

II. The Situation in Venezuela

Introduction

Since 1999, Venezuela has been facing a complex situation characterized by institutional corruption, diminishing rights and freedoms, a humanitarian crisis, and a significant emigration of its citizens.¹ Over the last twenty-five years, Venezuela has experienced an economic and social decline, which has intensified with the rise of the populist petrostate of present.² However, this has not always been the case. Venezuela plays an important role in the global strategic oil market and is among the sixty-six Member States holding elections in 2024.³ The situation in Venezuela has drawn international attention and concern due to its far-reaching implications for the region, economic implications, and unintended consequences of mass migration.⁴

Economic Concerns and Public Debt

From 1958 until the mid-1990s, Venezuela was an established democracy and one of Latin America's most urbanized and highly rich petroleum Member States.⁵ However, the Venezuelan economy has experienced numerous challenging inflection points, many of which were worsened by insufficient banking supervision and inadequate financial sector liberalization starting in the mid-1990s.⁶ In 1998, Hugo Chávez was elected president, introducing a redistributive policy aimed at reducing inequality through land reform and wealth development, reducing poverty, and increasing urban development, backed monetarily by the Petróleos de Venezuela, S.A (PDVSA), Venezuela's national oil company.⁷ However, several policies, like internal corruption from PDVSA and strict central price controls, stifled private industries and caused the Venezuelan Bolívar to lose its value and shortages of essential goods.⁸ In 2009, Chávez implemented a policy to consolidate power by removing presidential term limits and firing numerous skilled workers who took part in strikes and protests against PDVSA.⁹ As a result, Venezuela accrued more international debt as strategic petroleum reserves dwindled to critical levels.¹⁰

From 2002 to 2008, access to public goods decreased further because of price controls and the global commodities supercycle.¹¹ A technological or geopolitical shift often triggers a supercycle, where demand for necessary petroleum, agriculture, or metal items is high demand and exceeds the supply of the commodity, causing an increase in price and subsequent investment.¹² During the following decade, there was rapid price inflation, deflation,

¹ Human Rights Council, "Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela," OHCHR, 2024, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/hr-bodies/hrc/ffmv/index>, (accessed July 20, 2024).

² Cheatham, Amelia, and Diana Roy, "Venezuela: The Rise and Fall of a Petrostate," Council on Foreign Relations, March 10, 2023, <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/venezuela-crisis>, (accessed August 16, 2024).

³ Global Elections Database, "Home," 2024, <https://globalelectionsdatasite.com/global-elections-das>, (accessed July 13, 2024).

⁴ Global Elections Database, "Home."

⁵ Human Rights Council, "Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela;" "Feature: The Carter Center and the 2004 Venezuela Elections," The Carter Center, 2024, https://www.cartercenter.org/news/documents/doc1690.html?s_src=jimmycarter&, (accessed August 13, 2024).

⁶ García-Herrero, Alicia, "Banking Crises in Latin America in the 1990's: Lessons from Argentina, Paraguay, and Venezuela," *IMF Working Papers* 1997 (140), <https://doi.org/10.5089/9781451856095.001.A001>, (accessed July 13, 2024).

⁷ Shabani, Rachel, "Venezuela: Socialism, Hyperinflation, and Economic Collapse," AIER, 2017, https://www.aier.org/research/venezuela-socialism-hyperinflation-and-economic-collapse/?gad_source=1&gclid=Cj0KCQjw2ou2BhCCARIsANAwM2GNgl8udjVSYMX87rR_dBrb8ZyPviuB_tHDA59ut2gjAvh744oMZg4aAinBEALw_wcB, (accessed August 25, 2024); Sylvia, Ronald, & Constantine Danopoulos, "The Chávez Phenomenon: Political Change in Venezuela," *Third World Quarterly*, vol 24 no 1, pp 63-76 (2003), <https://library.fes.de/libalt/journals/swets/fulltext/15630735.pdf>.

