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## Liberalism and its Trail

David Nessa

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**Liberalism and its Trail**  
**By David Nessa**  
**Advised by Zander Albertson**

**Abstract**

The United States has a history of utilizing liberal ideology as a justification for the appropriation of native land and resources for the enrichment of the United States. After becoming the pre-eminent superpower of the world post-WW2, the United States continued to justify intervention across the globe with liberal notions of what is good for society. David Harvey, who is a Marxist geographer, constructs the US imperial project as one that is tied up in the uneven trade of resources and thus the uneven development of these regions under the US sphere. After constructing an index measuring uneven trade and statistically testing the relationship between uneven trade and uneven development, it was found that uneven trade does contribute to the lack of wealth seen across the world. US imperialism can be linked to these uneven trade relationships by analyzing the difference in power brokerage that is negotiated by the US and the respective countries' leaders (instituted by the US or otherwise).

**Table of Contents**

**Pg. 1 Introduction**

**Pgs. 9-13 Methods**

**Pgs. 14-34 Results**

14-25 Raw Numbers

26-29 Uneven Trade Index

29-34 Statistical Analysis

**Pgs. 34-50 Discussion**

**Pg. 51. Conclusion**

**Pgs. 51-55 Bibliography**

## 1.0 Introduction

As a result of the postcolonial age, many scholars would argue that the era of imperialism is over and even that we have entered the “end of history” (Fukuyama, 1989). Neoliberal economists such as Fukuyama, argue that this “post-war” period is more than just that, but rather “the endpoint of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of western liberal democracy as the final form of human government” (Fukuyama, 1989). However, ~7 million people die a year from starvation under our global capitalist system, climate change threatens the world population and wars such as the ones in Ukraine, Syria, Yemen, and Tigray, are killing and maiming thousands. In many of these places, liberal democracy hasn’t flourished, and the belligerents, victims and suspects aren’t self-identified western democracy supporters themselves. Liberal scholars such as Fukuyama may argue that the reasons and cause for these people’s misfortunes is the lack of liberal democracy in their place of conflict. However, in contrast to Fukuyama, David Harvey, a Marxist geographer, believes that we have entered a new age of imperialism, this time led by the United States. In contrast to previous imperial projects, the United States has been building an ideological empire rather than a national empire.

Imperialism (noun) im-pe-ri-al-ism: the policy, practice, or advocacy of extending the power and dominion of a nation especially by direct territorial acquisitions or by gaining indirect control over the political or economic life of other areas. (Merriam-Webster)

Most modern definitions of imperialism are quite similar to that of Merriam-Webster, but earlier definitions of the term offer a more complicated picture. Joseph Schumpeter in his essay *Imperialism and Social Classes*, defines imperialism as “objectless disposition on the part of a state to unlimited forcible expansion” (Schumpeter, 1951, Pg. 7). Hannah Arendt in the same year, in her book, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, wrote that Imperialism is not a “temporary means” but rather a “never-ending, self-feeding motor of all political action” (Arendt, 1951, Pg. 137). These two older definitions add descriptors to imperialism, stating that it must be “unlimited” and “self-feeding”. More importantly, there are two different terms used to address the nation-state that is initiating imperialism: “nation” in the modern definition and “state” in Schumpeter’s. Now, although this may be of no significance when these two definitions were formulated - the two words possibly being used as synonyms - it is important to decipher their differences.

Nation (Noun): a people having a common origin, tradition, and language and capable of forming or constituting a nation-state. (Merriam-Webster)

State (Noun): a politically organized body of people usually occupying a definite territory. (Merriam-Webster)

Imperialism, under Merriam-Webster’s definition, can only happen if carried out by a nation, not a state. This distinction may not be intentional, but it draws upon an idea that is relevant to United States imperialism. The United States is not a nation, and has never been one (Mendenhall, 2019). The name “United States” originates not from a group of people who share a culture or language or history but rather describes a

collection of various sovereign governments coming together to form a federal republic that espouses the value of liberalism (Mendenhall, 2019). Liberalism in this case being the ideology of freedom, hence you get things such as free markets, “the pursuit of happiness”, democracy, and the freedom of speech. The experiment that is the United States was a reaction to the authoritarian, unitary, monarchist rules of European nations, and was developed specifically to break away from this tradition. In fact, the formation of the United States was a break from the historical tradition of forming states in support of organizing a nation. In Europe for instance, nations form states to defend and organize themselves, thus you get France, “land of the franks”, England “land of the anglos”, Russia “land of the rus” etc. “Nationalism” could be used as a justification of expansion for these nation-states, and historically has been. In contrast, the United States doesn’t have a shared nationhood, instead being made up of various cultures, religions, and histories, but the USA does share an ideology. The ideology of liberalism or as some may call it “freedom”, is what binds the United States together; but “the land of opportunity” can only become so through imperialist regimes of power.

Imperialism of the past was enacted by European nation-states, who had to unify the people within their nation to have the strength to conquer other nations. To do this, “the answer was to mobilize nationalism, jingoism, patriotism, and, above all, racism behind an imperial project in which national capitals could take the lead. This, as Arendt points out, meant the suspension of internal class struggle and the construction of an alliance between what she calls 'the mob' and capital within the nation-state” (Harvey, pg. 44, 2005). The age of imperialism (1870-1914) led to a bloody end (~40 million, including WW2 ~120 million dead) when the unlimited growth of capitalist-imperialist

nation-states had nowhere to grow but into each other (Patnaik et al., 2018). Moreover, many of the exploited regions of the world were “decolonized”, but only after tens of millions died because of famine, and trillions of dollars (~\$45 trillion from India alone) stolen, as a result of colonialism and imperialism (Patnaik, et al. 2018). United States imperialism ultimately isn’t about nationalism; indeed, it is still utilized to stoke hostilities. Instead, the motivation develops from statism, and the superiority of liberalism over other state ideologies (Harvey, pg. 47). Moreover, the idea of imperialism isn’t necessarily opposed by those within the United States political system, instead they support the supposed objective good of liberalism. George Bush himself stated that 9/11 has allowed America to:

“Use our position of unparalleled strength and influence to build an atmosphere of international order and openness in which progress and liberty can flourish in many nations. A peaceful world of growing freedom serves American long-term interests, reflects enduring American ideals and unites America's allies.... We seek a just peace”.

(Harvey, Pp. 4-5)

As a result of the global expansion of liberalism Bush says, “repression, resentment and poverty are replaced with the hope of democracy, development, free markets and free trade” (Harvey, Pg. 5). On the contrary, US interventionism has propped up authoritarian-capitalist regimes, which is directly in opposition to the sentiments espoused above. (See 4.0)

One way to measure or quantify imperialism is through an examination of the uneven development that may occur across space i.e. between identified “core” and

“periphery” regions. Uneven development is the idea that one place develops through the process of extracting from another, and thus has greater development - through a western “progression” lens this includes aspects such as: lower death rates, technological advantage, material possessions, military power, urban health - as a result of exploitation. Uneven development can materialize because of a plethora of reasons, control over resources, technology, military power, fabricated hierarchies, etc. However, in the trade-reliant world that exists today, uneven development could arise due to uneven trade.

“Uneven geographical conditions do not merely arise out of the uneven patterning of natural resource endowments and locational advantages, but, even more importantly, are produced by the uneven ways in which wealth and power themselves become highly concentrated in certain places by virtue of asymmetrical exchange relations.” (Harvey, 2005, pg. 32).

For example, in the United States, supposedly uneven trade wouldn't happen because of values such as the free market and democracy. It would be assumed, because democracy theoretically requires equal representation and free markets facilitate negotiation, for example, that in exchange for 100 hectares of land for growing crops, the group giving away this land would receive resources equally worthy in return, such as 1000 persons worth of labor for a year. However, historically in the United States this has been anything but the case. The uneven development that was carried out in the settlement of the American West can best be displayed by the conquest of California. The state was once the homeland of 86 distinct indigenous languages, ~500 tribes, and ~700,000 people (Mann, 2005, pg. 478). Because of disease and the California genocide (where ~100,000 native Americans were killed in the first two years of the gold rush), this population was

reduced to 25,000, and almost all their land was stripped from them (Castillo, 2019). Today, California is the richest state in the union, with a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of ~\$3 trillion, but “the income levels of California Indians are some of the lowest levels of any group in the nation” at about ~\$7,000 GDP per capita. (UCLA, 1995) The native Americans of California aren’t poor because of a lack of resources, or a locational disadvantage, rather they became deprived of close to everything through a process of asymmetrical trade, treaty making and outright violence. Similar results are seen across the United States. (Mann, 2005)

[Manifest Destiny Map \(arcgis.com\)](#)

Figure 1: Web map created by David Nessa. Native American tribe data from Native Land Digital 2023. Above is linked an ArcGIS interactive webmap, that allows one to explore the pre-Columbian extent of Native American tribes, as well as information about the initial expansion of the United States.

[Manifest Destiny Uneven Development map \(arcgis.com\)](#)

Figure 2: Web map created by David Nessa. The GDP drain numbers were calculated by taking the only available GDP per capita data for native Americans, from Randall et al. (2015), and extrapolating this number across the US states, then subtracting this from the GDP per capita of all Americans in the state. The goal is to show uneven development and the states where they have profited most off native land, without fairly distributing the wealth back to Native Americans whose land was stolen from them. General Data [USDA Census of Agriculture for American Indian Reservations - Native Land Information System](#)  
GDP Per Capita of Native Americans (2015)



[Sovereignty and improved economic outcomes for American Indians: Building on the gains made since 1990 - Equitable Growth](#)

GDP by State

[BEA Interactive Data Application](#)

Native American Population by State

[Native American Population 2023 \(worldpopulationreview.com\)](#)

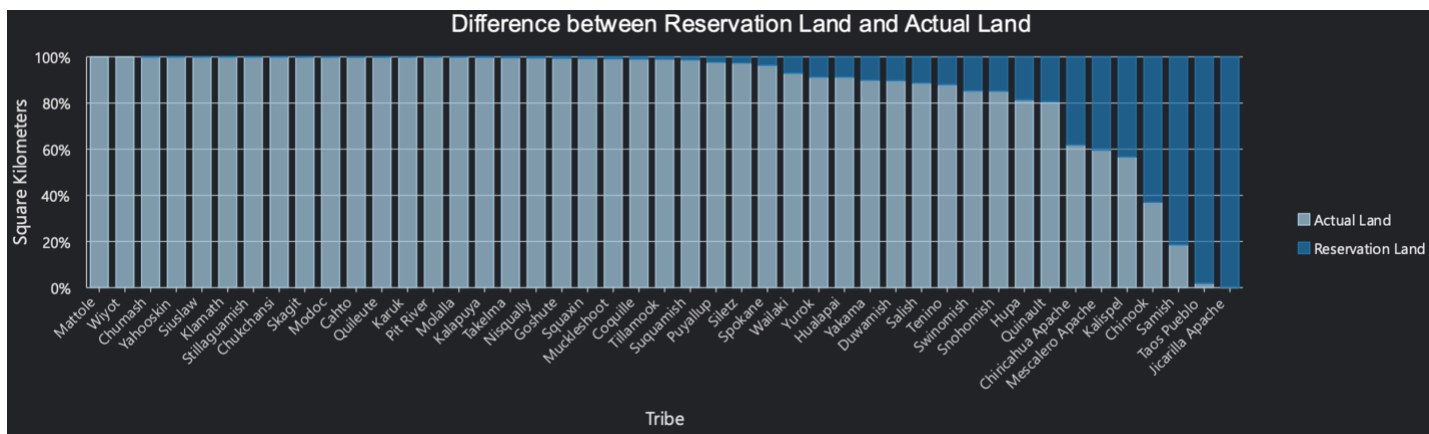


Figure 3: In addition to spatial dispossession, approximately 90-112 million people could've possibly been living in the Americas before European arrival, according to Dobyns (1976). Before 1492, the Americas was the true home of tens of millions of inhabitants. European diseases ended up killing 90% of indigenous Americans, but the land we today call the United States, is still their home. (Mann, 2005, pg. 147) Their beliefs, ways of life, sustenance, economies, ideologies, all derived from centuries of living with the land that is rightfully theirs.

The USA was built on uneven development, and through examination of world trade, it is possible to approximate how greatly this may or may not still be the case. In this paper, to interpolate the impact of uneven trade across the world and test its effect on

uneven development, uneven trade will be measured, quantified as an index summation of different variables, and then statistically tested to determine if uneven trade is a significant determinant of uneven development. Then a discussion will be had about possible patterns and linkages with US imperialism.

