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Prime Minister's Meetings with
Lady Porter: Proposal for a
"Minister for London"

PRIME MINISTER

September 1990

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
13.9.90							
14.9.90							
3.10.90							
8.11.90							
18.11.90							

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me pm

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Principal Private Secretary

18 November 1990

Dear Mr Hilton,

FREEDOM OF THE CITY OF WESTMINSTER

May I confirm the various points agreed in telephone conversations between us.

- (i) The Prime Minister would be happy to accept the Freedom of the City of Westminster, if it were offered.
- (ii) We have set aside 12-1300 on Wednesday 1 May for a ceremony at No.10 to confer the Freedom. After the handing over of the document/insignia or whatever, and very brief speeches on either side, there would be a reception to which all councillors who voted in favour of conferring the Freedom would be invited, plus up to ten senior Council officials.
- (iii) You will put the proposal to your Policy and Resources Committee in either January or February and will go to the whole Council thereafter.
- (iv) News of this is likely to be made public shortly before the Committee meeting. You have agreed to give us a few days notice.

*Your sincerely
Andrew Turnbull*

ANDREW TURNBULL

Simon Hilton, Esq.,
Westminster City Council.

*City Hall
Victoria St
SW1*

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[Handwritten mark]

PRIME MINISTER

FREEDOM OF THE CITY OF WESTMINSTER

When Lady Porter came to see you, you agreed in principle to accept the Freedom of the City of Westminster if it were offered. Lady Porter now proposes to put this to the Policy and Resources Committee for its meeting on 3 December, to be followed by a decision of the whole Council on 12 December. They intend to forewarn journalists of this at the end of next week.

Lady Porter has suggested that the ceremony to confer the Freedom should be held next spring in No. 10 (if it were held at City Hall there could well be demonstrations from the Labour members of the Council). Invitations would be sent to all councillors who voted in support of the motion, plus about 10 of the senior officers. Probably all 45 Conservatives would accept but none of the 15 Labour members would do so.

The ceremony could be put on at 12 o'clock and could be followed by a brief reception. Wednesday, 1 May would be a suitable day as it is followed by local government elections. Although Westminster is not involved in these, it would be a good opportunity to get across the message about low spending, low Community Charge councils.

Content with these proposals?

AT

Yes no

ANDREW TURNBULL

8 November 1990



File in

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Principal Private Secretary

3 October 1990

ANTI POLL TAX MARCH

The Prime Minister has seen and noted without comment your letter of 28 September setting out the steps being taken to ensure that the march proposed for 20 October does not give rise to serious disorder like that on 31 March.

ANDREW TURNBULL

Peter Storr, Esq.,
Home Office.



HOME OFFICE
QUEEN ANNE'S GATE
LONDON SW1H 9AT

ms

28 September 1990

Prime Minister

*The proposed route will take the
main thoroughfare away from the centre.
A good idea on public order grounds
but bad news for Lambeth residents who will
pay for clearing up. Commissioner does not
appear to believe there are grounds
for stopping it.*

Dear Andrew,

ANTI POLL TAX MARCH

AT 2/10

Thank you for your letter of 14 September in which, following the Prime Minister's meeting the previous day with Lady Porter, you asked for advice on what is being done to ensure that there is no repetition of the serious disorder of 31 March.

The law governing public processions is the Public Order Act 1986. Section 12 of the Act gives the police power to impose conditions as to the route of a procession if this is considered necessary to prevent serious public disorder, serious damage to property, or serious disruption to the life of the community or if the purpose of the procession is to intimidate.

If the Commissioner feels that his powers under section 12 are insufficient to prevent any proposed procession in London from resulting in serious public disorder, he may seek the Home Secretary's consent to an order banning all public processions, or classes of processions in a particular area for a period of up to three months. The decision to seek a ban is, however, a matter for the operational judgement of the Commissioner.

The procession proposed for 20 October is being organised by the "London Anti-Poll Tax Federation". The organisers expect that between 5-10,000 people are likely to take part. This compares with more than 40,000 who took part in the demonstration on 31 March.

Andrew Turnbull Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

/The march

The march will also be confined to south of the river. Lambeth Council have given permission for a rally to be held in Brockwell Park. The organisers have proposed Geraldine Mary Harmsworth Park near the Imperial War Museum as an assembly point but this and the possible route of the procession is still being discussed with the police.

We have discussed the proposed march with the Commissioner who considers that, at this stage, there is no evidence to suggest that the march is likely to result in serious public disorder. However, the event is some way off and the assessment may change in the light of subsequent intelligence. The Home Secretary asked the Commissioner to keep him informed of developments. He is aware that the Home Secretary will give sympathetic consideration to any request for a banning order should such a request prove necessary. The Home Secretary has also made this clear to Lady Porter in previous correspondence and has reiterated the point in his reply to her latest letter.

Yours sincerely,

Peter Storr.

Prime Minister: meeting
with Lade Kote
Sept 40



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ea

c/pps/stm

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Principal Private Secretary

14 September 1990

ANTI-POLL TAX MARCH

Lady Porter came to see the Prime Minister yesterday and gave her warning of a further march organised by the Anti-Poll Tax Federation which is planned for next month. Lady Porter hopes that ways could be found of banning the march or, failing that, imposing stringent conditions on it. I attach a copy of the letter she has sent me confirming this.

Bf

The Prime Minister shared these concerns and would welcome advice from the Home Secretary on what can, or should, be done to prevent a repetition of the events earlier this year.

(ANDREW TURNBULL)

Peter Storr, Esq.,
Home Office.



Councillor Lady Porter DL
The Leader of the Council

My reference: APL/13-9pm

Tel. No: 071-798 2003

Date: 14 September 1990

Mr. Andrew Turnbull
Prime Minister's
Principal Private Secretary
10 Downing Street
SW1

Dear Andrew,

Further to my meeting yesterday with the Prime Minister I have checked the details of the Anti-Poll Tax March scheduled to reach London in October.

At a meeting this week of the central Westminster Police Community Consultative Group considerable concern and fear was expressed that although the March is scheduled to finish at 4pm in Brockwell Park in South London it is likely that the demonstration will spill over into the centre of London.

Concern was also expressed by the Police that the location may not be large enough and therefore there is still considerable uncertainty about the final route.

All this re-inforces the concern I expressed to the Prime Minister at our meeting yesterday and I hope you will do what you can to press our case with the Home Secretary for a ban or at the very least stringent restrictions on the course and conduct of the march.

Yours sincerely,

LADY PORTER



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MEETING RECORD
cc MASTER

File ECL
cc Alan Whitnall
(cc)

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Principal Private Secretary

13 September 1990

A MINISTER FOR LONDON

Lady Porter came to see the Prime Minister today to press the case for a Minister for London which she had set out in her pamphlet of last April.

I would be grateful if the account of this meeting could be shown only to Ministers and those officials who strictly need to know.

Lady Porter said that many London voters, including Government supporters, felt the need for a central focus in London which could coordinate the provision of services and to which representations could be made. Labour were arguing for an elected Mayor for the whole of London on the Paris model. Lady Porter said she opposed this (though she was not against it at the level of individual councils). In order to fill the political vacuum she had developed her proposals for a Minister for London.

The Prime Minister challenged this idea vigorously. (She also attacked the idea of elected Mayors. How did one cope with the situation in which the Mayor was of one political complexion and the council of another?) The Prime Minister did not feel a Minister for London would help; it would simply create another tier of activity. The Minister would spend a great deal of time receiving representations about services in London and then in turn making representations to other Ministers. The alternative of hiving off the responsibility for delivering the particular services in London was not workable. It was important to be able to assess priorities for transport in London against claims in other parts of the country.

Lady Porter said she would be appearing in a television debate with Tony Banks and Ken Livingstone. If she was not to press for a Minister for London what line should she take? The Prime Minister said she should argue that the provision of poor services such as education or cleaning the streets had very little to do with problems of coordination. They reflected the nature of the individual councils. With the dispersal of education to individual boroughs and the introduction of the

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community charge it was now possible to compare directly the quality of services provided and the charges made. The comparison this would provide would be very beneficial. In the case of infrastructure the biggest problem was not one of coordination but of getting things done in the face of hostile public opinion.

The Prime Minister criticised Lady Porter's pamphlet for presenting an excessively gloomy picture of London. This had provided her opponents with ammunition. It would have been better to have emphasised positive developments such as the huge sums which were being spent on improving the London Underground and to have emphasised the contrast between good and bad boroughs.

(ANDREW TURNBULL)

Phillip Ward, Esq.,
Department of the Environment.

NOTE FOR THE RECORD

FREEDOM OF THE CITY OF WESTMINSTER

Lady Porter came to see the Prime Minister today and asked whether she would accept the offer of the Freedom of the City of Westminster. The last national politician to receive it was Winston Churchill. The Prime Minister accepted, though she asked for latitude as to when the award would be made.

I spoke to Lady Porter afterwards about how this would come about. She proposed to bring it to a Council meeting and to secure a vote in favour. There would obviously be opposition from Labour members, but a vote in favour could be counted on. She envisaged conferring the freedom at a separate ceremony, perhaps at No.10. In this way, one could be assured that the ceremony would not be disrupted by those who had opposed it. Lady Porter agreed to think further about the mechanics and to contact me thereafter.

