

A Record Of Broken Promises

What Ken Livingstone promises...

And what he actually delivers.

Imagine 4 more years of it.

“Judge me on what we’ve done”

(Ken Livingstone, Evening Standard debate, 31st March 2008)

Ken Livingstone is desperate to cling to office. He will do or say whatever he thinks he needs to in order to win.

Imagine 4 more years of it.

With only weeks to the election, Labour’s Ken Livingstone is yet again making promises to fix what he ignored over his last term.

He has a record of promising one thing during an election and delivering something quite different after it. Remember, he was the man who made this claim:

*“So much of the American experience of directly elected mayors shows it gets progressively more difficult to defeat a well-dug-in incumbent who has been able to establish extensive systems of patronage. As recent experience in Paris also shows, **corruption tends to flourish the longer an incumbent is able to hold onto power.** In a city that changes as rapidly as London it is hard to believe that a mayor who has served two terms will have the freshness of approach that is required to stay abreast of such a dynamic city. I therefore recommend that no mayor should serve more than two terms. If I am lucky enough to be elected as London’s first mayor and bearing in mind that I have already served 5 years as leader of the GLC, **I would not seek to serve more than one term.**”*

(Ken Livingstone, 1998)

The following pages present an analysis of the pledges Ken Livingstone made in order to get elected last time, and the reality of what happened after he won power.

Crime:

Time and again, Ken Livingstone has talked about tackling crime and claims repeatedly that crime has fallen. But do Londoners feel safer? The facts tell a very different story...

The Promise: *“adopt a zero tolerance approach to crime throughout the capital.”¹*

The Reality: The Home Office says that “in 2006/07 the **total recorded crime rate** in London (at 124 offences per 1,000 population) is the **highest rate of all English regions** and Wales.”²

The Promise: *“I expect that we will see something like a **50% cut in crime** by the time we have got neighbourhood policing fully rolled out across the whole of London... If we get government assistance with that, it could be by the end of 2006.”³*

The Reality: Comparing total crime figures for 2003 with total crime figures for 2006, Ken Livingstone **missed his target on total crime reduction by 38%.**⁴

The number of 11-22 year olds reported as being mugged in London has risen from 19,276 in the financial year 2004/5 to 24,701 in 2006/7. This is a rise of 28.1%. In Lewisham alone, 450 more muggings were recorded, a rise of 88.5%.⁵

Crime levels for violence against the person, violent crime, rape and gun crime are all higher now than when Mr Livingstone became Mayor in 2000. **Violent crime is up by more than 15%** since 2000.⁶

The Promise: *“We will free up officers for front-line duty by, where appropriate, using civilian staff for back room posts covered by police officers.”⁷*

The Reality: Today **Police Officers spend less of their time on patrol, and less of their time on front-line policing,** than in any of the previous three years.⁸

Time spent on patrol has dropped from 13.7% in 2003/4 to 12.8% in 2006/7, while **time spent on front-line policing has fallen** from 65% in 2003/4 to 61.7% in 2006/7. In the meantime, the **time spent on frontline policing in England as a whole has risen** from 62.1% to 64.3%.

¹ Ken Livingstone, A Manifesto 4 London, 2004, p.4.

² Home Office, Crime in England and Wales 2006/7, <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs07/london07.pdf>

³ Ken Livingstone, BBC interview, January 2004.

⁴ London Mayor, Crime figures 1999-2007 table, <http://www.london.gov.uk/mediacentre/mayor/docs/crimefigures-1999-2007.pdf>

⁵ Metropolitan Police Service, Personal Robbery Offences – Accused and Victims by age 11-29 FY 2005/6 to 2006/7.

⁶ Ken Livingstone, Crime Figures 1999-2007, <http://www.london.gov.uk/mediacentre/mayor/docs/crimefigures-1999-2007.pdf>

⁷ Ken Livingstone, A Manifesto 4 London, 2004, p.18.

⁸ Boris Johnson, written question to Secretary of State for the Home Department, 10th December 2007.

<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200708/cmhansrd/cm071210/text/71210w0019.htm#07121048000042>

The Promise: *“30% of police officers to be from Asian and BME communities and 25% to be women.”*⁹

The Reality: Another broken promise. In October 2007 the **percentage of police officers that were from BME communities was just 8%** and just 20.8% was female.¹⁰

The Promise: *“The Mayor will support a pan-London domestic violence advocate service.”*¹¹

The Reality: As of the Mayor’s 2006 report of the London Domestic Violence forum, there was no pan-London service. DVAs are neither in every borough, nor did they meet the Independent Domestic Violence Advocacy (IDVA) Standards.¹²

⁹ Ken Livingstone, A Manifesto 4 London, 2004, p.21.

