

BASIC INCOME

Newsletter of the Basic Income European Network

N°7

Spring 1990

**The 1990 BIEN Conference
"Economic democracy and
citizenship income".
Florence, 19-22 September
1990**

Many thanks to all those who have responded to the call for papers.

Further details about programme, accommodation, registration, etc. will be sent directly to BIEN members by the organizers.

Organizing Committee:

Edwin MORLEY-FLETCHER, Lega Nazionale delle Cooperative e Mutue, Via Guattini 9, I-00161 Roma, Italy. Phone: (39)(6)844391; Fax: (39)(6)84439216.

Guy STANDING, International Labour Office, CH-1211 Geneva, Switzerland.

Phone: (41)(22)7996455;

Fax: (41)(22)7988685.

Alexander DE ROO, De Groenen, European Parliament, 97-113 rue Belliard, B-1030 Brussels, Belgium. Phone: (32)(2)2343052.

In one part of the world, a genuine basic income scheme has been in operation since 1982, and we knew nothing about it.

See page 4 on the Alaska dividend distribution program

Are the United States as a whole politically ripe for a basic income ?

Less so than Europe, is the answer that emerged from a conference held on 7-9 April at the University of Wisconsin. See page 3 for some subjective conclusions.

A new handy pamphlet presenting basic income and the main issues it raises has just been published by the Basic Income Research Group: see page 6

**To those who see this Newsletter for the first time:
If you want to keep receiving it,**

please follow the instructions on the back page.

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BIEN'S EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Co-chairmen:

Guy STANDING (International Labour Office, CH-1211 Geneva)

Edwin MORLEY-FLETCHER (Legazione Nazionale delle Cooperative e Mutue, Via Guattini 9, I-00161 Roma)

Secretary: **Walter VAN TRIER** (UFSIA, 21 Bosduifstraat, B-2018 Antwerp)

Treasurer: **Alexander DE ROO** (De Groenen, European Parliament, 97-113 rue Belliard, B-1030 Brussels), treasurer

Newsletter editor: **Philippe VAN PARIJS** (Economie et Société, 3 Place Montesquieu, B-1348 Louvain-la-Neuve, phone: (32) (10) 473950 (a.m. only); Fax: (32)(10) 474819.)

THIS ISSUE

of *Basic Income*

has been prepared with the help of Sue Black, Guy Standing, 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 keep it informed. Send the Newsletter editor (address above), 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*. Given the steady growth of the material received, *ashort summary would be greatly appreciated*, preferably but not necessarily, in English. After review, all

relevant publications received will be made available in the Collectif Charles Fourier's Archives. **Deadline for the next issue: 1 August 1990 .**

2. 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 available at seminars or conferences they organize, for example.

PAST EVENTS

SEMINAR ON CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS AND GUARANTEED INCOME ROME, APRIL 1989

Several publications (all in Italian) have now appeared in order to spread the results of this first important encounter on basic income in Italy, organized by the Research Institute of the Trade Union Confederation CGIL. See the collection published by *Politica ed Economía*, and the topic issues of *Inchiesta, L'Assistenza Sociale* and *Democrazia e Diritto*, reviewed below (pp.10-11).

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

BASIC INCOME GUARANTEES. A NEW WELFARE STRATEGY ? MADISON (USA), 6-8 APRIL 1990

Of all American states, Wisconsin has the strongest social-democratic tradition, and its large public University houses both the National Institute for Research on Poverty (which played a major role in coordinating the famous Negative Income Tax Experiments) and the Havens Center for the Study of Social Structure and Social Change (which promotes critical thinking about social reforms). It comes as no surprise, therefore, that it should be in Madison, and under the sponsorship of these two institutions, that this first (?) U.S. conference on basic income should have been organized.

Robert Haveman (Director of the La Follette Institute, University of Wisconsin) responded to the keynote lecture delivered by Philippe Van Parijs (Université Catholique de Louvain) on "the second marriage of justice and efficiency"; Irwin Garfinkel (University of Wisconsin) gave a breakfast talk on the history of the US discussion; Sam Bowles (University of Massachusetts) and Kevin Lang (Boston University) presented the two main papers on the economics of basic income; Fred Block (University of Pennsylvania) and Ann Withorn (University of Massachusetts) gave the two main papers

on the politics of basic income; and a dozen discussants had been flown in from Berkeley, Chicago, Harvard and other places.

