

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

### Buku:

- Breuning, Marjike. *Foreign Policy Analysis: A Comparative Introduction*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
- Burchill, Scott et al. *Theories of International Relations*. edisi 3. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Creswell, John W. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*. edisi 2. (California: Sage Publications, 2007).
- Dunne, Tim. *International Relations Theories Discipline and Diversity*. edisi 3. (United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- Jimenez, Masullo dan Juan. *Global Diffusion of Protest*. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017).
- Mandelbaum, Michael. *The Four Ages of American Foreign Policy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2022).
- McCoy, Jennifer L. and Myers, David J. *The Unraveling of Representative Democracy in Venezuela*. (Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).
- McGlinchey, Stephen et al. *International Relations Theory*. (England: E-International Relations, 2017).
- Morin, Jean-Frédéric dan Paquin, Jonathan. *Foreign Policy Analysis*. (Canada: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).
- Neuman, W. Lawrence. *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. edisi 7. (London: Pearson Education Limited, 2014).
- Rosati, Jerel A. dan Scott, James M. *The Politics of United States*. edisi 5. (USA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2011).
- Sachs, Jeffrey D. *A New Foreign Policy*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018).
- Salas, Miguel Tinker. *Venezuela What Everyone Needs to Know*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).
- Setiawan, Asep dan Sulastri, Endang. *Pengantar Studi Politik Luar Negeri*. (UMJ Press, 2017).

Smith, Steve et al. *Foreign Policy Theories, Actors, Cases*. (United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2016).

Traver, H. Micheal. *The History of Venezuela*. edisi 2. (California: Greenwood, 2018).

Viotti, Paul R. and dan Kauppi, Mark V. *International Relations Theory*. edisi 5. (Pearson Education Inc, 2012).

Walker, Stephen G. et al. *Rethinking Foreign Policy Analysis*. (New York dan London: Routledge, 2011).

Whitehead, Laurence. *Democratization Theory and Experience*. (Oxford University Press, 2002).

#### **Artikel Jurnal:**

Aida, Ridha. "Liberalisme dan Komunitarianisme: Konsep tentang Individu dan Komunitas." *Demokrasi* 4. No. 2 (2005): 95-106.

Abidin, Endriady Edy. "Pembangunan, Neoliberalisme dan Kesenjangan: Belajar dari Pengalaman Amerika Latin." *Jurnal Interdependence* 1. No. 1 (Januari-April 2013): 37-45.

Balthasar, Dominik. "Peace-Building as State-Building? Rethinking Liberal Interventionism in Contexts of Emerging States." *Conflict, Security and Development* 17. No. 6 (2017): 473-491.

DOI: 10.1080/14678802.2017.1406180

Biswas, Shampa. "Stories of Hegemony: The Political Stakes of the Rise and Decline US Power." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 75. No. 4 (November 2016): 1031-1039.

DOI:10.1017/S0021911816001613

Bonfli, Christian. "The United States and Venezuela: The Social Construction of Interdependent Rivalry." *Security Dialogue* 41. No. 6 (Desember 2010): 669-690.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/26301707>

Campos, Carlos Olivia dan Prevost, Gary "The Trump Administration in Latin America: Continuity and Change." *International Journal of Cuban Studies* 11. No.1 (2019): 13-23.

DOI: 10.2307/j50005551

Choi, Seung Wan dan James, Patrick. "Why Does the United States Intervene Abroad? Democracy, Human Rights Violations, and Terrorism." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60. No. 5 (Desember 2014): 899-926.

DOI: 10.1177/0022002714560350

Ellner, Steve "Just How Radical is President Nicolás Maduro." *NACLA Report on the Americas* 46. No. 2 (2013): 45-49.

DOI: 10.1080/10714839.2013.11721996

Farah, Douglas dan Yates, Caitlyn. "Great Power Competition in Latin America: A New Normal." *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* 44. No. 2 (2020): 45-64.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/48599309>

Galibreath, David J. "Securitizing Democracy and Democratic Security: A Reflection on Democratization Studies." *Democracy and Security* 8. No. 1 (Januari-Maret 2012): 28-42.

