DAFTAR PUSTAKA

<u>BUKU</u>

- Alan Collins, "Contemporary security Studies" (Oxford University Press, UK, 2007)
- Alex Gourevitch, "The Myth of the Failed State: Intervention and Third World Sovereignty"
- Ashraf Ghani, Clare Lockhart, "Fixing Failed States: a Framework for Rebuilding a Fracture World", (New York, Oxford University Press, 2008)
- Aung San Suu Kyi, "The Voice of Hope: Conversations with Alan Clements" (New York: Seven Stories Press, 1997)
- Bertil Lintner, "The Rise and Fall of the Communist Party of Burma", (Southeast Asia Program Series, 1993)
- Barry Buzan, "The Idea of State and National Security, dalam Perspectives on World Politics", (London: Harverster Wheatsheaf, 1991)

_____, Ole Weaver, Jap de Wilde, "Security, A New Frame Work For Analysis", (Lynne Rienner. London, 1998)

- Boer Mauna, "Hukum Internasional: Pengertian Peranan dan Fungsi Dalam Era Dinamika Global", (Bandung: Alumni, 2000)
- C. Pierson, dalam tulisannya "Modern State, A Commentary On Weber"
- Carnes Lord, "The Politics" (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984)
- Charles A. Rarick, "Economic Sanctions: Failed Foreign Policy Tool and Cost to America Bussiness", (Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 2007)
- Christina Fink, "Living Silence: Burma under Military Rule", (Bangkok: White Lotus, 2001)
- D. Keen, "Incentives and disincentives for violence", (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2000)
- David I. Steinberg, "Burma/Myanmar: What Everyone Needs To Know", (Oxford University Press, 2010)

Desmond Ball, "Burma's Military Secrets: Signals Intelligence (SIGINT) from 1941 to Cyber Warfare" (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1998)

Donald Seekins, "The Disorder in Order: The Army-State in Burma since 1962", (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2002)

- Francis Fukuyama, "State Buliding: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century", 2004
- Hugh Tinker, "The Union of Burma: A Study of the First Years of Independence", (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957)
- J.G. Starke, "Introduction to International Law", (England: Butterworth & Co ltd, 1989)
- John J. Mearsheimer, "Hearts and Minds", (National Interest, 2002)
- K. von Hippel, "Democracy By Force: US Military Intervention in the Post-Cold War World", (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)
- Karen Ballentine & Jake Sherman (eds), "The Political Economy of Armed Conflict: Beyond Greed and Grievance", (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2003)
- Louis J. Walinsky, "Economic Development in Burma, 1951–1960", (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1962)
- Mark T. Berger "From Nation-Building to State-Building: The Geopolitics of Development, the Nation-State System and the Changing Global Order" (Taylor and Francis Ltd, 2006)
- Martin Khor, "Failed States' Theory Can Cause Global Anarchy", 2002
- Mary Callahan, "Burma: Soldiers as State Builders, in Coercion and Governance: The Declining Role of the Military in Asia, Muthiah Alagappa", (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001)
- Maung Aung Myoe, "Building the Tatmadaw: Myanmar Armed Forces since 1998", (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2009)
- Maung Maung Gyi, "Burmese Political Values" (New York: Praeger, 1983)
- Michael W. Charney, "A History of Modern Burma", (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Mikael Gravers, "Nationalism as Political Paranoia in Burma" (London: Curzon Press, 1999)
- Miriam Budiardjo, "Dasar-dasar Ilmu Politik", cetakan ke-22, (Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2001)
- Muhammad Ayoob, "Third World Security Predicaments", 1995
- Neuman, Lawrence, "Social Research Methods, 4th edition", 1997
- Noam Chomsky, "Failed States: The Abuse of power and The Assult On democracy"
- Paul F. Kilmer, "U.S. Economic Sanctions and Anti-Boycott Laws", (Washington, Holland & Knight LLP, 2005)
- R. D Kaplan, "The Coming Anarchy: Shattering the Dreams of the Post-Cold War", (New York: Vintage, 2000)

