# **BIEN** The Basic Income European Network

BIEN was founded in 1986 and aims to serve as a link between individuals and groups committed to or interested in basic income, and to foster informed discussion on this topic throughout Europe.

Link to BIEN Online at <a href="http://www.basicincome.org">http://www.basicincome.org</a>

## NewsFlash Nº14

**MARCH 2002** 

E-mail: bien@etes.ucl.ac.be

BIEN's NewsFlash contains up-to-date information on recent events and publications related to BIEN or basic income more generally. The NewsFlash is mailed electronically every two months to over 800 subscribers throughout Europe and beyond, and simultaneously made available for consultation or download at <u>BIEN Online</u>. Requests for <u>free subscription</u> or <u>items for inclusion or review</u> in future NewsFlashes are to be sent to BIEN's secretariat: Philippe Van Parijs, 17 rue de Pavie, 1000 Brussels, Belgium, E-mail: <a href="mailto:bien@etes.ucl.ac.be">bien@etes.ucl.ac.be</a>.

This NewsFlash has been prepared with the help of Dirk Jacobi, José Noguera and Walter Van Trier.

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## 2. EDITORIAL

As you will see from the provisional programme included in this issue, our Geneva congress is taking shape. Many of you have already accepted or offered to make a presentation. If you would still like to make a proposal, mention it VERY URGENTLY to <a href="mailto:bien@ilo.org">bien@ilo.org</a>, following the instructions below.

Meanwhile, our life members have been particularly active in recent weeks: Manfred Füllsack, Angelika Krebs, Yann Moulier-Boutang and Eduardo Suplicy have each published a new book or coordinated a collective volume that should have a major impact on the basic income discussion in their respective countries

To further amplify the impact of these and other efforts, our new web site should be ready for launching soon. We will let you know.

Have a lovely Easter break!

The Executive Committee

## 2. NINTH CONGRESS OF THE BASIC INCOME EUROPEAN NETWORK

"INCOME SECURITY AS A RIGHT" International Labour Office Geneva, Switzerland 12-14 September 2002

LAST CALL FOR PAPERS to be presented at the parallel workshops

If interested, please e-mail VERY URGENTLY to <a href="mailto:bien@ilo.org">bien@ilo.org</a> an outline of 100 words (in English or French), preferably fitting not too artificially into one of the four selected sub-themes: Income security as a right; Assessing selectivity; Citizenship credit cards; Legitimising basic income politically. The organising committee will inform you no later than 31 May whether your paper is accepted. A written version should be sent to the organisers by 31 August. To leave suitable room for discussion, presentation at the congress should take no more than 15 minutes. Further details on <a href="http://www.basicincome.org">http://www.basicincome.org</a>.

#### PROVISIONAL PROGRAMME

The following programme will still undergo several changers, but it gives a good idea of the planned timing and structure, as well as a non-exhaustive list of plenary speakers.

## **Thursday 12 September**

- 14:00 17:00hrs Pre-Congress Session: "Income Security in Switzerland".
   With the participation of Mark Hunyadi, Eric Etienne, Beat Burgenmeier, Sandro Cattacin, Marc-Henri Soulet, Pierre-Francois Unger
- 18:00hrs Reception, invitation and hosted by Geneva authorities

### Friday 13 September

- 08:00 09:00hrs Registration
- 09:00 09:30hrs Welcome and Introduction

With the participation of Juan Somavia, Assane Diop, Edouard Dommen, Andras November

- 09:30 11:00hrs First Plenary: Assessing Selectivity and Promoting Rights
  - With the participation of Tony Atkinson, Robert Holzmann, Nancy Fraser, Raymond Plant, Ilona Ostner, Ingrid Salvatore
- 11:15 13:00hrs Second Plenary: Income Security in Development
  - With the participation of Reuben Ricupero, Bob Deacon, Meghnad Desai, Eduardo Suplicy, Dharam Ghai
- 14:00 15:45hrs Workshops
  - 1. Citizenship Credit Cards: Electronic income transfers
  - 2. Basic Income: Prospects in South Africa
  - 3. Care Work: The Need for Income Security
- 16.00 17.45hrs Workshops
  - 1. Legitimising Basic Income in European Countries
  - 2. Income Security as a Development Right
  - 3. Assessing Selectivity
- 18:00hrs Reception

