was used, while the precise figures were, Latin America 11%, Africa 22% and Asia 83% (Sinha 1976, p. 17). In Latin America many landlords are absentees and only use as much land as they feel they need to give a sufficient income. Profits are often spent on luxuries rather than on improving their estates. Studies have shown that the Latin American small farmer is more productive than the large farmer yet the latter can usually command more in aid from governments, or international agencies. This means that the small farmer cannot increase production to potential levels. Measures of land reform

have been introduced in some countries but they have usually proved ineffective because of failure to tackle the basic structures of inequality. In many cases only some peasants were given land while in others the rich landowners were able to undermine the reform.

Recent trends have served to exacerbate the problems of landlessness. In the post war period there was a desire to 'modernise' Third World agriculture along Western lines. It was thought that if more food could be produced the problems of malnutrition and famine would soon disappear. This western model of agriculture involved bringing Third World farmers into the exchange economy —

"Rural development is concerned with the modernisation and monetisation of rural society, and with its transition from traditional isolation to integration with the national economy." (World Bank policy paper).

This would encourage farmers to produce a surplus over and above their own subsistence needs with the dual function of giving them money to lift them out of their poverty and of making more food available on the market. Essential to this strategy was the use of expensive inputs such as tractors and fertilisers which were supposed to raise production levels. The Green Revolution played an important part in this with its use of high yielding seed varieties which depend on modern technological methods of cultivation. All of these inputs cost money and to pay for them farmers had to borrow heavily, often from village moneylenders at high rates. Being in debt means that a profit must always be made if the loan is to be repaid. To do this production must be increased but if everyone raises production it can lead to overproduction and a fall in prices which means, ultimately, a drop in incomes. Large farmers are better able to survive because they have access to better credit facilities and because they will probably employ wage labourers on to whom they can push the effects of recession through wage cuts or redundancies. However, the small farmer has no such cushion against recession and bankruptcy is the common result. In this way many small farmers are forced to sell off their land and over a period of time there is a further concentration of land in the hands of the rich

with small farmers having to leave their holdings —

"Landlessness on the current scale in Bangladesh is a fairly recent phenomenon. Almost every landless peasant you meet either once owned land himself or his father did." (Harrison, 1979, p. 87).

Another side effect of the introduction of Western methods is the increase in mechanisation. This may help to raise productivity but it does so at the expense of making the country more dependent on imported western technology and especially by making many rural labourers redundant. It is estimated that in Mexico, the home of the Green Revolution, 30,000 workers are displaced every year due to increased mechanisation (Burbach and Flynn, 1980, p. 160). Individual farmers can't be blamed for using machines when they must make a profit but it does indicate the inapplicability of Western methods to situations where inequality is part of the system. Thus because of modernisation the pattern is being reproduced across the Third World which in America saw the number of family farms decline from about 6.3 million in 1930 to 2.9 million in 1970 (Burbach and Flynn 1980, p. 25). These people join the daily exodus of 33,000 migrants to the cities (Harrison, 1974, p. 145) where chances of finding work are not much better than in the country.

Modernisation may increase the amount of food that is produced but if people can't afford to buy it the problem of hunger remains. Furthermore, the cost of this increased production to the country as a whole, may

be very high in terms of increased dependency on the West for technology and spare parts and also in energy used to drive machinery. Modernisation breaks down old rural ties and creates differences with each village once the richer farmers begin to benefit at the expense of their poorer neighbours. In this way, old social cohesions fall apart and the whole society becomes polarised along lines of wealth, or lack of it, with all that that implies for social stability. Also, because there is so little money to spend in Third World countries, many farmers turn to the production of cash crops for which they know there is a market, even if it is a foreign market. This again leads to the wrong type of food being produced so the increases in production don't attack the hunger problem.

In short the only solution to Third World food problems lies in an equitable distribution of resources with everyone having access to land on which to grow their own food. This can only be achieved through meaningful measures of land reform in which the initiative is taken by the small farmers themselves. To prevent larger farmers benefiting from redistribution at the expense of their smaller neighbours collectivisation of land is probably the best policy for long term equity. This should involve full use of all available land with a gradual transfer of land from cash crop to indigenous food production. To achieve the latter the Third World countries would need to be guaranteed fair prices for their

export crops so that their economics would not be jeopardised, as happened Chile between 1970 and 1973. To make up for shortfalls in the interim period food aid could be used to stave off imminent famine, rather than to undercut local production and create food dependency on countries with large wheat surpluses such as the U.S.A. An eventual goal of food self reliance for most countries is no modest aim but it can be achieved.

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MULTINATIONAL CAPITAL AND THE INDUSTRIALISATION OF RURAL IRELAND

Aidan Jordan 3rd Year

One of the most spectacular developments in the international economy since World War Two has been the rise of the Multinational Corporation. This was due to a number of reasons, the most important being the need for large conglomerate corporations in developed countries to expand and infiltrate foreign markets i.e. the expanding markets of Western Europe after the war. Another reason was the emergence of profit squeezes at home that forced corporations to move out in search of cost reducing opportunities such as cheap labour or state incentives to industry. A major permitting factor in the growth of multinational corporations has been the rapid technological developments particularly in the fields of communications which have facilitated unprecedented levels of international organisation and control on a global scale. An important focus of multinational investment in Western Europe, especially by American corporations, has been Ireland. We will look at how this has come about and the reasons why Ireland has proved so attractive to multinational investment. Then we will examine the advantages and disadvantages of multinational investment and the attendant industrialisation of rural Ireland in an attempt to ascertain whether this can be regarded as progress or a formula for disaster.

In 1932 a policy of import substitution was introduced by the Fianna Fail Government. This lasted until 1958 when the Government became disenchanted with the results achieved. Under this policy the Irish Government felt that industrialisation was a necessary means of bringing prosperity to Ireland since it would reduce the country's reliance on foreign imports, provide a great deal of employment for Irish workers, improve the country's balance of payments problems, stimulate economic growth and provide new export lines. Following a period of mixed success during which employment in the industrial sector rose initially but declined after the second World War, prices increased progressively, the balance of payments problem was aggravated and there was also a drop in agricultural production. This prompted the Government to adopt an outward-looking development strategy. It was decided to try to attract foreign capital with its expertise in international trade of manufactured products, to

make up for the failure of indigenous capital. This heralded an era in Ireland of export promotion and diversification based on foreign capital. The Government's rationale behind this decision is as follows:

"The needs of the home market were met largely by Irish manufacturing enterprises and this meant that further industrial expansion must be based largely on production for exports. Hence Government will welcome foreign participation in the drive for expansion in industry where it is likely to result in new industrial activity or an increase in our industrial exports." (Long)

This programme for economic expansion was announced in 1958 and was adopted to overcome Ireland's balance of payments problem and also to overcome the related problems of unemployment, due mainly to the surplus from agriculture, and emigration (see fig 1).

This table shows the problem of emigration that had to be solved in 1958 when the new economic expansion programme was adopted. Ireland in adopting this programme dropped its protectionist stance on foreign investment and opened up the Irish economy to the free play of market forces and international competition. Irish products would have to compete on an equal footing with other products. This forced many firms to become more competitive while others who could not operate went out of business. Ireland entered free trade agreements with the United Kingdom and other European countries. This brings us on to the question of what made Ireland so attractive to multinational investment?

The reasons are manifold for Ireland's attractiveness and geographers

and economists have argued about the relative importance of various factors. With the change in economic policy by the government in 1958, restrictions on foreign direct investment were for the most part removed, full tax remission on profits arising from industrial exports and a tax holiday of 15 years were introduced. Grants of up to 50% (or more in designated underdeveloped areas) on fixed assets in new industrial investment or in major expansions of existing industries were introduced. Ireland was by its free trade agreements to have access to the United Kingdom for most manufactured goods and later in 1973 Ireland's entry to the E.E.C. proved a major incentive to multinational investment as shown by the accelerated rate of foreign direct investment from then on. The Industrial Development Authority (I.D.A.) and the industrial training centre were set up to implement the government incentives programme and to cater for the training of Irish workers for manufacturing jobs. Important factors in Ireland apart from the incentives package itself are particularly: a location inside the E.E.C., political stability, a community attitude favourable towards foreign investment, a well educated and flexible work force plus a highly effective and professional semi-state agency, the I.D.A., for promoting industrial development. Dickén (1980 pp306-307) has argued that the acceleration of foreign direct investment in Ireland since 1973 would suggest that it is location within the E.E.C. market together with financial incentives and other cost factors which are the most important reasons for multinational enterprises locating in Ireland.

We have seen the change in Irish economic policy that allows the inflow of foreign direct investment into Ire-

FIG. 1
AVERAGE ANNUAL RATES OF CHANGE OF POPULATION AND NET EMIGRATION PER 1,000 OF AVERAGE POPULATION 1946-1971:

Intercensal Period	Change in Population	Natural Increase	Net Emigration
1946-51	+ 0.4	8.6	8.2
1951-56	+ 4.3	9.2	13.4
1956-61	+ 5.6	9.2	14.8
1961-66	+ 4.6	10.3	5.7
1966-71	+ 5.9	10.1	4.2

land and the factors that have attracted multinational corporations to set up branch factories here. Now we will examine the advantages and disadvantages of this in an attempt to evaluate its contribution to the economy as a whole, at present and in the future, i.e. can we regard multinational capital and the industrialisation of rural Ireland as progress or a formula for disaster?