One thing the conference made plain is that there is a significant interest in the idea of a basic income in at least two groups in the U.S.: left-of-centre social welfare reformers, who want to correct a number of anomalies and perversions of current income maintenance schemes by introducing a fairly low basic income (see e.g. Fred Haveman's *Starting Even*, reviewed below) and radical social thinkers, who view a generous basic income as an important component of a viable and desirable future society (see e.g. Fred Block's forthcoming book, *Postindustrial Possibilities*). Even among those who believe basic income to be a good and feasible idea, however, there is broad agreement that the prospects are far worse in the U.S. than in Europe, and that basic income is not likely to be on the American political agenda in anything like the near future. In a way, this is surprising, since something not so distant from a genuine (though low) basic income was passed by the U.S. House of Representatives though eventually rejected by the Senate in 1971. (Nixon's Family Assistance Plan had no poverty trap nor work requirement, even though it was means-tested and household-based. Daniel Moynihan's fascinating account of this missed chance, *The Politics of a Guaranteed Income*, Random House, 1973, is well worth reading by Europeans too.)

But once it is realized to what extent arguments in favour of transfer programmes are to be judged in terms of their appeal to "the taxpayer", conceived as just a charity among others, this ceases to be an enigma. For the taxpayer does not like giving his hard-earned money away in the form of cash (food stamps and school meals are safer). He likes even less to let some of his money go to people who are not "really needy". And above all, he wants his generosity to be restricted to the "deserving" poor, those who try hard and fail. As far as the prospects for basic income are concerned, it is our luck in Europe (but for how long?) that we do not suffer to the same extent as the U.S. from a strong correlation between income and participation in elections, from the massive

influence of big money on political campaigns, from the absence of a broadly based labour movement and from a racial cleavage that makes it difficult to look at transfer recipients as "some of us" rather than "some of them".

The combination of these differences makes it easier, in Europe, to frame questions of political feasibility in terms of what a decent and rational community should do, and not in terms of how the holder of the "median dollar"

would like the government to spend part of his money. This is why the political feasibility of basic income, though not its economic feasibility, is significantly greater in Europe than in the U.S. In the short term, the introduction of universal child benefits and the extension of health insurance to all Americans are very important and more realistic political objectives in the U.S. context - but also key steps in the direction of a genuine basic income.

NEWS FROM THE PAST

THE TRUE ORIGINS OF "BASIC INCOME": ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

The first recorded use of the term "basic income" in a sense akin to ours still seems to be, as mentioned in *BI 5: 11*, in Jan Tinbergen's *Economic Policy: principles and design* (North Holland, 1953). But it is worth noting that in his famous article "On improving the economic status of the Negro" (in *Daedalus* 1965), American economist James Tobin, another Nobel Prize winner, speaks about "basic income allowances, integrated with and administered in conjunction with the

federal income tax" to refer to the negative income tax scheme he was then putting forward. His use probably owes nothing to Tinbergen's earlier use. Nor does, in Britain, Hermione Parker's. Along with Brandon Rhys-Williams, she started using the term independently in 1981. It is to them that the British Basic Income Research Group (so named from the start, contrary to what was asserted in *BI 5: 11*) owes its name.

NEWS FROM ELSEWHERE

THE ALASKA DIVIDEND DISTRIBUTION PROGRAM

Since 1977, the State of Alaska has been receiving royalty income from oil produced on state-owned land at Prudhoe Bay. About 20% of these funds have been saved in a state savings account called the Alaska Permanent Fund. Since 1982, the interest on this account has been distributed to each Alaska resident in the form of a uniform dividend whose level has oscillated from year to year between \$300 and \$1000 per annum.

In a recent article, economists O'Brien (University of Alaska, Fairbanks) and Olson (University of Louisville) assess the scheme and defend it as "a unique experiment in the redistribution of wealth to future generations. By setting aside a portion of state revenues received from the

exploitation of resources today in a constitutionally inviolate trust fund, the current generation of Alaskans has ensured that future generations will benefit from Alaska's mineral and petroleum wealth." Moreover, they argue, the dividend program benefits current Alaskans by increasing their incomes (and, obviously, proportionally more the lower incomes) and by acting as an anti-recessionary policy tool, whereby the boom-bust cycles that have plagued Alaskans are somewhat mitigated.