## Saturday, 14 September, 2002

- 09:15 10:45hrs Workshops
  - 1. The Philosophical Justification for Basic Income: US and European debates
  - 2. Workfare and Basic Income
  - 3. Promoting Basic Income in Development
- 11:00 13:00hrs Plenary: Legitimising Basic Income Politically
  - With the participation of Claus Offe, Robert Boyer, Scott Goldsmith, Osmo Soininvaara, Dalmer Hoskins, Philippe van Parijs, Guy Standing
- 14:00 15:45hrs BIEN Congress Business Meeting

## 3. EVENTS

NEW YORK (US), 8-9 March 2002: FIRST CONGRESS OF THE U.S. BASIC INCOME GUARANTEE NETWORK: FUNDAMENTAL INSECURITY OR BASIC INCOME GUARANTEE

The U.S. Basic Income Guarantee Network (USBIG) successfully held its first congress, with the active participations of members of BIEN such as Guy Standing and Eduardo Suplicy. Several economists involved in the US negative income tax experiments took an active part in the whole conference. The coordinators of the network are thinking of organising a similar congress every second year. For further information, contact Karl Widerquist at karl@widerquist.com.

STRESA (IT), 26-27 April 2002: TOWARDS NEW FORMS OF WELFARE

An international conference organised at the Grand Hotel des Iles Borromées, on the Lago Maggiore, by the Centro Nazionale di Prevenzione e Difesa Sociale, with contributions (among others) by Bruce Ackerman (Yale University) on "the stakeholders' society", by Gavin Kelly (IPPR, London) on the "child bond" and by Philippe Van parijs (Louvain University) on basic income. For further information: <a href="mailto:cnpds.ispac@iol.it">cnpds.ispac@iol.it</a>.

MADISON (US), 3-5 May 2002: RETHINKING REDISTRIBUTION

A "Real Utopias" conference organised by sociologist Erik Olin Wright (University of Wisconsin, Madison) around a paper by Bruce Ackerman and Anne Alstott (Yale Law School) on the idea of a one-off payment to every young adult, and one by Philippe Van Parijs (Université catholique de Louvain) on basic income. The discussion will be organised around comments by Claus Offe, Stephen Cohen, Nancy Fraser, Guy Standing, Barbara Bergman, Pascale Vielle, Michael Lewis, Carole Pateman, Ed Wolff, Julian Le Grand, Robert Haveman, Charles Sabel, John Roemer and Stuart White. The encounter is meant to feed a book in Verso's "New Utopias" series. For further information, contact Shamus Khan at <a href="mailto:skhan@ssc.wisc.edu">skhan@ssc.wisc.edu</a>.

# 4. GLIMPSES OF NATIONAL DEBATES

BELGIUM: GREEN MINISTER FOR BASIC INCOME, CHRISTIAN TRADE UNIONS AGAINST

Mieke Vogels, from the green party Agalev, is one of Flanders' best known politicians and has been a member of the Flemish government for three years. In an interview with the Flemish daily De Morgen (22.06.01), she declared "I am in favour of a basic income. We are slowly moving in that direction. Career interruption credits can be a first step. They give people a chance to temporarily interrupt their job. I want to uncouple work and income from one another. Sadly enough, our labour organisation does not fit in. It remains stuck in the obsolete old model." As it happens, Belgium's largest trade union confederation CSC-ACV is in the process of preparing a special congress on "the just income", to be held from 17 to 19 October 2002. One section of the preparatory report ("How fair is my income?", 25 January 2002) is entitled "No basic income". Why not? For two fundamental reasons. One is that a basic income "is undesirable: work is not the only, but still the most important means of self-development; it also remains the main and perhaps the last social link." The other it that "it is unreasonable: basic income offers too lazy a solution to work and employment. In two ways: unemployment would not be got rid of but defined away (unemployment would henceforth be called basic income); and employers would be exempted of any social obligation: no salary scales, no minimum wage, no labour law - all unnecessary, since everyone would then enjoy a minimum income, since everyone would then be able to live without working". Hardly promising... (For more: <a href="www.acv-csc.be">www.acv-csc.be</a>)

