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The Impact Of The United States Foreign Policy During The Donald Trump Government On Global Climate Governance

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Abstract

The problem of climate change is one of the most crucial issues today. The various impacts that have occurred due to climate change have increased the world community's awareness of the effects in the future. This was exacerbated by the existence of U.S. foreign policy when the Trump administration voted to exit the Paris Agreement. The lack of research into the impact of the U.S withdrawal from the Paris Agreement on tackling global climate issues has prompted the study. This paper will analyze the impact of what has arisen from the U.S withdrawal from the Paris Agreement during the Trump administration, using foreign policy theory in interpreting the actions or policies taken by Donald Trump in the withdrawal from the Paris Agreement, the constructivist approach used in analyzing international regime formation as a social construct, the concept of climate governance in analyzing the impacts that occur, and the Theory of International Regimes initiated by Stephen Krasner examines the world's climate change regime. The method used in this research is a qualitative research method with explanative writing techniques. This study shows that there are three significant impacts resulting from the Withdrawal of the United States from the Paris Agreement, among others, the increase in global emissions that are bad for the environment, which is indicated by increased activity that produces gas emissions in the United States region. Second is the decline of climate finance mechanisms that will affect the quality of climate change reports produced. Third, this withdrawal will also affect global climate governance, which will affect the compliance of member countries to the agreement.

Keywords: Impact, Withdrawal Policy, United States, Paris Agreement, Climate change

Abstrak

Masalah perubahan iklim merupakan salah satu yang sangat krusial saat ini. Munculnya berbagai ancaman yang semakin jelas terjadi, telah memunculkan kekhawatiran bagi masyarakat di seluruh dunia, ditambah dengan adanya kebijakan penarikan diri Amerika Serikat sebagai salah satu penyumbang gas emitter terbesar dunia, memutuskan untuk keluar dari *Paris Agreement* pada masa pemerintahan Donald Trump, telah memberikan dampak yang buruk bagi upaya penanggulangan masalah perubahan iklim. Tulisan ini akan menganalisis dampak

yang timbul akibat adanya kebijakan luar negeri Amerika Serikat yang menarik diri dari *Paris Agreement* pada masa pemerintahan Donald Trump terhadap tata kelola iklim global, dengan menggunakan teori kebijakan luar negeri dalam menganalisis tindakan atau kebijakan yang diambil oleh Donald Trump dalam menarik diri dari *Paris Agreement*, Pendekatan konstruktivis yang digunakan dalam menganalisis pembentukan rezim internasional sebagai sebuah konstruksi sosial, konsep tata kelola iklim dalam menganalisis dampak yang terjadi, serta Teori Rezim Internasional yang dicetuskan Stephen Krasner dalam menganalisis rezim iklim dunia dalam upaya penanggulangan dampak perubahan iklim. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah metode penelitian kualitatif dengan teknik penulisan explanatif. Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa terdapat tiga dampak utama sebagai akibat menarik diri Amerika Serikat dari *Paris Agreement* diantaranya, peningkatan gas emisi secara global yang berdampak buruk bagi lingkungan, yang ditunjukkan dengan peningkatan aktivitas yang menghasilkan gas emisi di kawasan Amerika Serikat. Kedua, penurunan mekanisme pendanaan iklim yang akan berpengaruh kepada kualitas laporan perubahan iklim yang dihasilkan. Ketiga, menarik diri ini juga akan mempengaruhi tata kelola iklim global, yang tentunya akan mempengaruhi kepatuhan negara anggota terhadap perjanjian.

Kata Kunci: Dampak, Kebijakan Luar negeri, Amerika Serikat, Paris Agreement, Tata Kelola Iklim

Introduction

The environmental phenomenon is one of the most critical studies in International Relations and has begun to develop since the late 1970s. (Zen, 2013) This environmental phenomenon becomes very important because environmental issues have caused severe and sustainable impacts for one country and other countries globally. One of the environmental phenomena that attract a lot of attention today is the issue of climate change.

