

**KEBIJAKAN LUAR NEGERI QATAR DALAM NORMALISASI
HUBUNGAN DIPLOMATIK DENGAN SURIAH DI MASA
KEPEMIMPINAN AHMED AL-SHARAA**

SKRIPSI

Diajukan kepada Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya untuk memenuhi salah
satu persyaratan memperoleh Gelar Ilmu Sosial (S.Sos.) dalam bidang Hubungan
Internasional



Muhammad

NIM 10010221017

Program Studi Hubungan Internasional

Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik

Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya

Juni, 2025

PERTANGGUNGJAWABAN PENULISAN SKRIPSI

Bismillahirrahmanirrahim, yang bertanda tangan di bawah ini, saya:

Nama : Muhammad

NIM : 10010221017

Program Studi : Hubungan Internasional

Judul Skripsi : Kebijakan Luar Negeri Qatar dalam Normalisasi Hubungan
Diplomatik dengan Suriah di Masa Kepemimpinan Ahmed
al-Sharaa

Menyatakan dengan sesungguhnya, bahwa:

4. Skripsi ini tidak pernah dikumpulkan pada lembaga pendidikan manapun untuk mendapatkan gelar akademik apapun,
5. Skripsi ini adalah benar-benar hasil karya saya secara mandiri dan bukan merupakan plagiasi atas karya orang lain,
6. Apabila Skripsi ini di kemudian hari terbukti sebagai karya plagiat, maka saya bersedia menanggung segala konsekuensi yang berlaku.

Surabaya, 8 Oktober 2025

Yang Menyatakan



Muhammad
NIM 10010221017

PERSETUJUAN DOSEN PEMBIMBING

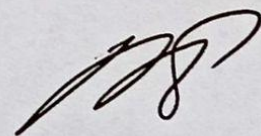
Setelah melakukan bimbingan terhadap Skripsi yang ditulis oleh:

Nama : Muhammad
NIM : 10010221017
Program Studi : Hubungan Internasional

Berjudul *Kebijakan Luar Negeri Qatar dalam Normalisasi Hubungan Diplomatik dengan Suriah di Masa Kepemimpinan Ahmed al-Sharaa*, saya berpendapat bahwa Skripsi tersebut dapat diajukan sebagai salah satu persyaratan bagi yang bersangkutan untuk memperoleh Gelar Sarjana Sosial (S.Sos) dalam bidang Hubungan Internasional.

Surabaya, 20 Juni 2025

Dosen Pembimbing,



Moh. Fathoni Hakim, M.Si.

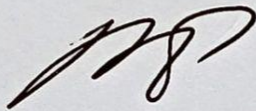
NIP 198401052011011008

PENGESAHAN

Skripsi oleh Muhammad dengan judul *Kebijakan Luar Negeri Qatar dalam Normalisasi Hubungan Diplomatik dengan Suriah di Masa Kepemimpinan Ahmed al-Sharaa* telah dipertahankan dan dinyatakan lulus oleh Tim Penguji Skripsi pada 23 Juni 2025.

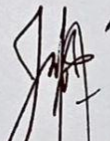
Tim Penguji

Penguji I



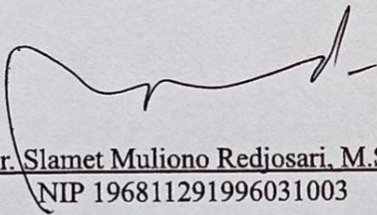
Moh. Fathoni Hakim, M.Si.
NIP 198401052011011008

Penguji II



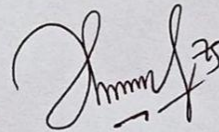
Zaky Ismail, M.S.I.
NIP 198212302011011007

Penguji III



Dr. Slamet Muliono Redjosari, M.Si.
NIP 196811291996031003

Penguji IV



Prof. Wahidah Zein Br Siregar, Dra., MA., Ph.D
NIP 196901051993032001

Surabaya 23 Juni 2025

Mengesahkan,

Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya
Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik

Dekan



Prof. Dr. H. Abd. Chalik, M.Ag.
NIP 197306272000031002

LEMBAR PERNYATAAN PERSETUJUAN PUBLIKASI
KARYA ILMIAH UNTUK KEPENTINGAN AKADEMIS

Sebagai sivitas akademika UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, yang bertanda tangan di bawah ini, saya:

