

Labour's last manifesto contains more than 100 broken promises

Ahead of the launch of Labour's 2010 manifesto, a new analysis of their 2005 manifesto shows that they have broken no fewer than 102 promises, including:

- 'Full employment in every region and nation'
- 'A 20 per cent reduction in carbon dioxide emissions on 1990 levels by 2010'
- 'We will end child poverty, starting by halving it ... by 2010-11'
- 'Everyone up to the age of 19 should be learning'
- 'All women will have choice over where and how they have their baby'
- '[Home ownership] to have risen by another million to two million'

We've had thirteen years of Labour's broken promises and nothing changes. What Britain needs is change – and only the Conservative Party has the energy, leadership and values to bring about that change:

- To get our economy moving
- To mend our broken society
- To rebuild trust in politics

1. Prosperity

Labour promise: 'Forward to increased prosperity, not back to boom and bust' (p.14)

Lower GDP per capita than 2005: The UK now produces less per person in real terms than at the last election. This is the first time in recent history that GDP per capita has fallen over a full parliament (Conservative Analysis, using: ONS, *Quarterly GDP, Seasonally adjusted, Constant 2005 prices*, Series ABMI; ONS, *Mid-Year Population Estimates*, and House of Commons Library).

The longest and deepest recession on record: the total fall in output during the recession was 6.2 per cent, over 6 quarters of negative growth – the longest and deepest recession on record (ONS, *Quarterly National Accounts*, 30 March 2010).

2. The fiscal rules

Labour promise: 'We will continue to meet our fiscal rules: over the economic cycle we will borrow only to invest, and keep net debt at a stable and prudent level' (p.16)

Fiscal rules abandoned: In October 2008, Alistair Darling said he would scrap the fiscal rules (*Sky News*, 29 October 2008).

National debt up to £1.4 trillion: Net debt is set to soar to £1.4 trillion in the next five years (Budget 2010, Table C3), and the UK is borrowing more than any other advanced economy in 2010 than Ireland (Budget 2010, Table C4; and OECD, *Economic Outlook*, November 2009).

3. Spending cuts

Labour promise: 'No going back to the Tory years of cuts' (p.8)

Spending cuts to come: Labour's own spending plans laid out in the 2010 Budget imply cuts in departmental spending of up to 25.4 per cent in non-protected departments by 2014-15 according to the Institute for Fiscal Studies (Institute for Fiscal Studies, *Public Services: the axe comes soon*, 25 March 2010).

4. *The Gershon Review*

Labour promise: 'Labour will complete the implementation of Sir Peter Gershon's recommendations to improve public-service efficiency and root out waste, liberating over £21 billion for investment in front-line services' (p.16)

Just £3.5 billion saved: According to the National Audit Office the Government managed to deliver just £3.5 billion of the £21.5 billion of savings Peter Gershon identified (NAO, *The Efficiency Programme: A Second Review of Progress*, February 2007).

Sir Peter Gershon is now a Conservative adviser. In December 2009, Sir Peter Gershon joined the Conservatives' Public Sector Productivity Panel. On March 29 2010, he advised the Conservatives that £12 billion in efficiencies could be found in 2010-11 without harming front line services. He said: 'early action would mean that a further in-year saving of around £12 billion in 2010-11 is certainly achievable without affecting the quality of front line services' (Statement by Sir Peter Gershon, Monday 29 March 2010).

5. *Full employment*

Labour promise: '2010: Full employment in every region and nation' (p.14)

Failing in every region: The working age employment rate is currently 72.2 per cent, more than seven percentage points off Labour's definition of full employment, and lower than Labour inherited in 1997. The employment rate in every region is significantly below the 80 per cent target and in the North East, London and Wales it is below even 70 per cent (ONS, *Time Series Data, Labour Market Statistics*, January 2010).

6. *Income tax*

Labour promise: 'We will not raise the basic or top rates of income tax in the next Parliament' (p.16)

New top rate of income tax: In the 2008 PBR, Alistair Darling announced a new 45% top rate of tax. In the 2009 Budget, he announced a new 50% top rate of tax (PBR 2008, and Budget 2009).

7. *Business tax*

Labour's promise: 'We want a tax regime that supports British business' (p.17)

Britain's tax competitiveness has fallen: In 1997 the UK had the eleventh lowest corporate tax rate in the world; in 2005 it was the 21st lowest; now it is the 23rd lowest (KPMG, *Global Corporate and Indirect Tax Rate Survey*, 2006 and 2009). The World Economic Forum ranks

the UK 81st in the world for ‘extent and effect of taxation’ (World Economic Forum, *Global Competitiveness Report 2008-2009*, October 2008).

British businesses leaving the UK. Over the past two years, companies including Informa, WPP, Shire, Regus, Henderson, Charter, Beazley, Brit Insurance, Ineos and UBM have moved their holding companies to countries where there are fewer tax planning constraints (*Financial Times*, 29 September 2009, 4 March 2010 and *Daily Mail*, 12 August 2009). Even McDonald’s has moved its European headquarters from the UK to Geneva (*The Daily Telegraph*, 11 July 2009).

Tax on jobs. The National Insurance Contribution rate for employers was 12.8 per cent in 2005, having been 10.2 per cent in 1996-7 (HMRC, Note TA4, *Main features of NICs*, 1999-2000 to 2009-10 and 6 October 1985 to 1998-99). In the 2009 Pre-Budget Report, Labour announced a further increase in National Insurance from April 2011, meaning the rate will be 13.8 per cent – a straightforward tax on jobs that will kill the economic recovery.

8. *Doing business in Britain*

Labour promise: ‘Our economic policies will build on the platform of stability and growth ... by making Britain the best place to do business’ (p.15)

Thirteenth in the global league table: The UK is thirteenth in the World Economic Forum’s global competitiveness league table – down from seventh when Labour came to power (World Economic Forum, *Global Competitiveness Report 2009-10*, September 2009).

Harder to start a business: Between 2008 and 2009 it got relatively harder to start a new business in the UK, harder to employ new staff, harder to register a new property and harder to protect investors. It takes twice as long to start a business in Britain than in the US, Turkey and Belarus; almost twice as long as it does in France; and it is no faster than in Mongolia, Mexico, Serbia, Montenegro and Jordan (World Bank Group, *International Ease of Doing Business Index*, 2010).

9. *Manufacturing*

Labour promise: ‘Successful manufacturing industries are vital to our future prosperity. The Labour Government backs manufacturing ... In a third term we will continue to do so’ (p.18)

Since 1997, manufacturing’s decline has been the fastest in history. Since Quarter 2 1997, manufacturing as a share of GDP has declined by 9.3 percentage points, from 20.7 per cent of GDP to 11.4 per cent of GDP in 2009 Quarter 3 – the fastest decline under any government since records began (ONS Time Series QTPI, QVYR).

Since 2005, the decline has continued. Since Quarter 2 2005, manufacturing has declined by a further two percentage points from 13.4 per cent of GDP to 11.4 per cent of GDP in 2009 Quarter 3 (ibid.).

10. *A viable mail service*

Labour promise: ‘Our ambition is to see a publicly owned Royal Mail fully restored to good health’ (p.22).

Falling mail volumes. Royal Mail claims mail volumes are now falling by ten per cent per year due to intensifying private sector competition and the impact of the recession (*The Daily Telegraph*, 16 September 2009). This fall is costing the company around £170 million per annum (*BBC News*, 8 October 2009).

Essential reform abandoned. Despite saying that abandoning reform of Royal Mail would be ‘irresponsible and an abdication by this Government in respect of our 2005 manifesto commitment’ (*House of Lords Hansard*, 11 May 2009, Col. 834), Lord Mandelson did just that just over a month later (*Hansard*, 1 July 2009, Col. 222).