The Irish Government, in defence of its economic policy of attracting multinational investment to Ireland argues that it leads to the importation of much needed technology into the Irish economy. By its export orientation it helps improve Ireland's balance of payments and it provides much needed employment to Irish workers and, therefore, reduces emigration. Multinational branch factories have been an important source of employment especially in the last decade and added to this is the multiplier effect of jobs in the services sector. It has been estimated that 76% of Irish industrial expansion between 1960-70 came as a result of foreign investment and this shows the benefit of multinational investment to national economic growth. Foreign investment has also contributed to the substantial growth rate of Irish exports. There was also a swing from agriculture to industry as the main export sector. Since foreign or multinational investment in particular is concentrated in the manufacturing sector which is geared towards the export market it is seen to be an important source of foreign exchange for Ireland. Another factor in favour of multinational investment in Ireland is that the multinational firms pay higher wages on average than local Irish firms, thus raising the living standards of their workers. One of the most important benefits of direct foreign investment by multinational corporations in Ireland is that it generates industrialisation, transforming the structure of the Irish economy, hitherto primarily agricultural. The Irish economy, due to this, has become less reliant on few agricultural exports and on the fluctuations of world demand for primary exports. Due to this diversification of the economy the security of Irish workers for the most part has been improved. Multinational firms also provide valuable infrastructure in the form of organisational expertise and established marketing, promotional and supply links that are vital for international competition. Multinational capital in so far as it has been invested in the less developed parts of the country (designated areas) has

contributed to regional development and this is very important in relation to the industrialisation of rural Ireland. This rural industrialisation in turn has a major effect on agriculture by absorbing surplus labour and this is confirmed by the increase in value output of agriculture from \$142m. in 1958 to \$231 million in 1968 despite a drop of nearly 100,000 workers. This trend has continued to be present. This shows the many advantages of multinational direct investment in Ireland and the attendant industrialisation of rural Ireland. Next we must examine the disadvantages of these developments in an effort to ascertain their value to the developing Irish economy.

One of the many complaints made against foreign owned companies in Ireland is that they import most of their raw materials and export most of their output so there is little backward or forward linkages generated. The plants thus exist as virtual independent entities within the country. This makes it much easier for the company to pull out of its operation in an area. This lack of linkages reduces the control of local powers over the firm, and the reliance on foreign imports and markets causes national disintegration of the economy. This disintegration may be of benefit in one way in that if industrial complexes were to be set up around a limited range of processes, then should a process be rendered obsolete by technological change, massive unemployment would ensue. Multinational investment as mentioned above has since 1960 and particularly since 1973 contributed greatly to employment in Ireland. This advantage has been reduced to capital intensive nature of multinational investment and weak multiplier effects which result from dependance on overseas sources of raw material and intermediate goods (the Irish Government has urged foreign companies to adopt more labour intensive methods of production). Multinational companies tend to employ relatively unskilled labour and so add little to the skill level of the Irish labour force. They also tend to employ a high proportion of female unskilled labour. This, according to Frank Long in his paper on "Foreign Direct investment in an underdeveloped European economy - the Republic of Ireland" (World development vol. 4 1976) causes a brain drain since there is little scope for employment in the "home region". He also says:

"This situation obviously weakens Ireland's potential to develop its human capital, which is a vital ingredient of economic development."

Other weaknesses or disadvantages of foreign investment identified by Long are:

- Weak input-output linkages (mentioned above).
- Low value added especially in mineral extraction.
- Does not increase significantly the skill level of Irish labour force.
- Foreign investment has concentrated in developed regions causing regional imbalance, (though this is changing rapidly).
- Causes inflation due to high wage paid to workers
- Due to high import content this has caused balance of payment problems.
- It perpetuates a structure of dependancy between Ireland and the major capitalist powers and reduces the Government's capacity to control the Irish economy.

Thus we have seen the main arguments for and against multinational investment in Ireland and its attendant industrialisation of rural Ireland. Frank Long in his paper believes that:

"the free-reign foreign investment philosophy in Ireland poses important constraints to long-term socio economic and political development in the country despite some obvious advantages which have accrued to the country." (Long)

In the light of the advantages and disadvantages outlined above we must examine the value of multinational capital and the industrialisation of rural Ireland to Irish economic advancement. It appears that in the long run the advantages of multinational capital are outweighed by the disadvantages, as it produces a situation where Ireland is little more than a "Container" (Walsh, 1975) of disintegrated branch plants, with little independent character of their own. This maintains the dependance of Ireland's economy on the industrial hearthlands of the world and maintains the mechanism of neo-colonialism in mainly politically independent countries including Ireland. According to Fran Walsh in his paper on "The Multinational Corporation and Manufacturing Industry in the Irish republic" (May 1975) the benefits of

multinational capital investments in Ireland are of dubious merit. It provides, he argues, only quickly short term growth which gives an economic structure", increasingly dependent on the requirements of externally controlled giant multinational corporations", instead of long term economic growth whose pace and direction would be dictated by the needs of the Irish economy. This growth could be realised using Ireland's native mineral and agricultural resources which at present are being exported in an unprocessed form which provide added value and employment in Western Europe and North America in particular. Thus the present policy appears to be a short term expedient which does not constitute progress as such. It may not be a formula for disaster but it certainly seems to be aiming in the wrong direction. Instead of basing industrialisation on key industries i.e. mineral exploitation and food processing, around which

numerous linkages backward, forward and lateral can be developed from which can develop industrial complexes, the present economic policy fosters a dependent economic structure.

Our marker for the future and one that tends to suggest that Irish economic policy is a formula for disaster is the fact that a major incentive for multinational corporations to locate branch factories in Ireland is the tax exemption scheme and the various financial incentives provided by the I.D.A. These are in direct contravention of E.E.C. policies. The Irish Government has been given until 1984 to remove these grants, advance factories, etc. This will make Ireland less attractive as a site for multinational capital investment. This suggests that multinational capital and the attendant industrialisation of rural Ireland far from being progress (except in the short term) is leading Ireland down the road to economic disaster unless some drastic alternative is taken.

With one possibility being nationalisation, less drastic action would be a shift in emphasis to greater encouragement and assistance for the development of domestic enterprise both public and private. The recently instituted review of Government Industrial policy (e.g. Telesis Report) could be indicative of official unease.

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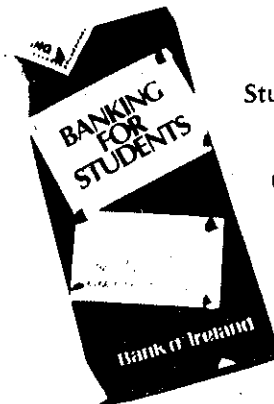
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MUCHINAGHIDIRDHÁSHÁILE (to the air of "There was a young farmer . . .")

The Bard of Batterstown

We went on a field trip to Galway in March,
With a looney bus driver and a bus-load of tarts,
(Apple tarts, I like them with cream)
Thirty bales of briquettes, three bikes and full steam
Ahead through landscape and plain,
Till we hit the Gaeltacht out in Ballyknockgreen
And Muchinaghirdhášháile,
Cad a dheanfaimid feasta gan adhmaid anois?
Tá briguettes níos measa na móin.

A Questionnaire survey was what was in mind
Opinions on this and on that for to find:
Is the Ooderas a sort of South African donkey;
Do clipboards make some people feel very funky?
But the most problematical test of them all
Is to find your way round all the boreens so small.
All thirty got lost out in Crumpaun one day,
Tell we sent Big Jim out for to show them the way.
They got lost in Kilcummin, Selerna, Killarny,
But the worst place of all was in
Muchinaghirdhášháile
Níos faide na na portaí,
Mise Raiftearaigh an file lán dóchais is grá,
Tá prátaí níos deise na móin.

As we sat in the rocks and the bogs of Gorumna,
We thought whose idea was this for a fun day,
And the wind whispered back as it blew o'er the bogs,
In Connemara Irish that frightened the dogs,
That geographers for years have been running amok
Ag dumpáil na micléinn while searching for ducks
(This doesn't make sense but it does for a rhyme)
The truth is that field trips for students are fine.
So here we're in Spiddal, Indreabhán and Boluisce,
Teach Furbo, An Cruiscín, Tigh Chualainn ag éisteacht
le díospóireacht doimhin ar forbairt na tuaithe,
Ag wanderáil 's ag labhairt muchanese
I Muchinaghirdhášháile
Níos faide na na portaí,
Mise Éamon an cnoic atá bás fuar fliuch,
Tá curry níos measa na móin.

And when we return to the wilds of Maynooth,
We'll be better off for this trip for in truth,
We are knackered from sitting up late at night thinking,
Although people think that we sit up late . . . singing.
Experience in rural development strategies
Is better fun here than in lecture theatrics,
Especially out in Muchinaghirdhášháile,
Níos faide na na portaí,
Ag síor shiúl sléibthe is gleannta gach lá,
Tá Christy níos measa na Fran.

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THE ROLE OF ETHNICITY IN NORTH AMERICAN SOCIETY

Dympna McLoughlin, Post-Graduate

Americanisation, the melting pot, the new American Man, the American Dream, the land with a destiny, all components of a once undisputed and unchallenged American ideal are now in distress. Both Europeans and Americans question and quarrel with the most cherished dogmas of this ideal. Plurality not uniformity and conformity are now stressed and it has become acceptable, and almost mandatory to study the role of Ethnicity in North American Society. Foreign antecedents are now respectable and there to be flouted, where a 'real' American is one with a hyphenated heritage. Disillusionment with the Dream of Americanisation has caused a cultural re-awakening which made Alex Haileys "Roots" a best seller after capturing the "National Imagination". The annual manifestation of the same trend is the Summer flocking of the now "Irish-Americans" to Dublin's National Library in a frantic effort to find their once embarrassing roots in some old Parish registry. Such trends are indicative of a new interest in ethnic groups and their role in the American experience, thus questioning the very fundamentals of American society.

The breakdown of the American ideal may be analysed at three levels. Firstly the immediate social level, and the most pressing social problems of racism, prejudice and discrimination and its repercussions on peace, justice and social harmony. These problems are the antitheses of the new American person and questions inevitably arise as to whether he/she ever existed. The second problem on this social level also deals with justice and discrimination, this case against women. Turner made much of the 'maleness' of the frontier (1) centering around the explorer, the trail blazer, axe man, ferryman, cowman, prospector, the coach driver and the railway gangs while women are totally ignored except maybe an accidental reference to a saloon whore or a timid repining and discontented wife. The absence of the female from this aspect of the American ideal makes it unacceptable to a large proportion of the population today and thus in some respects contributes to a shattering of the image. The final point at this level is the role of the Natural Environment and the American ideal. Virgin nature and a bountiful earth have always acted as the backbone, on which hung the other elements of the American Dream. But human tampering with ecosystems, the

widescale abolition of native landscapes and the creation of an efficient, uniform, rural agriculture has undermined the 'goodness' of the American Dream. Dreams are quickly extinguished after irreparable damage is done to the natural environment in experiences such as the Dustbowl, just one indicator of a new liberty which became uncontrollable, excessive, and now in the present day self-defeating. The opportunities of a bountiful earth was manifested in reckless hunting and wanton destruction in the name of sport. The same attitude still exists today and is most evident with regards to non-renewable resources. Such gobbling, squandering values cannot fit the image of all American person who is supposed to typify all the nobler attributes of humanity. Socially the ideal of Americanisation and all its implications is defeated by the reality of the modern American situation.

