

KEPUSTAKAAN

Buku

- Chiung-Chiu Huang & Chih-Yu Shih, *Harmonious Intervention: China's Quest for Relational Security*, Routledge, New York, 2014.
- Deciphering Myanmar's Peace Process: A Reference Guide 2016*, BurmaNews International, 4th edn, Prachhakorn Business, Chiang Mai, 2017.
- Elleman, B.A., Kotkin, S. & Schofield, C., (eds.), *Beijing's Power and China Borders: Twenty Neighbors in Asia*, Routledge, New York, 2015.
- Keenan, P., *By Force of Arms: Armed Ethnic Groups in Burma*, Vij Book India, New Delhi, 2013.
- Kratoska, P.H., *Southeast Asian Minorities in the Wartime Japanese Empire*, Routledge Curzon, New York, 2002.
- Kyu, M.M., 'Kokang: The Rise of Chinese Minority—The Neo-Liberal State,' dalam W. Tantikanangkul & A. Pritchard (eds.), *Politics of Autonomy and Sustainability in Myanmar*, Springer, Singapore, 2016, pp. 13-35.
- Lintner, B., *The Rise and Fall of the Communist Party of Burma*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1990.
- Mong, S.K., *Kokang and Kachin in the Shan State (1945–1960)*, Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, 2005.
- Myoe, M.A., *Building the Tatmadaw: Myanmar and Armed Forces Since 1948*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 2009.
- Rieffel, L., (ed.), *Myanmar/Burma: Inside Challenges, Outside Interests*, Brookings Institution Press, Washington, D.C., 2010.
- Shirk, S.L., *China: Fragile Superpower*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2008.
- Suryadinata, L., *The Rise of China and Chinese Overseas: A Study of Beijing's Changing Policy in Southeast Asia and Beyond*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies Publishing, Singapore, 2017.
- Szary, A.L.A. & Giraut, F., (eds.), *Borderities and The Politics of Contemporary Mobile Borders*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2015.

Terbitan berkala (jurnal dan paper)

- 'China's Myanmar Strategy: Election, Ethnic Politics, and Economics,' *Crisis Group Asia Briefing*, no. 112, Beijing, September 2010, pp. 1-19.
- Cheng-Hin Lim, A., 'The March 2015 Bombings of Yunnan and the Decline in Sino-Myanmar Relations 2015,' *The Asia Pacific Journal*, vol. 13, no. 1, April 2015, pp. 1-9.
- Chow, J.T. & Easley, L.E., *Upgrading Myanmar-China Relations to International Standards*, The Asan Institute for Policy Studies Issue Briefs 2015-21, Seoul, 29 December 2015, pp. 1-25.
- Chungchi Chao, 'The Kokang Incident and Contradictory Relations between China and Burma,' *Asian Ethnicity*, vol. 16, no. 4, 2015, pp. 589-592.
- Dellios, R., 'The Rise of China as A Global Power,' *The Culture Mandala*, vol. 6, no. 2, 2005, pp. 1-10.
- Dyke, V.V., 'Values and Interest,' *American Political Science Review*, vol. 56, no. 3, September 1962, pp. 567-576.



Euro Burma Office, *The Kokang Clashes: What's Next*, Analysis Paper, no.1, September 2009, pp. 1-9.

Farrelly, N. & Olinga-Shannon, S., 'Typifying Chineseness along the Sino-Myanmar Frontier,' *Chinese Southern Diaspora Studies*, vol. 7, 2014-2015, pp. 75-87.

Gomez, M.P., et.al., *The Impacts of Refugees on Neighboring Countries: A Development Challenge*, World Development Report 2011, 29 July 2010, pp. 1-25.

Gupta, R., 'National Interest and Threat Perceptions Exploring The Chinese Discourse,' *Institute For Defense Studies and Analysis Monograph Series*, no. 17, New Delhi, April 2013, pp. 5-80.

Hu, Z.&Konrad, V., 'In the Space Between Exception and Integration: The Kokang Borderland on The Periphery of China and Myanmar,' *Geopolitics*, vol. 23, no. 1, 2017, pp. 1-33.

Keenan, P., 'The Border Guard Force: The Need to Reassess the Policy,' *Myanmar Centre for Ethnic Studies Peace and Reconciliation Briefing Paper*, no. 15, July 2013, pp. 1-5.

Kramer, T., *Burma's Ceasefires at Risk*, The Transnational Institute Peace and Security Briefing, no. 1, 1 September 2009, Amsterdam, pp. 1-8.