## 2.0 Methods

**2.1 Intro to Methodology:** For the scope and purposes of this study, primary data wasn't created, rather the data is pulled directly from Dorninger et al., (2021) and then put through different forms of data manipulation to derive the results that are desired. These results include: six maps of world regions that are particularly impacted by US interventionism (as demonstrated in figures 1-3), that visualize uneven trade through the import and export of embodied land, labor, energy and material; two maps that demonstrate both the regional and worldwide scope of the variation and differences between countries in the calculated Uneven Trade Index; and two OLS statistical analysis results pages that detail the significance of the Uneven Trade Index on impacting the GNI of nations.

**2.2 Data Choice:** After reviewing a plethora of sources that detail multi regional input-output analyses of world trade (MRIO), including but not limited to, Lenzen et al. (2012), Alsamawi et al. (2017), and Hickel et al (2022); the most appropriate source for uneven trade data was narrowed down and the supplementary data spreadsheet from Dorninger et al., (2021) was utilized. Dorninger provides a excel spreadsheet that quantifies the net import per capita of four categories of resources that are traded around

the globe: land, labor, energy and raw material. The data provided by Dorninger et al., is from 2015.

**2.3 Data Definition:** Land is measured in hectares (ha), which is 107,639 sq ft, 10,000 sq m, or about two and a half acres (Bruckner et al., 2015). Labor is measured in person-year equivalents (p-yr), which essentially is the amount of production a person who works 40 hours per week for a year puts out (Simas et al. 2015). Energy is measured in gigajoules (Gj), or the energy that is produced by one billion newtons moving one meter in the actionable direction. Raw material is measured in tons of Raw Material Equivalents or RMEs, which is basically any physical resource used to produce goods; silicone, gold, cobalt, silver, sulfur, phosphorous, aluminum etc. All of these measurements account for the entire production line and process, so they're considered measurements of "embodied" labor, land energy, and raw material. For example, a country may import a considerable amount of energy, but if they then use all of this energy to produce manufactured goods for consumption in different countries elsewhere, their import of embodied energy would be zero. Essentially, if a country isn't importing the resource to consume for themselves, and rather uses it to produce a manufactured good further up the supply chain, they technically aren't importing the resource at all, and the end consumer will soak up all the resource input. The data is based upon "net import", or total imports divided by total exports. Finally, the spreadsheet provides the numbers as per capita calculations, so the total net import of each resource category, divided by population.

**2.4 Regional Uneven Trade Resource Maps:** For the initial six uneven trade maps, half would be showing per capita data and the other half would show calculated net import

totals (population \* given net import per capita data). The purpose of showing both data measures is to equally represent the totality of trade for each country and the relative and approximate impact that each citizen may contribute to uneven trade. Moreover, showing both measures unburden the study from a potential limitation. To create these maps, the supplementary data spreadsheet from Dorninger et al. (2021), with the calculated addition of net import totals as described above, was imported into ArcGIS Pro. From there the “country code” field was used as the join field in an *add join* process that took some troubleshooting. Different “world countries” layers were tested from the ArcGIS Online database to see which layer best fit the net import data. The World\_Countries layer from ESRI was deemed to best suit the purposes of the *add join*. After joining the data table with the world countries layer, all that had left to be done for these first maps was to create appropriate visualization. For the symbology a red-blue scale was used to both fit in with the thematic setting of the paper, i.e., American Imperialism, and because red-blue is an intuitive negative-positive spectrum. The data then was classified into six classes with *Natural Breaks (Jenks)*, which uses built-in statistical analysis techniques to break apart the data based upon relatively large differences in values. However, to accurately represent the net import data, the red colors would represent negative values, and the blue colors would represent positive values. To show this, the upper boundary of each third negative (red) class of the maps was set to zero or  $-0.01$ . All the maps were portioned off from the rest of the data by using the *definition query* option within each maps’ properties.

**2.5 Uneven Trade Index:** The Uneven Trade Index was created through a process of ordinal ranking summation. Since the four measures of the resources traded (ha, p-yr, Gj,

and tons) can't be combined as they are, they were converted into "utiles". This was done within Excel, and in essence involves retrieving the maximum and minimum for each data column, and then using this equation (Uneven Trade Index Utile =  $[\text{Max-Variable}] / [\text{Max} - \text{Min}]$ ) to calculate a utile value for each individual variable. As a result, every variable from the previous maps (net imports for each resource; energy, land, labor, and material per capita and totals for every country, within the Doringer et al (2021) study), now had a utile value associated with it. More information on index building and ordinal ranking found in Buckley (2022). From here, all that had to be done was a summation, one for total data and another for per capita, across the utiles for each resource category, for each country. The resulting sums created the Uneven Trade Index. Higher values in the index represent countries that net export, and lower values represent those that net import. Finally, to visualize the Uneven Trade Index, the data was imported into ArcGIS using the same method as before, with the *add join* tool and world\_countries layer. The values were then symbolized on a "unclassed spectrum" scale, which shows countries with higher Uneven Trade Index values as a deeper red, and ones with lower values as a deeper blue. For each separate region *definition query* was used to limit the data to the displayed extent, to properly display variation and contrast in the area shown.

**2.6 Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) Statistical Analysis:** Within ArcGIS Pro there is a tool that allows you to do OLS analysis rather efficiently and seamlessly. The aptly named *Ordinary Least Squares* spatial statistical tool calculates a regression for chosen explanatory and dependent variables and the significance of their relationship to one another and produces a detailed report on the results. To understand whether the Uneven Trade Index values that have been calculated are a significant determinant of

development, the *OLS* tool was used. A simple, but limited method of measuring uneven development is by analyzing the difference between Gross National Income (GNI) and GNI per capita between regions or peoples. Gross National Income is a more encompassing version of Gross Domestic Product measurements. GNI measures not only the total value in dollars (\$) of expenditures or sales within a country for a given year, but also includes the money invested into the country by foreigners and the money invested from the country to others. Basically, GNI measures the economic prowess and security of a state, its markets and the people within it, so by comparing GNIs between countries, a sense of who is “developed” and who can be interpreted. Thus, for the scope of this study, and the limited data available, GNI and GNI per capita were chosen as appropriate measures of development. Then two OLS reports were created, one for the Uneven Trade Index (total) as the explanatory variable and total GNI as the dependent variable, and another for the Uneven Trade Index (per capita) and GNI per capita.

**2.7 Data Limitations:** Dorninger et al. provides data for a total of 122 countries (2021). The three regions that are particularly impacted by US imperialism, Latin America, East Asia, and the Middle East are well covered by this dataset and thus serves this analysis well. All three of these regions also have enough contrast and diversity in the data so that they can serve as a suitable example for the rest of the globe.

### 3.0 Results





## 3.1 The Raw Numbers

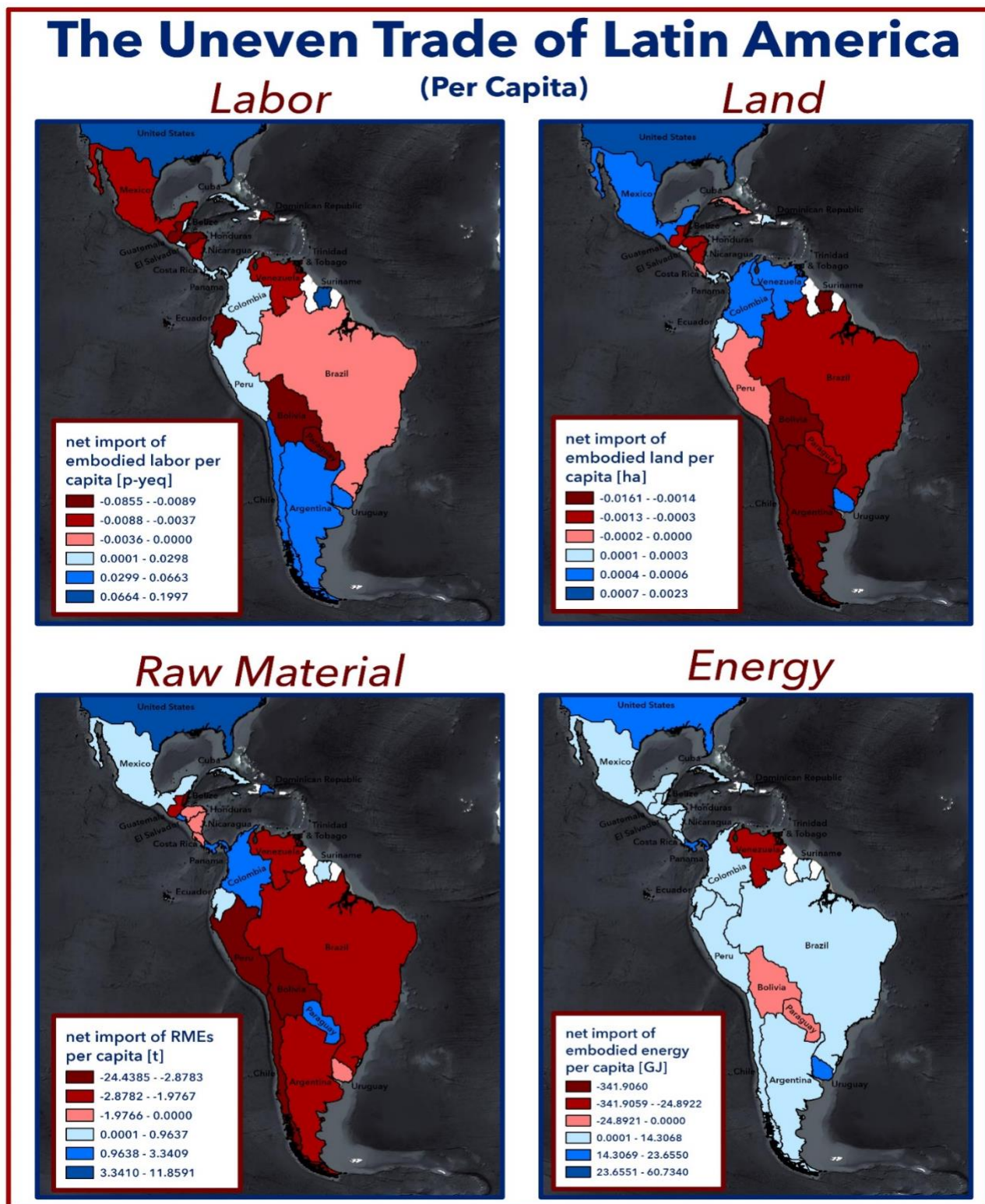


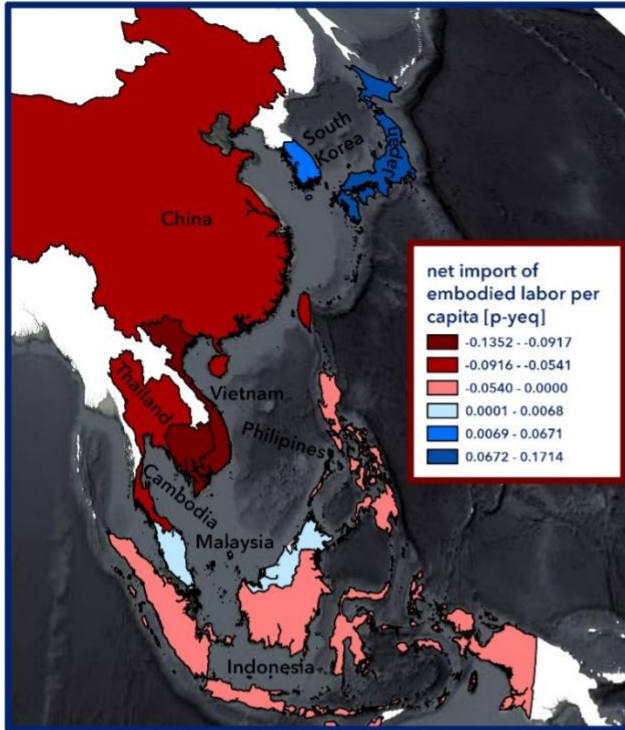
Figure 4: Data from Dorninger et al. (2021), world countries layer from ESRI

(2023), developed as described in 2.1. Map created by David Nessa.