AT

ANDREW TURNBULL

13 September 1990

c:\WPDOCS\PPS\FREEDOM (PMM)

PRIME MINISTER

MEETING WITH LADY PORTER: A MINISTER FOR LONDON

Background

Lady Porter published a 30 page report (Flag A) on 19 April entitled "A Minister for London: a Capital Concept". Her purpose is to press the case for such a Minister.

The first eight pages are a one-sided moan about how awful London is in terms of transport, education, crime and litter. There are many exaggerations "London is grinding to a halt", and little recognition of all that is being done, particularly in the field of transport. Nor is there any recognition that many of the problems are those of success, eg. the strength of the City and the number of tourists.

She then develops the thesis, starting on page 20, that there should be a Minister for London. She considers the case (page 25) for a truly regional Minister with a block budget on the lines of the Secretary of State for Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland but concludes that London does not have the same history in terms of culture or politics as the territories. Her recommendations, set out on pages 26 to 29 are that a Minister for London should be created who:

- would be a non-departmental Minister of State, whose office would be attached to the Cabinet Office; ?!
- would have transferred to him powers in respect of strategic planning, transport and land use in London now vested the Secretaries of State for the Environment and Transport;
- would take over the London Regional Office of DOE and the Public Transport and Traffic Policy (London) divisions of DTP and be supported by seconded officials at about Grade 4 from the Home Office, DES, DTI and OAL;

- would (possibly) take over some or all of the Home Secretary's responsibilities for the Metropolitan Police, fire brigades and civil defence;
- would act as a voice for London within central Government and would co-ordinate the provision of services by central government in London.

The post would, to some extent, have its own responsibilities but principally it would perform a co-ordinating role. Lady Porter specifically rejects a higher tier local authority along the lines of the GLC.

Line to take

You will wish to agree with what Lady Porter says about the GLC. While noting her suggestion about a co-ordinating Minister you can point out the danger that her proposal will diffuse responsibilities which at present fall clearly on each departmental Minister.

The Government has generally avoided giving Ministers geographical responsibilities, with the exception of the territorial departments, and the Ministers associated with each task force and the City Action Team. Their role is largely representational and does not cut across the normal lines of departmental responsibilities and accountability for programmes in the same way as Lady Porter's proposal.

Her proposal is open to the objections that it would:

- separate the responsibilities in respect of London now exercised by the Secretaries of State for the Environment and Transport (and possibly Home Secretary) from their wider responsibilities for policy;
- not fit coherently with public expenditure planning arrangements (would the Minister for London bid separately for resources for London's roads, public

transport, etc?) How would priorities between London and the rest of the country be judged?

- Inevitably generate pressure for additional resources. On functions not transferred, such as education and health, the Minister would inevitably receive delegations urging him to press for more money for London;

- create pressure for parallel treatment for other, more hard-pressed areas, such as Manchester, Merseyside, the North East, etc.

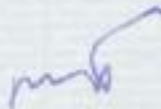
Sir John Wheeler telephoned me to say that he strongly opposes Lady Porter's ideas and has urged her, unsuccessfully, not to pursue them. He believes they are impractical; the Minister would inevitably find himself acting as a post box for representations on the services for which he was not responsible. Sir John believes that the establishment of a one-tier government in London was a major advance and that her proposal would in effect create a second tier. Lady Porter's proposal has not even sorted out the question of what is London. For purposes of transport it covers the whole commuting area which goes way beyond the London boroughs. He has pointed out that the legislation abolishing the GLC set up the London Planning Advisory Committee and with DTP has recently appointed a traffic co-ordinator for London. A note on the present arrangements for co-ordination on London issues is at Flag B.

Sir John believes that Lady Porter's role in Westminster should not be to take responsibility for London as a whole but to run Westminster in such a way that it is a benchmark against which the other boroughs can be measured, a role performed most effectively in the local elections. Despite his differences with her on this question, he still believes she deserves recognition in the Honours List.

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- 4 -

Lady Porter may sound you out about accepting the Freedom of the City of Westminster, last bestowed on the Green Jackets. Before accepting you might like to find out a bit more about what would be involved at the ceremony.



pp. *Handwritten signature*

ANDREW TURNBULL

12 September 1990

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(slh)

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2 MARSHAM STREET
LONDON SW1P 3EB
071-276 3000

My ref:

Your ref:

Andrew Turnbull Esq
PS/Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
London

12 September 1990

Dear Andrew,

THE PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH LADY PORTER

The briefing Cabinet Office sent you earlier today for the Prime Minister's meeting with Lady Porter tomorrow included a contribution from DOE. I should be grateful if you could replace our contribution with the attached material which now takes account of comments from Ministers here.

A copy of this letter and the attachment goes to Sonia Phippard (Cabinet Office).

Yours
A D Ring

A D RING
Private Secretary

NOTE ON PRESENT ARRANGEMENTS FOR CO-ORDINATION ON LONDON ISSUES

Background

There remains much interest in how the administration and representation of London is carried on in the absence of an elected London-wide local authority. There is a TV programme next week on this including Lady Porter, Tony Banks and Ken Livingstone. Both Thames and LWT plan extended features on London's planning and position in comparison with Paris and Frankfurt. The London Group at LSE are carrying out a research project to propose revised arrangements. The Labour Party mentions an elected strategic authority. Lady Porter proposes a Minister for London at a senior level "to co-ordinate".

The main criticisms of the present post-GLC position are the absence of a voice for London, the lack of an economic promotion effort for the city c.f. Paris and Frankfurt, and inadequate co-ordination between Departments themselves and they with other interests. Interestingly, these criticisms are largely about mechanisms, not about policies or programmes, not about what should be done. London's local authorities could provide means of providing mechanisms to cover the first two alleged omissions. The co-ordination point has little force. It is too easy to see a London-wide body as a panacea. If such a body existed it would often be opposed by those who saw its strategic plans as cutting across local democratic rights. If it fell under left-wing control it could choke off private sector development across the capital, as has clearly happened under Labour local authorities.

Present Arrangements for Co-ordination

The legislation abolishing the GLC set up the London Planning Advisory Committee (LPAC) with membership drawn from the 33 local authorities. LPAC's advice was the basis of DOE's Strategic Planning Guidance issued in July 1988. London's boroughs are making good

progress with putting together their local plans (the Unitary Development Plans). Cross boundary problems seem to be being sorted out. Government Departments meet together under DOE leadership to review Planning Guidance. DOE liaises with Borough Planning Officers. The senior staff of DOE, DTp, DEM, DTI and the Training Agency meet together regularly to review London issues.

DOE and DTp have a recently reinforced formal structure of liaison/co-ordination on London land-use and transportation issues. The DOE Regional Director is a member of DTp's internal working groups on transportation planning and on traffic and parking control. DTp are briefed and involved by DOE on new major property developments; as Westminster's Planning Department can vouch.

The City Action Team includes senior management of all Departments involved in London. The CAT can call up advice from both the public and private sectors. DOE is the lead Department; Mr Robert Jackson of DEM will replace Mr Moynihan as the Ministerial godfather of the CAT. The CAT concentrates on the 13 inner city boroughs but can and does look at wider issues. The CAT leader has good contacts with the Metropolitan Police, the Fire Service, the public utilities and the military in his standby, but exercised, role as Chairman of the Regional Emergency Committee. As an internally confidential operation, there is an inter-Departmental group looking regularly at the financial state of London's more exposed local authorities.

London should not be a special case. But efforts are made by Departments to keep each other informed on new initiatives and to devise mutually supportive programmes eg the CAT project to concentrate HMG and local authority programmes on deprived housing estates. Maybe it is for London's local authorities to pull together more effectively.

London's Transport Problems

Congestion on the roads, tubes and rail services bears the main brunt of criticism. Lady Porter dramatises it as "London is grinding to a halt". But it is difficult to argue either that our traffic problems are worse than Paris or that lack of co-ordination or Ministerial control are the cause of our difficulty. BR and London Transport report to DTP Ministers who also control the strategic trunk road network. DTP are attacking the problems by massive investment through LRT and BR on new trains, smarter stations and above all safety provisions, an extension of the Jubilee Line, and a 300 miles red routes network to get the best out of our main roads. DTP is to appoint a Traffic Director to speed traffic. There is pressure for new tube-rail lines. The East-West cross-rail link (Paddington-Liverpool St) is a DTP priority under discussion in the PES round.

The Appearance of London

The litter problem is not peculiar to London. Part IV of the Environmental Protection Bill will bring higher standards of cleansing through the Code of Practice of both public and private open areas. The Government has allowed an extra £50 million for local authorities in the Revenue Support Grant for 1991/92 to back this work. The Tidy Britain Group will be providing seminars for local authority and business sector managers on their new responsibilities. Westminster's efforts are recognised and its standards are reflected in the present draft Code.

cc Backup.

Mr Turnbull

FROM: A D WHETNALL
DATE: 12 SEPTEMBER 1990

File

- 1. PS/SIR ROBIN BUTLER
- 2. MR TURNBULL



A MINISTER FOR LONDON: BRIEF FOR MEETING WITH LADY PORTER *Thurs 13 at 4.30pm*

I attach a brief, which was initially requested from DOE. Their contribution is included, which also covers Transport issues, together with a note from the Home Office.