See: J. Patrick O'Brien and Dennis O. Olson, "The Alaska permanent fund and dividend distribution program", in *Public Finance Quarterly* 18(2), April 1990, 139-156.

PUBLICATIONS

DUTCH

T'WERKT NIET MEER N°3, Werkplaats Basisinkomen (Herman Heijermansweg 20, 1077 WL Amsterdam), March 1990, 28p.

This third issue of the Dutch BI Newsletter contains, in addition to announcements and reviews, a tribute to the recently deceased Dutch Network's chairperson, Janneke van der Plaat, an account of a recent conference on "partial basic incomes" (see *BI 6*, p.3), a note on the discussion about BI that took place inside the powerful Union of public employees, and an exchange about whether or not people living alone would be left worse off by the introduction of a BI and, if so, whether this would be a good thing.

(If you want to receive this Newsletter, write to the above address.)

ANTHONISSEN, Karel, *Een wereld in schuld. Groene beschouwingen over economie, financiën en fiscaliteit*, Antwerpen: GCV Els Van den Heuvel (Menegemlei 1, 2100 Antwerpen), 1989, 175p.

In this short book on economic matters from a green angle, Anthonissen, an economist and active member of the Flemish green party AGALEV, devotes several sections to the basic income proposal. Let us not be impressed by some strange bedfellows, he argues, BI is a frightfully green idea. There is not much for a green to worry about if some people opt for a low-consumption existence by choosing to content themselves with their BI, nor indeed if incentives for more and more production, or pressure for more and more employment, are eroded as a consequence of introducing a BI. Whether the latter should be paid in the form of ex ante grants or in the form of a negative income tax is not a matter of principle, but simply a matter of implementation.

HAMMINGA, Bert, "Arbeid en moraal in de spiegel van een utopie", in *Aftellen tot 2000* (W. Goddijn & al.), Tilburg (NL): Tilburg University Press, 1988, 4-25.

A fascinating utopian economic model that sheds light on the moral foundations of basic income. (An earlier piece along

similar lines by the same author, "Opstaan voor iemand misstaat niemand", was published in *Maandschrift Economie* 47(9), 1983, and related discussions by G. den Hartogh, T.A.F. Kuipers and E. van der Hoeven appeared in *Filosofie & Praktijk* 5(2), 1984, and 6(3), 1985.) The starting point is that even in a world with scarce jobs people should have an equal right to work. It does not follow that one should reduce working time so as to give a smaller equal share to all. It is far more intelligent to allow each person to trade his/her right to work. The market equilibrium value of this right determines the level of the BI, the income of those who choose not to work. In this light, those who live off a BI *do* support themselves: by letting others use a scarce asset to which they are fully entitled by virtue of their equal right to work. The more numerous the work shy, the cheaper the right to work will turn out to be, and the better therefore for those who are very keen to work.

(Author's address: Katholieke Hoge-school Tilburg, Centrale Interfaculteit, PB 90153, 5000 LE Tilburg, Netherlands.)

KLAPPE, Judit, *Het basisinkomen werkt niet. Stellingen tegen het basisinkomen*, Amsterdam: Wetenschappelijke Bureau PSP (Postbus 700, 1000 AS Amsterdam), januari 1990, 18p.

"Support for basic income seems to be growing fast, also within the Green Left." This trend, mentioned in the first sentence of this vigorous pamphlet, greatly irritates the latter's author, a scientific collaborator of the Pacifist Socialist Party, one of the three components (with the radicals and the communists) of the recently formed Dutch "Green Left" party. In an attempt to halt that trend, Klappe has compiled a motley list of 17 arguments against basic income and spells them out in succession. Not good reading for anyone who believes that at least a modicum of sympathy is required for a fruitful critique.

VAN PARIJS, Philippe, "Werkelijke vrijheid voor allen. Een antwoord op het neoliberalisme", in *Terugkeer van de ethiek*.

Denken over economie en samenleving (Luk Bouckaert ed.), Leuven & Amersfoort: ACCO, 1989, 131-146.

Dutch translation of a French article presenting an alternative to neo-liberalism in which basic income is given a central

place (reviewed in *BI* 6: 9, and reprinted since in *Problèmes Economiques*, Paris: La Documentation Française, 4 January 1990). (Author's address: ECOS, 3 Place Montesquieu, B-1348 Louvain-la-Neuve)

ENGLISH

BASIC INCOME, London: Basic Income Research Group, 1989, 12p.

