

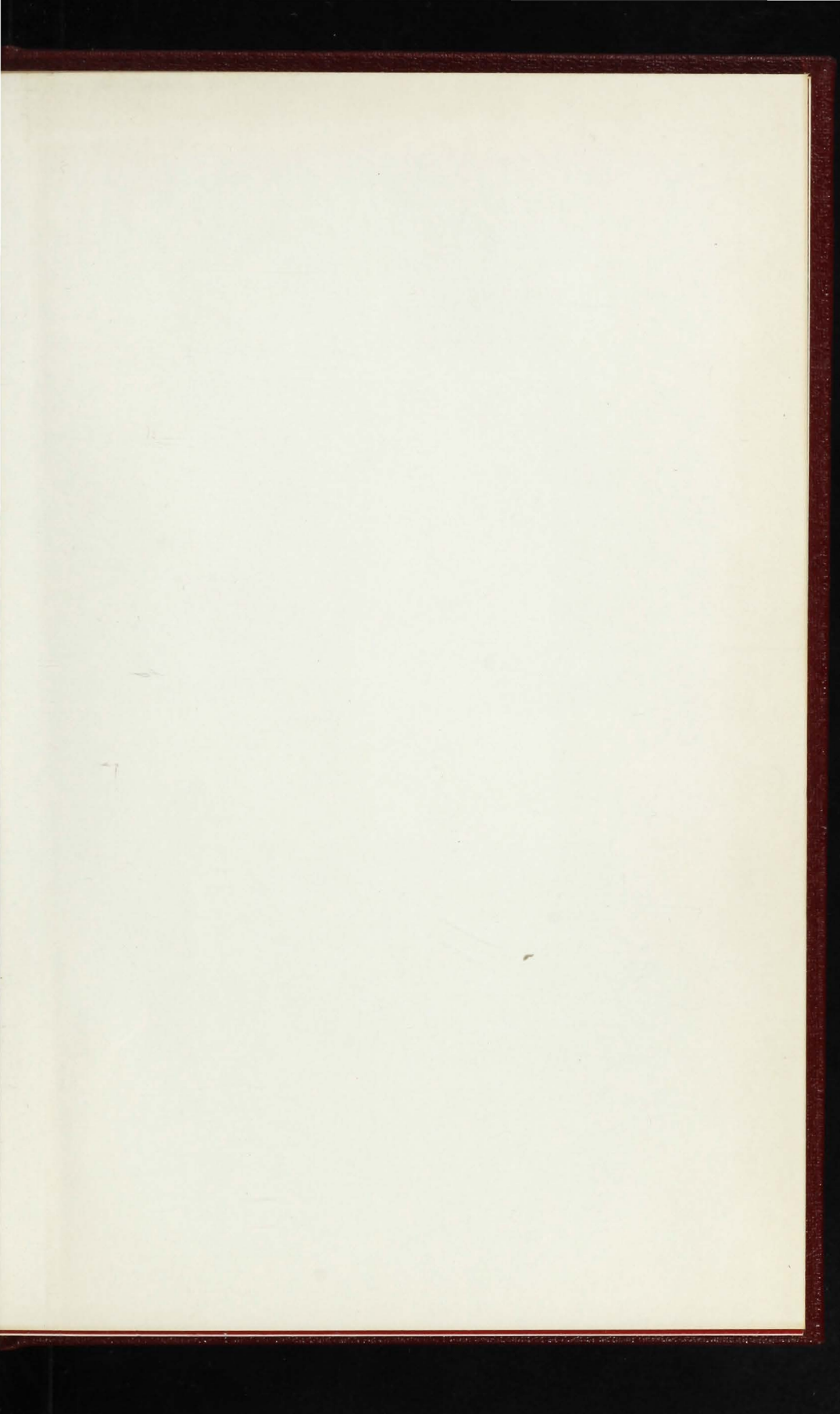


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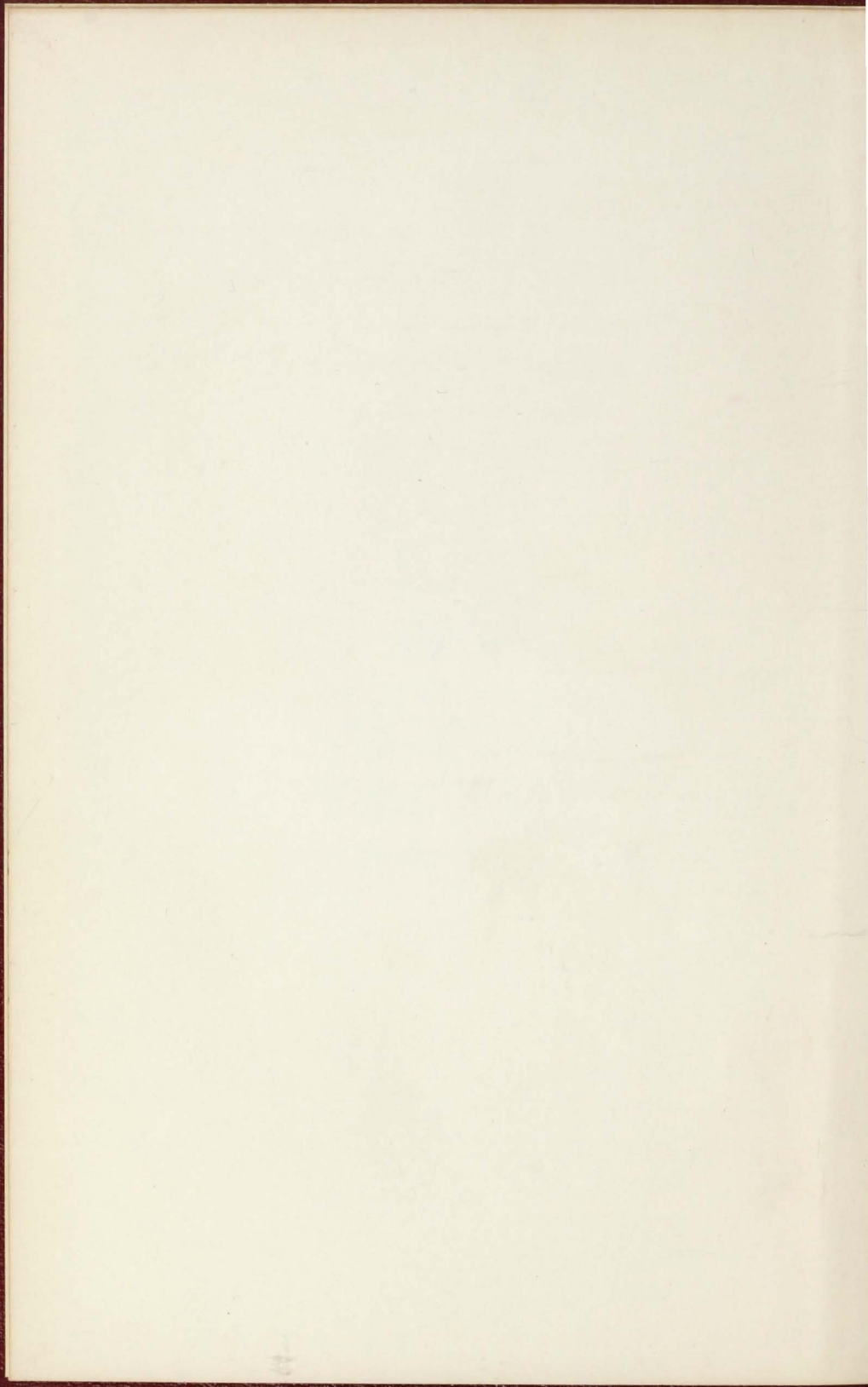


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# Parliamentary Agenda in London

by Peter Hall  
Contract 469



# a radical agenda for London

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## a radical agenda for London

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# 1. London's politics

In May 1981, the people of London go to the polls to elect a new Greater London Council—by far the biggest, and theoretically one of the most responsible, of the local authorities in our reorganised local government structure in Britain. Though the 620 square miles of the GLC area now contain fewer than seven million people—a drop of 1½ million since the peak at the onset of the second world war—the task of running London effectively and efficiently is one of the biggest faced by any local authority anywhere. So it will doubtless be ironic that, as usual in casting their votes the electorate will be expressing a view on the performance of the Westminster Government rather than on the right prescription for London. That may be an existing fact of life, but it is one that badly needs changing.

London politics are not in a healthy state. Voter turnout is low; the issues are often muddled, seemingly designed as gimmicks to win support then to be abandoned. This is supported by the abundant evidence that both Labour and Tory GLCs have run away from the endemic problems that beset London—the allocation of council houses within and between the boroughs; the management of traffic on the streets; the relationship between health care and social services and, above all, the regeneration of London's declining economic base.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that all the problems raised in this pamphlet could be solved at GLC level alone. Some of our recommendations will need legislation, or financial assistance, from central government. Some call for a changing relationship with the boroughs. Some, such as those in the field of health, involve areas over which the present GLC has no direct control. Others point to a change in authority boundaries, or are aimed at the Labour Party itself. Whilst attention in the next year will be turned towards the GLC, any long term strategy must involve a greater degree of cooperation between authorities.

A group of Fabians have been meeting

for over 18 months to provide a coherent policy agenda for the capital. Involving over 50 people, they divided themselves into specialist groups to handle major policy areas such as the economy, housing, education, health and transport. The chairmen of each of these groups then met in a series of discussions to present their groups' policy papers, to discuss them and to weld them into a single Fabian pamphlet. Finally, at a public seminar held in November 1979, the issues and proposals were subjected to wide ranging discussion and sympathetic criticism by fellow Fabians.

This pamphlet is the result. We commend it to the London Labour Party, who are now debating their own electoral manifesto, and to thinking Londoners everywhere—socialist and non-socialist—who care about the future of their city and the quality of London life.



## 2. London's economy

Without a sound economic base—without an expanding range of good jobs with prospects—any policy agenda for London will prove irrelevant and useless. This goes above all for a Radical Agenda. For, necessarily, many of the proposals in later chapters will make calls on resources. London's economy will need to supply those resources—for the declining regional parts of the British economy will be unable to supply them. So the economy of London has to be right.

But jobs matter in themselves, too. They are the foundation of a good life for millions of adult Londoners. No amount of spending on remedial programmes can ever compensate the unemployed, or the poorly employed, for the insult and the waste they suffer. So a healthy economy must be the first priority for London.

At present, it is far from healthy. True, there are strong and growing parts of it; but disturbingly, there are too many fast declining parts. The decline results from large firms closing branch plants, and small firms being lost in redevelopment, at a faster rate than new or expanding firms have created new jobs. This has left vast and unsightly areas of waste land and buildings. Older workers who have lost their jobs may never secure similar employment again. Young people leaving school are reluctant to acquire the skills that are essential to securing a better future.

In devising strategies for reviving London's economy, certain facts of life must be faced. *First*, manufacturing now only accounts for a minority of employment—as low as 20 per cent in many areas. Hence employment policies must be based on a wider range of activity. *Second*, large new factories are unlikely to be set up in the inner areas, as most of the remaining firms are relatively small and there are not many large sites. *Third*, technological change means adapting to new kinds of job if the economy is not to fossilise.

London's economy cannot simply be left to its own devices. Many areas that need new investment lack the conditions that will attract private finance because of

their poor accessibility and environment. Many of the firms on which the economy of London's inner areas now depend are too small to do much for themselves about their environment. Local government has a role to play in economic development through its social and environmental programmes, and through its role as one of the largest employers and buyers of goods and services.

### new strategies

The *first* task is to encourage existing employers to stay and improve the opportunities they offer. For many firms growth is blocked by cramped and inadequate premises and a shortage of suitable labour; these are both areas where local government can exert leverage. The GLC needs to ensure that large employers are not lost to London because they cannot obtain resources which are potentially available. It must establish contact with the 100 largest employers, including public concerns, and reassure them that action is being taken in such crucial areas as transport, education and housing which affect their competitive position. The biggest employers should enter into planning agreements at borough level, to expand their training opportunities and meet environmental objectives. In return the borough and the GLC would undertake to improve transport and other measures to increase the supply of labour.

The *second* task is to realise London's full potential as a seedbed of new enterprise, by providing a range of premises, a helping hand and easier access to public markets. London's position as the major market, and its concentrations of expertise and entrepreneurial people, should allow it to build up new industries to replace those it has lost. This cannot be left to chance; local government must take the lead in ensuring that the climate is right. London must attract employment in industries with expansion potential. One example is the manufacture of office equipment, which already provides some 20,000 jobs in the region. However, major changes are now afoot in product design of office equipment



with techniques switching from electro-mechanical to electronic operation. This poses both a threat to the traditional manufacturing base because largely new skills and manufacturing processes are involved but also a longer term opportunity which should be exploited. London could become a leading world centre for office systems knowhow and education around which new electronic companies would cluster, producing all kinds of employment. The GLC and the boroughs could, for example, establish, in partnership with private companies, an "office of the future" and mount further supportive policies such as increasing the number of ILEA courses on the use of office systems and establishing a university chair in office automation.

The *third* task is to build up London's position as an international centre, taking full advantage of its historical and cultural assets. As well as international headquarters, London should aim to attract branches of smaller operations that would otherwise locate outside Britain, for example by developing industrial parks to high standards on some of the wastelands in the inner areas. It also means ensuring that an appropriate range of office blocks and other facilities, such as conference rooms, are available. This will involve developing closer links between developers, financial institutions and local authorities. It could also mean promoting docklands as a location for international agencies with spin-off benefits.

The *fourth* task is to increase construction and rehabilitation programmes both to provide better facilities and to soak up the unemployed. The expansion of the building industry is an effective way of providing desperately needed employment for the unskilled. The role of direct labour departments is vital; they should be seen as leading the industry in the provision of training and progressive work methods. GLC or government funds should be made available to boroughs with acute unemployment problems to ensure that they can expand their direct labour departments and the training opportunities within them. The development of modern industrial premises and

cleaning up and face-lifting run down areas should provide plenty of new work. This is an example of where expanded public spending would be fully justified in terms of the employment training opportunities it would generate and in terms of its general impact on the economic prospects of London's depressed inner areas.

The *fifth* task is greatly to improve the ability of the least qualified to secure the jobs that are available. There is little point in expanding the range of employment available if people are not equipped to take up the opportunities. In this respect, the "mis-match" between vacancies and the unemployed in London is particularly serious. Local authorities have a vital role in bridging the gap between employers and employees, assuring employers that their needs are being taken into account in formulating policy in areas such as education.

