REFLECTIONS ON EDUCATION FOR THE 2IST CENTURY AND THE PATH TO A HOLISTIC, LIVING ECO-SOCIALIST ETHIC

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In June of 1995 I had the pleasure and privilege of addressing members of the Society for Philosophical Research in La Habana, following.the invitation of a leading Cuban educator and professor of philosophy at the University of La Habana, Thalfa Fung Riverón. My subject was: "Biospheric and Personal Ecology: Humanity's Survival and the Significance of Cuba's Socialist Ethic".

It was there that I met María Eugenia de la Vega, the editor-in-chief of *Educacion*, who expressed her interest in this topic, urging me to write an article for the journal on the influence upon my thinking on education of the renowned French paleontologist, the prolific author and Jesuit, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (188I -1955), whom I had quoted at some length.

My presentation had stressed *the imperative* of an early, holistic, and profoundly ecological education for present and future generations as *the sine qua non* for conditions of sustainability and the ultimate survival of the human species on this planet. I had also spoken of the renewed and dangerous trend today - followed by many of the world's scientists - to interpret the human condition in terms of *reductionism*, and on the societal level to implement social Darwinist policies, to which reductionism increasingly gives rise. Witness the daily pronouncements of the new Republican majority in the U.S. Congress, who have set out to abolish much of the social security, education and health provisions that benefit the poor, the helpless, and the elderly - and that were 60 years in the making. These cuts are ta provide new tax breaks for the rich, while over 40 million people in the U.S. live under the poverty line and tens of millions more remain uninsured, and are often bankrupted by medical emergencies. And as if this were not enough, Congress is now acting to void environmental laws and safeguards to please its corporate donors - not to mention the assault on the United Nations by putting it in danger of bankruptcy through not paying up a debt of some \$1.6 billion!

As the self-proclaimed leader of the world, the United States could not give a deadlier example. No wonder then that Brazil's 7 million street children, the galloping unemployment in Mexico, the French nuclear blasts that have fractured the Mururoa Reef, endangering the whole Polynesian Atoll, the steady increase of the ozone hole and not forgetting the 40,000 children who die each day from malnutrition and disease occasion only small ripples in the U.S. press with little, *if any*, corrective action being taken! In his address to the Unitd Nations, Fide1 Castro urged us to put an end to this state of affairs: "We lay claim to a world without hegemony, without nuclear weapons, without interventionism, without racism, without national or religious hatred, without outrageous acts against the sovereignity of peoples, without universal models that totally disregard the traditions and culture of all the elements of humankind."²

In painful contrast to this prophetic exhortation, it is as if at the height of capitalism's global thrust anthro-pological and scientifico-philosophical justifications for the "brutish nature" of man (who cannot help him-self!) have to be spread and popularized, to deflect moral blame - if such were possible - from the capitalist catastrophe in the

making: both for our natural home that is the biosphere, and for the noosphere, the realm of thought in which we educate our children. There are, nevertheless, a few significant exceptions among scientists who do not believe that "biology is destiny." Take Dorothy Nelkin, a sociology professor at New York University and M. Susan Lindee, authors of the book *The DNA Mystique: The Gene as a Cultural Icon,* who oppose ideas such as that of a "criminal gene", as was recently discussed at a University of Maryland conference on "The Meaning and Significance of Research on Genetics and Criminal Behavior." Pleading against those who claim that all crimes have "a common origin - an abnormality of the brain",

Nelkin urges that we deal with the real causes of crime: "the social conditions that are so strongly associated with violence. Biological predisposition is not necessary to explain why a child who suffers racism and violence, without much hope of escape, might become indifferent to human life." Teilhard de Chardin, I am sure, would have agreed with this statement.

I wanted to preface my remarks on *Teilhard and ecducation* by first pointing to a few of the major maldevelopments in the world, to create a realistic background for my remarks. Furthermore, it is important to note that while Teilhard's vision is all encompassing and supranational - indeed universal and cosmic - he warned of premature unifications, *des unions de confusion*, before each of the ethnic and cultural potentials in every region of the world had attained to a certain flowering, a substantial degree of maturity.