11. Transport infrastructure

Labour promise: ‘Investment, better management of road and rail, and planning ahead are vital to deal with the pressures on the system in a way that respects our environmental objectives.’ (p.24)

Overcrowded trains: Labour’s failed management of capacity on our rail network has resulted in the most overcrowded trains running at almost 180 per cent capacity (DfT response to FOI request, 1 August 2008).

Road building schemes over budget: In 2008, the Government was forced to admit that road schemes were running 27 per cent over their initial estimates (DfT, *Highways Agency Major Roads Programme: Updated Scheme Cost Estimates*, 16 July 2008).

12. A North-South high speed rail link

Labour promise: ‘We ... will look at the feasibility and affordability of a new North-South high-speed link.’ (p.24)

Only as far as the West Midlands: Labour have published their plans for a high speed rail line only as far as Birmingham. They have proposed no route or timetable to take their line further north (DfT, *High Speed Rail*, March 2010).

13. Motorway building

Labour promise: ‘Major investment is planned to expand capacity on the M1, M6 and M25’ (p.24)

Promise broken: Labour formally scrapped this pledge in January 2009 when the then Transport Secretary, Geoff Hoon, announced that these ‘more conventional road widening scheme[s]’ would be replaced by hard shoulder running (*Hansard*, 15 January 2009, Col. 355-359).

14. Expressway on the M6 corridor

Labour promise: ‘We are examining the potential benefits of a parallel Expressway on the M6 corridor’ (p.24)

Promise broken: In 2006 Labour scrapped their plan to extend the M6 Toll – to provide a parallel Expressway from Birmingham to Cheshire along the existing M6 – in favour of plans to widen the motorway (*BBC News Channel*, 20 July 2006). In 2009 this widening pledge was scrapped in favour of hard shoulder running (*Hansard*, 15 January 2009, Col. 355-359).

15. Road pricing

Labour promise: ‘We will seek political consensus in tackling congestion, including examining the potential of moving away from the current system of motoring taxation towards a national system of road-pricing’ (p.25)

No consensus and public opposition: Labour have not managed to create a political consensus on national road pricing. The public also remain unconvinced: recent government research shows that 70 per cent of people do not agree that road pricing will be effective at reducing congestion and 52 per cent think it would be unfair, compared to 29 per cent who thought it would be fair (DfT, *Public Attitudes to Congestion and Road Pricing*, 8 May 2008).

Labour plough on despite opposition: Despite this Labour have spent £10 million trialling the satellite technology needed for their scheme (*Hansard*, 24 November 2008, Col. 1105W).

16. Funding for cycling and walking schemes

Labour promise: ‘We will continue funding local authorities and voluntary groups to make cycling and walking more attractive’ (p.25)

Councils forced to use funds to introduce road pricing: Labour have used the Transport Innovation Fund to blackmail councils into introducing local road pricing schemes. Councils have been unable to put forward good cycling and walking schemes if the overall bid did not include road pricing (DfT, *Transport Innovation Fund Guidance*, 2006).

17. Making work pay

Labour promise: ‘We will make work pay’ (p.17)

High marginal tax rates: Low earners face marginal tax rates of up to 96 per cent. For a lone parent with one child, earning between £125 and £160 per week, the withdrawal of benefits and the additional taxes mean that for every extra pound they earn, they keep just 4 pence. The marginal deduction rate is a massive 95.5 per cent (DWP, *Tax Benefit Model Tables*, April 2009).

18. Halving child poverty

Labour’s promise: ‘We will end child poverty, starting by halving it – both in terms of relative low-income and in terms of material deprivation – by 2010-11’ (p.75)

Child poverty rising: Child poverty is rising and, according to the latest figures, is 400,000 higher than in 2005 (DWP, *Households Below Average Income 2007/08*, May 2009).

Labour will miss their target: Labour have finally admitted that they will miss their target to halve child poverty by 2010-11 by 600,000 children and are on course to miss their 2020 target to end child poverty by one million children (*Ending Child Poverty: Mapping the Route to 2020*, HM Treasury, March 2010).

19. Help for people on Incapacity Benefit

Labour's promise: 'We will build on the successful Pathways to Work programme and reform Incapacity Benefit, with the main elements of the new benefit regime in place from 2008. The majority of claimants with more manageable conditions will be required to engage in both work-focused interviews and in activity to help them prepare for a return to work' (pp.17-18)

Record numbers on Incapacity Benefit: Under Labour the number of people on Incapacity Benefits reached record highs. Labour have expanded their Pathways to Work programme nationally, but it is only compulsory for new claimants of Incapacity Benefits. The 2.6 million existing claimants of Incapacity Benefits have received virtually no help to get back into work. Labour have now announced that they plan to scrap their Pathways to Work programme starting in 2011 but have given no details of what they will replace it with (DWP, *Quarterly Statistical Summary*, November 2009; *Raising expectations and increasing support: reforming welfare for the future*, December 2008; DWP, *Building Bridges to Work: helping the long term unemployed back to work*, 30 March 2010).

20. Extending paid maternity leave

Labour promise: 'We will therefore increase paid maternity leave to nine months from 2007 – worth an extra £1,400 – with the goal of achieving a year's paid leave by the end of the Parliament while simplifying the system for employers' (p.77).

No year-long paid leave: Labour have extended paid maternity leave to nine months, but have abandoned their pledge to increase it to a full year by the end of the Parliament (*The Times*, 17 September 2009).

21. Shared parental leave

Labour promise: 'We want to give fathers more opportunities to spend time with their children, and are consulting on how best to do this including the option of sharing paid leave' (p.77)

Continually postponed: Ministers have continually postponed the introduction of Additional Paternity Leave – from April 2008, to April 2009, to October 2009 to April 2010 – and now, at the end of the Parliament, it still has not been introduced (HMRC website, *Important information relating to Additional Paternity Leave and Pay* and Gordon Brown, *Speech to the TUC Congress 2009*, 15 September 2009).

22. Catch-up tuition

Labour promise: 'Catch-up support for all children who need it' (p.31).

Promised for years: Labour have been promising catch-up support for years. For example, in his 2000 Party Conference speech, Tony Blair promised ‘catch-up tuition for all 11- and 12-year-olds who arrive without good literacy and numeracy’ (*Guardian*, 26 September 2000). In fact, Labour have been calling for one-to-one recovery lessons since 1995 (*Evening Standard*, 5 December 1995).

Never delivered: All that Labour have delivered on this pledge is a failed pilot scheme. A PwC report on the pilot revealed that the Government had failed to meet its target for the programme: 30,000 pupils were due to receive tuition in English and Maths last year, yet only 3,438 received extra lessons in Maths and 3,514 in English. The report said head teachers blamed the shortfall on ‘challenges in recruiting tutors’ (*Telegraph*, 18 January 2009).

23. Powers for headteachers

Labour promise: ‘Heads and governors will be in control. Successful schools and colleges will have the independence to take decisions about how to deploy resources and develop their provision’ (p.33)

This has not happened. Rather than give successful schools independence the Government have actually increased state control over them. For example, all schools will be forced to offer the new Diploma qualification – even if the school does not think it represents the best interests of their pupils (DCSF, *Delivering the Diploma Entitlement*, July 2009). Moreover, Ed Balls is now trying to force all schools into fulfilling prescriptive and binding ‘guarantees’ against which parents could sue, and which would allow him to interfere with school provision from Whitehall (DCSF, *Children, Schools and Families Bill 2009-10*).

24. Curriculum Review

Labour promise: ‘We will review progress on the development of the 14-19 curriculum in 2008’ (p.39).

Review kicked into the long grass. The review has been delayed until 2013: ‘So, rather than reviewing A levels in 2008, the Government has decided instead to conduct a first review in 2013 of all 14-19 qualifications (DCSF, *Diploma Position Paper*, October 2007).

