

# Basic Income Seoul Declaration

as adopted 27 January 2010

War and massacre have seldom rested even after the beginning of 21st Century, but not only a brute force that involves blood is violence: Since several decades ago until now, the raging gale of neoliberalism has rampaged throughout the world, demonstrating another form of structured violence that severely threatens people's lives. People have struggled against this violence to defend their lives, but the attempts are still weak and overwhelmed.

However perilous the people's lives are, capitalists and rulers demand the people to yield more. However struggling the resisters are, the tunnel of despair does not reveal its exit. However many pursuers of hope there are, the method to realize such hope seems to be shrouded in a dense fog. Innumerable people, trapped in poverty and unemployment, overdriven by awful wage labor, are plundered of their minds by worry, pessimism, and cynicism.

An alternative solution for the crisis we are facing is urgent. As this crisis is deep in its root and broad in its form, the solution we need must be radical, simple yet powerful. Such solution must not be a confession of vague idealism but a concrete request, a substantial request that deals with the very crisis in people's lives. That an alternative is needed to dissolve the crisis has been stated

by many, but the attempt to gather power for a concrete alternative solution is also hesitated by many. This, too, forms one of the reasons that let the current crisis persist.

Here are the people who unwaveringly step toward the alternative. Here are the people who are in action to destroy the shackle of our age and attack the task that all humankind must attain in order to advance to the next page of history. Here are the people who propose the introduction of basic income as a historical project of the 21st Century that corresponds to the abolition of slavery in the 19th Century and the embodiment of popular suffrage in the 20th Century. Here are the people who regard basic income as the terminator of the age of neoliberalism, which has shown enough of its horrendous nature through the global financial crisis, and as a steppingstone to the alternative society beyond both the current capitalism and the existed socialism.

Basic income is an income unconditionally granted to all members of society on an individual basis, without any kind of means test or work requirement. Basic income is a device to perfect the paradigm of universal welfare beyond the current selective and residual welfare, and is a catalyst to reconstruct the labor society away from the illusion of full employment and the capitalist promotion of wage labor. Basic income is neither an attempt to replace everything else by cash transfer nor an attempt to block other possibilities by some improvement in redistribution. The universal nature of basic income grants it a new power that differentiates itself from other types of cash payment, exhibiting a fresh area of

potentials.

We, who consent to the need and righteousness of basic income, also have given deep considerations to its possibility and feasibility. Restless workers have studied and acted, forming networks from a local community to a global organization to realize basic income, and promoted the implementation of it. Notable accomplishments include the Citizen's Basic Income Law of Brazil passed in 2004 for the first time in a state scale. Challenges and hardships await on the way to a global basic income, but the movement is firmly thrust by the reality of numerous people maintaining lives with almost no income.

In line with such flow at a global level, very encouraging is that basic income is finally starting to gain the social attention in South Korea. The Seoul Basic Income International Conference will be a significant milestone for proliferation of the basic income agenda in South Korea. Central figures of the global basic income movement including Philippe Van Parijs, the advocate and main defender of basic income who serves as Chair of International Board of BIEN, and Eduardo Suplicy, the Brazilian Senator and Honorary Co-President of BIEN who led the bill of Citizen's Basic Income Law, visited South Korea for the Conference that is prepared by Basic Income Korean Network with contributions from countless people who support basic income.

The declarants who led to the Conference are from various backgrounds. Supports for basic income are from different perspectives as well. For some, basic income is the ultimate goal.

For others, it is a means to achieve what is beyond it. Even more issues have arisen about what basic income must be. As basic income demands a gigantic transition of the regime, serious problems are involved in the process. However, it is clear that even though basic income shall not be a panacea for all problems of contemporary society, it still shall form a positive precondition for solutions.

Our age asks for more than an assertion that a better world is possible. Our age asks us precisely what world is needed and exactly how we may realize it. What the Basic Income Seoul Declarants can confidently state is that basic income is the main component of the answer. Basic income is at the center of the future model of an alternative society. Heavy endeavors shall naturally follow to make such future happen. We the declarants expect the Conference to trigger an active debate on basic income in South Korea, and shall continue to strive with all our might toward basic income for all.

# Seoul Basic Income International Conference 2010

## Basic Income for All!

### Programme

10:00-10:30 Press Conference

10:30-11:00 Opening Session

Kang Nam-Hoon (Hanshin University); Philippe Van Parijs

11:00-12:00 Session 1

Speakers:

Lee Soo-Bong / Correlation of Labor with Welfare, Universality of Basic Income

Choi Gwang-Eun / The Present Condition of Welfare and Employment in Korea calls for Basic Income

12:00-13:00 Lunch

13:00-14:30 Session 2

Speakers:

Jang Seok-Joon / Korean Society, Basic Income and Consideration on a Transitional Strategy

Yang Ui-Mo / History of Japanese Post-war Economy and the Effectiveness of Basic Income System

Yamamori Toru / The Recent Economic Crisis, Political Change and Basic Income Discourse in Japan

14:30-15:00 Break

15:00-16:30 Session 3

Speakers:

Eduardo Suplicy / The Citizen's Basic Income: A very nice proposal for Brazil and Korea

Ronald Blaschke / Basic Income Debate in Germany and Fundamental Considerations

Geum Min / Unconditional Basic Income As Seen through the Concept of Real Freedom and the Ideal of Democratic Republic

16:30-17:00 Break

17:00-18:30 General Discussion

Chair: Son Ho-Chul (Sogang University)

## Contents

<b>The Universality of Basic Income and Its Meaning in Social-Political Movement: for Joyful Meeting of Labor and Welfare</b>	
Lee Soo-Bong .....	7
<b>The Present Condition of Welfare and Employment in Korea calls for Basic Income</b>	
Choi Gwang-Eun .....	12
<b>Korean Society, Basic Income and Consideration on a Transitional Strategy</b>	
Jang Seok-Joon .....	31
<b>Japanese Post-war Economy History and the Effectiveness of the Basic Income System</b>	
Yang Eui Mo .....	32
<b>The Recent Economic Crisis, Political Change and Basic Income Discourse in Japan</b>	
Toru Yamamori .....	34
<b>The Citizen`s Basic Income: A very nice proposal for Brazil and Korea</b>	
Eduardo Matarazzo Suplicy .....	51
<b>The Basic Income Debate In Germany and Some Basic Reflections</b>	
Ronald Blaschke .....	74
<b>Unconditional Basic Income As Seen through the Concept of Real Freedom and the Ideal of Democratic Republic</b>	
Geum Min .....	115

**Abstract**

**The Universality of Basic Income and Its Meaning in  
Social-Political Movement: for Joyful Meeting of Labor  
and Welfare**

Lee, Su-bong |Spokesperson, KCTU; former chief of policy institute, KCTU

Translation: Sid S. Jeong

1. There have been many silent but notable discussions about basic income after February 2009, when a brochure about basic income was published by Korean Confederation of Trade Unions(KCTU)' policy institute. However, some explanations that have definitely explained it are confronting a cartel of silence.

2. These phenomena are originated from the same reason that enervates progressive society. Why powerful mass movements are not triggered from social problems that are getting bigger and bigger? That is because the people are restrained by double shackle. The conservatives represented by Lee Myeong-bak administration suppress the people, while the progressives are impeding people, acting as a spokesperson. The wall of conservative is defended by these two barriers. That is a modernistic ideology of the progressives, not of people as widely known. In other words, conservatives-people-progressives relation is replaced by conservatives-progressives versus people relation.

3. To express the rage of the people and give it a social voice, and to make a solution like basic income to become a common sense, this firm barrier of conservative-progressive conspiracy and its mechanism need to be

clearly revealed and demolished.

4. The Buddhist thought of “The entire universe is in a single dust particle(一微塵中含十方)” explains the philosophical base of basic income well. A person is in its individual form and also in a cellular form that lives in the mass of humankind. An individual being is actually in the one linked field. In world of physics, invisible forces like magnetic field are known to be exist, and take effects.

5. How can termites build their own house? That can be explained by morphic field theory. Termites, in group, act like an operating system. This social field provides them constructional blueprints, and controls them. Like a magnet is surrounded by invisible magnetic field, it is obvious that life forms are surrounded by some sort of morphic field.

6. This morphic field theory has developed into morphic resonance theory. When an individual in some species, like a rat, gets some ability or characteristic and this quality becomes spread into the whole species, we call it a morphic resonance is set. How about applying this concept into human society? The fact that the part of society that human make is made by interaction of people is like a law of nature, not a rhetorical thesis. Can these law be linked with concepts like non-material labor or shadow labor?

7. According to a research, a newly born child makes 1.2 billion won of production induction effect and 1.15 person of employment. That leads us to a conclusion that social reproduction should be encouraged. Roughly speaking, a claim that all parents who have just delivered their babies have right to request 1.2 billion won to society is possible. But the progressives are too shy to claim that kind of right, because they are not familiar with a concept and



its basis that being itself is worth reward. People make revenge to the society with contraception or 'strike of social reproduction'. Like blog activities without any reward enrich the internet, or the vitality of a patient feeds medical industry, being itself has a right to get rewarded. Isn't this a common sense?

8. How can the conservatives and the progressives suppress people together? That is because they two are merely antitheses to each other. Ideologies were covered with the question 'who gets more vote?'. It is lethal to the progressives because it leads them to neglect so-called 'pragmatic' dominate ideology that suppresses people.

9. Focusing on change of Labor itself:

9.1. Social products are basically the results of humankind's practical activity in group.

9.2. What connects a human being with humankind is mediated by practice.

9.3. Practice is a wholly new concept that replaces the third person who guarantees equality or truthiness between subject and object.

9.4. There is not a subject that can see the thing itself, but only practically interpreting one is. This fact leads us to a concept that a subject's perception and thought is created while being in routine material activities.

9.5. Modern concept of subject and object is fundamentally broken up in both ontological and epistemological meanings, and the concept of the word 'subject' became changed. Moreover, the concept on human gets a new definition of the integral of social relations.

As mentioned above, new biological discovery like morphic field theory meets discovery of Shadow Labor and Non-material Labor, when it comes to analysis of labor. To expand this concept, it is needed to expand labor and

reconstruction of labor value theory, and at the middle point of two works, there is a concept named basic income.

In conclusion, we can say that Labor should be essentially expanded into practice, and an individual person should be treated as an integral of social relation. Basic income is a request of this philosophical basis.

10. How did 'rationality' and 'moderation' complex incapacitate KCTU? A prejudice that KCTU is combatant and political drives the labor movement into a corner. The former casts a spell of moderation complex on labor unions to incapacitate them and make them to be passive. The latter trick on them with rationality complex makes them maintain partial reformism. The reason why even those who think basic income is logically or philosophically right lean on the phased policies like unemployment insurance or several social insurances is not only a strategical consideration, but importation of basic income brings pain like quitting smoke together.

11. Finally, What I want to say is deconstruction of modernity and to embody what is to be exhumed from this work. That is:

First, we need to pass over utilitarianism. We should stop to use productivity as a ruler.

Second, new ruler should be the continuity of living. We should fundamentally ask ourselves again why we product. And then we can phase 'lean-together labor', which was covered in modern exchange relation. And that is the basic income.

Third, its meaning in social-political movement is a steppingstone for overcoming modern limit and human wandering between modernity and post-modernity.

In addition, what I have said on the progressives is not intended to condemn all of them. It is hopeful that Korean society has many activists

devoting for progress even in these days. What I meant by what I said above was that we should be more confident. These activist lives and devotions will not be meaningless and dream will come true.

Nowadays more and more people are focusing on basic income. If many social activist groups request basic income as a program like Korean Professor's Union, progress will accelerate. We request a revolution because it definitely includes reformation. Basic income is divine right for us to request. Like a phrase from Korean comedy TV show, this society remembers only 'the first'. Basic income should be ensured, for until now society has given us nothing.

# The Present Condition of Welfare and Employment in Korea calls for Basic Income

Choi, Gwang Eun | Representative of the Socialist Party;  
Basic Income Korean Network Committee Member  
Translation: Jill Lee

## 1. The present condition of welfare in South Korea

Generally, there are three types of income security systems: the social allowance system with no income or asset evaluation, the social insurance system with contributions but no income or asset evaluations, and the public assistance system with income or asset evaluations but no contributions. In South Korea, there are social insurance and public assistance systems but no social allowance system such as those have been implemented in parts of Europe. In general public assistance there is the National Basic Livelihood Security; in particular public assistance, there are the Basic Elderly Pension<sup>1)</sup>, the disability allowance<sup>2)</sup>, the allowance for disabled children<sup>3)</sup>, and others. As for social insurance, the four main insurances—the health insurance, the National Pension, the unemployment insurance, and the occupational health and safety insurance—are the most representative.

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- 1) The Basic Elderly Pension is a system that calculates the accepted income level from evaluations of the income and assets of all elderly 65 and above, and provides pensions only to those in the lower 70 percent.
  - 2) The disability allowance is a system that provides a monthly maximum of 130,000 won per person to registered disabled people who are recipients of the National Basic Livelihood Security or in the second highest class and to those admitted into recipient security facilities stipulated in the National Basic Livelihood Security Act.
  - 3) The allowance for disabled children is a system that provides a monthly maximum of 200,000 won per person to stay-at-home registered disabled children who are recipients of the National Basic Livelihood Security or in the second highest class.

The National Basic Livelihood Security is a livelihood security system in which exists a very particular screening procedure. In order to become a recipient, the person needs to be checked for the presence of financial support, ability, and obligor, the income and assets of the prospective recipient and the obligor, the prospective recipient's working ability and the desire to make a living, and other matters needed for the approval of livelihood support. Even after the approval, annual validations are required. When one finally becomes a recipient after going through the fastidious evaluation process, living and residential costs are provided in cash, and educational, birthing, funeral, and medical costs are provided in the form of goods and services. Amounts are based on the minimum cost of living per size of household.

In the case of health insurance, a worker pays 5.08 percent of his or her monthly wage as insurance payment, the employer and the employee taking responsibility for 50 percent each. For funding aside from insurance payments, the government pays 14 percent of that year's predicted insurance payment revenue and an additional 6 percent from tobacco allotments. For National Pension, both business insurance subscribers and local insurance subscribers pay 9 percent of their monthly wage, but in businesses the employer and the employee cover 50 percent each. Diagram 1 shows that out of a total of 31,450,000 people in the economic production age range (20 to 64), the number of people in the National Pension blind spot reaches 19,170,000, including the 11,660,000 non-members as well as the 5,030,000 excepted from payment and the 2,480,000 local defaulters (Office of National Assembly Member Eunsu Park, 2009).<sup>4)</sup> In other social insurances too, at

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4) The 9 million economically inactive population can be included in the blind spot as they are citizens whose later years the government must guarantee. As the average pension payment term is 35 months but the average payment exception term is 50 months, the ex-

least 20 percent of the people in membership are excluded, creating a 30-percent blind spot in the wide scope. There are differences in between values more or less, but this is a trait and a fundamental limitation of a contributive social insurance system.

<Diagram 1> Present condition of South Korea's multi-pillar system<sup>5)</sup>

Classification							
Total population in the productive age (20 to 64): 31,450,000 mil							
Multi-pillar	Economically inactive population: 9,000,000	Economically active population: 22,450,000					
		Unemployed: 740,000	Employed: 21,710,000				
3rd						Individual pensions: 9,900,000	
2nd	Retirement grants: 15,160,000 (64.3 percent of the total population in the productive age)					Retirement pensions: 1,120,000	
1st	Non-members of National Pension or special occupation pension: 11,660,000	Excepted from payment: 5.03 million	De-faulters: 2.48 million	Local membership payers: 1.28 million	Business members: 9,490,000	Voluntary (continuous) members: 60,000	Special occupation
		7510000		10830000			Public officers: 1,030,000 School faculty: 260,000
		Members of National Pension: 18,340,000					

Note: Based on data from December 2008.

Source: The Office of National Assembly Member Eunsu Park (2009), p. 1.

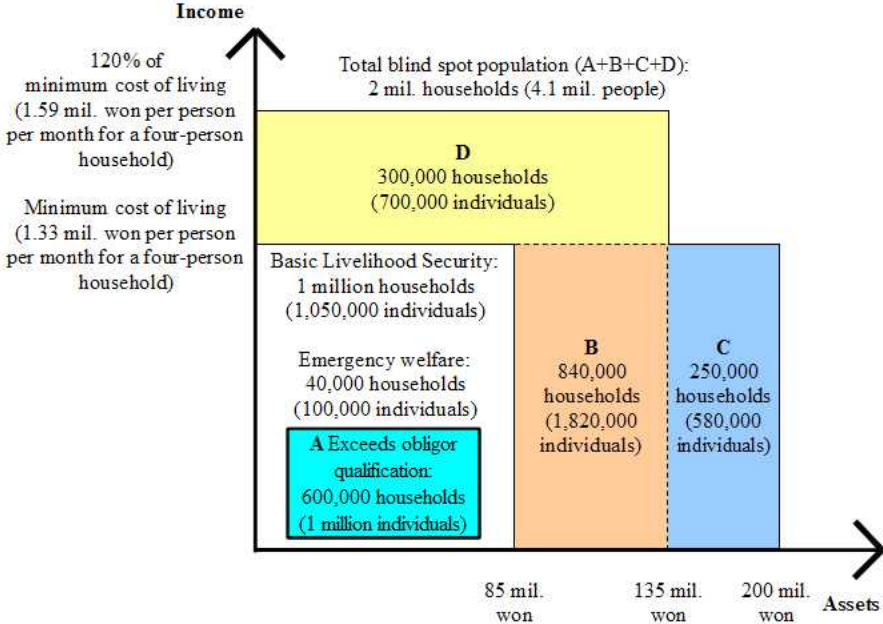
Meanwhile, the absolute poor may be guaranteed minimum living as

cepted are actually not different from having been placed in the blind spot. Since the reason that defaulters are not making payments is that they currently have no financial ability, it is hard to expect regular payments from them in the future; thus they can be seen as included in the blind spot as well.

- 5) The World Bank had proposed the multi-pillar system in 2004, which consists of a mandatory public pension system (first pillar), a mandatory privately managed pension system (second pillar), and a private insurance system (third pillar).

stipulated in the National Basic Livelihood Security Act, but there still exists a large class of people who belong to the absolute poor but are excluded from this law. And the four social insurances apply to most of the middle class including regular workers, but the majority of temporary workers are still excluded. Also, the near poor in between the absolute poor and the middle class, often referred to as the second highest class, are excluded from both systems—the four social insurances and public assistance. If the economic crisis continues, the groups to suffer the most will undoubtedly be those excluded from even the National Basic Livelihood Security: the near and the absolute poor.

<Diagram 2> Low-income class in the livelihood security blind spot



Source: Ministry of Strategy and Finance and others, 2009, p. 15.

Even in the government's data from March 2009, those who satisfied all other qualifications to become recipients as stipulated in the National Basic Livelihood Pension act but got rejected from exceeding the qualification for

the obligor of the family<sup>6)</sup> were shown to be one million individuals and 600,000 households (A of Diagram 2); 1,100,000 households and 2,400,000 individuals could not become recipients due to exceeding the asset qualification limit with residential real properties, cars, financial assets, or others, even though their income was below the accepted level (B and C of Diagram 2); and as many as 300,000 households and 700,000 individuals were in the typical second highest class (D of Diagram 2) (Ministry of Strategy and Finance and others, 2009). In conclusion, two million households, 4,100,000 people, and 8.7 percent of all citizens are low-income class stuck in the livelihood security blind spot, as the blind-spot poor.

In the National Health Insurance Corporation's data, 1,110,000 households and 2,172,000 individuals are in the medical blind spot due to limited health insurance provisions, as of April 2009. This makes up 5.8 percent of all subscribing households. But as of July 2009, there are 2,053,000 households delinquent for more than three months in insurance payments, and among them, the ones delinquent for more than six months, after which health insurance provisions may get more limited, are 1,528,000, also showing an increasing trend for the future. The non-members, the defaulters, and the ones excluded from industry accident and unemployment insurances are all part of the medical blind spot.

The reason that these groups cannot get out of the blind spot is very simple: They have very little or no regular income, and those who have a

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6) In this qualification, the an obligor is anyone who qualifies one of the following: prospective recipient's direct relative or the direct relative's spouse or the prospective recipient's parent or child and the parent's or child's spouse. In order to be acknowledged for the lack of financial supporting abilities, in the case where the minimum cost of living for the recipient's household is A and the minimum cost of living for the obligor's household is B, the actual income needs to be 130 percent of or below A+B and the income conversion of the assets needs to be 42 percent of or below A+B. However, the criteria for weak financial support and the special asset criteria partly makes up for this.



hard time making insurance payments are naturally excluded from the social insurance that operates on the premise of insurance payments. This very basic limitation has not changed since the 1997 foreign exchange crisis. This shows that when an economic crisis is continued or repeated, it's hard for the the framework of the current welfare system, such as the four social insurances and the National Basic Livelihood Security, to be a viable solution for the disadvantaged. Because of this problem, even non-supporters of basic income are calling for the alleviation of the current social insurance's contribution-provision relationship<sup>7)</sup> and the particular qualifications and evaluations of public assistance.