⁸ Sylvia, Ronald, & Constantine Danopoulos, "The Chávez Phenomenon: Political Change in Venezuela."

⁹ Cheatham, Amelia, and Diana Roy, "Venezuela: The Rise and Fall of a Petrostate."

¹⁰ Cheatham, Amelia, and Diana Roy, "Venezuela: The Rise and Fall of a Petrostate."

¹¹ Cheatham, Amelia, and Diana Roy, "Venezuela: The Rise and Fall of a Petrostate."

¹² Kabundi, Alain, Garima Vasishtha, and Hamza Zahid, "Ch. 3: The Nature and Drivers of Commodity Price Cycles," In *Commodity markets: evolution, challenges, and policies*, World Bank Publications, 2022, <https://thedocs.worldbank.org/en/doc/b4ff84b2d5dc4d0963a5074102460cc1-0350012022/related/Commodity-Markets-Chapter-3.pdf>.

contractual breaches, and expropriation policies between PDVSA and oil companies.¹³ The state of economic affairs in Venezuela worsened.¹⁴ From 2005 to 2015, PDVSA subsidized oil for many Latin and South American Member States.¹⁵ While subsidizing, oil production was also reduced due to the loss of skilled labor and expropriation from oil companies in Venezuela.¹⁶ In 2014, global oil prices sharply declined, and Venezuela's government struggled to stay out of financial default.¹⁷ Since 2005, the United States (US) has targeted sanctions on "Venezuelan individuals and entities that have engaged in criminal, antidemocratic, or corrupt actions," including restrictions on entering financial deals and obtaining US visas.¹⁸ The 2013 Venezuelan Special Presidential Election helped to prompt another round of severe international sanctions by the European Union (EU) and the United Kingdom (UK) based on claims of corruption, unfair elections, and threats to opposition party leaders through arrest and removal.¹⁹ Sanctions included excluding PDVSA from accessing US and European financial systems through oil imports.²⁰ Sanctions of such length and magnitude have had drastic consequences for Venezuela's oil export market, as Venezuela heavily relies on its hydrocarbon sector, which constitutes twenty-five percent of its gross domestic product and ninety-five percent of its exports.²¹ Because of the decline in economic profit, in addition to sanctions, consumers' access to public goods and services has declined, raising health and sanitation issues.²²

The United Nations (UN) addressed to the political and economic situation within Venezuela, with the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNCHR) expressing concern for the sanctions and increased economic strain created on the population.²³ In 2019, Venezuela's Consumer Price Inflation (CPI) averaged 19,906 percent; in 2023, the annual CPI averaged 337.2 percent due to sustained hyperinflation, resulting in prices fluctuating quickly and people hoarding daily goods as they become scarce.²⁴ The Venezuelan Bolívar also decreased in value, dropping eighty percent from 2013 to 2021.²⁵ In 2021, Venezuela issued a new currency for its existing banknotes, taking higher paper notes off the market and changing how much each is worth, regardless of their previous known value, to boost the Bolívar cash economy instead of electronic or US dollar-based transactions.²⁶

