



**THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
SOCIAL SCIENCES UNIVERSITY OF ANKARA
INSTITUTE FOR GRADUATE STUDIES IN SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**THE ANALYSIS OF DONALD TRUMP'S DECISION TO PULL OUT THE
UNITED STATES FROM THE PARIS AGREEMENT**

Master's Thesis

Hakan Gökçayır

International Relations

September 2022



**THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
SOCIAL SCIENCES UNIVERSITY OF ANKARA
INSTITUTE FOR GRADUATE STUDIES IN SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**THE ANALYSIS OF DONALD TRUMP'S DECISION TO PULL OUT THE
UNITED STATES FROM THE PARIS AGREEMENT**

Hakan Gökçayır

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Meryem HAKİM

International Relations

September 2022

THESIS APPROVAL



PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all materials and results that are not original to this work. I declare that this thesis is written according to the writing rules of Social Sciences University of Ankara, Institute of Social Sciences.

Hakan GÖKÇAYIR

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very appreciated since I have received various academic and personal support during my master progress. First of all, I would like to convey my appreciation to my thesis advisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Meryem HAKİM. I would like to offer my sincerest thanks and praise to her guidance and generous support she provided.

I would also like to thank by heart; to Mr. Enes AYIK who always believes the inner power of mine to reach my targets and a significant contribution to develop my methodological aspect for conducting research, and Mr. Kenan GÜNEŞ who always encouraged me to make true my goals. I will always be thankful to them for their supports and to make wider my approach regarding the way for both the real life and the pathway for completing the academic study successfully.

Last but not least, I also owe great thanks to My wife Demet GÖKÇAYIR due to her priceless support which provided a lot of contribution by encouraging during the hard periods to successfully complete my Master Thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

THESIS APPROVAL	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	i
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	ii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZET	vi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	viii
LIST OF TABLES	ix
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. PROBLEM STATEMENT	2
1.2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	3
1.3. AIM OF THE RESEARCH	3
1.4. RESEARH METHODOLOGY	4
1.5. LITERATURE REVIEW.....	4
CHAPTER II	7
2.1. CLIMATE CHANGE AND GLOBAL WARMING	7
2.1.1. Scientific Evidence of Climate Change?	8
2.1.2. Why is Climate Change Important?	10
2.1.3. Important Developments on Climate Change	12
2.1.3.1. Kyoto Protocol	15
2.1.3.2. The Paris Agreement.....	18
CHAPTER III.....	22
3.1 US CLIMATE CHANGE POLICIES IN THE 21 st CENTURY.....	22
3.2. CLIMATE POLICIES OF US PRESIDENTS AFTER 2000	24
3.2.1. George W. Bush Period Climate Change Policies	25
3.2.2. Barack H. Obama Period Climate Policies	26
CHAPTER IV	30
4.1. WHY DID TRUMP DECIDE TO WITHDRAW FROM THE PARIS AGREEMENT?	30

4.1.1. General Foreign Policy in the Trump Period.....	31
4.1.2. Donald Jr. Trump Period Climate Policies	33
4.2. ANALYSIS OF AMERICA'S WITHDRAWAL FROM THE PARIS AGREEMENT.....	36
4.2.1. Analysis in terms of Climate, Society and Discourse	37
4.2.1.1. Climate change discourses	39
4.2.2. Analysis in terms of Political and Economic.....	41
4.2.2.1. Differences of opinion between American political parties.....	42
4.2.2.2. The influence of interest groups on Trump	44
4.2.2.3. Economic concerns	45
4.2.3. Analysis in terms of International Relations	46
CHAPTER V	49
5.1. THE FUTURE OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT	49
5.1.1. Joe Biden Period Climate Policies.....	52
5.1.2. Developments in the European Union.....	54
CHAPTER VI.....	55
6.1. CONCLUSION.....	55
REFERENCES	57

ABSTRACT

The Analysis of Donald Trump's Decision to pull out the United States from The Paris Agreement

Global warming and climate change are one of the most important problems waiting for humanity. The Paris Agreement, which sets out the new path of international cooperation against global climate change, was adopted in December 2015 and entered into force in November 2016. Paris Agreement is an international agreement within the scope of the 1992 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, which constitutes the general framework for cooperation against climate change, it is quite different from the studies carried out so far. The Paris Agreement, which is the product of the search to continue the international fight against climate change with a new method, created a new model of international cooperation based on national conditions.

The Paris Agreement's recognition as a historic achievement is due to the purpose it has defined for efforts to combat climate change at the global level. The agreement derives its influence and power on political, economic and social actors from this purpose. However, the 45th President of the USA, Donald Trump, has shocked the whole world by declaring that his country will withdraw from the Paris Agreement. This situation created a big gap in the Paris Agreement, which is the turning point of the global fight against climate change, and slowed down the process.

American foreign policy, unlike other states, has a very wide range of action. The active involvement of the US in almost all international issues has caused every step of such a power to be examined in the field of climate change. Trump's decision to withdraw from the Paris Agreement is an example of a decision completely independent of traditional foreign policy decision-making mechanisms for the US, where public opinion has come to the forefront. Therefore, focusing on what can be learned from the US not joining the 1997 Kyoto Protocol, the analysis of the potential reasons for the US withdrawal from the Paris Agreement has become very important. Because evaluating the participation of the US in multilateral environmental agreements in terms of policy analysis specific to the Paris Agreement sheds light on future agreements.

The subject of this study is to analyse the decision of the USA to withdraw from the Paris Agreement within the Discipline of International Relations. In this context, general information about global warming and climate change is presented and the relationship between society and climate is explained. Along with the 21st century climate change policies of the USA, the reasons that led the USA to the decision to withdraw from the Paris agreement are presented. In this study, which aims to show the US decision-making dynamics on the Paris Agreement, it has been determined that Donald Trump's decision to withdraw the US from the Paris Agreement cannot be explained only with his leadership characteristics. According to this study, Donald Trump's decision to pull out the US from the Paris Agreement was mainly due to his personal values, public opinion, expectations from the Republican Party, pressure and interest groups, and the structure of the International System.

September 2022

Keywords: Climate Change, Climate and Society, USA, Paris Agreement, Trump

ÖZET

Donald Trump'un ABD'yi Paris Anlaşması'ndan Çıkarma Kararının Analizi

Küresel ısınma ve iklim değişikliği insanlığı bekleyen en önemli sorunlardan bir tanesidir. Küresel iklim değişikliğine karşı uluslararası iş birliğinin yeni patikasını belirleyen Paris Anlaşması, Aralık 2015'te kabul edilerek Kasım 2016'da yürürlüğe girmiştir. Paris Anlaşması, iklim değişikliğine karşı iş birliğinin genel çerçevesini oluşturan 1992 tarihli Birleşmiş Milletler İklim Değişikliği Çerçeve Sözleşmesi altında bir uluslararası anlaşma olmakla birlikte bugüne kadar yapılan çalışmalardan oldukça farklıdır. Paris Anlaşması, küresel sıcaklık artışının Endüstri öncesi döneme göre 2°C'nin oldukça altında tutulmasını amaçlamaktadır. İklim değişikliğine karşı uluslararası mücadeleyi yeni bir yöntemle sürdürme arayışının ürünü olan Paris Anlaşması, ulusal koşullara dayalı yeni bir uluslararası iş birliği modeli oluşturmuştur.

Paris Anlaşması'nın tarihi bir başarı olarak görülmesinde küresel düzeyde iklim değişikliğiyle mücadele çabaları için tanımlanmış olduğu amacın payı büyüktür. Anlaşma siyasal, ekonomik ve toplumsal aktörler nezdindeki etki ve gücünü de bu amaçtan almaktadır. Fakat ABD'nin 45. Başkanı Donald Trump ülkesinin Paris Anlaşmasından çekileceğini bildirerek tüm dünya da şok etkisi yaratmıştır. Bu durum İklim değişikliğine karşı verilen küresel mücadelenin dönüm noktası olan Paris Anlaşması'nda büyük bir boşluk yaratmış ve süreci yavaşlatmıştır.

Amerikan dış politikası diğer devletlerden farklı olarak çok geniş bir hareket alanına sahiptir. ABD'nin hemen hemen bütün uluslararası konuların içerisine aktif olarak girmesi iklim değişikliği konusunda da böyle bir gücün her adımının inceleme konusu olmasına neden olmuştur. Trump'ın Paris Anlaşmasından çekilme kararı, kamuoyunun ön plana çıktığı ABD açısından geleneksel dış politika karar mekanizmalarından tamamen bağımsız bir karar örneğidir. Bu yüzden ABD'nin 1997 Kyoto Protokolü'ne katılmamasından öğrenilebileceklerle odaklanarak, ABD'nin Paris Anlaşması'ndan çekilmesinin potansiyel nedenlerine ilişkin analiz çok önemli bir hale gelmiştir. Çünkü ABD'nin çok taraflı çevre anlaşmalarına katılımının Paris Anlaşması özelinde politika analizi bakımından değerlendirmek gelecekteki anlaşmalara ışık tutmaktadır.

Çalışmanın Konusu ABD'nin Paris Anlaşmasından çekilme kararının Uluslararası İlişkiler Disiplini içerisinde Analiz Etmeğdir. Bu kapsamda, Küresel ısınma ve iklim değışikliğı hakkında genel bilgiler sunularak toplum ve iklim ilişkisi açıklanmıştır. Amerika'nın 21. Yüzyıl iklim değışikliğı politikalarıyla birlikte, Amerika'ı Paris anlaşmasından çekilme kararına götüren nedenler sunulmuştur. ABD'nin Paris Anlaşması üzerindeki karar alma dinamiklerini göstermeyi amaçlayan bu çalışmada, Donald Trump'ın ABD'yi Paris Anlaşması'ndan çekme kararının sadece onun liderlik özellikleriyle açıklanamayacağı tespit edilmiştir. Bu çalışmaya göre Donald Trump'ın ABD'yi Paris Anlaşması'ndan çekme kararının temel nedenleri, onun kişisel değeri, kamuoyu, Cumhuriyetçi Partiden beklentiler, çıkar ve baskı grupları ile Uluslararası Sistemin yapısıdır.

Eylül 2022

Anahtar Kelimeler: İklim Değışikliğı, iklim ve toplum, ABD, Paris Anlaşması, Trump

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CCPI	: Climate Change Performance Index
COP	: Conference of the Parties
GCF	: Green Climate Fund
INDC	: Intended Nationally Determined Contribution
IPCC	: Intergovernmental Climate Change Panel
UN	: United Nations
UNDRR	: United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction
UNEP	: United Nations Environment Program
UNFCCC	: United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
US	: United States
USA	: United States of America
WMO	: World Meteorological Organization

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1. Major Developments in Addressing Environmental and Climate Change

Issues before UNFCCC	13
----------------------------	----



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Global warming, which has began largely through the period of industrialization, is making our world more uninhabitable day after another. Today, a significant number of world leaders and scientists believe that Global Warming and Climate Change are real phenomena and must be stopped. Therefore, for the past fifty years, world leaders and scientists have met at various conferences and meetings to take action against Climate Change. In these negotiations they agreed on a variety of issues and signed contracts. The last of which, and even the most widely attended, is the Paris Agreement. The Paris Agreement was an addition to the UNFCCC, initially adopted by 195 countries, including the United States under the Barack Obama administration. The fact that the US, as well as other powerful carbon dioxide emitters such as China, Russia, France and Germany, were also parties in the agreement which played an important role in the Agreement's early success. In this regard, it can also be said that the Paris Agreement was the peak of global cooperation on climate change for our world. However, this unique example of solidarity on Climate Change was replaced by pessimism when Donald Trump was elected as the president of the US and later announced that the US would withdraw from the Agreement. In this context, this study will try to explain how and why this decision was taken using the method of foreign policy analysis.

Global climate change is one of the most serious problems facing the world today. Without cooperative action, this problem will continue to increase and may have serious consequences in the future. Despite the important warnings and scientific evidence, the fact that states do not take certain steps and look at the climate change problem with different expectations complicates the process. The United States is also conducting an inconsistent process in the fight against climate change and making the issue a policy material. During the changing presidency periods, it has been observed that the administrations have always looked at the issue from a different perspective and

that this issue has not been kept on the main agenda as a global and serious problem. George W. Bush, who came to power in 2001, did not consider the climate change problem to be very serious and the country approached the global warming problem at a distance until the period of Barack H. Obama. The Obama era was a period when the USA was successful in combating climate change. However, Donald Trump, who came to the administration in 2016, adopted the opposite attitude of Obama's climate policies and made the USA a country that avoided taking responsibility again. Biden, who won the presidential election in 2020, has tried to repair the damage in the Trump era and started to involve the country in the climate struggle again, although it has been a short time since he took the office.

This study aims to examine the withdrawal of the United States from the Paris Agreement on the basis of the discipline of international relations. In the first part of the study, information about climate change and global warming is given. It is stated how people evaluate environmental problems and how effective the leaders' discourses are in influencing societies. In the rest of the study, the climate change policies of the USA in the 21st century were evaluated separately for each president's period. In the fourth part, the US decision to withdraw from the Paris Agreement is examined from various perspectives and finally, information about the future of the Paris Agreement is presented.

1.1. PROBLEM STATEMENT

Paris Agreement, which covers 97 percent of global greenhouse gas emissions with 195 countries as members, began to cover 80 percent of global greenhouse gas emissions with the decision of the US to withdraw since the US is considered as the world's second largest emitter of greenhouse gases after China, and is also the biggest cumulative emitter of greenhouse gases in world history. In addition, with this decision, it became quite possible that China, India and other growing greenhouse gas emitters would make similar decisions. Fortunately, one of the first statements Joe Biden made when he was elected president of the US in the election at the end of 2020 was that he would return to the Paris Agreement within 77 days. However, why did the US under Donald Trump choose to withdraw from the Agreement while other developed and democratic countries, such as France, Germany and Britain, remained loyal to the

agreement? Considering the technology and resources that the US has today, it would be expected to fight against Climate Change more effectively. However, while the US continued to pollute the world, under the Trump administration, he didn't want to take responsibility for solving the Climate Change problem and expected other countries to find solutions. Moreover, although Barack Obama and Joe Biden from Democratic Party chose to be a party and supporter of the Agreement, the Republican US President Donald Trump withdrew from the Agreement. There are also many opponents and supporters of the Agreement within both the Democratic and Republican Parties. This shows us that the US has its own internal dynamics and therefore it is of great importance to uncover why and how this decision was taken. Thus, this study aims to provide a comprehensive answer on how the decision-making mechanism on Climate Change works in the US.

