

DAFTAR KEPUSTAKAAN

- Abdullah, Mohamed. 2020. "Iran, Qatar sign deal to boost economic cooperation." Anadolu Agency, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/middle-east/iran-qatar-sign-deal-to-boost-economic-cooperation/2055423>, (Diakses pada 8 Februari 2021).
- Al-Arabiya. 2017. "Qatari Emir calls Saudi Crown Prince showing interest in talks." <https://english.alarabiya.net/News/gulf/2017/09/09/Emir-of-Qatar-contacts-Saudi-Crown-Prince-showing-interest-in-talks>, (Diakses pada 24 Januari 2021).
- Al-Arabiya. 2018. "Qatari Emir thanks Iran for support in Gulf crisis." <https://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/gulf/2018/05/18/Qatar-emir-thanks-Iran-for-support-in-Gulf-crisis-.html>, (Diakses pada 15 Januari 2021).
- Al-Jazeera. 2017. "Iran: Hassan Rouhani condemns 'siege of Qatar'." <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/6/25/iran-hassan-rouhani-condemns-siege-of-qatar>, (Diakses pada 14 Januari 2021).
- Al-Jazeera. 2018. "'No teeth': Qatar FM says GCC needs to enforce its own rules." <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/12/15/no-teeth-qatar-fm-saysgcc-needs-to-enforce-its-own-rules>, (Diakses pada 3 Februari 2021).
- Al-Jazeera. 2018. "Qatar 1996 coup plot: New details reveal Saudi-UEA Backing." <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/12/17/qatar-1996-coup-plot-new-details-reveal-saudi-uae-backing>, (Diakses pada 27 Desember 2020).
- Al-Jazi, Mohammad Abdel Hadi. 2020. "Saudi-Qatari relations during the period 1990-2003 and Their Point of View Against the Conflict in the Region." *Journal of History Culture and Art Research*, Vol.9, No.1.
- Al-Khareji, Mohammed. 2018. "Iran Threat Factors Heavily in GCC's UN Agenda." *The Arab Weekly*, <https://theArabweekly.com/iran-threat-factors-heavily-gccs-un-agenda>, (Diakses pada 24 Januari 2021).
- Al-Nahyaz, Khalid. 2013. "The Three Island: Mapping the UAE-Iran Dispute." London: Royal United Services Institute.
- Al-Sulami, Mohamed. 2021. "The boycott of Qatar," *Arab News*, <https://www.arabnews.com/node/1660946>, (Diakses pada 11 Januari 2021).
- Al-Wahaidy, Fatima. 2017. "Timeline: How Qatar tried to interfere in Bahrain?." *Egypt Today*, <https://www.egypttoday.com/Article/1/8043/Timeline-How-Qatar-tried-to-interfere-in-Bahrain>, (Diakses pada 27 Desember 2020).

- Al-Wasmi, Naser. 2018. "Qatar's emir will not attend GCC summit in Riyadh," The National News, <https://www.thenationalnews.com/world/gcc/qatar-s-emir-will-not-attend-gcc-summit-in-riyadh-1.800715>. (Diakses pada 15 Januari 2021).
- Alishahi, Abdolreza. 2018. "Study of Iran-Saudi Relations in the Persian Gulf Region within the Framework of the Threat Balance." *Journal of Political Sciences & Public Affairs*, Vol. 6, No.1.
- Arms Control Association. 2017,. "UN Security Council resolutions on Iran." <https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/Security-Council-Resolutions-on-Iran>. (Diakses pada 3 Januari 2021).
- Bahry, L. 1999. "Election in Qatar: A Window of Democracy Opens in the Gulf." *Middle East Policy*, Vol.6, No.4.
- Bahi, Riham Ashraf. 2017. "Iran, the GCC and the Implications of the Nuclear Deal: Rivalry versus Engagement." *The International Spectator*, Vol.52, No.2.