Presidential Elections of 2013 and 2018

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- ¹³ Cheatham, Amelia, and Diana Roy, "Venezuela: The Rise and Fall of a Petrostate," Council on Foreign Relations, March 10, 2023, <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/venezuela-crisis>, (accessed August 16, 2024); Rapier, Robert. "How Venezuela Ruined Its Oil Industry," *Forbes*, May 9, 2017, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/rpapier/2017/05/07/how-venezuela-ruined-its-oil-industry/>, (accessed August 29, 2024).
- ¹⁴ Cheatham, Amelia, & Diana Roy, "Venezuela: The Rise and Fall of a Petrostate.," Rapier, Robert, "How Venezuela Ruined Its Oil Industry."
- ¹⁵ Cheatham, Amelia, and Diana Roy, "Venezuela: The Rise and Fall of a Petrostate."
- ¹⁶ Cheatham, Amelia, and Diana Roy, "Venezuela: The Rise and Fall of a Petrostate."
- ¹⁷ Cheatham, Amelia, and Diana Roy, "Venezuela: The Rise and Fall of a Petrostate."
- ¹⁸ Congressional Research Service, "Venezuela: Overview of U.S. Sanctions Policy," April 24, 2014, <https://sgp.fas.org/crs/row/IF10715.pdf>, (accessed August 12, 2023).
- ¹⁹ US Embassy & Consulates in Brazil, "Assessing the Results of Venezuela's Presidential Election," August 1, 2024, <https://br.usembassy.gov/assessing-the-results-of-venezuelas-presidential-election/>, (accessed August 17, 2024); Global Sanctions, "Venezuela," updated 2024, <https://globalsanctions.co.uk/region/venezuela/>, (accessed August 17, 2024).
- ²⁰ Cheatham, Amelia, and Diana Roy, "Venezuela: The Rise and Fall of a Petrostate."
- ²¹ DePersio, Greg, "How Does the Price of Oil Affect Venezuela's Economy?" Investopedia, September 27, 2022, <https://www.investopedia.com/ask/answers/032515/how-does-price-oil-affect-venezuelas-economy.asp#:~:text=Oil%20is%20Major%20Part%20of>, (accessed July 15, 2024).
- ²² Human Rights Watch, "Venezuela's Humanitarian Crisis | Severe Medical and Food Shortages, Inadequate and Repressive Government Response," October 24, 2016, <https://www.hrw.org/report/2016/10/24/venezuelas-humanitarian-crisis/severe-medical-and-food-shortages-inadequate-and>, (accessed June 27, 2024).
- ²³ UN News, "UN Rights Chief Bemoans Unilateral Sanctions on Venezuela, Fearing 'Far-Reaching Implications,'" United Nations, August 8, 2019, <https://news.un.org/en/story/2019/08/1043981>, (accessed August 17, 2024).
- ²⁴ Focus Economics, "Venezuela Inflation," December 5, 2022, <https://www.focus-economics.com/country-indicator/venezuela/inflation/#:~:text=Consumer%20price%20inflation%20in%20Venezuela>, (accessed August 20, 2024).
- ²⁵ Shabani, Rachel, "Venezuela: Socialism, Hyperinflation, and Economic Collapse," AIER, 2017, https://www.aier.org/research/venezuela-socialism-hyperinflation-and-economic-collapse/?gad_source=1&gclid=Cj0KCCQjw2ou2BhCCARIsANAwM2GNgl8udjVSYMX87rR_dBrb8ZyPviuB_tHDA59ut2gjAvh744oMZg4aAinBEALw_wcB, (accessed August 25, 2024); Al Jazeera, "Venezuela Introduces New Currency, Drops Six Zeros," October 1, 2021, <https://www.aljazeera.com/economy/2021/10/1/venezuela-introduces-new-currency-drops-six-zeros>, (accessed August 17, 2024).
- ²⁶ Al Jazeera, "Venezuela Introduces New Currency, Drops Six Zeros."

Immediately following the 2013 death of President Hugo Chávez, Vice President Nicolás Maduro took office as president.²⁷ However, opposition party leaders boycotted his inauguration, arguing the National Assembly leader should have taken over as acting president under the Venezuelan Constitution and called for an election.²⁸ On April 14th, 2013, Venezuela held a special presidential election where Maduro claimed victory by a 1.49 percent margin.²⁹ The opposition did not accept the election results, alleging irregularities, and called for an audit of the electoral registry.³⁰ The audit declared Maduro president.³¹ The special election of 2013, paired with several years of staggering inflation, triggered both domestic and international responses of discontent, claiming Maduro committed election fraud through consolidated power in the National Council and cutting out access for opposition leaders.³²

