

# BASIC INCOME

## Newsletter of the Basic Income European Network

N°9      Christmas 1990

### TO ALL BIEN MEMBERS

**This is the last issue of the Newsletter to which you are entitled.**

If you want to keep receiving it for the next four years,  
turn to the last page to see what you need to do:

**IT IS SIMPLER AND CHEAPER THAN EVER!**

**The 1990 BIEN Conference had an unprecedented number of papers and drew a record number of participants.**

It displayed the vigour and diversity of basic income thinking throughout Europe. See pages 3-4.

**The organization of the Newsletter is being strengthened.** An associate editor has been elected, and an Editorial Board set up. See p.2.

**The oldest book entirely devoted to basic income is called *Higher production by a bonus on national output*. It was published in 1920 and has just been retrieved from oblivion. See page 7.**

**Geneva and Paris have been shortlisted for the next BIEN Conference (September 1992).** The Executive Committee will decide shortly which of the two places will host the conference.

### TO ALL NEW READERS:

If you want to keep receiving this Newsletter, please follow the instructions on the back page.

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**NEWLY ELECTED:  
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THIS ISSUE

*of Basic Income*  
has been prepared with the help of  
Sue Black, Alexander de Roo, Guy Standing, Robert van der Veen, Georg Vobruba  
and all those who have spontaneously sent relevant material.  
Many thanks!

PAST EVENTS

**BIEN's THIRD INTERNATIONAL  
CONFERENCE  
(FLORENCE, SEPTEMBER 1990)**

With an unprecedented number of participants (over 120), an unprecedented number of papers (60), an unprecedented amount of resources channeled into it (by both the participants themselves and several sponsors, including the EEC Commission, the European University Institute, the Italian Labour Ministry, the Lega Nazionale delle Cooperative e Mutue, the Fondazione CESPE, the IRES-CGIL, the Banca Toscana and the cooperative Granarolo-Felsinea), the Third BIEN conference was a memorable event, incomparably more glamorous than its two predecessors. With the unpaid help of a handful of friends from the Lega delle Cooperative, Edwin Morley-Fletcher organized both the fund-raising and the event itself in masterly fashion. Our network is very grateful to them all. Both presentations and discussions showed how extensive and varied European thinking about basic income has become, and how people from very different cultural, linguistic, professional and political backgrounds are beginning to find a language in which they can communicate on the subject without too many misunderstandings. Practical constraints prevented the organization of parallel workshops, which would have allowed for wider active participation, more focused debates and above all an in-depth discussion of both fundamental objections and practical difficulties. The organization of the Fourth International Conference should pay special attention to this.

**PROCEEDINGS**

Sheer bulk (850 pages!) and tremendous variety prevent the publication of straightforward Proceedings. It is hoped, however, that some of the papers will fit into some more limited editorial initiatives (e.g. on the history of BI, or on the ways in which it can be combined with various ownership and distribution regimes, or on the proposal of a European BI). Moreover, existing papers can be obtained (at a charge that will vary with size) either from Edwin Morley-Fletcher (c/o Lega Nazionale delle Cooperative e Mutue, Via Guattani 9, I-00161 Roma, Italy) or directly from the author (if address known to you). Here is

the list of all available papers, roughly classified according to their nature.

**Overviews**

Nuti, Domenico Mario, "Basic income: costs and benefits of alternative approaches", 12p.  
Parker, Hermione. "Basic income or minimum income", 16p.  
Roebroek, Joop M. & Hogenboom, Erik. "Basic income: Alternative benefit or a new paradigm for social welfare?", 32p.

**BI & citizenship**

Jordan, Bill. "What is a sustainable society?", 8p.  
Opielka, Michael. "The state as community. Social preconditions of a basic income", 24p.  
Vobruba, Georg. "A requirement for modernity: guaranteed basic income", 4p.  
Walter, Tony. "Basic income and active citizenship", 10p.

