

Supplementary Material

2021

Table 1: Data and sources

Variable	Codes	Description	Sources
Political Orientation	polori	Political orientation of the head of government's party in each case. We considered left-wing those parties that are members of the Foro de São Paulo or the Progressive Alliance. They received score 1. We attributed 0 to the others.	Foro de São Paulo's and Progressive Alliance's Websites
Alternativa Bolivariana para los Pueblos de Nuestra América PetroCaribe	ALBA	ALBA country-members in each year were attributed score 1.	CARICOM (2015), SELA (2013; 2014)
Foreign aid provided by the United States	usaid, logusaid, usaid_dpd	Signatories of the PetroCaribe agreement in each year were attributed score 1. Total foreign aid disbursements by the United States to countries for each year. Values are in millions of US\$ dollars, in 2018 constant prices. We also considered the logarithm of these values, because of the great disparities, as it can be seen in Summary Statistics, as well as the dependence as a % of the GDP	Reports from Petróleos de Venezuela S.A. (PDVSA), SELA (2013; 2014) United States Agency for International Development (USAID)
Exports to the United States	usexport, logusexport, importfromus	Total exports from the United States to a given country. Values are in US\$ Millions on a nominal basis. We also considered the logarithm of these values, because of the great disparities. As an alternative specification, we used the US trade share in countries' imports.	United States Census Bureau (monetary values) and World Integrated Trade Solution (WITS), for the % of partner trade share
Imports from the United States	usimport, logusimport, exporttous	Total US imports from a given country. Values are in US\$ Millions on a nominal basis. We also considered the logarithm of these values, because of the great disparities. As an alternative specification, we used the US trade share in countries' imports.	United States Census Bureau (monetary values) and World Integrated Trade Solution (WITS), for the % of partner trade share

Table 1: Data and sources (*continued*)

Variable	Codes	Description	Sources
Political Regime	dem	The levels of freedom in a country, according to the Freedom House. It consists in the sum of the scores related to Civil Liberties and Political Rights. More democratic countries present lower scores.	Freedom House
Gross Domestic Product	gdp, loggdp	Gross Domestic Product (GDP), in billions of US\$ Dollars, in constant 2010 values. We also considered the logarithm of these values, because of the great disparities, as it can be seen in Summary Statistics.	World Bank
Gross Domestic Product per capita	gdppc, loggdppc	Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita, in thousands of US\$ Dollars, in constant 2010 values. We also considered the logarithm of these values, because of the great disparities, as it can be seen in Summary Statistics.	World Bank
Oil prices	oil_prices	The average yearly oil price per barrel, in US\$ Dollars.	Our World in Data
Population	population, logtpop	The yearly population size of each country. We also considered the logarithm of these values, because of the great disparities.	World Bank
Voting agreement with Venezuela (all resolutions)	vzag	Voting agreement between a country and Venezuela in all resolutions with roll-call votes at the United Nations General Assembly	Own calculation, based on Bailey, Voeten and Strezhnev's (2009) data
Voting agreement with Venezuela (Human Rights)	HR	Voting agreement between a country and Venezuela in Human Rights resolutions with roll-call votes at the United Nations General Assembly	Own calculation, based on Bailey, Voeten and Strezhnev's (2009) data
Voting agreement with Venezuela (Economic Development)	ED	Voting agreement between a country and Venezuela in Economic Development resolutions with roll-call votes at the United Nations General Assembly	Own calculation, based on Bailey, Voeten and Strezhnev's (2009) data
Voting agreement with Venezuela (Colonialism)	CO	Voting agreement between a country and Venezuela in Colonialism resolutions with roll-call votes at the United Nations General Assembly	Own calculation, based on Bailey, Voeten and Strezhnev's (2009) data
Voting agreement with Venezuela (Palestinian Conflict)	PC	Voting agreement between a country and Venezuela in Palestinian Conflict resolutions with roll-call votes at the United Nations General Assembly	Own calculation, based on Bailey, Voeten and Strezhnev's (2009) data
Voting agreement with Venezuela (Nuclear Matters)	NU	Voting agreement between a country and Venezuela in Nuclear Matters resolutions with roll-call votes at the United Nations General Assembly	Own calculation, based on Bailey, Voeten and Strezhnev's (2009) data

Table 1: Data and sources (*continued*)