1.2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Based on the information given above, it is of great importance to answer the following questions: Why did the US withdraw from the Paris Agreement? What factors and actors were instrumental in making this decision at the individual, state and system level used in Foreign Policy Analysis? Is this foreign policy decision made by the Trump administration arbitrary or has a particular motivation? To answer these questions, the level of analysis approach used in foreign policy analysis will be used in this study. Accordingly, the reasons for the US withdrawal from the Paris Agreement will be analysed at the individual and state level. In this way, it will be possible to show why Trump withdrew the US from the Paris Agreement in all its dimensions.

1.3. AIM OF THE RESEARCH

This study emphasizes that Donald Trump's decision to withdraw the US from the Paris Agreement cannot be explained only with his leadership characteristics and perspective on climate change. According to this study, Donald Trump's decision to pull out the US from the Paris Agreement was mainly due to his personal values, public opinion, expectations and pressures of the Republican Party, business and interest groups, and the structure of the international system. Therefore, it can be said that there are many dimensions of this decision at the individual, state and system level. In this

context, this study will try to explain how this decision was taken using the method of foreign policy analysis. In this way, all internal and external dynamics that are effective in making this decision will be revealed. In this regard, this study will provide a comprehensive answer to the decision-making process on climate change in the United States, and will also reveal whether developments in global politics have an impact on this decision.

1.4. RESEARH METHODOLOGY

This study aims to analyse an event with an impartial approach, in the light of available information, using qualitative research methods within the discipline of international relations. Within the scope of current developments, answers to the research questions were sought in a cause-effect relationship with the available resources. The core of this study is the Paris Agreement. The sources used in the study also consist of expert's articles, news, interviews and other scientific sources along with the events around the Paris agreement. In addition to all these resources, social media interactions, which have a great importance, are also used in detail in this study. In particular, Trump's messages on twitter have been examined in detail. Trump has sent over 55 thousand tweets during his presidency and 115 of them related to the climate and the Paris Agreement have been specifically identified.¹ The factors affecting the decision-making process are explained by evaluating the developments caused by different leaders and currents of thought before and after the Paris Agreement.

1.5. LITERATURE REVIEW

I used many sources while researching this thesis. However, the ones indicated below are the ones that provided more contribution and support to explore my research topic. Apart from those specifically mentioned below, there were other resources that improved my study.

LEICHENKO, R., & O'BRIEN, K. (2021). *Climate and Society- Transforming The Future*. Polity Press.

¹ <https://www.tweetbinder.com/blog/trump-twitter/>

This resource, which explains the relationship between climate and society in detail, explains in detail how the power of discourses and the social perspective on environmental events are shaped. The theoretical explanation of the relationship between climate and society has been an important source for studies in this field. On the other hand, issues such as the types of discourse on climate and how discourses affect societies are expressed together with today's policy understanding.

UNFCCC Website (Documents and Decisions, Sites and Platforms)

The UNFCCC Website is the property of the secretariat of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. This website provides various services and projects to improve user experience. Publicly shared sources by UNFCCC are one of the key and significant sources of this study since it provides an easy access to the official up to-date information. The developments on the subject so far can be easily accessed from the sources here. The information contained here is very important for scientific studies as it is the United Nations' main resource on Climate.

TÜRKER, M. (2006). Küresel iklimin geleceği ve Kyoto Protokolü

In this study, information about global climate change and the studies of the United Nations aiming to limit and reduce greenhouse gas emissions on a world scale are given. This study, which examines the positive and negative aspects of the Kyoto Protocol in detail, makes a comprehensive evaluation of the subject. The findings in this study have made an important contribution to the studies carried out to evaluate the future of the Paris agreement.

DOLU, Ö. (2005). Kyoto protocol flexibility mechanisms and institutional capacity development

In this study, after giving information about global warming and climate change, information was given about the dimensions of the environmental problem, its effects and the efforts made in the international arena. However, the most important aspect of this study in terms of literature is the comprehensive analysis of the flexibility mechanisms introduced within the framework of the Kyoto Protocol. In order to benefit from these mechanisms, which are called flexibility mechanisms, what countries need to do is examined in detail.

KANSU, Z. N., TURANLI, M., & TURANLI, R. (2021). Analyzing the Obama-era United States of America Climate and Environmental Policies

This study examines the work of Obama, who adopted radical policies to combat climate change and global warming unlike Republicans and even previous Democrats. In this context, the changes and effects of the USA on carbon emissions and climate change on a national and global basis in the short, medium and long term are analysed. As a result of President Obama's policies, the reduction of carbon emissions and the tendency to renewable energy sources are revealed.

GIDDENS, A. (2011). *Politics of climate change*.

This study, which examines in detail the political problems caused by global warming, offers the detailed discussion of the most difficult struggle humanity has faced in this century. Giddens explains that a systematic climate change policy is a need for the whole world, and that the green movement, the main competitor of orthodox politics, is missing in some ways. Giddens examines the links between climate change and energy security in depth, identifies gaps in terms of climate policies and presents a series of new concepts and proposals.

Falkner, R. (2001). *Business conflict and US international environmental policy: ozone, climate, and biodiversity*.

This study puts forward a distinctive theoretical and analytical approach for studying business as an international actor in the environmental field, and provides detailed case studies of the important environmental challenges in last years. Falkner's contribution is to demonstrate how accounts of the considerable power and influence of business can remain strongly sensitive to the varied nature of business interests and the particularity of the political circumstances with which they are inevitably enmeshed.

Paris Agreement, (2015)

The Paris Agreement is the most fundamental source of this work. Unlike other sources, this agreement concerns the entire study. However, this study did not examine the Paris Agreement itself, but focused on how the mechanisms of this agreement affect states. The issues on which the Paris Agreement was prepared with attention, its importance and the role of the USA in this agreement were examined in detail.

CHAPTER II

2.1. CLIMATE CHANGE AND GLOBAL WARMING

By the simplest definition, climate change is defined as "changes in average or variability of the climate over a period of decades or more, regardless of the cause" (MEUCC, 2022). As can be seen from the definition, these changes are permanent, not instantaneous. Similarly, in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) it defines climate change as "a change of climate which is attributed directly or indirectly to human activity that alters the composition of the global atmosphere and which is in addition to natural climate variability observed over comparable time periods" (UNFCCC, 2022). In this definition, it is emphasized that long-term climate impact arise, not instant one, when talking about climate change. It is also stated that climate change has two dimensions; it changes naturally and due to the human activities and practices. Of course, the biggest factor in climate change is the human practices. With the exception of opinions that deny the existence of climate change, all studies in this field consider the human activities as the main reason for climate change. Although there was a 6 °C increase in global average temperatures over the past 20,000 thousand years, there has been a 2 °C increase in average temperatures only over the past 135 years (Leichenko&O'brien, 2021, p. 35). These data correspond to the increase in human activities with the industrial revolution and to the increase in the amount of greenhouse gases released in the atmosphere.

In general, it can be said that climate change is almost caused by global warming. In this respect, global warming can be defined as "The increase in the average surface temperature of the earth due to the increase in greenhouse gases released into the atmosphere." It should be noted here that the main reason that triggers warming is related to the increase in the rate of greenhouse gases in the air. In other words, global warming is thought to be caused by increased greenhouse gases in the atmosphere. Water vapor (H₂O), carbon dioxide (CO₂), nitrous oxide (N₂O), methane (CH₄) and

ozone (O₃) are the main greenhouse gases. Greenhouse gases other than water vapor can have an active effect on global warming as an independent variable. The greenhouse effect is a process that occurs when energy from a planet's sun goes through its atmosphere and warms the planet's surface, but the atmosphere prevents the heat from returning directly to space, resulting in a warmer planet (NASA, 2022). However, it is one of the biggest mistakes made in this field to express climate change as an increase in temperatures only due to this greenhouse effect. Climate change causes not only increased temperatures, but also bad weather events in many areas of the world. Droughts, floods, increase in the frequency and impact of extreme weather events such as hurricanes, ocean and sea water levels rise, the rise in the acidity of the oceans, melting glaciers are the examples of climate change results. As a result of all these bad weather events, plants, animals and ecosystems, as well as human communities are at serious risk. Moreover, this risk is not shared equally by living beings, in some regions. The scenarios for the effects of climate change are mild, while in some regions the situation seems to be much more serious. For example, temperatures have not increased at the same rate all over the world; these increases have been greater in glacial regions. Even if the temperature has increased by an average of 2 °C over the past 20,000 years in any part of the Earth, as mentioned above, there has been an increase in total average temperatures close to 8 degrees. These numbers about of temperature show us that the burden of climate change is not shared equally.

2.1.1. Scientific Evidence of Climate Change?

It is argued by different perspectives whether the theories developed related to climate change are scientific or not. While some opinions state that climate science is based on strong scientific foundations, some opinions state that climate science remains under the influence of political power and therefore the findings obtained are not reliable. Nevertheless, the opinion of climate scientists that global warming is increasing is largely approved in the international community. For example, in the light of new evidence, it has been voiced at many meetings of the IPCC that global warming over the past fifty years has increased due to an increased concentration of greenhouse gases.

As the existence of climate change can be scientifically proved, it has reached such dimensions that people can understand it even with simple observations. Today,

with the scientific research such as instant temperature measurements, satellite data, photos etc..., scientific evidences of climate change are presented. In addition, farmers' statements that the crops they plant every year ripen earlier or later and the bird species that come to their regions migrate later are examples of climate change reached by observations of people.

Some of the situations that are most considered in the international community as the scientific evidences of climate change are as follows;

- Global temperature rise
- Warming oceans
- Melting glaciers
- Shrinking of snow-covered areas
- Sea level rise
- Extreme weather and climate events
- Acidification of the Oceans (NASA, 2022)

In the light of all this evidence, the discussion of the presence of climate change seems to be a doubtful. 97% of climate scientists who publish in the field of climate change accept the existence of climate change (The New York Times, 2022). However, doubts about the scientific foundations of climate change have shifted some of the discussions to the political field, and the argument has been made that the issue of global warming is politically constructed. The way the problem is defined and its entry into the political agenda reflects the use of political power. The information provided by scientists is used to inform policy makers. In this way, decisions on how to act are made in the public sphere. Therefore, it can be said that such decisions are political. Because these decisions are subject to the pressures of international democracy and the democratic process. As a result of this political process, politicians, bureaucrats and certain interest groups have gains, while costs are distributed among wider and less organized groups of voters. Since these interests are worth fighting for, well organized interest groups dominate the political sphere.

It would not be the right approach to say that there is a common opinion that climate change applies all over the world. According to the science-based formulation of climate change, the global temperature has started to increase since the middle of the 19th century and it has been stated that it will continue to increase throughout the 21st

century. This is put forward in relation to global warming and linked to human-caused greenhouse gases and they present this situation as scientific evidence. In addition, the scientific formulation of climate change defines these and similar disaster scenarios such as drought, malaria, epidemics caused by global warming and recommends taking urgent measures on an international scale. However, according to the approaches that claim that there is no scientific certainty of climate change, they assume that the results achieved by climate science do not match the traditional criteria validity of science. Again, according to these approaches, it is stated that it is difficult to scientifically affirm or refute the forecasts for how much the average temperature will be in a hundred years from now. Moreover, because the models explaining climate change do not contain the necessary information, they contain uncertainties which weakens the explanatory power of the models. These and similar reasons have led to an increase in suspicion about climate change and they have shifted the discussions to the political field. As a matter of fact, the United States did not sign the Kyoto Protocol during the Bush era, claiming the lack of scientific certainty of climate change. Again, Trump said in some of his speeches that climate change is a hoax and he often showed cynical attitudes about this situation.

2.1.2. Why is Climate Change Important?

It is very important to explain why climate change is important within the scope of all these scientific and historical facts. Climate change is one of the most important global tests of our time, as it affects all countries regardless their level of development and borders. The effect of climate change is not only an increase in temperatures. Such as droughts, floods, severe increase in the frequency and impact of extreme weather events, hurricanes, ocean and sea water levels rise, melting glaciers etc... are results of all these factors and thus plants, animals and human communities are at serious risk. According to the report of The World Meteorological Organization and the United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction(UNDRR), as a result of the disasters that occurred between the years 1970-2019, 2 million people lost their lives and 3,64 trillion US dollars economic loss was recorded (MFA, 2022). From this point of view, climate change causes great losses not only in terms of the life of creatures, but also in terms of money.

The fact that climate change is on the agenda only with financial losses is criticized by some international organizations. These organizations express that climate change is deepening inequalities in various ways, not only financially. For example, Amnesty International (AI) considers climate change as a human rights issue. They express reason for this is that climate change affects not only the environment but also the well-being of humanity negatively and also affects our rights to life, health, food, water, housing and livelihood quite badly. (AI, 2022)

Thousands of catastrophes, such as droughts, floods, severe hurricanes, rising ocean and sea water levels make all living creatures at risk and clearly show why climate change is important. Combating climate change and adopting strategies to be followed by the developed and developing countries including the fields of health and agriculture-related programs, the use of water resources, food security, sustainable development and the transition to a low carbon economy can have a direct impact on the goals and their development programs. In addition, climate change is also of great importance in terms of energy supply. Emissions caused by energy needs accounts for about 60% of carbon emissions and combating these emissions will be crucial for reducing climate change. In addition, energy is considered a priority policy area for most countries, as it is an important driver of growth and prosperity. The energy issue is not only important domestically, but also a strategic foreign policy concern about access to energy resources. (Giddens, 2011, p. 45) For most countries, climate change and energy security are interrelated, but separate problems with an each other. Both climate change and energy security require more attention, but in terms of energy security, access and affordability come to the front and therefore environmental safety is also remaining in background. This is because sustainability in the form of climate protection increases energy prices and therefore conflicts with the point of access of energy which is the driving force of modern economies, can put climate concerns in the background. In other words, if people had to make a choice about energy and climate, it seems more realistic in our modern world that people would use their choice in favor of energy. From this point of view, climate change is vital because it is a fact that affects all living creatures.

2.1.3. Important Developments on Climate Change

It has been stated before that most of the problems related to climate change are caused by human activities. It has also been scientifically stated that the negative situations related to climate change continue to increase after the industrial revolution. However, it can be said that international awareness of climate change has gradually increased since this period. However, this awareness remained at a limited level until the 1970s. The world has seen two great World Wars, the cold war period then began, regional wars have emerged and environmental problems have remained in the background for all these reasons.

