Crisis, the environment and Avosetta

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There is little doubt that the EU is in a crisis, for reasons whichneednot be analyzed here. EU environmental policy is impacted by this, as the EU largely abandoned the ideatoadopt environmental legislation - apart from climate change/energy-related measures - and to ensure the application of EU environmentallaw.

The reason, whythis has an influence of Member States environmental policy and law, lies in the fact that numerous States did not develop a national environmental policy, contrary to the basic supposition of the TFEU. They rather relied on the EU legislation and its implementation. This fundamental deficiency remains the main challenge for the present.

Environmental law-making at EU level remains popular in the EU. The last Eurobarometer of December 2016 indicated that more than seventy percent of the EU populationwere in favour of more environmental decisions being taken at EU level. If one looks at the election programmes of the French and the Dutch extreme right parties, they both attribute a positive value to the environment andare infavour of protecting it. It is true, though, that both think of the environment in purely national limits, without cooperation, joint venturing etc. Consequently, both oppose the Paris Agreement onclimate change, Wildersdenying that a sensitive man-made impact on climate exists.

I see three mainreasons, why environmental law and policy are in a difficult situation at present. Thesethree elements are closely interconnected and intertwined.

- (1)The environment is an interest without a group;
- (2) The provisions adopted are not applied;
- (3)In the conflict between vested economic interests and general environmental interests, politicians and decision-takers favoureconomic interests.
- (1) The environment is an interest without a group

In differenceto other societal interests - competition (competitors), transport (transporters), energy (energy companies) social affairs(tradeunions, worker-voters, pensionists), agriculture(farmers) - the environment hasno social groupbehindit, and noinfrastructure - creditors, newspapers, media, academics, institutes - which is systematically supporting it and which vote. Environmental NGOs are too weak to fill this role; theystruggle for obtaining income, campaign to obtain attention, concentrate therefore on actualities, have fewcommunication tools and are alltoo oftennot professional.

The result is obvious: numerouslegislative initiativeswhich are useful for society, are not followed by environmentallyminded groups (NGOs, academics, journalists). Examples are noise legislation (120 millioninthe EU suffer from excessive noise levels), air pollution (430.000 in the EU die prematurely per yeardue to air pollution), flooding, soil erosion, desertification etc. Biodiversity loss creeps on, but is

accepted, in almost all Member State, as the priceto payforprogress. The dieselgate scandal,where much too much NOx - perhaps also of CO² - is blown into the air from 11.5 million cars, istypical for thelack of continued, "sustainable" interest inenvironmental issues.

The 6th or 7th EU environmental actionprogrammes, adopted with the agreement of all 28 Member States, do not find anybody at national level, who pushesfortheir - national, but also EU-wide - implementation; they are seen as "their" (EUs) programmes. And as there is hardly a national environmental protection policy or an environmental action programme in any of the 28 Member States, no driver exists to pushfor more national or EU measures (nanotechnology, endocrine disruptors, heavy metals etc). All action plans initiated by the EU suffer from this absence of drivers (biodiversity action plan, noise action plans, marine water plan, flooding plansetc).

(2) The provisions adopted are not applied

Elephants and tigers, seal pups and eagles attract attention, and might stimulate the adoption and/or application of legislation. Other legislationdoes not obtain the same attention. Civil society is ready to leave the application of environmental lawto the public authorities, but does not want to know, what happens, when public authorities on ot ensure the application of that legislation. Nothing undermines the credibility of a government more than rules which are not applied.

When Member States adhere to the EU, they have to takeover the *acquiscommunautaire*, and in order to get the entrance ticket to the EU, theydoso (SI,HR, Macedonia, Montenegro, Albania, Turkey etc). But environmental legislation in the statute books deadletter, as long as it is not applied.

The non-application of existing provisions is the biggest problem of environmental law within the EU and its Member States - and very probably also beyond (international agreements).

Everybody - eventhe populist far right orfar left parties - agrees that the environment should be protected, that there should be clean air and clean water, unpolluted food, no waste, no noise and adequate protection of species and habitats. The devil, though, is in the details: the limited number of provisions is poorly applied, and the monitoring of application is left in the hands of public authorities, who are not always keen to ensure application. Public environmental opinion hardly exist and is silenced by louder economic voices.