The issue of climate change also affects the increase in Earth's temperature, changes in rainfall, and the increase in the intensity and frequency of storms which will undoubtedly affect human activities. Not only that, but the sea level will also experience significant growth due to the overflow of seawater and the melting of eternal ice in the polar regions. (Pradita, 2017) According to one ecologist, Parkes, Lynn White, Jr., in his essay, the current crisis is the result of human error in responding to environmental problems. (Gottlieb, 2020)

Aware of the importance of climate change, the United Nations (U.N.), as one of the regimes that have the authority to tackle this problem, took action by holding

a High-Level Conference in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, on May 9, 1992, to discuss environmental issues. Attended by delegates from approximately 165 countries, this Convention became the first international agreement to discuss the ecological problems and initiated the formation of multilateral cooperation on climate change under the auspices of the United Nations. (Diogenes, 2020)

The climate change convention, better known as the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (U.N.F.C.C.C.), which was formed due to the Rio Convention in June 1992 in Rio de Janeiro, came into force on March 21, 1994. This Convention is a convention aimed at stabilizing the concentration of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere that has triggered global warming. (Pramudianto, 2016) *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (U.N.F.C.C.C.)* is a Framework Convention, which requires the establishment of a protocol to regulate the limits of greenhouse gases that are genuinely binding. For this reason, since the enactment of this Convention, a meeting of the ratifying parties or the Conference of the Parties (C.O.P.) has begun, which functions to bring together parties who have agreed on the

commitment and follow-up of the U.N.F.C.C.C. (Diogenes, 2020)

The meeting of the parties or the Conference of the Parties (C.O.P.) has been continuously held since the implementation of the Convention until now. With the aim as an effort to realize and implement the Convention and a means of measuring progress in dealing with climate change issues involving all U.N.F.C.C.C. participating countries. (Darajati, 2020) Negotiations after negotiations continued dynamically until the 3rd C.O.P. of the U.N.F.C.C.C., which took place in Kyoto and succeeded in agreeing on the formation of The Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change or the 1997 Kyoto Protocol as the operationalization of the U.N.F.C.C.C.

The protocol, which was formed in 1997 as a result of the 3rd C.O.P., aims to keep the concentration of greenhouse gases (GHG) in the atmosphere at a level that does not harm the Earth's climate system by requiring the ratifying countries to reduce their use of gas emissions every year. Country by 5.2%. After going through a long journey of ratification, the Kyoto protocol came into force in 2005 after Russia in 2004 became the last country to ratify the Kyoto Protocol and

made the United States the only signatory country that did not participate in ratifying the Kyoto Protocol. (Diogenes, 2020)

However, unfortunately, the absence of the United States as the largest emitter of gas in ratifying the Kyoto protocol is one of the shortcomings of the Kyoto Protocol, which has caused an unfavourable view of the performance of this protocol since its inception. The United States' non-participation in ratifying this treaty also failed to achieve the goals of the Kyoto Protocol. (Shinta, 2020)The 21st Session of the Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, which was held in Paris 2015 as a response from countries to efforts to repeat the impacts of climate change that occurred. In the presence of 195 countries that are members of the U.N.F.C.C. has succeeded in adopting the Paris Agreement to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change on December 12, 2015. (Pramudianto, 2016)

The Paris agreement is a joint committee formed to follow up on the issue of climate change after the failure of the Kyoto Protocol. The deal, which took effect on November 4, 2016, has succeeded in involving developed countries and the largest gas emitting

countries, the United States and China, in its implementation. The participation of the United States of America gives reasonable expectations. It is considered to have been able to bring all countries into a common goal in efforts to overcome the problem of climate change. (Hakiem, 2018)

The United States' participation is not only based on awareness of the importance of tackling the issue of climate change. Instead, there is support from within the government system and decision making based on the need for an excellent environmental ecosystem for the country, which has motivated the United States' participation in ratifying the Paris Agreement in 2016. Unfortunately, however, the United States' involvement in ratifying the Paris Agreement did not. The United States President-elect Donald Trump felt that this participation was detrimental to the United States as a developed country, which was the reason for the United States' withdrawal from the Paris Agreement in 2017.

Trump as president-elect, said that the agreement formed in the Paris Agreement was against national interests and was deemed unfair to the United States. (Wahyuni, 2018) This decision will undoubtedly impact the sustainability of

the Convention on Climate Change and affect other countries in efforts to resolve the problem of climate change. As the largest emitting country and as one of the countries that have a significant influence on other countries, the role of the United States in climate change issues and negotiations is inevitable. The United States will undoubtedly remain a key actor in addressing this climate change problem.

However, the withdrawal decision made by Donald Trump as the president-elect of the United States will undoubtedly worsen the global climate response plan. The withdrawal that has weakened the foundation of global climate governance and disrupted the process of climate cooperation will have a multiplier impact, including worsening the image of leadership in dealing with global climate issues that have set a bad precedent for international climate cooperation. (H. Bin Zhang et al., 2017) In addition, the withdrawal will also reduce the emission space of other countries and increase their emission costs. The worst is the reduced quality of the environment, which of course disturbs other countries in tackling the problem of climate change, which impacts increasing the Earth's temperature, both for other countries and for the United

States of America itself. (Y. X. Zhang et al., 2017)

The disruption of climate change mitigation problems that will be felt, as one of the impacts of the withdrawal of the United States from the Paris agreement and several other impacts that arise, have made the author's research reason to analyze this problem. Based on the explanation above, it raises a question, "What is the impact of withdrawing United States policy from the Paris Agreement in the era of Donald Trump on Climate Governance?".