They can also help ensure that employers' selection procedures and internal careers structure are in touch with employees' needs and that employees are given better advice on what jobs are available. A major problem for the development of skilled labour is that many small firms are exempt from Training Board activity and are too small to make other arrangements. The "mis-match" can be eased by better contact with the education system (see chapter 5). There is also a need for more effective training to improve the earning capacity of those with least advantages and without formal qualifications.

The great potential for expansion in "the office sector" would not contradict other Labour policies for the capital. This is because the justification for the original restrictive land use policies of the 1960s and 1970s no longer applies: there is little or no growth in London's economy which could be directed to the "depressed regions", while the need to decongest central and inner London has disappeared. In the current economic climate, office developments are unlikely to create an inflation of land values, especially with careful land use policies.



There is a fear that technological change will make new office developments redundant within 10 years. Increased automation of work in offices should, however, have a limited impact on the two major types of firms which we wish to support: the small firm and the international headquarters. These involve only a small proportion of routine jobs and they are likely to prove the least susceptible to technological change, in contrast to routine activities of major banks and insurance companies, most of which have already been located outside London.

Land use policies should therefore be greatly relaxed especially in the case of small office redevelopment or conversion schemes, and where there is a named tenant. In central sensitive areas, such as the "urban villages" of London (Covent Garden, Soho, Bloomsbury) care should be taken to restrict the amount of new office uses so as to maintain their unique social and environmental character. Suitable locations for new major developments—offices, conference and other ancillary facilities—should be defined in high accessibility areas such as around railway termini in central London, town centres in the boroughs, and selected parts in the belt immediately around central London, which has been most seriously affected by the decline in small workshop industry. This clear and selective policy should allow the continuation and improvement of the mixed employment and residential uses in this belt.

The need, therefore, is to relax office controls—but in the context of a careful, positive land use policy. This would end the climate of office land scarcity and would help realise London's great potential in office based jobs. The basic economic land use strategy, however, needs supplementing by parallel action on other fronts.

*Housing.* It is very hard for some of the groups who are crucial to London's economy to find somewhere suitable to live close to the centre. Yet often tower blocks could provide flats for young single people and childless couples, while waste land could be used to build the

kind of houses and environment that skilled staff leave London to obtain.

*Transport.* In the East End of London, it is essential to build some new roads and river crossings so that industry can operate efficiently, and to use some of the smaller waste sites for car parking. At the same time, public transport must be improved, and some routes altered, to make it easier for people to get to work.

*Education.* Greater preparation is needed for life and work for those who leave school without any further education. This will involve building better links between school and work, so that children can acquire the basic skills they will need to survive and so that employers can be induced to provide better education.

*Environment.* One of the worst aspects of run down areas is the look of the environment with rubbish, graffiti and dereliction. Environmental task forces are required with imaginative programmes that put unemployed people and land to good use and create confidence in the area's future.

## new agencies

The difficulties of securing coordination between large organisations where complex tasks are involved suggest that several new types of organisation should be set up to promote economic development in partnership with the local authorities, community groups, private business and financial institutions.

*Commercial Premises Associations.* A major problem for small firms has been finding suitable workspace in which to operate or expand. Local authorities should therefore sponsor the commercial equivalent of housing associations to ensure that small firms have a better chance of premises and that empty land and buildings are put to good use. These associations would be privately run and, like housing associations, would reinvest their surpluses. Local government's main



role will be in guaranteeing rentals so that the bulk of the money can come from private financial institutions. It would be appropriate to have at least one in each borough, with the GLC monitoring the provision and providing a central body of expertise. Most of the staff of the GLC's Industrial Centre need to be decentralised to borough level to support these initiatives. Development and other controls over businesses that do not cause concern to others might also be relaxed, so increasing the supply of business premises.

*Local Enterprise Trusts and Small Enterprise Centres.* Local government has a crucial role in ensuring that firms that are too small to do everything for themselves can gain advice and encouragement. The best way is through backing independent collaborative organisations which aim to promote the interests of a particular area or sector of industry. This includes expansion of Chambers of Commerce and Trade Associations. These can, for example, organise marketing, training and other services and can promote cooperatives and other objectives. They can draw their initial membership from both public and private bodies and thus create the links that are needed. Support should also be given to setting up locally based design and innovative centres to make full use of London's technological and design know-how, and generally provide support to new businesses.

*London Development Agency.* There are some areas of waste land, often as large as 10 to 25 acres, that need investment in a wide range of facilities before they are attractive to live or work in. Resolution of many inter-agency conflicts is also required. Here a body is needed that can operate with the flexibility, resources and time span of a New Town Development Corporation, but with local project committees, and implementing planning policies that have already been approved. Individual boroughs will be offered the opportunity of drawing on the agency's expertise and resources. There are also advantages in this Agency taking a more strategic role. For example,

there is a danger of industrial estates in neighbouring boroughs competing with each other. The new body must be able to take into account strategic needs, be able to commit funds for a reasonable period of time without fear of unexpected cutbacks, and have the size and expertise to ensure influence in negotiation with outside bodies. It should therefore be run by a Board with either a majority of GLC members or a 50/50 GLC/LBA split. The majority of members should be experts in development.

The new Agency would therefore enter into an agreement with the borough(s) concerned and private agencies and set up partnerships to develop individual sites. Each partnership would have its own project committee and development team, which would have delegated powers over development and access to long term sources of finance. A variant of the successful garden city formula is required, with surpluses reinvested in improved facilities or expanded development. The Agency would be able to sell completed developments to financial institutions and thus draw on substantial funds of the pension and insurance companies to regenerate the inner city areas. A key element should be well designed industrial parks. Care should be taken to create balanced communities with a wide choice of facilities, by breaking larger areas of land, like the docklands, into sites that are small enough to attract most types of developer.

*London Enterprise Board.* Ways must be found of funding the growth of innovative and expanding enterprises. At present there is no organisation capable of playing the role of the NEB, the Scottish and Welsh Development Agencies and the Council for Small Industries in Rural Areas within the Metropolitan conurbation. A body is required, involving experienced industrialists, to perform functions of particular importance to London's economy. These would include tapping the expertise of London's research organisations and universities in new fields, such as microprocessors. The Board might enter into agreements with bodies like the NEB and private financial



institutions to encourage growth in specific sectors. The best way of working would be for it to provide guarantees through the clearing banks, using either the powers of the Inner Urban Areas Act or a possible national loan guaranteed scheme if one is introduced. It would also work through the boroughs' Industrial Development Officers and would advise the boroughs in connection with their planning agreements with major local firms. It would focus attention on three areas of activity: (a) small/medium size firms or projects which would be too small for NEB involvement; (b) sectors of the economy which are particularly important for London's future and need extra support; and (c) assistance to new cooperative enterprises.

*Manpower Development.* Adapting to new technology and the opportunities in service employment requires a massive increase in training. It also needs much more coordination between schools, further education, vocation training and employers. At present, the division of functions between the education authorities and the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) inhibits this and the problem is aggravated by the cutbacks in the training provided by large organisations. Responsibility for organising training should be reallocated to the education authorities. Stronger economic development departments within each local authority should administer employment services and assess what extra training is needed to complement that provided by employers. In the case of small firms, much more assistance should be given to group training schemes on a sectoral and area basis, with the public sector funding the administrative costs.

### **the special problem of docklands**

The docklands area comprises some 5,000 acres of land and water owned by the Port of London Authority and the British Gas Corporation, along with a thin strip of riverside warehouses, and some local authority housing. It forms part of the larger Victorian industrial belt encircling the city, and suffers from the same prob-

lems: a declining economic base and an ageing residential population whose skills are no longer relevant to London's changing economy. But the very scale of the dereliction offers a unique opportunity. Development here can redress the historic imbalance between the east and west ends, and can provide room for a whole range of activities to operate in spacious surroundings. However, little can happen without major public investment, estimated at up to £2,000 million. Money will have to be spent not only on houses, factories and public buildings but also on preparing the land for building. Furthermore, little private industrial development can be attracted without overcoming the area's relative inaccessibility—and this means building new river crossings and relief roads.

Planning has so far achieved relatively little because it has been unable to attract sufficient public and private finance and political consensus to overcome the basic problems. The search for grand solutions, like trade marts and the Olympic Games, has diverted attention from the basic problems.

The policy questions to be resolved, therefore, are what pattern of development should be sought, what level of public investment should be made, and what form of development agency should be used. It is unrealistic to rely on grand scale development. Rather, an incremental approach is needed, building on what already exists. Medium size sites, which require only limited improvement and can be adequately serviced with the existing infrastructure, should be developed first. Priority should go to a mixture of middle income housing for rent and sale plus modern industrial estates, while essential improvements to infrastructure are made. Meanwhile, some of the remaining land would be allocated to permanent recreation uses. Other parts would go to a variety of interim uses, by leasing the land cheaply to various enterprises or providing low cost amenities through "clean up" programmes, such as grassed areas or urban farms. Later, these interim uses will give way to permanent ones, in accor-

dance with a flexible and realistic land use strategy. The aim should be to create balanced communities in which the main needs can be satisfied without travelling far. The model should be that of the urban village. The main economic catalyst should be a range of premises for smaller firms in attractive surroundings.

The most crucial public commitment required is to better transport. Some new roads and river crossings will be the key to unlocking private investment. Existing railway tracks—some abandoned but capable of revival—could provide a low cost option for achieving improved public transport links with central London. Parks, commons and playing fields should be created on the large areas of waste land, to provide much needed amenities and an attractive back-drop to new developments. However, it would be wasteful beyond that to divert public resources from regenerating the adjoining inner areas where far more people live and work.

There is a very difficult problem of administration here. One reason for the slow progress in implementing plans is that local authorities are clearly not able to make long enough commitments of resources, or to secure coordinated and swift actions through the normal committee system. Hence the argument for a new-town style urban development corporation. The problems are that it ignores the need to relate development to closely related areas in the same boroughs; and that it is non-democratic. As an alternative, the local authorities could work through local development agencies, with delegated powers and resources, under the umbrella of the London Development Agency, as proposed above.

A low cost incremental development strategy for the Docklands would have many advantages over the ambitious plans put forward in recent years. It would not divert resources away from inner London and the East End. It would be possible to achieve to a large extent in the medium term, over say the four

year term of a Labour administration. Finally, because of the smaller amount of total resources required, public authorities would be able to exercise fuller control over the future of Docklands, something virtually impossible in the case of strategies based on Olympic Games, trade marts and grandiose projects.

### conclusion

Docklands is thus an extreme version of the malaise that grips many of London's inner areas—but also of the opportunities that exist to remedy the problems. Only new public agencies with new powers, acting in an entrepreneurial way in coordination with private enterprise, can reverse the spiral of decline in docklands and throughout London's decaying Victorian city.



### 3. London's tourists

Tourism is one of the few industries that has continued to grow in London during the 1970s. So it merits special attention in any Radical Agenda. It has two faces: a positive and a negative. On the one hand, it is clearly the stimulator of growth and a creator of jobs. On the other, it does have some negative effects—both for native Londoners and for tourists themselves. It can be argued that the British and London Tourist authorities have been too concerned with development and expansion, rather than with a balanced policy. This chapter tries to seek such a policy—with two objectives. First, it argues the need to develop the industry to produce maximum benefit—for London's economy in general and for its beleaguered public services in particular. But secondly, it sees the need to do this accountably—above all, with proper regard for the quality of life in London, the very quality that tourists seek but that, unwittingly, their presence may threaten.

#### **benefits and opportunities**

As a boom industry, London's tourism is far from stable. After the golden years of 1977 and 1978, 1979 saw an actual decrease in some particularly lucrative markets such as North America. But the opportunities still exist for a vast increase in young, first time visitors looking for holidays that are unplanned and, above all, cheap. Though they spend little individually, collectively they spend a great deal. Furthermore, if they learn to like London, they will surely come back at the more prosperous stages of life.

Parallel to this, as American tourists decline, big increases are likely to occur in visitors from South America, the Middle East, Australia and from Scandinavia. These growing sources of tourist income will be vital if Britain as a whole is to maintain tourism as one of our leading export industries—accounting in 1977 for nearly 18 per cent of invisible exports and 6 per cent of total exports.

The income thus generated already brings a big benefit to the exchequer. Revenue

from VAT on tourist purchases of goods and services was estimated as at £250 million in 1977—apart from contributions to other taxes such as those on tobacco, alcohol and petrol. But more specifically, tourism benefits London through the extra revenue from rates on many commercial premises, and from the extra fares income to London Transport. But one critical aim of policy should be to enhance the public share of earnings. A modest tax on arrivals or on hotel beds is one obvious possibility, which would be relatively cheap and simple to administer. A sales tax, levied on those goods that tourists particularly buy, would be another. Yet another would be a greater public sector involvement in directly retailing tourist goods. In particular, the London Tourist Board—which already possesses some peak retailing sites—could sell a much wider range of goods and services, thus aiding the Board's finances and channelling back resources into the development and marketing of London's tourism. Rate revenues on prime city centre retailing outlets, restaurants and hotels could be levied on a more realistic assessment based on saleable as opposed to rentable values. And the abolition of the City of London as a separate rating authority, proposed elsewhere in this Agenda, would ensure that public revenues would be distributed more equitably.

London's tourism is a major creator of employment. Nearly 300,000 hotel and catering jobs are estimated to exist in the South East and East Anglia. Not all these can be directly related to tourism—but the British Tourist Authority estimates that, in Britain as a whole, some half a million people owe their jobs directly or indirectly to tourism, and perhaps 200,000 of these are located in the South East.

It has to be recognised, though, that not all these jobs are good jobs. Many have appalling pay and conditions, and so have proved unacceptable to native Londoners. Accommodation for hotel workers, in particular, is often a scandal. There is therefore an urgent need for



public action—to guarantee minimal wages, and through local authority licencing to ensure that adequate accommodation is provided.

However, tourism also brings wider, less direct benefits to Londoners. It brings them into close contact with people of different cultures, and is thus educative in an informal sense. It potentially encourages more Londoners to develop their linguistic abilities—especially in schools and colleges. It is particularly valuable in increasing contacts and understanding among the younger generation. These wider benefits could be enhanced—above all by more intensive and more effective language training for those who come into close contact with visitors in information centres and elsewhere.

