As from 1989, the BIEN Newsletter will be sent out three times a year (Easter, Summer, Christmas). It will include
• News about the life of our network;
• Information about relevant political developments in the various European countries and at the EEC level;
• Reports on and announcement of conferences and other events relating to basic income;
• An annotated list of relevant recent publications, both academic and popular, in the various European languages.

VERY IMPORTANT:

This is the last issue of the Newsletter which is being sent everyone on our current mailing list. As from 1989, mailing of the Newsletter will be restricted to BIEN members.

To become a member of BIEN, you need to fulfil two conditions:
(1) be interested in basic income (an income unconditionally granted to all on an individual basis, without means test or work requirement), without necessarily being committed to its introduction in your country or elsewhere;
(2) pay a two-yearly membership fee of BF 1000 (approximately ECU 25, DM 50, FF 150, £15, Lit 35000, DFl 55, Pes. 300) for individuals (BF 500 for people without paid work, BF 2000 for institutions), which entitles you to the Newsletter for the next two years (January 89 - December 90), as well as to a discount on BIEN publications and BIEN events.

For details about how to pay this fee cheaply and conveniently, see overleaf.
How useful this Newsletter will turn out to be depends on YOU.

1. Please spread it. Circulate it around you, and feel free to make any number of photocopies you like.
2. Please inform it. Send us - as soon as it is available - any news, announcement, etc. that may interest other people in the network. This information and any related correspondence need not be in English. Dutch, French, German, Italian and Spanish will also do. We do not believe that there is a realistic alternative to publishing the Newsletter in English. But this is one way in which we are trying to reduce the resulting inconvenience for non-English speakers. For the next issue (Easter), all information must be sent by the 15 March 1989 to
Philippe Van Parijs
Economie et Sociéte, 3 Place Montesquieu
B-1348 Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium
phone: (010) 473950 (9-10.30 am)
3. Please feed it. Send to the same address - again, as soon as it is available - any relevant material (book, pamphlet, article, working paper, etc.) you would like us to mention. After being reviewed, all publications received will be stored in the Collectif Charles Fourier's International Archive and made available to visiting researchers.
4. Please criticize it. Send us your comments and suggestions as to how to improve this Newsletter, how to make it a better tool in the service of our network.
5. Please subscribe NOW. Finally and most urgently, join the network by paying your two-yearly membership fee in one of the simple ways described below.

HOW TO PAY YOUR MEMBERSHIP FEE

The cheapest and most convenient way of paying your two-yearly membership fee (1989-1990) from outside Belgium is by sending
BIEN, c/o Walter Van Trier,
21 Bosduifstraat, B-2018 Antwerpen, Belgium
\( a \) crossed Eurocheque made out in Belgian Francs (BF 1000 standard rate; BF 500 for people without paid work, BF 2000 for institutions), dated in a Belgian town (for example, Brussels) and made payable to BIEN.
If this mode of payment is not available to you, \( \text{e} \)ither send a Belgian banknote of BF1000 (or one of BF500 or two of 1000) to the same address;
or pay BF 1250 (or BF 750 or BF 2250) using any other kind of bank payment (BIEN's account number is 001-2204356-10 at the CGER, 21 Avenue Archimède, 1040 Brussels): the additional amount is necessary to cover bank charges.

In all cases stipulate clearly your name and postal address, and notify any change in the latter by sending a note to the same address.

BIEN's NEW STRUCTURE

BIEN's General Assembly met in Antwerp on 24 September 1988 at the close of the 2nd International Conference. It dealt with a number of practical matters covered elsewhere in this newsletter (next conference, proceedings, etc.), and decided to give BIEN a more explicit but still very light institutional framework.

1. The General Assembly is BIEN's sovereign body; is made up of all BIEN's members, and meets only on the occasion of BIEN's regular international conference.
2. The Executive Committee is made up of five to seven members, each with a specific task and elected for two years by the General Assembly.
3. The International Board consists of the Executive Committee plus delegates from organizations related to BIEN, meets in emergency only, to take important decisions that cannot wait until the General Assembly next meets.
4. The Advisory Council consists of a number of eminent people who are prepared to lend their names in support of BIEN.

The full text of BIEN's Statutes (as well as the minutes of Assembly and Committee meetings) is available on request from BIEN's Secretary.

BIEN's new Executive Committee

BIEN's General Assembly elected the six members of its new Executive Committee, to serve until September 1990.