Theoretical Framework

Constructivism Theory

The author will use a constructivist approach as a theoretical framework to analyze the problem. Constructivism was first developed by Nicholas Onuf, Alexander Wendt, and Finnemore due to the failure of traditional theories to explain the rise of the Cold War. Constructivism sees the world and what we can know about the world as a social construct. Constructivism expressly states that actions, interactions and perceptions shape reality. Hence, his mind and actions markedly

built international relations. Constructivism also reflects the formation of ideas and norms behind an action carried out by national actors. If associated with a constructivist view, the global warming problem has triggered the emergence of a worldwide community response related to efforts to suppress the rate of increase in global temperatures. (McGlinchey et al., 2017) The emerging response has triggered the formation of an international regime that is considered capable of tackling the problem. From there, it can be seen that the efforts to create international authorities carried out by actors such as the establishment of the Paris Agreement is one form of social constructivism used to achieve the interests of each country. Policies that are formed as an international regime must be placed in a governance system that adheres to the principles of adaptive governance, flexible to enable the governance system to support climate change adaptation efforts more efficiently.

International Regime Theory

In international relations, Stephen Krasner defines an international regime as principles, norms, rules, and procedures for making where the actors' expectations meet in a particular area. (Wahyuni, 2018) In this case, the policies taken by the government can be analogized as individual behaviour where each individual will choose to take actions that are by the needs of the country at that time. (Mas'ood, 1994) The presence of international regimes arises because of dissatisfaction with the dominant concepts of global rule, authority and organization. The existence of international powers as a valuable tool to regulate or resolve conflicts, including environmental problems. (Prayuda et al., 2017) Thus, various considerations from various parties are needed in making a decision. This can be seen from establishing a climate change regime in 1997, namely the Kyoto Protocol and in 2015, namely the Paris Agreement, which can bring together countries to participate in overcoming climate change problems that occur

actively. When referring to the issue of climate change, this international regime approach can integrate the interests of actors in the scope of global environmental problems.

Climate Governance Concept

Climate Governance can be interpreted as encompassing the purposeful mechanism and measure aimed at steering social and ecological systems toward preventing, mitigating, or adapting to the risk posed by climate change, also includes voluntary actions by the actors and informal cooperation between different institutions and actor. About the adaptation and mitigation processes, governance of adaptation requires knowledge of anticipated regional and local climate effects, existing adaptive capacities and resources, and planning to deal with expected impact on human activity. (Leal Filho et al., 2016) Governance itself means the structures, processes, rules, and traditions that determine how people in societies make the decision and share power, exercise responsibility and ensure

accountability. Policies that are formed as an international regime must be placed in a governance system that adheres to the principles of adaptive governance, flexible to enable the governance system to support climate change adaptation efforts in more efficient rules.

Foreign Policy Theory

Foreign policy is a concrete action used by a country to achieve its national interests. Through his theory of The Decision Making, Lloyd Jensen states that international action can be defined as a set of decisions made by recognized domestic political units, where state leaders act as the main actors in the decision-making process. (Lloyd Jensen, 1982) In addition, according to Kautilya, foreign policy is the action of every nation in maximizing power and interests, which often ignores obligations or moral principles about other countries. (Boesche, 2016) From the point of view of foreign policy theory in analyzing the problem, it can be seen that there was a change in the foreign policy of the United States during the Donald Trump administration

in responding to climate change problems that occurred globally.

Research methods

This research method uses a qualitative approach with explanatory writing techniques, where this method tries to explain the phenomenon with two variables. According to Sugiyono (2017), descriptive research is intended to describe the variables studied to test a hypothesis. In this research, the writer uses the library research data collection method, sourced from secondary data.

The data analysis technique used by the author in analyzing the research data is qualitative data analysis techniques. This analysis describes various analytical practices using existing data, both data collected by other researchers and those managed by an institution, both in the form of new research and to re-examine the principal research statement for evidentiary purposes (Bakry, 2017).