The 2018 Presidential election set off a new wave of instability, as the National Constituent Assembly (NCA) banned and prosecuted several opposition opponents.³³ Following the 2018 election, support for incumbent Maduro and opposition party leader Juan Guaidó divided Venezuela as to who was the legitimate President, following claims of election fraud and Maduro's divisive inauguration in 2013.³⁴ Fifty-seven Member States officially recognized Guaidó as the President of Venezuela.³⁵ In response to the 2018 election, the UN Secretary-General and the UN Security Council (SC) called for cooperation between political parties for the sake of the remaining population.³⁶

Humanitarian Concerns

In 2019, the SC discussed the ongoing humanitarian situation in Venezuela.³⁷ The SC expressed concerns about worsening humanitarian conditions and the lack of access to necessary medical, sanitation, and clean water, and requested additional humanitarian funding and efforts.³⁸ In October 2019, the UN Human Rights Council (HRC) established A/HRC/RES 42/25, an independent Fact-Finding Mission (FFM) in Venezuela to inspect claims of human rights violations that had taken place in the Member State since 2014.³⁹ The FFM's mandate was extended

²⁷ BBC, "Venezuela Announces Post-Chavez Election Date." *BBC News*, March 9, 2013, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-21731336>, (accessed August 19, 2024).

²⁸ BBC, "Venezuela Announces Post-Chavez Election Date."

²⁹ BBC, "Venezuela Election: Maduro Victory Margin Narrows," *BBC News*, April 30, 2013, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-22353241>, (accessed June 29, 2024).

³⁰ BBC, "Venezuela Election Vote to Be Audited." *BBC News*, April 19, 2013, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-22215387>, (accessed June 29, 2024).

³¹ BBC, "Venezuela Election Vote to Be Audited."

³² Taylor, Alan, "Venezuela's Disputed Election," *The Atlantic*, April 18, 2013, <https://www.theatlantic.com/photo/2013/04/venezuelas-disputed-election/100498/>, (accessed July 18, 2024).

³³ Hernández G., José Ignacio, "Rigged Elections: Venezuela's Failed Presidential Election," The Electoral Integrity Project, February 6, 2021, <https://www.electoralintegrityproject.com/eip-blog/2018/5/30/rigged-elections-venezuelas-failed-presidential-election>, (accessed June 30, 2024).

³⁴ Martínez-Gugerli, Kristen, "Interactive Map: Degrees of Diplomatic Recognition of Guaidó and Maduro," *Venezuelan Politics and Human Rights*, October 15, 2020, <https://www.venezuelablog.org/interactive-map-degrees-of-diplomatic-recognition-of-guaido-and-maduro/>, (accessed June 27, 2024).

³⁵ Martínez-Gugerli, Kristen, "Interactive Map: Degrees of Diplomatic Recognition of Guaidó and Maduro."

³⁶ UN News, "UN Political Chief Calls for Dialogue to Ease Tensions in Venezuela; Security Council Divided over Path to End Crisis," *United Nations*, January 30, 2019, <https://news.un.org/en/story/2019/01/1031382>, (accessed June 29, 2024); Wegner, Katharina, "Venezuela after the Failed Coup," *International Politics and Society*, February 13, 2023, <https://www.ips-journal.eu/topics/democracy-and-society/venezuela-after-the-failed-coup-6507>, (accessed June 29, 2024).

³⁷ United Nations Security Council Meeting 8506, "The situation in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela (S/PV.8506)," *United Nations*, April 10, 2019, https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s_pv_8506.pdf.

³⁸ United Nations Security Council Meeting 8506, "The situation in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela (S/PV.8506)."