What is a basic income? How would it work? How would it be financed? Full, partial or transitional? What is BIRG? These are some of the questions briefly and clearly answered in the new booklet recently issued by the Basic Income Research Group. After outlining BIRG's programme at home, the booklet describes its programme abroad, in connection with the EC's interest in minimum guaranteed income schemes: "Although the EC talks about Basic Incomes, what they mean is unclear. BIRG, working in conjunction with BIEN, will seek to clarify the issues. We shall emphasise the limitations of a safety net that is means-tested and conditional. And we shall argue the case for a small Basic Income throughout the EEC, with entitlement based on legal residence." (Available from BIRG, 102 Pepys Road, London SE14 5SG, U.K.)

BIRG Bulletin 10, Autumn/Winter 1990, London: Basic Income Research Group (102 Pepys Road, London SE14 5SG), 32p., £3.00. Contains a concise presentation by Cambridge economist James Meade of his own version of the "social dividend", financed by the revenue of state-owned assets ("Topsy-turvy nationalization"); an extensive treatment by Manchester economist David Purdy of the conditions under which basic income could serve the ideal of true citizenship; reports (inter alia) on the Italian debate about guaranteed minimum incomes and on the EEC-sponsored "European Conference on Basic Incomes"; in-depth reviews of Tony Walter's and Hermione Parker's recent books; and - most surprisingly - a vigorous plea for basic income by the British Member of Parliament and leader of the Liberal Democrats, Paddy Ashdown (see also his recent book, reviewed below). Two out of the four main political groupings in Britain now seem to have joined the pro-BI camp (the Greens joined over a decade ago). Only two left!

ASHDOWN, Paddy. *Citizens' Britain: A radical agenda for the 1990's*, London: Fourth Estate, 1989, £5.95.

In this book, the leader of the British Liberal Democrats (the outcome of the merger of the Liberal Party and the non-Owenite Social Democratic Party) presents his vision of the future of Britain. "Britain should start to move", he believes, "towards an entirely new structure which gives every citizen a non-withdrawable Basic Income, irrespective of work or marital status". This course is to be followed for many reasons. Among those on which Ashdown lays most stress are the fact that a basic income would "encourage enterprise and self-employment, and provide the flexibility required in a vigorous, modern economy" and that it would provide "a mechanism for sharing both paid and unpaid work more fairly" by "giving men as well as women incentives to do part-time work".

ATKINSON, Anthony B., *Poverty and Social Security*, Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989, 400p., £12.95 (paperback), £40 (hardcover).

The third and last part of this collection of essays by LSE economist (and new chairman of the European Economic Association) Tony Atkinson is devoted to an analysis of the implications of income tax and social security reform proposals using powerful methodological tools. The last two chapters of the book ("The cost of social dividend and tax credit schemes" and "Analysis of partial basic income schemes") are directly relevant to the basic income discussion.

DALY, Herman E. & COBB, John B., *For the Common Good. Redirecting the economy toward community, the environment and a sustainable future*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1989, 482 p., \$ 24.95. Written jointly by the author of *Steady State Economics* (now economist in the Environment Department of the World Bank) and an American theologian, this book delineates the conditions for a sustainable future. One of them is the introduction of a "social dividend"

administered in the form of a negative income tax. True, this will lead some to deciding to live off the dole without seeking work. But "society has little to fear - and something to gain - from the decisions. At present there are not enough jobs for all who want them. The withdrawal of a few from competition for these will not damage society". And the fact that more will choose to study or to pursue artistic or idealistic endeavors will benefit society in the long run.

GORZ, André, *Critique of Economic Reason*, London & New York : Verso (6 Meard Street, London W1V 3HR), 1989, 250 p.

A translation of *Métamorphoses du travail* (Paris, 1988), the most comprehensive formulation of André Gorz's critique of contemporary capitalism. The last section of the last part of the book deals with basic income. A "leftist" version, Gorz argues must be coupled with a compulsory social service : "The essential aspect of an obligation to work in exchange for a guaranteed full income is that this obligation provides the basis for a corresponding right : by obliging individuals to produce by working the income which is guaranteed to them, society obliges itself to guarantee them the opportunity to work and gives them the right to demand this".

