

LONDON'S GLOBAL & EUROPEAN FUTURE

Mayor of London's response to the Government White Paper:
The United Kingdom's exit from and new partnership with the
European Union

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Foreword

London is the only true global city in Europe. It is home to the world's leading financial services centre, Europe's fastest growing technology hub, and a number of the highest internationally ranking universities. But it is also the economic engine of Britain, accounting for 22.7 per cent of the UK's economic output and a third of its growth. London contributes an estimated 21 per cent of all UK tax¹, is home to a quarter of the UK's start-ups and employs more people than all three devolved nations combined. Companies headquartered in London account for more than 20 per cent of jobs in other UK cities and we import around £405 billion of goods and services from businesses across the UK every year². When London succeeds it is not at the expense of the rest of the UK but to its benefit, and it is absolutely vital that the city's interests are protected in the government's negotiations with the EU.

I campaigned for Britain to remain in the European Union during the referendum. However I accept that the British public voted to leave. The question we face now is how to construct a new relationship with the EU and the wider world that best serves our national interest, and ensures London's continued economic contribution towards it.

It is clear the British people did not vote for a weaker economy, worsening living standards or a less competitive environment for trade, investment and industry. And so it is the government's responsibility to negotiate a deal with Europe that protects jobs, growth, services and living standards across the UK. To achieve this, the government must strike a difficult balance across a number of interlinked and extraordinarily complicated issues. I believe that the government's Brexit negotiating position, as set out in the White Paper, fails to strike the right balance and puts Britain's economic prosperity at risk.

Since the referendum, City Hall has engaged with businesses and business leaders from across London's diverse economy, asking about what they need from our future relationship with Europe to continue to succeed and compete globally. This process has left me in no doubt that London's competitiveness as a global centre of commerce and finance is dependent on our city remaining open to people, ideas and innovation. London businesses are founded, scaled up and expanded through access to international markets – of which the European Union is by far the most important – and through access to international talent, finance and trade.

London continues to command huge international confidence as the best city in the world in which to do business – as demonstrated by recent high profile investments by Google, Apple, Facebook and others. We also remain a world-class destination for tourists and international students. But there is growing concern in the business community about the unnecessary uncertainty caused by a real lack of clarity on the government's negotiating position. However, some businesses including HSBC, UBS

¹ <https://www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/business/economic-research-and-information/research-publications/Documents/research%202014/Londons-finances-and-revenues-OnePagerOnline.pdf>

² https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/economic_evidence_base_2016.compressed.pdf

and JPMorgan have already announced arrangements to move staff from London to other European and world cities, as many more finalise their contingency plans to do the same.³⁴⁵

To make matters worse, many Europeans who live and work in London – contributing massively to our success – now fear that they may not have a future in the city they have made their home. I am clear that these people are Londoners, and that anyone who is living in this country should be given a cast-iron guarantee of their right to stay post Brexit. I also believe this guarantee should be given before the government begin their negotiations, whether or not the government has received reciprocal commitments from other EU nations.

London's business leaders say that the Prime Minister's assertion that 'no deal is better than a bad deal for Britain' fundamentally underestimates the colossal damage that 'no deal' – falling back on World Trade Organisation rules for trade with the EU – could have on Britain's economy. The tariffs and barriers that this would place in the way of businesses would inevitably restrict trade with their largest market and significantly damage both London's and the UK's economy.

The government's unrealistic expectation of having trade negotiations concluded within two years of triggering Article 50 – with no plan for extending this period – is compounding uncertainty and risk – causing unnecessary damage to our economy. Many experts, including the former EU Ambassador Sir Ivan Rogers,⁶ believe that concluding the negotiations within this time frame is impossible. If neither an interim or final deal is in place at the end of the two years the government has allowed then the UK would crash out of Europe and our economy would suffer.

I believe that the government's deeply worrying threat to the EU that – if a successful deal is not realised – the UK could be reshaped as a low-tax and low regulation economy, would be bad for our country and for all Londoners. London and Britain's global competitiveness and influence in the world have been built on our nation's historic openness, rich culture, progressive values and flair for innovation. Starting a race to the bottom could bring about a decline in our country's prosperity and world standing.

London, the UK and the rest of Europe have all profited from our close trading partnership, and our relationships with countries outside of the single market. There are those in our society who have not shared in enough of this success, and it is our responsibility to find ways to address this imbalance. But the answer to the challenges of globalisation is not to close our borders to the trade, talent and investment that have helped our economy to grow. At a time of growing global uncertainty the UK and the EU should be working together to protect the systems of trade on which our continued prosperity depends. We must define a future relationship that reflects how much our continued strength relies on each other, and recognises our shared beliefs.

³ <https://www.ft.com/content/a2af5c60-de16-11e6-9d7c-be108f1c1dce>

⁴ <http://www.cityam.com/255686/lloyds-london-set-out-plans-eu-move-new-year>

⁵ <http://uk.reuters.com/article/us-davos-meeting-hsbc-idUKKBN1520SO>

⁶ <https://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/european-scrutiny-committee/news-parliament-2015/eu-uk-brexite-relations-ivan-rogers-evidence-16-17/>

Finally, our relationship with the EU has been particularly important for London's environment. Our homes, vehicles and appliances are more energy-efficient, our natural environment and water is cleaner and better protected, harmful emissions are on a long term decline and we produce less waste. This has been helped by environmental protections and targets driven by EU directives, regulations and standards. The government has committed to "be the first generation to leave the environment in a better state than it found it" but I am concerned there has been no indication of how the legislative, monitoring and enforcement frameworks which have secured these improvements will be replicated and how standards, in particular for air quality, will be enhanced.

In the paper that follows I respond to the government's twelve priorities as set out in the recent White Paper. This response is informed by my discussions with London businesses since the referendum and in particular the advice of my Brexit Expert Advisory Panel. It is focused on the issues that matter most for Londoners.



Sadiq Khan
Mayor of London

Providing certainty and clarity

The government's ambition to offer certainty and clarity to business during the negotiations is essential. Unfortunately the position set out in the White Paper does not achieve this aim.

Because of the uncertainty that persists around Brexit, London's businesses – ranging from pharmaceutical companies and professional services firms to tech start-ups and financial institutions – will find it harder to make investment and recruitment decisions that drive growth. This is a theme echoed in over 7,000 responses to a recent British Chamber of Commerce survey.⁷

Though many of these businesses are confident that the UK will be able to strike some form of trade deal with the EU, there is a risk it won't be accomplished within two years. If the Prime Minister's timetable is adhered to, there is now a real risk that if no 'good' deal is available in two years' time, the UK could crash out of the EU and have to rely on WTO rules for trade.

Centre for Cities estimates that around 43 per cent⁸ of London's £120.8 billion exports in goods and services go to the European Union. If the UK were to fall back to WTO rules for trade these exports would be subject to tariff and non-tariff barriers which would make them more expensive, less profitable or potentially unavailable on the continent. Combined with the potential border delays associated with leaving the customs union this impact on trade would have a hugely detrimental knock-on effect to London's and the wider UK economy. The Prime Minister's assertion that 'no deal for Britain is better than a bad deal for Britain' is not necessarily true, as a failure to reach an agreement to eliminate tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade with the UK's single largest market would undoubtedly be the worst case scenario for our economy.