The first international attention to global environmental problems took place in Stockholm in 1972. On this date, the UN Conference on the Human Environment was convened, which will lead to the emergence of the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), which is related to the protection of the environment (ERÇANDIRLI, 2009, p. 496). As a result of the conference, the “UNEP Executive Council” and the “Environment Fund” were established to be elected for a period of 4 years, consisting of 58 member countries, and the “Environmental Coordination Panel” was established to ensure coordination among the United Nations organizations in the field of environment (MFA, 2022). The impact of the 1972 Stockholm Conference were limited. Thanks to the Stockholm Declaration, which was the result of the conference, the development of international law regarding the compensation responsibilities of States for pollution and other environmental damage was expressed. Although it is not a binding feature of the Stockholm Declaration, it was the basis for the studies started in this field. Today, 5 June is celebrated as World Environment Day, thanks to this meeting.

From 1972 until the entry into force of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, there have been many developments in international terms. As summarized in Table-1 below, these developments were not memorable. However, these developments have created an extensive knowledge for the States in terms of climate change awareness.

Table 2.1. Major Developments in Addressing Environmental and Climate Change Issues before UNFCCC (Öztürk & Öztürk, 2019, p. 530-531)

DATE	EVENTS
1972	Stockholm-International Conference on the Human Environment. The Stockholm Declaration has been published. It includes the action plan, the decisions on the establishment of the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) and the decisions on the Environment Fund.
1979	1st World Climate Conference Attention was drawn to global climate change based on carbon dioxide accumulation and fossil fuels.
1985	Villach International Meeting on Greenhouse Gases and the Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer
1987	Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer
1988	Toronto Conference on the Changing Atmosphere
1988	Establishment of the IPCC (Intergovernmental Climate Change Panel) by the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) and the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP)
1988	UN General Assembly resolution no 43/53
1989	Ministerial Conference on Atmospheric and Climate Change
1990	"Intergovernmental Negotiation Committee (INC/HGK)" with resolution no 45/212 of the UN General Assembly
1991-1992	INC meetings until the UNFCCC is signed February 4-14, 1991 – Washington 19-28 June 1991 – Geneva 9-20 September 1991 – Nairobi 9-20 December 1991 – Geneva 18-28 February / 30 April-9 May 1992 – New York
1992	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNFCCC was opened for signature in Rio de Janeiro; UNFCCC text was adopted by INC)
1992-1994	Meetings of the INC until the entry into force of the UNFCCC 7-10 December 1992 – Geneva 15-20 March 1993 – New York 16-27 August 1993 – Geneva 7-18 February 1994 – Geneva
1994	Entry into force of UNFCCC

It was the 1990s when the environmental problems began to be at the center of international concerns. The Chernobyl nuclear power plant disaster in 1986, the leak caused by the Exxon Valdez oil tanker crashing into the rocks in Alaska in 1989 and the ozone holes discovered in various parts of the world had an impact on increasing awareness (LENNTECH, 2022). Important Developments in addressing environmental and climate change problems before UNFCCC as it can be seen from Table-1 great efforts were required, but there were no permanent, binding and memorable developments. The UN Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 is of great importance in the development and strengthening of UNEP. Environmental disasters, the end of the cold war and the increase in environmental awareness have been very effective in this. Important decisions were taken at this conference, but this conference also revealed a fact. This situation, which is also called as developed country-developing country or undeveloped country distinction, has shown to everyone in the international arena the situation that developed countries that have completed their industrialization and countries that have not yet completed their industrialization are exposed. Nevertheless, this conference provided an important example of achieving international consensus on environmental issues because the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change was created and it was signed by 189 countries, including the USA. With this convention, it was ensured that climate change is emphasized as the common concern of humanity. In order to create an atmosphere for the implementation of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, the further development of its rules and the determination of new obligations, the "Conference of the Parties" (COP) system, which is held once a year and where all parties have a say, was established. According to this system, the parties will meet every year to find solutions to climate change. For example, the first UNFCCC Conference of the Parties (COP1) took place from 28 March to 7 April 1995 in Berlin, Germany. These conferences are held annually, but COP 26 was originally scheduled to take place from 9 to 19 November 2020, in Glasgow, United Kingdom, but was postponed to 31 October to 12 November 2021 due to the COVID-19 pandemic (UNFCCC, 2022). However, significant results were obtained from these conferences only in COP 3 (Kyoto) and COP 21 (Paris). The Kyoto Protocol which is the result of Cop 3, is of great importance in terms of the steps taken on Climate Change in the

International arena because for the first time, concrete and binding obligations regarding climate change have emerged. In addition, Kyoto, by offering an economic solution to the issue of climate change for international actors, attracted attention and accelerated the process leading to the Paris Agreement.

2.1.3.1. Kyoto Protocol

The Kyoto Protocol, which is a part of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change is at the forefront of the steps taken to prevent global warming and energy-related greenhouse gas absorption. The Kyoto Protocol is the result of the ongoing negotiation process within the scope of the 1992 UN Framework Convention on Climate Change. The Kyoto Protocol is an agreement that brings concrete and binding obligations to achieve the purpose of the UNFCCC. The agreement was negotiated in Kyoto, Japan in December 1997, opened for signature on 1998 and was finalized on March 15, 1999. It entered into force on February 16, 2005, 90 days after Russia's accession on November 18, 2004 (Türkeş, 2014). The reason why the agreement entered into force so late is due to its own provisions. According to the 25th article of the agreement; *“This Protocol shall enter into force on the ninetieth day after the date on which not less than 55 Parties to the Convention, incorporating Parties included in Annex I which accounted in total for at least 55 per cent of the total carbon dioxide emissions for 1990 of the Parties included in Annex I, have deposited their instruments of ratification, acceptance, approval or accession”* (UNITED NATIONS, 1998). The 55 countries condition in the protocol was completed with Iceland's acceptance of the agreement on 23 May 2002 and the 55% condition with Russia's signing of the agreement on 18 November 2004 and this agreement entered into force on 16 February 2005. With the entry into force of the Protocol in 2005, the new agenda in the climate regime has been to achieve the goals by applying the Protocol as expected and to make this situation permanent. Although these targets may seem simple, they are of great importance for the future of climate policy. The Kyoto Protocol has two different commitment periods. The first commitment period covers the period of 2008-2012 and greenhouse gas emissions commitments were made within the limits determined in the said period. The starting period taken as a basis here is 1990 country emissions. The second period is between 2013-2020. Some problems have also emerged in the Kyoto Protocol regarding these periods. Some countries have taken

some decisions considering other countries, developments in the world and also the course of the protocol. For example, when it comes to the second commitment period, the countries of Australia, Canada, Japan and the Russian Federation, which fulfilled their obligations in the first commitment period, brought to the agenda that they would not make any commitments in the second period (Kızmaz, 2021).

The main purpose of the Kyoto Protocol is to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 5.2% compared to 1990. This rate corresponds to a 29% reduction in gas emissions based on 2010 emissions (EUROSTAT, 2022). The importance of the Kyoto Protocol was due to the fact that it set binding targets for developed countries to limit or reduce greenhouse gas emissions until 2012. In addition to these targets, 'flexibility mechanisms' have also been established, creating a carbon trading system designed to help countries achieve their targets. These flexibility mechanisms that make the Kyoto Protocol important is that this document, which has a legal character, puts into effect three new mechanisms that provide flexibility to the parties for greenhouse gas reduction. These mechanisms called the Kyoto Protocol Flexibility Mechanisms, are the Clean Development Mechanism, the Joint Executive Mechanism and the Emissions Trading Mechanism. These mechanisms, which are offered to the parties to reduce the factors that cause climate change, provide significant advantages to all parties. These mechanisms allow countries to carry out joint activities for greenhouse gas reduction outside their borders (Dolu, 2005, p. 5-62). In addition, these mechanisms provide significant advantages to the parties. However, in order for the parties to benefit from these mechanisms, some conditions must be fulfilled.

Although the Kyoto protocol is a very important milestone in terms of climate change, there are many reasons that led to its failure.

- First of all, full participation in the protocol could not be achieved at the beginning and a limited number of countries that participated were under the obligation to reduce greenhouse gases. 175 countries participated in the protocol and obligations were imposed on 39 of them. Another important point here is that the USA is not among the states participating in the protocol. This is one of the biggest factors hindering the Protocol. The reason why the USA did not participate in this protocol is not various strategic plans or complex goals. The biggest reason why the USA did not participate is

that it thinks that this country will lose its competitiveness. However, almost all of the industrial developed countries, except the USA, have signed the Protocol.

- It is more beneficial to consider the China issue separately as a reason for the failure of the Kyoto Protocol because in this protocol, China did not sign the protocol, arguing that the developed countries should be held responsible for the obligations of the protocol, since it sees itself as a developing country. The fact that China, which is one of the states that should have the most responsibility for greenhouse gas emissions into the atmosphere, did not sign the protocol, has been one of the factors that made this protocol unsuccessful and created a cost for developed countries.

- The Kyoto Protocol is a regulation with a high cost of harmonization, as it requires a significant transformation in economic activities. For this reason, mechanisms that will facilitate the adaptation of the states parties and alleviate the burden of this cost are of great importance for the success of the climate regime. In addition, the issue of adaptation to the negative effects of climate change and its cost was not included in the Protocol (Ediger, 2014). The sectors to be controlled were also very limited, a short period of time was determined as the first obligation period and the ratification of the Protocol by the country's parliaments was very slow. Despite all this, we can say that the Kyoto Protocol, although insufficient, is important in terms of being a start and that the new initiatives it brought have had profound effects on the world economy and international relations. While the positive and negative features of the protocol were like this, the negative features of the protocol outweighed and the search for a solution to solve this problem more deeply started. The fact that big states such as China and the USA did not sign the agreement and other reasons also affected some states and the states that initially viewed the protocol favorably did not attach enough importance to this situation.

In 2012, the Kyoto protocol lost its validity, but with the conference held in Doha, the period for this protocol was extended to 2020. With an amendment made at the meeting in Doha, the protocol entered a new commitment period covering the years 2013-2020 and the target of reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 18% in 2020 was adopted. However, the Protocol has a fundamental weakness: in the remaining period, it has never been clarified how the punishment will be in case of non-compliance with the Protocol, what the coercive sanctions will be (Kaya, 2020).

Although the Kyoto Protocol could not achieve its goals on climate change, efforts to combat climate change intensified after this protocol. It can be said that the Protocol is not an end, but actually a beginning. After this date, international efforts on climate change have also intensified. With the "Durban Platform" created at the 17th Conference of the Parties held in 2011, it was decided that a global agreement with the participation of all parties after 2020 could be concluded in Paris on 12 December 2015. With this decision, the process leading to the Paris Agreement began.

2.1.3.2. The Paris Agreement

The Paris Agreement is a legally binding international treaty on climate change. It was adopted by 196 Parties at COP 21 in Paris, on 12 December 2015 and entered into force on 4 November 2016. Its goal is to limit global warming to well below 2, preferably to 1.5 degrees Celsius, compared to pre-industrial levels. To achieve this long-term temperature goal, countries aim to reach global peaking of greenhouse gas emissions as soon as possible to achieve a climate neutral world by mid-century. The Paris Agreement is a landmark in the multilateral climate change process because, for the first time, a binding agreement brings all nations into a common cause to undertake ambitious efforts to combat climate change and adapt to its effects (UNFCCC, 2022)

As of February 2022, with the US returning to the Paris agreement, 193 countries have become parties to the agreement (United Nations, 2022). The purpose it has defined for efforts to combat climate change at the global level has a great share in the Paris Agreement being seen as a historical success. With the Paris Climate Agreement, a new era has begun in the fight against international climate change. The unanimous acceptance of the Agreement by all countries and its entry into force in less than a year indicate that the Agreement has attained a much more inclusive and generally accepted character compared to the Kyoto Protocol period. The fact that US President Obama wanted the US to become a party before the end of his term of office and to speed up the entry into force of the agreement played an important role in the rapid enactment of the agreement.

The objectives of the Paris agreement are briefly as follows;

- It has been accepted that all parties take responsibility for emission reduction. However, in this reduction obligation, while developed countries are required to undertake more and make absolute reductions, developing countries are expected to

reduce according to their current capacities in accordance with the principle of "Common but Differentiated Responsibility".

- First of all, it is desired that developed countries will reach a position that will provide zero emissions (carbon neutral) for the post-2050 period.

- It has been decided to keep the warming of the Earth, which has reached 1 degree since the industrial revolution, below maximum 2 degrees (well below 2) and at 1.5 degrees as much as possible.

- Developed countries need to provide climate finance, technology and capacity building support necessary for developing countries to realize the transformation that will enable "low-carbon and climate-resilient" development. In this sense, developed countries are required to provide \$100 billion in climate finance to developing countries until 2020 (extended to 2025). For the post-2025 period, it is requested to take this figure as the basis and provide more financing.

- The targets that the countries have taken on emission reductions, the policies they have developed and the progress in reaching the target will be followed. Moreover, this statistical follow-up should be done in a transparent and calculable method and will be subject to review.

- Based on the new findings predicted by science, countries are required to take on more reduction obligations on a regular basis every five years.

- The Paris Agreement strongly emphasizes the issue of adaptation to the adverse effects of climate change and makes commitments to support the vulnerable underdeveloped countries, which will be particularly affected by it (United Nations, 2015).

The most important feature of the Agreement is that, unlike the Kyoto Protocol, developed and developing countries participate in the mitigation action with Intended Nationally Determined Contribution (INDC). In other words, it will be realized within the framework of the national conditions of the Parties, with their national contributions consisting of non-binding, voluntary targets that they have determined. In this framework, unlike the Kyoto model, in which the reduction obligations are determined at the international level and tied to strict rules and sanctions, has been moved to the cooperation model, which consists of voluntary contributions determined by the party countries according to their own national conditions. In addition, monitoring the

implementation of the Agreement with a reporting and review system valid for all parties is one of the important changes. According to this system, the parties will set their own goals and will be obliged to realize them. The targets set by the parties every five years must be at a higher level than the previous targets. In addition, the parties can always change a more advanced target without waiting for 5 years.

Although the Paris Agreement is a binding international agreement under international law, it is quite flexible because these obligations vary. In this way, it shows that the “universal agreement” system has been adopted, where flexible arrangements that encourage cooperation are preferred instead of an agreement that imposes strict and binding rules and obligations. In this respect, there is always the possibility that the Paris Agreement, whose implementation depends largely on the willingness of the parties, may also turn into a weak international cooperation environment. Nevertheless, the Paris Agreement brought a new understanding of global climate change and policy, with its social and political impact and drew attention to the importance of the concept of "climate justice".

The Paris Agreement is the first multinational agreement on climate change, covering almost all of the world's emissions. The Paris Agreement is a success for the world and confirms the EU's path to a low-carbon economy. The implementation of the Paris Agreement requires continued momentum and strong political determination to ensure a socially fair transition to a climate-resilient and climate problem-free future. The Paris agreement lays out a global action plan that should be implemented as soon as possible, noting that greenhouse gas emissions are at their peak and that the climate problem must be solved in the second half of the century.