Variable	Codes	Description	Sources
Voting agreement with Venezuela (Arms Control)	DI	Voting agreement between a country and Venezuela in Arms Control resolutions with roll-call votes at the United Nations General Assembly	Own calculation, based on Bailey, Voeten and Strezhnev's (2009) data
Voting agreement with Venezuela (Important Resolutions for the US)	impvt	Voting agreement between a country and Venezuela in resolutions important to the United States with roll-call votes at the United Nations General Assembly	Own calculation, based on Bailey, Voeten and Strezhnev's (2009) data

Table 2: Political Orientation - Classification

Countries	Left-wing parties	Non-left-wing parties	Classification sources
Antigua and Barbuda	United Progressive Party (Baldwin Spencer, 2004-2014)	Antigua and Barbuda Labour Party (Vere Bird, 1981-1994, Lester Bird, 1994-2004, and Gaston Browne, 2014-onwards)	Mars (1998) included the Antigua-Caribbean Liberation Movement (ACLM) as a left-wing party. Since the United Progressive Party was created through a merger of three parties, including ACLM, we consider UPP as a left-wing party.
Argentina	Unión Cívica Radical (Fernando de la Rúa, 1999-2001), Partido Justicialista (Néstor Kirchner, 2003-2007, Cristina Kirchner, 2007-2015)	Partido Justicialista (Carlos Menem, 1989-1999, Adolfo Sáa, 2001, Eduardo Duhalde, 2002-2003)	Despite not considering the Partido Justicialista as a left-wing organization in the whole time, we considered only Néstor and Cristina Kirchner's terms as a leftists since Foro de São Paulo also acknowledges it
Bahamas	No left-wing party ruled the country from 1991 to 2015	Progressive Liberal Party (Lynden Pindling, 1973-1992, Perry Christie, 2002-2007, 2012-2017), Free National Movement (Hubert Ingraham, 1992-2002 and 2007-2012)	No party was considered left-wing because none of them attended any criteria
Barbados	Barbados Labour Party (Owen Arthur, 1994-2008)	Democratic Labour Party (Sir Erskine Sandiford, 1987-1994, David Thompson, 2008-2010, Freundel Stuart, 2010-2018)	Mars, 1998 (Barbados Labour Party)
Belize	No left-wing party ruled the country from 1991 to 2015	United Democratic Party (Manuel Esquivel, 1993-1998, Dean Barrow, 2008-onwards), People's United Party (George Cadle Price, 1989-1993, Said Musa, 1993-2003)	No party was considered left-wing because none of them attended any criteria

Table 2: Political Orientation - Classification (*continued*)

Countries	Left-wing parties	Non-left-wing parties	Classification sources
Bolivia	Movimiento al Socialismo (Evo Morales, 2006-2019)	Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionária (Jaime Paz Zamora, 1989-1993), Movimiento Nacional Revolucionário (Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, 1993-1997, 2002-2003, Carlos Mesa, 2003-2005), Acción Democrática Nacionalista (Hugo Banzer, 1997-2001, Jorge Quiroga, 2001-2002)	Foro de São Paulo and Progressive Alliance (Movimiento al Socialismo)
Brazil	Partido dos Trabalhadores (Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, 2003-2011, Dilma Rousseff, 2011-2016)	Partido da Reconstrução Nacional (Fernando Collor, 1990-1992), Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro (Itamar Franco, 1992-1995), Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira (Fernando Henrique Cardoso, 1995-2003)	Foro de São Paulo and Progressive Alliance (Partido dos Trabalhadores)
Chile	Partido por la Democracia (Ricardo Lagos, 2000-2006), Partido Socialista de Chile (Michelle Bachelet, 2006-2010, 2014-2018)	Partido Demócrata Cristiano (Patricio Aylwin, 1990-1994, Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle, 1994-2000, Renovación Nacional (Sebastián Piñera, 2010-2014)	Progressive Alliance (both parties) and Foro de São Paulo (Partido Socialista)
Colombia	No left-wing party ruled the country from 1991 to 2015	Partido Liberal (César Gaviria, 1990-1994, Ernesto Samper, 1994-1998, Carlos Simmonds, 1997), Nueva Fuerza Democrática (Andrés Pastrana Arango, 1998-2002), Primero Colombia (Álvaro Uribe, 2002-2010), Partido Social de Unidad Nacional (2010-2018)	No party was considered left-wing because none of them attended any criteria

Table 2: Political Orientation - Classification (*continued*)