While some believe that negotiation of the future relationship between the UK and the EU can be 'fast tracked', because EU and UK rules are already aligned, we must prepare for a more difficult path. The government's ambitions for future trade with the EU are far more comprehensive than any deal the EU has previously negotiated, and will inevitably be more complex.

London's businesses have been making the case to government since the referendum that this 'cliff edge' must be avoided^{9,10}. The fear is that securing a comprehensive trade deal with the EU will take longer than the two-year Article 50 negotiations. Business groups such as the CBI have made a case to government of the need to **agree an interim deal with the EU that would define the UK's temporary relationship with the EU while trade negotiations are completed, and the new relationship phased in.**¹¹ Such an agreement would help to provide the minimum medium-term certainty for trade, regulatory and legal frameworks which businesses need to take longer term decisions with confidence. The government's White Paper acknowledges the risk of a 'cliff-edge', but

⁷ <http://www.britishchambers.org.uk/press-office/press-releases/bcc-quarterly-economic-survey-mixed-picture-emerges-post-referendum.html>

⁸ <http://www.centreforcities.org/publication/cities-outlook-2017/>

⁹ <https://www.thecityuk.com/research/brexit-and-uk-based-financial-and-related-professional-services/>

¹⁰ https://www.iod.com/Portals/0/PDFs/Campaigns%20and%20Reports/Europe%20and%20trade/Navigating_Brexit_Priorities_for_business_options_for_government.pdf?ver=2017-02-20-174338-027

¹¹ <http://www.cbi.org.uk/cbi-prod/assets/File/pdf/cbi-treasury-select-committee-transition-submission.pdf>

only makes provision for a 'phased implementation' between our current status and the new deal it intends to strike before our departure from the EU.

An implementation period is necessary to provide firms, their customers and regulators time to consider the implications of changed arrangements, and take steps to adapt to the new relationship. However, given fears that the two-year timeframe for trade negotiations is unrealistic, there is a strong possibility that there would be no new deal in place to phase into at the conclusion of the Article 50 process. This would result in a reversion to WTO rules for trade. As the government appears to have made no allowance for this eventuality they are creating additional uncertainty for London's businesses and risk to the economy. This in turn has a huge bearing on the decisions businesses are taking now about whether or not to set up offices in continental Europe and move some or all of their staff abroad.

There is a similar lack of clarity around the future approach to movement of labour, access to talent and immigration policy. The high-profile speeches by the Prime Minister and Home Secretary at Conservative Party Conference in October 2016 contributed to a feeling of uncertainty amongst employers and European workers in London.

Non-UK EU nationals play a vital role in many of London's high-skilled sectors – from financial services to life sciences to tech and creative businesses. Important sectors such as construction, hospitality, social care and the National Health Service also rely heavily on access to a range of skills from highly mobile European workers. The government's failure to provide guarantees about the status of Europeans already working in the UK, and the lack of clarity about government thinking on future immigration and work permit systems, is already creating a problem for many London businesses. Not only is there deep concern about European staff leaving the UK due to this uncertainty, but there is also a fear that businesses are reluctant or even unable to take informed decisions about future staffing and recruitment. These concerns are echoed by a recent survey by the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development that found more than a quarter of employers asked confirmed their European employees are considered leaving their firms or the country¹². This is making it difficult for businesses to provide input into the government's Industrial Strategy or properly consider education and training needs. **The government should urgently give greater clarity on these issues.**

¹² <http://www2.cipd.co.uk/pm/peoplemanagement/b/weblog/archive/2017/02/13/quarter-of-employers-could-lose-eu-staff-this-year.aspx>

Taking control of our own laws

I believe the Prime Minister is correct in acknowledging that the referendum result in part reflected a desire to repatriate powers from the European Union. The government's Great Repeal Bill ought to ensure that there is legal continuity by transferring remaining EU law onto the UK statute book and give parliament the opportunity to keep, amend or remove the rules and regulations under which we currently operate.

However, we must not lose sight of the vital importance of common cross-border regulatory standards for the continuing success of our export industries – in services and data-led business just as much as manufacturing. If London businesses are to have the ability to export goods and services freely into the EU, we will have to maintain the same regulation and product standards as Europe. This means that a continuing regulatory dialogue between the UK government and the EU will be necessary to ensure that new trade barriers are not erected unwittingly. In many cases it will be advantageous to maintain the rules that currently govern our trade with Europe, and Parliament will have a continuing responsibility to adapt and adjust them to reflect changes in EU law. **It is essential that the government ensure regulatory coherence between the UK and EU, with a system of 'mutual recognition' underpinning market access negotiated as part of the agreement.**

- The Environment

I don't believe that in voting to leave the EU, British citizens were voting to water down environmental protections such as requirements around air quality – which have been crucial to the progress we have made in addressing the growing problem of air pollution. I have made it clear that air quality is a key priority for my administration and Londoners need complete assurance of no diminution of regulatory standards and protections in this or other environmental areas.

As Mayor, I have a range of legal duties in relation to the environment, ranging from climate change through to waste and air quality. In the absence of the current EU legal framework, new UK legislation to provide the overarching framework for environmental action would be essential. This is an opportunity to provide a legally enforceable right to clean air, new powers for local authorities, including the GLA, to better regulate all emissions sources, not just road transport. For example, if the GLA were given powers to enforce Non Road Mobile Machinery (NRMM) emission standards in the same way as for on-road vehicles this could increase the emissions benefit of the existing NRMM Low Emission Zone. Similarly, the River Thames is currently out of scope of the legal powers the GLA has to manage emissions.

Many of the policies I am implementing in London are based on European standards. They have helped to reduce emissions and create a level playing field for competition and improve all aspects of Londoners' daily lives.

On air quality, I have committed £875m to deliver a bold programme of initiatives including an Emission Surcharge to the Congestion Charging scheme (known as the T-charge) and bringing forward and expanding the Ultra-Low Emission Zone up to the North/South Circular Roads for cars,

vans and motorbikes and London-wide for buses, coaches and lorries. However these schemes are predicated on the existing Euro engine emission standards.

I am committed to putting London on the path to being a zero carbon city by 2050. In the context of the Paris agreement at COP21, I welcome the UK government's commitment to the 2008 Climate Act and the five yearly targets. However there is now an immediate need for a clear and coherent long-term roadmap to achieving the UK's 2050 emissions reduction target and addressing the policy gaps resulting from EU exit.

In addition a whole range of other environmental protections and targets are driven by EU directives and regulations, from biodiversity to waste which are of huge benefit to London. Since the introduction of the Landfill Directive, recycling rates in London have risen from 7 per cent to 34 per cent. If the government is unable to replicate these principles and protections in UK law then the protections we enjoy will be compromised.