DOI: 10.1080/17419166.2012.653737

Garret, Terence Michael. "An Analysis of U.S. Custom and Border Protection's Tripartite Mexico Border Security Policy." *Annales. Ethics in Economic Life* 21. No. 4 (2018): 92.

DOI: 10.18778/1899-2226.21.4.07

Iskandar, Fathur Octaviano. "Kepentingan Amerika Serikat Terlibat dalam Konflik Domestik Venezuela Tahun 2019." *JOM FISIP* 8. ed. 1 (Januari-Juni 2021): 1-21.

Kalu, Ugonma Joy Ugbor. "The Bolivarian Regimes and Governance Deficit in Venezuela, 2015-2019." *Cogent Social Sciences* 6. No. 1 (2020): 1-11.

DOI: 10.1080/23311886.2020.1781498

KAZMİ, Aqeel Abbas dan FİDA, Zeeshan. "Crisis of Liberal Hegemony and the US," *Çekmece İZÜ Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 9. No.18 (2021): 48-58.

Koselleck, Reinhart and Richter, Michaela W. "Crisis." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 67. No. 2 (April 2006): 357-400.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/30141882>

Lipsey, David. "Liberal Interventionism." *The Political Quarterly* 87. No. 3 (July–September 2016): 415-423.

DOI: 10.1111/1467-923X.12229

Manríquez, José Luis León. "Power Vacuum or Hegemonic Continuity?: The United States, Latin America, and the "Chinese Factor" After the Cold War." *World Affairs* 179. No. 3 (2016): 59-81.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/26369516>

Pahlawan, Indra dan Wahyu, Septian. "Strategi Venezuela Menyepakati ALBA Dalam Menghadapi Ekspansi Perdagangan Amerika Serikat Dikawasan Amerika Latin." *Jurnal Online Mahasiswa Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Riau* 1. No. 1 (Februari 2014): 1-14.

Qin, He. "Perspective on the Historical Origin and Essential Nature of Twenty-First Century Socialisme in Latin America." *International Critical Thought* 5. No. 4 (2015): 518-528.

DOI: 10.1080/21598282.2015.1102119

Qorina, Cindy et al. "Upaya Amerika Serikat dalam Mencapai Kepentingan Ekonomi-Politik di Venezuela pada Masa Pemerintahan Nicolas Maduro." *Indonesian Journal of Global Discourse* 2. Ed.2 (July - December 2020): 74-91.

DOI: 10.29303/ijgd.v2i2.24

Rooksby, Ed. "The Relationship Between Liberalism and Socialism." *Science and Society* 76. No. 4 (Oktober 2012): 495-520.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/41714354>

Stevenson, Jonathan. "Venezuela's Post-Chavez Torment." *Strategic Comments* 22. No. 6 (2016): i-ii.

DOI: 10.1080/13567888.2016.1221587

Stilwell, Frank. "Crises, Interventions and Profits: A Political Economic Perspective." *Global Change, Peace, and Security* 20. No. 3 (2008): 263-274.

DOI: 10.1080/14781150802390442

Scott, James M. dan Carter, Ralph G. "Promoting Democracy in Latin America: Foreign Policy Change and US Democracy Assistance" 1975-2010." *Third World Quarterly* 37. No. 2 (2016): 299-320.

DOI: 10.1080/01436597.2015.1108824

Wardhana, Agastya dan Dugis, Vinsensio M. A. "Grand Strategy Isolasionisme Selektif: Kebijakan Luar Negeri Amerika Serikat di Era Trump." *Global Strategis* 13. No. 2 (2019): 141-156.

DOI: 10.20473/jgs.13.2.2019.141-156

#### **Dokumen Pemerintah:**

United States Government Information. Executive Order 13808 (2017).