The most important difference of the Paris Agreement from its counterparts signed in the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change is that it covers all countries. The Paris Agreement, unlike previous agreements, stipulates that both developed and developing countries will commit to greenhouse gas reductions to be determined by them. These commitments will also be reviewed every 5 years in accordance with the agreement. In this sense, the Paris agreement is almost a reporting agreement and due to the principle of transparency, these commitments of the countries are open to everyone. However, the principle of “common but different responsibilities”, which is one of the most important principles of the Framework

Climate Agreement, is still in effect. In other words, countries have the right to make greenhouse gas reduction plans in line with their economic conditions and development goals. Due to the new international normative understanding created by this agreement, it puts pressure on countries to implement appropriate emission limits and comply with their obligations. If any country does not change its policy to limit its emissions, it means that it cannot adapt to the green transformation that has begun in the world, and especially in the EU. For this reason, there may be difficulties in the export of high-emission products due to carbon payment at the border. In addition, it may struggle to find the international financing it needs for the green transition. As a result, although the Paris Agreement is one of the most important events of the 21st century, time will show what its effects will be.



CHAPTER III

3.1 US CLIMATE CHANGE POLICIES IN THE 21st CENTURY

According to the BP Statistical Review of World Energy report, the USA is the second largest carbon emitter country in the world as of 2021. The ranking in the same report is followed by China in the first place and the USA in the second place (BP, 2022). However, it is an obvious fact that America, which is ranked second in terms of carbon emissions, does not undertake its responsibilities regarding climate change to the same extent. The economic growth of the USA, which is the world's largest economy and one of the most industrialized countries, based on the use of fossil fuels, makes the USA one of the countries with the greatest historical responsibility for the emergence of climate change. In fact, in America, which is tangibly exposed to the problems of climate change, most Americans understand that climate change is real and are concerned about it. However, despite all these data, environmental and climate change policies have never been the first priority of the USA throughout American history. According to the Climate Change Performance Index (CCPI) 2020 data published regularly every year; The climate change policy of the USA is seen as quite problematic. The USA, which scores very low in all categories from renewable energy to climate policy, displays a negative image in the fight against climate change as it has not developed a policy to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in the national arena and ranks 55th in the index after other countries. (New Climate Institute, 2022). It is expected that the most important actors of international cooperation will be the developed economies, which have the most historical responsibility for the emergence of climate change. However, the US administrations avoided taking this responsibility for a long time. For example, George W. Bush's exit from the Kyoto Protocol process on the grounds that its emission reduction obligations would impose a heavy burden on its economy is one of the examples of the US not fulfilling its historical responsibilities

on climate change. In addition, this situation showed that the USA neglected its historical responsibilities, but also caused the Kyoto Protocol to become dysfunctional.

America's understanding of taking responsibility for environmental problems went through a major change during the Obama era. Decisions and practices that can significantly meet the expectations of the international community and climate change actors from the United States started to be implemented by the Obama administration. In fact, the decisions taken by the Obama administration on environmental issues have not only been effective internationally, but have also been an important policy area within US domestic policy. Especially after 2010, when Obama raised climate change more in his discourse and policy practices, this issue has become one of the most important decisions differences between the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. In general, Democratic Party presidents and politicians advocated that the USA should take action on this issue, while Republicans in Congress pushed climate change into the background because of the global competition.

It is possible to say that the Obama administration pushed the United States into a more effective role in terms of international climate negotiations. However, this effectiveness was quickly reversed when Donald Trump became the president of the United States in January 2017. During the election campaign, Trump emphasized that he did not believe in climate change and declared that if he were elected, he would withdraw from the Paris Agreement. As a result, the expected announcement came in June 2017 and Trump announced to the world that they would withdraw from the agreement, claiming that the Paris Agreement brought a huge burden to the American economy. Of course, in this process, "not believing in climate change" is not the only reason for Trump's withdrawal from the agreement. The Trump administration's close relationship with the fossil fuel industry is one of the most important factors determining federal and international steps in climate change mitigation and adaptation, just as it was in the George W. Bush era. Especially with the influence of the coal and oil industry in American politics. The denial of climate change by the Trump administration and keeping this issue out of the priority in policy agenda has caused the US's climate change policies to become dysfunctional.

Environmental policies, which lost their importance in the Trump era, has started to gain more importance again in the Biden era. Joe Biden, who won the election race in

November 2020, stated that the mistakes of the Trump era will not be repeated, and that he will repair the damage caused by Trump's unstable and future-threatening policies by leading other countries in the fight against global problems such as climate change (Sullivan K. , 2020). On his first day as President, Joe Biden also sent a letter to the UN stating that his country would re-join the Paris Agreement. As of February 2021, President Biden has ensured that his country is back as a party to the Paris agreement. Biden's policies on climate change, which are currently the US President policies, are among the issues that are being followed by both in his country and around the world.

3.2. CLIMATE POLICIES OF US PRESIDENTS AFTER 2000

The reason U.S. climate policies are important after 2000 is that U.S. presidents have been actively using their climate policies since then. After these years, U.S. presidents began to see climate policies as an important tool both in domestic and international politics. This situation has been covered in the press very often in the Trump-Biden election race. Likewise, the issue of party to the Paris Agreement has caused a great deal of controversy by U.S. presidential candidates as election materials.

As the most influential actor in the global system, the United States is one of the most resorting countries to the use of fossil fuels at the point of realization of its economic growth. For this reason, it is one of the countries with the most historical responsibilities for climate change. However, the presidents of the United States have often been the ones who do not want to take this responsibility for environmental problems. Climate and environmental issues are not an area for which just a country is responsible, but in this regard, a single state, such as the United States, has the ability to perform a great influence all over the World. Considering the current economic, political and military power of the United States, it is a state that you definitely want to be a party to in an international agreement. The absence of the United States in a world-wide agreement on climate change or environmental policies will cause the agreement to be limited. According to Falkner, this situation is clearly likened to a de facto veto power (Falkner, 2001). An agreement, regulation or application that the United States is not in is largely losing its influence internationally. In this regard, the climate policies of the United States, like other policies, are important from an international point of view.

3.2.1. George W. Bush Period Climate Change Policies

As a result of the 1992 elections, Democrat President Bill Clinton won the elections in the USA and was elected as the President of the USA. After Clinton took office, great hopes arose for those expecting concrete policies from the United States on climate change. Clinton brought climate sensitive people to some of the management positions and this situation increased the excitement even more. One of these important positions is the position of vice president. Clinton appointed Al Gore, who has important work on the environment, to this position. The Kyoto process, one of the most important climate developments of the Clinton Era, was conducted by Vice President Al Gore, and the Kyoto Protocol was signed by Clinton in 1998 (Clinton Digital Library, 2022). Clinton signed the Protocol in November 1998, but did not submit it to the US Senate. Clinton did not submit the Kyoto Protocol to the Senate thinking that it would not provide the majority of votes needed for approval (Vogler, 2016, p. 41).

President Bush, who took office after the 2000 elections, one of the most controversial elections in the United States, stated that he would not be a party to the Kyoto protocol, considering the economic interests of his country (TÜRKER, 2006, p. 8). Since the economy is of great importance in political decisions related to climate change, the Bush administration also kept economic concerns at the forefront. The reason for the Bush administration to withdraw the US from the Kyoto Protocol is the thought that this agreement will harm the US economy and welfare. In addition, the United States argued that the protocol does not impose any commitments on developing countries other than voluntary reduction and that all responsibility is on the developed countries. Actually, this is a very consistent explanation when considering the Bush administration period. Considering the trade wars with China, these claims are not found. Since China, which is among the developing countries, did not participate in the Kyoto Protocol, nor was it counted among the major emitters of emissions. The Bush administration has also said this is not a fair approach for USA and other developed countries.

At the beginning of the 21st century, some events in the world, especially in America, caused the understanding of security to come to the front. As a result of these events, the difference in approach between the USA and other states has become clear. The US has increased its security measures and focused on US protectionism. The

approach in question can be expressed as the understanding of “the USA and others”. With this understanding, Bush emphasized that America should take these measures itself and other states should take them locally. The Bush administration emphasized that they pursue bilateral and multilateral initiatives with many countries on the issue of climate change, they have common goals and objectives, but they think differently about the most effective approach for a solution. Although it is said that positive regulations regarding climate change were made during the Bush era, these steps were mostly aimed at ensuring energy security. According to the Bush administration, sustaining economic growth was not the problem that led to climate change, but the solution itself. In other words, the Bush administration has always kept its economic concerns at the forefront and has been reluctant to take an effective action on climate change. This reluctance is also reflected in the carbon emission numbers of the USA. During the 2001-2009 Bush period, the USA's carbon dioxide emissions increased from 5.76 billion tons to 6 billion tons (EIA, 2011).

Finally, G. W. Bush's close relationship with the fossil fuel industry and lobby groups working on this issue has also greatly influenced environmental decisions. Since Bush's decisions on climate change were very important for interest groups, this has always been one of the determining factors for President Bush.

3.2.2. Barack H. Obama Period Climate Policies

The United States accounts for a very large part of global carbon emissions. Despite the fact that the United States has a large share of global carbon emissions, it remains far behind in the fight against global warming and climate change. However, this situation has undergone a major change with the environmental and climate policies adopted by President Barack H. Obama, unlike the previous years. Obama won the 2008 Election and signed presidential decrees as soon as he took office in January 2009, aiming to give the American economy a greener quality and take a global leadership role in combating climate change. In general, the Obama era was a period when important steps were taken to combat climate change.

When President Obama was elected in 2008, he mentioned the need for an expanded climate change policy, both national and international. Barack H. Obama sent messages that his country will also fulfil its responsibilities in the global fight against climate change. Obama's climate and environmental policies have been very different

from the traditional policies of the United States. One of the most important reasons for the changing attitude of the USA on climate change under the Obama administration is to correct the negative impact of the previous President G. W. Bush administration in the international arena. In addition, the material and moral damage caused by Hurricane Sandy, which occurred during the Obama era and was the biggest hurricane on record related to climate change, led the Obama administration to deal more with climate change and take decisive measures. (Halverson & Rabenhorst, 2013, p. 20-21)

Generally, the national and federal climate policies of the Obama era are as follows;

- Climate Action Plan,
- Strategies to Reduce Carbon Emissions,
- Regulations on Carbon Pollution Standards in the Electricity Sector,
- Regulations to Prepare the U.S. for the Effects of Climate Change,
- Moratorium on the Allocation of Coal Fields on Federal Lands. (Kansu, Turanlı, & Turanlı, 2021, p. 209)

These regulations consist of the legal regulations that Obama has implemented for domestic policy and new practices. Some of these regulations have caused great reactions. However, these applications mean accelerating future transformations for the United States. For example, Obama's legal regulations on the coal sector have caused great criticism by those involved in the sector and Republicans in the Senate. Many of the decisions taken have been brought to the US Supreme Court.

Obama was not only short to climate studies nationally and federally, but also made significant strides in climate studies globally. During His administration, especially during His second term, Obama implemented very important practices on behalf of climate change and global warming and environmental policies. In fact, the most important of these practices can be cited as the signing of the Paris Climate Agreement during the Obama era. The main points of Obama's environmental policies are the fight against climate change and global warming as well as reducing carbon emissions. With his work in this direction, it is fair to say that Obama took steps for global leadership on climate as well as on other issues. As it is known, the US National Security Strategy document, which is one of the top-level documents on American national security and foreign policy, is published regularly. This document contains

identified threats to U.S. national security. In the National Security Strategy Document of 2015, it was stated that the problems related to climate change, such as natural disasters and refugee influx, were listed as a major threat to national security (THE WHITE HOUSE, 2015). As can be seen, the 2015 National Security Strategy considers climate change a security risk to the United States, while also cited concrete steps taken by the Obama administration, the goals it set and expectations for the Paris Agreement, which were under preparation at the time. It is clear in this text that the United States has prepared itself for the international leadership role in combating climate change under the Obama presidency.

Speaking at the 2015 Climate Change Conference in Paris, Obama said that as president of the world's largest economy and the second-highest emissions-rate country, the United States is ready to take responsibility for combating climate change. According to Obama, who argues that the Paris Agreement should be based on a long-term strategy for a low-carbon future, it should include a transparent, viable structure and support mechanisms that each country will determine based on their differences (The White House, 2015). The Paris Agreement sets goals for the parties participating in the agreement, just as Obama mentioned in his speech. This shows how effective Obama was in the Paris Agreement. This is another indication that Obama was going on an international leadership role in combating climate change.

Despite all efforts, the United States, which did not want to participate in the Kyoto Protocol and caused great disappointment, played an important leadership role in the Paris Climate Agreement. President Obama was very effective in quickly approving and enacting the agreement. In this regard, the role that Obama has taken in the Paris Climate Agreement process is very important in order to take real concrete steps in climate change. Moreover, the fact that China and India, which are among the top five countries in emissions, are also parties to this agreement is a great achievement of the Obama Administration. It can be stated that the Obama era put the USA in a better position than its predecessors in terms of both the policies implemented on climate change and the discourse on international leadership and responsibility. In general, combating global warming and reducing carbon emissions was Obama's primary policy goals on environmental issues. Obama's policies on climate change were also reflected in the numerical data. Accordingly, when you look at U.S. emissions during Obama's

eight years in office, it appears that he was successful compared to the Bush era. For carbon emissions, which reached up to 6 billion tonnes during the Bush era, have fallen to 5.13 billion tonnes under Obama. During that period, U.S. carbon dioxide released into the atmosphere decreased by 11% compared to 1990 levels (Tseo, 2022). As a result, Obama has left a good working environment for the next president to fight climate change. But after Obama, the practices implemented on climate change have not gone well.



CHAPTER IV

4.1. WHY DID TRUMP DECIDE TO WITHDRAW FROM THE PARIS AGREEMENT?

When determining the title of this study, it was especially wanted to emphasize Trump's withdrawal from the Paris Agreement. Because only the President's decision has been sufficient for the United States to participate in or leave this agreement. The United States joined the Paris Agreement only with Obama's signature and withdrew from this agreement only with Trump's decision. While participating in this agreement, Obama did not want to repeat the mistakes made in Kyoto and took some measures. U.S. ratification of the Kyoto Protocol unquestionably required the advice and approval of the U.S. Senate. Even before the protocol was adopted, the Senate made it clear that it would not ratify it. That's why Kyoto never existed for the United States. Unlike the Kyoto Protocol, the Paris Agreement was designed to allow a U.S. President to participate only through executive action. Not only did this make it possible for President Obama to join the Agreement over the objections of Republican Senators, but it also revealed a method that would make it easier for a future President to rejoin. But this method also allowed Trump to leave of this agreement only by his own decision.