Nama : Muhammad
NIM : 10010221017
Fakultas/Jurusan : Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik
E-mail address : madstudentcollege@gmail.com

Demi pengembangan ilmu pengetahuan, menyetujui untuk memberikan kepada Perpustakaan UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, Hak Bebas Royalti Non-Eksklusif atas karya ilmiah :

☒ Skripsi ☐ Tesis ☐ Desertasi ☐ Lain-lain (.....)

yang berjudul :

Kebijakan Luar Negeri Qatar dalam Normalisasi
Hubungan Diplomatik dengan Suriah di Masa
Kepeimpinan Ahmed al-Sharaa

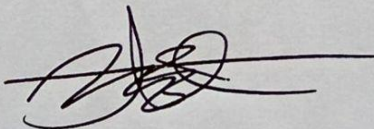
beserta perangkat yang diperlukan (bila ada). Dengan Hak Bebas Royalti Non-Eksklusif ini Perpustakaan UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya berhak menyimpan, mengalih-media/format-kan, mengelolanya dalam bentuk pangkalan data (database), mendistribusikannya, dan menampilkan/mempublikasikannya di Internet atau media lain secara *fulltext* untuk kepentingan akademis tanpa perlu meminta ijin dari saya selama tetap mencantumkan nama saya sebagai penulis/pencipta dan atau penerbit yang bersangkutan.

Saya bersedia untuk menanggung secara pribadi, tanpa melibatkan pihak Perpustakaan UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, segala bentuk tuntutan hukum yang timbul atas pelanggaran Hak Cipta dalam karya ilmiah saya ini.

Demikian pernyataan ini yang saya buat dengan sebenarnya.

Surabaya, 8 Oktober 2025

Penulis



(Muhammad)
nama terang dan tanda tangan

ABSTRACT

Muhammad. “Kebijakan Luar Negeri Qatar dalam Normalisasi Hubungan Diplomatik dengan Suriah di Masa Kepemimpinan Ahmed al-Sharaa.” Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2025.

This research analyzes the reasons behind Qatar's foreign policy decision-making in normalizing diplomatic relations with Syria during the leadership of Ahmed al-Sharaa. Having supported the opposition for many years, this shift in Qatar's policy reflects a complex strategic calculation. The objective of this study is to identify and understand the factors influencing the policy decision-making process. Using a qualitative-explanatory research method, this study applies Alex Mintz and Karl DeRouen Jr.'s theory of Foreign Policy Decision Making to analyze the data. The research findings indicate that Qatar's decision to normalize relations was driven by four main factors. First, environmental factors were fraught with uncertainty due to the sudden fall of the Assad regime. Second, the psychological factors of the leader, particularly Emir Tamim's pragmatic leadership style and anxiety over regional isolation. Third, international factors, including the dynamics of alliances in the Gulf and strategic efforts to limit Iran's influence. Fourth, domestic factors driven by economic interests in Syria's reconstruction and the need to strengthen internal legitimacy.

Keywords: Foreign Policy, Diplomatic Normalization, Qatar, Syria

ABSTRAK

Muhammad. “Kebijakan Luar Negeri Qatar dalam Normalisasi Hubungan Diplomatik dengan Suriah di Masa Kepemimpinan Ahmed al-Sharaa.” Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2025.

Penelitian ini menganalisis alasan pengambilan keputusan kebijakan luar negeri Qatar dalam normalisasi hubungan diplomatik dengan Suriah di masa kepemimpinan Ahmed al-Sharaa. Selama bertahun-tahun mendukung oposisi, pergeseran kebijakan Qatar ini merefleksikan sebuah kalkulasi strategis yang kompleks. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk mengidentifikasi dan memahami faktor-faktor yang memengaruhi proses pengambilan keputusan kebijakan tersebut. Metode penelitian menggunakan kualitatif-eksplanatif, penelitian ini menerapkan teori Pengambilan Keputusan Kebijakan Luar Negeri oleh Alex Mintz dan Karl DeRouen Jr. untuk menganalisis data. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa keputusan normalisasi oleh Qatar disebabkan oleh empat faktor utama. Pertama, faktor lingkungan yang penuh ketidakpastian akibat jatuhnya rezim Assad secara tiba-tiba. Kedua, faktor psikologis pemimpin, terutama gaya kepemimpinan pragmatis Emir Tamim dan kecemasan akan isolasi regional. Ketiga, faktor internasional, termasuk dinamika aliansi di Teluk dan upaya strategis untuk membatasi pengaruh Iran. Keempat, faktor domestik yang didorong oleh kepentingan ekonomi dalam rekonstruksi Suriah dan kebutuhan memperkuat legitimasi internal.