Kundu, S., *China-Myanmar Relations: New Challenges Unfolding*, The Wednesday Seminar at Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi, 19 April 2017, pp. 1-4.

Lipping, X., 'China: A Responsible Great Power,' *Journal of Contemporary China*, vol.10, no. 26, 2001, pp. 17-25.

Report of the Frontier Areas Committee of Enquiry, Part II, Appendix I, Government Printing and Stationery Office, Rangoon, 1947, pp. 1-169.

Sun, Y., *China and Myanmar's Peace Process*, United States Institute of Peace Special Report vol. 401, Washington, D.C., March 2017, pp. 1-16.

Tea, B., *China and Myanmar: Strategic Interest, Strategies, and the Road Ahead*, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies Research Papers, no. 26, New Delhi, 2010, pp. 1-25.

Trans National Institute, 'Military Confrontation or Political Dialogue: Consequences of the Kokang Crisis for Peace and Democracy in Myanmar,' *Myanmar Policy Briefing*, no. 15, July 2015, pp. 1-28.

Trans National Institute, *China's Engagement in Myanmar: From Malacca Dilemma to Transition Dilemma*, Myanmar Policy Briefing, 19 July 2016, pp. 1-39.

Yun Sun, 'China and the Changing Myanmar,' *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, vol. 31, no. 4, 2012, pp. 51-77.

Yun Sun, 'China's Strategic Misjudgement on Myanmar,' *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, vol. 31, no. 1, 2012, pp. 73-96.

Artikel daring

'Activists Say Clashes Maybe Link to Salween Dam with Chinese Investments,' *Burma News International* (daring), 1 September 2009, <https://e-archive.bnionline.net/index.php/news/shan/6948-activists-say-clashes-may-be-linked-to-salween-dam-with-chinese-investments.html>, diakses 22 Maret 2018.

'Body Guard Force Scheme,' *Myanmar Peace Monitor* (daring), <http://www.mmpeacemonitor.org/background/border-guard-force>, diakses 10 Agustus 2017.

'Carry Forward the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence to Build a Better World through Win-Win Cooperation,' *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China* (daring), 2014, http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjdt_665385/zyjh_665391/t1170143.shtml, diakses 25 Mei 2017.



- ‘China Lodges Protests with Myanmar after Artillery Shells Injured Five,’ *The Strait Times* (daring), 20 May 2015, <http://www.straitstimes.com/asia/se-asia/china-lodges-protest-with-myanmar-after-artillery-shells-injure-five>, diakses 29 Maret 2018.
- ‘China Says More Than 20,000 from Myanmar Seek Refugee across Border,’ *VOANews* (daring), 9 March 2017, <https://www.voanews.com/a/china-says-more-than-20000-from-myanmar-see-refuge-across-border/3756934.html>, diakses 3 April 2018.
- ‘China Signs Agreement with Myanmar on Border Stability,’ *Relief Web* (daring), 3 June 2010, <https://reliefweb.int/report/myanmar/china-signs-agreement-myanmar-border-stability>, diakses 19 Mei 2018.
- ‘China Surpassed the United States as The World’s Largest Crude Oil Importer in 2017,’ *The U.S. Energy Information Administration* (daring), 5 February 2018, <https://www.eia.gov/todayinenergy/detail.php?id=34812>, diakses 19 Mei 2018.
- ‘China, Please Extinguish the Flame That You Kindled,’ *Frontier Myanmar* (daring), 9 April 2017, <https://frontiermyanmar.net/en/china-please-extinguish-the-flame-that-you-kindled>, diakses 18 Mei 2018.
- ‘China: Refugees Reported Fleeing Fresh Fighting in Myanmar,’ *UNHCR the UN Refugee Agency* (daring), 28 August 2009, <http://www.unhcr.org/news/briefing/2009/8/4a97cb0e9/china-refugees-reported-fleeing-fresh-fighting-myanmar.html>, diakses 18 Mei 2018.
- ‘Chinese Blood on Burmese Soil,’ *The Irrawaddy* (daring), 14 September 2009, http://www2.irrawaddy.com/article.php?art_id=16784&page=2, diakses 23 Maret 2018.
- ‘Deadly clashes hit Kokang in Myanmar’s Shan state,’ *Al Jazeera* (daring), 7 March 2017, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/03/deadly-clashes-hit-kokang-myanmar-shan-state170306143633608.html>, diakses 24 April 2017.
- ‘Dozen of Myanmar Soldiers Killed in Rebel Clashes Near China Border,’ *Voa News* (daring), 14 March 2017, <https://www.voanews.com/a/dozens-of-myanmar-soldiers-killed-in-rebel-clashes-near-china-border/3764995.html>, diakses 4 April 2018.
- ‘Fighting Resumes in Kokang,’ *Mizzima News from Myanmar* (daring), 17 June 2015, <http://www.mizzima.com/news-domestic/fighting-resumes-kokang>, diakses 29 Maret 2018.
- ‘Fragile States Index,’ *The Fund for Peace* (daring), <http://fundforpeace.org/fsi/data/>, diakses 19 Juli 2018.
- ‘Junta’s Ploy: Push Kokang To Shoot First,’ *Shan Herald Agency For News* (daring), 14 August 2009, https://web.archive.org/web/20090901151337/http://www.shanland.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2678%3Aajuntas-ploy-push-kokang-to-shoot-first&catid=86%3Awar&Itemid=284, diakses 23 Maret 2018.
- ‘Kokang Conflict Strains Sino-Burmese Relations but Benefit the Military,’ *Future Directions International* (daring), 29 April 2015, <http://www.futuredirections.org.au/publication/kokang-conflict-strains-sino-burmese-relations-but-benefits-the-military-2/>, diakses 26 Juni 2018.
- ‘Kokang of Shan State: A Timeline,’ *Burma News International* (daring), 2 September 2009, <https://e-archive.bnionline.net/index.php/news/shan/6957-kokang-of-shan-state--a-timeline.html>, diakses 15 Februari 2018.
- ‘Kokang: We Want Status Quo,’ *Burma International News* (daring), 8 June 2009, <https://e-archive.bnionline.net/index.php/news/shan/6426-kokang-wa-want-status-quo.html>, diakses 22 Maret 2018.
- ‘Myanmar Fighters Cross into China,’ *Aljazeera* (daring), 30 August 2009, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia-pacific/2009/08/20098306161918344.html>, diakses 22 Maret 2018.



