80 de 80 still gentlert hiteri

WHEN JAMAICA transformed her property tax to one based exclusively on the market value of land, it was the large estate owners – not the small farmers or the urban middle owners: – not the small farmers or the urban middle – who raised the fiercest objections.

In the event, however, the shortcomings of the reform programme were as much to do with the ideological confusions of Michael Manley's left-wing government as the vested interests of the land monopolists. A commitment to socialism persuaded the Maniey Government of the 1970s to develop a planning system and state controls, while (paradoxically) preserving the monopolistic interests of landowners even at the expense of the community in genera

world record — eight consecutive years of negative growth—and the onset of the U.S. recession which reduced demand In 1980, Edward Seaga's Labour Party was returned to power on a manifesto of free market economics which found favour with Washington. There was bound to be a substantial delay before the economy recovered from the turmoil of the '70s. Seaga had to confront an unenviable

for bauxite, Jamaica's chief export.

Pressure on Seaga has mounted this year:

Manufacturers have closed down because, they complain, they have not been able to obtain the licences that they need to import their vital raw materials; unemployment continues at well over 20 per cent.

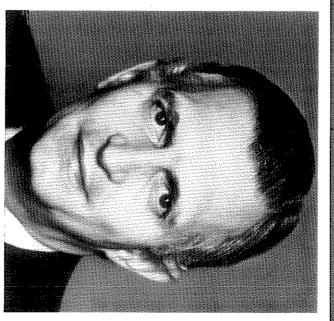
Foreign exchange is critically short, despite the initial financial support rendered by Ronald Reagan to the country in the Caribbean that the U.S. President regards as his staunchest anti-marxist ally in America's sensitive geo-

political backyard.

The economic recovery that Edward Seaga promised – via the free market – will generate new jobs and wealth quickly only if the Prime Minister rationalises his country's tax system. An effective policy on land value taxation must be at the heart of such a review. Without this, the island's landowners will be the main beneficiaries of new prosperity. For example, \$50m has been promised to Jamaica by President Reagan under his recent Caribbean Basin Initiative. The benefits of that money, which will be spent on improving Jamaica's infrastructure, will be capitalised into higher land walues. This is what hemoney which we will be spent on improving Jamaica's infrastructure, will be capitalised into higher land walues.

values. This is what happened when new irrigation works were created on the arid Mid-Clarendon Plain in the 1950s. Land increased in value from under £10 to £80-100 per acre within a few years; and values on neighbouring land accelerated in anticipation of the extension of the irrigation system. The same thing happens when new roads are built in the less accessible parts of the island.

Why, today, should the benefits of new public investments be mopped up into the bank accounts of private citizens? It would not be unreasonable for the donors of foreign aid to stipulate that the value of infrastructural investments should be completely captured for the benefit of the community for which it was intended in the first place, and reinvested in socially-necessary projects. This additional income from a 100 per cent recovery of annual land values would enable the Government to reduce taxes on labour and capital, and thereby induce fresh investment



PRIME MINISTER EDWARD SEAGA

and enterprise — the goals to which Edward Seaga has dedicated his Premiership.

The fiscal steps taken by Mr. Seaga this year do not augur well. In March, he announced a change in the basis of taxes on some consumer items which, in future, will take an ad valorem form: the tax-take will rise with the increase in the value of the goods. And as Mr. Seaga admitted to the House of Representatives, this tends to increase prices and depress the volume of production a contradiction of all that he

depressing effect: it does not curb output or raise prices. On the contrary, it stimulates production and consequently reduces prices through lower unit costs and greater competition among suppliers in the marketplace. The Jamaican Government now needs to radically improve its system of land value taxation. effective tax on land values, however, has no such

accomplish more than a tenfold increase in the donation of aid from U.S. taxpayers. The big estate owners would, once again, squeal, but Edward Seaga could carry the people with him if he made a determined bid to base his economics on equity as well as efficiency. One thing is certain: without such an approach he will fail to attain the commendable goals that he has set for his government. Jamaica would not blaze the trail to that social and economic enlightenment which he proclaimed when, immediately after his election, he told the fourth Miami Conference on Caribbean Trade Investment and Development in November 1980: "Jamaica, has, in fact, become more than any other, the Caribbean symbol of this transformation. Substantial improvements in this one fiscal policy would

Making of a

JULY-AUGUST 1982

Value

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on tax policy reports on the failure of leaders from the Big Seven countries to agree FISCAL 'JUNGLE' THREAT TO GLOBAL RECOVERY: Fred Harrison

63

FEATURES

REPORTS

El Salvador: Assembly coup kills

COLUNI

And now — it's "marriage values"!

67

ROBERT CLANCY reports from New York on how American entrepreneurs have become hooked on state aid

POLITICS & LAND TAX

the recommendations of an official report on the Australian property tax: p.74. Paul Knight reveals what happened when a councillor in Britain advocated a tax on agricultural land: p.75. Ian Barron reports on a radical on the controversy in Ireland over a plan to tax derelict land: p.69. Fred Harrison reports on Jamaica's policy of double indemnity: p.70. Bert Brookes analyses the recommendations of an official line-up in the Domincan Republic: p. Land & Liberty correspondents on the latest developments. Tom (Tom O'Toole

REVIEWS

Bravo Benn? HERBERT MEYER	On Sentiments, profits and a new theory of ownership P. E. POOLE
79	78

80



LIS STARCKE (pictured left) was one of the Single Tax Party's five candidates who failed to get elected to Denmark's Parliament in the last election. Although the party received 44,964 votes – enough for three seats – this was not 2 per cent of the total votes cast, as required under the Danish system of proportional representation. Prof. J. P. Skou reports: p.76.

FORTHCOMING

INSITE investigates the claim that high interest rates are responsible for the crisis in Danish agriculture which is threatening to bankrupt 2,000 farmers this year. The problem is traced back to the boom in land prices in the years 1970-78.

Assembly Salvador:

hearted attempt to address the problem of the maldistribution of land.* what is dead. The rise to power of the Right brought to an end LAND REFORM in El Salvador was at best Ö. half-

Constituent Assembly victory at the recent general election. But together they outnumbered parties Christian None secured 앜 Democrats the the an Right-wing moderate outright 3

wing parties.
The Reagan Administration second the most extreme of the Rightd'Aubuisson, left out of the National Conciliation Party, hoped controversial which represents traditionalist reaching an landowning interests. But this The ö largest party, Social the reckoning the retain agreement Major Roberto leader of the Democrats power Arena, with

gave days the Christian Democrats. support from the National Con-ciliation Party, which deserted veto the President's appoint-ment of ministers, thanks to powers and the authority to land reform, shrewdly secured the job of Speaker of the Assembly. This led to a constitutional coup. For within opposed him as candidate d'Aubuisson, the Right-wing majority itself Presidency. Ē Who legislative thanks opposes So ģ to

Yudice. went to Ministry portfolios, agriculture And in the Arena's carve-up Sr. Miguel 앜

law. ington, however, defended the "revisions" in the land reform State the loss of military aid) Salvadorean army (which fears suspended law, thus provoking both the The Assembly immediately Department Congress the land reform 글. and Washthe The

Sword, Fred Foldvary, word', *Land &* The Savi & Liberty, Saviour May-June 20 The

by Fred Harrison

policies v Versailles package WESTERN when they 으 economic fiscal on leaders and ø summit met satisfactory failed monetary last

and economic policy which Senator Howard Baker, leader of the controversy over the future of fiscal Reagan in April. Senate, Republican breakdown So we are still in that "jungle" of referred of talks with majority leader to П n the U.S. after the President of the

to get on with the task of creating new entrepreneurs who want the freedom ambitions almost wilfully designed to thwart the are contradictory and self-defeating, growth. Policies being pursued in the capitals of the industrial economies ponement of recovery into sustained The result is the perpetual post of. employees and

malfunctioning. reforming a system that is patently agreement on an effective strategy for will continue so long as there is no employment. Muddled thinking is undermining orts to increase investment and This critical situation

while the imperfections of sustained stated, policy. Thatcher THE SUPPLY SIDE economics of this strategy would fail. President We saw in a previous issue the recovery continue proposition Reagan Will ť and not occur dominate 18 the land Simply Mrs.



HENRY REUSS

monopolists to capitalise the value of tax cuts into higher land values. enable small

one things happens: that recovery will occur classic work was devoted to the study of industrial recessions.² We can now economics of Henry George, begin to test or a combination analysis is George's proposition based on only of three whose when the

- the received by share of. wage-earners national income drops
- the share going to re drops significantly; or a significant inc significantly; rent-receivers
- stimulating output. generated cash to reinvest in new entrepreneurs with the internallycapital productivity equipment, increase provides thereby

TABLE I: Income arising in the UK – Appropriation Account (£m)

	Companie	Companies & Financial Institutions	Indus	Industrial & Commercial companies
	Gross	Rent &	Gross	Rent &
	Trading*	Non-trading	Trading*	Non-trading
	Profits	income	Profits	income
1979	27,285	11,283	30,057	2,43
1980	25,135	15,083	29,614	2,915
1981	24,211	16,644	31,149	3,413

^{*} Before providing for depreciation and stock appreciation

moment suggest optimism. analysis, the signs in Britain at the the basis of. superficial

real income in the first half of increases – the lowest rates for four year, thanks to a moderation in wage Employees suffered a big drop in this

shares. issuing two years, and are now flat in money property part of three years. Rents for prime property have tended to has been slowing down for the best ındex the unfavourable trend in the property investment in property; they point to underperform inflation over the last And The growth in rental income compared market guarded analysts warnings with company tended are against now

On top of this, there has been a "shake-out" of workers from jobs). measurable increase in productivity (bought at the expense of a 3m

recovery? reasons. OES THIS all add up to the ingredients Alas, no. There are two for æ sustained

Reagan, promise supposed goods onto the market which would increase the supply The first concerns go policy. Mrs. Thatcher, like to attained Ö cut stimulate taxes; power government investment this WILL President was

according to accor policies, the government now takes 57p out of every extra pound that is sent to Downing Street in 1979. is now $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent higher that it was in the year before Mrs. Thatcher was Fiscal Studies. The marginal tax rate earned – compared with 55p in 1978, In fact, thanks to Conservative tax to calculations the Institute made 요

sideration which is ignored sumption. But there is another coninvestment or expand household coneconomic analysts. does nothing 5 increase β

growth in the bud. fronted are still poised to nip office blocks and on industrial estates, Land monopolists, although con-Ş mounting vacancies any sign of

As Sir Kirby Laing, chairman of Properties, his annual reassured

Laing shareholders report:

"... periods of recession usually offer the best chance for generating attractive opportunities for the future."

Rents have not slumped in a way that would have been predictable on the basis of historical experience, when the worst recessions were associated with a total collapse in the land market.

Since 1974, the land market throughout the Western world has been supported by a variety of government and banking devices.