### problems and challenges

It is no use denying that the very success of London's tourism has brought with it fairly massive problems. The most obvious is one that affects tourists themselves: the massive congestion, especially at peak periods, which helps give London a bad international reputation as a high cost, low quality tourist centre. Often, hotel rooms are small, old fashioned, badly equipped and over priced. This is particularly true at the lower end of the market, for younger people, where there is a major lack of accommodation. Present indications are that the shortage is likely to grow.

This is a problem that could be solved by vigorous public action. There is a need for hostels and cheap, perhaps municipally owned, campsites, particularly where land is readily available. Existing public buildings (such as schools and universities in the summer vacations) could be used to meet the demand for cheap, fairly basic accommodation. Not only could this make a major contribution to solve the problem; it could also be a most useful source of revenue to local authorities, ILEA and the universities.

More generally, there is an urgent need to develop a grading system—such as

has long been used in almost every other European country—to list all London's hotels with fixed prices of accommodation and meals, which would be displayed in every hotel bedroom. Coupled with this, we need a system of licensed private accommodation which could be used to meet peak demands through a central register in the London Tourist Board offices. Here again, London is well behind other European countries such as Germany. In the slightly longer run, there will undoubtedly be a need for many more new hotels at every level of the market. If existing restrictions by planning authorities in the central boroughs continue, many of these developments will have to be further out. The Docklands, with its vast areas of available land close to the central tourist opportunities, offers a tremendous opportunity, though government grants to encourage new developments may be required.

Another way of easing the peak pressures on tourist London must be the encouragement to tourists to visit lesser known attractions in the South East and even further afield. But it has to be recognised that first time visitors, in particular, are likely to continue to be drawn to the famous tourist attractions of central London. It might be better, therefore, to promote more actively some of central London's lesser known attractions—such as the magnificent Wallace Collection, or the Courtauld Gallery.

In the longer run, the problem of the peak load can be met only by encouraging other forms of tourism with a more even spread throughout the year. London can still claim to be a leading world conference centre, and the new developments—at the Barbican, Broad Sanctuary and Earl's Court—should make it even more competitive in the 1980s. But there will have to be even more development. One priority is for a large hotel, able to accommodate conferences of over 1,000 delegates and incorporating full conference and interpretation facilities. A Docklands site, close to the city, would be particularly appropriate. Public policy can help to develop the conference trade in different ways: offering official hospi-



tality to large conferences and attracting major international institutions to London as a basis for regular conference activities.

More generally, the concentration of visitors has some obviously negative impacts for Londoners. Transport facilities are more crowded—though visitors are estimated to contribute around 20 per cent of London Transport's revenue, much of it at off peak periods. Museums and other facilities are so overcrowded and overstrained that there may be too little time for organised school parties. This could be overcome by an extension of the time reserved for such groups on off peak days and at off peak times.

Part of the indirect strain on London and Londoners arises from the need of millions of tourists to obtain information. Here much more could be done to develop a professional information service. In particular, London Transport Information Centres—where there is no requirement for staff to speak any foreign language—are quite inadequate. Generally, information facilities in London tend to be too small, too few, and to have too rigid hours. There is an urgent need to improve them.

At a more local level, the lack of professional attention to tourism can be seen not only in the poor standards of hotel accommodation, but in the deplorable presence of "cowboy" operators in the streets—as well as in the poor standards of cleanliness on the streets and in public places. Only local authorities, with the cooperation of the police, can improve the deplorably low standards which appal so many visitors to London.

Finally, if London's tourist industry is to grow without unbearable strains for all those who live and work in London, there is a need to ensure that the promoting and controlling institutions develop a balanced policy in the public interest. The British Tourist Authority's main task, as defined in the 1969 Development of Tourism Act, is the promotion of British tourism. Logically, the Board and its Committees are dominated

by those with an interest—often a commercial one—in expansion. That emphasis is undoubtedly right, but there should also be representation of other interests—for instance, the Department of the Environment and other relevant government bodies, conservation and heritage groups, and independent representatives. At regional or local levels, similarly, there should be room for a number of local councillors.

### conclusion

Tourist expansion can play a vital role in reviving London's economic prospects at a time when its manufacturing is in decline. Such an expansion can bring benefits over and above the purely economic ones—in particular, through contact between people of different cultures and backgrounds. The most urgent need is to increase the amount of cheap basic accommodation to meet increased demand from young, first time visitors looking for low cost, relatively unplanned holidays. Contacts on a personal level could be improved by an expansion of the twinning arrangements between London boroughs and overseas cities, and between individual schools and institutes.

At the same time, policy must ensure that the growth of tourism does not act to the detriment of the public services. The promoting and regulating institutions must fully reflect a balance of all interests. A greater share of tourist income must be channelled into the public purse. The wages and the working and living standards of employees must be sharply improved. Within such a framework of safeguards and accountability, an expanding tourist industry can make an outstanding contribution to London's future.



## 4. London's transport

London's transport problems are of a different order from those of even the largest other conurbations of Britain. Its commuters travel farther and at higher cost and its drivers suffer worse congestion for longer periods than those of Manchester, Birmingham or Glasgow. Its system is also more complex and fragmented, being the responsibility of a whole host of different authorities: the GLC, the 32 boroughs and the City, five county councils outside London, British Rail, the National Bus Company (Green Line), the Department of Transport and the Metropolitan Police. This divided responsibility is the curse of transport in London. The chaotic conditions of travel in London—whether by rail, bus or car—are in no small measure due to the failure to grasp the nettle of administrative reform.

As it is, the bare facts are evident to any travelling Londoner. London's transport system is a logistical, economic and administrative mess. Given the bleak economic reality of stagnation or worse for the coming decade, the realistic view is that things could get even worse. The immediate problem is to avert rapid decline. There will be no resources for large scale and ambitious improvements—and even if by a miracle the funds were forthcoming, they would not bring concrete results for a decade or more. There is a danger of calling for easy solutions that will fail, leading to further frustration and the collapse of electoral confidence.

### **traffic : the policy vacuum**

The horrendous and deteriorating condition of London's traffic, marked by London Transport's annual reports of increased lost bus mileage caused by congestion, results from a failure of political nerve among London's politicians, for which Labour bears no small responsibility. Since the GLC came into existence in 1965 with a major remit to act as overall transport and traffic authority, the Council has lurched from one policy expedient to another—and has progressively abandoned them all. First

the road building plans were completely abandoned. Then lorry routes, which were to take their place, were rejected. Then the idea of supplementary licencing—with special charges to enter centre and inner London—went the same way. Finally, a radical programme to control car parking was thrown out.

None of this was a result of lack of policy advice. The GLC has one of the largest and most expert—if most disillusioned—body of traffic engineers and planners in the world. It was because the politicians funk'd every decision. Traffic planning in London became a matter of government by pressure group, in which every initiative was stifled because (inevitably) it offended someone. Between them, these groups (freight transport interests, taxi drivers, conservationists, local amenity groups) have reduced traffic to a state of physical and policy paralysis.

Yet all the time, experts have been reasonably agreed on a mixture that could work—given the will. The Layfield Inquiry into the Greater London Development Plan stated it in great detail in its 1972 report. There had to be selective road construction in those parts of London where heavy traffic flows, especially environmentally disruptive lorry traffic, demanded it. But that had to be balanced by a programme of tough traffic restraint in the congested central and inner areas, especially at the busiest times of day. These two programmes could be linked if new road links could be used as cordons, beyond which traffic could only proceed on special conditions or on payment of supplementary charges.

Labour in London must return to that sensible, balanced policy and take a stand on two main policy platforms.

*Selective road construction.* Labour's blanket abandonment of the GLC roads programme in 1973 should be admitted to be the disaster it was. By failing to bring relief to the decaying dockland and industrial districts of east and south London, it exacerbated the already glaring contrast in accessibility between north west and south east London and



made almost impossible the development of a strategy for the regeneration of the latter. While north and west London have excellent access to the rest of Britain via the new radial motorways and the connecting North Circular, East London suffers from a notorious lack of river crossings and from grievous congestion on main arteries such as the A11, A13 and A2.

Fortunately, pressures from the riverside boroughs are forcing a change in these policies. There is real hope of a consensus on a minimal programme, concentrated on: (a) a new river crossing at Barking-Thamesmead, carrying an extension of the North Circular Road southward from Woodford to link with the A2 in Greenwich; (b) selective improvement to the North Circular north and west of this point, to link with the main national motorways such as the M1 and M4; (c) completion of the M11 southwards to Old Ford where it will join the already completed East Cross route; (d) removing the bottleneck between the East Cross route and the A2 radial at Kidbrooke-Falconwood.

In a slightly later stage of the programme, the priority would be the completion of the Northern Docks relief road from Canning Town to Limehouse, giving a high quality radial route from the A13 into central London, and linking with the East Cross route. Even later would come the expensive southern relief road, with its twin river crossings.

All this will take substantial sums of money over a decade or more. But it is not out of line with the sums of money that should be available even after cuts in the national roads programme.

On the other hand, there are some road proposals which London does not need at any price. The main candidate for the axe should be the preposterous plan for an outer ring road on the edge of London, which will simply duplicate the brand new M25 as it is constructed around London in the early 1980s and will decimate suburban communities. The first aim of road planning in London

should be to aid economic regeneration of its hard hit inner areas.

*Traffic Management and Restraint.* A new Labour GLC must firmly grasp the nettle, and introduce a supplementary licensing scheme for central and inner London on the lines twice considered but abandoned due to lack of political will. The main feature will be a supplementary charge to enter inner London, coupled with steeply increased parking charges and a control of off-street non-residential parking spaces to guarantee that they are not used to subsidise car commuting, as now. Certain categories of traffic—buses, taxis, freight, residents—would be wholly or partially exempt from the charges. The aim should be to reduce present traffic volumes by up to one quarter, with inestimable benefits to the free flow of the remaining traffic: essential commercial traffic as well as buses and taxis.

Such a policy, however, will collapse unless it is firmly implemented. To this end, the existing force of traffic wardens should be augmented and made more mobile, to become a traffic police force. Fines for parking offences should be markedly increased and should then be regularly updated to keep pace with inflation. The present absurdity—whereby London's streets are clogged with thousands of illegally parked vehicles, because the risk of a fine is minimal and the amount so low—must be ended immediately and for good. Traffic policing and wardening must be better integrated with traffic planning—which suggests a new relationship between the GLC and the Metropolitan Police, to which we return in the final chapter.

### **improving public transport**

London's transport system, once the envy of the rest of the world, is now in a sorry state. Its stations and trains are often outworn, its services unreliable to the point of being non-existent and its fare levels are among the highest in Europe. Visitors from abroad are shocked by it; Britons in Europe are appalled to



realise how far their system has fallen behind those of their close neighbours. At the root of this malaise is money. London, and British cities generally, subsidise their public transport systems to a much smaller extent than do other European cities. If we want a better public transport system like theirs, we shall have to put money into it like them. As a first step, the proceeds from supplementary licensing should go into revenue subsidy for London Transport. This above all should go to aid London's ailing bus service. Later, there will be an urgent need to invest in new buses, trains and refurbished stations.

Such improvements must be a much higher priority for investment than entirely new routes. With one possible exception, a declining London does not need to spend vast amounts of money on brand new tube lines. The possible exception is the highly controversial Jubilee line extension from Charing Cross, under the city and the docklands, to Thamesmead. On the one hand, Department of Transport economists say that its social rate of return is zero or worse. On the other, its advocates say that it would boost the local economy, improve morale, greatly enhance the quality of life for east Londoners—and, as a prestige project, help encourage British industry and boost the prospect for British construction of new metro systems for cities abroad.

Maybe, however, it is possible to have one's cake and eat it. The Jubilee line extension would be astronomically expensive—£300 million was a recent estimate—because it would tunnel under the Thames five times. It would be possible to provide much of the same service by a much more modest scheme that made maximal use of existing investment: the Waterloo and City line from Waterloo to the Bank, the abandoned rights of way north of the river from Shadwell to Millwall, the East London line under the Thames and British Rail's North Kent loop through Greenwich and Woolwich, plus the pedestrian Thames tunnels at those two latter points. With a few short stretches of

new connecting line, this could provide parallel, linked systems north and south of the Thames, quickly and cheaply.

A Labour GLC should set in train an immediate investigation of this alternative, which—together with the minimal road package outlined above—would provide the basis of infrastructure vital for the regeneration of the docklands. The two would go towards remedying the historic distortion, whereby west London got the lion's share of investment and east London very little.

But east London cannot claim all the investment—great as its needs are. Tube stations need refurbishing in central and inner west London and new trains are needed to replace ageing ones. The bus system needs modern garaging and maintenance facilities, together with radio monitoring and control. All these are urgent and overdue needs.

### **public transport coordination**

London's transport system is the responsibility of some forty conflicting and overlapping authorities, which do not even have identical boundaries (see map). A first essential for a Labour GLC should be to give London a unified transport authority, on the lines of German and French cities and now of Britain's provincial conurbations. This authority would: (a) take over responsibility not only for London Transport but also for all British Rail services running entirely within the extended Greater London areas (see below); (b) assume overall responsibility for physical integration of these services by development of interchanges and through running; (c) develop a plan for integration of all fares and fare collection over all its services; (d) have a statutory place on the new Police Authority, discussed in the final chapter.

An immediate and welcome result of this change would be the development of new services to improve connections across London. To take only two examples, the Farringdon-Ludgate Hill link could be reopened to give through



running between north west and south east London; and the North Kent trains could be integrated into a low cost Jubilee line extension.

However, such a new authority presupposes a revision of London's boundaries. Both London Transport and British Rail's inner suburban trains south of the river operate over an area wider than that of the GLC—though around most of the perimeter, the difference is generally no greater than two or three miles. Such an extension of London's boundaries would be perfectly rational since it would take in physically contiguous areas and parts of the green belt, putting London's boundaries where they ought to be: right in the middle of the green belt and beyond the inner commuting area (see chapter 8).

### **back to the resource problem**

It is clear that even this modest programme is going to strain London's resources to the utmost. Even management and restraint, let alone the capital investment priorities, are going to require substantial amounts of money. Supplementary licensing, plus parking charges, could generate substantial revenues which could then be diverted to the support of public transport. But beyond that, a Labour GLC is going to have to make the insistent point that London has fallen badly behind in the allocation of government support for transport, and that the anomaly needs rectifying forthwith.

