BASIC INCOME

Newsletter of the Basic Income European Network

N∞5          Summer 1989

To new BIEN subscribers:
Thanks for joining and a warm welcome to 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 the back page.

Is there a basic income group or network in your area?
A brief presentation of national organizations on page 4.

Are you the only member of BIEN in your country?
This is unlikely, as about 100 organizations and individuals from 17 countries have now joined our network as full subscribing members. More figures on page 3.

What is the origin of the expression "basic income"?
A new conjecture on p.11.

With three conferences organized on that day and a sympathetic account in The Economist, the 10th of June 1989 was a blessed day for basic income.
See reports on pages 5 and 7.

See reviews on pages 6-10.

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Address

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

Philippe Van Parijs
Economie et Société,
3 Place Montesquieu
B-1348 Louvain-la-Neuve,
Belgium
phone: (010) 473950  (9-10.30 am)

This issue of Basic Income has been prepared with the help of
Sue Black, Alexander de Roo, Walter Van Trier, and all those who have
spontaneously sent relevant material.

Many thanks!

HOW YOU CAN HELP

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

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

2. Please keep it informed. Send 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 made available in the Collectif Charles Fourier's Archives. Deadline for the next issue: 15 November 1989.

The network in figures

Here are some data on the present state of our network. Figures are given about those attending the conference at which BIEN was founded (Louvain-la-Neuve, September 1986) and about (individual or institutional) membership, approximately halfway through the first year of membership by subscription (August 1989).

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The BIEN address list is available on request to members from BIEN's secretary. To help strengthen the network, we are considering circulating once a year, as an annex to the Newsletter, a list of all current members. Should you have any suggestion on or objections to this, please let us know immediately.
NATIONAL GROUPS AND ORGANIZATIONS

United Kingdom
Basic Income Research Group

Set up in 1984 under the auspices of the National Council for Voluntary Organizations, to "research all aspects of reform along the lines of a basic income". Its activities are financed by donations and subscriptions. It organizes various seminars and conferences, and publishes twice a year the BIRG Bulletin edited by Hermione Parker. Annual subscription rate: £10 (£15 for institutions, £5 for the unwaged).

Address: c/o Malcolm Torry (secretary), Pepys Road 102, London SE14 6SG, UK. Tel.: 44/1/639 9838.

Belgium
Collectif Charles Fourier

Founded in March 1984 to prepare the first publication on basic income in French (a special issue of La Revue Nouvelle, Brussels 1985), the Collectif would have disappeared, had it not won a prize awarded by the Fondation Roi Baudouin in November 1984, for a basic-income scenario about the future of work. This made possible the organization of the First International Conference on Basic Income in September 1986 (where BIEN was founded).

The Collectif is now involved in the publishing of BIEN's Newsletter.

Address: c/o Philippe Van Parijs, Economie et Société, 3 Place Montesquieu, B-1348 Louvain-la-Neuve. Tel.: 32/10/473950.

Netherlands
Werkplaats Basisinkomen

Founded in October 1987 at the initiative of the Voedingsbond FNV, the "basic income workshop" aims to coordinate thinking and action on basic income in the Netherlands (where the debate goes back to the mid-seventies). It now has 15 member organizations, including two Trade Unions (Voedingsbond FNV, Industrie- en Voedingsbond CNV), three political parties (Politeieke Partij Radikalen, Evangelische Volkspartij, and the Flemish Green Party AGALEV), the Dutch Labour Party's active basic income lobby, the artists' professional association and several claimants organizations. A wider group of "sympathizing" associations includes the women's union FNV (a component of the main Trade Union Confederation) and the National association of the disabled.

The "workshop" organizes various meetings. It has published a short brochure on "Why the workshop wants a basic income" and has just started publishing a Newsletter (see review of the first issue below).
It employs one part-time coordinator and is financed by contributions from its member organizations.

Address: c/o Dagmar Varkevisser, Herman Heijermansweg 20, NL-1077 WL Amsterdam. T√©l.: 31/20/5731803.