Kata Kunci: Kebijakan Luar Negeri, Normalisasi Diplomatik, Qatar, Suriah

DAFTAR ISI

JUDUL.....	i
PERTANGGUNGJAWABAN PENULISAN SKRIPSI.....	ii
PERSETUJUAN.....	iii
PENGESAHAN.....	iv
PERSETUJUAN PUBLIKASI.....	v
MOTTO.....	vi
ABSTRAK.....	vii
KATA PENGANTAR.....	viii
DAFTAR ISI.....	x
DAFTAR GAMBAR.....	xii
BAB I PENDAHULUAN.....	1
A. Latar Belakang Masalah.....	1
B. Fokus Penelitian.....	8
C. Tujuan Penelitian.....	9
D. Manfaat Penelitian.....	9
E. Kajian Pustaka.....	10
F. Rencana Sistematika Skripsi.....	20
BAB II PERSPEKTIF TEORITIS DAN ARGUMENTASI UTAMA.....	23
A. Perspektif Teoritis.....	23
1. Definisi Konseptual.....	23
2. Landasan Teori.....	25

B. Argumentasi Utama.....	36
BAB III METODE PENELITIAN.....	37
A. Jenis dan Masalah Penelitian.....	37
B. Unit dan Peringkat Analisis.....	39
C. Situasi Sosial, Sampel, dan Teknik Sampling.....	41
D. Teknik Pengumpulan Data.....	42
E. Teknik Analisis Data.....	43
F. Teknik Validasi Data.....	45
BAB IV TEMUAN PENELITIAN DAN PEMBAHASAN.....	46
A. Normalisasi Hubungan Diplomatik Qatar dengan Suriah di Masa Kepemimpinan Ahmed al-Sharaa.....	46
B. Kebijakan Normalisasi Hubungan Diplomatik Qatar dengan Suriah di Masa Kepemimpinan Ahmed al-Sharaa Ditinjau dari Perspektif Alex Mintz dan Karl DeRouen.....	51
1. Faktor Lingkungan.....	51
2. Faktor Psikologis.....	57
3. Faktor Internasional.....	67
4. Faktor Domestik.....	73
BAB V PENUTUP.....	79
A. Kesimpulan.....	79
B. Saran.....	81
DAFTAR PUSTAKA.....	83

DAFTAR GAMBAR

Gambar 1.1. Peta Timur Tengah, Negara Qatar dan Suriah.....	3
Gambar 2.1. <i>Determinants of Foreign Policy Decision Making</i>	25