FRANCE: COMMUNIST PARTY ORGANISES A CONFERENCE ON BASIC INCOME

On 12 January, the French Communist Party's Commission on "the status of the active", coordinated by Gérard Lalot and Jacques Nikonoff, organised a one-day conference in Paris

entitled "For or against a universal existence income". Yann Moulier Boutang (economist, Sciences Po, Paris) and Arnaud Spire (philosopher) spoke in favour, while Jean-Marie Harribey (economist, University of Bordeaux) and Liem Hoang-Ngoc (economist, University of Paris I) spoke against. In his conclusion, Jacques Nikonoff stressed how useful the debate had been in clarifying misunderstandings on both sides. As an expression of persistent openness, the traditionally very labour-focused PCF's daily L'Humanité subsequently published an article by Arnaud Spire under the title "Outside waged labour no salvation?" (21 March 2002). For further information: <a href="mailto:yann.m.boutang@wanadoo.fr">yann.m.boutang@wanadoo.fr</a>.

## SPAIN: COMMUNIST PARTY EXPRESSES STRONG INTEREST IN BASIC INCOME

Held in March 2002, the XVIth Congress of the Spanish Communist Party adopted a resolution emphasizing the relevance of an unconditional basic income for the fight against poverty, the empowering of workers and particularly women, and the achievement of a society in which more is distributed according to need rather than market performance. It called for "the fostering of a debate about basic income within the Spanish communist party" through the organisation of conferences by a working group, which, "after gathering anxieties, doubts and suggestions, will have to prepare a basic proposal to be discussed in all sections and eventually in the Federal Committee". For further information, contact Daniel Raventos at <a href="mailto:ravento@eco.ub.es">ravento@eco.ub.es</a>.

# SOUTH AFRICA: TRADE UNIONS CALL FOR A GUARANTEED INCOME

In February 2002, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) together with the Coalition for a Basic Income Grant, Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) and other non-governmental organisations, made a public declaration in favour of a monthly basic income grant of R100 for all South Africans. Neil Coleman, from Cosatu, said: "We are saying there should be a universal grant that goes to everyone from cradle to grave as a constitutional right which will lift the 22 million people out of the dire poverty they are experiencing." The coalition reckons this would cost about 8% of tax revenues. For further information on the South African debate, cd.haarmann@generalmail.com. See also Dr. Dirk Haarmann & Dr. Claudia Haarmann's web site <a href="http://www.cdhaarmann.com">http://www.cdhaarmann.com</a> Claudia Haarmann's PhD (<a href="http://www.cdhaarmann.com/Publications/C\_PhD\_w.pdf">http://www.cdhaarmann.com/Publications/C\_PhD\_w.pdf</a>), which models the social and economic effect of a basic income guarantee in South Africa. Economic and Policy Research Institute (EPRI): <a href="http://www.epri.org.za">http://www.epri.org.za</a> Declaration of Principles: SOUTH AFRICANS FOR A BASIC INCOME GRANT: <a href="http://www.sacc-ct.org.za/BIGplat.html">http://www.sacc-ct.org.za/BIGplat.html</a> Development Resources Centre (DRC) - Basic income grant page: <a href="http://www.drc.org.za/income\_grant.html">http://www.drc.org.za/income\_grant.html</a>

# 5. RECENT PUBLICATIONS

DUTCH

DE ROO Alexander, "Hoe Nederlands stiekem het basisinkomen invoert", January 2002, 6p. (Author's address: <a href="mailto:address: aderoo@europarl.eu.int">aderoo@europarl.eu.int</a>)

BIEN treasurer and Dutch member of the European Parliament (Greens) Alexander de Roo took part in the congress on basic income organised in Liège (Belgium) by Roland Duchatelet's party "Vivant" in January 2002. De Roo's contribution can be found on his web site: <a href="www.xs4all.nl/~aderoo">www.xs4all.nl/~aderoo</a>. It provides a succinct synopsis of the history of the basic income in Holland so far (starting with the first pleas by a professor of social medicine and the radical party in the mid-seventies), a sketch of the present situation (with an estimated 60 % of the Dutch population in favour of the status quo, 15% in favour of an ultra-minimal neo-liberal welfare state and 25% in favour of a genuine basic income) and speculations about how alternations of government coalitions will end up introducing a basic income without ever saying so much, through a succession of advances and simplifications. "A basic income", he concludes, "is more liberal than the liberal party VVD and more social that the social party PvdA. Precisely because it has both advocates and opponents on both the right and the left of Dutch politics it cannot be introduced in the classic royal way. But at the end of the day it is only the outcome that counts."