Until last year in Britain, despite the collapse of the manufacturing sector, rents have been a buoyant source of income compared with the return to capital (Table I). The real rate of return on capital employed by industrial and commercial companies (excluding North Sea activities) in the UK in 1981, was 2½ per cent.³

(excluding North Sea activities) in the UK in 1981, was $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.³

Not surprisingly, therefore, people with money to invest have been putting it into land rather than capital equipment (Table II), thereby prolonging the recession.

Industrial rents have weakened this year — but not by as much as we would have expected on the basis of the slump in output. Why?

According to Hillier Parker, one of Britain's leading real estate agencies:

"... the manufacturer can take comfort from the recent improvement in productivity ... which has resulted in only modest increases in unit costs. Without this improvement, rents would have fallen further behind inflation."

In other words, land monopolists have been able to capture the gains in productivity — gains which, in a rational economy, ought to have gone to entrepreneurs in the form of higher profits and used for fresh fixed capital formation. As can be seen from the Investors Chronicle-Hillier Parker Index, industrial rents recovered markedly in the six months to last May — coinciding with the increase in productivity.

THE ONLY way to neutralise the rent effect which is consistent with other goals – optimising the use of resources, encouraging hard work,

TABLE II: BRITAIN -- Gross Domestic Fixed Capital Formation

(1975 prices: £m)

695	3,623	3,969	14,198	1979
674	3,129	3,577	14,289	1980
719	2,363	2,947	13,878	1981
Transfer costs of land & buildings	Dwellings	Manufacturing	Private Sector	

^{*} Including purchases less sales of land and existing buildings

rewarding entrepreneurial risk-taking, preserving a free market — is to impose a heavy ad valorem tax on the annual value of land, i.e. the economic rent of land in its unimproved state.

The importance of defining a workable land tax policy is exemplified by the alarm that emerged from Dublin when the newly-elected Government of Ireland announced a capital gains tax at the rate of 60 per cent on gains made within a year.

Critics claimed that this would deter investment and close down the Dublin Stock Exchange within a few years.

But it then transpired that the target was not share deals but speculation in development land around Dublin, which had made millionaires out of rural landowners.

Rates of return at current replacement cost (net)*
Industrial and commercial companies and manufacturing companies based on national accounts date

industrial and com- mercial companies	S
companies cial excluding les North Sea	- o
1977 7.4 7.0 1978 7.7 7.2 1979 6.6 5.3 1980 5.5 3.6	24-06 24-24-

*Pre-tax rates of return on production or trading activities in the UK.

The value of prime sites near the capital have increased from I£40,000 an acre to I£200,000 "overnight".

The over-stretched land market has already claimed its first major victim

Republic's largest property developer, went into Receivership in May. The cost of two prime Dublin sites acquired within the last year is believed to have led to the Group's undoing.

any land market is to tax the prospective gains on an annual basis, and the first step is to make sure that the fiscal marksman can hit his target. This means that the politicians have to call a land tax precisely that — a land tax—and not a capital gains tax.

By increasing exchequer revenue from land, investors are persuaded to look elsewhere for profitable opportunities.

Such a course was proposed by

Such a course was proposed by West Germany's ruling Social Democrat Party at its Munich Congress in April.

Unfortunately, because of the fragile nature of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's coalition Government, observers were not willing to bet that the party's policies would move from resolution to legislation.

Per cent

A firm political lead from one of the leading western nations is crucial if reforms – rather than some horrific alternative such as the militaristic solution – are to generate a new dynamism in the economy.

The failure of the established political parties to initiate change suggests that reformers may have to look for action from the grass roots: people who are the victims of recession may be able to persuade the politicians that constructive change is long overdue.

			Π	Τ			
Industrial	Offices	Shops	ICHPRentIndex+9.3 +12.2 +39.8 +16.0 +2.8 +1.2 +4.8 +8.5 +14.1 +16.5 +23.4 +17.0 +15.9 +8.6 +9.2 +7.1 +5.4				Investors Chronicle-Hillier Parker Rent Index
+7.0 +8.1 +24.0 +28.9 +13.2 +7.9 +8.9	+11.4	+7.8	ndex+9.3			1969	rs Chro
+8,1	+12.9	+14.0	+12.2			1972	nicle
+240	+55.1	+26.3	+39.8			1973	Ĭ
+28.9	+12.1	+15.1	+16.0			1972 1973 1974 1975 1976	er Pal
+13.2	-2.8	+5.9	+2.8			1975	ker 8
+7.9	-4.9	+6.7	+1.2			1976	ent li
÷8.9	+1.6	+6.3	+4.8		Мау	1977	ndex
+9.2	+5.6	+12.3	+8.5		Nov	1977	
+7.8	+12.5	+21.7	+14.1		May	1978	
+14.3	+12.2	+24.3	+16.5		May Nov	1978	
+27.9	+18.6	+26.6	 +23.4		May Nov	1979	Chan
+17.5	+14.7	+19.6	+17.0	i	Nov	1979	је (%) I
+9.2 +7.8 +14.3 +27.9 +17.5 +20.4	+16.6	+11.8	+15.9		May	1980	per am
+5.6	+12.9	+7.8 +14.0 +26.3 +15.1 +5.9 +6.7 +6.3 +12.3 +21.7 +24.3 +26.6 +19.6 +11.8 +5.5	+8.6		May Nov	1980	um on
+4.3 +0.6	+11.4 +12.9 +55.1 +12.1 -2.8 -4.9 +1.6 +5.6 +12.5 +12.2 +18.6 +14.7 +16.6 +12.9 +12.9	+8.2	 +9.2		May	1981	Change (%) per annum on previous reading
+0.6	+9.7	+8.4	÷7.1		Nov		us rea
+6.2	+3.7	+7.1	+5.4		May	1982	o ing

possibility of substantial success. One of them noted: mentators over the President, but political comtrying to exercise budgetary influence Might that upward pressure occur the United States? Congress is are sceptical Congress is 오

but over sedition acts, slavery, tariffs, the fate of Senator Joseph McCarthy, equal rights, the crimes of President Nixon."6 gress to take the lead in shaping the budget. The big congressional battles have not been fought over budgets it is against tradition for Con

This is too fatalistic a view. Despite the cumbersome written constitution, Washington's political processes are

capable of change.

man of the influential Joint Economic Committee, recently proved to the constitutional experts that Congress monetary policies. Federal Reserve Board to change its has the legal capacity to instruct the For example, Henry Reuss, chair

value taxation, but the influence that he exercises is not now likely to bear fruit. For he is not seeking a return to gressional politician in favour of land House of Representatives in the Reuss is the senior Con

mid-term elections in November. Even so, with U.S. unemployment nune per cent, many peo looking for a standard bearer. forging ahead from its present level of per cent, people are

belief credibility – and re-election for a second term, if he seeks it – on the President Reagan credibility - and fiscal policy must continue to present themselves. For tax policy is at the follow a restructured fiscal system. heart of the Fresh that opportunities for sustained U.S. economic debate. IS staking ... growth shaping Will his

streets in search of employment on an asset that appreciates in value even while the jobless tramp the the knowledge that, whatever else may happen, they will continue to sit benefits of their unearned income with therefore makers have not yet demonstrated an awareness of the critical need to bring should land value taxation into their reckonwhen questions are asked about who The controversy, of course, arises It is now evident that the policy-The continue to land monopolists jobless tramp enjoy else the

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 Henry Brandon, Persuading men to enjoy cuctus, Sunday Times, 9.5.82.

ST. LOUIS STUDY PROVES IT:

and value taxation! Voters would back

LAND special nine-page report in this throughout the developments in land tax policies Ø LIBERTY world analyses E E

increasing awareness of professionals are showing men; but activist neglected by the world's states-Land value taxation is still groups and the ু জ

Republic, in the Caribbean, to Denmark, to Western Australia as far afield as the Dominican our correspondents report from Dublin budget importance of this fiscal policy.
Starting with a report on the down under" plans (p. 69),

THE ETHICS of sharing the value of control o

socially-created land values, rarely dare to challenge the land tax on equity grounds. emphasise the need to displace the tax burden away from income earned by labour and capital, and onto beyond dispute.
Opponents of those reforms that

instead, appeals are made to vested interested groups, the largest of which is made up of home-owners. They are scared into thinking that land value taxation would undermine the secure possession of their domestic domain. tic domain.

Economic efficiency, the basis of a re reply then, ಕ has to such

Opposition.

We know from all the evidence –
empirical studies (such as the pilot
survey of Whitstable, in south-east
England), and the practical results
from places where buildings are
untaxed – that the theoretical claims

Nonetheless, while waiting for statesmen to be gripped by the conviction that their constituents would be best served by this fiscal reform, we must continue to advance the case through fresh research.

The results add to the overwhelming conclusion that economic efficiency cannot be seen to be done, until the value of patents of securose.

ceptured for the public benefit. nature's

EVIDENCE from one such study has just been published by the Public Revenue Education Council of St.

Louis, Missouri.

THE YOU

The Council asked itself: What would happen if taxes on buildings were wiped out? Would people end up by paying more if the property tax fell exclusively on the value of land?

A random sample of properties in St. Louis was examined. The researchers worked on the assumption that the same amount of finance would have to be raised via the property tax. This is what they found:

73 per cent of properties owned by individuals would pay less. The average tax decrease was \$66 (23 per cent). 27 per cent of the properties averaged a \$45 (51 per cent) tax increase.

Vacant, under-developed and deteriorated properties would have to pay higher taxes. These, in the main, are owned by corporations, banks and trusts. Even so, big organisations also stand to gain by

organisations also stand to gain by a change to site value taxation. 50 per cent of the banks and trusts, and 25 per cent of the corporations, stand to pay lower property taxes in St. Louis.

the grounds of self-interest alone, they should back the proposal to change the nature of the property tax. RESULTS such as these go a long way towards persuading people that, or

But the local, individual benefits do not constitute the whole case for land value taxation; indeed, comparatively speaking, these are minor benefits. Greater attention ought to be paid to the macro-economic benefits, a major point emphasised in our report on Jamaica (pages 70 to 74).

Analyses at the level of the

devilled by a shortage of relevant data — and most important of all, reliable indices of long-term trends in land unfortunately, are

values and rents.

Even so, these shortcomings must not be used as excuses for parochialism or even inactivity. Never before in the history of industrial society has the need for land value taxation been

either more obvious or more urgent.

Land & Liberty will remain alert to global developments, and we ask our readers to monitor events in their countries on our behalf. We need all the material – from Press reports to official documents – that we can get.

Our goal is a reform of a tax system which, today, actively inhibits people from achieving the social and economic lifestyle to which they are entitled in a civilised community.

10 pages of reports start on P.69 Ø TIM LAZO TAX

INSITE examines a curious alliance in Britain's farming sector

tenant owners. been struck between Britain's farmers and country land

required landlord/tenant legislation. amendments to have reached the consensus that is The agricultural industry appears by the government before are made

per cent of farmland, but on present trends their share will shrink to half that acreage in 50 years' time.