(Author's address: F-10130 Vosnon, France.)

HAVEMAN, Robert, *Starting Even. An equal opportunity program to combat the Nation's new poverty*, New York & London : Simon & Schuster, 1988, 288 p.

This new book by poverty policy expert Robert Haveman describes and analyzes income inequalities in the US and argues for a package of policies that would, in his view, improve both equity and efficiency. It includes a "universal demogrant, integrated with the personal income tax", in effect a household-based negative income tax of the type advocated earlier by Stigler (1948), Friedman (1962) and Rolph (1967). "A tax credit would be awarded to each family or taxpayer unit according to how large it is and who lives in it. This credit would guarantee to families a minimum

income set at one-half to two-thirds of the poverty level". It would replace such programs as AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children), food stamps and a variety of housing support programs. Haveman's package also includes a "universal personal capital account for youths" : \$ 20.000 to be given to all youth at age 18, to be spent on approved purchases of education and medical care services. (Author's address : the Director, La Follette Institute of Public Affairs, University of Wisconsin, 109 Observatory Hill, Madison, Wisconsin 53706, USA).

VAN PARIJS, Philippe, "In defence of abundance", in *Canadian Journal of Philosophy*, Supplementary Volume 15 (*Analyzing Marxism*, Bob Ware & Kai Nielsen eds.), 467-495.

Using the tools of analytical philosophy and neo-classical economics, this article clarifies the (weak) sense in which abundance constitutes a pre-condition for the viable introduction of an adequate basic income, and relates it to the stronger notions of abundance that have been used both to characterize (positively) the conditions under which a pure distribution according to needs is no longer utopian and to circumscribe (negatively) the scope of economic thinking.

(Author's address: ECOS, 3 Place Montesquieu, B-1348 Louvain-la-Neuve)

VAN PARIJS, Philippe. "The second marriage of justice and efficiency", in *Journal of Social Policy* 19 (1), January 1990, 1-25.

Arguably, no major reform in the field of social policy can ever succeed if it is not defensible on grounds of both justice and efficiency. Can basic income meet this challenge? Not without a significant change in the way one usually thinks about both justice and efficiency in connection with social policy. But once these changes are made - and the case for making them is compelling - the chance that basic income can meet the challenge is greatly enhanced. (Offprints available from the author: ECOS, 3 Place Montesquieu, B-1348 Louvain-la-Neuve)

FRENCH

BARTHALAY Bernard, "Propositions économiques, monétaires et institutionnelles", Paris: Europe 93 (c/o

Futuribles, 55 rue de Varennes, F-75341, France), octobre 1989, 17p.

A working document of "Europe 93", a group of (mainly French) intellectuals led by Guy Aznar and Jacques Robin, who aim to spell out the cultural and social project that must be associated to the single market. It advocates, among other things, "a universal grant that would gradually increase as a function of the growth of the marketable product generated by the system of automated production" and that would replace some current provisions, such as family allowances or unemployment benefits.

NAMOTTE René, *Le Citoyen, l'impôt et l'état. Une réflexion à propos d'un choix de société de société, de qualité de vie*, November 1989, 88p., available from the author.

A blueprint for a better society, including a simpler tax and transfer system. In addition to "age grants" to pensioners and "compensation grants" to the handicapped, the author advocates the introduction of a uniform "freedom grant", paid unconditionally to every resident citizen and financed out of a general sales tax. It is better, he argues, "to give grants to some who obviously do not need them than to risk forgetting some who might be hungry". Both workers and employers would benefit. The outcome would be greater freedom for every citizen in the country.

(Author's address: rue du Temple 68, B-4400 Herstal.)

PASSET René, "Production, emploi, revenu: le divorce", in *Futuribles* (55 rue de Varennes, F-75341 Paris Cedex 07), avril 1989, 35-54.

Modern technologies keep weakening the link between production and employment, and this calls in turn - out of concern with both justice and outlets - for a weakening of the link between employment and income. This weakening is already on its way, as people's non-work-related incomes already amount, in a country like France, to 37% of GNP. But it needs to be pursued, according to French economist (and author of *Le Biologique et le Vivant*) Passet, in the direction of a universal income. Such an income would entail neither equality (people would add earned incomes to it to very different extents) nor a dual society (because of the wide range of choices open to people on the basis of this income). Should it be coupled with an obligation to contribute, as advocated e.g. by André Gorz? This idea is morally appealing, but one cannot help being impressed by the manifold controls and bureaucratic burdens which the enforcement of such an obligation would involve. "One is then led to dream about the heavenly simplicity of a universal dividend paid to all, without any humiliating procedure, means test or work requirement." Nurturing this dream should not prevent us, however, from settling on a more modest start.