Next, we look at the welfare expenditure of South Korea. Korea Institute for Health and Social Affairs has estimated Korea's social welfare expenditure to be approximately 73.3 trillion won. The ratio of the GDP to this amount is 9.09 percent<sup>8)</sup>, stopping at only about 50 percent of that of the United

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7) An example of such assertions is Research Center for the Opening of a New Society (president Seokchun Son)'s "National Unemployment Insurance System." As of 2009, there are 9.4 million workers subscribing to the unemployment insurance, but the total economically active population is 24 million, including farmers and business owners. When the 600,000 people preparing for employment and the 1.7 million "rested" people are added in, the number of people who actually need the benefits of unemployment insurance is approximately 26 million. Thus only 36 percent of the total are recipients of unemployment insurance. In order to resolve this problem, the Center advocates greatly increasing the coverage of the now voluntary insurance for the daily and constructive workers and the inclusion of unemployed youth as well as business owners as unemployment insurance recipients. The government counters that measures need to be prepared in regards to their insurance payment, such as delinquency settlements or aids for all costs.

8) These numbers show slight differences by the statistics institution. The Ministry of Health, Welfare and Family Affairs' *Estimation of Korea's Social Welfare Expenditure* shows the ratio of Korea's 2005 social welfare expenditure to the GDP to be 9.05 percent (<http://www.index.go.kr/egams/default.jsp>). But the official value that the OECD announced is 7.5 percent (<http://stats.oecd.org/index.aspx>). So there is a 1.55 percent's difference in between the percentages that OECD and the Korean government each announced. The biggest reason this happens is whether or not the institution included the retirement grants. OECD sees Korea's retirement grant as more like a wage and so excludes all except the retirement grant due to retirement age whereas the Korean government counts all retire-

States (16.59 percent) and Japan (18.39 percent), known as the backward nations of welfare. And compared to Sweden (31.85 percent), France (29.08 percent), and Germany (28.40 percent) whose welfare expenditures reach 30 percent of their respective GDP, Korea's comes up to only a third of that number.

<Table 1> Comparison of international social welfare expenditures in 2003  
(Unit: percent of expenditure out of GDP)

OECD average	South Korea	Sweden	France	Germany	Denmark	United Kingdom	Netherlands	Japan	United States
21.83	9.09	31.85	29.08	28.4	27.8	21.43	21.38	18.39	16.59

Note: South Korea's data is from 2005.

Source: Gyeonghwan Go and others (2007), p. 115.

Data: OECD, 2006. Social Expenditure Database.

This expenditure need to be closely examined at closely. In terms of systems, social insurance expenditure was highest at 50.3 percent, followed by business welfare at 23.1 percent, public assistance at 12.6 percent, public welfare services at 13.1 percent, and private welfare services at 0.9 percent (Gyeonghwan Go and others, 2007: 106). In terms of area of expense, health-related matters such as health insurance, medical benefits, industry accident insurance, and others were highest at 35.2 percent with 25.7 trillion won, followed by unemployment-related matters at 24.1 percent with 17.6 trillion won, 90 percent of which were retirement grants by the court, and elderly-related matters at 17.2 percent with 12.6 trillion won, most of which were special occupation pensions. These three areas take up 76.5 percent of Korea's

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ment grants into the social welfare expenditure (Geon-ho O, 2009: 63). Thus it can be said that the statistic following OECD's standards is more rational and allows for a more objective international comparison. But here, the goal is to see the general level of expenditures, so the table of Gyeonghwan Go and others was included. Meanwhile, as of 2007, Korea's social welfare expenditure was estimated to be about 98.65 trillion won, 10.01 percent of the GDP. This was a slight increase from the numbers in 2005. The OECD average at that time was 23.9 percent (Gyeonghwan Go, 2009).

social welfare expenditure (Gyeonghwan Go and others, 2007: 105). Aside from business welfares—such as the retirement grant, which is really a wage, and social insurance that is kept up by the contributions of the subscriber—social welfare expenditure including public assistance and public welfare services that is purely made by the government is only 25.7 percent.

**2. The present condition of employment in South Korea**

First let's look at employment indexes from the last few years. In Table 2 below, it is shown that the participation in economic activities is steadily decreasing. The employment rate, which can be used to discern the actual percentage of employed people, is also showing a decreasing trend, especially for men in their thirties for whom even the 90 percent bar was broken. Even more serious is the rapid increase of employment forgoers. Although they are calculated as an economically inactive population and thus are not classified as unemployed, they are in fact a group of people not very much different from the unemployed. It is not just the quantity of employment that is decreasing. The fact that the number of people employed for less than 36 hours is sharply increasing shows that the quality of employment is growing significantly worse.

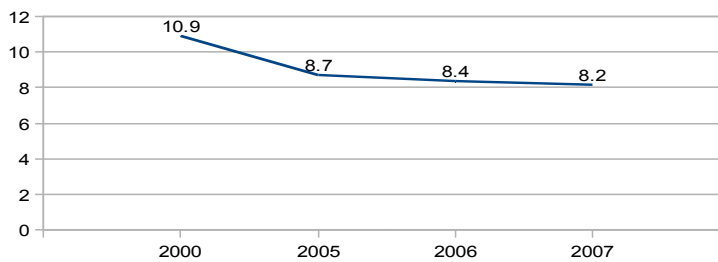
<Table 2> Change in employment indexes  
(Unit: percent, individual)

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Economic participation <sup>9)</sup>	62.1	62	61.9	61.8	61.5	61.7
Total employment	59.8	59.7	59.7	59.8	59.5	59.4
Employment of males in their thirties	91.5	91.1	90.6	90.3	90.3	88.6
Employment foregone <sup>10)</sup>	100	125	122	108	119	172
Employed for less than 36 hours	2757	2904	2821	2642	3170	3624

Note: All data for people employed for less than 36 hours have been obtained in December of the respective year except for 2009, the data of which was obtained in July. Data: National Statistical Office. Each year's (2004 to 2009) yearly employment trend and the employment trend in July 2009.

Are deteriorations in both the quantity and quality of employment only temporary phenomena following economic crises or slumps? The problem is that they aren't. That is because since the year 2000 until now, the employment structure itself has been changing in the direction of going further away from employment generation. The following trends are good examples of this. First of all, as can be seen in Diagram 3, the extended coefficient of employment<sup>9)</sup> of all industries of Korea in 2007 (based on the constant price in 2005) was 8.2 people, showing a steady decline from 10.9 people in 2000.

<Diagram 3> Change in the average extended coefficient of employment in all industries (Unit: employee per one billion won)



9) Referring to the number of employees, including self-employed, unpaid family workers and so on, needed for every 1 billion won produced, it is the reciprocal of labor productivity.

Source: Bank of Korea (2009), p. 3.

Also, as can be seen in Table 3 below, the employment induction rate<sup>10)</sup> (based on the constant price in 2005) in 2007 was 13.9 new employees, significantly lower than 18.1 employees of 2000.

<Table 3> Change in the employment induction rate  
(Unit: employee per billion won)

	2000	2005	2006	2007
Agriculture/forestry/fishery	62.9	51.1	50.2	46.8
Mining	9.8	10.4	10.1	10.3
Manufacturing	13.2	10.1	9.6	9.2
Electricity/gas/water	5.3	3.6	3.5	3.5
Construction	17	16.6	17.3	16.8
Service	21.5	18.4	18.2	18.1
Data processing	18.1	14.7	14.3	13.9

Source: Bank of Korea (2009), page 3.

Meanwhile, the coefficient of employment<sup>11)</sup> (based on the constant price in 2005) in 2007 is 5.8 employees, continuing the steady downtrend from 7.0 in 2000, 6.1 in 2005, and 5.9 in 2006 (Bank of Korea, 2009: 18). What can be confirmed by the indexes above is that the Korean economy's ability to generate employment is gradually declining. Here we can see that the so-called "growth without employment" is not a temporary phenomenon. Even the Ministry of Labor acknowledges that "due to the economic slowdown and the advancement of technology that brings changes to the industry, there

10) The number of newly induced employees in all industries either directly or indirectly for every 1 billion won of demand occurring for a specific industry.

11) Referring to the number of employees needed for every constant price of 1 billion one produced, it is the reciprocal of labor productivity.

exist a decline of our economy's ability to generate employment and a weaker class of people for whom the entry into the labor market is difficult."<sup>12)</sup>

This problem isn't only present in the Korean economy; rather, it is the natural process in a capitalistic society following the development of productivity. Because the service industry had successfully buffed the sharp decrease in jobs in the manufacturing industry in the late 20th Century, there are people who still believe that the growth of the service industry will be the solution to generating employment. However, when information technology has been introduced into the service industry bringing improvements in productivity and replacements for human power, it is difficult to agree that the industry can overcome these traits and become a measure to approach full employment (Rifkin, 1995[1996]: 194). The table above proves that this trend is real, showing the service industry to be in a continuous downturn as well, although the downturn is much slower compared to the agricultural industry or the manufacturing industry.

Of course, none of this is to say that the government has given up on the issue of employment generation or that it should give up. As unemployment and unstable employment increase, the unity of the society falls. The government acknowledges that this needs to be taken care of at some level. So the government has no choice but to initiate temporary measures such as the Social Employment<sup>13)</sup> or the Labor of Hope<sup>14)</sup>. The problem is that these

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12) Quote from the Ministry of Labor's Social Enterprise website (<http://socialenterprise.cafe24.com/work/work01.php>).

13) The Social Employment Generation Project that the Ministry of Labor acknowledges the decline in job creation ability and the existence of the weaker class in employment and extends social service provisions; it chooses a nonprofit private organization creating jobs and supports it in a limited period of time of 6 months up to a year.

14) The Labor of Hope Project that the Ministry of Public Administration and Security put into effect in June 2009 is a project targeted for people of weaker classes with working

measures cannot be always present in future declines of employment or resolve discrimination and exclusion that will only get worse. If income is to be still interpreted as "labor income," it can only be difficult for people without working abilities or the intention to work, or people who do have the intention and the abilities but are endlessly discriminated against and excluded, to support even the most minimal living.

### **3. The necessity and funding for basic income**

With the results seen above, it is clear which direction Korea's welfare must head toward from now on. The most important thing is, as discussed above, to move in the direction from a selective and charity-distributive welfare to a universal welfare with the possibility of eliminating blind spots. Here is where basic income is the strongest alternative against blind spots. Of course, in this process, the social welfare expenditure will need to increase more than ever, and many difficulties accompany that. However, if we can succeed in spreading the understanding that realizing a universal welfare is more important than anything else, we will be able to weaken the antipathy to the big increase of social welfare expenditure as well as the resistance to tax increases.

Since Korea is an OECD member, the theory that at least the social welfare expenditure must get nearer to the OECD average can partly justify its increase. If we say that Korea's social welfare expenditure is 594 million dollars, 7.5 percent according to the OECD standards out of the total GDP of 7.92 billion dollars, in order to match this with the OECD average of 21.2 percent, it needs increase about 13.7 percent, or 1.08 billion dollars (approximately 133 trillion won).<sup>15)</sup> This can be the supporting evidence for

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abilities, to support their living in relation to their labor for six months and provide 830,000 won a month in a mixture of cash and coupons.

the increases in taxes and social welfare expenditure. But even if all of these increases are used as funding for basic income, the amount is still too small compared to the the budget of the basic income model of Namhun Gang and others(2009)—290 trillion won. However, it is almost enough to cover all the actual additional funds<sup>16)</sup> of 140 trillion won in Partial Basic Income I of the basic income models by Gyoseong Kim(2009), which provides 300,000 won per month to all citizens, and 82 trillion won in Partial Basic Income II, which provides 200,000 won.

Meanwhile, Table 4 below shows that the amount of land investment income occurred over 10 years, from 1998 to 2007, was about two quadrillion won. On the other hand, tax and development allotment redemption amounts of the same time period were only 116 trillion won, making the redemption rate only 5.8 percent. This means that out of the two quadrillion won occurred in land investment income, 1.886 quadrillion went to land owners after taxes and allotments. Also, if there were two quadrillion won's worth of land investment income occurred in the last ten years, that means that about 200 trillion won were produced in land investment income a year. If just half of this gets redeemed by the government, new funding of about 100 trillion won can be made out every year. If the immense unearned income from lands that are publicly owned is returned into the possession of the public and added to the funding for basic income, it is possible to provide all citizens with sufficient basic income.

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15) This is the result from increasing Korea's social welfare expenditure to the OECD level. However, if the amount covered by direct taxes, including the social security contributions, is increased from 17.1 percent to the OECD average of 24.4 percent, the government's tax revenues increase about 83.2 trillion won, from 171.5 trillion won to 254.8 trillion won. If the tax coverage amount is increased to France's 31.6 percent, the additional revenues would reach 145.4 trillion won.

16) "Actual additional funds" refers to the total budget minus the cash benefits that the government provides as of 2006.



<Table 4> Change in land prices and land investment income  
(Unit: 10 billion won)

	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Land price	147,196	135,766	141,071	143,044	148,609	169,281
Unearned income	-11,430	5,305	1,973	5,565	20,672	31,447
Collections from unearned income	828 (-7.2%)	851 (16.0%)	906 (45.9%)	1,017 (18.3%)	1,246 (6.0%)	1,410 (4.5%)
	2004	2005	2006	2007	Total*	
Land price	200,728	239,065	252,574	317,150		
Unearned income	38,337	13,509	64,576	30,218	200,173	
Collections from unearned income**	1,510 (3.9%)	1,038 (7.7%)	1,255 (1.9%)	1,539 (5.1)	11,601 (5.8%)	

\*Total of investment income plus collections from income

\*\*Collections are the sum of acquisition tax, possession tax, transfer tax, and development allotment.

Source: Changheum Byeon and Gyuno An(2009), Tables 5 and 8.

Considering the advancement of technology and industry structures, it is inevitable that the number of people getting excluded from those systems will continue to increase. If income continues to be defined only as the labor income from capitalistic wage labor, or if income of all kinds continues to be related with the practice of wage labor in spite of this phenomenon, people who are unable to perform adequate wage labor and therefore cannot fully or partially obtain sufficient income will have no way to live except by relying on the distribution of charity. Thus the need for a blind spot-free, universal welfare and the security of income not reliant on wage labor is gradually becoming an urgent task in Korea. And the simplest and the strongest

solution to this is the basic income.

#### 4. The tasks for the introduction of basic income

Lastly, let's look at some of the main tasks necessary for the introduction of basic income. First of all, the biggest problem would be the possibility of political realization. Unless the current government undergoes a sudden change, the actual implementation can come only after coming into power under the premise of creating a pro-basic income government. Then do we simply leave it be before a pro-basic income party comes into power? That is not so. Indeed, basic income is an post-coming-into-power program, but it must also be a program for coming into power and a method to gain the support of the citizens in order to advance its realization.

Next, there is the building of social influence and a support base that actively supports basic income. There are differences in between countries, but even in Basic Income Earth Network member nations, the supporting body mostly remains in the intellectual or political party and social activist groups. In order for basic income to succeed as an active social reform program, it is essential to have an expansive support of the public. In foreign countries, there have been cases where some trade unions actively supported basic income<sup>17)</sup>, but the occurrences failed to last or widely spread. Unions and groups for temporary workers, poor people, women, disabled people, and

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17) The most representative of these cases was the food workers' union(Voedingsbond) of the trade union of Netherlands(NFV). This union, which had an exceptionally large percentage of women and hourly workers among union members, played an important role in the basic income movement of the Netherlands in the early '80s. This union practiced support for an unconditional basic income combined with significantly shortened work hours (Vanderborght, 2004: 11-12, 2006: 14-16).

others are showing bits of interest, but the amount is yet too small. It is no different for other systems or policies, but it is a very important task to obtain an active support base. Therefore, in order to realize basic income, the establishment of these plans must follow.

There especially needs to be a detailed plan to gain the support of trade unions, the biggest mass groups. From Europe's trade unions, there are responses from two very opposite sides. First there is the very negative view that basic income itself weakens the strength of trade union, and on the other hand there is the positive view that basic income strengthens trade unions. Also, temporary workers and unemployed people showed active support from their respective stations in life, but regular employees showed a trend of indifference or opposition. Therefore, in order to earn the wide support of trade unions, we need to clarify the concern that basic income might have a negative impact on trade unions and make specific efforts to convince regular workers who have stable jobs and income. Basic income will gain wide social support when we make active efforts to provide persuasive evidence.

The remaining problem is to convince the interested parties of the established systems. Basically the existing public assistance needs to be combined with basic income, and while National Pension is also combined with basic income, there needs to be a plan to adequately aid the pension contributions that the original subscribers already made. In this process, it would be preferable to combine the public official pension, military personnel pension, private school faculty pension, and others with basic income, all of which have been relatively preferential compared to the National Pension. The problem is the possibility of opposition from the beneficiaries. But the basic goal would be to provide at least more than the principal, so a balance point will need to be found in between the principal and the expectant

profit that will minimize the opposition of the original pension contributors. Another task is to secure employment for employees of pension-related institutions. A solution must be found by creating jobs in welfare or public service fields.

Also very important is the issue of the coexistence of basic income and basic welfare. One of the biggest worries about the basic income system is that in South Korea where even the basic medical, educational, residential, and other welfares are not properly established, the introduction of basic income might rather damage these established inadequate welfares. An argument is also proposed in this context that if sufficient funding exists, those funds must be directed to basic welfare first. Another reason to feeding these worries is that a small minority of basic income supporters call to demolish the existing welfares and replace them with basic income. However, most supporters of basic income oppose the dissolution of the existing welfare state and rather furtively support the combination of basic income and basic welfare.

Of course, it is not a simple task to combine basic income and basic welfare. However, it does not follow that there is an impassable river between the two. The establishment of a universal welfare based on basic income becomes a solid foundation for the strengthening of basic welfare. Also, since the funding for basic welfare is relatively small compared to the funding for basic income, it might even be easier to secure funds for these welfares in the process of financing a big bulk. As for the unemployment and occupational safety insurances, while their frames will remain for the stability of the labor community, they will need to expand in terms of universality. For the health insurance, a plan to finance through taxes and thus achieve universal security of medical services and heighten its quality needs to be taken into consideration as well.

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# Korean Society, Basic Income and Consideration on a Transitional Strategy

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ABSTRACT: Basic Income is a necessary element for future alternative society, which progressive, left movements should construct. However, in order to introduce Basic Income into Korean society, there needs to be transitional strategies, based on prudent political approach. For, in Korean society, support for public welfare is weaker than the case in Western Europe countries, and the urgent task is to make public opinion change and strengthen welfare-supporting alliance. The starting point for such task is the enlargement of social service, based on public provision. It will provide lively experiences of public welfare among Korean people and also millions of new jobs. Trough it, welfare-supporting alliance will be stronger and also interest and support for universal grants, such as Basic Income, will grow. In the next process to introduce Basic Income into Korean society, some intermediate measures will be necessary. As an intermediate measure, we can consider Basic Income for the Youth or Basic Income for the Aged.

## Japanese Post-war Economy History and the Effectiveness of the Basic Income System

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The purpose of this paper is to say the relation between buying power and productive capacity by the case of the Japanese economic history after the World Second.

The refoamation of Japanese during 1945- 1952 by the US army has made Japan one of the most egalitarian country in the world. Because of the dissolution of zaibatsu , the imposition of the fortune tax many super japnese capitalist has collasped. Most of japnese big company have been freed from the owners and became independent. So the profit of the companys has distributed to the employees comparatively equally. The farmland reform also helped Japanese society become an egalitarian country.

The economic equality of Japanese society was one of the most important cause of the high growth of economy from 1950's to 1970's. The employees has gained high salary from their companys because there were no owners who would have taken the biggest part of the company's profit. The fact has given Japanese people strong buying power and pushed the growth of economy. In the period of the oil crisis Japan has kept this structure and I think it helped Japan overcome the oil crisis faster than other developed countries.

But in 1990's this structure has collapsed gradually. The economic crisis by the collapse of bubble and the neoliberalism has made Japnese companys change the structure. Then the people in Japnese couldn't gain the high



income and their buying power has decreased. It has made economy worse and worse. Consequently , the depression has been continued for long time and be called 'the lost 10years' .

I think the cause of today's economic crisis is the decrease of buying power by the neoliberalism. Neoliberalism has made the structure of profit sharing bad and eventually the total buying power has decreased.

It has made the economy bad and the economy has been lengthend by it. Also economy crisis has made people's buying power decrease. We can see the bad circulation between weak buying power and economy crisis.

What can make this problem solved? I think it is the system of basic income. Japanese post-war economy history has shown that. Today the private companys can't afford to distribute the profit equally. It is the government's job. The system of basic income is the best way of distributing the total profit of the society fairly and keeping the economy consistent.

## The Recent Economic Crisis, Political Change and Basic Income Discourse in Japan

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Translated | Brian Small\*\*

Employment insecurity after the financial crisis of 2007, finally destroyed the “We are all middle class” myth. Another result of the crisis was the defeat of the Liberal Democratic Party (the LDP). After over half a century as the majority party in the Diet, the LDP lost the 2009 election to the Democratic Party of Japan (the DPJ). A prominent economist made the statement “The income security and household subsidies indicated in the DPJ’s manifesto ultimately lead to the Basic Income discussed in Western Europe”(Ito, 2009). In this vein, the DPJ’s Tax Policy Investigation Committee organized seminars on the topic of Basic Income in which I, and three other experts, gave presentations.

However the DPJ has never officially endorsed the Basic Income policy. Media treatment of Basic Income is extremely rare, and, even among people knowledgeable of the policy, the majority is of the view that the guarantee is not in accordance with the traditional ethics of Japanese society.

The goal of this paper to show the role we see starting to be played by the debate over Basic Income during the past few years of economic crisis and political change.