There are two reserves rented sector is diminishing rapidly At present, 90,000 tenants rent about Changes are needed, for land in the

themselves; Landlords get a better tax deal if they recover their land and farm it

Sons of tenants have the legal right to succeed to farms, a right which could last for three generations.

and the National Farmers' Country HANGES in have VGES in these provisions ve been proposed by the Landowners' Association Union.

endorsed by the newly-formed Tenant Farmers' Association which is once they fall vacant worried by the fact that only about 14 per cent of tenanted farms are re-let proposals have been

right of succession is eliminated.

But what would happen to rents? this would certainly amount of land available for rent, and Farmers want an increase in the happen if the

unreality pervades the proposals submitted jointly by the NFU/CLA to from the definition of rent: Agriculture Minister Peter Walker. Farmland owners, it would appear, wish to eliminate the "scarcity" factor It is on this question that a sense of

as scarcity, proximity, premiums, and the hopes that motivate the tender of excessive rents."

Rents have certainly been escalating (see table), but would the CLA/NFU "It is agreed that an objective open market criterion for fixing the rents of existing tenants should not be based on such subjective elements

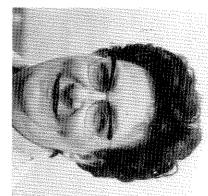
'excessive rents"? eliminate the tender

be changed to determine rents according to a new definition. ARMLAND proposed that the law should owners. have

ing to a new definition.

Scarcity should not be a consideration; instead, "the productivity and earning capacity of the holding" in the hands of a "reasonably skilled"

A landlord ploy



JOAN MAYNARD

of rents that are paid or would be paid available for letting in the locality" an element due to scarcity of holdings tenant should be substituted. Rents can take into account "any evidence except to the extent that they contain respect of comparable lettings

What makes this approach to rent determination so puzzling is that it assumes that you can eliminate the economic impossibility. notion of scarcity. In fact, this is

is an income that derives solely from the monopoly of a natural resource which is in diminishing supply. Rent is not a cost of production. It

gains. out of use in anticipation of capita thanks to urban sprawl and the speculative holding of greenfield sites Britain its supply is diminishing at the rate of about 50,000 acres a year, describe land as a tion that is fixed in its supply. But in Economic textbooks factor of producusually year,

> process of rent determination trying to exclude the scarcity factor. nonsense On the face of it, then, it seems of rent determination by

enormously from such revisions. revised. For landowners would benefit checked, Strategic reason f view ۱۰. strategic reason for presenting iew that rent rises might be ed, if existing legislation was be

would rise! And one advantage is that rents

on the market; and there would be more prospective tenants bidding for land (the second and third generation tenure of tenant families, there would be a greater turnover of lettable land present tenancy arrangements). succeeded to dad's farm under the For who Ŋ reducing the security of would otherwise

not result in a general rise in rental levels. Joan Maynard MP, one of the Labour Party's agricultural Labour Party's agricultural spokesmen, had predicted a ten per It is inconceivable that this would

rave been going up dramatically. I think that my ten per cent prediction is a gross underestimate. There has been an increase in rents over the last three years of 50 per cent, and rents on the Duchy of Cornwall's estate have gone up 100 per cent."

Currently, when

they appear to award sitting-tenant rents of around 60 per cent of openmarket levels.² And according to John Clayton, co-editor of the brought into the rent fixing process,

AGRICULTURAL LAND, England & Wales: £ per acre

SOURCE: Farmland Market (Estates Gazette/Farmers Weekly)

on rents." this would have an upward pressure implemented, authoritative Farmland Market:
"If the NFU/CLA proposals were market rents than they do now, and probably pay more attention to openarbitrators would

tenant farmers would be locked into a Farmers' Association notes: but tenants would pay even more on tight conflict. increase in the number of farms to let 'excessive" õ what everyone predictions rents. There As the would be are agrees are correct, Tenant 211

greatly tenant proportion of both output and profitability. The upshot is inadequate investment, soaring bank borrowings, and farm staffing cut to the bone." "In many instances, rent levels are greatly in excess of what sound

market rents is crucial if agriculture is to maximise output and also ensure production, an optimum mix of all the factors of establishment of the scarcest of sound, which is open

the law will bring us any closer to that that the existing proposals to change But there is no reason to believe

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FREE TRADE: REAGAN'S BITTER POLICY FOR SUGAR GROWERS

BY P. E. POOLE

PRESIDENT Ronald Reagan caused anger in the Caribbean when he flew the banner of free trade last month.

The President's warning against the threat of protectionism was issued when he met leaders of the industrialised nations in Versailles

But American trade policy is now seen as inconsistent and discriminatory. For Reagan has just imposed quotas on sugar

This will seriously affect the struggling sugar producers whom Reagan – under his so-called Caribbean Basin Initiative – said that he wanted to help.

sugar were imposed to protect domestic producers, and to relieve the government of having to pay out \$400m under the price-support programme. Reagan's restrictions on freely imported

Derelict land: £70m for British owners

by Paula James

next year. RITAIN is into derelict land development

would not only eliminate eyesores; they would also create new jobs. Giles Shaw, told the Commons that increased The Junior Environment Minister House 앜



Michael Heseltine

Andnow — it's 'marriage values'!

Bill, Sir George Young, Junior minister for Housing Transtruction, used a debate on Bill, Sir **DURING** the Parliamentary term which puzzled some the New Towns

assets in New Towns, he said, would be made only when the corporation con-Sales of assets in New was getting the best price cerned was satisfied that it Sales government

possible; and that included getting a proportion of the "marriage value."

What is marriage value?

Without the link with the assets of new towns it personal allowance against income tax that a man gets when he takes unto himself a wife; or perhaps the amount of money that the said wife is allowed to said wife is allowed earn without being to might have been thought that it was something to do with the increased

7 might have been a increase

By Bert Brookes

his socks or, maybe, the increased security that a woman gets from marrying a pool winner or an Arab man's, personal comfort when he has someone to cook his meals and darn oil sheikh.

down-to-earth. Right down to earth. Because, according to Sir George, marriage value is an element of site value is an element of site value; at least, it arises as such when publicly-owned new town assets are being sold off to private buyers.

The marriage value, the Minister explained, is the extra value that would accrue to the tenant if he is entitled to buy the Alas, the truth is more

is entitled to buy the property. In other words, it is the difference between the value of the site with a sitting tenant and its value with vacant possession. When a site with a sitting tenant is with a ion. W said, tenant matter
whom

lord. And in the case of new towns, the government's policy was that a proportion of the marriage value should be obtained by the development marriage value accrues to the tenant or the lan he tenant or the land-And in the case of towns, the govern-

property deals. Sales government assets whave reached £300m the end of the 1981/ government's plans to cut down on its borrowing. In addition, they have picked up around £150m by the 'sale and leaseback' of new town property.
In this late 20th century. financial year - which must be of some help in the amount of marriage value must have been changing hands in recent years as an incidental poration. seems that a new wis. Sales 1981/82 town ٤

term decline. It is comforting to know that, in the field of marriage as a social custom seems to be in some estate has bе reasonably

He said nothing of the profits which landowners can expect to gain — at the taxpayer's expense — through the resulting increase in the value of their

Instead, he took note as one Tory MP after another insisted, during the debate on the Derelict Land Bill, that the Government had not gone far

Anthony Steen, MP for Liverpool Wavertree, was typical. "If the Bill is to be made more effective, it should have a clause added to it that will compel local authorities and public undertakings to auction their surplus land to the highest bidder."

At no point did Mr. Steen or any of his colleagues suggest how the com-munity might benefit from the land values. higher post-develop ment

Clearance Areas in England and Wales, and an increase from 50 per cent to 80 per cent to the private sector or nationalised industries . . . all of which means the cost to the taxpayer will rise from £45m this year to £70m develop land not already in designated Assisted Areas or Derelict Land The Government is offering 100 per nt grants to local authorities who who

pher Murphy, MP for Welwyn and Hatfield, said "this great natural asset of land" had been abused for too long. A high priority should be placed on derelict town and city land. "The Bill can do much to regenerate the land hoards in our already built up zones and turn them almost into treasure trove," he declared.

Mr. Steen pressed the Government I he Tories were delighted. Christo-Murphy, MP for Welwyn and

Mr. Steen pressed the Government to offer private developers 100 per cent

Cont. on P.77

the Faiklands dispute will be a more delicate task than the capture of Port Stanley. The future of the focal point of global concern. islands in the South Atlantic is now a

used Britain's motives as "colonial".

Third World countries have Argentinian American military invasion response countries impugn to the have

sented the conflict in terms of the North-South Airles North South dichotomy, largely sided with the fascist junta and have

And Moscow made mischief in an attempt to split the Western alliance and restore her own credibility following the Afghanistan invasion.

experienced Cabinet advisors, Lord Carrington, who resigned as Foreign Minister because of the failure to anticipate the outbreak of hostilities descend on Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who has been weakened by Enormous loss of pressures one ದ್ದ her will now most

which would meet all the criticisms. HERE IS complex one geo-political solution to this issue

around the Falklands. value of all natural resources in and Fund, into which would be poured the Britain should create a Heritage

Anyone who wishes to use the soil, harvest the sea, pump the oil from beneath the ocean floor, should pay the economic rent into the Heritage Fund.

team at Mrs. Thatcher's request. of the resources the survey team that reported on the islands, has reconvened his Shackleton, the chairman of and development potential

new airport with a longer runway will official aid to revive the economy. air communications via Buenos Aires. be built, to remove the dependence on Britain will spend millions

(£500,000) to Jersey in the Islands (£5m). the islanders from sympathisers from Even more money far afield as the Cayman Islands millions has been donated to – again, running Channe.

Falklands, socially created. economic value of the land, which is of who has the legitimate title to the soldiers opens up the whole question reap the benefits? The blood of British why should the existing monopolists As this or so land values will rise: money more specifically, flows into

AND of the dispute ownership is at the heart

Thatcher to regain lost territory. acquired by force rather than the set Britain's principles historical invoked title ξĠ Mrs. was

Argentina, while offering to with-draw her troops during the search for



Headlines for yet another tragedy in the South Atlantic, as the stricken destroyer HMS Sheffield struggles, smoke pouring from her after she had been hit by an Exocet missile. She sank, with the loss of 20 lives.