(Author's address: 13 Avenue de Brimont, F-78400 Chatou, France.)

GERMAN

FORUM FÜR ALTERNATIVEN, "Kein Mensch soll darben!" *Garantiertes Mindesteinkommen zur Absicherung gegen Not und Armut*, Internationale Gesellschaft für Politik, Friedens- und Umweltforschung (c/o Prof Dr Lutz Roemheld, Löhnquelle 31, D-5758 Fröndenberg, West Germany), 1989, 52p. The proceedings of a conference held in August 1989 at the initiative of the German branch of Alexandre Marc's federalist movement. Regine and Lutz Roemheld, Marlies Helms and Michael Opielka explore the nature of poverty and recommend a basic income, somehow coupled with a social service, as a promising strategy for putting an end to it. Regine Roemheld, in her concluding paper, sees in the social service a way of financing a basic income without needing to use taxation. In the longest paper, Opielka is

more circumspect. He surveys a number of right- and left-wing proposals of a social service, points to a number of risks and opportunities involved in the proposals, insists that there should be no legal connection between entitlement to a basic income and obligation to perform the social service, and settles for a 3-4 year long service paid at basic income level, devoted to child care, social work in a broad sense or environmental protection, and organized as much as possible by local authorities.

VOBRUBA Georg, "Vier gute Gründe für Mindesteinkommen", in *Kommune* 3, 1990, 32.

A brief plea for basic income in one of the main publications of the German green movement. Contrary to existing welfare provisions in Germany or Austria, a basic income would involve no work prohibition.

It "does not provide an alternative to the 'right to work', but is a precondition for work being perceived as a genuine right (i.e. as something one wants)". It also provides, Vobruba argues, "a new and firm basis for individualization, flexibilization and deregulation processes. It makes it possible for old capitalism's torture tools to be turned into the concepts that will shape future society. Basic income is an essential component of a socially enlightened modernization policy".

(Author's address: Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, Mittelweg 36, D-2000 Hamburg 76)

VOBRUBA Georg (ed.), *Strukturwandel der Sozialpolitik. Lohnarbeitszentrierte Sozialpolitik und soziale Grundsicherung*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1990, 352p., DM 18.-

Social policy is now at the heart of social scientific inquiry. To what extent should it remain closely associated to waged labour? To what extent should it go instead for securing basic security to all citizens. This

collective volume draws on both theoretical analysis and empirical evidence in order to shed light on this central issue.

(Editor's address: Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, Mittelweg 36, D-2000 Hamburg 76)

VOBRUBA Georg, *Arbeiten und Essen. Politik an den Grenzen des Arbeitsmarktes*, Wien: Passagen Verlag, 1989, 256p., DM 38.-

"Those who do not work should not eat either." For whom does this hold? In what sense? Indeed, does it hold at all? How should the available work be shared?

Under what conditions should state provisions be accessible? These questions cannot be evaded. There is a broad consensus as to the need to rethink the relation between "working" and "eating". But here the consensus stops, and the issue generates heated conflicts of interest. This book explains what is at stake.

(Author's address: Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, Mittelweg 36, D-2000 Hamburg 76)

ITALIAN

D'APICE Carmela & al., "Debattito: La Povertà in Italia", in *L'Assistenza Sociale. Problemi della Sicurezza Sociale e del Lavoro* (Ediesse, Via Goito 39, Roma, Italia), n° 43 (5), Settembre-ottobre 1989, 433-456, LIT 10.000.

This dossier contains three essays on poverty in Italy (by d'Apice, Tarquino and Cavicchi) and three essays on basic income as a strategy against poverty (by Negro, Jordan and Van Parijs). It is followed by the text of the CGIL's proposal for reforming social assistance: the integration and expansion of various existing schemes into a means-tested minimum income established as a right of citizenship.

MARIANETTI, Agostino, "Reddito minimo di cittadinanza: perché non provarci?", in *Mond'Operaio* 3, Marzo 1990, 32-33.