- Robert I. Rotberg, "Failed States, Collapses States, Weak States: Causes And Indicators", 2004
- Robert Taylor, "Burma: Political Economy under Military Rule" (New York: Palgrave, 2001)
- S. Mallaby, "The World's Banker: A Story of Failed States, Financial Crises and the Wealth and Poverty of Nations", (New York: Penguin Press, 2004)
- Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order", (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996)
- Sri Soemantri, "Sistem Pemerintahan Negara ASEAN", (Bandung: Transito, 1976)
- T.F Homer-Dixon, "Environment, Scarcity and Violence", (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999)
- Takeshi Negishiki "The Concept of the State and Weber's Erroneous Reasoning,", 1997
- Thomas Meyer, "Demokrasi, sebuah pengantar untuk penerapan", (Jakarta: Friedrich Ebert Stifung, 2009)
- Viotti & Kauppi, "International Relations Theory: Realisme, Pluralism, Globalism", (USA: Book Press, 1993)
- Wenche Hauge & Tanja Ellingsen, "Causal pathways to conflict", (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000)

JURNAL

- Alan Whaites, "State in Development: Understanding State-building", (DFID, London 2008)
- Alfred Oehlers, "Sanctions and Burma: Revisiting the Case Against", Burma Economic Watch, Issue 2. 2004
- Alvaro Varga Llosa, "The Failure of States, Many Countries "Fail" Due to an Excess, Not an Absence, of Government Power", 8 September, 2005
- Andrew Selth, "Asia, the Burmese Army", Jane's Intelligence Review, 1 November 1995.

_____, "Burma's Defence Expenditure and Arms Industries" (Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Program, Australian National University, Working Paper No. 309, August 1997)

_____, "Burma's Order of Battle: An Interim Assessment", Working Paper N°351 (Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, Canberra, 2000)

_____, "Burma's Secret Military Partners, Canberra Papers on Strategy and Defence", (Canberra, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, forthcoming)

_____, "*The Armed Forces and Military Rule in Burma*", (Washington D.C. and Cambridge, Massachusetts: World Peace Foundation/Harvard Institute for International Development and Brookings Institution Press, 1998)

_____, "*The Burma Navy Under the SLORC*", Journal of Contemporary Asia, 29/2 (1999)

_____, "The Myanmar Air Force Since 1988: Expansion and Modernization", Contemporary Southeast Asia, 19/4 (March 1998)

- Anonymous, "400 Chinese military trucks arrive at Burma Shweli", 7 August 2005, Democratic Voice of Burma
- Anonymous, "Expose Burma's Weapon Industry", Jane's Intelligence Review, December 1998
- Anonymous, "Myanmar's military links with Pakistan", Jane's Intelligence Review 1 June 2000
- Anonymous, "Singapore weapons factory for junta", South China Morning Post, Wednesday 22 July 1998.
- Anonymous, "Sanctions: History Lessons", The Economist, 21 Oktober 2006
- Anonymous, "The Failed States Index", Foreign Policy; August 2009.
- Anonymous, "The Myanmar Elections", Crisis Group Asia Briefing N°105, 27 May 2010
- Ardeth Maung Thawnghmung, "The Karen Revolution in Burma: Diverse Voices, Uncertain Ends", Policy Study, East-west center, 2000
- Ashley South, "Political Transition in Myanmar: A New Model for Democratization", (Contemporary Southeast Asia, 2004)
- Bert Koenders and Eric Solheim, "Failure Is Not an Option" Guardian, 10 June, 2007
- Brian Adeba, "Tories to review Canadian investments in Burma", Embassy OL, 13 Desember 2006
- Charles Tilly, (ed.): "Western-State Making and Theories of Political Transformation", (The Formation of National States in Western Europe, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975).
- Chester Crocker, "Engaging Failing States", Foreign Affair 82, 2003
- CIC/IPA, "Concepts and Dilemmas of State-building in Fragile Situations", OECD-DAC, Paris, 2008

