

An Exploration of the Theoretical Logics of US Energy Policy (2017–2022)

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Highlights

- The energy policy of Donald Trump was addressed, and then the theoretical framework of Callahan was applied.
- The energy policy of Joe Biden was addressed, and then the theoretical framework of Callahan was applied.
- The effect of hegemonism and liberal internationalism logics on the US grand strategy were assessed.

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Abstract

The United States' foreign policy is influenced by specific theoretical logics that also shape its energy policies. These logics play a crucial role in understanding the country's approach to energy strategies. In this article, the authors analyze the alignment between the energy policies of the Trump and Biden administrations and the broader theoretical underpinnings of the American international policy. The authors contend that the theoretical logics that drive the US foreign policy has significant implications beyond foreign policy, affecting various domains, including energy. In this context, this work seeks to answer the following main question: "What theoretical frameworks have shaped the energy policy of the United States from 2017–2023, during the Trump and Biden administrations?" It contends that Donald Trump's energy policy was driven by a quest for hegemony predicated on the logic of supremacy. Conversely, Joe Biden's energy policy embraced a multilateral orientation based on liberal internationalism and integrated environmental and climate concerns with America's economic aspirations. The article is structured as follows: the introduction sets the context for the analysis, while the literature review examines the relevant theoretical literature. The conceptual framework section outlines the authors' theoretical approach. The subsequent sections analyze the energy policies of the Trump and Biden administrations, respectively. The authors then identify points of continuity between the two administrations before concluding.

Keywords: Biden, Energy policy, Hegemonism, Liberal Internationalism, Trump

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1. Introduction

Theoretical and conceptual frameworks are the backbone of energy policy-making. These frameworks provide a comprehensive understanding of the complex energy market environment and the interrelationship between different components. These frameworks also highlight the potential trade-offs among different policy objectives. By incorporating these frameworks at a subconscious and

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conscious level, policymakers develop coherent and effective energy policies that address the challenges of the energy sector.

Energy policy-making is a critical aspect of maintaining America's global dominance, and policymakers in the White House have long recognized its significance. At the core of this recognition is the realization that energy is inextricably linked to national security, making it a crucial element in the country's foreign policy. As such, decision-makers in national security and foreign policy circles are involved in formulating energy policies and monitoring their effectiveness. This level of involvement underscores the importance of energy in shaping America's long-term strategic goals and maintaining its hegemonic position.

Although there have been extensive researches and scientific works in the field of American energy policy, many of them have focused on the practical implications of energy policies rather than the underlying theoretical frameworks. This narrow focus has resulted in a lack of attention to the complex relationship between theoretical frameworks and practical works in energy policy-making. By de-emphasizing the theoretical background of energy policies, researchers may be missing crucial insights that could lead to more effective and sustainable policies.

To address this gap, we have undertaken an effort to enrich the literature by applying Patrick Callahan's conceptual framework to US energy policy-making. By examining the theoretical foundations affecting the US energy policy and bridging the gap between theory and practice, our goal is to contribute to the existing body of knowledge on US energy policy-making.

This article examines the energy policies of the Trump and Biden administrations through a theoretical lens. The authors adopt Patrick Callahan's conceptual framework, which posits that American foreign policy is guided by six major logics, so as to investigate the energy policy of the United States between 2017 and 2022 under the Trump and Biden administrations.

Moreover, it will examine the consequences of the predominance of each of these logics for the American energy policy at the international level. Therefore, the core question of this article is "What theoretical frameworks have shaped the energy policy of the United States from 2017 to 2023 during the Trump and Biden administrations?". In response to this question, the main proposition of this article will be as follows: Donald Trump's energy policy was driven by a quest for hegemony predicated on the logic of supremacy. Conversely, Joe Biden's energy policy embraced a multilateral orientation based on liberal internationalism and integrated environmental and climate concerns with America's economic aspirations.

2. Literature review

This section will discuss how academic works have studied the US energy policy through theoretical frameworks. The first category of works (Medlock et al., 2021; Ziegler and Menon, 2014; Razavi and Pirani, 2019) focuses on analyzing the US foreign policy through neo-mercantilism theory. According to this paradigm, states employ state-directed efforts to gain an uneven economic advantage over their competitors. The US seeks to have maximum control over pipeline routes and takes measures to reduce its vulnerability to supply disruptions from competitors. Due to the market's perceived unreliability in ensuring regular energy supplies at reasonable prices, national security and relative power are crucial. Therefore, major powers use the state to control both supplies and supply routes, believing that states are best suited to serve the national interest in economic policy.