**BI & social ownership**

Liska, Tibor, "The reform of property relations. A proposal for entrepreneurial socialism based on personal-social property relations", 22p.  
Liska, Tibor, "Opportunities for the spreading of entrepreneurship in the context of labour market reform in Eastern transitions", 18p.  
Meade, James, "What can we learn from the Agathotopians?", 15p.  
Morley-Fletcher, Edwin, "Comments on James Meade's *Agathotopia*", 29p.  
Nuti, Domenico Mario, "James Meade, the cooperative enterprise and market socialism", 16p.  
Smith, Stephen C. "James Meade's economics of partnership and the emerging information economy", 26p.

**BI & work**

Andersson, Jan-Otto, "A citizenship income or a citizenship wage", 6p.  
Chilosi, Alberto, "A general workfare solution to the basic income problem", 5p.  
Cocilovo, Luigi, "Uguaglianza di opportunità e reddito di cittadinanza", 7p.  
Ormerod, Paul, "Basic income and the right to training", 8p.  
Perdrizet, François, "Travail, paresse et revenu d'existence", 18p.  
Purdy, "Work ethics and social policy: a moral tale", 17p.  
Ravaioli, Carla. "Citizenship as everyone's right to equal opportunity", 12p.  
Sacconi, Stefano. "Un'analisi critica del concetto di occupazione come base per una nuova strategia d'intervento", 12p.

Vobruba, Georg. "Redistribution of work and income in the crisis: actors' problems of working time reduction and a guaranteed basic income", 11p.

#### **BI & women**

Hilden, Jytte, "Women in Europe", 2p.  
Mullarney, Maire, "A justification of basic income hitherto unremarked", 9p.  
Saraceno, Chiara. "A gender and life course perspective on social citizenship", 18p.

#### **BI & ecology**

Janssen, Raf, "Social security policy in the Netherlands and the concept of a basic income", 21p.  
Nissen, Sylke, "Working and voting. The conflict between ecological modernization and economic interests, and the use of social policy", 20p.  
Rahikainen, Marjatta. "The valuable margins of society", 6p.  
Soininvaara, Osmo. "Basic income as part of a green economic policy", 3p.

#### **BI & the third world**

Adler-Karlsson, Gunnar, "Towards a world citizen income", 4p.  
Rinaldi, Vanni. "Esiste un ruolo per un'ipotesi di reddito minimo garantito per i paesi in via di sviluppo?", 18p.

#### **Discussions of prospective BI schemes**

Douben, Nic, "Partial basic income in the European community", 15p.  
Ferrière, Gilberte, "Scenario for a basic income in Belgium", 7p.  
Wohlgenannt, Lieselotte. "Basic income: a proposal for Austria", 3p.  
George, Robley, "Socioeconomic democracy", 30p.

#### **Assessments of existing GMI schemes**

Castel, Robert. "Une approche critique du revenu minimum d'inserion français", 9p.  
Jakubowicz, Albert. "Repères affectifs et sociaux dans la mise en place de solutions alternatives", 14p.  
Lodemel, Ivar. "Citizenship in the social division of welfare", 24p.  
Morley-Fletcher, Edwin. "The difficulties involved in a guaranteed minimum income. Some first steps from Italy", 13p.  
Travers, Peter. "An argument for basic income in a liberal welfare state: The case of Australia", 31p.

#### **Philosophical & theological contributions**

Marc, Alexandre, "Esclave ou robot?", 15p.  
Mayr, Albert, "Citizenship income and social space-times", 7p.  
Van der Veen, Robert J. "Basic income: A Marxian justification, 45p.

Vandavelde, Paul. "Basic income and Karl-Otto Apel's discourse ethics", 20p.  
Torry, Malcolm. "Optimism and pessimism: competing justifications for basic income?", 11p.