25. Primary school standards

Labour promise: ‘We will intensify our literacy and numeracy programme to help an extra 50,000 pupils achieve high standards at age 11, reaching our targets of 85 per cent of pupils succeeding at the basics’ (p.35)

Missed target: In the 2009 Key Stage 2 exams, just 62 per cent of 11-year-olds achieved Level 4 (the Government’s expected standard for the age group) or better in reading, writing and maths (DCSF, *National Curriculum Assessments at Key Stage 2 in England, 2009 (Revised)*, 1 December 2009).

26. Languages

Labour promise: ‘All primary school children will have access to high-quality tuition in ... foreign languages’ (p.35)

Drop in language teachers: There has been a dramatic drop in the number of trainee primary school teachers specialising in languages. The number has fallen from 710 to 560 in two years – despite the Government’s 2011 deadline for making the subject compulsory for seven to eleven-year-olds (*The Independent*, 30 October 2009).

27. School sport

Labour promise: ‘Investment in school sports will ensure that by 2010 all children will receive two hours high-quality PE or sport per week. Building on that, we pledge that by 2010 every child who wants it will have access to a further two to three hours sport per week’ (p.95)

Not enough access to sport: More than one in five pupils still do not get the basic two hours of sport required under the Government’s own physical education target and only 63 per cent of pupils in Year 10, and 60 per cent of pupils in Year 11, participate in two hours of physical exercise a week (DCSF, *2008/09 School Sport Survey*, October 2009, p.16).

28. Competitive sport

Labour promise: ‘Every child should have the chance to compete at school’ (p.95)

Limited involvement in competitive sport: Only 28 per cent of pupils in years three to thirteen took part in regular intra-school competitive activity in 2008-09 and only 66 per cent of pupils in years one to eleven took part in any form of intra-school competitive activity (DCSF, *2008/09 School Sport Survey*, October 2009, p.19). That figure falls to 41 per cent in terms of inter-school activity (Ibid. p.21).

29. School discipline

Labour promise: ‘We have given head teachers the powers needed to maintain discipline and the highest standards of conduct’ (p.38)

A quarter of teachers have endured violence from a student: A survey by the Association for Teachers and Lecturers revealed that nearly a quarter of teachers have ‘endured physical violence from a student’. 58 per cent believed behaviour had got worse in the last five years (ATL, *Press Release*, 6 April 2009). Every day, over 1,000 pupils are excluded for abuse and assault (DCSF, *Permanent and Fixed Period Exclusions from Schools in England 2007/08*, 30 July 2009).

30. Exclusions

Labour promise: ‘No school will become a dumping ground for [disruptive pupils]’ (p.38)

Headteachers overruled on expulsions: Headteachers are increasingly having their authority over discipline undermined. Exclusions appeals panels overrule headteachers on expulsions in over a quarter of the cases they hear, and 35 per cent of these pupils are then

returned to the school from which they were excluded (DCSF, *Permanent and Fixed Period Exclusions from Schools in England 2007/08*, 30 July 2009).

31. Truancy

Labour promise: ‘Parents have a duty to get their children to attend school. We have introduced parenting orders and fines and will continue to advocate truancy sweeps’ (p.38)

No take-up of parenting orders: Not one school has applied for a ‘parenting order since September 2004 (DCSF, *Parental Responsibility Data*, 25 February 2010).

Truancy is rising under Labour. 67,000 pupils play truant every day. The percentage of half-days lost to truancy across all schools in 2007/8, the latest year for which figures are available, was 1.05 per cent – up from 0.92 in 2005/6 (DCSF, *Pupil Absence in Schools 2007/8*, 26 February 2009).

32. Special educational needs

Labour promise: ‘Parents should have access to the special education appropriate for their child’ (p.39).

There are 64 fewer state special schools open today than there were in 2005. There were 1,049 in 2005 and just 985 in 2009 (DCSF, *Schools, pupils and their characteristics, January 2009 (final)*, October 2009).

33. Academies

Labour promise: ‘We strongly support the new Academies movement’ (p.37)

Academies undermined under Gordon Brown: Academies have had their freedoms dramatically restricted by Ed Balls. Sir Cyril Taylor, former Chairman of the Specialist Schools and Academies Trust, has warned that, since Gordon Brown became Prime Minister, councils have been allowed to reassert their influence over the staffing, admissions and finances of Academies: ‘The whole point is to give them independence... Now the programme risks drifting from the core mission with too much control being exercised by local authorities - no doubt in my mind about that’ (*The Times*, 1 February 2009).

34. Violence in schools

Labour promise: ‘Violent behaviour, including the use of knives will not be tolerated’ (p.38).

Violence is rife in schools. Every day, 481 children are excluded from school for physical assault. But only 2 per cent of those exclusions are expulsions – in the overwhelming majority of cases pupils are returned to the same school where they caused violent disruption just days later (DCSF, *Permanent and Fixed Period Exclusions from Schools in England 2007/08*, 30 July 2009). And knife crime amongst young people is getting worse. Admission statistics for hospitals in England show stab-wound related admission episodes for under 16s increased from 431 in 1998-99 to 1,079 in 2008-09, a 150 per cent increase in eleven years. Every week the equivalent of a whole school class – more than twenty children – is

hospitalised with stab wounds in England alone (*Hansard*, 4 February 2010, Col. 485W; *DCSF Provisional tables on class sizes 2009*, Table 10).

35. *Small schools*

Labour promise: ‘We will encourage more small schools’ (p.37)

Supersized primary schools: A record number of children – 14,127 – are being taught in “supersized” primary schools of more than 800 pupils. Supersize primaries have expanded by more than fifty per cent under Labour (*The Daily Telegraph*, 12 November 2009).

Supersized secondary schools: The falling number of state secondaries since 1997 has resulted in the remaining schools becoming increasingly bloated. The average secondary school has 124 more pupils than in 1997. And the number of state funded secondaries with more than 1,500 pupils – ‘Titan’ schools – has more than doubled (DCSF, *Schools, Pupils and their Characteristics: January 2009*, 22 October 2009; DCSF, *Schools and Pupils in England: January 2006 (Final)*, 26 September 2006; *Hansard*, 29 October 2009, Col. 610W).

36. *Summer programme*

Labour promise: ‘To enable all young people to enjoy the opportunities previously enjoyed by the few, we are developing a nationwide week-long summer residential programme for school students’ (p.38)

This did not happen.

37. *Building Schools for the Future*

Labour promise: ‘Every part of the country will benefit, over fifteen years, from the Building Schools for the Future programme. This is a once in a generation programme to equip the whole country with modern secondary education facilities, open five days a week, ten hours a day’ (p.37)

Building Schools for the Future will be cut: Because of Labour’s poor handling of the economy, the BSF scheme is likely to be cut (*BBC News Online*, 14 November 2009). Ed Balls, the Schools Secretary, has made it clear that he will not guarantee school capital funding (*HC Hansard*, 11 January 2010, col. 428).

38. *Primary Capital Programme*

Labour promise: ‘We will now upgrade primary schools nationwide in a 15-year Building Schools for the Future programme, including under-fives and childcare facilities where needed’ (p.35)

Programme cut: In his 2005 Budget, the Chancellor announced a new Primary Capital Programme (PCP). But the Government has already cut the funding: initially £1.9 billion was made available over the 2008-11 CSR period but this has now been reduced to £1.1 billion (DCSF, *Annual Reports: Spending Tables*, 2008 and 2009).

39. *Specialist schools*

Labour promise: ‘We want all secondary schools to be independent specialist schools’ (p.35)

There are about 150 maintained secondary schools without a specialism (DCSF, *Standards Site*, retrieved 28 January 2010; DCSF, *Schools, Pupils and their Characteristics*, 7 May 2009).

40. Setting

Labour promise: ‘We want ... setting by ability ... as the norm’ (p.35)

Far from the norm: Labour first called for more setting in 1997. But in 2002-3 just 38 per cent of secondary school lessons were set by ability. The Government no longer knows how many schools are setting by ability – because Ofsted has since stopped collecting the data (*Hansard*, 29 April 2008, Col. 420 W).

