

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Angosto-Ferrandez, L.F. 2015. *'Venezuela Reframed: Bolivarianism, Indigenous Peoples, and Socialisms of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century'*. Zed Books, ISBN 1783601981
- Bahar, D., Bustos, S., Morales, J.R., and Santos, M.A., 2019. *Impact of the 2017 sanctions on Venezuela: Revisiting the evidence*. The Brookings Institute.
- Baldwin, D.A., 2000. The Sanctions Debate and the Logic of Choice. *International Security*, 24(3), pp.80–107. Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1162/016228899560248>.
- Borucki, Alex. 2012. 'Trans-imperial History in the Making of Slave-Trade to Venezuela 1526-1811'. *Itinerario*. Cambridge University Press, 36(2) pp.29-54.
- Bray, D.D., 2015. Varieties of Constructivism.
- Cameron, M.A. and Major, F., 2001. Venezuela's Hugo Chávez: Savior or Threat to Democracy. *Latin American Research Review*, 3 (36), 260.
- Cañizález, A., 2014. The State in Pursuit of Hegemony over the Media: The Chávez Model in Venezuela. In: *Media Systems and Communication Policies in Latin America*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 157–177.
- Castells, M. 2004. *The Power of Identity*, 2nd Edition, Blackwell Publishing, p.6.
- Castells, M. 2010. *The Power of Identity*, 2nd Edition, Wiley-Blackwell Publishing. pp.26-27.
- CFSP, 2017. *Restrictive measures in view of the situation in Venezuela*.
- Cheater, A. 1990. The Ideology of 'Communal' Land Tenure in Zimbabwe: Mythogenesis Enacted?'. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*. 60 (2), 188-206.
- Chigora, P. and Dewa, D., 2009. Surviving in a hostile environment: An analysis of Zimbabwe's foreign relations in 21st century international relations. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 3 (3), 22–98.
- Close, David. 2017. *'Latin American Politics'*, University of Toronto Press.
- Coen, B., 2001. White farms looted, destroyed in Zimbabwe [online]. *CNN*. Available from: <http://edition.cnn.com/2001/WORLD/africa/08/12/violence.zimbabwe/>.

- Daniel, Z., 2005. Mugabe slams Blair and Bush as “unholy alliance.” *AM*. Available at: <http://www.abc.net.au/am/content/2005/s1484645.htm>.
- De Venanzi, A. 2010. Authoritarianism versus Welfare Policy: The Two Faces of the Bolibarian Revolution. *Revista Venezolana de Analisis de Coyuntura*. 17(1). pp. 53-76
- Drezner, D.W., 1999. *The Sanctions Paradox: Economic Statecraft and International Relations*, Cambridge University Press.
- European Commission, 2004. *Specification Restrictive Measures against Zimbabwe*.
- Finnemore, M. & Sikkink, K., 2001. TAKING STOCK: The Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics. *Ann. Rev. Int. Pol.*, 4, pp.391–416.
- Galtung, J., 1967. On the Effects of International Economic Sanctions, With Examples from the Case of Rhodesia. *World Politics*, 19(03), pp.378–416. Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2009785>.
- Garlake, P. S. 1982. ‘Prehistory and Ideology in Zimbabwe’, *Journal of the International African Institute*, 52 (3), pp. 1-19.
- Gledhill, J., 2008. “The people’s oil”: Nationalism, globalization, and the possibility of another country in Brazil, Mexico, and Venezuela. *European Journal of Anthropology*, 52, 57074.
- Grove, A., 2011. The International Politics of Survival: The Case of Mugabe’s Staying Power. *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies*, 38 (2), 275–294.
- Kinloch, G.C. 2003. ‘Changing Racial Attitudes in Zimbabwe: Colonial/Post-Colonial Dynamics’, *Journal of Black Studies*, 34(2), pp.250-271.
- Koinange, Jeff, 2005. Tale of two farms in Zimbabwe [online]. *CNN*. Available from: <http://edition.cnn.com/2005/WORLD/africa/03/30/zimbabwe.farmers/index.html?s=PM:WORLD>.
- Mano, W., 2008. The Media and Politics in Zimbabwe: Turning Left while Indicating Right. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 13 (4), 507.
- Martin, W., 2018. Venezuela’s inflation rate just hit 830,000% — and is likely to keep rising. *Business Insider Singapore*. Available at: <https://www.businessinsider.sg/venezuela-inflation-rate-hyperinflation-2018-11/?r=US&IR=T> [Accessed March 4, 2019].