- BBC. 2016. "Dukung Arab Saudi, Qatar Tarik Duta Besar dari Teheran." https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia/2016/01/160106_dunia_qatar_iran. (Diakses pada 5 Januari 2021).
- BBC Monitoring Trans Caucasus. 2013. "Iran FM congratulates new Qatari emir, hopes for greater cooperation on Syria." <https://monitoring.bbc.co.uk/news/53776/iran-fm-congartulates-new-qatari-emir-hopes-for-greater-cooperation-on-syria>. (Diakses pada 30 Januari 2021).
- Belfer, Mitchell, Antonino Occhiuto. 2017. "The Long Bahrain-Qatar Crisis." *The Euro Gulf Information Centre*, <https://www.egic.info/the-long-bahrain-qatar-crisis>. (Diakses pada 27 Desember 2020)
- Bloomberg. 2017. *Saudi-led Rupture with Qatar Pushes Nation Into Iran's Embrace*. Diakses melalui <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-06-06-saudi-led-rupture-with-qatar-pushesinto-iran-sembrace>. (Diakses pada Maret 2020)
- Bianco, Cinza. 2020. "The GCC Monarchies: Perceptions of the Iranian Threat amid Shifting Geopolitics." *The International Spectator*, Vol.55, No.2.
- Bilgin, Abdul Rezak. 2015. "Relations Between Qatar and Saudi Arabia After the Arab Spring." *Contemporary Arab Affairs*, Vol. 11, No.3.
- Binhuwaidin, Mohamed. 2015. "Essential Threats to the Security of the GCC Countries in the Post Arab Spring Era." *Digest of Middle East Studies*, Vol.24, No.1.

- Buchan, James. 2013. "The Iranian Revolution of 1979," *Asian Affairs*, Vol. 44, No.3.
- Bucher, Bernd, Ursula Jesper. 2016. "Revisiting 'Identity' in International Relations: From Identity in Substance to Identifications in Action." *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 23, No.2, 1-16.
- Burt, Evan W. 2017. "Qatar and Iran: Odd Bedfellows." Wilson Center, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/qatar-and-iran-odd-bedfellows>. (Diakses pada 3 Januari 2021).
- Cafiero, Giorgio. 2016. "The UAE and Qatar Wage a Proxy War in Libya," *Huffpost*, https://www.huffpost.com/entry/the-uae-and-qatar-wage-a-b_8801602. (Diakses pada 4 Januari 2021).
- Cafiero, Giorgio Andreas Paraskevopoulos. 2019. "GCC dispute pushes Iran and Qatar closer but with caveats." *Atlantic Council*, <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/iransource/gcc-dispute-pushes-iran-and-qatar-closer-but-with-caveats/>. (Diakses pada 15 Januari 2021).
- Cerioli, Luíza Gimenez. 2018. "Roles and International Behaviour: Saudi–Iranian Rivalry in Bahrain’s and Yemen’s Arab Spring." *Roles and International Behaviour*, Vol. 40, No. 2.
- Coface Publication Embargo. 2017. *Embargo on Qatar: Menageable for the Time Being, but not Perennially*. Bois-Colombes: Cofece Country Risk and Economic Studies Department.
- Counter Extremism Project. 2017. "Qatar, money, and Terror: Doha’s Dangerous Polic.," <https://www.counterextremism.com/content/qatar-money-and-terror>. (Diakses pada 11 Januari 2021).
- Dargin, Justin. 2008. "The Dolphine Project." Paper, Oxford Institute for Energy Studies.
- David, Roberts. 2013. "Qatar International Relations Under Emir Tamim." Research Paper, Norwegian Peace Building Resource Center.
- Debora, Yantina. 2017. "Rekam Jejak Retaknya Hubungan Qatar dengan GCC." *Tirto.id*, <https://tirto.id/rekam-jejak-retaknya-hubungan-qatar-dan-gcc-cqgu>. (diakses pada 27 Desember 2020).
