

QATAR'S FOREIGN POLICY STRATEGY TO OVERCOME GULF STATES' DIPLOMATIC SANCTION IN 2017

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Abstract

The paper aims to answer the question about how Qatar's foreign policy strategy in overcoming the Gulf States' diplomatic sanction in 2017. The diplomatic sanction that was imposed by Arab Saudi, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, and Egypt has given massive impact towards its politics, economics, and also security. To puzzle out the question, this paper utilized "Strategy" concept by John Lovell, "Foreign Policy" concept by K. J. Holsti, and "Soft power" by Joseph Nye. This research found out that Qatar foreign policy strategy in overcoming Gulf States' diplomatic sanctions in 2017 by: (1) Qatar Improve the Effectiveness of Diplomatic Relations with Iran and Turkey (2) Enhances Independent Foreign Policy to Reinforce Diplomacy and Negotiation during the Crisis, and (3) Qatar's Conducts Strategic of Mediation through International Institutions. In addition, in order to deal with the current crisis, Qatar tried to utilize its soft power by attending several international conference and actively voice out its demand towards the United Nations, World Trade Organizations, and also through Gulf Cooperation Council. Those actions were taken by the government of Qatar in order to reduce the prolong tension and to create the stabilization within the region without eliminate the previous foreign policy objective.

Keyword(s): *Qatar's Foreign Policy, Soft Power, Strategy*

Introduction

The State of Qatar is the sovereign country that is located in the Middle East. This country occupied the small Qatar Peninsula on the north-eastern coast of the Arabian Peninsula. The state of Qatar is bordering with Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the south and United Arab Emirates (UAE) to the southeast. Some of the rest territories of Qatar is bordering with the Persian Gulf and Bahrain. Qatar also has the similar language, culture, and also governmental system with other Gulf state. Historically, Qatar became the British protectorate in the early 20th century and

achieved its independence in 1971. After achieving the independence from the British, Qatar was ruled by the Al Thani family for the 19th century. Under the administration of the Al Thani family, Qatar has transformed itself from the poor British Protectorate became the richest country with significant oil and gas revenue (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017). Emir Sheikh Khalifah bin Hamad Al Thani is the founding father and also the ruler of Qatar from 1972 until 1995 has close relations to Saudi Arabia, he also cooperated with Saudi Arabia in terms of security matter. This action was taken by Sheikh Khalifah bin Hamad Al Thani in order to ensure that Qatar was under Saudi security umbrella at that moment (Sulaib, 2017).

In May 1995, Sheikh Khalifah bin Hamad Al Thani coup by his son, Sheikh Hamad. This situation directly replaces the position of Sheikh Khalifah bin Hamad Al Thani from its throne. His position was replaced by his son, Sheikh Hamad who has an intention in order to bring Qatar to act more independently. Sheikh Hamad Al Thani believed that Qatar should stand as the independent country and not depend on any other nations in the Gulf region including Saudi Arabia. This new reformation was finally brought Qatar to be independent nations in politics, economy, and also security.

In 1996, Qatar became the first country in the Gulf region that opened the trade with Israel. It was proven by the opening of Qatari-Israel trade bureau in Doha and involved in several trades' activities. Another hand, this decision also followed by the diplomatic visit of Israel president, Simon Peres to Doha. Saudi Arabia and other six Gulf states did protest to Qatar regarding its relations with Israel.

In 2000, the Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia, Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz did a boycott towards the Islamic Conference summit held in Doha as a protest to Qatar's trade relations with Israel (Aljazeera, 2017). This decision was made by Saudi Arabia government based on the resolution taken by the Arab Summit in Cairo last month which called for the boycott of Israel in protest against the brutal aggression of Israel forces on the Palestinians, which has left over 170 Palestinians dead. In response towards this case, Qatar government sent its Foreign Minister Hamad Al-Thani to Riyadh in order to convince Saudi Arabia to take a part in this Summit. This effort was failed because the Saudi government refused and committed to its stances against the relations between Qatar and Israel.

In 2002, Saudi Arabia decided to withdraw its ambassador from Qatar as the response to the controversial comments made by Aljazeera satellite channel by Saudi opposition critical of the royal family. This condition brought bad impact to the diplomatic relations between both countries and led to the protest from Saudi regarding the inappropriate news that produced by this media about the ruling family of Saudi Arabia. In addition, in 2006 Saudi Arabia disagree and withdrew its approval to Qatar government plans to build a gas pipeline to Kuwait, which passed the Saudi territorial water. Therefore, Saudi also protested against the construction of

the pipeline taking by Qatari to the UAE and Oman. Those actions made by Saudi in order to revoke the approval of Qatar's regional plans.

The continuation of the conflict was stopped in July 2008. At this time, Qatar and Saudi reached a final agreement on the border tension after years of conflict. The diplomatic visit started in this year where the Crown Prince Sultan bin Abdul Aziz visited Doha as a signal of the reestablishment of the diplomatic relations between both countries, which have been frozen since 2002.

In 2014, another source of tension happened between those Gulf States where Saudi Arabia, along with the UAE, Egypt and Bahrain respond to the criticism by Qatar-based and Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated Sheikh Yusuf Al-Qaradawi of the Egyptian and Emirati governments (Philip Gordon, 2017). The other tension between Doha and other Gulf states also happened when Doha's accommodating stance toward Iran, which is seen as the threat for the other Sunni-majority states in Gulf region in terms of existence and also security (Philip Gordon, 2017).

Over last decades, the Qataris have taken several steps against the UNSC resolution calling on Iran to stop its nuclear program and signing the cooperation on bilateral counterterrorism with Iran. More recently, the Emir Qatar congratulated the Hassan Rouhani (Iranian President) for his re-election. After that, the Emir Qatar did the same action by authorizing the payment of \$700 million to Iran and Kata'ib al-Hezbollah. The action of pro-Hezbollah, Muslim Brotherhood, Iran, as well as different view in defining foreign policy and decision are becoming the source of the conflict which made the relations between Qatar and the other Gulf States become worst until the end of this day.

The escalation of the conflict happened on June 5, 2017, where all the Gulf-States such as Saudi Arabia, UAE, Egypt, and Bahrain cut their diplomatic ties with Qatar after knowing the relations between Qatar with the Muslim Brotherhood movement. Another reason that came up in this situation was the tight cooperation between Qatar and Iran in terms of gas and oil exploration and economic. Both problems became the main reason for Saudi, UAE, Bahrain, and Egypt to cut off the relations with Qatar.

The involvement of Qatar in the Arab Spring 2011 also became the major reason because of its allegiance to the opposition leader in Egypt during the Arab Spring. Another factor was Qatar always tried to dominate other country and doing the intervention to several countries in the Gulf region such as Yemen, and also Bahrain. Those factors were a campaign by Saudi to the other Gulf States in order to against Qatar policy which reflected to support Muslim Brotherhood and also Iran which have become the rival of Saudi and the other Gulf states in the Middle East. The termination of diplomatic relations was followed by several actions done by Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf States such as withdrawing the Ambassador from

Doha, closing the land and marine borders, airspaces banned, and travel restrictions (Del Rey, 2017).

Furthermore, this crisis was followed by a proposal from Saudi Arabia, UAE, Bahrain, and Egypt to Qatar in order to cut off its diplomatic relations with Iran as well as stop its support to Muslim Brotherhood and close the Aljazeera. In response to this crisis, Qatar is still trying to do soft diplomacy by inviting Saudi Arabia, UAE, Egypt and Bahrain to do negotiation in order to find a solution to this case. Therefore, these Countries did not want to have negotiation before Qatar fulfil the demand from these countries about termination diplomatic relations with Iran and stopping its support to the Muslim Brotherhood, and respect to the agreement of extraordinary Arab Summit which stated all Gulf states are committed to against terrorism. In response to the demand from those states, Qatar tried to stand in its position and tried to use soft power in order to create a stabilization of the region by enhancing its diplomatic relations with Russian Federation and also Turkey to seek a good solution to the crisis.

ANALYSIS

Factors of Diplomatic Crisis

Qatar's diplomatic crisis is one of the most serious crises that ever happened in the history of the Arab world. This crisis does not only involve one state but covers several states in the Arabic peninsula and also outside the region. This crisis was started on 5 June 2017, where Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates, and Egypt decided to sever their diplomatic relations with Qatar. The severing of the diplomatic relations was followed by several reasons as follows:

1. Qatar and Muslim Brotherhood (*Ikhwanul Muslimin*)

The first issue that addressed by Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates and Egypt to Qatar was the issue of Qatar's support towards *Ikhwanul Muslimin* or Muslim Brotherhood. The Muslim Brotherhood is one of the Islamic groups that invite and demanding enforcement of Islamic jurisprudence, as well as run all the commands of God, including matters relating to the political, economic, Socio-culture, and security. This Group understands that the country should be governed according to the principles of Islam and Sharia law should be implemented based on Islamic jurisprudence (Jatmika, 2014).