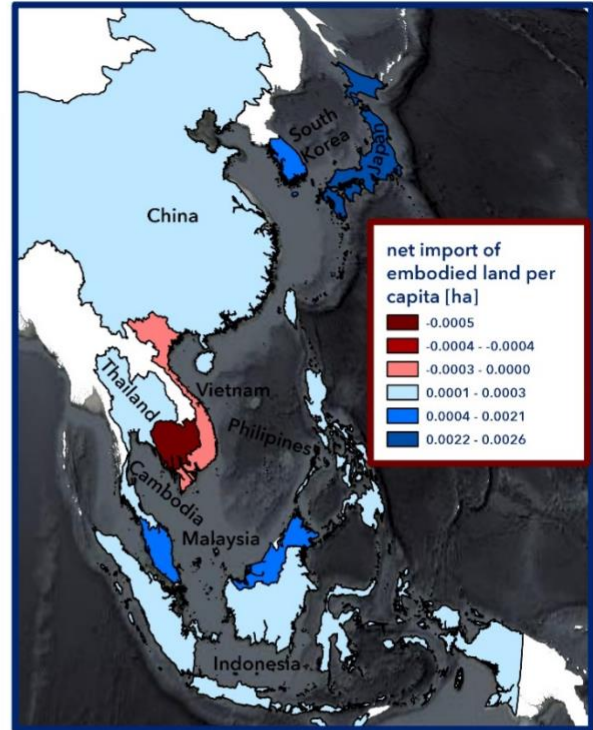


# The Uneven Trade of East Asia

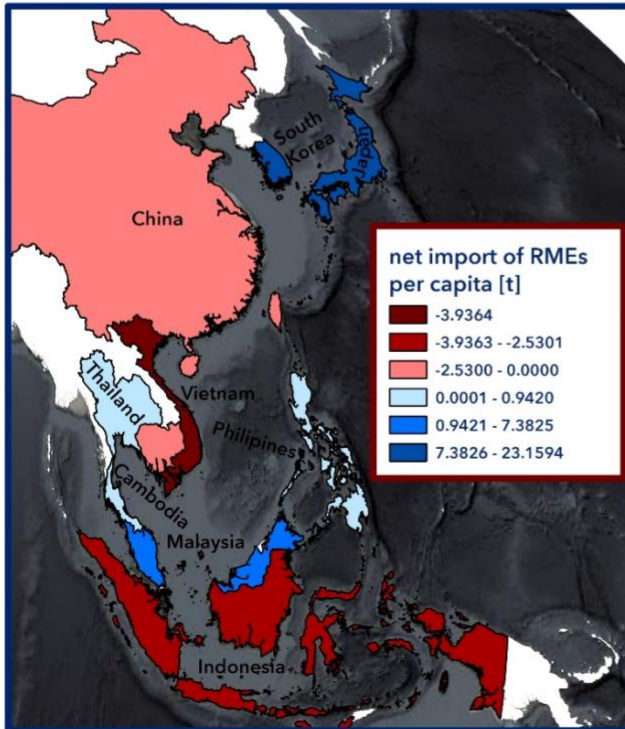
*Labor* (Per Capita)



*Land*



*Raw Material*



*Energy*

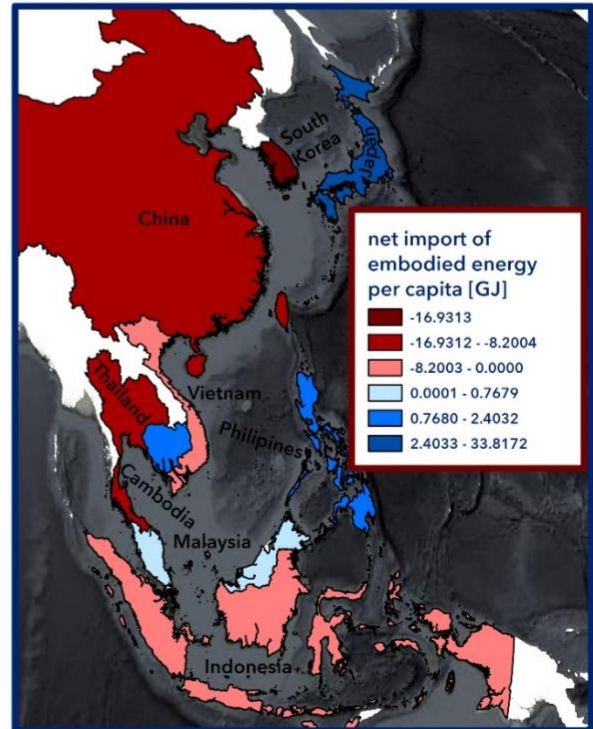


Figure 5: Data from Dorninger et al. (2021), world countries layer from ESRI

(2023), developed as described in 2.1. Map created by David Nessa.

# The Uneven Trade of the Middle East

(Per Capita)

## Labor



## Land



## Raw Material



## Energy



Figure 6: Data from Dorninger et al. (2021), world countries layer from ESRI (2023),

developed as described in 2.1. Map created by David Nessa.

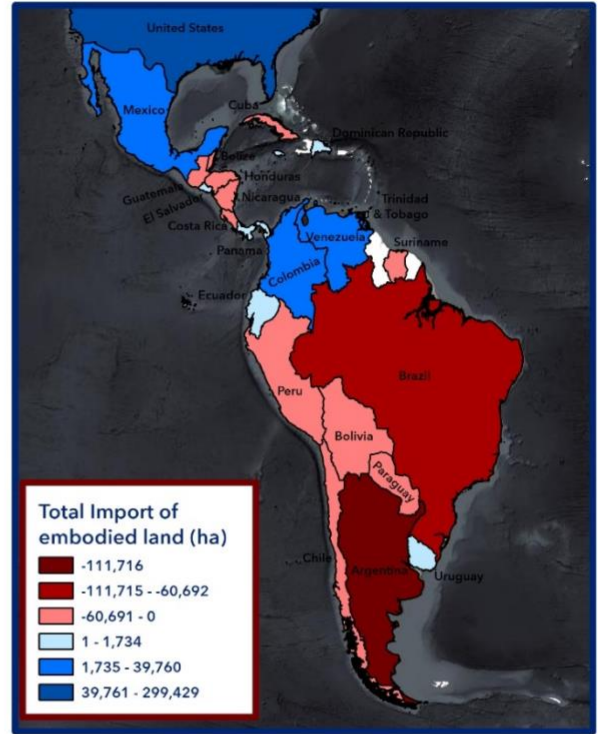
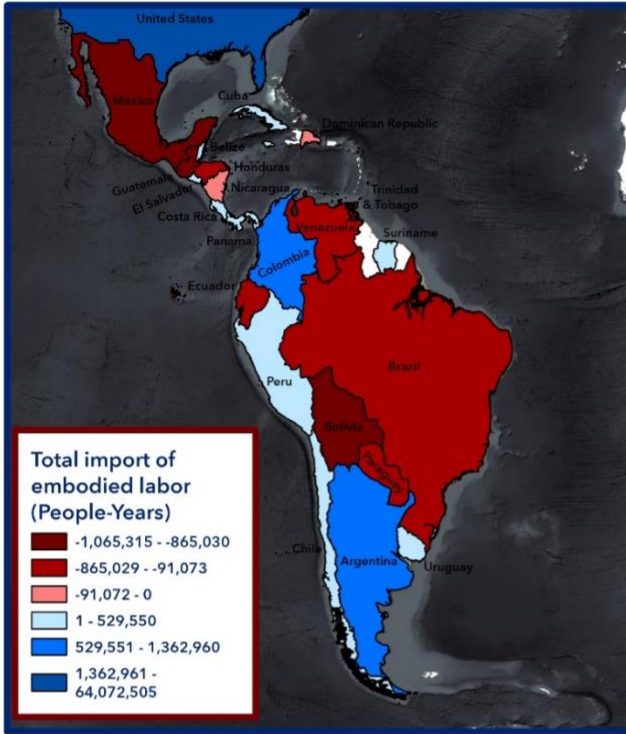


# The Uneven Trade of Latin America

## Labor

(Totals)

## Land



## Raw Material

## Energy

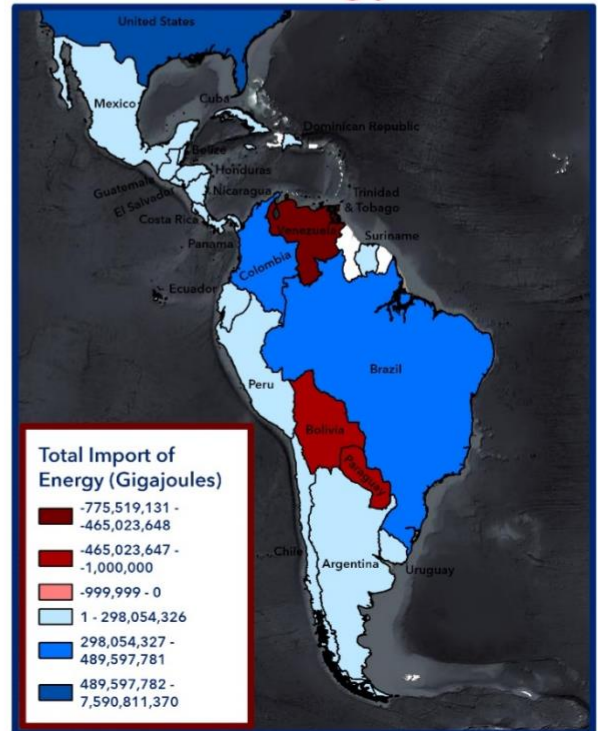
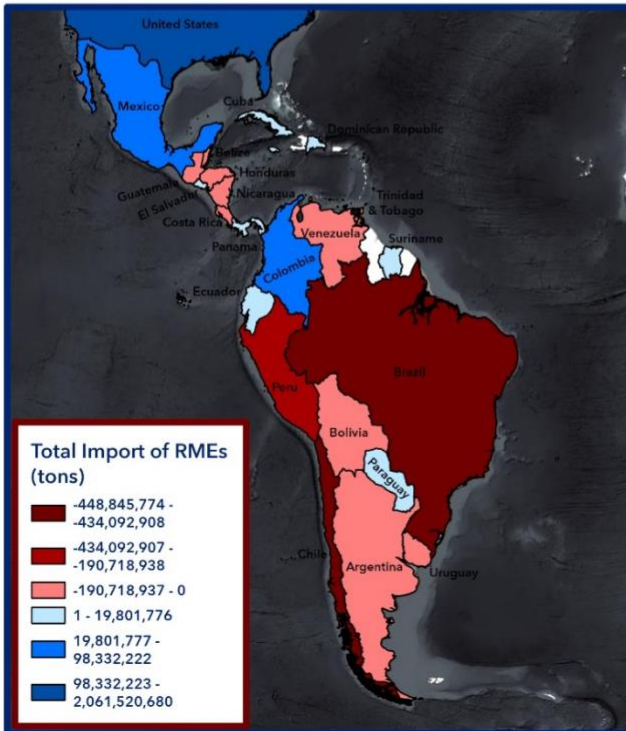
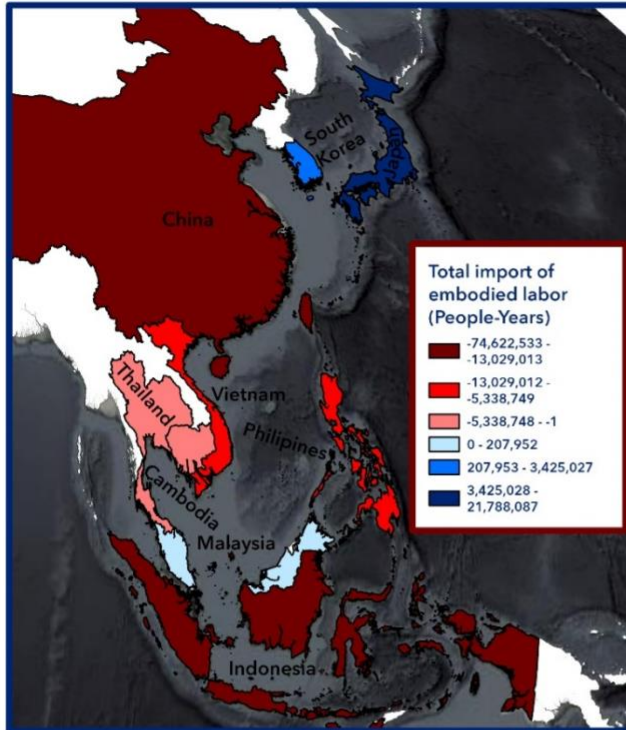