Marianetti launched a debate on what he calls a "citizenship minimum income" with an article published in March 1989 in the theoretical journal of the Italian Socialist Party (see *BI* 5: 9-10). His proposal (a means-tested guaranteed minimum income with a counterpart in "third sector services") was followed by a series of articles, to which Marianetti now briefly replies. The two main objections concern the cost of the scheme and the risk of its issuing into clientelism. The former can be

largely met by rationalizing the patchwork of existing transfer schemes; the latter's relevance is limited by the very requirement of a counterpart. Or so Marianetti believes. Whether or not he is right on these points, his proposal has had quite an impact on Socialist Party policy, as evidenced by the background document for the PSI's recent programmatic conference ("A modern reformism for a liberal socialism", Rimini 22-25 March 1990): "The citizenship income is an inescapable institution in such a wealthy society as Italy. For the young it must be coupled with training activities, for adults with work activities."

MEADE, James E. "Cosa imparare dagli Agathopiani", in *Nuova Rassegna Sindacale* 14, 9 April 1990, 52-57.

On March 15, 1990, the Fondazione Feltrinelli (Milan) organized a debate about the ideas contained in James Meade's *Agathotopia*, with the participation of Meade himself, Mario Monti, Mario Domenico Nuti, Michele Salvati, Salvatore Veca and Edwin Morley-Fletcher. In his talk, here published in an Italian translation, James Meade restates the central points of his book. The text is preceded by the introductory talk of Edwin Morley-Fletcher ("Una favola che ci riguarda"), which surveys the reception of

Meade's book in Italy and warns readers against some misunderstandings. (Author's address: Christ's College, Cambridge, UK.)

MORLEY-FLETCHER, Edwin, "Qualche ipotesi d'avvio per il reddito di cittadinanza", in *Quaranta Cinque* (Via Guattani 9, I-00161 Roma) 10-11, October-November 1989, 51-54

This article provides a brief survey of the Italian discussion around Meade's *Agathotopia*, discusses three other routes to a citizenship income (a guaranteed minimum income as it exists elsewhere in Europe, a generalization of the notion of sabbatical leave, and the guarantee of an income for the young unemployed in exchange for some service to the local community), and then develops the author's own proposal of a "social inheritance", already sketched in an earlier piece (see *BI* 6: 11).

NEGRO, Paola (ed.), *Reddito e diritti di cittadinanza. Nuove prospettive di welfare. Contributi del Seminario Internazionale IRES, Roma, Aprile 1989*, topic issue of *Inchiesta. Trimestrale di ricerca e pratica sociale* (Casella postale 752, Bologna, Italy) n°83/84, gennaio-giugno 1989, 108p, LIT 16000.

A carefully edited and rich collection of contributions to the debate on "citizenship incomes", by both Italian and foreign scholars. In his vigorous preface, Elio Giovannini, former member of the Italian Parliament, chairman of the CGIL's research center (IRES) and organizer of the seminar on which this publication is based, stresses the challenge posed by basic income: "as a break from the work ethic and as a war of cultural and political liberation from the heavy labour-focused ideology which characterizes the history of the Left, it questions the domination of the market over the lives of women and men". Yet, "though not the one big solution to the crisis of the Fordist welfare state, it provides an important instrument towards the construction of the now missing left response to this crisis", particularly in the context of increasing European integration. The essays are organized into four sections: "Economic policy and employment" (Van Parijs, Offe, Pugliese, Bruno, Garonna, Jordan, Morley-Fletcher), "The political debate" (Paci, Brunetta, de Roo, Mirabile, Bondioli, Focillo, Van Trier, Ascoli, Purdy), "Inequalities" (Patriarca, Gorrieri, Negro, Pontacolone, Zinna, Martin, Luciano, Militello, Andreoni) and "Work: flexibility, identity, working time"

(Cordoni, Esping Andersen, Vobruba, Standing, Evers, Ravaioli, Bisogni, Bordini). Vittorio Capecchi, director of the journal, wrote the introduction, Laura Balbo, an independent M.P., wrote a postface, and the collection ends with an extensive interview with Bruno Trentin, CGIL's General Secretary. Unlike equality of results, he argues, equality of opportunities fits in with a highly differentiated society such as ours and with our concern with individual freedom. This is - understandably - why he is strongly opposed to a strategy of compulsory working time reduction. But this is also why - oddly enough - he emphatically disagrees with the proposal of a citizenship income, which he places on the side of equality of results. "By allowing some to work very little and spend the rest of their time as they wish", he concludes, "the advocates of a universal income seem to me to invite a regression to the society of ancient Greece, based on the distinction between citizens and *hilotas* and on a circumscribed state. Today, we live instead in a limitless world and face a wide variety of individual personalities which cannot be reduced to such simplifying formulas." The questions were well posed, but reading through Trentin's answers, one is often left to wonder whether he understood what a basic income is all about. Studying this splendid collection prepared by members of his own organization should be of great help.