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Buku dan Skripsi atau Tesis

- Abdurrahman, Hamzah. "Normalisasi Hubungan Qatar dan Saudi Arabia 2017-2019." Skripsi Sarjana, Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah, 2019.
- Al-Tamimi, Nawaf, et al. *Qatar's Nation Branding and Soft Power: Exploring the Effects on National Identity and International Stance*. Contributions to International Relations. Springer Nature Switzerland, 2023. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-24651-7>.
- Barston, R. P. *Modern Diplomacy*. Edisi ke-4. Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2014.
- Berridge, G. R. *Diplomacy*. Edisi ke-5. Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2015. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137445520>.
- B.W, Ihsan Tenaya. "Qatar's Strategic Foreign Policy Following the 2017 Blockade." Skripsi Sarjana, Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2022.
- Breuning, Marijke. *Foreign Policy Analysis*. Palgrave Macmillan US, 2007. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230609242>.
- Cavelty, Myriam Dunn, et al. *Strategic Trends 2025: Key Developments in Global Affairs*. Center for Security Studies, ETH Zurich, 2025. <https://doi.org/10.3929/ETHZ-B-000728378>.
- Hashish, Rabab. "The Impact of Regional Challenges on Qatar's Response in Foreign Policy from 1995 to 2024." Tesis Pascasarjana, University of Gothenburg, 2025.
- Khalaf, Farah. *Exploring the Reasons behind the MENA States Normalization of Diplomatic Ties with Israel in 2020: A Comparative Case Study between Qatar and the United Arab Emirates*. Universitätsbibliothek der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.5282/UBM/EPUB.124321>.
- Makovsky, David. *Resilience and Roadblocks*. Policy Notes. The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2025.
- Miles, Matthew B., and A. Michael Huberman. *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*. Edisi ke-2. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1994.
- Mintz, Alex, and Karl DeRouen. *Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making*. Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Mokrai, Máté. *Mediating Peace: Strategies and Challenges in Middle Eastern Conflict Dynamics*. No. 20. Vienna International Institute for Middle East Studies, 2025.
- Mubarok, Achmad Romadon. "Pengaruh Emir Sheikh Tamim di Balik Kebijakan Pemerintah Qatar Merestorasi Penuh Hubungan Diplomatik dengan Iran Tahun 2017." Jurnal Tesis, Universitas Airlangga, 2019.
- Raco, Jozef Richard. *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif: Jenis, Karakteristik, dan Keunggulannya*. PT Gramedia Widiasarana Indonesia, 2010.

- Ratnaningtyas, Endah Marendah, et al. *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. Yayasan Penerbit Muhammad Zaini, 2022.
- Rifqi, Muhammad. "Analisis Kebijakan Luar Negeri Qatar dalam Menghadapi Krisis Diplomatik dengan Arab Saudi Periode 2017-2020." Skripsi Sarjana, Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah, 2021.
- Schuett, Robert, and Peter M. R. Stirk. *The Concept of the State in International Relations: Philosophy, Sovereignty, Cosmopolitanism*. Edinburgh University Press, 2015. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780748693634>.
- Szalai, Máté. *The GCC Between Competition and Coordination Amid Regional Instability*. Clingendael Netherlands Institute of International Relations, 2025.
- Whitfield, Teresa. *Minilateral Mechanisms for Peacemaking in a Multipolar World: Friends, Contact Groups, Troikas, Quads, and Quints*. International Peace Institute, 2025.
- Artikel Jurnal
- Abbasov, Namig, and Emil A. Souleimanov. "After Assad: How Russia Is Losing the Middle East." *Middle East Policy*, 2025. <https://doi.org/10.1111/mepo.70005>.
- Álvarez-Ossorio, Ignacio, and Leticia Rodríguez García. "The Foreign Policy of Qatar: From a Mediating Role to an Active One." *Revista Española de Ciencia Política* 56 (2021). <https://doi.org/10.21308/recp.56.04>.
- Carenzi, Silvia. "A Downward Scale Shift? The Case of Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 14, no. 6 (2020).
- Dogan-Akkas, Betül. "A Securitization Approach to Qatar's Foreign Policy Making." *Asian Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies* 15, no. 4 (2021). <https://doi.org/10.1080/25765949.2021.2009195>.
- Elbakyan, Edgar. "Involvement of the State of Qatar in the Syrian Crisis." *HEMISPHERES* 30, no. 2 (2015).
- Furlan, Matteo, and Omar Ahmed Abenza. "Armed Groups, Religious Leaders, and Humanitarian Norms: A Case Study of Hayat Tahrir al-Sham in Syria and Ansar Allah in Yemen." *Journal of Human Rights Practice* 17, no. 2 (2025).
- Purwati, Rahmania Putri, et al. "Aliansi Dalam Balancing: Analisis Normalisasi Hubungan Qatar Dengan Iran di Tengah Munculnya Pergeseran Aliansi di Timur Tengah." *Politik Islam* 3, no. 1 (2024). <https://doi.org/10.31958/pi.v3i1.12586>.
- Hardy, Richard. "From Jihad to Politics: How Syrian Jihadis Embraced Politics." *International Affairs* 101, no. 5 (2025).
- Herdian, Rizki Prima. "Kebijakan Luar Negeri Israel dalam Normalisasi Hubungan Diplomatik dengan Uni Emirat Arab." *Diplomacy and Global Security Journal* 1, no. 1 (2024).
- Herb, Michael. "Qatar: Small State, Big Politics." *Perspectives on Politics* 13, no. 2 (2015).
- Kardas, Saban, and Bulent Aras. "What Drove Syria Back into the Arab Fold?." *Middle East Policy* 30, no. 3 (2023). <https://doi.org/10.1111/mepo.12704>.
- Khair, Aulia Ul, et al. "Ups and Downs in Qatar-Israel Relations: A Constructivist Analysis of Wendt's 'Three Cultures of Anarchy'." *JISPO Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik* 14, no. 1 (2024). <https://doi.org/10.15575/jispo.v14i1.39356>.