United States Government Information, Executive Order 13827 (2018).

United States Government Information, Executive Order 13835 (2018).

United States Government Information, Executive Order 13850 (2018).

United States Government Information, Executive Order 13857 (2019).

United States Government Information, Executive Order 13884 (2019).

United States Government Information. Executive Order 13692 (2015).

United States Government Information. Public Law 116-194 (2019).

### **Laporan Penelitian:**

Rendon, Moises dan Price, Max. "Are Sanctions Working in Venezuela?." Center For Strategic and International Studies (2019).

Rodríguez, Francisco. "Sanctions, Economic Statecraft, and Venezuela's Crisis." The Fourth Freedom Forum: Sanctions and Security Research Project (2022).

Scheller, Stefan. "Nobody Builds Walls Better Than Me —: US Policy Towards Latin America Under Donald Trump." Federal Academy for Security Policy (2017).

Schulz, Donald E. "The United States and Latin America: Shaping an Elusive Future." Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College (2002).

Stoetman, Adája and Zeverijn, Anna. "Sentinel of Caribbean US Foreign Policy Toward Venezuela." Clingendael Institute: The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies (2020)

Third Way. "Country Brief: Venezuela," Third Way Report (2019).

"Venezuela: Overview of U.S. Sanctions." Congressional Research Service (2022).

Weisbrot, Mark dan Sachs, Jeffrey. "Economic Sanctions as Collective Punishment: The Case of Venezuela." Center for Economic and Policy Research (2019).

### **Sumber Daring:**

"A Short History of Venezuela." Study Corner.  
<https://www.studycountry.com/guide/VE-history.htm> (diakses pada 19 November 2022).



- “AS Kenakan Pembatasan Visa Baru Atas Para Pejabat Venezuela.” VOA. 3 Februari 2015. <https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/as-kenakan-pembatasan-visa-baru-atas-para-pejabat-venezuela/2625744.html> (diakses pada 23 November 2022).
- “Krisis Venezuela: Kubu Oposisi Serukan Aksi Demo untuk Memaksa Maduro Turun.” BBC News. 2 Mei 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia-48116547> (diakses pada 21 November 2022).
- “League of Nations.” History. 12 Oktober 2017. <https://www.history.com/topics/world-war-i/league-of-nations> (diakses pada 9 Mei 2022).
- “Maduro Menang Pemilu Presiden Venezuela.” BBC News. 15 April 2013. [https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia/2013/04/130415\\_nicolas\\_maduro\\_menang\\_pemilu](https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia/2013/04/130415_nicolas_maduro_menang_pemilu) (diakses pada 21 April 2022).
- “Russian Diplomat Warns US Military Intervention in Venezuela may Become a Reality.” Russian Agency News (TAAS). 18 April 2019. <https://tass.com/politics/1054366> (diakses pada 20 November 2022).
- “U.S. Government Support for the Democratic Aspirations of the Venezuelan People.” U.S. Department of State. <https://2017-2021.state.gov/u-s-government-support-for-the-democratic-aspirations-of-the-venezuelan-people/index.html> (diakses pada 20 November 2022).
- “U.S. Relations with Venezuela.” U.S. Department of State. 10 Maret 2022. <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-venezuela/> (diakses pada 17 Juli 2022).
- “U.S. Relations with Venezuela.” U.S. Department of State. 6 Juli 2020. <https://2017-2021.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-venezuela/index.html> (diakses pada 20 November 2022).
- “Venezuela – US Relations.” Global Security. <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/venezuela/forrel-us-background.htm> (diakses pada 19 November 2022).
- “Venezuela Crisis: Maduro Cuts Ties with US After it Recognises Opposition Leader.” BBC News. 24 Januari 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-46982692> (diakses pada 19 November 2022).
- “Venezuela Siap Pasok Dunia dengan Minyak dan Gas.” CNN. 15 September 2022. <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20220915135900-85->

848265/venezuela-siap-pasok-dunia-dengan-minyak-dan-gas (diakses pada 25 November).