³⁹ UN Press, "Venezuela: UN Fact-Finding Mission Says Attacks on Civic and Democratic Space Have Intensified, Urges New Security Force – DAET - Be Monitored to Protect Rights," *OHCHR, United Nations*, September 23, 2023, [https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2023/09/venezuela-un-fact-finding-mission-says-attacks-civic-and-democratic-space#:~:text=Background%3A%20The%20UN%20Human%20Rights,in%20the%20country%20since%202014;General%20Assembly%20Resolution%2042%2F25%20\(2019\),%20%22Situation%20of%20human%20rights%20in%20the%20Bolivarian%20Republic%20of%20Venezuela,%20A%2FHRC%2FRES%2042%2F25%20\(2019\),%20October%208,%202019,%20https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/g19/299/69/pdf/g1929969.pdf](https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2023/09/venezuela-un-fact-finding-mission-says-attacks-civic-and-democratic-space#:~:text=Background%3A%20The%20UN%20Human%20Rights,in%20the%20country%20since%202014;General%20Assembly%20Resolution%2042%2F25%20(2019),%20%22Situation%20of%20human%20rights%20in%20the%20Bolivarian%20Republic%20of%20Venezuela,%20A%2FHRC%2FRES%2042%2F25%20(2019),%20October%208,%202019,%20https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/g19/299/69/pdf/g1929969.pdf), (accessed July 6, 2024).

through September 2024.⁴⁰ Preliminary reports released from September to October 2023 indicate several high-ranking officials were alleged to have targeted opposition parties to President Maduro.⁴¹ The report also states the Venezuelan government has repressed the rights of civilians through deprivation of life, enforced disappearances, arbitrary detentions, torture or degrading treatment of detainees, and gender-based violence.⁴² The UN Secretary-General has requested additional support for health and nutrition within Venezuela and assistance with migrants from the HRC and the International Organization for Migration.⁴³ Approximately 7.7 million Venezuelans have fled to neighboring Latin or South American Member States, primarily Colombia and Peru.⁴⁴ These migrating Venezuelans lack access to food, water, and typical health care and sanitation.⁴⁵ As of April 2024, the humanitarian crisis involving the mass exodus of citizens and conditions for those who remain in Venezuela is worsening.⁴⁶ Human Rights Watch reported in 2023, there are more than 270 political prisoners and 19 million people who need assistance.⁴⁷ Over 72 percent of people were unable to access health services, and a decline in people being able to access medicine reached 26 percent in August 2023.⁴⁸

Recent Developments

In October 2023, the Plataforma Unitaria Democrática (PUD), made up of Maduro and a group of opposition party leaders, signed the Barbados Agreement.⁴⁹ The Barbados Agreement aimed to reform policies that target opposing parties.⁵⁰ This included updated electoral registries, equal access to media for all nominees, and the National Electoral Council (NEC) was required to invite international poll monitors, which included delegations from the EU, UN, and African Union.⁵¹ If successful, the Barbados Agreement would ease sanctions many other Member States have imposed on Venezuela, including a temporary removal of sanctions on oil, natural gas, and gold by the US.⁵² However, in May 2024, the NEC and the Venezuelan Supreme Court upheld the decision barring opposition leaders from running in the presidential primary on July 28th.⁵³ This includes María Corina Machado, who won the

⁴⁰ General Assembly Resolution 44/5/20 (2020), “Situation of human rights in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela,” *A/HRC/RES/45/20*, October 13, 2020, <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/g20/264/23/pdf/g2026423.pdf>.

⁴¹ United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, “Venezuela: UN Fact-Finding Mission Says Attacks on Civic and Democratic Space Have Intensified, Urges New Security Force – DAET - Be Monitored to Protect Rights,” United Nations, September 20, 2023, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2023/09/venezuela-un-fact-finding-mission-says-attacks-civic-and-democratic-space#:~:text=Background%3A%20The%20UN%20Human%20Rights,in%20the%20country%20since%202014,> (accessed July 20, 2024).

⁴² Human Rights Council, “Report of the independent international fact-finding mission on the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela,” *A/HRC/54/57*, September 11-October 6, 2023, https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/hrbodies/hrcouncil/sessions-regular/session54/advance-versions/A_HRC_54_57_AdvancedUneditedVersion.pdf.

