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BASIC INCOME

Newsletter of the
Basic Income European Network

N^o4 Spring 1989

To BIEN subscribers:

Many thanks for having joined and a warm welcome into our network.

To those who see this Newsletter for the first time:

If you want to keep receiving it, please fill in the form on page 12.

Just published by a Dutch Trade Union:

A beautiful pamphlet aimed at launching a European debate on basic income.

Also available in English. See pages 5 and 7.

Forthcoming in September 1989:

An academic conference on the ethical foundations of basic income.

Speakers include some of the most prominent political philosophers of our time. See page 4.

The next official BIEN Conference

will be held at the University "La Sapienza", Rome, Italy, on Wednesday-Friday 19-21 September 1990. The general theme will be "Economic democracy and citizenship income"

Organizer: Edwin Morley-Fletcher, Lega Nazionale delle Cooperative e Mutue, Via A. Guattini 9, I-00161 Roma.

CONTENTS

Events

- 3 Past
- 4 Forthcoming

Publications

- 5 Dutch
- 5 English
- 7 French
- 9 German

9	Italian
	He supported basic income
10	Brandon Rhys-Williams
	Practical Matters
11	The Executive Committee
11	To pay your subscription fee
12	What is BIEN?
12	To become a member of BIEN

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How useful this Newsletter will turn 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.
2. Please keep it informed. Send us - 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. After being reviewed, all publications received will be accessible in the Collectif Charles Fourier's International Archive. Deadline for the next issue: 15 July 1989 .
3. Please criticize it. Send us your comments and suggestions as to how to improve it, how to make it a better tool for our network.

For all matters relating to the Newsletter, please contact its editor:

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 3 Place Montesquieu
 B-1348 Louvain-la-Neuve,
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 phone: (010) 473950 (9-10.30 am)

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!

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

you will find, in addition to the usual items,

- ,Äç A brief presentation of existing national groups and organizations
- ,Äç A historical note on the oldest occurrence of the term "basic income"
- ,Äç A statistical glimpse of our network (numbers of subscribers per

country)

PAST EVENTS

International seminar on study finance
Brussels, December 1988

The West European Student Information Bureau (WESIB), which coordinates all non-party-political associations in Western Europe, organized an international seminar to discuss various reform proposals for the financing of studies. A full plenary session and a set of workshops were devoted to the implications of a basic income in this context.

Contact address: Guy Bocage, FV@dV@ration des Etudiants Francophones,
2 Place Paul RedoutV@, 1348 Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium.

International seminar and public meeting
on citizenship rights and guaranteed income
Rome, April 1989

The Istituto di Ricerche Economiche e Sociali (IRES), closely linked to the main Italian Trade Union Confederation CGIL, has been focusing since the end of 1987 on forms of guaranteed minimum income as a central theme for the future of the Italian welfare state. In this context, its researchers have been led to pay special attention both to the discussion around the "minimum insertion income", as recently introduced in France, and to the European discussion on basic income, as understood in our network. In the past months, they have contributed to launching a discussion on these topics in Italy through various publications (see below).

The two-day international seminar constituted a further step in this endeavour. It made possible a fruitful dialogue between the IRES staff, people actively involved in the European debate on basic income (de Roo, Jordan, Morley-Fletcher, Offe, Purdy, Standing, Van Parijs, Van Trier, Vobruba) and other Italian and foreign scholars (Laura Balbo, Renato Brunetta, Ermanno Gorrieri, Massimo Paci, Chiara Saraceno, Enrico Pugliese, Vittorio Capecchi, Gv@rard Martin, Gv@ran Esping-Andersen, etc.).

The seminar was followed by a public meeting at the CGIL itself, where - to the organizers' great satisfaction - Bruno Trentin, CGIL's General Secretary, came out strongly in favour of a French-style "minimum insertion income", whereas he had until recently rejected any form of guaranteed minimum income. The main reservations were voiced by the secretary of CGIL's pensioners' union, who strongly reasserted the subordination of the right to an income to the right to a job. It emerged clearly from both meetings that, in the near future, only a guaranteed minimum income of the conditional type (already in existence in some form in all EEC countries North of Italy) could be put on Italy's political agenda. (And support from the main Trade

Union confederation is of course a major factor in this context.) But serious discussion on basic income is nonetheless urgent, both because the right to income is not all that matters - unlike the standard GMI, basic income is a strategy for the right to work - and because the single European market, by lifting the scale at which decisions are taken, is likely to deeply affect the political agenda everywhere, in particular in Italy.

