

BASIC INCOME

Newsletter of the Basic Income European Network

N°14 September 1992

On 20 September, the French will vote on the future of Europe. On 18 and 19 September, we shall be discussing in Paris what form this future should take.

Final details on the fourth BIEN conference, to be held this month at the University of Paris-Saint-Maur, on page 11.

BIEN members are warmly invited to attend the fourth meeting of BIEN's General Assembly, to be held in Paris on 19 September at 6 pm, at the same place as the conference.

From RMI to basic income?

A brand new collection of French contributions is reviewed on pages 8-9.

Is an unconditional income immoral?

This is the central question of a new paperback on the ethics of basic income reviewed on page 8.

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT:

An annotated bibliography of books on basic income in six languages

is contained in the centre pages.

CONTENTS

OUR NETWORK

- 2 The Executive Committee
- 2 The Editorial Board
- 3 Events
- 11 Programme of BIEN conference
- 12 How to join BIEN
- 12 Membership form

PUBLICATIONS

- 4 Dutch
- 5 English
- 8 French
- 10 German

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HOW YOU CAN HELP

1. **Keep us informed.** Send promptly to the editor any news, announcements, books, pamphlets, working papers, etc. that may interest other people in the network. Deadline for next issue: 1 December 1992.
2. **Circulate the Newsletter.** BIEN members can ask for back issues and additional copies, which will be sent free of charge.
3. **Recruit new members** by asking interested people to fill in and return the form on page 12.

THE EDITORIAL BOARD

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This issue of
Basic Income

was prepared with the help of Jude Black, Sue Black, Julian McQueen, Georg Vobruba and all those who spontaneously sent relevant material.
Many thanks!

EVENTS

BASIC INCOME RESEARCH GROUP

ANNUAL CONFERENCE 1992

(LONDON, 3 JULY 1992)

The Basic Income Research Group organized its annual conference on 3 July at Toynbee Hall, London. Three topics were discussed in the morning: (1) Family-based or individual assessment unit? (2) Will there ever be full employment again? (3) Is a National Minimum Wage a good idea? Each debate consisted in short speeches from opposing positions, followed by a commentary and then by contributions from the floor. Four working groups were formed in the afternoon, on the following topics: (1) basic income and Europe; (2) basic income and unemployment; (3) basic income and a National Minimum Wage; and (4) basic income and the assessment unit. Amongst the speakers were Steven Webb (Institute for Fiscal Studies), Holly Sutherland (London School of Economics), Tony Lloyd MP, and Ken Mayhew (Oxford University). For further information, contact BIRG, 102 Pepys Road, GB-London SE14 5SG, telephone (44)(71)6399838.

BASIC INCOME RESEARCH GROUP

CONSULTATION ON "A CITIZENS' EUROPE AND A CITIZENS' INCOME"

(WINDSOR, 29-30 OCTOBER 1992)

The Basic Income Research Group will be holding a consultation at St. George's House, Windsor, from lunchtime on Thursday 29 October to the afternoon of Friday 30 October. Thursday afternoon will be devoted to citizenship income in a European context, with talks by Lord Meghnad Desai, Sir Ralf Dahrendorf, Hermione Parker, and Bill Jordan. On Friday morning, discussions will focus on the question of how to implement decisions about citizenship income in Great Britain, with short addresses by Michael Welsh MEP, Walter Eltis (NEDO), and John Edmonds (GMB). In the afternoon, several working groups will meet and later report on their conclusions in a final plenary session. The programme and practical information are available from BIRG, 102 Pepys Road, GB-London SE14 5SG, telephone (44)(71)6399838.

BEYOND THE WELFARE STATE/ AU-DELÀ DU R.M.I ET DE L'ETAT-PROVIDENCE Paris, 18-19 September 1992

Fourth international conference of the Basic Income European Network

An updated programme and details about whom to contact for practical matters are given on page 11. BIEN's General Assembly will be held immediately after the conference, on September 19 at 6 pm.