### **London Transport fares**

We have stated above that we need to decongest the streets of London. Freight can only be removed by better roads. Passenger traffic, however, should be attracted from cars to the public transport system. Largely, this shift in preference will come from improved services, particularly in those parts of London reliant on buses. Partly, however, a low fares policy can be used to move passengers from their cars to public transport. The subsidy to reduce fares

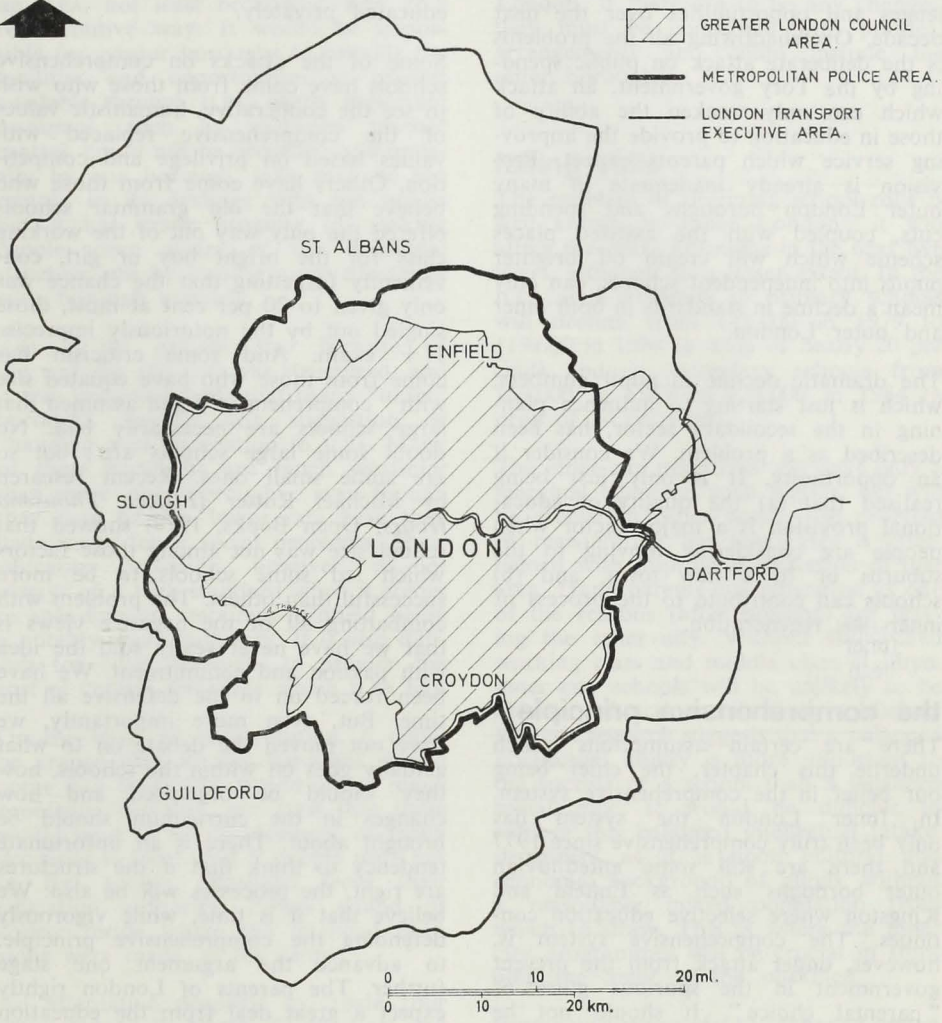
thus needs increasing and fares then held down to attract more users. However, for four major reasons, the call for free fares should be rejected.

1. Any flat fare policy (free or otherwise) will, in London, redistribute resources largely from those in poor areas to those in the richer parts of London. The inner areas are the most deprived. A flat fare policy would, however, make residents here have to pay the same for their (short) journeys as the commuters from Amersham, Watford or Harrow. We do not consider such redistribution socialist.

2. Visitors, whether from outside London or from abroad, would be heavily subsidised by the residents of London.

3. So long as the administrative split between British Rail and London Transport remains, a free fare policy on the latter could not work without distortion of the present distribution of passenger transport. As many commuters arrive by British Rail than are carried by London Transport, making it difficult to justify a massive subsidy to one but not the other type of traveller. Whether passengers would leap off trains as they entered the London Transport area to take advantage of free fares remains to be seen but is certainly a possibility.

4. Most important of all, however, is the question of what sort of service we want to give London's passengers. Above we have stressed the need for fairly massive investment in the public transport system. To allocate at least £600 million each year to subsidising free fares will, almost inevitably, mean that little remains to improve services. But it is the service that must be our priority for resources. Half hour waits for buses; routes finishing at 10 p.m.; uncertain weekend services—these are what leave the non car owner so much worse off. These are what makes the car owner take to his car rather than risk delays and inconvenience. A Labour GLC must put its priority—and thus its resources—towards a better, cleaner, more regular and more reliable service.



LONDON AREAS

This first section has a call from some  
 The parents within the field to  
 first years and for their own education



## 5. London's education

Education in London faces many challenges and opportunities over the next decade. Overshadowing all the problems is the deliberate attack on public spending by the Tory government, an attack which can only weaken the ability of those in education to provide the improving service which parents expect. Provision is already inadequate in many outer London boroughs and spending cuts, coupled with the assisted places scheme which will cream off brighter pupils into independent schools, can only mean a decline in standards in both inner and outer London.

The dramatic decline in pupil numbers, which is just starting to influence planning in the secondary sector, has been described as a problem. We consider it an opportunity. It is only just being realised that (a) the quality of educational provision is a major factor when people are considering moving to the suburbs or to a new town, and (b) schools can contribute to the process of inner city regeneration.

### the comprehensive principle

There are certain assumptions which underlie this chapter, the chief being our belief in the comprehensive system. In Inner London the system has only been truly comprehensive since 1977 and there are still some antediluvian outer boroughs such as Enfield and Kingston where selective education continues. The comprehensive system is, however, under attack from the present government in the spurious guise of "parental choice". It should not be necessary to repeat that it is impossible to have a truly comprehensive system co-existing with any form of selection, whether by academic ability or by ability to pay. On this latter point, the party has been irresolute for far too long. We must end the private sector as soon as possible and we should start by ending charitable status (now being further encouraged by the Tories) by refusing to allow local education authorities (LEAs) to pay for children to attend private schools and by ceasing to give grants for

higher education to those who have been educated privately.

Some of the attacks on comprehensive schools have come from those who wish to see the cooperative, humanistic values of the comprehensive replaced with values based on privilege and competition. Others have come from those who believe that the old grammar schools offered the only way out of the working class for the bright boy or girl, conveniently forgetting that the chance was only given to 20 per cent at most, those singled out by the notoriously imprecise 11+ exam. And some criticism has come from those who have equated size with "comprehensive" and assumed that large schools are necessarily bad. No doubt some large schools are; but so are some small ones. Recent research by Michael Rutter (*Fifteen Thousand Hours*, Open Books, 1979) showed that school size was not among those factors which led some schools to be more successful than others. The problem with combatting all of the negative views is that we have never really sold the idea with passion and commitment. We have been forced on to the defensive all the time. But, even more importantly, we have not moved the debate on to what actually goes on within the schools, how they should be organised and how changes in the curriculum should be brought about. There is an unfortunate tendency to think that if the structures are right, the processes will be also. We believe that it is time, while vigorously defending the comprehensive principle, to advance the argument one stage further. The parents of London rightly expect a great deal from the education system. We must be frank about the failings of the system at the same time as putting forward our ideas for the future. Only by explaining them and by consulting with the consumers will we be able to achieve our plans.

### structure

There has recently been a call from some Tory boroughs within ILEA for them to break away and run their own education.



We would oppose any attempts to break up ILEA, not least because it acts in a redistributive way. It would be impossible for poorer boroughs to provide the facilities and opportunities at present available through ILEA. Many important resources, such as specialist teacher centres, could not be provided economically by one borough. ILEA may be too remote in its dealings with the public but it has made progress by making people more aware of the divisional structure and by liaising more effectively with borough councils.

ILEA is its present size because of the way the old LCC was structured, and it was understandable that many "outer" boroughs resisted any suggestion of "handing over" education to ILEA. Many of these boroughs are much wealthier than some inner boroughs; even though they may have a lower rate base they have many fewer social problems. Their education provision, however, is not always of a high standard when it comes to spending on resources—Enfield being a notably mean authority. It is also difficult for outer boroughs to provide the sort of central resources which ILEA has.

On the basis of redistribution, it could be argued that all GLC boroughs should come into ILEA. This would create many problems, however, not least that there would have to be devolvement of many decisions to local level if people were not to feel totally estranged from their education authority. Power would of course reside where the financial decisions were made, at the centre.

An alternative proposal to create four "mini ILEAs" in North, South, East and West London might be possible, but it is not at all clear that those in East and South London would be able to match the resources elsewhere (depending to some extent, on where the boundary lines are drawn). We conclude therefore that outer London boroughs should be encouraged to cooperate over provision of resources, amongst themselves or with ILEA, to achieve better standards. ILEA works well as presently constituted and we would not wish to see any smaller

authority running education in Inner London. If there are to be any changes, they must be concerned with political arrangements and could include the outer boroughs.

### falling rolls

The problem of declining school rolls is well known in Inner London; it will affect the outer boroughs in the next five years, although to a lesser extent. In the ILEA area, numbers in primary schools will decline from 148,000 in 1979 to 119,000 in 1984 (a drop of nearly 20 per cent) and in secondary schools from 169,000 in 1979 to 128,000 in 1984 (a drop of 24 per cent).

The inner city initiatives will have only a marginal effect on such figures, but will be crucial in other ways. The problem of regenerating the inner city is intertwined with improving education in that area. Many parents cite education as one of the reasons (after housing) for leaving the inner city. Without the skilled working class and middle class children, inner city schools will be unlikely to be able to function effectively. Michael Rutter's research suggests that a balanced intellectual ability is more important to the success of a school than a balanced social mix. It would be difficult to achieve this balanced intellectual intake, dependent as it is upon cultural and economic background of pupils, without a reasonably mixed population from which to draw. This is where the inner city programmes will be crucial in stopping the flight of the unskilled.

Rutter's survey of 12 Inner London schools showed that schools with this balanced intellectual intake achieved most for *all* their pupils, across the ability range. ILEA aims at this intake with its banding scheme, but some other LEAs do not even aim at such a balance. The ending of banding would make it much harder to continue multi-ethnic schools (or, rather, avoid mono-ethnic schools). We recommend that, in dealing with falling rolls, the principle of a balanced intellectual intake, to achieve a truly



comprehensive system, be paramount however this is achieved in practice.

Legislation is needed, along the lines of the Bill proposed by the last Labour government, to enable LEAs to set maximum numbers for admission to a school in order to cope with the problems of running down some schools. However, the problem of voluntary schools will remain and there is a real danger that these will develop into white, middle class "ghetto schools." There is neither political nor educational control over such schools. LEAs are not legally responsible for education in Voluntary Aided secondary schools, even though their revenue needs are met by them, and 85 per cent of their capital expenditure is met by central government. We therefore recommend that the articles of government of voluntary schools be changed to give LEAs, the Church and others one third each of the seats on governing bodies.

Falling rolls will mean having to close some school. This problem may be acute in the secondary sector because, although a school can function reasonably well in the first three years with any balanced intake, at 4th and 5th year level a reasonable number of pupils is necessary to provide a realistic choice of course options. Some contraction of the fairly wide curriculum may have to occur but while the dual exam system persists there will have to be reasonable numbers to provide viable groups at both GCE and CSE levels. We recommend that 150 is a necessary minimum in a year to provide such groups and this means five form entry schools, having a size of about 750 pupils in the first five years. Such schools would not be vast or impersonal; many schools are roughly this size today.

The criteria for deciding which schools shall close should be: (a) the standard of accommodation; (b) the wishes of the parents in the area; (c) the geographical distribution of schools; (d) the educational quality—not just measured by exam success but by other measures such as rates of truancy, staff turnover, vandalism and the contribution of the school to the local community.

There is a danger in imagining that every case will be easily judged by such a list. Clearly it will not, and morale in any school projected to close is likely to drop considerably. We favour amalgamation of schools wherever possible because this means two or more closing and then re-opening as a new school.

Sixth form provision will also be affected by falling rolls. But we emphasise the contribution a sixth form can make to a school, not only in attracting staff of high calibre but also in terms of the beneficial impact that senior pupils can have on the younger ones. The problem will mainly occur with those following A level courses rather than the so called "new sixth" following one year courses. Five is a reasonable minimum size for a teaching group and solutions such as cooperation between schools will not be enough to ensure that minority subjects, such as music or second languages, will be available. Sixth form centres as set up by ILEA in Islington and Tower Hamlets are successful and should be expanded. Pupils and staff remain on the roll of their parent school but meet in a common centre for minority subjects. Where numbers do not permit even this solution, unified 16 to 19 provision will play an increasingly important role.

One of the factors which has caused instability in schools has been the rapid turnover of staff. Schools in London thus tend to be staffed by the young and the old; middle aged teachers have moved out of London after a few years. Falling rolls will mean fewer opportunities for promotion, but unless schools and LEAs develop personnel strategies and continue to provide in-service training they will find that they will continue to lose experienced staff.

### governors

There is a real need to enlarge and enhance the role of school governors—on the general curriculum and on appointments. CLPS should set up Schools Committees, responsible to GMCS, comprising Labour members of governing bodies and



people interested in education. This would be a forum for debate on education and would make nominations for new governors to the GMC.

As to the composition of governing bodies, several important changes should take place: (a) In Outer London, parent and teacher representatives should be allowed. There should be 2 or 3 of each, depending on the size of the school. (b) The head teacher should be an *ex officio* member with full voting rights. (c) There should be some community representation, but this should be limited to specific interests—trade union, industry and further and higher education representatives. (d) Despite the problems of minor status, two sixth form representatives (elected by the sixth form) should be given full governor status. (e) The chairman of the governors should continue to be elected by all the governors, but should be an LEA representative. (In ILEA, not necessarily a member of the authority.) (f) In voluntary schools, the Church representation should be decreased to one third. LEA representatives should use their influence to curtail discrimination on religious grounds, such as in the appointment of staff. (g) There should be one or two representatives of the non-teaching staff of the school. (h) The election of the parents' representatives should be by postal ballot since meetings are often poorly attended.