- Dorsey, James M. 2013. "Wahhabism vs. Wahhabism: Qatar Challenges Saudi Arabia." S. Rajratnam School of International Studies (RSIS). Working Paper, No.262.

- Dudley, Dominic. 2017. "How Qatar Is Being Pushed Into The Arms Of Iran By Saudi Arabia And Its Allies," Forbes, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/dominicdudley/2017/11/27/qatar-pushed-into-arms-of-iran-by-saudi/?sh=79e941cb7c4f>. (Diakses pada 14 Januari 2021).
- Echagüe, Ana. 2014. "Emboldened Yet Vulnerable: The Changing Foreign Policies of Qatar and Saudi Arabia." FRIDE Working Papers, No. 123, 2014.
- Ehteshami, Anoushiravan. 2017. *Security and Bilateral Issues between Iran and its Arab Neighbours*. Palgrave Macmillan: London.
- Ellemers, Naomi, Russell Spears, and Bertjan Doosje. 2002. "Self and Social Identity." *Annual Review of Psychology*, Vol. 53, 61-186.
- Falks, Richard. 2018. *The Gulf Crisis Reassessed*. *Foreign Policy Journal*: <https://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2018/03/14/the-gulf-crisis-reassessed>.
- Farras, Ahmad Naufal. 2020. "Balance of Power dalam Intervensi Arab Saudi Pada Konflik Yaman yang Terjadi Pasca Arab Spring." *Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 6, No.1.
- Fatima, Noor, Sania Zaheera. 2017. "Saudi Arabia, Iran and Middle East – A dilemma." *Global Political Review*, Vol.11, No. 1.
- Financial tribune. 2018. "Iran, Qatar Boosting Economic Cooperation." <https://financialtribune.com/articles/economy-business-and-markets/84152/iran-qatar-boosting-economic-cooperation>. (Diakses pada 14 Januari 2021).
- Flesch, Maximilian. 2020. "The Ascent of Saudi Arabia to a Regional Hegemon: The Role of Institutional Power in the League of Arab States." *Research Paper, International Studies*.
- Fraihat, Ibrahim. 2020. "Superpower and Small-State Mediation in the Qatar Gulf Crisis," *The International Spectator*, Vol.55, No.2.
- Fulton, Will. 2010. "Qatar-Iran Foreign Relations." *Critical Threats*, <https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/qatar-iran-foreign-relations>. (diakses pada 4 Januari 2021).
- Gambrell, Jon. 2017. "Hack, fake news story expose real tensions between Qatar, Gulf," AP News, <https://apnews.com/article/f5da3293be18401a954d48249f75394e>. (Diakses pada 14 Januari 2021).

- Gengler, Justin, Buthaina Al-Khaleifi. 2018. "Qatar against the Blockade (2nd Wave)." Report of the SERI 2018 Omnibus Survey.
- Government Communication Office. 2017. "His Highness Speech to The Citizens and Residents of Qatar." <https://www.gco.gov.qa/en/speeches/his-highness-speech-to-the-citizens-and-residents-of-qatar/>. (Diakses pada 26 Januari 2021).
- Guéraiche, William. 2019. "The UAE and the Arab Spring: Rethinking Foreign Policy." Dalam *The World Community and the Arab Spring*. Dubai: American University in the Emirates.
- Gulf Affairs. 2017. "Foreign Policy Trends in the GCC States." Oxford Gulf and Peninsula Studies Forum: St. Antony Collage.
- Gulf News. 2017. "What are the 13 demands given to Qatar?." <https://gulfnews.com/world/gulf/qatar/what-are-the-13-demands-given-to-qatar-1.2048118>. (Diakses pada 15 Januari 2021).
- Gustantia, Yola. 2020. "Strategi Qatar dalam Menghadapi Embargo Ekonomi Negara-Negara Teluk (Arab Saudi, Uni Emirat Arab dan Bahrain) tahun 2017-2018." JOM FISIP, Vol. 7, No.1.