PUBLICATIONS

DUTCH

DE BEUS, Jos. "Economisch burgerschap: een ideaal zonder beweging", in *Burgerschap* (J.B.D. Simonis, ed.), Jaarboek van Beleid en Maatschappij, Boom (Meppel), 1991, 21p.

In this short piece, Amsterdam economist Jos de Beus reviews six models of economic democracy: widespread ownership (Meade), cooperative enterprises (Dahl), the development of a non-monetary sector (Heinze & Offe), market socialism with a right to work (David Miller), public corporatism (David Marquand) and basic income. Despite the crisis of the social-democratic welfare state to which they all claim to provide an alternative, none of these models, de Beus concludes, has managed to provide more than an ideal without a movement.

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

HARTOG, Joop & THEEUWES, Jules. "Arbeid en arbeidsmarkt", in *Economisch-statistische berichten* n°3849, 4 March 1992, p.220-224.

In the current economic debate in the Netherlands, economics professors Hartog and Theeuwes distinguish three sets of proposals: the old ones, the borrowed ones, and the crazy ones. Among the latter, they briefly discuss the proposal that all young people up to 27 should receive an unconditional basic income equal to the present level of student grants. "The justice argument is clear. Why should students receive a grant from the government while workers of the same age receive nothing? However unjust, the answer is that the government wants to stimulate studying because a better trained workforce is beneficial for the whole society. We therefore believe it is more relevant to talk about savings and restrictions in the present grant system than about expansion to the whole young population."

(Authors' address: Department of Economics, respectively Universiteit van Amsterdam and Rijksuniversiteit Leiden.)

JANSSEN, Raf. *Arbeid, tijd en geld ontschaarsen. Een Nieuwe kijk op armoede en burgerschap*, Utrecht: Commissie Oriënteringsdagen (Europalaan 276, NL-3526 KS Utrecht), 1992, 196p., DFI 31.50.

In much the same line as his doctoral dissertation (see *BI* 8:5), this new book by Dutch sociologist and anti-poverty activist Raf Janssen argues for a way of reconciling environmental concerns and the satisfaction of everyone's needs that involves the adoption of a more sober way of life. The required "un-scarcing of work, time and money" is never very remote from the concerns that motivate many basic income supporters, including Janssen himself. In this book, however, he only touches briefly on the issue: "The possibility of such a basic income has already been discussed for several years by many people in many countries. However, it does not look likely that such a basic income will be introduced in the near future, despite the fact that recent economic calculations [see the work of de Broeder & de Roo reviewed in *BI* 12:4] show once again that it would be perfectly feasible in the Netherlands, and that it would have favourable effects on man, society and the environment."

(Author's address: c/o Commissie Oriënteringsdagen, see above.)

VAN TRIER, Walter. "Het basisinkomen als derde weg?", *Streven* (Sanderstraat 5, B-2018 Antwerpen) 59(9), pp. 779-801.

This issue of the Flemish Jesuits' social and cultural monthly contains James Meade's summary of his *Agathotopia* (see *BI* 6:7). It is preceded by a short intellectual biography of Meade by BIEN secretary Walter Van Trier and followed by some considerations, also by Van Trier, about basic income as a "third way" in both Eastern Europe, "where the industry that has not yet been privatized can provide the wealth required to pay each citizen a social dividend," and Western Europe, "where an unconditional income on EEC scale can serve as a ground layer for the further harmonization and integration of existing social security arrangements."

(Author's address: 21 Bosduifstraat, B-2018 Antwerpen.)

NIEUWSBRIEF BASISINKOMEN n°2, Werkplaats basisinkomen, June 1992, 14p.