We would see a governing body along these lines as more truly representing all those with a legitimate interest in the running of the school, while making it possible to achieve the sort of changes outlined elsewhere in this chapter. The effectiveness of such a body will depend on the knowledge and commitment of its members; hence the importance of the recommendations about the Labour Party.

### multicultural education

There is already a substantial body of evidence that many children from some ethnic minority communities in our educational institutions under-achieve

and/or undergo considerable strain in their search for an identity within society. With the virtual end of primary immigration, increasing numbers of those affected will be British born. Given traditional patterns of greater social mobility with increasing length of settlement, we should hope to see second and third generation immigrants in larger numbers in outer London boroughs.

Together these factors have considerable implications for all London education authorities over the next ten years.

A number of useful initiatives have been taken by ILEA; but this is not true of all the outer boroughs. The minimum objective of all LEAs must be that no child or adult in any of their institutions should be inhibited by language difficulties or by a culturally hostile educational environment from benefiting fully from what those institutions offer. Specifically, LEAs need to look at the following areas.

1. *The existing school structure.* Internal organisations both reflect and affect the ethos of a school. Each school should have a clear, stated policy on multi-racial education which is reflected in the way the school is organised. Rigid streaming, for example, conditions the expectations of teachers and pupils alike and makes under-achievement a self-fulfilling prophecy.

2. *Pre-school education.* In many areas not enough is done to ensure that those children most in need (both socially and educationally) have priority of access to limited pre-school provision. Children in need because of their ethnic origin must, if necessary, be sought out and given the social and linguist skills which will help them to benefit fully from education from the age of five. An authority's policies to overcome racial disadvantages and promote multi-racial education must also be reflected in support services to childminders and playgroups.

3. *Language provision.* In addition to providing adequate English tuition for those whose mother tongue is not English,



LEAs should assist those whose mother tongue is other than "standard" English. They should evolve policies on what additional assistance they require, and consider whether this variant can be used to enrich the mainstream of the English curriculum.

Consideration must be given to mother tongue teaching in response to the wishes of the minorities and in the light of experience of pilot schemes.

4. *Educational personnel.* In many educational establishments, minorities are only employed at the most menial levels. LEAs should recognise the influence of educational personnel on pupils' developing self-image. They need to establish alternative methods of attaining necessary standards for entry into teaching and ancillary activities. They should scrutinise the admissions policies of their teacher training institutions and encourage students from ethnic minorities into teacher training. Existing personnel must be left in no doubt about the authority's commitment to eradicate racial disadvantage in education and must be given opportunities for in-service training as well as access to materials which will help them to develop the necessary sensitivities and the ability fully to exploit the opportunities offered by the multi-racial classroom.

5. *Curriculum/materials.* LEAs should recognise both the damage to the self-image of minority children of culturally biased curricula and materials—from history books extolling the glories of Empire to the total absence of black faces in reading schemes—and the scope of educational enrichment for all children of curricula and materials which reflect the cultural diversity of British society.

Such policies will need to be devised and assessed in consultation with the minorities involved. This is not asking for special treatment: as a general principle, schools should be much more prepared to go out into the community they serve and initiate a dialogue. However, specialist educational expertise is also necessary to evolve, implement and

monitor these policies, and this will call for the establishment of advisory posts in multicultural education.

By consulting with the minorities and by utilising the expertise of its advisers, an LEA will be able to look beyond its schools provision to other areas where authorities can foster equality of opportunity and good race relations. These range from ensuring that governing bodies reflect the ethnic composition of the community, to meeting the needs of minority communities in the areas of youth, careers and adult education provision.

## special education

The significance of the recommendations of the Warnock Report has been generally overlooked. It does *not* recommend the integration of handicapped children in ordinary schools. It proposes the abolition of the present categories of handicap and their replacement by a definition of a child's educational needs by, in effect, a prescription of the help needed by the child. The *raison d'être* of the school should be to dispense that prescription.

The priority of LEAs must be to ensure that all teachers in special education, including those running remedial education in ordinary schools, are specifically qualified. At the same time, the very great progress made by ILEA in improving the diagnostic assessment and advisory services should be continued. ILEA already has a superb range of purpose built and equipped special schools. Scarce resources can therefore be concentrated on improving the skills of the various staff involved in helping children with special needs.

The Warnock Report estimated that at least 1 in 5 children at some time in their career need special educational help either in ordinary or special schools. In Inner London that proportion can be as high as 3 in 5. Therefore in-service training of teachers in ordinary schools must enable at least teachers in every



school to improve their skills in identifying and dealing with special needs. The standard of education for older handicapped children (for example by integration of inspectorates in divisional teams) must also be improved and nursery education for handicapped provided.

### the under fives

The years between birth and five are the most formative in a person's life. Good educational and social preparation then is invaluable if the child is to gain maximum benefit from primary and later schooling. A child who can enter the reception class of infant school already accustomed to separation from parents, and the tools of learning (crayons, paper, books) will move earlier and more easily to the acquisition of the formal skills necessary to educational development.

Such preparation is important for *all* children, but particularly for those whose home circumstances are less fortunate. Where the space, money and adult time and attention available to a small child are minimal, his physical, intellectual and emotional development is delayed. Worse, permanent damage can result from a combination of misfortune common in London—poverty, lack of love and attention, physical or mental handicap or abuse. Public provision of pre-school care and education can mitigate such disadvantages and ensure that *all* children have the best possible start in their school and social life.

Clearly, the provision of nursery schooling is central to this preparation. All children need access to programmes aimed at developing their powers of reasoning, their skill in communication and their understanding of quantity and form.

Such provision is far from universally available and what is on offer is the most threatened aspect of any education budget, at a time of restriction on public expenditure, since local authorities are not required by law to provide it. We therefore recommend a statutory change,

obliging LEAs to provide nursery education for all children aged 3-5 wishing to make use of it.

However, nursery education represents only one need of young children. School days are much shorter than most working days, and school holidays longer than those granted by most employers. Thus the young children of some working parents require care beyond what is provided by nursery schools. Children under three years old are anyway too small to benefit from formal nursery education but, if their parents work, they need care from day centres, play-groups or childminders working in their own homes. Additionally some parents want provision which permits their own involvement in the care and development of their children.

To provide a network to cater for the multiple requirements of young children and their families at local level a single team of officers from social services, health and education departments and from voluntary organisations should be established to devise and execute a plan for each area.

All children over three years old should have access to nursery schooling, either through attendance at nursery class for some part of each day irrespective of their care for the rest of the time, or through the presence in the playgroup or day centre they attend of nursery teachers working with other staff.

Training opportunities should be made available to all those working with young children, including playgroup leaders, childminders, day centre staff and parents. Salaries and conditions of service for all such workers, including nursery teachers, should be harmonised. The cost to parents of various kinds of provision should not vary widely (ideally all should be free) with each child placed in a way most suited to his need, not to his parents' ability to pay.

Such a programme, recognising the importance of the integration of health, education and care in a young child's



early development, would eliminate any notion of competition between those promoting them. It could demonstrate the capacity of our society to recognise its responsibilities to young children and their families, while maximising the benefits to be derived from later education.

### **schools and preparation for working life**

Because of the influences of the universities and the assumptions, backgrounds and traditions of teachers, the modern curriculum does not adequately equip pupils with all they need to have a genuine choice of career. (This is *not* to say that standards are falling—merely that some of the standards are now inappropriate). In an industrial society, pupils need a high level of literacy and numeracy, a familiarity with science and, increasingly, technology, and of the social and organisational consequences of changes in technology. School curricula do not reflect these priorities sufficiently.

Given that the needs of employers vary widely and that with technological change there will be a greater emphasis on re-training through life, it is unrealistic to expect schools to meet the demands of all employers, even if this could be done without harming the other objectives. The approach should therefore be to develop general verbal, numerical and social skills. There are opportunities to develop courses with vocational emphasis, however, and, because of their restricted background, teachers need to take outside advice and help. Where courses are devised with vocational emphasis, employers should be involved in course planning.

Courses for the "new sixth" (those remaining at school but not following the traditional path of A level) should be devised in close collaboration with employers and trade unions. Those who go into the new sixth leave school too old to take apprenticeships and may, without specific training, have less to offer when they seek employment courses. Link courses between schools and further education colleges and work experience

provide understanding of work. But frequently the experience is of one type of work and does not educate for choice. A taste of a variety of types of work and skills should be provided by such programmes.

"Careers" education may be carried out throughout the curriculum, for example, in social education, or in English in the development of communication skills. The role of the careers teacher is crucial in being a co-ordinator in such a broad approach to careers and employment. But if a careers teacher is to influence his colleagues, he must both be trained and in a senior and powerful position.

A new post of Careers Adviser/Curriculum Co-ordinator should be established at senior teacher level. In this way, "feedback" from industry, the civil service and other employers could be matched against the departmental interests in a school. The LEAS, through their Careers Inspectors, could offer advice and direction to the Co-ordinators to ensure that some uniformity developed and that the work of the DES inspectorate was properly considered.

Physical resources (such as careers rooms, with well displayed information and facilities for interviews with Career Officers) should also be provided. These teachers will also need time from teaching to operate effectively and to liaise with the careers service.

### **post school provision**

Most school leavers go directly into employment and do not then receive any further education, not even day release. Initiatives, which would require the commitment of FE facilities and considerable work with employers by FE teachers and careers officers, are needed to develop vocational preparation for this group.

If falling school rolls permit careers officers to develop the careers service there are three areas which require urgent attention: (1) *developing services to employers* by (a) improving vacancy

handling systems and co-ordinating them throughout London, (b) developing advisory services to employers in recruitment and employment of young people; (2) *developing advisory services to young people*, partly by the implementation of the vocational preparation programmes; (3) *developing vocational guidance for all*. This is a service available on only a limited basis and also provided commercially or, for some, through agencies of the MSC. This leaves many people not adequately provided for. The case for developing an all-age service based on careers services of LEAS is: (a) vocational change continues for many people into mid and late 20s and often beyond; (b) change will tend to increase with the effect of technological progress; (c) as continuing education develops there will be a greater need for guidance and counselling beyond the scope of present provision.

The role of careers officers should be seen here as counselling. In view of technological changes, workers will increasingly need counselling in life styles in which employment is an integral part. Training, both initial and in-service, of careers officers should recognise these demands.

## conclusion

We have highlighted the need for changes in the curriculum and in the structure of the school to enable the preparation for life to be more adapted to the needs of modern society. We also recognise the need for continuing guidance after the end of formal education—the man or woman retiring after 40 years with the same firm or even in the same trade is going to become increasingly rare. All this, of course, requires the commitment of resources, but the results in terms of human satisfaction will be immeasurable.



## 6. London's housing

London continues to have very acute housing problems, as bad as those found anywhere in the country. Some are familiar: poor conditions in private rented housing, the continuing shortage of homes overall, homelessness. Others, however, are less familiar: the growing problem of old and newer purpose built council housing which does not provide a satisfactory living environment (a problem worsened by accelerated economic decline in inner London); the growing dissatisfaction of council tenants with management services which, even if they are not actually deteriorating, have certainly failed to meet the expectations of tenants; and the sharply worsened problems of access to housing, especially for the young and mobile. Labour's policies must adapt to these changing problems.

Council housing, owner occupation and co-operative and democratically controlled, socially owned housing all have a role to play in a socialist society. The precise balance between tenures in any area is a matter for local decision, provided there is no shortage of housing in any tenure (as there is at present in the rented sector).

The fundamental organisational and financial features are, however, matters of national policy. The Labour Party nationally does not have a coherent policy on these matters. All sections of the movement have acquiesced in the continuation of gravely unfair financial arrangements which have left council tenants and poorer owner occupiers at a disadvantage compared with owners on middle and higher incomes. They have acquiesced in declining conditions on many council estates and the building of poor quality homes with inadequate though given to the design and management of the surrounding environment.

Through a lack of attention to what tenants have been saying, the Labour Party's vision of first class housing for all has now too often faded into a bitter reality of decay and alienation which threatens to destroy the party's claim to speak for working people and to weaken the credibility of public intervention.

In many parts of London, the decay of the housing stock and the worsening of the living environment, in both public and private sectors, play a vital role in accelerating economic decline. We believe that Labour's housing policies must contribute to economic revival. The whole relationship between housing and employment must be taken more seriously than it has been in the past.

### new building

Much has been made by the Tory GLC of the apparent reduction in the excess of households over dwellings in London. They have used this to argue that there is no longer a housing shortage. They are wrong. In the first place, the London boroughs' own housing investment programme forecasts point to very different conclusions. Even in 1986, there will still be a shortage on these figures. New registrations on London borough waiting lists reached record levels in 1978/79. Moreover, problems of sharing, overcrowding, substandard dwellings and homelessness remain very serious.

More importantly, it is common sense that new building should continue whilst unmet needs remain and where suitable sites are available. The substantial shortage of housing in London, particularly to rent, can only be met by local authority action. Provision by the outer boroughs is crucial in this respect and, while shortages of land severely constrain the total building possible, existing programmes must be substantially increased. As a minimum, a Labour GLC should restore new building to its 1976/77 level.

This increase in building must not be made at the expense of a good living environment. Far more attention must be paid to the design of estates. Tenant participation in design briefs and on major planning applications should be encouraged. High densities, whether high or low rise, must be avoided. In the distribution of available resources, higher priority must be given to investment in the quality of the environment.



The shortage of public sector housing to rent has been aggravated by the Tory GLC's policies. Not only have the Tories cut the GLC's building programme; they have also been selling existing and newly completed homes on a large scale. Total starts of council houses in London have fallen drastically from 24,190 in 1976 to 7,500 in 1979. The Labour Party must aim to make good the loss of homes to rent both by building and by acquisition from the private sector. In particular it must strive to restore the choice of attractive dwellings.

### rehabilitation

Figures from the National Housing and Dwelling Survey show the extent of the problems in the private sector (rented or owned). Given the relative failure of area action (HAAS and GIAS), there must be a commitment to direct action through municipalisation or social ownership by acceptable housing associations which work closely with local communities. Improvement by owner occupiers should be encouraged by easy access to mortgages and grants. The GLC should urge that "red-lining" of areas for mortgages is not allowed to occur.