The Rt Hon Andrea Leadsom MP, Secretary of State for Defra, indicated at the House of Commons' Environmental Audit Committee that about a third of relevant legislation cannot be easily transposed into UK law and will need new legislation or new mechanisms to allow implementation.¹³ **The Government should legislate for a new Environment Act to ensure that the UK has an equivalent or better level of protection than in the EU, enshrining key environmental safeguarding principles such as polluter pays, environmental rights for citizens and the precautionary principle. It should also ensure that the necessary powers and resources are devolved to the authorities best placed to tackle their environmental issues and targets. The government must ensure that any proposed changes are subject to full parliamentary scrutiny and the UK should commit to maintaining at least comparable standards -ensuring that we are able to shape new ones.**

The European Commission's enforcement mechanisms have played a key role in improving London's environment. **I urge the government to provide clarity on how the implementation of regulations that have been transposed into UK law will be independently monitored, regulated and enforced. As we withdraw from the current EU arrangements, government will need to ensure that the necessary powers and resources are provided for their replacements to allow continued improvement in vital areas such as air quality.**

There are also concerns regarding recently enacted EU legislation. For example, many of the requirements in EU Directives and measures included in the recent Winter Package, are not yet fully enshrined in UK law. The Energy Performance of Buildings Directive requires the move towards nearly zero-energy buildings by 2020. But this has not yet been mandated in the UK. This is critical to guide new building construction to significantly higher efficiency standards and incorporate renewable energy production to help meet the UK's carbon reduction targets.

¹³ <http://data.parliament.uk/writtenevidence/committeeevidence.svc/evidencedocument/environmental-audit-committee/the-future-of-the-natural-environment-after-the-eu-referendum/oral/42022.pdf>

Many of London's environmental challenges are also transboundary in nature. For example, 48 per cent of the equivalent deaths associated with air pollution are caused by sources outside London, including Europe. Similarly climate change is a global issue, requiring international solutions that have direct consequences for Londoners. For example emissions trading schemes such as the (EU-ETS) play a key role in reducing global emissions. As a result, it is important that we continue to coordinate with EU level developments. I will also continue to work with my counterparts in other major European cities including fully utilising networks such as the C40 and Eurocities.

Strengthening the Union

I welcome the government's commitment to strike a deal with the EU that works for all of the UK but this will be difficult to achieve without engaging with and responding to the specific concerns of devolved administrations. In the areas in which the devolved administrations already have legislative competence, such as agriculture and environment, it is only right that they have an influential voice in shaping the government's talks with the EU.

The importance of London's economy and tax base to the UK's economic health should be acknowledged through continued broad engagement on the challenges posed by Brexit – as has been the case to date. While I welcome the constructive and helpful monthly meetings I have with the Secretary of State for Exiting the EU, the government needs to engage fully with City Hall, including responding constructively to the recommendations of the London Finance Commission.¹⁴

Devolution of fiscal powers to London's government would provide greater certainty and confidence in the capital's long term economic competitiveness. The UK's performance and productivity has been hampered by an over-centralised state. The government has a clear opportunity to take advantage of this period of change and restructure the balance of power between Whitehall and local areas. I believe this will bring economic and democratic dividends – stronger economic incentives embedded in local decision-making and strengthening the accountability of the decision-makers. The London Devolution Agreement announced by the Chancellor, Phillip Hammond, in the 2017 Budget is a step in the right direction.

We need to see the repatriation of relevant powers and replication of funding from the EU – not to Westminster and Whitehall – but to the devolved nations, the Mayor of London and the new metro mayors. London already has a unique status as the 'Intermediate Body' responsible for our share of European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and European Social Fund (ESF) programmes. **The government must ensure that remaining 2014-20 European funding can be utilised in full; and that ERDF and ESF programmes are replaced by a London skills, employment, enterprise, environment and infrastructure fund from 2019 onwards, wholly devolved to City Hall, in order to avoid any gap in provision.** This funding has been essential for delivering a range of social, environmental and economic enhancements in London. For example European funding is essential for the transition to a low carbon economy in London. Last year alone the GLA secured £4 million of ERDF (2016-19) funding to support energy efficiency measures in public buildings and the provision of decentralised energy. My London Green Fund 2 has also secured £150 million (£50m ERDF and £100m from European Investment Bank) and will be looking to leverage in further match funding to support energy efficiency measures, renewable energy projects and to provide investment finance for businesses operating in the circular economy. **As powers and funding are transferred from Brussels, the government's default position should be a presumption of devolution – to the devolved nations, the Mayor of London, metro mayors when elected and local authorities where appropriate – unless a compelling case for yet further centralisation in Whitehall can be made.**

¹⁴ https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/devolution_-_a_capital_idea_lfc_2017.pdf

Protecting our strong and historic ties with Ireland and maintaining the Common Travel Area

I believe maintaining the Common Travel Area to be an issue of major importance and support the government signifying it as priority. I encourage close work with the Irish government and Northern Ireland Executive in search of a solution to their land border issues and welcome comments by the European Commission's chief negotiator Michel Barnier that he is determined to do so.

Controlling immigration

I welcome the government's commitment to ensuring the UK remains an open and tolerant country. London embodies this approach and my "London is Open" campaign is communicating this clearly to the rest of the world.

It is not by chance that London is Europe's only truly global city and attracts inward investment to the UK at record levels.¹⁵ In business surveys, it is clear that access to international, as well as local talent is one of the primary attractions of London: the CBI's London Business Survey found that ninety per cent of businesses recruit EU citizens. Over two-thirds (69 per cent) recruit overseas, non-EU workers.¹⁶ The availability of skilled staff is one of the strongest features of London as rated by business.¹⁷ The same survey also highlighted the concern amongst employers that future controls over EU migration will lead to additional costs.¹⁸

I'm concerned about London's fastest growing business sectors and their ability to recruit and retain talent not just from the EU but the rest of the world. I am also concerned at about how welcome foreign workers could feel in London following the referendum and subsequent spike in hate crime. This unwelcome image, that is so far removed from the reality of life in London, is deeply troubling to businesses that need to attract talent from around the world. But this also causes problems for sectors such as hospitality and tourism that rely enormously on EU labour at a variety of skills levels. City Hall has spoken to companies who are struggling to recruit enough workers for the same reason, echoing sentiments recently published by the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development.¹⁹

Contrary to how is it sometimes portrayed, in London migration has unquestionably been a source of job creation and economic growth.²⁰ There is little if any evidence of a trade-off between the importance of developing Londoners' skills and talents and being open to talent and enterprise from around the world. Quite the reverse – it is clear that London's continuing economic success means that we have to guarantee both.