The teilhardian vision

I have mentioned the noosphere, the sphere of mind, which takes us straight to the thought and vocabulary of Teilhard, who, in fact, coined the word in 1925. By wrenching the usage of words from their still lingering, static use at the beginning of this century, he endowed them with the movement of evolution: 'To be conscious' and 'consciousness' became activated, as in to conscientize and conscientization; from the word 'complex' he developed to complexify, and complexification; he made of 'amor' a transitive verb: to amorize, hoping to give a major impetus to what he saw as the key process of amorization; even 'Christ' becomes he who christifies those who follow his teachings, in a process of christification. Though these usages are a commonplace for many scholars today, it was Teilhard who introduced them more than half a century ago. As the true evolutionist he was, he conceptualized and projected the future of humanity, phenomenologically, upon the broad base of his geological, paleontological, and biological studies. He had participated significantly in the Chinese geological survey that led to the site at which Sinanthropus Pekinensis was discovered in 1928, and throughout his life took part in many prestigious international expeditions with renowned Scientist friends.

Teilhard saw the future of evolution in the growth of a converging planetary human consciousness. As if in answer to the reductionists of today, he wrote rnore than half a century ago that the future evolution of human beings now lay in the realms of knowledge and education, and in a process of *mental and spiritual* differentiation: It may well be that in its individual capacitics and penetration our brain has reached its organic limits. But the movement does not stop there. (My emphasis). Pressed tightly against

one another by the increase in their numbers and relationships, forced together by the growth of a common power and the sense of a common travail, the men of the future will in some sort form a single consciousness...

Is it truly possible for humanity to continue to live and grow without asking itself how much truth and energy it is losing by neglecting its incredible power of love? It is in the direction and in the form of a single heart that we must look for our picture of supermankind, rather even than in that of a single brain.

These lines were written when the earth carried only some two billion people! Using the phrase: "Pressed tightly against one another by the increase in their numbers and relationships... " Teilhard could hardly have fathomed that by the year 2000 humanity may count seven to eight billion people - and with a good part of it interacting in cyberspace.

Although a priest and mystic, with an existential trust and christic faith in the power of love and sublimation, he readily admitted that turning its back on cooperation and on the call to *amorization*, humankind could choose to go into a dead end of evolution: through ignorance, selfishness, greed, continued wars, and even nuclear holocaust. Yet he believed until his dying day that if humanity could only "discover love", it would be as if it had "discovered fire a second time"..

His writings were *not* the mere exhortations of a priest. They were grounded in knowledge acquired during decades of research and explorations in the field (in France, Egypt, England, China, the Gobi Desert, Africa, etc.), and which, early on, led him to describe the catholic dogma of "original sin" as irreconcilable with his scientific findings. As a consequence he was exiled to China in 1923, and - a magnificent teacher who inspired all who came in contact with him - prohibited to teach or publish on subjects other than his fields of science until, at end of his life, the Jesuit's vow of obedience appertained no longer. I believe that it was Teilhard's fidelity to the Order and his ability to transcend and sublimate his intense suffering at the hands of the institutional church, that brought him such great recognition and influence after his death; also among a whole generation of priests and nuns, many of whom later opened their minds to Liberation Theology, when the hunger for religious authenticity and action reached a climax in Latin and Central America.⁴

The assimilation of Teilhard's thought from the French originals first published in the mid fifties ⁵ and the distillation of his works by his French biographer, the late Claude Cuénot, ⁶ made a decisive impact on my human and intellectual development. I could do no better to explain this influence, than by exclaiming as did Frei Betto in his book on Teilhard: "Ele me ensinou a *ver.* E a sentir essa maravilhosa viagem sem volta, a bordo do planeta Terra, na velocidade de quase 30 quilometros por scgundo." [...] "Depois de embriagarme de seus escritos, aprecio rnelhor as estrelas, o fulgor do Sol, a evolução do Universo, e a relutante socialização da humanidade."

