

How will leaving the EU affect UK transport? Key issues



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Preface

Following the outcome of the 2016 EU Referendum the UK Government is preparing to leave the EU and negotiate a new relationship with its European partners. As it does so, the Government needs to meet several major challenges including working out exactly what positions to take in the negotiations, the need for transitional arrangements, and the future legal relationship with the EU, all the while protecting the economy and all those living and working in the UK.

While much discussion has focused on the economic impacts of leaving the EU, the Independent Transport Commission (ITC) has been exploring further the implications for transport and land use in order to ensure that policymakers take into account the needs of these industries in their negotiations. The transport sector is a major contributor to the UK economy, with its direct economic value estimated at £60 billion annually, and the connectivity it provides helps to underpin virtually every other industry as well as the lives of millions of people in the UK. In discussions on leaving the EU so far, the importance of transport has been seriously underplayed, but if this is to be a success, securing effective agreements on transport will be essential.

Following a formal consultation with our corporate supporters to identify key considerations, we have compiled this paper to raise awareness of the major concerns and issues that need to be taken into account from the perspectives of the transport industry. The paper covers issues relating to both passenger and freight transport. We commend these findings to the Government and recommend these issues are considered carefully in preparation for the negotiations ahead.

Dr Matthew Niblett

Director, Independent Transport Commission

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The ITC would also like to record its gratitude to all its Core Benefactors, a list of whom can be found on the main ITC website. Note that the views expressed in this paper represent perspectives gathered in the ITC consultation and should not necessarily be taken as the collegiate view of the Commission.



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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background

- 1.1.1 Following the outcome of the 2016 EU Referendum the UK Government is preparing to leave the EU and negotiate a new relationship with its European partners. As it does so, the Government needs to meet several major challenges including working out what positions to take in the negotiations, the need for transitional arrangements, and the future legal relationship with the EU, all the while protecting the UK economy and those living in the UK.
- 1.1.2 While much discussion has focused on the economic impacts of leaving the EU, the Independent Transport Commission (ITC) has been exploring further the implications for transport and land use, in order to ensure that policymakers take into account the needs of these industries in their negotiations. Transport is essential for the UK as the enabler of connectivity for people and goods connectivity that underpins virtually every other industry as well as the lives of millions of citizens. It is also a major set of industries in its own right, generating more than £60bn annually for the UK economy as well as a significant supporter of employment, including in high-tech and highly skilled industries. In discussions around leaving the EU so far, the importance of transport has been seriously underplayed, but if this process is to be a success then securing effective agreements on transport will be absolutely essential.
- 1.1.3 Following a formal consultation earlier in 2017 with our supporters to identify key considerations, we have compiled this paper to raise awareness within Government, with policymakers, and within the transport and land use sector of the major concerns and issues that need to be taken into account to help ensure the smoothest possible transition.

1.2 The process of leaving the EU

- 1.2.1 The first step in the negotiations is to agree an exit process with the EU following the triggering of Article 50 by the UK Government in March 2017. These talks started in June 2017 and are projected to continue for a period of at least 18 months. The exit process needs to be agreed and ratified by the UK and the EU member states before 29 March 2019, which is the date at which the UK will cease to be a member of the EU unless all member states agree otherwise.
- 1.2.2 Key issues to consider include the need for transitional arrangements while a more comprehensive deal is reached with the EU, which many experts predict could take many years, as well as the question of how to incorporate existing EU laws onto the UK statute book in order to allow for a seamless transition. The Government has now (as of July 2017) introduced the 'Repeal Bill' as a means of achieving this.



- 1.2.3 Matters to address include both shorter term issues, such as how to deal with border controls and customs arrangements, as well as longer term issues, including opportunities for replacing existing regulations alongside whether and how to participate in EU funding schemes.
- 1.2.4 The purpose of this paper is to ensure that the key needs and concerns of the UK transport industry are properly considered and addressed in the negotiations. The responses to the ITC consultation suggested that key considerations are grouped around four key areas: the movement of people and goods, funding and financing schemes associated with the EU, regulations and standards, and passenger rights. The structure of this paper reflects these headings.

Chapter 2: Cross Border Movements

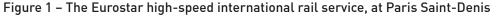
2.1 Introduction

- 2.1.1 The future of cross-border movements of goods and people to and from the EU are issues of central concern to the industry. Such movements involve a number of aspects. Currently, as a full member of the European Single Market the United Kingdom participates in the four freedoms of the European Union, guaranteeing the free movement of labour, goods, capital and services across the member countries. These freedoms are enshrined in section 3 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU), also known as the Lisbon Treaty, to which the UK is a signatory.
- 2.1.2 The rights associated with the freedom of movement and residence for persons is part of the *acquis communautaire* (accumulated body of law) of the European Union. These prohibit discrimination in the labour market on the basis of EU nationality, and allow citizens to move freely among and reside in member states. In the case of the UK this has resulted in EU workers forming a substantial part of the labour market. The free movement of goods is achieved through a customs union within the EU and selected other states, allowing goods to move across borders between member countries without customs duties or discriminatory taxation. In practical terms this also creates a common customs policy that all EU members apply to imports entering the market from outside, as well as common standards and regulations to which goods must confirm.
- 2.1.3 The practical effect of these freedoms has enabled cross border movements within the EU to be seamless and have reduced bureaucracy and red tape. What happens to these freedoms after the UK leaves the EU is an open question. These issues cross the various transport and logistics industry sectors, with impacts on airports and airlines as well as seaports, the railway and international road haulage, all of which will have to deal with changes in the movement of both goods and people when the UK leaves the EU. For example, the re-introduction of tariffs and non-tariff barriers could result in higher export costs to and from the UK, and could risk reducing the UK's competitiveness in the pan-European tourism market by increasing the inconvenience of travelling to and from the UK. On the other hand, it also provides an opportunity for the UK to set its own favourable tariff arrangements aimed at improving the UK's competitiveness in international trade.
- 2.1.4 Cross border movements will remain a significant area of uncertainty until replacement arrangements are made and this itself may lead to investors in the UK reviewing their future investment strategies, which could affect the timing and quantum of both infrastructure and development projects. The key areas of concern for transport fall into the movement of people, the movement of goods, and the possible impact of tariff and non-tariff barriers.



