the development of a principle of reciprocity, and the symbolic expression of community values, offers important insights for linking the rebellion to Maya culture history" (p. 163). He locates "the root cause of the 1712 uprising" in "the erosion of the highland Maya's security of subsistence by the escalating demands of civil and ecclesiastical authorities" (p. 68). Geography, especially a paltry natural resource base, condemned highland Chiapas to marginal economic status in the Spanish scheme of empire, a status that allowed Maya communities to shape for themselves, in the course of the seventeenth century, a culture of refuge relatively immune to the worst of Spanish depredations.

The exceptions to this neglected existence were the system of forced sales known as the *repartimiento de mercancías* and the *visitas*, tours of inspection during which the native devout were expected to replenish depleted church coffers. Civil and pastoral abuse, the former epitomized by Governor Martín González de Vergara, the latter by Bishop Bauptista Alvarez de Toledo, eventually ripped to shreds the delicate accord of the moral economy. When abuse was coupled with an orthodox rigidity that interpreted Maya religious visions strictly as the work of the devil—a statue of San Sebastián was observed to perspire, an image of San Pedro radiated light, and the Virgin made not one but two separate appearances—unrest ignited into open revolt.

Gosner depicts the key events eloquently. With Cancuc as their political center, and a young woman who had seen the Virgin as their spiritual inspiration, 21 Tzotzil as well as Tzeltal communities challenged Spanish colonial rule in a four-month rebellion that saw atrocities committed on both sides. Gosner points out that some five to six thousand "soldiers of the Virgin" slaughtered other Mayas who did not join the uprising, only to suffer dreadful retribution when Spanish might again prevailed. With the old order back in place, of necessity more brutal than before, the Tzeltal Revolt would come to feed Spanish and, later, Mexican fears and would become a consummate, if sullied, symbol of Maya resistance.

"The volume and variety of material available to scholars concerning the rebellion . . . make a detailed study of its complexities possible and positively invite competing interpretations," Gosner acknowledges (p. 12). Welcome though his contribution is, it will surprise no one, least of all Gosner himself, if other researchers consult the same documentation and come up with a markedly different account.

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Transformation and Struggle: Cuba Faces the 1990s. Edited by SANDOR HALEBSKY and JOHN M. KIRK. New York: Greenwood Press, 1990. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xxvi, 291 pp. Paper. $17.95.

Given the pace of change in the formerly socialist bloc, any book on contemporary Cuba will be out of date before it is printed. Though this volume of essays by 22

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authors is no exception, it is nevertheless worth reading for reasons the authors probably did not intend. This is not so much a book about Cuba as it is a portrait of a school of thought on Cuba. Drawing from a wide geographic range (six essays from Cuba and others from North America and Europe), the collection explores a broad spectrum of topics, including the Cuban church, social policy, the economy, medicine, agriculture, housing, and human rights.

Most of the authors write as if the Cuban Revolution is in a proactive, problem-solving mode. Events since 1989, however, have shown the Cuban government to be increasingly reactive to hard times and external shocks. The "rectification process," which was offered as the remedy for poor management, "low productivity, overstaffing, poor quality goods, wasteful use of resources, overspending, market and materialist mechanisms, price gouging, and a mercenary mentality" (p. xiii), now seems at best inadequate and at worst counterproductive. Severe structural economic problems cannot be solved by outlawing farmers' markets and arresting a few "garlic millionaires."

While not wholly uncritical of the Cuban government, many of the essays are overly sanguine about policies the Cuban government controls. For example, although the essay on human rights admits that "Cuba is in violation of international standards and treaties" in the areas of "procedural rights, political dissent, and treatment of political prisoners" (p. 69), the United States is criticized for asking Armando Valladares, "whose sole qualification" was imprisonment in Cuba, to head a delegation investigating the treatment of political prisoners (p. 72). The U.S. human rights position is dismissed as a "reluctance to accept the existence of a social system fundamentally different from its own" (p. 74). Given that the treatment of political prisoners has been a problem, who would know the problem better than one of its victims? Why, indeed, should there be any political prisoners 30 years after a revolution?

Evidence of the perishability of many of the essays permeates the volume. For example, Andrew Zimbalist writes, "the CMEA market provides a soft and reliable cushion [for Cuban sugar]" (p. 132). And Claes Brundenius asserts, "Cuba still stands out as a beacon in the Latin American darkness with an accumulated increase in per capita income of 33 percent compared to an average decline of 6.6 percent in Latin America on the average" (p. 145). Of course, that was before the economic depression that hit Cuba with the substantial unlinking of the Russian and Cuban economies. The hardships of the "zero option" had not yet been added to an already austere economy. Despite its perishability, what makes the book worth reading is that it provides a benchmark by which the magnitude of changes since 1989 can be gauged.

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