Figure 7: Data from Dorninger et al. (2021), world countries layer from ESRI

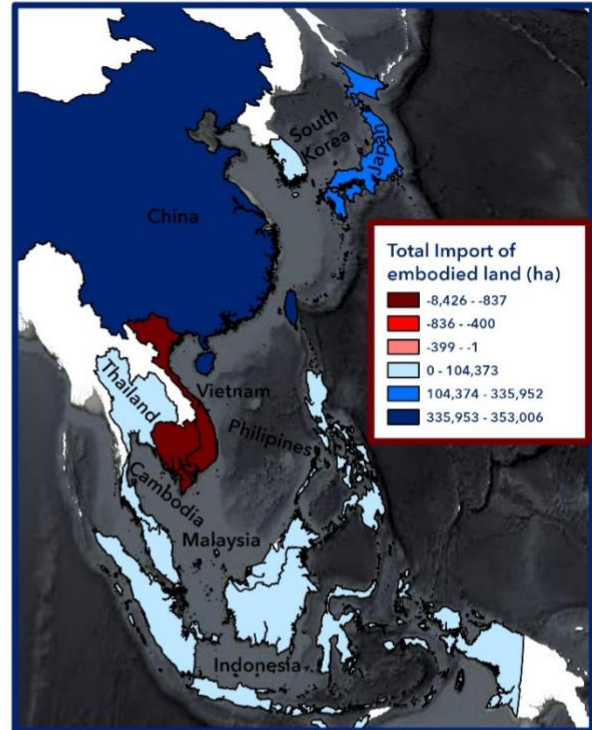
(2023), developed as described in 2.1. Map created by David Nessa.

# The Uneven Trade of East Asia

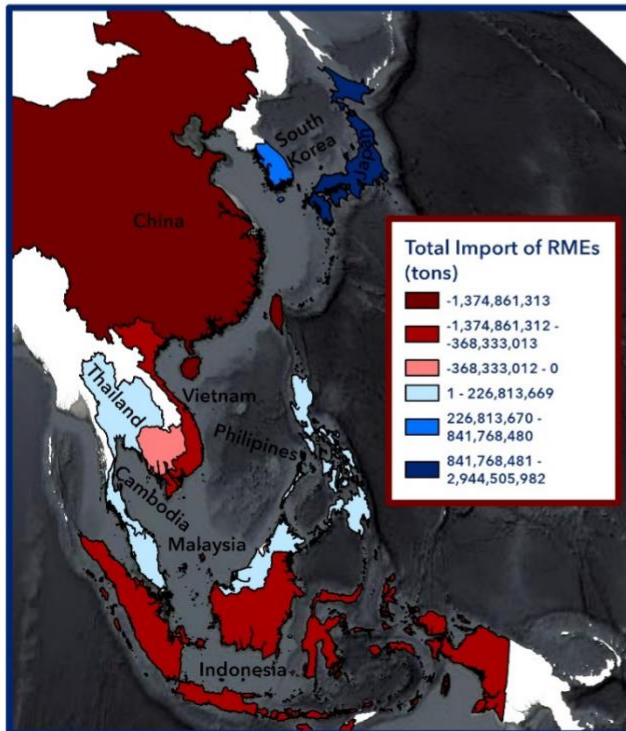
*Labor* (Totals)



*Land*



*Raw Material*



*Energy*

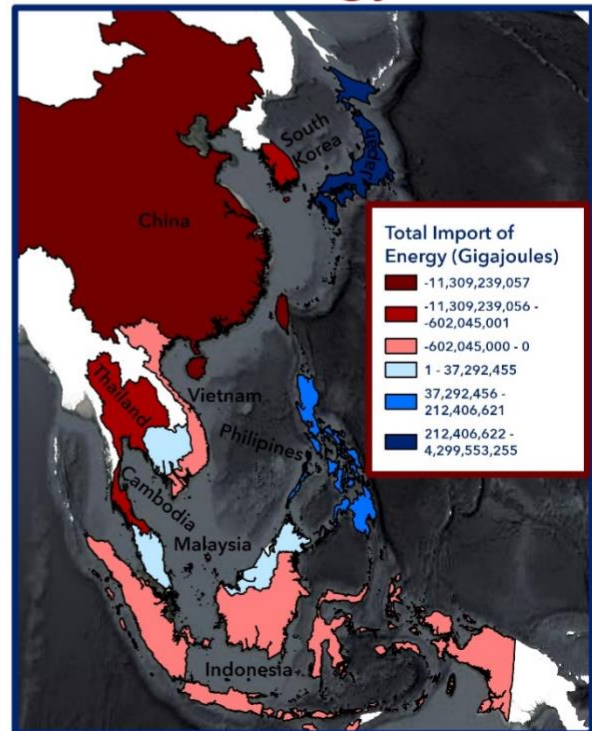


Figure 8: Data from Dorninger et al. (2021), world countries layer from ESRI (2023),

developed as described in 2.1. Map created by David Nessa.



# The Uneven Trade of the Middle East

(Totals)

## Labor



## Land



## Raw Material



## Energy



Figure 9: Data from Dorninger et al. (2021), world countries layer from ESRI (2023),

developed as described in 2.1. Map created by David Nessa.

### 3.2 Interpretation of the Raw Data

In a world free of externalities and equal negotiation, the prediction would be that all countries would trade away their most valuable resource, and in return receive another country's most valuable resource. So, it would both be expected that no countries would have a total net import of all resources and that no countries would have a net export total for all their resources, which would signify that they're being exploited through uneven trade. However, the global trade environment is full of externalities and negotiation is beset with geopolitical contexts. Thus, in all three regions there is one country who is always major net importer of every resource. In Latin America it's the United States (and to a lesser extent Colombia and Panama), in the Middle East it's Israel, and in East Asia it's Japan. There are also those countries that are net exporters of every resource, Bolivia, Vietnam, Pakistan, Algeria, Syria and Morocco. Gains to trade, which is a concept in basic economics that is often used to justify world trade relationships, is not exemplified in these cases. For example, if a country specialized in the export of gold, and the resource was its highest valued material, and they were willing to export it for a fair price, it would be expected in a traditional "gains-to-trade" scenario that said country receives back a resource that is scarce in their own country. In figures 10 & 7 Saudi Arabia is in the two highest classifications for the net export of embodied raw material and energy (likely due to countries vast oil reserves and the export of the resource), but they're also in the two highest classifications for the net import of embodied land & labor. Saudi Arabia within the bounds and data of this study, is a clear example of even trade, and what that looks like. It could be argued that a major limitation of this part of the study is the lack of accounting for "value-added", but there is a reason for this. Value-added is the amount of monetary exchange value that is added on to the price of the good after any part of the supply chain process. Dorninger et al., (2021) does

provide value-added data within their supplementary data spreadsheet, however, the extra context would only take away from the goals of this analysis. Value itself is a rather arbitrary term, and amongst the human population and throughout human history, value of one item can change drastically. The price of a good may be how society collectively values that item, as a result of scarcity and utility, but adding this heterogenous variable only muddles any conclusions that can be drawn. Moreover, Dorninger et al. (2021) concluded in their study that “unequal exchange allows high-income countries to simultaneously appropriate resources and to generate a monetary surplus through international trade”, and the purpose of this study is to analyze imperialism through asymmetrical trade, not money. So, what gives the net import countries the power to drain such vast amounts of resources from everyone else? And is there a critical lack of power that is causing countries to export more than they import?

Notes on raw data: Emphasizing the true impact that the measurement adjustments that are made when considering the “embodied” nature of world resources. Most people wouldn’t expect to find China number one on the energy exporter list, possibly expecting an OPEC country, Canada or even the USA due to who has the most oil. However, most of the energy that China imports is used to manufacture products that are thereafter exported out of the country and consumed elsewhere.

### **3.3 Raw Data Top and Bottom 10s:**

## Embodied Labor:

Rank	Country Code	Total import of embodied labor (People-Years)
1	USA	64,083,055
2	JPN	21,791,967
3	GBR	11,573,399
4	FRA	9,200,784
5	DEU	9,075,382
6	AUS	7,019,286
7	CAN	6,668,431
8	SGP	6,190,900
9	ARE	5,700,384
10	ITA	5,198,538
113	UKR	-3,300,760
114	ETH	-3,635,378
115	THA	-5,080,662
116	PHL	-5,340,109
117	MDG	-7,117,552
118	VNM	-8,580,513
119	TZA	-9,024,893
120	IDN	-13,037,187
121	IND	-46,733,227
122	CHN	-74,609,972



## Embodied Land:

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Country Code</b>	<b>Total Import of embodied land (ha)</b>
1	CHN	413,734
2	JPN	330,567
3	USA	288,807
4	DEU	196,048
5	FRA	119,923
6	GBR	110,719
7	KOR	102,030
8	ITA	91,096
9	ESP	78,956
10	MYS	55,302
113	NAM	-42,447
114	MDG	-48,468
115	TZA	-53,880
116	KAZ	-59,650
117	BRA	-61,789
118	MNG	-97,046
119	ETH	-99,873
120	ARG	-112,886
121	CAN	-419,240
122	AUS	-462,705

## Embodied Material:

Rank	Country Code	Total Import of embodied Material (tons)
1	JPN	2,944,509,275
2	USA	2,061,536,143
3	GBR	1,026,313,617
4	DEU	872,208,789
5	KOR	841,767,031
6	ITA	750,581,409
7	FRA	741,159,444
8	ESP	653,590,254
9	SGP	379,250,035
10	NLD	339,521,795
113	TUR	-343,110,825
114	VNM	-368,335,116
115	CHL	-434,093,280
116	BRA	-448,853,222
117	IDN	-653,175,962
118	IND	-680,838,975
119	SAU	-726,921,968
120	AUS	-1,287,851,703
121	CHN	-1,374,836,994
122	RUS	-1,786,844,417

Embodied Energy:

Rank	Country Code	Total Import of embodied Energy (Gj)
1	USA	7,590,809,499
2	JPN	4,299,552,625
3	GBR	3,748,888,881
4	ITA	1,718,493,279
5	FRA	1,700,752,558
6	TUR	1,661,194,586
7	DEU	1,454,756,855
8	ESP	1,294,408,179
9	SGP	999,700,512
10	CHE	825,202,445
113	SAU	-850,307,245
114	KOR	-863,749,372
115	KAZ	-922,156,105
116	IND	-1,287,716,400
117	UKR	-1,411,045,345
118	IRN	-1,511,841,085
119	BEL	-2,216,797,808
120	RUS	-4,299,230,984
121	ZAF	-5,749,275,571
122	CHN	-11,309,272,029