Contact address: Maria Luisa Mirabile, IRES-CGIL, Via Santa Teresa 23, I-00198 Roma.

FORTHCOMING EVENT

Liberty, Equality, Ecology.
Around the ethical foundations of Basic Income

An academic conference on the ethical foundations of basic income will be held at the Universit  Catholique de Louvain (Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium) from Friday the 1st of September 1989 at 9 am to Saturday the 2nd of September 1989 at 5 pm.

There will be four sessions:

1. Is there an ecological case for basic income?

Speakers:

Claus Offe, Zentrum f r Sozialpolitik, Universit t Bremen
Robert Goodin, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University
Michael Taylor, Department of Political Science, University of Washington

2. Is there an egalitarian case for basic income?

Speakers:

John Baker, Department of Ethics and Politics, University College Dublin
Brian Barry, London School of Economics and Political Science
Serge-Christophe Kolm, CERAS, Ecole Nationale des Ponts et Chauss es, Paris

3. Is there a libertarian case for basic income?

Speakers:

Hillel Steiner, Department of Government, University of Manchester
Robert Nozick, Department of Philosophy, Harvard University
Jean-Pierre Dupuy, CREA, Ecole Polytechnique, Paris & Stanford University
G.A. Cohen, All Souls College, Oxford

4. Is there a communitarian case for basic income?

Speakers:

Bill Jordan, Department of Sociology, University of Exeter
Andr  Gorz, Burgundy
Ralf Dahrendorf, St Antony's College, Oxford

The conference fee is BF 1000 (BF 500 for BIEN members) and covers a copy of the main papers. Accommodation is available in student rooms for BF 500/night.

If interested, please write well in advance to

Unité de Problématiques Interdisciplinaires,
Institut Supérieur de Philosophie,
1 Chemin d'Aristote, B-1348 Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium
(phone 32/10/474790, 9-12 a.m.)

for further details and a registration form.

Deadline for registration: 1 August 1989

PUBLICATIONS

Dutch

Werkplaats Basisinkomen, Heilsleer of Haarlemmerolie? Waarom de werkplaats een basisinkomen wil,
Amsterdam: Werkplaats Basisinkomen (H. Heijermansweg 20, 1077 WL Amsterdam, Holland), [March 1989], 12p.

This well produced and lively pamphlet presents the official position of the "basic income workshop", the federation of Dutch organizations that favour basic income, as it will be spread in all sorts of contexts throughout the coming year. Particular emphasis is laid on the link between income security and freedom, on basic income as a precondition for any significant reduction of working time (individual, sectoral or general) and on the need for working out and discussing in depth a variety of realistic scenarios.

Voedingsbond FNV, Basisinkomen kent geen grenzen. Bijdrage aan de Europese discussie over invoering van basisinkomen,
Voedingsbond FNV (Postbus 9750, NL3506 GT Utrecht, Netherlands, phone 030/738333), April 1989, 24p, illustrated.

This is the original Dutch version of the pamphlet presented more fully on page 6.

Douben, Nic, "Sociale zekerheidsstelsels nader beschouwd",
in Maandschrift Economie 52, 1988, 327-339.

A survey of European social security systems by the Chairman of the Commission that produced in June 1985 the famous WRR report proposing a partial basic income as a central component of the Dutch social security system. He distinguishes two existing models - the Bismarckian "social insurance" model that is dominant on the continent and the Beveridgean "safety net" model that is dominant in the UK and Ireland. And he contrasts them with an alternative model which comes in three variants: a negative income tax paid ex post, a social dividend paid ex ante directly to all by a single agency and (his

preferred version) a basic income paid ex ante either as part of the wage package by the employer (for those in work) or directly by a specialized agency (for the jobless). So far, there has there been no serious discussion of these alternative systems, but "perhaps such a debate will take shape in the nineties in the framework of the United States of Europe."

English

BIRG Bulletin n^o8, Autumn 1988,
published by the Basic Income Research Group (102 Pepys Road, London SE14 6SG), 28p., -£3 + -£1 postage.

