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0521839890 - Resisting Dictatorship: Repression and Protest in Southeast Asia

Vince Boudreau

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Resisting Dictatorship

Vince Boudreau's book compares the relationship between state repression and social resistance under the dictatorships of Burma's Ne Win, Indonesia's Suharto and the Philippines' Ferdinand Marcos. In each case the dictator faced distinct social challenges and responded with specifically tailored repressive strategies. These strategies shaped dissidents' resources, social bases and opposition cultures, and so influenced the entire pattern and effectiveness of dissent and political contention. The author considers his first-hand research in the countries in question in light of the social movements literature to analyse the long-term interactions between the regimes and their societies in the wake of repression, and during the democracy movements that followed. This thought-provoking book offers one of the first truly comparative studies of dictatorship, resistance and democratization in Southeast Asia. As such, it will be invaluable to students, policy makers and commentators on the region.

VINCE BOUDREAU is Associate Professor of Political Science at City College of New York. His publications include *Grassroots and Cadre in the Protest Movement* (2001).

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 Vince Boudreau
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Cambridge University Press

0521839890 - Resisting Dictatorship: Repression and Protest in Southeast Asia

Vince Boudreau

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

To my first teachers: Grace and Gordon.

Contents

| | |
|--|------|
| <i>List of maps</i> | viii |
| <i>Acknowledgments</i> | ix |
| <i>List of abbreviations</i> | xi |
| 1 Introduction | 1 |
| 2 Protest, repression and transition in Southeast Asia | 17 |
| 3 Authoritarian attack and dictatorial rise | 37 |
| 4 Protest in socialist Burma | 84 |
| 5 New Order repression and the Indonesian opposition | 103 |
| 6 The Philippine new society and state repression | 134 |
| 7 Repression and protest in comparative perspective | 152 |
| 8 People power and insurgency in the Philippine transition | 176 |
| 9 Protest and the underground in Burma | 190 |
| 10 Indonesia's democracy protests | 215 |
| 11 Democracy protest and state repression | 238 |
| <i>List of references</i> | 255 |
| <i>Index</i> | 282 |

Cambridge University Press

0521839890 - Resisting Dictatorship: Repression and Protest in Southeast Asia

Vince Boudreau

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Maps

| | |
|-------------------|----|
| 1 Southeast Asia | 5 |
| 2 Burma (Myanmar) | 38 |
| 3 Indonesia | 52 |
| 4 The Philippines | 63 |

Cambridge University Press

0521839890 - Resisting Dictatorship: Repression and Protest in Southeast Asia

Vince Boudreau

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgments

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Cambridge University Press
0521839890 - Resisting Dictatorship: Repression and Protest in Southeast Asia
Vince Boudreau
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

x Acknowledgments

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Thank you, one and all.

Abbreviations

| | |
|----------|---|
| A6LM | April 6th Liberation Movement (Philippines) |
| ABRI | <i>Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia</i> (Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia) |
| AFL-CIO | American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations |
| AFO | Anti-Fascist Organization (Burma) |
| AFP | Armed Forces of the Philippines |
| AFPFL | Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (Burma) |
| AMRSP | Association of Major Religious Superiors of the Philippines |
| ASEAN | Association of Southeast Asian Nations |
| BANDILLA | <i>Bansang Nagkaisa sa Diwa at Layunin</i> (The Nation, Unified in Spirit and Purpose) |
| BAYAN | <i>Bagong Alyansa Makabayan</i> (New Nationalist Alliance, Philippines) |
| BBC | British Broadcasting Corporation |
| BCP | Burma Communist Party |
| BIA | Burma Independence Army |
| BISIG | <i>Bukluran sa Ikaunlad ng Sosyalistang Isip at Gawa</i> (Federation for the Advancement of Socialist Theory and Praxis, Philippines) |
| BMP | <i>Bukluran ng mga Mangagawang Pilipino</i> (Association of Filipino Workers) |
| BNA | Burmese National Army |
| BSPP | Burma Socialist Program Party |
| BTUC | Burma Trade Union Congress |
| BWPP | Burma Workers and Peasants Party |
| CBCP | Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines |
| CGSC | Command and General Staff College (Philippines) |
| CIA | Central Intelligence Agency (USA) |
| CIDES | Center for Information and Development Studies |
| CNL | Christians for National Liberation (Philippines) |