Amman

A D WHETNALL
MG DIVISION
EXT: 6140

adw/porter

DRAFT BRIEFING FOR THE PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH LADY
PORTER, LEADER OF WESTMINSTER COUNCIL

BACKGROUND

Lady Porter published a 30-page report on 19 April 1990 entitled "A Minister for London: a Capital Concept". In it, she recommended that a Minister for London should be created who:

- would be a non-departmental Minister of State, outside the Cabinet, whose office would be attached to the Cabinet Office;
- would have transferred to him by TFO the powers in respect of strategic planning, land use and transport in London now vested in the Secretaries of State for Environment and Transport;
- would take over responsibility for the London Regional Office of DOE and the Public Transport and Traffic Policy (London) Divisions of DTp and be supported by seconded officials at about Grade 4 from Home Office, DES, DTI and OAL;
- would "consider the transfer" of some or all of the Home Secretary's responsibilities for the Metropolitan Police, Fire Brigades, and Civil Defence;

- would identify priorities, forge a partnership with business and voluntary agencies, and co-ordinate the activities of central government and the London boroughs.

2. These steps would require neither "massive expenditure nor momentous legislation", although the Minister would "press for additional powers and funding when required".

3. Lady Porter specifically rejects a new higher tier local authority along the lines of the GLC. The GLC was, in her view, a superfluous third layer of bureaucracy and spent a lot of money on many useless things and got involved in areas outside its remit.

LINE TO TAKE

4. The Prime Minister will wish to agree with what Lady Porter says about the GLC. She will wish to note her suggestion about a co-ordinating Minister, but the danger of such suggestions is that they diffuse responsibilities which at present fall clearly on each departmental Minister.

5. The Government has generally avoided giving Ministers geographical responsibilities (with the exception of the Territorial Departments). Lady Porter notes that, as part of the arrangements for inner city policy, particular Ministers are associated with each task force and City Action Team. They have made a point of visiting their areas and getting to

know the CAT and task force staff and local people, and generally acted as a catalyst for private sector involvement in regeneration. Mr Moynihan had this role while at DOE in respect of the London CAT and with Mr John Patten supervised the four London Task Forces; Westminster is not a task force or urban programme authority. The reallocation of responsibilities following the summer reshuffle has yet to be finalised. Mr Robert Jackson is likely to take over from Mr Moynihan. However this role is largely representational, and does not cut across the normal lines of departmental responsibilities and accountability for programmes in the same way as Lady Porter's proposal. Her proposal is open to the objections that it would:

- abstract the responsibilities in respect of London now directly exercised by the Secretaries of State for Environment and Transport (and possibly the Home Secretary) from their wider responsibilities for policy and their accountability to Parliament for resources and resource distribution;
- not fit coherently with public expenditure planning arrangements (would the Minister for London bid separately for PES for London's roads, public transport etc? Would increases be at the expense of transport resources for other areas? How would the Secretary of State for Transport's overview role come in?);

- inevitably generate pressure for additional resources, which on functions not transferred (education, health etc) would lead to the Minister receiving deputations seeking assistance in relation to matters for which he was not departmentally responsible;

- create pressure for parallel treatment for other, more hard-pressed areas - Merseyside, Birmingham, Manchester, the North East etc.

A

A MINISTER FOR LONDON: A CAPITAL CONCEPT

by
SHIRLEY PORTER



Published by FPL Financial Limited

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INTRODUCTION

This report urges the government to create a Minister for London to tackle a clutch of major problems which now threaten to undermine the city's long term future. It calls for a new minister, attached to the Cabinet Office, armed with a range of powers to co-ordinate government efforts in London and to forge a new partnership with business and voluntary organisations. The report also analyses the city's problems and how it is currently governed.

My interests have always been local, not national. But sometimes the two are inseparable. This is such an occasion.

London is facing an enormous challenge. Bedevilled by problems of transport congestion, crime and poor education, it must move better, be cleaner, safer and above all be known for the intelligence and hard work of its people, if it is to retain its premier position after 1992. There will be many other European cities competing for London's business and prestige. They must not succeed.

We all know what's wrong. It's time we started putting it right. This paper is my personal contribution to the debate we need. It is designed to provoke argument and thought, to concentrate the mind and hopefully to trigger a wide-ranging discussion that will arouse the talent and energy of London's greatest asset - its people - to shape their own future.

It is an entirely personal viewpoint. I alone am responsible for its production and conclusions, although I am indebted to the help and advice of Professor William Letwin and Mr. Keith Boyfield of FPL Financial Ltd.

Above all I would like to thank countless Londoners, whose love of the city has given me unending encouragement for its future and the inspiration to ensure that it remains a capital we can be proud of.

Shirley Porter.

II. LONDON'S PROBLEMS

Present Troubles

London is in trouble. Our capital city, particularly the centre, is bedevilled by a number of apparently insoluble problems. Our roads and rail links are jammed full. Many pavements are filthy and broken. Too many citizens and visitors are the victims of crime, and our children are poorly schooled. Living and working in London is increasingly painful, tending towards the brutish.

The startling scale of these problems is indicated by some telling details.

(i) Traffic and Transport

Central London's roads are so congested that vehicles are lucky to achieve a speed of 12 m.p.h. - no faster than the horse drawn vehicles a century ago. And by far the speediest way of travelling to Docklands is to emulate our medieval forebears and go by boat.

London is grinding to a halt. Partly as a result of unprecedented economic growth, the capital's transport infrastructure is proving more and more inadequate. Getting around town is a deepening misery for Londoners, commuters and visitors. Unless action is taken soon, such problems will tend to stop customers from coming into the centre and to drive businesses out of the centre or even out of London altogether.

Consequences of congestion include the following:

- the British Road Federation estimate that London's congestion costs £1.4 billion a year in wasted time and energy, equivalent to £500 per vehicle;
- average speeds in the morning peak period are around 16 m.p.h. in Greater London, dropping to 12 m.p.h. in central London. On certain radial roads, rush-hour traffic practically stagnates at 5 m.p.h.;
- In a CBI survey, just published, London's traffic problems were found to be costing the Post Office £10.4m a year, BT £7.25m p.a., Sainsbury's £3.4m p.a., and Marks & Spencer and British Gas £2m each. In an attempt to do something about these staggering costs, the CBI suggests appointing a Minister for London Traffic.
- the Metropolitan Police Commissioner, Sir Peter Imbert, has said that congestion is so grave that the authorities might require drivers to get a daily permit to enter central London. As in Singapore, such permits might be granted only to cars carrying at least two passengers. A scheme proposed by many others would charge a mileage fee to all vehicles using central London streets.
- the former deputy chief officer of the London Fire Service, Mike Doherty, has warned that it is becoming increasingly difficult to answer a call within the maximum response time required by the Home Office;

- similarly, London's ambulance service is less capable of dealing with emergencies. Previously 95 per cent could reach an injured or sick individual within the official target time of 14 minutes; now only 90 per cent can.
- worse is in store unless early action is taken. The number of people using private cars in London continues to increase. The total volume of traffic in inner London rose by 1 per cent each year from the early 1970s to 1985 and is probably rising still.
- while car use was rising, the population of inner London fell by 20 per cent between the early 1970s and 1985. But recently this population trend has begun to reverse, adding further pressure to the transport infrastructure. The Department of Employment forecasts that the South East's civilian workforce may grow from 8.8 million in 1987 to 9.3 million in 1995, an increase of 17 per cent. Meanwhile, the rapid growth in office development is likely to attract even more people to Greater London, as commuters even if not as residents.
- both British Rail and London Underground are struggling to cope with a tremendous upsurge in demand. Between 1982 and 1987, passenger journeys on London Underground increased by 60 per cent. Some 2.6 million journeys are undertaken on the underground network each day. High passenger volumes are putting an increasing strain on the system, 80 per cent of which is 70 years old and some over 120 years old. The Government has recently agreed to a major programme of investment in new lines and renovation of stations, but the cost will be colossal and the resulting improvements will not materialize for years.
- the same applies to our road network. Greater London's 226 miles of dual carriageway and 26 miles of motorway compare very unfavourably with the 900 mile network of motorways and dual carriageways within the Paris conurbation, which serves a smaller population.

We therefore face a crisis in London's transport system, ironically made worse by London's strong rate of economic growth. If nothing is done to alleviate it, congestion could imperil London's continued prosperity. Perhaps the most worrying aspect of this problem has been the apparent lack of a co-ordinated plan to deal with it effectively. As Tony Travers, research director of the LSE's Greater London Group points out, "The way in which Paris has successfully planned the development of public transport to meet the needs of private development contrasts alarmingly with the sporadic and ad hoc approach adopted in London".

(ii) Litter

London is developing an unevitable reputation as among the most squalid cities in Europe. Litter and rubbish in the streets are corroding the capital's image. Latest figures show that 655,614 tonnes of waste are collected annually in central London; and 1,423,042 tonnes in London as a whole. In Westminster alone, 210,000 tonnes of rubbish are collected every year, enough to fill Trafalgar Square to the height of Nelson's Column five times over. But despite all this cleaning and collecting, litter defiles the pavements and streets.

Street cleaning in 1988/89 cost an average £33,000 per mile. The uphill battle of trying to keep Oxford Street clean, where the hourly pedestrian traffic can be as high as 60,000, costs £750,000 annually. A fifth of Westminster's entire income is spent on tackling the rising tide of rubbish.

Why is London so dirty? Here are some of the important reasons:-

- London streets are difficult to clean because they are so heavily used, and because so many pedestrians and drivers act as though the pavements and roads were authorized rubbish dumps. The dirtier the streets get, the more justified litter louts feel in dirtying them.
- Irresponsible motorists who park illegally prevent refuse lorries from moving easily about.
- Anti-litter laws are seldom enforced energetically, except in Westminster.
- Some councils couldn't care less.
- Many commercial premises have yet to install compactors or use proper refuse storage areas; too many simply dump their rubbish bags onto the streets with no regard for appointed picking up times. This leads to bag breakages, garbage scattered across pavements and an unsightly general mess.