(D) For A Heritage

islands insisted that her citizens should retain the right to live and own land on the peaceful solution, nonetheless

Co. The rest of the land was owned by only 20 resident families, and 23 wrangling, Argentina monitored data on land distribution. Foreign Minister pointed out that 46 per cent of the land is owned by the Falkland Islands absentee owners. During the Nicanor Costa Mendez recently years of diplomatic

have Buenos Aires province mainland has resulted in a concentramaldistribution tion of nificance for the Argentinians, The enormous 27m people in and around sparsely-populated of demographic land on islands The 318 the

The Falkland crisis

Reports have tended to play down the value of land on the Falklands, portraying it as little better than of books as worth 18p per acre. Falkland marginal the 1.3m use for sheep. Islands acres owned Co. were Ten years bу Ξ

the potential earned from the islands. In fact, this grossly misrepresents economic rent to

people have migrated. Secondly, the declared values have that have had a blighting effect on the drawn economy: First, Argentina's territorial claims ve created political uncertainties ınstead of profits have reinvested, been with-

Falklands as "a strangled colony, fast in the grip of the land monopolist." land for a long time. Indeed, in 1896 There have been realised in a free market been beneath the level that would The Daily Telegraph described has been no competition

sale of land to Argentinian migrants. the island government's ban on the in the grip of the land monopolist."
Thirdly, the more intensive use of resources was deliberately blocked by

mutton. based on the transformed into a viable one, initially ORD Shackleton has confirmed that the economy could export of wool and

A new garrison, a long runway, the prospects for oil, all guarantee that land will rise in value.

roads on which are non-existent. taxed into the Heritage Fund, spent on improving infrastructure of the islands, This is the money that should be Fund, a.

income tax. the incentive would be a zero rate of zero rate of tax on investment returns.

Labour needs to be attracted back: taxpayer. to minimise the burden on the British Private capital needs to be attracted, The incentive would be

All the administrative costs could

be met out of the Heritage Fund.
The political benefits stem Fund would be considerable the creation of the stemming ie Heritage

stability arising from a final agreement; so Third World critics would be would not be seen to be the exclusive beneficiaries Britain - and British landowners from the long-term

Unemployed Argentinians would

growing labour-short economy population is below 2,000 i welcomed to what would be (the

country the size of Wales)

mended would c obtain to use or not). whether existing owners put their land provided they paid the economic rent into the Heritage Fund. The wider distribution of land was recom-Argentine citizens would be free to on certainly be achieved by the secure possession of economic rent (payable land

would silence Moscow, for prosperity would be seen to grow out of a free flow of labour and capital within the development in the South Atlantic everyone's benefit. There would be no comparable communist experiment to context of a capitalist economy, The the economy would model 으 boom. successful 6

would be defending principles and silencing her ideological enemies. Thatcher, in one swift stroke,

between 15 and 50 years. THE RICHES beneath the seabed Will. not be fully tapped for

finance The surplus funds could be used to administrative needs of the Falklands minerals are exported, income flowing Antarctic. The as the scientific exploration in The Heritage Fund the petroleum infrastructural would and and The second

immeasurable, and should be dedicated to the spiritual and material all countries. wellbeing of future generations from immeasurable, The wealth beneath the ice flows

in the first instance) their initial investments in land purchases (the FIC having obtained a other The the islands before the junta invaded of practical politics. After all, who would lose? Britain was on the verge of negotiating away sovereignty over ಲ್ಲ large slice of its holdings for nothing This vision is well within the realms Falkland Islands landowners have Co. recovered and the

participating in a cause so obviously military defeat, would find solace the general (rather than British) Argentinians, humiliated

the United Nations, which would give its blessings to the venture - would glean satisfaction. And the rest of the world - through satisfaction from

Russians correct; militarily, she is an Iron Lady, Her political decisions a statesman Iron Lady, Her political decisions now will determine whether she is also Thatcher the opportunity to prove the Falklands have given Mrs.

The last budget conta HARLES Haughey's Fianna
Fail Government in Dublin

measures which are supposedly designed to deter big profits from land dealings. These include:contained

➣ 50 per cent tax on gains on

development land;An Office Development Levy,

as yet unquantified; and A tax on derelict city sites.

reduce development activity. property create the proposals have combined new chairman of the Institution. under heavy According to Mr. Ian French, Dublin office of the Royal Institu-These of measures investment Chartered adverse criticism from the climate have which Surveyors. come



CHARLES HAUGHEY

seeking declared employment, the building industry and improve "At a time when Government have the reverse effect," to increase production all these measures

however, rely less on rational argument and more on scare tactics, French such as this statement by institution's criticisms.

for extension." tion of 'development Capital Gains Tax business premises Act 1974 could be made to apply "If interpreted rigidly, the definimany private Tax Amendment With houses land' in the potential

as "derelict." According to the Take, for example, the proposal According to the

> city areas." prehensive and slow down or even halt comthe opposite effect to that intended, Institution, this "could well have redevelopment of inner

tions. detriment of inner city renewal." or to move to out-of-town locasmaller sites on a piecemeal basis "may force developers to develop Dublin took 15 years to bring development stage). And a tax derelict land, says the Institution development can be preceded by assembly of sites over a long period (the ILAC Centre site in Both results will be to true that And a tax on Institution, large-scale

there is no special virtue in large-scale developments; indeed, small-scale developments may be preferable, in that they allow HERE assumptions and errors here. First, ARE 8 number

greater responsiveness to changing needs.

In countries where vacant sites are not taxed (for example, Britain), there is no evidence that this encourages a better use of capital resources — when measured against consumer preferences — than in countries where vacant sites (derelict or otherwise) are subject to an annual property tax (e.g., the USA).

Far from impeding development, in fact, a tax on the annual market value of derelict land would speed up the process. Owners would be deterred from clinging to their vacant sites, and would be induced to release their titles to developers.

Such a tax would bring down land prices, by eliminating speculative hope values, and so encourage development. But where a developer was obliged to buy and to wait before construction could begin, he

to wait before construction could begin, he would discount the tax payments before agreeing to the purchase price for the land. That is, the tax is passed to the present owner of the derelict site (whose earlier unwillingness to put the land to good use surely exempts him from special fiscal consideration?).

deter site assembly — and it is a positive encouragement to development. It is difficult to know why the Institution representing chartered surveyors feels obliged to confuse this issue with spurious arguments that cannot lead to the formulation of a sound policy for land taxation. tax on derelict land, then, need not site assembly - and it is a positive

more suitable as a property tax administered by local government, and it will be re-examined by Dept. of Environment officials in Dublin. Also abandoned: the 30 per cent "with-holding tax" on development land, and the 2 per cent levy on office developments. The develot site tax is now considered Theproposal to tax derelict sties was d from the Finance Bill on June 3.

TOM O'TOOLE

With IMF sniping at site value tax, the choice is simple:

Labour governments in the 1960s. Throughout those years the financial whiz-kid was Edward Phillip George Seaga.

Between 1962 and 1967, Mr. Seaga was the Minister of Development; in the years up to 1972 he was Minister of Finance and Planning.
On October 30, 1980, the Labour

Party returned from the political wilderness with a record share of the votes, and Mr. Seaga was Prime Minister. In one of his first speeches, he looked back on those years.

Throughout the 1960s, growth was

Throughout the 1960s, growth was generated every year. Foreign exchange reserves were increased every year. Budgetary programmes

Double indemnity — o

JAMAICA

were financed without recourse to heavy borrowing or the "printing" of money – and inflation was controlled at single digit figures every year.

By way of contrast, under Michael

By way of contrast, under Michael Manley's socialist government the Jamaican economy suffered from

negative growth every year; runaway inflation induced social tensions that led to open warfare between political factions; and the country fell heavily into debt – with Manley finally falling out with the IMF because he opposed their "good housekeeping" principles.



Seaga, then, can be justifiably proud about his early record. But there was one blemish on those first years in politics. He admits: "We did not succeed in reducing incompleyment." unemployment.

independent employment. The solution to this mystery yields policies that need to be applied today. from capitalism vented a government Something person enlightened social consciousness providing with the freedom to s was missing associated every able-bodied which its efficient with secure an

HE APPARENT paradox of the 1960s can be explained by the failure to ensure that the land market worked efficiently.

Labour Government, and a willing workforce, many people who could have contributed to an increase in the despite to requirements. nation's output were rendered surplus Labour Government, Entrepreneurs capital the budgetary efforts of restricted from investing to secure a profit. were certainly not the

The only satisfactory explanation is to be found in the way that land was held unused or under-used both by the large estate owners and small farmers. Vacant urban land was monopolised for speculative purposes, thereby increasing the costs of accommodation and

urban renewal.

To Mr. Seaga's credit, however, he was instrumental in advancing work on the foundations of a new fiscal policy: land value taxation. The Manley's laure, 1950s, but it took was provided for the programme of land valuation on which it rested Seaga to ensure that the bureaucratic framework and technical expertise reform originally 오, 's father, Norman, conceived the property tax was the bу push from Michael 5 the

voted Trade Union, the largest union in the English-speaking Caribbean.

Michael Manley acquired power in 1974, affiliated to the Bustamante Industrial finally defeated the party which was programme 200 the Labour Government was out of office. before could the be completed in Unemployment valuation

are Incolongues applied in fiscal policy were applied in manual. There were manual fitters of the second of the second se

ment continued to mount. 1972. But his government's socialism made matters worse, and unemploy-

the magician's hat - the results which produce - like a rabbit pulled out of economic policy. Within a hostile environment, therefore, it could not purely as a revenue raiser, rather than Land value taxation was regarded vital cornerstone Within of macro-

over the Jamaica.

the

economic

destiny

9

He holds

two crucial ministerial

Pictured left: O. St. Clare Risden

portfolios - those of Mining and of

75% ascount

programme started in 1956, it was acknowledged that there were serious deficiencies in the structure and performance of Jamaica's vital agricultural sector. Output was declining, while—

Land was badly distributed: in 1954 over 87 per cent of the acres.

Small farmers were acknowledged to be "the most inefficient," indicating the need to consolidate farmland into larger units.

Efficient farmers found that they could not acquire the extra land they needed, because prices — thanks to the non-commercial advantages of owning land — were prohibitively high. This, then, thwarted the ambitions of efficient farmers.

Farmers were short of resources to improve their productivity, because

capital improve their productivity, was locked up in of land. SEW 3

ownership of land.³

The absense of a tax on land values encouraged the inefficient use of the



8 Percival Broderick

scarcest of all resources - Is Edwards noted in his study land. at the

time:
"Many of the farmers were concerned to increase the area of land they
ned to increase the area of land they owned, even though appreciable proportions of the land they already had were not cultivated. Purchase of land became easier when income increased, but to the extent that land was bought the investment in faming suffered."

The Rural

Sector

acres to others.
This wo ments in farm encourage owners A heavy tax on the annual value of farmland would have dealt with these related problems. Land that was insupportable inefficiently farmed - or not used at portable fiscal burden; this, would have induced improves in farm techniques, or rage owners to release their fiscal have become

This would have been accomplished without the need for a state agency to intervene and buy the land off farmers – with money that was in short supply – in order to reallocate it to others.

In the event, however, farmers were able to obtain a 75 per cent tax "discount" – ie., they became liable for 25 per cent of the assessed tax.

And Michael Manley's socialist to overnment cheer the second.

government chose the monopolist's method of redistributing land. In what was called the Second Integrated Rural Development Project, farmers were encouraged to agree to sell land to the government, so that it could be

redistributed to those in need.

By 1980, however, this approach was an acknowledged fallure: "many of the farmers who signed up to sell their land have now decided not to sell." And output was still below optimum levels, for example among citrus growers. One reason was the "general neglect of many orchards due to absentee ownership."