This latest issue of the Dutch basic income network contains a brief plea by Jan Pot for basic income as a "ground right" corresponding to the

value of land, which he believes to correspond to one third of the Dutch national income. It also contains a report on the welfare state discussion in the Green-left party, which is now proposing an unconditional (no work test) and fully individualized income guarantee at the level of DFI 200 (about ECU 100) in the form of a negative income tax side by side with a means-tested and differentiated (according to household type) income supplement for those whose income is inadequate. Finally, there is characteristically lucid and sobering piece by Labour Party economist Paul de Beer: "Basic

income has great advantages such as the end of controls and the possibility of earning without restriction. But it is misleading to suggest both that a basic income would put an end to all undesired controls and that no one with a minimum income would lose. The adult recognition of the less attractive side of BI is indispensable to show the opponents of basic income that its supporters stand with both feet on the ground."

(Address, Werkplaats Basisinkomen, Herman Heijermansweg 20, NL-1077 WL Amsterdam.)

ENGLISH

ATKINSON, Anthony. *The Social Safety Net*, London School of Economics, STICERD, Welfare State Programme, Paper WSP/66, November 1991, 43p.

This lucid and well-documented paper by Cambridge professor of economics Anthony Atkinson was written for an East European audience. It discusses the relevance of a social safety net in the process of transition in Eastern Europe and shows through many illustrations how the optimal design and level of the safety net is strongly dependent on the interaction between social and economic policy, and on an exact specification of the social objectives being pursued. There is no explicit discussion of basic income, but there are various hints. Atkinson argues, for example, that under reasonable assumptions, the existence of a safety net can foster self-employment by reducing the personal risk involved in setting up a business. "This could be further re-inforced if the benefit also serves to finance an initial period of unprofitable operation before the business became successful." Clearly, for this objective to be effectively pursued, "the safety net would have to cover those in work", and not just the unemployed and the retired. Existing means-tested safety nets in the West have been criticized on many counts: inadequate levels, low rate of take-up, stigmatization, unemployment traps. Yet, as Atkinson observes, no consensus has emerged about how to reform them, no doubt partly because there is no real consensus about the objectives. Those who argue in favour of more selectivity as a condition for (politically achievable) adequate levels of provision would do well to ponder on the following passage from an ILO report quoted at the end of the paper: "People are more willing to contribute to a fund from which they derive benefit than to a fund going exclusively to the poor. The poor gain more from universal than from income-tested benefits."

(Author's address: Cambridge University, Faculty of Economics, 4 Petersfield, GB-Cambridge CB1 1BB.)

BIRG BULLETIN, n°15, July 1992 (Basic Income Research Group, 102 Pepys Road, GB-London SE14 5SG), 32p., ISSN 0954-8246.

This issue opens with a plea by Lord Meghnad Desai (London School of Economics) in favour of a basic income guarantee of £50 per week (see also *BI 13:8*), based on voter status. He sees the main challenge as a political one, since "the important point is to be able to launch [basic income proposals] across the main political parties." Bill Jordan (Sheffield University) also takes a political view and argues that a Citizen's Income would breathe new life into increasingly de-politicized societies. It could offer an alternative to unpopular policies currently used by Western governments to reduce the number of claimants and is also, he claims, the only means by which a civic culture can be re-created over the shambles left by years of hard-line liberalism. The Revd. Ronald Preston (University of Manchester) shares this enthusiasm and goes even further: for him, basic income is an expression of the ability of humans to cooperate in order to comply with "God's will (...) for human flourishing." These views are somewhat mitigated by the findings of Rik van Berkel (University of Utrecht) and trade union consultant Theo Hindriks (see also *BI 13:7*) that many claimants of social security see basic income in a less glorious light than some of its advocates. "These results," they claim, "emphasise the importance of preventing the BI debate from being monopolised by intellectuals." Alexander de Roo (European Parliament) reports on the failure of the latest citizen's income proposal at the European Parliament (see also *BI 12:3* and *BI 13:5*), while Michel Genet and Philippe Van Parijs (both University of Louvain) argue that a European partial basic income could be financed through

the very measures which the European Commission proposes. They propose that swollen EEC-level energy taxes should serve to fund a low basic income of about 100 ECUs per month throughout the Community, and explore some consequences such a measure could have. Derek Hum and Wayne Simpson (University of Manitoba) describe the income security system in Canada and show that the "demogrant" component of the transfers currently existing in that country is rather close in spirit to a basic income. Gabriel Amitsis (International Social Security Association) offers a broad description of Greece's social security system and argues that "because of the economic crisis (...), the case for introducing a guaranteed (means-tested) Minimum Income [in Greece] looks stronger than the case for a guaranteed (universal) Basic Income."