### 3.3 The Uneven Trade Index

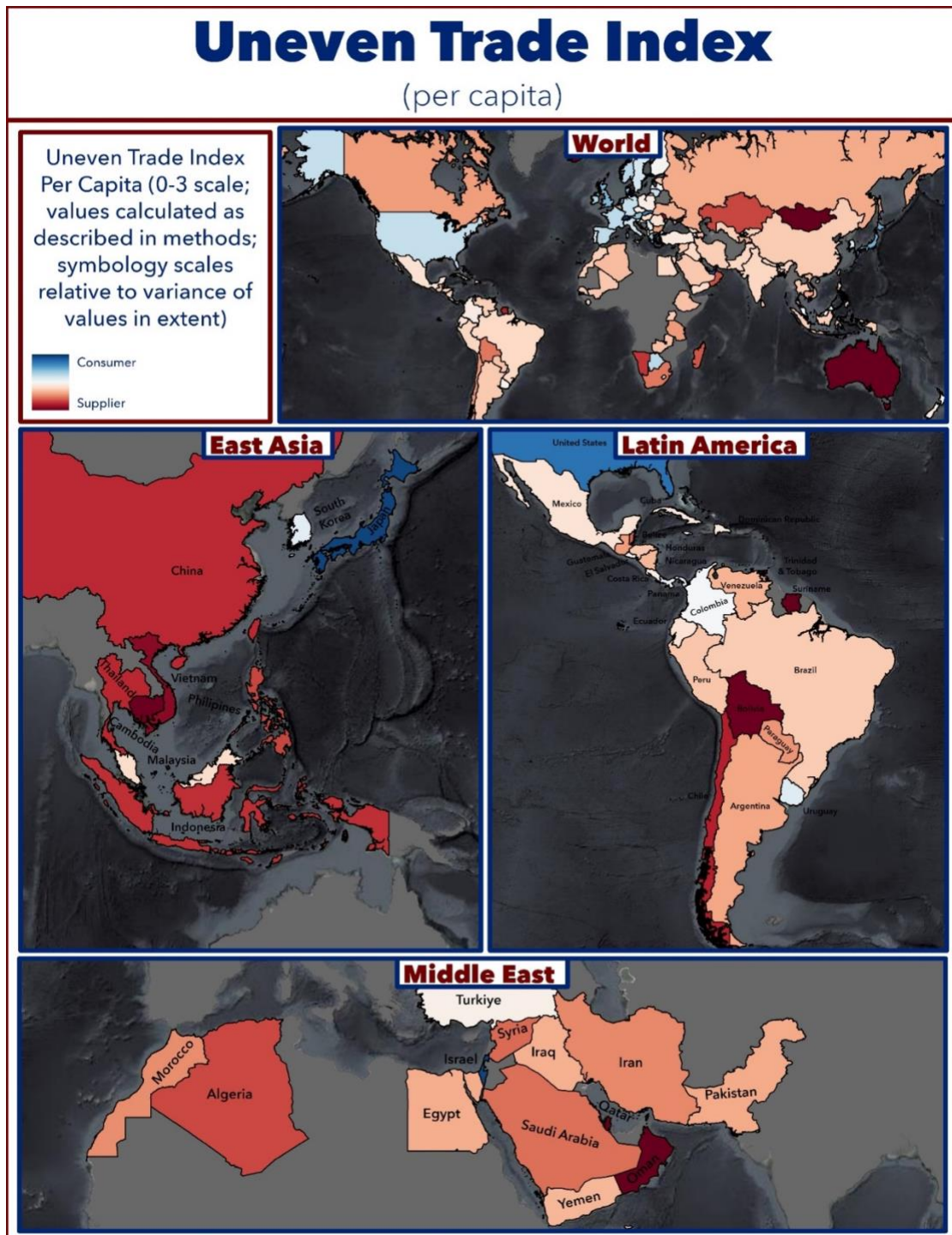


Figure 10: Data from Dorninger et al. (2021), and manipulated as described in 2.2, world countries layer from ESRI (2023), developed as described in 2.2. Map created by David Nessa.

# Uneven Trade Index

(Totals)

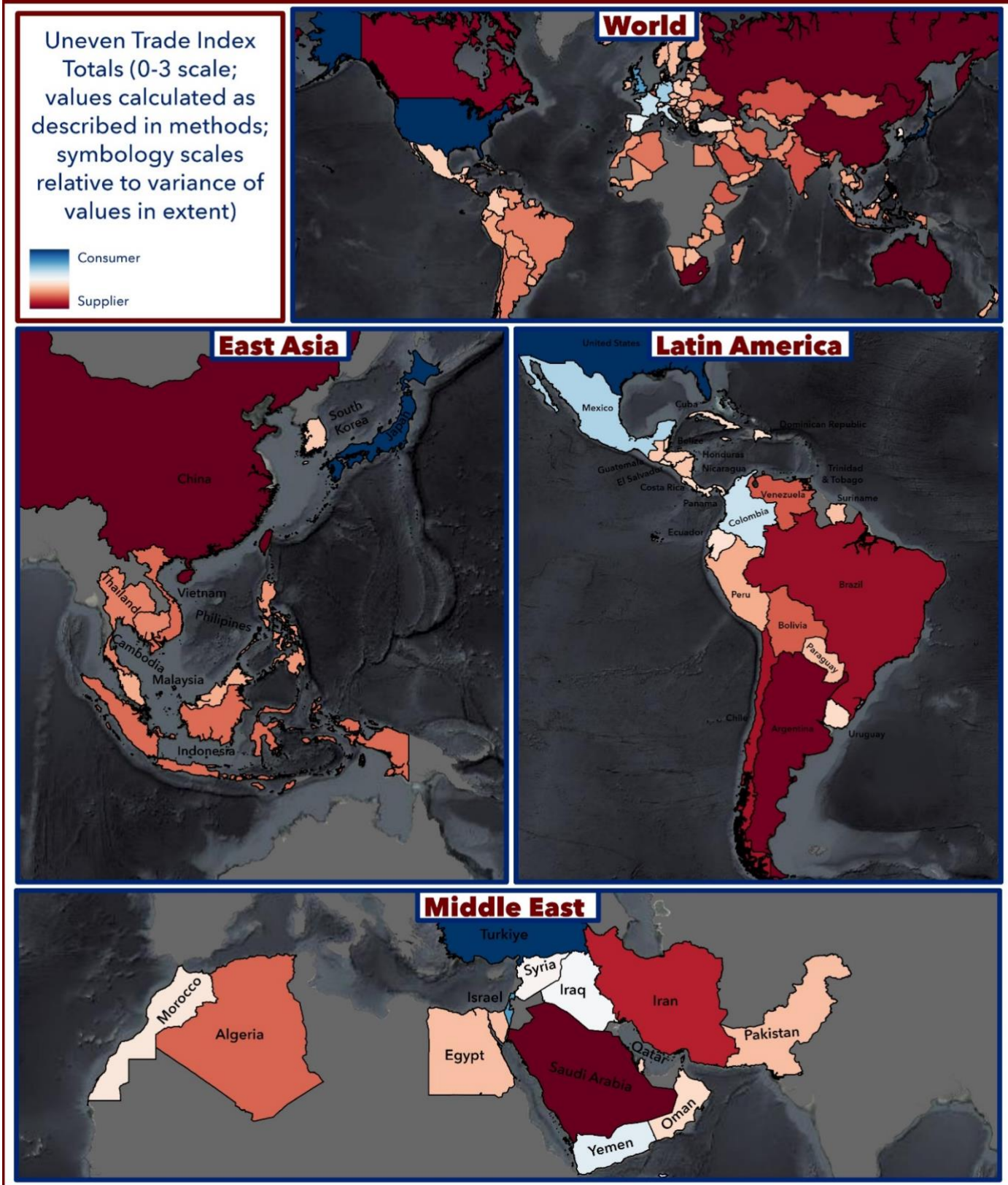


Figure 11: Data from Dorninger et al. (2021), and manipulated as described in 2.2, world

countries layer from ESRI (2023), developed as described in 2.2. Map created by David Nessa.



### 3.4 Interpretation of the Uneven Trade Index

The same pattern seen in the raw data is perhaps more pronounced when the data is indexed. On the world stage Western Europe, the United States, and Japan, stand above the rest, towards the consumer side of the spectrum. When the view focuses on the areas of interest, the same countries show themselves as expected, USA, Japan, and Israel. Looking at the differences between the per capita and totals maps, some conclusions can be drawn. The United States and Japan have similar uneven trade benefits per capita as many of the Western European countries, but they have a larger impact in totality because of their larger populations. If Switzerland, for example (one of the only dark blue countries on the per capita map), was as large as the United States in terms of population, they would have a larger uneven trade impact than the United States does currently. The Middle East, Latin America, and East Asia all are a sort of ambiguous light to dark orange on the world stage, but the differences between the countries within their respective region become pronounced when the data is clipped down. In fact, all the world besides the USA, Western Europe, and Japan, are within this orangish bracket of assumed exploitation. However, there are a couple of outliers; Canada, Australia, South Africa, Kazakhstan, Mongolia, and Russia, all are a significantly deeper red, and therefore have higher Uneven Trade values than the rest. One interesting connection that can be made for the first three is that they're all former colonies of the British Empire. A common mode of development for British colonies was to focus on the extraction of resources, and the fostering of a staple's economy. (Cite Rossiter here) As an example, Canada is the only country on earth that was originally a company, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the primary goal of these extractive corporations is to pull resources from the hinterland, to serve the consumption of the heartland. (Cite Rossiter here) More obviously however, is that all these countries are abnormally large

(besides South Africa), and the vast amounts of resources contained within all these countries' land, is too much to share among the few people that actually inhabit the land. Exporting your resources, in the case where you have an abundance of resources in proportion to population, could serve to benefit the country greatly, as it has in the case of Canada and Australia. Perhaps in a later study, an index that measures uneven trade can account for this by utilizing population density calculations instead of calculating the index based on per capita and total resource net import.

### 3.5 Per Capita Statistical Analysis

#### Summary of OLS Results - Model Variables

Variable	Coefficient [a]	StdError	t-Statistic	Probability [b]	Robust_SE	Robust_t	Robust_Pr [b]
Intercept	61183.402094	6685.514767	9.151637	0.000000*	10053.940658	6.085515	0.000000*
FINALUDIIS1_	-20178.91797	3586.058204	-5.627047	0.000000*	5649.843565	-3.571589	0.000416*

#### OLS Diagnostics

Input Features	UDI_Per_Capita	Dependent Variable	FINALUDIIS1_CSV_GNI_PER_CAPITA_INTERATIONAL_PPP
Number of Observations	357	Akaike's Information Criterion (AICc) ['d']	8042.190841
Multiple R-Squared ['d']	0.081889	Adjusted R-Squared ['d']	0.079303
Joint F-Statistic ['e']	31.663658	Prob(>F), (1,355) degrees of freedom	0.000000*
Joint Wald Statistic ['e']	12.756247	Prob(>chi-squared), (1) degrees of freedom	0.000355*
Koenker (BP) Statistic ['f']	15.138921	Prob(>chi-squared), (1) degrees of freedom	0.000100*
Jarque-Bera Statistic ['g']	1170.253770	Prob(>chi-squared), (2) degrees of freedom	0.000000*

#### Notes on Interpretation

\* An asterisk next to a number indicates a statistically significant p-value ( $p < 0.01$ ).

[a] Coefficient: Represents the strength and type of relationship between each explanatory variable and the dependent variable.

[b] Probability and Robust Probability (Robust\_Pr): Asterisk (\*) indicates a coefficient is statistically significant ( $p < 0.01$ ); if the Koenker (BP) Statistic [f] is statistically significant, use the Robust Probability column (Robust\_Pr) to determine coefficient significance.

[c] Variance Inflation Factor (VIF): Large Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) values ( $> 7.5$ ) indicate redundancy among explanatory variables.

[d] R-Squared and Akaike's Information Criterion (AICc): Measures of model fit/performance.

[e] Joint F and Wald Statistics: Asterisk (\*) indicates overall model significance ( $p < 0.01$ ); if the Koenker (BP) Statistic [f] is statistically significant, use the Wald Statistic to determine overall model significance.

[f] Koenker (BP) Statistic: When this test is statistically significant ( $p < 0.01$ ), the relationships modeled are not consistent (either due to non-stationarity or heteroskedasticity). You should rely on the Robust Probabilities (Robust\_Pr) to determine coefficient significance and on the Wald Statistic to determine overall model significance.