#### **Historical contributions**

Ferrero, Marco, "Un modello di socialismo intergenerazionale", 14p.  
Ferrero, Marco, "A blueprint for intergenerational socialism", 18p.  
Morley-Fletcher, Edwin. "Hypotheses of post-socialist economy", 89p.  
Tanghe, Fernand. "Land redistribution schemes under the French revolution: an anticipation of basic income", 7p.  
Van Trier, Walter. "State bonus or basic income in the age of social reconstruction", 46p.

#### **Side issues**

Blackwell, John, "The economic impact of social conventions and social standards", 12p.  
Martinez, Isabel Vidal, "La société anonyme de travail: une organisation d'entreprise des travailleurs", 10p.

**BIEN's SECOND INTERNATIONAL  
CONFERENCE  
(ANTWERP, SEPTEMBER 1988)**

The proceedings are now available. They contain contributions on the political feasibility of basic income (by Hermione Parker, Alexander de Roo and David Purdy), on its ethical justification (by Erik van der Hoeven and Philippe Van Parijs), on its labour supply effects (by Stefan Kesenne and Patrick Van Durme) and on various ways of funding it (by David Chapman, Marie-Louise Duboin, Anne Miller and Jan Stroeken).

Edited by Walter Van Trier. 192 pages. Available for BF 250 from BIEN (21 Bosduifstraat, B-2018 Antwerpen, Belgium) or for £4 from BIRG (102 Pepys Road, London SE14 6SG, UK).

**BASISINKOMEN EN MILIEU  
(UTRECHT, 2 NOVEMBER 1990)**

A one-day conference, jointly organized by the environmentalist organization Landelijk Milieuoverleg, the food workers' Union (Voedingsbond FNV) and the Werkplaats Basisinkomen, in order to examine the relations between basic income and the environment. One central issue was whether the introduction of a BI might help the pursuit of environmental objectives, for example by increasing the willingness of low income groups to pay the taxes required for cleaning up the soil and preventing further pollution; by fostering the struggle for environmentally sound working conditions; or, more speculatively, by nurturing ecologically responsible attitudes within families, thanks to a redistribution of both paid and unpaid work. The other main issue was the design of the best way of financing a basic income from an ecological standpoint. Is the introduction of a basic income essential for an effective environmental policy? The general conclusion was that it is not, but that it does help, albeit indirectly.

Further information and background papers (in Dutch) from Kris Douma, Voedingsbond FNV, Postbus 3750, NL-3506 GT Utrecht.

**BIEN's FIRST INTERNATIONAL  
CONFERENCE**

**(LOUVAIN-LA-NEUVE,  
SEPTEMBER 1986)**

There are still a few copies available of the proceedings of this historical event at which BIEN was founded. Contributions by Nooteboom, Standing, Vobruba, Boulanger, Parker, Wegner, de Beer, Raes, Roland, Adler-Karlsson, Andersson, Duboin Dekkers, Douben, Fox, Meyer, de Roo, Miller, Hogenboom, Janssen, Jordan, van Oijen, Callender, Hall, Van Trier, van der Veen and Van Parijs.

Edited by Anne Miller. 325 pages. Same prices and places as 1988 Proceedings.

**BASISINKOMEN EN  
INDIVIDUALISERING  
(UTRECHT, 17 NOVEMBER 1990)**

Should a basic income system take the household or the individual as the unit of entitlement? This old issue was chosen as the theme of the Werkplaats Basisinkomen for its 1990 Annual Meeting, with invited representatives from single persons' organizations. Based on a position paper (by Paul de Beer, from the Labour Party, and Saar Boerlage, from the University of Amsterdam) and introduced by two talks (by Kris Douma, from the Food Workers' Union, and Robert van der Veen, from the University of Amsterdam), the discussion led to the following conclusions: (1) The current Dutch tax and social security system strongly discriminates against single people and should be reformed in a neutral direction, irrespective of the basic income issue. (2) BI should not be differentiated in order to compensate for the higher cost of living in a single household, but should be adequate to meet this cost too. (3) As long as there is no BI at this level or no adequate provision of public and private housing for low-income single-adult households, the latter should receive (higher) housing subsidies.