¹⁰ MPA performance management information report , <http://www.mpa.gov.uk/committees/eodb/2007/071004/06.htm>

¹¹ Ken Livingstone, A Manifesto 4 London, 2004, p.21.

¹² London Mayor, Report of the London Domestic Violence forum 2006, http://www.london.gov.uk/mayor/strategies/dom_violence/docs/dom-violence-forum-06.pdf

Environment:

Mr Livingstone described London as a “leading green city” in January 2008. Yet he has failed to meet many of the targets he set himself in the 2004 manifesto. His green rhetoric hides the reality that he presides over a city which has the worst household recycling rate in the country.

The Promise: *“Protect parks and green spaces.”¹³*

The Reality: Between 2004 and 2007 **garden land in London was concreted over to make space for over 1,000 houses a year.**¹⁴

The Promise: *“We will increase the percentage of municipal waste recycled to 25 per cent.”¹⁵*

The Reality: The latest figures state that the municipal waste recycling rate is only 20%, showing that Mr Livingstone has still not met this target.¹⁶ **London has the worst household recycling rate in the country.**¹⁷ The most recent progress report on the Mayor’s waste strategy admits that the gap between London and the second worst region (the North East) is growing.¹⁸

The Promise: *“By the end of 2004 there will be 500 newly trained street enforcement officers in the 26 boroughs which are members of the Capital Standards Partnership.”¹⁹*

The Reality: A year after his own deadline passed, **Capital Standards’ own website announced that only 300 officers had been trained,**²⁰ meaning that Mr Livingstone had still missed his target by 40%.

The Promise: *“work with the government and the boroughs to consider the feasibility of establishing a single waste authority.”²¹*

The Reality: Ken Livingstone has withdrawn his support from the London Waste and Recycling board.

¹³ Ken Livingstone, A Manifesto 4 London, 2004, p.24.

¹⁴ GLA Environment Committee, *Garden Grabbing Update*, 11 October 2007.

¹⁵ Ken Livingstone, A Manifesto 4 London, 2004, p.34.

¹⁶ <http://www.defra.gov.uk/environment/statistics/waste/kf/wrkf12.htm>

¹⁷ <http://www.defra.gov.uk/environment/statistics/waste/kf/wrkf07.htm>

¹⁸ Page 19, http://www.london.gov.uk/mayor/environment/waste/docs/waste_strat_progress_oct07.pdf

¹⁹ Ken Livingstone, A Manifesto 4 London, 2004, p.33.

²⁰ Capital Standards partnership, Capital standards receives boost from CLG minister, 18th Feb 2006, <http://www.capitalstandards.com/news/news060218.jsp>

²¹ Ken Livingstone, A Manifesto 4 London, 2004, p.35.

Housing:

More than eight out of ten people say the cost of housing is a problem affecting their quality of life.²² Mr Livingstone made several promises on the subject in his 2004 manifesto. But when key targets were missed, the Mayor shifted blame onto local borough councils...

The Promise: *"50 per cent [of new homes] to be low cost and affordable."²³*

The Reality: Since his re-election, **Mr Livingstone has never met this target.** In February 2008, the Mayor announced that just **34% of net new-build homes had been affordable.**²⁴ And in his final Mayor's Question Time Mr Livingstone said, "no-one denies that we have failed to achieve targets on affordable housing."²⁵

The Promise: *"Our target is at least 60,000 new low cost affordable homes built for Londoners over the next four years."²⁶*

The Reality: The Mayor's own figures report that in the three years from 2004/05 to 2006/07, net **new affordable housing in London reached a total of just 24,420**, 33% of the total build.²⁷ Mr Livingstone is therefore **on track to miss his target of 60,000 by almost 50%.**

²² Ipsos MORI, Annual London Survey, January 2008.

²³ Ken Livingstone, A Manifesto 4 London, 2004, p.5.

²⁴ Ken Livingstone, Press release, 7 February 2007.

²⁵ Ken Livingstone, Mayor's Question Time, 12 March 2008.