The second level is philosophical and romantic. American was to be a new beginning, a second chance for Europeans to learn from their mistakes and make America into a good and great land unblemished by European traditions and outmoded heritages. Americans no longer wish to serve the ideal. The modern reality makes it very evident that America has a similar if not more extreme destiny than Europe. Also conspiring to drag down the ideal is the modern enthusiasm to reveal the fate of the indigeneous populations of the continent (2). Pursuing this line of thought a realisation has dawned that this 'new' land was occupied by Indians and Eskimo's long before the first settlers arrived. The philosophical base of the distinctive American destiny has been proven false in its most vital respect.

Finally an individual level "Americanisation" would seem to have left its people unfulfilled. Individualism, mobility, constant striving and grasping were indices revealing American unfitness expressed in terms such as:

"they did not need to be supported, consoled by the known, the habitual, the loved, by the ancestral village, town river, field, horizon, by family, kin, neighbours, church and state, by the air, sky, water that they know" (3)

Yet all these attributes have resulted in unfulfilled somehow dissatisfied people.

This constant striving only to reinforce a sense of emptiness is best expressed in E. Relph's study of "Place and Placelessness" (4) where belonging and attachment to place is seen as the basis of security and identity. Yet such rootedness and localisation is the very antithesis of the modern American experience.

In the same genre is Yi Fu Tuan and his study of "Topophilia" (5) which explores the psychological well being that accompanies a delight and appreciation of significant places. Topophilia, too is anathema to true "Americanism". However with growing anomie, alienation, and placelessness, as well as empirical indices of social problems of this nature many modern inhabitants of the north American continent now ask was the journey to the promised land a journey from some place to no place in which it took three centuries for the realisation to dawn.

These three levels of breakdown combine together in focussing attention on hitherto hidden ethnic roots. Suddenly ethnicity has become very relevant to the study of North American society. Its role is being constantly re-valued. This revived concept of ethnicity is the essential thesis presented, and its nature, extent and significance in the American experience is the basic aim of this article.

If ethnicity is forwarded as the alternative to the Americanisation process, its historical roots and evolution need analysis. Oscar Handlin (6) suggests that ethnicity grew out of the conscious desire of those who settled in the colonies to reproduce the complete social conditions they had left at home. In every case, however, such efforts failed. Yet while a whole community could not be re-established, the fluidity of American society, the looseness of its institutional forms and the diversity of its population made the function of groups in the lives of newly arriving emigrants very important. These groups satisfied an emotional desire for personal association and a sense of belonging especially in crises such a death, disease and poverty, all producing dependence which would be intolerable in isolation.

The ethnic group provided every family with roots in the past. It located them within the larger society and supplied them with a pattern of approved standards of behaviour, it also imposed moral sanctions to aid in the

maintenance of internal discipline. But membership of ethnic groups historically was flexible, where members adjusted their identification to the needs of their own personalities, without becoming segregated or part of an isolated enclave. Society without such ethnic membership is depicted by Thistlewaith, as meaningless for the new bewildered emigrant,

"there was no longer unity and meaning in the daily incidents of living . . . Holidays were no longer saints days rich in folklore but arbitrary interruptions to a strange hagiography. The birth of an heir lost some of the solemnity when there was no holding to transmit, the terror of death was increased when ones bones could not rest in the peace of an ancestral graveyard . . . experience for the transplanted peasant had lost its purpose it was irrational, fragmented . . . shattering" (7)

In this light the need for the existence of an ethnic group is evident. But two factors have combined to obscure the importance of this ethnic identity. Firstly the vast influx of migrants attracted by the lure of this new land had to be absorbed by the ethnic groups. Their only method of attraction (and thus survival and continuity) was to present their image as truly American and to emphasise the depths of their roots in the country. The dilution of their distinctive character, the sacrifice of their own peculiarity, deliberately fostered by themselves or superimposed from outside, on the surface seemed to reduce and modify the effectiveness of the ethnic group. More recently the role of the media and communications addressing itself to individuals also suggests that groups distinctiveness play no role in American society. But despite the underestimation of its importance, the concept of ethnicity has survived and since 1970 emerged in full force. E.A. Gordon in his study of assimilation in American Society points out

"it (the concept of ethnicity) has survived in various forms and with various names but it has not perished and (in this respect) twentieth century urban man is closer to his stone age ancestors than he realised.(8)

E.K. Francis's study of "Of the Nature of the Ethnic Group" (9) maintains that there needs to be a catalyst in re-joining elements together into an active ethnic group. What is suggested

as the catalyst is the discovery of the American ideal as a redundant myth.

The various elements in the myth of Americanisation include value laden terms such as rebirth, liberal individualism, continuous and equal opportunities, free market and a growth mentality, a classless society and upward social mobility, the unique nature of its natural environment and the American sense of a noble destiny. However, even a superficial scratching on the surface of the elements of the myth destroys it.

The notion of perennial rebirth due to a frontier experience was perhaps best formulated by Turner. "The transforming influence of experience in the American wilderness creates new people, new ideals and a new destiny" (10) America as the supreme witness of the march of civilisation, the new intellect and personality all depicted by Turner crumble when juxtaposed with the modern reality. The romantic ideals of Turner find a superb modern critique in John Steinbeck's scathing novel "The Grapes of Wrath" (11). Secondly, the fanatical worship of liberal individualism is a carry over from frontier days with the heroic image of the lone self-reliant, upward striving individual, sharing equal rights and opportunities with all, and liberated from the shackles of tradition and authority. This liberal individualism is translated into three main spheres. Firstly, economic individualism where despite a free enterprise system, corporations, multinationals and monopolies, the myth of individualism — "the self made man" is still glorified. In religion and education the endless and diverse variety of institutions, cults and sects give full scope to individual initiative and beliefs. The limitless variety of special interest groups reflects a footloose individualism, and finally there is the individualism attached to mobility and change, of swift and sudden transitions and constant accelerations in pace, choice, change, movement and progress. But today there is a growing realisation of the heavy psychological price which is paid for this freedom and liberty. Insecurity is constant there is no lasting attachments, "no final anchorage in things, or the supernatural". (12) This inner restlessness is expressed in geographic terms as migration and an alienation. It seems also that liberal individualism only works if one is the "right" colour and works best the more financially successful the person. In this context of individualism, liberty has its own unique meaning. It is not liberty for one as qualified by like liberty of all, but rather liberty to get away with as much as the rest can bear. The lack of

civic spirit, and national medical schemes is another of its manifestations. As the logical corollary of individualism the dogma of continuous and equal opportunity is also under attack. It also includes a conflict of class. Equality is conditioned by freedom: the equal freedom for people to make or break themselves and the bountiful American environment was supposed to present these opportunities on a continuing basis. The problem of the underprivileged (13) is beyond solution because it is a spin-off from the dream itself. Progress for some means displacement of others and displacement is accepted so long as there is hope of rising, and enough to rise to maintain the dream in this respect. Equal opportunities and upward social mobility owe a great deal to the American myth of a "classless society". But American society as is evident from much of the contemporary literature was far from classless. The paradox is best stated by Llyod Warner in 1965:

"The most important thing of the American social system is that it is composed of two basic but antithetical principals — the first is the principal of equality and the second principal is of unequal status and superior and inferior rank. The first declares that all people are equal and must have equal opportunities. The second makes it evident that many of the values they treasure can only exist so long as they have a status system." (14)

The fall of Gatsby in F.S. Fitzgerald's novel of 1936 (15) was most evidently due to the class stratified society, and demonstrates well the above paradox of American society.

The role of the American environment was a major attraction for emigrants. It was presented as a land overflowing with milk and honey, of pastoral images, of cattle in vast lush meadow dripping milk, of garners bursting with grain, of fruit trees bending under their own weight has now been replaced by a mechanistic world vision. This is a view of the world as a machine which can be improved and accelerated. It embraces also an obsession with bigness and growth. The derision with the mechanistic is illustrated by Steinbeck,

" . . . tractor cutting the earth with blades is not ploughing but surgery . . . twelve curved iron penes erected in the foundry organism, set by gears raping methodically, raping without passion, the land bore

under Iron and under Iron gradually died, for it was not loved nor hated: it had no prayers or curses." (16)

The new principle is that land is a commodity which must be economically profitable. The natural environment had inevitably to be desecrated for the other elements of the ideal to be successful. Liberal individualism and upward social mobility in many cases could only be achieved by the widescale destruction of the natural environment.

The final element of the American ideal is the theme of "Messianic Perfectionism", a theme which includes within it, all the other aspects of the ideal. This moral imperialism of a nation with a mission, a great experiment, the supreme example for all humanity was expressed historically in the belief that every person had the undoubted right to possess every vacant country. It was expressed in the sweeping away of the treaties with the Indians, the British in Canada, Spanish in Florida and the Mexicans in Texas and California. But modern social, economic and political problems of the American continent reveal that the great American mission to humanity has failed, or perhaps it had never really existed.

The fact is, that American society did experience a large influx of emigrant people. A basic question is what really happened to them? and what is the true nature of the American experience? E. A. Gordan puts forward three models of: Anglo-conformity; the melting pot; and cultural pluralism; to explain the myth and reality of assimilation in America (17). It is now proposed to analyse and evaluate each one.