2.2 People

- 2.2.1 In the immediate term, after the UK exits the EU, there were a number of concerns raised by respondents to the ITC consultation around increased passport checks and longer processing times during immigration controls that may act as a deterrent to visitors from the EU27 and make the UK seem like an unwelcoming destination. This would be damaging for the UK's reputation abroad at a time when we want to demonstrate to visitors that the country is open for business and tourism. Since airports are the principal point of entry for nearly three-quarters of overseas visitors to the UK, increased checks on EU27 travellers is something that would have a disproportionate impact on airport operations.
- 2.2.2 In addition, another important requirement is the need to facilitate sharing the data of individuals between EU27 countries and the UK, including 'right to travel' checks, exit checks, itinerary and customs checks. Without continued cooperation, the use of e-gates, a valuable and proven tool to speed passengers through airports and international stations, would be lost. It would be of great benefit for the UK to continue this arrangement, including for any transitional arrangements as we complete negotiations.
- 2.2.3 Increased restrictions on the movement of travellers between the UK and EU27 countries would also affect international rail connections via Eurotunnel and High Speed 1. At present immigration controls are coordinated with partner countries on the continent, and the continuance of such cooperation is essential to avoid delays and placing the success of Eurostar and Eurotunnel in jeopardy. By permitting countries to have Border Control functions undertaken at the point of departure prior to travel (such as at Gare du Nord), the checking process can be undertaken there rather than exporting problems to the





point of arrival. Permitting people to travel without these checks having been done could import a security risk onto the train itself and also leave the arrival station with the duties of retention, holding and deportation. This would therefore import a need for space and station redesign, processing time and resources to facilitate the detention of individuals, all of which would be costly.

- 2.2.4 A related issue, but not strictly part of the Brexit negotiations, is whether the Le Touquet Treaty would cease to be enforced (as has been mooted by President Macron). This could cause serious operational disruption to freight and passenger services accessing the Channel Tunnel. The Le Touquet Treaty is an international treaty between Belgium, France and the United Kingdom whereby immigration checks are conducted before boarding Eurostar, Eurotunnel and ferry services rather than after disembarkation. This issue should be resolved between the respective governments as soon as possible.
- 2.2.5 In the longer term, a key issue for the transport industry is the effect of changing migration laws for EU27 citizens on the labour market. Sections of the transport industry rely heavily on EU27 workers to fill vacancies and plug skill and labour shortages. Areas affected include the supply chain, warehousing, infrastructure construction and vehicle driving. In the short term, policy needs to be carefully considered to avoid serious disruption and under-staffing.
- 2.2.6 A different concern raised by the industry was the potential for restrictions on EU27 labour to have an adverse impact on employment levels, with Brexit potentially reducing access to talent from the EU27, particularly in the STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) sectors. While there have recently been some efforts by the Government to address serious skills shortages in the UK labour market, for example through the creation of the High Speed Rail College and the introduction of T-levels, this will take many years to work through, and restrictions on EU27 workers could compromise infrastructure and railway programmes in the future. It was the view of many respondents to the ITC consultation that the advantages gained from the existing migration policy should be maintained in any new migration system, in order to ensure that UK businesses do not lose out to global competition in terms of innovation and productivity.
- 2.2.7 Concerns were also expressed by industry respondents about possible restrictions on student numbers from the EU27 and the impact this would have on UK universities in terms of their funding streams, quality of research and the ability to convince talented overseas graduates to remain in the UK after graduation. Given that EU27 student applications to UK universities has already fallen by 7% since the referendum, efforts must be redoubled to prevent the uncertainties experienced by European residents, which could deter many talented EU students from studying in the UK. Some suggested that the UK Government considers removing students from any future immigration target.



2.2.8 Restrictions on EU27 citizens and existing freedom of movement rights were also considered to be a potential cause of EU27 workers departing the UK. Recent statistics have shown a dramatic rise in EU citizens leaving Britain. A more restrictive skilled migrants system could also influence the attitude of immigrants who may be concerned about future restrictions on the type of employment they can secure and the length of stay they are entitled to. In the long term, the industry hopes that the UK Government will adopt a migration system that minimises costs and bureaucracy for employers and allows them to fill skills gaps or transfer employees across borders when needed. This is particularly important in areas such as the railway supply industry that operates at a pan-European level with staff readily moving between EU countries and production plants today.

2.3 Goods

- 2.3.1 At present the movement of goods across borders within the EU is swift and subject to the freedoms permitted in the TFEU. These freedoms are secured through the elimination of customs duties and quantitative restrictions, as well as through the principles of common standards, mutual recognition and the elimination of technical barriers. Many respondents to the ITC consultation stressed the importance of retaining as many of these facilitating measures as possible, with the overarching goal being goods through customs cleared on arrival, with intervention only by exception. This is already the established practice in UK ports trading with non-EU countries and it is hoped that it could be achieved in any future relationship with the EU27.
- 2.3.2 In addition to the fluid movement of goods across borders, it is important to recognise that modern supply chain management and imports across all sectors, for example, work to 'just in time' principles with components arriving very shortly before they are used. This process allows companies to work with very limited inventory, and ensures that they can operate efficiently and economically. Additional checks and delays on components crossing the UK border into and out of EU27 countries would require companies to carry additional inventory and have a negative impact on their capital. Some respondents to the ITC consultation noted that such impositions could create additional costs, forcing companies either to employ suitably skilled agencies to deal with customs paperwork and clearance, or to increase their own capability in this field, which would ultimately impact on their bottom line with no business benefits.
- 2.3.3 For UK seaports, many of their shorter-term concerns surround customs clearance. For example, trade at deep-sea global ports such as Southampton already operates smoothly due to well-established and technologically advanced systems and processes, which are used when dealing with goods moving to and from non-EU countries. There are more practical issues for ports such as Dover, which trade almost exclusively with the EU. Ports could learn from experiences and existing systems could be adapted for the purposes of EU trade. However, in instances where the EU trade is based on supply chains with relatively

short lead times, some further development and enhancement of these processes may be needed. We recommend that work to overcome this issue begin immediately to ensure that the UK is prepared for an efficient transition to trading with European partners as a non-member of the EU.