⁴³ UN News, “UN Political Chief Calls for Dialogue to Ease Tensions in Venezuela; Security Council Divided over Path to End Crisis,” United Nations, January 30, 2019, <https://news.un.org/en/story/2019/01/1031382>, (accessed June 29, 2024).

⁴⁴ Harrison, Chase, “Explainer: Venezuela’s 2024 Presidential Elections,” AS/COA, July 11, 2024, <https://www.as-coa.org/articles/explainer-venezuelas-2024-presidential-elections>, (accessed July 21, 2024).

⁴⁵ United Nations High Commission for Refugees, “Venezuela Crisis: Aid, Statistics and News,” United Nations, 2024, <https://www.unrefugees.org/emergencies/venezuela/#:~:text=More%20than%207.7%20million%20Venezuelans>.

⁴⁶ United Nations High Commission for Refugees, “Venezuela Crisis: Aid, Statistics and News.”

⁴⁷ Human Rights Watch, “Venezuela: Events of 2023,” December 15, 2023, <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2024/country-chapters/venezuela#:~:text=Venezuelans%20continued%20to%20suffer%20repression>, (accessed August 20, 2024).

⁴⁸ Human Rights Watch, “Venezuela: Events of 2023.”

⁴⁹ International Crisis Group, “Venezuela: The Perilous Path to a Key Election,” January 30, 2024, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/latin-america-caribbean/venezuela-the-perilous-path-to-a-key-election>, (accessed July 11, 2024).

⁵⁰ “Barbados Deal Sets Venezuela on a Rocky Path to Competitive Polls,” International Crisis Group, October 20, 2023, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/latin-america-caribbean/andes/venezuela/barbados-deal-sets-venezuela-rocky-path-competitive-polls>, (accessed July 21, 2024).

⁵¹ “Barbados Deal Sets Venezuela on a Rocky Path to Competitive Polls,” International Crisis Group.

⁵² Congressional Research Service, “Venezuela’s 2024 Presidential Election,” May 1, 2024, <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IN/IN12354>; “Barbados Deal Sets Venezuela on a Rocky Path to Competitive Polls,” International Crisis Group.

⁵³ Congressional Research Service, “Venezuela’s 2024 Presidential Election.”

opposition party runoff, and Edmundo González Urrutia, who the PUD nominated.⁵⁴ On July 28th, twelve million Venezuelans voted in the presidential election.⁵⁵ Maduro was declared president, though per the US's Carter Center, there is missing polling data to support the election results.⁵⁶ International monitors have stated “the electoral authority’s failure to announce disaggregated results by polling station constitutes a serious breach of electoral principles.”⁵⁷ Several Member States have continued to question the fairness and results of the election.⁵⁸ On September 9, 2024, reports stated the opposition party leader, Gonzalez, had left Venezuela for Spain after an warrant was issued for his arrest by Maduro’s government.⁵⁹ This followed Gonzalez's allegations that Maduro had fraudulently won the election.⁶⁰

Several mass protests have occurred both in Venezuela and globally since the election result was revealed, and several Member States have also questioned the results of Maduro’s candidacy.⁶¹ Within Venezuela, armed pro-government groups have reacted negatively to the protest against Maduro.⁶² Human Rights Watch has reported an uptick in arbitrary arrest, harassment, and unlawful deaths in the weeks leading up to and following the election.⁶³ Throughout August and September, demonstrations have ended with many injuries and twenty-three total civilian deaths.⁶⁴ Human Rights Watch has credited the violence to the Venezuelan police force, national guard, and armed groups like Colectivos.⁶⁵ Maduro’s administration has also sought to redirect attention amidst the ongoing criticism following the election.⁶⁶ Human rights organizations are urging the UN to act to protect the Venezuelan civilian population, evaluate the results of the election and subsequent actions following the election results, and work to restore order in Venezuela.⁶⁷

⁵⁴ Harrison, Chase, “Explainer: Venezuela’s 2024 Presidential Elections,” AS/COA, July 11, 2024, <https://www.as-coa.org/articles/explainer-venezuelas-2024-presidential-elections>, (accessed July 21, 2024).