Countries	Left-wing parties	Non-left-wing parties	Classification sources
Costa Rica	Partido Acción Ciudadana (Luis Guillermo Solís, 2014-2018)	Unidad Social Cristiana (Rafael Calderón, 1990-1994, Miguel Ángel Echeverría, 1998-2002, Abel Pacheco de la Espriella, 2002-2006), Partido Liberación Nacional (José María Olsen, 1994-1998, Óscar Arias, 2006-2010, Laura Chinchilla Miranda, 2010-2014)	Progressive Alliance (Partido Acción Ciudadana)
Cuba	Partido Comunista de Cuba (Fidel Castro, 1959-2008, Raúl Castro, 2006-2018)	-	Foro de São Paulo (Partido Comunista de Cuba)
Dominica	Dominica Labour Party (Rosie Douglas, 2000, Pierre Charles, 2000-2004, Osbone Riviere, 2004, Roosevelt Skerrit, 2004-onwards)	Dominica Fereedom Party (Eugenia Charles, 1980-1995), United Workers' Party (Edison James, 1995-2000)	Mars, 1998 (Dominica Labour Party)
Dominican Republic	Partido de la Liberación Dominicana (Leonel Fernández, 1996-2000, 2004-2012, Danilo Medina, 2012-onwards), Partido Revolucionário Dominicano (Hipólito Mejía, 2000-2004)	Partido Reformista Social Cristiano (Joaquín Balaguer, 1986-1996)	Foro de São Paulo (both parties)

Table 2: Political Orientation - Classification (*continued*)

Countries	Left-wing parties	Non-left-wing parties	Classification sources
Ecuador	Alianza Patria Altiva i Soberana (Rafael Correa, 2007-2017)	Izquierda Democrática (Rodrigo Cevallos, 1988-1992), Partido Unidad Republicana (Sixto Durán-Ballén Cordovez, 1992-1996), Partido Roldosista Ecuatoriano (Abdalá Bucaram, 1996-1997), Movimiento Independiente para una República Auténtica (Rosalía Arteaga Serrano, 1997), Frente Radical Alfarista (Fabián Alarcón Rivera, 1997-1998), Democracia Popular (Jamil Mahuad, 1998-2000), Sin Partido (Gustavo Noboa, 2000-2003, Alfredo Palacio González, 2005-2007), Partido Sociedad Patriótica (Lucio Gutiérrez, 2003-2005)	Foro de São Paulo (Alianza Patria Altiva i Soberana)
El Salvador	Frente Farabundo Martí de Libertación Nacional (Mauricio Funes, 2009-2014, Salvador Cerén, 2014-2019)	Alianza Republicana Nacionalista (Alfredo Burkard, 1989-1994, Armando Sol, 1994-1999, Francisco Flores Pérez, 1999-2004, Elías Saca González, 2004-2009)	Foro de São Paulo (Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional)
Grenada	National Democratic Congress (Nicholas Brathwaite, 1990-1995, George Brizan, 1995, Tillman Thomas, 2008-2013)	New National Party (Keith Mitchell, 1995-2008, 2013-onwards)	Progressive Alliance (National Development Congress)

Table 2: Political Orientation - Classification (*continued*)

Countries	Left-wing parties	Non-left-wing parties	Classification sources
Guatemala	Partido Liberal de Honduras (Manuel Zelaya, 2006-2009)	Democracia Cristiana Guatemalteca (Marco Vinicio Arévalo, 1986-1991), Movimiento de Acción Solidaria (Jorge Antonio Elías, 1991-1993, Gustavo Salguero, 1993), Sin Partido (Ramiro Carpio, 1993-1996, Alejandro Aguirre, 2015-2016), Partido de Avanzada Nacional (Álvaro Irigoyen, 1996-2000), Frente Republicano Guatemalteco (2000-2004), Gran Alianza Nacional (Óscar Berger, 2004-2008), Unidad Nacional de la Esperanza (Álvaro Colom, 2008-2012), Partido Patriota (Otto Molina, 2012-2015)	No party was considered left-wing because none of them attended any criteria
Guyana	People's National Congress (Desmond Hoyte, 1985-1992, David Granger, 2015-2020), People's Progressive Party (Cheddi Jagan, 1992-1997, Sam Hinds, 1997, Bharrat Jagdeo, 1999-2011, Donald Ramotar, 2011-2015)	No right-wing party ruled the country from 1991 to 2015	Mars(1998)

Table 2: Political Orientation - Classification (*continued*)