The first section (of my paper) will provide an overview of Japan’s system of income security over the past half century and show the various causes of the current system’s dysfunction. In the second section, following up on the situation just described in the first section, I will cover economic policy and political reality while analyzing the vocabulary to describe the situation. I will point out the lack of a vocabulary used to describe the new direction gradually being taken under the DPJ. After briefly outlining the debate

surrounding Basic Income in the third section, I will use the fourth section to propose using the vocabulary accumulated in the BI debate to fill the explanatory gap in discussions of current economic and social policies.

### (1) The Myth, the reality, and the collapse of the “Japanese Welfare Society”

After World War II Japan built up an income security system using the Beveridge Report as a blueprint. The Social Insurance pillars were pensions, unemployment insurance and health insurance while social assistance policies were built in as supplementary additions. Pensions and health insurance systems for employed people preceded the establishment, in 1961, of the National Pension and National Health Insurance to cover the self-employed and the non-employed to achieve universal coverage for citizens.

In the second half of the 1960's, Socialist and Communist party candidates were elected to head local municipalities giving birth to many 'progressive' administrations. This led to 1973 becoming known as 'The Year of Welfare' as the LDP, fearing for its survival, passed large increases in the social welfare budget. As seen from the inclusion of 'to insure the completion of a welfare states' as a goal in the party's founding declaration of 1955, the LDP was never against welfare state. From the 1950's to the beginning of the 1970's, at least as a slogan, the welfare state enjoyed a broad majority of support among citizens.

This support broke down with economic restructuring after the oil shock of 1973. The “Japanese Style Welfare Society” policy paper put out by the LDP in 1979 can be taken as an ideological blueprint for the social security policies of the 1980's. The paper severely criticizes the welfare state that the party had intended to 'ensure the completion' of in its founding declaration. Since the U.K. had 'pursued equality and social security expansion' the diagnosis was that U.K. had caught the “English Disease,” a kind of

“economic diabetes.”

Swedish life for the elderly is lonely, isolated and cold, resulting from a society based on extreme individualism. ... The Swedish philosophy of all-round welfare coverage that provides full benefits rather than regulation and control has brought about a tendency to shift the costs of personal troubles onto society... If an unwed mother gives birth to a child, the costs are shifted to society as the mother and child are on welfare benefits. Once this system is put in place people become 'complacent' and behave with the knowledge that society will bear the costs of their troubles. They become a kind of parasite, accustomed to exploiting the system. Suppose our country made a similar system with “divorce insurance” and made insurance payments to divorced women, or implemented generous protections and subsidies for unmarried mothers and their children, perhaps even establishing institutions for their care. This would give rise to “free love,” or from a man's point of view “free sex,” and we would certainly see lower rates of marriage, higher rates of divorce and more illegitimate children, all of which is seen in Sweden. Is this the kind of civilized progress of which we can be proud? No, this is nothing but foolishness showing an extreme lack of civilization and wisdom. (LDP 1979)

The principle of a “National Minimum” and “Equality of Outcome” were dismissed as harming civilization to no benefit. Families and corporations were put first and individual welfare became a matter of personal responsibility.

The characteristics of two social security reforms in 1985, symbolize policies based on the above principle of subsidizing the family as opposed to the individual. Payments to single mothers for their dependent children were attacked and decreased. This “reform” is usually explained away as the result of a financial need to cut budgets in a slowed economy. However, we cannot accept this explanation upon considering another reform of the same year: A new tax exemption for the pension and insurance payments covering the housewives of employed men.

Japan was often seen as a society with a “traditional” division of labor between the sexes, where men worked outside the home while women became housewives. This view of “traditional” society is not correct. In 1970 Japan's rate of employment for women was second highest among OECD nations.(1) The employment rate for women in Japan has been losing ground

to other OECD countries ever since. Japan's characteristic high number of full time homemakers is not “tradition” but the intended consequence of policies taken after the oil shock of 1973. The manifesto for this system change is the LDP's 1979 policy paper and the reforms of 1985 were the culmination of these policies.

Was the sexist content of social security severely criticized? Other than criticism by a handful of feminists, the majority of Japanese society, unfortunately, takes for granted the sexist nature of the system. These views remain unchanged today. Of course, the social movements of single mothers and other minorities criticized and struggled against the “reforms” at the time. (My paper tomorrow's paper will touch upon this). (2) Some of Mari Ozawa's writing looks into this. (ex. Ozawa[1993])(3)

“The Japanese Welfare Society” depends on the family, and at the same time, upon corporations. This dependence on corporations has brought about inequalities between the employees (and their families) in large corporations and people excluded from such employment. This gap has met relatively strong criticism from scholars. However this criticism has remained limited to academics and a small minority in the labor movement while the media inundates viewers with the myth that “All Japanese are Middle Class”. The reality is that only workers in large corporations, and their families were able to attain middle class lifestyles. The Japanese Welfare Society actually opened up a gap between these workers with their families and the rest of Japanese society. How have the myths that “everyone is middle class” and about the existence of “Japanese welfare society” survived for so long in this unequal society? Perhaps the myths didn't die because many male college graduates had the opportunity to secure employment in large (and mid-sized) corporations. This avenue was open to some high school graduate men also, and women, well, whether they continued working or not, it was assumed that they would marry a man.(4)

The myths survived until the mid-1990's. Let's look at the data for the "welfare society" at this point in time. We'll start with a six country comparison of social security expenditures. (Figure 1 on the slide) As a percentage of GDP Japan looks to be more of a 'small government' society than the U.S. Looking at just social assistance expenditures makes Japan stand out even more for it's form of "small government." (Table 1 on the slide)

Does this "small government" match a similarly small problem with poverty? Unfortunately, this is not the case when considering relative poverty, or even absolute poverty. In 1994 OECD calculates Japan's rate of relative poverty at 13.7%. This rate is higher than the OECD average of 10%, and even higher than England after the desolation of Thatcherism. By comparison, Sweden's rate is 3.7%.<sup>(5)</sup> It's difficult to pin down absolute poverty with statistics but let's use social assistance criteria. In 1995, 7.45% of households lived beneath the line for meeting social assistance requirements. Among these households, the percentage actually receiving assistance, the take-up rate, was only 19.7% (Tachibanaki, Urakawa[2006]). There was an actual need for a budget 5 times as big as current expenditures.

At any rate, until this period the myth that Japan, being an equal society, was different than Western societies with their economic classes went unchallenged. However, looking at the "Japanese welfare society" while considering poverty exposes the myth as a lie and "welfare society" as just another name for a "dual society" of the secure middle class and the impoverished.

The "Japanese Welfare Society" was based on the possibility of entering the middle class if you graduated from college for men, and for women if you married one of those men. This state of affairs ended in the 1990's with the collapse of the bubble and the "lost 20 years" that bring us to the present day.

The corporate manifesto for dismantling the welfare state was put out by the Japanese Business Federation (Nikkeiren) in 1995. The document is titled 'Japanese-style Management' for a New Era: the direction we should strive for and the concrete measures entailed'. The document divides workers into three groups, "core members with accumulated expertise," "highly skilled specialists" and the "flexibly employed." The permanent employment previously guaranteed to almost all male university graduates would now only be continued for a handful of workers with hard-to-replace "accumulated expertise". The other groups are to be utilized in a 'flexible' manner. Actually the Worker Dispatch Law passed in 1985 occasioned some deregulation but it was in the 90's that deregulation took off. The proportion of irregular employees has consistently increased from the mid-90's to the present day.

The corporation-dependent "Japanese Welfare State" had already begun to collapse as corporations pulled out of the system. Employment insecurity after the financial crisis just hastened the fall.

## ( 2 ) From "Civil-Engineering Keynesian" to "Neoclassical Deregulation"

Until last September's election the LDP held power, with very few short-term exceptions, for the half century since World War II. The LDP arose in 1955 as an amalgamation of the conservative camps. The Socialist Party was the LDP's rival and largest opposition party, but working from a platform of Marxist-Leninist socialism in the context of the Cold War and the U.S.-Japan Alliance effectively left the LDP as the only party with real power in the system.

However, the LDP did not simply coast along relying on the geopolitics of the day. Theodore J. Lowi has described the U.S. polity as "interest group liberalism." The LDP successfully used similar conditions in Japan to rationalize their system of power dominance. With "interest group liberalism,"

decisions regarding distribution and regulation are decided, not in discussions at the Congress or the Diet, but outside the official political process as various interest groups pressure bureaucrats and politicians.(6) Japan is unlike the U.S., where the two parties rise and fall with the backing of interest groups. As there was no likelihood of a change in the party in power, the power dynamics among interest groups and political parties in Japan favored the single party with unbroken power – the LDP.

A kind of “Civil-Engineering Keynesianism” is one of the factors that made the LDP the agent of distribution in Japan's “interest group liberalism.” President Roosevelt's economic stimulus policies to remedy the Great Depression had two aspects. The public works aspect of his policies are well known. Less attention has been paid (by Japanese economists) to the social aspects of his economic stimulus. Roosevelt also made efforts to maintain effective demand in the economy by guaranteeing people's income with the Social Security Act and a federal minimum wage. After World War Two it was the social support policies, the “Keynesian Welfare State,” that spread throughout the West to become economic policy.

The LDP's “interest group liberalism” can be seen in the same vein as Roosevelt's public works aspect of the New Deal, as specialized policies for stimulating effective demand through public works. Stimulus through public works can be seen as an unintended policy in the 1950's with reconstruction after World War II. However, after being presented for a period in the 60's as the “Plan for Doubling the National Income,” Kakuei Tanaka, conscious of their role as an economic stimulus, made the policies his own under the title 'Building a new Japan; a plan for remodeling the Japanese Archipelago' in 1972, the same year he became Prime Minister. The “Plan for Doubling the National Income' aimed to achieve full employment through the development of export industries, while at the same time correcting income and development disparities between varied areas in Japan and different types of



industry. The second group of policies taking aim at disparities in the country were taken and built upon as Prime Minister Tanaka's "plan for remodeling the Japanese Archipelago." Ostensibly to re-distribute some of the nation's wealth to the peripheral countryside under the banner of "well-balanced land development," public works were increased with the intensive construction of railroads, highways and dams.

There are differences of opinion on whether the civil engineering projects of the "well-balanced land development" policies actually contributed to lessening disparities for underdeveloped areas in Japan. However, it cannot be denied that regular employment in the relatively underdeveloped areas was attained through the public works projects. Even after Kakuei Tanaka's reign as Prime Minister, his faction utilized their control over the distribution of money for public works to maintain their power and remain the central, authoritative group within the LDP until the 1990's. (The DPJ's secretary general, Ichiro Ozawa is from the Tanaka faction.)

The large deficits run up by Civil-Engineering Keynesianism led to a debate among the Ministry of Finance and some economists over the need for a shift in policy. The economic slump during "The Lost Decade" of the 1990's after Japan's asset price bubble burst made it clear that the LDP's traditional economic policies had ceased to function. At the same time, the political realignment after the end of The Cold War had the LDP facing, not the marxist-leninist Socialist Party as their main rival, but the New Frontier Party at first, then the Democratic Party of Japan, both made up mainly of former LDP members. As the urban electorate, not benefiting from public project largesse, started voting for these new opposition parties the LDP began seeking new policies to gain popularity and votes. Representative of this period is the Koizumi administration with the rallying calls of "Destroy the LDP" and "Without reform there will be no growth." Emblematic of the Koizumi administrations shift from Civil-Engineering

Keynesianism to Neoclassical economic policies was economist Heizo Takenaka's entering into the Koizumi cabinet and taking up the post of Economic and Fiscal Policy Minister. The two pillars of these policies were deregulation and privatization.(7)

It wasn't only the LDP shifting from Civil-Engineering Keynesianism to Neoclassical policies. When the Koizumi administration made postal service privatization the central issue in the debate for the 2005 election, the DPJ also promoted neoclassical policies. Research into the policies favored by candidates showed the DPJ adhering closer to neoclassical economics. (8)

Since the Koizumi administration the LDP's economic policies have come about from inner conflicts among factions emphasizing fiscal reconstruction for balanced budgets, and factions emphasizing economic growth via deregulation. After the financial crisis of 2007, this tug-of-war has ended up weaving together Civil-engineering Keynesianism once again.

The main factor effecting the 2009 change in ruling parties after fifty years was rejection by both the financial sector and the voters as they said "no" to a revival of Civil-Engineering Keynesianism. However it's difficult to foresee the economic policies that will come out of the coalition government headed by the DPJ as the coalition, and even the DPJ itself, contains a mixture of conflicting ideologies regarding economic policy.

On the one hand, the group coalesced around Secretary-general Ozawa, along with the People's New Party, seem to have inherited traditional LDP-style Keynesianism. On the other hand the group around Prime Minister Hatoyama and the ex-Socialist Party fraction in the DPJ have, since the 1990's, been very critical of public works such as dams. However, a principled, consistent direction for an economic policy to replace old-style, pork barrel Keynesianism is not yet visible. Policies such as the child-care allowance have been justified under the slogan "Shifting from Concrete to People", but were implemented due to a temporary alliance between the two

groupings. Also within the DPJ is a third grouping with neoclassical economic designs which includes members such as Foreign Minister Okada and Transportation Minister Maehara.

One large problem is that the new policy direction termed “Shifting from Concrete to People” has absolutely no credibility as an economic policy in Japan’s public discourse. The vocabulary used in public discourse on economic policy consists merely of “Keynesian equals old-style pork barrel politics” and “Neo-Classical economics equals reform.” Economic debate among reformists is limited to the choice between “economic growth through deregulation” or “fiscal recovery through higher consumption taxes and downsizing the budget.” As long as the DPJ doesn’t commit to either policy, economists that narrow the problem to this limited number of choices will criticize the party for “having no economic policy.”

We, advocates of Basic Income have the potential to fill the gap in the vocabulary used for public discourse with regards to economic policy and expand the debate. We can promote Basic Income as a new Keynesian policy. Before developing this point in full I would like to present an overview of the Basic Income debate in Japan.

### ( 3 ) Brief Overview of the history of BI argument in Japan

If we follow the explanation of history given on the BIEN’s (Basic Income Earth Network’s) website, it would seem that the idea for a basic income first appeared in Europe’s Leuven when Thomas More’s Utopia was published in 1616. However if we liberate ourselves from the limitation of focusing solely on European history an embryo of the Basic Income concept may be found in 6th century China and 7th century Japan. These ancient East Asian regimes sought to provide the “means of livelihood” (basis for survival) in a secular way as a precondition for taxation and military service.

Apart from these historical episodes, modern discussions of basic income were introduced into Japan between the World Wars through the translations of John Stuart Mill, Bertrand Russell, and C.H. Douglas. Douglas's Social Credit enjoyed popularity at one point. Economists labeled themselves as Douglas followers to differentiate themselves from Marxists but the fad didn't last long.

The radical disabled people's movement of the 1970's developed a similar philosophy to that of the Italian social movements of the same period. Although the Italian movements demanded Basic Income, radical currents in the Japanese disabled movement never settled upon an actual BI. Their demands for social security were ignored at the time and forgotten later. More recently in 1990, Italian social movement expert Toshimaru Ogura called for an basic income called an "Individual Wage" but there wasn't much of a reaction.

The serious academic discussion on basic income started a decade ago, among social policy researchers and analytical political philosophers. Among them Shuji Ozawa, a Marxian public economist, published a book on BI in 2002. This can be said to be the first Japanese publication in favor of BI (Ozawa 2002). Several academic publications followed (ex. Takegawa (ed.)(2008], Yamamori[2002], [2009].)

Basic Income first appeared in the media in the beginning of 2007. I contributed an article to the Mainichi Newspaper in April, followed a month later in May with an article by Shuji Ozawa in the Asahi Newspaper. For radio, the first mention must have been my appearance on an NHK station in January of 2008. In December of that same year a famous IT entrepreneur, Takafumi Horie, spoke of BI on television after being exposed to debates over BI that welled up on the internet. The blog of Hajime Yamasaki, an economic commentator well known in cyber space, must have played a big role as a catalyst for the debate over BI. Yamasaki himself

referenced the Basic Income debate from a publication featuring an exchange between myself and the VOL collective, a group of Autonomia intellectuals. After reading Yamasaki's blog referring to our debate, Horie was moved to write in favor of BI on his own blog and even recommended the idea on a TV show

The internet debate over BI is developing with a vocabulary from the neoclassical, or neoliberal tradition. There are good discussions around these proposals on the internet. Although I cannot sum up the varied discussions, I can say that their main concern is minimizing the administrative costs of government, rather than ensuring a decent life for the disadvantaged. So one could say that the discussion here is in line with the Neo-liberal rationale. Horie's BI advocacy floats in the currents of neoliberalism.

As far as politicians are concerned, as I mentioned at the beginning of this paper, MPs in the Democratic Party invited me to speak on BI in April of 2009, and it can be seen as one example of a growing interest in the BI proposal. However, it can be said in general that the political will has progressed no further than just "interest". The exception is one small party "Shinto Nippon". The leader of this party (and the only MP from this party) is a famous writer and is fascinated by the idea of BI. He adopted BI in his party's manifesto in the spring of 2009. Iwao Nakatani, an economist that supported the Koizumi/Takenaka reform track has proposed a very small basic income to be funded by a consumption tax. The majority of the internet discussion and mass media mentions for Basic Income are informed by the Neoliberal rationale. You might give them the benefit of the doubt and call it Neoliberalism with a human face.

The values informing street level activism for BI is in sharp contrast to Neoliberalism. Some single mothers' organization and women's trade unions call for a Basic Income with Pay Equity. Some Precariat movements call for

BI with regulation for labor protection. There are voices in support of BI in the disabled people's movement also. People suffering from underdevelopment in rural areas have also pinned hopes on a Basic Income. For example the mayor of Nakagawa Village in Nagano Prefecture has voiced support for BI. A proposal to demand a Basic Income passed in the Kushiro chapter of the Construction Worker's Union convention of June, 2009. These are the voices of marginalized people, long excluded from Japan's "Welfare Society." (9)

#### ( 4 ) How Can We Make Marginalized Voices Heard? :

##### A Strategy

When the mass media airs the voices of those excluded from Japan's Welfare Society the discussion is limited to individual tragedies and almost never expanded to cover economic and social policy issues. The media spent a great deal of time on employment insecurity and unemployment after the financial crisis but the coverage was limited to male workers. In the media, the problem was limited to the 'winners' in the "Dual System" of the "Japanese Welfare Society." Only the previously secure men that were no longer able to maintain their positions in the middle class had their grievances aired.

Let me introduce a representative case. On December 18th, 2009, The Mainichi Newspaper, under the headline "A Prescription to Cure Poverty?" featured three viewpoints, an economic policy issue specialist's view, a union activist's view, and my view. The economist felt that Japan no longer had the financial resources to maintain anti-poverty measures, and that the main issue was improving the poor economy resulting from the financial crisis. He prescribed financial deregulation and flexibility in the labor market. The union representative prescribed secure employment for middle-aged and older men. The choices were deregulation or secure employment, both sides of the debate shared common ground in that they had only the 'winners' of the

“Japanese Welfare Society” (i.e. male workers) in mind. (It goes without saying that I prescribed Basic Income as a cure for poverty)

Of course, just as not all of the minorities excluded from Japan's Welfare Society are demanding BI, the Basic Income is not a cure-all prescription for the problem of poverty. However, promoting the Basic Income as a way to get the majority to consider marginalized voices has three points in its favor. The first two points are vital for minorities and the third point is strategic.

The first point is the need to reexamine Japan's work ethic. Why wasn't Japan able to become like Sweden or the U.K.? As I explained in the first section of this paper Japan would seem to have the same welfare structures that are found in Western countries. Then why, with a similar system in place, does Japan have a mere 20% take up rate for social assistance compared with an almost 90% take up rate in the UK? This discrepancy is in the difference between the number of people seen by society as being unable to work and the number of people that are actually unable to work. One big reason that Japan was unable to become a full and actually functioning Welfare State is that, compared to the West, Japanese society is less accepting of people's inability to work. The BI debate has the potential to interrogate Japan's work ethic.

The second point is that, while the BI discussion is criticized for the potential number of “free riders,” this criticism raises the possibility to show how the Japanese Welfare Society has, all along, had a free ride on the unpaid labor of women.

The third point is strategic and brings me back to the economic policies of the government now headed by the DPJ. The government has explained it's policy of cutting back public works such as dam construction while implementing a child allowance with the slogan “Investing in People, not Concrete.” While the mass media cheers the decrease in public works projects, the child allowance is criticized as not so much an economic policy

but as an attempt to curry favor with voters. While working on the 2010 budget, Hirohisa Fujii, the Finance Minister at the time, countered this criticism saying that, by increasing demand, the policy would result in changes of industry structure from one that relies on export to one driven by domestic consumption.

The analysis introduced at the beginning of this paper that linked the logical outcome of DPJ's policies to the Basic Income proposal was Mitsuharu Ito's attempt to lend support to Finance Minister Fujii's argument. Ito is a well-known economist using Keynesianism to understand the traditional LDP policies of lowering taxes to increase consumption while increasing overall investment with public spending. Now that the DPJ policies have halted the public works stimulus in favor of "direct support for households" he understands the change as intended to stimulate the economy through increased consumption.

At present there are not many BI proponents using Keynesian arguments. I (Yamamori, 2009) maybe the only one using Keynes to support the Basic Income proposal. For the most part people in Japan think that Keynesian policy and Basic Income proposal are mutually exclusive, and that their proponents are on opposite sides of the economic debate.