- Guzansky, Yoel. 2017. "The Foreign-Policy Tools of Small Powers: Strategic Hedging in the Persian Gulf." Middle East Policy Council, Vol. 17, no.1.
- Harb, Imad K. 2017. "Why Qatar? Explaining Contentious Issues." Dalam *Crisis in The Gulf Cooperation Council*. Arab Center Washington DC: Washington.
- Hareetz. 2017. "Fact Check: Is Qatar Supporting Terrorism? A Look at Its Ties to Iran, ISIS and the Muslim Brotherhood." <https://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/fact-check-is-qatar-supporting-terrorism-1.5484124>. (Diakses pada 11 Januari 2021).
- Hareetz. 2017. "The Qatar-Iran Gas Field behind the Diplomatic War in the Middle East." <https://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/the-qatar-iran-gas-field-behind-the-diplomatic-war-in-the-middle-east-1.5480343>. (Diakses pada 12 Januari 2021).
- Hassan, Hassan. 2017. "There's No Space for Qatar to Save Face," Foreign Policy, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/06/29/theres-no-space-for-qatar-to-save-face/>. (Diakses pada 30 Januari 2021).
- Hassan, Islam Khalid. 2015. *GCC's 2014 Crisis: Causes, Issues and Solutions*. Georgetown University of Foreign Affairs of Qatar: Doha.

- Haykel, Bernard. 2013. "Qatar's Foreign Policy." Oslo: Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Center.
- Hopf, Ted. 1998. "The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory." *International Security*, Vol. 23, No.1, 71-200.
- Hussein, Thomas. 2020. "Dispute overshadows Gulf Arabs meeting," UPI, <https://www.upi.com/Archives/1996/12/07/Dispute-overshadows-Gulf-Arabs-meeting/2182849934800/>. (Diakses pada 27 Desember 2020).
- Ibish, Hussein. 2017. "Unfulfilled 2014 Riyadh Agreement Defines Current GCC Rift." Agsiw, <https://agsiw.org/unfulfilled-2014-riyadh-agreement-defines-current-gcc-rift/>. (Diakses pada 10 Januari 2021).
- International Court of Justice. "Maritime Delimitation and Territorial Questions between Qatar and Bahrain (Qatar v. Bahrain)." <https://www.icj-cij.org/en/case/87>. (Diakses pada 27 Desember 2020).
- Jones, Micheal. 2017. "What's going on with Qatar?." Dalam *The Qatar Crisis*. Project on Middle East Political Science:
- Kamrava, Mehran. 2017. "Iran-Qatar Relations." Dalam *Securities Between Bilateral Issues Between Iran and Its Arab Neighbour*. Center for International and Regional Studies: Doha.
- Kaussler, Berrnd. 2015. "Tracing Qatar's Foreign Policy and its Impact on Regional Security." (Doha: Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies).
- Khalej Times. 2014. "Bahrain Warns Its Citizen over Qatar nationality offer." <https://www.khaleejtimes.com/region/bahrain-warns-its-citizens-over-qatar-nationality-offer>. (Diakses pada 6 Januari 2021).
- Khatib, Lina. 2013. "Qatar's foreign policy: the limits of pragmatism." *International Affairs*, Vol. 89, No.2, 2013.
- Khlebnikov, Alexey. 2015. "The new ideological threats to the GCC: implications for the Qatari-Saudi rivalry." *Strategic Assessment*, Vol. 17, No. 4.
- Kinninmont, Jane. 2019. "The Gulf Divided the Impact of the Qatar Crisis." Research Paper: Middle East and North Africa Programme.
- Kose, Talha, Ufuk Ultas. 2017. "Regional Implications of the Qatar Crisis: Increasing Vulnerabilities." *SETA Perspective*, No.31.