- 2.3.4 Some have suggested that leaving the EU presents an opportunity for the Government to introduce new and enhanced mechanisms to increase the attractiveness of UK port locations for manufacturing and development. For example, if the UK leaves the customs union it will have more leeway to establish free ports. Free Ports are areas that, although inside the geographic boundary of a country, are considered outside the country for customs purposes. This means that goods can enter and re-exit the port without incurring usual import procedures or tariffs, thereby creating incentives for local manufacturing. Proponents of free ports suggest that these have been successful in the US as a means of increasing manufacturing output, promoting trade, and rejuvenating areas of industrial and economic decline. However, some have noted the risks of the secrecy at free ports being exploited to store high value artifacts from crime or the black market, as has happened in Geneva.
- 2.3.5 Aviation is a particularly important sector for the UK economy, contributing over £50 billion to UK GDP and more than £8 billion of tax revenue.² For the UK's airports, it is paramount for their continued success that a new UK-EU air service agreement is negotiated as a matter of priority during the process of negotiating withdrawal from the EU. Failure to agree



Figure 2 - Freight trucks arriving at the Port of Dover

² Economic Benefits from Air Transport in the UK, (Oxford Economics, 2014)



For an advocate of this scheme, see Rishi Sunak MP, The Free Ports Opportunity (CPS, 2016)

a new air services agreement would seriously disrupt important trade, travel and tourism links for the UK. Air freight represents about 40% of imports and exports by value, and ITC research has shown that international air connectivity is particularly important for the most productive firms in the UK economy.³ Aviation needs to be treated separately from trade agreements: comprehensive air services agreements are the pre-condition for the success of trade deals. Any agreement should aim to replicate the benefits of membership of the Single Aviation Market in a new format, in light of the fact that the UK was the driving force behind its creation. It should also replicate in new agreements the traffic rights enjoyed by UK airlines under the EU's multilateral aviation agreements. Failure to do so could severely limit UK aviation's – and by extension the UK economy's – ability to generate jobs and economic growth. It could also result in increased costs to the consumer and risk-reduced connectivity, particularly from smaller airports. Further discussion of the importance of common aviation agreements can be found in section 4.4 below.

- 2.3.6 In the longer term, unhindered access to the EU aviation market was thought to be essential by a number of aviation industry respondents to the ITC consultation. The benefits that have been derived from an open aviation market to passengers, businesses and the UK economy were widespread, and included increased competition, lower fares, and improved connectivity, leading to improved growth and jobs. A more restricted aviation market would place these benefits at risk and could even result in less revenue for the UK Government in tax (due to declining revenues from Air Passenger Duty if passenger numbers fall).
- 2.3.7 The impact on road freight must also be considered, since such traffic transports more than 85% of what we eat, drink, wear or build. Under existing EU agreements simplified processes mean that it is as straightforward to ship goods to Manchester from Milan as from Margate. This will change after leaving the EU and a significant risk exists for supply chains that deal with exports and imports by road if new customs controls are imposed at border points. The Road Haulage Association (RHA) has recently called for a comprehensive Land Transport Agreement between the UK and EU that would allow unfettered road haulage for licensed operators across the UK and EU to continue. Such an agreement would also help to maintain vehicle standards and avoid lengthy checking processes. Without seamless customs across ports and borders it is feared that massive queues of lorries could build up at UK ports, causing time sensitive goods to deteriorate alongside potential knock on effects on production.
- 2.3.8 Although international rail freight has a small market, share this has been growing fast and is anticipated to continue in the future particularly for high value and time sensitive imports and exports. The Channel Tunnel infrastructure has interoperability with European systems and a simplified process for managing goods from the EU is in operation. It is important that the UK Government tries to minimize any additional complexity that a new customs arrangement would have for rail freight going directly via the Channel Tunnel.

⁴ See Road Haulage Association, Proposal for a UK/EU Land Transport Agreement (May 2017). https://www.rha.uk.net/getattachment/0d6ca29b-8245-4daf-8d52-0f3ee02d12e0/RHA-EU-LTA.pdf



³ Rebecca Driver, Time to Act: the economic consequences of failing to expand airport capacity (ITC, 2015)

2.4 Tariffs and non-tariff barriers

- 2.4.1 Leaving the EU Customs Union would entail the return of tariffs and non-tariff barriers (including rules of origin procedures and VAT payments) until such time as a new Free Trade Agreement can be reached. A number of respondents expressed concern that such barriers, even if existing temporarily, would cause disruption for supply chains by causing new delays in transit.
- 2.4.2 Many sophisticated manufacturing processes in transport (such as aircraft and cars) are now highly international in nature, with specialist companies in different parts of Europe contributing towards the final products, and components moving between different countries sometimes several times. This is facilitated by the absence not merely of tariffs but also of paperwork at borders within the EU. To ensure that the UK continues to be able to participate fully in such advanced, sophisticated, high-added-value activities with our neighbours, it is essential to avoid introducing 'red tape' as well as tariffs as goods pass between the UK and the EU.
- 2.4.3 Of particular concern to firms working in this area was the potential increase in their cost base resulting from tariff and non-tariff barriers to the movement of goods and services. This includes, for some, the ability of EU27-based suppliers to bid competitively for contracts to operate services in the UK and the risk of those suppliers exiting the UK market (for procurement issues, see 4.2.3). The respondents would welcome the opportunity to avoid these barriers by reaching a new customs agreement with the EU27 as swiftly as possible, to prevent costs rising from delays in the system or the need to require more trucks and people. There was also recognition that this will be complicated to achieve in practice since achieving such an agreement rapidly with the EU27 is without precedent.



Chapter 3: Funding and Finance

3.1 Introduction

- 3.1.1 Leaving the EU will have implications for funding and financing in the transport sector. At present the UK's EU membership allows access to a wide range of funds to help projects and research programmes, as well as access to infrastructure finance from the European Investment Bank (EIB), whose shareholders are EU members. Indirect effects on financing could also result from changes in interest rates and credit ratings or to the UK's attractiveness as a destination for foreign investment depending on the economic consequences of withdrawal.
- 3.1.2 It is clear that the UK Government must make every effort to ensure that opportunities for funding research and financing infrastructure investment are not jeopardised in the wake of leaving the EU. Some of the funds that the UK currently contributes to EU funding mechanisms might be repatriated, although the UK would not then benefit from the leverage enjoyed by pooled resources from 28 nations.

