

TAKE THREE: TAXES

How the Great American Tax Revolt Crossed the Atlantic

Isaac William Martin

On December 13, 1978, the California property tax rebel Howard Jarvis arrived in the United Kingdom for a meeting with Conservative Party leader Margaret Thatcher. Jarvis was a previously obscure right-wing crank who was enjoying a sudden burst of fame. Just six months earlier, California voters had approved Proposition 13, a ballot initiative of his design that was designed to limit the growth of local property taxes in California. He flew to London at the invitation of the National Association for Freedom, a young advocacy organization sponsored by wealthy Tories and business executives who hoped to establish a militant campaigning organization to mobilize the middle classes against trade unions and the socialist left. He also met with the Institute of Economic Affairs, a right-wing think tank closely aligned with Thatcher's views that enjoyed extensive connections both to the Conservative Party and to the American libertarian milieu. Members of these organizations saw in Proposition 13 a populist political strategy that could help Conservatives win back the government from Labour.¹

Thatcher had her own reasons to take the meeting. She was eager to restrain the growth of local property taxes (called "the rates"). Like Jarvis, she was ideologically opposed to all taxation of private property, and she opposed the growth of the public sector on principle. She was also aware that local property taxes paid the salaries of government employees who were a large and growing electoral base for the Labour Party. Conservative voters, for their part, were generally hostile to property taxes, and the Conservative Party manifesto of 1974 had pledged the party to abolition of the rates. At the time, however, Thatcher had privately thought that was reckless, and her own view had been that the rates needed further study. It seemed like a complicated issue.²

Then she saw the polls. In June 1978, Proposition 13 was headline news in England. The *Times* described Jarvis as the harbinger of "a trend that is to be seen throughout the Western world" and editorialized sternly that a similar tax revolt might be in store for Britain if the taxing authorities failed to exercise a bit more restraint. In December, Thatcher met with Jarvis. In March, she gave a speech to the Conservative local government conference in which she heralded the California tax revolt as a bellwether. "We've seen elsewhere—in California for example—the rebellion against excessive property taxes," she said. "If we cannot

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¹ "Around the World," *Washington Post*, Dec. 13, 1978, A29; "Photo of California Tax Revolt Leader Howard Jarvis at London News Conference," *New York Times*, Dec. 14, 1978, C16; "Taking Axes to Their Taxes," *Times* (London, England), June 8, 1978, 17; Howard Jarvis and Robert Pack, *I'm Mad as Hell* (New York, 1979); see also Brian Elliott, Frank Bechhofer, David McCrone, and Stewart Black, "Bourgeois Social Movements in Britain: Repertoires and Responses," *Sociological Review* 30, no. 1 (Feb. 1982): 71–96; Radhika Desai, "Second-Hand Dealers in Ideas: Think-Tanks and Thatcherite Hegemony," *New Left Review*, no. 203 (Jan.–Feb. 1994): 27–64.

² Margaret Thatcher, *The Downing Street Years* (New York, 1993), 644.

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