More specifically Teilhard taught rne to extend my understanding of human history and evolution beyond Darwin, to include the entire fossil record of our animal precursors and, farther, to pre-life, the bacteria trapped in rocks three to four billion years ago. "Tout se tient" Teilhard insisted, everything holds together and is interlinked, despite the

rnany and often cruel discontinuities. Evolution, he wrote, equals the rise of consciousness, and consciousness is the effect of union, of creative union - an ascending and ever more differentiated and differentiating levels: from atoms, molecules, and cells uniting to produce more complex and hence more conscious living forms, to the emergence of the human personality - human beings that not only know, as do the animals, but who know that they know - forming, as Teilhard wrote, "the arrow of evolution" or, more significantly, creating "neg-entropy." As a consequence the universe may be seen as an open system in and through human thought, dialectically transcending the Second Law of Thermodynamics. The umbrella definition Teilhard gave his intrinsic system of thought is "The Law of Complexity-Consciousness." ⁸

I believe that Professor Bernard Towers was right when he said some thirty years ago that Teilhard's Law will one day be recognized as being as important as Einstein's Law of Relativity. I was fascinated therefore to note the reviews of some recent books, (written as they are over half a century after Teilhard formulated his law) and subsumed under the reassuring headline: "The scientists who study complexity remain exuberantly optimistic." The titles included: *Hidden Order- How Adaptation Builds Complexity; At Home in the Universe - The Search for Laws of Self-Organization* and *Complexity; and Frontiers of Complexity - The Search for Order in a Chaotic World.* ⁹ A comparative assessment of these writings with Teilhard's thought is an urgent and, most probably, a fruitful, task.

Most importantly, however, Teilhard allowed me to understand existentially why we are nothing by ourselves as individuals; that persons grow only through and in relationship, and by beholding, by being drawn up to models and heroes greater than themselves. His writings, once I could grasp their meaning after several years of reading science, not least in the fields of philosophy of science and cybernetics, evoked in me, as in so many others, the overriding urge to *act* in the world so as *to change* it. In his insistence on the activation, socialization and responsible application of human energy so as "to build the earth" ("constuire la terre"), lies one of the most salient meeting points in Teilhard's thought with that of Karl Marx; another being the belief in the inherent perfectibility of human beings. In his essay on the problem of the individual and society, he concludes that "ultimately the person is for the whole, and not the whole for the human person. The reason for this, however, is that at the final moment the whole itself has become person." ("Le Tout lui-meme est devenu Personne.")¹⁰

Fortuitously, the many discussions of Teilhard's thought were to lead me to the Christian-Marxist dialogue, so active in the Europe of the fifties and sixties. French, Italian, British, and East European participants were inspired by the new opening Teilhard had created, which also led Roger Garaudy to write the sensitive, thought-provoking book: *De L'Anathème au Dialogue - Un Marxist S'Adresse au Concile*. Based on his reading of Teilhard about the urgency of making common cause with all those "who believe that the world still advances, and that we are charged with the task to carry it forward," Garaudy understood Teilhard's vision as an all inclusive perspective, demanding our militant efforts to build the future.

He dwells on Teilhard's words:

"Our duty as human beings is to act as if there were no limits to our power. Having become, through our very existence, the conscious collaborators of a creation which is developing within us in such a way as will very likely lead us towards a goal (even an earthly one) which is far more exalted and distant than we think, we must help God with all our strength and so work with matter as if our salvation depended on our industry alone."

Garaudy describes this interpretation of Christianity as a "religion of action" and an "answer not only to the problem of the relationship of religion and science but also to the problem of the relations between Christianity and society." He stresses Teilhard's conclusion: "The synthesis of the [Christian) God of the Above and the [Marxist] God of the Ahead: this is the only God whom we shall in the future be able to adore in spirit and in truth." It is well to remember here Garaudy's definition of truth as both absolute and relative: "absolute" in that today's truth is all we have, and "relative" in that today's truth will be surpassed by a greater, more comprehensive truth tomorrow.

It is of equal importance to inform the reader of two fundamental convictions Teilhard imparted to some of his closest friends. He stated that it was vital to him that after his death he should be seen as having left behind evidence of a life of logic - "les traces d'une vie logique" - and, furthermore, that it would only be possible to know if he had had a mission to fulfill to the extent to which others would go beyond him.

Trying to follow these precepts, I have come to believe that it is indeed possible for authentic Christians to be authentic Socialists, and vice versa. I see the convergence between the teachings and the example of Jesus of Nazareth as practiced through Liberation Theology on the one hand, and on the other the analyses and goals conceived by Marx, demonstrated by the ideals of the Cuban revolution and in the lives of José Martí, Che Guevara, Fidel Castro, and so many others - Christians and Socialists - to be carried forward on a dialectical line to an "absolute future". The culmination of socialist maturation in communism, spurned and exalted by existential cooperation with all those who love there neighbors as themselves, is the absolute future to which we can, and must, aspire if human evolution is not to abort. This, I believe, is what Teilhard meant when he spoke of the ultra-human phase of evolution. Finally, it is also why Fidel has expressed the vision and hope that virtue "become a mass phenomenon." 12 It follows that free education and health services were to be perceived by those who led the Cuban revolution not only as basic human rights, but as the very foundation of civilized life, on which to build a social milieu in which virtue could "become a mass phenomenon".