The Muslim Brotherhood is considered by Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, and Egypt as the hard-line Islamic Group that often trigger the political upheaval in various Arab countries. Since the turmoil of the Arab Springs occurred in the Middle East, these groups often position themselves as opposition groups that often threaten political stability and

security of countries in the Middle East including Algeria, Libya, Egypt, and Syria. Thus, the activity and the existence of the Group were deemed illegal by those countries.

The problem of Muslim Brotherhood has been concerned of both parties. This concern led to the strained relations between Qatar and Saudi-led coalition in accordance with Qatar's decision to accept and protect the Muslim Brotherhood's figure in Doha under the leadership of Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani for several decades. The presence of those figures in Doha was affected by one incident that happened in the 1950s and 1960s, where Saudi Arabia and the other Sheikdoms hosted thousands of Muslim Brotherhood member escaping persecution, mainly by the nationalist regime of Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser but also by another secular regime in Iraq and Syria. These exiled Muslim Brotherhood member moved to other GCC member states including Qatar, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates and influenced their social development as well as educational system (Harb, 2017).

The history of Muslim Brotherhood has been forgotten by those Arab countries. Today, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates have classified the Muslim Brotherhood a terrorist organization. But on the other hand, Kuwait and Bahrain still gave the opportunity for Muslim Brotherhood branches to run their organization legally, raise funds, and even participate in the political process. Almost half of 24 Kuwait's opposition members of parliament are either Islamists or Salafists (Harb, 2017). These parties also have three representatives in Bahrain's lower house. The context of supporting Muslim Brotherhood has become a critical and illogical issue that made Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates, and Egypt sever their diplomatic relations with Qatar.

Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, and Egypt believed that the Muslim Brotherhood is an organization that organized the successfulness of Arab Springs in 2011. In Egypt, there was evidence that showed the involvement of Muslim Brotherhood that supported by Qatari government in order to overthrow President Hosni Mubarak. They believed that only Muslim Brotherhood who was able to organize this evidence. The political destabilization in Egypt did not only happen at the presidential level but also in the parliamentary levels. But in another side, Qatar viewed this reformation as a part of the democratic translation of the will of Egyptian people. At the same time, President Mursi came to power and become a new President. This condition creates contradiction among Gulf Countries that did not believe with the new administration in Egypt. Therefore, the existence of

President Mursi could potentially affect the geopolitical landscape in Gulf region and cannot fulfill Gulf Countries' interest.

This condition led those countries to criticize Qatar on its way to protect the Muslim Brotherhood in Doha. The Critics of Muslim Brotherhood also emerged until a new administration of Emir Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani. After severing the diplomatic ties, the issue of Muslim Brotherhood emerged as the campaign against Qatar. This issue finally became the accusation and reason of those Gulf States to terminate their relations with Qatar. Another hand, the confrontation among these states finally came into the tension while the United States President visits Riyadh for attending the America-Arab Summit. This summit was identified as the gate of crisis among the Gulf States because one of the discussions in this summit was about Counterterrorism and extremism. The action of against Muslim Brotherhood and terrorism has been delivered by Donald Trump before visiting Saudi Arabia. This statement and provocation made the condition of the Gulf States became worse because Qatar is one of the Gulf States that have very close relations with those extremist groups including Hamas, Hezbollah, Muslim Brotherhood, and even Muslim Brotherhood. This termination was indicated by a different perception and understanding in viewing those groups.

2. Qatar-Iran Relations

Since Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Egypt, and the United Arab Emirates sever all diplomatic relations with Qatar. These countries forced Qatar to sever its diplomatic ties with the Iranian government and also expel the resident members of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) from Doha (Harb, 2017). But the problem was, Qatar and the Iranian government have a very tight relationship since they were involved in the exploration of North Dome. This cooperation gave much more benefit and as a source of income to Qatar's economy.

The relations between Qatar and the Iranian government have become the history of geopolitical landscape in the Middle East. Both countries are involved in several activities including the cooperation in natural gas exploration, and also military. The problem of its relationship with Iran has been recorded onto thirteen demands that are delivered by the anti-Qatar coalition. Qatar is asked to sever its diplomatic ties with Iran in all aspects including economic, political, and even security. Iran is seen as an opponent that can threats geopolitical landscape of the Gulf States due to its expansionist and interventionist policies. Nevertheless, Qatar ignored the demand and continues to strengthening relations with Iran, re-accrediting its ambassador to Tehran with the objective to strengthen bilateral relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran in all fields (Rafizadeh, 2017).

In addition, the biggest factor that made anti-Qatar coalition sever the diplomatic relations was the different understanding on the definition of terrorism that conducted by the anti-Qatar coalition, particularly Saudi Arabia. There are two main concepts of terrorist that conducted by the anti-Qatar coalition, they are terrorist that affiliated with ISIS, and Iran as a part of the terrorist. Therefore, if there is a GCC member that conducts diplomatic relations with Iran, it means that it is supposed to have cooperation in supporting the terrorist group. This misconception as an effect of Arab Springs in 2011, where Qatar was the biggest support towards Muslim Brotherhood in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya as well as Iran supported Bashar Al Ashad and sent the military to Syria in order to back up the government of Syria to face Saudi-US coalition.

The refusal of the Gulf countries against Qatar-Iran diplomatic relations is an attempt to weaken the influence of Qatar in the Gulf region as well as narrowing the movement of Qatar in international political contestation, where Qatar is one of the countries who has been involved in various international groups mediating the dispute, as well as having a foreign policy that tends to interventionist and expansionist. In addition, Iran is seen by the Qatar-anti coalition as big rival in the Middle East which can threaten the stability and peaceful coexistence among GCC member states because some nuclear weapons that owned by Iran. Iran has been intervened many conflicts that existed in the Middle East including its intervention during Arab Springs in Syria until now. Iran also has supported and funded many extremist groups which have organized many rebellions in some countries in the Middle East.

Over the last decades, Qatar has taken their policy in order to support Iran by doing several actions that attract international and regional attention. Qatar played utilized its position in the *United Nations Security Council* (UNSC) to take steps to vote against the UNSC resolution calling on Iran to halt its nuclear enrichment program and signing a bilateral counterterrorism agreement with Iran (Gordon, Yadlin, & Heistein, 2017). More recently, Qatar through its leader Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani congratulated Iranian President Hassan Rouhani on his reelection. This greeting became a highlight issue for all of GCC member states because Qatar was the only one member in the GCC that Iranian President.

In April 2017, the government of Qatar allocating the payment of \$700 million to Iran and Kata'ib al-Hezbollah, the Iranian-backed Shia militia in Iraq, this transaction was made in order to exchange the freedom of members of Qatar's royal family taken captive in Iraq. Qatar's policy is getting a very hard response from various members of the GCC. Some members of the GCC

as Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and the United Arab Emirates denounced the actions of Qatar and relegating their diplomatic representatives in Doha.

In late May 2017, the Qatar State News Agency reported its Emir's speech that Qatar supported the existence of Iran in the Middle East, and said that Iran is a new Islamic power that can help to stabilize politics, peace and security in the region. These statements irritated many of GCC member states. Then, as a response to the Emir's statement, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates, and Egypt sever their diplomatic relations and blockade all access to Qatar including sea, air, and land. This termination became a new chapter of black noted relations that happened between Qatar and its neighboring countries.

3. Aljazeera

Aljazeera is one of Qatar's biggest media that founded by Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani in 1996. This media has a huge role in supporting Qatar's soft diplomacy during the leadership of Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifah Al Thani until the current Emir, Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani. Launched in January 2001, Aljazeera became the first Arabic news site free from government censorship and control, Aljazeera brings a different and new view on global events (Wenden, 2005). The development of Aljazeera as a new influential media has the biggest goal towards Qatar's position in the Middle East. Sheikh Hamad and Sheikh Tamim are two leaders who have bright vision and mission to create Qatar's brand internationally.

Aljazeera developed into the most credible and independent media that ever existed in the Middle East. Aljazeera developed a new version of Aljazeera English which aimed to open a new window opportunity to see the world closely. Its homepage covered articles on the Arab World, culture, the economy, science and technology, international relations, as well as public opinion and special reports.

Since 1996 until now, Aljazeera has taken many roles to report many pieces evidence and phenomenon that happened in the Middle East including conflicts among GCC member states, Arab Springs, and even other issues that related to some royal family of Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, and Oman. Other hands, Aljazeera also highlighted some taboo issues such as human rights, political destabilization, and even support the International conference hosted by the Qatari government. During its establishment, Aljazeera has contributed to changes public opinion and also promoting democratization in the rest of the region through its publications and report.