The realism theory is utilized in the second category of works (Pinar, 2021; Langlois-Bertrand, 2010; Ciută, 2010; Momeni, 2021). Realism is concerned with issues like interstate competition, dominant

states, military power, and various strategies for ensuring energy security. According to this theory, energy security is a geostrategic problem rooted in the logic of war. Energy serves as both the object of war that states compete for, and the instrument of war that states compete with. This highlights the importance of power and national interests in shaping national security policies, including those related to energy. Realism believes in a zero-sum game between major states of international politics.

The energy policy from a liberal perspective (Yu and Dai, 2012; Kiliç-Pala, 2021) falls under the third category. The liberal approach to global energy emphasizes the importance of various factors, including free trade, security through interdependence, and international institutions. While acknowledging the vital role of the state in the global system, liberals broaden their focus to include international energy organizations, energy markets, and national and international energy corporations. The liberal ideology advocates for cooperation among states and other actors on a global scale as a means to achieve mutual prosperity. Energy liberals push for an open energy sector, subject to competitive market forces. According to the liberal paradigm, the energy market should be shaped by the free market economy, which foresees that a market formed under competitive conditions will bring about an optimal outcome for all actors involved.

While neo-mercantilism and realism as theoretical frameworks can be useful in understanding the energy policies of countries that practice such policies, they may not be enough to understand the energy policies of Joe Biden and Donald Trump. Energy policies are often shaped by the preferences of various stakeholders at the sub-national level, such as energy companies, environmental groups, and consumers, which may not necessarily align with the assumptions of neo-mercantilism and realism. In both the Biden and Trump eras, energy companies have wielded significant influence, both through lobbying efforts and direct involvement in policy formulation. On the other hand, analyzing energy policies through the lens of the liberalism theory can provide valuable insights. However, in recent years nationalism and power-related issues have been affecting the energy considerations of the United States. The holistic approach of Patrick Callahan can help us in shedding light on different variables and actors that shape the US energy policymaking.

3. Conceptual framework

Patrick Callahan's assessment of American foreign policy published in the book entitled "Logics of American Foreign Policy: Theories of America's Global Role" provides the theoretical framework of the current research. According to Callahan, American foreign policy is designed and implemented based on six major logics. These logics compete to define the U.S. foreign policy and its global role.

According to Callahan, the logic of America's foreign policy is the type of perception that this country has, regarding its global role based on power, national interests, and moral obligations (Callahan, 2004:vii). Callahan's logics includes hegemonism, realism, isolationism, liberalism, liberal internationalism, and radical anti-imperialism. Among these types of logics, this work focuses on just two critical types of logics of hegemonism and liberal internationalism.

According to Callahan, the logic of hegemonism has been the dominant logics in American foreign policy since the late 1940s, especially after the Second World War. According to this logics, a superpower is necessary to take over the role of managing affairs at the international system level (Moshirzadeh, 2009, p. 125). Therefore, the United States, as the dominant power of the international system, provides global leadership to secure political and economic stability. Thus, one of the main ingredients in the supremacy of the United States is its dominant influence and power over other international powers and actors. The main argument is that the United States safety from threats depends on its economic and military superiority. In other words, economic growth and prosperity within the

United States are increasingly crucial for the country's hegemonic role (Callahan, 2004, p. 13). According to this logic, the international systems will collapse without American leadership. Apart from the USA, no other actor, not even international institutions, can maintain this structure and lead it.

Liberal internationalism is the second most influential logic that provides a sufficient theoretical foundation for the purpose of this article. Although it was abandoned after the Second World War due to the dominance of hegemonism and realism logics, it came to the American foreign policy spotlight during the late 1960s and early 1970s. The essence of liberal internationalism is collective multilateralism (Callahan, 2004, p. 93), and the United States must lead international collective cooperation.

Under liberal internationalism logic, the complex global interdependence helps form a new agenda in international affairs and global politics. Therefore, this logic emphasizes common global issues and problems that require extensive international cooperation. Issues such as rapid population growth, economic inequality, environmental disasters, global warming, and ozone depletion have increased the level of interdependence among international actors for the policy and management of these issues. Keohane and Nye's emphasis on different regimes of norms, rules, and institutions that put many issues on the agenda in world politics (Keohane and Nye, 1977) can be evaluated in this logical framework. In this sense, strengthening the international system and collective security is considered one of the vital interests of the United States, and unilateral measures are not considered a desirable alternative for this country (Liers, 2000, pp. 9–14).

Therefore, according to liberal internationalism logic 1) the American national security is not just a military issue; 2) the US national security can only be strengthened through global multilateral cooperation; 3) the global cooperation requires efficient international institutions with the American leadership; 4) the USA should avoid domination while playing the legitimate role of leadership in the world; 5) power is complex and requires different resources, actors, and hierarchies in different areas; 6) the USA faces a moral obligation to solve the world's problems (Callahan, 2004, pp. 93–94).