We know that the greatest capacity to learn resides in small children before the age of ten. I remember how my own mind remained imprisoned as a child, because my eyes were not taught at first to look beyond the paper on which I wrote my first alphabet. The Bavarian village in which I lived was my cocoon. I was scaled into it, and have spent too much of my life trying to break out, in order to see better, and *understand holistically*. All depended on my parents and teachers in the 1930's. But my learning experiences then did not tear down the veils that were separating me from that faintly intuited comprehension of our cosmic origins and the open-endedness of our human future.

A Teilhardian view of education

A life-long teacher at a Teilhard Conference in Paris in the early sixties opened my eyes to a new approach to education. One as far removed from the more and more competitive, commercialized, and utilitarian processes of schooling pursued in our times, designed to turn out entrepreneurs and consumers according to the motto heard in China in recent years, that "getting rich is glorious!" The impressive courses he had developed were made up of slides for schools, and for adults in any learning situation, inspired by Teilhard's vision of the universe and man's place in nature. Their main purpose was to educate teachers so as to help them open children's eyes, from kindergarten through primaty and high school, by acquainting them with the universe: the cosmos in its galactic travail, the sun as a nuclear furnace, and the constellations in the night sky. A course in reading and writing the words entailed would follow, as well as the drawing of constellations, the milky way, and so on. Only when the pupils' minds had been stretched as far as the outer reaches of the universe, would they be allowed to come back to the moon and earth. Encompassing the universe and the planet as our habitat would teach children realism, fearlessness, and humility, giving them the right sense of proportion in matters concerning the earth, and their own country. There would follow a depiction of the entire process of evolution: from the earth's barysphere, its hot molten center, with lava-spewing volcanos, to the creation of our atmosphere and 'prelife', culminating in 600 million years of biological evolution. From there the course would take them through recorded human history from early civilizations up to the present day in one grand, interrelated sweep. I was shocked and saddened at the time that no one could be found to lift this project from obscurity to a major transformation in French education, on a scale with all the technical facilities required. Today, I understand, of course: the great idea lacked immediate utility in capitalist terms; the method would develop holistic and critical thinkers - not cogs for the machine.

If the first seven years (from ages 3 to 10) were used for such integrated teaching - with children learning to see themselves as inhabitants of a universe, on a planet that had a beginning, and that will have an end, as do our lives - minds would be readied for a transporting, yet rational and scientific, outlook. By adding the evolution of multicultural dimensions - always in terms that children can grasp through conjunctive explanations with slides and films, as well as related reading and writing - minds would also be opened to harbor patience, acceptance, tolerance, reverence, magnanimity, responsibility, and many other virtues that are part of the *eu*-topian socialist ideal.

The recapitulation on a higher intellectual plane of this first phase, for students age 11 to 18, in appropriately more demanding visual and linguistic forms, would include intensive geography, and paleontology as part of general human history, the sciences, philosophy, and philosophy of science, cybernetics, ecology, languages, and the arts. These studies would be built *organically* upon the teaching of the initial seven years. ¹³

In vocational schools, the same principles could apply. But emphasis would be shifted to the history of arts, crafts, mechanics, engineering, etc., and then to present day requirements, within a framework of overriding ecological design. This would be of great relevance to Cuba, where, as Roberto Robaina explained in January 1994, so many parents strive to obtain a university education for their offspring, while the nation is in great need of masons, carpenters, mechanics, and workers in the field. Having imbued

the young, historically and pictorially, with respect and admiration for earlier, and often sounder, more benign methods - from small-scale irrigation systems to the architectural moderation of ambient temperatures - and with the present imperative of ecological responsibility and stewardship, a generation filled with a new creative and dynamic relatedness to past, present, and future might emerge. This could also help redress the balance between city and countryside in Cuba, where up to 80 percent now live in urban areas.