Co-chairman: Guy Standing (Coordinator of Labour Market Research, International Labour Organization, Geneva, Switzerland)
Conference organizer and co-chairman: Edwin Morley-Fletcher (Senior Assistant to the President of the National Federation of Cooperatives and Mutualities, Rome, Italy)
Secretary: Walter Van Trier (Assistant, Department of Economics, University of Antwerp, Belgium)
Treasurer: Alexander de Roo (Assistant, Green Alternative European Link, European Parliament, Brussels)
Organization. The 1988 International Conference on Basic Income was hosted by the Research Unit on Labour Economics of Antwerp University (UFSIA), which has had a research project on basic income going for some time. It was organized by Walter Van Trier, BIEN's secretary with the logistic support of both the economics and sociology departments and the financial support of the Belgian National Science Foundation.

Participation. The sixty-odd participants included people from two countries not involved so far in the European debate: Luxemburg and Spain. They also included three M.P.'s: Chris O'Malley (an Irish member of the European Parliament), Wilfried De Vlieghere (a Belgian Senator) and Osmo Soininvaara (a member of the Finnish Parliament) - a sure sign that basic income is creeping into the political agenda?

Themes. The main focus of the Conference was on the gradual implementation of a basic income. At the opening session, Hermione Parker and Alexander de Roo presented two detailed schemes applied to the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, respectively. Two other plenary sessions were devoted to a survey of the state of discussion in the various European countries and to a debate on basic income versus other employment policies. The various workshops enabled people to discuss such diverse matters as political feasibility, tax schemes and the work ethic, and to tap the competence and experience of labour economists and social workers as well as political activists and armchair philosophers.

Some general impressions. The Conference brought together a minority of "millenarians" who emphasize above all the radical nature of the social and cultural change basic income would involve, and a (growing?) majority of "pragmatists" who give top priority to the exploration of alternative variants of partial basic income schemes. It underlined the importance and urgency of working out robust economic and ethical arguments to defeat the workfare strategies increasingly advocated right and left as a cure for unemployment. And it stressed repeatedly the relevance of "1992" and the single European market. These do not just make Europe-wide coordination of thinking, debating and (soon) lobbying about basic income more essential than ever. They also pull the idea of an EEC basic income out of the realm of utopia.

The proceedings of the Conference will be edited by Anne Miller and published in the course of next year. (Further details in the next Newsletter).
The proceedings of the First International Conference on Basic Income are now available. Edited by Anne Miller (Department of Economics, Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh), the volume has 326 pages and contains an edited version of many of the papers presented at the Conference, selected in such a way as to achieve a fairly comprehensive coverage of the main issues.

It includes contributions by

• Bart Nooteboom, Guy Standing and Georg Vobruba on the economic case for basic income;
• Paul-Marie Boulanger, Hermione Parker and Eckhard Wegner on costing basic income and estimating its effects;
• Paul de Beer, Koen Raes and G√©rard Roland on the politics of basic income under capitalism and socialism;
• Gunnar Adler-Karlsson, Jan-Otto Andersson and Marie-Louise Duboin on the ethics of basic income;
• Jos Dekkers, Nic Douben, Roger Fox, Niels Meyer and Alexander de Roo on transition schemes for individual countries and for Europe;
• Anne Miller on basic income and women;
• Erik Hogenboom, Raf Janssen, Bill Jordan and Geert van Oijen on basic income and the unemployed;
• Rosheen Callender, Christopher Hall, Walter Van Trier and Robert van der Veen on the history of the debate in four countries;
• Philippe Van Parijs on the semantics of basic income.

BIEN members can obtain copies of the Proceedings for BF 350 (BF 400 for non-members) from Walter Van Trier, BIEN, Bosduifstraat 21, 2018 Antwerpen, Belgium;

Please turn to p.2 ("How to pay your membership fee") for details about how to make this payment most cheaply and conveniently.

BIRG Bulletin

The (British) Basic Income Research Group's journal, edited by Hermione Parker, publishes both scholarly and more popular articles on basic income and related issues. It deals increasingly with issues which are just as relevant to other European countries as to the UK, and is keen to open its columns to foreign contributors. The 8th issue is coming out shortly. Essential reading for basic income activists (and many others) throughout Europe!
Annual subscription rate (2 issues): £10 (£15 for institutions, £5 for the unwaged).
Address: BIRG, 15 Southcot Place, Lyncombe Hill, Bath BA2 4PE, Great Britain.

CONFERENCES

BIEN's Third International Conference

BIEN is moving South!  The third international conference on basic income will most probably be organized at the University of Rome, Italy, in the first week of September 1990. The organizing committee includes Edwin Morley-Fletcher, Alexander de Roo and Guy Standing. Date and place will be confirmed in the next Newsletter.