Walking around some parts of inner London is like wading through a rubbish heap. What with all the irregular paving stones, it's more like tripping around a rubbish heap.

(iii) Crime

Crime is on the increase in London. Figure 1 shows the trend in recorded offences made known to the police between 1971 and 1987. This shows that notifiable offences have more than doubled in the last twenty years - and it is well known that the number of offences committed considerably exceeds the number reported to the police.

Figure 1: Notifiable Offences known to the Police, All London Boroughs

1971	1976	1981	1984	1987
335,441	461,456	608,464	687,293	708,232

Looking at these overall statistics in greater detail, one finds that:

- more than half of the crimes involved theft and handling of stolen goods;

- every year 150,000 burglaries are committed in London, and those involving threats of violence have nearly trebled between 1978 and 1988;
- particularly worrying is the fact that acts of violence and criminal damage have significantly increased over the last decade and again increased alarmingly, by 20 per cent in 1989;
- sexual offences were 23 per cent higher last year than in 1988. There were 900 rapes in 1989, only half the assailants were caught.
- as a general rule only one in seven offences notified to the Metropolitan Police is successfully prosecuted, among the lowest rates in the country;
- an ever growing problem is the number of vagrants in the street. Shelter estimates that around 2,000 people sleep rough every night in London. This relatively recent phenomenon contributes greatly to the image of London as a threatening as well as squalid city.

It is therefore no wonder that Londoners, particularly older Londoners, are becoming increasingly concerned and frightened about the incidence of crime on our streets as well as in peoples' homes.

(iv) Education

Businesses in London are finding it ever more difficult to attract the skilled people they need because London schooling is so inadequate. As the Henley Centre for Forecasting has observed, "The perception of London as being...educationally sub-normal is deeply damaging". The Centre goes on to conclude: "London is effectively saying to its customers: 'come to live and work here - and take a risk with your children's education'."

Educational standards in London's schools - and especially inner London schools - have come in for considerable criticism. A recent example (1986) of the standards achieved by ILEA schools shows that:-

- 20.6 per cent of ILEA pupils left school with no graded results, compared to the average for England of 10.1 per cent;
- only 10.6 per cent of ILEA sixth formers achieved one or more graded A levels, compared to the national average of 13.6 per cent;
- only 43 per cent of ILEA pupils achieved one or more higher grade O level/CSE, compared to the national average of 53 per cent.

In terms of national ranking, ILEA came 86th out of 96 authorities¹. Supporters of the ILEA claim that any comparisons should take account of London's special socio-economic factors. However, even when such an exercise was carried out, ILEA ranked 56th out of 74 Authorities.

But, as Dr Sheila Lawlor of the Centre for Policy Studies has pointed out, "Poverty or deprivation should never be correlated with intellectual deficiency. Nor should they be used to excuse undemanding teaching or low academic expectations. This is to confuse social needs with academic ones"².

Although standards in London schools are amongst the worst in the country, that has not resulted from any special shortage of funds. The ILEA spent 30 per cent more per pupil than Manchester, Liverpool or Newcastle, and almost 60 per cent more than Birmingham³.

However, much of this money has been spent not on teachers but on a panoply of support staff such as administrators, welfare officers, psychologists and media resource officers and technicians. Although two-thirds of ILEA expenditure went on salaries, less than one-third went on school teachers⁴. ILEA in 1986 employed two and a half times as many administrators per pupil and twice as many non-teaching staff per secondary pupil as the average authority. Disadvantaged children have particularly suffered from this waste.

Children leave London schools unprepared for the challenges they must face now and in the twenty-first century. Businesses in London have vacancies for skilled staff, which they are unable to fill because many of the young unemployed totally lack the required educational background or training. If nothing is done to correct this trend, businesses will be tempted to move out to the suburbs and the Home Counties, where they may feel they have a better chance of recruiting the skilled people they need.

(v) Potential Consequences

As the Henley Centre for Forecasting have recently pointed out, London's future rate of economic growth will lag behind the rest of the South East unless steps are taken to reverse the spiral of decline characterised by chaotic transport, poor schools, rubbish in the streets and a growing crime rate. The Henley Centre for Forecasting has dubbed this downward spiral 'the Brazilian scenario'.

Already there has been a marked flight to the suburbs and further out into the Home Counties and beyond. Over the last twenty years London has been losing jobs to the rest of the South East and other regions. It is calculated that between 1971 and 1981, London shed 427,000 jobs, nearly 11 per cent of the 1971 total, whereas the rest of the South East region gained 323,000 jobs⁵.

In particular, the last two decades have witnessed the deindustrialisation of London. Between 1971 and 1981, 335,000 manufacturing jobs were lost in inner London. Over the same period there was a further drop of 132,000 jobs in trade and transport just in central London⁶. The London Chamber of Commerce forecast that the number of jobs in manufacturing will fall to 10 per cent of London's total employment by the end of the century.

The omens are obvious. If something is not done quickly to arrest this relative decline, London might follow the example of New York. To echo the view of Professor Gordon Cherry of Birmingham University, London might become a city dominated by Third World cultures and underclasses, qualified only by a smattering of yuppies, dinkies, and visiting businessmen corralled in conference centres⁸.

THE CHALLENGE OF 1992

London is still a leading centre for a number of industries. Of the thousand largest companies in Britain, one in three has its headquarters in London; of the hundred largest, seventy⁹. London can boast that, along with New York and Tokyo, it is one of the world's three most important financial centres. Out of the world's one hundred largest banks, all but four have a branch in London¹⁰. Lloyd's of London dominates the international insurance market. Banking, finance and insurance attract many ancillary professional services such as law, accounting, and public relations.

London leads the world in a number of creative fields such as music, film and video, advertising and design. It is a major educational centre with 53,000 full time students at the various colleges making up London University, and as many more at the other universities, the four polytechnics and a mass of colleges of further education. There are also 80 recognised schools teaching English as a foreign language.

London is a national and indeed international cultural capital. It has the best theatre in the world and probably more symphony orchestras than any other city worldwide. Christie's, Sotheby's and the other auction houses dominate the art market, and publishing houses proliferate.

London is a major shopping centre with world famous stores such as Harrods, Harvey Nichols, Liberty's, Jaeger and Selfridges.

But will London's pre-eminence survive after a single European market is achieved on 31 December 1992? Many hopes and plenty of fears are associated with the concept of one European free market serving 325 million consumers (and more after German reunification). This will be a far bigger market than either the USA - with 250 million customers - or Japan, where there are only 125 million.

As Britain's trade becomes steadily more dominated by the EEC (one-third of UK exports were to the EEC in 1972, one-half in 1987) the South East, but particularly London, is likely to assume the role of gateway to and from mainland Europe.

What will the Single European Market mean in practice for London?

In a review of the implications of the Single European Market¹¹, the Henley Centre for Forecasting note:

"Apart from chemicals and food and drink, the South East dominates in all those sectors which are most likely to be affected by the European Commission's proposals. In financial services, office machinery, instrument engineering, and electrical engineering, the South East has no close rival in any of the (English) regions. It is therefore companies in the South East which would face the greatest opportunities and the greatest threats, as the Commission's proposals go through".

Expansion of the European marketplace and the abolition of countless controls and restrictions will bring with it new competitive threats as well as significant commercial opportunities. These include:-

- London as a financial centre is likely to face growing competition. Paris is already trying to lure commodity markets away from London. Frankfurt, which will become the financial capital of a reunited Germany, will become a stronger competitor with the City. The Bundesbank is already, de facto, the central bank for the whole of the European Community. If plans for a single European currency go ahead, Frankfurt will very probably become the seat of the European Community's official central bank. Following that, Frankfurt may well attract a lot of financial business away from London.
- the growing importance of our trading relationship with Europe, which is likely to be reinforced by the emergence of freer market economies in Eastern Europe, underlines the importance of improving London's transport links with mainland Europe. Some progress has been made with extensions to Heathrow and Gatwick and the development of Stansted as London's third major airport. The Docklands City airport can be expected to make an increasingly important contribution in the future. Despite some initial teething problems, the channel tunnel link is likely to improve our accessibility to the continent. Recent innovations in ferries, such as use of faster catamaran vessels, will provide improved communications links across the Channel.

However, all these modes of transport are two way streets: while making it cheaper for the British to compete in Europe they will make it easier for European-based businesses to invade British markets.

The Need For Action

Unless London begins quickly to solve its problems, it will lose out in competition with European cities that offer less congestion, cleaner and safer streets, better schooling, and a generally better environment.

WHAT'S WRONG WITH LOCAL ADMINISTRATION IN LONDON

London is administered inefficiently and ineffectively: the reasons for this systematic deficiency are threefold.

Split Powers

Each of the London Boroughs suffers from diffusion of leadership. Mayors are merely ceremonial figureheads, totally powerless. Political power is concentrated in the Leader of the Council, provided that the Leader can maintain discipline among Councillors of the majority party. Executive power, on the other hand, is concentrated in the permanent Chief Executive, and the large administrative staff under his command. I believe recent legislation has strengthened the authority and power of Chief Executives to the detriment of elected members.