²⁶ Ken Livingstone, A Manifesto 4 London, 2004, p. 23.

²⁷ Mayor of London, London Plan monitoring report 4, p.31, http://www.london.gov.uk/mayor/planning/docs/monitoring_report4.pdf

Transport:

In his 2004 manifesto, Ken Livingstone said: "London's prosperity and quality of life depends critically on the efficiency of our transport system." It is the area where the Mayor oversees a budget that will be over £7 billion for 2008/9.²⁸ Yet since 2004, Mr Livingstone has broken promises across the board; on the Tube, roads, buses and trams.

The Promise: *"The special transport police unit will continue to crack down on crime on and around bus routes."²⁹*

The Reality: A January 2008 London Assembly report noted that absolute **bus crime was higher in 2006 than in 2005 or 2004**. It also said that 65% of people had witnessed or experienced anti-social behaviour in the last two years.³⁰

The report noted that "TfL surveys consistently report that people feel less safe travelling by bus than on any other form of public transport in London."³¹ A TfL report from November 2007 said that violent crime on buses increased by 3.4 per cent from 2006.³²

The Promise: *"New trams and guided buses."³³*

The Reality: Ken Livingstone spent almost **£50 million** on plans for the West London and Cross River tram schemes – **both of which have been shelved**.³⁴

The Croydon Tramlink extension has only had a consultation and "may" be completed in 2013.³⁵

The Promise: *"We will run the Tube later every Friday and Saturday night."³⁶*

The Reality: Ken Livingstone has admitted that he could not broker an agreement to make this happen.³⁷

²⁸ TfL, Board meeting 12 March 2008 – open session, <http://www.tfl.gov.uk/assets/downloads/corporate/march-open-agenda.pdf>

²⁹ Ken Livingstone, A Manifesto 4 London, 2004, p.11.

³⁰ London Assembly, crime and disorder on London's buses, <http://www.london.gov.uk/assembly/reports/transport/crime-disorder-buses.pdf>, January 2008.

³¹ Ibid, p.6.

³² TfL Press Release, 20 November 2007.

³³ Ken Livingstone, A manifesto 4 London, 2004, p.15.

³⁴ West London Tram scheme, £34.8 million (Mayor Answers to London, 14 November 2007, Question number 2753/2007).

Cross-River tram, £11.6 million (Mayor Answers to London, 14 November 2007, Question number 2752/2007).

³⁵ TfL, Next steps for the Croydon Tramlink,

<http://www.tfl.gov.uk/corporate/projectsandschemes/networkandservices/croydontramlink/5237.aspx>

³⁶ Ken Livingstone, A Manifesto 4 London, 2004, p.8.

³⁷ Ken Livingstone, Press Release- Later running on the underground and current pay negotiations, http://www.london.gov.uk/view_press_release.jsp?releaseid=10750

The Promise: *“dramatically increase the recruitment of women bus drivers.”*³⁸

The Reality: The **recruitment of women bus drivers** has not increased dramatically, it **has actually fallen**.³⁹

TfL’s figures in their Women’s Action Plan in 2004 stated that “currently only 7% of bus drivers are female.”⁴⁰ In May 2007 TfL’s Corporate and Equalities Advisory Panel reported that “the latest analysis of the bus driver gender split shows that, at network level, the proportion of women bus drivers remains static at below 6%.”

The Promise: *“We will take cash off buses by the beginning of 2006.”*⁴¹

The Reality: TfL’s latest “Fare and tickets guide”, active from 2nd January 2008, noted that **“cash single tickets can be bought on most buses.”** It also stated that “the following quantities are always acceptable: 1p and 2p coins up to 20p, 20p and 50p coins up to £10.00. 5p and 10p coins up to £5.00 £1, £2 and £5 coins no limit.”⁴²

In January 2006, the Gun Control Network reported on the robbery and attempted robbery of two bus drivers at gunpoint.⁴³ In April 2007, a bus driver was left critically ill when a gang of youths tried to steal his cash tray.⁴⁴

The Promise: *“retaining the existing [congestion charge] residents’ discount.”*⁴⁵

The Reality: **The Mayor has now performed a U-turn** on this pledge and under his new Emissions Related Congestion Charge, “within the congestion charging zone, the highest CO2 emitting **cars would lose their entitlement to the residents’ discount**.”⁴⁶