3.2 Research and development funding

- 3.2.1 Funding for research and development is an important aspect of EU membership. The responses to the ITC consultation expressed concern that losing or reducing access to these resources could have a significant impact on the industry's efforts to bring innovation to the transportation industry in the UK. They noted the benefits to the UK of pan-European research and development collaboration. Some multi-national companies have the advantage of subsidiaries or other headquarters in the EU27, which would allow them continued access to these funding sources, although without the same direct benefits to the UK that currently exist. However, for those who do not have that option, they may be forced to look outside the UK for such support or suffer reduced competitiveness. In the longer term, the transportation industry in the UK will have to consider how it will work on collaborative research and innovation with European and international partners.
- 3.2.2 Within the British rail sector, for example, the Rail Research UK Association (RRUKA) is concerned not only about the loss of funding from Shift2Rail an EU policy that is aimed at materially improving the efficiency and competitiveness of the EU rail market but also about the general removal of innovation funding from the EU and their ability to continue with research projects. Similarly, another respondent to the ITC consultation currently partners with Universities and small enterprises on research and development in the UK, but this cooperation could be threatened if those bodies lose access to EU research and development funding. Given the 3-5 year focus of many research projects, transitional arrangements are likely to be vital to avoid stagnation in the meantime.

3.2.3 UK companies and Universities are often partners in a number of consortia on EU funded projects. The UK's Universities are world leaders in many fields relating to the transport sector, and frequently build these skills through research collaboration on EU funded projects. Strong connections between the private sector and academia are then fostered by this learning environment, helping to provide the advanced skills needed by the industry in areas such as aircraft design, automotive manufacturing and transport planning. However, this success is often dependent upon EU research funding and support and many Universities have stated that they would see a detrimental effect on their research work should this funding not be replaced in the interim and longer term. One option is that the UK Government seeks associate membership of the Horizon 2020 programme (see box below) or whatever succeeds it.

Horizon 2020

Horizon 2020 is the umbrella arrangement for accessing EU research funding of approximately €80bn over 7 years to 2020. This is the world's largest collaborative programme for research and innovation. The UK is an active participant with 14% of grants by number to EU participants as of September 2016 (16.4% of the funding to EU countries (€29bn) has been awarded to the UK).

Funding is awarded through competitive bidding and normally a consortium of at least 3 EU participant countries is required. There may be non-EU participants but the EU does not, in general, fund them.

Shift2Rail, which is a public private partnership between the European Commission (EC) and private sector train and component manufacturers and infrastructure managers, receives EU grant funding through Horizon 2020.

The Horizon 2020 programme provides a means of funding research and development consistent with the STTP. The EU's Strategic Transport Technology Plan (STTP) focuses on areas of transport research, of which rail, road, water and air transport are included. Research covers such things as the production of cleaner car and lorry engines, innovative technology for small aircraft, IT applications to improve urban public transport, and improved maritime safety.

3.2.4 Responses from the transport industry to the ITC consultation have called on the Government to make a long-term commitment to filling any gaps in research and development funding that arise from withdrawal from the EU. This is essential to avoid a brain drain and to protect the UK's reputation as a global leader in new technology. In the longer-term, funding for innovation and research and development should be increased from current levels and should form a key part of the UK's industrial strategy.



3.3 Financing and investment

- 3.3.1 The UK has an excellent credit record and financing transport infrastructure on the international markets has not in recent years been a problem. However, the UK does currently benefit from some financing mechanisms that are contingent on EU membership, such as the European Investment Bank (EIB) (see box overleaf). Many of the consultation responses highlighted the damage that the potential loss of financing and investment could do to the UK transportation industry.
- 3.3.2 With EIB financing in particular, some respondents expressed concern that transport and infrastructure, including signalling projects, may be cancelled as a result of loss of access to EIB lending. A number of leading industry companies urged the UK to explore continued participation in the EIB lending programme and invited the Government to explore ways in which the UK could remain an EIB shareholder or, at the very least, remain eligible for EIB lending as a non-member. A number of respondents in the consultation stated that the EIB itself would like the UK to remain a member. Other major transport bodies noted that the loss of access to EIB financing would be significant as they currently have high levels of borrowing from EIB at rates that are more favourable than offered by the market or the UK Government. They would like to retain the ability to borrow directly from the EIB and if this will not be possible, they would like the UK Government to provide access to equivalent facilities.



Figure 3 - The European Investment Bank (EIB) Headquarters in Luxembourg

European Investment Bank (EIB)

The European Investment Bank (EIB) is the only bank both owned by and representing the interests of the EU Member States. The UK has a 16% shareholding in the Bank along with France, Germany and Italy as the largest member states. By pooling resources the member states' contributions are leveraged and result in lower interest rates than would be available commercially.

In 2016 EIB investment in the UK was €6.9bn, of which half was in infrastructure. Over the last five years €29bn has been invested in projects as diverse as Crossrail, the Thames Tideway Tunnel, London cycle routes, rolling stock and Underground line extensions. The UK (unlike some other EU countries) does not have its own development or infrastructure bank.

Its cost of fundraising and therefore interest rates are lower than commercial banks or government lending. Set up under the Treaty of Rome, withdrawal or continued membership of the EIB after Brexit will have to be negotiated as a key priority.

European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD)

The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) is a development bank that is owned by 65 countries, to which the EIB and EU are also subscribing members; however it is not an EU institution like the EIB. The UK has 8.6% of subscribed capital (approximately €2.5bn), which is the same level as France and Germany.

The EBRD initially focused on the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, but has extended its reach to Turkey, Mongolia, Jordan, Tunisia, and Morocco, and on a temporary basis to Greece and Cyprus.

- 3.3.3 Many respondents called on the Government to bring clarity to the issue of such financing options at the earliest possible opportunity. Assurances are sought that gaps in EU funding arrangements will be addressed to ensure that the UK can effectively deliver the infrastructure investment needed after it leaves the EU. Further clarity is also required for the future of the UK's involvement in collaborative projects such as Shift2Rail that make important contributions to the UK's economy.
- 3.3.4 In terms of the wider financing climate, it was noted that the UK would need to attract investment from new sources and/or risk the possible consequence of increased interest rates for infrastructure investment. One respondent noted that there may even be a greater role for the UK loan guarantees but this may be constrained by the UK Government continuing to run a large budget deficit, practical limits on national borrowing to safeguard



the UK's creditworthiness, and the likelihood of greater currency fluctuation (at least in the short term) due to uncertainties about the UK's economic future outside the EU.