### purpose built council estates

There is another problem of growing significance. There is almost an unwritten assumption that all purpose built public sector housing is of good standard and in good condition. But, like all housing, it ages and what was considered an acceptable standard when built is often no longer so. A substantial proportion of the stock now requires modernisation to meet currently acceptable standards. The problem goes deeper than this, because even properties built in the 1960s, whilst providing perfectly adequate housing, are in an unsatisfactory environment. Too many tenants simply want to get out. Families in high rise flats are the obvious examples, but tenants in many other modern estates with high density and large communal areas also feel insecure and dissatisfied. Local authorities' own

letting policies, if they create a concentration of disadvantage, can contribute to a situation where some estates are positively avoided by potential tenants.

London has a wholly disproportionate share of the national problem of hard-to-let council dwellings. With 16 per cent of the population, it has 40 per cent of the national total of hard-to-let dwellings—108,000 out of 230,000. These appalling problems cannot but hasten London's continuing economic decline: unless there is an attractive living environment, then both workers and employers will move elsewhere when possible.

A massive programme of improvements to council estates, with an emphasis on environmental improvements, must be launched along the lines of the Labour Party Policy Statement, *A New Deal for Council Tenants*. The remedies for these problems will depend on the particular estate involved, but will include reducing communal areas, incorporating communal parts as private gardens, bringing greater security to communal areas by providing entry-phones, and reducing the child density of some estates through altered letting policies.

### access and mobility

People's ability to move to a new job in a new location is essential in a changing economy. Moreover, freedom to move is desirable in itself. Owners are reasonably well able to move; tenants are in a far worse position.

In the council sector, a Labour GLC must commit itself to a vastly expanded inter-borough nominations scheme in order to increase mobility. In 1978, the GLC moved only 3,256 families from inner London to outer London, as compared with 6,246 in 1976. Council house sales and the Tories abandonment of building in outer London will reduce this further.

The inter-borough nomination scheme (IBNS) must be built up, to at least 10,000 per annum. Moreover, movement opportunities should be spread much more



evenly. This means into outer London. The only outer boroughs receiving substantial numbers of families in 1978 were Greenwich and Enfield.

Once there is an adequate IBNS, permanently safeguarded by statute, there is no reason to oppose the transfer of management of GLC estates to the boroughs. The major obstacle to transfer will then be that much of the GLC housing stock is of poor quality which needs improvement. Putting that right should be a major issue for the GLC. It must not try to avoid its housing responsibilities.

In the private sector, the declining availability of rented housing has created severe problems of access, especially for the young and mobile. The continued liberalisation of council lettings policy is part of the answer to these problems. But the Labour Party must also commit itself to supporting the rapid build up of co-operative and democratically controlled housing associations.

A mixture of tenures is essential in all parts of London. In outer London the need is for more council housing, to spring the "housing trap" identified by the Lambeth Inner Area Study. Tenants in inner London need the freedom to move to rented housing in outer London; most are simply not in a position to buy. In inner London, economic revival demands the development of alternatives to council housing. Whilst an aggressive policy of acquisition and council building is necessary in outer London and outside London, the near monopoly of housing in some inner areas by the public sector poses its own problems of choice; more should be done to encourage owner occupation in such areas and to promote other socially owned alternatives to the private rented sector, such as housing associations. There is also a place for some equity sharing, community leasehold and co-operative housing schemes.

### **housing management**

The Labour Party must recognise that many (and in some areas most) council

tenants have become extremely unhappy with the state of council housing management. Therefore, it is essential that the party undertakes a more positive commitment to better management practices throughout London. This will involve action in a number of areas.

Consideration should be given to involving some tenants directly in management. In improving some high rise blocks, for example, communal areas have been made defensible and secure by the introduction of door porter systems. For that type of development, the caretaking could be done on a part time basis by tenants of the estates. These tenants should be paid the rate for the job and have proper conditions of service. The main problems in establishing this form of more practical localised management are staff attitudes and local authorities' own fears of the reactions of public sector unions. Improved training of staff and discussions with public sector unions are essential.

Mobility throughout the public sector should be encouraged. For the majority of tenants, a statutory right of transfer would have far more meaning and relevance than any statutory right to buy. As a minimum, there should be a quota for transfers, for example a stipulated percentage of lettings should be given to people who want to move home. The Labour Party must ensure that council tenants have a greater freedom of choice over where they live.

More investment in improving existing public sector housing stock is essential. Transfer requests are often an indication of an estate with a deteriorating environment and neglected fabric. This means that lettings are only made to those absolutely desperate for a home. However, the more fundamental problem is not in modernising the homes themselves, but in ensuring that the environment of estate living is satisfactory.

The Lambeth Inner Area Study underlined the importance of the maintenance and development of communities in local authority housing, which can only be



achieved if lettings take into account the desire to be near relatives and if children are given a right to be rehoused. Such a policy conflicts with the traditional and still highly relevant "needs" criteria of rehousing, but this change of emphasis should be accepted so that broader management problems are minimised.

If a management service is to meet tenants' aspirations, it is sensible to encourage tenant involvement. Already, progress has been made by a number of local authorities in developing co-operative management. This concept should be developed further and greater independence given to co-operatives on purpose built council estates.

Tenant participation ought to be extended and is likely to have the best prospect of success amongst smaller groups, perhaps involving the division of some larger estates for this purpose. The role of local authorities should be to identify the conditions in which participation is most likely to work, and work towards them, rather than attempting to impose a rigid formula of participation throughout an area. The advantages of participation can only be fully realised where the commitment of tenants exists, not where the scheme is imposed from above.

Not only should encouragement be given to tenants' associations, with grants being given by local authorities to help them run their affairs efficiently, but they should be consulted and their views taken into account before decisions affecting them are implemented. Whilst tenants will have an interest in major issues of housing policy, the most important and immediately relevant issues for them are those that affect their own home or estate. Any form of consultation should ensure that proposals which affect their estate are presented to tenants before decisions are finally taken by the housing authority.

For tenants, there is another area where considerable problems occur. This is in repairs. Whilst for most tenants repairs can be done quickly, there is a continuing substantial residue of complaints

against most housing authorities that repairs do not get done either quickly or correctly. Attempting to get action can be frustrating or even impossible.

Throughout London, housing authorities have many thousands of properties, all dealt with from central departments with some delegation to their area offices. Even these area offices deal with management issues for several thousand tenants. There is no housing authority that has maintenance directly under the control of local management. At best they work alongside, with overall control being exercised at the most senior levels within departments of housing. The result is long lines of communication between tenants through area offices, sometimes on to the centre, then back down through the maintenance departments (very often in building departments separate from the housing departments) to the person who does the repair. The objective of housing management should be to give a responsive service to tenants and expect in return that tenants meet their obligations. This can happen only if decision making and control over resources is moved closer to the tenants and their problems. The person dealing with tenants must have the power to ensure that the repair gets done.

This suggests a need for a major change in the organisation of housing departments throughout London. There must be de-centralisation: not merely to area offices but down to estate management level, with co-ordination undertaken centrally. The main problem for Labour local authorities has not been any lack of willingness to vote monies to improve their housing management service, particularly to get repairs done quickly and effectively, but the failure of the system to deliver. That is what must be changed.

### **coordination of housing strategy**

A strategy for housing in London must have four main elements: to establish what housing is required within London



and where it is required ; to ensure its provision ; to give access to public sector housing on equal terms for all Londoners and to ensure that those who need to move from one part of London to another can do so.

The GLC alone cannot decide a strategic housing plan. If the GLC produces a plan, it cannot implement it without the agreement of the London boroughs, as it is the boroughs which provide the majority of public sector housing in London. The only successful strategic plan will be one in which general agreement is reached between the boroughs and the GLC on these 4 broad elements and on the level of expenditure. If the plan is then made binding on all parties, and monitored by a joint committee of the GLC and the boroughs, then there could be a basis for a successful strategy for London. That joint committee should reflect, in its representation, the fact that the London boroughs undertake more housing activity than the GLC.

Such arrangements should be made statutory: the history of attempts to secure a strategic housing plan in the absence of legislation proves this beyond argument.

In running its own programmes, a Labour GLC should not act simply as a 33rd London borough. It should use its position to highlight the difference in standards operated by various housing and to point out those areas of housing provision which are lacking within the capital. It should take the lead in developing London's housing strategy and concentrate primarily on this, intervening directly only to make up for deficiencies in local action or resources.

# 7. London's health

By "Radical Agenda", we mean a redirection of policy which will challenge traditional assumptions about the methods of providing health care, whilst asserting the importance of traditional goals. A Radical Agenda which focuses on an improvement in the quality of and access to health services for the people of London will take as its starting point the original objective of the NHS in the 1946 Act: "the promotion . . . of a comprehensive health service designed to secure improvement (a) in the physical and mental health of the people . . . and (b) in the prevention, diagnosis and treatment of illness, and for that purpose to provide or secure the effective provision of services."

This can be defined more closely thus: "We believe that the NHS should encourage and assist individuals to remain healthy; provide equality of entitlement to health services; provide a broad range of services at a high standard; provide equality of access to these services; provide a service free at the time of use; satisfy the reasonable expectations of its users; remain a national service responsible to local needs" (Royal Commission on the National Health Service).

The Royal Commission admits that "some of these objectives lack precision and some are controversial . . . some are unattainable, but that does not make them less important as objectives." It is also possible that some of them may be incompatible with others but they nevertheless provide a framework on which to hang specific proposals which should improve the broad range of services, the balance between primary care, community services and hospital care, and produce a national service which can respond to local needs.

## the special needs of London

In London, the area most in need of a radical approach is primary care. It is difficult to discuss this without drawing attention to the vast inequalities which exist throughout the four regions which

include London, with the worst problems concentrated in the inner city areas where a declining population and a far from suitable living and working environment combine to make many practices unattractive for the young, able and ambitious GPs. The link between a decline in the quality of primary care and the unattractiveness of the inner city generally becomes even more important if one accepts the necessity of General Practitioners living as close to their practices as possible.

The Royal Commission drew attention to the evidence of primary health care difficulties in inner cities and how this applied in London. 31 per cent of GPs in London were single handed compared with 16 per cent in the rest of England. They were also disproportionately old and had smaller lists than their counterparts elsewhere: 35 per cent of London practices had less than 2,000 patients, while the national figure was 20 per cent.

The increasing tendency of many inner city areas to include a disproportionate number of both "problem" and wealthy inhabitants has particular implications for the health services. The fact that the population also tends to be exceptionally mobile creates further problems. In the words of a study on *Health and the Single Homeless* carried out in Earls Court, "The right way into the health service is through the GP. For those with no fixed abode, getting a GP service is very difficult . . . The method of paying GPs assumes that everyone moving to a new area will register before they are ill. This does not apply to transients—they are unlikely to register before they are ill—they may not be staying" (Kensington, Chelsea and Westminster South CHC). Moreover, there is a problem which the increases in information services and means of access proposed below cannot fully cure. Many of the transients may have arrived in London with the intention of achieving more independence and the traditional family type relationship with a GP may be a symbol of the type of institution that they are trying to avoid. The Royal Commission saw such evidence in



a Liverpool survey (Royal Commission on the NHS).

Whatever the reason, registration is a problem in many areas. A study carried out in the Kensington, Chelsea and South Westminster area found that only 70 per cent of those questioned were registered with the NHS although a further 15 per cent were registered privately (*The Family Doctor in Central London*, Kensington, Chelsea and Westminster South CHC). Even the 85 per cent figure looks rather low when it is remembered that the sample was taken exclusively from those on the electoral register—that is, the most stable section of the population. In an area where some 20 per cent of the inhabitants have been known to move in the period between the register being compiled and its coming into force six months later, the actual figure of those without cover is liable to be higher than that in the sample.

A further problem is that in some parts of London—for example, Kensington and Chelsea—while there is statistically no shortage of GPs, it is very difficult to find a doctor with whom to register at all. This is where the inner city loses out through having a relatively large affluent sector of the population, as well as a relatively large deprived one, side by side. The problem is particularly acute for elderly patients attempting to register, although the Kensington, Chelsea and South Westminster survey suggested that senior citizens do not use the service significantly more frequently than other groups. The lists of doctors available from the FPC give no indication of a doctor's willingness to take new patients, nor his particular interests; one of the main reasons for the problem of access to lists is the alternative attraction of private practice for doctors. A common system is to accept only 1,000 NHS patients and then pursue other medical activities, such as private patients, occupational health services and work for insurance companies. Thus new doctors cannot be brought into the neighbourhood, for instance in a health centre, as it is technically over doctored.

At the same time, whilst such lucrative alternatives exist, it will clearly be difficult to persuade well trained and ambitious London doctors to take full NHS rolls.

## the private sector

The existence of the private sector has other unfortunate effects on the NHS and on its personnel. The Wellington Hospital, for example, could absorb over 200 nurses who have been trained at the expense of the NHS, which itself is forced to compete in adverse circumstances for these and other ancillary workers.

Similarly, the number of firms in London which use private health care as an inducement to recruit (senior and not so senior) staff is a factor in decreasing and diluting health provision in the public sector. The influence of private medicine in the health service cannot be assessed in economic terms only.

## access to services

Competition for personnel and the extent of solo practice mean that it is extremely difficult to implement the policy of moving the emphasis in the health service from a secondary/institutional/hospital base to one of a primary/community/general practitioner nature in the inner city. This trend has particular application in London where, despite the poor levels of primary care, numbers of hospital beds have remained relatively satisfactory. Hospital facilities in London have traditionally been used as a substitute for community services, particularly where the GP and his ability to provide a 24 hour service have been questioned. Thus the problem of access to primary care has considerable implications for policy at all levels. The study of GPs in Camden showed that single handed-GPs "did less preventative work, stitched fewer cuts, referred fewer patients to hospital, undertook fewer home visits, arranged less domiciliary care, had less contact with other professionals and were less aware of other



facilities than GPs in larger practices". Other organisational problems which affect access are surgery times and methods of making appointments. In one area of London, almost one third of practices was found not to have a surgery after 5.30 pm, while many employers were unsympathetic to their employees taking time off to attend a surgery. There is a need for flexibility here as with methods of making appointments. On the whole, a mixture of prior appointments and a walk-in system seems to maximise patient satisfaction.

A telephone answering service and an after-hour service are obviously important; but although doctors are obliged under their NHS contracts to provide the latter, several telephone calls are sometimes necessary to locate it, often in areas where public telephones are heavily vandalised.