As beautifully produced as ever, the latest issue of the Bulletin contains, among other things,

,Äç an article by BIRG Chairman Tony Walter (also author of Basic Income, Boyars, 1988, the first book-length introduction to basic income) explaining the new formulation of BIRG's conception of basic income ("A basic income scheme would phase out as many reliefs and allowances against personal income tax, and as many existing state-financed benefits as practicable; and would replace them with a basic income paid automatically to each and every man, woman and child");
,Äç an article by Hermione Parker (the Bulletin's editor and author of Instead of the Dole, Routledge, 1989) which usefully clarifies what an integrated tax-and-benefit system means, why a full basic income scheme is such a system while existing negative income tax proposals are not, and how a (full or partial) basic income could be administered;

,Äç a plea for a long-term political strategy based on citizenship and solidarity, by radical economist David Purdy (author of Social Power and the Labour Market, Macmillan, 1988);

,Äç a neat analysis of the detailed distributive impact of introducing a partial basic income of -£40 per month without any increase in marginal rates of tax, by Tony Atkinson and Holly Sutherland, of the London School of Economics;

,Äç the text of Green-Alternative Euro MP Nel Van Dijk's proposal and argument for a guaranteed minimum income on a European scale;

,Äç economic writer James Robertson's (author of The Sane Alternative, Martin Robinson, 1983, and other books) "viewpoint" that "the key to winning public support for basic income lies in making it clear that by reducing our dependence on paid employment (rather than reinforcing that dependence through a work guarantee), basic income can enable us to work in many other ways that will be both more useful and less costly to organise than much conventional employment".

Voedingsbond FNV, No Frontiers to a Basic Income. Contribution to a European discussion on the introduction of a basic income
Voedingsbond FNV (Postbus 9750, NL3506 GT Utrecht, Netherlands, phone 030/738333), April 1989, 24p, illustrated.

There is no single organization in the whole of Europe which has expended as much money and energy propagating the idea of basic income, as the Food worker's Union of the main Dutch Trade Union Confederation (FNV). A famous pamphlet published by them in 1981

turned basic income from a specialists' hobby into a public issue. What they then succeeded in doing for the Netherlands must now be attempted for Europe as a whole. In this lively, well translated and nicely illustrated new pamphlet, the Voedingsbond explains how it is conceivable for a Trade Union to view the introduction of a basic income as an objective of paramount importance. Drawing on ten years of discussion, it tackles the main objections raised against it, in particular from the standpoint of workers and women. And it asks how much sense it would make to try to introduce a basic income on a European scale. Interviews with a German political economist, a Dutch Euro MP, a Portuguese ecologist, a Swedish Trade Unionist and some young people from Liverpool enable the editors to make their points in an attractive, easily digestible way. A brilliant tool for basic advocates all over Europe, in particular for those who share the Voedingsbond's conviction that it is high time that the Trade Union movement should abandon a purely defensive stance.

Jordan, Bill, *The Common Good. Citizenship, morality and self-interest*, Oxford: Blackwell (108 Cowley Road, Oxford OX4 1JF, GB), 1989, 190p., paperback.

In this new book by Bill Jordan (reader in Social Studies at the University of Exeter and author of *Rethinking Welfare*, *The State* and many other books), basic income is made the cornerstone of a far wider project: the construction of a good society, i.e one based on the "common interest of all citizens in a good quality of life". The main drawback of the now dominant "new orthodoxy", Jordan argues, is the fact that it excludes a growing minority of the population (the "underclass") from any share in one of modern capitalism's most important assets: a regular full-time job. Only a basic income could, without loss of efficiency, bring the excluded "back in". But it would be of limited significance, were it not also a way of promoting a new social morality based on voluntary association and active cooperation for the common good.

Justice Commission of the Conference of Major Religious Superiors, *Who Benefits, Who Pays?*

Submission to the Dail and Seanad on aspects of the 1989 Budget, Dublin: C.M.R.S. (Milltown Park, Dublin 6, Republic of Ireland), [1989], 47p.

The Conference of Major Religious Superiors represents more than 1300 religious communities in Ireland, belonging to over 180 different congregations. In this pamphlet addressed by its Justice Commission to the Irish Parliament, it substantiates the view that "present socio-economic developments in Ireland look set to produce a substantial permanent underclass whose numbers will continue to grow as the years go by", and it argues "that the Guaranteed Basic Income approach is the most effective way of moving away from the present impasse". Such a measure would not make people more but less dependent (it would free them from the poverty trap). It would not create injustice but justice ("The only problem with unearned income is that too few have it.") And, though not feasible in the past, it is feasible now, at least "if the production possibilities of robotics and the microprocessor are

even a fraction of what is claimed for them". "The essential need now, the pamphlet concludes, is for action that moves us towards a Guaranteed Basic Income for all."