The government has introduced additional incentives to support skills training, in particular through the apprenticeship levy and introduction of T-levels, but I endorse **the London Finance Commission's recommendation that London's contribution to the levy should be devolved to London's government.**

¹⁵ GLAEconomics *Economic Evidence Base for London* (November 2916)

¹⁶ CBI *London Business Survey* (2016)

<http://www.cbi.org.uk/cbi-prod/assets/File/pdf/LBS%20September%202016.pdf>

¹⁷ GLAEconomics *London Business Survey* (2014) based on fDi Markets data

¹⁸ CBI (2016) *Faced with a cost increase to hire skilled talent from outside the EU, just over three in ten firms (31%) would absorb the cost and continue to hire. Three in ten (30%) firms would hire fewer skilled migrants through the Tier 2 route (skilled work visas for non-EEA migrants).*

¹⁹ <https://www.cipd.co.uk/about/media/press/100217-eu-labour-supply-shortages>

²⁰ <http://londonfirst.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/Facing-Facts-The-impact-of-migrants-on-London-its-workforce-and-economyFINAL.pdf>

This will allow better targeted and effective use of the levy in the capital. I am also making the case to government for **devolution of greater powers and responsibilities over post-16 skills to London** – and I was pleased the Government committed to a strategic dialogue with London Government in the 2017 Budget.

London already has a significant skills shortage in key areas including social care, health care and financial services among others. Analysis suggests that if the government achieves its target of less than 100,000 net migration annually, this would mean total immigration for London would be below 38,000 annually (in proportion with the share of total immigration which currently comes to London), drastically capping the labour that London's economy relies upon and leading to further skills shortages – particularly in lower-paid jobs.²¹

The construction sector provides a useful case study for these challenges. Recent analysis from London First and PwC, co-authored by Julia Onslow-Cole, who sits on my Brexit Advisory Panel, suggests the sector employs approximately 300,000 people in London, only 50 per cent of who are UK-born. Demand on the industry is increasing and London is unable to meet this demand with home-grown workers, as evidenced by the large number of unfilled job vacancies. The situation is further complicated with an aging UK-born construction workforce with 10–20 per cent of the current workforce looking to retire in the next 5 years²². Whilst we have a responsibility to deliver high numbers of apprenticeships, and to train up the next generation of UK construction workers, the sector will continue to need access to other sources of labour. Without access to the talent essential to the construction sector we simply will not have the skills to build the homes and infrastructure London needs.

Similar challenges are faced by London's tech and creative sectors, among others, who rely on the free movement of talented EU staff to meet significant skills shortages as well as European freelancers to fill short term, short notice skills gaps.²³ While we must continue to invest in upskilling Londoners for work in these fast growing sectors, as I am doing through my Digital Talent Programme²⁴, ensuring that London's pioneering businesses in these fields can continue to grow is an absolute necessity.

I am concerned that the government is prioritising controls over immigration above economic growth. London, and the UK, needs a flexible immigration system that responds to demand, not one that places additional costs and burdens on employers – this is more likely to have the contrary effect of reducing investment and job creation. **If the government is unable to ensure this flexibility, London should have greater control over the allocation of work permits in the capital. Potential restrictions on London business' ability to fill their vacant posts, given the low**

²¹ Centre for Economic and Business Research *Working Capital: the role of migrant workers in driving London's economy* (2016)

²² <http://londonfirst.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/Facing-Facts-The-impact-of-migrants-on-London-its-workforce-and-economyFINAL.pdf>

²³ <http://coadec.com/Coadec-Report-A-Global-Britain.pdf>

²⁴ <https://www.london.gov.uk/what-we-do/business-and-economy/science-and-technology/smart-london/mayor-and-tech/developing>

levels of unemployment currently enjoyed in the capital, is worrying. And our critical public services will suffer without access to EU and global talents and skills.

- London's Higher Education

London higher education institutions (HEIs) are among the best in the world. The capital has four universities ranked in the global top 40 – two in the top 10. London's specialist colleges – in arts, music, design and business – are international leaders. They are a vital part of London's productive and innovative knowledge economy and an important reason for global investors and businesses choosing the UK.

EU nationals are an important part of London's student population – 7.5 per cent (23 per cent UK total²⁵) of undergraduates and 12.3 per cent (32 per cent UK total) of postgraduates.²⁶ Around 17 per cent of London HEI staff are EU nationals.²⁷ The inclusion of international students in the net migration calculation limits one of London and the UK's great export opportunities – higher education provision. London HE attracts more international students than any other city. Non-UK students in London HEIs contribute around £3 billion a year to the economy, along with strengthening London and the UK's global reputation.

A future immigration system needs to support export growth across sectors; our universities must be able to attract talent – both student and academic – from the EU and internationally. In addition, I would encourage the government to adopt an approach that looks to maintain the mutual benefits of studying in another country.

UK university students are less likely to study abroad compared with many other EU nationalities, although numbers are increasing. **An ongoing commitment to the Erasmus programme would also be in the best interests of both the UK and EU member states.** This has fostered a greater understanding between EU nationals over many decades and in challenging international times, it is more important than ever. As noted by the British Council, research by Chatham House found that the English language, education and culture are the top three factors in supporting the UK's overseas reputation – demonstrating a clear correlation between increased levels of trust in a country and an increase in a person's inclination to do business with, study in or visit that country.²⁸ In a study of 10 strategically important countries, the average level of trust in the UK was 16 per cent higher amongst those who had participated in cultural relations activities than amongst those who had not.

Many of the challenges facing today's governments are transnational. Networks of people across nation states can build a platform on which collective action can be taken more effectively. The UK is recognised as one of the world's most adept soft-power states, regularly ranked globally in the top

²⁵ London's share of EU national students studying in the UK.

²⁶ Based on HESA student record data, 2014/15

²⁷ UK-wide, 10.7% of all staff (academic and non-academic) are EU nationals. These are 43,015 people.

At London institutions, 17% of staff have EU nationality. These are 12,475 people.

The percentage of London-based EU staff out of all EU staff at UK institutions is 29%. *Of the 107,960 international students studying in London, 34,760 (32%) are from EU countries*

²⁸ <https://www.britishcouncil.org/organisation/facts/what-the-british-council-does/contribution-uk-soft-power>

three countries. Our educational institutions are a large contributor to this influence with one in seven world leaders having studied in the UK.

Securing rights for EU nationals in the UK, and UK nationals in the EU

It is a cause of great concern to me that the government has not committed itself to guaranteeing the rights of EU nationals in the UK, and UK nationals in the EU. There is just over a million non-UK EU/EEA nationals who are Londoners – around a third of the total living in the UK. Many have lived here for a long period of time, are married to British citizens, have children in British schools and have put down roots in our communities. The prolonged uncertainty they have faced in regards to their future is in my view unacceptable.

There are significant concerns about the perception of London and the wider UK both to current staff who businesses are seeking to retain, and to workers they are trying to recruit from abroad. Unfortunately the impression temporarily created around the world by the referendum result, as well as to UK-based foreign nationals, was of hostility to migration and migrants. These sentiments are echoed by a recent Ipsos MORI survey of nearly 40,000 18-34 year olds across the G20 nations that showed nearly 40 per cent confirm Brexit has had negative impact on the UK's attractiveness.²⁹

Since the launch of my "London Is Open" campaign I have been countering this perception and showcasing London as a city welcoming to people from all over the world. But I cannot hope to fully offset this misconception of the UK without government ministers helping to make the case. We must begin by clearly stating that EU nationals in the UK are welcome to stay.