Since 1978, agriculture has been contributing a declining proportion to gross domestic product. The lesson for the Minister of Agriculture, Dr.

for the Minister of Agriculture, Dr. Percival Broderick, ought by now to be clear: the need to quickly eliminate the land tax relief to farmers, in the confident expectation that everyone—including farmers—will ultimately benefit from the improved use of land.

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at the pinnacle of a structure that gives him unquestioned authority pressure of rural hunger and urban and rural sectors). So the social and economic edifice crumbled under the reasons (see the analysis of the urban several a conmaximum profits and employment opportunities, provided corrections effectively reason the Commissioner of Valuations, Mr. which the land tax is administered are made to the defects in the way in locational resources Edwin Tulloch-Reid. There is now no been created on which is represented Finance. why A new Revenue - minerals, soil fertility and attributes harness Jamaica rness her ō Board has canno natura

management is N Risden. He is Mr. ! Secretary at the N A man with a crucial role to play in ture fiscal reforms and resource at the Ministry of Mining reforms is Mr. Seaga's Permanent 0 St. Clare

JULY-AUGUST, 1982

and Energy. He previously spent 21 years in the Land Valuation Office. During his years as Commissioner of Valuations he worked more enthusiastically than anyone to set up the system of taxation on unimproved land values, and he has acquired international recognition as an authority on the policy.

Last month his former colleagues in the Land Valuation Office began the revaluation of 560,000 parcels of land covering 4,400 sq. miles. Revaluation will be completed by early next year. Although Mr. Risden is no longer involved, he retains a close personal interest in the programme.

AMAICA'S conservative and socialist parties have not differed substantially over property tax issues.

Said Mr. Risden: "Mr. Seaga's policies might sound different to the policies enunciated by the Manley regime, but so far as the property tax is concerned I don't think there is serious controversy on the logic of the site value system of taxation.

'Easier to administer and it produces the same yield'

"In my time as Commissioner of Valuations I was able to convince both sides of the fence that the site value tax was easier to administer and that it produces the same yield with half the sweat of the next best thing."

Costs of administration, he explained, were crucial in a country where 70 cents in every dollar were spent on the civil service. "It's horrendous. One wouldn't want to increase this burden," declared Mr. Risden.

In the past 10 years, there have been demands for a return to a tax on capital improvements. Mr. Risden has successfully fought them off. "I have tried to show that here, where land is \$20 a sq. ft., high land values go hand in hand with the capital investment. The value is in the potential for improvement, and you don't have to value the bricks and mortar on individual sites to come up with the residual that shows \$20.25 a sq. ft."

The real problem has been the way in which half of the potential exchequer revenue has been lost through reliefs and exemptions.

The land value tax raised \$25m in 1981, about 3 per cent of gross government revenue. This was a considerable improvement on the proportion raised in 1959 (0.5 per cent), when the gradual change to a site value tax began.

Even so, without the exemptions, the value of land could raise \$50m, and thereby enable the government to reduce taxes on wages and salaries. The implications for increased consumption and an expanded market for domestic manufacturers do not need stating.

The macro-economic impact of the site value tax, then, as Mr. Risden puts it, "has been rather severely blunted." Is there any justification for tax relief? Mr. Risden is sceptical.

The relief to farmers was granted for reasons that ranged from the risks to agriculture in tropical countries (for example, the threat from hurricanes), to the difficulties with labour and technology. But, declared Mr. Risden: "If the price mechanism works, all of these factors would have already been discounted in the price for traded agricultural land.

"A prudent buyer would have discounted these things in his mind, so in effect to give him 75 per cent tax relief on top of that is a measure of double counting."

ironically, this double indemnity on the price of agricultural land has been used as a weapon against land value taxation by the International Monetary Fund, which on a number of occasions has urged Jamaica to switch to a tax that fell on improvements as well as land.

This heavy pressure from Washington was disclosed to me by Mr. Tulloch-Reid.

"Their first recommendation was made in 1976. They said that the site value system didn't have the buoyancy that they expected; i.e., when there was increased development, there wasn't increased revenue—so they said.

"But this was a period that was

"But this was a period that was characterised by a lot of uncertainty in Jamaica. There was a general resistance to pay any tax. We couldn't even afford the jeeps to go and make the new assessments of land values. So we sat around and had a good talk with representatives from the IMF."

Jamaica was in the throes of economic turbulence every bit as harrowing as a Caribbean hurricane. The Prime Minister, Michael Manley was deeply engaged in a running row with the Washington moneylenders, and the land tax system fell under threat.

Fortunately, the pressures were esisted.

But one good thing did emerge from the 1976 talks. Mr. Risden was asked to produce a report, which was published by the Land Valuation Office as Property Taxation in Jamaica: An Analysis of Alternative

LAND VALUE taxation is a fiscal policy that is most effective when associated with the economics of the free market. Its advocates contend that the optimum allocation of resources can occur only when there is a fully competitive market that is not distorted by controls.

Michael Manley linked his introduction of land taxation in the 1970s with a belief in the need for planning. The unsatisfactory results are illustrated in the urban centres of Jamaica.

Valuers are obliged by law to assess land on the basis of "highest and best use." Yet there are considerable opportunities for de-reting: Hotels, for example, enjoy a 25 per cent discount on their tax obligations. And under the provisions of the Land Taxation (Relief) Act 1960, people can submit evidence of "hardship" to secure exemption from full tax payments.

Mr. St. Clare Risden has cited an example: a fisherman's lot next door to a luxury hotel. There may be no dispute about the value of the land, but if the fisherman does not enjoy an income that enables him to meet the tax, he can avoid having to sell by appealing for relief.

IF A HIGH ad valorem tax on land is imposed, the market will compel reallocation to users who are capable of deploying the sites to their best advantage.

advantage.

In Jamaica, however, the logic of this interaction has been limited by a combination of low tax rates and socialist concepts.

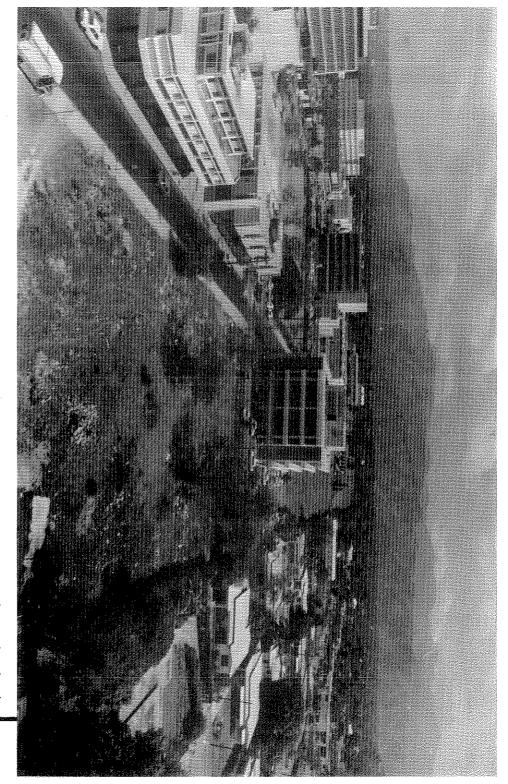
• Many sites have been kept vacant, a fact which cannot be excused entirely by the political uncertainties of the 1970s.²

In 1977, for example, the owners of the British-American Building in Kingston paid a tax of \$78,971,25 on the unimproved value of their land (111,000 sq. ft.). This represented 6.66 per cent of the assessed value, a rate which was insufficient to deter the owners from keeping 40,000 sq. ft. in a vacant state, 3

Strategies for the Period 1977 to the Decade of the 1980s. This is a remarkably clear comparative analysis, thoroughly documented, which deployed a logic that successfully exposed myths such as the one advanced by the IMF.

As Mr. Tulloch-Reid pointed out:

As Mr. 1 ulloch-keid pointed out: land values are a buoyant source of exchequer revenue in the context of a



example. As a result, poorly-housed families are not likely to be able to upgrade their accommodation as fast as they would like. For rent controls deter an expansion of this sector of the housing market. Indeed, they probably reduced investment in new accommodation to let. 4 prevent the collective population from fine The free market has been encum уd ಬ set finding 약 policies which their

The Urban Sector

(above). The processeen in the distance. The processes in the distance. The processes was taken in March from the top of the ICWI Building on the corner of St. Lucia Ave. and Trinidad Road, in New Kingston, where many of the large Kingston, where morfice blocks are policies are illustra from Mr. Risden's located. shortcomings illustrated by the Risden's office w Ξ. window official

The vacant site in the foreground is owned by Iris Nembhard. When the site was valued in 1974, a market price of \$404,000 was put on the 50,522 sq. ft. The annual tax on the 50,522 sq. ft. The annual tax on the land is \$26,253.75, which is 6.5 per

> evidently not a penal tax rate. of the unimproved value:

Planning controls further distort the land market. Land on the right of the photograph is zoned for residential use, and values are about \$2 a sq. commercial use, and is currently worth about \$20 a sq. ft. (\$8 in 1974). "All by the stroke of the town planner's pen," said Mr. Risden.

Mr. Risden does not attribute the planner' ft. This land is divided from the vacant site by a bush-shrouded wall: to the 1974).

under-use of land entirely to deficiencies in the implementation of the land tax. Gazing down at the eyesore site from his office, he declared: "Which developer is going to put \$2m on that site? They have migrated to Miami and Vancouver. You can induce people, but nobody is going to take up the investment possibilities if he is called a dirty stinking capitalist. In this case, there were no US\$ with which to buy construction materials in the last few years, so the owner couldn't build."

in short supply. Manley years are now behind Jamaica, but the economic future is no less tough: the U.S. dollars are still Maniey The political uncertainties anley years are now behind of the

If eight years of land value taxation

aim the minimum constraint on the creative ambitions of people in their roles as producers of wealth and consumers who freely exercise their one claims this fiscal policy is a panacea. It has to be employed as part of a set of consistent free market policies that have as their over-riding preferences. island economy, this is because not wrought wonders for the no

the urban sector of Jamaica. Government to institute review of land and related policies eferences.
It would evidently repay the Seaga
It would institute a radical

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growing economy in which land is

regularly revalued

thing?" was the IMF to return with new proposals into use, Tax officials in Jamaica now expect a change serious about a change in their property tax. I told that "They say that If you widows and how can you give exemp forcing idle land that kind of

> assistance to special groups if necessary. Such assistance need not application rather, count against Such arguments, however, do not they of, favour the land value taxation; special the policy, groups consistent with

ought not correctly argued that agricultural land be at the expense of the community.

The IMF's "theoreticians" have to receive 75 per

> need land tax. other subsidies which eliminated the pointed out, farmers benefitted from discounts. for special concessions on the Why? Because, they

capital being carried out of the country by the middle classes who argument with the claim that, were Jamaica's being scared officials off countered this Manley's with

socialism, there was a desperate need to protect employment in the rural sector.

One can sympathise with the problem of "surplus" labour, but the flight-of-capital argument did not apply in the early 1970s when the tax concessions were originally granted.