Discussion

The dynamics of climate change issues and regimes

The issue of global climate change is a polemic of world modernization which is a challenge for millennial generation to care about the Earth. The increase in temperature on Earth accompanied by an

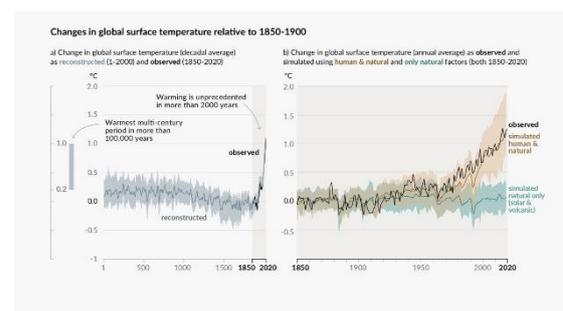
increase in warmer temperatures in the oceans, melting of polar ice caps, and the occurrence of extreme weather are also some indicators that occur due to climate change. (Haryanto & Prahara, 2019) Changes occur due to the phenomenon of changes in the entry and exit of energy on Earth and have affected the world's climate system.

The world's climate system is an integral part of the factors that support human life. It is one of the many systems in the universe that are currently under stress by increasing human numbers and economic activity. (Lai et al., 2012) The perceived increase inadvertently has increased the concentration of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere, affecting climate change on Earth. Human activities, such as burning fossil fuels (coal, oil and natural gas) to make electricity and electric vehicles, clearing forests for agriculture and urban areas, have released a lot of greenhouse gases into the atmosphere. (Karl et al., 1996)

Since 1901-1993 sea level has increased by 20 cm as a sign of climate change. Glacier areas worldwide are starting to shrink, and the subsoil is shrinking, which tends to happen more quickly than expected. During this time, Arctic sea ice cover in arrow season has decreased by about 40% since 1979.

According to the I.P.C.C. report, increasing human activities have caused rapid climate change, especially in the last 50 years. Human influence is seen in the unprecedented increase in greenhouse gas emissions since 800,000 years ago. For that, we need real action to curb the rate of climate change.

According to the I.P.C.C. (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change) report, human influence has been the dominant cause of the observed temperature rise since the mid-20th century. (Wahyuni, 2018) Warming is expected to occur in the oceans and spread across the arctic, with the continued decline in glister, permafrost, ocean ice, and other possibilities that could continue, such as flooding, ocean acidification, etc. and species extinction due to shifts in Earth's temperature.



(Source: I.P.C.C., 2021)

Graph 2. History of increasing global temperature changes and causes of warming

The graph above explains the history of increasing global temperature

changes, divided into two charts. Graph a describes changes in global surface temperature reconstructed by direct observation, which is 1850 to 2020 shows the estimated hottest temperatures in the last 100,000 years. While in graph b, changes in global surface temperature calculated during the previous 170 years are marked with a black line. In this second graph, the factors that occur in temperature changes are divided into two elements drawn in brown for factors that occur in human and natural activities and blue for factors that arise due to natural movements such as solar and volcanic activity.

According to a report published by the I.P.C.C. (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change) in February 2018, at least one region, namely the southeastern United States, has experienced cooler-than-usual temperatures. In addition, the causes of climate change accompanied by uneven impacts between countries in the world have raised questions regarding social justice. In general, developed countries produce more greenhouse gas emissions, while developing countries tend to be more vulnerable to the impacts of climate change. As a result, climate change poses a global social dilemma and has weakened governance to mitigate climate change.

If we look at history, awareness about the importance of protecting the environment and efforts to overcome it have been launched since 1968 by representatives of Sweden in international forums because the climate has begun to show damage and succeeded in achieving the establishment of a United Nations conference on the Human Environment in 1972, which took place in Stockholm. (Bilqis & Afriansyah, 2019) Then in 1989, developed and developing countries held a ministerial-level conference in Noordwijk, the Netherlands, to discuss the issue of climate change. The Netherlands submitted a proposal that required developed countries to stabilize CO2 emissions by 2000. (Greene, 2000) But unfortunately, the United States and Japan immediately expressed their refusal, which resulted in this conference is only able to produce a general declaration on emission reductions.

Precisely 20 years after the Stockholm conference, in June 1992 in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, the United Nations conference on the environment was held again. The conference that discussed the environment and development (United Nations Conference on Environment and Development) or known as the Earth Summit, which more than 100 State Representatives attended has produced the

Rio Declaration, Principles on forests, Agenda 21 and the establishment of the Convention on climate change (The Framework Convention on Climate Change, U.N.F.C.C.C.). (Otto Soemarwoto, 2004) The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (U.N.F.C.C.C.) aims to stabilize the concentration of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere at a level that does not harm the climate system so that ecosystems and humans are in good condition. (Pramudianto, 2016)

This climate change convention divides the ratifying countries into two groups of countries, including Annex I countries and Non-Annex countries. The Convention, which came into force on March 21, 1994, after being ratified by 50 countries, has the following basic principles: equality, shared responsibility but different responsibilities, preventive measures, and sustainable development. In its implementation, the U.N.F.C.C.C. establishes the highest decision-making body, namely the C.O.P. (Conference of the Parties) ratifying the Convention, which is held annually, intending to review the implementation of the Convention, monitoring its performance, promoting and facilitating the exchange of information, making recommendations to establishing Convention supporting

bodies.(Pramudianto, 2016) Through the meeting, the members have reached the two highest results in a negotiation that regulates the production of gas emissions of each country; these two results include the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement.

