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## BASIC INCOME

Newsletter of the  
Basic Income European Network

NT 6

Christmas 1989

A new book by British Nobel Prize winner James Meade is addressed to "all capitalists and socialists who seek to make the best of both worlds".

Basic income is at the very core of the blueprint he offers.

See page 7.

The Italian Communist Party might change its name. And it is actively looking for new ideas.

In a recent interview, its General Secretary came very close to declaring himself in favour of a genuine basic income.

See page 11

Might European minimum incomes ever converge into a European basic income ?

A question at the background of a recent conference sponsored by the EEC Commission.

See page 3.

Florence, and not Rome, will host the 1990 BIEN Conference on "Economic democracy and citizenship income".

See page 4 for further details, including a call for papers.

To those who see this Newsletter for the first time:

If you want to keep receiving it,

please follow the instructions on the back page.

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### BIEN's Executive Committee

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This issue of Basic Income  
has been prepared with the help of  
Sue Black, Paul-Marie Boulanger,  
Bernard Stainier, Walter Van Trier,  
and all those who have spontaneously sent relevant material.  
Many thanks!

Owing to lack of space, several publications received are not reviewed  
in this issue. They will be given priority in the Spring issue.

## HOW YOU CAN HELP

How useful this Newsletter turns out to be depends on YOU.

1. Please spread it. Circulate it as much as you can, and feel free to make any number of photocopies you like. BIEN members can ask for free additional copies, to make them available at seminars or conferences they organize, for example.

2. Please keep it informed. Send to the Newsletter editor (address above), as soon as it is available, any news, announcement, book, pamphlet, working paper, etc. that may interest other people in the network. This information and material need not be in English. Given the steady growth of the material received, you would be very kind to add a short summary, preferably but not necessarily, in English. After being reviewed, all publications received will be made available in the Collectif Charles Fourier's Archives. Deadline for the next issue: 25 March 1990.

## PAST EVENTS

De economische effecten  
van een basisinkomen  
Tilburg (NL), 16 June 1989

This eventful conference (coorganized by the Departement of Social Security of the Katholieke Universiteit Brabant and the Werkplaats Basisinkomen) has now been summarized in a useful booklet (22 pages, in Dutch).

Available from: Werkplaats Basisinkomen, Herman Heijermansweg 20, NL-1077 WL Amsterdam.

Het gedeeltelijk basisinkomen: fopsteen of strategische zet ?  
25 november 1989

The annual general meeting of the Dutch Basic Income Network devoted its substantive part to the discussion of partial basic income proposals. The two background papers (by Trade Union and Labour Party economists Henk van der Kolk and Paul de Beer) argue that, for those seriously in favour of a full basic income, there is no sensible alternative to supporting the introduction of a partial basic income as a first step. But the choice of alliances is of crucial importance, as a growing number of right-wing individuals and organizations in the Netherlands is beginning to like the idea of a partial basic income, coupled with substantial deregulation. It is important, de Beer insists, that two questions should be asked about any partial basic income proposal: does it further the objective of a full basic

income? Does it go hand in hand with unacceptable deteriorations in other respects?

Further details from: Werkplaats Basisinkomen, Herman Heijermans-weg 20, NL-1077 WL Amsterdam.

Workshop on basic income and independence  
Manchester (GB), 7 October 1989

A rather unusual study group, varied in age, politics and religion, met to analyze social problems, as they arise locally, and to examine how basic income can go some way towards solving them.

Further details: Kevin Donnelly, 20 Nan Nook Road, Manchester M23 9BZ, (061) 9984791.

European Conference  
on Basic Incomes  
Cumberland Lodge (GB),  
15-17 November 1989

A useful conference sponsored by the Commission of the European Communities, not only about basic income in the strict sense in which it is meant within BIEN, but about minimum guaranteed income schemes generally. Where in Europe do such schemes exist? In what form? At what level? What can be learned from national experiences? What are the prospects for convergence, or for an EEC minimum income scheme? Basic income in the strict sense is considered at some length and rejected as "vague, unrealistic or even utopian" in a main paper by Chantal Euzby (Grenoble). It is discussed in more depth in a well documented main paper by Bernd Schulte (Munich): basic income, he concludes cautiously, "may be recognized as a common goal for all member States, provided that these States are in an economic position to grant such an income as of right". It is also clearly presented in a background paper offered by Hermione Parker (BIRG). And it is forcefully defended, in the light of the "insoluble contradictions of the minimum income schemes", in a discussion paper by Maria Grazia Gianichedda (Sassari).