There were many reasons why America withdrew from the Paris Agreement. All these reasons can be attributed not only to the political choice of the leader for a country like the United States but has many considerations. It is necessary to analyse all these reasons from different perspectives within the science of international relations. The continuation of this study is intended to analyse the potential reasons for the decision to withdraw the United States from the Paris Agreement.

The withdrawal of the United States from the Paris Agreement has reasoned a lot of criticism almost all over the world. In particular, there have been more reactions from the EU. Shortly after Trump's announcement to withdraw from the agreement, the leaders of Germany, Italy and France issued a joint statement rejecting Trump's claim

that the climate agreement could be redesigned (The Guardian, 2017). In addition, international organizations and activists have also reacted to the US withdrawal from the Paris climate Agreement, but those reactions didn't mean much to Trump. Clearly, President Trump did not fear that withdrawal from the Paris Agreement could damage his country's reputation. On the contrary, Trump thought that he could gain the appreciation of his people by influencing major developing countries such as China, India and Brazil to withdraw from the Paris agreement. Trump's thinking about the Paris Agreement was not entirely about America's own emissions. Also for Trump, the issue of withdrawing from the Paris Agreement holds great meaning. Moreover, this situation means a great deal not only in its own country, but also internationally since climate change has become an ideological issue for the Trump administration and its political base.

Emphasizing the various factors underlying Trump's policy choices is one of the main themes of this thesis. In order to reveal the various reasons underlying Trump's policy choices, both Trump's thoughts and theoretical reasons need to be explained. First of all, Trump had never publicly expressed any policy preferences before he was elected. He was using issues such as trade protectionism, issues related to Islam and the Arab world, the North Korea and Iran nuclear agreements to ignite his electorate on the issue. This is why it has been so difficult to determine Trump's policy priorities before he was even elected. Trump's contradictory statements on the same issues caused confusion in people about his policy priorities. "My foreign policy will always put the interests of the American people, and American security, above all else. That will be the foundation of every single decision that I will make" (TRUMP, 2016). While these statements may seem like words that any politician can say, they have been the basis of their own policies for Trump. Because this way of thinking is appropriate expressions to make all kinds of policy choices. Trump's choice of policy as his campaign slogan, "Make America Great Again," is the best example of this uncertainty.

4.1.1. General Foreign Policy in the Trump Period

After its own isolationist policies, the United States increased its influence in world politics since the beginning of the 20th century and after 1945, it became the leader of its own side in the period described as the Cold War. The United States emerged victorious from a half-century of struggle with Soviet Russia with the fall of

the Berlin Wall in 1989 and remained the sole superpower in international politics with the dissolution of the Soviet Union in December 1991. The USA has relatively maintained its strong position in the international system, since no power has emerged to threaten it until the 2000s and it ranks first in all parameters that can be the reason for the existence of a state. However, in the 2000s, expressions such as "difficulties to be encountered in maintaining hegemony" and "challenges to American power" began to enter American security and foreign policy documents. Especially in 2008, with Russia's intervention in Georgia, the American leadership began to be questioned.

There is an extensive literature on the rise and subsequent collapse of great powers in international politics. In this context, there is no data or record that any power in the system maintains its existence forever. Developments in international trade, developments in the field of energy, developments in defence/security technology, asymmetric threats and war phenomena confirm that nothing will be the same as before. Moreover, due to events such as the Covid-19 pandemic that affect humanity on a global scale, the international order has begun to be questioned more. Inadequacies revealed by international organizations and economic recession that emerged after the pandemic have led to both the questioning of the power of U.S. and the fact that the administrations in the United States have become more important for international relations.

Undoubtedly, attitudes and policies of people who have an important place in the decision-making processes of American foreign policy have the potential to have global and regional influence. In this context, with the assumption of office by Donald Trump, who was the President of the United States between 2016 and 2020, significant changes have occurred in American politics as a whole, both domestic and foreign. Trump's unorthodox style of politics contrary to the established status quo, efforts to understand what American domestic and foreign policy will be like and what the repercussions of this political style will be in the field of international politics have intensified.

Trump's departure from the practices that have existed for a long time may indicate a temporary deviation. But even so, this is a break in the American foreign policy paradigm. Trump has repeatedly signalled that he is not interested in a foreign policy built on principles and universal values. Expressing the belief that the interests of American citizens should always come first, Trump has emerged with the slogan

"America First" by emphasizing that this priority has been neglected in American foreign trade and foreign policy for a long time. This slogan embodies the expectation that allies and partners will assume a fair share of responsibility for common threats. Trump's attitude towards his allies has been with an approach that does not respect cooperation. His policies has caused trouble for the allies. In the context of burden sharing, Trump has acted with a mafia logic that can be summarized as "pay or suffer the consequences".

Trump administration, as a reflection of its vision of "America First" and as an extension of a one-sided approach, has withdrawn from some international agreements. These include the Iran Nuclear Deal, which were signed as a result of long negotiations between the United States and Iran, the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement and the Paris Climate Agreement (Sullivan J. , 2019). In the Trump era, there is a foreign policy approach that does not take into account the legitimacy of the international community, does not care about established rules and practices, remains indifferent to the interests of its allies and ignores the law for its own interests.

With the Trump era, there has also been a different period in trade policy. Trump administration, which started with a nationalist agenda in the economic field, has tried to raise the walls of protectionism against China, which it sees as the most important competitor in the commercial sense. This approach is also an indication that the vision of "America First" may not pursue any principles or values. With the Trump era, the new protectionism has become a security strategy for the United States in every field.

4.1.2. Donald Jr. Trump Period Climate Policies

Although Obama left the next U.S. President a good environment for combating climate change, the situation did not continue as it was thought after Obama. While Obama was president, the Republican Party's presidential candidates running in the 2016 U.S. Presidential election argued that Obama's policies on climate change were wrong. This has clearly shown that any Republican candidate to replace Obama will not take up the issue of climate change as much as Obama. Republican presidential candidates have often criticized Obama's climate policies in their own election campaigns (Johnson, 2016). In such an election climate, the U.S. election took place and Donald Jr. Trump became the new president of the United States.

Stating that he does not believe in climate change before he was elected, Trump explained in a speech that the United States should withdraw from the Paris Agreement and that this is his greatest desire. Trump, who has been focused on energy and investment since taking office, also emphasized in his 2016 speech that the Paris Agreement allows foreign bureaucrats to control how much energy the United States will use, which is negative for U.S. interests and should be abandoned (BBC NEWS, 2016). The main concern of Trump, who also often stated in his speeches that this situation is a Chinese hoax, is the economic problems that will be caused by the restrictions imposed on carbon emissions. Trump made China issue a big discourse in all areas. Like his climate change discourses, he always used the phrase “Chinese virus” for the COVID virus that led to this outbreak in his speeches during the pandemic that affected the entire world. Trump announced his decision to withdraw his country from the Paris Climate Agreement, on June 2017. As a justification, he showed that many of his citizens would be unemployed if the United States complied with the provisions of the agreement, and argued that the agreement did not meet the economic interests of the United States (Topçu, 2018, p. 128). Aiming to revive the US vision with coal-oil based energy production, Trump's application to withdraw from the Paris Climate Agreement became official. On November 4, 2020, when the United Nations (UN) regulations were completed, the United States became the first country to withdraw from the Agreement (Mcgrath, 2020).

When Trump took office, there were already concerns about combating climate change. Nevertheless, it was not expected to completely cancel the decisions and practices of the Obama administration by Trump, but Trump had begun to make certain decisions aimed at destroying Obama-era practices both nationally and internationally. With Trump's Presidential decision titled "The Executive Order on Promoting Energy Independence and Economic Growth" published on March 28, 2017, some of the Obama administration's decisions on climate change were annulled. Trump said in signing these resolutions that "we are ending the war against coal" (Eilperin & Dennis, 2017). Trump has often mentioned new policies based on the national interest, the market economy and the use of domestic fossil resources when explaining his decision. He frequently emphasized that domestic energy sources should be strengthened in a

clean and safe way and that the labour force should be increased by prioritizing American Goods.

Trump showed that he was waging a war on climate change not only with the decisions he makes, but also with his bureaucratic appointments. From this point of view, his bureaucratic appointments to strategic points have attracted a lot of reaction. For example, Trump has chosen Rex Tillerson, the former CEO of Exxon-Mobil, as the US Secretary of State (DW, 2016). Some of the experts who advocated for the interests of the fossil fuel industry were also appointed by Trump in federal agencies and related ministries, especially the EPA.

Traces of the Trump administration's energy policy on increasing the use of fossil fuels are also seen in the National Security Strategy. The 2015 National Security Strategy Document released during the Obama administration listed climate change as a national security threat. However, climate change was not included as a security risk in the National Security Strategy announced by the Trump administration in December 2017 (The White House, 2017). In this new strategy, it was emphasized that fossil fuels will continue to be used all over the world in the context of energy security.

Trump also actively expressed his belief in climate change in response to all scientific data, reports by government agencies and national and international public reactions. Although their shares on this issue attracted a great reaction, their attitude towards climate change has not changed. For example, on Twitter, he shared messages that a little global warming would be good for Americans who are experiencing one of the coldest winters in history (Matthews, 2017). In November 2018, the fourth Federally Qualified National Climate Assessment Report, compiled from various government agencies and ministries, emphasized that climate change is a huge threat to the American people, but Trump said that "I don't believe" it (BBC News, 2018). Throughout his administration, Trump has continued his rhetoric on climate change in both his official decisions and behaviour. As will be explained in detail in the following sections, Trump has also formed his policy preferences in this direction.

4.2. ANALYSIS OF AMERICA'S WITHDRAWAL FROM THE PARIS AGREEMENT

Every president who came to power in the United States followed a different policy and inconsistencies emerged in the U.S. fight against climate change. In fact, U.S. presidents have always preferred to act in their best interests in combating climate change. However, in the fight against climate change, America's policy choices are highly influenced by economic competition, domestic political reasons and American lobbies. The United States, which is trying to become the world's largest economy, is not a country that can easily give up fossil fuels because the continuity of the economic power of the United States depends on these energy sources under the current conditions, but climate change is often a reminder of itself and signals that it will lead to greater catastrophes. Therefore, although the United States has difficulty giving up from fossil fuels, it must be able to use more renewable energy.

It is possible to find similarities in the foreign policies of states that are the primary actors in the science of International Relations. One of the biggest factors that empowers American foreign policy is its ability to get out of the classical foreign policy formation. The classic state-to-state foreign policy is a foreign policy method that is no longer used for the United States. Public opinion has a very important place in the foreign policy created in the age of globalization. The presence of multiple faces of American foreign political culture has also made this state a force that fights against global problems and leads the international community. Unlike other states, the fact that American foreign policy has a wide range of action applies to climate change. The active involvement of the USA in almost all international issues has caused every step on climate change to be the subject of scrutiny. Trump's withdrawal from the Paris Agreement is one of the decisions of the USA in this direction. For the USA, this decision is an example of a decision that comes to the forefront of public opinion and is completely independent of traditional foreign policy decision-making mechanisms.

Although the United States has returned to the Paris agreement in 2022, the decision to withdraw from the Paris agreement must first be well understood, because international agreements or practices that the United States is not involved in have difficulty achieving its goal. The presence of such a great power as the United States in

these agreements and taking steps towards the goals will both significantly reduce overall emissions and increase the participation of other countries in the fight. Additionally, the US economy is a powerful financial resource for developed countries to provide financial support to developing countries in the fight against climate change. In addition, the issue of combating climate change, which concerns the earth and is an example of great consensus, was badly experienced with the example of Trump. By withdrawing from the Paris Agreement, the turning point of the global fight against climate change, the Trump Administration did not accept its responsibilities, created a huge gap and slowed down the process. In order for the same situations not happen again, the issue of US withdrawal from the Paris agreement needs to be well understood. In addition, in today's world where adventurous policies lead to irreversible costs, cooperation and coordination of all actors is needed to overcome a global problem.

4.2.1. Analysis in terms of Climate, Society and Discourse

The relationship between climate and society is a major area of study. It is very difficult issue to understand what kind of connection there is between climate and society. Because how you look at the climate-society relationship is of great importance. If you look at climate change as an environmental problem, you can see it as a problem that will be solved with environmentally friendly practices. You may think that you can solve this problem by using less water and recycling of waste. If you are looking at climate change as a social problem rather than an environmental problem, the range of solutions is expanding a lot. Many concepts such as poverty, inequality, biological deformation and food supply are included in this range. Solutions to these concepts require economic, political, cultural and institutional changes that will drastically change societies (Leichenko & O'Brien, 2021).

Climate change is very important on a personal level, but it is also very important from a social point of view. Although it may seem important for individuals who are interested in agriculture or an area close to it, in fact, fresh food, fresh air and non-extreme weather events make climate change important for every living being. In its simplest form, climate change is becoming more complex from the point of view of society, since it consists of the sum of individuals in societies. Societies have a dynamic structure that requires stability in every sense. Climate change, on the other hand, is a

situation that will disrupt this stability. The increase in unexpected events, floods, rains, droughts and the increase in costs associated with these events can be cited as a simple example that will disrupt the social stability in question.

Climate change has also of great importance for communities in terms of security. Moreover, this is very important not only economically, but also in terms of national security, due to climate change that will lead to major problems and security weaknesses. Furthermore, this situation has become a frequently mentioned topic in the discipline of international relations. One of the most prominent opinions in this field has developed in connection with the Copenhagen School's studies based on the concepts of 'securitization' and 'sectoral analysis'. The Copenhagen School expanded the scope of security and found that security should include in-state and non-state actors. The concept of environmental safety is one of the sectors examined on this basis. Resource shortages, climate change, drought and other environmental disasters, and all the problems they create, are the subject of environmental security. Climate change is also important for social justice, because there is no equal proportion between those who cause climate change and those who endure the consequences of climate change. Leaders who emphasize this disproportion can influence public perception and be an excuse for states that do not want to sign international agreements, as in the case of the Paris agreement.

Climate change is one of the factors that have increasingly threatened societies in the last century, such as economic crises, epidemics and war. Since climate change is a global problem that concerns the world in general in terms of causes and effect, the struggle to be put forward in this context should include global cooperation. Of course, the social reaction to climate change is quite different from the reactions to the situations listed in the examples. Climate change is seen by societies as a project that never ends but always continuous. From this point of view, disasters such as climate change are a phenomenon that can always be put on the second plan when other bad situations arise. Societies think that climate change is very abstract from a conceptual point of view. Concerns about climate change, which are perceived as an abstract concept from the point of view of societies, are shaped by discourses. In this way, the levels of concern of societies about climate change are often shaped by the leader's discourses.