- Northern Alliance (Burma), 'MNDAA (daring), <http://northernalliance.today/mndaa/>, diakses 11 Agustus 2017.
- 'Over 30 Governments Soldiers Killed, Civil War Possible in Myanmar,' *Global Times* (daring), 29 August 2009, <https://web.archive.org/web/20090902213234/http://world.globaltimes.cn/asia-pacific/2009-08/462324.html>, diakses 22 Maret 2018.
- 'Shooting, Killing, and Torture of Civilians by Burma Army During Kokang Conflict,' *Shan Human Rights Foundation* (daring), 4 March 2015, <http://www.shanhumanrights.org/index.php/news-updates/205-shooting-killing-and-torture-of-civilians-by-burma-army-during-kokang-conflict>, diakses 31 Maret 2018.
- 'World Economic Outlook Database,' *International Monetary Fund* (daring), April 2016, <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2016/01/weodata/index.aspx>, diakses 19 Juli 2018.
- Clapp, P., 'Why the Fighting in Kokang Threaten Peace in Myanmar,' *The Diplomat* (daring), 19 April 2015, <http://thediplomat.com/2015/04/why-the-fighting-in-kokang-threatens-peace-in-myanmar/>, diakses 30 Maret 2018.
- Collard, T., 'Myanmar and The Importance of Peace on China's Borders,' *China.org.cn* (daring), 18 June 2015, http://www.china.org.cn/opinion/2015-06/18/content_35855990.htm, diakses 9 Maret 2018.
- Dasguptal, S., 'Fresh Violence Near China-Myanmar Border,' *The Times of India* (daring), 29 August 2009, http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2009-08-29/china/28159665_1_myanmar-military-junta-myanmar-government-myanmarese#selection-657.1-661.93, diakses 22 Maret 2018.
- Dinmore, G. & Lone, W., 'Fighting Persists in Kokang despite Rebel's Ceasefire Offer,' *Myanmar Times* (daring), 15 June 2015, <https://www.mmmtimes.com/national-news/15030-fighting-persists-in-kokang-despite-rebels-ceasefire-offer.html>, diakses 25 Maret 2018.
- Doan, X. L., 'Is China Becoming A Responsible Power?,' *Asia Times* (daring), 16 March 2017, <http://www.atimes.com/china-becoming-responsible-global-power/>, diakses 18 Juli 2018.
- Fuller, T., 'Fleeing Battle, Myanmar Refugees Head to China,' *The New York Times* (daring), 28 August 2009, <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/29/world/asia/29myanmar.html?ref=world>, diakses 22 Maret 2018.
- Gerin, R. & Mudie, L., '20,000 Refugees Flee Myanmar's Kokang Conflict Across The Border Into China,' *Radio Free Asia* (daring), 8 March 2017, <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/myanmar/20000-refugees-flee-myanmars-kokang-conflict-across-the-border-into-china-03082017142216.html>, diakses 3 April 2018.
- Gertz, B., 'Report: China's Military Capabilities Are Growing at a Shocking Speed,' *The National Interest* (daring), 7 November 2016, <http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/report-chinas-military-capabilities-are-growing-shocking-18316>, diakses 8 Agustus 2017.
- Han, E., 'Border Conflict No Match for Sino-Myanmar Relations,' *East Asia Forum* (daring), 27 April 2017, <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2017/04/27/border-conflict-no-match-for-sino-myanmar-relations/>, diakses 1 April 2018.
- Hays, J., 'Energy in China: Consumption, Production, Rural Usage, Shortages, and Conservation,' *Facts and Details* (daring), 2013, <http://factsanddetails.com/china/cat13/sub85/item324.html>, diakses 25 Juni 2018.