(Address: BIRG, see above.)

CARLING, Alan. *Social Division*, London & New York: Verso (6 Meard Street, GB-London W1V 3HR), 1992, 441p., ISBN 0-86091-5069, hardcover and paperback.

This major new contribution to social theory aims to provide a general and rigorous approach to "social division" that deals with social class as a special case alongside race and gender. The idea of a basic income plays a central role in the last part of the book ("Socialism and social division"), which sketches some political perspectives on the basis of the preceding analysis. Using a simple but elegant mathematical framework, the author analyzes the "basic income game", defined as a situation in which equally able and needy individuals choose between working and not working, knowing that the workers' *whole* product will be distributed equally to all. He suggests and discusses the feasibility and fairness of various ways in which the economy can be saved from a collapse through universal abstention from work. Although basic income is not nearly as unworkable or as authoritarian as some of its critics have claimed, Carling concludes, "it seems very unlikely that a basic income scheme is workable without some system of sanctions against free-riders. (...) Whatever social apparatus is devised to administer these sanctions—formal or informal, moral or material, centralized or decentralized—there will have to be externally applied discipline in the society."

(Author's address: University of Bradford, Department of Interdisciplinary Studies, UK-Bradford BD7 1DP.)

JORDAN, Bill, JAMES, Simon, KAY, Helen & REDLEY, Marcus. *Trapped in Poverty? Labour-*

Market Decisions in Low-Income Households, London and New York: Routledge, 1992, 350p., ISBN 0-415-06867-3.

This book offers a detailed analysis, based on interviews, of the way in which low-income households with children choose their work and their working time, what wages they accept, and how they see their prospects. The book is not about basic income, but the conclusions reached by the authors are quite interesting in assessing the relevance of basic income schemes. Much space is devoted to the perceptions people have of the social benefits they receive and to the types of activities they perform while being claimants. Most interviewees say they earn on undeclared cash jobs but impose themselves limits on how much of such work they perform. It turns out that "what our interviewees actually describe themselves as doing corresponds rather closely to (...) how the schemes for Transitional and Partial Basic Incomes (...) would work." The paradox noted by the authors is that most people surveyed would condemn basic income as "helping scroungers" if it were described to them in the abstract, but "if it were pointed out to them that these schemes simply made official the rules under which almost all of them operated their lives, these interviewees might be more readily persuaded of their merits."

(First author's address: Perriton Farm House, Whimble, Exeter, England.)

MENZIES, Ken. "The enabling State: Welfare and the creation of the possibility of participation", mimeographed, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Guelph, 1991, 62p.

The general context of this paper (which is a chapter of a book in preparation) is an "enabling State," that is, a State which "should enable its disadvantaged to live authentic lives—to live up to their potential as they see it." This provides a favourable background for an unconditional basic income, and the author devotes several pages to what he calls a "universal basis subsistence benefit," which he estimates at about \$175 a month for 1991 (corresponding roughly to the level of income tax exemption in Canada). This benefit must be individual, and must not be lower for children so as to avoid child poverty. But its level, the author argues, should not be high because incentives should be upheld to reward those individuals who adhere to the work ethic: "Fairly generous benefits (near minimum wage) [have] to be policed."

(Author's address: see above.)

LOFTAGER, Jørn. "Basic income—an institutional mechanism beyond the market-welfare State compromise?", paper presented at

the workshop on The Politics of Civil Society and the Welfare State, University of Limerick, 30 March-4 April 1992, 30p.