Anderson, Scott R. "What Does It Mean for the United States to Recognize Juan Guaidó as Venezuela's President?." Lawfare. 1 Februari 2019.  
<https://www.lawfareblog.com/what-does-it-mean-united-states-recognize-juan-guaidó-venezuelas-president> (diakses pada 20 November 2022).

Alexander, Harriet. "Venezuela's Juan Guaido Says 'All Options Open' After Soldiers Set Fire to Aid Convoys in Deadly Border Clashes." The Telegraph. 24 Februari 2019.  
<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2019/02/23/venezuelan-soldiers-defect-troops-fire-tear-gas-protesters-colombia/> (diakses pada 21 November 2022).

Anugrah, Iqra. "Ada Apa di Venezuela?." Indo Progress. 7 Maret 2014.  
<https://indoprogress.com/2014/03/ada-apa-di-venezuela/> (19 November 2022).

Ariyanti, Hari. "Menelisik Bukti Keterlibatan AS dalam Upaya Penggulingan Rezim di Venezuela." Merdeka. 15 Maret 2019.  
<https://www.merdeka.com/dunia/menelisik-bukti-keterlibatan-as-dalam-upaya-penggulingan-rezim-di-venezuela.html> (diakses pada 17 Juli 2022).

Bartlett, Jason dan Ophel, Megan. "Sanctions by the Numbers: Spotlight on Venezuela." Center for a New American Security. 22 Juni 2022.  
<https://www.cnas.org/publications/reports/sanctions-by-the-numbers-3> (diakses pada 23 November 2022).

Botz, Dan La et al. "The Struggle for Democracy and Socialism in Latin America." A Democratic Socialists of America Publication. 2020.  
<https://socialistforum.dsausa.org/issues/winter-2020/the-struggle-for-democracy-and-socialism-in-latin-america/> (diakses pada 19 November 2022).

Budiartie, Gustidha. "Venezuela, Negara Minyak Terkaya Dunia yang Dirundung Petaka." CNBC Indonesia. 21 Juli 2019.  
<https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20190721092059-4-86395/venezuela-negara-minyak-terkaya-dunia-yang-dukung-petaka> (diakses pada 17 Juli 2022).

Buncome, Andrew. "US Sanctions on Venezuela Responsible for 'Tens of Thousands' of Deaths, Claims New Report." Independent. 26 April 2019.  
<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/venezuela-sanctions-us-excess-death-toll-economy-oil-trump-maduro-juan-guaido-jeffrey-sachs-a8888516.html> (diakses pada 24 November 2022).

- Carrilo, Pedro E. "How Today's Crisis in Venezuela was Created by Hugo Chávez's 'Revolutionary' Plan." *The Conversation*. 6 Juli 2016.  
<https://theconversation.com/how-todays-crisis-in-venezuela-was-created-by-hugo-chavez-s-revolutionary-plan-61474> (diakses pada 19 November 2022).
- Casey, Nicholas et al. "Footage Contradicts U.S. Claim That Nicolás Maduro Burned Aid Convoy" *The New York Times*. 10 Maret 2019.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/10/world/americas/venezuela-aid-fire-video.html> (diakses pada 21 November 2022).
- Cullinane, Susannah and Castillo, Jackie. "Venezuelan Opposition Leader to Meet Pence in Bogota After Weekend of Violence." *CNN*. 25 Februari 2019.  
<https://edition.cnn.com/2019/02/24/americas/venezuela-pompeo-maduro-colombia/index.html> (diakses pada 21 November 2022).
- Dewantari, Luluk. "Hancurnya Venezuela akibat Sosialisme." *IR Corner*. 6 Maret 2021. <https://www.ircorner.com/hancurnya-venezuela-akibat-sosialisme/> (diakses pada 19 November 2022).
- Ellner, Steve. "Biden Vacillates as Venezuela's Maduro Gains Ground." *Code Pink*. <https://www.codepink.org/biden-vacillates-as-maduro-gains-ground> (diakses pada 19 November 2022).
- Ellsworth, Brian. "Trump Says US Military Intervention in Venezuela 'An Option;' Russia Objects." *The Jakarta Post*. 4 Februari 2019.  
<https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2019/02/04/trump-says-us-military-intervention-in-venezuela-an-option-russia-objects.html> (diakses pada 20 November 2022).
- Greenwald, Glenn. "NYT's Exposé on the Lies About Burning Aid Trucks in Venezuela Shows How U.S. Government and Media Spread Pro-War Propaganda." *The Intercept*. 10 Maret 2019.  
<https://theintercept.com/2019/03/10/nyts-expose-on-the-lies-about-burning-humanitarian-trucks-in-venezuela-shows-how-us-govt-and-media-spread-fake-news/> (diakses pada 21 November 2022).
- Gunawan, Roni. "Minyak Bumi, "Kartu AS" Sang Adidaya Amerika Serikat." *Kompasiana*. 23 Januari 2012.  
<https://www.kompasiana.com/ronigunawan/550d7360813311502cb1e394/minyak-bumi-kartu-as-sang-adidaya-amerika-serikat> (diakses pada 17 Juli 2022).