- Lembert, Jennifer. 2011. "Political Reform in Qatar: Participation, legitimacy, and Security." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 18, No. 1.

- Los Angeles Times. 2016. "Iran's poor human rights record needs continued monitoring, activists say." <https://www.latimes.com/world/global-development/la-fg-global-iran-human-rights-story.html>. (Diakses pada 11 Januari 2021).
- Macron, Joe. 2017. "Choosing Between Saudi Arabia and Iran," dalam *Crisis in the Gulf Cooperation Council: Challenge and Prospects*. Washington: Arab Center Washington DC.
- Martini, Jeffrey. 2016. "The Outlook for Arab Gulf Cooperation." (Santa Monica: RAND).
- Mas'oed, Mochtar. 1990. *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional: Disiplin dan Metodologi*. LP3ES: Jakarta.
- Matsumura, Masahiro. 2008. "The Japanese State Identity as a Grand Strategic Imperative." Cnaps Working Paper Series. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Center for Northeast Asian Policy Studies.
- Maulana, Muhammad Syahdy. 2018. "Persaingan Kekuatan Arab Saudi (Sunni) dan Iran (Syiah) pada Kasus Konflik Kontemporer (Suriah dan Yaman)." *Jurnal Gama Societa*, Vol.2, No.2.
- Mehr News Agency. 2013. "Iranian senior cleric warns Qatar." <https://en.mehrnews.com/news/53776/Iranian-senior-cleric-warns-Qatar>. (Diakses pada 8 Januari 2021).
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs Qatar, "Foreign Policy Principles." <https://mofa.gov.qa/en/foreign-policy/principles/principles-of-qatarpersen27-foreign-policy>. (Diakses pada 28 Januari 2021).
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs Qatar. 2017. "Qatar Announces Return of Its Ambassador to Tehran." www.mofa.gov.qa/en/all-mofa-news/details/2017/08/23/qatar-announces-return-of-its-ambassador-to-tehran. (Diakses pada 21 Februari 2020).
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs Qatar. 2019, "Iranian Parliament Speaker Meets Qatari Ambassador." <https://www.mofa.gov.qa/en/all-mofa-news/details/2019/01/14/iranian-parliament-speaker-meets-qatari-ambassador>. (Diakses pada 15 Januari 2021).
- Miller, Rory, Harry Varhoeven. 2020. "Overcoming smallness: Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and strategic realignment in the Gulf." *International Politics*, 57.
- Milton-Edwards, Beverley. 2020. "The Blockade on Qatar: Conflict Management Failings." *The International Spectator*, 2020.

- Mukhyat, Faisal dan Abu Sulaib. 2017. "Understanding Qatar's Foreign Policy, 1995-2017." *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 14, No. 4.
- Mustahyun. 2016. "Rivalitas Arab Saudi Dan Iran Di Timur Tengah Pada Arab Spring Suriah Tahun 2011-2016." *Islamic World and Politics* Vol.1. No.1.
- Mingst, Karen A. 1999. *Essentials of International Relations*. WW.Norton: Kentucky.
- Mohajan, Haradan. 2018. "Qualitative Reasearch Methodology in Social Sciences and Related Subjects," *Journal of Economic Development, Enviroment, and People*, Vol. 7, No. 1.
- Nephew, Richard. 2020. *The Qatari Sanctions Episode: Crisis, Response, and Lessons Learned*. Columbia, Center on Global Energy Policy.
- Nurhafiza. 2019. "Kebijakan Arab Saudi Memutuskan Hubungan Diplomatik dengan Qatar Tahun 2017." *JOM FISIP*, Vol. 6, No. 1.
- Nuruzzaman, Mohammed. 2015. "Qatar and The Arab Spring: Down the Foreign Policy Slope." *Contemporary Arab Affairs*, Vol. 8, No.2.