4. Donald Trump's energy policy (2017–2020)

During the 2016 US presidential election, an ideology known as "Trumpism" emerged. This populist and hyper-nationalist movement was espoused by Donald Trump throughout his campaign and tenure in office. This approach influenced the policy-making process of the Trump administration, particularly in the realm of energy. In subsequent sections, we will examine how Trump's administration shaped the US energy policy and explore its theoretical underpinning assumptions.

4.1. Transition from energy independence to energy superiority

The concept of "Energy Independence" has been a guiding principle for the US energy policy since it was first proposed by President Richard Nixon in 1973, in response to the Arab oil embargo that threatened the US economy and security. For nearly four decades, successive administrations pursued various strategies to reduce the US dependence on foreign oil and enhance its energy security. These strategies have included increasing domestic oil and gas production, promoting energy efficiency and conservation, and investing in renewable energy sources such as wind, solar, and biofuels.

The historical contingency that gave rise to the energy independence discourse in 1970s also shaped the formulation of the energy supremacy slogan in 2017. During Donald Trump's presidency of the US, this long-standing discourse of energy independence was replaced by a new one, "Energy Dominance". This term reflects a shift in the US energy vision from being a passive consumer of energy to being an active producer and exporter of energy.

The logics of hegemonism requires that the US, as a superpower, exercises its authority and leadership over other states in various domains, including energy (Callahan, 2004: 11). To achieve the goal of energy dominance, Trump's administration pursued a number of strategies, including expanding domestic oil and gas production, rolling back environmental regulations, and promoting the export of US energy resources. Trump's goal was to assert the US power and influence over other countries that use energy as a leverage or a weapon against the US interests (Ladislaw, 2017:5).

Within this context, Trump's administration advanced the logics of energy superiority with three aims: 1) to reduce domestic costs by augmenting energy production and invigorating the US economy; 2) to reduce existing laws and regulations that impeded the energy sector and curtailed its potential; and 3) to generate diverse opportunities for energy trade with other countries (Ibid). In general, it should be stated that when energy commodities and strategic raw materials are involved, the U.S. does not sit back as a patient price taker but prefers to throw the dice as a price maker (www.telesurenglish.net, 2019).

According to the statistics, from 2017 to 2020, the US saw an increase in energy production by 11.3 quads. As can be seen in Figure 1, although there was a decline in production in 2020 due to the pandemic, the rate of increase was high. However, it is important to note that there have been a trend of increasing energy production and decreasing energy imports since 2006 (Rapier, 20022). As the National Security Strategy (NSS) of Trump's administration puts it, "unleashing abundant energy resources stimulates our economy" (NSS, 2017:4). The US policy to unleash energy resources and increase fossil fuels was in line with his effort to embrace energy dominance.

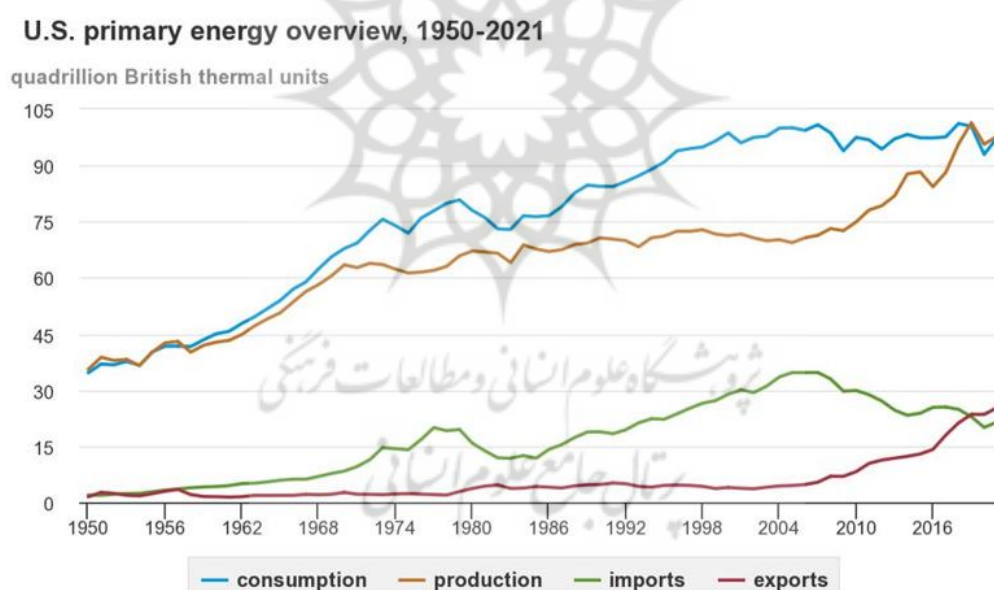


Figure 1

The trend of energy production and imports (Rapier, 20022)