Kyoto Protocol

At the 3rd UNFCCC COP meeting held in Kyoto, Japan, the Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change or the 1994 Kyoto protocol was successfully agreed as a regulatory measure that could carry out the objectives of the 1992 U.N.F.C.C.C. (Pramudianto, 2016) The protocol, which was successfully signed in Kyoto, Japan, on December 11, 1997, and has been in force since February 16, 2005, is the first legal basis in a climate change agreement that can regulate countries operationally to limit the use of gas emissions. (Murdiyarso, 2003)

The main content of this Kyoto protocol is to oblige countries included in annex 1, which generally consist of developed countries, to reduce their emissions to a certain number with a target of 5% in 1990 during the commitment period 1, while non-Annex countries are not burdened with the obligation to reduce their emissions, but must still report their

emission status. The implementation of the Kyoto Protocol 1997 was carried out through 3 mechanisms which include Emission Trading (E.T.E.T.), Joint Implementation (J.I.J.I.) and Clean Development Mechanism (C.D.M.). (Pramudianto, 2016)

Although the mechanism implemented has brought some changes, the non-participation of developed countries as the largest emitters of gas, such as the United States and Australia in ratifying this protocol, gives a dire picture for the sustainability of achieving the protocol's objectives. This refusal by the United States was based on the reason that the implementation of the Kyoto Protocol would harm the interests of its country and the gap between Annex 1 countries and non-Annex one country. Along with the lack of support from ledger emitters, it is one of the indicators of the emergence of a negative view of countries towards the Kyoto protocol, which causes this protocol to fail to achieve the desired results.

Paris Agreement

The 21st Session of the Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change which was held in Paris in 2015 in the presence of 195 country representatives, has successfully adopted

the Paris Agreement on December 12 2015, regarding climate change which implemented on November 4, 2016.(Shinta, 2020) The Paris Agreement is a continuation of the framework on climate change after the failure of the Kyoto protocol.

The success of UNFCCC COP 21 in adopting the Paris Agreement has provided a new direction for future development, especially in the context of low-carbon sustainable development. (Pramudianto, 2016) The existence of the application for all principle that is applied in this Paris agreement can reflect broad participation and guarantee developed countries to remain committed to reducing emissions until 2030. The Paris Agreement is a joint commitment to curb the increase in global average temperature below 2°C and continue efforts to limit temperature increases to 1.5°C.

This conference is a new agreement in international efforts to promote global climate mitigation and adaptation, which will achieve if 55 countries representing 55% of annual global greenhouse gas emissions participate in ratifying the Paris Agreement. As a new hope, the Paris Agreement offers several approaches that are more flexible than before, starting from the exemption from determining the percentage figure for greenhouse gas

emissions that must be reduced according to the capabilities of each member country, through a mechanism known as I.N.D.C. (Intended Nationally Determined Contribution). (Fa'iz, 2018) I.N.D.C. is also an affirmation of the flexibility upheld by the Paris Agreement so that its member countries can adjust their commitments according to the capabilities of each member country which, of course, also provides a positive view on the implementation of the Paris Agreement. Unfortunately, the emergence of the United States' policy of withdrawing from the Paris Agreement during the Donald Trump administration has provided unstable conditions for implementing the agreement.

United States foreign policy in response to climate change under Donald Trump

The issue of climate change requires attention from all parties in its efforts to overcome it, especially the cooperation of the largest emitting countries in the world. Policies issued by each government must consider the effects of climate change issues. One of them is the policy of reducing the use of gas emissions that can cause global warming. As the largest producer of gas emissions, developed countries must be more active in issuing

policies that can reduce the rate of climate change.

1. United States Policy in Paris Agreement

The participation of the United States in the Paris agreement as one of the largest emitters under the leadership of Barack Obama has confirmed the change in United States policy on climate change issues for the better.(Fa'iz, 2018) Through the Obama administration, the United States promised to reduce 17% of gas emissions by 2020 and 26%-28% by 2025.(Wahyuni, 2018)

In the theory of foreign policy, according to Lloyd Jensen, foreign policy is a series of decisions made by domestic politics, where the state leader acts as the leading actor in the decision-making process. Based on this theory and the awareness of environmental problems that are very important to be overcome. As the president of America who is currently leading, Barack Obama stated that climate change is a significant threat that will happen one day. If the United States does not take part in the effort to overcome it, it will impact the national security of the United States itself.(Shinta, 2020) This is also the reason for the participation of the United States in the Paris Agreement. The Obama administration's eco-friendly plan

seeks to protect and preserve the world for the better for future generations.