I believe the government should offer a cast-iron guarantee to all EU citizens currently living in the UK, that they can stay post Brexit. The government should offer this guarantee before negotiations with the EU begin, whether or not they have received reciprocal commitments for British nationals from all other European countries. The government should also establish a streamlined process for EU citizens to confirm their permanent residence.

I do not subscribe to the logic that this would be giving up on our fellow British citizens living across Europe. I am confident that this gesture would in fact be met with a broad consensus from our EU partners to offer the same guarantees. This would allow for the Article 50 negotiations to start from a position of good will, demonstrate how much the UK values the contribution of Europeans, and help put right the misconception that Brexit was solely driven by anti-immigration sentiment.

²⁹ <https://www.ipsos-mori.com/researchpublications/researcharchive/3821/New-survey-shows-Brexit-vote-slightly-dents-UKs-reputation-among-EU-nations.aspx>

Protecting workers' rights

The government is right to recognise the importance of protecting workers' rights. While I agree that in many areas previous UK governments have already extended rights beyond those set out in EU law, European legislation did offer firm protection of basic rights should there have been any attempt to dilute them in the UK.

I welcome the government's assurances that there is no current ambition for workers' rights to be diminished, but I am concerned that the threat stated by some Ministers to 'change the UK economic model', should no "good" deal with the EU be negotiated, may threaten this in the future.

As a city that is currently working hard to ensure fair treatment and pay for all of its workers, this issue is of particular importance to London. We have already seen some organisations abuse zero-hours contracts to avoid having to provide basic rights, and many who still don't offer a living wage to their lowest paid employees. I am working with business to ensure that London is not only the best city in the world in which to do business, but also the best city in which to work. This would be significantly undermined if the government attempts to change the UK economic model and began a race to the bottom in the wake of Brexit. **This should be avoided at all costs.**

Ensuring free trade with European markets

The government's aim to seek a future relationship with the EU that minimises both tariff and non-tariff trade barriers is the right one. However, I believe the negotiating position as outlined in the Prime Minister's Lancaster House Speech, and the subsequent White Paper, makes it less likely that this could be achieved.

- UK and EU Trade

The European Union is undeniably the most important market for London's goods and services. The capital is home to 40 per cent of the European headquarters of the world's top companies, five times more headquarters than Europe's second most attractive destination, Paris³⁰. London is viewed as the gateway to Europe for the world's largest international companies, a status that is in no small part due to the UK's unfettered access to the single market afforded by its EU membership.

The Prime Minister's decision to begin negotiations from a position of complete separation, leaving both the single market and the customs union, makes it more difficult to achieve her aims. As the government attempts to strike a series of sector specific deals they open themselves up to the ambition of European nations to attract businesses, investment and talent from London to Paris, Berlin and Amsterdam. This ambition has already been made clear since the referendum with missions from a number of cities meeting with businesses across London and encouraging them to move. These efforts have largely been resisted so far, as business remains confident a deal with the EU can be agreed, and that come what may London will remain Europe's only truly globally competitive city.

However, some firms including HSBC, UBS and JPMorgan have already announced plans to move some staff and operations, with others finalising their contingency arrangements over the coming months.³¹³²³³

If the terms of the UK's departure from the EU were to put in place barriers to trade and access to European talent for some of London's fastest growing businesses, then London's competitiveness could be weakened. This could see London and the UK lose out to financial centres in Asia, North America and Europe.

I believe there is appetite for a bespoke deal that delivers on the implicit expectations of the referendum but minimises the risk to the UK's economy of a punitive departure from the EU.

London's business ecosystem is finely balanced and hugely attractive to international companies, investors and those looking to start or scale up their businesses. The benefits of London's leading financial and professional services firms being located so closely together has created global hubs that provide businesses across Europe with access to some of the best lawyers, financiers and consultants

³⁰ <https://www2.deloitte.com/uk/en/pages/growth/articles/london-crowned-business-capital-of-europe.html>

³¹ <https://www.ft.com/content/a2af5c60-de16-11e6-9d7c-be108f1c1dce>

³² <http://www.cityam.com/255686/lloyds-london-set-out-plans-eu-move-new-year>

³³ <http://uk.reuters.com/article/us-davos-meeting-hsbc-idUKKBN1520SO>

in the world. The clustering of our tech and finance companies has spawned a thriving fintech sector, and the relationships between our universities and life sciences companies has led to London and the South East becoming a world leading hub for biomedical research and innovation. These interrelations are one of London's key successes and if they begin to falter, the knock on effects to the wider economy could be considerable, and London's status as one of the best global cities in which to scale up a business could be jeopardised.

Reducing tariff barriers is not the only or even the most important spur to trade. For a predominantly service-based economy, common regulatory standards across borders are a key facilitator of trade and economic growth. The government White Paper references ongoing co-operation with the EU on regulatory matters for sectors such as financial services and life sciences, but these issues span across other important sectors for London such as tech and creative which could be significantly impacted by changes to licensing and data regulations. **If the government is to ensure that London and UK companies can continue to sell their products and services to their single largest export market then they must commit to negotiating a bespoke arrangement that provides mutual market access based on the principles of regulatory alignment, mutual recognition of UK and EU law and economic interdependence.**

- **Cooperation and Partnership**

London has benefited from the close partnership with European businesses and institutions. The location of the European Medicines Agency (EMA) in Canary Wharf has been hugely important for the life sciences sector in the Greater South East and was even referenced by the Japanese government as central to the city's attractiveness for their drug manufacturers.³⁴

However, the government must ensure a strong, continued, and mutually beneficial partnership between the UK Medicines & Healthcare Products Regulatory Agency and the EMA, combined with parallel regulatory frameworks. This is vital to ensure that UK-based organisations that wish to sell into the European market can do so with ease. Without this, our attractiveness to the life sciences sector would be hugely diminished. If there is a decision to relocate the EMA, the timing and nature of the transition should be dictated by the need to avoid disruption to the regulatory process, in order to protect the sector and, ultimately, patients.

The future Digital Single Market (DSM) is another example where the UK should continue to work in close partnership with the EU. The UK digital sector is currently worth £118 billion a year, and 43 per cent of UK digital exports go to the EU. **The government should ensure continued influence over the shape the Digital Single Market takes, in order to protect the benefits to British businesses of future access.**

³⁴ <http://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000185466.pdf>

Securing new trade agreements with other countries

London is a global city. Openness to the world is a key element which defines our city; it is critical for our economy, culture and way of life. It is vital that the government aims to broaden and deepen our economic relations with all overseas markets, within the EU and beyond.

In 2014, London's service exports totalled £92.1 billion – accounting for over 40 per cent of the UK's total export of services. The EU is London's largest export destination for services, as it is for the UK as a whole, with the US as its largest single country followed by Germany, France and the Netherlands. Goods accounted for around a quarter of London's exports in 2014 (£29bn – or 10 per cent of UK goods exports), with the US again the largest destination.