4.2. America first

From the moment he took office as the 45th President of the United States, Trump staunchly advocated for his "America First" vision (Trifkovic, 2017, p. 28). This approach prioritized the nation's economic interests often at the expense of environmental protections and global cooperation. According to the principles of hegemonism, the prosperity and growth of the American economy are essential for maintaining the country's dominant role on the world stage (Callahan, 2004, p. 13). Trump's decision

to embrace the America first slogan was influenced by this logics of hegemonism as he believed that prioritizing America's economic interests would strengthen its position as a global leader.

According to Trump, the environmental regulations and restrictions on domestic energy production implemented by his predecessor, Barack Obama, hindered the growth and prosperity of the American economy. Determined to reverse these policies, Trump pledged to liberate the nation from what he characterized as "the war on coal" and the constraints of the Paris Climate Accord. In his view, these measures would unleash the full potential of the American energy industry and would spur economic growth.

In line with his promises, in the first month of his presidency, Trump issued an executive order canceling Obama's "Clean Power Plan" and other domestic environmental regulations (Guskin, 2017). The clean power plan was a key component of Obama's plan to reduce greenhouse gas emissions from power plants by 32% by 2030 (Environmental Protection Agency, n.d.). By revoking this policy, Trump granted states the authority to set their own emissions standards, a move that was celebrated by some as a victory for states' rights and decried by others as a setback for the fight against climate change.

Trump's executive order was only the beginning of his assault on Obama's energy plan. It is estimated that the Trump's administration rolled back about 90 federal environmental regulations (Guliyev, 2020, p. 2). These regulations covered various aspects of air quality, water quality, wildlife protection, toxic substances, fuel efficiency, and mining safety. Many of these rollbacks were challenged in court by environmental groups and state attorneys general.

Trump's deregulations (removing or reducing laws and regulations that hindered the use of fossil fuels) were carried out to increase the productivity of natural gas and oil extraction and help American consumers with the energy price. According to the estimate made by the Council of Economic Advisers, the shale revolution saves US consumers \$203 billion annually (Whitehouse, 2020). Trump also claimed that his policies would create millions of jobs in the energy sector and make America's energy independent and dominant.

The America first agenda aimed to augment the wealth and development of the US land, thereby enabling it to assert its hegemonic role on the world stage. This agenda stemmed from a conviction that America's security and destiny hinged on its own strength and character, rather than on its engagement or collaboration with other countries. Consequently, it espoused policies that prioritized America's interests over those of other nations. These policies were designed to enhance America's economic competitiveness and sovereignty and to ward off any potential threats or challenges from foreign powers.

4.3. Unilateralism and the weakening of international institutional arrangements

Among the main pillars of hegemonism is the belief that international institutions cannot create collective leadership. In fact, according to this logics, the leadership of the United States is necessary, and no country or institution can assume this role (Callahan, 2004, pp. 14–15). According to this logics, multilateral efforts and spreading the costs of regulating international systems are desirable. If necessary, however, a leader (the United States of America) must act alone (Ibid: 12). This was precisely the rationale behind Trump's withdrawal from the Paris climate agreement in 2017.

President Trump's decision to withdraw from the Paris Climate Accord demonstrated his inclination toward a unilateral approach to addressing international matters. The accord represented a concerted global effort to combat climate change and had been ratified by 195 nations in 2015. Despite this consensus, President Trump expressed concerns that adherence to the agreement would have deleterious effects on the American economy and place the United States at a disadvantage relative to other nations.

The hegemonism framework, as previously discussed, posits that some nations may take a free ride from other countries (especially the United States) in order to secure their profits and interests (Callahan, 2004, pp. 14–15). This perspective informed President Trump's assertion that the Paris Climate Accord undermined the energy production capabilities of the United States in comparison to countries such as India and China. He maintained that the accord was ineffective in imposing substantial restrictions on nations with significant levels of environmental pollution. As a result, he contended that compliance with limitations on fossil fuel energy production would put the United States in a disadvantageous position.

In summary, Trump's administration eschewed institutional cooperation with international organizations in favor of unilateral action to advance American energy interests. President Trump prioritized economic dominance in the global energy market over maintaining American leadership in the international climate regime. This approach undermined multilateral efforts to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and weakened international institutions.