Organizer: Graham Room, University of Bath, Bath BA2 7AY (GB), (0225) 61244.

Liberty, equality, ecology.  
Around the ethical foundations of basic income  
Louvain-la-Neuve (B), 1-2 September 1989

Over 120 people from 11 countries attended this academic conference focusing on the various ways in which basic income has been, or might be, given an ethical justification (why should one get something for nothing?). The conference led to a lively dialogue between continental

and Anglo-American political theorists, between philosophers and social scientists, as well as between academics and activists. No proceedings will be published. However, a few copies of the main papers are still available for BIEN members, and a collective book is being prepared on the basis of the available material.

Further details: Philippe Van Parijs, Unit | Probl | matiques Interdisciplinaires, 1 Chemin d'Aristote, B-1348 Louvain-la-Neuve.

#### FORTHCOMING EVENTS

Economic democracy and citizenship income  
Firenze, 19-21 September 1990

The next official BIEN Conference will be held at the European University Institute, Florence, Italy, on Wednesday-Friday 19-21 September 1990, and not in Rome, as previously announced. The four subthemes will be:

- I. Competing justifications for citizenship income.
- II. Citizenship income in alternative models of society.
- III. Moments of historical transition: missed opportunities for citizenship incomes.
- IV. Towards European citizenship income: 1992, the Social Charter and beyond.

Those who would like to present a paper on one of these topics are invited to get in touch urgently with the organizing committee.

Organizer: Edwin Morley-Fletcher, Lega Nazionale delle Cooperative e Mutue, Via A. Guattini 9, I-00161 Roma, assisted by Alexander de Roo, Guy Standing and Walter Van Trier (addresses on page 2.).

Basic income guarantees  
and the future of the welfare state  
Madison (Wisconsin, USA),  
6-8 April 1990

A major conference on the economics and politics of basic income to be held at the Havens Center for the Study of Social Structure and Social Change (University of Wisconsin). Main papers by Samuel Bowles (University of Massachusetts, Amherst), Kevin Lang & Andrew Weiss (Boston University), Fred Block (University of Pennsylvania), Ann Withorn (University of Massachusetts, Boston) and Philippe Van Parijs (Universit | Catholique de Louvain).

Organizers: Erik O. Wright, Joel Rogers & Irwin Garfinkel (University of Wisconsin, Department of Sociology, Madison, Wisconsin 53706, USA, phone: (608) 262-0854.

## PUBLICATIONS

### Dutch

Arbeid en inkomen. Een LAT relatie, Tijdschrift voor Arbeid en Bewustzijn 13 (2), 1989, Dfl 12.50 (Uitgeverij Jan van Arkel, Postbus 13094, NL-3507 LB Utrecht.

Focused on the question of whether the obligation to work should be maintained as work becomes increasingly scarce, this special issue of a Trade Union magazine includes articles by Green Euro MP Nel van Dijk and Union economist Henk van der Kolk, as well as a translation of the contribution of Claus Offe, Ilona Ostner and Ulrich Mückenberger to the André Gorz Festschrift.

Pierik, J.B.M., "Van bodemvoor-ziening naar basisinkomen?", in Economisch-statistische Berichten (Amsterdam), 24.5.1989, 502-506. A forceful attack on basic income by a professor of economics at Erasmus University (Rotterdam). Basic income, as defined by the author is totally individualized and does not require that the recipient be available for work (unlike the current Dutch minimum income system), but it remains means-tested (it consists in supplementing the income of each individual up to a given minimum, or takes the form of a negative income tax). Introducing such a system in the Dutch context, the author argues, would increase the budget deficit, impair the flexibility of the labour market, reduce women's economic autonomy, attract immigrants and fail to simplify the social transfer system. At a conference jointly organized by the Dutch Labour Party's research centre and Erasmus University (Rotterdam) on 20 May 1989, the author gave a talk along the same lines, which was widely echoed in the Dutch press.