3.4 Infrastructure projects and the CEF

- 3.4.1 The EU has also provided support for transport infrastructure projects through specially designated schemes, such as the Connecting Europe Facility (CEF) programme which supports trans-European network (TEN-T) projects in EU members states. This programme covers all major modes and is designed to improve trans-European transport infrastructure through the provision of grants as well as innovative financial products such as guarantees and loans for transport infrastructure projects. The CEF programme promotes and strengthens seamless transport chains for passenger and freight movements, and helps to remove bottlenecks that hamper the functioning of the single European market. It focuses mainly on cross-border networks and the UK has accessed it, for example, to strengthen road links from ports on the Irish Sea to mainland Europe.
- 3.4.2 Respondents noted that the loss of access to such funding for infrastructure projects, such as through the CEF programme, will vary a great deal depending on the nature and scale of individual projects. The UK's geographical position on the periphery of the continent of Europe has not made it a central contender for CEF grants to the same extent as some other countries. Yet where EU funding programmes have been shown to yield positive results for the industry and the wider economy, the industry is asking the UK Government to ensure such projects can be supported through alternative means. Supporting the need for long-distance transport corridors would benefit the UK's position as part of an international and intermodal freight network and our capability to export and import goods.

Figure 4 – The A55 North Wales expressway between Chester and the port of Holyhead in Anglesey, which was upgraded through the TEN-T funding programme



Chapter 4: Rules, Regulations and Standards

4.1 Introduction

- 4.1.1 The UK Government has the enormously complex task of converting the existing body of EU laws which currently affect our everyday life into UK laws subject to the respective jurisdictions of the courts of England and Wales, of Scotland and of Northern Ireland. This extends to the regulations and standards that stem from these laws. The most challenging part of this task is that the conversion needs to be effective on the day that the UK ceases to be a member of the EU. There will, over time, be separate legislative processes to repeal, change or adapt EU-derived legislation, but it will not be possible to do that at the outset. There will be exceptions such as the need for a customs bill to set up a UK customs regime if the UK leaves the customs union. One respondent to the ITC call for evidence noted that once outside the EU, the UK will have the opportunity to re-examine the policy and legislation that has been derived from the EU and potentially create a more efficient framework. However, this transition will take significant time and resources.
- 4.1.2 The mechanism through which this process will occur was set out in the Government's White Paper 'Legislating for the United Kingdom's withdrawal from the European Union' published on 30 March 2017, the day after the Article 50 notice was given. The proposal was for a single Act of the UK Parliament, known as the Repeal Bill, which was introduced to Parliament in July 2017.
- 4.1.3 The primary purpose of this legislation will be to repeal the European Communities Act 1972, which the UK legislated in order to join what has become the European Union (EU) and to then bring into UK law the content of EU Regulations and the body of European Court of Justice (ECJ) case law. The Repeal Bill is expected to provide for the use of secondary legislation to make necessary changes in situations where the ultimate enforcing body has been a European institution (such as the European Railways Agency) and a UK institution needs to be identified and substituted. EU Directives have already been enacted in the UK, but regulations are laws that take direct effect throughout the EU without separate legislation by the UK or any other member state.

Figure 5 - European Court of Justice (ECJ), left; UK Supreme Court, right





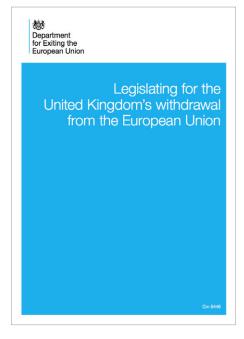


- 4.1.4 It will also be necessary to deal with EU-derived law which is on the statute book but has not yet been brought into force. We also must consider the effect of European Court of Justice (ECJ) decisions made in the future in relation to that existing body of EU law which has or will become UK law.
- 4.1.5 As many areas of transport law and regulation have already been devolved to the Scottish, Welsh and Northern Irish administrations, leaving the EU interface with the UK Parliament, the White Paper envisages frameworks for common approaches that the UK single market will continue to function. There may well be some disagreement or compromise as to how these will be dealt with under the Repeal Bill an issue that is recognised in the White Paper.
- 4.1.6 Transport organisations in the public and private sectors can therefore assume that there will be no immediate change to areas of general law such as employment, company, environment or procurement (although the secondary legislation will need to deal with substituting EU organisations or facilities for UK ones). Changes to competition law and state aids will be more immediate. We look at some of the issues raised in the ITC consultation and more generally in the following sections.

4.2 General law

- 4.2.1 The White Paper makes clear that the Government intends to maintain the existing framework of employment law protecting workers' rights, including giving status to relevant ECJ decisions. The position for environmental law is similar. EU Company law requirements are already embodied in UK companies' legislation and Companies House requirements.
- 4.2.2 Much of our environmental law is derived from EU law and in the White Paper the Government commits to its continuation in order to provide maximum certainty to businesses and stakeholders. Respondents have expressed concern that leaving the EU might remove some of the pressure to improve air quality (especially in London) and that any relaxation would adversely impact the quality of life and public health in London which would reduce the attractiveness of the city as a home, workplace

Figure 6 - The Government's White Paper on legislating for the UK's withdrawal from the EU



and tourist destination. The White Paper refers to the Government's overall commitment to improve the environment within a generation and to an output-driven legislative framework. There is recognition of the need to consult on future changes.

- 4.2.3 Procurement law, on the other hand, is more complex. Respondents to the ITC consultation are cautiously in favour of retaining the same procurement laws that currently apply, although there is some debate around more recent changes. It seems that such conformity would fit with World Trade Organisation (WTO) rules. There is a contrary desire to reduce time, complexity and cost borne by both procuring organisations and bidders. A number of ITC members participate in procurements in a number of EU27 countries and there is a pragmatic argument for UK law to stay in line with the EU27. There is a concern that UK companies will no longer benefit from the level playing field that EU Procurement Law encourages when bidding for public contracts in the EU27. For UK procuring authorities the level of competition and value for money may be reduced if EU style procurement law ceases to be applied. On the other hand, UK authorities may find it easier to discriminate in favour of the local market should the policy be to do this. However, this may have cost implications for business. It is assumed that requirements for UK procurements to be advertised in the Official Journal of the EU (OJEU) will cease and an alternative medium will be substituted using secondary legislation. Reciprocal transitional arrangements may be required for ongoing procurements or the UK parliament could legislate in respect of ongoing procurements within the jurisdiction.
- 4.2.4 Competition or anti-trust law, which impacts on many transport organisations, will change in the UK, although UK businesses along with other non-EU member businesses will remain subject to EU competition jurisdiction where their activities have an effect within the EU. A greater caseload will fall to the UK's Competition and Markets Authority (CMA). Merger control is currently within European Commission competence with references back to the UK in specific circumstances. This will change depending on the merger controls the UK decides to adopt with the likely consequences of both increasing the caseload of the CMA and subjecting businesses to investigation in both the EU and the UK.
- 4.2.5 Areas where 'block exemptions' currently apply in the EU with parallel exemptions in the UK (such as distribution and technology licences) will be expected to be subject to new UK legislation that will initially reflect the terms of the EU exemptions. For example, public transport operators take advantage of the Public Transport Ticketing Schemes Block Exemption, which enables the use of through-tickets and multi-operator travel cards.
- 4.2.6 It will be important for the Government to agree on transitional arrangements to deal with ongoing references and clearances already with the EU Competition Commission. Going forward there is potential for parallel investigations and less coordination between the EU and UK competition authorities.
- 4.2.7 State Aids may be one of the areas of EU law that the UK Government decides not to implement in the UK market. Subject to the Brexit negotiations, the UK will no longer have protection from the EU control on state aids applied to EU businesses whether competing in the EU27, the UK or elsewhere. On the other hand, the UK will be free to grant state aid