However if we turn our eyes abroad to international discussions of BI, many proponents, such as James E. Meade for some time now, and more recently Antonio Negri, Andrea Fumagalli and others have been arguing that the Basic Income would be an effective Keynesian stimulus. Now is a crucial time to explain the Keynesian effects of a Basic Income. The new direction policy has taken in Japan, other than the rare exceptions like Ito's paper, has not been justified for its positive economic effects. Keynesian arguments for a Basic Income may reach the mainstream while providing justifications for this shift in policy.

As the Democratic Party of Japan has yet to fully define this new



direction in economic and social policy, we have an opportunity to explain their policies as rational and effective and to push these policies towards the Basic Income proposal. It just may be possible to get 'dual society' problems and the Basic Income on the agenda both in the media and in policy-making circles.

#### Notes

- (1) <http://www.gender.go.jp/data/files/z4-4.pdf>
- (2) Of course there were criticism and struggles among social movements by minorities themselves such as single mothers' activism (see my tomorrow's paper). In academics, see Osawa [1993].
- (3) For example, see the Mainichi Newspaper article from Dec. 18, 2009 mentioned in the fourth section.
- (4) This last tendency has been supported by the law that discriminates against children born out of wedlock. This law violates international treaties forbidding this kind of discrimination. But I will not discuss international law here.
- (5) <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/12/4/35445297.xls>
- (6) Lowi criticized this and propose "judicial democracy." See Lowi [1969].
- (7) Deregulation and privatization began in the 1980. However these policies before Koizumi administration only happened at the area where these policy can weaken the interests of labour unions, but never happened where they would weaken the interest of JDP on "Civil-Engineering Keynesianism."
- (8) Taniguchi, Uenohara, and Sakaiya [2009].
- (9) I want to treat this issue in more detail tomorrow.

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### **The Basic Income Japanese Network**

The Basic Income Japanese Network is about to be launched. To commemorate the launch a gathering will be held on the 27<sup>th</sup> of March 2010, at Doshisha University, Kyoto. Single mothers, casual workers, the disabled activists, care workers, students and academics will gather. Internationally, Guy Standing (BIEN), and Andrea Fumagalli (BIN-Italy) will come. Everyone is welcome to both events!

## **The Citizen`s Basic Income: A very nice proposal for Brazil and Korea<sup>1)</sup>**

Eduardo Matarazzo Suplicy<sup>2)</sup>

The Citizen`s Basic Income should be sufficient as possible to meet each person`s vital needs, and should be paid to all inhabitants of a community, municipality, state, country, or even, someday, to all the population of a continent or of Planet Earth. Regardless of his/her origin, race, sex, age, civil, social or economic condition, everyone will have the right to receive the Citizen`s Basic Income as a right to participate in the wealth of that community, municipality, state, country, continent or of the Earth. It will be the same amount for everyone.

Why paying the same to everyone? Even to those who have more resources and do not need it for his/her survival, even to the most successful entrepreneurs and artists?

Because those who have more will collaborate more, in a way that they and the others will receive the CBI.

And what are the advantages of that procedure?

First, it is much easier to explain the concept of the Citizen`s Basic Income than the several income transference programs that exist in our country and in almost every country.

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1) This is a relatively simple text, summarizing what I explained in deeper detail in my books "Renda de Cidadania. A Saía é pela Porta" (Cortez Editora e Ed. Fundação Perseu Abramo, 5th. ed. 2008) and "Renda Básica de Cidadania. A Resposta dada pelo Vento" (L&PM, 3rd. ed. 2008).

2) Eduardo Matarazzo Suplicy is Senator from PT-SP, Professor in Economics of Escola de Administração de Empresas e de Economia de São Paulo, from Fundação Getúlio Vargas, Ph.D. in Economics by Michigan State University, USA, author of the Bill of Law that originated Law 10.835/2004 which institutes the Citizen`s Basic Income in Brazil and Honorary Co-Chair of BIEN, Basic Income Earth Network.

For example: please note how long it takes for me to explain the Bolsa Familia Program that exists in Brazil since October 2003, considering the values in effect since September 2009.

Every family in Brazil with a monthly income per capita below R\$ 140 has the right to receive a benefit that starts with the monthly amount of R\$ 68, if this family has a monthly family income per capita below R\$ 70. (In December 17th, US\$ 1.00 was equal to R\$ 1.77). This family also has the right to receive R\$ 22, R\$ 44 or R\$ 66, if the family has, respectively, one, two, three or more children up to 16 years of age, more R\$ 33 for each adolescent, from 16 to 18 years of age, up to a maximum of two. So, the Bolsa Familia Program pays a minimum of R\$ 22 and a maximum of R\$ 200 per month. The average amount of the benefit is R\$ 95 per family. The estimated budget of the Bolsa Familia Program for 2009 is R\$ 11.434 billion. The average size of the Brazilian family is 3,5 persons. It is a little higher for the families of this level of income. There are obligations to be fulfilled. If the mother is pregnant, she should go to the public health network – a health post or the municipality hospital – for exams and health conditions follow-up. Parents should take their children up to six years of age to be vaccinated according to the calendar of the Ministry of Health. The children from 7 to 16 years of age should go to school, with at least 85% attendance. The adolescents from 16 to 18 years of age should attend school, with at least 75% attendance.

Now let me explain the Basic Income. Let us suppose that, starting from next January the government announces that the Citizen's Basic Income will be launched, even with a modest amount, higher than what is paid to the people granted with the Bolsa Familia Program. So the government will declare:

Starting from next January, everyone in Brazil, including the foreigners living here for more than five years, regardless his/her social or economic

condition, will receive R\$ 40 per month. In a family with six members, the total will be R\$ 240. With the progress of the country, this amount will be raised, we shall say to R\$ 100, someday to R\$ 500, and so on. It will not be denied to anybody. It will be unconditional.

Isn't it much easier to understand?

And which are the other advantages in paying the same amount to everyone?

First, the elimination of all bureaucracy involved in knowing each person's income in formal or informal market. That is, in the working card of the worker, public servant or in the payment made to anyone in any activity. Or in not registered payment, as those paid to people who take care of cars in the streets, to a neighbor who does your laundry or takes care of your children, while you go to work, or to the market or to street vendors.

Elimination of any stigma or shame for a person to reveal: I earn only this much, so I need an income complement for my survival.

Elimination of the dependency phenomenon that occurs when there are programs that say: who does not receive up to that amount, has the right to receive a complement. What if the person is about to decide: should I start this job or not? If I do, then I will receive a certain amount. What if with this additional the government excludes me from the program? So, it is possible that this person decides not to get the job and gets into the unemployment or the poverty trap.

If all of us, meanwhile, know that from now on, everyone and all the members of our families have the right to a Citizen's Basic Income, any job that we take will mean an addition to our income. Thus, there will be always an incentive for progress.

The most important advantage of the Citizen's Basic Income is that it raises everyone's level of dignity and freedom. We have to think as the great economist Amartya Sen does, that development, to be worthwhile, should

mean higher degree of freedom for everyone in the society. It is the case, for example, of a girl who does not have another alternative for her survival than selling her body. Or a young man who, to support himself and his family is forced to work for the traffic. Or even a rural worker who can only get jobs in slavery conditions. If the Citizen's Basic Income is in force for these people and for everybody in their families, they can certainly refuse those alternatives, and wait a little while until an opportunity comes in accordance with their capacities. They might even attend a professional course and get better chances.

Some of you could think: would the Basic Income stimulate idleness? What should we do with those who have a strong tendency to vagrancy? Are there really a lot of them? Let us think a little bit.

We, the human beings, love to do a lot of things. And we feel responsible for doing different activities, even without being paid by the market. For example, mothers who breastfeed their children with lots of love; us, parents, when we take care of our children, to be well nourished, not to be hurt, and to grow up well; when our parents or grandparents need our support; in the local organizations, churches, academic associations where many of us have done voluntary works, because we feel helpful to the community. When the great painters, Vincent Van Gogh and Amedeo Modigliani painted their works, they went to the streets, trying to sell them for their survival, without any success. Both of them became ill and died early. Today their works are worth millions of dollars.

Furthermore, our Constitution assures the right to private property. That means that the owners of factories, farms, hotels, restaurants, banks, real estate and financial bonds have the right to receive the capital revenues, that is, the profits, rentals and interests. Do the Brazilian or Korean laws mention that to receive those revenues, the capital owners must demonstrate that they are working? No, and they usually work, and many of them also dedicate a

good part of their time in voluntary works. Do they need to demonstrate that their children are going to school? No. Nevertheless, their children usually attend the best schools.

So, if we assure to those who have more resources the right to receive their revenues without conditions, why not extending to everyone, rich and poor, the right to participate in the nation's wealth as our right for being Brazilians? Let's consider certain aspects of our history. For more than three centuries, people were pulled away from Africa to come and work as slaves in Brazil, helping to accumulate capital of many families. Or, as President Lula has said, it seems that God is Brazilian, helping Petrobras to find oil reserves at the pre-salt layer in the depth of the Atlantic Ocean. Do you consider a good idea that all the Brazilians should participate in this wealth through a modest income that allows their survival, the same amount for everyone, as a citizen's right?

It is a good sense proposal. Its bases were elaborated along the history of the human being and they are present in all the religions and in the thinking of a large spectrum of great philosophers, economists and thinkers.

When you left your home today, did you pass through the window or any other way?

Through the door? Well, as Confucius Said, 520 years before Christ that "uncertainty is even worse than poverty" and that "can anyone leave his home except through the door?"

We want to demonstrate that, if we want to eliminate the absolute poverty, becoming a more equal and fair society and assuring dignity and real freedom to everyone in the society, instituting the Citizen's Basic Income is a solution as simple as leaving home through the door.

300 years before Christ, in the book "Politics" philosopher Aristotle taught that politics is the science that shows how to reach a fair life for everyone – the common good. For this, it is necessary a political justice, which must be

preceded by distributive justice that creates by law equality out of inequality.

Which is the most cited Hebraic word in the Holy Bible, 513 times in the Old Testament? It is Tzedaka, which means social justice, justice in the society, which was the great longing of the Jewish people, as well as the Palestine people.

In the New Testament, in the Acts of Apostles, we observe that they decided to join all their possessions, to live in solidarity, so as to provide to each one according to his/her needs. In Jesus' parables, like in the Vineyard Landlord, we find similar principles. He hired several peasants along the day. With each one he agreed what both considered fair. At the end of the journey he began to pay, starting with the last ones that had arrived, giving to everyone the same amount. When he reached the first peasant this one complained; you are paying the same to me as the last one that arrived here and I worked much more than he did. And the vineyard landlord answered; so, didn't you realize that I'm paying exactly what we both considered fair, and that the last one who arrived here also has the right to receive enough for the needs of his family?

In the Second Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians, he recommends everybody to follow Jesus' example. Despite being very mighty he had decided to join the poor people and to live among them. As it is written, he was preaching for more justice and equality: "He that had gathered much had nothing over; and he that gathered little had no lack".

Also the followers of Muhammad, the Qurá and the Islamism, in this aspect, adopt the similar principles. In the Hadith Book, the second of the four caliphs, Omar, said: Everyone that had big properties should separate a part for the ones who had a few or nothing.

In Buddhism, the Dalai Lama, in "Ethics for the New Millenium", affirms that if we accept the luxurious consumption of the very rich ones we should ensure before the survival of all humanity.



If we advance in the History, in the beginning of the XVI Century, we will find the teachings of a great humanist, Thomas More. In 1516, he wrote a very nice book for reading, "Utopia", a place where everything works well. The story contains a dialog about capital punishment that, after being introduced in England, did not contribute to the reduction of violent crimes. So, the character commented that much better than inflicting these horrible punishments to whom does not have another alternative of becoming first a thief and then a corpse, is to assure everyone's survival. Based on this reflection, a friend of Thomas More, Juan Luis Vives, wrote to the mayor of the Flemish city Bruges, a subvention treaty for the poor in which, for the first time, he proposed the guarantee of a minimum income.

Two centuries later, Thomas Paine, considered one of the greatest ideologists of the French and American revolutions, explained to the National Assembly of France, in 1795, in *Agrarian Justice*, that poverty is originated by civilization and private property. In America, where he has been before the independence, he didn't see such deprivation and poverty as in the European villages and cities. But he considered a good sense that the person who cultivates the land and makes some improvement should have the right to receive the outcome of that cultivation. However, he should separate a part of this revenue for a fund that belongs to all. This fund, once accumulated should pay a basic capital and income to each resident in this country, not as a charity, but as a right of everyone to participate in the wealth of the nation that was taken away when private property was instituted. This was a proposal for all countries.

Another Englishman, an elementary school teacher, Thomas Spence, in a pamphlet published in London under the title "The Rights of Infants"(1797), proposed that each city should have auctions to cover all public expenditures including the building and

the maintenance of real estate, as well as taxes paid to the government,

that will distribute quarterly equal parts of the surplus among all residents ensuring their subsistence.

In 1848, Joseph Charlier, in “Solution du problèe social”, stated that everybody has the right to enjoy the usufruct of natural resources created by the Providence to meet all their needs. In “Principles of Political Economy” (1848), the English economist and philosopher John Stuart Mill defended that a minimum for survival should be assured to everyone with or without capacity to work.

In the XX century, philosophers and economists of several tendencies, after examining several ideologies and proposals, reached for a common conclusion, as expressed by Bertrand Russel, in 1918, in “Roads to Freedom: socialism, anarchism and syndicalism”:

The plan we are advocating amounts essentially to this: that a certain small income, sufficient for necessities, should be secured to all, whether they work or not, and that a larger income, as much larger as might be warranted by the total amount of commodities produced, should be given to those who are willing to engage in some work which the community recognizes as useful.

In 1920, in “Scheme for a State Bonus”, the couple Dennis e Mabel Milner proposed that:

All individuals, all the time, should receive a small sum of money from a central fund that would be sufficient to maintain their life and freedom, should all else fail; that all people should receive a part of a central fund, in a way that all would have some sort of income to contribute proportionality to their capacity.

In 1937, the great economist Joan Robinson in “Introduction to the Theory of Full Employment”, suggested distributing to everybody on Saturdays, one pound sterling. Her fellow at the University of Cambridge, in England, who also had acquaintanceship with John Maynard Keynes and that, in 1977, was honored with the Nobel Prize in Economics, James Edward Meade, was one of the defenders of Citizen’s Income. Since when he

elaborated the “A Guide of Economic Policy for a Worker Government”, in 1935, until the works in more matured way in his trilogy about Agathotopia, in 1989, 1992 e 1995, he developed a beautiful argumentation.

Meade related his long journey in search of Utopia. No matter how much he sailed, he did not succeed in finding it. On the way back, however, he came across Agathotopia. An economist, who became his friend told him the Agathopians knew where Utopia was, but they would not tell him because they were different from the Utopians, perfect human beings who lived in a perfect place. The Agathopians were imperfect human beings that committed foolishness and perfidies, but that after all, had succeeded in building a good place to live.

Meade observed that in Agathotopia they had built institutions and social arrangements that were the best to attain simultaneously the objectives of freedom, in the sense that each one is able to work in his/her vocation and is able to spend what he/she receives on the goods that he/she wants; equality, in the sense that there are no great differences between income and wealth; and efficiency, in the sense to reach the highest possible life pattern with the resources and the technology in effect.

And what were the arrangements? Flexibility in prices and wages to reach the efficiency in resource allocation: forms of association between the entrepreneurs and the workers so that the workers were hired not only for wages, but also for output participation; and finally, a social dividend that provides a guaranteed income for everyone. Meade proposed the achievement of these objectives by stages, but with firm steps.

The greatest economist of the 20th century, John Maynard Keynes, in 1939, in “How to Pay for the War?”, published in “The Times”, tried to convince his compatriots, before entering into the war, that they should get ready for the defense, and also, to separate around 2% of the Gross National Product, thus 100 million sterling pounds from a total of 5 billion to ensure

everyone a basic income.

Abba Lerner, who worked with Oskar Lange in “On the Economic Theory of Market Socialism”, in 1944, published “The Economics of Control: Principles of Welfare Economics”, containing the proposition of institution of a fixed sum as a negative income tax for everybody.

Other economists honored with the Nobel Prize in Economics, defenders of the market system, argued in favor of the guaranteed minimum income for those who do not have the necessary for survival. So, Friedrich Hayek, in “The Road to Serfdom”, in 1944, George Stigler, in “The Economics of Minimum Wage Legislation”, in American Economic Review, 36, of 1946, observed that if we want to eradicate absolute poverty and promote employment, better than a minimum wage, should be the institution of a negative income tax, which should provide a minimum income to those who do not reach the necessary with his/her income. The same subject, was popularized in a very didactic way by Milton Friedman, in “Capitalism and Freedom”, in 1992. Also James Tobin made a great effort in the elaboration and defense of a guaranteed minimum income during the sixties and seventies was James Tobin, who in many aspects was different than Friedman, because he was a defender of the Keynes propositions. In 1972, the Nobel Prize James Tobin helped the democrat candidate George Mc Govern in the elaboration of the proposition of one “Demogrant” of US\$ 1.000 per year for all Americans, exactly the concept of a basic income.

James Tobin, Paul Samuelson, John Kenneth Galbraith, Robert Lampman, Harold Watts and 1200 economists, in 1968, sent a manifest to the U.S. Congress in favor of the adoption of a complement and guaranteed income. In 1969, President Richard Nixon invited Daniel Patrick Moynihan, an architect of social programs of the governments of John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, to design the Family Assistance Plan, which institutes the guaranteed minimum income through a negative income tax. It was approved

by the House of Representatives, but obstructed by the Senate. On that time, one who made a great effort in the defense of a guaranteed income was Martin Luther King Jr, as we can observe in his several essays in “Where Do We Go From Here: Caos or Community?”, of 1997, where he affirms, “I am now convinced that the simplest approach will prove to be the most effective – the solution to poverty is to abolish it directly by a now widely discussed measure: the guaranteed income”.

In 2005, while I was in USA, I called on ex-Senator Mc Govern, who had lost the presidential elections for Richard Nixon, in 1972, to tell him that Brazil had approved the institution of the Citizen’s Basic Income, a similar concept to what he defended in 1972. He was very happy and told me, “People say that I was a man with ideas before my time”.

In 1974, the US Congress approved a proposal of a partial negative income tax, only for those who work and do not reach a certain level of income, under the name of Earned Income Tax Credit, which had an important development. Today more than 23 million families receive this income complement that amount more than two thousand dollars per year in average. This scheme is added to the Aid for Families with Dependent Children, replaced in 1996, by Temporary Assistance for Needy Families, to Unemployment Security, to Food Coupons, and to Social Security. In the last decades, almost all European countries created income guarantee and transference schemes, like the Minimum Income of Insertion, in France, Minimum Familiar Income, in Portugal, of benefits for children in a very general way. In the Latin-American countries, conditional income transference schemes spread out, like Oportunidades in Méico, Chile Solidario, in Chile, Jefes and Jefas del Hogar, and more recently, Asignació Familiar, in Argentina, Avancemos in Costa Rica and Ingreso Ciudadano in Uruguai.

In 1986, in Louvain, Belgium, a group of social scientists, economists and philosophers, among them Philippe Van Parijs, Guy Standing, Claus Offe,

Robert van der Veen, created BIEN, Basic Income European Network, to constitute a debate forum of forms of income transference in several countries, and to propose that in every country an Unconditional Basic Income should be instituted. Since then, every two years BIEN has held international congresses. In 2004, during the congress held in Barcelona, as there were researchers from the five continents, they decided to change BIEN into Basic Income Earth Network. During the 12th BIEN International Congress, in Dublin, in June 2008, a question was asked to us, Brazilians, whether we could host the next 13th BIEN International Congress. So it was defined that the 13th Congress will be held at the Faculdade de Economia, Administração e Contabilidade da Universidade de São Paulo, FEA-USP, in June 30th, July 1st and 2nd, 2010. President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva accepted to deliver the inaugural speech of the event.

In the early sixties, in a fishermen's village, the mayor observed that a huge amount of wealth under the form of fishing was produced, but many of its inhabitants were still poor. So he told its inhabitants about creating a tax of 3% on the value of fishing for the institution of a fund which belongs to everybody. He faced a great resistance: "Another tax? I'm against it".

It took five years to persuade the community. Once instituted, it was so well succeeded, that ten years later he became the governor of the State of Alaska, where they discovered a large oil reserve in the late sixties. In 1976, Governor Jay Hammond told his 300 thousand co-citizens: "We should think not only about this current generation, but about the forthcoming one. Oil, like other natural resources is not renewable. So let us separate a part of the royalties originated from the natural resources for the constitution of a fund that shall belong to all residents in the state of Alaska. By 76 thousand votes for and 38 thousand opposed, 2X1, the proposal was approved. The law separates 25% of the revenue coming from the natural resources

exploitation and invested in US bonds, Alaska's companies stocks, contributing to diversify its economy, USA and international companies stocks, including some of the 30 more profitable companies from Brazil, like Petrobrá, Vale do Rio Doce, Itaú and Bradesco, which means we Brazilians are contributing to the success of this

system, and real estate. The equity of the Alaska Permanent Fund increased from US\$ 1 billion, in early eighties to US\$ 40 billion recently. In 2009 it decreased because of the economic crisis, but is already in recovery.