't Werkt Niet Meer. Nieuwsbrief Basisinkomen n<sup>o</sup> 12 Werkplaats Basisinkomen (Herman Heijermansweg 20, NL-1077 WL Amsterdam), December 1989, 28p.

The second issue of the Newsletter of the Dutch basic income network, as neatly presented and full of substance as the first one. It includes crisp, informative and lucid presentations of two debates recently organized by the Werkplaats, one on the economic effects of basic income (Hansje Kalt) and one on basic income and women's liberation (Paul de Beer); some further articles arguing that much of feminist hostility to basic income derives from a confusion between basic income and a household's wage (Jola Klein) and that a fully individualized basic income would go against the interests of single people and thereby favour traditional life patterns (Judit Klappe); and a self-presentation of the Food and Industry Union of the CNV, the largest private sector Union (60000 members) inside the Christian Confederation and a founding member of the Dutch basic income network. From their Christian viewpoint on man and society, they say, "work aimed at improving the world is no less valuable than work geared to the production process": only basic income can give people a genuine choice about the sort of work they will do.

Vakgroep Arbeidseconomie, Basisinkomen. Onderzoeksrapport aan het Instituut voor Politieke Ekologie, Universiteit Antwerpen: Studiecentrum voor Economisch en Sociaal Onderzoek (13 Prinsstraat, B-2000 Antwerpen), [February 1989], 49p.

This report was commissioned by the study centre associated to the Flemish Green party AGALEV. Its first part, by economist Stefaan Kesenne, is devoted to an assessment of the likely effect of a basic income on the supply of labour, in particular that of married women. It draws on evidence from a recent survey to conclude that this effect would be negative and significant. The second part, by sociologist Walter Van Trier, provides a sober (and sobering) discussion of the various institutional forms a basic income could take and of the various paths its gradual implementation could follow.

van der Hoek, Peter, "Ongedwongen produceren. De utopie van het basisinkomen", in Elsevier 8.10.88, p.78.

A short, dismissive article in a widely read magazine. "It seems that the advocates of basic income have little idea of what the world is like outside their - often elitist - circles. They generally assume that all the work that now gets done would keep being done if income were no longer coupled to work. But not all work is as pleasant and interesting as that of the modal academic."

Werkplaats basisinkomen, Zeven vragen over basisinkomen, Amsterdam (Herman Heijermansweg 20, NL-1077 WL Amsterdam), 1989, 8p.

An attractive new leaflet presenting BI and the Dutch BI network through seven questions: What can you buy with it? Does it create new jobs? Will people stop working? Will everyone become dependent on the state? Is it not prohibitively expensive? Is it not politically unfeasible? Are those in favour organized?

(DF1 25 per annum on giro 5768872 to join the network and receive the Newsletter.)

## English

Birg Bulletin n<sup>o</sup> 9, Spring-Summer 1989, Basic Income Research Group (102 Pepys Road, London SE14 5SG), 24p., 73.

Includes up to date information on the Irish debate (by Rosheen Callender and Chris O'Malley), the translation of a short piece by French economist Henri Guitton, a presentation of the basic pension scheme in operation in Denmark (by Adam Trier), a moving "Viewpoint" by basic income activist Kevin Donnelly ("Dignity and respect cannot wait for wealth creation indefinitely. How much wealth creation must there be before all can be seated at the board."), and interesting reactions to Brandon Rhys-Williams' basic income proposal (BI 4, p.7) by three British Members of Parliament: Frank Field (Labour) is "not ideologically opposed to it", but finds it "unsellable in the current climate". Archy Kirkwood (SLD) believes that if a moderate Tory became Prime Minister, "the chances of something like BI getting on the

statute book would be high". As to David Howell (Conservative), he finds a full BI "certainly too expensive", but is "a supporter of partial BI": "It will take time, but the Conservative party", he believes, "will get round to these ideas within the next five years".

Brittan, Samuel, "The search for agathotopia", in Financial Times 31.8.1989, p.15.

An early review of James Meade's new book (see below), which emphasizes basic income (or the social dividend) as "the most interesting, although also the most controversial, of the Meade proposals".