4.4. Coercive diplomacy

Based on hegemonism logics, the power and scope of the American economy are such that it has given this country a tremendous influence compared to other countries. In fact, the economic power of the US is considered a lever for direct influence (Callahan, 2004: 16–17). During his term, Donald Trump sought to increase the United States' competitive edge in the global energy market. To achieve this goal, his administration used economic and financial power in an unprecedented way. The aim was to challenge the energy industries of other countries and exclude them from the international energy market through the use of economic sanctions.

Tensions between the United States and countries such as China, Russia, and Iran increased during Trump's presidency. One of his administration's main strategies for dealing with these countries was to impose economic sanctions. For example, after withdrawing from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), the US imposed extensive sanctions on Iran's oil exports as part of its "maximum pressure policy". This provided an opportunity for the US to increase its energy exports to the world market.

Within the framework of hegemonism, the utilization of tariffs as a strategic instrument to exert leverage is deemed a legitimate course of action. The prevailing notion within Trump's administration was that there was a fixed and certain amount of wealth and growth in the world and that states can maximize their fixed share of this pie (Rawlinson, 2019). The tariffs imposed on China were meant to give the United States an advantage and increase its share of this fixed resource. By utilizing this form of coercive diplomacy, Trump's administration was hoping to gain control over the economic relationship between the two nations.

In 2017, Trump launched a tariff war against China, where goods related to China's energy sector were increasingly targeted by the United States. At first, only 6.4% of goods in this sector were subject to tariffs by the US, but this amount gradually increased to 87.74%. In 2018, 63% of energy-related goods exported from China to the US were subject to tariffs by Donald Trump's administration. According to scientific estimates, the trade war between these two countries had significant effects on energy sectors of both countries, and its spreading effects also affected global energy market. In fact, energy security issues were at the heart of this war along with economic security issues (Xia et al., 2019).

The notion of "Energy Hegemonism" challenges the fundamental tenets of the free market economy that has been fervently promoted and championed by the United States for several decades. Despite years of advocating for a liberalized, free-market economy, the policies enacted during Trump's tenure

appeared to contravene this ideal. The incongruity between the demands of the global market and the protectionist policies implemented by President Trump's administration became increasingly conspicuous.

In this regard, Trump's administration resorted to policies that were in direct conflict with open market principles. These included the following:

- Imposing tariffs against other countries (both traditional allies and countries like China) and attempting to justify such actions;
- Treating free trade agreements as bad deals;
- Emphasizing trade surplus as a sign of economic progress;
- Blocking free trade processes and initiating a trade war; and
- Maximizing export value while minimizing import value with the aim of increasing national wealth (Hendricks, 2018).

It is important to note that although imposing tariffs go against the idea of free trade promoted by liberal international order, within the framework of hegemonism there may be situations in international system that require deviation from open market economics (Callahan, 2004:14).

5. Joe Biden's administration energy policy

The election of Joe Biden as the 46th President of the United States brought about significant changes in American foreign policy. With the end of Trump's administration, the logic of "liberal internationalism" has been revived as a guiding principle in shaping the U.S. foreign policy. This logic was previously discarded during Trump's administration, but its resurgence under Biden's administration is evident in the energy policies being implemented. This section of the paper seeks to examine the adherence of Biden's administration to liberal internationalism with respect to energy policies. In subsequent sections, we will provide an in-depth analysis of this adherence and its implications for U.S. energy policy.

5.1. Transition from hegemonism to multilateralism

According to the logic of liberal internationalism, the United States should cooperate with other countries of the world to solve a wide range of common problems. The international interdependencies have increased in number and kind and grown exponentially in impact. Since the issues countries face are global, their solution also requires extensive international cooperation: No nation or limited coalition alone can deal effectively with these problems (Callahan, 2004: 93–95).

Upon taking office, President Joe Biden declared that "America is back", indicating a change in the United States' approach to foreign affairs. He reaffirmed the nation's commitment to multilateralism, diplomacy, cooperation, and the liberal international order. This renewed emphasis on collaboration with other countries and international institutions marks a departure from the previous administration's America first policy. By embracing multilateralism, President Biden aims to repair relationships with key allies and strengthen America's image as a champion of multilateralism.

Joe Biden has reaffirmed the United States' role as a global leader and has redoubled its commitment to multilateral cooperation with its European allies. Biden's actions have been warmly welcomed by many US allies, as it signals a renewed emphasis on restoring trust and cooperation between Western nations.

Joe Biden has made it clear from the outset of his presidency that he plans to take a different path from his predecessor when it comes to foreign policy. Whereas Donald Trump favored a more isolationist

approach, Biden has sought to reassert American global leadership and rededicate the United States to multilateral cooperation in the United Nations and other major international bodies.