Each person living for one year or more in Alaska could filled a one-page form, between January 10th to March 31th, that included his/her business and home address, if he/she lived there for one year or more, even if he/she had travelled, the number of people in the family up to 18 years of age, not being necessary to inform his/her income or possessions, more data and the witness of two persons about the veracity of the information. Who did that, since the early eighties, every year until the beginning of October, received in his bank account, by electronic transfer, or by a check sent to his house, first around US\$ 300 and gradually more, up to US\$ 2.069 per person in 2008. In 2009, the sum decreased to US\$ 1305, because of the economic crisis that affected the economy and reduced the oil and stock prices in the New York Stock Exchange.

For having distributed around 6% of the Gross Domestic Product during the last 26 years to all its inhabitants – there are about 700 thousand nowadays, among which 611 thousand complied with that requirement in 2008 – Alaska turned into the most equalitarian state among the 50 states of the USA. During the period 1989-99, while the per capita family income of the 20% richest families in USA increased 26%, the per capita income of the 20% poorest families increased 12%. In Alaska, due to the dividends paid equally to all its inhabitants, the increase of the per capita family income of the 20% richest families was 7%. The increase of the per capita

family income of the 20% poorest families was 28%, thus 4 times more. This means that for the objective to reach a more fair society, the experience has been very successful.

In 1999, professors Bruce Ackerman and Ann Alstott, from the University of Yale, published the book “The Stakeholder Society”. Based on the proposal of Thomas Paine, they proposed that everyone in USA when turning 21 should have the right to receive a sum of US\$ 80 thousand to start his/her adult life with the possibility to spend in anything that he/she wants, to conclude his/her studies, to start an enterprise or any other thing. One of his post-graduate students, member of the Fabian Society presented the idea to his personal friend, the former First Minister Tony Blair. When Blair announced that his wife Cherie was pregnant with their fourth son, Alexandre, he said that from that time on every child born in England would receive a bank deposit when the child turned 6, 11 and 16, respectively the amounts of 250, 50, 50 and 50 sterling pounds. If the child’s family had an annual familiar income below a certain level, near to 17 thousand sterling pounds, those amounts should be 500, 100, 100 and 100 pounds sterling respectively. As these deposits earn interests, when the person turns 18, he/she would have an amount near to 4 thousand or 5 thousand pounds sterling, as a right to participate in the wealth of the nation. Under the name of “Child Fund Trust”, this law was approved by the United Kingdom Parliament on May 13th, 2003. Finally, in his birthplace, the proposition of Thomas Paine, formulated in 1795, was applied, even modestly.

In Brazil, we could consider the institution of the Citizen’s Basic Income as consistent with the values defended by the indigenous living in community, by the fighting “quilombolas” and abolitionists for the slavery abolition and by all those researchers and scientists who fight for the creation of a fair nation in Brazil. Among those we can cite Caio Prado Junior,



Milton Santos, Josuéde Castro and Celso Furtado. In 1956, as the federal deputy of PTB, in a speech in the Chamber of Deputies about the income unevenness, the author of “Geografia da Fome” and “Geopolítica da Fome”(Hunger Geography and Hunger Geopolitics), Josuéde Castro, affirmed:

I defend the need of giving the minimum to each one, according to the right that all Brazilians should have the minimum for their survival.

It was during the years of 1966-68, when I studied for my Master’s Degree in Economics at the Michigan State University, USA, that I came across with the concept of the income guarantee through the negative income tax. When I did my Doctorate in Economics at the MSU, with 15 months of studies at the University of Stanford, USA, I became more acquainted with the concept. When I went back to Brazil, I interacted with professor Antonio Maria da Silveira, who, in 1975, in *Revista Brasileira de Economia*, proposed the institution of negative income tax in Brazil in the article “Moeda e redistribuição de renda” (Currency and Income Redistribution).. When I was elected Senator by PT-SP, for the first time in 1990, I called Professor Antonio Maria to collaborate in the proposition of the Guaranteed Minimum Income Scheme, PGRM. Every adult person, of 25 years or more, who does not earn at least 45 thousand cruzeiros per month, should have the right to a complement of 30% to 50%, under the criterion of the Executive Power, of the difference between that level (in that time, about US\$ 150 per month) and the income level of the person. The project was approved by the Federal Senate, by consensus of all parties, on December 16th, 1991. It went to the Chamber of Deputies, where, at the Committee of Finance and Taxation, received an enthusiastic written opinion from Deputy Germano Rigotto (PMDB-RS).

Then, the debate on the subject flourished in Brazil. In 1991, during a debate among approximately 50 economists with affinity to PT, held in Belo Horizonte, where, invited by Walter Barelli, Antonio Maria da Silveira and I

presented the proposal of the PGRM. Professor José Mácio Camargo, from PUC-Rio de Janeiro, observed that the guarantee of a minimum income is a good step, but should be granted to needy families, with children in school age attending school regularly. So, they would not be forced to work early to help their family maintenance. He wrote two articles about the subject in the newspaper “Folha”, in December 3rd, 1991, and in March 10th, 1993. Since the late eighties, Professor Cristóvam Buarque, from Universidade de Brasília, had similar thoughts.

So in 1995, taking into consideration these thoughts, Mayor José Roberto Magalhães Teixeira (PSDB), in Campinas, and Governor Cristóvam Buarque (PT), in Distrito Federal, started their minimum income schemes associated to education opportunities, the Bolsa-Escola. Every family that, at that time did not receive up to half minimum wage monthly per capita, that is 70 reais, would have the right to receive the difference to complete the 70 reais per capita, in Campinas, or one minimum wage, in Distrito Federal. Those experiences spread out by several municipalities, such as Ribeirão Preto, Piracicaba, Jundiaí, São José dos Campos, Belo Horizonte, Belém, Mundo Novo etc.. In the National Congress, several bills of law were presented, requiring the support of the Federal Government for the municipalities that were going towards this direction.

In 1996, I took Professor Philippe Van Parijs, philosopher and economist who has defended very well the Citizen’s Basic Income, for an audience with President Fernando Henrique Cardoso and the Minister of Education, Paulo Renato Souza, attended also by Representative Nelson Marchezan, one of those proponents. Van Parijs expressed that unconditional basic income should be a better objective, but starting a minimum income guarantee associated with education opportunities was a good step, because it was related to human capital investment. It was then when President Fernando Henrique Cardoso gave the positive sign for the National Congress to approve the Law

9.533, of 1997. The law authorized the federal government to grant a financial support of 50% on the amount spent by the municipalities with minimum income associated to social and education actions schemes.

In March 2001, the National Congress approved and President Fernando Henrique Cardoso sanctioned a new law, of his initiative, Nr. 10219/2001, authorizing the federal government to celebrate agreements with the government of all Brazilian municipalities to adopt the minimum income associated to education al opportunities, or Bolsa Escola. The President gave the name JoséRoberto Magalhães Teixeira to the law, in homage to the Mayor of Campinas who had passed away. Later on, the government instituted the Bolsa-Alimentação and the Auxíio-Gá programs. In 2003, the government of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva instituted the Vale-Alimentação program.

In October 2003, the government of President Lula decided to unify and rationalize the several programs such as Bolsa Escola, Bolsa Alimentação, Cartã Alimentação and Auxíio Gá in the Bolsa Famíia Program, which had 3.5 million families registered in December 2003. The number increased to 6.5 million families in December 2004, 8.5 million families in December 2005 and 11 million families in December 2006, and 12.5 million families in December 2009.

The Bolsa Famíia Program, among other economic policy instruments, contributed for the reduction of absolute poverty and inequality degree in Brazil. According to the studies of IPEA, Instituto de Pesquisa Econôica Aplicada number 30, PNAD 2008, First Analysis, of September 24th, 2009, the Gini coefficient of inequality of domestic income per capita, which reached 0.599; in 1995, 0.581, in 2003; decreased gradually every year, reaching 0.544 in 2008. The proportion of families under extremely poor line, with income per capita below R\$ 93.75 which was 17.5% in 2003, decreased to 8.8% in 2008. The proportion of poor families, with income per capita below R\$ 187.50, decreased from 39.4% in 2003, to 25.3%, in 2008.

This favorable result can also be shown by the following way. The 20% poorest families had an income per capita increase 47% faster. While in 2001, the average income of the 20% richest families was 27 times in relation to the 20% poorest families, in 2008 it was 19 times, a reduction of 30% in inequality in 7 years.

Brazil, despite the achieved progress, is still one of the countries more unequal in the world. While the poorest 40% live with 10% of the national income, the richest 10% live with more than 40%. The income appropriated by the 1% richest is the same as of the 45% poorest. The creation and expansion of the Bolsa Família Program, preceded by Bolsa Escola, Bolsa Alimentação and others, had positive effects. To advance towards a more efficient and direct eradication of the absolute poverty and greater equality and the guarantee of greater real freedom for all is the reason for proposing the application of the Citizen's Basic Income.

During the nineties, more and more I interacted with the researchers who founded BIEN, participating in the bi-annual congresses. I was convinced that better than an income guarantee through negative income tax, or conditioned forms, should be an unconditional Basic Income for all the population. For this reason, in December 2001, I presented a new bill of law to the Senate for the institution of the Citizen's Basic Income, CBI. The designated committee reporter, Senator Francelino Pereira (PFLMG), after having studied the proposition, told me: Eduardo, it is a good Idea. But you have to make it compatible with the Fiscal Responsibility Law, where for each expenditure, it is necessary to have the correspondent revenue. Would you accept a paragraph saying that it will be instituted by steps, under the criterion of the Executive Power, starting with the most in need, as Bolsa-Escola, and then Bolsa Família, until it is extended to everyone someday? I thought that it was a good sense, I remembered the recommendation of James Meade, and I accepted. Due to this aspect the bill of law was approved by consensus by

all parties in the Senate, in December 2002, and in December 2003, by the Chamber of Deputies. In January 2004, the Minister of Finance, Antônio Palocci when consulted by President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, said that as it is to be instituted gradually, it was feasible, so he may sanction it. Therefore, on January 8th, 2004, the President sanctioned the Law 10.835/2004, creating CBI. On this day, he received the following message from economist Celso Furtado:

At this moment when Your Excellency sanctioned the Citizen's Basic Income Law I want to express my conviction that, with this measure, our country puts itself in the vanguard of those that fight for the building of a more harmonious society. Brazil was frequently referred as one of the last countries to abolish slave labor. Now with this act which is a result of the principles of good citizenship and the wide social vision of Senator Eduardo Matarazzo Suplicy, Brazil will be referred as the first that institutes an extensive system of solidarity and furthermore, it was approved by the representatives of its people

In the same way as the first minimum income associated to education programs started locally, in Campinas and in the Federal District, it is possible to start the Citizen's Basic Income in communities or municipalities.

Among the developing countries, a significant experience started in Namíbia, in the village Otjivero/Omitara, 100 km from the capital Windhoek, in January 2008. All its 1000 inhabitants of this rural village, since then, started to receive 100 Namibia dollars, or about US\$ 12, per month for each citizen. The initiative was taken by the Coalition in Favor of Basic Income of Namibia, which has one of its enthusiasts, Bishop Zephania Kameeta, from the Lutheran Church, and who collected voluntary contributions from several sources, including from the Workers Union in the Federal Republic of German, to get the necessary fund. The magazine Der Spiegel of August 2009, published an extensive report about "How A Basic Income Scheme Saved a Namibian Village", where it stressed lots of positive effects of the experience. The economic activity improved, lots of economic activities were

started, the absolute poverty diminished, the frequency of children in schools increased, the nutrition degree improved, the self esteem of the people increased, and there was a great interest of the society in the pioneer experience.

In Brasil, Recivitas – Instituto pela Revitalização da Cidadania, after having created in Vila de Paranapiacaba, on Serra de Mar, with 1.200 inhabitants, a Free Library and a Free Toy Center, so that people could have access to books and toys for their usufruct, decided to propose to its inhabitants the creation of the Citizen´s Basic Income. The President, Bruna Augusto Pereira and the coordinator Marcos Brancaglione dos Santos are waiting for the steps of the Mayor of Santo André where the village is located, to carry on the project. While waiting, they started a pioneer experience in the village Quatinga Velha, in Mogi das Cruzes, where, since the beginning of 2009, they have paid R\$ 30 per month to 57 persons.

Another propitious experience is taking place in Santo Antonio do Pinhal, in Serra da Mantiqueira, 177 km from São Paulo, on the way to Campos de Jordã. There, on October 29th, 2009, the Municipal Chamber, by consensus of its nine councilmen, approved the Municipal Bill of Law for a Basic Income, proposed by Mayor José Augusto Guarnieri Pereira, from PT, elected in 2004 by 55% of the votes and reelected in 2008, by 79.06% of the votes. The law was sanctioned by the Mayor on November 12th, 2009. It is the first, among the 5.564 Brazilian municipalities which approved a law instituting the CBI. Its first article declares:

With the purpose to turn Santo Antonio do Pinhal into a Municipality that harmonizes sustainable social and economic development with the application of justice principles, meaning the solidarity practice among all its inhabitants, and, above all, to grant a higher level of dignity to all its inhabitants, the Citizen´s Basic Income of Santo Antonio do Pinhal – CBI is instituted, consisting in the rights of all registered residents or residents in the Municipality for at least 05 (five) years, regardless of their social and economic status, to receive a monetary benefit.

Exactly as the federal law, it will be the same amount for everyone and sufficient to meet the minimum vital needs of each person, taking into account the development level of the municipality and its budgets possibilities. It will be attained by stages, upon the criterion of the Conselho Municipal de RBC, giving priority to the most needed segments of the population.

To finance the payment of the CBI, a Municipal Fund will be created with the following sources: 6% of the tax revenues of the municipality; donations from individuals or corporations, public or private, national or international; money transfers from the State of Federal Government; yields generated by the investment of the available funds and other resources. Santo Antonio do Pinhal, with 7.036 inhabitants, a half in the rural area and another half in the urban area, has 53 lodging houses, corresponding to 1,200 beds, 32 restaurants, small and medium farmers, artisans and several activities in the commerce and industry. There are good schools and low criminality index, zero homicides.

It is perfectly possible that the visitors, who on season holidays fill up the lodging houses and restaurants, feel enthusiastic to contribute for the pioneer achievement of the CBI and the principles of justice elaborated by philosopher John Rawls in "A Theory of Justice" (1971). According to Professor Philippe Van Parijs, in "Real Freedom for All" What (if anything) may justify capitalism?" (1995) Oxford, the CBI is one of the instruments that contribute for the realization of these three principles:

1. Each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive system of equal basic liberties compatible with a similar system of liberty for all (the principle equal liberty);
2. The inequalities of social and economic advantages are justified only if (a) they contribute to the improvement of the less advantaged of the society (the principle of difference), and if (b) they are linked to positions that everybody has equal opportunities to occupy (the principle of equal opportunities).

To turn the CBI feasible, it would be necessary to obtain a great amount of resources. If we want to give a farther better than the Bolsa Família, even modest, we should begin with at least an amount higher than the average paid by this scheme, R\$ 95 per family, what means something like R\$ 31.50 per person in a family of three members. So, if we think about a CBI of R\$ 40, it would be R\$ 240 per month in a family of 6 members. In 12 months, the yearly amount would be R\$ 480 per person. If we multiply to consider 192 million of Brazilians in the beginning of 2010, we would need R\$ 92.160 billion, something around 3.5% of the Gross National Product of R\$ 2.6 trillion, about 8 times the Bolsa Familia budget, a considerable leap.

R\$ 40 per month is a modest amount, but along the time, with the progress of the country and the growing approval from the population, the CBI could turn into somewhat as 100, someday R\$ 1.000 and so on. A way to make it feasible is the creation of the Citizen's Brazil Fund, according to the Bill of Law nr. 82/1999, which I presented to the Senate. It was already approved by consensus by the Senate, and is in legal procedures in the Chamber of Deputies, where it was already approved by the Committee of Family and Social Security and is waiting for the written opinion of Deputy Ciro Gomes (PSB-CE), at the Committee of Finance and Taxation. This Fund is constituted by 50% of the resources generated by authorization or concession of the natural resources exploitation; 50% of the revenues from rentals of the Government real estate, which belong to all the population; 50% of the revenues generated by the concession and services and public works and other resources. The output generated by the investments of the Fund resources, like the Alaska Permanent Fund, will be used to pay CBI to all the Brazilian residents

Especially when more people understand how CBI could contribute for the construction of a fair and more civilized Brazil, more voices will be saying to the President of the Republic, to the Governors and Mayors: It is a good



proposal. Let's put it into practice right away.

It is an honor for me to be invited to participate in this International Conference of the Basic Income South Korean Network together with Professor Philippe Van Parijs, who has contributed so much for the advancement of this cause in our planet. I was in South Korea, in July 2007, when I had the opportunity to visit some of the members of your National Assembly, the Ministry of Foreign Relations and Commerce and the National Institute of Political Economics. On that occasion I made two suggestions that I would like to renew here today. In order to advance in the process of pacification and unification of Korea two steps could be taken:

First, two games may be organized between the National Mixed Soccer Team of South and North Korea versus the National Team of Brazil that is so admired by all of you Koreans and won the World Cup in 2002. One game would be in Pyongyang and the other in Seoul. The best Brazilian players are ready to contribute to an event like this in the same way that they are willing to participate in the proposed game that will happen between the Brazilian team and the mixed Team of Israel and Palestine.

Second, the institution of an Unconditional Basic Income for all citizens of both South and North Korea, respectively with 49 million and 23 million inhabitants. I am sure that this step would constitute an excellent example for justice and peace in the world.

## **The Basic Income Debate in Germany and Some Basic Reflections**

Ronald Blaschke, Germany

Ladies and gentlemen, Friends of the basic income,

It is a great honour for me to be able to take part in this conference and to speak to you today.

In the following I would like to give a brief overview of the basic income debate in Germany over the past 30 years and of some of the basic questions raised and answers given in that debate.

I will first list the political actors in the basic income debate in Germany and briefly outline their positions on a basic income. Secondly, I will explain contradictory approaches to a basic income on the basis of select, specific characteristics which are used to substantiate and structure basic income or similar transfers that are being discussed in Germany. Finally, against this backdrop, I will address some fundamental questions the basic income debate needs to answer.

### **1. Background and political actors in the basic income debate in Germany**

Calls for a basic income were first heard in Germany in 1982 and came from independent unemployed workers' groups. They rejected forced wage employment and wanted to use a basic income that is sufficient to secure a livelihood and permits social participation<sup>1)</sup> (referred to as Existenzgeld in

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1) i.e. unconditional basic income strong (UBI strong)

German, or subsistence allowance) to live a self-determined life and to be able to organise their activities themselves. They criticised the disenfranchisement and coercion caused by wage employment, as well as the state's interference in education and culture. Instead, they wanted self-organised education and culture, the ability to engage in political activity free of existential fear for one's livelihood and self-organised production in solidarity economies. Their fight for a subsistence allowance for everyone was accompanied by other demands: a minimum wage and a reduction in working hours for those in wage employment, free use of public

infrastructures, gender equity when it comes to the distribution of wage labour and reproductive work, and the appropriation of the conditions and means of production. The trade union-oriented unemployed workers' groups, by contrast, merely pursued policies that were within the bounds of a society based on paid employment: a reduction in working hours for those in paid employment, poverty-resistant financial safeguards for those without paid employment, and the creation of paid employment.

There were many publications in Germany in the 1980s that dealt with the basic income issue. This was due, among other things, to the realisation that neither the labour market nor labour market-based, wage employment-centred social security systems could secure a livelihood for everyone. These publications also criticised repressive welfare state systems and the exploitation of the 'Third World', the environment and women. Ecoliberals and academics discussed the idea of a basic income from different perspectives – the catchwords being poverty reduction, ecology, freedom from state nannyism and radical reformism. Ecoliberals rejected both the industrial capitalist economy and an accompanying social policy characterised by a paternalistic welfare state. They called for individual power of disposal over

means of production so that they could be used on an individual basis or in collective solidarity subsistence economies. Industrial mass production was to be largely decentralised in favour of ecological modes of production, and reproductive work was to be recognised as being of equal value. The industrialised nations' exploitation of the Third World would have to be stopped, so that production could be tailored to meet the interests of the Third World countries and not those of the rich countries. What all these political approaches had in common was that they called for a basic income that guaranteed individual financial security and independence from ecologically damaging wage employment and paternalistic, repressive social policies.

By contrast, trade unions in Germany were only discussing models of a minimum income guarantee at that time that was linked to conditions and means testing and supplemented the traditional social insurance systems which no longer provided protection against poverty by means of a minimum income guarantee. They expressed no fundamental ecosocial criticism of the economic and social system.

After German reunification, the basic income debate continued only in academic circles, in independent unemployed workers' groups, and in anthroposophical and Catholic groups. The alternative Greens had become an accepted part of the political scene in Germany and hence debated only social policy-based minimum income guarantees.<sup>2)</sup> Both the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) as it was then called debated basic income from the same vantage point as the trade unions.

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2) See Ronald Blaschke: Grundeinkommen versus Grundsicherung (Basic Income vs. Minimum Income Guarantee), Berlin/Dresden, January 2010, for the difference between minimum income guarantees and basic income, between partial basic income (PBI) and unconditional basic income strong (UBI strong).

Indeed, they at least discussed a wider definition of work that included wage and salary employment, family and care work (reproductive work) and civic involvement. A minimum income guarantee, which was only to comprise a material minimum income guarantee for those without paid employment and people on a low income, was also to ensure that these types of activities safeguarded a livelihood. The PDS was also already discussing a minimum income guarantee that at least rejected forced wage and salary employment, although they still retained the principle of means testing.