The concessions were any event, as Mr. Tulloch-Reid

In any event, as Mr. Tulloch-Reid readily pointed out, the tax relief was principally designed to help the big agricultural estates; and these tend to employ far fewer people than the more intensively-farmed small units.

So looking at it from the point of view of employment prospects, it would have paid to *increase* the tax on the large land monopolists. For job opportunities are expanded when speculation and unrealistically high prices are destroyed by an effective land value tax. Jamaica, by failing to weigh all the prospects in the balance, missed a historical opportunity.

HE 1970s were Jamaica's lost decade. The future, however, appears to be a happier one.

Government officials are

Government officials are enlightened about the workings of the land tax and the opportunities that it presents. Said Mr. Tulloch-Reid:
"There is a historical reason why

"There is a historical reason why we are not getting the proper revenue from property: it never assumed any significance, until 1972. If you were doing an appraisal for a foreign investor, you wouldn't take the property tax into account."

At present, the tax rate averages 2-2½ per cent of assessed values. "We need a gradual build up in the rate structure," said Mr. Tulloch-Reid. "A carefully designed rate structure could move revenue from \$25m to \$40m. Over a five-year period this could move to \$50m, assuming the present rate of growth. If you can maintain growth, you can say to John Brown that he ought to pay more land tax. It is the big leap in taxes that is disruptive, and there's a tendency for government to leap."

of poverty. full employment and the eradication countries that are similarly seeking emulated it succeeds, it will be provided movement is in the right direction. Jamaica now has a second chance to shift its course radically. If leaps δ many are not Third envied important, World

BILL BLAND

WE REGRET to report the death of William Edward Bland. He died on June 18, at the age of 88.

Wr. Bland was a life-long campaigner for tax reform. He became a member of the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values in December 1934.

An obituary will appear in our next issue.

AUSTRALIA: 1

: need for vigilance

successful. such hostile efforts could be all too vigilance of land-value tax of the world where at least some part of the land value is collected for local the tax with the aim of sweeping it off pared to denigrate and misrepresent powerful interests who, either through or national revenues, there are always common. For in those fortunate parts value taxation must have much in ignorance F THE PRICE of liberty is eternal vigilance, then liberty and land statute or self-interest, book. Without аге devotees, pre-

The latest area where those aware of the benefits of land-value taxation are having to marshal their resources against attempts to sabotage it is Western Australia.

The municipalities of Western Australia, in common with those of all other Australian states, have long enjoyed a freedom quite unknown in Britain – the freedom to raise their revenues by site-value rating (SV) if their ratepayers so wish. At present, Western Australia lags a little behind New South Wales and Queensland in

that some of its municipalities continue to raise some revenues by taxing buildings and other improvement (rating on Annual Value [AV]). The full picture in Australia, according to the most recent records, is shown in the table.

The threat in Western Australia has arisen from the recommendations

has arisen from the recommendations of a five-man committee led by Mr. J. A. McCusker, whose report was sub-

BY BERT BROOKES

mitted to the state Premier in April 1981. The committees were called upon to identify and suggest remedies for any anomalies or inequities which might be arising from land-value assessments in times of advancing land values, especially those of small businesses, farms and large residential properties close to developing urban areas.

They were also to consider any problems which seemed to them to

Totals	New South Wales Queensland Western Australia South Australia Victoria Tasmania Aust. Capt. Territory Northern Territory		
491	214 131 43 38 62 	Number of Au	,
83		Number of Australian councils according to rating system used Site value Part SV Annual Valuonly Part AV only	
309	13 98 149 49	ls according to ed Annual Value only	

Note: The 43 councils in Western Australia using SV are, generally, the larger ones, containing 257,000 private dwellings. The 83 councils with mixed systems and the 13 using AV base only, contain 178,000 dwellings.



Land Rent As Public Revenue in Australia BY ALLAN R. HUTCHINSON



 a quantitative evaluation of potential exchequer revenue to be derived from land value taxation

Price (includes p & p): UK – £3.50; US – \$8.50; Australia – \$7.50; Canada – \$9; from Land & Liberty Press, 177 Vauxhall Bridge Road, London SW1, England

intervals between re-valuations. revaluation from the procedure current and cyclical the

virtually invite the committee to take the hint – to accept that the suggested anomalies raphy do not in the suggested anomalies really do exist and then to recommend "remedies" which, since system, often create more anomalies the committee have not made a comthan they solve. prehensive Narrow terms of reference such as enquiry into the whole

action. group of Western Australia went into Priddle and B. Newsham. were made by THILE Submissions to the committee Allan THE Ö Messrs S. Harris, enquiry Andrew Graham was

Despite these efforts, their apprehensions about the committee and its inhibiting terms of reference conclusions. These were that: were realised when they saw its main

Wherever it is possible to assess

should be charged at cost to the recipients of the benefits of these rendered costs, ģ specific rating authorities services

services.

needed Value [CV] is the combined value of the land and its fixed improveequivalent, namely site value, for ımproved generalised Where ments. unumproved valuation base should be used. The should be capital rating 5 meet properties services, properties. contributions costs only 으 and value (Capital more one are ĮŌ.

should that the target of annual re-valuations within a reasonable period. The committee also recommended be adopted and achieved

and drainage. Charges for these would be shifted from land owners as such and placed upon the tenants and according to the value given to their sites by the availability of such esseninstances, the property can recease to be payable by land owners owner-occupier users of the service. tial public services as water, sewerage mendations main effect S. that, in very of these recom many

improvements they made; the better largely according to the value of the Australian ratepayers would be taxed built, would mean that all Western second recommendation, the more they would 9

Amazingly, the McCusker C mittee based its advocacy of the base partly on the conclusions of the Layfield Committee Com which CV

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time to tax rural land



RICHARD CLARKE

50 C S ည ၁ . ≥

CLLR. Richard Clarke of Gloucester County Council is not too popular at present with the landowners who sit with him on this British council's Policy and Resources Committee.

After a motion that he moved in the committee last April, he was reminded that landowners usually kept guns on their premises — the implication being that one or two might just be pointed in his direction! For good measure, he has also been threatened to he re-elected to the council expected 8 9 re-elected to

He treats it all light-heartedly, convinced that tongues were firmly in cheeks when the "threats" were made. At least, he hopes so...

The harsh words in the committee arose because Mr. Clarke has been

arose because with control and buildings from the ogricultural land and buildings from the local property tax which took place in the 1920s.

At the time, agriculture was in the doldrums, with farmland selling at a rock-bottom £20 an acre. But since those depressed years, the average price of agricultural land has bounced up again and, since the 1940s, has taken off in a big way. By 1981, Councillor Clarke told the committee, it had zoomed to a mind-boggling f1850 an acre. Agricultural rents £1850 an acre. Agricultural rewere also buoyant with regular powers also buoyant with regular powers remain de-rated does agriculture remain de-rated also gobbles up the biggest I subsidy of any industry in Britain. de-rated regular

> out, had estimated that the of agriculture would ad distributed fairly. The Society Metropolitan Treasurers, he point Clarke, must not be tinue. When local to £200m to the state burden of rates should be country's rateable taxation affairs, allowed add said S re-rating pointed ទ con-

part of the rates that fell on land, he asserted, would become a reduction He refuted any idea that re-rating ould bear heavily on farmers. That rent, and thus not affect the

overall costs of the industry.

But Mr. Clarke made it clear to the committee that he regarded the rerating of agriculture as only a rates on agricultural buildings, he said, would prejudice farm development, just as it already hindered development in all other industries. rating. adopt the system known as site-value development in all other industries.
The answer to this was to levy rates
only on unimproved land values – to temporary measure to get round the current problem of rates. Levying Levying lings, he

늄 roundly criticised the govern-Paper

ment's recent Green Paper, Alternatives to the Rates for failing to mention site-value rating while giving space to wild ideas such as a Poll Tax which could hardly be taken seriously. The value of land, he said, was the ideal basis for raising local revenue. The value of land was due to the services provided by the community in the form of roads, water supply, schools, hospitals etc. That value increased as the local population expanded and the services became more generally available. The revenue from such a rate would thus rise in step with need for more services, so reducing the need for grants from the central covernment.

central government.

Mr. Clarke claimed that site-value rating complied totally with the criteria for a local taxation system set out in the Green Paper. It was practicable. It was fair. It was cheap to collect. By its very nature it was most suitable for financing local government. Yet it had one additional attribute that made it virtually unique; it was evasion-proof. You cannot, he said, take your land to the Baharnas.

five landowning councillors who, under the rules, had voted after disclosing their interest. But it is safe to assume that Gloucester County Council have not heard the last of site-value rating, always provided that Mr. Clarke remains a member of the council have remains a member of the council and that Mr. Clarke remains a member of the council area. of fire. The motion was narrowly defeated, the vital votes against it being cast by the council - and keeps out of the line

Paul Knight

these mitted to the state authorities. comprehensive critique of the whole McCusker Report, which they subthey returned to the charge with Western Australian land-taxers At all ð ill-informed recommendations be countered. events, Report, which they subit was clear to the Accordingly,

In the first place, they pointed out, ne CV basis recommended by

basis had pract would need many years to acquire all the information they required to larger would be costly to introduce and costly to maintain. Even with a much suffered from a major disadvantage – its cost. With the additional records properties were valued as they stood with no hypothetical assumptions and data that would be required, it having to be made by the assessors, it rejected. committee exhaustively by an earlier Australian McCusker 1975, and had been decisi ected. The Keall Committee staff, the valuation authorities - the Keall Committee practical had although the they been decisively merit in required to considered that had CV

would not rectify them since fluctua-tions in the price of land directly affected capital values – as, additionally, did changes in building operate it efficiently.

In addition, said the Keall Committee, the CV base was open to the same criticism as the AV base in that system, a change to the CV basis anomalies arose under the site-value They warned, also, would discourage development that whatever

would bitterly oppose being rated or taxed according to the value of their own improvements to their properties as would happen under the CV not discourage development. Most ratepayers, they asserted, were ready to pay their share of rates if these system. to their sites. But the same people utilities and amenities made available were assessed according to the value given to their properties by the public importance of a rating system that did taxers would happen their memorandum, the landemphasised the paramount

whole idea of looking to Britain as a footsteps of the British Layfield Com-RITICISING claim to be following in the the McCusker

6 6

BECAUSE of the way in which Denmark has been ruled for decades, the government is always in severe need of increased revenue. The more money it takes through income taxation, the more people need public assistance; but this can only be financed through further taxation, and so on. For this process the processor that the processor the processor the processor that the processor the processor that the processor the processor that the pro

reason, the government got the idea to targets for taxation.

Last autumn the government got the idea to tax the interest earned by all kinds of funds, including pension funds. The money was

Radical ine-up ひりりいさい さらく

THE PROSPECTS for a change to land value taxation in the Dominican Republic were increased by the elections in May, writes lan Barron.

With unemployment running at over 30 per

cent, the voters elected a radical, Jorge Blanco, as their new president.