## **ENGLISH**

SCHMITTER, Philippe & al., "Debate on Expanding Social Citizenship", in *Journal of European Social Policy* 11 (4), 2001, 342-62.

In issue 11 (1), 2001 of the *Journal of European Social Policy*, Philippe Schmitter (IUE, Florence) and Michael Bauer (Max Planck Projekt, Bonn) presented "a (modest) proposal for expanding social citizenship in the European Union". In this issue, this proposeal is challenged in two comments: "From Euro-stipend to Euro-dividend", by Philippe Van Parijs and Yannick Vandeborght (Université catholique de Louvain) argues that Schmitter and Bauer's proposal of an EU-wide means-tested guaranteed income has a number of defects, some mendable and some not, and invites them to jump straight away to a modest version of what they view as the end point of a long process, namely a universal "Euro-dividend", possibly funded by an EU-wide energy tax; Manos Matsaganis (University of Crete) likewise emphasises the country-level moral hazard problem generated by a means-tested scheme of the Schmitter-Bauer type and proposes instead a substantial (x5000) or more modest (x1000) birth grant to every child born from a woman residing in the EU. In their "Dividend, birth-grant or stipendium? A reply", Schmitter and Bauer accept some of their critics' suggestions for improving their proposal, but stick to the view that the greater political feasibility of a means-tested scheme more than offsets its disadvantage in terms of moral hazard, as a "modest, immediately beneficial and politically feasible step" in the right direction.

#### **FRENCH**

GAMEL, Claude, FOREST, Sarah, BALSAN, Didier & VERO, Josiane, ""L'avenir des minima sociaux: intégration dans une allocation universelle?", in *L'avenir des minima sociaux: partage révisé du risque de chômage ou intégration dans une allocation universelle*?, Paris: Commissariat général du plan, octobre 2001, pp. 85-167. (First author's address: claude.gamel@VMESA12.U-3MRS.FR)

This report for the French PlanningBureau by Claude Gamel (professor of economics at the University of Aix-Marseille and life member of BIEN) and his collaborators aims to contribute in two ways to the French debate on basic income: first by providing a synthetic and competent overview of the main contributions to the recent international discussion on the theoretical justification of an unconditional basic income, and secondly by attempting to assess the behavioural response of young people to the introduction of a modest unconditional basic income (EUR 300 per month,)in replacement of the slightly higher guaranteed minimum income (RMI), on the basis of the answers given in a large sample to questions about what they would do under hypothetical circumstances. The extent to which this second aim could be achieved was greatly limited by the poor quality of the data and some administrative difficulties in processing them, so that the study provides more suggestions about how one should proceed to learn more than firm conclusions about what has been learned. The first component of the study, on the other hand, provides a useful clarification of a number of important issues often blurred in the French debate (in particular in the widely publicised Belorgey report, published in 2000 by the Commissariat au Plan, which bluntly dismissed a universal basic income, both out of concern for "efficiency in public expenditure" and for "the dignity of the people"

MOULIER BOUTANG Yann & al., Garantir le revenu, numéro spécial de *Multitudes* (<u>multitudes@samizdat.net; www.samizdat.net/multitudes</u>) 8, mars-avril 2002, Paris, 145p. (Coordinator's address: <u>yann.m.boutang@wanadoo.fr</u>)

This special issue of a new political magazine directed by the French green economist Yann Moulier Boutang constitutes a rich collective volume that will further feed the French-language debate on basic income. It contains general left-green justifications of guaranteed minimum income proposals by Maurice Lazzarato, Yann Moulier Boutang, Bernard Guibert, Marc Heim and Laurent Guilloteau; interviews with Philippe Van Parijs, Robert Castel, Jean-Marie Monnier, Daniel Mouchard and Laurent Geffroy, contributions by groups of activists like "Act-Up Paris" and the Brussels-based "Collectif sans ticket" (militant public transport free riders) and articles about the debates in Germany (by Youri Gagarine), the Netherlands (Patrick Riemens) and Belgium (Yannick Vanderborght).