Mathews, John, *A Culture of Power. Rethinking labour movement goals for the 1990s*,
Leichhardt (Australia): Pluto Press (PO Box 199, Leichhardt, New South Wales 2040), 1988, 62p., Aust.\$ 6.95.
Co-sponsored by the Australian Fabian Society and the Socialist Forum, this little book advocates a "radical but responsible alternative" to the current Australian Labour government's policies. Alongside collective investment funds, industry codetermination and media diversification, one central component of this alternative consists in a guaranteed minimum income, as advocated earlier in Australia by Ian Manning (*Incomes and Policy*, Sidney: Allen & Unwin, 1985). This GMI is conceived as a right of citizenship, not a form of public assistance, administered (first at a rather low level) either as a social dividend or a negative income tax, and justified as "the only feasible means of preventing industrial societies sliding, over the course of the next decade, into a dual nation status of employed and unemployed".

Purdy, David, *Social Power and the Labour Market. A radical approach to labour economics*,
London: Macmillan (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, RG21 2XS, GB), 1988, 280p., £33 (hardcover), £9.95 (paperback).
The first part of this book by Manchester economist David Purdy is theoretical. It contrasts the exchange model of the labour market, as articulated by mainstream economics, and the reproduction model, rooted in the Marxist tradition. Purdy defends and elaborates a variant of the latter and uses it in the second part of his book to tackle a number of issues such as gender discrimination and reduction in working time. The last three chapters of the book are devoted to a discussion and advocacy of basic income. The introduction of basic income, Purdy argues, can be devised in such a way that it would have no negative effect on aggregate income. It is both ethically justified and politically feasible. Above all, it would dismantle capitalist barriers to the reduction of collective toil and the redistribution of social labour, and would undermine the power and status divisions that stem from the historical primacy of paid labour. A clear, non-technical and committed discussion which can be useful far beyond the circle of academic economists.

Rhys-Williams, Brandon, *Stepping Stones to Independence: National Insurance after 1990*,
Edited by Hermione Parker and published for the One Nation Group of Conservative MPs by Aberdeen University Press (Farmers Hall, Aberdeen AB9 2XT, Scotland), 1989, with a foreword by Conservative MP David Howell and a preface by Nobel laureate James Meade.
In this posthumous pamphlet, Rhys-Williams advocates the replacement of most existing social security benefits and most income tax allowances by an integrated system of partial basic incomes, paid automatically as cash benefits to those with little or no income of

their own, and as fixed amount deductions against tax to the others. He shows in particular how such a system can be gradually introduced from now on via a system of (optional) transitional basic incomes.

Standing, Guy, European unemployment, insecurity and flexibility: a social dividend solution, International Labour Office (CH-1211 Geneva, Switzerland), January 1989, 52p., available on request.

In this new working paper, advertised by an official ILO press release, the ILO's labour market research coordinator Guy Standing presents a synthesis of his analysis of the European labour market as a background for a forceful plea in favour of basic income. "What is needed is a strategy to reduce inequality while promoting economic growth, and to ensure income security for all without impairing efficient and flexible labour practices." A guaranteed citizenship income scheme is in his view a key element in any such strategy. And it is fast becoming both economically feasible and politically mandatory. "The concept of a social dividend society offers the nucleus of a new social consensus in modern society."

Van Parijs, Philippe, On the Ethical Foundations of Basic Income. Part I: Libertarian, utilitarian and Marxian; Part II: Liberal, University of Louvain: Unité de Problématiques Interdisciplinaires (1 Chemin d'Aristote, B-1348 Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium), working papers CMID 31 and 32, February 1989, 74p., BF 150. Preliminary version of a systematic critical discussion of the main justifications of basic income that have been, or can plausibly be, put forward. Part I covers right- and left-libertarian views (from Locke, Paine and Fourier to Nozick, Buchanan and Steiner), "productivist", "ecological" and "communitarian" variants of the utilitarian argument, and different interpretations of the implications of a Marxist position. Part II argues that if a robust, consistent case can be made for a full basic income, it can only be from a "real-libertarian" (or, for short, liberal) perspective, by carrying forward the line of thought illustrated by Rawls, Dworkin and Ackerman, and by spelling out the implications of the claim that jobs are scarce assets.