The out-going president, Antonio Guzman, had indicated sympathetic support for a tax on the Caribbean island's land values. But he was not expected to make fast progress towards fiscal reform, according to local land tax campaigners: Mr. Blanco, however, is expected to explore the possibilities of fiscal reform more forcibly.

A conference on land value taxation was held in Santo Domingo, the capital, last year. It was jointly organised by two U.S. organisations, the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, from Cambridge, Mass., and the Henry George School of New York.

Mr. Philip Finkelstein, Director of the Henry George School, said after the elections: "I have no reason to believe that Mr. Blanco will oppose us. He is favourably disposed

Parliament for authority to adopt it. The fact that a British committee had advocated the CV basis for domestic property, while retaining the AV basis for everything else, did not detract Australia where site-value rating was value rating to both. from the proven superiority of site in common use, Britain had no practical experience of the system at source Scotland had, over the years, pressed authorities in England, Wales and all, even though several hundred local 9 guidance on rating

experience (only three re-valuations since 1945) demonstrated " the path to annual revaluations (as an aid "to avoiding anomalies) thev impossibility should change to CV rating would smooth Finally, said the land-taxers, if the McCusker Committee hoped that a again. completing British

DENMARK

wanted to "create" work for unemployed young people, and to support the rising number of farmers who were forced to sell up because of ever-increasing production

because of ever-increasing production expenses and high interest rates.

Prime Minister Anker Jørgensen, however, found it too difficult to get legislative support, so he issued writs for an election. Parts of the Bill would have created more equality between



Philip Finkelstein

towards land value taxation. But he can't be taken for granted."

One of the politicians at last year's conference was Jose Francisco Pena Gomez, who at the time was a member of the Chamber of Deputies. He is chairman of the Latin national. American section of the Socialist Inter-

Gomez spoke in favour of a change to a property tax based on unimproved land values. He was elected Mayor of Santo Domingo in the elections. The possibility of a is now being explored. pilot study of land value taxation in the capital

"The outcome of the election favourable to us," declared Mr. Fil New York, Finkelstein

◆ Although a leftwinger, Mr. Blanco, a 56-year-old lawyer, has said that he will work for closer ties with the U.S. Despite assurances that he will hesitate over establishing links with Cuba, some observers fear that the military may stage a coup before Mr. Blanco takes over the President's office on August 16.

future. the re-valuation cycle was being cut site values only were valued. In New South Wales, by contrast, where the valuation of improvements had been dropped and where and other improvements had to come down to two years in the near to three years and would probably valuations quickly when won buildings assessed, where

state, given to land by the level of services available to it. state. The proper base for rates was clearly the site value of land, the value the AV basis by some councils in the to be due to the use still being made of the land-taxers, was against any move away from site-value rating. The wide popularity of this form of rating in in Western Australia were more likely concerned. choice of the councils or ratepayers Australia The overwhelming The anomalies that arose reflected the evidence, deliberate said

Protessor I.P. Skou reports



taxpayers under the existing laws, so if the government had been more flexible it would have come through with the main part of it.

Most people thought that the real reason for the election was that Mr. Jørgensen was fired of governing. Today, he is still Prime Minister and the problems are much worse than they were before. The election, after all, was an unnecessary one.

respectively. The election caused no change in that, but marked change took place within both groups. This may be seen in the table, which gives the number of seats for each party before and after the election. BEFORE 11011-SO non-socialists THE election had 85 socialists and 90 s s and seats,

It is not easy to rule Denmark. The reason is not so much the large number of parties as it is the competition between them within the two groups, and because nobody wishes to coperate with the left-wing socialists and the

and the Christian Folkparty, from the non-socialist side, which between them had 21 seats. Now the government relies on Social-Liberals and Folksocialists (30 seats). This is somewhat surprising because the Folksocialists are against the Common right-wing Progress Party.

Before the election, the Social Democratic government based its existence on support from the Social-Liberals, Centrum Democrats

ment have moved to the left. Furthermore, the Social-Liberals have been in the centre of Danish politics for a large part of this century because they have made it their style to create compromises whenever possible; though they are non-socialists, they normally keep to the Socialdemocrates as this party always gives them the best chance for power. They have never been more powerful than they are in the present Parliament, even though they have only nine seats common opinion is that the govern-

would produce a comfortable majority for land taxation. This is not a reality, however. The Social-Liberals have repeatedly opposed all proposals on the issue, and the socialists do not wish to differentiate between land taxation and a tax on buildings and other objects. Therefore, the reality is – and has always been – that only MPs from the bustice Party want progress for land taxation and a corresponding reduction in income tax. The Social-Liberals have land taxation on their programme like the Justice Party, and the socialist parties also wish to tax the land. If all their seats were counted together, this all their seats were counted together, this

T is impossible to give all the reasons why the Justice Party lost their five seats, but in my opinion important reasons bay outside the party and its activity, and are to be a considered the party and its activity. the competition

influence each other, but in this case they were held so close together that I have no doubt that the result of the local election did have an influence. all of its representation position osition in the counties. Less than a month efore the Parliamentary election it lost nearly The Justice Party has always had a weak at the municipal elec wo elections do no







Alfred Hansen





Ole Flygaard Niels Mølgaard

were handicapped by ax candidates who Four of the Single recession debate

was a sudden change after the "party leader round" on TV. A week before the Parliamentary election, the Gallup poll predicted that the Justice Party would get four or five seats, and that the Conservative and Folksocialists would win the election. Two days before the election there

Jacobsen (Centrum Democrate) played the greatest roles. The former offered Christmas gifts to all without explaining where the money would come from. The latter offered no promises: his contemptuous refusal to discuss the relief of unemployment cast him in the role Gert Petersen (Folksocialist) and Erhard

of the honest Dane.

Facing this play, the other political leaders appeared novices, no matter how serious their speeches were. Ib Christensen (Justice Party) was very objective and he clarified what we would do in the present situation. At the same time he was perhaps the most boring to listen to, and this counts. The results clearly appear in the table. We had votes for three seats, but they were below the two per cent required for

|--|

MANY PEOPLE voted for the Folk-socialists instead of the Justice Party. There are two reasons why this is not surpris-

The Justice Party has tried to mobilise the existing majority for land taxation, but nearly all of its members omitted to clarify the all of its members of the excisions condistance between them and the socialists concerning the taxation of buildings and other man-made objects. Furthermore, like the Justice Party, Folksocialists are also against the Common Market. Therefore, it was so Folksocialists. much easier to change over and vote for the

people co initiatives Another factor has we account. The depression stopped the increase in land values, and in some areas even caused them to decrease. Under these conditions initiatives in this field. The party made the mistake of talking about taxation of ever-increasing land values and said very little about how land taxation would be effective in periods of depression. to decrease, le could not importance

other reasonable parts of the political programme could not offset this handicap. I seriously hope that the party will learn the Only a few of the candidates were able to handle the political debate concerning land taxation in the present depression. All the other reasonable parts of the political Parliament and so manage to get back into political

£70m bonanza

Cont. from P.67

made available so that developers have a real incentive to develop abandoned city sites," he said.

And Harry Greenway, MP for grants. Why the discrimination between local authorities and the private sector? "Cheap money must be

price is nearly always miles beyond the price that would be reached at an auction . . . I urge the Government to consider a radical approach to the Ğ disposal of land ... let it go to And Harry Greenway, MP for North Ealing, pressed home the demand for an auction. "The valuer's auc-

The Opposition sup it Dr. David Clark, supported the Bill

but Dr. David Clark, speaking from Labour's front-bench, warned that there were dangers in giving private developers access to dereite land.

Private firms, argued the Shadow environment spokesman, were only interested in reclaiming land that yielded a high value – from industrial or housing development. They were not interested in the need for recreation fanc interested in the need for recreation

Reading Michael £70m offer. Only WILU days after the debate with an unopposed Second

- Environment Secretary

Heseltine was busily selling his which

Speaking in Liverpool, he described land development schemes

"Every time we see this land put

landscape sites to in equal of anything to be New Towns. We ar time, people to come back." better ₩e r environment ... for Liverpool will be able cape sites to industria see jobs, rateable industrialists the be found in the encouraging value to offer

promise profit-maximising decisions is not a consistent capitalist.

It may be felt that, in a free market society, there should be room for non-material considerations to influence behaviour. But in that case, we need to know how to measure the case, we need to know value of those sentiments.

Who should do the measuring? And under what circumstances can they justifiably override the collective interests of society or the wealth of any one individual?

These are the kinds of questions provoked by Land and Heritage. published by the London-based Institute of Economic Affairs which, in the past two decades, has done a remarkable job of reviving political and coholarly interest in the geographic of the free market. remarkable job of reviving political and scholarly interest in the economics of the free

disappointment. For will disappointment. For will disappointment. For will disappointment. Barry Bracewell-Milnes, claims to be developing a welfare theory of ownership, he merely monduces a weak apology for the monduces. Which. Hobart is why y the publication of Paper is such a nt. For while the

from ownership as well as consump-

calls "subjective illiquidity" – a fancy term for that range of sentiments that arise from an association with some asset.

And the value of these sentiments, says To own a tract of land is to create what he is "subjective illiquidity" — a fancy term for

Bracewell-Milnes, raises the total value of an

asset above its market price.

So, if my family has owned an estate for five generations, it seems that I will treasure it and place a value on it far above its market value, the price that a stranger would be willing to pay for it.

Of land, the author says: "There is no other major category of asset that possesses in similar degree the quality of increasing in value through continuity of ownership."

Ownership – stressed by the use of alternative terms such as proprietary wealth – is the crucial consideration in the creation of this "subjective illiquidity." Well, no; not exactly. For it seems that a fifth generation tenant farmer can also acquire "enhancing illimidit..."

tor a tract of land farmer can also acquire "subjective illiquidity"

generate "subjective unquanty.

Milnes gives the game away when he qualifies his ownership thesis in these terms:

"The same characteristics of land that make it a personal asset to Indeed, we we find that a community can also "subjective illiquidity." Bracewell-

owner and the others a deeper internal the owner also make its use and treatment interesting to others - tenants, neighbours and the local community in general. Both the attachment as time goes by. others acquire a t and a closer

Ownership, therefore, is *not* a precondition for the creation of those sentiments which may affect people's judgments in the market place.

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Milton Friedman and F. A. Hayek • Barry Bracewell-Milnes. Onlookers - portraits of free enterprise economists

n sentiments, profits new theory of ownership <u>თ</u> ე Ω

Possession and use are the critical considerations; the secure right to hold and nurture, to tend the land and enjoy the bequests of nature. By his own admission, then, the author's defence of freehold tenure per se is a spurious one. There is little value in this claim: "Land is not only a personal asset ... it is also proprietary wealth, in the sense of being worth more to society when owned by private the personal asset ... persons than by the state or its agencies."

For provided we can devise a system whereby there is no common of the common of the

whereby there is no separation of user from the soil, it does not matter who owns the land.