The Promise: *“I can’t conceive of any circumstances in the foreseeable future where we would want to increase the charge, although perhaps ten years down the line it may be necessary, given inflation... It’s now quite clear that £5 was enough.”*⁴⁷

The Reality: This promise was made in February 2003, a year before the last Mayoral election. **Yet on 1st May 2005, a year after that election, Ken Livingstone announced that the Congestion Charge would rise from £5 to £8, an increase of 60%.**⁴⁸ On 12th February 2008, Mr Livingstone announced an increase in the Congestion Charge for vehicles in Band G, which includes large family cars, from £8 to £25, an increase of over 200%.⁴⁹

³⁸ Ken Livingstone, A Manifesto 4 London, 2004, p.12.

³⁹ TfL, Corporate and Equalities Advisory Panel, May 2007, <http://www.tfl.gov.uk/assets/downloads/CEAP-Papers.pdf>, p.8.

⁴⁰ TfL, Women’s Action Plan 2004, February 2004, <http://www.tfl.gov.uk/assets/downloads/corporate/wap-english.pdf>, p.16.

⁴¹ Ken Livingstone, A Manifesto 4 London, 2004, p.9.

⁴² TfL, Fares and Tickets – supplementary information, from 2nd January 2008, underlining added, <http://www.tfl.gov.uk/assets/downloads/fares-and-tickets-supplementary-info-08-01-02.pdf>

⁴³ Gun Control Network, Gun Incidents – January 2006, <http://www.gun-control-network.org/INS0107.htm>

⁴⁴ BBC News, Two held for bus robbery attempt, April 2007, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/london/6603087.stm>

⁴⁵ Ken Livingstone, A Manifesto 4 London, 2004, p.13.

⁴⁶ The Londoner, September 7th 2007, <http://www.london.gov.uk/londoner/07sep/londoner-sep07.rtf>

⁴⁷ BBC News, “No increase” in congestion charge, 25 February 2003, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/2797177.stm>

⁴⁸ Ken Livingstone, Press Release, 1 May 2005, http://www.london.gov.uk/view_press_release.jsp?releaseid=4988

⁴⁹ Ken Livingstone, Press Release, 12 February 2008, http://www.london.gov.uk/view_press_release.jsp?releaseid=15632

The Promise: “The new fare package is intended to stand for the next four years with further annual increases pegged to no more than the rate of inflation.”⁵⁰

The Reality: This promise was made in September 2003, just 8 months before the last Mayoral election.

- In October 2004, just four months after the election, a single bus fare rose to £1.20, a 20% rise.⁵¹
- A year later, in October 2005, it was announced that a single Tube fare would rise from £2 to £3 – a 50% rise – and a single bus fare rose from £1.20 to £1.50, a rise of 25%.⁵²
- Latest figures stand at £2 for a single bus fare and £4 for a single Tube fare. This means a 100% increase for both single bus and Tube fares since May 2004.⁵³

The Promise: “By 2009, every school will have a travel plan.”⁵⁴

The Reality: Latest figures show that, with less than nine months to go until the 2009 deadline, **just 53% of schools have signed up to the scheme.**⁵⁵

The Promise: “We will build the Thames Gateway bridge.”⁵⁶

The Reality: This has not happened. The protracted enquiry into the matter is still ongoing.

⁵⁰ Ken Livingstone, Thirty-fourth Mayor’s report to the Assembly, Sep 17 2003,

http://www.london.gov.uk/mayor/mayors_report/sep17_2003.jsp

⁵¹ Ken Livingstone, Press Release, 21 October 2004, http://www.london.gov.uk/view_press_release.jsp?releaseid=4365

⁵² TfL, Proposed 2006 Tube and Bus fares, 4 October 2005.

⁵³ Transport for London, Fares Package 2008, <http://www.tfl.gov.uk/corporate/media/newscentre/6288.aspx>

⁵⁴ Ken Livingstone, A Manifesto 4 London, 2004, p.15.

⁵⁵ TfL, Press Release, 8 November 2007, <http://www.tfl.gov.uk/corporate/media/newscentre/6373.aspx>

⁵⁶ Ken Livingstone, A Manifesto 4 London 2004, p.15.

Equality

London has always based its success on drawing the best and brightest from a plethora of communities and cultures. With this in mind it is vital that equality is promoted and upheld. Mr Livingstone made promises to Londoners in 2004 to this effect. By 2006 he had been suspended from office for anti-Semitic remarks...