41. Apprenticeships

Labour promise: ‘Our reforms to 14-19 education ... will raise the quality and quantity of apprenticeships’ (p.20)

Quality falling: The quality of apprenticeships has deteriorated. The number of people starting Advanced Apprenticeships fell by more than a quarter last year, from 17,500 in the fourth quarter of 2007/8 to 12,500 in the fourth quarter of 2008/9 (DCSF, *Post-16 Education and Skills*, 25 March 2010). In 2000/1, 84,600 people started an Advanced Modern Apprenticeship (ONS, *Statistics of Education*, 2001). In 2008/9, under a different system, just 81,400 started an equivalent Advanced Apprenticeship (DCSF, *Post-16 Education and Skills*, 25 March 2010). In 2007, a House of Lords inquiry found that ‘too much emphasis has been placed on quantity of apprenticeships, and not enough on quality’ (Select Committee on Economic Affairs, *Fifth Report*, 2007).

Quantity falling: After rising in 2008, the number of young people starting apprenticeships has fallen in each of the last three quarters compared to the previous year. In the first quarter of the 2009/10 academic year, 6,500 fewer young people started a new apprenticeship than in the same quarter of the previous year. Over the past six months, the number of young people starting apprenticeships was more than 20,000 fewer than in the same six months of the previous year (ONS, *Post-16 Education & Skills*, 17 December 2009; re-issued 21 January 2010).

42. Access to higher and further education

Labour promise: ‘We will not let economic disadvantage stand in the way of young people staying in education beyond the age of 16’ (p.39)

Disadvantaged less likely to go to university: Just one in five disadvantaged young people now go to university, compared to well over half of wealthier young people (HEFCE, 26 January 2010).

43. Education and training for young people

Labour promise: ‘We believe that everyone up to the age of 19 should be learning, so we will expand sixth-form, college and apprenticeship places, and ensure that all 16- to 19-year-olds in employment get access to training’ (p.39)

208,000 people between 16 and 18 are NEET: At the end of 1997 there were 160,000 people aged 16-18 who were not in any kind of education, employment or training (DCSF, *NEETs Quarterly Brief*, 25 February 2010). By the end of 2008 – the last period for which figures are available – this had risen by more than 30 per cent, to 208,600 (ibid.). Almost one in ten 16-18 year-olds are NEET (ibid).

Almost 900,000 people between 16 and 24 are NEET: In the fourth quarter of 2009, 895,000 people aged 16-24 were NEET – one in seven of all people in that age group (DCSF, *NEETs Quarterly Brief*, 25 February 2010). Although the number of NEETs has started to fall, there are still more than 20 per cent more NEETs than there were at the beginning of 2005 (ibid.).

44. FE colleges

Labour promise: ‘Further education is vital to vocational lifelong learning. Achieving a transformation of FE colleges requires both our increased investment and serious reform. Every FE college will develop a centre for vocational excellence...’ (pp.39-40)

FE colleges in crisis: In March 2009, the Government announced it was cancelling 144 building projects worth a total of £5.6 billion because the Learning and Skills Council had approved more projects than it could actually afford (*Hansard*, 4 March 2009, c55WS). The last-minute cancellation of these projects cost colleges millions – an Association of Colleges survey found that 24 colleges stood to lose between £2 million and £5 million, while seventeen would lose more than £5 million (*BBC News Online*, 19 March 2009). An independent review found that it had been ‘normal practice for projects not to be rejected’ despite funding shortfalls and said ‘the crisis was predictable and probably avoidable’ (Sir Andrew Foster, *A Review of the Capital Programme in Further Education*, 1 April 2009). Despite the nationwide freeze on college building projects, some did go ahead in 15 constituencies in 2009/10. 14 of these constituencies are held by Labour; the other is one of the party’s top target seats (*Hansard*, 9 March 2010, c276W).

45. Higher education spending

Labour promise: ‘We need a bigger, better higher education system. We are investing £1 billion more in the science base, and increasing public spending on higher education by 34 per cent in real terms’ (p.40)

Higher education spending cut: As the fiscal crisis worsens, spending on higher education has been slashed. In March 2010 the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE), the quango responsible for distributing Government funds to universities and colleges, announced that around half of universities will have their budgets cut this year, in some cases by more than 10 per cent (*HEFCE press release*, 17 March 2010). In total, higher education funding for 2010-11 will be £449 million lower than expected (*BBC News Online*, 1 February 2010).

46. Computers at home

Labour promise: ‘By 2006 every school supported to offer all pupils access to computers at home’ (p.99)

One million children without a computer: The Government’s ‘Home Access programme: One year on – summary’ says ministers must ‘continue this work in the next CSR period ... to fully realise the initial vision set by the Prime Minister’ (BECTA, December 2009, p.5). The same report estimated there were still some one million children without such access in England (*ibid*, p.4).

47. 18 weeks waiting time

Labour promise: ‘By the end of 2008, no NHS patient will have to wait longer than a maximum of 18 weeks from the time they are referred for a hospital operation by their GP until the time they have that operation’ (p.58)

One in ten not seen within 18 weeks: Nearly one in ten patients who need to be admitted to hospital are still not seen within 18 weeks (Department of Health, *NHS referral to treatment times data*, 18 March 2010).

48. Reductions in Department of Health staff

Labour promise: ‘We are decreasing the numbers of staff in the Department of Health by a third’ (p.60)

Staff count hardly reduced: There were 3,533 staff in the Department of Health in 2005-06. Since then, the number has fallen to just 3,468, a decrease of just 2 per cent (Department of Health, *Annual Report 2009*, p.233).

49. NHS quangos

Labour promise: ‘We are ... halving the numbers of quangos’ (p.60)

Target not met: When the Government started its programme to halve the number of Department of Health quangos, there were 38 (Department of Health, *Reconfiguring the Department of Health’s Arm’s Length Bodies*, 22 July 2004). Almost six years on, there are still 21 arms-length bodies listed on the Department of Health’s [website](#).

Cost of quangos has risen: Since 2003-04, although the number of NHS quangos has been reduced, their cost has actually risen by £140 million (Annual reports and accounts of Arms Length Bodies).

50. NHS administration costs

Labour promise: ‘Streamlining measures will allow us to release an additional £250 million a year for frontline services by 2007’ (p.61)

Administration costs are rising: In total, administration costs in the NHS (composed of Primary Care Trust, Department of Health, Strategic Health Authority and Quango running

costs) have now hit £4.5 billion a year. Primary Care Trusts spent £2.14 billion on administration in 2007-08, up from £1.43 billion in 2003-04, an increase of fifty per cent (Department of Health, *Annual Report 2009*; Department of Health, PFR3 Financial returns).

51. Community hospitals

Labour promise: ‘We will over the next five years develop a new generation of modern NHS community hospitals’ (p63)

Cuts to community hospitals programme. Following their manifesto commitment, Labour promised an extra £750 million for community hospitals (Department of Health, *Our health, our care, our community: investing in the future of community hospitals and services*, 5 July 2006). But by the end of 2008 just £243 million of the money had been allocated (*Hansard*, 10 December 2008, Col.148WA). A letter from Peter Spilsbury, Director of Strategy and Regulation at NHS West Midlands, written in May 2009, revealed that the rest of the money allocated to the programme had been cut. The letter reports that Andy Stubbing, Head of Capital and Revenue Investment Branches at the Department of Health, said that ‘the Treasury is unlikely to agree further releases of funding for this programme’ (*The Times*, 11 June 2009).

52. Patient choice

Labour promise: ‘By the end of 2008, patients whose GPs refer them for an operation will be able to choose from any hospital that can provide that operation to NHS medical and financial standards’ (p.63)

Over half of patients not given choice. The percentage of patients who recall being offered a choice of hospital for their first outpatient appointment is just 47 per cent and has increased by just 4 per cent since Gordon Brown became Prime Minister (Department of Health, *National Patient Choice Survey*, various quarters).