Bracewell-Mines attacks the ownership of the soil of the

land by the big institutions, such insurance and pension funds, and government through nationalisation.

BY P. E. POOLE

might fails to meet considersider a third alternative, which his demand for a personalised

association with assets such as land.

Can a benign framework be created which
unlike socialist collectivisation – does not
impersonalise land use? A system which, at
the same time, establishes an economically
efficient approach to maximising the material
benefits for one and all?

American economist had an almost violent aversion to the concept as it is employed by socialists), and he wrongly asserts that George's principle of site value taxation had been refuted by authors like Edwin Seligman.³ There is such a system: the one defined by Henry George. Bracewell-Milnes admits that he did less than justice to the Georgist thesis in his paper. Indeed, he misrepresents George's attitude towards "nationalisation" (the

HENRY GEORGE argued that the community should receive the economic benefits of land, but that the free market (not state functionaries) should be the mechanism for both establishing values and the allocation of land.

Within this framework, individuals would continue to enjoy secure possession (for as long as they were willing to pay the economic rent in the form of a tax to the national exchequer, rather than the same sum as rent to freehold landlords); and they could therefore develop their "subjective illiquidity" without let or hindrance, to their hearts' content.

There would be no despotic State or impersonal institution to interfere with their possession or

Under the present regime, however, land-owners retard the sum total of material wealth in the pursuit of their "subjective illiquidities" (e.g., the hundreds of thousands of sporting acres in Scotland that are kept idle so that tenth generation lordships might induge in the occasional grouse shoot).

Under the Bracewell-Milnes scheme of

greatest monopolised. we have when rather those acres than acres " ept that wealth is tres are privately a divided up into alternative

Middleton, the President of the Country Landowners Association, who declared that Landowners can be relied upon to conserve the country sea. But, as we have seen, the country state of the country serve the country state. tenant farms under some alt institutional arrangement.

The arrogance of those who overership was recently illustrated in the contract of the and use of land sufficient condition was recently the Pract by Lord Country defend

Bracewell-Milnes admits that his system inhibits the free market – "but in a good cause." Whose good cause? Not the welfare of each and every individual in society, that is for

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 Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson UP. 1979, Ch. 19.

BRAVO B

Robert Jenkins, *Tony Benn: A Political Biography,* Writers and Readers Publishing Co-operative, £6.95, 293 pages.

"I am an unrepentent believer in free enterprise. I have falled to discover, in a long and diligent search, any material benefit which has ever reached mankind except through the agony of individual enterprise. I therefore regard the whole movement for creating wealth through political agencies as a snare and a delusion"

- Ernest John Pickston Benn, 1925

is a radical non-conformist politician, now ex-minister of a former Labour Government. His biographer, Robert Jenkins, is a Conservative Catholic accountant, a merchant banker and supporter, presumably, of the present British Government.

attract has any value, the opposition of subject and biographer would the career of a latter day Gracchi present populist aristocrat who has the political foundation of the Benn seem to be confirmed in the present a non-conformist conscience into been driven by noblese oblige the precept that saga, This is a fascinating and researched analysis culminating opposites Ξ and of

The career of Anthony Wedgwood Benn is a classic example – if the matters drawn to our attention by Mr. Jenkins can be taken at their face value – of the Lysenkian theory that environment is more important than heredity.

Sprung from the loins of liberal popular radical and patriotic British non-conformist stock, Anthony Wedgwood Benn represents a drastic falling away from the essence of radical politics.

While he may plaintively cry for an explanation for the co-existence of wealth and poverty, his uncle, in one paragraph, explains the delusion of all those who seek a state socialist answer to the injustices of the world.

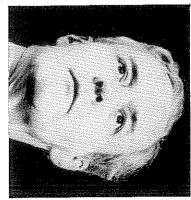
More importantly, as Mr. Jenkins shows, it was Tony Benn's grandfather, John "Bravo" Benn, who as representative of the progressive party on the first London County Council elected under the Local Government's Act of 1888 carried out a substantial, radical reform of the municipal government of the

Kingdom's capital city. While Mr. Jenkins is full of praise for the liberal John Benn, he neglects to record the fundamental plank of the progressive party which helped win it the first council election in London, namely the taxation of vacant land.

from studying the career of his grand-father, the present representative of the Benn family in the politics of consciously reveals, by his careful accumulation of detail of political leads him to embrace urgent and ness in Mr. Benn's character which mental and ecological jingles. Mr. seduced by all the trendy environlooking reaction to outside events divorced affairs of his subject, how a facile crisis after political beyond reproach. Mr. Jenkins unare laudable and his conscience is passing thoughts without substance infallible solutions, solutions which Jenkins clearly portrays the weakdilettantism. based on a consistent The ends which Mr. Benn embraces It is a shame that, rather than Z lead career have ਹਾ ర reasonable allows ţ his mere own proved himself crisis in world view, fashion philosophy roots ਠ 5 and be be

first chapter Dissent", wil that to the theories and solutions prom-nlagated by Henry George, which permits human need to co-exist with 30 million unemployed people that time. are part of the political heritage which he could only have absorbed from close and reasoning attention labour the principles which govern land, science and an understanding of grandfather about an economic system which his grandfather and come to search deeply into the archives this biography. One can only hope biography, there is one reader who While recommending Mr. Jenkins the most to learn from perusing Tony Benn, by reading the chapter "The Inheritance of and and industrialised world. will was driven by conlogical explanation capitai, be persuaded principles of ţ ħ

If now Tony Benn, while repudiating his aristocratic antecedents, would embrace his true political inheritance, we may one day be able to cry, as Gladstone did of his grandfather: "Bravo Benn!"



TONY BENN

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HOOKED ON AID

Cont. from P. 80

In Reagan's administration, the welfare state is much bigger than it was in Roosevelt's day, and if it is brought down, it will not be by much; pressure from all sides will prevent that.

The ideal of a free market and a free economy, little government and low taxes is often invoked but it is not within sight. So long as people feel the edge of insecurity, restricted opportunities, periods of recession and unemployment, they will cling to the welfare state, onerous and cumbersome though it is.

begins more place, socialism and the reduction of the hand with prosperity opening up natural opportunities. "between intolerable business cycle. We are welfare and find Ihen monopoly The may fundamental solution growth of the welfare state unless our leaders seek a state leads with that it can go hand in ы and speculation we welcome rock reducing back and a hard to the land that

Roosevelt missed this lesson and opportunity, and Reagan is evidently going to miss it. Can we hope for a future leader who will grasp it?

HE MALAYSIAN Government's Capital Issues Committee (CIC) has tightened the rules for approving land acquisitions by publicly-listed companies.

Approval will not now be given where development has not started or not expected to contribute to earnings of the acquiring company in the current financial year.

The CIC is alarmed at the widespread

practice of over-valuing land in company books to create surpluses which are then used to make bonus issues.

More recently, unacceptable valuation practices have been employed by companies which have revalued their land and then exchanged their assets for shares in publicly-

Herbert Meyer on the history of a controversial family

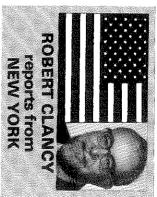
and Igor Stravinsky; and two who changed history died that year: impact on history. occasion for a revaluation of his to the Presidency. Thus there anniversary of Roosevelt's election changed the course of culture were Garibaldi.) And 1982 is the 50th Roosevelt, the uncertain President of the 982 marks the centennial of the born in 1882: James Joyce (Two other notables who Darwin 9 and Franklin Giuseppe influential 20th

Elected during the worst part of the worst depression in modern times, Roosevelt started with the call that helped lift the nation's mood, "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself." Then he and his "brain trust" embarked on a series of experiments not really knowing where they would lead. These emergency trial-and-error measures were supposed to be for a temporary crisis situation — but they have evolved into the solidly entrenched welfare state that we have today, which includes payments to the unemployed and the elderly, support for generations of "welfare families," medical and educational expenditures, etc.

capitalism as the country was on the verge of revolution. early in his fourth term as World War II was nearing its end. During his Presidency, the conservative enterprise. programmes opposition Roosevelt was unprecedented four terms and died "socialistic" enterprise." that Today his and and denounced policies "anti-free, historians as

and Republican Presidents have come and gone, but the welfare state has stayed and continued to grow, and so has deficit financing (Roosevelt started out with the ideal of a balanced budget).

Today we have Ronald Reagan, who has avowed that he would turn back the tide of big government, high taxes and profligate spending. He proposes a cut in tax rates – but there is a catch to it. Believing that America has fallen behind Russia in arms build-up,



Ignore the rhetoric – New Deal aid has hooked our entrepreneurs

the Reagan programme calls for bigger military spending with cuts in social programmes – and a deficit.

Reagan fledged backer of Reaganomics left in Congress is Jack Kemp. not responding to his cures and incentives. Almost the only fullindustry and financial markets for industry, thus creating jobs. But a serious recession has spoiled the scenario and savings but conservatives are critical, and much support. supply-side theory that their tax the upper The biggest tax breaks are for will be Ħ income brackets, on the turn Reagan has lost Not only liberals ploughed has scolded into

Ironically, Reagan is theoretically giving private enterprise what it has for years been saying it wants – lower taxes, less government, fewer regulations. What has instead developed is that private enterprise, in spite of the rhetoric, has become used to and dependent on government involvement and does not really want it to go away. The same is true, of course, of the millions who receive government "aid" in one form or another.

Reagan has gained the reputation of offering "welfare for the rich" and of being insensitive to the needs of the poor – a charge which

offends him. He avows that he himself has come from a poor background and that he understands very well the problems of the poor.

Roosevelt, on the other hand, came from a wealthy patrician background, yet he gained wide acceptance and trust as the friend of the "common man," while the upper strata of society reviled him, and he himself denounced the "economic royalists" and "robber barons."

This is a paradox that has appeared before. Thomas Jefferson came from the Virginia aristocracy, yet was understood to be the champion of democracy and equal rights for all men. Alexander Hamilton, who rose from lowly origins, favoured the wealthy classes and wanted to throw the balance of influence their way. An interesting problem in psychohistory.

history.

Still, Reagan – along with the two other living Republican exPresidents, Ford and Nixon – has participated in the centennial praise of Roosevelt, and he has even likened himself to the famous New Dealer.

habituated to the pervasiveness of often reiterates. But the people and the economy have become so view this with alarm. of its withdrawal approaches, they government that when the reality endless welfare and public debts because of mounting opposition to realized. than even its opponents might have era has become more embedded HE NEW Reagan was elected, wrought in the Ħ was DEAL supposedly Roosevelt that was as he

All this has been intensified and complicated by a deepening recession — which was the cause of the start of the New Deal in the first place.

One thing Roosevelt and Reagan have in common is that both missed the basic cause of economic problems in inflated land values. Roosevelt considered it imperative to restore and maintain high land values, this being his idea of an important index of recovery. Reagan, when he was Governor of California, was approached about land value taxation as a measure against land speculation, and his reaction was that he saw nothing wrong with making a profit in land (as indeed he has done).

Cont. on P.79