Countries	Left-wing parties	Non-left-wing parties	Classification sources
Haiti	Lavalas Political Organization (Jean-Bertrand Aristide, 1991, 1993-1994, 1994-1996), Fanmi Lavalas (René Préval, 1996-2001, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, 2001-2004, Lespwa/Initi (René Préval, 2006-2011)	No party (Ertha Pascal-Trouillot, 1990-1991, Raoul Cédras, 1991, Joseph Nérette, 1991-1992, Émile Jonassaint, 1994, Boniface Alexandre, 2004-2006), Mouvement pour l'Instauration de la Démocratie en Haïti (Marc Bazin, 1992-1993), Repons Peyizan (Michel Martelly, 2011-2016)	Fanmi Lavalas was formed after a split in the Lavalas Political Organization, which was a member of the Foro de São Paulo. Both Lespwa and Initiate were formed after a split in Fanmi Lavalas. Hence, we decided to code all of them as left-wing parties. The Struggling People's Organization, formed also after a split in Lavalas Political Organization, is still a member of the Foro de São Paulo.
Honduras	No left-wing party ruled the country from 1991 to 2015	Partido Nacional de Honduras (Rafael Callejas, 1990-1994, Ricardo Maduro, 2002-2006, Porfirio Lobo, 2010-2014, Juan Orlando Hernández, 2014-onwards), Partido Liberal de Honduras (Carlos Reina, 1994-1998, Carlos Flores, 1998-2002, Manuel Zelaya, 2006-2009, Roberto Micheletti, 2009-2010)	Despite not considering the Partido Liberal de Honduras as a left-wing organization, we considered only Manuel Zelaya's term as a leftist since Foro de São Paulo also acknowledges it
Jamaica	People's National Party (Michael Manley, 1989-1992, Perceval James Patterson, 1992-2005, Portia Simpson-Miller, 2005-2007, 2012-2016)	Jamaica Labour Party (Bruce Golding, 2007-2011, Andrew Holness, 2011-2012)	Mars, 1998 (People's National Party)
Mexico	No left-wing party ruled the country from 1991 to 2015	Partido Revolucionário Institucional (Carlos Gortari, 1988-1994, Ernesto Zedillo, 1994-2000, Enrique Peña Nieto, 2012-2018), Partido Acción Nacional (Vicente Fox, 2000-2006, Felipe Calderón, 2006-2012)	No party was considered left-wing because none of them attended any criteria

Table 2: Political Orientation - Classification (*continued*)

Countries	Left-wing parties	Non-left-wing parties	Classification sources
Nicaragua	Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (Daniel Ortega, 2007-onwards)	Unión Nacional Opositora (Violeta Chamorro, 1990-1997), Partido Liberal Constitucionalista (Arnoldo Alemán Lacayo, 1997-2002, Enrique Bolaños, 2002-2007)	Foro de São Paulo (Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional)
Panamá	Partido Revolucionário Democrático (Ernesto Balladares, 1994-1999, Martín Torrijos, 2004-2009)	Partido Panameñista (Guillermo Endara, 1989-1994, Mireya Moscoso, 1999-2004, Juan Carlos Varela, 2014-2019), Cambio Democrático (Ricardo Martinelli, 2009-2014)	Foro de São Paulo (Partido Revolucionário Democrático)
Paraguay	Frente Guasú (Fernando Lugo, 2008-2012)	Partido Colorado (Andrés Pedotti, 1989-1993, Juan Carlos Wasmosy, 1993-1998, Raúl Grau, 1998-1999, Luis Ángel González, 1999-2003, Nicanor Duarte, 2003-2008, Horacio Cartes, 2013-2018), Partido Liberal (Federico Franco, 2012-2013)	Foro de São Paulo (Frente Guasú)
Peru	Partido Nacionalista Peruano (Ollanta Humala, 2011-2016)	Cambio 90/Nueva Mayoría/Perú 2000 (Alberto Fujimori, 1990-2000), Acción Popular (Valentín Corazao, 2000-2001), Perú Posible (Alejandro Toledo, 2001-2006), Partido Aprista Peruano (Alan García, 2006-2011)	Foro de São Paulo (Partido Nacionalista Peruano)
Saint Kitts and Nevis	No left-wing party ruled the country from 1991 to 2015	People's Action Movement (Kennedy Simmonds, 1983-1995), Saint Kitts and Nevis Labour Party (Denzil Douglas, 1995-2015), People's Labour Party (Timothy Harris, 2015-onwards)	No party was considered left-wing because none of them attended any criteria

Table 2: Political Orientation - Classification (*continued*)