Discourses are related to the way policies and goals are told to people or how they are told. The text of the discourse produced in the mind of the society does not remain, the effect of the text remains, which creates a model of the mind. In other words, discourse is used as a control element for societies. In this respect, one of the factors that most affects the attitude of societies regarding climate change is "discourse". Thanks to the discourses, real policies and the presentation of those policies to society and their interlocutors can be shown differently. Thanks to the discourses, they aim to enable societies to believe in these ideas by answering questions such as how problems are defined, what ways and methods they are intended to be solved and how power will be used. In order to convince societies of the accuracy and justification of the policies pursued, it is necessary to make a proper discourse. One of the biggest strengths of discourses for societies is that it narrows the consciousness of its interlocutor. Successful discourses not only acknowledge that the path is justified; they also create the belief that there is no other option.

Societies are greatly influenced by the discourse of leaders on climate as well as on political issues. From this point of view, climate change discourse can increase or decrease the level of concern of societies about climate change. For the US, Donald Trump's discourses on climate change is one of the biggest examples of this. He has developed sarcastic language on climate change, using a discourse that rejects climate change in almost every speech he has made about climate change, stressing that it is part of a plan that is contrary to the national interests of the United States (VOX, 2022). In this way, climate change discourse is politicized by Trump and presented as a game of climate change being played against the United States.

4.2.1.1. Climate change discourses

Worldview is a system of values that shows how people perceive their environment. It consists of human emotions such as beliefs and discourses in the elements affecting this system. Discourses are of great importance in making sense of the World, our environment and events because they are one of the biggest factors shaping people's worldviews. Climate Change discourses are also of great importance in terms of how to perceive climate change, because with the discourses, the perspective on climate change varies. Discourses on climate change often describe climate change as a major problem of humankind. In this respect, the importance of discourses is

increasing. Discourses are one of the most effective ways to make various situations believable. Which discourses will be adopted by people has become a matter of power. As these discourses gain power, they gain legitimacy by the society. Today, discourses can glorify or demonize any phenomenon.

Leichenko and O'Brien talk about four different discourses on climate change. These are biophysical, critical, rejecting and unifying discourse. Expressing that these discourses can be diversified, the author expresses that these four discourses are shaped by circumstances and are prone to change. (Leichenko & O'Brien, 2021) Undoubtedly among these four discourses, probably the "rejecting discourse" adopted by the previous US President Donald Trump on climate is very different. Outside this discourse, those who accept climate change and approach the issue from different perspectives. Climate change is not accepted in the rejectionist discourse, but the reasons for this may vary. Although there are various sub-layers in this discourse, such as the view that climate change is not real, events such as climate change and global warming are purely God's decree, the common point is that it is an unnecessary effort for people or states to shift all their energy to these climate events.

In this study, the reason for focusing on the rejecting discourses on climate change is the statements of former US President Donald Trump that he does not accept climate change. Although these discourses are perceived as "this is something that Donald Trump has always done", they fit the general definition of rejectionist discourses, because, rejectionist discourses about climate change usually arises for two main reasons. The first of them is that people do not have the power to exert any influence on nature to make corrections, and this power is only in the supreme creator. For this reason, the struggle of people against climate change is a waste of time. Although it may seem wrong for some to say that Trump does not accept climate change for this reason, this is not a far-fetched possibility for an American President who reads verses from the Bible before every speech.

The second main reason for the rejecting discourses is purely for economic reasons. In other words, rejectionist discourses arise depending on the economic interests of individuals and Industries. It is known that energy companies made large donations to Trump's election campaigns in both elections when he entered the Presidential election in the United States (FORBES , 2022). As a result of this support,

after Donald Trump took office, he withdrew the legal regulations that the previous President Barack Obama had applied especially to fossil-based energy companies. Trump does not accept to a single reason in the discourse that denies climate change. He also does not accept the human-related causes of climate change and trivializes climate change by comparing it to other issues. In other words, he thinks that social and economic problems are more urgent problems that need to be solved.

When all these factors are evaluated together, it is not very correct to believe that those who adopt rejecting discourses about climate change are ignorant or misinformed, because such discourses have political effects to a large extent. Again, the best example of this situation is that former US President Donald Trump's withdrawal from the Paris agreement in 2017 was legitimized by all the reasons listed above and more, resulting in a large group of supporters. In Trump politics, it is emphasized that the interests of the USA will be kept above everything and the American dream will be revived with populist discourse such as "America First" and "America Great Again". This is one of the examples that shows the power of the discourses used by Trump or any leader.

4.2.2. Analysis in terms of Political and Economic

Emphasizing the various factors underlying Trump's policy choices is one of the main themes of this thesis. In order to reveal the various reasons underlying Trump's policy choices, both Trump's thoughts and theoretical reasons need to be explained. The slogan of "Great America Again" is the main topic of Donald Trump's political and economic policy. His aim is to bring the USA to its former strong position economically and to make the USA the leading and determining power in international relations again. Because of this political approach, Trump stands out as a populist leader. Populist politics also revolves around a charismatic leader who appeals to the will of the people to consolidate his own power and claims to embody it (Munro, 2022). Trump resorts to political populism in order for his proposed policies for the economic improvement of the United States and the policies he implemented during his presidency to be accepted by society. Trump's populism does not have a specific theoretical core at its center and appears to be a combination of nationalism, racism, loneliness, protectionism and neo-mercantilism. Similarly, some of the political problems that come to the fore within the scope of the slogan of Great America Again and their solutions can be evaluated within the scope of Trump's political populism.

Policies such as removing the Obama's Climate Action Plan, withdrawing from the Paris Climate Agreement, imposing a travel ban on some countries, initiating the project of building a wall on the Mexican border, updating the regulations for the deportation of irregular immigrants... these make it easier to analyse Trump's political populism. Trump's rise to the top of world politics came at a time when the trend of nationalism and populism began to rise in Europe, at a time when people saw themselves under threat and sought change in politics.

Decisions also included in Trump's election promises, such as the deportation of irregular migrants, the bombing of ISIS, the withdrawal of US troops from Afghanistan and the withdrawal of the US from the Paris Climate Agreement are decisions that directly affect international politics. It is clear that Trump uses political populism in these decisions. While Trump creates threats on economic, military or political issues through political populism, he marginalizes those who disagree with him to ensure the legitimacy of his political actions. There are many examples that can explain Trump's policies affecting international relations in terms of political populism. Trump's decision on the Paris climate agreement is one of his populist policies.

The Trump era has been a time when national interests have been put first, alliances, multilateralism and allied relations have been pushed back. In this respect, the Trump era, the foreign policy formulation shaped by economically protectionist policies that prioritize the interests of the United States, was fed by realist arguments rather than the liberal world order. The Trump era foreign policy understanding was a period of protectionist, nationalist, national interest-oriented and where the country's gain is considered superior to mutual gain.

4.2.2.1. Differences of opinion between American political parties

Although there are many political parties in the US political system, it basically has a two-party political system. There are other parties in the USA, but they do not have any effect on political life. The USA has a two-party structure, the Republican Party and the Democratic Party. There are very different views and policies between these two parties in many areas, including climate and environmental policies. The Republican Party and Republican presidents generally stay away from the USA's fight against global warming. As seen in the practices of Ronald Reagan, father-son Bush and recently President Trump, practices and reforms regarding climate and environmental

policies are not adopted (Kansu, Turanlı, & Turanlı, 2021, p. 206). The main reason for this is that the Republican Party has adopted neoliberal policies and arguing that climate and environmental measures unfairly contradict the economic interests of the United States. In other words, for Republicans, economic concerns are much more important than climate and environmental issues.

The Democratic Party wing of the USA generally adopts policies contrary to the Republicans. In general, it would not be wrong to say that the Democratic Party wing has adopted a more reformist policies than the Republicans. When it comes to climate change, Obama comes to the fore among Democrats since Obama has implemented the most clear policies on this issue and made important decisions. Until the Obama era, no American President has tackled global warming, carbon emissions and environmental problems so vigorously.

Obama's environmental and climate policies have been realized with an approach that attaches importance to the policies of combating climate change and global warming. Trump's climate change and environmental policies are almost the opposite. One of the most important reasons for this is the differences of opinion between the democratic and republican parties. During his administration, Obama made important regulations regarding climate change and global warming while Obama made regulations on climate change, Trump opposed all practices that do not prioritize economic profits and negatively affect them. President Trump has stated that he views environmental regulations passed by the former administration as excessive and the main cause of job losses in the coal mining and oil and gas industries. According to Trump, these losses include the profits of energy companies or the employment rate, as well as the gains of various sectors. In fact, there is a great contradiction here. Because while the Obama administration argues that climate security agreements such as the Paris Agreement support the U.S. low-carbon/renewable energy economy and securing employment and maintaining the country's competitiveness, Trump believes the Paris Agreement undermines U.S. competitiveness and disrupts both employment and traditional energy industries. In other words, while Obama says the US economy will be better if US stay in the agreement, Trump thinks that US economy will be better if they withdraw from the agreement.

4.2.2.2. The influence of interest groups on Trump

Interest or pressure groups are often used to mean the same thing. Indeed, interests or pressure groups are organized groups that come together to achieve some common goals and sometimes take part in the political process. These two groups communicate their own interests to politicians, forming a public opinion in this direction and playing an active role in the field of politics. Since the concept of pressure groups is an abstract concept, different definitions have been made and evaluated from different perspectives until today. In general, pressure groups aim to influence political power and that groups formed by gathering more than one person, which is essential for ensuring the truly democratic development of a society. These groups usually consist of organized structures such as trade unions, professional organizations or political parties. In this study, the concepts mentioned as interest groups do not have a relationship with pressure groups, which are indispensable elements of democratic life. The interest groups involved in the study are used to refer to groups in the oil and fossil fuel industry that have a high impact on American politics.

Interest groups have a big influence on American elections and politics. When presidents are trying to explain their foreign policy, their advisers try to identify the opinions of voters with opinion polls. Lobbyists and interest groups also examine these polls and determine the criteria of their campaigns. Since the voting rate in America is low, interest groups try to turn this issue in their favor and aim to influence politicians in the way they want. One of these effects is the idea that the Paris Agreement is a product of "globalism" and that the president will not find a response in his nationalist and conservative voter. Among these interest groups, the fossil fuel industries also have a strong influence on the Trump Administration. Although it is not known exactly how much the fossil fuel industries supported Trump's Presidential race, it is known that they made large donations after Trump was elected (Lavelle, 2017). In this respect, fossil fuel industries began to compensate for the losses of the Obama era. In the first weeks of his presidency, Trump also stated that he would compensate for the restrictions made by the previous administration on the fossil energy sector.

US President Trump came to power with his promise to encourage more fossil fuel (especially coal) production and to relax strict environmental regulations and fulfilled some of his promises. The impact of decisions taken by the Trump

administration on the increase in the use of fossil resources is an undeniable fact. This is a clear proof of the influence of interest groups in the fossil fuel sector on Trump's policies during his era.

4.2.2.3. Economic concerns

From a historical point of view, the rejection of multilateral institutions that may restrict US actions, especially on economic issues, is an example of US isolationism. This led the U.S. Senate to reject the 1997 Kyoto Protocol before it was finalized due to the same isolationism. It should be understood on the basis that isolationism can harm the American economy and that developing countries will be exempt from any new commitments. For Trump, this concept of economic isolationism is not a preferred solution for international cooperation in line with the slogan "Make America Great Again". Trump uses political populism to gain public acceptance of his proposed policies for the economic improvement of the United States. In other words, although isolationism is not preferred by Trump, he tries to show this situation differently with populist explanations. For this reason, policies such as climate change remain at the lowest level of importance for Trump and disturb him, as it is a situation that will harm the economic interests of the USA.

As with the Kyoto Protocol, it was repeatedly stated by opponents of the Paris agreement that the Paris Agreement will be an economic burden on the United States. Especially in the Kyoto Protocol, this criticism was too much and it was rejected before Kyoto came to the American Senate. Since the Paris agreement includes some restrictions just like the Kyoto Protocol, the same concerns was expressed by Trump and his administration. In other words, the economic difficulties that the Paris Agreement will bring to America have always been mentioned and this issue has been kept alive. In addition, withdrawing from the Paris Agreement will provide more emissions space and lower abatement costs for the US, while reducing the amount of emissions of other countries will result in more cost increases. This situation provides a great advantage against the countries in which the USA competes. The President of the USA claimed that the terms of the Paris Agreement include conditions that are against his country, but also in favour of big polluters such as China and India. According to Trump, the Paris agreement gives China the right to do whatever it wants, while enabling billions of dollars in funds from developed countries to India.

One of Trump's economic arguments regarding the harms of the Paris agreement is related to the Green Climate Fund. The Green Climate Fund (GCF) was established as part of the financial mechanism of the UNFCCC, with the approval of 194 party countries at the 16th Conference of the Parties in Cancun in 2010 (GCF, 2022). The Fund seeks to provide an equal amount of funding to mitigation and adaptation, while being guided by the principles and provisions of the UNFCCC. This new global fund, created to support the actions of developing countries in the fight against the climate crisis, helps these countries reduce their greenhouse gas emissions and adapt to climate change through results-oriented financing. President Trump has always complained that the U.S. contribution to the Green Climate Fund envisioned under the Paris Agreement is too much arguing that the USA's contribution to the green climate fund is higher than other countries, Trump stated that this situation puts a great burden on the USA. However, according to some researchers, Trump's statements about the green climate fund do not reflect the truth. According to Kitchen, although the USA is the largest contributor to the Green Climate Fund per capita, it ranks 32nd among the countries contributing to this fund according to GDP (Kotchen, 2017). In fact, the Paris Agreement does not contain a provision on the amount of long-term financing as a result of the objections of developed countries, especially the USA. For this reason, details about the financing target and its main distribution channel, the Green Climate Fund, are worked on to be developed in the future. The common goal of creating an annual climate finance of \$100 billion by 2020 regarding the green climate fund has been extended until 2025. Within the framework of the decision, which accepts \$100 billion per year as a base, the parties to the Paris Agreement will set a new target for the amount of collective financing before 2025. (GCF, 2022)

4.2.3. Analysis in terms of International Relations

As it is known, Realism in international relations theories assumes that states are unitary, rational actors seeking security and wealth. It is the greatest proposition that states act in the direction of maximizing their interests. In this respect, Trump's policies seem to be in line with the conditions of realism. Trump wants to restore American supremacy by improving America's security, power and economic situation. The Trump era was a time when national interests were put first, alliances, multilateralism and allied relations were pushed back. Trump's policies, the foreign policy formulation

shaped by economically protectionist policies that prioritize U.S. interests, support a realist approach rather than a liberal world order. When Trump's foreign policy approach is evaluated with a protectionist, nationalist, national interest-oriented approach, and the country's gain is considered superior, it is clear that foreign policy is formed with realistic realities. Conservative and nationalist values mentioned above were added to the equation by Trump and the foreign policy understanding of the USA became clear.