(Editor's address: Paola Negro, IRES-CGIL, Via Santa Teresa 23, I-00198 Roma.)

NEGRO, Paola & al., "Il reddito di cittadinanza", topic issue of *Democrazia e Diritto. Bimestrale del Centro di studi e di iniziative per la riforma dello stato* (Via della Vitte, 13, I-00187 Roma) Vol.30 (1), gennaio-febbraio 1990, 141-232.

Introduced by IRES-CGIL researcher Paola Negro, this collection contains three contributions to the international seminar on basic income organized by IRES in Rome in April 1989 - Gérard Martin on the French "revenu minimum d'insertion", David Purdy on the political feasibility of basic incomes and Walter Van Trier on the history of "social dividend" concepts - and two assessments of the challenge presented by basic income in the Italian context, by Chiara Saraceno and Gian Guido Balandi. (Editor's address: IRES-CGIL, Via Santa Teresa 23, I-00198 Roma.)

NEVOLA, Gaspare, "L'eguaglianza complessa del reddito di base", in *Politica ed*

Economia (Via della Vite 13, I-00187 Roma, Italy), April 1990, 65-68.

A sympathetic and well-informed assessment of basic income as an instrument for the several objectives of social policy, with special reference to the Italian situation. The author is a doctoral student at the University of Trento (Department of Sociology).

NUTI, Mario, "Meade, l'impresa cooperativa e il socialismo di mercato", in *Quaranta Cinque* (Via Guattani 9, I-00161 Roma) 10-11, October-November 1989, 3-5. In this discussion of Meade's *Agathotopia*, Nuti (now an economic adviser to the EEC Commission on Eastern Europe) focuses mainly on the idea of labour/capital partnerships. He likes the idea of a social dividend or citizenship income, because it "fully incorporates the socialist idea of equality", but he notes that "it is restricted to very rich countries and raises obvious incentive problems" and he therefore prefers, on pragmatic grounds, a means-tested variety of guaranteed minimum

income. The fact that Meade's blueprint is not within immediate reach should not in his view make us neglect the many fundamental things his book teaches us, in particular "the desirability of exploring new forms of citizenship income".

(Author's address: Istituto Universitario Europeo, Department of Economics, CP2330 I-50100 Firenze-Ferrovia, Italy)

PER UN REDDITO DI CITTADINANZA, *Politica ed Economia* (Via della Vite 13, I-00187 Roma, Italy), 1989.

Published on the occasion of the extraordinary Congress of the Italian Communist Party, this collection gathers a dozen articles published on basic income and related topics in the PCI-related magazine *Politica ed Economia* since the end of 1988. It includes contributions by both Italian (Paci, Saraceno, Vianello, D'Apice, Capecchi, Ravaioli, Pugliese, Morley-Fletcher, Balbo) and foreign (Standing, Offe) scholars.

SWEDISH

ANDERSON Jan Otto, *Vänsterframtid. Nationalekonomiska studier av fordismens kris och morgondagens alternativ*, (Left Future. Economic essays on the crisis of fordism and tomorrow's alternative), Foklets Bildningsförbund (Kotkag 9, SF-00510 Helsingfors, Finland), 1989.

The author is a Finnish left-wing economist who has been advocating a social-service-related basic income of the Gorz or Adler-Karlsson type. In this book, he discusses the idea of a basic income

with the conceptual tools of the French Regulation school and depicts it as one of the elements of an institutional framework due to replace Fordism. Chapter 9 contains a sketch of a concrete proposal for a basic income, which the author believes could be easily implemented in Finland.

(Author's address: Sirkkalagatan 9, SF-20500 Turku, Finland.)

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:03/2204181 (office)
03/2711642 (home)

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