In theory, the dividing line between functions of the Leader (and Council) and the Chief Executive and staff, is that the former make policies which the latter execute. In practice, however, the line blurs. Policies are inevitably stated in broad terms, which must be interpreted by officials when carrying policies into effect. As a result, officials must exercise discretion. But to exercise discretion is in a real sense to make policy.

A simple example is the clamping of illegally parked cars. Let us assume that the basic policy decision to do this was made by elected officials. But when this policy is administered, it is non-elected officials who must decide on policy questions at a lower level, such as the specific roads or areas to concentrate on, which parking offences to condone, at which hours of the day to pounce, and the like. Policy making can never be exercised exclusively by elected officials, nor can administrators be totally deprived of policy-making powers. Because of this blurring of authority, elected councillors are often frustrated.

To resolve this cause of ineffectiveness in local government we need to change the present structure. Part of the solution is elected mayors with executive powers who would be able - as the Leader is now - to help shape the policies of the council, but with the added advantage of being able to ensure that they are carried out. Mayors with such powers abound in the USA, Europe and elsewhere, and could be introduced into the British system.

Lack of Coordination

A second cause of inefficiency and ineffectiveness is a recurring difficulty in dealing with issues that concern the whole of London. These are issues that cannot be handled properly by any single Borough or small group of Boroughs. This difficulty was the reason for establishing the GLC (and its predecessor, the LCC). But the GLC failed, as Peter Hall, the doyen of planners, has said, because "it did the things it was supposed to do badly or not at all, and it tried to do too many things it should never have tried to do"¹².

The GLC was a superfluous tier of government which simply got in the way. For the taxpayer, it was a third tier of bureaucracy to add to central government and the local Boroughs. In practice what tended to happen was that the three tiers disagreed over strategic issues because they were of different political colours. The result was that it was central government which made the final decision, sometimes after a long delay. Now we've cut the unnecessary middle man - the GLC - out of the equation.

Since the abolition of the GLC, certain London-wide functions are carried out by bodies such as the London Fire and Civil Defence Authority and the London Waste Regulation Authority.

But many other matters that involve cooperation among a number of adjoining Boroughs or among all of them are not dealt with by any existing joint authority. As a result, certain policies and activities of individual Boroughs create avoidable difficulties for other Boroughs. Consequently, the coordination required to solve such problems will have to be promoted, and perhaps in some instances, imposed. And anyway the future of London is too important to be left to the shifting whims of local Boroughs and part time politicians.

Nobody sensible would want to re-embark on the experiment of a higher-tier local authority like the GLC. The best method of coordinating London-wide activities is therefore, in my judgement, to put the responsibility into the hands of a Minister.

Services provided by Central Government

The third cause of inefficiency in London government is that various essential services are provided not by Boroughs but by various Ministeries. When trying to solve certain problems, Borough officials find themselves forced to deal with a large number of Departmental ministers and civil servants, who often have irreconcilable views about what may or can be done. This cause of confusion, delay and frustration could be ameliorated if any one minister were charged with coordinating the Government's policies as they affect London. It is to this issue which we turn in the subsequent sections.

WHO GOVERNS LONDON NOW?

The short answer is either no body or too many bodies. In terms of who is actually responsible for running London as a capital city we are confronted with a vacuum. Authority is fractured and dispersed amongst a whole host of Whitehall ministries and local authorities. As a result, it is impossible to identify any one individual who is accountable for how London is run.

When the GLC was being abolished, opponents of abolition maintained that the central government was seizing for itself the powers to govern London which had formerly been exercised by the GLC. They argued that the Local Government Act 1985 would confer on ministers somewhere between 40 and 123 new powers authorizing them "to initiate, to guide, to control, to direct, to monitor, to approve, to be consulted and in default to execute"¹³.

Dismissing such fears, proponents of the measure and the Government itself maintained that the Act's purpose was to decentralise London government, freeing the Boroughs to act independently as each saw fit. New powers being conferred on Ministers, they said, were chiefly potential powers to be held in reserve, and used only when Boroughs failed in their duties, or spent money extravagantly and recklessly. Other reserve powers were taken to resolve potential conflicts among Boroughs or to enable the central government to tackle problems that no single Borough could solve for itself.

London is in fact now mainly governed by the Boroughs acting either independently of each other or in co-operation with each other. Only on a few matters does the central government intervene in policy-making, though those matters are of some considerable importance.

The Role of Central Government

To say that central government does relatively little to influence the governance of London may seem paradoxical. But the paradox is easily explained.

Governments spend far more money nowadays in providing public services than on governing, that is making and enforcing policies by rules, regulations, orders and the like. In the case of central government, about one-third of total expenditure (exclusive of social security) pays for health services and almost as much again on national defence. Local authorities in the UK spend almost half their total expenditure on the provision of education.

Vital as such activities are to peoples' lives, they are government activities that do not, strictly speaking, constitute the different, vital activity of governing. That is why it is true to say that the central government does relatively little, at present, by way of governing London.

No doubt the central government provides many services to citizens of London, services practically identical to those it offers to citizens everywhere else in England and, in slightly modified form, throughout Scotland and Wales as well. For instance, the National Health Service is administered within London by a number of regional and district health authorities and a large number of Family Practitioner Committees - but none of those bodies, though present in London and certainly affecting the lives of residents in London, is involved in governing London.

The same is true of the many offices within London of other service agencies of the central government, those administering Social Security, Manpower Services, Employment Services, postal services and the like. All these services were established in accordance with policies and are administered in accordance with rules and regulations as well as budget allocations made by the central government. But the policies and consequential rules have no special bearing on the governance of London, and are in no way intended to.

Land-use Planning

Nevertheless, there are a few ways in which the central government, since the abolition of the GLC, is newly involved in governing London. Most important among these is the power of the Secretary of State for the Environment with respect to land-use planning. He enjoys sole authority to make the strategic plan - a very broad plan - for land-use and development in London. Subject to the policies laid down by his strategic plan and such other guidance as he may issue, each Borough is free to make its own more detailed unitary development plan as it sees fit. However the Secretary of State may modify a Borough's plans and may also substitute for it one of his own making.

But this power sounds more oppressive than it really is. For one thing, the strategic planning and development power applies only to issues that affect London as a whole, or London in relation with the South-East, or at least three London Boroughs. It cannot be brought to bear on issues peculiar to any single Borough.

When formulating his strategic guidance, the Minister must take into account the views of the London Planning Advisory Committee (LPAC), a statutory body, which consists of one Councillor appointed by each of the 32 London Boroughs and the City Corporation, assisted by a smallish staff.

In July 1986 the Minister invited the LPAC to advise him on a number of specific questions including the planning of economic development, land use and housing, transportation and infrastructure, and urban environment. In June 1988, the LPAC published the draft of a Strategic Advice document which, after discussion and revision, was submitted to the Minister in October 1988. In March 1989 the Minister issued a draft Strategic Guidance paper which, after criticism, was revised and issued in July and September 1989 as the Minister's Strategic Guidance (RPG3). Since then, Boroughs have been drafting their unitary development plans.

It remains to be seen whether, and to what extent if any, Boroughs will find that the Minister's policies will frustrate or cramp their own planning exercises.

The interests of any Borough, as declared in its own plan, may sometimes conflict with the broader public interest as understood by the Minister (everybody favours waste disposal but nobody wants it to be deposited in his own neighbourhood). Besides, conflicts between Boroughs' plans and Minister's plan will sometimes reflect differences between policies of the political parties. But it seems unlikely that the Minister will wish often to countermand the planning decisions of local authorities. Wise ministers avoid actions that seem tyrannical.

Financial Controls

Another way in which the central government intervenes in the governance of London is by controlling the expenditure of Boroughs - or so it would seem in light of the present debate about the Community Charge. But this is a misunderstanding. It is true that the Government fixes the various grants which it gives in support of local authorities, and that those cover about 75% of the £50 bn spent by local authorities. It is true also that the Government has indicated for 1990-1991 the amounts which it judges that local authorities should spend on their main services. It is true, further, that the Secretary of State has just capped spending by a number of Boroughs.

But in providing funds for local authorities and in indicating broadly how they should be used, the Government is not dictating the policies that every or any local authority should adopt in providing services so broadly defined as personal social services for instance. Or the even broader categories of other services and capital financing. Nor in exercising this loose measure of financial control is the Government dictating what rules and regulations each local government may make about matters of such immediate interest to citizens as: parking, traffic control, rubbish collection, street sweeping and provision of public amenities.

Education

A third new form of Government intervention in local government is the establishment of a national curriculum for schools. This sets framework limits on the power of local governments (in London, after the abolition of the ILEA, the Boroughs) to determine curriculum according to their own views. Nevertheless, it leaves them as free as they were before to exercise discretion over other aspects of schooling.

Waste

Finally, one might mention one other change stemming from the 1985 Act, a change which gave the Secretary of State for the Environment power to determine how waste should be disposed of in the London area. He promptly delegated that power to the London Waste Regulation Authority and various more localized authorities subordinate to it.

Conclusion

The basic fact to be emphasized is that most of the above instances concern the provision of services - such as education, waste disposal and public amenities. Only in small part do they concern the governance of citizens, that is, the enforcement of rules commanding individuals to do this or prohibiting them from doing that.

On the whole, the abolition of the GLC (and of the ILEA) resulted in transferring some of their powers to central government. But the most substantial effect has been to make the London Boroughs more independent in governing their own affairs, partly because the GLC's policies and bureaucratic blight no longer stifle their autonomy, and the central government has used its new powers most sparingly.