According to Danish political scientist Jørn Loftager, the relevance of basic income has to be assessed in the context of a "crisis of industrialist problem-solving strategies," characterized by the search for a new mix of institutional mechanisms that goes "beyond [the] welfare state/market compromise which (...) has shown major difficulties and contradictions." The basic context is one in which the notion of "civil society" is increasingly viewed as an alternative both to market economics and to State management. The paper begins with a long and well-argued discussion of the pros and cons of basic income. The second part tries to assess the feasibility of basic income for Denmark. The conclusions in this respect are, as could be expected, rather ambiguous, mainly because the effect of a basic income and the correlative high tax rates on Danish labour supply is not easy to estimate. "The ambiguity regarding the effects of a basic-income scheme is related to its status as a mechanism beyond the market-welfare state compromise. Inasmuch as it seeks to build upon (...) the logic of the (labour) market, (...) it will sustain the existing materialistic culture of consumption. [But] basic income is a de-commodifying device too, inasmuch as it will secure a basis of subsistence independent of the labour market. In that respect, it might contribute to the (...) recognition of the crucial importance of civil society."

(Author's address: Institute of Political Science, University of Aarhus, 8000 Aarhus, Denmark.)

PRESSMAN, Steven. "The \$1,000 question: A tax credit to end child poverty?", in *Challenge*, January-February 1992, p.49-52.

This is an informative, clear and sympathetic discussion of *Beyond Rhetoric*, the recently released report of the U.S. National Commission on Children set up by President Bush and chaired by Senator John D. Rockefeller IV. One single proposal stands out as the major thrust of the report: a refundable tax credit of \$1,000 per year and per child, i.e. an unconditional basic income of over \$90 a month for every American under 18. The author explains and endorses the Commission's preference for such a tax credit over its main competitors: (1) an expansion of the earned income tax credit (which would be of no use to the unemployed), (2) a rise in the minimum wage (most of which would be of no use to poor families with children), and (3) enhanced child support for single parents (which would create a strong disincentive for single mothers to get married). Refundable tax credits would "provide universal benefits, thus giving

them greater political standing and reducing the likelihood that they will be reduced at some future date." They would constitute an important step in the right direction, even though one can of course not expect from a single policy a complete solution to the problem of child poverty.

(Author's address: Monmouth College, Department of Economics and Finance.)

VAN PARIJS, Philippe (ed.). *Arguing for Basic Income: Ethical Foundations for a Radical Reform*, London: Verso (6 Meard Street, GB-London W1V 3HR), 1992, 288 p., £12.95 (in paperback), ISBN 0-86091-586-7.

Basic income has been vindicated using the widest range of arguments. Liberty and equality, efficiency and simplicity, joint ownership of the Earth and equal sharing in the benefits of technical progress, autonomy from bosses, husbands and bureaucrats, have all been invoked in its defence. Objections, too, are many and varied. But one of them has emerged, on both the Left and the Right, as the main stumbling block: the ethical objection that it is unfair to receive an income without giving something in exchange—or at least being willing to do so. Can this objection be countered? This is the central question of this book. A long introduction by the editor provides a comprehensive historical survey of competing justifications of basic income. It is followed by two pieces on the socio-economic background of the contemporary basic income discussion, one by German social theorist and first BIEN chairman Claus Offe and one by British labour economist and BIEN co-chairman Guy Standing. And then comes the ethical discussion itself, with contributions by Hillel Steiner and Alan Carling on the libertarian argument, by John Baker, Brian Barry and Richard Norman on the egalitarian argument, by Bill Jordan, André Gorz and Michael Freeden on the communitarian argument, and by Robert Goodin and Philippe Van Parijs on efficiency-based arguments. This collection does not settle the controversial issues it tackles. But it provides a bundle of elaborate arguments which no future contribution to the ethical discussion can safely ignore.

BIEN members can order a copy of the paperback version for £9.95 (postage included) using the enclosed order form and returning it to Verso, 6 Meard Street, GB-London W1V 3HR.

RANKIN, Keith. "The Universal Welfare State, incorporating proposals for a Universal Basic Income", mimeographed, Department of Economics, University of Auckland, October 1991, 16p.