Notodewo, Afif, and Yon Machmudi. "Analisis Normalisasi Hubungan Arab Saudi dengan Qatar Tahun 2021." *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Indonesia (JISI)* 3, no. 2 (2022). <https://doi.org/10.15408/jisi.v3i2.26748>.

Rudiany, Novita Putri, and Fauzan Ranggi Lubis. "Analisis Kebijakan Luar Negeri Qatar Untuk Mengakhiri Keanggotaan Dalam OPEC Tahun 2019." *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional* 13, no. 1 (2020).

Ullah, Akm Ahsan. "The Emergence of Qatar's Diplomacy in a Complex World: Balancing Soft Power in Regional Affairs." *World Affairs* 187, no. 4 (2024). <https://doi.org/10.1002/waf2.12051>.

Laporan dan Publikasi Lainnya

Alharthi, Mohammed. "Does Economic Statecraft Achieve Foreign Policy Objectives? The Case of Stability and Softpower in the Middle East." University of California, 2025.

Al Sayed, Hassan. "The Legal System of Qatar Shura Council." Qatar University and Durham University, Gulf Studies Center, 2021.

Baabood, Abdullah. "How Gulf States Are Reinterpreting National Security Beyond Their Land Borders." Carnegie Middle East Center, 2024.

Loft, Philip. *Iran's Influence in the MiddleEast*. Research Briefing. House of Commons Library, 2024.

Mahli, Bilal. "Syria's Post-Conflict Recovery." Policy Brief, Policy Center for The New South, 2025.

Roberts, David B. "Reflecting on Qatar's 'Islamist' Soft Power." Brookings, 2019.

Steinberg, Guido. "Qatar's Foreign Policy: Decision-Making Processes, Baselines, and Strategies." SWP Research Paper 4/2023, version 1. Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, 2023. <https://doi.org/10.18449/2023RP04>.

Ulrichsen, Kristian Coates. "Qatar and The Arab Spring." Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2014.

Sumber Daring

Adminlp2m. "Penelitian Eksplanatori: Definisi, Karakteristik Dan Jenisnya." Lembaga Penelitian Dan Pengabdian Masyarakat. Diakses 15 April 2025. <https://lp2m.uma.ac.id/2021/12/28/penelitian-eksplanatori-definisi-karakteristik-dan-jenisnya/>.

Alabi, Rizik. "Qatar's Emir Visits Syria in Historic First Meeting With Interim President Ahmed al-Sharaa." The Media Line. Diakses 26 September 2025. <https://themedialine.org/headlines/qatars-emir-visits-syria-in-historic-first-meeting-with-interim-president-ahmed-al-sharaa/>.

Al Arabiya English. "Qatar Emir to Change Style but Keep Father's Policy." Diakses 15 Agustus 2025. <https://english.alarabiya.net/perspective/2013/06/27/Qatar-emir-to-change-style-but-keep-father-s-policy-/>.