Thus much of the debate over the GP service in London has been concerned not merely with its organisation but with its quality. A study in Hackney showed that almost 68 per cent of GPs had graduated over 20 years before, with 27.9 per cent (compared with a national average of 14.4 per cent) being over 60 years old (*GPs in City and Hackney District, City and Hackney CHC*). The Camden study showed that elderly doctors were "less aware of available facilities, had less contact with other professionals, attended fewer meetings and did less preventative work than the younger ones."

This will affect some parts of the service more than others. For instance, attempts to ensure proper abortion facilities can hardly be helped by high numbers of older GPs. In Hackney, only 35 per cent of abortions were carried out on the NHS and only 31 per cent of GPs, when questioned by the CHC, felt that proper facilities existed. Falling school rolls might lead to a decline in the School Health Service if steps are not taken to ensure that standards are maintained. On the other hand, the proportion of elderly people in the inner city is increasing; and there is already a shortage of geriatric beds, which makes the inadequacies

of primary care for the elderly more evident. Other problems, such as alcoholism and drug abuse, will always be present in the centre of the "big city."

## health centres

Many of these problems would be alleviated by the development of health centres, and the Royal Commission makes a clear recommendation that this should be done. The Report states that "good practice premises are a vital incentive to staff of high quality to work where they are most needed" and refers to the recent DHSS advice urging health authorities to give priority to building health centres in deprived localities and specifically encouraging such building, even where there is no assurance that local GPs will staff them. Further, the Royal Commission firmly recommends a departure from the private independent contractor status of the GP. In order to attract young doctors to health centres, local authorities "should experiment with offering salaried appointments and reduced list sizes."

The two main obstacles to the development of health centres are resource allocation and administrative procedures. A commitment to the improvement of primary care in the inner city will mean convincing the authorities that health centres are the best solution. The story of the Polygon Health Centre scheme in Somers Town, Camden, is an example of how a vital project can take many years to be agreed upon by the various authorities involved. This project was already under discussion as long ago as 1974, and the borough council at no time has doubted the need for a health centre in this deprived area (Camden Borough Social Services Committee Agenda, 12 September 1979). The RHA still hopes to solve the problem by encouraging present GPs to improve their accommodation, but while they admit that there is a good case for "speculative" centres in deprived areas with high building costs where it is difficult for GPs to improve their own premises, the RHA is not convinced that Somers Town



is the best place for such a centre compared with other areas such as Newham and Haringey. At the same time, the scheme has to compete for scarce resources with other capital priorities such as the improvement of the Whittington Hospital. In view of the point made earlier about the traditional role of hospitals providing some primary care in their Accident and Emergency and Out-patients Departments, it is perhaps surprising that only two of the teaching hospitals (St Thomas' and Guys) have professional departments of general practice with demonstration health centres attached to them.

The Royal Commission think that "the teaching hospitals in the inner city areas have the responsibility, which they have not always shouldered, to foster and improve the quality of primary care services in their surrounding areas."

Denying the teaching hospitals resources might well lead to too great a retraction before any significant steps have been taken to improve primary care in other ways. While London does not have a shortage of buildings for health services, they are not necessarily used in the most appropriate way. Rather than close down smaller hospitals, it should be possible to use their buildings as a community medicine resource.

### resource allocation

London has to face the serious dilemma imposed by the findings of the Resource Allocation Working Party (RAWP). A radical approach cannot be against redistribution as such, but it is reasonable to take issue with some of the methods employed by RAWP in assessing the needs of those areas which were the subject of the last Labour government's Inner City White Paper arguing for the maintenance of resources of all kinds in the inner city.

There can be no argument as to whether a more equitable distribution of health care throughout the country is of higher priority than the best possible health care for London and the Home Counties. Therefore we must assume that London

will need to accept that in some functional areas and some geographical areas its share of resources will go down. The challenge is to mitigate the undesirable consequences that will arise from this.

### administration

When he reorganised the NHS, Sir Keith Joseph deliberately avoided the creation of a RHA for London. Instead we have four radial RHAs taking in much of the surrounding countryside. The extremes of each of the four regions have nothing in common and there is no community identity for any of them. There are too many layers of administration; the complexities at each level have meant that the NHS is subject to virtually no democratic control and those for whom the service is intended, the patients, have little if any influence. Not only is a structure with five levels (DHSS, RHA, AHA, DMT, service provider) unnecessarily remote but the basic units of administration at the various levels do not correspond with any of the local communities. The extremes of each Region have nothing in common and it would be a rare administrator who would have the breadth of experience to have responsibility for community health services in localities as different as Hackney and Essex. Similarly, there will be few people qualified to serve on the RHA able to take more than a fairly narrow sectional view. This means that each RHA is continually faced with an endless struggle for resources between its constituent parts without there being any common basis for mutual understanding between the parts.

The nature of the existing RHAs makes them very difficult to manage, administer and control. The problem is perhaps made worse by the lack of democratic involvement and accountability. RHAs are not democratically elected, nor do their members even contain a majority of elected (or non-elected) local representatives. This is also true of AHAs. The Secretary of State makes most of the appointments to RHAs but with little understanding of local problems and issues.



There are similar problems at AHA and District level. The geographical boundaries of these are rarely co-terminous with those of the local authorities, presumably for the same reasons that applied at RHA level. Efforts are made to ensure that the NHS Community Health Services and the local authority social services in a particular locality work closely together. However, liaison is only achieved by a series of joint meetings at member and officer levels. It is doubtful whether this is the most efficient way of ensuring close co-operation. It is probably essential that, if the health services and local social services are to continue to be divided in this way, there should be provision for the appointment of a liaison officer at a fairly senior level whose sole responsibility would be to ensure effective co-operation. A few local authorities already have such a person.

A more fundamental approach would require examination of the administration of the health service in London to see whether the goals of re-organisation have been achieved at local level. The shift in emphasis from a hospital based service to one based on community care would imply that local authorities, as the representatives of the local communities, would take over many, if not all, the functions of the health services. It has been suggested that a more sensible arrangement for London would be a Greater London Regional Health Authority, responsible for regional planning, for ensuring that specialist medical services only required on a regional basis are provided, and for support services such as ambulances. This would bring these matters under the direct control of democratically elected GLC members. It would also allow some revenue to support regional services to be raised from the ratepayers to supplement central government funds from the DHSS.

The crucial problem with a Greater London Regional Health Authority is not just its enormous size, but what would happen to the surrounding counties. Hospitals are steadily being developed in these counties. As they open, economies

have to be found in inner London which is losing population to provide for the hospitals in the outlying counties which are gaining population. This is one reason why the sectoral division of London makes sense. Some compromise must therefore be found that will make the existing Thames RHAs more responsive to local needs. An increase in the number of representatives of local authorities on each RHA might help.

The abolition of AHAS and the handing over of their functions to the London boroughs would allow the Community Health Services to be planned in conjunction with the community care and social services work of the boroughs. Again the option would exist for councils to raise extra revenue if they wished to improve the quality of any service. It may be that some London boroughs are too small to be viable as health districts but the Royal Commission supported the simplification of the NHS administrative structure by the removal of one of the tiers. Although it did not accept that coterminosity of boundaries is essential for effective collaboration between health and social services, it admitted that in London "problems arise through the lack of coterminosity which affects 12 out of 16 London AHAS."

Reorganisation of the NHS was intended to solve the problem posed by the tripartite structure of the service. In London, the same problems still exist, simply because of the historical accident of the uneven distribution of hospitals. Not every District has a District General Hospital, yet some Districts have two. Thus the effective boundaries for the hospital services and for the community health services administered by an AHA or a District may not be the same. If the boroughs were to take responsibility for hospitals, a move would have to be made towards the concept of every borough having its own local general hospital. This might provide the opportunity for closer links to be forged between primary and secondary medical care, but there would be considerable objections on the grounds that it would be merely a return to the old system of municipal



hospitals of the thirties. There are too many acute hospital beds in London in view of the rapidly declining population (see *London Medical Education—a New Framework*, The Flowers Report, February 1980). It would be wasteful for every borough to try to make itself fully equipped in the main non-regional specialities.

The point was made earlier about the role of teaching hospitals in primary care; the presence of a teaching hospital often means that the other services in that area are starved of funds and that hospitals in surrounding districts suffer. One solution might be to treat all hospitals as teaching hospitals and allocate students at random to any of the general hospitals for their clinical practice. There would of course be considerable problems to overcome with such a system, not least the legitimate interests of the existing teaching hospitals.

Another problem which would have to be tackled is that hospital catchment areas have little or no relationship to borough boundaries. It might have to be considered whether or not patients could continue to choose to which hospital they might go for particular treatment. If there is unlimited freedom of choice, some hospitals inevitably become over subscribed. This has implications for resource allocation: if *no* extra central resources are available this strains the budget of the authorities with over subscribed hospitals or forces them to run down their community health services, as happens to some extent already; if extra central resources *are* provided, it is difficult to determine the appropriate level of resource transfer necessary and the least mobile patients end up with a poorly funded "sink" service. This is particularly relevant to the teaching hospitals. These are providing a national service and it is doubtful whether this is recognised in their funding.

Depriving patients of the right to choose which hospital they go to would be a severe restriction of freedom, particularly in London where individual consultants develop special interests; in any case, it

is ultimately the GP rather than the patient who makes the choice. Thus something has to be done to overcome the competition for resources between the hospitals and the primary care sector. One possibility would be the earmarking of money for primary care in inner city areas.

## conclusion

A Radical Agenda for London should not be seen as an attempt to make the problems of London seem more important than those of other equally necessitous areas. It should concentrate on those resource questions and administrative features which by an act of political will could raise the quality of London's health services to the benefit of all those who use and provide the service. The main items of such an Agenda would be:

1. The objectives of the NHS Act 1946 should be re-emphasised in the context of London's health problems.
2. The building of health centres should be a priority to improve the quality of primary care.
3. Since the main opposition to health centres comes from the Family Practitioner Committee, the recommendation of the Royal Commission that these should be abolished and their function handed over to the AHAS should be implemented. This would not solve the problem that the reason for the opposition is the genuine objections of a high proportion of individual practitioners. This issue will have to be faced on a national basis.
4. The independent contractor status of the GP will have to be reconsidered and salaried appointments made the rule in new health centres, if not in general.
5. Some small hospital buildings might be rehabilitated as health centres with day surgery facilities. Teaching hospitals should be encouraged to forge stronger links with primary care services.

6. Whilst agreeing with the basic principle of re-allocation of resources (as recommended by RAWP), central government must be made aware of the need to give inner city areas extra resources to improve primary care. Special money should be earmarked for primary care in such areas.

7. The four RHAs which include London should be made more representative of the regions for which they are responsible; their membership should have a majority of elected representatives of local authorities.

8. The London boroughs would be responsible for some primary health care, such as the provision of health centres and the services which were their province before 1974; although they should have strong links with the teaching hospitals (for instance, the attachment of medical students during part of their training), overall administration and funding for these hospitals would remain the responsibility of the DHSS. This would take into account the nationwide role of the London teaching hospitals.

9. There should be a body whose responsibility would be to bring together all the London Joint Consultative Committees, so that policies on health and social services provision can be considered together, in an effort to provide a concept of total patient care.

10. The development of private hospitals and clinics in London should be restricted.



## 8. London's government

In previous chapters of this Radical Agenda, more than once, London's governmental arrangements have been questioned and criticised, and alternative schemes suggested. In particular:

★ for *transport*, a new unified authority is needed to devise a common fares structure and an integrated physical system;

★ for *housing*, similarly, there was a call for a new housing strategic agreement between the GLC and the boroughs to be drawn up and monitored by a joint board with statutory powers of coordination;

★ for *health*, again there was discussion about a new Greater London Regional Health Authority, responsible for regional planning, specialist services and ambulances; plus the transfer of the powers of AHA's back to the London boroughs, where they could be planned in conjunction with social services and community care. However, the idea of a Greater London Authority, it was suggested, foundered on the declining population of the GLC area and the rapid increase beyond it, necessitating reallocation of resources over a much wider area.

Behind these particular suggestions, though, there is a widespread feeling that the London government reform of 1963-65 has not produced the effective division of powers that many hoped for.

The GLC in particular is seen as an inflated bureaucracy with few real powers, unable to pursue its strategic remit because it lacks the capacity to execute or to enforce. Its failure as a strategic housing authority provides perhaps the most glaring example: the outer boroughs have always been able to beat off attempts to achieve a more vigorous policy by spinning out procedures, negotiations and bureaucratic delays, until the next change of control at County Hall. On traffic and transport, too, the GLC has proved a disappointment: one policy has followed another at bewildering speed, but none has been pursued for very long or even resolutely or successfully implemented.

Underlying these failures is a basic contradiction in the GLC's position: it can never play a true strategic role unless it commands resources to allocate to the boroughs—but that is the central government's jealously guarded privilege. Thus, between the upper millstone of central government control of money and the nether millstone of the boroughs' command over the front line provision of services, the GLC remains a shadowy, even irrelevant, authority.

### should the GLC be abolished?

This logic leads to the conclusion that the GLC in its present form is irrelevant and should be abolished. Since it cannot perform well those services that have to be administered, these should be transferred to the boroughs. The remaining technical services, which it performs well but which the public do not notice (such as sewers or fire engines), could equally well be administered by a Greater London Federation representing the boroughs, and perhaps some other interests. Such a forum could also work to coordinate other services, such as housing, where inter-borough problems exist.

However, such a federal GLC would fail in some important respects. There is an important group of London problems that run across borough boundaries and even across the whole of London (such as major planning developments, roads or housing allocation) but that are explicitly political. If these problems were left to be resolved by borough representatives, there is an obvious risk that they would never be resolved at all. In other words, a federal GLC could replicate the worst faults of the present system, in even more extreme form.

### should the GLC become a pure strategic authority?

If a federal solution is ruled out, an alternative would be to trim the GLC by making it a purely strategic authority, responsible for drawing up a strategic



plan and then for enforcing it by financial allocations to the boroughs along the lines of Sir Frank Marshall's 1978 plan for London. Unless this radical step were taken, a purely strategic authority would be even more of an irrelevance than now. Yet even if central government were to agree to it, the fact would remain that (failing a complete review of local government finance and the development of new sources of local revenue, which was found impracticable by the Layfield Commission in 1977) the monies would still have to come from Whitehall, which would still want to control their disposition. The Jubilee line extension through Docklands, which both a Labour and a Conservative GLC have backed strongly but which has been turned down for support by both Labour and Conservative governments, is a prime example.