Further information from Werkplaats Basisinkomen (H. Heijermansweg 20, NL-1077 WL Amsterdam, Netherlands).

PUBLICATIONS

DUTCH

**AGALEV, *Ekonomie = Ekologie***, Brussel: Agalev (Tweekerkenstraat 78, B-1040 Brussel), October 1990, 22p.

Unlike its 1985 controversial predecessor, this preparatory document for the second economic conference of the Flemish green party AGALEV contains no extensive discussion of basic income (which is not to be discussed at the conference). There is only a brief restatement of AGALEV's commitment to BI, and a brief reference to the fact that whereas other aspects of the 1985 programme (such as the proposal for a uniform reduction in working time) could no longer be upheld, the basic income proposal is one on which the party has progressed by working it out in more detail.

(AGALEV's address: as above.)

**DE BEER, Paul & JAKSON, Jola, "Iedereen een eigen inkomen"**, *Intermediair*, 26 (42), 19.10.90, 62-67.

The main Dutch Trade Union Federation FNV adopted on 12 November 1990 an important document entitled "Economic Independence and Solidarity". The main objectives described in the paper are (1) a general reduction of the standard working week from 38 to 28 hours, coupled with an increase in part-time jobs, and (2) a reform of social security along the following principles: (a) both men and women should derive their economic independence from paid work; (b) the right to unemployment benefits should be extended to anyone willing, but unable to enter the labour market (irrespective of past contributions); and (c) differences between guaranteed minimum incomes for families and single persons should be reduced. In this useful article, economist Paul de Beer and philosopher Jola Jakson (both members of the Werkplaats Basisinkomen) present these objectives and the complicated transitional measures proposed in the FNV document, and argue that the former are more easily attained via a negative income tax or basic income system. Admitting this, however, would force Dutch Unions to reconsider the ideology behind principle (a).

(First author's address: Wiardi Beckman Stichting, Nicolaas Witsenkade, NL 1017 ZT Amsterdam, Netherlands)

**DE BEUS, Jos, "Gaan Lubbers en Kok het basisinkomen invoeren?"**, *Het Parool* (Amsterdam), 10 October 1990.

An entertaining and sympathetic review, by Amsterdam University political theorist Jos de Beus, of Roebroek and Hoogenboom's recent book on basic income (see *BI 8*: 6). "Will the current Christian Democrat - Socialist Government introduce a basic income?", he asks. It probably won't. But it will further pave the way.

(Author's address: University of Amsterdam, Department of Economics, Jodenbreestraat 23, 1011 NH Amsterdam, Netherlands)

**HUIGE, John, "Pleidooi voor een basisinkomen"**, in *De Kleine Aarde* 70, 1989, 33-34.

A green plea for basic income in an ecological magazine by the Director of the "Nederlands Instituut voor Volksontwikkeling en Natuurvriendenwerk". Basic income, he argues, will reduce the obsession with work and consumption, foster a service-and-repair economy and reduce the incentive to earn ever more.

(Author's address: c/o NIVON, P.C. Hoofdstraat 163, NL-1071 BV Amsterdam)

**VAN PARIJS, Philippe, "Een reël-liberale rechtvaardiging van het basisinkomen"**, in *Beleid voor de vrije samenleving* (J.W. de Beus & Percy B. Lehning eds.), Meppel & Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Boom (Postbus 58, 7940 AB Meppel, Netherlands), 1990, ISBN 90-6009-898-6, pp.130-164.

A translation (by Jos de Beus) of the last (and key) part of the background paper for the 1989 Louvain-la-Neuve conference on the ethical foundations of basic income. Drawing on the work of Rawls, Dworkin and Ackerman, the paper argues that social justice, conceived as the most defensible articulation of freedom and equality, demands the introduction of a basic income at the highest level that can sustainably be reached without violating two constraints: "self ownership" (to rule out forced labour) and "undominated diversity" (to protect the handicapped).