53. Choice for pregnant women

Labour promise: ‘By 2009, all women will have choice over where and how they have their baby and what pain relief to use’ (p.63)

Little Choice in Childbirth. The National Childbirth Trust has found that more than 95 per cent of women in the UK are not able to choose where to give birth (National Childbirth Trust, *Press Release*, 26 October 2009).

54. School nurses

Labour promise: ‘We will ensure that all school children have access to a school nurse’ (p.65)

Not enough school nurses for all schoolchildren. The Government provided further details on this promise in their Public Health White Paper, *Choosing Health: Making healthy choices easier* published in November 2004. It said: ‘We are providing new funding so that by 2010 every PCT – working with children’s trusts and local authorities – will be resourced to have

at least one full-time, year-round, qualified school nurse working with each cluster or group of primary schools and the related secondary school'. Linking primary schools to their nearest secondary school gives 3,300 clusters in England (*Hansard*, 9 March 2009, Col.121WA). With 2,634 full-time equivalent school nursing nurses, there is still a shortage of 666 school nurses in England (*Hansard*, 12 October 2009, Col.752WA).

55. Health inequalities

Labour promise: 'By 2010, we plan to reduce the health inequalities that exist between rich and poor' (p.66)

Health inequalities getting wider. Latest government figures show that between 2003-05 and 2006-08, the gap in life expectancy between the most health deprived areas of England and the population as a whole has increased by 5 per cent for men and 6 per cent for women (Department of Health, *Tackling health inequalities: 2006-08 policy and data update for the 2010 national target*, 3 December 2009). The Government is on course to miss its targets on reducing inequality in both infant mortality and life expectancy at birth by 2010 (Department of Health, *Autumn Performance Report*, 10 December 2009).

56. Contestability within the NHS

Labour promise: 'We shall continue to encourage innovation and reform through the use of the independent sector to add capacity to, and drive contestability within, the NHS' (p.63)

Retreat on Opening Up the Supply of NHS Care. In a speech on 6 June 2006, Tony Blair said that one of the central principles of NHS reform was opening up the supply of healthcare to the very best providers. However, Labour have retreated from this stance under Gordon Brown and are no longer willing to allow independent and voluntary sector providers to compete with the NHS to supply care to NHS patients, if they can do so at the NHS price and at quality standards. In a speech on 17 September 2009, Health Secretary, Andy Burnham, said: 'The NHS is our preferred provider... Where a provider [an existing provider i.e. the NHS] is not delivering quality we will set out a clearer process that will provide an opportunity for existing providers to improve before opening up to new potential providers'.

57. Dormant bank accounts

Labour promise: 'There are many bank accounts that are lying dormant and unclaimed, often because people have forgotten about them or because the owner has died. We will work with the financial services industry to establish a common definition and a comprehensive record of unclaimed assets. We will then expect banks, over the course of the Parliament, to either reunite those assets with their owners or to channel them back into the community' (p.23)

No action at all: The 2005 Pre-Budget Report announced that the Government was working to allow money in dormant accounts to be reinvested in society (HM Treasury website, 17 February 2009). Four years later, the December 2009 Pre-Budget Report announced that £75 million from dormant accounts would be used to fund a Social Investment Wholesale Bank (*The Guardian*, 9 December 2009). But this still has not been set up.

58. Council tax benefit

Labour promise: ‘We will therefore introduce measures to make it easier for pensioners and people on low incomes to claim Council Tax Benefit’ (p.107)

Means-testing has led to reduced take-up: Labour’s increased use of means-tested benefits and complex application forms has resulted in reduced take-up of council tax benefit, meaning more people on lower incomes are paying higher council taxes. Take-up rates have continued to fall since 2005. Today, it is just nearly half the eligible pensioners who claim the council tax benefit to which they are entitled - compared to more than three out of four before Labour came to power (DWP, *Income Related Benefits Estimates of Take-up, 2007-08*, June 2009, p.79, and DSS, *Income Related Benefits Estimates of Take-up, 1996-97, 1998*, p.25; the CTB expenditure take-up range among pensioners has fallen from 76 to 82 per cent in 1996-97, to 54 to 62 per cent in 2007-08).

59. Council tax reform

Labour promise: ‘In the longer term, we are committed to reforming council tax’ (p.107)

No such changes have been introduced. Council tax has soared across the country under Labour. Council tax bills are now £1,439 on Band D bills in England in 2010-11, equivalent to £120 a month. And there has been no reform of council tax, although having imposed a council tax revaluation on Wales in 2005 which forced up bills, the Government have been planning a similar tax-raising exercise for after the election.

60. Home ownership

Labour promise: ‘Home ownership has increased by over one million with Labour and by the end of our third term we aim for it to have risen by another million to two million’ (p.78)

Home ownership falling: Total home ownership across England has fallen from 14,791,000 owner occupiers in 2005 to 14,628,000 in 2008-09 (DCLG, *English Housing Survey Headline Report 2008-09*, February 2010, p.10).

Labour ministers against home ownership. Labour’s Minister for Housing, John Healey, has attacked the aspiration of home ownership, declaring: ‘home ownership had been dropping since 2005 and I’m not sure that’s such a bad thing’ and ‘as housing wealth is passed from parents to children, inequality is compounded over the generations’ (*Speech to the Fabian Society*, 9 December 2009; *The Independent*, ‘It’s time to give up the dream of home ownership, says minister’, 11 December 2009).

61. Homebuy

Labour promise: ‘A new Homebuy scheme offering up to 300,000 council and housing association tenants the opportunity to buy part of their home, increasing their equity over time if they wish’ (p.80)

Just 365 sales: Labour’s Social Homebuy scheme was supposed to allow social tenants to own or part-own their rented home. But it has failed since it is only voluntary for councils and housing associations. By the end of September 2009, a mere 365 sales had been

completed since its introduction in April 2006 (*Hansard*, 9 March 2010, Official Report, Col. 208WA).

62. Decent homes for social tenants

Labour promise: ‘By 2010 we will ensure that all social tenants benefit from a decent, warm home with modern facilities’ (p.80)

One in ten homes not satisfactory: The Government has failed its Decent Homes target, with almost 1 in 10 homes still not up to scratch: ‘We still expect around 92 per cent of homes to be made decent by 2010’ (*DCLG press release*, 8 December 2009).

63. Local government red tape

Labour promise: ‘We will reduce unnecessary bureaucracy by cutting both the cost of inspection and the total number of inspectorates’ (p.106)

Ministers admit ‘top-down’ bureaucracy: Ministers have recently admitted: ‘The performance framework often appears: un-balanced – with 80 per cent of the reporting effort focused on meeting top-down requirements rather than the needs of local management; and, burdensome – with approximately 600 performance items requested by Government and inspectorates including: plans, inspections, performance indicators, data returns, and monitoring arrangements’ (*DCLG, Explanatory Memorandum to the Exeter and Devon (Structural Changes) Order 2010*, February 2010, p.26).

64. Community assets

Labour promise: ‘New opportunities for communities to assume greater responsibility or even ownership of community assets like village halls, community centres, libraries or recreational facilities’ (p.105)

No transfers in a third of local authorities. Nearly a third of councils surveyed by the Audit Commission had not made any transfers at all during the preceding five year period. Councils visited by the Commission also said that the Quirk review, a 2007 government report on asset transfer, had not significantly influenced their approach, and had had no great impact on the volume of transfers requested or granted (*Audit Commission, Room for Improvement*, June 2009).

65. Community funds

Labour promise: ‘Community funds for local neighbourhoods to spend on local priorities’ (p.103)

No plans to require local authorities to introduce participatory budgeting: The Government’s plans for participatory budgeting have been downgraded since Hazel Blears resigned as Local Government Secretary. She promised ‘community kitties’ for all, and in 2008 the Government pledged ‘every local authority to use such schemes in some form by 2012’ (*DCLG, Communities in Control*, July 2008, p.68). Yet ministers now admit: ‘There are no plans to require local authorities to introduce participatory budgeting schemes’ (*Hansard*, 5 January 2010, Col. 225WA).