The United States' foreign policy mechanism in the Paris Agreement is based on several I.P.C.C. (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change) reports that climate change as threat to human life and the environment. Climate change, which tends to increase, has strengthened the United States' membership in the Paris Agreement and has increased the commitment of the United States and the other Member States to continue to curb gas emissions by 17% of the total gas emissions by 2020. This momentum has brought the issue of climate change into the process. Negotiations and negotiations between countries are related to affirming the position of countries in reducing gas emissions that are bound by international agreements.

2. United States policy after the withdrawal from Paris Agreement

Since Trump's election, Republican control of the White House and Congress has allowed different policymakers to overturn previous administrations.(Asadnabizadeh, 2019)In the theory of foreign policy initiated by Kautilya, the point of view of foreign policy is based on the state's actions in

maximizing its internal power, which often ignores moral principles and their relationship with other countries. This can be seen clearly in Donald Trump's foreign policy, which is oriented towards the importance of the interests of the United States, which has prompted his administration to re-discuss bilateral arrangements that often ignore relations with other countries. One of the policies is to relax the coal, oil and gas industry policies in the United States, deregulate environmental laws, and lift environmental and climate restrictions.(Asadnabizadeh, 2019)

The emergence of political party affiliation has become the second factor after the "American First" policy, which led to this policy of withdrawing from the Paris Agreement. Trump, who is from the republican party, which is conservative on social matters and close to libertarians on economic issues, has supported the withdrawal decision.(Asadnabizadeh, 2019) The party's orientation from the start was more towards business and often doubted the government's ability to fix social problems, indirectly sided with the company's economic interests and encouraged the progress of the party's social conservatives.(Böhringer et al., 2017)

The existence of interest groups has also become a hallmark of politics in the United States. The oil, natural gas and coal industry is one of the interest groups that have played an essential role in the competition for political power in the United States. This role is carried out by becoming a significant source of finance in general elections, which is then maintained by the power of government agents or called allied politicians.(Wahyuni, 2018) The existence of oil and gas company interests has an evident influence on the Republican party. Most of the funds from these fossil fuel companies have flowed to Republican members of Congress over the last 16 years.

This sizeable corporate profit expense is exercised through regular access to policymaking, which is used to prioritize fossil fuel development by acquiring influence and exerting power through lobbying efforts on Capitol Hill.(Rifqi, 2018) In addition to the congressional and political powers, the government agency, namely the Environmental Protection Agency (E.P.A.), which is tasked with protecting human health and the environment, also had a hand in the successful withdrawal of the United States from the Paris Agreement.(Rifqi, 2018)

Impact of United States Foreign Policy on global climate governance

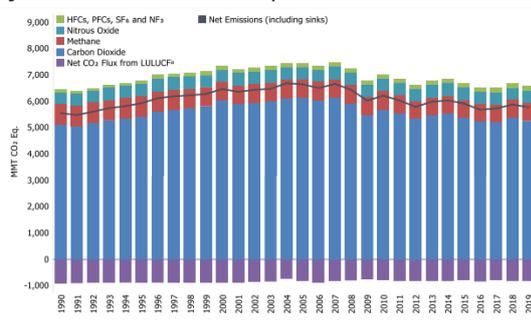
The withdrawal of the United States from the climate change regime has shocked governments globally and undermined the Paris agreement's universality. In the long term, international cooperation to mitigate the impacts of climate change will be affected.(Pickering et al., 2018) The long-term goals of the Paris agreement planned by member countries had been headed in an unstable direction due to the withdrawal of the United States. The characteristics of the Paris Agreement, which emphasizes the movement of international cooperation in responding to climate change and the consensus to promote green and low carbon development, is in stark contrast to some of Donald Trump's interests and policies.

Some of the impacts arising from the withdrawal of the United States from the Paris Agreement include:

First, the withdrawal of the United States from the Paris Agreement increasingly shows that the United States has become the primary producer of gas emissions after China, so it has actively influenced the implementation of the Paris agreement.(Y. X. Zhang et al., 2017) The emergence of the decision to withdraw has become an obstacle for the Paris

Agreement as a climate change regime to achieve its mitigation targets; the increase can be seen in gas emissions production. Since the United States signed the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (U.N.F.C.C.C.) in 1992, it means that the United States must also contribute to the success of the vision of this Convention by being responsible for stabilizing greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at levels that will prevent harmful anthropogenic disturbances to the climate system. This can be seen by the increase in emission gas production in the period 2017 to 2019 compared to its participation in 2016.