WHO PROVIDES LONDON SERVICES?

A root problem for London today is that many of its local services - services that elsewhere in England are provided and controlled by local governments - are supplied by agencies of central government. Accordingly, those services lie outside the control of the London Boroughs.

As can be seen from the list given below, a large bulk of the services needed and used by London's residents and visitors are provided by agencies of at least five different Departments of the Government. Concerning a few of these services, the Boroughs enjoy the right to be consulted; more frequently, consultation takes place de facto rather than de jure.

Reading through the list it is worth emphasizing that:-

- Five Ministers or more make the ultimate decisions about those separate services.
- No minister is responsible for co-ordinating them.
- The Boroughs are quite without power to either control or co-ordinate these services.

Functions Performed by Central Government

1. LAND-USE PLANNING

Services arising from the position of the Secretary of State for the Environment as the strategic planning authority for the London area are provided by the London Regional Office of the DoE. Within a Directorate with a staff of over 100, four divisions deal respectively with London housing, the London Docklands development; London planning, including strategic guidance to Borough planners; and lastly London Urban Affairs which deals with the Urban Programme and land initiatives, research and information, advice on general economic and social matters in London, and London-wide grants¹⁴.

2. WASTE DISPOSAL

Under the Environmental Protection Bill currently being considered by Parliament, HM Inspectorate of Pollution will be given enhanced powers to ensure that the London Waste Regulatory Authority is discharging its responsibilities for waste disposal.

3. PUBLIC TRANSPORT

Bus and tube services in London are directly controlled by and chiefly provided by London Regional Transport, a public corporation under the control of the Secretary of State for Transport. Its internal affairs and day-to-day management are controlled by a board whose members are appointed by the Minister. But all broad decisions about its working are controlled by the Public Transport London Division of the Department of Transport. That Division's responsibilities extend to: public transport policy in London; LRT's structure and finances; contracting out and privatisation; Docklands Light Railway (a subsidiary of LRT); liaison between LRT and British Rail; and policing of LRT facilities.

4. RAIL SERVICE WITHIN AND ACROSS LONDON

British Rail is the monopoly operator of these services, which operates under the strategic direction of the Secretary of State for Transport. Around half a million commuters are ferried in and out of central London every day by BR's Network South East. Much of the rolling stock is badly in need of replacement and many commuters have to put up with appalling conditions.

In line with his powers, the Minister set up a Central London Rail Study - conducted by the DoT, BR and LRT - which was published in January 1989. Among various other possible developments it envisions four Crossrail schemes, whereby BR would tunnel under Central London so as to link existing rail services on either side, thus relieving pressure on BR terminals and on the underground lines which now link them. In view of the high capital costs of such projects, they would need to be largely financed by the DoT, which would accordingly have a dominant voice in determining routes, facilities and the other basic dimensions of the new services.

5. ROADS AND HIGHWAYS

Basic policy is made and certain roads are directly controlled by the Secretary of State for Transport. Before the GLC was abolished, he was responsible for planning, developing and maintaining 143 miles of trunk roads in London. After it was abolished he became responsible for 65 miles more, though control over and responsibility for the bulk of former GLC roads - about 900 miles - was transferred to the Boroughs. As to roads under control of a Borough, but which the minister regards as affecting other Boroughs, his consent is required before a Borough can alter traffic controls. Besides he can issue guidance on traffic management to the Boroughs and assume direct control over roads that he designates as trunk roads.

Administering these functions at the DoT is a unit called Traffic Policy and London Region. Its general brief includes: traffic policy including traffic regulation; control of parking; technical advice on traffic management; policies for managing lorries; co-ordination of resource allocation for London highways; transport planning (London-wide) and the improvement and maintenance of trunk roads and other highways.

6. CRIME PREVENTION

Law and order in the Greater London area (except for the City of London) are maintained by the Metropolitan Police, who are responsible to the Home Secretary. He appoints the Commissioner, controls the Force's budget, and can issue directives and guidance as to various aspects of strategy.

Unlike other local governments in Britain, the London Boroughs (excluding the Corporation of London) do not control their policing, though their inhabitants pay for it through precepts as well as taxation.

Some formal liaison and consultation has been growing up between Boroughs and the Metropolitan Police, but efforts to make the police accountable to elected Borough councils have been firmly rejected by the Commissioner and the Home Secretary. Such accountability, they evidently fear (and not without cause), would tend to introduce politics into what should be purely a matter of law.

7. HEALTH SERVICES

With small exceptions, hospital care, services of physicians and consultants, and ambulance service are provided in London by the National Health Service, which is controlled by the Department of Health.

OTHER SERVICES

Certain lesser services in London are performed by bodies appointed by, funded by and/or responsible to the central government and quite outside the dominion of Boroughs. These include:

- Preservation of historic buildings and monuments: English Heritage, London Division - appointed and funded by the DoE;
- Employment services: the London Divisions of the Department of Employment's Employment Service;
- Port services: Port of London Authority, appointed by the Secretary of State for Transport;
- Park services: management of the Royal Parks (which include substantially all the parks in Central London) is a responsibility of the Secretary of State for the Environment, acting through the Royal Parks Office.

III: A MINISTER FOR LONDON

WHY WE NEED ONE

I propose that the Government should establish the post of a Minister for London.

Creating a new ministerial post - which has been done many times in the past - is a way of recognizing or asserting that a certain issue has assumed great national importance. Such was the case when Harold Wilson established ministers for Technology and Welsh Affairs. Similarly, though in a different political direction, Mrs Thatcher has established new ministerial posts in Corporate Affairs and Food Safety.

In all such cases, the Government (more specifically the Prime Minister) signifies that a particular issue has assumed a high level of priority. If the Government is politically sensitive and deft, its judgement that an issue now needs the concentrated attention of a specialist Minister will reflect widespread public concern about that issue, and will also articulate and heighten the public's sense of urgency. Creating a new ministerial post is at minimum an important symbolic act.

But it must be far more than that. An essential part of any minister's tasks is to co-ordinate administrative functions under his or her control and to resolve differences, conflicts and contradictions within his or her organization. In the case of a Minister for London, co-ordination and conflict-resolution would be early imperatives. As has been shown above, various Departments within Government are now responsible for a host of functions regarding London. But as those various offices are scattered among several Departments, their efforts are at present uncoordinated.

Moreover, inasmuch as each Department has separate budgets, policies and statutory duties of its own, these may easily and often come into conflict with each other, inadvertently or because of deep differences of outlook. Since every minister is rightly preoccupied with national problems, no minister is likely to take on the additional burden of trying to co-ordinate and reconcile fragmented policies developed within his own and other Departments.

It is for these reasons that I have concluded that effective co-ordination of central government's actions concerning London could be achieved only by establishing a specialized Minister for London. Such a Minister would have transferred to his Office the various civil servants throughout Whitehall who currently look after London's affairs.

Solving the co-ordination problem in this way would involve little, if any, additional cost.

Setting up a Ministry

Solving the co-ordination problem in this way would be legally simple. The Prime Minister has power to establish new ministerial posts at her discretion, and to move part or all of a Department to some other Department, agency or office. No legislation would be needed, so avoiding the delays of an over-crowded Parliamentary calendar. This move forward to a more rational treatment of Central London needs nothing more than a simple Transfer of Function Order issued by the Prime Minister.

Aside from co-ordinating and perfecting the existing administrative functions that would be transferred to the Minister for London's jurisdiction, he would also be charged with other usual duties of Ministers: to recognize the unsatisfied needs of the people and groups whom he or she is meant to serve, to devise ways to satisfy those needs so far as government is able to do so within the existing budgetary and policy constraints, and to press for additional powers and funding when required. But, again, the performance of these functions requires neither massive expenditure nor momentous legislation.

Establishing a Minister for London can be done cheaply and easily. It should be done at once.

London: A Unique Case

Of course, some may argue that since it makes sense to establish a Minister for London, it equally makes sense to establish ministers for Manchester, Birmingham and other major conurbations. But as has been shown above, London's problems are unique in scale and character. London is a national and international centre. It must and does attract the attention of the Government in a way that no other British city can or does.

Besides it should be remembered that nine Ministers are already formally designated as having responsibility for certain cities throughout the country. Introducing this new Government initiative on 6 December 1989, David Hunt, the Minister for Local Government said,

"Each City Action Team will have its own Minister committed to advising and assisting the CAT in its vital work of stimulating inner city regeneration through partnership with business, local government, the voluntary sector and local people. The Ministerial team will act as a catalyst in the process and encourage still more private sector involvement in regeneration".

Each Minister will also have special responsibility for advising the Inner City Task Forces which are part of the Government's "Action for Cities" programme whose budget this year is £3.5 billion.

The Ministerial Team is:-

Robert Atkins	Minister for Roads & Traffic. He is advising the Manchester/Salford CAT and the Rochdale/Moss Side and Hume Task Forces.
Tim Eggar	Minister of State, Department of Employment. He is advising the Leeds/Bradford CAT and the Leeds and Bradford.
Douglas Hogg	Minister for Industry & Enterprise. He is advising the Tyne & Wear CAT, the Teesside CAT and the Hartlepool and Middlesbrough Task Forces.
Lady Hooper	Parliamentary Secretary, Department of Health. She is coordinating the work of the Nottingham/Derby/Leicester CAT and the Nottingham Task Force.
Alan Howarth	The Minister for Schools is advising the Birmingham CAT and the Coventry and East Birmingham Task forces.
David Hunt	Local Government and Inner Cities Minister is responsible for Liverpool CAT and the Granby/Toxteth and Bristol Task Forces.
Colin Moynihan	An Environment Minister. He is advising the London CAT and the Deptford and North Peckham Task Forces.
John Patten	Minister for Home Affairs. He is advising the North Kensington and Spitalfields Task Forces.
Lord Henley	Parliamentary Under Secretary, Department of Social Security. He is advising Doncaster Task Force.