66. Party funding

Labour promise: ‘We will continue to work with the independent Electoral Commission to explore how best to support the vital democratic role of political parties while recognising that campaigning activity must always be funded by parties from their own resources’ (p.111)

Labour blocked reform: The Inter-Party on the Funding of Political Parties collapsed in 2007 because of Labour’s refusal to make any compromise on donations from trade union barons. Peter Watt, who was Labour General Secretary and Labour’s representative on the Talks, has admitted: ‘My primary emotion during the process was intense frustration, because my own party was the biggest block to reform’ (p.115); ‘It became painfully obvious that the Labour Party could not resolve its internal issues and cross-party consensus was impossible. Tony become increasingly exasperated with Gordon’s refusal to intervene’ (p.121); ‘[Gordon] had repeatedly warned the Prime Minister he would block any attempt to reduce the unions’ power. He hoped they would be grateful for his defence’ (Peter Watt, *Inside Out*, 2010, p.122).

67. Sale of the Tote

Labour promise: ‘We remain committed to completing the sale of the Tote to a Racing Trust’ (p.96)

Won’t be sold before 2011: In October 2008, the Government announced that it was no longer considering the sale of the Tote (DCMS *Press Release*, 22 October 2008). But on 12 October 2009, Gordon Brown included the Tote on a list of assets to be sold. The Government has confirmed that the sale will not be concluded before 2011 (*Hansard*, 8 December 2009, Col. 193WA).

68. National Sports Foundation

Labour promise: ‘Building on the lessons of the Football Foundation, we will develop a National Sports Foundation to bring resources from the private and voluntary sectors together with public money to invest in grassroots sporting facilities’ (p.96)

Lasted less than three years: The NSF was set up in 2006 but closed on 31 March 2009 (www.nationalsportsfoundation.org).

69. Rankings for school sport

Labour promise: ‘We will also establish individual and team rankings in all the main [school] sports, with clear and transparent success criteria’ (p.96)

This has not happened.

70. Sport Direct

Labour promise: ‘To make it easier to get access to sports in your local area we will establish Sport Direct – a single point of access for sports in the UK. One website and one phone number will help you find out what’s going on in your area’ (p.96)

Not established: Sports Direct has not been established and no alternative has been suggested or set up.

71. Heritage Bill

Labour promise: ‘We will legislate, as soon as time allows, to implement the findings of the Heritage Protection Review’ (p.95)

No legislation: The Government has repeatedly said that it is committed to the already-drafted Heritage Protection Bill but, despite Conservative promises of support, it has not introduced the legislation.

72. Creative Sparks

Labour promise: ‘We will build on... [Creative Partnerships]... by rolling out our new programme Creative Sparks to guarantee that all children and young people will be given the chance to experience the very best of culture every year’ (p.95)

Creative Sparks has been abandoned. Not only has the project been abandoned (*Daily Mail*, 3 March 2008) but the 2008-09 Child Taking Part Survey revealed that under 60 per cent of all children had visited a museum or gallery in the past 12 months (DCMS, *Headline Findings from the 2008/09 Taking Part Child Survey*, 29 Oct 2009, p.15).

73. Licensing regime

Labour promise: ‘As we review the operation of the new licensing regime we will ensure that there is not an unfair burden on local community groups, including sports clubs’ (p.95).

Sports clubs have suffered since the Licensing Act: The Licensing Act 2003 has hit sports and recreation venues hard. A Culture, Media and Sport Select Committee report noted the negative impact that this structure has had on sports clubs and commented that this was ‘highly unsatisfactory’ (*The Licensing Act 2003*, Culture, Media and Sport Select Committee, 14 May 2009, HC 492, p.12). The Central Council of Physical Recreation submission to the Committee said that the Act had ‘placed a significant financial and administrative burden on sports clubs’. The CCPR said that some 9,720 clubs were affected by these changes and calculated the annual cost to sport to be more than £2.27 million a year, an average of £234 per sports club (ibid. Ev 34).

74. Police numbers

Labour promise: ‘We will carry on funding the police service to enable it to continue to employ historically high numbers of police officers’ (p.44).

Forces cutting police officers. Thirteen police forces have cut police officer numbers in the last five years (Home Affairs Select Committee, *Police Service Strength, Fifth report of Session 2009-10*, 19 January 2010). A leaked report for the Home Office, co-written by Mark Rowley, the Chief Constable of Surrey, has raised the prospect of 28,000 police officers being replaced by civilian workers to save money (*The Daily Telegraph*, 11 March 2010). And just four out of the 43 police forces in England and Wales plan to maintain

current staffing levels (Home Affairs Select Committee, *Police Service Strength*, January 2010, Appendix A).

75. Community Support Officers

Labour promise: ‘So a new £340 million a year fund will take CSO numbers up to 24,000 – to work alongside the equivalent of an additional 12,000 police officers freed up for frontline duties’ (p.44).

Target for 8,000 extra PCSOs abandoned. In November 2006, the Home Office abandoned the pledge to increase the number of Police Community Support Officers to 24,000 by 2008. The Home Office only provided funding for 16,000 PCSOs (*Hansard*, 27 November 2006, Col. 83WS). In the year ending March 2009, there were 16,507 PCSOs in England and Wales (Home Office, *Police Service Strength England and Wales, 31 March 2009*, July 2009).

76. Non-emergency telephone service

Labour promise: ‘Not all problems need a 999 response, so a single phone number staffed by police, local councils and other local services will be available across the country to deal with anti-social behaviour and other non-emergency problems’ (p.44).

National 101 non-emergency number launched and then scrapped. In March 2006, the Government launched the 101 non-emergency number in five areas so the public could get ‘advice and action on community safety and anti-social behaviour’ (Home Office, Press Release, 8 March 2006). However in November 2007, the Home Office announced that after spending £41 million on developing the number, it would no longer be directly funding the service (*Hansard*, 27 November 2007, Col. 362WA).

Re-launched in time for the election. The non-emergency number was relaunched in March just in time for the election (*Gordon Brown speech*, 1 March 2010). But it only covers three areas of England and Wales (<http://www.101.gov.uk> website). A month after Gordon Brown announced the relaunch, it emerged that the Home Office was only committed to fund the number until March 2011 and is committing less than £1 million to the project (*Hansard*, 29 March 2010, Col. 674WA).

77. The Licensing Act

Labour promise: ‘The new Licensing Act will make it easier for the police and councils to deal with pubs and clubs that cause problems’ (p.46).

24-hour licensing has shifted violence later. In the year to November 2006 – the first year following the introduction of the new licensing laws – there was a 22 per cent increase in all offences committed between 3am and 6am. There was a 25 per cent increase in the most serious violent crimes committed during these hours (Home Office, *Violent crime, disorder and criminal damage since the introduction of the Licensing Act 2003*, July 2007).

78. Alcohol Disorder Zones

Labour promise: ‘Local councils and police will be able to designate Alcohol Disorder Zones to help pay for extra policing around city centre pubs and clubs’ (p.46).

Not a single Alcohol Disorder Zone in place. Not one Alcohol Disorder Zone has been created since Labour started the scheme four years ago. The Home Office estimated that around thirty ADZs would be set up in towns in England and Wales in the first year after their introduction (*Daily Mail*, 18 February 2010).

79. Compulsory drug testing

Labour promise: ‘We will introduce compulsory drug testing at arrest for all property and drugs offenders’ (p.47).

Drug testing on arrest implemented in only half of police force areas. Drug testing on arrest in police custody suites, of offenders arrested or charged with a range of specific ‘trigger’ offences – generally acquisitive crimes commonly committed by addicts – only operates in 21 police force areas. This is only half the police forces in England and Wales (Home Office, *Stakeholder Key Messages for the Drug Interventions Programme*, December 2009).