The outbreak of the Ukraine war in February 2022 presented a significant challenge for Biden's multilateral approach. As the conflict escalated, European countries found themselves facing an unprecedented energy crisis. Europe's dependence on Russian gas created a difficult situation for the United States' allies on the continent as they struggled to secure reliable sources of energy. As can be seen in Figure 2, The situation was further exacerbated by a surge in energy prices, with the cost of oil, coal, and gas rising by approximately 40%, 130%, and 180%, respectively within the first two weeks following the invasion (Adolfson et al., 2022). This rapid increase in energy costs placed additional strain on European economies, highlighting the urgent need for a coordinated response to the crisis.

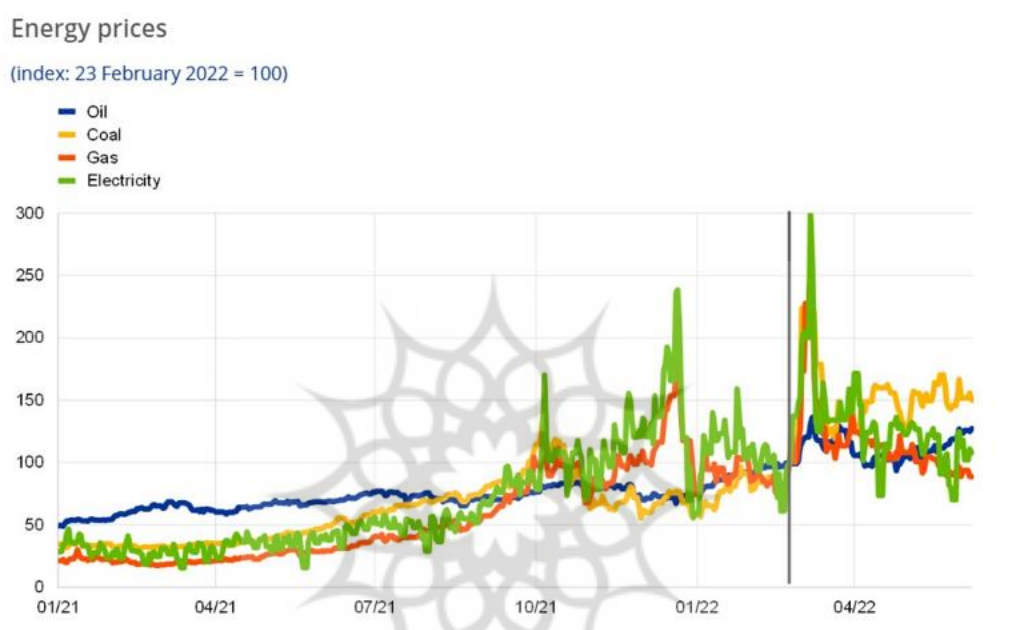


Figure 2

Energy price since 2021 (Adolfson et al., 2022)

Note: The vertical line marks the start of the Russian invasion of Ukraine. The latest observations are for June 7, 2022.

In the wake of the conflict in Ukraine, the United States government recognized the necessity of diversifying Europe's energy sources in order to decrease their reliance on Russian natural gas. In response to this issue, the United States established a collaborative task force with the European Union, known as the "US–EU Energy Security Task Force". The primary objective of this task force was to work in conjunction to reduce Europe's dependence on Russian natural gas by diversifying their supply chain, despite the challenges presented by import and export restrictions. President Biden has continued to support this collective effort to assist Europe in lessening their reliance on Russian natural gas, recognizing the significance of energy security in sustaining a stable network of alliances.

5.2. Embracing international institutionalism

In liberal internationalism logic, the United States should join other countries to find a collective policy to solve collective problems. Global cooperation requires effective international institutions. Therefore, America should cooperate with international organizations and support these international bodies and laws (Callahan, 2004: 94). Because the increasing effectiveness of international institutions enhances

the capacity of the international community to deal with the problems of global interdependence, the development of multinational institutions is considered a national interest of the United States (Ibid, 99).

Former US President Donald Trump did not have a favorable view of international institutions and organizations. This issue led to the weakening of US-led international institutions and bodies. Upon entering the White House, Biden announced Washington's determination to renew its role in international institutions and restore America's credibility in the international community.

Biden's administration took immediate steps to re-engage with international institutions and agreements from which Trump's administration had withdrawn. On January 20, 2021, the administration submitted a new document to United Nations to accept the Paris Agreement on climate change: Put an end to the US withdrawal from the World Health Organization (WHO). On January 21, the United States announced that it is participating in the international distribution of the COVID-19 vaccine, known as COVAX. On the other hand, the United States rejoined the United Nations Human Rights Council after a three-year hiatus. The decision reverses former President Donald Trump's withdrawal from the council, which was based on allegations of bias against Israel and a lack of reform.