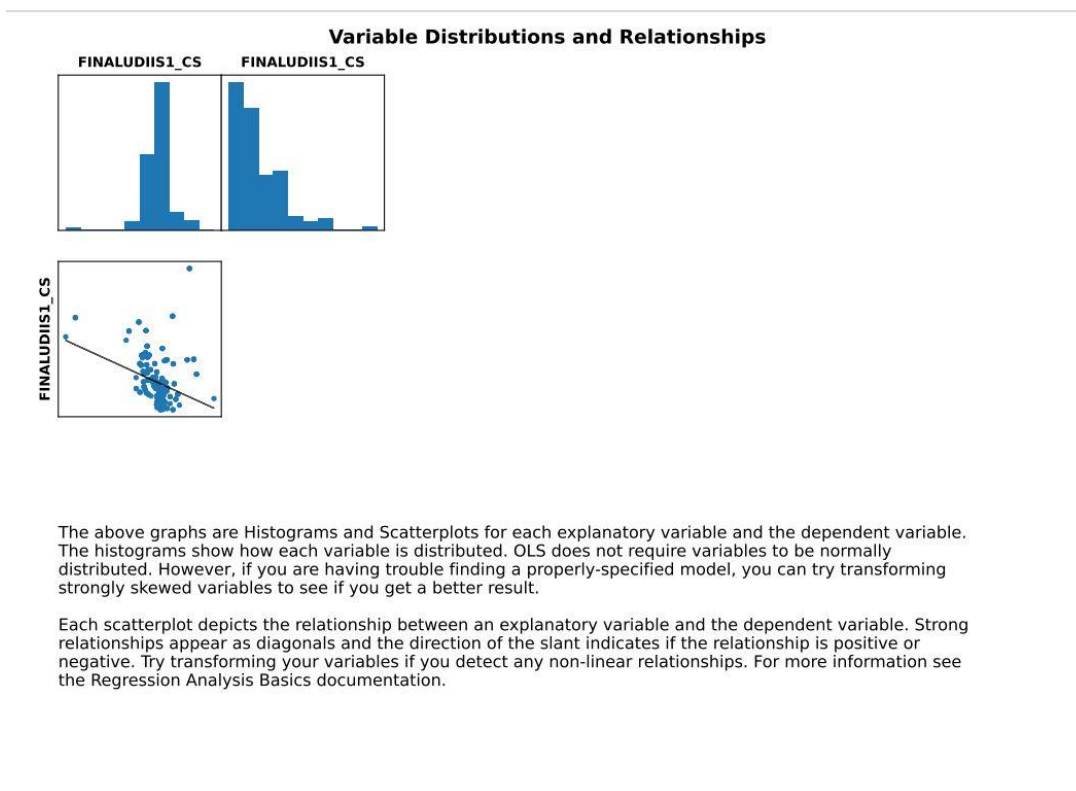
[g] Jarque-Bera Statistic: When this test is statistically significant ( $p < 0.01$ ) model predictions are biased (the residuals are not normally

Figure 12: Explanatory variable: Uneven Trade Index (per capita) (UDII\_Per\_Capita)

Dependent Variable: GNI Per Capita

(FINALUDIIS1\_CSV\_GNI\_PER\_CAPITA\_INTERNATIONAL\_PPP)

Every increase in one Uneven Trade value on the index correlates with a -\$20,000 change in GNI per capita. The Uneven Trade Index accounts for a total of 8% of the GNI per capita scatter. The relationship is statistically significant as indicated by the Wald statistic, and T and P statistics.





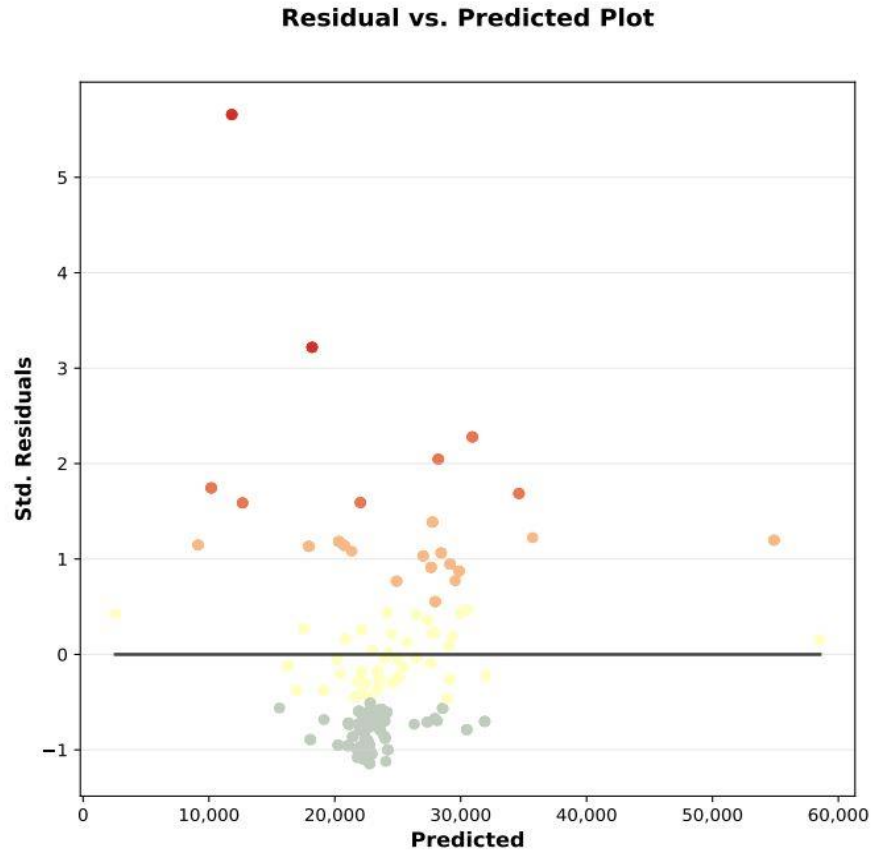


Figure 13: The outliers on this graph are likely to be countries such as Australia, and Canada because of their high GNI per capita and high Uneven Trade Index value.

Without the outliers, it is likely that the coefficient would be even larger than  $-\$20,000$ , because they bring the mean rate of change down.

### 3.6 Total Statistical Analysis

#### Summary of OLS Results - Model Variables

Variable	Coefficient [a]	StdError	t-Statistic	Probability [b]	Robust_SE	Robust_t	Robust_Pr [b]
Intercept	497142748734	720026327777	6.904508	0.000000*	235144996224	2.114197	0.035184*
UDII_TOTALS.	-20848195991	383763110734	-5.432569	0.000000*	127048629926	-1.640962	0.101702

#### OLS Diagnostics

Input Features	UDII_Totals	Dependent Variable	FINALUTI.CSV.GNI
Number of Observations	357	Akaike's Information Criterion (AICc)['d']	21420.934082
Multiple R-Squared['d']	0.076754	Adjusted R-Squared['d']	0.074153
Joint F-Statistic['e']	29.512807	Prob(>F), (1,355) degrees of freedom	0.000001*
Joint Wald Statistic['e']	2.692756	Prob(>chi-squared), (1) degrees of freedom	0.100805
Koenker (BP) Statistic['f']	0.449081	Prob(>chi-squared), (1) degrees of freedom	0.502772
Jarque-Bera Statistic['g']	7384.004232	Prob(>chi-squared), (2) degrees of freedom	0.000000*

#### Notes on Interpretation

\* An asterisk next to a number indicates a statistically significant p-value ( $p < 0.01$ ).

[a] Coefficient: Represents the strength and type of relationship between each explanatory variable and the dependent variable.

[b] Probability and Robust Probability (Robust\_Pr): Asterisk (\*) indicates a coefficient is statistically significant ( $p < 0.01$ ); if the Koenker (BP) Statistic [f] is statistically significant, use the Robust Probability column (Robust\_Pr) to determine coefficient significance.

[c] Variance Inflation Factor (VIF): Large Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) values ( $> 7.5$ ) indicate redundancy among explanatory variables.

[d] R-Squared and Akaike's Information Criterion (AICc): Measures of model fit/performance.

[e] Joint F and Wald Statistics: Asterisk (\*) indicates overall model significance ( $p < 0.01$ ); if the Koenker (BP) Statistic [f] is statistically significant, use the Wald Statistic to determine overall model significance.

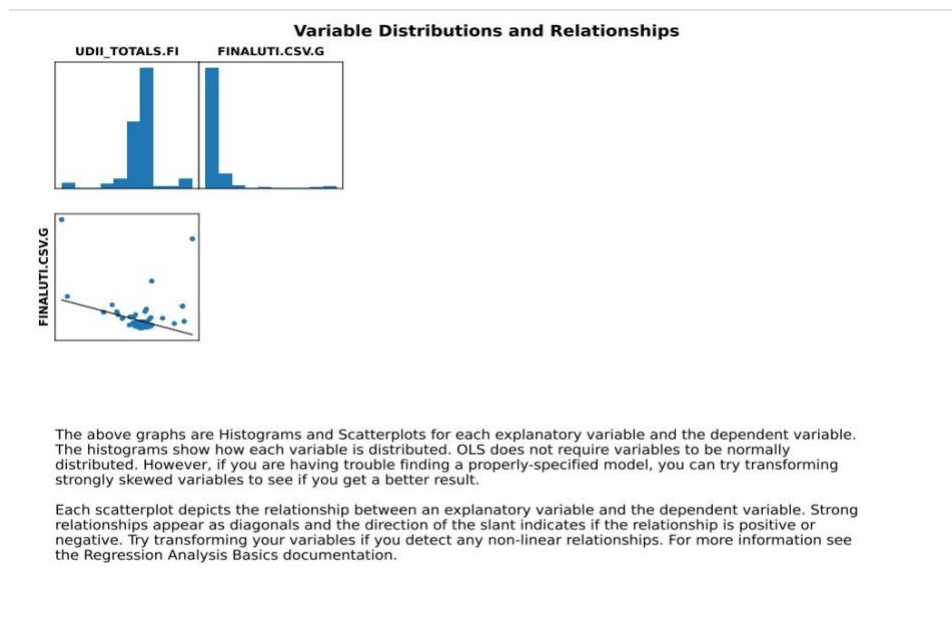
[f] Koenker (BP) Statistic: When this test is statistically significant ( $p < 0.01$ ), the relationships modeled are not consistent (either due to non-stationarity or heteroskedasticity). You should rely on the Robust Probabilities (Robust\_Pr) to determine coefficient significance and on the Wald Statistic to determine overall model significance.

[g] Jarque-Bera Statistic: When this test is statistically significant ( $p < 0.01$ ) model predictions are biased (the residuals are not normally distributed).

Figure 14: Explanatory variable: Uneven Trade Index (Totals) (UDII\_TOTALS)

Dependent variable: GNI (FINALUTI.CSV.GNI)

Every increase in a value of 1 in the Uneven Trade Index (Totals) is correlated with a -\$20 billion loss in GNI. The model accounts for about 8% of the GNI scatter. The model is statistically significant as indicated by the Joint F statistic and the T and P statistics, and this model is consistent unlike the previous model, as indicated by the Koenker statistic.



### Residual vs. Predicted Plot

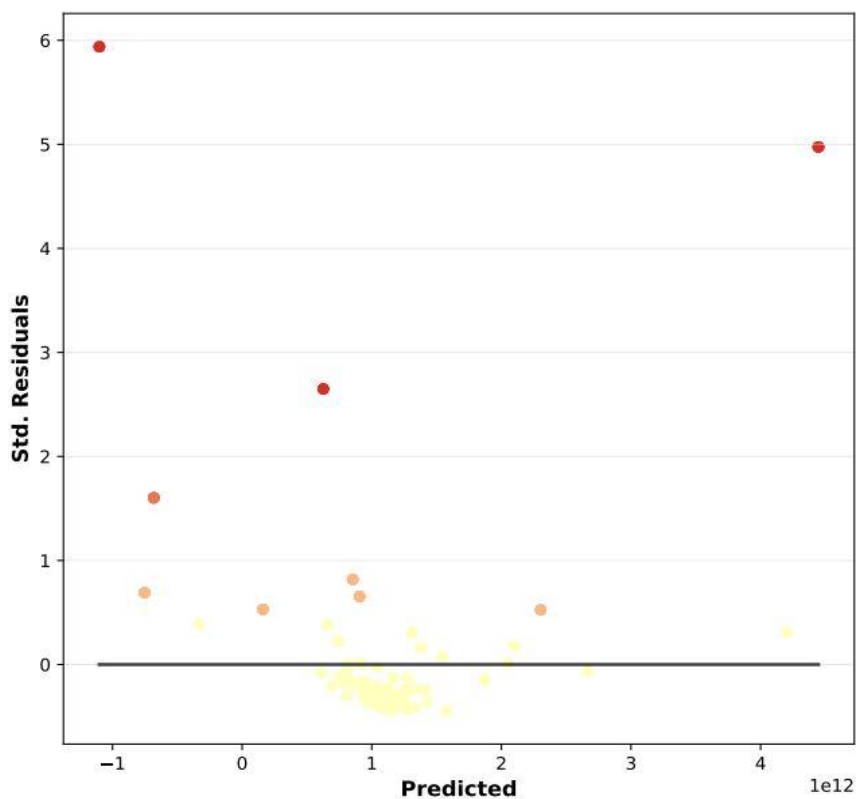


Figure 16: Similarly, to the previous model, the observations that stray far away from the predicted plot are countries that have a large resource-population ratio and are also

relatively highly developed, such as Canada, Australia, and Russia. Their GNIs are much higher than expected if solely taking the Uneven Trade Index into account.