Burnheim, John, Is Democracy Possible? The alternative to electoral politics, Cambridge: Polity Press (Dales Brewery, Gwydir Street, Cambridge CB1 2LJ, GB), 1985, paperback 1989, VII + 205 p.

In this systematic plea for "demarchy", American political scientist John Burnheim tries to show how a democracy could function without the centralization of government that constitutes the state. Central to his argument is the idea that "nobody should have any input into decision-making where they have no legitimate material interest". In a chapter entitled "Democracy and markets", however, he argues that "in a large-scale society there seems no acceptable alternative to the wage contract as the basis of social coordination of labour. What can be done to ameliorate it? It would seem that the most desirable situation would be one in which everybody was assured of a minimal living whether they chose to work or not." One advantage of such an institution, he claims, is that "in such a market one would expect the most unpleasant jobs to be the most highly paid, and prestigious and interesting jobs to attract little extrinsic remuneration".

Callender, Rosheen, "Down to Basics", in Making Sense. Ireland's political and cultural review (30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1), May/June 1989, 10-19.

In this article for a left journal, Trade Union economist Rosheen Callender looks "at what exactly the idea of basic income involves; where it came from; who is advocating it and why; what relevance it has for Ireland; and what ideological questions it raises for socialists". She does not believe the idea has much short-term relevance for Ireland, if only because little progress has been made so far in getting a fairer tax system. However, she believes that it provides a meaningful long-term objective, with immediate strategic implications, from a socialist perspective. Despite feminist fears and Trade Union concerns, which touch on important but avoidable side-effects, "basic income is a concept which can and should be used by socialists to advance the redistribution of work and income in society".

(Author's address: Research Department ITGWU, Liberty Hall, Dublin 1, EIRE.)

Donnelly, Kevin, Start me with ten, Manchester, 1989, 4p.

"Women are half the world's population, do two thirds of the world's work, receive one tenth of the world's income and own one hundredth of



the world's property. They would stand to gain substantially from the adoption of the basic income principle, but they will have to achieve it for themselves." Thus starts this short but powerful pamphlet about women and basic income, part of an attempt to promote a North West (of England) dialogue about basic income.

(Author's address: 20 Nan Nook Road, Manchester M23 9BZ, GB)

DYSON Kenneth ed., *Combating long-term unemployment*. Local/E.C. relations, London: Routledge, 1989, x + 252 pp.

As the title indicates the book concentrates on the relation between the European Community and the local level in developing strategies to combat long-term unemployment. 12 chapters describe and analyse different policy experiences stretching from the European Social Fund to Bradford or Strathclyde. In his conclusion, the editor (who works at the Institute of European Studies, University of Bradford, UK) discusses - under the heading 'Putting the individual back at the centre of public policy' - the idea of a basic income guarantee (not conditional on unemployment, illness, retirement, or age). He notes the advantages of such a proposal and concludes: "With a basic income guarantee it would be possible to integrate social-policy judgements into economic-policy management in a more explicit manner".

Hall, Stuart and Held, David, "Left and rights", in *Marxism Today* (London), June 1989, 16-23.

A short contribution to the task of "reformulating socialism to take better account of 'citizenship'", this article stresses the importance, for left thought and action, of individual autonomy. This leads to a cautious plea for a basic income: One way of distributing wealth and income more equitably "may be a guaranteed minimum income for all adults, irrespective of whether they are engaged in wage or household-labour. Strategies of this type have to be treated with caution since their implications for wealth creation are complex and not fully clear. However, without a minimum guaranteed resource-base, many people will remain highly vulnerable and dependent on the charity and goodwill of others."

Macarov, David, *Quitting Time: the end of work*, special issue of the *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* (Hull, GB) 8, 1988, 181p.