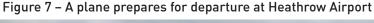
(subject to WTO rules where relevant) and will no longer be obliged to seek State Aids clearance in relation to projects that government may decide to support, as has been the case with a number of arrangements affecting the Channel Tunnel Rail Link (now HS1).

4.3 Sector-specific law

- 4.3.1 The body of EU derived railway law is not likely to change although some different UK institutions will need to be identified and substituted for EU institutions. The continued involvement of the UK rail industry in the development of interoperability including the development of technical standards (TSIs) is more problematic and examined below.
- 4.3.2 The situation for operators and users of our ports and airports will, however, be immediately affected by withdrawal from the single market and the customs union depending on what is put in their place. The aviation industry faces particular challenges. Some of the key issues of concern are examined in this chapter.

4.4 Aviation

4.4.1 According to Ministers, 35 separate pieces of EU legislation work together to make the EU's aviation single market. This is separate to the single market in goods and services, and continued membership for the UK — or alternatively transitional arrangements — will need to be negotiated. As a result of its membership UK airlines benefit from 42 Air Services





Agreements entered into by the EU with countries inside and outside the EU including the US and China. It is this 'open skies' arrangement that allows European majority-owned airlines to fly between places within any EU country (not only between the home country and another EU country).

- 4.4.2 The common regulator is the European Aviation Safety Agency (EASA) of which the UK is a proactive member encouraging pragmatic, risk-proportioned regulation. Some respondents to the ITC consultation envisage that the UK as a leading aviation state will continue to participate in all aspects of the EASA in respect of air traffic management safety standards, although there is a suggestion that compliance would be under domestic legislation rather than through the EASA. While recognising the benefits that the UK industry has brought to the European industry as a whole and to passengers, it is not easy to see how this continued participation will be achieved. There are concerns that without continued membership of EASA the UK could find itself subject to new EASA regulations that it is unable to influence.
- 4.4.3 Aviation industry respondents also expressed an interest in maintaining close cooperation with the EU on security matters as well as future border and visa arrangements. In addition, a key concern of the respondents was to press for continued membership of the European Single Aviation Market or some form of reconstructing it.

4.5 Rail

- 4.5.1 It is generally expected by respondents to the ITC consultation that the EU packages of legislation, which set the framework for the organisation and operation of the EU's railway system (eg. fundamental matters such as the separation of infrastructure management from train operations) and already form part of UK law, will continue undisturbed while they continue to reflect UK government policy. Our only international rail link, HS1, and operator, Eurostar, are expected to continue to be bound by the packages even if UK law were to change. The European timetabling arrangements will need to continue to apply to Eurostar and other international services on HS1 with a consequent effect on the UK domestic system timetable. It is notable that many of the rail franchise 'owning groups' are from the EU27 including Arriva DB, Abellio, and Keolis. Legislative changes may alter the attractiveness of the UK market to them.
- 4.5.2 It is important to recognise that the EU has put considerable effort over many years into the means of creating a competitive European-wide rail system (i.e. broadly, one that is interoperable and with a common approach to safety). In addition to extending the range of railway legislation improving and re-enacting it since the early 1990s, institutional development means that what is now the EU Agency for Railways (ERA) the successor to the European Rail Agency has EU-wide responsibility for implementation of the technical aspects of the railway legislation. This encompasses safety, specifications for interoperability



(TSIs), a common verification and authorisation process for infrastructure and rolling stock and a process for putting certain rail components (interoperability constituents) onto the market. Most rail industry manufacturers have standard products designed for supply across the whole EU in line with these requirements. So while all railway packages have been implemented in UK law, this may be an area where either primary or secondary UK legislation will be required. Subsequent variations in standards may result in 'UK specific' standards.

4.5.3 UK bodies such as the Railway Safety and Standards Board (RSSB) and the Office of Rail and Road (ORR) have national roles in implementation and enforcement and can continue to do so. As a national standards authority the ORR is currently subject to ERA audit and best practice is shared throughout European Railways. Government will need to consider with the industry the authority levels of each organisation.

International and European Standards

It may be useful to mention here (although the topic is much wider than rail or indeed transport) that separately from the International Standards Organisation (ISO) whose members are individual states (for example, Britain is a member through the British Standards Institute (BSI) and the other EU27 are members in their own right), in Europe there are three standards bodies that work very closely together: the European Committee for Standardisation or CEN, The European Committee for Electrotechnical Standardisation or CENELEC, and The European Telecommunications Standards Institute or ETSI.

These exist to develop European Standards in various areas in order to build the European market for goods and services. Currently the standards organisations of the EU28 and a number of European Economic Area (EEA) countries including Iceland, Norway and Switzerland are members as are Turkey and Macedonia. It is assumed by consultees that the UK will continue as a member but that cooperation with countries such as France and Germany will be weaker.