The role of Aljazeera to conduct a report regarding many issues in the Middle East became the main concern of Qatar's Arab neighbours. The most critical issues that ever published and supported by Aljazeera was the Egyptian coup against Mohammed Morsi. Aljazeera hosted exiled Muslim Brotherhood leaders at five stars Hotel and provide them airtime to advocate their struggle. Aljazeera also heavily aired the Muslim Brotherhood's protest against the new Egyptian government on their TV station (Schanzer, 2017).

Furthermore, Egypt and its powerful Gulf state sponsor irritated towards Qatar's support for Islamist group, including Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas, a militant Palestinian Brotherhood affiliate whose enjoy political protection in Doha. Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates responded this case by taking subsequent moves to limit Al Jazeera (Marans, 2017).

In 2002, Saudi Arabia recalled their ambassador from Doha after Aljazeera network aired a panel discussion featuring dissidents from the kingdom. Aljazeera Arabic Channel also contributes to creating a report regarding anti-government protest that happened in Bahrain, this anti-government protest was organized by Shia majority. This protest happened as a respond of discrimination that done by the government of Bahrain (Carlstrom, 2017). This protest was recorded by Aljazeera journalist and became the headline of the issue in the rest of region. This action got many protests from Bahraini government and Saudi Arabia regarding its publication that could attract the wave of demonstration in that country.

The Aljazeera's action has been noticed by several Arab countries as a threat that can destabilize politics, economic, and even security at home. While several Arab countries have chosen to register protests with the Qatari government, others have closed Aljazeera's office in their home country and sent all of its personnel and correspondents back to Qatar. In some issues, Arab countries recalled its ambassador to asked the response regarding the inappropriate news and content that published by this media. This condition ever happened to Kuwait, Morocco, and Jordan.

In May 2000, the same report to Qatari government was delivered by Iraq, Libya, and Tunisia. Iraq protested Aljazeera content about its publication regarding Saddam Hussein's extravagant birthday celebration while Iraq claimed that all problems that happened within the countries as the impact of UN sanction. While Libya and Tunisia protested Aljazeera's TV station that hosted opponents of their regimes. Both countries decided to recall Qatar's ambassador (Bahry, 2001).

In 2011 during the Arab Springs uprisings, Aljazeera played some important role which created massive publications on each issue that occurred

in each countries including in Libya, Tunisia, Egypt, and Syria. The Aljazeera suddenly became the tool of Qatari government to intervene other countries by aired all activities and violence that happened in those countries. Aljazeera also supported Muslim Brotherhood's group in those countries by giving them the opportunity to deliver their aspirations through Aljazeera channel. This action was done by Aljazeera in order to attract other Arab society attention against an authoritarian regime that existed in those countries.

The action of Aljazeera was no longer happen when some Arab Countries close its office and revoking permission of Aljazeera operations in their home country. Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, and Egypt had taken the steps to close those Aljazeera offices in their home. The decision of Emir to uphold the freedom of expression and independent media also contribute to uncontrolled action done by Aljazeera. Therefore, as sanction and protest of Aljazeera's steps, Saudi led coalition severs the diplomatic ties and demand Qatar to close Aljazeera and all media under Aljazeera. In addition, the government of Qatar rejected to close Aljazeera and offered negotiation process to end the crisis. current Qatar's diplomatic crisis has become one of the worse crisis that ever happened in the Arab Peninsula because this crisis directly changes the magnitude of the political landscape in the region.

4. Trump's State Visit

After winning the presidential election and hold the title as the US President in 2017. President Trump announced his first international trip to the centres of three great religions in the world, this trip aimed to create a powerful coalition between the US and other Arab countries against the forces of intolerance (Baker, 2017).

President Donald Trump's state visit to the Middle East region has had an enormous impact on the relations of the Middle East countries, especially in the Gulf region. This states' visit has shifted the geopolitical landscape in the Persian Gulf. The Trump administration intended to follow and support a set of regional policies that are aligned far closer to those Abu Dhabi and Riyadh than Doha; this is due to the high-profile visitor of Saudi Arabia's Deputy Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman and Mohammed bin Zayed Al-Nahyan to Washington in the run-up to Riyadh Summit with Arab and Islamic leaders (Ulrichsen, 2017).

Further, Trump's administration has presented the opportunity for both United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia to shape the perspective on critical regional issues such as Islamism and Iran's power, these two points become the most critical evidence during the Riyadh visit. On the contrary, the policy

of Trump is judged to be quite inversely related to the United States policy in the era of President Obama, which is more focused on peace and stability of the region in the Persian Gulf. Trump's administration sees the UAE and Saudi Arabia as two strong pillars which can help the US government in order to do the regional approach both in the Middle East and Gulf region.

In the other side, another shocking statement is also made by President Donald Trump. On his Twitter account, he expressed his accusation to Qatar regarding the issue of the involvement of Qatar in supporting Muslim brotherhood and Qatar-Iran diplomatic relations. This unilateral statement was followed by the speech delivered by President Trump in Arab Islamic and America Summit 2017 which stated Qatar involved in several terrorist movements and contributes to funding that kind of action. In another hand, Trump also blamed Iran for the instability in the Middle East and asked Muslim countries to combat radicalisation. This statement is considered to urge Gulf countries to act against Qatar (BBC, 2017).

Then, this accusation was followed by the serious response from the Gulf Countries such as Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, and Egypt in order to lead a coalition against Qatar.

5. Riyadh Summit 2017

Riyadh Summit 2017 is one of the series of three summits held on 20-21 May 2017 in order to welcome the President Trump's official visit to Saudi Arabia and the Middle East. This Summit covered a bilateral meeting between the United States and Saudi Arabia, and two multilateral meetings, one multilateral meeting between the United States and the members of Gulf Cooperation Council and the other with Arab and Muslim countries. This summit was attended by 55 Arab and Muslim countries all around the world.

Riyadh Summit 2017 emerged since Donald Trump announced his first official overseas visit to the Middle East region. This summit aimed to welcome and congratulate US new President as well as steps to increase Saudi power in the Middle East, particularly in the Arabia Peninsula.

At this moment, King Salman of Saudi Arabia addressed the Summit by telling all member states to maintain peaceful coexistence throughout the region. Both Trump and King Salman also addressed their awareness about the importance of a coalition of nations in the Middle East with aim of stamping out extremism. Another hand, Trump also highlighted a new message, calling for peace, hope, unity, and urged all Arab countries to fight against terrorism including the country that supports the terrorist actions (Aljazeera, 2017).

Furthermore, Trump redelivered his message to all of the Arab and Muslim States to fight against terrorist actions and drive out from their countries. He also reminded all of the Arab and Muslim states to condemn Hamas and the Iranian government for their support to the government of Bashar al-Assad in the Syrian war. The Riyadh Summit 2017 is a political manifestation of Saudi Arabia to establish hegemony and expand its power in the Middle East.

The existence of United States in this Summit opened the opportunity for Saudi to increase the pressure against Qatar in its involvement to host several oppositions and Muslim Brotherhood's leader. In the other hand, the United Arab Emirates also felt the same line with the new administration of the United States. Donald Trump was viewed as a figure that could help these countries to force Qataris back into their box (Ulrichsen, 2017).

Furthermore, one of series of Arab-Islamic-American Summit is combat terrorism and establishes Middle East Strategic Alliance, Establishment of Global Centre for Countering Extremist Thought, promote coexistence and constructive tolerance as well as enhance sustainable development program (SDP), confronting sectarian agenda and interference in other countries affairs, and countering piracy and protecting navigation (Agha, 2017). These results became the reason for Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, and Egypt to take further actions against Qatar. Therefore, these countries decided to sever diplomatic ties with Qatar.

Those shreds evidence has become the main factors and triggers towards the current crisis that happened between Qatar and Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates, and Egypt. These factors also gave much different perspective to both Qatar and Anti-Qatar coalition. Qatar through its Ministry of Foreign Affairs has given a clarification regarding those accusations by Aljazeera and its official source. But, the clarification has been rejected by these states and imposed Qatar with diplomatic sanction as well as offered thirteen demands. Qatar has tried to offer negotiation and diplomacy process to end the crisis, but Saudi and other coalition disagreed with this step and prefer to maintain the sanctions. As a result of this crisis, there are many impacts that affected Qatar including politics and also economic.

The Impact of Diplomatic Crisis

The escalation of conflict between Qatar and four Arab states came into high tension when Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, along with Egypt severed their diplomatic relations with Qatar on 4 June 2017. These countries dramatically escalated an ongoing conflict with Qatar. They closed off air, sea, and land routes; restricted the entrance of Qatari citizens and residents to their countries; and gave the announcement to their own citizens to leave Qatar in 14 days. In addition, Egypt also cut off its diplomatic relations with Qatar and access to its

airspace, but it did not close the Suez Channel. On the other hand, the Egyptian government also followed Saudi and other Gulf States' step to ask 300,000 Egyptian citizens who work in Qatar to leave (Kabbani, 2017).