"The ideology and the political realities of our socioeconomic system require that efforts be made to provide work for everyone capable of holding a job, and since no other socially acceptable method of making a living is provided by society, enormous efforts must be made to find, create, divide and stretch jobs." Much of Professor Macarov's book consists in substantiating this claim, and in criticizing the state of affairs it describes. "Continuing to attempt to provide jobs for everyone, in the absence of real need for all the human labour possible, can only lead to more dissatisfaction at work and with life, more boredom, more alienation, more corruption, more selfishness in job-seeking and job-holding, and more punishment for those who do not or cannot work. In the final chapter he sketches two alternatives to the labour-focused society. One consists in paying people for non-work

activities such as sport, study or religious practice. This would arguably solve the problem of job shortages, but would not eradicate poverty. The second alternative is the payment of "an individual allowance, to be paid to every individual rather than to families or for children, and raised to the point that everyone would have a basic, liveable, income". No solution is perfect. But it is high time, Macarov concludes, to start planning an economy which distributes the fruits of technology on another basis than the holding of jobs. (Author's address: Paul Baerwald School of Social Work, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel 91905.)

Meade, James E., *Agathotopia: The Economics of Partnership*, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press (The David Hume Institute, 21 George Square, Edinburgh EH8 9LD, GB), 1989, 76p.

In *Agathotopia*, social arrangements are not perfect, just as good as one can hope them to ever become in this wicked world. They include a pretty competitive market economy, firms whose workers are largely paid as a function of the firm's performance (capital-labour partnerships), but also the state ownership of about half of society's productive capital (whose management, however, is left entirely in private hands). The revenue of this social capital constitutes a "social dividend" distributed equally among all citizens. Such massive state ownership can of course not be expected to arise in one day. In the meanwhile, the best way of financing the social dividend is, in the author's view, by a regressive income tax (the higher rate of tax on low earnings could still make low earners better off than they are under current systems, while reducing the marginal rate for most earners). In a playful, yet characteristically precise and lucid way, Nobel prize winner James Meade reformulates in this parable his life-long plea for a basic income as a strategy for providing people with the security they need to compensate the insecurity and inequality of incomes demanded by an efficient market, as a strategy for pursuing equity without impairing efficiency. The outcome is, the undertitle says, "a tract for the times addressed to all capitalists and socialists who seek to make the best of both worlds". (Author's address: Christ's College, Cambridge, GB.)

Munnell, Alicia H. ed., *Lessons from the Income Maintenance Experiments*, Washington (DC): Federal Reserve Bank of Boston and Brookings Institution (Washington, D.C.), Conference Series N 30, 1989, 257 p.

The empirical evidence used to discuss the effects of a basic income on labour supply is usually taken from experiments with Negative Income Tax. Hence the relevance of this volume (the proceedings of a conference held in New Hampshire in September 1986) to those interested in basic income. It surveys the results concerning labour supply response and marital stability, evaluates the methodology and places the experiments in their historical and political context. The last part of the volume presents a viewpoint on the experiments from different disciplines (Lee Rainwater for sociology, Robert Solow for economics). The introduction by Alicia H. Munnell is probably, the best concise summary of the results to be found in the literature.

Parker, Hermione. *Instead of the Dole. An enquiry into integration of the tax and benefit systems*, London: Routledge, 1989, 437p., new in paperback, £12.95.

A welcome paperback edition of this first book-length scholarly treatment of (and plea for) basic income (see BI 5), with special reference to the United Kingdom but relevant far beyond it.

Powell, Robin Seeley. *Social Wage. The elimination of poverty*, typescript, 193p.

A vigorous, often eloquent plea for basic income, written in New Zealand in 1986, yet so far unpublished. And a vivid proof that the feelings and arguments that inspire European supporters of basic income have led people to exactly the same idea on the other side of the Earth. "Any form of welfare which identifies categories of people, subjects them to means tests, attaches stigma, monitors their behaviour, requires them to claim discretionary payments and leaves the non-poor alone serves to maintain the gulf between the employed and the unemployed. [...] What is obviously needed is a universal system of income security which does not favour any category of citizen over another." Such a system is economically feasible under current technological conditions. "The only substantial obstacle to its implementation is the anachronistic idea of desert which has historically justified the oppression of the poor. In a post-industrial society there ought to be an alternative to working or starving. Here it is."

(Author's address: PO Box 754, BEGA, NSW 2550, Australia.)

## French

De Brabandere, Katia, "Comment justifier l'allocation universelle", in *Coopérance* (21, Boulevard des Archers, B-1400 Nivelles) 6, septembre 1989, 13-18

A personal account of a seminar held on the ethical foundations of basic income in Louvain-la-Neuve from February to May 1989.