It is difficult to conceive of central government handing over these crucial powers to the GLC, which many ministers and civil servants believe to be too much at the mercy of volatile political shifts. So this solution does not look practicable either.

### **should the GLC be a regional authority?**

There is one way in which it might work. That is to make the GLC a regional authority as part of a fundamental reorganisation of local government and of central-local government relations in Britain. Now that the curious notion of organic change is presumably dead and buried, the Labour Party might want to return to such a solution. In it, England would be divided into a number of regions, probably smaller and more numerous than the present standard regions. This would especially be the case in the South East, which is by far the biggest of the present regions with some one third of the population of England on about one sixth of the area. The South East might have its present boundaries cut back, losing for instance northern Buckinghamshire to the South Midlands and the Southampton-Portsmouth area to a Wessex authority.

The critical question, however, is still how big the resulting authority might be. The appropriate unit would almost certainly stretch well beyond the present GLC boundaries, to include the commuter field up to distances of 30 miles or even 40 miles from London. Not only would such an area still be disproportionately large, with up to 13 to 14 million people (one quarter of the UK's population); it would also be liable to Conservative domination for all or most of the time, since the additional Labour areas (Slough, Thurrock) would be overwhelmed by the Tory stockbroker suburbs. It might however just be possible to consider a London region that took in the green belt and a narrow ring of towns just outside it (such as Watford and Slough) since this would most closely correspond to the true extent of London's intensive commuting field.

Such authorities would take powers, including financial ones, from central as well as the present local government. They would represent a form of real devolution to the English regions. They would need to have their own powers of taxation, raising once again all the problems that were considered by the Layfield Commission on Local Government Finance without a solution being found.

If nevertheless they could gain independent income from a local income or sales tax or other sources, they might be given the responsibility of allocating this revenue to local boroughs or districts, as advocated in Sir Frank Marshall's Plan for London.

Clearly, such an independent London authority would be better placed to perform a strategic role in respect of housing, health and transport than the present GLC. It could be made coterminous with the London Transport area, while the Metropolitan Police district could be enlarged to correspond to it. So the proposal has many advantages. The major question is whether—here as elsewhere in the country—the Labour Party now has the political courage to grasp such a radical solution to the problems of local government, despite the obvious counter



pressures that would come from existing local Labour machines. Though it would be possible to initiate a London reform on its own without the rest of the country, it would not be desirable and it would create great problems in practice, not least that taxation systems would differ as between London and the rest of Britain.

### a strengthened GLC

Whether or not the GLC becomes a regional authority, the last possibility would be to make it more of a real executive authority with powers of its own. This is the solution that the Radical Agenda group favours on balance, because we feel that there are a number of important London wide jobs with a political content, that are not being well done and that need doing. The most important of these are:

★ to allocate resources to the boroughs in accordance with corporate plans for Greater London as a whole and for the individual boroughs. The GLC would receive a block sum for Rate Support Grant within London and would allocate this to the boroughs. In addition, the GLC could levy a Sales or Tourist Tax, which again would be allocated to the borough. We have also considered whether the GLC could perform the same role in allocating resources to the new District Health Authorities, thus performing the function of a Regional Health Authority; but we have regretfully concluded that, at the present time, this would present too many practical difficulties.

★ to provide the central core of a *London Strategic Housing Committee* that would grapple with London's housing problems as a whole, and that could issue binding directives on the boroughs—which would have adequate representation on the Committee;

★ to assume the role of a true *Transport Authority for London*, similar to those in other major conurbations. This authority would be able to fix fares and

coordinate fare structures across the whole GLC area, including British Rail as well as London Transport. It would progressively reach agreement with British Rail to take over the latter's purely intra-London inner suburban services, as is now done in many German and some British cities. This in turn would permit physical integration of the systems and would eliminate wasteful duplication;

★ to assume a shared role in the overall management of the *Metropolitan Police*. The present system, whereby exclusive control is exercised by the Home Secretary, is an historical anomaly dating from the foundation of the Force in 1829 when there was not effective local government for London. Now, with increasing problems of maintaining public order and with increasing demands for more effective local accountability, it would be in the best interests of the police themselves—as well as in the interests of good local democracy—to give London a proper share in the running of its own police force. We therefore propose the creation of a new *Metropolitan Police Authority*. This would be a modification, to suit London's special circumstances, of the Police Authorities that are now responsible for police forces everywhere in the country outside London. In the London case, it would be Chaired, *ex officio*, by the Home Secretary. It would contain selected London MPs as well as a number of GLC councillors. It should also desirably have a number of distinguished co-opted members, chosen by the Home Office Select Committee on the basis of special expertise—including judicial, criminological, traffic and community services. This change, we are sure, would build up needed confidence between London's local communities and the police, would give the police a better backing when difficult decisions need taking and would create a better integration between the GLC's responsibility for traffic planning and the police responsibility for enforcement.

★ undoubtedly most controversial, the assumption of *direct control of the area of the City of London*. The City is now

a grotesque anomaly in British local government. With a minute area and population but immense resources, it is extraordinarily rich and powerful but is subject to few democratic checks and balances—as the recent scandal over the election of aldermen made only too plain. Yet the City is also one of the oldest and best established local government units of England; to break it up, and distribute its area among the neighbouring boroughs, would be both cumbersome and destructive of old and honourable traditions. A GLC run City could, on the other hand, maintain traditional functions and ceremonies, and indeed the GLC chairman (an annually elected officer) could become Lord Mayor *ex officio*. The City's revenues would then pass directly to the GLC, giving it a greatly strengthened financial position. This could even be enhanced if the GLC's direct role were extended over the entire ten square mile central area—though this would excite strong protests from the authorities that now cover this area, such as Westminster, Camden, Islington, Southwark and Lambeth.

A strengthened GLC, with new responsibilities for health, housing, traffic, police and the City of London, would represent the best solution for the needs of London, giving a new lease of life to the GLC itself, reviving the idea of the strategic authority, coupling it with real executive powers, while leaving the boroughs with the primary job of delivering the front line personal services. We commend it to the London Labour Party, and to the voters of London, as the centrepiece of our Radical Agenda for London.

the editor  
Dear Sir,  
I have read your article in the  
last issue of the magazine and  
am glad to hear that you are  
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London's future. I am sure  
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book are: Peter Hall and Dennis  
Hoare, with assistance from Andrew  
Molloy and others.  
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# appendix: the contributors

## the editor

Peter Hall is Professor of Geography at Reading University. He is a frequent contributor to *New Society* and other journals and the author of *Europe 2000*. He was the editor of *Labour's New Frontiers* and of the Fabian pamphlets *Towards a Radical Agenda* (1972) and *The Structure of Higher Education*. His latest book is on *Great Planning Disasters*. Peter Hall is a member of the Fabian Executive, a past Chairman of the Society and Chairman of its Arts, Science & Environment Committee.

## John Kirkland

Owing to the help given by Lord Sainsbury and Sir Sigmund Sternberg, John Kirkland worked full time on this project during a placement from Brunel University. It was his energy which kept the groups going and brought their work together. He had a hand in the research for all the chapters and in a considerable amount of the final drafting. A member of the Young Fabian Executive, John Kirkland is an active member of the Society, has been a research assistant to Giles Radice MP and is currently completing his degree at Brunel.

## the groups

*Employment.* This chapter was written mainly by Haris Martinos and Nick Falk with assistance from Andrew McIntosh, Steve Hoier and Chris Bromley.

*Tourism.* This chapter was written by Mike Parker and John Kirkland.

*Transport.* The main contributors to this were Jim Daly, Peter Hall and Dianne Hayter, with assistance from Andrew McIntosh and others.

*Education.* Ian Wilson edited this chapter drawing on work from a group comprising Richard Austin, Ashley Bramall, Mair Garside, Marion Gerrard, Leon Kreitzman, Anne Page and Richard Twining.

*Housing.* The authors of this were James Goudie, Donald Hoodless and Jack Linden with advice from John Mills.

*Health.* John Carrier wrote this chapter drawing on comments and suggestions made by Brian Abel-Smith, Tessa Blackstone, Toby Harris, Tessa Jowell and David Townsend.

*Government.* Written by Peter Hall, this chapter draws on ideas from the group's conveners (Haris Martinos and Nick Falk, Mike Parker, Jim Daly, Ian Wilson, James Goudie and John Carrier) and from Stephen Hatch and Malcolm Noble.

The editor would also like to thank Dianne Hayter, Bill Bush, David Candler, Sir Reg Goodwin, Mary Goudie and Elizabeth Young for ideas and assistance during the preparation of the pamphlet.

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Brian Abel-Smith and others	Socialism and affluence	paper £0.60
Peter Townsend and others	The fifth social service	paper £2.50
George Cunningham (ed)	Britain and the world in the 1970s	cased £3.00



## **a radical agenda for London**

In May 1981, Labour should regain control of the GLC. This should be the opportunity for Labour boroughs and the GLC (and, after the next election, a Labour government) to begin to make London a better place to live in. The Fabians who have written this pamphlet believe socialism has a real meaning for the capital and they outline a programme of realistic policies for the city.

Employment is, of course, the most important both in providing personal incomes and the public revenue for an expanding range of services. The groups' policies also cover tourism, transport, education, housing, health and the government of London itself.

The Radical Agenda gives policy makers in the GLC, the boroughs, on health authorities and on public bodies a strategy for the improvement of London.

## **fabian society**

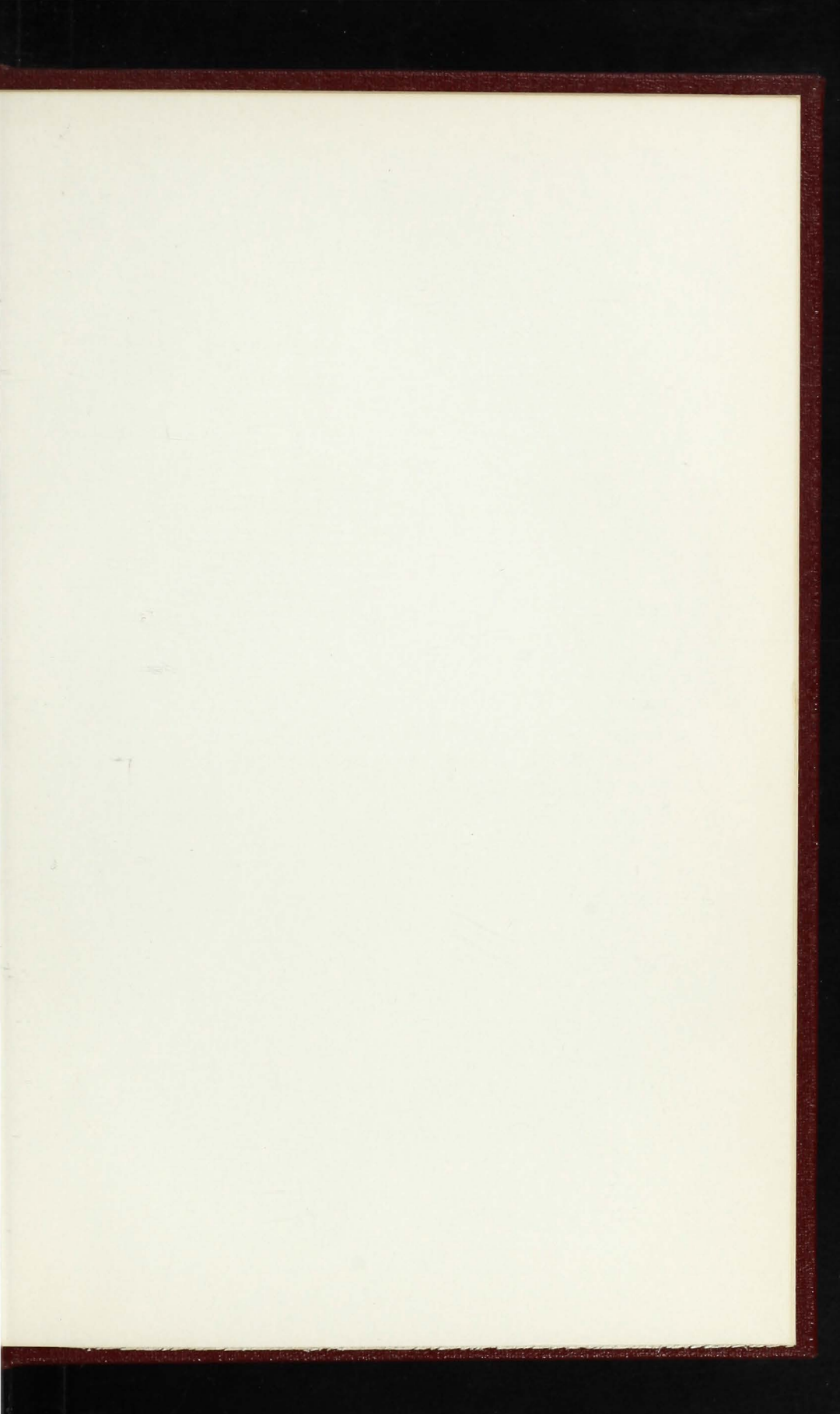
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The Society is organised nationally and locally. The national Society, directed by an elected Executive Committee, publishes pamphlets and holds schools and conferences of many kinds. Local Societies—there are one hundred of them—are self governing and are lively centres of discussion and also undertake research.

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2 Logical agents for London

In May 1950, London should report results of the C.A.C. This should be the opportunity for Labour Ministers and the C.A.C. itself, after the final election, a Labour government is likely to make London's position more secure. The Cabinet will have written the complete British Constitution has a new meaning for the nation and they will be a programme of national unity for the city.

Implementation of the Council's most important work is providing services, income and the other facilities for an expanding range of services. The Council will be able to carry out its work, transport, education, housing, health and the government of London, etc.

The British Empire gives policy makers at the C.A.C. the strength of health, education and transport under a strategy for the development of London.

Fabric Society

The Fabric Society aims to further research, education and research. It is devoted to the fabric of the world, especially and finally, the education of people of various ages, which for many years ago was made. Since 1950 the Fabric Society has provided research on fabric and its application to the world. The research aims to be practical, scientific and social, and will aim to provide a new fabric of the world. The research will be carried out in a variety of ways, and will be carried out in a variety of ways. The research will be carried out in a variety of ways, and will be carried out in a variety of ways. The research will be carried out in a variety of ways, and will be carried out in a variety of ways.

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