In addition, Qatar diplomatic crisis has disrupted two important aspects including politics and economy. Generally, the outcome of the blockade has hampered Qatar's politics and economic development. The crisis has disrupted trade, affected workers and families, and delayed projects in Qatar and its neighbours. In short term, the conflict caused much more cost to stabilize the condition domestically. On the other hand, it also affected the country's position because geographically Qatar is surrounded by those states. Automatically, the geographic position of Qatar is really influenced by the development of both economics and politics in Qatar.

1. Economic Impact

According to the report confirmed by the World Trade Organization on 4th August 2017, Qatar has reported their complaints against the fourth Arab countries due to the blockade on Qatar. The government of Qatar stated that the economic boycott was a coercive action at the economic isolation (Mahanta, 2017). The coercive actions taken by the Saudi and other Arab states brought so many implications towards Qatar's economic domestically. Some of them will be explained as follows:

a. A Scarcity of Food Supplies

With the amount of population about 2,7 million people, Qatar has to fight against the economic sanctions that are given by Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, and also Egypt. After severing diplomatic ties with Qatar, Saudi Arabia took the further action to force Qatar by cut off its trade relations and close the border with Qatar.

Saudi Arabia and Qatar has become trade partner since long time ago. About 40% of Qatar's food is imported from Saudi Arabia. Therefore, this condition made Qatar always depend on Saudi's product (Atkinson, 2017). Thus, when the conflict between these two countries emerged, the scarcity of food supplies also happened domestically. This condition became a problem because the condition of food security happened in the fasting month (Ramadhan) where the country need much more supplied in order to fulfill the demand from the people.

A limitation of food supplies made the Government of Qatar was overwhelmed in coping with the urgent domestic needs. Economic sanctions and border closings, as well as the anti-Qatar campaign which were voiced by Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, the United

Arab Emirates, and Egypt, became a very big constraint for the Government of Qatar to normalize trading relations with those countries.

In response to the ongoing domestic problem, Qatar is willing to open the trade and economic cooperation with Iran in order to fulfil the domestic need and to decrease food scarcity problem (Alkhalisi, 2017).

b. Flights banned

Following its neighbors and allies, United Arab Emirates also suspend Etihad and Emirates airlines to fly from and to Qatar. This action was taken by the government of the United Arab Emirates as a part of protest towards Qatar's foreign policy which tends to support Iran and various terrorist groups. The government of the United Arab Emirates also issued an official statement about the banning of Qatar Airways flight past the airspace. This statement was delivered after the Government of the United Arab Emirates is taking decisive steps to stop the operation of the airline Qatar.

In addition, Saudi Arabia also took a step to shut down all Qatar Airways offices in Riyadh and revoked the licenses of this airline. The policies of the Saudi and the United Arab Emirates gave a very large loss impacts to Qatar Airways. The result of this policy is delays and cancellations at the airports across the region. More than 30 flights leaving Doha were cancelled. Furthermore, a total of 27 flights from Dubai to Doha were cancelled. Qatar Airways also suspended all flights to the three Gulf countries and Egypt. Other hands, Qatar Airways got many complaints from its passenger sue to inappropriate and overwhelming schedule. Finally, this condition was succeeded to degrade the brand of Qatar Airways as the first Airways in the world (McKernan, 2017).

c. Oil Price

Oil markets give significant changes to geopolitical risk in the both Middle East and Arabian Peninsula region. After four Arab States decide to impose the diplomatic sanctions and embargo to Qatar, oil prices briefly jumped into 1,6 % before falling back (Mills, 2017).

The impact of the diplomatic sanction and embargo led the situation of oil trade in the Middle East became worst from time to time. This implication also affected to Qatar's oil and gas production. Even though Qatar is the 10th biggest producer in OPEC, but it has a huge production on LNG which always involve in the trade of oil and

natural gas trade in the Middle East and Gulf region. Qatar has huge shipments of LNG that brought their export to all of the Gulf countries and also around the world. The conflict between Qatar and other Gulf states are potentially isolated Qatar from the trade circle in the Gulf region. This is caused by most of the LNG export route always across the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Egypt, and also Saudi Arabia including land, sea, and air routes.

Furthermore, as a member of OPEC, Qatar also joined the agreement of cartel's production cut and committed to cut its crude output to 30,000 barrels of oil per day. OPEC aims to get rid of the global market oversupply of crude, which has held press the price down since 2014. But the current crisis the willingness of Qatar to obey the supply cut will be limited. Even though Kuwait has tried to attempt the mediation between Qatar and its neighbour, but the Gulf countries such as Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, and Bahrain remains they are committed to the OPEC and non-OPEC deal (Rashed, 2017).

In addition, through the embargo and boycott, Qatar faced any problem in exporting its LNG to other countries. This disruption could damage Qatar's position because during the boycott the United Arab Emirates would close its seaport and cut the gas trade with Qatar in the Dolphin pipeline. Therefore, this condition would make Qatar should pay the extra cost in order to keep its export run well to the rest of the region (Augustine, 2017).

d. Finance and Banking

Qatar's diplomatic crisis changed many aspects in the geopolitical landscape in the Middle East. The geopolitical landscape also changes the face of investment and flow of money that existed in Qatar. According to IMF, the termination of diplomatic ties between Qatar and four Arab countries will decrease the growth of the economy in the region and also medium-term growth prospects.

The disruption of trade has affected the implementation of the key infrastructure project of Qatar. Since Qatar has the various development project that has been started before the diplomatic sanction. Other hands, the most critical impact on economics is some financial pressure that emerges after the sanction happened. The IMF said that diplomatic crisis has downgrade Qatar's sovereign credit rating and outlook, the rise of interbank interest rates, and private sectors deposits (both resident and non-resident) have declined (John, 2017).

The impact of diplomatic crisis also hampered the development of Qatar's banking sectors. Qatar is one of the countries that really depend on the foreign investment as well as foreign banking. The problem with four Arab states has caused the downgrade of the banking system in Qatar. The report of Qatari financial official estimated the institutions from Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Bahrain had \$18 billion of deposits in Qatari bank that would not be continuing anymore (Torchia & Finn, 2017). Bank of America predicted \$35 billion of outflow from Qatar's banking system in one year if there is no a continuation of cooperation and GCC severs financial ties completely. On the other hand, Qatar's benchmark stock market also fall 11,5% since early June when the four Arab countries sever their diplomatic ties with Qatar (Finn & Arnold, 2017).

Political Impact

Aside from the economic impact, there are several political impacts that also hampered Qatar's development in both Middle East and the Arabian Peninsula. The development of crisis which following the further decision made by Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, and Egypt have contributed to all of the impacts in Qatar domestically and even internationally. In addition, this crisis also has a huge political impact that force and isolate Qatar politically. Since the declaration of diplomatic sanction of the four Arab states, Qatar faced many political problems in both regional and international. This politics impacts can affect the development of its future politics.

The political impact that arises after the severing diplomatic ties with Qatar is represented on the list of demands by Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates, and Egypt. These lists of demands are stated as follows:

1. Scale down the diplomatic relations with the Iranian government and close Iranian diplomatic mission's office in Doha. In the other hand, Qatar has to expel the member of Iranian Revolutionary Guard and shut down the military and intelligence cooperation with Iran. Furthermore, Qatar's trade and commerce with Iranian government has to comply with the US and international sanctions in a manner that did not threaten the security of the Gulf Cooperation Council.
2. Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, The United Arab Emirates, and Egypt demand Qatar to shut down Turkish military base which currently in the process of establishment. In addition, Qatar has to halt its military cooperation with the Turkish government.
3. Sever ties to all of the terrorist group and ideological organizations including Muslim Brotherhood, ISIL, Al Qaeda, Fateh al-Sham and Lebanon's

Hezbollah. Specifically, Qatar has to classify those groups as terrorist and condemns their actions.