*Coopérance* is a journal aimed primarily at the new cooperative movement that often publishes pieces on basic income.

(Author's address: c/o *Coopérance*.)

MILANO, Serge, *Le Revenu Minimum Garanti dans la C.E.E.*, Paris: Presses universitaires de France (Que Sais-je? n° 2479), 1989, 125 pp.

This booklet aims to present the different ways in which the idea of a minimum income guarantee has been implemented in several European countries. Before describing the existing systems in West Germany, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Luxemburg, Italy and New-Zealand, the author briefly discusses possible financing mechanisms. He distinguishes two main types of guarantee: "le revenu minimum complémentaire" - a system that supplements the existing insurance or needs based systems - and "le revenu minimum substitutif" - a system that replaces the existing variety of income guarantees,

i.e. a negative income tax or a basic income. In previous publications (see BI 5: 8-9), the author discussed basic income at greater length, and rejected it as unrealistic.

Van Parijs, Philippe, "Quelle réponse cohérente aux néo-libéralismes?", in *Economie et Humanisme* (Lyon) 306, mars-avril 1989, 41-52.

The rough outline of a "real-libertarian" response to neo-liberal thought, with basic income as a central component, and a discussion of some of the most puzzling theoretical arguments against it.

Van Parijs, Philippe, "Réduction du temps de travail, subsides à l'emploi et allocation universelle", in *L'Europe en Formation* (4 Boulevard Carabacel, F-06000 Nice) 275, été-automne 1989, 47-57. This is a reprint of a contribution to the European Parliament's hearing on basic income, in which the relative merits of working time reduction, employment subsidies and basic income are being compared. It is preceded by an impassioned preface by Alexandre Marc, one of the forerunners of basic income and a founding father of the "federalist" movement.

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

#### German

Berufsunabhängiges Einkommen - eine Utopie?, in *Mitbestimmung. Zeitschrift für Demokratisierung der Arbeitszeit* (Taubergasse 15, A-1170 Wien) 18 (3), 1989, pp. 21-27.

Three talks at the Institut für Wissenschaft und Kunst are collected under this title in a Trade Union oriented magazine. Lieselotte Wohlgenannt (co-author of the book that triggered off the Austrian discussion on basic income) argues that basic income is essential if freedom and security are not to remain a privilege in an increasingly flexible economy. Werner Bayer sees the fight for a basic income as the natural continuation of Trade Union struggles on behalf of the worst off. But Leopold Smrcka fears that a basic income will work as an excuse for the inability to provide a job to all.

(First author's address: Katholische Sozialakademie, Schottenring 35/1, A-1010 Wien 1.)

Enderle, Georges, "Das Armutsproblem als Paradigma der Wirtschaftsethik", in Peter Eicher (ed.), *Neue Summe Theologie Band 2*, Freiburg-Basel-Wien: Herder, 1989, 240-373.

The author, a lecturer in business ethics at various Swiss Universities, argues that poverty, both on a national and a world scale, constitutes the central ethical issue in economic matters. As regards poverty inside the First World, he draws on a 1984 ILO report to conclude that the aim of introducing a basic income for the whole population "poses the most important challenge to social policy that should be met before the year 2000.

(Author's address: Postfach 39, CH-9004 St Gallen)

Krönner Hans Leo & Leggewie Claus (eds.), Wege ins Reich der Freiheit. André Gorz zum 65. Geburtstag, Berlin: Rotbuch Verlag (Postdammer Straße 98, D-1000 Berlin), 1989, 317p.

Among the very different essays (by Peter Glotz, Axel Honneth, Oskar Negt, Paul Ricoeur, Alain Touraine etc.) that make up this Gorz Festschrift, there is one, by Ulrich Mückenbecker, Claus Offe and Ilona Ostner, that deals directly with basic income: to defend it as an urgent social-political imperative, in the form of a negative income tax, and in conjunction with other measures aimed at fighting social exclusion.

Nissen, Sylke & Vobruba, Georg, "Wege aus der Armut. Soziale Grundsicherung und garantiertes Grundeinkommen", in K. Billert & H.-U. Otto Hrsgb, Soziale Arbeit auf der Suche nach Zukunft, Bielefeld: KT-Verlag, 1989, 49-62.