London is also a major international destination for foreign direct investment (FDI) and accounts for a large share of the UK's inward FDI in certain sectors (creative, financial, tourism, professional services, ICT and construction). Investment is linked to trade in services. It will remain vitally important for overseas professionals to be able to move to London to support inward investment projects if our attractiveness as a top investment destination is to be maintained.

- **Trade negotiations take time; public services should not be bargained away**

Today's global rules-based system of trade enhances regulatory stability and certainty, but WTO members must follow certain processes: market-opening agreements, whether agreed bilaterally, regionally or at multilateral level, take time – normally measured in years. The Prime Minister's desire to finalise an agreement with the EU within two years is highly ambitious. There is a chance it will go beyond two years, and other countries may take longer.

The government must consider what protection is necessary in trade agreements for public services. Public authorities must retain their ability to regulate or, as the case may be, to provide essential services directly, within a predictable legal framework while remaining accountable to the electorate and taxpayer.

- **Interim and implementation arrangements are required to avoid a 'cliff edge', which would disproportionately affect services and London**

The government's priority should be to avoid any sudden changes in the regulatory framework, which would only disrupt existing trade and supply chains. While failing to agree a trade deal with the EU would lead to tariffs and extra administrative complexity for trade in goods, it could prevent some provision of services entirely. As there is no uniform EU policy for external trade in services, "access to EU markets for UK service providers is likely to deteriorate in a way that differs across EU member states, sectors, and modes of supply."³⁵ Disruption in services markets will disproportionately affect London, which is why London and London business should be continuously consulted as the UK position is being developed.

³⁵ <https://www.sussex.ac.uk/webteam/gateway/file.php?name=briefing-paper-6-final.pdf&site=18>

In order to provide regulatory continuity while negotiations continue, interim and implementation arrangements will be necessary, both with the EU and with those countries with which the EU has Free Trade Agreements. **These must ensure that the same market access arrangements are retained after the UK leaves the EU, until new trade agreements with the EU and other trading partners can be finalised and implemented.**

Ensuring the UK remains the best place for science and innovation

London is home to leading national research institutes including the Institute of Cancer Research the Wellcome Trust, the national Cell Therapy Catapult, and the Francis Crick Institute, one of Europe's largest centres of biomedical research.

I welcome the government's ambition to see the UK continue as a world leader in science and innovation. This was also clearly set out in the government's Industrial Strategy Green Paper which recognises the global reputation of London in attracting research funding and investment in science and innovation, and the need to replicate this success more widely across the UK.

In life sciences, London and the Greater South East (GSE) is a world leading centre for research and innovation with over 50 incubators, accelerators and innovation centres in the region, all with the aim of supporting scientific research and increasing commercialisation of therapeutic products to benefit the patients throughout the UK.

It is essential to maintain and develop science and innovation strengths in London and the GSE, as a national asset and a springboard for innovation and growth nationally.

- **European funding**

European funding and the collaborations it enables, is important to London's research base. In terms of research funding³⁶ the UK has been the largest recipient of EU research funds granted to higher education institutions. From 2007-2013, the top three recipients in London (King's, Imperial and UCL) received a total of €853 million via the 7th Framework Programme (FP7). London-based companies and other research bodies also benefited from the FP7 (e.g. the Medical Research Council received €62 million from 2007-2013). This performance by UK institutions is being maintained in the EU's current Horizon 2020 programme. In total, the UK received the second highest level of funding after Germany (almost €6 billion) from 2007-2013 – with Inner London alone receiving over €1.5 billion.

The UK also performs strongly in the prestigious European Research Council (ERC) grants. The UK has more ERC grant-funded projects at its higher education institutions (HEIs) than any other participating country – 1488, with Germany second (1031) and France third (888).³⁷ Of those ERC awarded researchers at UK HEIs, nearly half are non-UK nationals. London is well-represented with University College London (UCL) having the third highest number, behind Oxford and Cambridge, and Imperial College London the eighth. Over half of the ERC Consolidator Grants awarded to UK universities, worth up to £2 million each, were won by EU academics working here. Selection rates for inclusion in the Research Excellence Framework (REF) 2014 were highest for EU staff at UK universities, again a clear indication of the high-quality research they produce and their value to the

³⁶ European Commission, March 2015, '[Seventh FP7 Monitoring Report: Monitoring Report 2013](#)'.

³⁷ Funded projects by country of Host Institution (2007-2016), based on call outcomes for ERC grants

UK: in REF 2014, 75 per cent of EU staff were selected, compared with 56 per cent of UK nationals and 70 per cent of non-EU staff.³⁸

The Smart Cities and Communities fund allocates around €100m per year to demonstrate low energy districts, smart infrastructure, and smart mobility. Two projects are led by London entities – Sharing Cities (€25m) and Organicity (€7m). In London, the European Regional Development Fund, £26.5m was allocated towards Research and Innovation funding, including innovation clusters for smart cities of academia, SMEs, and the public sector.

I urge the government to extend its own funding commitment to beyond the current programme and to make clear that the UK will continue to invest in European research and innovation from 2020. Whilst increased funding would become essential if full access to EU research programmes is not secured in the UK-EU negotiations, it is important to recognise that funding alone will not be enough to guarantee our continued strength in this field if our institutions are suddenly excluded from EU collaboration networks.

The European Investment Bank (EIB) is also a major player in the financing of innovation and skills and access to finance for SMEs – contributing €6.9bn in 2016 alone. This is in addition to its contribution to important projects in London ranging from local schools to a £500 million stake in Crossrail. In the absence of our own large national promotional bank the UK will continue to need these funding streams to finance our infrastructure. Werner Hoyer, the President of the EIB, said that he did not rule out the possibility of Britain remaining a shareholder even after Brexit.³⁹ Although the bank statutes are clear that the shareholders of the bank are the members of the EU, the statutes could be changed if the UK and the remaining Member States agreed. **Though nothing would stop the bank being able to invest in the UK after Brexit, maintaining our current shares and close relationship would go further to warrant it continues to do so at current levels, therefore the government should negotiate to maintain the UK's shareholding in the EIB.**

- People and skills

The life sciences sector in London, the Greater South East and the UK competes with other science and technology hubs around the world. Like other high-tech, high-skilled sectors its continued competitiveness is dependent on having access to the world's best talent from a highly specialised, global workforce.

It is therefore crucial that businesses and academic institutions can continue to have access to the highly skilled people that they need, including the brightest researchers and students – whatever their country of origin.

Flexible access for talented academics and innovators into the UK leads to significant innovations and discoveries to tackle global challenges, enhancing the international standing of London's universities.

³⁸ Russell Group's evidence in response to the House of Commons Education Committee's inquiry on the impact of exiting the EU on Higher Education (November 2016)

³⁹ <http://www.eib.europa.eu/infocentre/events/all/2016-results-press-conference.htm>

The ability to collaborate across borders with people from different backgrounds, cultures and nationalities is what drives the world's best universities. For example, Professor Zoltán Takáts, a Hungarian researcher, developed, in collaboration with research colleagues at Imperial College London, a scalpel that tells surgeons immediately whether the tissue they are cutting is cancerous or not. He is now part of a winning team that will create virtual representations of tumors and lead to new ways to diagnose and treat cancer.