Anglo-conformity was the most prevalent ideology of assimilation, but a basic flaw in the model is that the white Anglo-Saxon Protestants are rarely recognised as an ethnic group. Instead they are viewed as the true Americans in spite of the tendency of viewing the maintenance of English institutions, the English orientated cultural patterns as the most desirable to American life. The second drawback of this type of assimilation is its predetermined, and exclusive nature. Only those "most like us" were allowed in the fold - factors which no doubt enhanced the value of the ethnic group for those who were excluded. In 1856 the ideal of what emigrants should be was summed up by John Quincy Adams:

"... if emigrants cannot accommodate themselves to the character

moral, political and physical of the country . . . the Atlantic is always open to them to return home to the land of their fathers." (18)

But America in order to build up her industrial greatness realised that the manual labour of emigrant groups was essential. But these cheap labourers in many respects were viewed as a threat. Radical and labour unrest, the growth of Catholic institutions and political power, the association of emigrants with city slums created unease and menace. In 1882 the upper class in Boston delighted in a scheme to diffuse the threat. They warmly applauded the tirades of Edward A. Freeman whose ingenious solution to Boston's social problems was to hope that every Irishman should kill a negro and then be hanged for it! However, this scheme was passed over in favour of the new mission of the Anglo-Saxon Protestants to transit to these inferior emigrants the Anglo-Saxon way of things. The new task of America was:

"to break up these groups and settlements to assimilate and amalgamate these people as part of the American race and to impart on their children the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law, order, popular government, and to awaken in them a reverence for our democratic institutions and those things of our national life which we as a people hold to be of abiding worth." (19)

This type of 'assimilation' is correctly labelled as 'pressure cooking' assimilation. Its deliberate goal was to strip the emigrant of his native heritage and culture. The policy came into full force in the communist scare after the 2nd World War where not to conform to the Anglo-Saxon ideal was not only un-American but a treasonable offence. The modern quota system is a further testimony to the survival of the ideal. The model with its exclusive ingredients of both colour and religion would aid in enhancing the ethnic consciousness of the excluded - those who were regarded as curiosities, errors, ambiguities, and holders of, heresy. The Anglo-Saxon's non-recognition of the indigeneous people would also enhance their modern day ethnic identity. They are united as a people exploited, destroyed and broken by the Anglo-Saxons.

A more generous and romantic derivative of Anglo conformity is the melting pot ideal. Its nature is best illustrated by the letters of Jean de Crevecoeur in

1782:

"I could point to you a family whose grandfather was an Englishman, whose wife was Dutch, whose son married a Frenchwoman and whose present four sons have wives of different nationalities. He is an American who is leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced . . . Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men." (20)

What was to emerge from the melting pot was a new cultural and biological blend in which the stocks and folkways of Europe were indiscriminately mixed in the melting pot of a nation, to emerge reborn as the all-American person. The sense of divine intervention in this process is superbly brought out by Israel Zangwill's play of 1908, "The Melting Pot":

"America is God's crucible, the great melting pot where all the races of Europe are melting and reforming . . . German, Frenchmen, Irishmen, Englishmen, Jews and Russians into the melting pot which you all . . . God is making the American - the real American will be the fusion of all the races, the coming superman."

This melting Pot/transformation ideal was part of the American attraction and contributed to its emigrant's lure. In a specific study of pamphlets relating to emigration from Ireland to North America, part of the advantages of the great and wonderful land was to change "the cringing today fawning Irishman into a strong assertive American individual." (21)

However, the Melting Pot ideal has been further refined into three complementary aspects. The first being the frontier Melting Pot of Turner where emigrants abandon their heritages, are reduced in nature and emerge as the new American person. The second aspect, is that of the urban melting pot, where the opportunity of growing industrialising cities was to conceive the new American race. Finally the most recent aspect is the triple melting pot, a thesis relating to marriage studies of ethnic groups owing much to the detailed study of J. R. Kennedy of New Haven revealing not indiscriminate marriages across ethnic lines, nor one melting pot - but three, which results from marriages determined by the three religions of Protestantism, Catholicism and Judaism. But the melting pot ideal, as Zelinsky

points out, is found to contain a lumpy stew and "although the lumps have thickened and enriched the all American man . . . the lumps will not cook away." (22) The lumps in this respect it is suggested is the continuity of ethnic group consciousness, even with a much diminished role.

The final model is that of cultural pluralism. This was a reality before ever becoming a theory. Individuals of a same ethnic group will inevitably band together in a strange, new and hostile environment. This cultural pluralism may also be viewed as the first evidence of an ideological counter attack against draconic "Americanisation". In promoting pluralism cultural shock on arrival is eased. It prevents children from being alienated from parents and keeps the family structures intact. Finally this pluralism sustains the ethnic group psychologically in maintaining the individuals self respect and traditional modes of self expression. This theme of cultural pluralism gained most publicity in 1915-16 when the world was inflamed by nationalism and nationalist wars, and where America was to be the showcase of harmonious co-operation between different nations. One advocate of the concept was Kallen who in 1916 urged the unity of ethnic groups in economic and political life while at the same time he urged ethnic diversity.

"American civilisation may come to mean the perfection of the harmonious co-operation of European civilisations, the waste, the squalor, the distress of Europe being eliminated - a multiplicity in a unity an orchestration of mankind." (23)

In times of European nationalist tensions America's multi-coloured heritage was taken up again and described as a "nation of nations". This romanticising of the reality when it is convenient, making it an element of the American myth has been lately replaced by the realisation that cultural pluralism and ethnic groups are no longer a part of the American myth but the whole of the modern American reality.

These three models while different in form have one common thread. They all assume something did happen to emigrants once they entered America. All three in varying degrees advocate assimilation. Ease of assimilation is seen as the essence of success. However, assimilation is of two types. Behavioural assimilation which is superficial and involves only changes in cultural behaviour, and social assimilation which

is basic and structural. All three models hold out the lure of structural assimilation but behavioural assimilation was the attainable. It is then not surprising that ethnicity flourished, in fact, it was conditions in America which enabled it to survive and continue, rather than some adherence to old European ways. One example is that of Irish emigrants. Structural assimilation lured them, or was the ideal. Father Matthew urged them to assimilate structurally into the host population "for if Irish cling together in cities they will never improve socially or morally." (24) Yet on arrival both their own actions and the activities of the native population gave to them only behavioural assimilation and in many respects they remained culturally intact.

It becomes increasingly doubtful whether there ever was a homogenous race of Americans (outside the myth). Certain basic anomalies now question the ideal. Firstly there are the undesirable, such as the negroes who were never invited to assimilate and therefore, never allowed become "full Americans", and in this is perhaps the origins of the social problem of racism. Secondly there is the modern day phenomenon of the third and fourth generation of emigrants reverting back to their old European heritage and traditions, and turning away from homogenous Americanisation processes, values and products. The third element is the importance of the environment to the American ideal. Utilitarianism and economic gains have destroyed much of the environment to such an extent that it is under severe threat. This is now being replaced by the old European attitude of romantic, sublime and picturesque nature, expressed by the many conservation and preservation groups.

Finally there is a growing realisation with increasing European mobility and the more efficient transfer of information that "America" is no longer a description of a person but only a badge of citizenship. It seems, in all aspects, that the model of "Americanisation" has out-lived both its usefulness and its credibility. Possible reasons why the myth was advanced may be political: to keep America peaceful in a world destroyed by nationalist struggles. Secondly such a diverse mixture of ethnic groups would enrich the American intellect and secure economic, technological and military advancement. Finally the ideal justified those individuals who made it to the top, usually of the capitalist league, without reference to the means.

A broad sketch of some recent studies declaring the continuity and the major role of ethnicity is the American experience further undermines the American myth. Prominent among these studies is Oscar Handlin's (25) study of "Boston's Immigrants" a specific study of the Irish. The real consciousness of the Irish group identity is revealed in their rigid adherence to the Roman Catholic religion. This adherence put up an impenetrable barrier between themselves and their neighbours and thus militated against assimilation. The Irish came to a continent but this spiritual barrier kept them in an Irish Parish. Religious barriers were translated into politics, education and economics. The Boston of Studs Lonergan was such a tight ethnic group that to apply the concept of "Americanisation" is a basic misrepresentation of the reality.

In contrast to the purposeful, internally imposed distinctive, Irish identity, the distinctiveness of the negro ethnic group was superimposed on them as discrimination kept them out of a common system. In Glazier and Monaghan classic study "Beyond The Melting Pot" (26) they make the fundamental point that "Americanisation" did not happen in New York. The image of America is never associated with New York, but New York is American. From their study of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish, they conclude that ethnic identity was not some surviving European heritage but was been constantly created by experiences in America despite the myth of homogenous American person and the equitable and liberal society. David Ward in his study of "Cities and Immigrants" (27) unearthed an elaborate social organisation of identity, security and stability in poor ethnic ghettos which constitutes another telling study against assimilation. Rural landscape manifestations of ethnic identity are also many. Don Meining in his study of the Mormon Culture Zones (28) revealed a group which retained its religious ethnic distinctiveness. In the same Genre is W. J. Smyth's study of orange lodges (29) both as a physical and ideological commitment to distinctive identity. John Mannion's study of the Irish Folk Cultural heritage in Newfoundland (30) reveals not Americans but distinctive Irish, and finally Aidan McQuillan uses territorial identity as a component of ethnic continuity in his study of the Swedes, Mennonites and the French Canadians. So many studies on the continuity of ethnic identity can no longer be

ignored.

As a conclusion it is suggested that ethnicity has been the fundamental element of the "American Experience". It is a more realistic alternative in explaining the uniqueness of North America rather than the frontier. If a frontier did exist it was created in Europe, brought across the Atlantic and supported by the vast American Resource Base. As an ideal, a myth rather than a reality, the frontier is best demonstrated today in the ideal Good Life frontier of California. It may be suggested that the myth of "Americanisation" and all its implications was just as relevant and important to those outside Europe as to the American's themselves. Ireland is an obvious example. The Irish experience of constant emigration created a need to believe in the American ideal. It was necessary to believe that children siblings and lovers had gone to a better place - a belief which eased the pain of departure. The myth ended when Europe realised the truth, when the need to believe in such a myth was lessened. On the whole the frontier is no longer an acceptance explanation for the American Experience. The frontier which Turner viewed as the noble marching of civilisation, modern writers such as John Steinbeck view it as the scuttling of little bugs westward, streaming over the mountain, hungry and restless - restless as ants, scurrying to find work to do, to lift to push, to pull, to pick, to cut . . . (32) It seems that frontier in America is only open to multinational and monopolies whose high technology responsible for the industrialisation of agriculture dictates that crops must rot, irrespective of people's needs in order to keep up prices and profits. The role of ethnicity is more immediately relevant to solving modern problems, and is both historically and geographically important.

I suggest that it was the flexibility, continuity and survival of ethnic continuity which gave credibility to the American ideal, both internally and internationally. In every aspect, examined in the American experience, ethnic identity plays some part, it is an element to be included in all American equations. Therefore the breakdown in American society is not due to the end of 'Turner's frontier' or the breakdown of an "Americanisation" process, rather it is due to the rigidity of former flexible, individual serving ethnic groups, under the realisation that reality not ideals is fundamental to solving the present day problems of North America.