⁵⁵ US Embassy & Consulates in Brazil, “Assessing the Results of Venezuela’s Presidential Election,” August 1, 2024, <https://br.usembassy.gov/assessing-the-results-of-venezuelas-presidential-election/>, (accessed August 17, 2024).

⁵⁶ Garcia Cano, Reginana, Joshua Goodman, and Salomon Giesla, “Venezuela Election: Biden, Lula Urge Authorities to Release Detailed Voting Data,” AP News, July 30, 2024, <https://apnews.com/article/venezuela-presidential-election-maduro-machado-edmundo-results-3ec88b273cabfee8e5696ff67d24186d>, (accessed August 18, 2024).

⁵⁷ The Carter Center, “Carter Center Statement on Venezuela Election,” The Carter Center, 2024, <https://www.cartercenter.org/news/pr/2024/venezuela-073024.html>, (access August 20, 2024).

⁵⁸ Spetalnick, Matt., & Jasper Ward, “US Seizes Venezuelan President’s Plane in Dominican Republic,” Reuters, September 2, 2024, <https://www.reuters.com/world/americas/us-seizes-venezuelan-presidents-plane-dominican-republic-2024-09-02/>, (accessed September 14, 2024).

⁵⁹ Shamim, Sarah, and Elizabeth Melimopoulos, “After Edmundo Gonzalez Flees, What’s next for Venezuela and Its Opposition?” Al Jazeera, September 9, 2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/9/9/after-edmundo-gonzalez-flees-whats-next-for-venezuela-and-its-opposition>, (accessed September 14, 2024).

⁶⁰ Shamim, Sarah, and Elizabeth Melimopoulos, “After Edmundo Gonzalez Flees, What’s next for Venezuela and Its Opposition?”

⁶¹ Human Rights Watch, “Venezuela Presidential Election: International Organizations Call on Authorities to Guarantee Transparency,” July 30, 2024, https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/07/30/venezuela-presidential-election-international-organizations-call-authorities?gad_source=1&gclid=Cj0KCOjw2ou2BhCCARIsANAwM2ETRTJLoLPGLLeLpoM5Bm-2jNBgyoa0kM9fIX9aOevtwziIQ_-QmgbEaAmIxEALw_wcB, (accessed August 19, 2024).

⁶² “Venezuelan Forces Accused of ‘Brutal’ Repression in Post-Election Protests,” Al Jazeera, September 4, 2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/9/4/venezuelan-forces-accused-of-brutal-repression-in-post-election-protests>, (accessed September 15, 2024).

⁶³ Human Rights Watch, “Venezuela Presidential Election: International Organizations Call on Authorities to Guarantee Transparency.”

⁶⁴ “Venezuelan Forces Accused of ‘Brutal’ Repression in Post-Election Protests,” Al Jazeera.

⁶⁵ Al Jazeera. 2024. “Venezuelan Forces Accused of ‘Brutal’ Repression in Post-Election Protests,” Al Jazeera, September 4, 2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/9/4/venezuelan-forces-accused-of-brutal-repression-in-post-election-protests>, (accessed September 14, 2024).

⁶⁶ Phillips, Tom, “Maduro Declares Christmas in October amid Venezuela’s Post-Election Strife,” The Guardian, September 3, 2024, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/article/2024/sep/03/venezuela-nicolas-maduro-christmas>, (accessed September 15, 2024).

⁶⁷ “Venezuela: UN Rights Council should renew experts’ mandate,” Amnesty International, September 9, 2024, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2024/09/venezuela-la-onu-debe-renovar-el-mandato-de-expertos-independientes/>, (accessed September 19, 2024).