80. Knife sentencing

Labour promise: ‘We will introduce tougher sentences for ... those involved in serious knife crimes’ (p.47).

Tougher knife sentences not being used. The Violent Crime Reduction Act 2006 came into effect in February 2007 and doubled the maximum sentence for people convicted of possession of a knife in a public place from two to four years. But the Government’s knife crime statistics show that almost 80 per cent of knife criminals avoid jail. Only 21 per cent of convicted knife offenders receive a custodial sentence, while more are let off with a caution (Ministry of Justice, *Knife Crime Sentencing Quarterly Brief October to December 2009 England and Wales*, 4 March 2010).

81. Financial bonds for immigrants

Labour promise: ‘Where there has been evidence of abuse from particular countries, the immigration service will be able to ask for financial bonds to guarantee that migrants return home’ (p.52).

Cash bonds dropped. In 2008, the Government dropped plans to introduce a cash bond scheme for family visitors coming to the UK. Instead, the Home Office announced a new ‘sponsored family visitor’ category with licensed sponsors vouching for their family members’ visits (Home Office, *Government response to the consultation on visitors*, 27 June 2008).

82. ‘E-borders’

Labour promise: ‘Over the next five years we will implement a new electronic borders system that will track visitors entering or leaving the UK’ (p.52)

Will not be implemented until 2014. The Government's e-borders scheme will not be fully implemented and tracking all passengers in and out of the UK until March 2014 (*Hansard*, 18 January 2010, Col. 28WA).

83. ID cards

Labour promise: 'We will introduce ID cards, including biometric data like fingerprints, backed up by a national register' (p.52).

ID card scheme no longer compulsory. In June 2009, Alan Johnson announced that the Government had abandoned plans to make identity cards compulsory for British citizens. Instead, the Home Office is piloting voluntary schemes. From 30 November 2009, people with a home or work address in Greater Manchester and airside workers at both Manchester and London City airports have been able to volunteer for an ID card (*Hansard*, 30 June 2009, Col. 12WS). They were joined in January 2010 by Londoners aged 18-24 (*Evening Standard*, 25 January 2010).

84. Youth justice system

Labour promise: "We will continue to overhaul our youth justice system and improve Young Offender Institutions' (p. 46).

Juvenile re-offending has got worse: The proportion of young offenders who re-offend after custody has increased since 2005: almost three-quarters of young offenders now re-offend within a year of release (Ministry of Justice, *Reoffending of Juveniles: results from the 2008 cohort*, table 5).

85. End-to-end offender management

Labour promise: 'By 2007, every offender will be supervised after release... Our new National Offender Management Service will ensure that every offender is individually case-managed from beginning to end of their sentence, both in and out of custody' (p. 48).

End-to-end offender management abandoned. The promise of joined up offender management ended with the collapse of a flagship government IT programme, meaning that the majority of prisoners are released without any post-release supervision at all. The C-NOMIS database, which ministers described as being 'central to end-to-end offender management', was curtailed in July 2007. It is now limited to prisons, and called P-NOMIS (NAO, *The National Offender Management IT System*, March 2009).

'Custody Plus' abandoned. In 2006, John Reid quietly abandoned plans to implement 'Custody Plus', for which legislation had been passed in 2003 (*Guardian*, 21 July 2006), which would have meant that offenders on short-prison sentences would have been supervised on their release. The majority of offenders sentenced to imprisonment are on sentences of less than twelve months and do not receive post-release supervision (Ministry of Justice, *Offender Management Caseload Statistics 2008*, table 9.1).

86. Overhauling fraud laws and trials

Labour promise. ‘We will overhaul laws on fraud and the way fraud trials are conducted to update them for the 21st century and make them quicker and more effective’ (p. 49).

Conservatives defeat plans to scrap trial by jury. Labour’s way of overhauling fraud trials was to remove the right to a jury. In 2007, the House of Lords blocked the Fraud (Trials without a Jury) Bill and ministers have failed to bring it back since (*HL Hansard*, 20 March 2007, Col. 1201).

87. Community Justice Centres

Labour promise: ‘We will extend the use of restorative justice schemes and Community Justice Centres to address the needs of victims, resolve disputes and help offenders to make recompense to victims for their crimes’ (p. 48).

Just one Community Justice Centre. The Government opened just one Community Justice Centre, in North Liverpool – and that was first announced in September 2003 (<http://www.communityjustice.gov.uk/69.htm>). It now says that there will not be any more Community Justice Centres (<http://www.communityjustice.gov.uk/whatis.htm#faqs>).

88. Time limits on bills in the House of Lords

Labour promise: ‘We will legislate to place reasonable limits on the time bills spend in the second chamber – no longer than 60 sitting days for most bills’ (p. 110).

No legislation. The Joint Select Committee on Conventions concluded: “There is undoubtedly a convention that the House of Lords considers government business in reasonable time ... There is no conventional definition of ‘reasonable’, and we do not recommend that one be invented. Without such a definition, it will be clear that the resolution is flexible and unenforceable” (First Report, 2005-06: HL 265). The Government has therefore not legislated in this area.

89. House of Lords reform

Labour promise: ‘We will remove the remaining hereditary peers and allow a free vote on the composition of the House [of Lords]’ (p. 110).

The Government has not removed the remaining hereditary peers. It is currently attempting to pass legislation which will end by-elections among hereditary peers, but the remaining hereditaries will remain in the House until they die.

House of Lords remains undemocratic. In trying to remove the hereditary peers without further reform, Labour are breaking their 1999 promise that the remaining hereditaries would only go when the House of Lords was reformed on a lasting democratic basis (*HL Hansard*, 30 March 1999, Col. 207).

90. Control orders

Labour promise: ‘New control orders will enable police and security agencies to keep track on those they suspect of planning terrorist outrages including bans on who they can contact

and meet, electronic tagging and curfew orders, and for those who present the highest risk, a requirement to stay permanently at home’ (pp.53-4).

Government freed suspects subject to control orders: Control orders were introduced but they have been a legal mess. They are used to hold people under house arrest without trial, but they have been repeatedly challenged by the courts and their future is now uncertain. In June 2009 the House of Lords ruled that suspects must be given some idea of the allegations made against them before an order can be made. After the judgement, the Government decided to let some people subject to control orders go rather than reveal the case against them (*BBC News online*, 1 February 2010).

Compensation claims for suspects. In a further case in January 2010, a judge quashed the orders that had been the subject of the House of Lords judgement because the basis on which they were imposed was unlawful. This opened the way for those subject to the orders to claim compensation for unlawful restriction of their movements (*The Guardian*, 18 January 2010).

91. Supporting our troops on operations

Labour promise. ‘We will never commit forces to battle unless it is essential; but when they are committed they will have the investment, strategy, training and preparation they need’ (p.88)

Treasury limits deployment. The Government deployed a small task force to Helmand Province in Afghanistan in 2006 that was clearly insufficient. The Brigade Commander said that the 3,300 figure ‘was a Treasury imposed cap’ (House of Commons Defence Committee, *Minutes of Evidence*, 9 June 2009, Session 2008-9, HC 523). Eventually, the Government had to reinforce the British contingent in Afghanistan. The total number of UK troops in Afghanistan has increased from 4,700 to 10,000 since 2006 (*Hansard*, 26 January 2006, Cols.1531-2; *Hansard*, 30 November 2009, Col. 836).

Lack of helicopters. Throughout the campaign, the Armed Forces lacked sufficient quantities of key equipment such as armoured vehicles and helicopters. The former Foreign Office Minister, Lord Malloch-Brown, admitted ‘we definitely don’t have enough helicopters’ (*BBC News Online*, 22 July 2009).