5.3. Environmentalism at the forefront

Biden's energy policy is fundamentally grounded in environmental considerations. It is essential to have a thorough understanding of the specific environmental considerations that shape Biden's domestic and foreign policy agendas to fully comprehend the intricacies of his administration's energy policy and the underlying logic of internationalism that informs it. Biden administration's foreign policy objectives in the realm of energy are inextricably linked to its approach to environmental issues, with environmental considerations playing a pivotal role in shaping the administration's energy policy.

Joe Biden made a promise to lead America toward clean energy sources with zero greenhouse gas emissions during his election campaign (Mitchell, Lyman, and Williamson, 2021). On different occasions, he emphasized the importance of developing clean and renewable energy sources that can guarantee a more sustainable future.

The current administration has a different stance on environmental considerations compared to the previous administration. They view environmental considerations as opportunities for employment and economic growth, rather than impediments. The administration aims to transition to a clean energy economy and create new jobs in the process. The plan includes investing in clean energy infrastructure, creating jobs in industries such as wind and solar power, and incentivizing private companies to reduce their carbon footprint. The transition to a clean energy economy is a complex task, but the administration is committed to engaging in it.

President Biden has made it clear that he is committed to regaining international leadership in the fight against climate change (ATA, 2021). He believes that the United States must lead the way in this effort. On his first day in the White House, Biden signed an executive order to rejoin the Paris Climate Agreement. Revoking the presidential permit for Keystone XL pipeline expansion, tightening the approval process for pipeline infrastructure, suspending new drilling contracts, allocating \$400 billion to research and develop key clean energy sources, and imposing further restrictions are among the important actions Biden took.

Biden's climate plan places a special emphasis on the decarbonization of the transportation sector, which is responsible for 28% of the US carbon emissions. The key components of this plan include:

1. Reconstructing America's infrastructure, including roads, bridges, green spaces, water systems, electricity grids, and universal broadband;
2. Investing in automobile infrastructure, including 500,000 electric vehicle charging stations, supporting vehicle electrification;
3. Cleaning up local economies from the impacts of resource extraction including, abandoning and reclaiming millions of oil and gas wells;
4. Providing a quality public transportation system for all municipalities with more than 100,000 people by 2030;
5. Increasing electrification for railway systems and its development, especially among the main metropolises;
6. Achieving carbon net-zero power sector by 2035, including limiting natural gas without carbon capture utilization and storage (CCUS) (President-Elect Biden and the Clean Energy Revolution, 2020:2–17).

5.4. The intersection of energy and geopolitics

The war in Ukraine posed a significant challenge to President Biden's environmentally conscious agenda. The conflict precipitated a dramatic increase in oil prices both domestically and on a global scale. This development prompted Republicans to demand a reversal of Biden's energy policies. Furthermore, the elevated cost of energy engendered reluctance among consumers to support initiatives aimed at curbing greenhouse gas emissions.

While Biden administration's clean energy policies have garnered widespread acclaim from environmentalists, they have also elicited criticism from those who contend that they impede US oil and gas production and undermine US–European allies. Critics assert that these policies will precipitate elevated energy costs and job losses within the US, as well as an augmented reliance on foreign oil. Moreover, some have posited that these policies will jeopardize the US's relationships with European nations dependent on American oil and gas exports.

President Biden encountered difficulties in reconciling his environmentalist approach with considerations pertaining to energy security. On the one hand, his administration has demonstrated a steadfast commitment to transitioning the US toward renewable energy sources in an effort to mitigate climate change and diminish the country's reliance on fossil fuels. On the other hand, the administration is aware of the paramount importance of energy security, which entails ensuring a dependable and cost-effective supply of energy for Americans. This challenge has been intensified by the crisis in Ukraine, which has precipitated a sharp increase in oil prices and engendered apprehension regarding potential energy shortages.

In an effort to stabilize prices and manage the crisis, Biden's administration took the unprecedented step of releasing 30 million barrels of oil from the US strategic reserves (www.business-standard.com, 2022). While this move was seen as a departure from the administration's clean energy priorities, it underscores the complex challenges of balancing environmentalism with energy security concerns in an increasingly interconnected world.