Countries	Left-wing parties	Non-left-wing parties	Classification sources
Saint Lucia	Saint Lucia Labour Party (Kenny Anthony, 1997-2006, 2011-2016)	United Workers Party (John Compton, 1982-1996, 2006-2007, Vaughan Lewis, 1996-1997, Stephenson King, 2007-2011)	Foro de São Paulo and Progressive Alliance (Saint Lucia Labour Party)
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	Unity Labour Party (Ralph Gonsalves, 2001-onwards)	New Democratic Party (Sir James Mitchell, 1984-2000, Arnhim Eustace, 2000-2001)	We classified the Unity Labour Party as a left-wing party since it was born from the merger of the Saint Vincent Labour Party and the Movement for National Unity - the latter was appointed by Mars (1998) as a left-wing organization
Suriname	No left-wing party ruled the country from 1991 to 2015	Vooruitstrevende Hervormingspartij (Ramsewak Shankar, 1988-1990), Nationale Democratische Partij (Ivan Graanoogst, 1990, Jules Wijdenbosch, 1996-2000, Dési Bouterse, 2010-2020), Nationale Partij Suriname (Johan Kraag, 1990-1991, Ronald Venetiaan, 1991-1996, 2000-2010)	No party was considered left-wing because none of them attended any criteria
Trinidad and Tobago	No left-wing party ruled the country from 1991 to 2015	National Alliance for Reconstruction (Arthur Robinson, 1986-1991), People's National Movement (Patrick Manning, 1991-1995, 2001-2010, Keith Rowley, 2015-onwards), United National Congress (Basdeo Panday, 1995-2001, Kamla Persad-Bissessar, 2010-2015)	No party was considered left-wing because none of them attended any criteria
Uruguay	Frente Amplio (Tabaré Vázquez, 2005-2010, 2015-2020, José Mujica, 2010-2015)	Partido Nacional (Luis Alberto Lacalle, 1990-1995), Partido Colorado (Julio María Sanguinetti, 1995-2000, Jorge Batlle, 2000-2005)	Foro de São Paulo (Frente Amplio)

Table 3: Summary Statistics

	N	Missing	Mean	SD	Min	Q1	Median	Q3	Max
polori	544	0	0.45	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
ALBA	544	0	0.12	0.32	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
PETROCARIBE	544	0	0.27	0.44	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
usaid_constant	478	66	73.08	148.73	0.01	1.81	16.48	80.65	1172.43
logusaid	478	66	2.44	2.32	-4.59	0.59	2.80	4.39	7.07
usaid_dpd	478	66	0.30	0.66	0.00	0.02	0.08	0.27	8.60
usexport	535	9	7843.34	28002.62	4.50	266.60	1330.50	4110.15	241007.20
logusexport	535	9	7.03	1.89	1.70	5.59	7.19	8.32	12.39
exporttous	493	51	31.90	23.33	0.01	11.95	29.09	46.30	91.89
usimport	536	8	9156.35	36829.66	0.00	55.90	536.35	4190.70	296433.31
logusimport	536	8	6.16	2.84	0.00	4.04	6.29	8.34	12.60
importfrommus	498	46	32.64	17.57	0.09	19.78	33.00	41.39	91.06
dem	544	0	2.35	1.30	1.00	1.50	2.00	3.00	7.00
gdp	544	0	137.39	382.80	0.38	3.38	16.70	48.79	2423.27
loggdp	544	0	2.77	2.13	-0.97	1.22	2.82	3.89	7.79
gdppc	544	0	7.66	5.78	1.11	3.86	6.17	9.54	32.24
loggdppc	544	0	1.78	0.74	0.10	1.35	1.82	2.26	3.47
oilp	544	0	63.32	32.32	17.97	28.83	61.67	97.26	111.67
population	512	32	17.07	37.96	0.05	0.33	4.92	11.56	205.96
logtpop	512	32	1.00	2.24	-3.09	-1.12	1.59	2.45	5.33
vzag	544	0	0.92	0.04	0.72	0.90	0.92	0.95	1.00
HR	539	5	0.86	0.08	0.50	0.81	0.86	0.91	1.00
ED	544	0	0.94	0.08	0.67	0.88	1.00	1.00	1.00
CO	538	6	0.97	0.04	0.71	0.95	1.00	1.00	1.00
PC	537	7	0.96	0.09	0.07	0.96	1.00	1.00	1.00
NU	525	19	0.98	0.04	0.50	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
DI	529	15	0.97	0.04	0.50	0.95	0.97	1.00	1.00
impvt	544	0	0.75	0.14	0.25	0.64	0.78	0.85	1.00

Table 4: Mean GDP and PetroCaribe membership (1999-2015)