Until the Trump era, the USA made an effort not to disrupt the functioning of the international system, although it was controversial, and became the defender of democracy and liberal values. In the Trump era, policies that blamed allies, disregarded international organizations, denied the international system and were far from the realities of the globalization process completely changed the understanding of U.S. foreign policy. But the fact that Trump has not been re-elected and Joe Biden is the next US president suggests that the Trump administration's foreign policy represents a periodic deviation from traditional foreign policy for the United States. In this respect, the policies of the Trump administration can be considered as periodic problems in which the USA moves away from the traditional policy line.

In his opening speech to the UN General Assembly on September 19, 2017, Trump stated that the US foreign policy, built on common values and common interests, will be a motivating policy for cooperation and a policy of common interest and balance (POLITICO, 2017), but Trump's main strategy is bilateral relations shaped on cost-benefit calculation rather than multilateralism. In this foreign policy understanding where common values and traditional methods are put aside, other actors are positioned according to whether they serve the economic and political interests of the USA. Events such as Trump's stance that undermines free trade which forms the basis of the US's power and the withdrawal from the Paris agreement that will shake his relations with his allies, do not fully comply with the realist approach he declared. Trump's slogan of making America great again was also used by Ronald Reagan and the Soviet Union was the target country for the realization of this goal at that time. Using the same slogan, Trump identified China as the biggest threat. Trump believed that in order to fight China which harms the USA, it is necessary to get rid of all kinds of obstacles that restrict the USA economically. According to Trump, the Paris Agreement is one of

these obstacles. He has frequently mentioned this issue in his speeches. Trump's foreign policy has overturned the multilateralism tradition of acting with the consent of international organizations and their allies.

The period when Trump was elected corresponds to a period in which right-wing populist movements and authoritarian regimes are on the rise in some regions, as in China and Russia. Therefore, the view that rising nationalism in the world erodes practices such as the Paris Agreement and neoliberal policies that are the driving force of globalization gains importance. Although there is no theory that fully explains Trump's policy preferences in terms of international relations, it cannot be said that Trump acts by adhering to a certain theory. In this respect, although the effects of realism are seen in Trump's decisions, it cannot be said that he fully adheres to it. Again, it would not be the right approach to put Trump's decision to withdraw from the Paris Agreement into the mold of international theory. In this respect, it would be more accurate to consider the Trump era as a temporary populist era for the USA, including the USA's decision to withdraw from the Paris climate agreement. The biggest evidence supporting this idea is the fact that Trump could not be re-elected.

CHAPTER V

5.1. THE FUTURE OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT

The Paris Agreement is a crucial event for the global fight against climate change. In accordance with customary international law, the head of state, prime minister or foreign ministers may sign the Paris Agreement on their behalf, without seeking credentials. In this respect, only with Trump's decision, the USA was able to withdraw from the Agreement. It was clear that Kyoto would not be accepted before it even came before the senate. However, in the Paris agreement, states can become a party to this agreement or withdraw without the need for the approval of any state organ such as the national assembly or the senate. The Paris Agreement did not repeat the mistake made in the Kyoto Protocol in this regard. Because the ratification of the Kyoto Protocol by the country's parliaments was very slow since states, regional economic organizations can also become members of the Agreement (Paris Agreement, 2015). This article has been put in place to allow the institutional membership of the EU. The text, which was created with the consensus of 196 states in Paris, was officially opened for signature on April 22, and due to the national approval processes, the signature period continued for one year, and the Agreement could come into effect on November 4 at the end of 2016 (UNFCCC, 2022)

The Paris Agreement envisages keeping the global temperature rise below 2°C and even limiting it to 1.5°C as much as possible. However, the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) reports that even if states fulfil their obligations under the Paris Agreement, it will not be possible to limit the global temperature increase to 2°C, and the warming will reach 2.7 to 3° (UNEP, 2018) This situation creates a huge contradiction regarding the Agreement.

Although the Paris Agreement is a very important milestone in terms of climate change, it is not possible to make a definitive decision on the future of this Agreement. However, lessons were learned from most of the reasons that led to the failure of the

Kyoto protocol and attention was paid to these issues, although not fully, in the Paris Agreement. For example, full participation in the Kyoto protocol was not achieved, and a limited number of participating countries have been under greenhouse gas reduction obligations. While 39 countries were under obligations in Kyoto, no such situation has been created in the Paris Agreement. In the Paris Agreement, each country has obligations within its own capacity. In addition, the absence of the USA in Kyoto was one of the biggest factors hindering this protocol. The Paris Agreement was also in great danger with Trump's withdrawal from this agreement, but the Biden administration's return to the deal has ruled out this option. In addition, as mentioned in the previous sections, after Trump's withdrawal from the agreement, messages were given to maintain this agreement within the EU and to take all kinds of steps without the USA.

China's situation was one of the factors affecting the failure of the Kyoto Protocol. China did not sign the Kyoto protocol, arguing that historically developed countries should be held accountable, but China signed the Paris agreement. Of course, it is very difficult to predict to what extent China will fulfil its obligation. One of the factors that made this protocol unsuccessful was that China, which is one of the states that should have the most responsibility for greenhouse gas emissions into the atmosphere, did not sign the protocol. This situation was not repeated in the Paris Agreement.

One of the important steps in the Paris agreement is the establishment of a reporting and review system valid for all parties. According to this system, the targets set by the parties every five years should be at a higher level than their previous targets. In addition, the parties can always change a more advanced target without waiting for 5 years. One of the problems is that countries will update their national contribution declarations every five years. According to scientific studies, there may not be a time to wait for greenhouse gas reductions to be spread over such long years. Moreover, a flexible and non-binding method has been adopted for the National Contribution Statements. In other words, countries will present their national contributions in a flexible and non-binding method based on volunteerism rather than commitments. In this respect, the Paris Agreement has a very flexible structure due to the diversity of obligations. This situation is the result of the Paris agreement's search for a universal agreement instead of strict rules. The fact that the obligations are dependent on the will

of the parties may also lead to weak international cooperation. This situation, which is one of the most important problems that may complicate the implementation of Paris Agreement, can be considered as a lack of legal sanctions. Although the Paris Agreement is legally binding, the absence of a sanction mechanism for the implementation of the Statements of National Contribution means that there may be significant problems in the implementation of the Agreement.

On the other hand, the fact that the Agreement seeks a solution to the climate change problem in individual countries reflects and sustains a neo-liberal perspective. Trying to resolve the situation from a political perspective is an issue to consider. However, the fact that almost 200 countries have agreed to the 1.5° temperature rise target can be seen as a political success, but achieving this goal means giving up fossil fuels completely. It is unclear how much a country can give up on this. As a matter of fact, when we look at the Paris Summit, it is seen that countries such as China, Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries whose economies are based on fossil fuels make the process difficult.

The Paris agreement has been in the background due to global outbreaks in recent years and major events such as the Russia-Ukraine War. Since there were no such big problems on a global scale in the post-Kyoto process leading to the Paris agreement, it is not known how the agreement will take shape in the next period. In this respect, although the Paris agreement remains in the background due to global problems, nature will remind people of this situation. The situation that will be most decisive for the future of the Paris agreement will be the clarification of financing models. Studies on financing models continue. It is very important for the future of this Agreement that the Paris Agreement develops an inclusive method in terms of financing as soon as possible. Nevertheless, the Paris agreement has revealed many concepts for global cooperation and has taken steps towards these concepts. The most important of these concepts is undoubtedly the ones related to climate justice. Finally, it is important for the Paris Agreement to set a concrete goal to give international legitimacy to the climate struggle waged by social movements. In this sense, it can be said that the Agreement made a positive contribution to creating a ground for climate action to mobilize states.

As the world gathered to celebrate the 7th anniversary of the Paris Agreement it was clear that since its adoption the gap between commitments and goals has not been bridged. There are significant emission and adaptation gaps and climate finance is far from being aligned with climate goals, despite some progress. A complex geopolitical context left a fragmented climate leadership landscape with a sizeable US void, only partially filled by the EU and China in the last seven years. Domestically, there has been significant progress in climate legislation, with some framework laws and policies making explicit references to the Paris Agreement. A sizeable number of Parties and Non-Party stakeholders have committed to reaching net zero emissions, signalling a distant yet irreversible path towards a low-carbon development model. Underpinning these advances in climate commitments were both the improvement in the economics of renewables and a growing public concern about climate change. The litmus test for the success of the Paris Agreement is still a long way away. However, should the world continue on the current emissions path, it is highly unlikely that our collectively agreed climate goals will be met.

5.1.1. Joe Biden Period Climate Policies

While Joe Biden was still in the presidential race, there was no effective climate policy. Biden's statements about climate change were ordinary statements that every politician could say to his constituents. In fact, Biden was one of the most passive candidates on the climate crisis among the presidential candidates of the Democratic Party. Biden's radical discourse on climate change came about when he was confirmed as the Democratic Party's nominee for President. Biden, whose candidacy was confirmed, has strengthened his climate discourse and campaigned in this direction, reinforcing those discourse with emphasis on equality and justice. The Biden administration's handling of the fight against climate change along with other important issues, such as employment and racial justice, and drawing attention to the concept of environmental justice have greatly strengthened his campaign.

Joe Biden, who won the presidential election held on November 3, 2020 and became the 46th President of the United States, stated in his foreign policy statement that the mistakes of the Trump era will not be repeated. He also stated that he would repair the damage caused by Trump's unstable and future-endangering policies by leading other countries in the fight against global problems such as climate change. On

his first day in office, Joe Biden sent a letter to the UN stating that his country would rejoin the Paris Agreement. After Trump's formal withdrawal from the agreement, President Biden ensured that his country would become a party to the deal again on February 19, 2021 (Denchak, 2021).

From the moment he was elected, it is clear that the Biden Administration, which has a positive image of combating climate change, will be quite successful in this regard compared to the Trump era. If Biden approaches the issue of climate change in a similar way to the Obama era, he will contribute to the U.S. fight against climate change. Biden, who is also noted for his bureaucratic appointments at the point of combating climate change, has sent a message that he is committed to this issue. The fact that the Climate Summit held in 2021 as a result of Biden's invitation to the EU and 40 countries was called and hosted by the United States shows that Biden wants to be a leader in the fight against climate change again. This attitude of the United States, which is the second country with the most responsibility for greenhouse gas emissions in the world, is very important for the future of the world. From now on, if Biden continues with this determination, the United States will move away from fossil fuels and reduce carbon emissions. For this, Biden must move from fossil fuels to clean energy sources by turning to more renewable energy sources. In addition, Biden should set higher goals and accelerate the slowing process, setting an example for other countries in the fight against climate change.

Although these rapid and ambitious steps taken on the climate crisis are quite impressive, it is necessary to recognize that the Biden administration is still at the very beginning of the road to make a real difference. It should be noted that most of the practices carried out by Biden on climate change to date have been limited to erasing Trump's negative implementations and some wishes for the future. It is of course unclear what outcome Biden's climate plan will result in, and what changes ambitious promises and programs will change on the ground. We observe that the climate change agenda has become an important foreign policy area and is often evaluated from a real political point of view, even trying to be used for political purposes. While the field of global climate change is a negative field for a leader like Trump who is suspicious of multilateralism and international cooperation, it can be used by a leader like Biden to restore American hegemony with soft power. Climate diplomacy can become an

increasingly important tool for repairing international relations that have been tensed for different reasons.

5.1.2. Developments in the European Union

EU became the first major economy to submit its climate action plan (Intended Nationally Determined Contribution-INDC) on March 6, 2015. In this document, the EU has set its target to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in the economy by at least 40% by 2030. This target, which was determined based on global forecasts, is in line with the medium-term target of the Paris Agreement. The meaning of Paris Agreement for the EU is that it opens the door to important opportunities, especially in the areas of employment and growth. The transition to an economy where low-carbon resources are used efficiently requires a fundamental change in the fields of technology, energy, economy and finance as a whole.

The transition to a low carbon economy through the agreement will stimulate investments and innovations in the field of renewable energy, contributing to the EU's goal of becoming a world leader in the field of renewable energy. After the Paris Agreement was accepted, EU immediately started to work to determine what improvements should be made in its policy and legislation in order to fulfill the obligations of the agreement.

CHAPTER VI

6.1. CONCLUSION

Global warming and climate change are among the most important threats on humanity. However, it is not possible to know with certainty the consequences of global warming and climate change in the next 50 years from now or in the far future. As a matter of fact, it is possible that the scenarios created by scientists should always be considered. It is currently not possible to know the forecasts for the future with the current technological possibilities, but as a promising development, the globalizing Earth's transformation to green energy has become a necessity of the age. Renewable energy sources and the replacement of electricity for fossil fuels have become an undeniable fact. Alternative resources are produced and gradually take their place in daily life. Overall, the global energy outlook and energy markets are changing. In this new order, there will be no future for sources with a lot of carbon emissions, especially coal. Some countries are slowly transitioning to green energy and low-carbon economies, others go more quickly, especially in the industrialized societies in the category of developed countries, the use of electricity is rapidly replacing fossil resources, but the use of fossil fuels today is still very high.

The uncertainty of climate change scenarios allows states to slow down or even ignore the fight against global warming. The world industry is still dependent on carbon energy sources. Developed countries, especially the USA, put forward various excuses in accepting to reduce their emission volumes under the pretext that it will adversely affect industrial production. No state or international organization is likely to force states to take action whose nature is not fully understood such as climate change and global warming. Even the use of non-war forces in such an attempt can cause a number of different side effects, especially developed states are aware of this situation and they are hesitant to sign binding conventions or agreements. From this perspective, the Paris Agreement can be seen as a significant achievement achieved so far. However, the

international community needs to take more responsibility in order not to compromise on the stage reached and to go further in the fight against this problem. In the Paris Agreement, which is the most important initiative ever made to solve the problem of climate change, priority should be taken by those who put the most burden on the world. In particular, the adherence or opposition of the USA, Russia and China to this agreement will affect the success of the agreement. Trump's decision to withdraw from the Paris Agreement is also of great importance in this respect. This attitude of Trump, who withdrew from the Paris Agreement and states that he does not believe in climate change, has greatly increased the concerns that the efforts made for years to prevent climate change and he caused almost a disappointment in the international arena, because Trump destroyed the climate change legacy left by Obama both in the United States and internationally.