All around the globe, we are in grave danger of surrendering culture to technology, as the author and educator, Neil Postman, warns in his book *Technopoly*, and thereby of losing the essence of education: *educere* - the drawing out of *human beings* in our schooling. Postman fears that the United States today "is not a culture but merely an economy, which is the last refuge of an exhausted philosophy of education." ¹⁴

After thirty-five years of persecution by the United States, Cuban socialism is bracing for yet another onslaught from the North: destabilization by means of the media, the dollar, and further tightening of the economic stranglehold through the infamous Helms/Burton Act. Cuba is at a crossroads. Can it be forced to surrender its socialist ethic, its culture and future social development to the crushing invasion of capitalism and all its manipulatory techniques? Or can Cuba withstand this invasion and save the nation from the intellectual and spiritual decline that follows everywhere, when human beings *submit* their humanity to "the market", to the guile of greed and money? ¹⁵

As hard as it may be for the already much tested Cuban educators to accept: teachers on all levels are, in the short and long term, the most vital part in the "front line" of resistance to Western decadence. Unless their teaching and example prepare young Cubans to withstand the facile lures of Western advertising, films, TV and 'heavy metal', we shall indeed live in desperate fear for the spiritual heritage of José Martí, of Che Guevara, and your great President. To inspire a new heroic youth - one that will have interiorized the fact that an ethic borne by authentic socialist and ecological convictions will be the only one allowing humanity to cross the threshold to *meaningful* survival - the vision of the young must grow to be larger and nobler than all the dollars that may tempt them from their path. This is an educational challenge of Herculean proportions. It is my belief that the Teilhardian understanding of evolution and its extrapolation for the future of humankind, could substantially assist in teaching and vitalizing Cuba's ethic at this time.

I should like to end on a nete of optimism: According to *Genesis* the Arc of Noah once saved many species for a new dawn after the Great Flood. When I visit Cuba and witness the ordered, patient endurance, the sacrifices, and the devocion of so many people to a common ideal, I cannot help but nurture the hope that Cuba will become, for all of us, the next Arc of Noah to save the human spirit without which there will be no noosphere.

Notes

¹ The author, having studied Teilhard's thought in considerable depth, founded The Teilhard Centre in London in 1964, originally under the name, The Pierre Teilhard de Chardin Association of Great Britain and Ireland. Renée-Marie Croose Parry continued

to develop the Centre, a state-registered educational organization, as Honorary Secretary from 1964 to 1974. Its purpose was to advance knowledge and understanding of the Teilhardian synthesis. Teilhard spent most of his life exiled by the Calholic Church to China and America; initially for having written against the dogma of "Original Sin", which Teilhard recognized as being in contradiction with scientific understanding. A Monitum was issued by the Vatican in the sixties, warning of Teilhard's writings - also, no doubt, because of the rapprochement between Christians and Marxists that Teilhard had inspired. Under the presidency of Joseph Needham, FRS, FBA, the Centre also worked to advance the dialogue between science and religion, Christians and Marxists, and to focus awareness upon humanity's evolutionary future - publishing a thrice yearly journal, The Teilhard Review, and a book series, The Teilhard Study Library Joseph Needham, the great English biochemist and scientific historian, outstanding sinologist. and author of the 16 volume Science and Civilization in China, has described Teilhard de Chardin as "the prophet of this age, a prophet not for the Western world alone but for all men everywhere [...]". See Ursula King, Towards a New Myscicism - Teilhard de Chardin and Eastern Religions, Foreword by Dr. J. Needham; Collins, London, '80, p. 10.

² From the address by Dr. Fidel Castro Ruz, President of the Republic of Cuba, to the United Nations General Assembly Special Session, commemorating its 50th Anniversary. New York City, October 22,1995.

³ From an article by Dorothy Nelkin, *The New York Times*, op.ed. page, September 28, 1995

⁴ Tragically, this trend has been severely restrained by the Vatican, first by Pope Paul VI, and then under John Paul II, through the appointment of conservative cardinals and bishops. Furthermore, only recently the Brazilian Theologian and nun, Ivone Gebara, was condemned to silence for her progressive work, especially with women's groups in the Barrio of Camaragibe, while the Instituto Teológico (ITER) in Recife, which had been founded by Bishop Dom Helder Camara, and where Ivone Gebara used to lecture, was closed altogether, in conjunction with other catholic institutions of learning which were guided by the "option for the poor." *Orientierung*, Zurich, September 15,1995, page 183.