#### **4.0 Discussion**

A plethora of inputs go into the resource distribution structure that is world trade, however from the results above, a few things are clear. The United States is the largest net importer of resources in the world (see 3.3), uneven trade does impact uneven development (see 3.5), and there are vast trade differences within regions between a singular major net importer (USA, Israel, Japan) and the rest of the countries, who are net exporters. As articulated in the introduction, the United States has possibly ushered in a new era of imperialism, and the indirect consequences of US interventionism may be the uneven trade and development that we see in the results. However, this is all speculative, and further research would have to be done to prove any sort of causation between US imperialism and uneven development. Nevertheless, there is a fact that is hard to ignore, or simply push away as coincidence. The three regions that have experienced the heaviest amount of US imperialism, Latin America, East Asia, and the Middle East, have clear winners and losers (when assessing uneven trade), which can be explained if linked to the history of US imperialism in each of the regions.

### 4.1 US Imperialism in Latin America



Figure 17: Map of the countries that have experienced US imperialism, in Latin America. Map created by David Nessa. Year represents the most recent intervention, where applicable. Further information on context below.

The most recent example of direct US interventionism in Latin America was the ousting of Haitian leader Jean Baptiste-Aristide in 2004. Aristide who was a leader who repeatedly had run-ins with US interventions, in 1991 he got ousted by CIA backed forces, then in 1994 he got help from the US to overthrow the military officials running the country at the time, but only if he implemented economic liberalization policies (Saunders, 2007). In 2004 he got deposed by US supported forces because he was demanding billions in reparations from their former colonizer France, a significant US ally (Constant et al. 2022). Then in 2002 there was a short US backed two-day coup that attempted to overthrow socialist Hugo Chavez, but he was reinstated because of popular opposition (Saunders, 2007). Next in recent history is the Suriname guerilla war of 1992, although there is no official documentation of US intervention, Ronald Reagan made a plan to invade the country in 1983, and after the war in 1992, the new leader quickly lowered taxes on western corporations who were extracting aluminum from the country. (Kengor, 2008) Also in 1992 was the end of a decade long repression of a popular socialist revolution, the United States spent \$6 billion on supporting the authoritarian government (and death squads) who were pro foreign business and economic liberalization, up to 80,000 people died and a million were displaced, coffee is the biggest industry in El Salvador (Saunders, 2007) (Chavez, 2015). In 1990 the US invaded Panama with Operation Just Cause, where previously US supported leader Noriega was deposed and as a result up to 3,000 innocent Panamanian civilians were killed and 20,000 were made homeless because of the destruction (Chomsky 1992, pg. 164). Also in 1990 was the end of the Nicaraguan revolution, where the left wing Sandinistas who according to Oxfam, were “exceptional in the strength of that government’s commitment...to improving the condition of the people and encouraging [an] active development process”, were deposed by Contra death squads and the Somoza regime in 1990.

The death squads were supported by the US, which has been made famous by the landmark CIA leak of Iran-Contra, in total about 30,000 people died, and Nicaragua is one of the poorest countries in the western hemisphere, main exports of coffee and cotton (Saunders, 2007) (Lacina, 2009). In 1989 the Reagan administration stopped supporting the brutal Paraguayan regime of General Stroessner because of human rights violations, but the US had no business interests in the country, and formerly the same regime was pivotal to the success of US-led operation Condor, and US even helped build a torture center that was used to dismember a communist party member with a chainsaw (Mora, 1998). In 1976 the Argentinian “dirty war” ended involved the killing of 30,000 Argentinian left-wing dissidents by the military junta, US taxpayers paid \$50 million to support this effort (National Security Archive, 2006) (Saunders, 2007). The Bolivian government under Victor Paz was overthrown by the CIA backed military, but by 1975, Bolivia once again started to turn their back to the United States and recently in 2006, the first indigenous president of the country significantly increased taxes on foreign corporations, and economic growth has been steady since. (Saunders, 2007) In 1973 general Pinochet of Chile overthrew democratically elected Salvador Allende, with the support of US propaganda and bribery, what followed was a brutal dictatorship that killed around 3,000 dissenters and tortured about 30,000, and a business-friendly constitution (BBC, 2011) (Saunders, 2007). In 1965 the US sent 23,000 troops into the Dominican Republic to stop a popular revolution from reinstating democratically elected Bosch, who was nationalizing some US dominated industries (Saunders, 2007). Joao Goulart of Brazil was overthrown by a US backed coup in 1964, which led to 20 years of military dictatorship, he was threatening to nationalize a subsidiary of US owned ITT (Saunders, 2007). In the mid-1960s, after the junta took power in 1963, the CIA set up military camps to help suppress guerilla groups, and under



the guise of the drug war may continue to do so, to this day (Saunders, 2007). At the same time in neighboring Ecuador the CIA was infiltrating the Ecuadorian government and eventually set up the military in a position where they could take power in 1963, outlawing communism and immediately stopping elections (Saunders, 2007). In 1961 there was the failed Bay of Pigs invasion, which was an attempted invasion of Cuba by US supported exiles and further pushed US-Cuba relations to the brink, and made Cuba feel like they had to do everything to defend themselves, stoking the flames for the later Cuban missile crisis, the US continues to embargo Cuba (Saunders, 2007). The first cold war era intervention was in Guatemala, in 1954 the democratically elected government of Jacobo Arbenz was overthrown by a US backed coup, the US justified the intervention as a means to prevent the spread of communism, but Guatemala didn't even have diplomatic relations with the Soviets, and the real motivation was most likely to defend the interests of US owned transnational the United Fruit Company (Saunders, 2007). Honduras was occupied by the US backed Contras of neighboring Nicaragua throughout the 80s but the last time the US intervened to change something in the country was back in 1925, where marines landed to defend the assets of the United Fruit Company and the Standard Fruit Company, as a part of the Banana wars (T.W, 2013). In 1916 a force of 11,000 US military men invaded Mexico, as a part of a campaign to intimidate Mexico into not joining the German cause in WW1 (Global Policy Forum, 2005). In all of the countries that are aligned to the US but without intervention, there is cooperation among them in the "War on Drugs", and thus they receive military aid as a result.





### 4.2 US Imperialism in East Asia

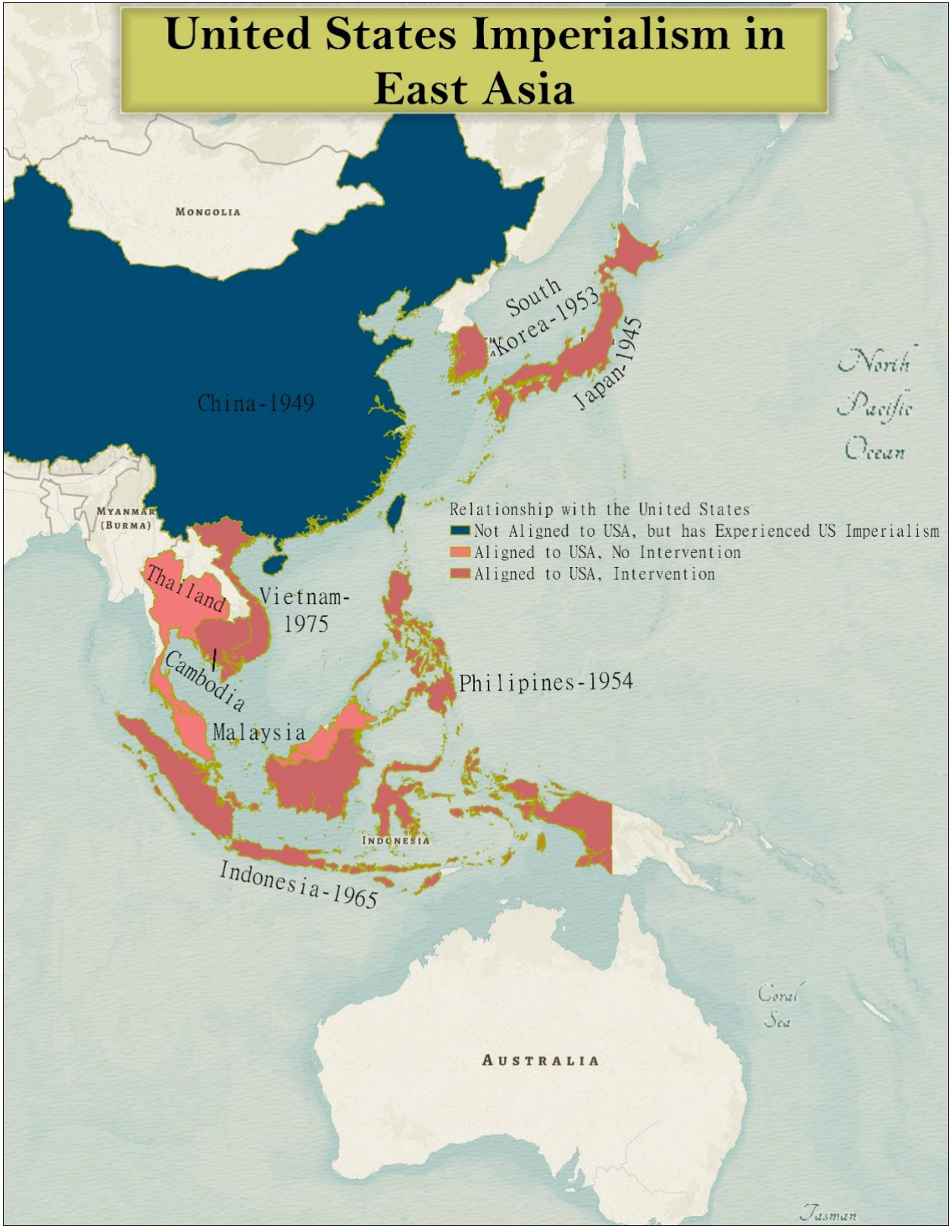
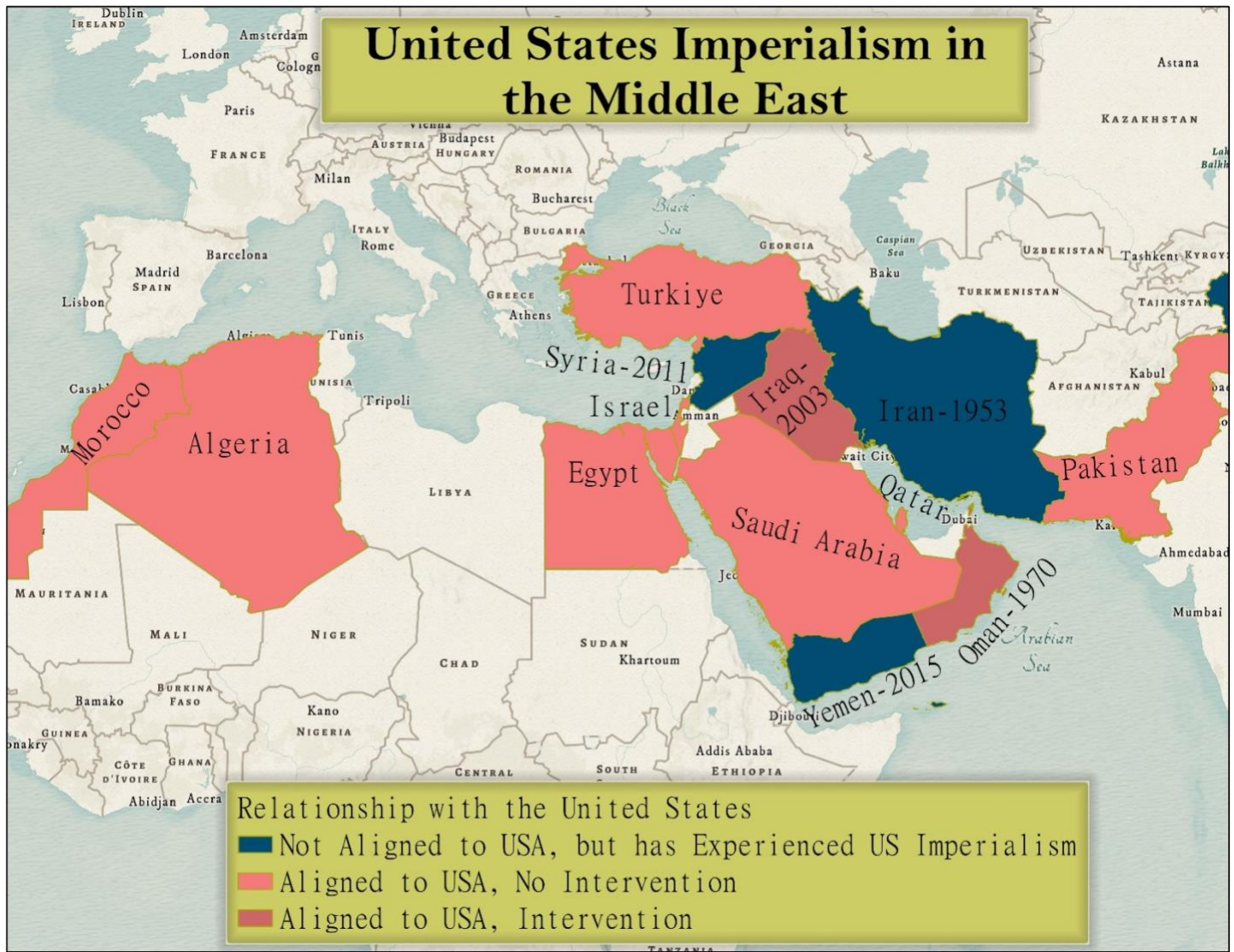


Figure 17: Map of the countries that have experienced US imperialism, in East Asia. Map created by David Nessa. Year represents the most recent intervention, where applicable. Further information on context below.