Country	PetroCaribe	Mean GDP (US\$ billion)
Brazil	No	1954.85
Mexico	No	1027.93
Argentina	No	370.41
Colombia	No	261.53
Chile	No	198.97
Peru	No	127.58
Ecuador	No	64.45
Cuba	Yes	55.57
Dominican Republic	Yes	47.24
Guatemala	No	38.18
Uruguay	No	35.64
Costa Rica	No	33.43
Panama	No	26.28
Paraguay	No	24.16
Trinidad and Tobago	No	19.05
Bolivia	No	17.98
El Salvador	Yes	17.88
Honduras	Yes	14.36
Jamaica	Yes	13.31
Haiti	Yes	11.21
Bahamas	No	10.05
Nicaragua	Yes	8.39
Barbados	No	4.45
Suriname	Yes	3.82
Guyana	Yes	3.22
St. Lucia	No	1.40
Belize	Yes	1.26
Antigua & Barbuda	Yes	1.15
Grenada	Yes	0.75
St. Kitts and Nevis	Yes	0.73
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	Yes	0.64
Dominica	Yes	0.45

Table 5: Testing for different specifications in controls

	Dependent variable:				
	Voting Agreement with Venezuela				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
PETROCARIBE	0.032*** (0.010)	0.026*** (0.006)	0.026*** (0.006)	0.029*** (0.008)	-0.004 (0.008)
oil_price					-0.001*** (0.0001)
ALBA		0.025*** (0.009)	0.022*** (0.007)	0.025*** (0.009)	0.027*** (0.009)
polori		0.020*** (0.007)	0.021*** (0.007)	0.021*** (0.007)	0.018*** (0.006)
importfromus	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001* (0.001)
exporttous	-0.0001 (0.0002)	0.00004 (0.0002)	0.00004 (0.0002)	0.00005 (0.0002)	-0.0001 (0.0003)
usaid_dpd	-0.022** (0.010)	-0.011 (0.007)	-0.012* (0.007)	-0.011 (0.007)	-0.013* (0.007)
logdpdc	-0.011 (0.035)	-0.015 (0.032)	-0.015 (0.032)	-0.014 (0.032)	-0.009 (0.026)
PETROCARIBE:ALBA			0.004 (0.016)		
PETROCARIBE:polori				-0.004 (0.008)	0.0003*** (0.0001)
dem	0.002 (0.008)	0.001 (0.006)	0.001 (0.006)	0.001 (0.006)	0.002 (0.005)
Observations	434	434	434	434	434
R ²	0.096	0.191	0.191	0.192	0.302
Adjusted R ²	-0.022	0.081	0.079	0.079	0.231
F Statistic	6.780*** (df = 6; 383)	11.257*** (df = 8; 381)	9.994*** (df = 9; 380)	10.015*** (df = 9; 380)	17.040*** (df = 10; 393)

Note:

* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Robust standard errors are in parentheses, clustered by country. All models include country and year fixed-effects.

Table 6: Robustness checks for voting agreement in Human Rights resolutions

	Dependent variable:				
	Voting Agreement with Venezuela in Human Rights resolutions				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
PETROCARIBE	0.050** (0.021)	0.036** (0.015)	0.061*** (0.022)	0.047*** (0.013)	0.049** (0.019)
polori		0.029*** (0.010)		0.031** (0.014)	0.035** (0.014)
ALBA		0.060*** (0.021)		0.075*** (0.017)	0.053*** (0.020)
logusimport			0.003 (0.016)	-0.0001 (0.013)	0.001 (0.013)
logusexport			0.018 (0.011)	0.010 (0.013)	0.011 (0.013)
logusaid			-0.009** (0.005)	-0.005 (0.005)	-0.007 (0.004)
dem				-0.003 (0.015)	-0.005 (0.011)
loggdp				0.055 (0.088)	0.052 (0.080)
PETROCARIBE:ALBA					-0.030 (0.037)
PETROCARIBE:polori					-0.009 (0.016)
Observations	539	539	467	467	467
R ²	0.049	0.153	0.069	0.166	0.164
Adjusted R ²	-0.045	0.066	-0.045	0.057	0.054
F Statistic	25.055*** (df = 1; 490)	29.358*** (df = 3; 488)	5.165*** (df = 6; 415)	9.113*** (df = 9; 412)	8.975*** (df = 9; 412)

Note:

* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Robust standard errors are in parentheses, clustered by country. All models include country and year fixed-effects.