Cambridge University Press

0521839890 - Resisting Dictatorship: Repression and Protest in Southeast Asia

Vince Boudreau

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xii List of abbreviations

| | |
|----------|---|
| CORD | Coalition of Organizations for the Restoration of Democracy (Philippines) |
| CPB | Communist Party of Burma |
| CPP | Communist Party of the Philippines |
| DA | Democratic Alliance (Philippines) |
| DM | <i>Devwan Mahasiswa</i> (Student Council, Indonesia) |
| DPR | <i>Devwan Perwakilan Rakyat</i> (People's Representative Council) |
| DSO | Democratic Students Organization (Burma) |
| EDSA | Epifanio delos Santos Avenue |
| FBIS | Foreign Broadcast Information Service |
| FBSI | <i>Federasi Buruh Seluruh Indonesia</i> (All-Indonesia Workers' Federation) |
| FFF | Federation of Free Farmers (Philippines) |
| FFW | Federation of Free Workers (Philippines) |
| FLAG | Free Legal Assistance Group |
| GABRIELA | General Assembly Binding Women for Reforms, Integrity, Equality, Leadership and Action (Philippines) |
| GAPUR | <i>Gerakan Pemyimpkan Uang Rakyat</i> (Movement to Save the People's Money, Indonesia) |
| GOLKAR | <i>Golongan Karya</i> (Functional Groups, Indonesia) |
| Golput | <i>Golongan Puti</i> (White Group, Indonesia) |
| HMI | <i>Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam</i> (Association of Islamic Students) |
| IBP | <i>Interim Batasaan Pambansa</i> (Interim National Legislature) |
| IIRB | the Indonesian Islamic Revolutionary Board |
| IMF | International Monetary Fund |
| IPMI | <i>Ikatan Pers Mahasiswa Indonesia</i> (Indonesian Student Press Union) |
| JAJA | Justice for Aquino, Justice for All (Philippines) |
| KAK | Komite Anti-Korupsi (Anti-Corruption Committee) |
| KAMI | <i>Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Indonesia</i> (Indonesian United Student Action) |
| KAP | <i>Katipunan ng mga Anak-Pawis</i> (Proletarian Labor Congress, Philippines) |
| KAPPI | <i>Kesatuan Aksi Pelajar Pelajar Indonesia</i> (Indonesian Students' Action Front) |
| KASAPI | <i>Kapulungan ng Mga Sandigan ng Pilipinas</i> (Organization of Defenders of the Philippines) |
| KEPARAD | <i>Komite Perjuangan Rakyat anti Dwi Fungsi</i> (Committee for the Struggle Against Armed Forces Dual Function) |

Cambridge University Press

0521839890 - Resisting Dictatorship: Repression and Protest in Southeast Asia

Vince Boudreau

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

List of abbreviations xiii

| | |
|---------|--|
| KIPP | <i>Komiti Independen Pemantau Pemilu</i> (Independent Election Monitoring Committee) |
| KKN | <i>Komite Kabanggaan Nasional</i> (Committee for National Development) |
| KM | <i>Kabataan Makabayan</i> (Nationalist Youth, Philippines) |
| KMP | <i>Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas</i> (Movement of Philippine Peasants) |
| KMT | Kuomintang |
| KMU | <i>Kilusang Mayo Uno</i> |
| KNPI | <i>Kesatuan Nasional Pemuda Indonesia</i> |
| KOMPIL | <i>Kongreso ng Mamamayan Pilipino</i> (Congress of the Filipino People) |
| KOSTRAD | <i>Komando Cadangan Strategis Angkatan Darat</i> (Army Strategic Reserve Command, Indonesia) |
| LABAN | <i>Lakas ng Bayan</i> (Strength of the Nation) |
| LAFM | Light a Fire Movement (Philippines) |
| LBH | <i>Lembaga Bantuan Hukum</i> (Legal Aid Foundation, Indonesia) |
| LDC | Least Developed Country |
| LSM | <i>Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat</i> (Private Social Organizations – the Indonesian equivalent of the NGO). |
| Malari | <i>Malapetaka Januari</i> (January Disaster, Indonesia) |
| MNLF | Moro National Liberation Front |
| MPR | <i>Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat</i> (People's Consultative Assembly, Indonesia) |
| MR | <i>Manila Rizal</i> (Regional Branch of the CPP) |
| NAMFREL | National Movement for Free Elections |
| NCHR | National Committee on Human Rights |
| ND | National Democratic (Philippines) |
| NDCP | National Defense College of the Philippines |
| NDF | National Democratic Front (Philippines) |
| NGO | Non-Governmental Organization |
| NII | <i>Negera Islam Indonesia</i> (Indonesian Islamic State) |
| NKK/BKK | <i>Normalisasi Kehidupan Kampus/Badan Koordinisasi Kamahasiswaan</i> (Normalization of Campus Life/Body to Coordinate Students, Indonesia) |
| NMFJP | National Movement for Freedom Justice and Democracy, Philippines |
| NPA | New People's Army (Philippines) |
| NU | <i>Nataduul Ulama</i> (Indonesia) |
| NUF | National United Front (Burma) |
| NUSP | National Union of Student of the Philippines |