In 1975 the United States withdrew their troops from Vietnam, after trying for a decade to support a failing authoritarian-capitalist state and killing ~2 million Vietnamese civilians and ~60,000 US troops (Philip, 1995). However, relations between the US and Vietnam have improved considerably since, and now the US even has a military base within the country at Cam Ranh Bay. Cambodia was a collateral intervention to the Vietnam war and the US bombed Cambodia many times to fight against Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge guerilla forces, but this backfired and strengthened the political power and legitimacy of Pot's eventual massively oppressive government (Dinh Tho, 1979). In 1965 the US supported the overthrow of the Sukarno government, who allowed communist presence, by the military who ended up killing around 500,000 people associated with the communist party and taking control of the country until 1998 (Curtis, 2007). In 1954 the CIA engaged in Psyops to discourage the popularity of the Huk movement which was a residual political and military force from the Japanese occupation of the country, the Philippines has always remained a close ally to the US since the end of colonialism by the US over the country (Thomas, 1996, pg. 57). In 1953 the Korean war entered a now decades long ceasefire, a war which was between the US supported dictatorship of South Korea and the Chinese supported dictatorship of North Korea, in total killing around 2-3 million civilians. South Korea has remained a steadfast US ally since and has the third largest US military presence anywhere on the globe, at the DMZ (Shin & Lee, 2021). Operation Beleaguer was the name of a US military operation that was tasked with the

repatriation of Japanese and Koreans in Manchuria after WW2, but they also frequently got into firefights with the Chinese government (Shaw, 1960) Finally, in 1945 the US installed a democratic government in Japan and started funneled a total of \$15 billion into the country to rebuild by 1952 (CRS, 2008).

### 4.3 US Imperialism in the Middle East





2015 was the start of the Yemeni civil war, and billions in US weapons have been used by the Saudis to attempt to fight back against the Shia Houthi takeover, who are aligned to Iran, around 350,000 have died (Shaw, 2020). 2011 signaled the start of the Syrian civil war and since the start the US has been openly backing the FSA, which is a pro-western democratic faction of the civil war, and there are even 900 US troops stationed in the country along the Iraq border (Baldor, 2023). In 2003 the US invaded Iraq, with the goal of overthrowing Saddam Hussein's government and securing in "weapons of mass destruction", the result was an almost decades long occupation, the reswelling of insurgencies, liberalization of Iraq's oil industry, destruction of critical infrastructure and around 1 million dead (Reed, 2007). In 1970 the US supported a counter-insurgency operation in Oman that had the goal of stamping out the communists in the Dhofar region of the country (CIA, 1972). In 1953 a US supported coup ousted the democratically elected Mossadegh who planned on nationalizing the country's oil industry, and a puppet regime under the monarchy of the Shah (Hugh, 1965). The Iranian Islamic revolution of 1979 deposed the pro-western monarchy in favor of a clerical government under the rule of Shia religious figures, who have become the driving force behind other anti-western movements in the region, such as the insofar successful ones in Yemen and Syria. All the countries within the middle east who are aligned to the US without intervention receive military supply to support the US's "war on terror" but have a significant variation in government forms. Israel for example is the largest recipient of US military aid since WW2, at about ~\$150 billion and is seen as the only "functional" democracy in the middle east (Simons, 2023). Meanwhile, Saudi Arabia and the UAE, who are monarchies, have received \$54 billion total in military aid between 2015 and 2021 (GAO, 2022).

#### **4.4 Interpretation of Imperialism**



There are a few consistencies in the history of US imperialism, the US will support any government that isn't communist, and liberalization of the government isn't nearly as important to the US as the liberalization of the economy. The countries that have remained unaligned to the US, however, don't seem to benefit when it comes to world trade, but instead their values on the uneven trade index are within the expected range of "supplier" countries. The two countries that are most obviously benefitting from uneven trade within their respective regions, Israel, and Japan, are perhaps the most democratic and the most heavily supported by investment from the US.

#### **4.4 Why Expand**

The justification for imperialism lies in the discourse that formed the United States political line at its origin. One way to understand how the motivation for expansion started is through the concept “geography of discourse”; how discourse sprouts and disseminates spatially. Discourse is the conversations, debates, and political lines that result from distinct time periods and collective experiences. Geography, in this case, is a metaphor referring to the combined horizontal relationships between locations and vertical relationships that format the development and application of the discourse (Dixon and Hapke, 2004). The primary discourse that has transformed America for the centuries

that it has existed, didn't originate in the continent, rather it was born an ocean away, in a world far different from Pre-Columbian America. John Locke , the father of liberalism, created the discourse that resulted in the constitution and the declaration of independence. Note that although these discourses may have first been espoused by individuals, these ideas can't directly be attributed to the enlightenment of a singular person. Rather, through the combined conflicts, adaptations, and discoveries of spatial-temporal regions, are novel ideas inevitably constructed. This is what the "geography of discourse" is referring to. 17-18th century Britain, and predominantly western europe, was the human geography that resulted in these ideas. This was a time of religious strife (persecution of puritans), technological innovation (printing press), exploration (colonization), and ideological conflict (parliament vs crown) (Stanford, 2001). All of these new pressures, interwoven, pushing, and pulling, worked together dynamically, countering and supporting each other. The result was the western liberal dominated era we live in today.

Liberalism is the moral guide that the United States has always followed, and the underpinnings of this concept lead to all the actions that have been carried out by the government since the writing of the constitution. Liberalism is about enlarging the freedom of "capable" peoples through rule of law, in the words of Locke himself, "The end of law is not to abolish or restrain, but to preserve and enlarge freedom. For in all the states of created beings, capable of laws, where there is no law there is no freedom" (Locke, 1689, ch.2). Americans have never deviated from the political line that encourages freedom, officially adopted in the first amendment. Perhaps the best example of this is the opposing yet identical justifications of both the confederate states and the union during the civil war. Both sides of the conflict saw the others as oppressors of

freedom. Many in the North viewed the South with distaste either because they weren't privy to the idea of holding other humans as property or, more commonly, they thought that the slavery of Africans "degraded white workers" by not affording them the opportunity of wage farm work, which instead could be provided by the "frontier" (Morrison, 1997, pp. 6-7). Meanwhile, southern intellectuals argued that "slavery promoted equality by meliorating class conflict and ensured liberty by making exploitation of white workers and independent agriculturists unnecessary" (Morrison, 1997, pp. 6-7). Both sides of the deadliest conflict in American history were fighting for their own notion of liberty, while ~ 4 million innocent people suffered in chains, bleeding (Library of Congress). After the emancipation from slavery of the African Americans in the south, the now unified United States could focus its efforts westward and promote liberty through a new American idea called "agrarianism". The difference between agricultural environments in the British Isles, and the North American continent provided the conditions for a new adaption of the idea of liberalism. The vast amounts of land out west looked like it could provide the agrarian liberty that many white men in the ever-growing cities desired, an opportunity that was lacking in densely populated Europe. Thomas Jefferson embodied the agrarian idealism within his writing, stating that "Agriculture is our wisest pursuit, because it will in the end contribute most to real wealth, good morals, and happiness" (Jefferson, 1787). Most importantly, agrarianism constituted a guarantee of equality of opportunity, one of Jefferson's agrarian principles believed "the conviction that with hard work, anyone could thrive in farming" (Dixon & Hapke, 2004). Although many Americans may have ascribed to this belief, it couldn't be

pursued by all white men unless there was proper infrastructure enforcing the pursuit of agrarian liberty.

The United States, continuing with their strict adherence to liberal ideals, provided the largest dispossession of land in history, which was now promoted further by the idea of social Darwinism. In the decades after the revolution the spatial distribution of European people in North America was largely concentrated on the east coast, and the soil was exhausted, but after the Louisiana purchase of 1803, the west laid “open” for the taking (Morrison, 1997, pg. 5). The motivation to go to war and annex land from the Spanish in 1848 and continue expansion throughout the Midwest and Oregon territory in the pre-civil war period was hinged on faith in agrarianism ideals. Expansionists cited *federalist paper number 10* as evidence of the necessity to expand, to “extend the sphere . . . you make it less probable that a majority of the whole will have a common motive to invade the rights of other citizens” (Morrison, 1997, pg. 5). Indeed in the same federalist paper Madison asserts that liberty and equality are “fundamentally antagonistic”, repudiating societal agrarianism as a possible reality altogether (Morrison, 1997, pg. 5). However, upward social mobility in the American west was much more common and income inequality was not nearly as adverse as it was in the east (Morrison, 1997, pg. 5).

Beyond freedom of the self, liberalism concerns itself with the formation and protection of private property, “Though the Earth, and all inferior Creatures be common to all Men, yet every Man has a Property in his own Person. This no Body has any Right to but himself. The Labour of his Body, and the Work of his Hands, we may say, are properly his” (Locke, 1689, ch.5). Americans haven’t strayed from this clause, and the clearest practice of this liberal private property formation and protection is the

Homestead act of 1862. The upwards social mobility advertised by the homestead act was simply too much for settlers to turn down. Any head of household, white man older than 21, could own 160 acres of land after “improving” it and living on the land for 6 years (Homestead Act, 1862). The idea of improving the land was steeped in deep liberal beliefs about how private property should be acquired, as exemplified earlier “Labour of his Body... Work of his Hands” (Locke, 1689, ch. 5). In spite of this, indigenous Americans who worked the land extensively (seasonal agriculture, controlled fires, gathering), weren’t warranted this same entitlement, rather their land was perceived to be wilderness because indigenous land use was the regular when Europeans first arrived (Cronon, 1996). Moreover, the equality promised by settling on a farm independently, was provided by agrarian ideals. Although agrarianism provided incentive to settle west, social Darwinian (late 1800s) beliefs justified the continued occupation of the west, summarized best by early 19th century senators such as Albert Beveridge, "it is destiny, that the world shall be rescued from its natural wilderness and from savage men" (Purdy, 2018).

The expansion of the US into the American west encompasses the ideals that encourage the expansion of liberalism at home and abroad. The liberal ideology that was utilized to dispossess the natives of their land and resources could be used to justify expansion anywhere that is seen as a counter to liberal ideology, such as tribal cultures, Islamism and communism.

## **5.0 Conclusion**



The uneven trade of resources, encompassed by embodied, labor, land, energy, and material, results in a proportional uneven development in the global economic environment. Countries that are one Uneven Trade Index point below the next are correlated to having a ~\$20 billion loss in GNI and \$20,000 lower GNI per capita. The regional difference in uneven trade between net importers and net exporters can be connected to a difference in relationship with the United States. The United States and its empire of liberalism has expanded throughout the globe, unequally offering freedom to some and oppression to others. Those who are given massive amounts of assistance after the initial US intervention, and are allowed to develop their own markets, become the pre-eminent net importers of the world. The U.S doesn't allow this same brokerage for its nearest neighbors, Latin America, and instead invades them to install oppressive regimes that are overwhelmingly pro-American business and thus become massive net exporters. It is clear that the American liberalization project both promotes and diminishes freedom, but the people who live within these nations aren't allowed to choose, rather the American empire designates those who will become net exporters of their freedom and who will become net importers of the freedom of their neighbors.

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