Table 7: Robustness checks for voting agreement in Economic Development resolutions

	Dependent variable:				
	Voting Agreement with Venezuela in Economic Development resolutions				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
PETROCARIBE	0.026** (0.013)	0.018** (0.008)	0.032** (0.013)	0.022*** (0.007)	0.028*** (0.007)
polori		0.012* (0.006)		0.004 (0.007)	0.007 (0.006)
ALBA		0.041** (0.016)		0.055*** (0.016)	0.045*** (0.014)
logusimport			0.010 (0.009)	0.009 (0.008)	0.009 (0.007)
logusexport			-0.005 (0.008)	-0.011 (0.007)	-0.010 (0.008)
logusaid			-0.004 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.004)	-0.002 (0.004)
dem			0.003 (0.014)	0.0003 (0.012)	0.001 (0.012)
loggdp			0.057 (0.041)	0.067* (0.036)	0.067* (0.036)
PETROCARIBE:ALBA				-0.015 (0.030)	
PETROCARIBE:polori					-0.012 (0.007)
Observations	544		544	471	471
R ²	0.031		0.110	0.063	0.145
Adjusted R ²	-0.063		0.020	-0.051	0.034
F Statistic	15.620*** (df = 1; 495)	20.349*** (df = 3; 493)	4.668*** (df = 6; 419)	7.821*** (df = 9; 416)	7.890*** (df = 9; 416)

Note:
* p<0.1; ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01
Robust standard errors are in parentheses, clustered by country. All models include country and year fixed-effects.

Table 8: Robustness checks for voting agreement in Colonialism resolutions

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>				
	Voting Agreement with Venezuela in Colonialism resolutions				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
PETROCARIBE	0.030*** (0.010)	0.028*** (0.009)	0.029*** (0.008)	0.025*** (0.008)	0.039*** (0.011)
polori		0.011 (0.008)		0.017* (0.010)	0.020* (0.011)
ALBA		0.007 (0.007)		-0.003 (0.010)	0.003 (0.008)
logusimport			0.006 (0.010)	0.006 (0.009)	0.005 (0.009)
logusexport			-0.011 (0.010)	-0.011 (0.010)	-0.012 (0.011)
logusaid			-0.006 (0.004)	-0.006 (0.004)	-0.006 (0.004)
dem				-0.015** (0.008)	-0.015* (0.008)
loggdp				-0.078 (0.058)	-0.088 (0.059)
PETROCARIBE:ALBA					0.008 (0.015)
PETROCARIBE:polori					-0.019* (0.010)
Observations	538	538	465	465	465
R ²	0.045	0.061	0.105	0.130	0.135
Adjusted R ²	-0.048	-0.035	-0.005	0.015	0.021
F Statistic	23.272*** (df = 1; 489)	10.621*** (df = 3; 487)	8.105*** (df = 6; 413)	6.794*** (df = 9; 410)	7.127*** (df = 9; 410)

Note:

* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Robust standard errors are in parentheses, clustered by country. All models include country and year fixed-effects. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 9: Robustness checks for voting agreement in Palestinian Conflict resolutions

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>				
	Voting Agreement with Venezuela in Palestinian Conflict resolutions				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
PETROCARIBE	0.044*** (0.016)	0.041*** (0.015)	0.046*** (0.017)	0.032* (0.016)	0.041 (0.032)
polori		0.042*** (0.014)		0.058*** (0.016)	0.056*** (0.018)
ALBA		0.003 (0.012)		-0.037 (0.033)	-0.002 (0.016)
logusimport			0.007 (0.019)	0.007 (0.018)	0.005 (0.018)
logusexport			-0.027 (0.029)	-0.026 (0.029)	-0.028 (0.031)
logusaid			-0.011 (0.012)	-0.011 (0.013)	-0.009 (0.011)
dem			-0.020 (0.016)	-0.020 (0.015)	-0.020 (0.014)
loggdp			-0.116 (0.119)	-0.154 (0.115)	-0.151 (0.114)
PETROCARIBE:ALBA				0.049 (0.045)	
PETROCARIBE:polori					-0.005 (0.034)
Observations	537	537	464	464	464
R ²	0.024	0.065	0.071	0.135	0.131
Adjusted R ²	-0.072	-0.031	-0.044	0.021	0.017
F Statistic	12.070*** (df = 1; 488)	11.350*** (df = 3; 486)	5.271*** (df = 6; 412)	7.114*** (df = 9; 409)	6.869*** (df = 9; 409)

Note:

* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Robust standard errors are in parentheses, clustered by country. All models include country and year fixed-effects. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 10: Robustness checks for voting agreement in Arms Control resolutions