In this paper, New Zealand economist Keith Rankin proposes "a form of universal income distribution and taxation that is diametrically opposed to the tightly targeted system being implemented in New Zealand; a system that, as full-employment becomes an unrealistic economic goal, could well become the basis of twenty-first century welfare provision." The system he is proposing "seeks to enhance the freedom of *all* individuals (...) while maintaining the marketplace as a means of allocating resources. It is based on a universal tax credit, available to every adult, and a moderately high flat tax rate." The magnitudes he proposes are a tax credit of about \$500 per month and a tax rate of 48%. "The basic income should be regarded as a dividend, not a benefit, and should be indexed [to GNP per capita rather than consumer prices]." A tax system based on such a scheme would, Rankin argues, have the advantage of producing automatic stabilizers through the budget and of giving workers increased bargaining power. The author provides an extensive statistical analysis in support of his proposal. (Author's address: Economics Department, University of Auckland, New Zealand.)

FRENCH

GANTELET, Gilles & MARECHAL, Jean-Paul (eds.). *Garantir le revenu: une des solutions à l'exclusion*, Paris: *Transversales Science Culture*, Document n°3, mai 1992, 158 p., ISSN 1145-55284, FF100.

A collective volume on minimum income guarantees with contributions by Yoland Bresson, Alain Caillé, Marie-Louise Duboin, Chantal Euzéby, Gilles Gantelet, André Gorz, Pierre Lavagne, René Passet, Jacques Robin and Philippe Van Parijs, among others. The analysis starts from the recognition that modern Western economies have undergone fundamental technological and social changes which render them increasingly prosperous, yet incapable of securing full employment. Against this background, some of the authors argue in

favour of the notion of a "distributive economy." Two chapters are devoted to the guaranteed income schemes which currently exist in Europe, with particular emphasis on the French "revenu minimum d'insertion" (RMI). Since such schemes, the editors argue, are "interesting advances towards the recognition of a right to the coverage of individuals' basic needs" but are still too far from the desired "distributive logic," many contributions are devoted to more radical proposals diversely called existence income, universal grant and citizenship income. The dimension of citizenship, it is argued, becomes essential once the link between the notion of a successful life and workforce participation has been severed. The European dimension of such schemes is strongly emphasized, and one

chapter is even devoted to showing how a basic income (here called "revenu d'existence") could solve problems which are left open by the Common Agricultural Policy and its "ill-adapted system of aids." The last part of the book is devoted to the debate between basic income and working-time reduction without income compensation. The book concludes with a plea for a fundamental change in attitudes toward paid work. Although work sharing is an important option, it is argued, it needs to be "coupled with a guaranteed minimum income for everyone." For the editors, "all things considered, the advantages [of such an income] massively outweigh the drawbacks," and they insist on launching the debate about basic or citizenship income at the EEC level, following Jacques Delors's suggestion that Europe should imagine "a new logic of production and exchange."

(Address: Copies can be ordered from *Transversales*, 29 rue Marsoulan, F-75012 Paris, FF70 plus package for BIEN members.)

GISLAIN, Jean-Charles. "Le garantisme de la Révolution française", in G. Faccarello and Ph. Steiner (eds.), *La pensée économique pendant la Révolution française*, Grenoble: Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, 1990, and in *Economies et Sociétés*, volume XXIV, n°7-10, série PE, 1990.

A well-informed account of guaranteed livelihood schemes at the time of the French Revolution. Thomas Paine's basic cash endowment plus pension proposal is presented against the background of the strict "agrarian guarantism" of the Abbé Antoine de Courmand and the "state guarantism" of the "secours public" that came to prevail. An interesting but long-forgotten fragment of the prehistory of basic income.

(Author's address: Université de Nantes, Faculté des Sciences Economiques, 110 Boulevard Michelet, F-44300 Nantes.)

LEGROS, Michel & SIMONIN, Bernard. "Le revenu minimum d'insertion et l'accès à l'emploi: Quelques éléments de réflexion sur la situation française", in *Travail et Société*, 16/2, 1991, pp. 213-239.