French

"L'extrême pauvreté et le Revenu Minimum d'Insertion", in Esprit (212 rue Saint Martin, F-75003 Paris) 145, décembre 1988, pp.37sqq.

Under this title, the well-known left-Christian monthly publishes several articles on the guaranteed minimum income introduced in France in October 1988 and on the problems it is meant to solve. The debate between theoretician Jacques Donzelot (author of L'Invention du social, 1984) and socialist M.P. Jean-Michel Belorgey (chairman of the Social Affairs Commission in the National Assembly) is particularly interesting, in so far as it anticipates the difficulties inherent in

the R.M.I. that are likely to pull the discussion towards basic income.

Coopv@rance, Allocation universelle. Partage du travail, Nivelles: Coopv@rance (21 Boulevard des Archers, B-1400 Nivelles), 100 BF.

A collection of texts previously published in a periodical close to the new cooperative movement. Provides a very readable and enthusiastic presentation of the idea of basic income for a wide audience and presents the debate around it .

Aznar, Guy, "L'Europe, le Continent de la 3v@me dimension", contribution to Europe 93. Pour un projet de civilisation, 20p. A sociologist known as the author of Tous v† mi-temps (1981), Aznar is now chairman of the association "Des idv@es pour l'Europe" (c/o Futuribles, 55 rue de Varennes, F-75341 Paris), which attempts to seize the completion of the European "single market" as an opportunity to launch a new project of civilization. In this informal address, he argues for the realization, in Europe, of a "fabulous project" involving specific technical setups that distribute to all the wealth produced by robots and thereby enable each of us to enjoy increased autonomy (the "third dimension", alongside increasingly robotized production and organized social relations). He explores various ways of conceiving the implementation of what he calls "the second cheque" (alongside the pay cheque), the central component of what must replace the secular wage and social security system.

Caillv@, Alain, Critique de la raison utilitaire, Paris: La Dv@couverte (1 Place Paul Painlevv@, F-75005 Paris), 142p., FF85.

In the last chapter of this book mainly devoted to a critique of contemporary social science, the leader of the MAUSS (Mouvement anti-utilitariste dans les sciences sociales) develops a plea for a "citizenship income" (without any work or willingness-to-work condition) as a prerequisite for true democracy. Democracy requires such an income, he argues, both because it gives all the independence and option for leisure which a genuine public discussion demands, and because it favours a pluralism of lifestyles against the "necrosis of the utilitarian and labouristic imagination".

Lipietz, Alain, Choisir l'audace. Une alternative pour le XXIe si v@cle, Paris: La Dv@couverte (1 Place Paul Painlevv@, 75005 Paris), 1989, 85FF.

This essay by Marxist economist and green politician Alain Lipietz attempts to formulate a realistic alternative to the "liberal-productivist" orthodoxy. Chapter 9 ("For a welfare community" starts with a discussion of the universal grant proposal, attributed to both the Collectif Charles Fourier and Andrv@ Gorz. If it amounts to more than a mediocre subsidy that would serve no other purpose than provide capitalists with cheaper labour, Lipietz argues, the proposal is undoubtedly attractive. But its feasibility is then in doubt. Not

because of some fatal disincentive to work, but because a substantial unconditional grant will be unacceptable to those whose incomes will be taxed to finance it. "We thus reach the conviction that a universal grant (of about two third of the minimum wage) will only be accepted if it implies that its beneficiaries must be available for giving the reciprocal proof of their solidarity towards society". This leads on to the proposal that the universal grant should be paid as part of the pay for socially useful activities performed in the "third sector", i.e. to the abandonment of the universal grant (or basic income) idea in favour of some form of employment subsidy.

Milano, Serge, *La Pauvreté absolue*,
Paris: Hachette ("Mutations"), 1988, 265p., 130FF

A former lecturer in economics at the University of Paris VII, Milano has previously published *La Pauvreté en France*. As a civil servant, he played a prominent role in the introduction of the "Revenu Minimum d'Insertion" last autumn. A whole chapter of this new book is devoted to the idea of an unconditional basic income ("L'impossible revenu minimum garanti"). After a brief historical survey, it provides a fairly detailed (but unsympathetic) critical presentation of the main formulations available in French (Yoland Bresson, the Collectif Charles Fourier, André Gorz, Keith Roberts and Guy Standing).