The success of London's Francis Crick Institute – Europe's largest centre for biological research and innovation – is directly linked to access to global talent and skills. It is home to highly talented individuals from over 70 countries, with 44 per cent of staff and PhD students, and 56 per cent of its postdoctoral fellows, coming from EU countries outside the UK.⁴⁰ This is in line with London's universities.

International movement is a feature of researchers' careers – 72 per cent of UK-based researchers spent time at non-UK institutions between 1996 and 2012⁴¹ (Elsevier, International comparative performance of the UK research base, 2013). Furthermore, a 2016 GLA-commissioned study focusing on workers from outside the EEA found that a core challenge for London's science and technology firms was "in getting the right skills from within a limited and highly competitive labour market."⁴²

EU postgraduates coming here not only benefit London and the UK directly but have broader benefits for the wider research environment. Researcher mobility supports development of future partnerships and collaborations should a postgraduate student choose to move and flourish elsewhere in the world at a different stage in their career.

In addition to the importance of continued access to highly skilled people, in the research sector it's also important to have access to people in the early stages of their career and specialist support staff such as lab technicians to help facilitate the world-leading science happening in the UK.

Access to talent is also a key concern for the NHS, which employs 58,000 non-UK EU nationals.⁴³ NHS staffing problems could potentially have a negative effect on life sciences sector collaboration with the NHS – for example the pre-clinical and clinical research coordinated by specialist clinical trial units within the NHS.

The government needs to ensure that our research and innovation base can have access to a varied and deep pool of labour from EU and non-EU countries, alongside the nurturing of home-grown talent, both at graduate student and senior academic level.

⁴⁰ <http://data.parliament.uk/writtenevidence/committeeevidence.svc/evidencedocument/science-and-technology-committee/leaving-the-eu-implications-and-opportunities-for-science-and-research/written/35568.html>

⁴¹ <https://www.immunology.org/sites/default/files/How%20the%20UK%20can%20seize%20the%20opportunity%20to%20define%20a%20new%20relationship%20with%20the%20EU.pdf>

⁴² Oxford Economics, 'The recruitment of migrant workers by London science and technology firms', March 2016

⁴³ <http://www.nhsconfed.org/regions-and-eu/nhs-european-office/brexit/implications>

Cooperating in the fight against crime and terrorism

The safety of Londoners is my highest priority. Organisations like Europol and Interpol play a critical role in making sure that our security services have access to the information needed to keep us safe. The Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC) and the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) recognise the importance of international and European cooperation in tackling crime, particularly those crime types which are cross-border such as terrorism, human trafficking, cyber-crime, drug trafficking and money laundering. There is no doubt that leaving Europol would have implications for the MPS and has the potential to increase barriers to accessing intelligence. It is in the interests of all the countries of Europe, to continue to work together. **It is essential that we maintain effective data-sharing arrangements with other Member States.**

I welcome the Home Secretary's recent statement that remaining a part of the European Arrest Warrant (EAW)⁴⁴ is a priority for the government, as the EAW enables quicker and more effective repatriation of criminals. Under the EAW 7,000 EU nationals have been removed from the UK to be tried in other countries for alleged crimes committed there. Over 1,000 British nationals have been returned to the UK to face justice for crimes committed here. Under the EAW this process takes a matter of weeks, rather than the years that it previously took. For example, Hussein Osman, one of the failed 21 July 2005 bombers fled to Italy and was brought back in weeks.

Currently the MPS have access to important information sharing arrangements, such as the Schengen Information System, the European Criminal Records Information System and Passenger Name Records, and the UK has recently opted into the Prüm convention which allows almost instant access to pan-EU DNA and fingerprint records. These measures mean that information is readily available for officers in a quick and efficient manner.

MOPAC would like to preserve the functional status quo in Justice and Home Affairs cooperation in any renegotiation and are working with the MPS to support national policing agencies in the development of a clear ask of the negotiations.

Whatever the future arrangements with the EU, the police will continue to need to be able to share information with other EU countries in order to prevent and detect crime.

⁴⁴ <http://www.parliamentlive.tv/Event/Index/cb65833b-df9c-4e42-93a1-88f38aa2ce77>

Delivering a smooth, orderly exit from the EU

The rules-based global trading system, which has developed and grown over the post-war period, promoting trade, investment and higher living standards around the world, is entering an uncertain and hazardous phase. It is therefore crucial that both the UK and EU act to reduce uncertainty and continue to promote a rules-based and equitable approach.

My worry is that the government have so far failed to instil confidence in the business community that their ambition for a smooth, orderly departure from the EU can be achieved. Though I welcome their commitment to a phased process of implementation between the UK's current status and whatever form our new relationship with Europe will take, the omission of any proposals to cover the eventuality of negotiations taking longer than two years risks the UK falling off the 'cliff edge' to the detriment of London's economy.

In addition to the considerable risks to trade posed by relying on WTO rules for all imports and exports to Europe, crashing out of the EU without an interim deal to cover important issues such as contract law and regulatory compliance could be hugely damaging to a large number London's businesses and therefore to the UK economy as a whole.

The Prime Minister should give herself the time to negotiate the UK's future relationship with the EU comprehensively and effectively. The EU's most recent trade agreement with Canada took eight years to negotiate and is far less wide-ranging than the one the UK government is seeking. While identical regulatory regimes at the point of departure may save some time to achieve a comprehensive agreement maximising market access, to force agreement into an artificial time frame with no interim deal in place is taking an unnecessary economic risk.

The government should put in place an interim deal that could, as much as is appropriate, replicate the market access provided by the European Economic Area in order to provide the medium term certainty that business requires. It is imperative that this deal is not indefinite, with a clear date of expiration to avoid any misapprehension of its purpose. These arrangements would move away from the direct jurisdiction of the ECJ and instead adopt the dispute resolution mechanisms of the European Economic Area Agreement. This tried and tested structure currently governs the compliance of the EU and the three European Free Trade Area (EFTA) States belonging to the EEA – Norway, Iceland and Liechtenstein through the EFTA Surveillance Authority (ESA) and the EFTA Court. These bodies are very different institutions from their EU counterparts, the EU Commission and the ECJ, and their focus is economic. **Such an interim deal must provide for grandfathering of current recognitions and regulations during an implementation period to ensure market stability.**

The Mayor of London's Brexit Advisory Panel

Sir George Iacobescu

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, the Canary Wharf Group

Sir George Iacobescu CBE is Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Canary Wharf Group, a company with assets of approximately £7.8 billion. Sir George was knighted in 2012 for services to charity, the community and the financial services industry in the New Year Honours list. He was appointed Commander of the British Empire in 2003 for services to regeneration and inward investment. He was awarded an Honorary Doctorate of Business Administration from the University of East London.