- Maya, M.L., 2-14. Venezuela: The Political Crisis of Post-Chavismo. *Social Justice/Global Options*, 40 (4), 68–87.
- Mazarire, G.C. 2008. ‘Reflections on Pre-Colonial Zimbabwe, c.850-1880s’ in *Becoming Zimbabwe, A History from the Pre-colonial Period to 2008*,. Oxford: African Book Collective, pp. 1-38.
- Mbanje, B.B.C. and Mahuku, D.N., 2011. European Union Sanctions and Their impacts on Zimbabwe 2002-2011: Finding Alternative Means to Survive. *Sacha Journal of Policy and Strategic Studies*, 1 (2), 6.
- Mlambo, A.S. ‘This is Our Land: The Racialization of Land in the Context of the Current Zimbabwe Crisis. *Journal of Developing Societies*, 26(1). Pp. 36-69
- Mlambo, A.S., 1995. Towards an Analysis of IMF Structural Adjustment Programmes in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA): The Case of Zimbabwe 1990-94. *Africa Development*, 20 (2), 77–98.
- Mohammad, N.M., 2011. A Holistic Constructivist Approach to Iran’s Foreign Policy. *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, 2(4). Available at: [http://www.ijbssnet.com/journals/Vol.\\_2\\_No.\\_4;\\_March\\_2011/31.pdf](http://www.ijbssnet.com/journals/Vol._2_No._4;_March_2011/31.pdf).
- Moyo, G. 2015. ‘Mugabe’s neo-Sultanist rule: Beyond the veil of pan-Africanism?’ in *Mugabeism? History, Politics, and Power*. Palgrave Macmillan. Pp. 61-77.
- Moyo, S., 2011. Changing agrarian relations after redistributive land reform in Zimbabwe. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 38 (5), 943.
- Mugabe, R., 2000. Robert Mugabe Speech in UN Millennium Summit.
- Mupuvi, Bridget. 2014. “Land to the People: Peasants and Nationalism in the Development of Land Ownership Structure in Zimbabwe from Pre-Colonialism to the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) Period.”, University of Salford.
- Myles, F., 2006. Rethinking Latin America: A New Approach in US Foreign Policy. *Harvard International Review*, 28 (2), 28–31.
- Navarette, R. 2008. ‘The Prehistory of Venezuela: Not Necessarily an Intermediate Area’ in *Handbook of South American Archaeology*, pp. 429-458.
- Ndhlovu, F. 2008. ‘The politics of language and nationality in Zimbabwe: Nation building or empire building?’, *South African Journal of African Languages*, 28(1), 1-10, doiI: 10.1080/02572117.2008.10587297
- Otazo, A., 2012. PDVSA’S possible sale of CITGO and the subsequent ramifications on US foreign and energy policy. *Energy Policy*, 42, 89–94.

- Owomoyela, O. 2002. *Culture and Customs of Zimbabwe*. Greenwood Press.
- Palast, G., 2006. An Interview with Hugo Chávez [online]. Available from: <https://progressive.org/magazine/hugo-Chávez-interview/>.
- Raby, D. 2011. 'Venezuelan Foreign Policy under Chávez 1999-2010: The Pragmatic Success of Revolutionary Ideology?' in *Latin American Foreign Policies: Ideology and Pragmatism*. Palgrave Macmillan. Pp. 159-179.
- Rajagopalan, K., 2005. Language Politics in South America. *AILA Review*.
- Rodner, V.L., 2016. Populism in Venezuela: When Discourse Derails Institutionalized Practice. *Society*, 53, 629–633.
- Ros-Lehitinen, I., 2014. *Venezuelan Human Rights and Democracy Protection Act*.
- Salas, J.M.H. 2005. The Political Economy of Racism in Venezuela", *Latin American Perspectives*, *Venezuelan Exceptionalism Revisited: The Unraveling of Venezuela's Model Democracy* 32 (2), pp. 72-91.
- Speech by Hugo Chávez Frias, 2003. Presented at the 6th Session of UNCDDD, Havana.
- Speech by Hugo Chávez Frias., 2006. Presented at the UNGA, New York.
- Speech by Robert Gabriel Mugabe., 2003. Presented at the World Summit on the Information Society, Geneva, Switzerland.
- Speech by Robert Gabriel Mugabe., 2008. Presented at the 7<sup>th</sup> Parliament of Zimbabwe, Harare, Zimbabwe
- Sullivan, M.P., 2019. Venezuela: Overview of U.S. Sanctions. Available at: <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/IF10715.pdf>.
- Tafira, C.K. 2015. 'Mugabe's Land Reform and the Provocation of Global White Antiracism' in *Mugabeism? History, Politics, and Power in Zimbabwe*. Palgrave Macmillan. Pp 203-2017
- Tarver, H.M; Frederick, J.C. 2005. *The History of Venezuela*, Greenwood Press.
- Tendi, B.-M., n.d. The Origins and Functions of Demonisation Discourses in Britain–Zimbabwe Relations (2000–). *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 40 (6), 1251–1269.
- U.S. Congress, 2001. *Venezuela Defense on Human Rights and Civil Society Act*.
- U.S. Congress, 2001. *Zimbabwe Democracy and Recovery Act of 2001*.

- Viotti, P.R. and Kauppi, M.V., 2009. *International Relations Theory*, Longman Publishing Group.
- Vulliamy, E., 2002. Venezuela coup linked to Bush team [online]. *The Guardian*. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/apr/21/usa.venezuela>.
- Walz, J. R. 2008. 'The Silence of Great Zimbabwe: Contested Landscapes and the Power of Heritage.' *African Studies Quarterly*, 10
- Weisbrot, M. and Sachs, J., 2019. *Economic Sanctions as Collective Punishment: The Case of Venezuela*. Washington: Centre for Economic and Policy Research.
- Wendt, A., 1994. Collective Identity Formation and the International State. *American Political Science Review*, 88(2), pp.384–396. Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2944711>.
- Wilpert, G., 2014. Chávez' Legacy of Land Reform in Venezuela. In: *Review of Agrarian Studies*. Presented at the Tenth Anniversary Conference of the Foundation for Agrarian Studies, Kochi.
- Yazdani, E. & Nozari, A., 2015. The Effect of Western Sanctions on the Political Will and Economic Structure of Iran. *International Journal of Resistive Economics*, 3(2), pp.90–106.
- Youde, J., 2007. Why Look East? Zimbabwean Foreign Policy and China. *Africa Today*, 53 (3), 3–19.
- Zuquete, J.P. 2008. 'The Missionary Politics of Hugo Chávez' in *Latin American Politics and Society*. University of Miami. Pp. 91-121.