Pre-deployment training. Concerns also still remain over whether there is sufficient equipment for Pre-Deployment Training. The Public Accounts Committee reported that ‘the proportion of personnel deploying to theatres who have completed short packages of individual reinforcement training, rather than full collective pre deployment training, has increased’ (Public Accounts Committee, *Support to High Intensity Operations*, 13 October 2009, Session 2008-9, HC 895, p.6).

92. Supporting veterans

Labour promise. ‘We will continue to give priority to veterans’ affairs as we mark 60 years since the end of the Second World War’ (p.88)

Mental health concerns. Labour have failed to track the mental health of veterans. The Defence Select Committee commented that identification and treatment of vulnerable veterans ‘relies as much on good intentions and good luck as on robust tracking’ (House of

Commons Defence Committee, *Medical Care in the Armed Forces*, 18 February 2008, Session 2007-8, HC 327, para 110).

Ignorance about entitlements. Veterans should receive priority treatment on the NHS for a service-related condition. But an Ipsos-MORI survey carried out in March 2009 found that 33 per cent of GPs questioned knew nothing at all about priority treatment for war pensioners (External Reference Group, *The Nation's Commitment: Cross-Government Support to our Armed Forces, their Families and Veterans*, November 2009, para. 2.3.28).

Flawed compensation scheme. The flaws in Labour's compensation policy have been obvious since the new Armed Forces Compensation Scheme was introduced in 2005. Following a public outcry after the Government appealed against the amount of compensation awarded to two injured soldiers, Labour launched a review into the scheme (Ministry of Defence, *The Review of the Armed Forces Compensation Scheme*, Cm 7798, Session 2009-10, February 2010).

93. Resources for Army support services

Labour promise. 'We also know that modern demands on our armed forces are changing. That is why reform and modernisation are essential. A reduction in the number of infantry battalions, made possible because of the improved security situation in Northern Ireland, has allowed extra resources for the vital support services such as signals, engineers, intelligence and logistics units – the parts of the army most under pressure. This is essential to allow our infantry soldiers to be fully supported when they go into action on our behalf' (p.88)

Specialist support trades undermanned. The House of Commons Defence Committee stated that 'there remain significant shortages of personnel in some key skills areas, some of which impact on operational effectiveness'. They include 'Harrier and Merlin pilots and crew in the Royal Navy, and a significant number of medical posts in both the Army and RAF' (House of Commons Defence Committee, *Ministry of Defence Annual Report and Accounts 2008-9*, 24 February 2010, Session 2009-10, HC 52, paras. 64-5). The Armed Forces Pay Review body has also noted that 'some 40 per cent of the trained strength of the Armed Forces are in either Operational or Manning Pinch Points'. A 'pinch point trade' is a branch or specialist unit which is experiencing critical under-manning problems (Armed Forces Pay Review Body, *Thirty-Ninth Report*, March 2010, Session 2009-10, Cm 7799, para. 2.27).

94. NATO and European Security and Defence Policy

Labour promise. 'We will build stronger EU defence capabilities, in harmony with NATO – the cornerstone of our defence policy – without compromising our national ability to act independently' (p.84)

Labour have put NATO at risk. Labour have signed up to a series of EU initiatives that are not in harmony with NATO, and could potentially compromise our national sovereignty in the future. The Lisbon Treaty carried on this process of duplication.

The EU has started to duplicate NATO missions. The EU launched a separate airlift mission in Darfur, Sudan in 2005 despite the fact that NATO had launched a similar mission. In 2008 the EU launched an anti-piracy naval mission to the Horn of Africa despite the fact that there were already missions there under NATO and the US.

95. *International Arms Trade Treaty*

Labour promise: ‘We will work actively to secure an international treaty on the arms trade’ (p.85)

No Treaty agreed: An International Arms Trade Treaty has yet to be agreed.

96. *EU aid*

Labour promise: ‘During Britain’s EU presidency this year, we will work to ... improve the focus and quality of EU aid so it better helps the poorest countries’ (p.84). ‘We will also press for ... the EU [to] better focus their efforts on the poorest countries, particularly in Africa’ (p.89).

Almost half of EU aid does not go to the poorest countries: Just 55% of all EC development assistance is spent in low income countries (DFID, *European Commission Development Effectiveness Summary*, 2009).

97. *International Finance Facility*

Labour promise: ‘Globally we are pressing for a doubling of aid backed by getting international agreement to an International Finance Facility as supported by the Commission for Africa’ (p91)

The IFF never got off the ground. Gordon Brown’s plans for a ‘macro’ IFF were quashed by the opposition of the US Government, although a scaled-down IFF for Immunisation was launched in 2006.

98. *Tackling corruption*

Labour promise: ‘aid will not be successful without ... good governance and zero tolerance of corruption’ (p.90)

Labour have given money directly to questionable regimes without proper scrutiny. Since 2005, Labour have been too willing to give the benefit of the doubt to governments where we are not completely clear about the probity of audit and accountability systems. Labour have given money directly to the governments of countries which rank highly on Transparency International’s index of corruption, without adequate scrutiny (Statistics for International Development 2009, DFID; and *Corruption Perceptions Index 2009*, Transparency International). The Public Accounts Committee found that ‘the financial risks of putting UK funds through weak national systems are often high. Estimates of leakage and corruption in the use of developing nations’ budgets are many times higher than would be acceptable in UK domestic expenditure...DFID’s budget support objectives and monitoring have significant weaknesses...The decision process governing which countries receive budget support is opaque’ (House of Commons Committee of Public Accounts, *Report on Providing Budget Support for Developing Countries*, Session 2007-08, HC 395).

99. *International trade*

Labour promise: ‘During Britain’s EU presidency this year, we will work to ... make progress in the Doha development trade round ... We will press for the conclusion of an ambitious trade deal that will completely open markets to exports from poorer countries; for further reform of rich countries’ agricultural subsidies, including the EU’s Common Agricultural Policy and a 2010 timetable to end agricultural export subsidies’ (p.84, p.91)

Labour had the Presidency of the EU and the G8 – but no such ‘ambitious trade deal’ was agreed. The Doha trade talks have stalled. The CAP remains in urgent need of reform. It was a tragic missed opportunity that the Government in 2005 – despite its Presidency of the EU, the G8, and Tony Blair’s close relationship with then European Commissioner Peter Mandelson – did not do more to tackle French vested interests and move further on agriculture.

100. Reduction in carbon emissions

Labour promise. ‘We remain committed to achieving a 20 per cent reduction in carbon dioxide emissions on 1990 levels by 2010’ (p. 89)

Target set to be missed. It took the longest and deepest recession since World War II for Labour to achieve any noticeable reduction in UK carbon emissions. Before the recession, emissions had fallen by just 1.4 per cent under Labour, marking 10 years of failure. Since the recession started emissions have fallen by 11.5 per cent, largely as a result of the devastating effects of the recession on output (DECC, *2009 UK Greenhouse Gas emissions*, provisional figures, 25 March 2010).

101. The EU Constitution

Labour promise. ‘We will put [the EU Constitution] to the British people in a referendum and campaign whole-heartedly for a ‘Yes’ vote to keep Britain a leading nation in Europe’ (p84).

Labour forced through the Lisbon Treaty without a referendum. The Lisbon Treaty was substantially the same as the EU Constitution. As the Spanish foreign minister, Miguel Angel Moratinos, said: ‘I believe that 98 per cent of the content, of what we consider the substance of the Constitutional Treaty, is to be found in the future EU Treaty. The wrapping has been changed, but not the content’ (*El Pais*, 23 July 2007). Labour forced through the Lisbon Treaty without a referendum.

102. EU regulation and economic reform

Labour promise: ‘We will work to promote economic reform, bear down on regulation’ (p84).

The cost of EU regulation on businesses has continued to rise. The yearly cost to businesses of EU regulations introduced under Labour has risen from £6.09 billion to £6.443 billion since the last general election (British Chambers of Commerce, *Burdens Barometer 2009*).