Although Trump has adopted policies contrary to Obama, he did not achieved everything he wanted on climate. First of all, Trump was not re-elected. The fact that Trump was not re-elected and Biden came to power after him was a turning point for the Paris agreement since the negative effects of the absence of the USA in the Paris Agreement will not be negligible. Consequently, a comprehensive assessment of the effects of the US withdrawal from the Paris Agreement requires account more factors over time than those presented here. It also shows that some proven risks of the US withdrawal under the Kyoto Protocol are always likely to occur for the Paris Agreement as well. Therefore, in today's world where mutual assurance and more cooperation are required, the future of the Paris Agreement becomes very important for reasons mentioned or not mentioned in this study.

REFERENCES

- AI. (2022, 02 17). *AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL*. Retrieved from Announcing the first ever global summit on human rights and climate change: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2019/07/announcing-peoples-summit-on-climate-rights-and-human-survival-2/>
- BBC NEWS. (2016, 03 27). *Donald Trump would 'cancel' Paris climate deal*. Retrieved from BBC NEWS: <https://www.bbc.com/news/election-us-2016-36401174>
- BBC News. (2018). *Trump on climate change report: 'I don't believe it'*. Retrieved from BBC NEWS: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-46351940>
- BBC NEWS. (2018). *Trump on climate change report: 'I don't believe it'*. Retrieved from BBC NEWS: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-46351940>
- BP. (2022). *Full report – Statistical Review of World Energy 2021*. London: BP.
- Clinton Digital Library. (2022, 03 04). *Signing the Kyoto Protocol*. Retrieved from Clinton Presidential Library & Museum: <https://clinton.presidentiallibraries.us/exhibits/show/green-building/kyoto-protocol>
- CLINTON DIGITAL LIBRARY. (2022, 03 04). *Signing the Kyoto Protocol*. Retrieved from Clinton Presidential Library & Museum: <https://clinton.presidentiallibraries.us/exhibits/show/green-building/kyoto-protocol>
- Çevre, Şehircilik ve İklim Değişikliği Bakanlığı. (2022, 01 06). *Meteoroloji Genel Müdürlüğü*. Retrieved from <https://mgm.gov.tr/iklim/iklim-degisikligi.aspx>
- Denchak, M. (2021, 02 19). *Paris Climate Agreement: Everything You Need to Know*. Retrieved from NRDC: <https://www.nrdc.org/stories/paris-climate-agreement-everything-you-need-know>
- Dolu, Ö. (2005). Kyoto protocol flexibility mechanisms and institutional capacity development. AYDIN, TÜRKİYE.
- DW. (2016). *Deutsche Welle*. Retrieved from Trump nominates Exxon's Rex Tillerson as US Secretary of State: <https://www.dw.com/en/trump-nominates-exxons-rex-tillerson-as-us-secretary-of-state/a-36748296>
- Ediger, V. Ş. (2014). Küresel İklim Değişikliğinin Uluslararası İlişkiler Boyutu ve Türkiye'nin Politikaları. *MÜLKİYE DERGİSİ*, 140-141.

- EIA. (2011, 03). *The U.S. Energy Information Administration*. Retrieved from Emissions of Greenhouse Gases In the US 2009: [https://www.eia.gov/environment/emissions/ghg_report/pdf/0573\(2009\).pdf](https://www.eia.gov/environment/emissions/ghg_report/pdf/0573(2009).pdf)
- Eilperin, J., & Dennis, B. (2017, 03 28). *Trump moves decisively to wipe out Obama's climate-change record*. Retrieved from Washington Post: https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/trump-moves-decisively-to-wipe-out-obamas-climate-change-record/2017/03/27/411043d4-132c-11e7-9e4f-09aa75d3ec57_story.html
- EILPERIN, J., & DENNIS, B. (2017, 03 28). *Trump moves decisively to wipe out Obama's climate-change record*. Retrieved from Washington Post: https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/trump-moves-decisively-to-wipe-out-obamas-climate-change-record/2017/03/27/411043d4-132c-11e7-9e4f-09aa75d3ec57_story.html
- ERÇANDIRLI, Y. (2009). Küresel Çevre Sorunları ve Siyaseti. In M. E. MEHMET SEYFETTİN EROL, *ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLERDE GÜNCEL SORUNLAR* (p. 496). ANKARA: AKÇAĞ.
- EUROSTAT. (2022, 01 20). *Kyoto Protokolü*. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Glossary:Kyoto_Protocol
- Falkner, R. (2001). Business conflict and US international environmental policy: ozone, climate, and biodiversity. *he Environment, International Relations, and Us Foreign Policy*. Georgetown University Press, Washington, , 155-177.
- FORBES . (2022, 03 03). *FORBES MEDIA*. Retrieved from Here Are The Billionaires Who Donated To Donald Trump's 2020 Presidential Campaign: <https://www.forbes.com/sites/michelatindera/2021/02/19/here-are-the-billionaires-who-donated-to-donald-trumps-2020-presidential-campaign/?sh=1505d4724667>
- GCF. (2022, 02 05). *Green Climate Fund*. Retrieved from <https://www.greenclimate.fund/>
- GERMANWATCH, NEW CLIMATE INSTITUTE & CLIMATE ACTION NETWORK. (2022, 03 03). *Climate Change Performance Index 2022 (CCPI)*. Retrieved from CCPI: https://ccpi.org/wp-content/uploads/CCPI-2022-Results_neu.pdf
- Giddens, A. (2011). *Politics of climate change*. UK: Polity Press.
- Halverson, J. B., & Rabenhorst, T. (2013). Hurricane Sandy: The Science and Impacts of a Superstorm. *Weatherwise*, 14-23.
- INDEPENDENT. (2022, 03 01). Retrieved from INDEPENDENT TURKCE: <https://www.indyturk.com/node/74911/d%C3%BCnya/greta-thunberg->

hakk%C4%B1ndaki-ele%C5%9Ftirilere-ve-hakaretlere-tepki-verdi-yeti%C5%9Fkinler

- Johnson, K. (2016, 03 21). *Obama Says Climate Change Is a Security Risk. Why Are Republicans Laughing?* Retrieved from FOREIGN POLICY: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/03/21/obama-says-climate-change-is-a-security-risk-why-are-republicans-laughing/>
- JOHNSON, K. (2016, 03 21). *Obama Says Climate Change Is a Security Risk. Why Are Republicans Laughing?* Retrieved from FOREIGN POLICY: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/03/21/obama-says-climate-change-is-a-security-risk-why-are-republicans-laughing/>
- Kansu, Z. N., Turanlı, M., & Turanlı, R. (2021). Analyzing the Obama-era United States of America Climate and Environmental Policies. *Social Sciences Research Journal*, 5.
- Kaya, H. E. (2020). KYOTO'DAN PARİS'E KÜRESEL İKLİM POLİTİKALARI. *Meriç Uluslararası Sosyal ve Stratejik Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 180-181.
- Kızmaz, Z. (2021). İKLİM DEĞİŞİKLİĞİNİN KIRSAL ALANDAKİ ETKİSİ VE ALTERNATİF ARAYIŞLAR: SOSYOLOJİK BİR YAKLAŞIM. *Fırat Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 431-453.
- Kotchen, M. J. (2017, 06 02). *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2017/06/02/trump-will-stop-paying-into-the-green-climate-fund-he-has-no-idea-what-it-is/>
- Lavelle, M. (2017, 04 19). *Fossil Fuel Industries Pumped Millions Into Trump's Inauguration, Filing Shows*. Retrieved from Inside Climate News: <https://insideclimatenews.org/news/19042017/fossil-fuels-oil-coal-gas-exxon-chevron-bp-donald-trump-inauguration-donations/>
- Leichenko, R., & O'Brien, K. (2021). *Climate and Society- Transforming The Future*.
- LEICHENKO, R., & O'BRIEN, K. (2021). *Climate and Society- Transforming The Future*. Polity Press.
- LENNTECH. (2022, 01 03). *Top 10 of anthropogenic and natural environmental disasters*. Retrieved from LENNTECH: <https://www.lennotech.com/environmental-disasters.htm>
- Matthews, D. (2017, 06 1). *VOX*. Retrieved from Donald Trump has tweeted climate change skepticism 115 times. Here's all of it.: <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/6/1/15726472/trump-tweets-global-warming-paris-climate-agreement>
- Mcgrath, M. (2020, 11 04). *Climate change: US formally withdraws from Paris agreement*. Retrieved from BBC NEWS: <https://www.bbc.com/news/science-environment-54797743>

- McGRATH, M. (2020, 11 04). *Climate change: US formally withdraws from Paris agreement*. Retrieved from BBC NEWS: <https://www.bbc.com/news/science-environment-54797743>
- MEUCC. (2022, 01 06). *MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT, URBANIZATION AND CLIMATE CHANGE*. Retrieved from Meteroloji Genel Müdürlüğü: <https://mgm.gov.tr/iklim/iklim-degisikligi.aspx>
- MFA. (2022, 01 17). Retrieved from <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/birlesmis-milletler-cevre-programi.tr.mfa>
- MFA. (2022, 01 13). *Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs*. Retrieved from <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/iklim-degisikligiyle-mucadelenin-onemi.tr.mfa>
- Munro, A. (2022). *POPULISM*. Retrieved from BRITANNICA: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/populism>
- NASA. (2022, 01 06). Retrieved from <https://climatekids.nasa.gov/greenhouse-effect/>
- NASA. (2022, 01 11). *GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE-Vital Signs of the Planet*. Retrieved from <https://climate.nasa.gov/evidence/>
- New Climate Institute. (2022, 03 03). *Climate Change Performance Index 2022 (CCPI)*. Retrieved from CCPI: https://ccpi.org/wp-content/uploads/CCPI-2022-Results_neu.pdf
- Öztürk, M., & Öztürk, A. (2019). BMİDÇS'DEN PARİS ANLAŞMASI'NA: BİRLEŞMİŞ MİLLETLER'İN İKLİM DEĞİŞİKLİĞİYLE MÜCADELE ÇABALARI. *Ömer Halisdemir Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 527-541.
- Paris Agreement, A. 2. (2015). *Paris Agreement*. Retrieved from https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/english_paris_agreement.pdf
- POLITICO. (2017, 09 19). *Full text: Trump's 2017 U.N. speech transcript*. Retrieved from POLITICO: <https://www.politico.com/story/2017/09/19/trump-un-speech-2017-full-text-transcript-242879>
- Sullivan, J. (2019, 01). *WHAT DONALD TRUMP AND DICK CHENEY GOT WRONG ABOUT AMERICA*. Retrieved from The Atlantic: <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2019/01/yes-america-can-still-lead-the-world/576427/>
- Sullivan, K. (2020, 09 14). *CNN Politics*. Retrieved from CNN: <https://edition.cnn.com/2020/09/14/politics/joe-biden-wildfires-climate-crisis/index.html>
- The Guardian. (2017). *World leaders react after Trump rejects Paris climate deal*. Retrieved from THE GUARDIAN: <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2017/jun/01/trump-withdraw-paris-climate-deal-world-leaders-react>

- The New York Times. (2022, 01 11). *CLIMATE-The Science of Climate Change Explained: Facts, Evidence and Proof*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/article/climate-change-global-warming-faq.html>
- THE WHITE HOUSE. (2015, 12). *National Security Strategy*. Retrieved from The White House: https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015_national_security_strategy_2.pdf
- The White House. (2015, 11 30). *THE WHITE HOUSE PRESIDENT BARCK OBAMA*. Retrieved from Remarks by President Obama at the First Session of COP21: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2015/11/30/remarks-president-obama-first-session-cop21>
- The White House. (2017, 12). *National Security Strategy*. Retrieved from <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905.pdf>
- Topçu, F. H. (2018). Düşük Karbon Ekonomisine Geçme(me): İklim Değişikliği ve Enerji Politikaları Bağlamında Bir Bakış. *AKDENİZ İİBF*, 115-154.
- TRUMP, D. J. (2016, 04 27). *TIME*. Retrieved from <https://time.com/4309786/read-donald-trumps-america-first-foreign-policy-speech/>
- Tseo, I. (2022, 01 31). *STATİSTA*. Retrieved from Carbon dioxide emissions from energy consumption in the United States from 1975 to 2020: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/183943/us-carbon-dioxide-emissions-from-1999/>
- TSEO, I. (2022, 01 31). *STATİSTA*. Retrieved from Carbon dioxide emissions from energy consumption in the United States from 1975 to 2020: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/183943/us-carbon-dioxide-emissions-from-1999/>
- TÜRKEŞ, M. (2006). Küresel iklimin geleceği ve Kyoto Protokolü. *Jeopolitik*, 8.
- Türkeş, M. (2014). İklim Değişikliğiyle Savaşım, Kyoto Protokolü ve Türkiye. *Mülkiye Dergisi*, 117.
- UNEP. (2018, 01 16). Retrieved from <https://www.unep.org/news-and-stories/story/uneps-emissions-gap-report-indcs-signal-unprecedented-momentum-climate>
- UNFCCC. (2022, 03 05). *Conference of the Parties (COP)*. Retrieved from United Nations Climate Changes: <https://unfccc.int/process/bodies/supreme-bodies/conference-of-the-parties-cop?page=%2C%2C%2C0%2C%2C%2C%2C%2C%2C%2C%2C0%2C0>
- UNFCCC. (2022). *The Paris Agreement*. Retrieved from <https://unfccc.int/process-and-meetings/the-paris-agreement/the-paris-agreement>

- UNFCCC. (2022). *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change*. Retrieved from UNFCCC: <https://unfccc.int/resource/ccsites/zimbabwe/conven/text/art01.htm#:~:text=For%20the%20purposes%20of%20this%20Convention%3A&text=%22Climate%20change%22%20means%20a%20change,observed%20over%20comparable%20time%20periods.>
- UNITED NATIONS. (1998). KYOTO PROTOCOL TO THE UNITED NATIONS FRAMEWORK CONVENTION ON CLIMATE CHANGE.
- United Nations. (2015, 12 12). *ADOPTION OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT*. Retrieved from UNFCCC: <https://unfccc.int/resource/docs/2015/cop21/eng/l09r01.pdf>
- United Nations. (2022, 03 04). *The Paris Agreement*. Retrieved from The UN Treaty Collection: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=IND&mtdsg_no=XXVII-7-d&chapter=27&clang=_en
- Vogler, J. (2016). *Climate Change in World Politics*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- VOX. (2022, 03 03). *WOXMEDIA*. Retrieved from Donald Trump has tweeted climate change skepticism 115 times. Here's all of it.: <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/6/1/15726472/trump-tweets-global-warming-paris-climate-agreement>