The large-scale subsistence allowance conference organised in 1999 by political actors from the independent unemployed workers' movement and the precarious workers' movement did not herald a social breakthrough in the basic income debate in Germany. It must be said, though, that an unconditional basic income remains an integral part of the basic political demands in the independent unemployed workers' movement.

The political debate gained more momentum after the social philosopher Andrée Gorz provided the justification for a basic income in his book "Work Between Misery and Utopia", a German translation of which was published in 2000. Andrée Gorz linked the real developments in the world of work (subjectivisation, dislimitation and the increasingly precarious nature of work, the advance of knowledge-based and skills-based production) to a fundamental criticism of wage employment. From that he derived the need for an unconditional basic income (UBI strong), the right to move independently between different types of activity and pursuit (paid employment, community-based, cultural and artistic activities, education, etc.) and the expansion of public infrastructures for free and common pursuits. His declared aim was to see society develop from a society of work towards a free society of culture.

Intellectual and political resistance in Germany was stirred up with the triumphant success of neoliberal labour-market and social policies that were tied to "activation" and full employment strategies and following the ensuing announcement by the governing

coalition of Social Democrats and Greens in the first few years of the 21st century that it would be launching various projects to dismantle the welfare state. On the one hand, this was based on arguments that were reminiscent of the traditional labour-market and social policy of the 1960s and 1970s, on the other hand various political actors revived the idea of a basic income. Those opposed to the idea of a basic income also reiterated and underscored their positions.

1. In December 2003, an initiative called Freiheit statt Vollbeschäftigung, Freedom Not Full Employment, published its theses on a basic income. The group criticised the fact that sticking to the goal of full employment was anachronistic and had unsocial consequences. Instead, the academics involved in the initiative called for a basic income and thus more freedom so that all citizens could live a self-determined life.

2. The Netzwerk Grundeinkommen, the German Basic Income Network, was founded on 9 July 2004, the day the Länder, or federal states in Germany, agreed in the Bundesrat to include the long-term unemployed in the repressive and stigmatising minimum income guarantee system (income support). Michael Opielka, a university professor, Wolfram Otto and Ronald Blaschke, both activists in the unemployed workers' movement, Katja Kipping, deputy chair of what was then the PDS, and Birgit Zenker, chair of the Catholic employers' movement in Germany, were involved in founding this initiative. They were also the network's first spokespeople. Netzwerk

Grundeinkommen had more than 50 founding members: academics, politicians from the green and the left-wing party spectrum, and activists from social movements. As of 31 December 2009, five-and-a-half years after it was founded, Netzwerk Grundeinkommen had 2,551 individual members and 74 member organisations and initiatives, an advisory council, a funding association and a council consisting of ten members. Netzwerk Grundeinkommen is a member of the Basic Income Earth Network (BIEN), an international organisation founded in 1986.<sup>3)</sup>

Netzwerk Grundeinkommen has set itself the task of promoting a debate on basic income across parties, beliefs and theories, and of promoting the introduction of a UBI strong. The Netzwerk Grundeinkommen is not committed to any particular model or any particular reasoning or explanation for a basic income. Consensus has been reached on the following four criteria for a basic income that is to be available to everyone: it should secure a livelihood and participation; there should be an individually guaranteed legal right to it; there should be no means testing; and no forced labour or other service in return (UBI strong). At its general meeting in December 2008, Netzwerk Grundeinkommen incorporated the following passage into its statutes – also against the backdrop of basic income-style concepts (partial basic income) that aim to speed up the dismantling of the welfare state: "A basic income aims to contribute to eradicating poverty and social want, to increasing personal freedoms and to making lasting improvements to each individual's opportunities for development and the social and cultural situation of the community."

Netzwerk Grundeinkommen has organised numerous seminars, workshops and campaigns. It holds many meetings with politicians, academics,

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3) BIEN was initially called the Basic Income European Network but then expanded the scope of its activities to the global level.

entrepreneurs and with representatives of charities, trade unions and social movements. Special mention should be made here of the three German-language basic income conferences (held in Vienna, Austria in 2005, in Basle, Switzerland in 2007 and in Berlin, Germany in 2008) that were organised in cooperation with the Swiss and Austrian basic income networks as well as with the Attac organisations from these three countries. In September 2008, they jointly organised the annual International Basic Income Week, with hundreds of activities and events in the three countries. This year's Basic Income Week will take place from 20 to 26 September. The cooperation that exists between Netzwerk Grundeinkommen and various NGOs was made manifest on the 60th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in December 2008. Together with development, environmental and women's organisations and social movements, they drew up and published a declaration on safeguarding unconditional participatory rights. Basic income played a key role in the declaration.

Netzwerk Grundeinkommen has since published several online and print documents dealing with FAQs and the history of the basic income debate, as well as various comparisons of models for a basic income in Germany.

3. Shortly after Netzwerk Grundeinkommen was founded, namely on 4 December 2004, the German Federal Youth Council (DBJR), adopted its key points in favour of basic income (UBI strong). The DBJR is a network of 65 national and regional youth organisations in Germany.

4. Attac Deutschland already adopted the priority issue of "enough for everyone" back in 2003. Its core ideas were that everyone has the right to participate in social life and wealth, and that sufficient material resources was available for everyone on the earth. The Attac working group Genug für



alle, Enough for Everyone, developed the thesis that unconditional participatory rights must be realised through a minimum wage and a basic income (UBI strong). The working group's priorities are a human rights-based justification of a basic income and criticism of primary forms of participation by means of wage and salary employment.

5. In 2005, Götz Werner, the then managing director of dm, a German drugstore chain, generated a lot of media attention when he publicised his ideas on basic income. His ideas were prompted by the concept of social threefolding first put forward by Rudolf Steiner and of the anthroposophical idea of mankind. Götz Werner is the only one in the basic income movement to advocate abolishing all taxes in favour of increasing value added tax and introducing a substitutive basic income, that is a basic income that completely replaces a wage income up to the basic income threshold. Switching to a value added tax system would relieve wage employment of its labour costs.

6. At its conference in October 2007, the Catholic Workers' Movement of Germany (KAB), adopted a resolution calling for a basic income. Its concept is based on the idea of an activity society in which various forms of activity (paid employment, house and family work, civic involvement) are recognised as being of equal value. This approach to a basic income is linked to calls for a minimum wage, a reduction in working hours, the expansion of infrastructures in, for example, the education sector and partial exemption from fees for these infrastructures. The KAB also mounted a campaign to launch a Europe-wide basic income debate.

7. One can say that the basic income debate has gained a foothold in all political parties represented in the German Bundestag (apart from the Free

Democratic Party, FDP<sup>4</sup>). Various suggestions have been put forward by well-known politicians and there are quite strong initiatives within the Greens and the Left Party. The basic income debate is gaining in importance within the SPD. As for the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), the former Minister-President of one Land (federal state) has advocated a citizens' allowance – an unconditional but very low transfer that would also replace many other social security benefits.

8. More and more initiatives that are emerging in the Protestant and the Catholic church endorse a basic income. Supporters of both denominations regard a basic income as a means of promoting the emergence of an activity society that recognises the fact that paid employment is not the only or primary force to achieve participation in society and individual development or for the performance of necessary and beneficial activities.

These groups focus on the ethical-theological approach to a basic income. In the Catholic groups' interpretation of the principle of subsidiarity, a basic income provides the material basis for a subsidiary and self-responsible economic and social system at the individual and the microsocial level. Protestant groups interpret the doctrine of justification in terms of the concept of a basic income: Man is justified before God in regard to services and therefore has a right to an unconditional minimum income guarantee.

9. Charities and trade unions are increasingly willing to discuss basic income as a sociopolitical alternative that creates more freedom, justice and solidarity. It must, however, be said that the approach adopted by the management levels of charities and trade unions in particular is still generally oriented to traditional labour and social policies. Trade union leaders cannot

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4) The party pursues mainly liberal market policies.

give up the primacy of wage and salary employment when it comes to the basic structure of the social system. The leaders of charities are to a large extent committed to traditional wage employment-based social insurance systems and welfare and minimum income guarantee systems. These traditional approaches are to no small degree a result of traditional values and the interest in maintaining the balance of power in the political system in Germany. One must also bear in mind that, after World War II, trade unions and charities had an important role to play in Germany's corporatistic political system, and that they still do so today.

10. Employers' associations basically reject the idea of a basic income. They, like trade union leaders, are afraid they will lose their power to influence the structure of society – after all, the idea of a basic income is based on a much broader foundation of economic, social, civic and political rights than a society based on wage and salary employment in which the trade unions and employers' associations are the key political powers.

11. Countless academic studies have dealt with various aspects of a basic income, that is economic, legal, political, ethical, social, welfare state and cultural aspects. Various commissions for the future in Germany believe that a basic income is worth discussing in connection with political social structuring.

Many smaller alternative groups that basically adopt an alternative lifestyle and focus on production in a subsistence economy discuss an adequate basic income as a necessary component of a new concept of society that permits personal freedom from environmentally damaging, market-based production and consumption.

The idea of a basic income is meeting with increasing approval in the culture and art scene for two reasons: Firstly, the livelihoods of artists and those working in the arts are generally precarious. From their perspective, a

basic income would guarantee a basic livelihood which is free of fear and does not depend on customers' goodwill and influence, especially since artistic production (like knowledge-based production) cannot be forced into the rigid structures of wage and salary employment and its social security systems. Secondly, artists and those working in the arts are sensitive to changes in society and efforts to create more personal freedom, more solidarity and humanity. A basic income is understood as an instrument for promoting these efforts.

It can be said that the basic income debate in Germany is highly diversified. There is a broad and multilayered spectrum of approaches to the issue of basic income, political intentions and concrete basic income models. One can likewise say that established organisations on Germany's corporatistic political scene are sceptical of a basic income or even reject it – despite the fact that the grassroots of these organisations are increasingly willing to think about and discuss the issue.

## **2. Contradictory approaches to substantiating and structuring basic income and similar transfers that are being discussed in Germany**

I would like to divide the basic income debate in Germany into two basic approaches to substantiating and structuring basic income in their purest forms: the liberal market approach and the democratic humanist approach. I draw this distinction of the two approaches "in their purest form" because concrete approaches to substantiating and structuring basic income do in fact overlap and produce hybrids in certain areas. The division I have chosen is based on two contrasting 20th-century proponents of unconditional transfers: Milton Friedman, a free-market economic scientist, and Erich Fromm, a democratic humanist and socialist. We will be commemorating Erich Fromm's

110th birthday and the 30th anniversary of his death this year. In the following, I will use select, concrete features of these approaches to a basic income and similar transfers as a point of reference along this dividing line.

### **Aim and amount of transfers**

In the basic liberal market approach to substantiating and structuring basic income, a basic income or basic income-style transfer means that people can be used more flexibly on the labour market (wage and salary employment). Unconditional transfers offer people a low-level means of safeguarding their livelihood or rather survival on condition that minimum standards of labour and social law, such as protection against dismissal, minimum and collectively agreed wages, and social insurance systems that guarantee a standard of living, are dismantled. Taking this approach, the preferred amount of the unconditional transfer is well below the poverty threshold according to the European standard for Germany (800 to 1,000 euros net per month plus health and long-term care insurance). This approach thus does not fulfil the fourth criterion (securing a livelihood and participation) as defined in Germany by, for example, Netzwerk Grundeinkommen for the amount of the basic income. Many of the hopes in regard to gaining more freedom that are placed in a basic income when it takes the form of a partial, that is low basic income, must be described as vain hopes. In the liberal market view, these low-level transfers (partial basic income) are also justified in that low-wage sectors of the labour market are to be expanded or opened up. The function of a basic income-style transfer is to have low-wage businesses and low-wage sectors subsidised through taxes, that is by the state. The aim is to make wage and salary employment cheaper in order to expand it – a classic commodification strategy. The transfer, the name given to this view of mankind and this ethical norm, acts as a "stepping stone into the labour

market". Contrary to the oft-professed liberal market principles, state interventions are thereby not restricted, but used as a stepping stone into the free market. Liberal market ideas on forced wage and salary employment are similar: Low, partial basic incomes are to replace coercive socioadministrative mechanisms, for example penalties such as a reduction in basic social security benefits. The stepping stone thus becomes the stick to the carrot of wage and salary employment – albeit more subtle and unbureaucratic in nature, a transfer that does not secure a livelihood or participation (partial basic income).

Democratic humanist approaches to substantiating and structuring basic income, by contrast, regard a basic income as a means of giving people more self-determined flexibility in regard to their own biography and life choices and in regard to various forms of social participation and activity – and in equal measure for both sexes. Based on this liberal justification, a basic income would be an adequate transfer that secures a livelihood and social participation (UBI strong), and replaces bureaucratic and paternalistic standards but does not abolish high social standards in regard to wage and salary employment. However, this system in actual fact firstly makes it possible to say no to wage and salary employment, secondly enables people to themselves choose how to combine various forms of participation and activity over the course of their life and in everyday life, and thirdly permits financially secured democratic participation in public life, including in the internal and external business affairs of a company. These three justifications and the corresponding basic income system are characteristic of democratic humanist approaches, which are based on wide-ranging social and individual de-commodification. They are therefore also attractive to waged workers and trade unions. Other political demands like better minimum social standards in wage and salary employment, the expansion of means of participation for

people and the promotion of corresponding civic and civil society infrastructures are characteristic of democratic humanist approaches to a basic income. In the academic world in Germany, this broad-based approach to a basic income is discussed in connection with the debate on a democratic welfare state. The democratic welfare state regards free citizens living in solidarity as the goal of transformative and emancipatory approaches. The democratic welfare state therefore in essence casts off commodifying and paternalistic structures. It promotes a liberal democracy in which everyone can participate in the res publica without fear of losing their livelihood and free from fundamental financial dependence. The connection between monetary transfers and public goods, infrastructures and services in Germany is also discussed in connection with this theory.

### **Monetary transfers and public goods / infrastructures / services**

Free-market approaches to substantiating and structuring basic income-style transfers discuss the issue of public goods, infrastructures and services either on the sidelines, not at all or in the sense of their commodification and privatisation. In the latter case, access to and the organisation of health care provision, education, culture, mobility and knowledge are to be left to liberal market forces. Those who cannot afford this access on their low basic income-style transfers or only inadequately will lose out. Even an adequate basic income would be quickly used up and fall flat if tertiary education were expensive and prices for local public transport and cultural institutions were increased. Democratic humanist approaches regard a basic income first and foremost as a financial, that is monetary means of enabling unconditional economic, social, cultural and political participation in society. The non-monetary, material aspect of enabling this participation would be largely free or inexpensive access to public goods and services. Secondly, many

democratic humanist approaches to a basic income account for and take account of the fact that public goods, infrastructures and services naturally not only have to be paid for out of the market's power of disposal, but also out of the paternalistic state's power of disposal. Suggestions made in connection with the introduction of a basic income range from fundamentally democratic involvement in shaping the various infrastructures and services to various forms of self-administered action. The most radical form of decommodification and liberal organisation of the public realm is put forward in approaches with self-organised goods, infrastructures and services that are produced and offered beyond the bounds of wage and salary employment. An adequate basic income (UBI strong) and universal access to public goods, infrastructures and services is fundable – on condition that monetary and physical resources are redistributed.

### **Unconditional participatory rights and redistribution**

Liberal market justifications and approaches to a basic income draw on the arguments of the low costs, even savings to be made in the national budget. The consequences are thus correspondingly low basic income-style transfers (partial basic income), lower social security benefits over and above this transfer, and the commodification and privatisation of public goods, infrastructures and services. In addition, these approaches generally promote bottom-up redistribution, and it is rather those in higher income brackets who benefit from further tax breaks. The funding approaches for these transfers are drawn up accordingly. Very much in contrast to that, representatives of a democratic humanist approach to a basic income base their arguments on actual developments in Germany, namely that the inequality in regard to income and assets has greatly increased. That means that only the upper tenth of society is increasingly participating in social



wealth, the middle and lower classes less and less so. The German "fiscal state" has lost an enormous amount of its power to redistribute wealth. Realising unconditional opportunities for participation for both sexes in the form of a basic income and universally available public goods, infrastructures and services inevitably goes along with a change in the direction when it comes to redistribution – not bottom-up, but top-down – and is thus also fundable. This change in direction can be brought about by simple democratic means, because the overwhelming majority of the population benefits from it, ultimately even the upper income and wealthy classes. In addition, it is argued, realising unconditional participatory rights would in the long term reduce the burden on society on account of the enormous health and security costs that can be attributed to the current inadequate conditions in society. Furthermore, some representatives of the democratic humanist approach argue, in an emerging activity and culture society it would be possible for more necessary activities to be carried out free of charge, needs could thus be satisfied in ways other than the previous market-based and money-based ones. This is also linked to the question of to what extent, in the long run, this money-based redistribution can remain the primary form of redistribution for providing access to resources in order to realise unconditional participatory rights. This question is also all the more pressing and significant against the backdrop of the current financial and economic crisis, which will by no means have been the biggest or the last.

### **Unconditional participatory rights and the ecological question**

One aspect of the basic income debate that has not yet been adequately enlarged upon is the ecological question. Free-market approaches to a basic income do not address this issue. Ecoliberals in Germany did in fact include the issue in democratic humanist approaches to a basic income 25 years ago.

In the meantime, against the backdrop of the climate and energy crisis, the ecological question has become a more weighty one. That is why a very small number of voices raised in the debate make reference to the fact that unconditional participatory rights and the right to an ecologically intact environment and to sustainable lifestyles and modes of production and consumption cannot be debated separately. I am convinced that simple answers cannot be provided in the context of the debate on basic income: for instance by mentioning that a basic income can be funded by means of consumption taxes on natural resources or to the fact that a basic income will be linked to the payment of an eco-bonus. One can ask the fundamental question of whether adhering to our current lifestyle and modes of production and consumption might give rise to extreme ecological and social upheavals (extreme marketing of essential resources, increasing waves of migration, the epidemic rise of certain diseases) that will enormously reduce the opportunities of realising unconditional participatory rights – and rather in contrast lead to the spread of unsolidary, unequal, divided and civil war-like conditions within societies and between societies. If this assumption is true, the intellectual and political basic income movement must also quickly get involved in an intensive dialogue on the questions associated with sustainable economic, social and ecological social development.

### **Unconditional participatory rights and the question of global social rights**

Globalisation is on everyone's lips. That is in the sense of identifying global cultural, political, economic, ecological and social developments – some of them positive, some of them negative. The negative attitude to globalisation can be derived from the fact that globalisation as a whole has not brought about improvements for man and Nature on all continents, but

has led to an increase in violent conflicts, hunger, and the ruthless exploitation of mankind and nature. One conclusion drawn by anti-globalisation NGOs is that the realisation of human rights must amount to more than a mere appeal to the respective states, but must be achieved by means of the concrete, practical appropriation of human rights. That means the actual appropriation of social conditions that secure a living for everyone and that guarantee individual freedom, social security and ecological sustainability. One basic aspect of this appropriation is the realisation of unconditional participatory rights for everyone. Unconditional participation for everyone in regard to shaping and developing society, it is argued, means they are guaranteed without conditions, for example in monetary form (UBI strong) and/or non-monetary material form (universally accessible public goods, infrastructures, services) – all around the globe. One example of the concrete appropriation of a basic income as a global social right is a guaranteed monetary transfer for everyone wherever they are living – irrespective of nationality, citizenship, sex, age – simply because they are who they are. Against this backdrop, approaches to a basic income that only discuss the possibility of a basic income for certain citizens or nationals must be criticised. Liberal market as well as other proponents of a basic income or similar transfers find it hard to adopt this perspective. Global freedom of movement has already largely been conceded when it comes to capital, trade and the academic world, but not when it comes to people. However, the key to answering justified criticism (for instance in regard to the waves of migration that some are afraid will arise) lies in the approach which includes appropriated, that is asserted global rights for everyone. Freedom of movement of humans as a global political right for everyone (global citizens) is linked to a basic income to which each and every individual is entitled in the country they have their social and cultural roots in, naturally along with all the other rights afforded everyone else in that country. If, therefore,

economic, ecological, social, cultural, political and civic human rights were actually realised in every country, freedom of movement would not be coercive, arising on the basis of existential fears and adversity, and by social, cultural and political exclusion or persecution, as is the case on a massive scale today. Thus, fears about the huge waves of migration that are expected would not be entirely allayed. Nevertheless, the debate can take a relaxed attitude to the issue of global freedom of movement. For a basic income debate that is based on this logic, that means it should on no account only work towards realising only unconditional participatory rights in the form of monetary transfers and not only in one country. A debate on a basic income that is conscious of the universality of its claim must in fact feel obligated to realising a basic income at national and global level and to realising all other human rights.

### **3. Fundamental questions that need to be answered in the basic income debate from the point of view of discussions in Germany**

In my opinion, answers must be found over the coming years to the following questions in regard to a basic income:

1. Which concepts of a basic income do indeed guarantee more freedom for people and more unconditional means of social participation for everyone, and which do not?

2. How can we ensure that a basic income gains broad acceptance both among individuals and institutions, whose attitude ranges from sceptical to disapproving, and move forward on introducing a basic income by democratic means?

3. What first steps towards a basic income are possible at global, continental and national level in the short and medium term?

4. Which basic policy approaches should a basic income be linked to in view of the capitalist economic and financial crisis and the environmental and energy crisis?