- Oliphant, James. 2017. "Trump offers to mediate talks on Qatar crisis." Reuters, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-gulf-qatar-usa/trump-offers-to-mediate-talks-on-qatar-crisis-idUSKCN1BI2SG?feedType=RSS&feedName=worldNews>. (diakses pada 15 Januari 2021).
- Online Qatar. 2019. "Qatar-Bahrain Causeway." <https://www.onlineqatar.com/news/latest-news/2019/qatar-bahrain-causeway>. (Diakses pada 27 Desember 2020).
- Peterson, J. E. 2011. "Sovereignty and Boundaries in the Gulf States." Dalam *the International Politic of the Persian Gulf*. Syracuse University Press: Syracuse.
- Pedde, Nicola. 2017. "The Libya Conflict and Its Controversial Roots." *Institute for Global Studies*, No. 16, 2017.
- Pourhamzi, Karim, Phillip Pherguson. 2015. "Al-Jazeera and Qatari Foreign Policy: A Critical Approach." *Journal of Media Critiques (JMC)*, Vol.1, No. 2.
- Pradhan, Prasanta Kumar. 2018. "Qatar Crisis and the Deepening Regional Faultlines." *Strategic Analysis*, Vol.42, No.4.

- Qiblawi, Tamara. 2017. "Qatar rift: Saudi, UAE, Bahrain, Egypt cut diplomatic ties," CNN, <https://edition.cnn.com/2017/06/05/middleeast/saudi-bahrain-egypt-uae-qatar-terror/index.html>. (Diakses pada 11 Januari 2021).
- Reuters. 2017. "Bahrain calls for freezing Qatar out of GCC." <https://cn.reuters.com/article/us-gulf-qatar-bahrain/bahrain-calls-for-freezing-qatar-out-of-gcc-idUSKBN1CY0VZ>. (Diakses pada 7 Januari 2021).
- Riedel, Bruce. 2017. "Who are Houthis, and why are we at war at them?," Brookings, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2017/12/18/who-are-the-houthis-and-why-are-we-at-war-with-them/>. (Diakses pada 5 Januari 2021).
- Roberts, David B. 2013. "Understanding Qatar's Foreign Policy Objectives." *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol. 17, No.2.
- Rossi, Christopher R. 2019. "Game of Thrones: The Qatar Crisis, Forced Expulsions on the Arabian Peninsula." *Penn State Journal of Law and International Relations*, Vol. 7, No.
- Rosyidin, Mohamad. 2015. *The Power of Ideas: Konstruktivisme dalam Studi Hubungan Internasional*. Sleman: Tiara Wacana
- Ruggie, John. 1998. "What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge." *International Organization*, Vol. 52, No. 4.
- Sailer, Matthias & Stephen Roll. 2017. *Three Scenarios for the Qatar: Regime Change, Resolution or Cold War in the Gulf*. Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, German Institute for International and Security Affairs: Berlin.
- Saldy, Brahim. 2016. "Qatar-US Military Relations: Context, Evolution and Prospect." *Contemporary Arab Affairs*, Vol.10, No.2.
- Saul, Jonathan & Maha El Dahan. 2017. "Update 1-Qatar food imports hit after Arab nations cut trade sources." Reuters: www.reuters.com/article/gulf-qatar-food-idUSL8N1J23IC. (Diakses pada Maret 2020).
- Statista. 2017. Value of trade between Saudi Arabia and Qatar from 2008 to 2017, by flow." <https://www.statista.com/statistics/943986/saudi-arabia-qatar-trade-value-by-flow/> (Diakses pada 5 Januari 2021).
- Sciutto, Jim. 2017. "Exclusive: The secret documents that help explain the Qatar crisis." CNN, <https://edition.cnn.com/2017/07/10/politics/secret-documents-qatar-crisis-gulf-saudi/index.html>. (Diakses pada 10 Januari 2021).

- Sharma Anu. 2017. "The Qatar Crisis: Politic of Coercion." Centre for Air Power Studies.