## **GERMAN**

FÜLLSACK, Manfred. *Leben ohne zu arbeiten? Zur Sozialtheorie des Grundeinkommens*. Berlin: Avinus-Verlag (<u>www.avinus.de</u>), 2002, 218p., ISBN 3-930064-07-3. (Author's address: manfred.fuellsack@univie.ac.at)

In the first part, the author argues that the "end of work" thesis is false, but that its being false is precisely what forces us to rethink the link between work and income. In the second part, he provides a critical overview of the international discussion on the justification, feasibility and possible

consequences of an unconditional basic income. [Book attributed by mistake to Daniel Eichler in our previous news flash. Sorry about this.]

KREBS, Angelika. *Arbeit und Liebe. Die philosophischen Grundlagen sozialer Gerechtigkeit.* Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Taschenbuch, 2002, 324p., EUR 12, ISBN 3-518-29164-5. (Author's address: Angelika.Krebs@unibas.ch)

In this integrated set of essays published in Suhrkamp's prestigious paperback series, Basel University professor and BIEN life member Angelika Krebs has a fresh look at social justice, labour and love and at their relationships. Part III (on labour and justice) consists of three essays ("Right to work or basic income?", "The right to the recognition of work", and "Why mothers should be fed. A critique of Philippe Van Parijs"), in each of which basic income plays a central role. Her main theme on this issue is that, in a work-oriented society such as (at least for the time being) ours, access to recognition through paid work and some sort of material recognition for currently unpaid work must be secured - which an unconditional basic income cannot achieve.

MITSCHKE, Joachim. "Ideologie statt Kalkül", in Süddeutsche Zeitung 26, 31 January 2002, p.20.

Professor Mitschke is sceptical about the German government's current attempt to reduce unemployment without worsening poverty through a reduction of social security contributions on low earnings. He believes US-type EITC is a better strategy, leading up to his own favourite strategy of a genuine negative income tax or Bürgergeld ("citizen's income").

NEGT, Oskar, 2001. *Arbeit und menschliche Würde*. München: Steidl Verlag, 747 p. (Authors adress: Institut für Soziologie, Schneiderberg 50, D-30167 Hannover).

The central issue of this new voluminous book by German sociologist Oskar Negt (who was a student of Theodor Adorno's before becoming Jurgen Habermas's assistant) is the argument that work is at the heart of a life in dignity. Unemployment is a "violent act" against citizens. However, waged employment for all in the present form would not be a satisfactory solution according to Negt. Other types of work have to be created and supported which would contribute to the general welfare and thereby enable individuals to realise themselves. In the chapter entitled "A morality beyond wage and desert", Negt argues that in this respect a basic income would be a decisive step forward. "To open the field for political work in the service of the common good and for other creative activities, I regard it as thinkable, that all citizens of a developed industrial society should receive a kind of basic salary (Grundgehalt), that guarantees them to some extent a dignified and secure existence."

## **PORTUGUESE**

SUPLICY, Eduardo Matarazzo. Renda de Cidadania. A saída é pela porta. Sao Paulo: Cortez editora, 2002, 368p., ISBN 85-86469-62-9 (Author's address: <a href="mailto:esuplicy@senado.gov.br">esuplicy@senado.gov.br</a>)

This is a major new contribution to the Brazilian and global debates on basic income security published on the occasion of the February 2002 Porto Alegre Forum by Brazil's federal senator Eduardo Suplicy (Workers' Party, PT). Part I briefly presents Suplicy's central motivation for his life-long struggle for the introduction of a guaranteed minimum scheme in Brazil. Parts II and III provide a well-informed and reflective history of the idea, from Thomas More and Juan Luis Vives to the Alaska Permanent Fund and the Basic Income European Network. Part IV present the main steps in the Brazilian discussion, including Suplicy's own proposals and the municipal experiments. The rest of the book consists of a collection of relevant documents. Part V includes Portuguese versions of Martin Luther King's "I have a Dream" (1963), of Thomas Paine's "Agrarian Justice" (1796), of an intervention by Senator Jose Paulo Bisol in the successful discussion of Suplicy's first proposal in Brazil's Senate (1991), of Philippe Van Parijs's background paper for BIEN's Berlin Congress (2000), and of a talk given by Guy Standing in Brasilia (1998). Part VI contains public exchanges between Suplicy and the PT leader Lula (who just won against Suplicy, in March 2002, to become the PT's candidate for Brazil's presidential election) and between Suplicy (and others) and the Nobel laureate Amartya Sen; the answers given by Nobel laureates Milton Friedman (in April 2000) and James Tobin (in September 2001) to a set of questions e-mailed to them by Suplicy, and an interview with the renown Brazilian economist Celsio Furtado (in December 2000). Finally, part VII contains the text of the main quaranteed income projects formulated for Brazil. This rich book is an essential reference for anyone involved in guaranteed income experiments and debates in Brazil, one of the world's most populated countries, and a useful source for people interested in basic income all over the world.