	Dependent variable:				
	Voting Agreement with Venezuela in Arms Control resolutions				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
PETROCARIBE	-0.014 (0.010)	-0.017* (0.009)	-0.010 (0.009)	-0.015 (0.009)	-0.005 (0.011)
polori		0.006 (0.006)	0.006 (0.007)	0.006 (0.007)	0.008 (0.007)
ALBA		0.011 (0.010)	0.003 (0.021)	0.003 (0.021)	0.011 (0.009)
logusimport		0.001 (0.006)	0.001 (0.006)	0.001 (0.006)	-0.0001 (0.006)
logusexport		0.008 (0.006)	0.007 (0.006)	0.007 (0.006)	0.006 (0.006)
logusaid		0.001 (0.003)	0.001 (0.003)	0.001 (0.003)	0.001 (0.004)
dem		-0.004 (0.006)	-0.004 (0.007)	-0.004 (0.007)	-0.004 (0.006)
loggdp		-0.010 (0.041)	-0.010 (0.041)	-0.010 (0.041)	-0.009 (0.040)
PETROCARIBE:ALBA				0.011 (0.022)	
PETROCARIBE:polori					-0.012 (0.012)
Observations	529	529	457	457	457
R ²	0.013	0.024	0.012	0.023	0.025
Adjusted R ²	-0.086	-0.078	-0.112	-0.108	-0.106
F Statistic	6.243** (df = 1; 480)	3.977*** (df = 3; 478)	0.830 (df = 6; 405)	1.042 (df = 9; 402)	1.129 (df = 9; 402)

Note:

* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Robust standard errors are in parentheses, clustered by country. All models include country and year fixed-effects. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 11: Robustness checks for voting agreement in Nuclear Matters resolutions

	Dependent variable:				
	Voting Agreement with Venezuela in Nuclear Matters resolutions				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
PETROCARIBE	-0.011 (0.008)	-0.011 (0.008)	-0.010 (0.008)	-0.012 (0.008)	-0.001 (0.013)
polori		0.003 (0.007)		0.005 (0.008)	0.007 (0.007)
ALBA		0.001 (0.009)		-0.016 (0.020)	-0.001 (0.009)
logusimport			0.004 (0.005)	0.005 (0.005)	0.003 (0.005)
logusexport			0.008 (0.008)	0.009 (0.008)	0.008 (0.008)
logusaid			0.0002 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)	0.0001 (0.003)
20				-0.008 (0.006)	-0.007 (0.006)
dem				-0.027 (0.042)	-0.031 (0.044)
loggdp					-0.030 (0.043)
PETROCARIBE:ALBA				0.021 (0.021)	
PETROCARIBE:polori					-0.014 (0.015)
Observations	525	525	455	455	455
R ²	0.007	0.007	0.015	0.020	0.020
Adjusted R ²	-0.094	-0.097	-0.110	-0.112	-0.112
F Statistic	3.135* (df = 1; 476)	1.183 (df = 3; 474)	1.027 (df = 6; 403)	0.918 (df = 9; 400)	0.910 (df = 9; 400)

Note:

* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Robust standard errors are in parentheses, clustered by country. All models include country and year fixed-effects. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 12: Robustness checks for voting agreement in important resolutions for the United States

	Dependent variable:				
	Voting Agreement with Venezuela in important resolutions for the United States				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
PETROCARIBE	0.102*** (0.037)	0.078*** (0.023)	0.126*** (0.040)	0.102*** (0.024)	0.077** (0.031)
polori		0.054*** (0.018)		0.055*** (0.021)	0.053*** (0.020)
ALBA		0.108*** (0.040)		0.145*** (0.031)	0.096** (0.040)
logusimport			0.025 (0.022)	0.020 (0.017)	0.024 (0.016)
logusexport			0.003 (0.018)	-0.012 (0.019)	-0.009 (0.021)
logusaid			-0.018** (0.008)	-0.010 (0.007)	-0.013** (0.006)
dem			0.017 (0.027)	0.011 (0.020)	0.011 (0.019)
loggdp			0.108 (0.129)	0.101 (0.109)	0.095 (0.110)
PETROCARIBE:ALBA				-0.066 (0.068)	
PETROCARIBE:polori					0.026 (0.027)
Observations	544	544	471	471	471
R ²	0.086	0.230	0.127	0.260	0.257
Adjusted R ²	-0.003	0.152	0.021	0.164	0.160
F Statistic	46.418*** (df = 1; 495)	49.212*** (df = 3; 493)	10.148*** (df = 6; 419)	16.233*** (df = 9; 416)	15.968*** (df = 9; 416)

Note:

* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Robust standard errors are in parentheses, clustered by country. All models include country and year fixed-effects. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01