6. Points of continuity

Despite the fact that the energy policies of Presidents Trump and Biden differ in terms of underlying principles and logics, there are also commonalities between their attitudes toward energy. Both Trump and Biden have sought to free the United States from its reliance on Middle Eastern energy sources. This could be a factor in the reason why both have decreased the U.S. military and security presence in the Middle East. Under Trump's administration, the U.S. adopted a policy of disengagement from the

Middle East, in large part, due to the Shale revolution, which presented the U.S. with a sense of autonomy in its foreign policy. Biden administration's continued policy of disengagement was also influenced by the US shale revolution, which has allowed the US to pursue greater autonomy in its foreign policy goals. The US shale revolution provided the US with greater energy independence, allowing it to reduce its reliance on foreign oil and focus more on its global interests.

Delving deep into the national security strategy (2017; 2022) of both Biden's and Trump's administrations demonstrates that they share a belief in the leadership role of the United States in the energy sector. While President Biden has emphasized the need to galvanize the world and incentivize further action toward a clean energy future, Trump's focus was on promoting American energy dominance through increasing domestic oil and gas production. Despite their differing approaches, both policies recognized the critical role of energy in American security and prosperity. Trump believed that America's central position in the global energy system as a leading producer, consumer, and innovator was the key to achieving energy dominance, while Biden prioritized renewable energy and reducing carbon emissions through investing in clean energy infrastructure. The debate over the best approach to energy policy will likely continue for years to come, but the importance of energy to American security and prosperity for both presidents is undeniable.

Finally, the last area where both Biden's and Trump's administrations found common ground was in their recognition of China as a major threat to US energy dominance. The rising global power was seen as a significant security issue when it came to energy, so both presidents recognized the need for the US to put pressure on China. This included working with transatlantic allies to counterbalance China's influence in the energy sector, a strategy endorsed by both administrations. While differing in their specific approaches to energy policy, Biden and Trump both agreed on the importance of addressing China's growing presence in the energy sector to safeguard American security and prosperity.

7. Conclusions

The present work undertook an exploration of the theoretical logics that have shaped US energy policy between 2017 and 2022, during Trump's and Biden's administrations. The authors contend that Trump's energy policy was driven by a quest for hegemony based on the logic of supremacy, whereas Biden's policy embraced a multilateral orientation based on liberal internationalism that integrated environmental and climate concerns with America's economic aspirations. The study provided an in-depth analysis of the energy policies of both administrations, emphasizing their key differences and similarities.

The authors underscored the importance of theoretical and conceptual frameworks in energy policy-making, providing policymakers with a comprehensive understanding of the complex energy market environment and the interrelationship between different components. By incorporating these frameworks at a subconscious and conscious level, policymakers can develop coherent and effective energy policies that address the challenges of the energy sector.

Moreover, the authors demonstrated that energy policy-making is a critical aspect of maintaining America's global dominance, as policymakers in the White House recognize its significance. Energy is inextricably linked to national security, making it a crucial element in the country's foreign policy. Thus, decision-makers in national security and foreign policy circles are involved in formulating energy policies and monitoring their effectiveness.

Additionally, the current work highlighted that the theoretical logics driving the US foreign policy have implications for American energy policy beyond foreign policy, thereby affecting various domains, including energy. Trump's administration energy policy was characterized by a unilateral approach that

undermined multilateral efforts to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and weakened international institutions. In contrast, Biden's energy policy is grounded in environmental considerations and characterized by a multilateral approach that emphasizes cooperation with other countries and international institutions.

In summary, this work provided a comprehensive analysis of the theoretical logics that have shaped US energy policy from 2017 to 2022. The authors demonstrated that these logics play a crucial role in understanding the country's approach to energy strategies and have significant implications beyond foreign policy, affecting various domains, including energy. This paper highlighted the importance of incorporating theoretical and conceptual frameworks in energy policy-making and emphasized the need for policymakers to develop coherent and effective energy policies that address the challenges of the energy sector.

Based on our analysis of the energy policies of Trump's and Biden's administrations, it is likely that American energy policies over the next 20 years will continue to be shaped by a multilateral approach that integrates environmental and climate concerns with America's economic aspirations. Policymakers will likely recognize the importance of incorporating theoretical and conceptual frameworks in energy policy-making to develop coherent and effective policies addressing the energy sector's challenges. Additionally, decision-makers in national security and foreign policy circles will continue to be more involved in formulating energy policies due to the critical role that energy plays in maintaining America's global dominance and national security.

Nomenclature

ATA	Annual threat assessment
CCUS	Carbon capture utilization and storage
COP	Conference of the parties
COVAX	COVID-19 vaccines global access
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
GDP	Gross domestic product
JCPOA	Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action
NSS	National security strategy
ODNI	Office of the director of national intelligence
UNHRC	United Nations Human Rights Council
US–EU Energy Security Task Force	United States–European Union Energy Security Task Force
WHO	World Health Organization

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