Robin, Jacques, *Changer d'Ere*,
Paris: Le Seuil, 1989, 356p., 130 FF.

This is a comprehensive analysis of the current crisis by the founder of the Centre d'Etudes des systèmes et technologies avancées (CESTA), followed by an articulated set of proposals in the economic, cultural, political and ethical domains. Where the economy is concerned, one of the author's central ideas is that one should aim, in the long term, for "a basic universal grant, so simple in its conception and application". In the medium term, he proposes estimating the productivity gains generated by society as a whole, and distributing the corresponding revenue equally among all in the form of a growing unconditional income. Finally, in the short term, the introduction of a "revenu minimum d'insertion", the extension of health insurance to all, etc. are steps in the right direction.

German

Opielka, Michael, *Grundeinkommen und Sozialversicherung. Sozialtheoretische Überlegungen zur Reform sozialpolitischer Existenzsicherung*,

Institut für Sozialökologie (D-5202 Hennesch 41 Wiedershall, West Germany), Working Paper 11, Dezember 1988, 46p., DM 13.

This paper attempts to shed light on the history of reforms and reform proposals in the field of social policy, by using an evolutionary approach. The move from (1) standard welfare (Sozialhilfe) to (2) a need-oriented basic insurance (Grundsicherung) and then to (3) a basic income (Grundeinkommen) corresponds to a shift from (1) assistance to the poor in a community to (2) social insurance by and for the workers

in a market framework and (3) a right of citizenship guaranteed by the State.

Otto, Ulrich & Opielka, Michael, "Grundeinkommen und Sozialarbeit", in Neue Praxis. Zeitschrift für Sozialarbeit, Sozialpädagogik und Sozialpolitik 18(3), 1988, 181-211.

Will the volume of social work decrease as a result of the introduction of a basic income, because people's subsistence needs will be met without any need for the mediation of social workers? Or will it rather increase, either because of the wage-subsidy effect of basic income or, more speculatively, because of new needs social workers could fulfil in a more leisure-oriented society? The article develops a number of theoretical considerations to substantiate the conclusion that there is no simple answer to these questions.

Offe Claus, "Das Dilemma der Sicherheit. Die politischen und moralischen Fundamente des Sozialstaats haben Risse", in Die Zeit 49, 2.12.1988.

Published by the most prominent German weekly in the same series as Guy Standing's article mentioned in the previous issue, this article by one of Germany's most illustrious political scientists analyses the current crisis of the European welfare state and contrasts two paradigmatic solutions to it. The right-populist "exit through the top" (as advocated, in an extreme form, by the Norwegian Progress Party) consists in developing and advertising a private insurance system as a sign of adulthood. The left-libertarian "exit through the bottom", on the other hand, consists in introducing a guaranteed basic income as a right of citizenship. This is, the author argues, the strategy that is called for by a "radish-shaped" or "middle mass" society.

Italian

IRES, Il salario di cittadinanza 2, Ires Materiali, Serie Discussioni n°2/89 (Collana Laboratorio Welfare), Rome: Istituto Ricerche Economiche e Sociali (Via Santa Teresa 23, I-00198 Roma), 1989, 82p.

This dossier on basic income was prepared by the study centre (IRES) of the main Italian Trade Union Confederation (CGIL). It contains the recording of a joint meeting of the CGIL's executive committee and the IRES on the issue of a guaranteed minimum income, a translation of an essay by Claus Offe (forthcoming in German in a Gorz festschrift), an account of a seminar on basic income given in June at the IRES by Guy Standing, and a presentation of the recent discussion around the French "revenu minimum d'insertion".

PACI, Massimo, "Reddito minimo garantito, il fascino di un obiettivo-limite", in Politica ed Economia (Roma) Dicembre 1988, 22-26. (English translation available from IRES, Via Santa Teresa 23, I-00198 Roma)

Starting from a distinction between the four logics that can govern social transfers (community, insurance, assistance and citizenship), Massimo Paci, professor of sociology at the University of Ancona, reviews the main Italian proposals pointing to a citizenship income, including the "social cheque" of the Gorrieri Commission on poverty and his own proposal for a basic pension. He next discusses more far-reaching proposals such as the Meade-Rose "social dividend" financed by an interest on nationalized property, and point out various difficulties.