- Hook, L., 'China Starts Importing Natural Gas from Myanmar,' *Financial Times* (daring), 29 July 2013, <https://www.ft.com/content/870f632c-f83e-11e2-92f0-00144feabdc0>, diakses 20 Mei 2018.
- Huang, K. & Lau, M., 'Chinese Teacher Killed in Myanmar Conflict after Shelling Hits School,' *South China Morning Post* (daring), 13 March 2017, <http://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/2078409/chinese-teacher-killed-conflict-myanmar>, diakses 4 April 2018.
- Huang, K., 'Oil Pipeline to Myanmar at Risk from Rebels,' *South China Morning Post* (daring), 16 April 2017, <http://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/2088018/oil-pipeline-myanmar-risk-rebels>, diakses 21 Mei 2018.
- Ide, W. & Huang, J., 'China Looks for New Approach as Myanmar Conflict Threaten Border,' *VOA News* (daring), 23 November 2016, <https://www.voanews.com/a/china-looks-for-new-approach-as-myanmar-conflict-threatens-border/3608598.html>, diakses 20 Mei 2018.
- Li, X., 'Can China Untangle the Kokang Knot in Myanmar?' *The Diplomat* (daring), 20 May 2015, <http://thediplomat.com/2015/05/can-china-untangle-the-kokangknot-in-myanmar/>, diakses 25 Maret 2018.
- Lockhart, A.B., 'Is China the New World Power? The View from Davos,' *World Economic Forum*, 20 January 2017, <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2017/01/china-new-world-power-davos-2017/>, diakses 28 April 2017.
- Lwin, S., 'New Self-Administered Areas Struggle to Assert Authority,' *Myanmar Times* (daring), 17 February 2014, <https://www.mmmtimes.com/national-news/9589-new-self-administered-areas-struggle-to-assert-authority.html>, diakses 15 Mei 2018.
- Magnier, M., 'Myanmar Troops Attack Minority Militia in North,' *Los Angeles Times* (daring), 30 August 2009, <http://articles.latimes.com/2009/aug/30/world/fg-myanmar-fighting30>, diakses 22 Maret 2018.
- Marston, H. & Morgan, A., 'Have Myanmar's Armed Forces Gone Too Far,' *The Diplomat* (daring), 8 April 2015, <http://thediplomat.com/2015/04/have-myanmars-armed-forces-gone-too-far/>, diakses 29 Maret 2018.
- Maung, L.M. & Mon, Y., 'Myanmar Apologizes to China Over Cross-Border Bombing,' *Myanmar Times* (daring), 3 April 2015, <https://www.mmmtimes.com/national-news/13884-myanmar-apologises-to-china-over-cross-border-bombing.html>, diakses 29 Maret 2018.
- Moe, W., 'Junta Renews Divide-and-Rule Tactic in Shan State,' *The Irrawaddy* (daring), 28 August 2009, https://web.archive.org/web/20090830013458/http://www.irrawaddy.org/article.php?art_id=16662, diakses 22 Maret 2018.
- Moore, M.C., 'China, Russia, and The Waning Demand for Canadian Oil,' *Alberta Oil* (daring), 6 August 2014, <https://www.albertaoilmagazine.com/2014/08/closing-gateway-asia/>, diakses 26 Juni 2018.
- Myint, S.A., 'The Peace Process: What's In It for China,' *Frontier Myanmar* (daring), 21 August 2016, <https://frontiermyanmar.net/en/the-peace-process-whats-in-it-for-china>, diakses 18 Mei 2018.
- Naing, S.Y., 'Burmese Ceasefire Breaks Down,' *The Irrawaddy* (daring), 28 August 2009, https://web.archive.org/web/20090830013448/http://www.irrawaddy.org/article.php?art_id=16658, diakses 22 Maret 2018.
- Nasser, R., 'Quem Ganha Com A Limpeza Etnica em Mianmar?' *Carta Capital* (daring), 13 September 2017, <https://www.cartacapital.com.br/internacional/quem-ganha-com-a-limpeza-etnica-em-mianmar>, diakses 26 Juni 2018.