4. Stop all support and funding for individuals, groups or organizations that have been designated as a terrorist movement by Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Egypt, Bahrain, US and other countries.
5. Send back the entire terrorist figure, fugitives and wanted individuals from the United Arab Emirates, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Bahrain to their countries of origin. Qatar has to freeze their assets and provide all information about their movement and their finances.
6. Aljazeera and all of its affiliate stations should be closed.
7. Qatar has to end its intervention in sovereign countries' internal affairs, stop granting national citizenship to wanted individuals from Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain and Egypt.
8. The Qatari government has to respond to all loss of life that happened in the recent years. On the other hand, Qatar has to pay the compensation in accordance with its policy in several conflicts that happened in both Arabian Peninsula and the Middle East.
9. Align its military, social, political and economic policies with other Gulf and Arab countries, specifically the economic matters.
10. Shut down its contact with the opposition leader in Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, and Egypt. Qatar has to give all of the transactions or even personal information with all of the opposition leaders to those states.
11. All news outlet that funded by Qatar has to be shut down, including Arabi21, Rassd, Al Araby Al Jadeed, Mekameleen and Middle East Eye, etc.
12. Qatar has to agree to all the demands in 10 days remaining time and should fulfil all the list of demand.
13. Consent to all demands for the first year after agreeing to the demands, followed by the fourth quarter audit in the second year, and there will be annual audits that monitored by these countries in the following 10 years (Aljazeera, 2017).

Qatar's Foreign Policy Strategy to Overcome Gulf States' Diplomatic Sanctions

A. Qatar Improve the Effectiveness of Diplomatic Relations

The crisis that happened between Qatar and four Arab states become one of the worst crises that ever happened in Qatar's diplomatic history. These crises have been affected many fields including politics, economics, and also the stabilization of the Arabian Peninsula. The crisis and diplomatic sanction imposed by four Arab states have changed the geopolitical landscape especially the direction of foreign policy and international politics in both Arabian Peninsula and the Middle East. As a country that affected the most, Qatar viewed that rebuild the diplomatic relations with four Arab States by accepting their demands are an impossible way to solve the

problem. The government of Qatar viewed that those demands did not represent the essence of peace but as a way of Saudi and other Arab state's intention to intervene Qatar in politics and international relations. The diplomatic crisis and sanctions have changed the geopolitics landscape in the Middle East. The changes of geopolitics landscape also hampered the development of Gulf region because all accesses linking Qatar and Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, and Egypt cut off. Therefore, this condition affected many fields including politics, economy, security, and also Qatar relations with the other Gulf States.

The diplomatic crisis was triggered by several accusations made by Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Egypt, and the United Arab Emirates towards Qatar's involvement in funding terrorist organizations and other oppositions group in the several Gulf States. In addition, those countries also protest against Qatar's foreign policy approach that alleged tends to support Iranian government which is the rival of Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf States. As sovereignty country, Qatar viewed those demands and accusations as parts of a strategy of these four Arab States to isolate and limit Qatar's power regionally. Sheikh Mohammed bin Abdulrahman Al-Thani, the foreign minister gave his clarification in responding the crisis, he stated that those accusations are totally false information, because Qatar and Saudi Arabia have conducted cooperation in security and intelligence agencies. Qatar and Saudi also have been serving the purpose of the national security of Saudi. Other hands, Mohammed also continued that all accusations that imposed to Qatar have no legal bases because Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, and even Egypt could not prove their accusations. Meanwhile, Qatar also will not consider those demands and tend to solve this problem through diplomacy and negotiations process (Hunt, Roberts, & Victoria Brown, 2017). Emir Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani stated that diplomatic crisis only became the reason of those Arab States to change the regime in Qatar. It is proven by several shreds evidence that already happened in the history of Qatar and other Gulf States diplomatic relations. Emir also stated that diplomatic crisis and sanctions will not hamper Qatar's foreign policy. The government of Qatar will not also accept anybody interfere the country and tends to maintain its sovereignty (Aljazeera, 2017).

The impacts of diplomatic crisis and sanctions imposed by four Arab States have created many disadvantages in both economics and politics. Geographically, Qatar is surrounded by those countries that imposed sanctions and most of the economic relations including export and import are conducted through Saudi and the United Arab Emirates territories. The severing of diplomatic ties has affected the availability of food, drink, and other things that related to the infrastructure development of its preparation to host FIFA World Cup in 2022. According to this evidence, the government of Qatar has redesigned its strategic that implemented through its foreign policy to do open door diplomacy which can fulfill domestic need and availability of food supplies to stabilize the domestic need. Qatar tried to enhance

the effectiveness of diplomatic relations with Iranian and Turkey government as a part of a short-term solution in order to stabilize the country during the crisis. The implementation of this strategy as the manifestation of Qatar's way to reduce the domestic problem and enhance international support beyond the Gulf region. Turkey and Iranian government are seen as two major powers in the Middle East that can help Qatar to solve the crisis and end the sanctions. In addition, Turkey takes important roles in many international organizations such as non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), Organizations of Islamic Cooperation, Arab league, G20, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC), NATO, IMF, and also the first member EU Customs Union, while Iran has a very extensive power and influence in international energy security and world economy. Another side, Iran is a founding member of the United Nations, The Economic Cooperation Organizations (ECO), and OPEC. Regionally, Iran also has a strategic position that closes to Qatar and has a good cooperation in the exploration of natural gas in the North Dome. Strategically, both countries have an extensive role to resolve the crisis together in the Gulf Peninsula

1. Iranian-Qatari Relationship

The diplomatic sanctions imposed by Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Egypt, and United Arab Emirates have isolated Qatar in the Gulf region. These countries do not only sever the diplomatic ties by withdrawing their ambassadors from Doha. However, this crisis was followed by assertive and coercive policies to blockade all access from and to Qatar. The blockade includes sea, air, and land. Automatically, this condition affected the cooperation in many fields including trade, finance, banking, and other economic matters, while this disrupted policy also affected to the political relations among them. Therefore this condition threat Qatar's position because Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and the United Arab Emirates are the biggest Qatar's trade partner who contributes to the domestic needs such as food, drink, oil, and construction equipment. However, the diplomatic relations between the two sides have been severed since 5 June 2017. This attempt to isolate Qatar will backfire and lead to Qatar improving economic relations with other regional states and especially Iran and Turkey (Abu-Sirriya, 2017).

Qatar-Iran diplomatic relations has been started since Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani came to power in 1995. These two countries have a very close economic relationship which affects their diplomatic relations, particularly in the oil and gas industries. The income of Qatar comes from the oil field that is related to Iran. The two countries jointly control the world's largest natural gas field. Qatar owns 13% of the world's total proven gas reserves. It is producing 650 million cubic meters of gas per day from its section of the field, and Iran produces 5750 million cubic meters of gas from

the field. Moreover, the two countries also cooperate in the shipping sector. The relations between two countries become strong after the three Gulf States along with Egypt severed the diplomatic ties. Qatar through its Foreign Ministry Affairs stated to the media that Qatar will express its aspiration in order to strengthen bilateral relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran in all fields (Raghavan & Cunningham, 2017). This official announcement is a part of the strategy to response the crisis and to stabilize its politics and regional power in the Arabian Peninsula. This brief decision is taken by the government in order to prevent the massive impact that would affect the country in the future. Since the diplomatic crisis, all access has been cut off and there is no opportunity for Qatari government to restore diplomatic relations with the four Arab states instead to start and build its relationship and bilateral cooperation with the Iranian government.

Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, and Egypt has proposed thirteen demands to Qatar as requirements to end the crisis. However, those demands are alleged by Qatar as part of an effort to shut down the legitimacy the country as well as undermine the sovereignty of the country. A week after the diplomatic crisis, the scarcity of food and drinks happened in the entire places of Qatar. The government found difficulties to get supply because all access from and to Saudi and UAE have been cut off. Therefore, this condition also affected export and import activity from and hampered the development of the country's economy. The initiation to overcome the crisis has been made by Qatari government to put their foreign policy forward to uphold the further action in responding the crisis. Qatar looked Iran as the major player in the Middle East and has a very influential role in international security. This position has become the strategy on putting its perspective to initiate the bilateral relations with the Iranian government. Qatar insists that the relations with Iranian government as part of cordial relations to fulfil the commercial necessity, while this relationship also part of solidarity between Sunni neighbors and Shiite-led Iran because both have involved in the diplomatic confrontation in January 2016. Then, this cordial relation is a manifestation to strengthen the two countries cooperation in both regionally and internationally (Walsh, 2017). The cordial relations between the two countries have been advanced when all economic ties with the three Gulf countries and Egypt was cut off. On November 26, Qatar's Economy Minister Sheikh Ahmed bin Jassim Al-Thani travelled to the Iranian capital for talks with government ministers on business links between the two countries, including Minister of Industry, Mine and Trade Mohammad Shariatmadari and Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Zarif. The trade between the two countries was currently worth around \$1 billion a year, but Qatar wanted to boost this five-fold to \$5 billion a year. The two countries economic relations have grown sharply in 2017 and there is certainly more potential.