Saraceno, Chiara, "Una persona, un reddito", in *Politica ed Economia* (Roma) Gennaio 1989, 27-32. (English translation available from IRES, Via Santa Teresa 23, I-00198 Roma.) The author is professor of sociology at the University of Trento. Starting from a description of four fundamental trends - unbalance between labour market and social security, increased state intervention in income support, increased flexibility of life patterns and emergence of a citizenship culture -, she argues for a fully individualized citizenship income that would be largely financed by the replacement of a patchwork of inefficient and "clientelistic" assistance schemes and the abolition of various tax expenditures.

HE SUPPORTED BASIC INCOME

Sir Brandon Rhys Williams (son of Juliet Rhys Williams, a liberal politician who played a prominent role in the prehistory of the basic income discussion by working out the idea of a "social dividend" in the early forties; Euro-MP from 1973 to 1984; then Member of the British Parliament until his death last year at the age of 61) was a rather unusual Tory politician. In the obituary she wrote for the latest issue of the BIRG Bulletin, Hermione Parker, his Parliamentary research assistant for many years, quotes at length a most interesting text he wrote in 1975. As rapporteur to the European Parliament's Economic and Monetary Affairs Committee, he there argues the case for a "European social contract". One key component of it would consist in bringing into line all the basic welfare systems of the community, as a way of removing one powerful barrier to the free movement of workers and their families. A first step could be made with a unified community-wide child benefit system (which individual countries would be free to top up). "A further step forward would include a full-scale tax-credit system incorporating a structure of positive personal allowances as a feature of the community tax system."

Such a basic income system, in his view, has two advantages that are particularly relevant in the European context. First, it would "provide an opportunity to carry through a regional policy at personal level, since it would [,Ä¶] carry purchasing power outwards from the centres of wealth to the districts and even into the houses where incomes are below the average". Second, "it would help to raise the incomes of farmers with low earnings without interfering with the

prices of their products", and thus provide a partial alternative to the Common Agricultural Policy. He concludes: "The European Social Contract must combine the benefits of security and unity afforded to the citizens of communist societies with the personal freedom and self-respect which are the best characteristics of the property-owning democracies."

BIEN's Executive Committee

The Committee has met twice so far, in December 1989 in Brussels and in April 1990 in Rome, to finalize the decisions taken in by BIEN's last General Assembly meeting (the full text of BIEN's Statutes is now available on request from BIEN's Secretary) and to start organizing the 1990 Conference.

Its members are:

Guy Standing (International Labour Office, Geneva), co-chairman

Edwin Morley-Fletcher (Lega Nazionale delle Cooperative e Mutue, Rome), co-chairman and conference organizer

Walter Van Trier (Universitaire Fakuliteiten St Ignatius, Antwerp), secretary

Alexander de Roo (Green-Alternative European Link, European Parliament, Brussels), treasurer

Philippe Van Parijs (Universitv© Catholique de Louvain, Louvain-la-Neuve), Newsletter editor

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DM 50, DM25 or DM 100

FF 150, FF 100 or FF 300

-£15, -£10 or -£30

Lit 35000, Lit 20000 or Lit 70000

DFl 55, DFl 30 or DFl 110

Pes. 3000, Pes.1500 or Pes.6000

Make sure your envelope is well sealed. We shall send you a receipt, together with your copy of the Spring 1989 Newsletter.

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.

Address:

Walter Van Trier
BIEN Secretary
Bosduifstraat 21
B-2018 Antwerpen, Belgium
phone:03/2204182 (office)
03/2711642 (home)

TO BECOME A MEMBER OF BIEN

You need to

,Ä¸ be interested in basic income, without necessarily being committed to its introduction,

,Ä¸ pay a subscription fee of BF 1000 (BF2000 for institutions, BF500 for those without paid work)

for two years, in one of the ways described overleaf,

,Ä¸ fill in the form below and return it to the above address.

From then on and until December 1990, you will be entitled to receive the Newsletter three times a year, and to enjoy a discount on BIEN publications and BIEN events.

Surname:

First name:

Full mailing address:

I enclose a Eurocheque for:

bank notes amounting to:

I pay into BIEN's bank account 001-2204356-10 (at the CGER, 21 rue Archimède, 1040 Brussels) the sum of:

[Please tick the appropriate "O" and fill in the amounts, after carefully reading the instructions on p.11]