France
Association pour l'Instauration d'un Revenu d'Existence

Founded in January 1989, the association for an "existence income" grew out of a discussion group on basic income started up by Henri Guitton and Yoland Bresson. No information so far about its activities.

Address: c/o Futuribles, 55 rue de Varennes, F-75341 Paris Cedex 07.

Other countries
We can help you

Should you want to set up a national network, we may be able to help you by providing whatever addresses we have from your country on our mailing lists.

Do keep us informed about your initiatives.

PAST EVENTS

Basic income and the new politics of citizenship
London, 10 June 1989

This conference, organized by the Basic Income Research Group brought together a number of advocates of basic income (speakers included Hermione Parker, Bill Jordan and David Purdy) and representatives of various organizations interested in the debate on basic income (such as Fran Bennett from the Child Poverty Action Group, Mark Minford from the Low Pay Unit, Evelyn Mc Ewen from Age Concern, Peter Grosvenor from the TUC, and Maria Luisa Mirabile from the Italian Trade Union Confederation CGIL). Some of the conference material will be published in BIRG Bulletin n¬∞10.
Further details: Malcolm Torry, 102 Pepys Road, London SE14 5SG, GB.

Het gedeeltelijk Basisinkomen
Utrecht (NL), 10 June 1989

Several prominent businessmen and right-wing politicians have recently expressed support for the idea of a partial basic income. This workshop, organized by Werkplaats Basisinkomen at the premises of the Trade Union Voedingsbond FNV aimed to clarify the group's position on
this issue. The discussion was introduced by Jos Dekkers (co-author of the notorious 1985 WRR report advocating a partial basic income), Paul de Beer (Labour Party economist) and Henk van der Kolk (Voedingsbond economist).

Further details: Werkplaats Basisinkomen, Herman Heijermansweg 20, NL-1077 WL Amsterdam.

Basisinkomen onder het Mes
Utrecht (NL), 10 June 1989

This conference was organized jointly by the women's group and the socio-economic commission of the Dutch Pacifist Socialist Party (PSP), a small "new left" party with several members of Parliament, as part of the Party's debate on the issue of basic income. Preparatory material is published in two booklets (Basisinkomen en herverdeling van de arbeid and Basisinkomen onder het mes, SVS/SEK Bulletins n°132 & 134, May 1989, 24p., DFl. 1.50 each).
Available from: PSP, Postbus 700, NL-1000 AS Amsterdam

De economische effecten van het Basisinkomen
Tilburg (NL), 16 June 1989

At this well attended conference, organized jointly by the Werkplaats Basisinkomen (the Dutch basic income network) and the Department of Social Security at the Catholic University of Brabant, proponents (such as N. Douben or R.J. van der Veen) and opponents (such as J. Pierik) of basic income could find little ground for agreement, except on the limits of what economics has to offer us by way of answer to such difficult questions. The elaborate material prepared for the occasion (by Paul de Beer Erik Hogenboom, Jos Mevissen, Piet Renooy & Jan Stroeken) includes a survey of the literature and covers redistributive and dynamic effects on the behaviour of both households and firms. (De economische effecten van een basisinkomen, May 1989, 45p.)
Available from: Werkplaats Basisinkomen, Herman Heijermansweg 20, NL-1077 WL Amsterdam.

Forthcoming EVENTS

Basic income and dependency
Manchester, 7 October 1989

A workshop on this topic will be held at the Friends Meeting House, Wythenshawe Road, Manchester, sponsored by the Manchester University Extra Mural Department.
For further information: Kevin Donnelly, 20 Nan Nook Road, Manchester M23 9BZ, GB.

Economic democracy and citizenship income
Rome, September 1990
Reminder: The next official BIEN Conference will be held at Rome University, on Wednesday-Friday 19-21 September 1990. Organizer: Edwin Morley-Fletcher, Lega Nazionale delle Cooperative e Mutue, Via A. Guattini 9, I-00161 Roma.