"Money is not everything, but without money everything is nothing." The provision of adequate resources will not solve the problem of poverty: it will always need to be supplemented by effective and sensitive social work. But it is an essential precondition for it, and one which is within our reach in advanced industrial societies. The key question is how the gains from continuing productivity increases can spread very widely. The authors argue that this won't happen spontaneously, and that for a variety of reasons this won't happen through the reduction of standard working time either. The only real promise lies in a direct redistribution of the increasing product - not through a redistribution of employment. This is the context in which it makes a lot of sense to discuss basic income.

(Authors' address: Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, Mittelweg 36, D-2000 Hamburg 76.)

Opielka, Michael, "Grundeinkommen und Sozialversicherung. Sozialtheoretische Überlegungen zur Reform sozialpolitischer Existenzsicherung", in B. Riedmüller & M. Rodenstein Hrsgb, Wie sicher ist die soziale Sicherung?, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1989, 286-317.

Published version of a theoretical/ historical working paper on basic income previously presented (BI 4: 9).

(Author's address: D-5202 Hennef 41, Wiederschall, West Germany.)

Opielka, Michael, "Abschaffung der Bedürftigkeitsprüfung?", in Sozialer Fortschritt. Unabhängige Zeitschrift für Sozialpolitik (Berlin & München: Duncker & Humblot) 38, October 1989, 231-236. Claimants are increasingly asking for the abolition of the means test. The article argues that such abolition is both theoretically and practically possible, providing no more is meant than the absence of any ex ante control of financial resources (not ex post control by the tax authorities), and it suggests by way of conclusion that the right to a non-means-tested income is a necessary, though insufficient condition, for the achievement of "community" among the members of a society.

Vobruba, Georg (ed.), *Der wirtschaftliche Wert der Sozialpolitik*, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot (Sozialpolitische Schriften n<sup>o</sup> 60), 1989, 239p.

The "crisis of the welfare state" has prompted various attempts to argue that social policy has "economic value". But which social policy? This question leads several contributors to this volume (the proceedings of a conference held at the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin in June 1988) to raise the issue of basic income. Guy Standing states the economic case for basic income on the background of the current debate about flexibility. Philippe Van Parijs spells out the conditions under which it is no longer absurd to assert that the introduction of a basic income would promote both justice and efficiency. And Christoph Deutschmann warns that "it is in the interest of the advocates of basic income to recognize in time the side effects of basic income and to keep them within acceptable limits". In particular, he argues, whereas a basic income may improve allocative efficiency (via enhanced flexibility), it would worsen productive efficiency (due to a reduction in job-related differential advantages).

(Editor's address: Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, Mittelweg 36, D-2000 Hamburg 76.)

## Italian

Arosio, Enrico, "Nuove teorie sociali: La prima a sinistra, dopo Keynes", in *L'Espresso* 1.10.89, 155-159.

A presentation of Meade's *Agathotopia*, followed by an interview with the author. Does Meade situate his proposal of a social dividend in a tradition that stems from Thomas Paine? History is not is trade, he answers, but in his youth he had much respect for Major Douglas. Though a lousy theoretician, Douglas had the right intuition about a major flaw in the British economic system and social credit as a remedy for it. In studying *Agathotopia*, has Meade been thinking about Britain? "Not particularly, rather about the nations of the coming Europe, a Europe in which there will have to be a system that is attractive for the Poles, the Hungarians and perhaps the Soviets", and in which there should be as much room as possible for experiments in economic policy.

Capecchi, Vittorio, "Dalla formazione professionale al reddito di cittadinanza", in *Politica ed Economia* 4, Aprile 1989, 11p.

This article is yet another element in the series devoted to basic income by the PCI-related magazine *Politica ed Economia*, in connection with the research conducted on this topic by the study centre of the CGIL Trade Union Confederation. Bologna sociologist Vittorio Capecchi argues for a medium-to-long term package of policies, that would need to include, in addition to a differentiated set of training policies, (1) a reduction in maximum working time, (2) an obligation to devote part of one's time to social service work, along the lines suggested by MP Laura Balbo in *Time to Care* (1987), and last but not least (3) a citizenship income granted unconditionally to all, but introduced

step by step, initially in the form of a right to an income for all those not working full time.