I welcome this Government initiative but I am also firmly of the view that London's pressing problems and its unique place in our national life deserve the attention of a specialist Minister.

A MINISTER AND THE CABINET

There are reasonable grounds for maintaining that the Minister for London should be within the Cabinet and reasonable grounds also for maintaining the opposite. I am persuaded however that the Minister should not be within the Cabinet.

ARGUMENTS FOR A MINISTER WITHIN THE CABINET

London's Special Position as the Nation's Capital

At present three ministers within the Cabinet have territorial responsibilities as distinct from functional responsibilities. Their departments are responsible for Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Each of those regions has special interests different from those of England and faces certain problems peculiar to itself.

Greater London, a megalopolis on a world scale, similarly has special needs distinct from those of rural England or suburbia. Greater London moreover faces problems different from those of other English metropolitan areas such as Manchester, Birmingham and the like.

Compared with those conurbations, for instance, London is a powerful magnet, constantly drawing in large numbers of people: commuters, tourists and travellers in the millions, first-generation immigrants, international businessmen, young people attracted by city lights and the allure of sudden fortune many of whom end up as squatters or homeless, people seeking jobs in London's flourishing service sector, over 100,000 students in polytechnics and universities, derelicts who expect and sometimes find a better level of social services than would be available elsewhere, and, among many other types, British people of all sorts who come to lobby MP's or to deal with Whitehall officials or to participate in demonstrations.

This huge and constant inflow of visitors and residents, as well as their diversity itself, strains London's capacity to provide shelter, transport, policing, fire protection, a clean environment, health services, schooling, personal social services, cultural facilities and the like. Evidence of such strains in London are the all too familiar congestion, pollution, housing shortage, and civic disturbances - all on a scale unknown in other English cities. Nobody can doubt that London is special both in what it offers and in what it suffers.

London is special in character as well as needs. It is the nation's capital. As the European Community grows in importance, it is well to remind ourselves that London is the most massive capital in Europe. Not only is it vastly more populous than Paris, Rome, Bonn, Brussels, Amsterdam and the others. Unlike many of its European counterparts it is at the same time the nation's centre of politics and administration, finance and commerce, arts and higher education, and much more. And seen from the standpoint of its ethnic mix, London is now an international city, a sort of world within a nation.

As Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland each have an individual Secretary of State and Department to look after their particular needs and aims, the special character and needs of London similarly merit the attention of a Cabinet minister and Department. All the more so as there are more Londoners than there are people in Scotland or Wales or Northern Ireland. (See figure 2).

Figure 2	(1987 estimates)
Greater London	6,775,200
Scotland	5,112,000
Wales	2,836,000
N Ireland	1,575,000

Cabinet Kudos

All else being equal, a minister within the Cabinet carries more political weight than a minister outside the Cabinet. His or her statements tend to be more fully reported and discussed in the media and are more likely to become the focus of debate between the parties.

His voice is more readily heard in Parliament and, more important, in meetings of the Cabinet and of Cabinet committees. A minister within the Cabinet is in a stronger position to prevail on the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Star Chamber to increase the funds allocated to his Department. In short, Government might respond more readily to London's needs if those were represented by a minister within the Cabinet served by a large staff of senior civil servants.

Symbolism

Creating a new minister is an important symbolic act. It announces publicly that the subject for which the minister will be responsible is one of great and perhaps increasing national importance. It signals a serious commitment by the Government to devote time, effort and funds toward dealing with the felt problems in that field. It is, so to speak, a floodlight that fastens the public's attention on a sector of national life previously obscured by shadow.

Obviously the symbolic effect of establishing a minister for London would be greatly enhanced if that minister were appointed within the Cabinet.

ARGUMENTS FOR A MINISTER OUTSIDE THE CABINET

Any analogy drawn between London, on the one hand, and Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, on the other hand, is misleading. Unlike the other three, London can lay no claim to having once been a separate nation with its own laws, customs, language, religion, culture, political and social structures - all different from those dominant in England.

Government Departments for Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland were created for reasons which do not pertain to London. The Scottish Office was established in 1885 by way of formalizing the fact that ever since the Act of Union of 1707 (which deprived Scotland of its own parliament in exchange for representation in Westminster), Scotland continued to enjoy separate institutions such as the church, its own laws and courts and local governments. Thereafter the government of Scotland, though emanating from London, continued to recognize Scotland as a special case requiring specialized treatment. Establishment of the Scottish Office gave administrative and symbolic recognition to this accepted fact. Since then the Scottish Office has in effect become the government of Scotland, its departments paralleling the Whitehall Departments that administer the affairs of England.

The Welsh Office, though created as recently as 1964, responded in part to a revival of Welsh nationalism during the nineteenth century. In Wales, as in Scotland, nationalist sentiments had a real foundation in Welsh history and Welsh civilization - however much one may sometimes regret the idea that ancient history justifies separatism today.

As for the Northern Ireland Office, its establishment in 1972 - a corollary to the abolition of Stormont and the assumption of Direct Rule - did not in any way alter the old recognition by the public and governments of the UK that Ireland (and since then, Northern Ireland) is a separate entity, distinguishable on a host of vital grounds from England, Scotland and Wales.

By contrast, London has never had and has not now institutions and culture - church, laws, language and the like - which differ sharply from those of England.

That being the case, the argument for a separate Department and Secretary of State falls. Nevertheless there remains a strong case for establishing a more modestly endowed Minister for London.

Political and Administrative Reasons

For political and administrative reasons it would be easier, more effective and more efficient to establish a Minister for London on a fairly modest basis. Doing so would avoid shaking up the general machinery of government, as did the creation and subsequent dismemberment of some Super-Departments. It would not entail establishing a new Department. Existing Departments are responsible for spending an average of some £10 bn each (ranging from £1 bn up to £70 bn) and employ an average of some 35,000 civil servants each (ranging from a few hundred to some hundreds of thousands in the case of Defence and the Treasury).

For a Minister of London, sizes like that would be top-heavy, constituting a gross administrative and fiscal burden rather than a flexible and agile facility. Lacking a large Department with a sweeping remit, the Minister for London would not normally qualify as a minister of cabinet rank - although it would always be open to the Prime Minister to promote that Minister to the Cabinet if London's problems steadily worsened.

Assuming that the normal position of the Minister for London would be that of a Minister of State rather than a Secretary of State, it might seem natural that like other Ministers of State he should serve as a subordinate minister within some existing Department. It might seem natural to attach the Minister for London to the Department of the Environment. It, after all, takes primary responsibility within the central Government for urban affairs, and more specifically for London housing, urban development, planning and the like.

But obvious though such a posting might seem, I fear that it would be counterproductive. If assigned to that Department, the Minister for London would come under command of the Secretary of State for the Environment, thus tending to limit the Minister's scope for independent action. Environment, a super-department, is in some respects the most complicated of all Departments. It is armed with a Secretary of State, three Ministers of State and four Junior Ministers; comprises over 50 administrative divisions overseen by senior civil servants, employs 9,000 civil servants; and is spending about £23 bn during the current fiscal year. It is, par excellence, a maze in which a newly appointed Minister might easily get lost.

Moreover, as a Minister within Environment - or, for that matter, within any other Department - the Minister for London would forego the possibility of co-ordinating in a disinterested way policies generated in his Department with those stemming from other Departments. Nor could he act in a perfectly disinterested role when trying to resolve interdepartmental conflicts, hostilities, misunderstanding, incongruities or incoherencies.

The best way to provide the Minister for London with adequate freedom of action and with maximum immunity from interdepartmental conflicts is to instal the Minister as head of an Office outside any Department.

Non-departmental Offices already exist and, as the official Civil Service Yearbook tells us, may be attached to the Cabinet Office. Indeed the present Office of the Minister for the Civil Service (the Minister being Margaret Thatcher) is attached to the Cabinet Office. That Office is also served by a Minister of State, who is assigned to the Privy Council Office - another non-departmental Office.

Attaching to the Cabinet Office a third non-departmental Minister for London would be administratively simple. Moreover, it would be substantively convenient. The central co-ordinating function of the Cabinet Office Secretariat is in many ways akin to the fundamental, co-ordinating function of the Minister for London.

On balance, it is for these reasons I conclude that the Minister for London should be a non-departmental minister outside the Cabinet, whose office would be attached to the Cabinet Office.

FUNCTIONS AND POWERS OF THE MINISTER FOR LONDON .