- Daniel Thürer, "*The Failed State and International Law*", International Committee of the Red Cross, 31 December, 1999
- David S Mathieson, and R. J. May, "The Illusion of Progress: The Political Economy of Reform in Burma/Myanmar", (Adelaide: Crawford House Publishing, 2004)
- Dobbins dkk, "America's Role in Nation-Building: From Germany to Iraq", (Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 2003)
- European Union General Affairs and External Relations Council Conclusions 14 April 2003
- Fritz V, Menocal AR, "Understanding State-building from a Political Economy Perspective", ODI, London 2007
- Fund For Peace Organization index 2008
- George Bruce, "The Burma Wars, 1824–1886", (London: Hart-Davis, 1973)
- Hehir, A. and Robinson, N. (eds.) "State-building: Theory and Practice", (Routledge, London, 2007).
- ICG Asia, "Burma/Myanmar: How Strong Is The Military Regime?", 21 December 2000
- ICG Asia, "Myanmar: The Future Of The Armed Forces", 27 September 2002
- ICG Asia Report N°52, "Myanmar Backgrounder: Ethnic Minority Politics", 7 May 2003
- ICG Asia, "Myanmar: Sanctions, Engagement Or Another Way Forward?", 26 April 2004
- ICG Asia Report N°58, "Myanmar: New Threats to Humanitarian Aid", 8 December 2006
- ICG Asia Report N°161 "Burma/Myanmar After Nargis: Time To Normalize Aid Relations", 20 October 2008
- ICG Asia Report N°174, "Myanmar: Toward The Election", 20 August 2009
- International Crisis Group index 2008
- Jim Lobe, "Weak States Got Weaker in 2007", Inter Press Service, 23 June, 2008
- John Hilary, "Building a Failed State?", Guardian, February 14, 2008
- Jusuf Wanandi, "Indonesia: A Failed State?", Washington Quarterly 2002
- Ken MacLean, "Reconfiguringt he Debate on Engagement: Burmese Exiles and the Chang-ing Politics of Aid", (Critical Asian Studies, 2004)
- Kristi S. Samuels, "State Building and the Consequences of Constitutional Choices in Conflictual Environments: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Fiji, Lebanon, Northern Ireland, South Africa and Uganda", (IPA Policy Paper, New York, 2006).

- Liana Sun Wyler, "Weak and Failing States: Evolving Security Threats and U.S. Policy", 28 August, 2008
- Maung Aung Myoe, Building the Tatmadaw: The Organisational Development of the Armed Forces in Myanmar, 1948-98, Working Paper N°327 (Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, Canberra, 1998)
- Maung Maung Gyi, "Burmese Political Values" (New York: Praeger, 1983)
- Michael E. Brown, "Society Against the State: The Fullness of the Primitive"
- Michael Ignatieff, "The Burden", New York Times magazine 5 Januari 2003
- Mendelson Foreman, "Achieving Socioeconomic Well-Being in Postconflict Setting", Washington Quarterly 25, 2002.
- NBR Analysis, "Reconciling Burma/Myanmar: Essays on U.S. Relations with Burma, J ohn Badgley", (Seattle: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2004)
- P. Collier, "Doing well out of war: an economic perspective", (World Bank, Working Paper Series, 2000)
- Prof Hussein Solomon and Cornelia Cone, "The State and conflict In The Democratic Republic Of The Congo"
- R. D Kaplan, "The coming anarchy: how scarcity, crime, overpopulation, tribalism, and disease are rapidly destroying the social fabric of our planet", Atlantic Monthly, 273 (2), 1994
- Robert I. Rotberg, "The New Nature of Nation-State Failure", The Washington Quarterly vol.25 no.3 summer 2002
- Rosa Ehrenreich Brooks, "Failed States, or the State as Failure?", The University of Chicago Law Review, Chicago, 2005.
- S Mallaby, "The reluctant imperialist: terrorism, failed states and the case for American empire", Foreign Affairs, 81 (2), 2002
- Sean Turnell, "Fiery Dragons: Banks, Moneylenders and Microfinance in Burma", 2008.
- Seth Kaplan, "Rethinking State-building in a Failed State", The Washington Quarterly, January 2010
- Shahar Hameiri, "Failed states or a failed paradigm? State capacity and the limits of institutionalism", Journal of International Relations and Development, Ljubljana: Jun 2007.
- Siobhan Dowling, "Belgium Is the World's Most Successful Failed State", 16 July, 2008
- Stephen D. Krasner and Carlos Pascual, "Addressing State Failure", Foreign Affairs, New York: Jul/Aug 2005.