Conference organizer: Edwin Morley-Fletcher (Lega Nazionale delle Cooperative, Via A. Guattini 9, I-00161 Roma)

Liberty, Equality, Ecology.
Around the philosophical foundations of the universal grant

An academic conference on the ethical foundations of basic income will be held at the University of Louvain-la-Neuve (Belgium) on 1-2 September 1989. The working language will be English. Speakers will include Brian Barry (London), G.A. Cohen (Oxford), Ralf Dahrendorf (Oxford), Jean-Pierre Dupuy (Paris & Stanford), Robert Goodin (Essex), Andr√© Gorz (Burgundy), Bill Jordan (Exeter), Serge-Christophe Kolm (Paris), Robert Nozick (Harvard), Claus Offe (Bielefeld), Hillel Steiner (Manchester), Michael Taylor (Seattle).

For full details (when available): Unit√© Probl√©matiques Interdisciplinaires, Institut Sup√©rieur de Philosophie, 1 Chemin d'Aristote, B-1348 Louvain-la-Neuve.

La philosophie politique contemporaine et les fondements philosophiques de l'allocation universelle

By way of preparation to the above-mentioned conference, a weekly seminar will be held (in French) on the same subject at Louvain-la-Neuve's Philosophy Faculty, every Friday at 4.30 pm from 17 February to 24 March 1989. (Introductions by Philippe Mongin, Koen Raes, Gy√©rard Roland, Bernard Stainier, Frank Van Dun and Philippe Van Parijs).
THEY SUPPORT BASIC INCOME

Chris O'Malley, a leading member of the Fine Gael (currently the main opposition party in the Republic of Ireland) and the youngest member of the European Parliament (Christian-democrat group), has worked out a detailed proposal for the introduction of a basic income in Ireland. He proposes a basic income of £40 a week for each adult (£20 for anyone earning more than £100 a week), paid in the form of a tax credit to all those whose tax liability exceeds their basic income. The scheme would be financed by the abolition of all tax reliefs, tax allowances and social welfare payments (except where these currently exceed the proposed level of basic income) and an increase in personal income tax to a uniform rate of 40%.

Samuel Brittan, economics editor of the Financial Times and influential neo-liberal thinker (as well as brother of the new British EEC Commissioner and former Home Secretary, Leon Brittan) has repeatedly made a plea for a system "that can be summarized as that of two incomes: a rentier-type income from the state available to all and an income from work". In a microchip society, he argues, "the time may have come to emphasise free choice of lifestyle" rather than the work ethic and, hence, "to cut out the search for scroungers and evaders [by making] the minimum income available to all with no more investigation than the kind already employed for normal tax purposes". Given that no country, in his view, can now afford a full basic income, the most promising way forward is the introduction of a modest but completely unconditional payment to everyone, which could be set against tax and be called a tax credit.

Henri Guitton, a retired French economist of great influence in catholic circles and a member of the prestigious French Academy, has been involved for some time, along with fellow economist Yolande Bresson, in a working party on basic income. He argues for "the distinction between the existence income and the activity income, each complemejkntary to the other" The former must be equal for all from cradle to grave. An unemployed person must not loose the right to it when s/he finds a job, and hence an activity income. And it must be given to the poor and the rich alike, for doing otherwise would take us back to institutionalized charity. In 1831, Chateaubriand wrote
that moving from slavery to serfdom and from serfdom to waged labour were major steps in the liberation of mankind, but that "waged labour will be changed in turn, because it is not full liberty". Basic income, in Guitton's eyes, is the next step. See his "Revenu d'existence et revenu d'activité", reproduced in Partage (54 rue des Entrepôts, F-93400 St Ouen) 47, October 1988. Author's address: 5 rue des Feuillantes, F-75005 Paris.

PUBLICATIONS

Dutch

In Part I, Nooteboom (formerly director of the study centre of the Association of small and medium-size firms, and currently professor of management at the University of Groningen) gives a concise summary of the arguments in favour of basic income and the history of the debate. In Part II, Dekkers (until recently at the Scientific Council for Government Policy and a key member of the team that produced the famous 1985 report on the future of social security) argues that a partial basic income at the level of Dfl 450 per month largely financed out of non-labour income (as in the 1985 proposal) is consistent with no increase of the tax burden in the Netherlands, and is indispensable if one is to maintain roughly the same level of pay in capital-intensive and labour-intensive sectors without wiping out a large part of the latter. In Part III, both authors raise a number of questions for further political debate and scientific research, including the implications of "1992" and the single European market.