The report from Iran Custom Administration show that Iran exported \$139 million worth of oil goods to Qatar in the seven months to October 22, a timeframe which covers both pre- and post-boycott periods. The increasing of this relation up to 117,5% on the same period a year earlier. According to the Iranian business daily the Financial Tribune, bitumen, food, and agricultural goods are the most important products. This trade showed that the trade between the two countries are accelerating, with \$50 million of the \$139 million of total coming in the Iranian month ending October 22, up five-fold from the same time last year. In addition, Iran is also acting as a critical trade route for goods originating in other countries such as Turkey and Azerbaijan. In order to accelerate this process Qatar proposed a new trade agreement with Iran and Turkey. These three countries signed a three-way trade agreement in Tehran in order to make easier for goods to move between the three countries (Dudley, 2017). The cooperation between the two countries only parts of Qatari strategy to maintain the domestic stability. It can be seen from the matter of cooperation where all cooperation only refers to economic development between the two countries. Iran becomes the major partner in the crisis because the position geographically is really close to Qatar. Therefore, the distribution of goods and other trade would be easier. Qatar also could manage the expenditure of import and creating an economic stability. By June 11, Iran has sent five cargo planes carrying a combined total of 90 tons of fruits and vegetables to Qatar, and three ships carrying 350 tons were also set to leave Iran. The Iranian government decisions to provide the economic support has given an extensive impact for Qatari government to overcome the blockade has normalized the condition domestically and fulfill the scarcity of foods and decrease the pressure within the country.

2. Qatar-Turkey Relations

Turkey is one of the new emerging powers in the Middle East. Turkey also played a very crucial and influential role in several international organizations such as G-20, OIC, NATO, OECD, OSCE, IMF and also World Bank. In addition, Turkey is the world's 13th largest GDP by Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) and 17th largest nominal GDP. This condition made the position of Turkey has counted by any other nations as an important actor in both international and regional including Qatar. Qatar-Turkey relation was established in 1972 and to be continued until the current Emir. Both countries are consistent to maintain peaceful coexistence through dialogue in regional or international issues since 2010. Turkey ranked as Qatar's 23rd largest investor with 3 companies making investments worth \$239 million meanwhile Qatar also invest to Turkey with the total of investment more than \$2,1 billion through two Qatari companies. The foreign relations of the two countries carried out on the basis of mutual benefit.

The mutual understanding and cooperation between the two countries brought these two major power into a great cooperation in tackling many issues in both regional or international. Since 5 June 2017, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates, along with Egypt severed ties with Qatar. This diplomatic termination also led to the decision of those countries to isolate Qatar through the cooperation in many fields including politics, economics, and also military relations. The blocked and boycott affected Qatari's position geographically because most of the trade access are closed by Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, and also Bahrain. These three countries prohibited all trades to across their territories. In result, Qatar faced many problems within the countries including the scarcity of foods, the decline of Stock Exchange trade, Travel ban, finance, and also Qatar's preparation on infrastructure development to host FIFA World Cup 2022. Along with the ongoing diplomatic crisis that happened to Qatar, Qatar restore and improve its diplomatic relations with Turkey, especially in politics and economic as strategy to overcome the problem that happened domestically. Qatar and Turkey signed 15 new trade and cooperation agreements in the food and construction sectors and the pharmaceutical industry (Dailay Sabah, 2017). In response to this crisis, President Erdogan stated his disappointment towards those countries' decision to sever diplomatic ties with Qatar, the President also added that this decision as inhumane action, because it will give a huge impact not only for Qatar, but also for other region within the Gulf region (BBC, 2017).

The involvement of Turkish government in the diplomatic crisis that happened between Qatar and Anti-Qatar coalition as parts of alliance strategy and Qatar's way to go beyond its comfort zone. The bilateral relations between the two countries are made to reduce the dependence of Qatari government towards the three Gulf States and also Egypt. Qatar tried to show to the whole of the Gulf region that it could stand on its position even if there was a pressure towards its position. Qatar did not only open the opportunity to Turkey for improving the economic relations, but also provide a place for Turkey to open the military base in its country. The existence of Turkish military base is a part of Qatar's strategy to protect its security during the crisis. As a result of diplomatic approach, Qatar succeeds to get much more assistance from Turkey in order to fulfill the domestic needs. Since June 5, The total of Turkey's export to Qatar was \$32,5 million and \$12,5 million is food. This figure is three times the normal level of the economic cooperation between the two countries (Reuters, 2017). Turkey also sent more than 100 cargo planes of supplies to Qatar. In the other hand, Qatar and Turkey along with the Iranian government signed the three-way trade agreement as a strategy to overcome the lack of food supplies and open a new way of trade between these three countries. The objective of this agreement is to ensure all goods from and to these three countries run well.

Furthermore, these two countries also enlarge the field of cooperation into politics. Qatar also approach Iranian government to mediate the crisis and offer Saudi and others to conduct the negotiation and diplomacy to end the crisis. In response to the demand, President Erdogan visited Saudi Arabia to talk and discuss about normalization between the two parties. Erdogan also travelled to the entire Gulf States to gain support from those states to ask them to end the crisis. in the other hand, the government of Turkey also stated their support to Qatar and will give any other assistances to help Qatar to end the crisis. The cooperation between Qatar and Turkey can be seen as part of Qatari government's strategy to deter Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, and Egypt in the region. Both Iran and Turkey have a very huge impact to the international security in the Middle East. it can be shown by the opening of military based of Turkey in Qatar and also the agreement of three-way agreement that signed by these countries. Those efforts are taken as part of solution to overcome the impact of the crisis between Qatar and Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, and Egypt.

B. Qatar Enhances Independent Foreign Policy to Reinforce Diplomacy and Negotiation during the Crisis

The diplomatic crisis and sanction that imposed by Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, and Egypt to Qatar have contributed to the geopolitical changes in the Middle East, particularly the Gulf region. This crisis affected the massive isolation that done by those states as a part of protest against Qatar in accordance with the accusation made by these countries about Qatar's support towards Iran, Muslim Brotherhoods, and other Islamist Organizations such as Hamas, Hezbollah, and Al Qaeda that viewed by Saudi Arabia and its coalition as parts of terrorist. Qatar was accused by those countries played an important role in both funding and uses those organizations to expand its power and play an extensive action to interfere other's countries security within the region. The position made the government of Qatar has to take an immediate action in order to tackle the problem and reduce the tension in the region. The biggest problem right now that still faced by Qatar in dealing with the crisis is the massive blockade and isolation as well as diplomatic sanction that imposed by those states. This diplomatic sanction has seen as part of the intention of those countries to shut down Qatar's power and role in the Gulf region. Other hand, those demands are a representation of Saudi-led coalition way to overthrow the power of Emir and demanding for the regime changes.

Qatar has long history of diplomatic tensions with the other Gulf Sate since the leadership of Emir Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani. The tensions happened because there were several differences in exercising the power and also foreign policy objective. Qatar under Emir Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani tried to bring Qatar to be more independent nations in the Gulf region by conducting open door foreign policy. This foreign policy aimed to stabilize the rest of the conflict that happened

within the region by conducting dialogue, peace talks, diplomacy, negotiation and also coalition to create peaceful coexistence and security. However, this foreign policy has been seen by some of the Gulf States as a part of Qatar's way to interfere other's country on behalf of mediation several conflicts. At that moment, Saudi led Coalition also accused Qatar's way of diplomacy and foreign policy as its effort to support and funding terrorist group. Back in 2017 where the diplomatic ties was cut off and followed by the diplomatic sanctions imposed by Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, and Egypt in order to protest against Qatar. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Qatar responded to the initial announcements by stated that the accusations have no legitimate justification for actions taken by the four countries to sever the diplomatic relations and the decision was a violation of its sovereignty (Aljazeera, 2017). Throughout, Qatar has stated that it strongly rejected the accusations made by those countries, either Emir or even Foreign Ministry are open the possibility of negotiation and peace talk between those countries. Qatar also is willing to negotiate with the boycotting countries and have welcomed calls from international leaders for the parties to sit down around table.

Ministry of Foreign affairs of Qatar will never surrender to the pressure being applied by its Arab neighbors and will not change its activist and independent foreign policy to resolve the problem that have put the region on edge (Aljazeera, 2017). Sheikh Mohammad bin Abdulrahman Al Thani stated that Qatari government will always enhance diplomacy and negotiation to end diplomatic crisis and sanctions. However, Qatar will not accept the sanctions through its neighbors and always tried to find any other way to solve the crisis by peaceful means. In the era of Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani, Qatar implement activist and independent foreign policy as a tool in order to deal with the condition of the Gulf region right now. Qatar saw that there is opportunity to start negotiation with the two neutral nations in the GCC member states. Qatar realized that the implementation of activist and independent foreign policy should be followed by a good negotiation and coalition within the region. This position was taken in order to get much political and diplomatic support that aim to force Saudi and other neighbors to come into negotiation and eliminate the sanctions. As a small state, Qatar could not stand in its position in order to solve that problem by itself. There must be an effort in order to actualize that foreign policy into an action which can contribute to the peace and stabilization process within the region.