(3) Politicians favour the economy over the environment

Intheconflict between economic interests (agriculture, urbansprawl, industrial pollution, infrastructuredevelopment) and environmental interests, theenvironment is almost alwaystheloser. Politicians look at persons and groups who have the money. Populist politicians (Orban, Trump, Erdogan, Wilders) are not anydifferent, though perhaps theylook also at voters, inorder to consolidate their power. In energy, transport, competition and othersectors, theprotection of the environment is normally seen as an obstacle (EIA, habitat, court procedures). Already the legislation is drafted in a waywhich allows conflicts to be solved in favour of economic interests. Access to the ear of decision-makers is easier for vested interest defenders, and their allies in administration, parliaments, advisory and scientific bodies do the rest. This also applies to the question, whether new legislation should be adopted. At EU Member State level, peoplelook at the EU. At EU level, politicians see themselves more as the defender of big business and free trade than as defender of the environment, which they consider an obstacle.

Where to go from here

Lawyers try to interpret the rules. Environmental lawyers should try to change them, inorder to preserve theenvironment.

The protection and preservation of theenvironment is, inEurope, very largely put into the hands of public authorities. Publicauthorities therefore hold most of the information on the state of the environment, threats, impairments, the needfor changes or improvements, in their hands. However, the public authorities are neither the owner nor the trustee of the environment. The environment is everybody's, it is a common interest. The first democratic requirement must therefore be that "the cloak of secrecy" (judge Weeramantry) which surrounds impairments of the environment, be taken away - much beyond the present grant of access to information which is constructed more than an act of grace than a duty of administrations. This refers to emissions, products, installations (nuclear waste), negotiations (TTIP) datafor new legislation, data on existing structures, activities, etc.

Environmental lawyers have a professional obligation to raise their voice, when the environment is impaired and in particular, when provisions to protect theenvironment are not applied. They are not to sit in their corner contemplating and wait, until they areasked to interpret this or that provision of (environmental) law. Teaching students is important, yet insufficient, as this will bring students into the apathy (wait and see) situation. The environment has novoice. It is upto environmental lawyers togive it a voice.

This inevitably leadsto controversies, if not to more, with publicauthorities which loveto cooperate with environmental lawyers, provided they align to the approach which publicauthorities took with regard to the environment. Public money might be taken away from environmental lawyers, who raise their voice, and other disadvantages might occur. However, protecting the environment against polluters and administrative and political inertia is, at the end of the day, the objective for which environmental lawyers are paid for - and stand for.

The White Book questions

Following the Commission's White Book on the future of the EU, the Avosetta group might wish to discuss, whether there should be more environmental protection measures being taken at EU level, whether the present approach is more or less right, or whether there should be less measures taken. Two things need to be underlined, though: the environmental sector allows already at present to advance with different speed (Article 193 TFEU). And the taking of measures goes hand in hand with the effective enforcement of measures. Indeed, nothing undermines the credibility of government more than provisions that are not applied.

(a) Doing more

In the area of water protection, the need for doing more might refer to the discharge of heavy metals and toxics into water, of agricultural residues (phosphates, nitrates), to water scarcity (perhaps more a problem of enforcement in some countries), flood protection and to the protection of marine waters. As regards air pollution, enforcement is the key problem: This might require more emission limit values for pollutants from (road and air) transport. Climate change needs the non-fossil energy sector, together with energy saving (efficiency) measures. Product regulation needs to address nanos and endocrine disruptors and become more systematic and quicker with regard to restrictions. Pesticides appear to require more a change in agricultural policy than in product regulation. In the

area of biodiversity, EU legislation did not stop the slow, progressive decline of biodiversity in Europe. Waste, noise and industrial installations are more an enforcement issue.

The biggest environmental challenges lie in the policy area: transport, agriculture, energy, trade, development policy, climate change.

(b) Doing less

Competence for most environmental issues - except product regulation - couldprobably be returned to Member States, without making environmental objectives unachievable. The problem is the absence of national environmental policy and environmental enforcement policy. When different national provisions apply in practice (drinking water, species protection, waste management) cooperation will not be made easier and the stricter rules will also be combated with the argument, that they are not necessary. Also relocation might, in medium term, become an argument.