Paul de Beer, Werkloos toezien. Drie scenario's van de arbeidsmarkt [Being jobless. Three scenarios for the labour market], Deventer: Van Loghum Slaterus (a publication of the Wiardi Beckman Stichting, Nicolaas Witsenkade, NL 1017 ZT Amsterdam), 1988, 276p., DFl 32.50.
Sponsored by the research centre of the Dutch Labour Party (PvdA), this book is written by a prominent member of the Party's strong minority which favours the introduction of a basic income. It systematically compares the effect on the labour market of (1) the continuation of the current (christian/liberal) government's strategy (wage moderation, reduction of the public sector, forms of workfare); (2) the Labour Party's official alternative policy (collective reduction of the working week to 25 hours over a period of ten years; and (3) the introduction of a basic income at the level of the current guaranteed minimum income, along with a slower collective reduction in the working week and the fostering of individual working time reduction. On de Beer's calculations, the second scenario performs barely better than the first one in terms of unemployment, and only
the third scenario has a chance of achieving nearly full employment by the turn of the millenium.

De Helling. Tijdschrift voor linkse politiek (Postbus 15240, NL 1001 ME Amsterdam) n°3, May-June 1988, Dfl 6.95.
A substantial part of this issue of a new left-wing journal focuses on basic income. It contains a short survey of the Dutch discussion by Alexander de Roo, an interview with Union leader Greetje Lubbi stressing the link between basic income and reduction in working time, and an article on basic income and women.

A sketch of the Dutch debate on basic income since the early seventies, and a discussion of its relevance to the current debate on guaranteed minimum income in France. [Reprinted in CoopFrance (21 Boul. des Archers, B-1400 Nivelles); La Grande Réve (BP 108, F-78110 Le Vésinet), oct. 1988; and Partage (54 rue des Entrepreneurs, F-93400 St Ouen), oct.-nov. 1988.]

French

Revenu Minimum d'Insertion, numéro spécial de CASH. Journal des chômeurs et des prêtres (53 Avenue des Gobelins, F-75013 Paris) 11, August 1988, 24p, 15 FF.
A dossier containing (1) the full text of the law proposal on a (means-tested, willing-to-work-only) minimum guaranteed income, submitted to the French Parliament by Michel Rocard's government shortly after its accession to power, (2) the unemployed association's comments, and (3) a call for a genuine minimum guaranteed income. The main criticisms of the government's proposal relate to the age restriction (25), the limited duration of entitlement, and the coupling of the benefit to the acceptance of an "insertion contract" (job or training scheme).

Maurice PAGAT, "Le R.M.I. Ebauche d'un revenu social garanti", in Partage (54 rue des Entrepreneurs, F-93400 St Ouen) 47, octobre-novembre 1988, 16p., 12 FF.
This editorial by the national chairman of the "Syndicat des chômeurs" assesses the situation after the government's proposal of a "revenu minimum d'insertion" was quasi-unanimously approved (with some relatively minor amendments) by the French Parliament on 12 October 1988. "A step in the right direction", he writes, and one to which the unemployed movement greatly contributed, but only the start of a process of experimentation which will no doubt lead to many readjustments. Pagat's editorial is usefully followed by the full text of the new law, the critical report on the project by the head of the parliamentary commission JP Worms, and the social affairs minister's reply to the report.
Alexandre Marc, Minimum social garanti pour l'Europe, Nice: Presses d'Europe (4 Boulevard Carabacel, F-06000 Nice), 1987, 19p, 12 FF.
Ever since the 1930's, Alexandre Marc and his "federalist" movement have been pleading for a "guaranteed social minimum" (revenu social garanti), i.e. a universal and uniform benefit coupled to some sort of social service. This reprint of an article in L'Europe en Formation (same address) presents a compendium of the author's views on the subject. Nothing specific about introducing it at the European level, but a presentation of the basic concept (and what sets it apart from Duboin's, Gorz's, Bresson's, etc.) and a restatement of the case for it. Some details points are to be found in the same author's more circumstantial "Minimum social garanti, faux ou vrai?", in L'Europe en Formation 272, ©t© 1988, pp.13-21.

Most of this important new book by Andr© Gorz aims to provide sociological and philosophical foundations to a radical critique of the economic rationality that dominates contemporary society. In the final part, it restates and expands Gorz's earlier plea for a basic income coupled with a substantive social service, the "left version" of basic income which he contrasts with the unconditional "right version" advocated by both neo-liberals and left libertarians.

Proceedings of the conference held in Paris in 1987 to celebrate the publication of Rawls' Theory of Justice in French. In one paper, Fran©ois Ost, gives a detailed legal analysis of how a conditional guaranteed income system is an insult to human dignity and violates any defensible theory of justice. In another, Philippe Van Parijs shows how a "real-libertarian" interpretation of Rawls endorses not just a guaranteed minimum income, but more specifically a basic income at the highest sustainable level.