Figure ES-1: U.S. Greenhouse Gas Emissions by Gas



* The term "flux" is used to describe the exchange of CO₂ to and from the atmosphere, with net flux being either positive or negative depending on the overall balance. Removal and long-term storage of CO₂ from the atmosphere is also referred to as "carbon sequestration."

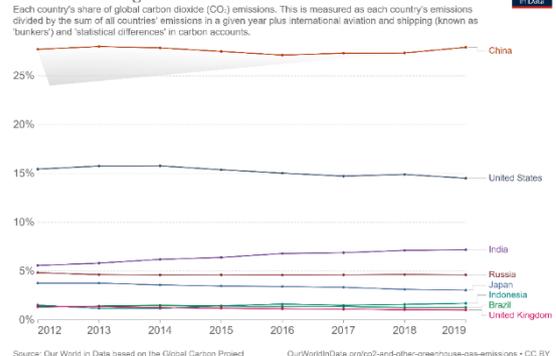
(Source: U.S. Environmental Protection Agency Annual Report, 2021)

Graphics 4. United States Emissions Gas Production

According to a report from the E.P.A. (Environmental Protection Agency) at the annual meeting of the Congress in 2021, as the United States federal

government agency tasked with protecting human health and the environment from climate change by formulating and implementing regulations passed by Congress, reported that the total emissions emitted by the United States have increased by 1.8 per cent through 2019. Between 2018 and 2019, due to public awareness and technological improvements, there was a 1% reduction in total gas emissions due to a shift in coal to natural gas and renewable energy, which produces less carbon. The increase that occurs also affects the production of gas emissions globally which, of course, will disrupt the ecosystem.

Annual share of global CO₂ emissions



Source: Our World in Data based on the Global Carbon Project. OurWorldInData.org/co2-and-other-greenhouse-gas-emissions - CC BY

(Source: Our World in Data on the Global Project, 2020)

Graphics 5. Global Emission Gas Concentration

The increase in the use of gas emissions by the United States, which consists of excessive fuel, has affected the increase in the average gas emission

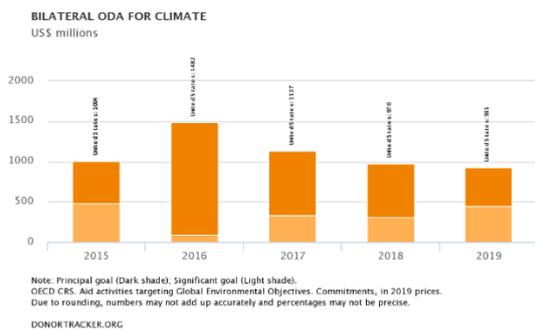
globally. This will undoubtedly cause the emergence of an increase in other aspects that will affect the global ecosystem.

Second The United States has also made cuts and restrictions on the amount of financial support or significant funds for the climate change regime, which will also limit progress in meeting the Paris agreement targets.(Böhringer et al., 2017) The funding provided by the United States to support the international negotiation process and support mitigation actions, adaptation actions, and capacity building in developing countries will be affected by funding cuts until the termination of funding support.(Y. X. Zhang et al., 2017)

With the official statement from President Donald Trump regarding the withdrawal, the Trump administration automatically has the right to stop climate funding that has been provided so far because there is no urgency to participate in the Paris Agreement again.(Agung et al., 1969) According to the 2018 U.S. The budget report, the United States has cut budget funds by US\$10.9 billion or 28.7% of the funds usually donated to international climate activities.(Y. X. Zhang et al., 2017) In addition, several financial support for climate change initiatives, which play a role in supporting bilateral actions to reduce emissions and increase the capacity of developing

countries in developing renewable energy, have also been cancelled since the withdrawal of the United States from the Paris Agreement. (Wahyuni, 2018)

The Budget proposals released to the Donald Trump administration in 2017 said there would be cuts in funding for many climate change-related programs, including clean power plans, and significantly reduce operating budgets for institutions involved in climate change research and regulation.(White House. Gov, 2021) Including the Green Climate Fund and reduced funding for coastal research and grant programs preparing communities for rising seas and worsening storms by \$250 Million. Fourth, a \$102 million reduction in funding for the Earth science portfolio will end three Earth science missions that provide critical data on climate and ocean conditions, namely PACE, OCO-3 and C.L.A.R.E.O.(White House. Gov, 2021) Overall, after the withdrawal from Paris Agreement, the United States only spent 3% of the total 23% allocation of ODA funds on climate change.