Thus distinct, aggressive and hostile cultural enclaves are formed, the antithesis to the ideal, but an accurate reflection of modern American Reality.

FOOTNOTES:

1. Turner F. "The Frontier in American History" p. 3 & 4 " . . . the colonist . . . it (wilderness) finds him a European in dress, industries, tools, modes of travel and thought. It takes him from the railroad car and puts him in the birch canoe. It strips him of the garments of civilisation and arrays him in the hunting shirt and moccasins . . ."
2. Some of the most seminal studies of the indigenous people of the North American continent include the *Berger Pipeline Inquiry* with regards to the Eskimos and the plight of the Indians in D. Brown's *Bury my heart at Wounded Knee*. Picador Books, 1971.
3. Thornton, Wilder, extract from Thistlewaith "The Great Experiment," p. 233.
4. Relph, Ted, "Place and Placelessness," 1976.
5. Yi Fu Tuan, "Tophilia; in *Man, Space and the Environment*" ed. by P. W. English and R. C. Maryfield, London, 1979.
6. Oscar Handlin, *Boston's Immigrants*, Mass, 1978.
7. Thistlewaith, "The Great Experiment," p. 230.
8. M. M. Gordan, "Assimilation in America - Theory and Reality," p. 263.
9. E. K. Francis, "The Nature of the Ethnic Group," p. 397.
10. F. J. Turner, "The Frontier in American History," p. 2, 3.
11. John Steinbeck "The Grapes of Wrath," esp. pp. 246 & 784.
12. W. Zelinsky "The Cultural Geography of the United States," chap 2.
13. Higgins Joan, "The Poverty Business in Britain & America," London, 1978.
14. Quote from Llyod Warner in 1965. Extract from J. Wreford Watson Social Geography of the

15. United States. F. S. Fitzgerald, "The Great Gatsby," Penguin 1936.
16. John Steinbeck, "The Grapes of Wrath," p. 29.
17. E.A. Gordan, On the Nature of Assimilation in America from Daeladus, Spring 1981 (p. 263-285).
18. ibid.
19. ibid.
20. Letters of Jean de Crevecoeur 1782. Quoted in E. A. Gordan "Assimilation in America."
21. Parliamentary Papers "Emigration from Ireland, extract from official testimonial of Charles Foy. (vol. XVIII) 1827.
22. Zelinsky W. "The Cultural Geography of the United States," p. 32.
23. Extract from Kallen, quoted in E. A. Gordon Assimilation in America.
24. Father Matthew's advice to departing Irish emigrants. Parliamentary Papers (XLVII). Report from the Select Committee on Emigration 1826.
25. Oscar Handlin "Boston's Immigrants."
26. N. Glazer and O. P. Moynihan "Beyond the Melting Pot." Mass 1963.
27. D. Ward. "Cities and Immigrants." Oxford University Press 1971.
28. Meining, D. W. (ed). "The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes."
29. Smyth W. J. "The Irish in Mid Nineteenth Century Ontario", from Ulster Folklore. Vol 23. 1977.
30. John Mannion "The Peopling of Newfoundland," Toronto 1977.
31. Aidan McGuillan, Terroritoriality and Ethnic Identity extract from "European Settlement in North America." ed. G. Gibson.
32. John Steinbeck, "The Grapes of Wrath," p. 201.



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NATIONALISM AND CLASS

Nationalism is defined by Hans Kohn as "a political creed that underlies the cohesion of modern societies and legitimizes their claim to authority. Nationalism centres the supreme loyalty of the overwhelming majority of the people upon the nation state either existing or desired".¹

It is the predominance of the nation state in our modern territorial organisation that makes the study of nationalism particularly relevant to geographers. Study of the nation is a central element in the rapidly advancing subdiscipline of political geography. For rigorous study of the nation the geographer must focus on nationalism because this concept has been one of the most important factors influencing the character of the modern political map. To aid the exploration of nationalism it is useful to focus on its nature, origins and growth in a European context, evaluate its present day position and likely future in influencing the territorial organisation of the globe. It is to this task that I address myself in this essay.

Nationalism is an extremely complex phenomenon which has proved a fertile area for much discussion and debate. Different types of nationalism have been isolated, different chronological origins and different effects all contributing to the confusion. K. R. Minogue questioned the belief that nationalism is a universal phenomenon in its own right. He saw it as a mere "set of ideas" whose traits are liable to fluctuate. Neither they nor concrete effects can be reduced to a theory, he argued.² On the individual level Sulzback attributed nationalism to man's psychological need to divert his aggressive instincts into conflict with external groups and at the same time to find a subject for his waning religious belief.³ Karl Deutsch's classic work on *Nationalism and Social Communication* emphasised the role of intercommunicative social learning in forming national symbols and constituting the framework within which national consciousness can operate. However a danger with examining nationalism in this way is the ease with which one can unconsciously abstract it from its historical roots. As Kamenka notes:

"Nationalism is best understood by examining the specific conditions under which it arose and developed and in which it came to differentiate itself from mere patriotism or national consciousness."⁵

Fundamentally nationalism is a historical phenomenon closely related to the growth of the nation state, emerging as Europe gradually transformed itself from the feudal mode of production to the modern capitalist mode of production.⁶ This nationalism is essentially a European phenomenon, qualitatively and chronologically separate from the nationalism which has emerged in the last hundred years outside Europe. This colonial or 'third world' nationalism shall be examined later on as it emerged under different socio-economic formations from the nationalism in Europe.

Although it is dangerous to deal in generalisations and with abstract concepts, under the feudal mode of production, people gave their loyalty to small localised units, either the city state or the local land magrate. Religion above everything else was the great ideology of the feudal period. It was a superstructural phenomenon which sought to justify the productive relations which underlay all of feudal society. The Pope held a very central position in the feudal system and his social teachings emphasised the Christian paternalistic spirit and the belief that feudal relations were divinely ordained.

However when the forces and relations of production changed, the ideology had to change with it. Increasing trade, technological advance and mobility were to shatter the self-contained nature of feudal society. As capitalism emerged strongly in the towns, one had religious splintering and a series of religious wars where Protestantism emerged in areas such as modern-day Germany, England and the Netherlands. Closely allied to this new religious belief was what one could define as a primitive nationalism. All the new religions were national religions and the establishment of state churches marks an important milestone in the evolution of nationalism.

Emergence of Protestantism in England was very closely allied to the growth of the absolutist state and to the threat of a Spanish invasion; the threatened Armada invasion finally coming and perishing in 1588. English Protestantism had two important features. Firstly it was extremely anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish in character and secondly it tended to glorify the position of the king as defender of the faith (a title bestowed on the king by

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the Pope) and of England.

Religion continued to predominate as an ideology for many decades after the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. However with the end of the Thirty Years War in 1648 one sees, in France under Richelieu, the emergence of 'raison d'etat' which tended to eclipse religion as a central motivational force especially in going to war. As Europe advanced and the capitalist mode of production expanded to a greater extent, traditional power structures were modified and amended (forced by class struggle of aristocracy/monarchy and the bourgeoisie) and the principle of representation came to operate more effectively (e.g. Glorious Revolution of 1688). With increasing social mobility and literacy (as evidenced by the founding of new universities) one had the emergence of a substantial lay educated class. Hobsbawm saw these as the great proponents of cultural nationalism, reviving ancient tradition and seeking to affect strong national unification.⁷ Throughout the late seventeenth century and eighteenth century there was also a growth in the bourgeoisie, emerging under a political system which was often absolutist and reactionary and sometimes even foreign. The logic of capitalist development dictated that this absolutist class could not survive in positions of political power.

The ideology of the nation state, of the sanctity of the nation, language and tradition which had been refined by the educated intelligentsia through time was adopted as the political ideology of the bourgeoisie. It was an effective instrument in uniting all the bourgeoisie and peasant masses against the common enemy, either an imperial bureaucracy or a backward noble class. It is important to realise that nationalism was not some great invention by the bourgeoisie to dupe the masses. However the logical continuity between nationalism and the interests of the bourgeoisie class is evidenced by the fact that the goal of a unified national state is central to their interests. The creation of a unified domestic market out of the politically fragmented feudal structure is, of course, a basic prerequisite for capitalist commodity production. As Deutsch notes:

"It (nationalism) promises opportunity, for it promises to eliminate or lessen linguistic racial, class or caste barriers to the social rise of individuals within it. And it promises

security, for it promises to reduce the probability of outside competition for all sorts of opportunities from business deals to marriages and jobs."⁸

Nationalism was never a rational philosophy with a definite political strategy. Instead it was loaded with political goals of a general nature yet only reflecting the interests of a particular bourgeoisie class. As the Encyclopaedia Britannica states:

"In America as well as in revolutionary France, nationalism meant the adherence to a universal progressive idea, looking towards a common future of freedom and equality, not towards a past characterised by authoritarianism and inequality."⁹

The goals of liberty, fraternity and equality were, of course, to become the great slogans of the French revolution, perhaps the greatest milestone in the development of nationalism within Europe. What gave the French Revolution its great significance was the fact that for the first time power was seized in the name of the people and national consciousness became a much more potent force than religious consciousness. The French revolution politicised national consciousness by making it the logical foundation for the new political regime. The masses were now citizens, not subjects. Again Kamenka notes:

"Since kings were to cease governing and people were to take their place, people had to be moulded into some sort of unity, defined and limited in some sort of way. The concept of 'nation' thus came to the fore..."¹⁰

This concept of nation was to effect a revolution in the political geography of the world for the next century and a half.

Nationalism in other countries had many different forms. Religion tended to be still a strong unifying factor in some areas while ethnicity predominated in other locations. Hobsbawm makes the point that for most people the test of nationality was still religion, the Spaniard was defined as being Catholic, the Russian as being Orthodox.¹¹ Nationalism in Ireland was always closely allied to the Catholic Church. It emerged in the 1870 and was a direct reflection of religious and class divisions within the island. Tom Garvin noted that identity in Ireland...

"because it developed so early it became identified with religious affiliation rather than with the kinds of linguistic or racial distinction which were made popular by nationalist ideologies in the nineteenth century. These religious based identities came to be guarded and perpetuated by well-organised Reformation and Counter-Reformation churches."¹²

In Ireland because religious and (future) national identity corresponded so well there is often a temptation to speak of an Irish nationality as early back as the 1620. However to do so is to distort the reality of history.