- Nyein, N., 'What Role Will China Play in Burma's Peace Process,' *Irrawaddy* (daring), 6 February 2017, <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/analysis-what-role-will-china-play-in-burmas-peace-process.html>, diakses 25 Mei 2017.
- O'Connor, T., 'China Military Power: World's Largest Army to Expand from Asia to Africa,' *Newsweek* (daring), 15 March 2015, <http://www.newsweek.com/china-military-power-army-expand-asia-africa-568308>, diakses 8 Agustus 2017.
- Perlez, J., 'China Showers Myanmar With Attention, as Trump Looks Elsewhere,' *The New York Times* (daring), 19 July 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/19/world/asia/myanmar-china-us-diplomacy-trump.html>, diakses 18 Juli 2018.
- Sawe, B.E., 'Largest Ethnic Group in Myanmar (Burma),' *World Atlas* (daring), 6 June 2018, <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/largest-ethnic-groups-in-myanmar-burma.html>, diakses 17 Juli 2018.
- Shaohui, T., 'Heavy Fighting Continues in Myanmar's Kokang Government Forces Capture Five More Strategic Hilltops,' *Xinhuanet* (daring), 19 March 2015, http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2015-03/19/c_134080395.htm, diakses 25 Maret 2018.
- Snyder, X., 'China's New Approach to Myanmar,' *Geopolitical Futures* (daring), 11 May 2017, <https://geopoliticalfutures.com/chinas-new-approach-myanmar2/>, diakses 18 Mei 2018.
- Solomon, F., 'This Will Be the Worst War: Fears of Mass Displacement as Thousands Flee Conflict in Myanmar's Northeast,' *Time* (daring), 9 March 2017, <http://time.com/4694841/myanmar-kokang-conflict-refugees-displaced/>, diakses 3 April 2018.
- Tha, K.P., 'Victim of Red Cross Convoy Ambush in Kokang Dies,' *The Irrawaddy* (daring), 30 March 2015, <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/victim-of-red-cross-convoy-ambush-in-kokang-dies.html>, diakses 29 Maret 2018.
- Thu, M.K., 'Kokang Fighting the Latest Setback to Peace Process,' *Frontier Myanmar* (daring), 23 March 2017, <https://frontiermyanmar.net/en/kokang-fighting-the-latest-setback-to-peace-process>, diakses 4 April 2018.
- Tiezzi, S., 'China's Myanmar Headache,' *The Diplomat* (daring), 19 February 2015, <http://thediplomat.com/2015/02/chinas-myanmar-headache/>, diakses 29 Maret 2018.
- Tverberg, G., 'How Globalization Will Create An Energy Crisis,' *Oil Price* (daring), 3 February 2018, <https://oilprice.com/Energy/Energy-General/How-Globalization-Will-Create-An-Energy-Crisis.html>, diakses 26 Juni 2018.
- Wang, A., 'How a Kokang Becomes a Citizen,' *Frontier Myanmar* (daring), 17 October 2017, <https://frontiermyanmar.net/en/how-a-kokang-becomes-a-citizen>, diakses 12 Desember 2017.
- Wang, A., 'Kokang Refugees in China,' *The Diplomat* (daring), 8 April 2016, <http://thediplomat.com/2016/04/kokang-refugees-in-china/>, diakses 22 Mei 2018.
- Wang, A., 'The Forgotten Refugees of Kokang,' *Frontier Myanmar* (daring), 8 March 2016, <https://frontiermyanmar.net/en/the-forgotten-refugees-kokang>, diakses 22 Mei 2018.
- Weng, L., 'Burma Army Shot, Tortured Kokang Civilians during Conflict: Rights Group,' *The Irrawaddy* (daring), 5 March 2015, <https://www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/burma-army-shot-tortured-kokang-civilians-during-conflict-rights-group.html>, diakses 29 Maret 2018.
- Zaw, M., 'Myanmar, Kokang Rebels Spar over Red Cross Attack,' *VOA News* (daring), 18 February 2015, <https://www.voanews.com/a/myanmar-kokang-rebels-trade-accusations-over-red-cross-attack/2648874.html>, diakses 29 Maret 2018.