As a result of the independent foreign policy, Qatar response this situation by enhancing diplomacy and negotiation based on equality and mutual respect. This independent foreign policy is actualized by the government in Qatar in order to maintain its position as the independent and sovereignty nation while this action also done to show its rejection towards the diplomatic sanctions imposed by its neighbors. As an effort of its diplomacy within the region, Qatar tried to keep its consistent movement and diplomatic approach by following objectives: First, Qatar tried to

strengthen and enhance its diplomatic relations with the United States. Qatar tried to reach out to several United States' institutions including Pentagon and State Department in order to create a balance perspective regarding Trump's view on Saudi-led coalition accusations. Qatar enhance its bilateral relations with the United States government in the economic matter such as signing the transaction of a \$12 billion deal to buy F15 Jets from the US and signed a memorandum of understanding on combating the financing of terrorism with the US (Bayoumi, 2017). In the other hand, Qatar and the United States' government also signed the agreement on fighting terrorism financing; this agreement was launched when the US secretary of the States made its official visit to Qatar. In results, the US government sent the Top diplomat to the Middle East to help resolve standoff between Qatar and the led-Saudi coalitions (The New Arab, 2017).

Second, Qatar also utilized its power of diplomacy by enhancing its diplomatic relations with world powers especially in European countries to help its position in the Middle East. Qatar tried to utilize the European countries' power to gain their backing, and strengthen relations in the face of the blockade. In result, Qatari government succeeds to get the support from Germany. Germany is willing to contribute as mediator towards the on-going crisis. Through Germany Foreign Minister Sigmar Gabriel, Germany expressed his rejection towards Trump's claim over Qatar in accordance with Qatar's involvement on supporting and funding the terrorist group, Germany also disagrees with the US imbalance position on the crisis. In addition, Qatar's diplomacy also succeeds to reach out Russia, China, and Japan to enhance its cooperation in order to solve the current crisis. Throughout its negotiation and diplomacy, Qatar succeeds to reach out Russia and conduct the bilateral meeting with Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov in Moscow. In this meeting, Sheikh Mohammed bin Abdulrahman Al Tani highlighted the crisis as the main topic on the meeting and approach Russia to mediate this conflict (Sterling, 2017). Qatari independent foreign policy works well, Qatar also got support from the government of China to solve the problem. Throughout its spokesperson Hua Chunying stated that the government of China would be part of the solution of the ongoing problem that still happening in the Gulf region. China will to deal with the condition by conducting dialogue and consultation among Gulf States and will stay united to jointly promote regional peace and stability of the region (Yellinek, 2017). Furthermore, Japan also expressed its willingness to help Qatari government to end the crisis. Through Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs Taro Kono on his diplomatic visit in the Gulf Region. Japanese government expressed its gratitude to be part of mediator on the crisis and willingness to enlarge economic and political cooperation with Qatari government to prevent the blockade and also secure any potential damage that would arise in the future. In addition, Japanese government also would like to diversify both countries relations in all areas (The Peninsula, 2017).

Third, Qatar utilized its diplomacy by dispatching representatives of its National Human Rights and Shura Council to the United States and Europe in order to enlarge the understanding and insights to help explain the human impact in the blockade. In addition, Qatari government also hosted an international conference on media freedoms to help counter demands by blockade states to shut down Qatari financed critical media. Fourth, Qatar also played its diplomacy to approach and strengthen its diplomatic relations with the neutral and sympathetic neighbors such as Kuwait and Oman. In this part, Qatar saw the blockade as an attempt to isolate it regionally and instead of caving in to pressure or carrying foul about foreign conspiracy backed by the US president; Qatar responded this crisis with more foreign policy openness and by reaching out to the US institutions and to world and regional powers. In addition, Qatar viewed that the important to start with regional diplomacy as one of the possible way to solve the problem. Meanwhile, the neutral foreign policy among the two neighbors is strategy of Qatar to enlarge its diplomacy and ask Oman and Kuwait to be part of the regional mediator. In result of negotiation and diplomacy, Kuwait Emir Sheikh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jaber al-Sabah engaged in shuttle diplomacy, travelling between Qatari, Saudi and Emirati capital shortly after the crisis erupted. Meanwhile, Oman's Foreign Minister Yousuf bin Alawi bin Abdullah went to Doha on his official visit prior to the severance of several Arab States' ties with Qatar. Both countries are always tried to be the mediator of Qatar's advocacy in ending the crisis (Cafiero & Karasik, 2017). Qatar viewed that its effort to end the diplomatic tension and sanctions imposed by Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, and Egypt might not have helped to end the crisis yet. But this effort has helped prevent further escalation, and may have put its opponents on the defensive and under increasing international pressure for dialogue. Meanwhile, it also activated its diplomacy and economic relations to explain its position. Qatar also conducted its diplomacy by formulated a response that seemed modern, rational and diplomatic to counter force-based logic used by its adversaries. The way of Qatar to ensure and stand on its independent foreign policy as part of its manifestation which would not allow any other intervention from other part of its neighbor and as part of its way to maintain its position as well as power within the region.

C. Qatar's Conducts Strategic of Mediation through International Institutions

Mediation and dealing with international institution have become Qatar's government vision in order to uphold its power in both regional and international. The effort on mediation has been mentioned in Qatar's country constitution, article 7 which specifically mandating that Qatar foreign policy is based on the principle of strengthening international peace and security by means of encouraging a peaceful resolution of international disputes (Barakat, 2014). The objective of its constitution has brought Qatar to apply its soft power through diplomacy. Qatar has various experienced in mediating many conflicts both in the Middle East or even other international disputes. These experiences brought Qatar to embrace mediation as a

part of its soft power to deal with the current crisis and diplomatic sanctions. Since the crisis begun, Qatar faced many problems in both politics and economics which affected to its position in both Gulf region or even its membership in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). The diplomatic sanctions imposed by Arab Saudi, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, and Egypt brought disadvantages condition to Qatar in accordance with geopolitical changes in the region. Qatar is one of the major players in the Middle East because it has become a home for more the biggest US military base in the Middle East. With this position, Qatar has an important position in stabilizing the condition of politics and security in the Middle East as well as managing the geopolitical changes within the region. The diplomatic sanction imposed by its neighbours has changed Qatar foreign policy direction as well as its soft power to mediate the crisis. Under Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani, Qatar conducts independent foreign policy to move forward beyond the region and build a coalition in order to solve the crisis. The manifestation of its independent foreign policy has been implemented through soft power by upholding the importance of dialogue and peace talks through diplomacy and negotiation. Qatar also rejected all accusations and demands from Arab Saudi, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, and Egypt to change its direction of foreign policy. In result, Qatar chose to stand on its position and offering the process of normalization should be achieved through mediation.

In view of the importance given by its foreign policy to the peaceful settlement of conflicts in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, Qatar has focused to implement its soft power on mediation through the international institution to solve this on-going problem. Qatar believes that mediation is the optimal solution to avoid conflicts and avert the growing number of disadvantages impact that will be happened in the future. The objective of mediation is to give the opportunity to other parties from each institution to contribute to resolving the ongoing crisis together. In addition, to achieve all the objectives of mediation and reducing the tension between Qatar and the Saudi-led coalition, Qatari government tried to look forward in order to bring this case to be discussed in several regional and international institutions. This decision aims to attract other parties beyond Gulf region to take part and contribute to the reconciliation of the ongoing conflict that happened right now. In result towards its effort to maintain peace and stability of the region, the government Qatar utilized its position in this institution to uphold international mediation and diplomacy prior to solving the crisis. Those institutions are potentially seen by the government of Qatar could attract the intention of the world to help Qatar end the sanctions. Therefore, Qatar utilizes the opportunity to address and highlight the issue through several institutions as follows:

1. Gulf Cooperation Council Summit

The GCC Summit is the summit that provides a place for the heads of the states of the Gulf Cooperation Council in order to discuss the

problem or future vision of the GCC member states. This summit was held on December 5, 2017, in the capital city of Kuwait. Gulf Cooperation Council Summit 2017 is a result of Qatar's diplomacy to convince Kuwait in order to take a part of this ongoing crisis as a mediator between the GCC member states. Even though this Summit was held in the middle of the ongoing diplomatic crisis and sanctions, the summit runs well and successful to bring those six Gulf States into the chamber to discuss the peace and stability within the region. In addition, GCC Summit can be seen as part of a vocal platform that can be used by Qatari government in order to address and highlight the case of Gulf diplomatic crisis where this country is impacted the most. This Summit could be very positive steps to Qatar's diplomacy in order to influence those member states to come to the negotiation table to discuss the prolonged crisis. The outcome of this summit is part of Qatari government approach to encourage Kuwait to host this summit in order to bring positive understanding on the Gulf States about the presence of Qatar's willingness to talk and resolve the problem within the internal of GCC member states. In results, this summit succeeds to bring all of six member states in Kuwait and possible to start their willingness to engage in dialogue, even after the UAE, Saudi Arabia, and Bahrain stated that they would not attend the Summit unless Doha changed its ways (Wasm, 2017).