The Promise: *“Extend equal opportunities to every Londoner.”*⁵⁷

The Reality: Mr Livingstone has repeatedly backed and even published a document supporting the Muslim cleric Yusuf Al-Qaradawi, a figure with highly controversial views which include supporting the death penalty for homosexuals. The Home Office refused Mr Al-Qaradawi entry to the UK on the grounds that his views “could foster inter-community violence.”⁵⁸ Mr Livingstone said he did not support his Government’s decision.⁵⁹

The Promise: *“celebrate the contribution of every community to the city.”*⁶⁰

The Reality: Ken Livingstone made anti-Semitic remarks about the Reuben brothers. His excuse for telling the brothers to “go back to Iran and see if they can do better under the Ayatollahs”, was that he thought the Reubens were Muslims.⁶¹

The Promise: *“I am committed to ensuring the capital remains a safe city, in which all Londoners, regardless of race or religion, are respected.”*⁶²

The Reality: He made this commitment just a year before the last election, but less than a year after being re-elected he made a vicious anti-Semitic attack on Evening Standard reporter Oliver Finegold. For comparing the Jewish reporter to a concentration camp guard he was suspended from office by the Standards Board for England.⁶³ The court cases that followed cost the taxpayer £200,000.⁶⁴

⁵⁷ Ken Livingstone, A Manifesto 4 London, 2004, p.5.

⁵⁸ Daily Telegraph, Muslim Cleric Yusuf Al-Qaradawi refused visa, 8th February 2008, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2008/02/07/nvisa107.xml>

⁵⁹ Ken Livingstone, Written Answer to Brian Coleman, Mayor’s Question Time, 20th February 2008, <http://www.london.gov.uk/mqt/question.do?id=21565>

⁶⁰ Ken Livingstone, A Manifesto 4 London, 2004, p.5.

⁶¹ Muslim News, Brief News UK, 28 February 2006.

⁶² Mayor of London Press Release, 10 April 2003.

⁶³ BBC News, “Mayor is suspended over Nazi jibe”, February 2006.

⁶⁴ Hansard, 9 October, Col.569W.

Other promises:

Education:

The Promise: *“We will expand the London schools environment programme to secondary schools.”*⁶⁵

The Reality: The awards were intended to instil a sense of environmental awareness in the younger generation, who will play a crucial role in the fight against global warming. Yet despite being promised, **this expansion has not occurred.**⁶⁶

Culture:

The Promise: *“We will establish a London Culture Card.”*⁶⁷

The Reality: Despite its equivalent being promised to voters for two consecutive election campaigns, **Ken Livingstone has not delivered on this promise.**

Employment and skills:

The Promise: *“We will launch a campaign with major private sector employers to give a second chance to Londoners who have been excluded from the labour market.”*⁶⁸

The Reality: The description refers to what was later called ‘Diversity Works’, a project which was set up at a cost of £9.8 million.⁶⁹ It is currently under investigation by the police as part of the LDA financial mismanagement case.

⁶⁵ Ken Livingstone, A Manifesto 4 London, 2004, p.36.

⁶⁶ Mayor of London, London schools Environment Awards 2007/8, <http://www.london.gov.uk/mayor/education/lsea/index.jsp>

⁶⁷ Ken Livingstone, A Manifesto 4 London, 2004, p.8.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p.8.

⁶⁹ Mayor of London, Diversity Works for London, <http://www.london.gov.uk/mayor/economy/diversityworks.jsp>

Conclusion:

Ken Livingstone is not a man of his word. His pledges played to the ambition and aspirations of Londoners, but once he gained their votes he systematically broke those promises. This is unacceptable practice for a directly-elected Mayor of London.

Mr Livingstone is unrepentant. He says: “**people say a lot of silly things during an election campaign**, and then afterwards they have to work with the reality of what voters have done.”⁷⁰

Londoners deserve a Mayor they can trust and who trusts them. They deserve a Mayor who treats the promises made during an election as covenants with the electorate. It is the Mayoral candidate’s duty to make such promises practical and realistic, and then pursue these to the fullest extent possible as Mayor, not just treat them as nothing more than a trick to get elected.

⁷⁰ CNN, Red Ken elected Mayor despite Blair opposition, May 2000, <http://archives.cnn.com/2000/WORLD/europe/05/05/london.mayor.02/>