The end product of a working party set up within the Mouvement des Cadres Chrétiens (18 rue de Varenne, Paris 7e). In order to fight unemployment, it advocates a combination of (flexible) reduction in working time, the promotion of third sector activities and a basic income (allocation universelle). The latter should be totally unconditional as long as its level is low, but may need to be coupled with a social service (± la Gorz) when its level increases.

This new book by Tony Walter (sociologist, past secretary of the Basic Income Research Group, author of Hope on the Dole and All you Love is Need) is the first book-length general introduction to basic income in English. It argues that "like education, clean water and air, a basic income, sufficient to satisfy minimum needs should be freely provided by the state to every citizen of whatever age, abolishing existing social security and other often humiliating state-financed cash benefits". Most of the book is devoted to a systematic survey of the main arguments in favour of basic income, from simplicity to women's liberty and from liberty to equality. The book also includes, among other things, illustrative costings in the case of Britain, a historical sketch of the idea, an attempt to locate it on the ideological map and a list of contact addresses. Nicely produced and engagingly written.


A history of post-War Dutch reforms in the field of guaranteed minimum income, supporting the general claim that the dominant political forces, which first show fierce resistance to reform proposals end up implementing them.

Ann Gray, "Resisting economic conscription", in Capital and Class (London) 34, Spring 1988, pp.119-146.

An attempt to contribute to the formulation of a credible and coherent response of the British Left to the Conservative Government's labour market strategies, which subject more and more workers to economic subscription. A central feature of this response, Gray argues, is the demand for an unconditional universal benefit (or basic income). Such a demand is consistent with the demand for a statutory minimum wage, and has a unique potential for uniting the waged and unwaged components of the working class.


An attempt to work out a coherent theoretical framework in which access to a job defines the central class divide of welfare state capitalism, and in which basic income appears as the key issue of the new class struggle.
Spanish


German


Introduced by the Austrian (social-democratic) social affairs minister Alfred Dallinger, this volume contains the proceedings of a hearing on basic income organized on his initiative in 1987. Participants include both advocates and adversaries of basic income from Germany (Opielka, Ostner, Schreyer, Hanesch), France (Gorz), Holland (Berben, Roebroek) and Poland (Schaff), as well as Austria (Böchele, Rowhani, Vôlos, Vobruba, Wohlgenannt).

Arbeit und Einkommen. Plädoyer für ein Grundeinkommen, das jedem zusteht, special issue of Zeitschrift "Info3" (Vertrieb 20/12, Kirchgartenstravüe 1, D-6000 Frankfurt 50, West Germany) 12, December 1986, 32p.

This topic issue of an anthroposophical journal includes several articles in which the current debate on basic income is discussed in the light of Rudolf Steiner's pioneering writings on the subject.


Two reports prepared at the request of the Green-Alternative parliamentary group. They aim to estimate the cost of a basic pension for all Austrians of retirement age, and of a basic income for all Austrians of working age who are involuntarily unemployed.


Published by the most prominent German weekly, a forceful plea in favour of basic income and against workfare, as a realistic strategy
against unemployment and the dual society in the last decade of this century.

Italian


This dossier on basic income was prepared by the study centre (IRES) of the main Italian Trade Union Confederation (CGIL) as an attempt to launch a serious discussion on the subject in Italy. It includes the text of a discussion on this theme - and on the broader subject of "rights of citizenship" - by various Italian Trade Unionists (including the new Secretary General of the CGIL Bruno Trentin), plus translations of an article by Guy Standing, of an abridged version of the 1986 hearing at the European Parliament (at the GRAEL's initiative), of a survey of the academic discussion by Chantal Euzéby and of the debate between the Collectif Charles Fourier and André Gorz.


The translation of an essay in which I.L.O.'s labour market research coordinator proposes to tackle Europe's unemployment with a package consisting of community unions, an adequate form of profit sharing and basic income.


A series of interviews and articles with/by Vittorio Foa, Michele Magno, Rossana Rossanda, Paola Negro, Massimo Paci, gives an idea of the current state of debate in Italy both on the general theme of a guaranteed minimum income (Italy is, since the French introduced it last October, the richest EEC country not to possess such an institution) and, to a lesser extent, on basic income.

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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This issue of Basic Income is has been prepared with the help of Sue Black, Alexander de Roo, Bernard Stainier, Walter Van Trier and Philippe Van Parijs (editor)
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