The 38th of the GCC Summit was mainly talking about creating peace and stability of the region. In response towards the crisis, GCC member states come into consensus in order to call for the formation of a committee to resolve the crisis. The Summit would like to take an immediate action by preceding a reworking of the GCC's charter to include a more robust conflict resolution mechanism. Meanwhile, the participation of Qatari government in this Summit during the crisis can be seen as Qatar's soft diplomacy and foreign policy approach to ensure that Qatar is open the opportunity for the negotiation and reconciliation of the crisis. Throughout this summit, the Advisory Council of Gulf Cooperation Council praised the participation of Emir Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani in the meetings of the Supreme Council of the GCC. In this occasion, Emir Qatar also stressed the importance of continuity of the GCC out of Qatar's Keenness on activating its role as well as its commitment to joint GCC action (The Peninsula Qatar, 2017).

Throughout this Summit, Qatar has successful to bring its foreign policy and soft power through diplomacy into the front line. As results, Qatar get much more support from Oman and Kuwait as part of GCC member states to help Qatar in ending the sanctions and crisis. Meanwhile, the position of GCC Summit as a platform of advocacy and diplomacy has been contributed in supporting Qatar's intention to create peace and stability within the region. Therefore, the outcome of Qatar's was the

formation of the special committee which would be the bodies who will assist to accelerate regional peace and security among Qatar and the other Gulf States including Egypt.

2. European Union

The European Union and its constituent member states are important partners for the States of Qatar. Qatar has extensive and multi-faced bilateral relations with non-EU, as well as EU, States in Europe (Miller, 2016). This condition became the main objective of Qatar's soft power to open the opportunity for the European countries in order to be part of mediator and approach Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, and also Egypt to create peace and stability within the region and end their diplomatic sanctions to Qatar. The ongoing diplomatic crisis between Saudi –led blockade and Qatar has become the critical issue both for Qatar or even other parties outside the Gulf region, including the European Union. The European Union viewed this ongoing crisis could impact the development of cooperation in economic and politics between the two countries. Europe believed that this ongoing crisis could affect the interest of European Union in both Middle East and Gulf region.

Generally, the ongoing crisis could impact the cooperation of the State of Qatar and the European Union in two aspects, politics and economics. Politically, the blockade has further complicated an already multi-faceted European policy toward the region. All the EU countries are now enjoying their diplomatic relations with both Saudi and Qatar. In addition, one of the European Union member states deepening its relationship with Qatar on regional issues, including the future reconstruction of Syria (Osiewicz, 2017). On June 9, Qatar Foreign Minister Sheikh Mohammed bin Abdulrahman Al-Thani met the High Representative of the European Union Federica Mogherini in order to talk about the willingness of the European Union to help Qatar to solve this ongoing crisis together. Prior to the meeting, Qatar succeeds to get European support to solve this ongoing problem together. The European Union also sends a clear signal that they are highly concerned with the recent developments in the Persian Gulf. European Union officials also stressed that their willingness to strengthen cooperation as well as preserve stability in the neighboring regions.

On June 19, Mogherini announced that the European Union was ready to support the Kuwait-led mediation efforts. This message was delivered to Qataris, Emiratis, and Saudis in order to avoid the future escalation and engage in dialogue. On the other hand, she also stressed that the European Union will be ready to be a mediator between Qatar and its neighbors to get into negotiation process within the region. The support of the European Union in order to be part of the coalition of Qatar

to resolve is a part of the successfulness of Qatari government soft power to ensure that organization to be part of their diplomacy within the region. Otherwise, the application of independent foreign policy that conducted by Qatari government also gives much more opportunity to the Qatari soft power to attract those countries in the European Union to come together to solve the problem. Qatar also highlighted their economic relations with the EU as part of the soft power element to attract that supranational body to come together and solve the problem.

3. The United Nations

The United Nations is one of the platforms that utilized by the government of Qatar in order to highlight and voice about the current crisis that happened in the entire Gulf region. Emir Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani utilized opportunity that's given by the United Nations to address the 72nd United Nations General Assembly at United Nations Headquarters in New York, United States of America. Through this institution, the government of Qatar highlights the crisis of the Gulf region as one of the crises that should get international and global audience attention. In this opportunity, Qatar also delivered its disappointment towards the unilateral decision made by Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, and Egypt without listening and asking the clarification from the Qatari government. Qatar also addressed that the goal of the blockade made by those states is in order to isolate and interfere Qatar's sovereignty. Emir also delivered that the blockade was deliberately done because those countries always tried to overthrow the regime, and this condition ever happened in the era of Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani.

While speaking in the 72nd United Nations General Assembly session, the government of Qatar encouraged all nations to support the reconciliation the crisis by participating as mediator or parties which enforce the normalization and stability within the region. In this occasion, Qatar also highlighted the importance of unconditional dialogue based on mutual respect for sovereignty (Bayoumy & Mason, 2017). The function of unconditional dialogue is to accelerate peace process in the Gulf region. Qatar also utilized the opportunity in the United Nations General Assembly as part of its lobbying to gain coalition to support its further action and solution towards the crisis. In this session, the Emir delivered two main messages: the first was internal and it urged a permanent enthusiasm, and the second was foreign, informing the West that Doha is ready to solve its problem with the former and to alleviate concerns related to funding and backing terrorism (al-Dorasy, 2017). In the other hand, Qatar through its Foreign Minister has a plan to address the crisis in United Nations Security. This planned was followed by the support from China Ambassador to UN, Liu Jieyi who stated that the crisis will be

discussed in the UNSC if there is a formal request from the government of Qatar. Furthermore, Qatar also tried to uphold its effort by conducting the process of UNHRC investigation in Doha regarding the violation made by the four Arab Countries that imposed the sanction on Qatar. In result, Qatar succeeded to ensure the UN investigation team to release a report regarding the human rights violation that made by Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates and Egypt towards their decision to sever ties to Qatar. This report clearly stated that the reasons behind the blockading countries are not a mere diplomatic severing of relations, but it is just those countries' way to isolate Qatar through economic boycott. This decision is unilateral, abusive; arbitrary that is impacting citizen and expats in Qatar. However, the report of UN investigation has been condemned by those states. Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates, and Egypt rejected the UNHRC investigation report and look forward to any further clarification from the four countries.

Meanwhile, the role of Qatari government in handling their foreign policy strategy has been seen from the successfulness of its effort to ensure and convince every parties and UN bodies within the UN to help this country to solve the problem. As result, Qatar gets much more support as an impact of its presence to bring this case into the global forum. Otherwise, this tactic has been made as part of its way to transfer its oft power and influence through the international institution in order to create peace through dialogue and mutual respect.

Conclusion

As sovereignty country, Qatar viewed those demands and accusations as parts of a strategy of these four Arab States to isolate and limit Qatar's power regionally. Sheikh Mohammed bin Abdulrahman Al-Thani, the foreign minister gave his clarification in responding the crisis, he stated that those accusations are totally false information, because Qatar and Saudi Arabia have conducted cooperation in security and intelligence agencies. Qatar and Saudi also have been serving the purpose of the national security of Saudi. Other hands, Mohammed also continued that all accusations that imposed to Qatar have no legal bases because Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, and even Egypt could not prove their accusations. Meanwhile, Qatar also will not consider those demands and tend to solve this problem through diplomacy and negotiations process. According to this evidence, the government of Qatar has redesigned its strategic that implemented through its foreign policy to do open door diplomacy which can fulfill domestic need and availability of food supplies to stabilize the domestic need. Qatar tried to enhance the effectiveness of diplomatic relations with Iranian and Turkey government as a part of a short-term solution in order to stabilize the country during the crisis.

The implementation of this strategy as the manifestation of Qatar's way to reduce the domestic problem and enhance international support beyond the Gulf region. In addition, Qatar also conducts the independent foreign policy to reinforce the support and diplomatic collation in both regional and even international. Meanwhile, Qatar also applies its soft power through mediation in international and regional institutions such as GCC, European Union and also United Nations. Qatar's foreign policy strategy in overcoming the Gulf States' diplomatic sanctions is based on the short-term strategy that aims to reduce the long tension between the two parties. Meanwhile, in its foreign policy strategy, Qatar also stressed the importance of peace talks, negotiation, and diplomacy in dealing with the crisis.

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