## **SPANISH**

NOGUERA José Antonio & RAVENTOS, Daniel. "La renta b1asica de ciudadanía. Acerca de su justicia, el derecho al trabajo y la polarización social", in Claves de la Razón Practica

(<u>claves@progresa.es</u>; <u>www.progresa.es/claves</u>) 120, March 2002, pp. 33-43. (First author's address: <u>jose.noguera@uab.es</u>)

In this article, two core members of Spain's basic income network try to clarify some misunderstandings and answer some objections to basis income. In particular they argue that an unconditional basic income is better equipped than a conditional one to fight polarisation as well as poverty; that an unconditional basic income is consistent with the preservation of strong work incentives; and that a "right to work" programme would be both more expensive and ethically more problematic than a basic income scheme.

#### 6. NATIONAL NETWORKS

#### OFFICIALLY RECOGNIZED BY BIEN

Citizen's Income Study Centre

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Tel.: 44-171-9557453 Fax: 44-171-9557534

E-mail: <u>citizens-income@lse.ac.uk</u> Website: <u>www.citizensincome.org</u>

Vereniging Basinkomen
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## AWAITING RECORNITION

Red Renta Básica (Spain).
 Chairman: Daniel Raventós

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08034 Barcelona, Spain

Web site: <a href="http://www.redrentabasica.org">http://www.redrentabasica.org</a>

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# OTHER EUROPEAN GROUPS

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• Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft der Sozialhilfeinitiativen (BAG-SHI)

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## **OUTSIDE EUROPE**

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Website: <a href="http://www.geocities.com/~ubinz/">http://www.geocities.com/~ubinz/</a>

Organisation advocating support income in Australia (OASIS)

Convenor: Allan McDonald

PO Box 280 Urangan Qld. 4655, Australia

Fax 07 4128 9971

E-mail: allanmcd@cyberalink.com.au

Website: <a href="http://www.satcom.net.au/supportincome">http://www.satcom.net.au/supportincome</a>

• BIEN Brazil (Basic Income Earth Network)

Coordinator: Eduardo Suplicy Senado Federal - Edifício Principal Térreo, Praça dos Três Poderes,

Brasília - DF, Brazil Tel. 311-3213/15/17.

E-mail: <a href="mailto:esuplicy@senador.senado.gov.br">esuplicy@senador.senado.gov.br</a>

• U.S. Basic Income Guarantee Network (USBIG)

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Coordinator: Sally Lerner

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Provisional website: <a href="http://www.fes.uwaterloo.ca/Research/FW">http://www.fes.uwaterloo.ca/Research/FW</a>

# 7. MORE ABOUT BIEN

## BIEN'S EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

• Prof. Ilona Ostner (<u>iostner@gwdq.de</u>), co-chair;

- Dr Guy Standing (<u>GuyStanding@compuserve.com</u>), co-chair;
- Alexander de Roo MEP (<u>aderoo@europarl.eu.int</u>), treasurer;
- Prof. Claus Offe (<u>coffe@sowi.hu-berlin.de</u>), research coordinator;
- Prof. Philippe Van Parijs (<u>vanparijs@etes.ucl.ac.be</u>), secretary, with support fromYannick Vanderborght (<u>vanderborght@etes.ucl.ac.be</u>)
- Dr Stuart Duffin (<u>Stuart.Duffin@SINE.org.uk</u>), communication co-ordinator, with support from Jurgen De Wispelaere (<u>J.De-Wispelaere@lse.ac.uk</u>).

#### HONORARY COMMITTEE MEMBERS

- Prof. Edwin Morley-Fletcher (<u>m-fletcher@cnel.it</u>)
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