This well-documented paper by two labour economists presents the tentative conclusions of a survey conducted by the Parisian Centre de recherche pour l'étude et l'observation des conditions de vie (CREDOC) on a sample of almost 2000 recipients of the "revenu minimum d'insertion" (RMI). Most recipients feel they are not stigmatized, and although the sample is rather heterogeneous in terms of attitudes towards work, many recipients see the RMI

mostly as a means to get back into the labour market. The results, however, are less convincing, according to the authors, mainly because the "insertion" component is unsatisfactory. Many beneficiaries are medium- or long-term unemployed who are increasingly estranged from the labour market, so that "two years after the introduction of the RMI in France, a large majority of those recipients who would like to work are unlikely to find a stable position in the near future." Another problem is that most recipients in the sample never signed the "insertion contract" which is supposed to stipulate the efforts the person has to make towards social re-insertion. Since, in addition, there is no obligation for firms or the State to hire RMI beneficiaries, "the recipients of the RMI are not those with the best outlook for job access." The authors doubt that there will be a strong public desire to abandon the RMI, but they predict the progressive adoption of a "differentiated RMI" characterized by clearly distinct groups of beneficiaries—which might lead to a dichotomy between those really asking for social re-insertion and the others.

(First author's address: CREDOC, 142, rue du Chevaleret, F-75013 Paris.)

GERMAN

CARITAS SCHWEIZ. *Existenzsicherndes Grundeinkommen?*, Berichte, Heft 2/91, 1991, 115 p., SFr 7.50.

In this volume, the Swiss social help organization Caritas publishes the contributions to a session on minimum income held in February 1991. The starting point of the session was the fact that, although Switzerland remains a very prosperous country, the gap between middle classes and the poor is growing ever wider. In the face of this problem, "small and isolated changes in social policy do not offer any long-term solutions." A guaranteed minimum income appears to be a possible vector of fundamental reform. Most contributors are sceptical about a fully unconditional basic income and prefer to focus their discussions and calculations on variants of the French "revenu minimum d'insertion" (RMI), which is both means- and work-tested. The mistrust about an unconditional scheme derives less from the (classical) problems of laziness and exploitation than from a feeling that such a scheme "represents a measure of pure social assistance." What matters, it is claimed, is rather to give citizens the means to be re-inserted in the society, and in that respect the RMI is seen as more appropriate. (Address: Caritas Schweiz, Inlandhilfe, Löwenstraße 3, CH-6002 Luzern.)

DAHMS, Harry. "Die gesellschaftliche Rationalisierung der Ökonomie", in *Soziale Welt*, Jahrgang 43, Heft 2, 1992.

The concept of a guaranteed minimum income belongs to a rather long tradition in social theory, which can be traced from Hegel to Habermas, Dahrendorf or Offe via the work of Eduard Heimann. This tradition emphasizes the changes which affect the relationship between economy and society in the long run, or the "societal rationalization of the economy." In Hegel's remarks on poverty in *The Philosophy of Law*, the stage is set for an examination of the constitutional character of the guaranteed minimum income. Although Heimann did not address the idea of a guaranteed minimum income as such, his *Social Theory of Capitalism* of 1929 provides a frame of reference for the project of a contemporary theory of social policy that fosters such an idea. A theory of social policy that treats the guaranteed minimum income as a constitutional entitlement really takes shape in the works of authors such as Dahrendorf and Offe. The article concludes by construing the concept of a guaranteed

minimum income as one step in a process of societal rationalization of the economy.

NIGGLI, Peter. "Krise des Sozialstaats und garantiertes Mindesteinkommen", in *Widerspruch. Beiträge zur sozialistischen Politik* (Postfach 652, CH-8026 Zürich), Jahrgang 12, Heft 23, 1992.