In broad terms, I see the Minister's responsibilities as being:-

- to identify priorities, inspire esteem and voice London's needs within central government;
- to forge a city wide partnership with business and voluntary agencies to ensure that London continues to prosper after 1992;
- to co-ordinate the present functions of the central government in directly supplying services to London;
- to co-ordinate activities of the central government with those of the Boroughs acting separately, or jointly through their various joint agencies such as the London Planning Advisory Committee;
- to co-ordinate the policies and activities of Boroughs, especially when Boroughs are unable voluntarily to resolve conflicts or disputes that arise among them;
- to consider the transfer of some or all of the Home Secretary's responsibilities for the Metropolitan Police, Fire Brigades and Civil Defence;
- to co-ordinate marketing efforts and facilities for London's important tourism industry, worth £4.3 bn a year;
- to control those services such as London Regional Transport and Land-use planning directly supplied by central government, particularly those services now rendered by specialized London units within the DoE and the DTp.
- to propose policies in connection with the above responsibilities, including requests for expenditure by the central government; and
- to act within the central government as principal spokesman for the special needs and aspirations of London and more particularly of Inner London.

In order to carry out these responsibilities, the Minister for London would have transferred to him the powers in respect of strategic planning for London land-use and transport, powers which are now vested in the Secretaries of State for Environment and Transport.

At the outset at least, the Minister would need no other new powers, except the obvious and uncontentious power to control his own Office. His main responsibilities, to co-ordinate and to resolve conflicts, would be carried out less by the exercise of power than by persuasion and disinterested reconciliation.

STAFFING THE MINISTER'S OFFICE

The bulk of the Minister's Office would consist of the following three units transferred from their present Departments:

- London Regional Office, DoE
- Public Transport London Division, DTp
- Traffic Policy and London Region, DTp

Transferring these units would not increase Government expenditure at all.

To equip the Minister with in-house expertise on certain issues as well as to provide for necessary liaison, one civil servant (at about Grade 4) should be seconded from each of the following Departments:

- Home Office (concerning the Metropolitan Police)
- DES (concerning education)
- DTI (concerning trade and industry)
- Office of Arts and Libraries

Seconding these civil servants would involve small additional expenditure if any.

To provide essential support for the Minister, his private office should include:

- a Parliamentary Private Secretary
- a Principal Private Secretary
- an Assistant Private Secretary
- a special advisor
- a press officer
- a solicitor

The salaries of this staff and of the Minister, together with the cost of office space and facilities, would make for a practically invisible increase in public expenditure.

Most certainly, the total cost of the Minister for London and his Office would be far outweighed by its potential for improving conditions in London.

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NOTE ON PRESENT ARRANGEMENTS FOR CO-ORDINATION ON LONDON ISSUES

Background

There remains much interest in how the administration and representation of London is carried on in the absence of an elected London-wide local authority. There is a TV programme next week on this including Lady Porter, Tony Banks and Ken Livingstone. Both Thames and LWT plan extended features on London's planning and position in comparison with Paris and Frankfurt. The London Group at LSE are carrying out a research project to propose revised arrangements. The Labour Party mentions an elected strategic authority. Lady Porter proposes a Minister for London at a senior level "to co-ordinate".

The main criticisms of the present post-GLC position are the absence of a voice for London, the lack of an economic promotion effort for the city c.f. Paris and Frankfurt, and inadequate co-ordination between Departments themselves and they with other interests. Interestingly, these criticisms are largely about mechanisms, not about policies or programmes, not about what should be done. London's local authorities could provide means of providing mechanisms to cover the first two alleged omissions. The co-ordination point has little force. It is too easy to see a London-wide body as a panacea. If such a body existed it would often be opposed by those who saw its strategic plans as cutting across local democratic rights. If it fell under left-wing control it could choke off private sector development across the capital, as has clearly happened under Labour local authorities.

Present Arrangements for Co-ordination

The legislation abolishing the GLC set up the London Planning Advisory Committee (LPAC) with membership drawn from the 33 local authorities. LPAC's advice was the basis of DOE's Strategic Planning Guidance issued in July 1988. London's boroughs are making good

progress with putting together their local plans (the Unitary Development Plans). Cross boundary problems seem to be being sorted out. Government Departments meet together under DOE leadership to review Planning Guidance. DOE liaises with Borough Planning Officers. The senior staff of DOE, DTp, DEM, DTI and the Training Agency meet together regularly to review London issues.

DOE and DTp have a recently reinforced formal structure of liaison/co-ordination on London land-use and transportation issues. The DOE Regional Director is a member of DTp's internal working groups on transportation planning and on traffic and parking control. DTp are briefed and involved by DOE on new major property developments; as Westminster's Planning Department can vouch.

The City Action Team includes senior management of all Departments involved in London. The CAT can call up advice from both the public and private sectors. DOE is the lead Department; Mr Robert Jackson of DEM will replace Mr Moynihan as the Ministerial godfather of the CAT. The CAT concentrates on the 13 inner city boroughs but can and does look at wider issues. The CAT leader has good contacts with the Metropolitan Police, the Fire Service, the public utilities and the military in his standby, but exercised, role as Chairman of the Regional Emergency Committee. As an internally confidential operation, there is an inter-Departmental group looking regularly at the financial state of London's more exposed local authorities.

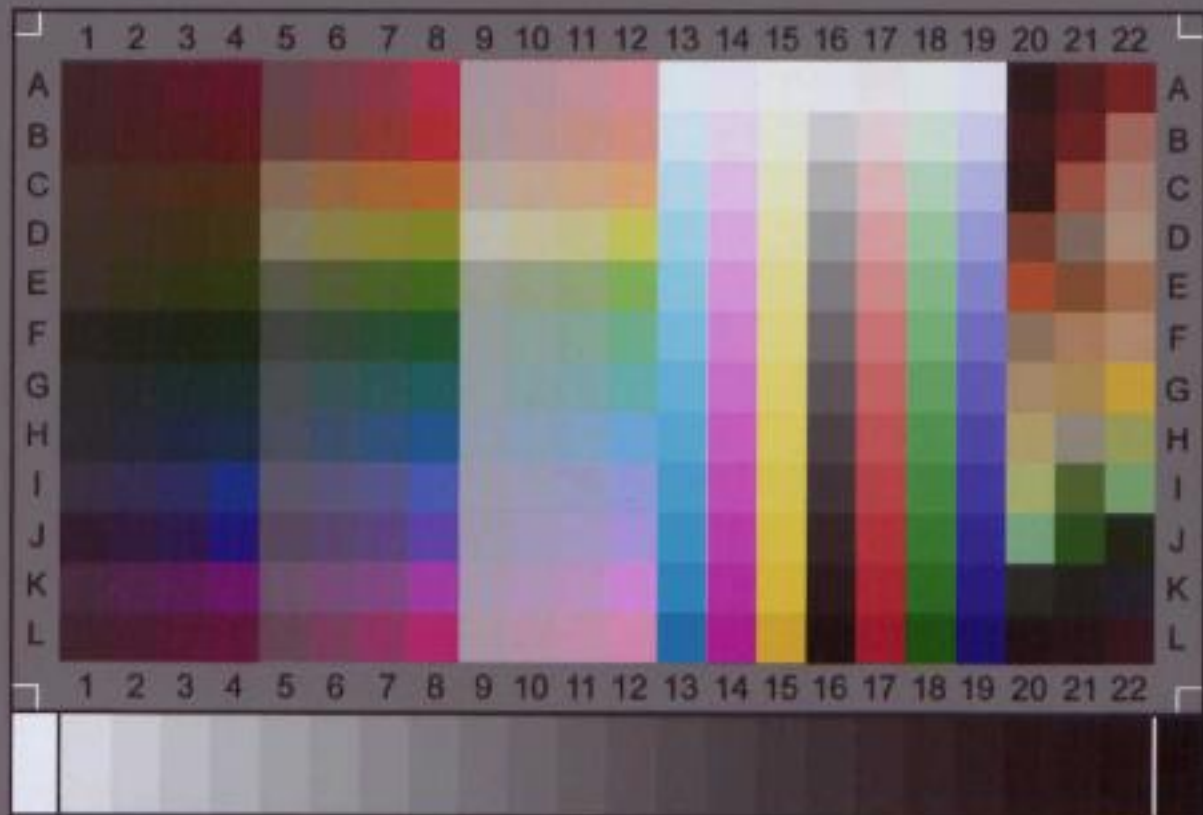
London should not be a special case. But efforts are made by Departments to keep each other informed on new initiatives and to devise mutually supportive programmes eg the CAT project to concentrate HMG and local authority programmes on deprived housing estates. Maybe it is for London's local authorities to pull together more effectively.

London's Transport Problems

Congestion on the roads, tubes and rail services bears the main brunt of criticism. Lady Porter dramatises it as "London is grinding to a halt". But it is difficult to argue either that our traffic problems are worse than Paris or that lack of co-ordination or Ministerial control are the cause of our difficulty. BR and London Transport report to DTP Ministers who also control the strategic trunk road network. DTP are attacking the problems by massive investment through LRT and BR on new trains, smarter stations and above all safety provisions, an extension of the Jubilee Line, and a 300 miles red routes network to get the best out of our main roads. DTP is to appoint a Traffic Director to speed traffic. There is pressure for new tube-rail lines. The East-West cross-rail link (Paddington-Liverpool St) is a DTP priority under discussion in the PES round.

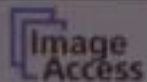
The Appearance of London

The litter problem is not peculiar to London. Part IV of the Environmental Protection Bill will bring higher standards of cleansing through the Code of Practice of both public and private open areas. The Government has allowed an extra £50 million for local authorities in the Revenue Support Grant for 1991/92 to back this work. The Tidy Britain Group will be providing seminars for local authority and business sector managers on their new responsibilities. Westminster's efforts are recognised and its standards are reflected in the present draft Code.



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