Once the bourgeoisie achieved a transformation in the political sphere which matched the transformation in production, nationalist ideas quickly became refined to suit their interests. Liberty, equality and fraternity were ideals which were never meant to effect the peasant producer, the black slave or the indigenous population in colonies established by the new nation states. Class conflict was diverted as the nation took on a mystical reverence, the object of supreme secular loyalty. Steeped in legends and myths the nation was projected as an immutable subdivision of mankind. Its existence however is historically defined, it being but another geographic manifestation of the 'nationalist bourgeoisie' phase of capitalist accumulation.

In the late nineteenth and twentieth century, nationalism had spread to Asia, Africa and Latin America. There nationalism has a fundamentally different historical context, emerging from the imperialist phase of capital accumulation and not in a transitional phase between feudalism and capitalism. Nationalism in these ex-colonies is not based on ethnic grounds (colonies were not established on ethnic grounds but to serve a particular strategic and economic purpose) but rather on a perceived notion of the 'national' interest. 'Third World' nationalism has a character which is fundamentally similar to European nationalism in that once again nationalism is the vehicle of class interests. However because its context is different, its goals are different from European nationalism. In certain colonies nationalism has been cultivated by the comprador bourgeoisie who had ambitions of securing an even greater share of the colonial trade. By careful propaganda and manipulation, they can secure mass support for an

independence party, which ultimately does nothing to change the basic system of exploitation afflicting most 'third world' countries today.

In some countries however nationalism has been used to effect real social and economic change. In Tanzania for instance the middle class intelligentsia who ran TANU, the nationalist party, successfully mobilized peasant support for a radical change in the colonial system. Under Julius Nyerere the country gained independence and embarked on the 'only rational policy';¹³ socialism. J. Lonsdale notes why it was socialism.

"... emergent African groups became fully aware of the strengths of officially entrenched privilege within their own societies. This awareness is a constituent part of the ideology of African socialism."¹⁴

It remains to be seen whether a true egalitarian society will ever be established under African socialism, but the obvious link between nationalism and class interests does not inspire great confidence.

The main theme of the essay has been that nationalism is a superstructural ideology emerging originally with a definite socio-economic base. Its goals are vague and socially conservative, ultimately retarding the development of society in the interests of all its members. It is useful to view nationalism as a secular religion for, in essence, that is what it is. It is an "opium of the people" distracting from class issues and glorifying the nation state. However its future as an ideology must be in doubt as capital continues to move from the national context to the international sphere. With the rise of multinational corporations and the interpenetration of capital, the capitalist mode of production has advanced to a new phase. The geographic effects of this latest phase of capital accumulation are discernable already, the rise of multi-state organisations and trade communities bearing witness to the changing needs of capitalism. Although capital may have abandoned the nation state, the ideology of nationalism still remains. To see its continuing strength, one need look no further than our own island.

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PROBLEMS IN THE INNER CITY OR PROBLEMS OF THE INNER CITY

Teresa Darcy, 3rd Arts

"Small areas and the inner city are not places apart, but are integral parts of society being affected by outside processes and forces."¹

The title of this essay suggests the need to debate whether the problem of the inner city arise from area causation or are occasioned by the wider socio-economic structure. The aim of this essay therefore is to examine briefly the physical, social and economic problems of the typical inner city area and to identify, insofar as it is possible the root causes of these problems. In achieving this aim it is felt necessary to briefly outline the prevailing geographical views of the inner city "problem"; the development of the typical inner city in its socio-economic and historical context and finally to look at the actual problems which cast the inner city as a "problem area." It is intended to relate the debate to Dublin's inner city in order to illustrate what are the problems which besiege such areas.

The inner city has always been a focus of attention for the urban geographer. The present debate is not a new phenomenon — it merely reflects a change in strategy from area-based explanations to more economic issues. For, traditionally study in this field was centred on the contention that the inner city was a problem area and as such deserved special treatment from planners and government. The Urban Programme in Britain and the development of priority areas for housing and education are but an indication of this approach. This attitude to inner city areas comes as no surprise when one considers that area-based explanations in geography have a long history. Indeed as Chris Hamnett in his essay "Area Based Explanations: A Critical Appraisal," points out:

"Given the focus of the discipline on space and area and their independent determining influence on phenomena such a tendency is understandable..."²

However when one employs such an approach in dealing with urban social problems one is in danger of highlighting the spatial area per se and ignoring the more important and broader socio-economic context. As previously mentioned there has been a recent shift of emphasis in the debate on inner city (although conflicting opinions still remain) from an area-based explanation

of the problems to a more national socio-economic explanation. Are these problems peculiar to the spatial extent of the inner city or are they a spatial manifestation of broader socio-economic issues? Should one infer spatial causation from spatial manifestation or is this solution a mere cosmetic veneer over the underlying social problems?

The inner city's problems relate back, primarily, to the age of the area and also to the forces of the capitalist economic system. Subsequently one must examine the area in its socio-economic and historical context. Indeed the inner city is a product of the city as a dynamic entity. This entity, which expands and grows outwards, is in turn the product of its political and economic environment. Therefore modern cities in the western world are essentially determined by the demands and needs of the capitalist system. Viewed within this context it is inevitable that the inner city is the oldest part of the city. It suffers from the natural effects of time — old housing stock, poor amenities and recreational facilities, outmoded and inefficient industries — which give the area a general appearance of decline and neglect. It is further eroded by the changing requirements of commercial and industrial interests. The rows of terraced houses and flat complexes, interspersed with gaunt "workhouse type" factory buildings stand as monuments to the vision, however limited, of a bygone age. Facilities that often are taken for granted in modern suburban areas were never even conceived in the period when inner city areas were created.

Many cities in the Western World grew up around trade and the traditional manufacturing industries. But with the technological advance after the Second World War, these traditional industries were not competitive or efficient enough to deal with the changing face of industry. The effect of the war on countries like Germany and Japan was one of complete and utter destruction. They were forced to rebuild their cities and industries and therefore they availed of the modern machinery which became available. They were inevitably more efficient and better equipped than cities and industry in the British Isles who escaped virtually unscathed from such decimation. But this rendered traditional industries, such as milling, textiles and shipbuilding, completely inefficient and outmoded and

they lost their competitive edge on the world market. This led to the decline of these industries and the advent of new industries on the periphery of the city where they had scope for expansion. The need to compete successfully which is inherent in the capitalist system changed the face of the city drastically.

Meanwhile the city continued to change and develop and many thousands converged on the city to find employment. This undoubtedly led to an unevenness in development between country and city and soon government policy was towards decentralization of industry away from the cities. Incentives and grants were offered to industry to locate away from the city. But as a result of this policy the inner city went into a decline which had far reaching effects. As industry moved out of the area and relocation and contractions were occurring, so too was there out-migration of people to the source of employment. Those with skilled or professional occupations increased the scale of exodus from the city. This decline in the population base led to a virtual collapse, in the US especially of the tax base. This, coupled with unemployment due to job closures and redundancies led to the further deterioration and dilapidation of the inner city. The needs of the capitalist economic structure of society did not, it appears, include the maintenance of the inner city areas.

Furthermore, to add to the fall-off in the industrial base, there has been a trend in recent times to locate office blocks in the area. Due to the resulting high land values in the inner city the requirements of residential interests lost out to the requirements of commercial interests. The landlords of the tenement-type houses were reluctant to maintain their ageing properties and allowed them to fall into neglect. They realised the potential value of their sites for office block redevelopment and therefore hoped to sell out as soon as possible. Clearly once again the economic forces of capitalism superseded the residential needs of the community and redevelopment took priority over renewal. Since the people themselves are unable to pay for repairs, the area takes on a further look of dilapidation. They are the people who were unable to avail of the selective out-migration to newer houses in the suburbs — the housing market and their

lack of skills determining their place of residence. Obviously the clerical and administrative jobs that exist in the inner city are no replacement for the manual and unskilled jobs which the people need. A look at Dublin's inner city assists in highlighting the vicious circle effect of poor physical and economic conditions resulting in a breakdown in social norms.

"The Dublin inner city represents a complex and intractable multidimensional problem whose roots lie in the nature of the wider national, economic and social systems but whose consequences are felt intensely by the residents of the area."²

The inner city of Dublin has experienced the effects of population decline resulting from changing economic forces. Population Census records show that in 1971 the population of 132,321 was just under half of the areas population in 1926. Relocation of industry, overcrowding in the poor housing conditions and better personal mobility all influenced this decline. Traditionally Dublin's principal industries were Distilling, Brewing and Textiles with the docks a major employer as well. But as a result of the growth of the city's office and service functions there has been an expansion and more intense development of the Central Business District. Therefore Dublin has changed from being a multi-functional place of work and residence to an almost exclusively commercial and administrative centre. Obviously the residential interests have lost priority in recent years. It is now an area of highly specialised retail, office and service activities with high intensity use and little room for residential needs.

This "development" of Dublin's inner city has done little to serve the requirements of its residents. The population has continued to decline, the housing stock remains old and in ill-repair, facilities are still poor and there exists evidence of overcrowding. Despite these conditions of poor basic amenities and inadequate recreational facilities, 70% of the households have made no attempt to leave the area. Many lack the financial resources to find housing elsewhere — some are too old to wish to move. The process of population decline has led to a changed demographic structure. There are a large number of old people in the area and a large number of very young families. This high rate of dependency, though not a problem per se, exacerbates the social situation when the main breadwinners are often unemployed or

poorly paid.

Unemployment in the area is related to contracting job opportunities for the less skilled due to rapid technological change and job specialisation. These problems are further exacerbated by its location on the edge of a rapidly developing business area where, as mentioned above, high land values demand high value uses. Most inner city residents work in the less skilled manufacturing jobs and 12.1% of the 'gainfully occupied' population in 1979 were listed as unemployed. This can be further related to educational opportunities for youth in the inner city. Because they tend to leave school at a relatively early age they are ill-equipped to compete on the labour market. This tendency arises from the social outlook of the people — academic education doesn't score high on their list of priorities. Indeed educational facilities in the area appear to be run-down anyway. Due to the physical age of the schools and also the demographic structure of the area, schools are forced to close down. Consequently the youth in the inner city are disadvantaged from the start.