(Author's permanent address: ECOS, 3 Neuve)  
Place Montesquieu, 1348 Louvain-la-

ENGLISH
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**ELSTER, Jon. *Solomonic Judgements. Studies in the limitations of rationality***, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, 232p.

In the last part of this sequel to his earlier writings on rationality (*Ulysses and the Sirens*, 1979; *Sour Grapes*, 1983), Norwegian "analytical Marxist" and University of Chicago political scientist Jon Elster examines "the possibility of rational politics". The last few pages contain a critical discussion of "proposals for a social dividend or guaranteed income at a level sufficient to provide a decent living without any obligation to work in return". Such proposals, he argues, "are engineering blueprints for utopias - technological dreams or nightmares without the potential for animating a social movement. Attempts to implement them would meet with massive resistance". Why? Not just because of obvious objections to the economic feasibility of such proposals. More fundamentally, "any such proposal would fail because it would be perceived as unfair, indeed as exploitative. People who chose to work for an income rather than to live in a commune on the universal grant would have to pay higher taxes in order to support those who took the other option. They would think, correctly, in my view, that they are being exploited by the other group."

(Author's address: Department of Political Science, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 60637, USA)

**HÜTHER, Michael, MÜLLER, Matthias, PETERSEN, Hans-Georg & SCHÄFER, Bernd. 1990. "Microsimulation of alternative tax and transfer systems for the Federal Republic of Germany"**, in *Simulation Models in Tax and Transfer Policy* (Johann Kurt Brunner & Hans Georg Petersen eds.), Frankfurt & New York: Campus Verlag, 1990 (ISBN 3-593-34407-6, DM 98), 539-569.

A simulation model of the FRG's tax and transfer system is here used (1) to discuss alternative tax bases (should it be income or consumption?) and (2) to discuss proposals for harmonizing tax and transfer policies. One of these is a version of the conventional Sozialhilfe (a means-tested minimum income system). The other is a basic income in the version worked out earlier by Gerd Grözinger (in M. Opielka &

G. Vobruba eds, *Das garantierte Grundeinkommen*, Frankfurt: Fischer, 1986).

**LILJA, Reija, SANTAMÄKI-VUORI, Tuire & STANDING, Guy, *Unemployment and labour market flexibility: Finland***, Geneva: International Labour Office (CH-1211 Geneva), World Employment Programme, 1990, ISBN 92-2-107273-8, 222 pages, 30 Swiss Francs.

The fourth volume in a series of national case studies aiming to encourage ILO member States "to adopt and implement active policies and projects designed to promote full, productive and freely chosen employment and to reduce poverty", this study of the Finnish case consists mainly in a systematic description of trends in both employment and unemployment and a survey of employment policies developed by the Finnish government. The final chapter discusses "options for the 1990's". One of them, which the authors find particularly congenial if made part of an appropriate package of measures, is a citizen's income. "Essentially it is a different way of organizing income support in the context of a more flexible labour market in which employment and job security are being weakened in the interests of efficiency and labour mobility". Contrary to what is often suggested by its opponents, such a citizen's income is perfectly compatible with full employment properly understood, i.e. as "work opportunities for as many as want them".

**MILNER, Dennis, *Higher Production by a Bonus on National Output. A proposal for a minimum income for all varying with national productivity***, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1920, 127p.

Not exactly a recent publication but one that makes for amazing reading seventy years after its appearance. Name (nearly) any recent argument for (or objection to) basic income, from the most familiar to the fanciest, from the unemployment trap to labour market flexibility, from low rates of take up to the ideal complement of profit sharing, and you will find it here. Though a case can be made for basic income - or a state bonus, to use Milner's terminology - in terms of justice or humanity, the proposal (20% of Britain's GNP distributed equally among all citizens) can also be defended on grounds of efficiency alone. Whereas Milner's earlier pamphlet (*Scheme*

for a state bonus, published one year earlier jointly with his wife: see BI 5: 8) used the widest possible range of arguments, his book spells out the ramifications of the "productivist" argument. In his contribution to the Florence BIEN conference, Van Trier summarizes the book, quotes it extensively and offers some reflections on the sense in which this forgotten book was nevertheless a success. (Discoverer's address: Walter Van Trier, SESO, 13 Prinsstraat, B-2000 Antwerpen.)