Meade, James, *Agathotopia*. Istruzioni per l'uso imprenditoriale della ricchezza pubblica, del lavoro e della proprietà privata, Milano: Feltrinelli ("Idee"), September 1989, xxvii + 147p., LIT 24000. A first draft of much of this book, also available in the original English version (see above), was presented at a conference organized in Rome in March 1988 by the Lega Nazionale delle Cooperative e Mutue. Hence this very prompt and excellent Italian edition, with a substantial foreword by Edwin Morley-Fletcher. It has already been reviewed in various places, e.g. in *L'Espresso*, 1.10.89 (see above, under Arosio), *Il Sole* 1.10.89 and the *Corriere della Sera* 8.10.89, and has aroused an interesting reaction from the General Secretary of the PCI in *L'Espresso*, 15.10.89 (see below, under Occhetto). (Author's address: Christ's College, Cambridge.)

Morley-Fletcher, Edwin, "Socialismo e proprietà", in *Politica ed Economia* 12, December 1988.

On the occasion of the updating of the Meidner plan in Sweden and of the imminent Italian publication of James Meade's *Agathotopia*, a brief plea for a citizenship income founded upon three pillars: (1) property rights over the interests of social funds (the "social dividend"), (2) property rights over public services (typically, through a "voucher" system) and (3) property rights over shares of free time (through the generalization of "sabbaticals").

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Morley-Fletcher, Edwin, "Un'ipotesi di eredità sociale", in *Politica ed Economia* (Roma) 6, June 1989, 2p.

In this short piece, the assistant to the President of the Lega delle Cooperative e Mutue, suggests the following scheme (in some ways reminiscent of Thomas Paine's first formulation of the basic income proposal). Why not implement the notion of a common inheritance by taxing wealth at a modest rate and redistributing the proceeds to all children from families with less than half the average income, upon their reaching adulthood? Tax-exempt gifts at the same level would be made possible for families with a higher income.

Occhetto e il Professore, in *L'Espresso*, 15.10. 1989, pp. 37-42.

An astonishing joint interview with the disconcertingly pro-market General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, Achille Occhetto, and British economist James Meade, whose latest book, *Agathotopia* has just been translated into Italian (see above). Is it not the case, Occhetto is asked, that Meade's proposal of a social dividend (or basic income) poses a direct challenge to the notion of strict proportionality between income and labour? There is no contradiction, he replies, between a social dividend and the notion of income as a reward for work. In the context of an increasingly automated economy, "wanting to preserve a rigid link between income and individual labour, not just aggregate social labour, is sheer proof of retrograde

dogmatism". A social dividend and state ownership (cum private management) of a large share of society's capital provide a road towards the abolition of workers' expropriation of the fruits of their labour. This interview has been widely commented in the Italian press, e.g. in Corriere della Sera 7.10.89, La Repubblica 7.10.89, L'Unità 7.10.89, Panorama 22.10.89.

Pugliese, Enrico & Saraceno, Chiara, "Reddito di cittadinanza e dintorni", in Politica ed Economia, June 1989, 4p.

A comment on the Italian debate by two sociologists (from Naples and Trento) taking part in the CGIL sponsored project on basic income. Most recent Italian proposals of a guaranteed minimum income paradoxically start as attempts to go beyond a "labouristic" conception of welfare, but end up strengthening some labouristic features of the present system. This is the case, in particular, with the proposals that subject the right to a guaranteed income to the performance of so-called "socially useful work", by which one actually means off-market labour that need not be any less tedious than "genuine labour" while not conferring the same status. What needs to be aimed at is a genuine, work-independent citizenship income, as part of a package of guarantees, including the right to good quality public services and the right to a real job. This long-term objective can guide immediate measures towards less selectivity and greater universality.

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#### WHAT IS BIEN?

The Basic Income European Network was founded in September 1986 to serve as a link between individuals and groups committed to, or interested in, basic income, i.e. an income unconditionally granted to all on an individual basis, without means test or work requirement, and to foster informed discussion on this topic throughout Europe.

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