- Sulaib, Faisal Mukhayat Abu. 2017. "Understanding Qatar's Foreign Policy, 1995-2017." Middle East Policy, Vol. 14, No.4.
- Tehran Times. 2010. "Iran, Qatar sign security pact." <https://www.tehrantimes.com/news/215716/Iran-Qatar-sign-security-pact>. (Diakses pada 4 Januari 2021).
- The National News. 2017 "Qatar claims emir's Iran comments faked." <https://www.thenationalnews.com/world/qatar-claims-emir-s-iran-comments-faked-1.83840>. (Diakses pada 12 Januari 2021).
- The National News. 2018. "Qatar's big economy conundrum." <https://www.thenationalnews.com/business/qatar-s-big-economic-conundrum-1.620307>. (Diakses pada 15 Januari 2021).
- Toumi, Habib. 2016. "GCC rejects Iran's interterference in the region," Gulf News, <https://gulfnews.com/world/gulf/gcc-rejects-irans-interference-in-the-region-1.1941958>. (Diakses pada 11 Januari 2021).
- Ulrichsen, Kristian Coates. 2011. "Repositioning the GCC States in the Changing Global Order." Journal of Arabian Studies, Vol.1, No.2.
- Ulrichsen, Kristian Coates. 2019. "Qatar and the Arab Spring: Policy Divers and Regional Implications." Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Umar, Ahmad Rizky. 2014. "Book Review: The National Interest in International Relations Theory." Indonesian Journal of International Studies, Vol. 1, No.2.
- UN News. 2018. "At UN Assembly, Saudi Minister highlights his country's efforts to further international peace." <https://news.un.org/en/story/2018/09/1021622>, (Diakses pada 24 Januari 2021).
- United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. 2017. "Human rights and unilateral coercive measures: UN Special Rapporteur on the negative impact of unilateral coercive measures on the enjoyment of human rights, Ms. Alena Douhan, concludes her visit to Qatar." <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=26495&LangID=E>. (Dakses pada 13 Januari 2021).

- U.S. Energy Administration. 2017. "Country Analysis Brief: United Arab Emirates," http://www.iberglobal.com/files/2017/emiratos_eia.pdf. (Diakses pada 27 Desember 2020).
- Vakil, Sanam. 2018. *Iran and The GCC Hedging, Pragmatism and Opportunism*. The Royal Institute of International Relations: London.
- Vela, Justin. 2012. "Exclusive: Arab states arm rebels as UN talks of Syrian civil war." *The Independent*: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/exclusive-arab-states-arm-rebels-un-talks-syrian-civil-war-7845026.html>. (Diakses pada 29 Januari 2021).
- VOA Indonesia. 2014 "6 Negara Teluk Perkuat Kerjasama Pertahanan." <https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/enam-kepala-negara-negara-teluk-perkuat-kerjasama-pertahanan/2552896.html>. (Diakses pada 5 Januari 2021).
- VOA News. 2010. "Iran Signs Cooperation Pact with Gulf Neighbor Qatar." <https://www.voanews.com/world-news/middle-east-dont-use/iran-signs-cooperation-pact-gulf-neighbor-qatar>. (Diakses pada 3 Januari 2021).
- Wardoyo, Broto. 2018. "Rivalitas Saudi-Qatar dan Skenario Krisis Teluk." *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional*, Vol.7, No. 1.
- Wendt, Alexander. 1992. "Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics." *International Organizations*, Vol. 26, No. 2, 391-425.
- Wendt, Alexander. 1994. "Collective Identity Formation and the International State." *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 8, No.2, 384-396.
- Wendt, Alexander. 1999. *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- World Integrated Trade Solution. 2016 "*Qatar Food Product Imports by Country and Region 2016*." https://wits.worldbank.org/CountryProfile/en/Country/QAT/Year/2016/TradeFlow/Import/Partner/all/Product/16-24_FoodProd. (Diakses pada Maret 2020).