**OLSON, Dennis O. & O'BRIEN, Patrick O., "The great Alaskan money give away program", *Economic Inquiry* 27, July 1990, 604-15.**

As reported earlier (BI 7: 4), the State of Alaska has saved about one fifth of its oil revenues in a permanent trust fund consisting of income-producing investments. Since 1982, a portion of the interests on these investments has been distributed to each Alaskan resident in the form of a dividend. Another portion is reinvested, so as to swell the potential for future distribution. What the balance between these two potential uses should be depends on Alaska's social rate of discount (the extent to which the present is given more importance than the future by the "representative Alaskan"). The question addressed in this short technical paper is essentially whether the choices Alaskan authorities actually made in successive years between distribution and reinvestment can conceivably be interpreted as maximizing the representative Alaskan's welfare, assuming an unchanged social discount rate. The outcome of this (small) contribution to the debate on Alaska's controversial scheme is a negative answer to this question. Incidentally, the authors mention in passing that opinion polls conducted between 1984 and 1987 showed 60 to 90% public support for continuation of the dividend program.

(Second authors address: Department of Economics, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, Alaska, USA.)

**REICH, Charles A., "Beyond the new property: redefining the individual", paper presented at a symposium organized at the Brooklyn Law School on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Goldberg vs Kelly court case, [1990], 36p.**

"Even during the Great Depression, which I remember as a child, there was never the

suffering visible and hidden in our cities now". According to Charles Reich (former professor at Yale Law School and author, twenty years ago, of The Greening of America), the situation is disastrous, and its causes are far from contingent: "The crisis of the natural environment and the crisis of the unprotected environment are similar. Both crises derive from the destructive aspects of our modern economic system." What can be done about it? According to Reich, the moderate strategy has failed and is bound to fail again. What we must do is "give economic security the status of a constitutional right which must be honored ahead of the other goals of society". Granting this "new property" to every citizen follows from the American Constitution's concern with life, liberty and property, once it is realized that individuals have now lost the capacity to earn a living independently of large organizations. The government benefits which embody this new property "represent the individual's share in a society where value derives from relationships with organizations more than it derives from separate ownership of land or assets". The exact institutional shape of the benefit system called for by these arguments is left unspecified. But this much is clear: since the purpose of the benefits is "to empower people, not to deny them power", they must be given in the way an owner is given his/her due, Reich says, and not "become an instrument of control and domination, a source of meddlesome invasion of autonomy, an opportunity for abuse of power by government officials". How could this be achieved, short of a genuine basic income? (Author's address: 1077 Broadway, San Francisco, CA 94133, USA.)

**WERKPLAATS BASISINKOMEN, *Godsend or Panacea. Why be in favour of a basic income?*, Amsterdam: Werkplaats Basisinkomen (H. Heijermansweg 20, 1077 WL Amsterdam, Holland), [September 1990], 12p.**

This English translation of a pamphlet published earlier in Dutch (see BI 4: 5) presents the position of the "basic income workshop", the federation of Dutch organizations that favour basic income. Section titles include "There is a choice", "Joy", "Equality for all", "A European basic income".

Copies available from the Werkplaats, at the above address.

**DUBOIN, Marie-Louise, "Se battre pour le revenu de base?"**, in *La Grande Relève des hommes par la science* (BP 108, F-78110 Le Vésinet, France) 894, novembre 1990, 3.