- Al Jazeera. "Arab League Brings Syria Back into Its Fold after 12 Years." Arab League News. Diakses 15 April 2025. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/5/7/arab-league-agrees-to-bring-syria-back-into-its-fold/>.
- Al Jazeera. "Assad Gets Warm Reception as Syria Welcomed Back into Arab League." Diakses 25 September 2025. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/5/19/assad-gets-warm-welcome-as-syria-welcomed-back-into-arab-league>.
- Associated Press News. "Syria's Foreign Minister Visits Qatar as New Authorities Seek Regional and Global Diplomatic Ties." Diakses 26 September 2025. <https://apnews.com/article/syria-diplomacy-qatar-hts-b331443993d0b5a7443b1462183c4be2>.
- Atlantic Council. "Dispatches from Damascus: The State of Syria's Postwar Transition Nine Months after Assad's Fall." Diakses 25 September 2025. <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/damascus-the-state-of-syrias-postwar-transition-nine-months-after-assads-fall/>.
- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "Regional Instability Continues." Diakses 23 September 2025. <https://carnegieendowment.org/mena-transitions/regional-instability-continues?lang=en>.
- Chulov, Martin. "Syrian Rebels Show United Front." World News, The Guardian. Diakses 27 September 2025. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/nov/12/syria-rebels-unite>.
- Di Dio, Muriel. "Qatar: A Small Power With Big Ambitions, Passing (Also) Through Political Islam." Italian Institute for International Political Studies. Diakses 15 April 2025. <https://www.ispionline.it/en/publication/qatar-a-small-power-with-big-ambitions-passing-also-through-political-islam-203340>.
- Harb, Imad K. "The Jeddah Arab League Summit: MBS's Final Crowning." Arab Center Washington DC. Diakses 12 Agustus 2025. <https://arabcenterdc.org/resource/the-jeddah-arab-league-summit-mbss-final-crowning/>.
- Kabalan, Marwan. "Actors, Structures and Qatari Foreign Policy." Arab Center Washington DC. Diakses 26 September 2025. <https://arabcenterdc.org/resource/actors-structures-and-qatari-foreign-policy/>.
- Kabbani, Nader. "The Blockade on Qatar Helped Strengthen Its Economy, Paving the Way to Stronger Regional Integration." Brookings. Diakses 23 September 2025. <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/the-blockade-on-qatar-helped-strengthen-its-economy-paving-the-way-to-stronger-regional-integration/>.
- Mills, Andrew. "Exclusive: Qatar Opens Contacts with Syria's HTS Group, Source Says." Middle East, Reuters. Diakses 18 Juni 2025. <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/qatar-opens-contacts-with-syrias-hts-group-source-says-2024-12-09/>.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs Qatar. "Adviser to Prime Minister and Official Spokesperson of Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Qatar Open to All Parties to Achieve Aspirations of Syrians." Diakses 13 April 2025 & 8 Juli 2025. <https://mofa.gov.qa/en/qatar/latest-articles/latest-news/details/2024/12/10/adviser-to-prime-minister-and-official-spokesperson-of-ministry-of-foreign-affairs--qatar-open-to-all-parties-to-achieve-aspirations-of-syrians>.