⁵ Pierre Teilhard the Chardin *Le Phénomène Humain*, Editions du Seuil Paris, 1955; in English translation, *The Phenomenon of Man - With an Introduction by Sir Julian Huxley*, Collins, London, 1959. *L'Apparition de L'Homme*, Editions du Seuil, Paris,1956; *Le Groupe Zoologique Humain - Structure et directions évolutives*, Albin Michel, Paris,1956; *Lettres des Voyages: 1923 -1955*, Editions Grasset, Paris, 1956; *Letters from a Travellor*, Collins, London 1962. Many more of Teilhard's writings appeared in quick succession, also in a French hardback series at his collected works. Most of his œuvre was translated into English and into most major languages of the world.

⁶ Claude Cuénot, *Pierre Teilhard de Chardin - Les Grandes Etapes de son Evolution*, Plon, Paris,1958; *Teilhard de Chardin*, Editions du Seuil, Paris,1962. *Nouveau Lexique Teilhard de Chardin*, Editions du Seuil, Paris,1968.

⁷ Frei Betto, Teilhard de Chardin - Sinfonia Universal, Série Universidade, Letras & Letras, São Paulo, I992. Frei Betto is known to many Cubans as the author of *Fidel y la Religion*, La Habana,1985.

⁸ According to Bernard Towers, Teilhard's greatest single contribution to science will probably be his 'Law of Complexity-Consciousness. This law expresses a truth about nature quite as profound as, and in some ways more significant than, those expressed by the established laws of thermodynamics. [...]Throughout evolutionary time [..] the

matter or stuff of the universe organizes itself into an ever-increasing complex of interrelated component-parts. [...] this observed process makes manifest a property of matter which is more fundamental and more meaningful than anything observed before in science. With increase in complexity, not only of individual organisms, but also of the group to which they belong and indeed the 'system' out of which they have evolved, there has been a corresponding rise in the psychic quality of life [..]." Bernard Towers, Concerning Teilhard - and other Writings on Science and Religion, Collins, London 1969, pages 131- 2. Bernard Towers, a distinguished British anatomist and embryologist at Cambridge University, England, was the first chairman of the Teilhard dc Chardin Association of Great Britain and Ireland, (later The Teilhard Center for the Future of Man) in London - from its official founding in 1966 until his departure for the University of Califomia in 1970.

⁹ From an article by John Horgan, a senior writer for *Scientic American*, in the New York Times Book Review, October 1,1995. Horgan is working on a book entitled *The End of Science*.

¹⁰ Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, *The Activation of Human Energy*, Collins, Lnndon, 1970, page 51. *L'Activation de L'Energie*. Editions du Seuil. Paris 1963, page 58.

pagc 51. *L'Activation de L'Energie*, Editions du Seuil, Paris,1963, page 58.

11 Roger Garaudy, *De L Anathème au Dialogue - Un Marxiste S Adresse au Concile*, Plon, Paris, 1965. *From Anathema to Dialogue- The Challenge of Marxist - Christian Cooperation, with replies by Karl Rahner, SJ., and Johann Baptist Metz*, Collins, London 1967, pages 25 and 46 partially re-translated by me from the original French. Roger Garaudy was, at the time, a member of the Bureau Politique of the French Communist Party, and in 1967 addressed the 1st Annual Conference of the Teilhard de Chardin Association of Great Britain and Ireland in London.

¹² Granma Weekly Review, March 27,1988, page 6 - as quoted in FIDEL! Castro's political and Social Thought, by Sheldon B.Liss. Westview Press,1994, page 154.

Tho originator of this educational approach was Père Yves Sainsaulieu, who worked for many years in Africa, and in the early sixties founded APESC, 1'Association pour l'Enseignement de la Synthèse de la Connaissance (Association for the Teaching of the Synthesis of Knowledge) in Paris, to promote these ideas.

¹⁴ Neil Postman, *Technopoly - The Surrender of Culture to Technology*, Vintage Books, New York, 1993, page 174

¹⁵ For an analysis of this predicament and partinent recommendations, see *The Revisited Communist Party Report,* Cuba, 28 March, 1996, to the Party Plenum. Prensa Latina, Habana, 31 March, 1996