In this editorial of the "distributist" monthly, Marie-Louise Duboin (daughter of the "distributist" movement's founder Jacques Duboin and editor of the journal) recalls the nature of basic income, as understood within BIEN, and some of the main arguments for it, and announces a survey to be conducted among the journal's readers in order to find out whether they are in favour of the introduction of such a basic income independently of the other components of the distributist project (mainly, a social service and a far-reaching monetary reform), and, if so, how they would like to see it financed.

(Author's address: La Grande Relève, as above.)

**GORZ, André. Entretien avec John Keane**, in *La Lettre Internationale* (Paris), Été 1990, 69-72.

A dense, well-conducted interview with one of the main inspirers - and critics - of the basic income idea. There is no reason, Gorz argues, why we should not go back to a working year of about 1000 hours (instead of nearly 2000), which was the norm until the beginning of the 18th century. This "would enable every person to successively adopt several lifestyles, occupations, careers, types of activities, without ever ceasing to receive a full income". Does this mean that he supports the proposal for an *allocation universelle* or basic income, increasingly discussed throughout Europe? No, it does not, because this proposal has, in his eyes, two fundamental defects. One is that, "by introducing a right to [permanent] non-participation [in economic activities], it creates in effect two categories of citizens and entitles society to perpetuate forms of social exclusion". A basic income, therefore, does not give enough. It does not confer a right of participation in the public sphere of paid work. The second fundamental defect is that a basic income gives too much. "No one must bear the burden of necessary work on behalf of others, and no one, therefore, must be exempted from carrying his/her share. But a basic income introduces precisely such a right to exemption."

(Interviewee's address: F-10130 Vosnon, France.)

**MILANO, Serge, "Jalons pour une histoire du revenu minimum garanti (XIXe - XXe**

**siècles)"**, *Economies et Sociétés* (Paris) 12, 1990, 107-134.

This article draws on earlier work, mainly by Edwin Morley-Fletcher (*Revista Trimestrale* 1980-81) to provide a useful historical sketch of guaranteed income proposals, from Paine, Hertzka, Bellamy, Kropotkin, Weitling, Ballod and Popper-Lynkeus to the social-dividend tradition in England and the personalist tradition in France (leading up to Alexandre Marc's "federalism").

(Author's address: Ministère de la Solidarité et de la Protection Sociale, Service des Etudes et du Financement, 1 Place de Fontenoy, F-75700 Paris.)

## GERMAN

**ALTHALER, Karl S. & STADLER, Sabine eds., Geld und Leben. Diskussion um soziale Mindeststandards**, Wien: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1990, ISBN 3-85115-120-8, DM 29.

A collection of essays on minimum income, with special reference to Austria. Several articles provide useful empirical information on social problems and social policy in Austria - for example, Eder & Gall on income distribution, Loudon on female employment, Wallnher on the labour market, Wörister on pensions and Helmer on various ways of conceiving a "tax on value creation". All contributions favour some form of minimum income, but most are sceptical about a genuine basic income. The exceptions are Inge Rohwani (from the Ministry of Social Affairs) and Lieselotte Wohlgenannt (from the Katholische Sozialakademie), who strongly favour it.

**LEIBFRIED, Stefan, "Sozialstaat Europa? Integrationsperspektiven europäischer Armutsregime"**, in *Nachrichtendienst des Deutschen Vereins für öffentliche und private Fürsorge* 70 (9), September 1990, 296-305. What is the European welfare state going to look like? Before assessing various possible scenarios, it is useful to have a look at two historical precedents of social policy integration - at the time of the first German unification (late 19th century) and of the centralization of public policy in the U.S. (early 20th century) - and to identify the specificities of the four welfare state regimes to be found in Europe - Scandinavian, Bismarckian, Anglo-saxon and Mediterranean. This is what this scholarly and instructive article does, with special emphasis on the issue of a guaranteed minimum income. Is there any prospect for a basic income against this background? "That a radicalized form of basic income could become the European Community's strategy is not altogether probable. Nevertheless, the discussion of these themes can yield support to the elaboration of an EC conception of social assistance."