Not surprisingly crime and vandalism are also problems of the area. Due to their deprived physical and economic environment the youth in the inner city show their distaste of society by destroying the area. They are rebelling against a social structure which appears to hold little in store for them. It is a vicious circle of deprivation, where the residents of the inner city are experiencing multiple deprivation relative to their 'counterparts' in Castleknock or Foxrock. But having documented these conditions it must be added that although spatially manifesting themselves in the inner city, these are problems of a broader socio-economic context — they are problems of society at large.

It is evident that these problems are social problems, which may be intensified by areal effects. But essentially unemployment, poverty, poor housing and vandalism are functions of the inequitable distribution of resources. It is obvious that poverty and inequality must be abolished on a national level. The whole structure of society is in need of a complete upheaval. Such conditions will remain as long as the wealth of the country and the political voice in the country lies in the hands of the privileged few. If one was to physically transport the whole population of the inner city to another location on the edge of the city one would still have inequality, poverty and unemploy-

ment. The poor and the deprived will be located in the least desirable areas wherever they may happen to be — the shanty-towns on the edges of cities in the Third World or the inner city areas of the western world. For the destiny of the inner city depends on the preferences of those with greater market power and changes in their perceptions on the inner city. If they perceive it as a desirable area in terms of its actual profitability where capital is concerned, the whole social structure will be reversed. The rich and wealthy will live in the city centre and the poor and deprived will live on the edges.

Therefore, although the area itself is adversely affected by structural and technological changes within the sub-regional and national economics, other areas e.g. rural peripheral areas are equally affected. It is a case perhaps of spatial exacerbation rather than spatial causation, — a spatial manifestation of social problems. What is needed then is an abolition of unjust economic systems, a resolution of class inequality. In fact "the elimination of the causes of deprivation calls for political commitment to a more just society".⁴ It is necessary to examine the social structures and to eradicate the severe socio-economic contrasts in society. This then is the heart of the matter — problems do not exist "of" the city so much as "in" the city as part of a wider socio-economic problem "in" society.

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(continued on page 25)

"2001 - EDUCATION ODYSSEY".

Helena Fox, H.Dip

The darkness of the night was lit up by the huge glowing globe. It hovered towards the earth and its many multi-coloured lights winked, flashed and beeped: and certain people were attracted towards it - they were the "Chosen Ones". As it touched down on the ground a constant hypnotic hum was heard. The trap door at the bottom opened, and the "Chosen People" poured in, and filed along the corridors within.

Outside the rest of the humanity noticed the brightly-lit globe, but having gazed at it momentarily they continued their work - digging in the mines, building houses and making bread.

The 'Chosen People' inside the globe were brought to a large room with tables and chairs in uniform rows, and each was given a place to sit in, and a tablet to swallow. The tablet made them gradually realise that they had hands and legs, and made them feel as though their heads were the only important part of their anatomy. And they began learning.

After four years the trap-doors once opened again and the 'Chosen People' came out, their heads swollen with the amount they knew. And they began to live again alongside the others who used their hands.

With the amount of people walking around today, with ears vibrating from the amount of knowledge crammed inside their heads, one wonders, is this the aim of education? It seems that as a result of education and its implication, a certain element of the human race has been picked out, and these 'Chosen People' will have the opportunity to develop one part of themselves - their brain.

From the relatively early stages of schooling, children are taught to leave behind the skills they have acquired to perform with their hands. As their schooling advances so does the emphasis on the development of only the mind, and the brain. Even at the end of Primary School it is decided in most cases which children are manually orientated i.e. which children will leave school after group or Inter Certificate exams.

Gradually, through exam pressures in Post-Primary School, pupils are advised that although games and hobbies are important, they must be sacrificed. All their energies are concentrated on mental work which will achieve good marks in the exam for them, and

thereby bring them on to the next stage on the Education Roundabout. But does the concentration on our intellectual talents automatically mean the denial of our more practical abilities?

Although division of labour is very much part of our life-style at the moment, does this mean that we must become part of a system whereby, when we choose our vocation it means that highlight a certain aspect of ourselves to the neglect of our other qualities? - it would seem that this is fast becoming the situation. Generally, if we have chosen to become 'academic people' it necessarily ensures that we disregard many of the practical skills which we possess. Likewise, if we choose to follow one of the trades as a career our manual skills are as highlighted as opposed to any of the intellectual skills which we might also possess. It would appear that most of this single-mindedness goes back to an old idea which has been common in Ireland for many decades, namely, that "a person is good with either his hands or his head," and it is between these two that his/her choice lies, broadly speaking. The rest of the child's education will be based on the development of this skill to the detriment of any other aptitudes which he/she might possess.

Bearing all this in mind, one wonders has the time not come to eradicate this great division between being a person who is either a professional or a crafts person. It is not time to press for intellectual people who also have practical skills and interests, and manual workers who have the opportunity and encouragement to develop their intellectual skills?

The advantages of breaching this divide between manual workers and professional workers are many, but the personal and social benefits would appear to be especially obvious. A person who has a broad range of interests and aptitudes covering both the practical and intellectual aspects of his character is much more likely to have ease of communication and affinity with people from all walks of life.

Obviously, it is difficult to know where to begin in giving this broader type of education and breaking away from the conventional "specialisation" syndromes. However, it is very true that many benefits could be attained through small efforts, beginning with our Post-Primary Educational system. For instance if pupils in Post-Primary

schools were given even one half an hour per week to the study of gardening and how to grow some of the most basic vegetables, this would contribute greatly to the enhancement of the pupils' practical skills, to his/her broader education, and towards his/her ability to identify the useable natural resource around him/her.

The result of this kind of endeavour might be that when many of other pupils find themselves staying in rented accommodation later on (as is the experience of students in Maynooth) they would be able to look at the weed-grown garden at the back of the house from a more positive point of view. With a bit of initiative, the student could reduce his cost of living, and at the same time relieve the monotony of study by being practical and growing some of his own food.

Another area in which changes of this nature are very necessary is in the realm of general "handiness." One of the most plaintive groans which can be heard in Maynooth is that of a helpless female calling in an army of men to her house, to change a plug on an electric blanket, or even to fix a bicycle puncture! The possible advantages of being so helpless are recognisable! But for the majority who would like to be much more self-sufficient, this kind of situation could be prevented by allowing even a short time during Post-Primary Education to teach some of the basic skills necessary for life. During such a period it would be desirable that girls especially be taught the basics of woodworking, electrical maintenance etc. while boys could be taught the basics of cooking and how to prepare meals for themselves.

Education from the lowest level to the highest is concerned with bringing out the best in us, and our development as entire, complete, individuals. However, if the education to which we have been accustomed in many cases, only develops one aspect of our being, to the detriment of other aspects, then there is something inherently wrong with the system.

A broad situation is fundamental to the development of the entire person: this includes the emphasis being placed on our being practical as well as intellectual beings and vice versa. The types of changes outlined above necessary for a broader education of people will require a certain commitment, probably without much financial

reward, - from the people involved in education. However when we view education - at any level, and its shaping influence on the people we become, it would seem, that it is well worth making this effort. Enough of people with 'paralysed hands' yet hands crammed with facts and figures. Education now calls for a more all-round development of the person if any quality of life and living is to be maintained, or promoted in the future.

(continued from page 21)

NOTES

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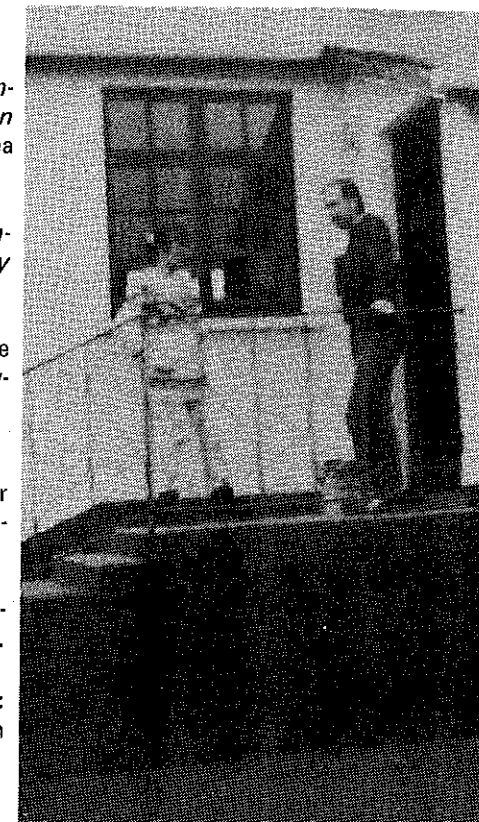
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FOOTNOTES:

1. "Area based policies for the inner city: Context Problems and Prospects" p.241.
2. Hamnett Christ, Area-based explanations: A Critical Appraisal." p. 242.
3. N.E.S.C. Report 1981. Urbanisation: Problems of Growth and decay in Dublin. p.27.
4. *Ibid* p.332.



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SOLVING IRELAND'S TERTIARY PUZZLE

Eileen Murphy, 2nd Arts

The problem of solving the puzzle of Ireland's Tertiary history has been a major one of geologists, geomorphologists and all serious students of the Irish landscape. The problem arises from the almost total absence of tertiary rocks or indeed any rocks younger than those laid down during the carboniferous period. This absence of rocks may imply that rocks younger than carboniferous rocks were never laid down. On the other hand, there is evidence to suggest that younger rocks may have been removed by subsequent denudation. These are the two possibilities with regard to the tertiary period, which appears in the geological time-scale at seventy million years before the present and ends at two million years ago. First it is necessary to look at the evidence from the Tertiary period, existing today in the Irish landscape.

In the north-east of Ireland, there is much evidence to support the suggestion that tertiary rocks were laid down but have been subsequently removed by denudation. It is known that volcanic activity took place here in early tertiary time. From the evidence in the north-east, the tertiary igneous activity of Ireland can be divided into five main periods, (Whittow 1975): First, the outpouring of the basalt lavas as a result of Ulster becoming fissured and cracked by fault lines. These lavas flowed over ancient rocks and in many parts of the north-east they covered a surface of cretaceous chalk. After this, a short period of explosive activity occurred. During this period, volcanic vents were created and the cooling of lava in these vents resulted in the formation of dolerite plugs which can be seen in the modern Ulster landscape. The third period witnessed sill formation. During the fourth period, the intrusion of the plutonic rocks of the Mourne and Carlingford mountains occurred. These rocks were formed at great depth by consolidation from magma. The final period of tertiary igneous activity in Ulster marks the formation of linear igneous outcrops known as dykes.