- 4.5.4 The main concerns expressed by the ITC's industry respondents relate to:
 - whether the UK would wish to or could remain within the authority of the ERA.
 - if it does not, involvement of the UK in the future in the continuing development of TSIs which takes place at an EU not a national level under the aegis of the ERA. It may be possible to influence through trade bodies but there is a general concern that influence will be lost and that this would be detrimental.
 - · whether the UK will retain existing standards and there is an assumption that, for



- example, the TSIs associated with the European Train Control System, which is being implemented for the mainline railway, would continue to be applied.
- the implications if the services/infrastructure that connect into HS1 are not subject to the same interoperability standard.
- there are doubts as to the UKs continued involvement in European Standards bodies (see International and European Standards box above).
- 4.5.5 The industry recognises that (1) the UK could simply adopt EU standards but would not wish to be excluded from involvement in future development, or that (2) new standards could be developed at a national level. The UK currently has a process for managing national standards alongside EU standards so this could continue. However, in a global industry such as rail there are many benefits in international or supra-national standards development that would be lost if the UK ceases to participate. According to one respondent, the interoperability regulations provide a useful framework when planning projects, providing the opportunity to source products from the widest possible range of suppliers internationally. For example rolling stock manufacturers currently manufacture to EU standards and requirements, at whole product (train) as well as subsystem (regenerative braking) level. If UK standards were different there would be a loss of economies of scale and cost would be increased, or some manufacturers may chose not to compete to supply the UK market. On the other hand not all the interoperability standards are well-adapted to the UK (such as the infrastructure loading gauge) and greater scope for derogations would be welcomed by some respondents.

4.6 Sea ports

4.6.1 As discussed elsewhere, the impact of changes in border controls, customs duties and tariffs will impact significantly on sea ports that currently deal exclusively with EU traffic. There is one area where respondents have united to object to the application of an EU regulation in



Figure 8 - The OOCL Korea ship docks at the Port of Southampton's container terminal

- the UK: the Port Services Regulation, which was enacted in March 2017 and will come into force on 24 March 2019.
- 4.6.2 The aim of this regulation is to improve competition by creating a more level playing field amongst Europe's ports including stamping down on state aids and subsidies by requiring financial transparency (for example, the Netherlands does not charge Corporation Tax on its ports). Unlike the rest of the EU, almost all major ports in the UK are privately owned and financed and not in receipt of government subsidies, and the industry has lobbied consistently and unsuccessfully for the UK to be exempt from the regulation.
- 4.6.3 In theory the regulation would be incorporated into UK law as part of the Repeal Bill, taking effect from the date when the UK leaves the EU (which would be a few days after the regulation comes into force unless there is agreement to extend the two year negotiation period). The industry has asked Government to remove the obligation to comply as part of the Brexit negotiations and will also need Government not to implement the regulation in the Bill.

4.7 Road transport

- 4.7.1 UK-based road haulage businesses have benefitted considerably from the EU principles of free movement of labour and goods, which has meant that UK lorries can cross borders and operate within other parts of the EU subject to the same rules and regulations as other EU27-based hauliers. As part of this, a UK-owned haulier is able to load goods in any of the EU countries and deliver within that country or another EU country (the system known as cabotage). Government statistics suggest that 85% of the lorries operating between Britain and the European continent belong to EU27-owned businesses. In order for these international commercial arrangements to continue post-Brexit, specific arrangements will need to be negotiated. This cannot be achieved through our domestic legal system it is a separate issue to the customs union and depends on access in some form to the single market.
- 4.7.2 **Driver licensing and testing** EU Directives that apply to HGV drivers and bus drivers have already been implemented in the UK. It is assumed that the Repeal Bill will not change this. Depending on the outcome of negotiations continuing conformity can be expected, although as with other areas the question of whether the UK has continuing influence on changes in EU laws will arise.
- 4.7.3 **Vehicle standards** The EU's adoption of common standards for vehicles has been generally welcomed by the British Road Haulage Association (BRHA) and the Freight Transport Association (FTA). The government will need to decide in consultation with the industry how far the common standards will continue to be applied both to domestic vehicles and those EU27-owned vehicles operating cross border, depending on the outcome of negotiations. The more difficult adjustment (as for TSIs in train and aviation standards) will be to keep the UK industry involved in the future development of these standards.

Chapter 5: Passenger Rights

5.1 Overview

- 5.1.1 Consistent with the Government's White Paper, it is assumed that those protections of passenger rights that currently apply in the UK as a result of the various passenger rights regulations will be enacted through the Repeal Act. One respondent noted that decisions will be required as to the scope and extent of exemptions and that will affect how the relevant regulation is enacted in UK law. There are industry concerns, particularly in aviation, as to the application of rights under the existing regulations (e.g. the fact that the amount that can be claimed for expenses is not subject to a monetary cap), so there might be pressure to change this in the interests of both airlines and passengers. It should be noted that the EU protections do not extend to liability for physical injury or loss of luggage, which are covered by international conventions nor where the UK is already a party in its own right in these cases leaving the EU will make no difference.
- 5.1.2 While leaving the EU and the Single Market would give the government the opportunity to define passenger rights according to its wishes, respondents believe it is highly unlikely that the government would choose to repeal existing rights as defined under the relevant EU legislation because of the popular support these command and the government's desire to strengthen consumer rights in general, as evidenced by recent legislation in this area including the Consumer Rights Act 2015. This is moreso the case in the area of aviation and international rail given that the UK Government (along with other EU national governments) have not, on the whole, welcomed EU attempts to create domestic passenger rights. A more difficult challenge will be how to afford UK citizens travelling to or outside EU27 countries the same protections that these regulations currently give them.
- 5.1.3 At present, a certain amount of passenger rights (mainly in the international field) derive from specific EU Regulations while others derive from domestic law and practice (such as the Equalities Act and Consumer Protection Act) such as the use of passenger charters in the domestic railway. Separately, international conventions such as the Montreal Convention deal with the liability of carriers in the case of accidents for air, rail and maritime transport. Where conventions have been ratified by the EU rather than individual states, we assume that on leaving the EU the UK will need to ratify as a state.

5.2 Air passengers

5.2.1 The EU Air Transport Regulations (2004) are the most comprehensive and receive the greatest publicity. They provide for compensation and reimbursement of expenses in the event of delays and cancellations as well as some protection from overbooking. There is a large body of case law developed by the ECJ. In deciding how far it will convert the regulations and case law into domestic law in the Repeal Bill, the government's decision will



- presumably be linked to the success of the negotiations to reconstruct the single aviation market (referred to previously) and lobbying by consumer groups.
- 5.2.2 Currently passengers are protected when they take off from an EU airport or land at one provided that the carrier is an EU carrier. After the UK leaves the EU it seems that UK air carriers who take off or land in EU27 countries will, as is now the case with American carriers, remain subject to the EU regulation. However, passengers taking off from the UK will not receive these protections unless domestic legislation provides them. And a means of binding non-UK carriers will need to be developed so that passengers can continue to enjoy the same rights when travelling to/from London as EU citizens will enjoy travelling to/from Schiphol or Frankfurt. The expectation is that these matters will form part of the negotiations relating to the single aviation market.