Xavier Rolet

Chief Executive, the London Stock Exchange Group

Xavier was appointed to the Board of the London Stock Exchange Group in March 2009 and appointed Chief Executive in May 2009. Prior to this, Xavier was CEO of Lehman Brothers in France from 2007 to 2009. He became a member of Lehman Brothers' European Operating Committee in 2003, having joined the firm in 2000 in New York as co-head of Global Equity Trading. He is also a member of the Financial Services Trade and Investment Board at HM Treasury.

Julia Onslow-Cole

Partner, Legal Markets Leader and Head of Global Immigration, PwC

Julia is the Legal Markets Leader and Head of Global Immigration at PwC, which has immigration practices in 154 countries. She has more than 25 years of experience in providing specialist immigration advice and is ranked a number one practitioner in several legal directories. She is a key expert on PwC's Brexit Taskforce and has been liaising with Government and Business following the referendum. Julia and has advised several government on citizenship by investment programmes.

Professor Alice Gast

President, Imperial College London

Professor Alice Gast became President of Imperial College London in September 2014. Imperial is one of the world's top ten universities, with 4,000 students and 2,000 staff from European countries. Prior to her appointment at Imperial, Professor Gast was the 13th President of Lehigh University, Pennsylvania, USA, from 2006 to 2014. She was made a United States Science Envoy to the Caucasus and Central Asia in 2010. In 2012, she was appointed to the board of directors of Chevron Corporation.

Baroness Vadera

Chair, Santander UK

Shriti Vadera is Chairman of Santander UK, Senior Independent Director of BHP Billiton and Non-Executive Director of AstraZeneca. She is currently chairing the European Financial Services Chairmen's Advisory Committee which acts as a senior sounding board for Ministers during the EU exit negotiations. Between 2007 and 2009 she was a minister in the Cabinet Office, the Business Department and the International Development Department. She led government's response to the financial crisis, was an architect of its pioneering bank recapitalisation and funding plan in 2008, and helped design and negotiate the outcome of the G20 London Summit in 2009.

Robert Bourns

President, the Law Society

Robert Bourns is the 172nd president of the Law Society of England and Wales. He took the post in July 2016 after being voted into office, as deputy vice president in 2014. Robert has significant experience managing and developing a growing business across the UK, having been managing partner for six years, and senior partner for four terms, at TLT Solicitors. He specialises in employment law - particularly with associated regulatory law and commercial firm practice management. He also has experience practising as an advocate, having spent the early part of his career in criminal defence.

Lord Mandelson

Former European Commissioner

Peter Mandelson is a former European Trade Commissioner and British First Secretary of State. As EU Trade Commissioner between 2004 and 2008, he negotiated trade agreements with many countries and led European negotiations in the WTO Doha World Trade Round. Prior to this, he was Minister without Portfolio, Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, Northern Ireland Secretary and Secretary of State for Business, Innovation and Skills in the British government between 1997 and 2010, as well as MP for Hartlepool from 1992 until 2004. Last year he became President of the Great Britain China Centre, a non-departmental public body encourages dialogue and collaboration between Britain and China. He is also President of the Policy Network think tank and Senior Adviser to Lazard.

Mark Boleat

Chairman, the City of London Corporation's Policy and Resources Committee

Mark Boleat has been Chairman of the Policy and Resources Committee of the City of London Corporation since 2012. Mark is also Deputy Chairman of TheCityUK and the International Regulatory Strategy Group. He leads the City's work on Brexit and is also a member of TheCityUK's Brexit Steering Group and the European Financial Services Chairman's Advisory Committee. Mark is also a Vice Chairman of London Councils, a member of the boards of Central London Forward (a grouping of eight inner London local authorities) and of London and Partners, the promotional body for London.

Sir Harpal Kumar

Chief Executive, Cancer Research UK

Harpal Kumar was appointed Chief Executive of Cancer Research UK in 2007, following three years as Chief Operating Officer and five years as Chief Executive of Cancer Research Technology Limited. Harpal was Chair of the Taskforce and author of 'Achieving World-Class Cancer Outcomes: A Strategy for England 2015-2020', published in summer 2015. He is a trustee of the Francis Crick Institute in London and chairs the National Cancer Advisory Group. He was knighted in 2016 for services to cancer research.

Vanessa Kingori

Publisher, British GQ

In 2015 Vanessa Kingori MBE was appointed Publisher of British GQ magazine and the wider GQ brand – the first female head of the brand, Conde Nast UK's youngest serving publisher and the first black publisher in its 100-year history. She has a keen interest in youth development and in her role as Visiting Fellow at the University of the Arts London Vanessa supports students through panel discussions, project evaluations and mentoring.

Victoria Quinlan

Chief Operating Officer, Lendlease Europe

Victoria has had a successful and extensive career, with experience in finance, strategy, investment and operations. Over the past 14 years she has driven numerous operational initiatives and the financial and commercial elements of Lendlease's development business in the residential, commercial and retail sectors. Victoria was responsible for leading the integration of Bovis into the wider Lendlease brand when the two companies geographically merged. She has extensive experience in forming and executing business strategies in multiple disciplines across the property sector.

Geoffrey Spence

Head of Global Infrastructure, Lloyds Bank

This year Geoffrey Spence was appointed Global Head of Infrastructure, Resources and Energy at Lloyds Banking Group. Previously, he was the Chief Executive of Infrastructure UK – a unit within HM Treasury's Enterprise and Growth Directorate which supports the delivery of major infrastructure projects where there is capital investment from the public sector (e.g. the delivery of Crossrail, Broadband UK, Smart Meters). He was also the lead Corporate Finance Practitioner in the Treasury. He combines an infrastructure finance background with a track-record of delivering at the heart of Whitehall. Geoffrey worked in investment banking for 25 years, latterly at Deutsche Bank and HSBC.

Sherry Coutu

Executive Chair, Scaleup Institute

Sherry Coutu is a former CEO and angel investor who serves on the boards of companies, charities and universities. She chairs Founders4Schools and The Scale-up Institute and is a non-executive member of Cambridge University (Finance Board), Cambridge Assessment, Cambridge University Press and a NED of Zoopla and the London Stock Exchange Group. She also serves on the Advisory Board of LinkedIn.com. Philanthropically, she supports the Prince's Trust, the Crick Institute and serves on the Harvard Business School European Advisory Council.

Sir John Sorrell

Chairman, Creative Industries Federation

John Sorrell is founder and chairman of the Creative Industries Federation, the independent voice for the UK's Creative Industries. He has served as a UK Business Ambassador since 2009, appointed by successive Prime Ministers to help promote Britain's creative industries abroad. John co-founded the Sorrell Foundation in 1999 with the aim of inspiring creativity in young people. He is chairman of University of the Arts London, is co-founder and chairman of the London Design Festival and in 2016 co-founded the London Design Biennale. John co-founded and was chair of Newell and Sorrell, one of Europe's most successful design and identity businesses, and has chaired the UK Design Council, the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment and the Design Business Association.

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