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**NYSSSEN, Sylke, "Vor radikalem Kurswechsel schrecken Sozialdemokraten zurück. Über das Mindesteinkommen, eine Grundsicherung und hartnäckige Denkstrukturen in der Sozialpolitik" & VOBRUBA, Georg, "Grundeinkommen**

**und der Wert der Arbeit. Warum die Gewerkschaften mit dem Thema Mindestsicherung Schwierigkeiten haben"**, in *Frankfurter Rundschau* 3.1.1990.

Both the German Social Democratic Party and the German Trade Union movement remain hostile to the idea of a basic income or, more generally, to a social policy that is not closely linked to waged labour. But a number of significant trends will force them to engage again and again in thinking and discussion on basic insurance as a (partial) alternative to an employment-centered social policy. This is the theme that underlies these two articles in the same issue of one of the main German dailies.

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**OPIELKA, Michael, "Gemeinschaft und Sozialpolitik"**, Institut für Sozialökologie (Geschäftstelle, D-5202 Hennef 41, Wiederschall, Germany), Working Paper 5/90, August 1990, ISBN 0936-6032, 46p. This theoretical essay rests on the trichotomy market/ state/ community. Its third part argues that "the decoupling of work and income constitutes a structural presupposition of a rational communitarization of society". This decoupling, Opielka argues, should take the dual form of a basic income and a social service of 3 to 4 years for both men and women. Such a social service, he argues, would have the advantage of dampening the rise in the cost of social services (due to the breakup of families and the increase in life expectancy), of sharing the caring tasks more equally among men and women, and of meeting the objection that a basic income amounts to receiving something for nothing.

(Author's address: Institut für Sozialökologie, as above.)

**WOHLGENANNT, Lieselotte & BÜCHELE, Herwig, *Den öko-sozialen Umbau beginnen: Grundeinkommen*, Wien & Zürich: Europaverlag (Altmannsdorfer Straße 154-156, A-1232 Vienna, Austria), Soziale Brennpunkte Band 15, ISBN 3-203-51101-0, 256 p.**

This book consists of two long essays. The first one ("About the necessity and possibility of introducing a basic income"), by active BIEN member Lieselotte Wohlgenannt), contains mainly an extensive and up-to-date survey of the international discussion, and a shorter discussion of a concrete proposal for Austria. The second one ("Basic income as a

competent of a socio-ecological transformation"), by social ethics professor Herwig Büchele (S.J.), is mainly concerned to show that basic income forms an essential ingredient in an adequate response to the "crisis of world society". It is not just a more efficient way of trying to make sure everyone's basic needs are satisfied. It is part of the project of a more hospitable society.

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ITALIAN

**GARONNA, Paolo. "Diritto al reddito o diritto al lavoro?", *Mondoperaio* (Roma) 1, 1990, 84-90.**

Yet another substantial contribution to the debate on guaranteed minimum income schemes in the Italian socialist party's theoretical journal. The author identifies three main problems with the welfare state as we know it: (1) the power exercised by the welfare administration; (2) the failure to transfer efficiently to the truly needy; (3) the undermining of incentives. And he welcomes two recent trends in thinking about welfare: the emphasizing of rights of "citizenship" and the concern with "insertion". Against this background, he argues against those who, in the Italian debate, have been appealing to a right to a minimum income. "There is no right to an income. There is, instead, a right to insertion into activities of whatever type,

and only in relation to these activities, a right to some form of compensation". Phrasing entitlements in this way, he believes, has great advantages. Requiring availability for work is an efficient way of selecting the truly needy. The work actually performed reduces the net cost of the programmes. It provides training on the job. And it makes means testing unnecessary. But, he warns, a guaranteed job scheme must not be superposed to a guaranteed income scheme. To the extent that the latter exists, it must be dismantled, including, for example, the minimum pension currently given to elderly people who are still able to work. The main uncertainty about this proposal, in the author's view, is whether the civil service will prove capable to efficiently organize insertion.

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