The article presents a short summary of the German basic income discussion in the eighties. It starts with a critique of the link between waged labour and the selectivity of the social security system (especially in connection with female poverty). It then summarizes critical counterarguments from the trade union and feminist points of view. Finally, some conditions for a "good" implementation of a guaranteed basic income are offered.

NISSEN, Sylke (ed.). *Modernisierung nach dem Sozialismus: Ökologische und ökonomische Probleme der Transformation*, Marburg: Metropolis Verlag, 1992.

A collection of reflexions on the conflict between ecology and economy in the former planned economies. In her contribution "Citizenship im Modernisierungsprozeß," Sylke Nissen sees a guaranteed basic income as a possible solution to the contradiction between economic interests and ecological priorities. (Editor's address: Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, Mittelweg 36, D-2000 Hamburg 13.)

ZWICKY, Heinrich. "Die neuen Selbständigen", in *Widerspruch. Beiträge zur sozialistischen Politik* (Postfach 652, CH-8026 Zürich), Jahrgang 12, Heft 23, 1992.

In this article, a guaranteed basic income is presented as a solution to the socio-political problems of a growing number of "new entrepreneurs" in Switzerland. The author stresses that the trade unions should care more about this growing social group.

BEYOND THE WELFARE STATE/ AU-DELÀ DU R.M.I ET DE L'ETAT-PROVIDENCE
Paris, 18-19 September 1992
Fourth international conference of the Basic Income European Network

REMINDER AND UPDATED PROGRAMME

FRIDAY 18 SEPTEMBER 1992

9 am: Registration.

10 am: Opening speech by Yoland Bresson (Paris).

Topic 1: The relevance of basic income in today's world

Chairman: Edwin Morley-Fletcher, co-chairman of BIEN.

Speakers: Lord Meghnad Desai (London School of Economics) and Philippe Van Parijs (Université Catholique de Louvain).

Panel discussion with René Dumont, François Ewald, Bernard Herzog, Pierre Rosanvallon and others.

Topic 2: The feasibility of basic income and the obstacles to its implementation

Chairman: Henri Guitton, Member of the Institut de France, president of AIRE.

Speakers: Anthony Atkinson (Cambridge University) and Bruno Levy and Pierre Lavagne (Université Paris/St Maur).

Parallel workshops on concrete proposals relating to the introduction of a basic income in individual European countries, at EEC level and in Eastern Europe and the Third World.

Evening: Reception at the Paris City Hall at 6 pm, with the president of the ILO.

SATURDAY 19 SEPTEMBER 1992

Topic 3: Historical roots of basic income and assessment of existing guaranteed minimum schemes

Chairman: Guy Standing, co-chairman of BIEN.

Speakers: Walter Van Trier (Antwerp) and Patrick Viveret (Paris)

Two parallel workshops on

- historical roots and theoretical foundations;
- the assessment of the RMI and similar schemes in other countries, in relation to basic income.

Topic 4: What should be proposed ? At what level ? At what pace ?

Plenary session with a general discussion opened by

- brief reports of relevant facts or suggestions that emerge from the workshops;
- brief prepared statements by some participants.

4 pm: Joint declaration and closing speeches by Edwin Morley-Fletcher, co-chairman of BIEN, and Henri Guitton, chairman of AIRE.

5 pm: Drink offered by the University of Paris-Saint-Maur.

6 pm: Business meeting—BIEN General Assembly.

The workshops on topics 2 and 3 will be addressed, among others, by M.-L. Duboin, B. Gazier, P. Lavagne, M. Pagat, F. Perdrizet, P. Sauvage, M. Genet, C. Euzéby, D. Purdy, H. Parker and others.

Working languages: French and English.

Registration fee: FF350, including conference papers and meals.

For registration and practical information, including hotel reservations, contact Miss H. Boussatha, Faculté des Sciences Economiques et de Gestion de Paris/Saint-Maur, 58, Avenue Didier, F-94210 La Varenne Saint-Hilaire, telephone: (33)(1)49768098, telefax: (33)(1)48852993.

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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TO BECOME A MEMBER OF BIEN FOR THE PERIOD 1991-1994

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