5. How can the international and national basic income movement meet the complex and global requirements when appropriating global rights for everyone – without neglecting its primary objective, namely to realise a basic income as an important, integral part of these rights?

Ladies and gentlemen, Friends of the basic income, I believe that sufficient intellectual and political potential has accumulated in the international and Korean basic income movement to allow these questions to be answered together with others who are fighting for a better world.

## Grundeinkommensdebatte in Deutschland und grundsätzliche Überlegungen

Ronald Blaschke | Die Linke

Meine sehr geehrten Damen und Herren,  
liebe Freundinnen und Freunde des Grundeinkommens (Basic Income),

es ist mir eine große Ehre, an diesem Kongress teilnehmen zu können und vor Ihnen sprechen zu dürfen.

Ich möchte im Folgenden eine kurze Darstellung der Debatte über ein Grundeinkommen in Deutschland seit ca. 30 Jahren geben sowie grundlegende Fragestellungen und Antworten dieser Debatte festhalten.

Dabei werden erstens politische Akteure<sup>1)</sup> in der Grundeinkommensdebatte in Deutschland aufgelistet und deren Positionen zum Grundeinkommen kurz erläutert. Zweitens werden widersprüchliche Ansätze anhand ausgewählter konkreter Begründungs- und Ausgestaltungsmerkmale für ein Grundeinkommen oder für ähnliche Transfers verdeutlicht, die in Deutschland diskutiert werden. Vor diesem Hintergrund soll zum Abschluss auf grundlegend zu beantwortende Fragen in der Grundeinkommensdebatte hingewiesen werden.

### 1. Geschichte und politische Akteure in der Grundeinkommensdebatte in Deutschland

Die ersten Forderungen nach einem Grundeinkommen in Deutschland

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1) Die männlichen Bezeichnungen umfassen ebenso weibliche Personen.

wurden 1982 von den unabhängigen Erwerbsloseninitiativen erhoben. Sie lehnten eine erzwungene Lohnarbeit ab und wollten das existenz- und teilhabesichernde Grundeinkommen<sup>2)</sup>, genannt Existenzgeld, nutzen, um selbstbestimmt zu leben und selbstorganisiert tätig sein zu können. Sie kritisierten die Entmündigung und den existenziellen Zwang durch die Lohnarbeit sowie staatliche Einmischungen in Bildung, Kultur. Sie setzten dagegen auf selbstorganisierte Bildung und Kultur, politische Aktivitäten frei von materiellen Existenzsorgen und selbstorganisierte materielle Produktion in solidarischen Ökonomien. Deren Kampf für das Existenzgeld für alle war begleitet von weiteren Forderungen: Mindestlohn und Erwerbsarbeitszeitverkürzung in der Lohnarbeit, gebührenfreie Nutzung öffentlicher Infrastrukturen, geschlechtergerechte Verteilung von Erwerbsarbeit und Reproduktionsarbeit, Aneignung der Produktionsbedingungen und -mittel. Die gewerkschaftlich orientierten Erwerbsloseninitiativen setzten dagegen lediglich auf Politiken, die im Rahmen der Lohnarbeitsgesellschaft verblieben: Erwerbsarbeitszeitverkürzung, armutsfeste finanzielle Absicherungen bei Erwerbslosigkeit, Schaffung von Erwerbsarbeitsplätzen.

In den achtziger Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts erschienen in Deutschland viele Veröffentlichungen zum Thema Grundeinkommen in Deutschland. Hintergrund war unter anderem die Erkenntnis, dass weder der Arbeitsmarkt noch vom Arbeitsmarkt abgeleitete, lohnarbeitszentrierte Sicherungssysteme für alle eine existenzielle Sicherung ermöglichten. Außerdem standen die repressive Sozialstaatlichkeit und die Ausbeutung der sogenannten Dritten Welt, der Natur und der Frauen in der Kritik. Ökolibertäre sowie Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler diskutierten das Grundeinkommen aus verschiedenen Perspektiven – Armutsbekämpfung, Ökologie, Freiheit von staatlicher

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2) Meint ein Unconditional Basic Income (UBI) which is sufficient to secure livelihood and allows to participate in society = UBI strong.

Bevormundung und radikaler Reformismus waren die Schlagworte. Ökolibertäre lehnten sowohl die industriell-kapitalistische Ökonomie als auch die damit verbundene paternalistisch-wohlfahrtsstaatliche Sozialpolitik ab. Sie forderten die individuelle Verfügungsgewalt über die Produktionsmittel, um diese individuell oder in kollektiv-solidarischen Subsistenzwirtschaften einzusetzen. Die industrielle Massenproduktion sollte zugunsten ökologischer Produktionsweisen weitgehend dezentralisiert werden, die Reproduktionsarbeit als gleichwertige Tätigkeit anerkannt werden. Die Ausbeutung der sogenannten Dritten Welt durch die Industrieländer müsste gestoppt werden, deren Produktion an den eigenen Lebensinteressen ausgerichtet werden, nicht an den Bedürfnissen der reichen Länder. Im Zusammenhang mit all diesen politischen Ansätzen stand die Forderung eines Grundeinkommens als individueller Garant einer von ökologisch schädlicher Lohnarbeit und paternalistischer, repressiver Sozialpolitik unabhängig machenden materiellen Absicherung.

In den deutschen Gewerkschaften dagegen wurden in dieser Zeit lediglich Vorstellungen über eine an Bedingungen und Bedürftigkeitsnachweise geknüpfte Mindestsicherung debattiert, die die zunehmend nicht mehr vor Armut schützenden, traditionellen Sozialversicherungssysteme mit einer Mindestsicherung ergänzen sollten. Grundsätzliche ökosoziale Kritiken am Wirtschafts- und Sozialsystem wurden nicht geübt.

Die Grundeinkommensdebatte wurde nach der deutschen Einheit nur in wissenschaftlichen Kreisen, in unabhängigen Erwerbsloseninitiativen, in anthroposophischen und katholischen Gruppierungen geführt. Die alternativen Grünen waren in der Parteienlandschaft des deutschen Staates angekommen und diskutierten lediglich sozialpolitisch geprägte Grundsicherungskonzepte.<sup>3)</sup>

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3) Zum Unterschied von Grundsicherungen und Grundeinkommen, von einem partiellen Grundeinkommen (PBI) und einem Unconditional Basic Income strong (UBI strong) vgl. Ronald Blaschke: Grundeinkommen versus Grundsicherung, Berlin/Dresden Januar 2010.



Die Grundsicherungsdebatte, ausgehend von den gewerkschaftlichen Debatten, wurde sowohl in der SPD (Sozialdemokratie) als auch in der damaligen Partei des demokratischen Sozialismus (PDS) geführt. Immerhin wurde dabei ein erweiterter Arbeitsbegriff diskutiert, der neben der Erwerbs- bzw. Lohnarbeit auch die Familien- und Sorgearbeit (Reproduktionsarbeit) und das bürgerschaftliche Engagement einschloss. Die Grundsicherung, die nur eine materielle Grundabsicherung für Erwerbslose bzw. Menschen mit geringem Einkommen darstellen sollte, sollte auch diese Tätigkeitsformen materiell absichern. Auch wurde in der PDS bereits eine Grundsicherung diskutiert, die zumindest den Zwang zur Erwerbs- bzw. Lohnarbeit ablehnte, allerdings noch am Prinzip der Bedürftigkeitsprüfung festhielt.

Auch der große Existenzgeld-Kongress 1999, veranstaltet von politischen Akteuren aus der unabhängigen Erwerbslosenbewegung und aus der Bewegung der prekären Jobber, brachte nicht den gesellschaftlichen Durchbruch in der Grundeinkommensdebatte in Deutschland. Festgehalten werden muss aber, dass in der unabhängigen Erwerbslosenbewegung in Deutschland das Existenzgeld (ein bedingungsloses Grundeinkommen) bis heute fester Bestandteil der grundsätzlichen politischen Forderungen ist.

Einen Schub bekam die politische Debatte mit der Begründung des Grundeinkommens durch den Sozialphilosophen André Gorz in seinem Buch "Arbeit zwischen Misere und Utopie". Dieses erschien im Jahr 2000 in deutscher Sprache. André Gorz verknüpfte die realen Entwicklungen in der Arbeitswelt (Subjektivierung, Entgrenzung und Prekarisierung der Arbeit, Vormarsch der wissens- und kompetenzbasierten Produktion) mit einer grundsätzlichen Kritik der Lohnarbeit. Daraus leitete er die Notwendigkeit eines Grundeinkommens (UBI strong), des Rechts auf den selbstbestimmten Wechsel zwischen verschiedenen Arbeits- und Tätigkeitsformen (Erwerbsarbeit, gemeinwesenbezogene, kulturelle und künstlerische Tätigkeiten, Bildung usw.)

und des Ausbaus von öffentlichen Infrastrukturen für freie und gemeinschaftliche Betätigungen ab. Die Entwicklung der Gesellschaft von der Arbeitsgesellschaft hin zur freiheitlichen Kulturgesellschaft war sein erklärtes Ziel.

Mit dem Siegeszug neoliberaler Arbeitsmarkt- und Sozialpolitiken, die an sogenannte "Aktivierungs-" und Vollbeschäftigungsstrategien gebunden waren, und der damit verbundenen Ankündigung verschiedener Sozialabbauvorhaben durch die Regierungskoalition von Sozialdemokratie und Grünen in den ersten Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts, regte sich der intellektuelle und politische Widerstand in Deutschland – einerseits mit Argumentationen, die eine Rückkehr zur traditionellen Arbeitsmarkt- und Sozialpolitik der 60iger und 70iger Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts nahelegten, aber auch mit der Wiederbelebung der Idee des Grundeinkommens durch unterschiedliche politische Akteure. Ebenso wiederholten und betonten Gegner der Grundeinkommensidee ihre Positionen.

1. Im Dezember 2003 veröffentlichte eine Initiative mit dem Namen

*Freiheit statt Vollbeschäftigung* ihre Thesen zum Grundeinkommen. Sie kritisierte das Festhalten am Ziel der Vollbeschäftigung als anachronistisch und mit unsozialen Folgen verbunden. Stattdessen plädieren die in der Initiative vereinten Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler für ein Grundeinkommen und damit für mehr Freiheit zu einem selbstbestimmten Leben aller Bürgerinnen und Bürger.

2. Am 09. Juli 2004, am Tag als die Bundesländer in Deutschland im

Bundesrat der Ausweitung der repressiven und stigmatisierenden Grundsicherung (Sozialhilfe) auf alle Langzeiterwerbslosen zustimmten, gründete sich das deutsche *Netzwerk Grundeinkommen*. Die Gründung bereiteten der Hochschulprofessor Michael Opielka, die Erwerbslosenaktivisten Wolfram Otto und Ronald Blaschke, die stellvertretende Vorsitzende der damaligen Partei des demokratischen Sozialismus, Katja Kipping, und die Vorsitzende der Katholischen Arbeitnehmer-Bewegung Deutschlands, Birgit

Zenker, vor. Sie waren auch die ersten Sprecherinnen und Sprecher des Netzwerkes Grundeinkommen. Gegründet wurde das Netzwerk mit über fünfzig Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftlern, Politikerinnen und Politikern aus dem grünen und linken Parteispektrum sowie von Aktivistinnen und Aktivisten der sozialen Bewegungen. Heute, fünfeinhalb Jahre nach der Gründung, hat das Netzwerk per 31. Dezember 2009 2.551 Einzelmitglieder und 74 Mitgliedsorganisationen und -Initiativen, einen wissenschaftlichen

Beirat, einen Förderverein und einen zehnköpfigen Netzwerkrat. Das Netzwerk Grundeinkommen ist Mitglied der seit 1986 bestehenden internationalen Organisation *Basic Income Earth Network* (BIEN).<sup>4)</sup>

Das Netzwerk Grundeinkommen hat sich die Aufgabe gestellt, einen die Parteien und die weltanschaulichen sowie theoretischen Zugänge übergreifenden Diskurs zum Grundeinkommen und die Einführung des Grundeinkommens (UBI strong) zu befördern. Das Netzwerk Grundeinkommen ist keinem bestimmten Modell und keinem bestimmten Begründungs- und Erklärungsansatz für

das Grundeinkommen verpflichtet. Konsens sind folgende vier Kriterien des Grundeinkommens, das alle Menschen erhalten sollen: existenz- und teilhabesichernde Höhe, individuell

garantierter Rechtsanspruch, keine Bedürftigkeitsprüfung, kein Zwang zur Arbeit oder zu einer anderen Gegenleistung (UBI strong). Auf der Mitgliederversammlung im Dezember 2008 wurde auch vor dem Hintergrund von grundeinkommensähnlichen Konzepten (partielle Grundeinkommen), die einen Sozialabbau befördern sollen, folgender Zusatz in die Statuten des Netzwerkes aufgenommen: "Das Grundeinkommen soll dazu beitragen, Armut und soziale Notlagen zu beseitigen, den individuellen Freiheitsspielraum zu vergrößern sowie die Entwicklungschancen jedes Einzelnen und die soziale und kulturelle Situation im Gemeinwesen nachhaltig zu verbessern."

Zahllose Seminare, Workshops und Aktionen wurden vom Netzwerk Grundeinkommen durchgeführt. Es finden viele Gespräche mit Politikerinnen und Politikern, Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftlern, Unternehmerinnen und Unternehmern sowie mit Vertreterinnen und Vertretern der Wohlfahrtsverbände, Gewerkschaften und sozialen Bewegungen statt. Hervorzuheben sind die drei deutschsprachigen Grundeinkommenskongresse

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4) BIEN wurde als Basic Income European Network gegründet und hat seine Aktivitäten global ausgeweitet.

(Wien/Österreich 2005, Basel/Schweiz 2007, Berlin/Deutschland 2008), die in Kooperation mit den Grundeinkommensnetzwerken aus der Schweiz und aus Österreich sowie den Attac-

Organisationen aus den drei Ländern veranstaltet wurden. Im Jahr 2008 wurde im September gemeinsam die jährliche internationale Woche des Grundeinkommens mit hunderten Aktionen und Veranstaltungen in den drei Ländern durchgeführt. Dieses Jahr ist die Woche des Grundeinkommens in der Zeit vom 20. bis zum 26. September geplant. Die Zusammenarbeit des Netzwerkes Grundeinkommen mit verschiedenen NGOs manifestierte sich zum 60. Jahrestag der Allgemeinen Erklärung der Menschenrechte im Dezember 2008. Es wurde mit entwicklungs-, umwelt- und frauenpolitischen Organisationen sowie sozialen Bewegungen eine Erklärung über die Absicherung unbedingter Teilhaberechte erarbeitet und veröffentlicht. Das Grundeinkommen spielte in dieser Erklärung dabei eine wesentliche Rolle.

Inzwischen hat das Netzwerk Grundeinkommen mehrere Online- bzw.

Printdokumentationen zu Frequently Asked Questions und zur Geschichte der Grundeinkommensdebatte sowie vergleichende Darstellungen von Modellen für ein Grundeinkommen in Deutschland veröffentlicht.

3. Kurz nach der Gründung des Netzwerkes Grundeinkommen beschloss der *Deutsche Bundesjugendring* (DBJR) am 04. Dezember 2004 seine befürwortenden Eckpunkte zum Grundeinkommen (UBI strong). Der DBJR ist ein Netzwerk von 65 bundes- und landesweit arbeitenden Jugendorganisationen in Deutschland.
4. *Attac Deutschland* hatte bereits 2003 den Schwerpunkt "genug für alle" beschlossen. Die Kernaussagen waren, dass jeder Mensch ein Recht auf Teilhabe am gesellschaftlichen Leben und Reichtum hat und dass genug materielle Ressourcen für alle Menschen auf der Erde da seien. Die Attac-Arbeitsgruppe *Genug für alle* hat die These entwickelt, dass unbedingte Teilhaberechte durch einen Mindestlohn und ein Grundeinkommen (UBI strong) eingelöst werden müssen. Für die *Arbeitsgruppe Genug für alle* steht neben der menschenrechtlichen Begründung für das Grundeinkommen die Kritik an der primären Vergesellschaftung durch Erwerbs- bzw.

Lohnarbeit im Vordergrund.

5. Im Jahr 2005 trat in Deutschland der damalige Geschäftsführer der Drogeriemarkt-Kette dm, *Götz Werner*, mit seinen Vorstellungen zum Grundeinkommen medienwirksam an die Öffentlichkeit. Angeregt sind seine Überlegungen von der auf Rudolf Steiner zurückgehenden Idee der sozialen Dreigliederung und von dem anthroposophischen Menschenbild. Götz Werner plädiert als einziger Protagonist in der Grundeinkommensbewegung für die Abschaffung aller Steuern zugunsten einer erhöhten Mehrwertsteuer und für ein substitutives Grundeinkommen. Substitutives Grundeinkommen heißt, dass das Grundeinkommen das Lohn Einkommen bis zur Grundeinkommenshöhe vollständig ersetzen soll. Mit der Umstellung auf ein Mehrwertsteuersystem soll die Lohnarbeit von Arbeitskosten entlastet werden.
  
6. Die *Katholische Arbeitnehmer-Bewegung Deutschlands e. V.* (KAB) beschloss auf ihrem Verbandstag im Oktober 2007 die Forderung nach einem Grundeinkommen. Orientiert wird auf eine Tätigkeitsgesellschaft, in der verschiedene Tätigkeitsformen (Erwerbsarbeit, Haus- und Familienarbeit, bürgerschaftliches Engagement) gleichermaßen anerkannt sind. Mit diesem Grundeinkommenskonzept sind die Forderungen nach einem Mindestlohn und einer Arbeitszeitverkürzung sowie dem Ausbau und der teilweisen Gebührenfreiheit von Infrastrukturen zum Beispiel im Bereich der Bildung verbunden. Die KAB startete auch eine Kampagne, um das Grundeinkommen europaweit in die Diskussion zu bringen.
  
7. Es kann festgestellt werden, dass in allen *Parteien*, die im Deutschen Bundestag vertreten sind (außer in der Freien Demokratischen Partei<sup>5)</sup>) die Debatte um das Grundeinkommen Fuß gefasst hat. So gibt es verschiedene Vorschläge von bekannten Politikerinnen und Politikern sowie recht starke Initiativen bei den Grünen und bei der Partei DIE LINKE. In der SPD (Sozialdemokratie) gewinnt die Debatte über das Grundeinkommen zunehmend an Beachtung. Bei der CDU (Christlich Demokratische Union) setzte sich ein ehemaliger Ministerpräsident eines Bundeslandes für ein Bürgergeld ein – ein bedingungsloser, aber sehr niedriger Transfer, der zudem

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5) Eine Partei mit vorwiegend marktliberalen politischen Ansätzen.

viele andere soziale Sicherungen ersetzen soll.

8. In der *evangelischen und katholischen Kirche* entstehen immer mehr Initiativen, die das Grundeinkommen befürworten. Bei Anhängern beider Konfessionen wird das Grundeinkommen als Beförderer der Durchsetzung einer Tätigkeitsgesellschaft gesehen. Gemeint ist damit die Anerkennung der Tatsache, dass die Erwerbsarbeit nicht die einzige oder primäre Instanz der Vergesellschaftung und individueller Entwicklung sowie Erbringung notwendiger und nützlicher Tätigkeiten ist.

Insbesondere der ethisch-theologische Zugang zum Grundeinkommen wird diskutiert. In katholischen Kreisen wird die Subsidiaritätslehre so ausgelegt, dass das Grundeinkommen als eine materielle Grundlage subsidiärer und eigenverantwortlicher ökonomischer und sozialer Versorgung auf der Ebene des Individuums und mikrosozialer Beziehungen bildet. In protestantischen Kreisen wird die Rechtfertigungslehre im Sinne des Grundeinkommens interpretiert: Der Mensch ist vor Gott vor jeder Leistung gerechtfertigt und hat damit den Anspruch auf eine bedingungslose Grundabsicherung.

9. In den *Wohlfahrtsverbänden und Gewerkschaften* wächst an der Basis die Bereitschaft, das Grundeinkommen als eine gesellschaftspolitische Alternative für mehr Freiheit, Gerechtigkeit und Solidarität zu diskutieren. Festgestellt werden muss aber, dass bei den Wohlfahrtsverbänden und bei den Gewerkschaften insbesondere in den Führungsebenen noch eine weitgehende Orientierung auf traditionelle Arbeits- und Sozialpolitiken vollzogen wird. Die Gewerkschaftsführungen trennen sich nicht vom Primat der Erwerbs- und Lohnarbeit hinsichtlich grundsätzlicher Gesellschaftsgestaltung. Die Führungsspitzen der Wohlfahrtsverbände sind im großen Maße traditionellen lohnarbeitszentrierten Sozialversicherungssystemen und sozialen Fürsorge- bzw. Grundsicherungssystemen verpflichtet. Diese traditionellen Orientierungen sind nicht unwesentlich der geschichtlichen Herkunft und dem Interesse des Machterhaltes im politischen System Deutschlands geschuldet. Dazu muss berücksichtigt werden, dass Gewerkschaften als auch Wohlfahrtsverbände nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg eine bedeutende Rolle im korporatistischen politischen System Deutschlands gespielt

haben und auch noch spielen.