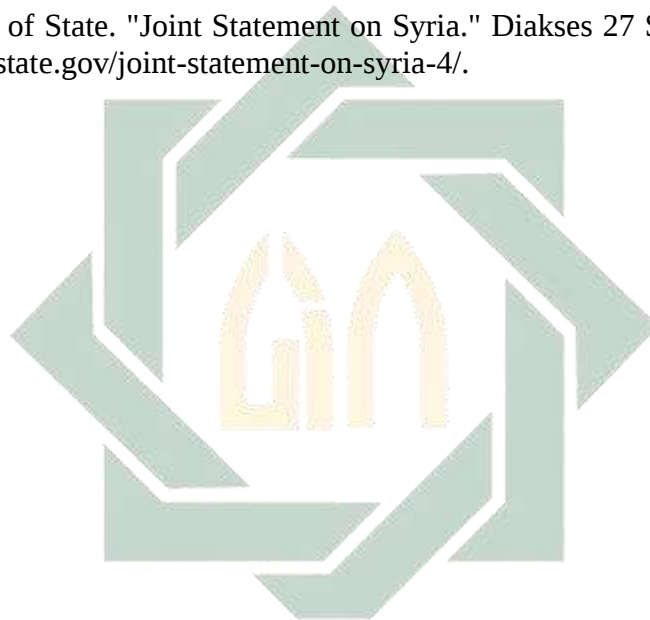
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs Qatar. "Qatar Announces Resumption of Embassy Operations in Syria from Tuesday." Diakses 10 Agustus 2025. <https://mofa.gov.qa/en/qatar/latest-articles/latest-news/details/2024/12/15/qatar-announces-resumption-of-embassy-operations-in-syria-from-tuesday>.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs Qatar. "Qatar Closely Monitors the Developments in Syria with Great Concern and Calls for the Preservation of Institutions and Unity of the State." Diakses 18 Juni 2025. <https://mofa.gov.qa/en/latest-articles/statements/qatar-closely-monitors-the-developments-in-syria-with-great-concern-and-calls-for-the-preservation-of-institutions-and-unity-of-the-state>.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs Qatar. "Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs: Qatar Hails New Syrian Administration's Moves, HH the Amir to Visit Damascus Soon." Diakses 3 Agustus 2025. <https://mofa.gov.qa/en/qatar/latest-articles/latest-news/details/2025/01/16/prime-minister-and-minister-of-foreign-affairs--qatar-hails-new-syrian-administration-s-moves--hh-the-amir-to-visit-damascus-soon>.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs Qatar. "Qatar, Syria Issue Joint Statement." Diakses 13 Juni 2025. <https://mofa.gov.qa/en/latest-articles/statements/qatar--syria-issue-joint-statement>.
- Pelayo, Joze. "What Role Will the Gulf States Play in Shaping the New Syria?." Atlantic Council. Diakses 23 September 2025. <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/menasource/what-role-will-gulf-states-play-in-shaping-the-new-syria/>.
- Perry, Tom, and Timour Azhari. "Syrian Leader Sharaa's Path from Global Jihad to Meeting Trump." Middle East, Reuters. Diakses 12 Agustus 2025. <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/syrian-leader-sharaas-path-global-jihad-trump-meeting-2025-05-14/>.
- Qatar News Agency. "Qatar and Syria: Solid Relations Strengthened by High-Level Reciprocal Visits." Diakses 10 Agustus 2025. <https://qna.org.qa/en/news/news-details?id=qatar-and-syria-solid-relations-strengthened-by-high-level-reciprocal-visits&date=15/04/2025>.
- Qarjouli, Asmahan. "Qatar Maintains honest Mediator Role' in Gaza Talks, Rejects Attempts to Turn into 'Pressure Tool." Doha News. Diakses 13 April 2025. <https://dohanews.co/qatar-maintains-honest-mediator-role-in-gaza-talks-rejects-attempts-to-turn-into-pressure-tool/>.
- Reuters. "Qatar's Emir Visits Syria, First Head of State to Visit Damascus since Assad's Fall." Middle East. Diakses 10 Agustus 2025. <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/qatars-emir-visit-damascus-thursday-al-jazeera-says-2025-01-30/>.
- Reuters. "Turkey's Erdogan Says There Is a New Reality in Syria." Middle East. Diakses 19 September 2025. <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/turkeys-erdogan-says-there-is-new-reality-syria-2024-12-07/>.
- Sio, Mohammad. "Syria's New Administration Leader Says Qatar to Have Active Role in Country's Development Process." Anadolu Ajansı. Diakses 12 April 2025. <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/middle-east/syria-s-new-administration-leader-says-qatar-to-have-active-role-in-country-s-development-process/3432345>.

Taylor and Francis. "Hay'at Tahrir Al-Sham (HTS) from an Insurgent Group to a Local Authority." Diakses 12 Agustus 2025.
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1057610X.2022.2082833>.

The Guardian. "The Guardian View on Ahmed Al-Sharaa and HTS: Seeking to Rebuild Syria While Branded as Terrorists." Diakses 27 September 2025.
<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2024/dec/22/the-guardian-view-on-ahmed-al-sharaa-and-hts-seeking-to-rebuild-syria-while-branded-as-terrorists>.

Triche, Natalie, and Amr Hamzawy. "The Gulf Shifts Policies in Response to the 'New' Syria." Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Diakses 23 September 2025.
<https://carnegieendowment.org/research/2025/01/the-gulf-shifts-policies-in-response-to-the-new-syria?lang=en>.

United States Department of State. "Joint Statement on Syria." Diakses 27 September 2025.
<https://2021-2025.state.gov/joint-statement-on-syria-4/>.



UIN SUNAN AMPEL
S U R A B A Y A