5.3 Rail passengers

- 5.3.1 Rail Transport Regulations were introduced in 2007. As a current EU member state, the UK is entitled not to enforce these regulations in relation to domestic services and local services and has exercised these derogation rights. This extends to metros such as London Underground and Tyne and Wear and also to tram systems. Where passengers travel on the national rail network protections for delay and cancellation are already available primarily through passenger charter requirements or more recently "delay/repay" schemes.
- 5.3.2 EU states can also exclude the regulations for some international services. Effectively the rights apply to passenger services on HS1. Respondents to the ITC have called for consistency so that all passengers on the high-speed services through the Channel Tunnel will have the same rights regardless of where they purchased a ticket or boarded the train.

5.4 Maritime and inland waterway transport

- 5.4.1 Introduced in 2010, this regulation protects against cancellation and delays for some sea and inland waterway journeys by motorised transport, if the port of embarkation or destination is in the EU and the carrier is an EU carrier. For the UK this is largely relevant to ferry passengers and cruise passengers who must embark at an EU port to be protected. Compensation however is less extensive than for air passengers.
- 5.4.2 Again the government will need to take a decision on whether to reflect these individual rights in domestic legislation and how to enforce them against non-UK carriers. For UK passengers taking journeys to and from EU27 countries and cruise passengers embarking from UK ports, protection is likely to reduce after the UK leaves the EU.

5.5 Bus and coach transport

- 5.5.1 Under the Regulation introduced in 2011, protection applies only to passengers on regular (scheduled) services of over 250km where passengers board or alight in an EU country.

 Previous governments have applied derogation powers so the regulation has not been fully implemented and domestic bus and coach passengers have no statutory protections for delay and cancellation.
- 5.5.2 In relation to international journeys, the government will need to consider whether to import the effect of the Regulation into UK law. If it does so there will need to be a practical means for passengers to enforce against operators who may not be UK based.



Figure 9 - A National Express long-distance coach arrives in London

Chapter 6: Summary and Conclusions

- 6.1 This paper has explored some of the key issues for transport arising from the UK leaving the EU, and reflects the feedback received by the ITC's consultation with the industry. We urge the Government and policymakers to consider carefully these points, in particular the following:
 - 6.1.1 The long timeframes involved in transport infrastructure, operations and planning require certainty on future arrangements at an early stage in the negotiations. If these cannot be guaranteed, a transitional arrangement should be explored to help prevent disruption.
 - 6.1.2 The dependence of the transport sector on EU labour means that access to the EU labour force should be maintained in the short term, while investing in STEM subject training and research collaboration over the longer term to address skills shortages.
 - 6.1.3 The time sensitivity inherent to modern UK logistics and supply chains means that retaining a seamless supply chain process is of significant economic importance.
 - 6.1.4 Customs clearance as well as passenger entry mechanisms to the UK from the EU should also be as seamless as possible.
 - 6.1.5 The importance of the European Single Aviation Market for UK aviation operations cannot be underestimated. An agreement needs to be reached as a matter of urgency which retains existing benefits.
 - 6.1.6 For road haulage it is recommended that a new Land Transport Agreement with the EU is negotiated as a matter of priority.
 - 6.1.7 The UK and EU currently enjoy common standards. Ideally, the UK should have continued participation in the development of these and at a minimum should adopt existing standards. This applies to transport operators and to the transport and infrastructure supply industry.
 - 6.1.8 Funding and financing benefits should be retained or replaced as soon as practical, including EIB funding for major infrastructure projects, and EU Horizon research funding benefits.
- 6.2 Given transport's essential role in supporting the UK economy, the ITC recommends that transport issues are given a very high priority by the Government in its negotiations with the EU. The voice of the industry is essential to ensuring that the UK achieves an outcome that creates a minimum of disruption. We welcome the establishment of the EU Exit Business Advisory Group (EEBAG) by the Government, and advise regular consultation with senior representation from a cross-section of transport industry groups. Some topics are transport mode specific but many will require a multi-modal perspective, including the supply industry. Negotiators should meet with industry representatives frequently to discuss and provide feedback on key issues arising. If the process of leaving the EU is to be a success then securing effective and favourable agreements on transport will be essential.

Appendix

Consultation Respondents

Anonymous

Associated British Ports

Alstom

Airport Operators Association

Arriva

Cubic

Heathrow Airport Limited

High Speed One

NATS

Peter Brett Associates

Rail Delivery Group

Siemens

Steve Rinsler, Bisham Consulting

Transport for London

Questions from Call for Evidence

i) Cross-border movements

- What will be impact of leaving the EU on the cross-border movement of people? How will this affect arrangements at our ports and airports?
- Would restrictions on labour movements from EU countries have an effect on your organisation?
- What would be the impact of leaving the customs union on the movement of goods and services between the UK and the EU considering separately entry to the UK, entry to any EU country and entry to non-EU countries?

ii) Funding

- How do you think your organisation would be affected by a loss of EU R&D and other (e.g. University) funding? Should the UK Government fill any gaps in funding arrangements? How do you intend to retain the benefits from collaborative research?
- To what extent would a change in the UK's relationship with European Investment Bank or TEN-T affect transport infrastructure projects?

iii) Laws

 Would you welcome the UK retaining or changing the EU derived laws (whether Directives or Regulations), which currently apply to your transport or land use organisation (including but not limited to procurement and State Aid rules)?



- How would your organisation respond to new or amended EU laws in your area that come into effect after the UK leaves the EU?
- What aspects of currently derived laws would you like to see repealed or amended if such a possibility arose in the future?

iv) Standards, Safety and the Environment

Focusing on the impact of EU membership on standards, safety and the environment
in the land use and transport industries: Is there a danger of overlapping requirements
(EU and UK) requiring greater bureaucracy and cost than at present? How best can we
influence the setting of EU requirements in future without being a member? Where do
you see advantages in the UK not being subject to EU requirements in these areas?

v) Rights

- What would be the impact of leaving the EU on passenger rights?
- Would a change in liability arrangements be welcome?
- What aspects of current rights could be usefully changed or retained?

vi) Your perspectives

 What would your organisation like to see achieved from the Government's negotiations? And what would you like to see from the Government by way of consultation with the transport industry a) before forming their negotiating positions b) during the negotiations

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www.theitc.org.uk

or write to:

The Independent Transport Commission

70 Cowcross Street

London

EC1M 6EJ