(Source: Donor Tacker, 2020)

Graphics 8. U.S. Climate Fund Expenditure

The reduction in climate funding from 2017 to 2019 has placed the United States as a developed country with the eighth position in climate finance. Previously, during the Obama administration promised to provide funding assistance of up to \$3 billion for the Green Climate Fund (GCF), until, before the issuance of this withdrawal policy, America had spent \$1 billion for the Green Climate Fund (GCF). However, with the withdrawal decision, mobilization of the remaining \$2 billion in climate finance will be hampered. (Sinaga, 2020). The deduction of funds are also made to climate research funding which will undoubtedly affect the operationalization and quality of the I.P.C.C. (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change) report as the body that studies and analyzes science around climate change. (Shinta, 2020)

Third, as a superpower in the world today, the United States has become a leader in the political, economic, and other international aspects used to play a role as a decision-maker and leader in global politics, not least in global climate governance. The withdrawal of the United States from the Paris Agreement, which has given uncertainty to the achievement of the targets of the Paris agreement, will, of course, also affect the foundation of climate governance. (Chai et al., 2017) Its diplomacy and climate policy also directly influence the process of global climate governance. One of the United States' involvements in global climate governance can be seen at COP21 in Paris, where the United States demonstrated significant country influence by playing an essential role in joint commitments with other developing countries, namely with 79 African, Caribbean and South Pacific countries. This can influence other countries to take part in dealing with climate change after the United States leaves the Paris Agreement.

The dominant impact of the United States on global climate governance can be seen from how the world's countries always compromise with the national interests and concerns of the United States when formulating a policy, even though this weakens the legally binding nature of

an agreement. Not only that, but the United States has also actively used its influence outside the U.N.F.C.C.C., where the United States launched several international initiatives, including the Asia-Pacific Partnership (APP) for Clean Development and Climate and also the Climate and Clean Air Coalition (C.C.A.C.), which actively advocating the establishment of a new global forum with America as the leading role. (Chai et al., 2017)

In the global climate governance regime, the withdrawal of the United States from the Paris Agreement creates divisions and debates to determine a replacement leadership in a multilateral process that can cover the deficit left by the United States. For this reason, a lack of leadership in climate governance will affect the commitments of other countries and affect the climate governance process towards the set targets. Because of burdening his country's economy, Trump assumes that the United States has made efforts to reduce carbon emissions in line with its economic growth. (Rifqi, 2018) The reduction in greenhouse gas emissions from 2015 to 2017 is in tandem with the rapid economic growth of the United States, which shows that participation in the Paris Agreement is not necessary. Security threats that will impact the United

States environment can be a decrease in environmental quality, where the danger is the result of climate change that occurs. (Sayyidati, 2017) Based on a United States Department of Defense report, climate change does not directly cause conflict. But, can cause global instability, hunger, poverty, decreased quality of food and clean water, cause disease, and generate more severe natural disasters.

Climate change also impacts decreasing the availability of food and clean water, which causes migration and regional and domestic conflicts that occur. With the release of America, it will slow down the reduction in global carbon emissions, which will later cause global warming and an increase in the Earth's temperature and impact the environmental crisis. Based on the National Interagency Fire Center (N.I.F.C.) report during 2017, there has been an increase in forest fires that occurred as many as 71,499 forest fires, compared to 2016 with 65,575 forest fires. (Subarkah et al., 2019) That way, the impact of climate change that affects the increase in Earth's temperature, which causes an increase in heatwaves and extreme weather, will also disrupt global environmental security.

Conclusion

Based on the theory and the analysis that the author has explained above, it can be concluded that there are concerns of countries in the world against the threat of climate change. This fear was overcome by countries' efforts to cooperate in tackling the problem of climate change. Cooperation carried out under the auspices of the United Nations resulted in an agreement that binds countries to continue to be committed to mitigating the impacts of climate change.

This decision is contrary to the majority of the people of the United States who want their country to continue to participate in the Paris agreement. The people of the United States regret the decision; the world community also regrets the decision taken by Donald Trump. Because, with this decision to withdraw, it will be difficult for other countries to cope with the impacts of climate change.

The withdrawal of the United States also has a significant impact on countries globally in efforts to reduce the effects of climate change. With the decision to withdraw from the Paris Agreement during the Donald Trump administration, the author managed to find some of the impacts that arise on the prevention of social problems climate

change, including First, an increase in global gas emissions that harm the environment, which is indicated by an increase in activities that produce gas emissions in the United States. Second is the reduction of the climate finance mechanism, which will affect the quality of the climate change reports produced. Third, this withdrawal will also affect global climate governance, affecting member countries' compliance with the agreement.

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