- Stephen D. Krasner, "Approaches to the State: Alternative Conceptions and Historical Dynamics", (Comparative Politics, Vol. 16, No.2, 223–246, 1984).
- Stefan Mair, "A New Approach: The Need to Focus on Failing States", Harvard International Review, Cambridge, 2008.
- Susan E. Rice and Stewart Patrick, "Index of State Weakness In the Developing World"
- Takeshi Negishiki, "The Concept of the State and Weber's Erroneous Reasoning,", 1997
- The African Studies Centre, Leiden, The Transnational Institute, Amsterdam, The Center of Social Studies, Coimbra University, and The Peace Research Center-CIP-FUHEM, Madrid, "Failed And Collapsed States In The International", December 2003
- Thomas D Grant, "Partition of Failed States: Impediments and Impulses", Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies, 2004.
- Tin Maung Maung Than, "State Dominance in Myanmar: The Political Economy of Industrialization" (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2007)
- United Nation, "Human Development index Report 2009", www.undp.org
- Vitit Muntarbhorn, "Fragile Countries and United Nations Reform", Bangkok Post, 23 February, 2006
- World Bank, "World Development Report 1997: The State in a Changing World", (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1997)

WEBSITE

- Anonymous, "Beating the Sanction", Irrawaddy on-line, 5 November 2004, http://www.irrawaddy.org/database/2004/vol12.4/special.html
- Anonymous, "Hopes Fade for Indonesian Support on Burma Resolution", Irrawaddy on-line 11 Januari 2007
- Anonymous, "Myanmar: The Case Against Sanctions", The Asia Times, 20 September 2003 http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/1842970.stm
- Anonymous, "Myanmar Wants Asean Help To Keep UN Off Its Back", Star On-line: 11 Januari 2007
- Anonymous, "Thaksin's Cooperation Strategy", Irrawaddy on-line, 11 November 2003
- Anonymous, "US Issues Burma Resolution to UN", BBC on-line, 10 Januari 2007, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/6247065.stm).

Associated Press

BBC Worldwide Monitoring

Burma Focus

Chicago Tribune

Dow Jones News Service

Far Eastern Economic Review

Financial Times

http://asiafoundation.org/resources/pdfs/PoliticalSettlementsFINAL.pdf

http://www.healthandfragilestates.org/index2.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_ view&gid=32&Itemid=38

http://www.un.org/preventgenocide/adviser/mandate.shtml

http://www.global-unions.org/burma/default3.asp

ICR, "Report on the General Assembly Plenary Debate on the Responsibility to Protect. International Coalition for RtoP", http://responsibilitytoprotect.org/ICRtoPGAdebate.pdf

International Herald Tribune

Inside US Trade

Inter Press Service

Jane's Intelligence Review

Journal of Commerce

Los Angeles Times

New York Times

President's Export Council 1997

The Economist

UN Comtrade 1998 Classification SITC Rev 3 Codes 89111 and 89112.

UN Comtrade 2002 Classification SITC Rev 3 Code 89131 and 1997, 1999, 2001 and 2004 Code 89199

US Department of State, Press Release.

US House of Representatives

Wall Street Journal

Washington Pos