Cambridge University Press

0521839890 - Resisting Dictatorship: Repression and Protest in Southeast Asia

Vince Boudreau

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xiv List of abbreviations

| | |
|---------------|---|
| <i>Ormas</i> | Mass Organization (Indonesia) |
| PD | Presidential Decree (Philippines) |
| PDI | <i>Partai Demokrasi Indonesia</i> (Indonesian Democratic Party) |
| PDP | Parliamentary Democracy Party (Burma) |
| PDP-LABAN | <i>Partido Demokratiko ng Pilipina-Lakas ng Bayan</i> (Philippine Democratic Party-Strength of the Nation) |
| PDSP | Philippine Democratic Socialist Party |
| PETA | <i>Pembela Tanah Air</i> Defenders of the Fatherland (Indonesia) |
| <i>Petrus</i> | <i>Penembakan Misterius</i> (Mysterious Shootings, Indonesia) |
| PI | <i>Perhimpunan Indonesia</i> (Indonesian Association) |
| PKI | <i>Partai Komunis Indonesia</i> (Indonesian Communist Party) |
| PKI | <i>Perserikatan Kamunis di India</i> (India Communist Party) |
| PKP | <i>Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas</i> (Communist Party of the Philippines) |
| PMII | <i>Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia</i> (Movement of Islamic Students of Indonesia) |
| PNI | <i>Partai Nasionalis Indonesia</i> (Indonesian Nationalist Party) |
| PPBI | <i>Pusat Perjuangan Buruh Indonesia</i> (Indonesian Center for Labor Struggle) |
| PPP | <i>Partai Persatuan Pembangunan</i> (United Development Party) |
| PRD | <i>Partai Rakyat Demokrasi</i> (People's Democratic Party, Indonesia) |
| PRP | The People's Revolutionary Party (Burma) |
| PRRI | <i>Pemerintahan Revolusioner Republik Indonesia</i> (Revolutionary Government Of The Republic of Indonesia) |
| PUDI | <i>Partai Uni Demokrasi Indonesia</i> (United Democratic Party of Indonesia) |
| PVO | People's Volunteer Organization (Burma) |
| RAM | Reform Armed Forces Movement (Philippines) |
| RC | Revolutionary Council (Burma) |
| RIT | Rangoon Institute of Technology (Burma) |
| ROTC | Reserve Officer Training Corps |
| RPKAD | <i>Resimen Para Komando Angkatan Darat</i> (Indonesian Special Forces) |
| RU | Rangoon University (Burma) |
| SAC | Security and Administration Committee (Burma) |

Cambridge University Press

0521839890 - Resisting Dictatorship: Repression and Protest in Southeast Asia

Vince Boudreau

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

List of abbreviations xv

| | |
|----------|---|
| SAMAKANA | <i>Samahan ng mga Malayang Kababaihan na Nagkakaisa</i> (The Movement of Free and Unified Women, Philippines) |
| SBSI | <i>Sejahtera Buru Serikat Indonesia</i> (Prosperous Workers' Union of Indonesia) |
| SD | Social Democratic (Philippines) |
| SI | <i>Seriket Islam</i> (Islamic Union, Indonesia) |
| SLORC | State Law and Order Restoration Committee (Burma) |
| SMID | <i>Solidaritas Mahasiswa Indonesia untuk Demokrasi</i> (Student Solidarity for Indonesian Democracy) |
| SMPT | <i>Senat Mahasiswa Perguruan Tinggi</i> (University Student Senate) |
| SOKSI | <i>Seriket Organisasi Karyawan Socialis Indonesia</i> (Union of Indonesian Socialist Karaywan Organizations) |
| SPSI | <i>Seriket Pekerja Seluruh Indonesia</i> (The All Indonesia Workers' Union) |
| STI | <i>Seriket Tani Nasional</i> (National Peasants Union, Indonesia) |
| SUF | Student United Front (Burma) |
| TGPF | <i>Tim Gabungan Pencari Fakta</i> (Consolidated Fact-Finding Team) |
| TFD | Task Force Detainees (Philippines) |
| TPC | Township Peasant Councils (Burma) |
| UG | Underground |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Program |
| UNIDO | United Nationalist Democratic Organization |
| UR | University of Rangoon |
| VOA | Voice of America |
| VOC | Village Organizing Councils |
| WOMB | Women Against Marcos Boycott (Philippines) |