- Heckel, Heather D. "Venezuela." *Britannica*. 28 Juni 2021.  
<https://www.britannica.com/place/Venezuela/The-Hugo-Chavez-presidency> (diakses pada 19 November).
- Kiger, Patrick J. "How Venezuela Fell From the Richest Country in South America into Crisis." *History*. 9 Mei 2019.  
<https://www.history.com/news/venezuela-chavez-maduro-crisis> (diakses 17 Juli 2022).
- McCoy, Jennifer L. "Venezuela," *Britannica*. 6 Oktober 2021.  
<https://www.britannica.com/place/Venezuela> (diakses pada 17 Juli 2022).
- Nichols, Michelle. "U.S. Pushes U.N. Security Council to Back Venezuela's Guaido." *Reuters*. 25 Januari 2019. <https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-venezuela-politics-un-russia-idUKKCN1PJ1ZX> (diakses pada 20 November 2022).
- Otis, John. "The U.S. is trying to mend ties with Venezuela. One big reason? Oil." *NPR*. 26 November 2022.  
<https://www.npr.org/2022/11/03/1133615222/us-venezuela-diplomacy-oil-sanctions-negotiations> (diakses pada 19 November 2022).
- Small, Kira. "US Foreign Policy toward Venezuela." *The Advocate*. 12 Mei 2021.  
<https://theacademyadvocate.com/7158/news/us-foreign-policy-toward-venezuela/> (19 November 2022).
- Utomo, Ardi Priyatno. "Menentang Presiden Venezuela, Demonstran Bentrok dengan Polisi." *Kompas*. 23 Januari 2019.  
<https://internasional.kompas.com/read/2019/01/23/08472581/menentang-presiden-venezuela-demonstran-bentrok-dengan-polisi?page=all> (diakses pada 21 November 2022).
- Wikan, Vilde Skorpen. "What Is 'Neoliberalism', and How Does It Relate to Globalization?." *E-International Relations*. 21 Maret 2015.  
<https://www.e-ir.info/2015/03/21/what-is-neoliberalism-and-how-does-it-relate-to-globalization/> (diakses pada 19 November 2022).
- Wroughton, Lesley. "OAS Chief Blames Maduro Government for Venezuela Crisis." *Reuters*. 24 Juni 2016. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-venezuela-oas-idUSKCN0Z9200> (diakses pada 20 November 2022).
- Zimonjic, Peter. "Lima Group Embraces Venezuelan Opposition Leader Guaido, Calls on Military to Quit Maduro." *CBC News*. 4 Februari 2019.  
<https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/lima-group-declaration-venezuela-1.5005559> (diakses pada 20 November 2022)