PUBLICATIONS

Dutch

't Werkt Niet Meer. Nieuwsbrief Basisinkomen n°1, Werkplaats Basisinkomen (Herman Heijermansweg 20, NL-1077 WL Amsterdam), 1989, 32p.

The first issue of a substantial Newsletter to be published three to four times a year by the network of Dutch organizations promoting basic income. This issue contains an extensive report on the 1988 BIEN conference by Erik Hogenboom, a discussion of partial basic income proposals by Paul de Beer, and shorter notes about relevant recent developments and publications both in the Netherlands and abroad. Copies can be obtained at the above address. Useful items can be sent to the editor (Marcel Bullinga, J. Van Lennepstraat 58-II-A, NL-1053 HL Amsterdam).

Basisinkomen, economische zelfstandigheid en betaald en onbetaald werk, ABVAKABO (Bredewater 16, NL-2715 CA Zoetermeer), April 1989, 28p.

In February, the powerful union of public sector employees AbvaKabo set up a "commission on medium and long-term policy" to discuss the divisive issue of basic income. Led by the Union's manager, Xander den Uyl (son of former Dutch premier), the commission was active for over a year. This document is its final report. The main conclusion is negative: "Introducing a basic income is, at the moment, neither necessary nor desirable." Autonomy through paid work must remain the workers' movement's central objective. The journal Aan√©n (1.5.89) contains an interview with den Uyl on the analysis behind this conclusion.

Kesenne, Stefan & Van Durme, Patrick, Basisinkomen en arbeidsaanbod, Universitaire Faculteiten St Ignatius, Studiecentrum voor Economisch en Sociaal Onderzoek (Prinsstraat 13, B-2000 Antwerpen), rapport 89/229, 23p.

This working paper investigates the effects the introduction of a basic income would have on the supply of labour, in the light of (1) a theoretical analysis of the worker/consumer's allocation of time; (2) the U.S. literature on negative income tax experiments; and (3) a recent survey on the labour supply of married women in the Antwerp area. The paper concludes that a significant reduction in the labour supply of (at least) married women could be expected if a substantial basic income were introduced.
This is the third edition of a lively pamphlet first published in 1982 by Bram van Ojik, now chairman of the Dutch radical party PPR and likely member of the new Parliament to be elected this September. Main originality of the new edition: detachable postcards with pro basic income slogans.

Van Parijs, Philippe, "Het Nederlands debat over het basisinkomen", in Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Sociale Zekerheid (Zwarte Lievevrouwstraat 3C, B-1000 Brussels), May-June 1988, 675-684.
An overview of twenty years of discussion and proposals in the only country in which basic income has become a real political issue. Previously published in French in the Notes de la Fondation Saint Simon (Paris) and the Revue Belge de Sécurité Sociale (Brussels).

English

This new draft programme of the British CP has been prepared for discussion at its 41st Congress on November 25-28, 1989. Among many other things, it argues that "radical reform of the tax and benefit system, possibly through the introduction of a limited basic income for all citizens, should be a central part of a social strategy for the 1990s. [...] A new welfare strategy will only redistribute towards the poor if it can win support of the well-off. To win that support the stress needs to be on universal rather than targeted benefits."

George, Robley, *Socioeconomic democracy. Mythical socioeconomic system for the next Millenium*, Center for the Study of Democratic Societies (Box 475, Manhattan Beach, CA 90266, USA), 1989, 21p.
For many years, the author has been campaigning for "socioeconomic democracy", an economic system with a guaranteed minimum income for all and a maximum allowable personal wealth limit", with both levels set and adjusted democratically. In this paper, he summarizes the main advantages of his proposal and relates the latter to similar ideas, including BIEN's "basic income".