Outside the north-east, there is little evidence of Tertiary igneous activity. The Ballymacadam clays, which will be discussed later on, are the only proven Tertiary deposit in the remainder of Ireland. There are a few other sites in Southern Ireland where material is of possible Tertiary age e.g. Ballydeenlea and the Gweestin Valley.

As one can see, the amount of evidence belonging to the Tertiary period is extremely scarce, with regard to the landscape outside the Northeast. Because of this, students of Tertiary history can only theorise about what actually happened during this period and try and support their theories with field evidence.

In the nineteenth century, Jukes, then Local Director of the Geological Survey of Ireland put forward an explanation of post-Carboniferous history of southern Ireland. Jukes (1862) claimed that Ireland emerged from the Carboniferous Sea, covered by a thick coat of coal measure strata and that this surface stood thousands of metres above present sea level. Jukes, supported by Giekie and Hull, believed that massive denudation of this high level block occurred during the Mesozoic era and the Tertiary period. This interpretation arose out of Jukes' belief that no post-Carboniferous Marine sediments were found in the South of Ireland, which implied that no younger rocks were laid down there. Jukes also thought that the reduction of Ireland's Carboniferous rocks to their present state could only have taken place in the whole post Carboniferous period. Despite evidence of Tertiary igneous activity in the north east, this theory found general acceptance.

Another famous researcher, Kilroe (1907) suggested that Ireland finally emerged during the Tertiary period, but accepted the rest of Jukes' theory. Kilroe's work marked a new approach to the problem of Ireland's Tertiary history. This new approach advocated by Cole and others suggested that Ireland finally emerged at the end of the Mesozoic era and not in the late Carboniferous period. While accepting the idea of erosion of a high-standing block, Cole (1912) suggested that this block was covered in Cretaceous chalk and not in coal measure strata. This theory implied that younger rocks were laid down but removed by subsequent denudation. The belief that Ireland was carved from a high-standing half-surface block was backed by evidence in the north-east, where sub-aerial basalts belonging to the early Tertiary period rest upon Cretaceous chalk. Outside the north-east, evidence of a former chalk mantle lies off the Irish coast in the form of flints-and-chalk fragments.

What is known as the traditional interpretation of Ireland's tertiary history emerged from these theories. This interpretation claims that Ireland finally emerged at the end of the Mesozoic era, and that its new surface stood about a thousand metres above sea-level. This block was gradually denuded resulting in Ireland's modern topography, while the ancient rivers were superimposed onto their present positions; this explains the discordant courses of some of the major southward flowing rivers. Only in the north-east of Ireland, this theory claims, was denudation hindered by the presence of endogenetic forces which caused faulting and the resultant out pouring of basalt lavas.

In support of the traditional interpretation, there are five major forms of evidence that Ireland has been sculptured from a high-standing block as a result of Tertiary denudation (Davies 1969). (1) The Tertiary basalts of the north-east have evidently been reduced in extent and thickness as a result of great denudation. The existence of basaltic outliers in Co. Down and on Slieve Gullion and elsewhere proves that the basalts once extended far beyond their present limits. The existence of many basaltic outliers in eastern Antrim suggests that about 450 metres of basalt may have been eroded away (Davies and Stephens 1978). (2) The Tertiary plutons of Slieve Gullion, Carlingford and the Mourne mountains have evidently witnessed the removal of thick masses of cover rock. (3) Tertiary dykes which are widespread in the north of Ireland, have been intruded long before the local topography looked anything like its present form. (4) The planation surfaces in Co. Waterford and Co. Cork have generally been accepted as the work of Tertiary and later processes. (5) The fragmentation of the Irish uplands, where pre-Carboniferous rocks are exposed at the surface is further evidence.

Until recently, this evidence had seemed sufficient to validate the traditional interpretation. But due to fresh evidence, doubt has been cast on this theory. This evidence is namely the Ballymacadam deposits in Co. Tipperary. The pipeclay found in this area was examined by Watts in 1957. On the evidence of its pollen contents, he claimed that the deposit was of early Tertiary age, containing pollen which

indicates woodland of the same type as that of the Lough Neagh clays. (Mitchell 1976).

Two important factors have arisen from this discovery. (1) It is of fresh-water origin which confirms the view that Southern Ireland had already emerged from the sea before the Tertiary period, but (2) the clays lie in a hollow of Carboniferous limestone at only 75 metres. This last factor cannot be reconciled with the thousand metre high block suggested by the traditional interpretation. In 1960, another discovery was made at Ballydeenlea, north of Killarney, where an outcrop of Cretaceous chalk was found. While the chalk confirms the traditional view, it was also found at a relatively low altitude. Also nearby in the Gweestin Valley, a group of breccias of presumed early Tertiary age was found by Walsh (1965). This group lay between Carboniferous limestone and overlying Numurian shales and again at a very low altitude.

Thus while the traditional interpretation suggests that rocks were never laid down in Mesozoic or Tertiary time, these recent discoveries suggest that Mesozoic and early Tertiary rocks may have extended over much of Ireland. A dilemma has arisen as a result of those discoveries. While extensive evidence of Tertiary erosion exists, the Ballymacadam clays, the chalk outlier at Ballydeenlea and the deposits in the Gweestin valley all lying at a very low level clearly contradicts the idea of massive denudation of a high standing block.

In the light of the recent discoveries, modern workers, including Davies, have suggested that along with denudation,

differential movements in different parts of Ireland occurred during the Tertiary period. This theory implies that some areas of Ireland have been uplifted and subjected to denudation while other areas have been down-warped and protected from denudation. This suggestion explains the large-scale denudation in the north-east and on the coast, and a much smaller scale or erosion in the south and the midlands of Ireland. These earth movements may have involved the uplift of the highland rim and the subsidence of the Central Lowlands. This would explain why over the greater part of the midlands, the pre-Carboniferous rocks below the limestone lie far below sea-level, while around the rim of Ireland, the same type of rocks lie hundreds of metres above the limestone. (Davies and Stephens 1978).

The idea of Tertiary earth movements is supported by clear evidence in the north-east. Outside the north-east, evidence of earth movements is much less clear. However, the many rock intrusions along the coastline from Co. Donegal southwards to the peninsulas of counties Kerry and Cork, and also faulting of possible Tertiary age found in counties Donegal, Mayo, Galway and elsewhere all suggest former earth movements (Davies and Stephens 1978). Stronger evidence can be drawn from the mountains on the border of counties Galway and Mayo and from the Wicklow mountains. These cases both indicate recent uplift.

Thus to summarise the history of the Irish Tertiary period in relation to the theories that have been discussed: Ireland emerged from the sea at the close of the Mesozoic era or early

Tertiary period, and surfaced with an extensive coat of cretaceous chalk. Denudation of this surface occurred. Only in the north-east was denudation interrupted by the outpouring of the basalt lavas. Earth movements possible affected the whole of Ireland which may have resulted in the elevation of Ireland's margins which have suffered much denudation, and the down warping of the interior. The inconsistencies of the Irish drainage pattern in relation to this interpretation may be explained by the possibility that these rivers were antecedent rather than superimposed. Until further evidence is discovered, this present theory must be accepted as the most feasible explanation of Ireland's Tertiary history.

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**MART & ENGEL'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY BY WALSH, DUFFY & PRINGLE
Folens, Dublin 1981**

Undoubtedly this is one of the greatest monumental, scholarly works ever produced in the discipline of geography. This is a definite revolutionary super-structural breakthrough smashing the old stale paradigms of geography and loosening the chains of oppression. It replaces the confusion that older people felt about geography with a new higgoldy piggoldy, touchy feeling, how's your father, geography. The book reminds one of Superman ripping open his shirt to reveal, beneath the tranquil exterior, Geography, Super Science!! (for super persons).

The authors Fran Economic, Paddy Rural, and Urban Pringle brilliantly demonstrate that geography essentially concerns spacers, crude birth rates and people with tools (geographical tools).

All the authors are distinguished by the hair on their face, having done more for the moustache than shoestring has for laces.

Paddy Rural is a behavioral geographer (he behaves oddly) whose first major work "The Geography of Toyland" sold over three copies. It concerned itself with the special distribution of Noddies (there are quite a few in Maynooth) and has yet to be challenged by leading specialists in this field. Paddy Rural was one of the original founders of the hallowed

Maynooth Geography Department, having discovered it one day while lepping about the drumlins of Monaghan.

Urban Pringle, who turned down a lucrative offer from Manchester United to concentrate on his chalk juggling act, also graces the Maynooth Geography Department. He is a product of the quantative revolution and loves to play about with fashionable models.

Fran Economic is something of an enigma. It is widely believed that he is trying to escape his past by changing his name to Breathnach. Rumour has it that Rusty is the driving entrepreneur behind the Walsh/Breathnach corporation secretly writing his lecture notes and giving him lessons in how to play hurling.

One thing that strikes about the leabhar is its highly technical, ultra-modern, computer drawn maps and diagrams e.g. the rural urban continuum diagram.

The maps are both crude, thematic, topographic and down right disgusting. However Mina Cribben, Mary Whitehouse beware, as some of the photographs are of a visually stunning nature e.g. the bushmen photograph on page 29 or the Paddy Rice (distant relation of the author) cultivation on page 160.

The book promises to break al records especially with the new innovative compulsory "buy or else you'll fail your exams" policy of gentle persuasion. Public reaction to the book has been mixed. President Regan, who incidently has a very close relative teaching geography in Maynooth, saw the book as a definite threat to the interests of the United States. He issued the following statement.

"I find this book as useful as a fart in a spacesuit. God place America."

It is likely he will increase 'humanitarian' aid to rural geography departments.

Charles Haughey saw it as a direct challenge to his leadership, with ideas bordering on anarchistic Mc Greevism and posing a threat to the very stability of our Catholic Gaelic Irish nation.

A spokesman for Maynooth clergy refused to comment stating they were waiting to see what the Pope had to say. They have refused to grant it a "nihil obstat".

In Maynooth Geography students found a novel use for the book following the latest "Jeyes Flats" strike. Their action merely confirms my maxim that "all history has hitherto been a history of (cl) ass struggle."

Karly and Freddy.

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“ . . . the wise person looks into space,
and does not regard the small as the little,
nor the great as the big, for he knows
that there is no limit to dimensions.”

Lao-tse.