"Handouts for all", in *The Economist* (London), 10 June 1989, p. 65.
A sympathetic, full-page account of Guy Standing's latest working paper advocating a basic income (see BI 4: p.7). The main objection raised concerns the disincentives associated with higher marginal tax rates for people above the minimum. "Politicians are likely to be most off-put by the difficulty of reform on such a scale and in such a sensitive area", the article concludes. "But if the idea makes sense, that is no reason to delay the first steps in the right direction."

Kesenne, Stefan L.J., *Market labor supply, informal work and the basic income proposal,*
Discussions of basic income using the analytical tools of economics usually concentrate exclusively on disincentive effects and deadweight welfare losses. By doing so, however, they largely miss the point behind basic income proposals. Kesenne's latest working paper attempts to correct this defect of most analytical models by drawing informal work into the picture. "A simple extension of the traditional model shows some positive effects of a basic income programme, such as a well-balanced distribution of time between market labour and informal work, a shift from unattractive jobs to more attractive ones, and a slowdown in the hectic pace of life."

This new book by political economist and BIRG co-founder Hermione Parker draws on more than ten years specialist research in the overlapping complexities of personal taxation and social security. The author presents the case for an integrated tax/benefit system, in which the basis of entitlement shifts from contribution record and contingency to citizenship and need. She argues that full integration is not realistic and distinguishes four partial integration options. One of them, the basic income guarantee, is put forward as a feasible and desirable alternative to the residual welfare state towards which Britain is currently moving.

H. Parker kindly points out that the word "optional" should be dropped from the last sentence of the brief presentation of this pamphlet in BI 4, p.7.

This unusually gripping working paper by BIEN secretary and Antwerp sociologist Walter Van Trier attempts to trace the origins of the label social dividend commonly used in Britain (until recently) to refer to basic income. It leads straight to the core of Keynesian thought and British socialism in the making, through the works of James Meade, Joan Robinson, Abba Lerner and George D.H. Cole, and discredits many commonly held beliefs on the way. The oldest fossil unearthed (in a post-scriptum to the working paper) is an intriguing address on a pamphlet published just after World War I: "State Bonus League, 1 Victoria Street, London SW1". An ominous forerunner of "Basic Income Network, 21 Bosduifstraat, 2018 Antwerp"?
In this learned and sophisticated book, radical economist Gérard Roland (of the Free University of Brussels) provides a general theory of the functioning of centrally planned economies, and argues that their various dimensions are so closely interconnected that only a global reform of the sort initiated by Mikhail Gorbatsjov has any chance of success. The last chapter describes one possible future for soviet-type economies. One long section is devoted to "the missing link of socialism: the universal grant". Drawing on both van der Veen & Van Parijs' notion of a "capitalist road to communism" and on the Soviet economist Rimashevskaia's plea for a clearer dissociation between wages (to be used exclusively as efficient economic incentives) and "social consumption funds" (to be distributed according to needs), the author argues that a GNP-indexed, VAT-financed basic income would "strengthen social unity while making room for the greatest possible freedom and recognizing to each individual a right to autonomy", and must therefore constitute a central component of any desirable, yet realistic form of socialism.

The fascinating story of the political debate on the "right to work", with special emphasis on the crucial episode of the 1848 Revolution in France, when the heated discussions around the "Ateliers Nationaux" first revealed the deep ideological split between liberals (for whom the right to work is nothing but the absence of any legal restriction on the exercise of an occupation) and socialists (for whom the State has the duty to provide paid work for those who do not have any). In the epilogue, the author stresses the absurd consequences of the concern with providing work for all, given the sort of technological development we are now experiencing. "In a near future, we shall probably be obliged to openly disconnect the right to an income and the right to work." "The implied change, he says, is well expressed in the notion of a 'universal grant'." (Hence the subtitle.) To prevent a growing dualization of society, however, he recommends that this should go hand in hand with a massive reduction in working time for all. And to ease political acceptance, he recommends, along with André Gorz, an equal contribution by all to whatever necessary labour is left to do.

German

Nissen, Sylke, "Jenseits des Arbeitsverhältnisses. Sozialpolitische Positionen der Tarifparteien zwischen Mitglieder- und
A well-informed account of recent statements on social policy issues by the West German Employers' Association (BDA) and Trade Union Confederation (DGB). Whereas the former are consistently guided by cost reduction and a strong commitment to a labour-focused social policy (in the interest of its individual members), the latter makes some room for concerns which go beyond its individual members' interests and reflect its interests as an organization. Thus, something like a basic income can arouse Trade Union interest, because it weakens the threat of the "reserve army of the unemployed" and thereby strengthens the workers' position in collective bargaining.

(Author's address: WZB/IIM, Reichpietsch-Ufer 50, D-1000 Berlin 30.)


A systematic survey of the arguments put forward, ever since the famous debate on this topic at the 1930 meeting of the Gesellschaft für Soziale Reform, to defend the "economic value of social policy". In the process, the author presents various economic arguments in favour of a universalistic extension of the welfare state in the form of a basic income. It is argued, in particular, that such an extension would make it possible to reduce the distortions and disturbances associated with discretionary state intervention in the economy.

(English translation available under the title "The economic benefits of social security". Author's address: WZB/IIM, Reichpietsch-Ufer 50, D-1000 Berlin 30.)

Vobruba, Georg, "Wenn das Angebot an Arbeitskräften bis 2010 nicht abnimmt... Drei Modelle zur Zukunft der Arbeit und der sozialen Sicherheit", in Frankfurter Rundschau 27.1.1989, 14-15.

In this article for one of the main West German newspapers, Austrian political scientist Georg Vobruba distinguishes three scenarios for the future of the labour market: mass unemployment, deregulation and full employment resting on basic security (grundgesicherte Vollbeschäftigung). The third scenario, of which basic income is a central component, shares with the deregulation scenario a considerable diversification of occupation patterns. But there are two major differences. Basic income security enhances everyone's freedom of choice, and it involves no risk of a recessionary spiral.

Italian

Marianetti, Agostino, "La proposta socialista del 'reddito minimo di cittadinanza'", in MondOpepao 4, April 1989, 4-6.

PSI politician Marianetti presents in the socialist theoretical magazine the broad lines of his proposal for a "guaranteed citizenship income". It is not acceptable, in an affluent society, that some
should be left with no income at all. Rather than simply giving everyone with no adequate income an appropriate transfer, however, he wants to introduce a "solidarity exchange", where income would be conditional upon the performance of a "civil service" - not "labour", but some activity in the "third sector" (care of the elderly, protection of the environment, help in a library, etc.) within the framework of associations, local or national bodies, etc. Further details are given in an interview with PSI economist Renato Brunetta in the same issue. In the June issue of the same magazine, the proposal is further discussed quite sympathetically by Cesare Pinelli (who reminds the reader that both the right to work and the right to an income are firmly asserted in the Italian Constitution), more critically by Antonio Martino (who advocates a straight negative income tax √ la Friedman, providing it replaces all existing provisions), and with fierce irony by Venerio Cattani (who believes that less time should be wasted on such grand proposals in a country in which each citizen is born with a share of a heavy national debt and in which both train fares and payments for health care have just been greatly increased). Each in his own way, the three contributors emphasize the risk that the sort of scheme that is being proposed would lead to yet another bout of waste and unfairness through clientelismo.

Morley-Fletcher, Edwin, "Certezze per rischiare", in Nuova Rassegna Sindacale 18, 8.3.1989, 23-25
A plea for a genuine citizenship income as a strategy for correcting market failures in the distributive sphere and for promoting individual and cooperative entrepreneurship throughout society; and a critique of the recent proposal by PSI economists Marianetti and Brunetta for a minimum income conditional upon the performance of "socially useful tasks". The cost of organizing such a scheme may well exceed its output, "clientelism" is likely to be ubiquitous, and above all, unless the same sort of social service is imposed on all, not just on the "needy" recipients of the minimum income, the very notion of a "citizenship right" to an income becomes a joke.

Professor of economic sociology at the University of Ancona and respected left-wing intellectual, Massimo Paci is one of the most prominent protagonists of the incipient debate on basic income in Italy. In his most recent book, he proposes a specifically sociological analysis of the development of the welfare state in several industrial countries (France, Germany, the United States, Sweden and, in more detail, Britain and Italy). In the last chapter, he calls for a "new welfare system, more resolutely geared to the provision of opportunities for all citizens, against the background of a growing pluralism of needs and social welfare expectations". Such a system must avoid the fatal defects of both a "meritocratic" insurance system (which leaves many excluded) and an "egalitarian" assistance system (stigmatization, low rate of take up, poverty trap,
clientelism). It cannot but include as a central component the sort of "guaranteed minimum income" for all citizens advocated by Meade, Standing or Dahrendorf.

Voïruba, Georg, "L'ambigua alternativa tra lavoro e reddito", in Nuova Rassegna Sindacale 28, 17.7.1989, 40-44. A brief discussion of the relations between reduction in working time and basic income, by Austrian political scientist Georg Voïruba. Though rooted in the old ideological opposition between the right to work and the right to subsistence, these relations are supportive rather than antagonistic. For a general reduction in statutory working time raises problems - for example the dilemma between the bankruptcy of marginal firms (if there is wage compensation) and the fall of the low paid below the poverty line (if there is no such compensation) - which combination with the introduction of a basic income would solve. The main problem about basic income is one of collective action, as it offers a benefit which is widely but thinly spread and which (for most) takes the form of a potential, an opportunity, rather than an advantage to be cashed in straight away. However, gradual realization of the limits of the working time reduction strategy is bound to awake the interest of major social forces to the basic income strategy. Along this path, the German Trade Unions, for example, have recently included a form of social guarantee of subsistence among their objectives. (Author's address: WZB/IIM, Reichpietsch-Ufer 50, D-1000 Berlin 30.)

NEWS FROM THE PAST

The true origins of "basic income"

It was generally believed that the English expression "basic income" was first used, in the sense in which it appears in the name of our network, by the late nuclear physicist and BIRG co-founder Keith Roberts. After a conference at the European Center for Work and Society (Maastricht, Nethelands), he became convinced that the mirror image of the Dutch term "basinkomen", commonly used for this purpose in the Netherlands since the mid-seventies, was more appropriate than the then current "social wage". (The "Social Wage Action Group" was then converted into the "Basic Income Research Group".) Painstaking research by BIEN Secretary Walter Van Trier has led to the discovery that this common belief was false. The first recorded use of the term "basic income" in a sense akin to ours was by Jan Tinbergen, the first Nobel Prize laureate in economics and prominent member of the Dutch Labour Party, in a textbook on economic policy first published in 1953.

For further details, see Van Trier's recent working paper reviewed on page 8.
HOW TO PAY YOUR FEE

Please fill in the form overleaf and use one of the following modes of payment.

If you pay by cheque:
make sure your cheque is a Eurocheque made out in Belgian Francs (BF1000, 500 or 2000), dated in a Belgian town and made payable to BIEN.
If these conditions cannot be met, please use another mode of payment.

If you pay directly into BIEN's bank account:
please add BF250 to the amounts mentioned above to cover international bank charges (unless you pay from a Belgian account).

If you pay in banknotes:
you can use your own currency, for example
BF 1000 (standard), BF 500 (without paid work) or BF 2000
(institutions)
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
phones: 03/2204182 (office)
03/2711642 (home)
HOW TO JOIN BIEN

To be a member of BIEN, you must
• be interested in basic income, without necessarily being committed
to its introduction,
• 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 on page 11,
• 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 0 a Eurocheque for:
0 bank notes amounting to:
0 I pay into BIEN's bank account 001-2204356-10
(at the CGER, 21 rue Archim®de, 1040 Brussels) the sum of:

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