10. Die *Arbeitgeberverbände* verhalten sich prinzipiell ablehnend gegenüber dem Grundeinkommen. Befürchtet wird von diesen, ähnlich wie bei den Gewerkschaftsführungen, der Verlust des Machteinflusses hinsichtlich der Gesellschaftsgestaltung – orientiert doch das Grundeinkommen auf eine viel breitere Basis der ökonomischen, sozialen, bürgerlichen und politischen Rechte als in einer Erwerbs- bzw. Lohnarbeitsgesellschaft, deren maßgebliche politische Kräfte Gewerkschaften und Unternehmensverbände sind.
11. In der *Wissenschaft* beschäftigen sich unzählige Arbeiten mit verschiedensten Aspekten des Grundeinkommens – ökonomische, rechtliche, politische, ethische, soziale und wohlfahrtsstaatliche sowie kulturelle. Verschiedenste Zukunftskommissionen in Deutschland erachten das Grundeinkommen als eine diskussionswürdige Perspektive politischer Gesellschaftsgestaltung.
12. In vielen kleineren *alternativen* Gruppierungen, die sich grundsätzlich am alternativen Leben und subsistenzwirtschaftlichen Produzieren orientieren, wird das ausreichende Grundeinkommen als ein notwendiger Bestandteil eines neuen Gesellschaftskonzepts diskutiert, was die individuelle Freiheit von der unökologischen, marktvermittelten Produktion und Konsumtion ermöglicht.
13. In der *Kultur- und Kunstszene* findet das Grundeinkommen aus zweierlei Gründen zunehmenden Anklang: Erstens sind Künstler und Kulturarbeiter in der Regel prekär existenziell abgesichert. Das Grundeinkommen würde aus deren Sicht Garant für ein von Existenzsorgen und von Wohlwollen und Einflussnahmen der Auftraggeber unabhängige Existenzsicherung sein. Zumal eine künstlerische Produktion (wie auch die wissensbasierte Produktion) sich nicht in die starren Formen der Erwerbs- bzw. Lohnarbeit und deren soziale Absicherungen pressen lässt. Zweitens haben Künstler und Kulturarbeiter ein sensibles Gespür für Veränderungen in der Gesellschaft und Bestrebungen nach mehr individueller Freiheit, mehr Solidarität und Menschlichkeit. Das Grundeinkommen wird als ein Instrument verstanden, das diese

Bestrebungen befördert.

Festgehalten werden kann, dass sich in Deutschland die Debatte um das Grundeinkommen äußerst ausdifferenziert hat. Es existiert eine große Breite und Vielschichtigkeit der Zugänge zum Thema Grundeinkommen, der politischen Absichten und der konkreten Ausgestaltungen von Grundeinkommensmodellen.

Ebenso kann festgehalten werden, dass die nach wie vor im korporatistischen politischen Gefüge Deutschlands etablierten Organisationen dem Grundeinkommen skeptisch bis ablehnend gegenüber stehen – trotz zunehmender Denk- und Diskussionsbereitschaften an der Basis dieser Organisationen.

## **2. Widersprüchliche Begründungs- und Ausgestaltungsansätze für ein Grundeinkommen und ähnliche Transfers, die in Deutschland diskutiert werden**

Ich möchte die Grundeinkommensdebatte in Deutschland idealtypisch in zwei grundlegende Begründungs- und Ausgestaltungsansätze aufteilen, den marktliberalen und den humanistisch-demokratischen Ansatz. Wenn ich von einer idealtypischen Aufteilung spreche, meint das, dass konkrete Begründungs- und Ausgestaltungsansätze durchaus in bestimmten Bereichen Überschneidungen und Mischformen beinhalten. Diese gewählte idealtypische Aufteilung orientiert sich an zwei gegensätzlichen Protagonisten bedingungsloser Transfers im 20. Jahrhundert – an Milton Friedman, einem marktliberalen Wirtschaftswissenschaftler, und an Erich Fromm, einem demokratischen Humanisten und Sozialisten, dessen 110. Geburtstag und 30. Todestag wir in diesem Jahr begehen. Ich werde nun im Folgenden entlang dieser Aufteilung ausgewählte konkrete Begründungs- und



Ausgestaltungsmerkmale von Grundeinkommen bzw. grundeinkommensähnlichen Transfers als Bezugspunkt nutzen.

### **Zielsetzung und Höhe des Transfers**

Der grundlegende Begründungs- und Ausgestaltungsansatz in marktliberaler Hinsicht ist es, mit einem Grundeinkommen oder ähnlichen Transfers die Menschen für den Arbeitsmarkt (Erwerbs- bzw. Lohnarbeit) flexibler nutzbar zu machen. Der bedingungslose Transfer soll unter der Voraussetzung des Abbaus arbeits- und sozialrechtlicher Mindeststandards wie Kündigungsschutz, Mindest- und Tariflöhne und der Lebensstandard sichernden Sozialversicherungssysteme den Menschen eine geringe (Über-)Lebensabsicherung bieten. Die dafür präferierten bedingungslosen Transfers liegen weit unter der Armutsgrenze gemäß europäischem Standard für Deutschland (ca. bei 800 bis 1.000 Euro Netto monatlich plus Kranken- und Pflegeversicherung). Diese Ansätze erfüllen also nicht das vierte Kriterium (Existenz- und Teilhabesicherung), wie es z. B. das Netzwerk Grundeinkommen in Deutschland für die Höhe des Grundeinkommens definiert. Viele der mit einem Grundeinkommen verbundenen Hoffnungen auf einen Freiheitsgewinn der Menschen sind mit einem partiellen, also niedrigem Grundeinkommen als vergebliche Hoffnungen zu bezeichnen. Begründung für diese niedrigen Transfers (Partial Basic Income) ist in marktliberaler Absicht auch, Niedriglohnsektoren auf dem Arbeitsmarkt auszuweiten bzw. zu eröffnen. Der grundeinkommensähnliche Transfer hat dabei die Funktion, Niedriglohn-Unternehmen und Niedriglohnwirtschaftsbereiche durch Steuern, also staatlich zu subventionieren. Erwerbs- und Lohnarbeit soll zum Zwecke ihrer Ausweitung billiger gemacht werden – eine klassische Kommodifizierungsstrategie. Der Transfer, so wird das Menschenbild und die ethische Norm beschrieben, soll ein "Sprungbrett in den Arbeitsmarkt" sein.

Dabei werden entgegen oft beteuert wirtschaftsliberaler Grundsätze staatliche Interventionen nicht eingeschränkt, sondern im Sinne des Sprungbretts in den freien Markt eingesetzt. Ähnlich verhält es sich in marktliberalen Konzepten bezüglich des Zwanges zur Erwerbs- bzw. Lohnarbeit: Niedrige, partielle Grundeinkommen ersetzen sozialadministrative Zwangsmechanismen, zum Beispiel Strafen im Sinne von Leistungskürzungen bei Grundsicherungen. Aus dem Sprungbrett wird so eine Peitsche zur Erwerbs- bzw. Lohnarbeit – allerdings in einer subtileren und bürokratiefreieren Form, dem nicht existenz- und teilhabesichernden Transfer (partielles Grundeinkommen).

Demokratisch-humanistische Begründungs- und Ausgestaltungsansätze eines Grundeinkommens dagegen betrachten das Grundeinkommen als ein Mittel, den Menschen mehr selbstbestimmte Flexibilität hinsichtlich der eigenen Biografie und Lebensplanung und hinsichtlich verschiedener gesellschaftlicher Teilhabe- und Tätigkeitsformen zu ermöglichen – und zwar für beide Geschlechter gleichermaßen. Diese liberale Begründung des Grundeinkommens setzt auf eine ausreichende, also die Existenz und gesellschaftliche Teilhabe sichernde Transferhöhe (UBI strong) sowie auf die Ersetzung bürokratischer und paternalistischer, aber nicht auf die Abschaffung hoher sozialer Standards in Bezug auf die Erwerbs- und Lohnarbeit. Allerdings ermöglicht diese Ausgestaltung tatsächlich erstens das Nein-sagen-Können zur Erwerbs- und Lohnarbeit, zweitens die selbstbestimmte Kombination verschiedener Teilhabe- und Tätigkeitsformen im eigenen Lebensverlauf und im Alltag sowie drittens die ökonomisch abgesicherte demokratische Partizipation an allen öffentlichen Angelegenheiten, inklusive den wirtschaftlichen Angelegenheiten in und außerhalb des Unternehmens. Diese drei Begründungen und die entsprechenden Ausgestaltungen des Grundeinkommens sind Kennzeichen demokratisch-humanistischer Grundeinkommensansätze, die auf eine umfassende Dekommodifizierung in gesellschaftlicher und individueller Hinsicht setzen. Sie sind daher auch für Lohnarbeitende und Gewerkschaften attraktiv.

Kennzeichen demokratisch-humanistischer Grundeinkommensansätze sind zusätzliche politische Forderungen wie Verbesserung der sozialen Mindeststandards in der Erwerbs- bzw. Lohnarbeit, Ausweitung der Partizipationsmöglichkeiten der Menschen und Förderung entsprechender bürgerschaftlicher bzw. zivilgesellschaftlicher Infrastrukturen. Dieser weite Grundeinkommensansatz wird in der Wissenschaft in Deutschland im Zusammenhang mit der Debatte über einen demokratischen Sozialstaat diskutiert. Der demokratische Sozialstaat sieht im Bürger als freien und solidarischen Menschen das Ziel transformatorischer und emanzipatorischer Ansätze. Der demokratische Sozialstaat löst sich damit grundsätzlich von kommodifizierenden und paternalistischen Strukturen. Er ist selbst ein Beförderer liberaler Demokratie, in der sich alle Menschen ohne Existenzängste und frei von grundlegenden ökonomischen Abhängigkeiten in die res publica einmischen können. In Verbindung mit dieser Theorie wird auch der Zusammenhang monetärer Transfers und öffentlicher Güter, Infrastrukturen und Dienstleistungen in Deutschland diskutiert.

### **Monetäre Transfers und öffentliche Güter / Infrastrukturen / Dienstleistungen**

In marktliberalen Begründungs- und Ausgestaltungsansätzen für grundeinkommensähnliche Transfers wird die Frage der öffentlichen Güter, Infrastrukturen und Dienstleistungen entweder marginal, gar nicht oder im Sinne deren Kommodifizierung und Privatisierung diskutiert. Im letzteren Fall soll der Zugang und die Organisation der Gesundheitsversorgung, Bildung, Kultur, Mobilität und des Wissens den freien Kräften des Marktes überlassen werden. Wer sich vom niedrigen grundeinkommensähnlichen Transfer diesen Zugang nicht oder nur unzureichend leisten kann, hat das Nachsehen. Auch ein ausreichendes Grundeinkommen wäre ganz schnell aufgezehrt und

wirkungslos verpufft, wenn das Studium teuer wäre, die Nahverkehrsmittel und kulturellen Angebote ihre Preise erhöhen würden. Die dem demokratisch-humanistischen Ansatz verpflichteten Begründungen sehen im Grundeinkommen erstens eine ökonomische, und zwar monetäre Ermöglichung der bedingungslosen ökonomischen, sozialen, kulturellen und politischen Teilhabe an der Gesellschaft. Die nichtmonetäre materielle Seite der Ermöglichung dieser Teilhabe wäre der weitgehend gebührenfreie bzw. mit geringen Gebühren ermöglichte Zugang zu öffentlichen Gütern und Dienstleistungen. Zweitens wird in vielen demokratisch-humanistischen Grundeinkommensansätzen begründet und berücksichtigt, dass öffentliche Güter, Infrastrukturen und Dienstleistungen selbstverständlich nicht nur aus der Verfügungsgewalt des Marktes, sondern auch aus der Verfügungsgewalt eines paternalistischen Staates genommen werden müssen. Von grundsätzlicher demokratischer Mitgestaltung bis hin zu verschiedenen Formen selbstverwalteter Gestaltung der Infrastrukturen und Dienstleistungen reichen die Vorschläge, die im Zusammenhang mit der Einführung des Grundeinkommens gemacht werden. Die radikalste Form der Dekommodifizierung und libertären Ausgestaltung des öffentlichen Bereiches wird mit Ansätzen der selbstorganisierten, jenseits der Erwerbs- und Lohnarbeit erarbeiteten und angebotenen Güter, Infrastrukturen und Dienstleistungen vorgetragen. Ausreichende Grundeinkommen (UBI strong) und universelle Zugänge zu öffentlichen Gütern, Infrastrukturen und Dienstleistungen sind finanzierbar – unter der Voraussetzung der Umverteilung von monetären und materiellen Ressourcen.

### **Unbedingte Teilhaberechte und Umverteilung**

Marktliberale Grundeinkommensbegründungen und -ansätze argumentieren mit geringen Kosten bzw. sogar mit Einsparungen im Staatshaushalt. Folge

sind dann entsprechende niedrige, grundeinkommensähnliche Transfers (Partial Basic Income), der Abbau über diesen Transfer hinausgehender sozialer Leistungen und die Kommodifizierung sowie Privatisierung öffentlicher Güter, Infrastrukturen und Dienstleistungen. Darüber hinaus wird in der Regel mit diesen Ansätzen die Umverteilung von unten nach oben befördert bzw. obere Einkommensschichten von Steuerabgaben weiter entlastet. Entsprechend sind dann auch die Finanzierungsansätze des Transfers konzipiert. Ganz im Gegensatz dazu argumentieren Vertreter eines demokratisch-humanistischen Grundeinkommensansatzes entsprechend faktischer Entwicklungen in Deutschland, dass die Einkommens- und Vermögensungleichheit stark zugenommen hat. Das heißt, dass nur ein oberstes Zehntel immer mehr am gesellschaftlichen Reichtum partizipiert, mittlere und untere Schichten immer weniger. Der deutsche Steuerstaat hat an Umverteilungskraft enorm verloren. Die Verwirklichung unbedingter Teilhabemöglichkeiten für beide Geschlechter in Form von Grundeinkommen und universell verfügbaren öffentlichen Gütern, Infrastrukturen und Dienstleistungen ist zwangsläufig mit einer Veränderung der Richtung der Umverteilung verbunden – statt von unten nach oben nunmehr von oben nach unten – und somit auch finanzierbar. Diese Richtungsänderung ist mit einfachen demokratischen Mitteln durchsetzbar, weil von ihr die große Mehrheit der Bevölkerung profitiert, letztlich sogar die oberen Einkommens- und Vermögensschichten. Außerdem, so die Argumentationen, würde die Verwirklichung der unbedingten Teilhaberechte langfristig die Gesellschaft von den enormen Krankheits- und Sicherheitskosten entlasten, die auf die derzeitigen unzulänglichen gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse zurückzuführen sind. Darüber hinaus, so argumentieren einige Vertreter des demokratisch-humanistischen Ansatzes, könnten in einer sich entwickelnden Tätigkeits- und Kulturgesellschaft bestimmte notwendige Tätigkeiten auch verstärkt unentgeltlich erbracht werden, Bedürfnisse also jenseits bisheriger markt- und geldvermittelter

Formen befriedigt werden. Damit wird auch die Frage verbunden, inwieweit die geldvermittelte Umverteilung langfristig die primäre Umverteilungsform bezüglich des Zugangs zu Ressourcen für die Verwirklichung unbedingter Teilhaberechte bleiben kann. Diese Frage stellt sich auch verschärft und dringlich vor dem Hintergrund der aktuellen Finanz- und Wirtschaftskrise, die nicht die größte und letzte gewesen sein wird.

### **Unbedingte Teilhaberechte und die ökologische Frage**

Ein noch nicht ausreichend entwickelter Diskussionsgegenstand im Zusammenhang mit der Grundeinkommensdebatte ist die ökologische Frage. In marktliberalen Ansätzen für ein Grundeinkommen wird dieses Thema nicht reflektiert. In demokratisch-humanistischen Grundeinkommensansätzen war dieses Thema bei den Ökolibertären von 25 Jahren in Deutschland schon präsent. Inzwischen stellt sich vor dem Hintergrund der Klima- und Energiekrise die ökologische Frage verschärft. Daher wird in einigen wenigen Debattenbeiträgen darauf verwiesen, dass unbedingte Teilhaberechte und das Recht auf eine ökologisch intakte Umwelt und auf eine nachhaltige Produktions-, Konsumtions- und Lebensweise nicht voneinander getrennt zu diskutieren sind. Es ist meine Überzeugung, dass einfache Antworten in der Grundeinkommensdebatte nicht möglich sind: etwa mit dem Verweis auf eine Finanzierung des Grundeinkommens durch Naturressourcenverbrauchssteuern oder darauf, dass das Grundeinkommen mit der Auszahlung eines Ökobonus verbunden wird. Grundsätzlich kann gefragt werden, ob es bei Beibehaltung der derzeitigen Produktions-, Konsumtions- und Lebensweise nicht zu extremen ökologischen und sozialen Verwerfungen (extremen Vermarktungen lebensnotwendiger Ressourcen, verstärkte Migrationsbewegungen, epidemischen Zunahmen von bestimmten Krankheiten) kommen kann, die die Verwirklichungschancen unbedingter

Teilhaberechte immens schmälern – sondern die im Gegenteil zur Ausweitung unsolidarischer, ungleicher, gespaltener und bürgerkriegsähnlicher Verhältnisse innerhalb einer Gesellschaft und zwischen Gesellschaften führen. Wenn diese Annahme richtig ist, muss auch die intellektuelle und politische Grundeinkommensbewegung schnellstens in einen intensiven Dialog um die Fragen nachhaltiger ökonomischer, sozialer und ökologischer Gesellschaftsentwicklung eintreten.

### **Unbedingte Teilhaberechte und die Frage der Globalen Sozialen Rechte**

Globalisierung ist in aller Munde. Und zwar im Sinne der Kennzeichnung globalisierter kultureller, politischer, ökonomischer, ökologischer und sozialer Entwicklungen – die zum Teil sowohl positiv, zum Teil auch negativ zu bewerten sind. Die negative Bewertung von Globalisierung lässt sich daraus ableiten, dass die Globalisierung insgesamt nicht zu einer Verbesserung der Situation von Mensch und Natur auf allen Kontinenten, sondern zur Zunahme gewalttätiger Konflikte, Hunger, rücksichtsloser Ausbeutung von Mensch und Natur geführt hat. Eine Schlussfolgerung globalisierungskritischer NGOs ist, dass die Durchsetzung von Menschenrechten nunmehr kein bloßer Appell an die jeweiligen Staaten sein kann, sondern durch konkrete Aneignungspraxen bezüglich der Menschenrechte erreicht werden muss. Es geht also um die faktische Aneignung individuelle Freiheit, soziale Sicherheit sowie ökologische Nachhaltigkeit garantierender gesellschaftlicher Rahmenbedingungen der Existenz aller Menschen. Ein grundlegender Bereich der Aneignung findet sich mit der Durchsetzung unbedingter Teilhaberechte für alle Menschen. Eine unbedingt abgesicherte Teilhabe der Menschen an gesellschaftlicher Gestaltung und Entwicklung, so die Argumentation, ist verbunden mit deren unbedingter materieller Absicherung, zum Beispiel in monetärer Form (UBI strong) und/oder nicht monetärer materieller Form (universell

zugängliche öffentliche Güter, Infrastrukturen, Dienstleistungen) – und zwar an allen Orten des Globus. Die konkrete Aneignung eines Grundeinkommens als Globales Soziales Recht ist zum Beispiel die Sicherstellung eines solchen monetären Transfers für den Menschen an seinem Lebensort – unabhängig von Nationalität, Staatsbürgerschaft, Geschlecht, Alter, alleinig weil der Mensch ein Mensch ist. Vor diesem Hintergrund sind auch Grundeinkommensansätze, die lediglich Grundeinkommen nur für bestimmte Staats- bzw. Nationalitätenangehörige diskutieren, zu kritisieren. Marktliberale, aber auch andere Protagonisten von Grundeinkommen oder ähnlicher Transfers tun sich schwer mit dieser Aneignungsperspektive. Die Anerkennung globaler Freizügigkeit, die dem Kapital, dem Handel, der Wissenschaft schon größtenteils zukommt, wird bezogen auf den Menschen eher ablehnend diskutiert. Dabei liegt der Schlüssel zur Beantwortung berechtigter kritischer Fragen (zum Beispiel hinsichtlich befürchteter Migrationsbewegungen) im Ansatz der angeeigneten, also durchgesetzten Globalen Rechte für alle selbst. Ist doch die Freizügigkeit des Menschen als Globales Politisches Recht des Menschen (Weltbürger) verbunden mit dem Grundeinkommen, welches jeder und jedem Einzelnen auch im Land der sozialen und kulturellen Verwurzelung zusteht, selbstverständlich auch mit der Durchsetzung aller anderen, allen Menschen zustehenden Rechte im jeweiligen Land. Wenn also in jedem Land tatsächlich die ökonomischen, ökologischen, sozialen, kulturellen, politischen und bürgerlichen Menschenrechte umgesetzt wären, wäre doch die Freizügigkeit nicht eine durch Existenzangst und -not, durch soziale, kulturelle und politische Ausgrenzung oder Verfolgung erzwungene, wie es heute massenhaft der Fall ist. Somit würden Befürchtungen hinsichtlich zu erwartender Migrationsbewegungen in Größenordnungen zwar nicht vollkommen entkräftet. Allerdings kann die Debatte dann wieder entspannter mit dem Thema globale Freizügigkeit umgehen. Für eine Grundeinkommensdebatte, die dieser Logik verpflichtet ist, heißt dies, dass sie auf keinen Fall der Durchsetzung der un-



bedingten Teilhaberechte in Form monetärer Transfers allein und auch nicht nur in einem Land das Wort reden kann. Eine Grundeinkommensdebatte, die sich der Universalität ihres Anspruchs bewusst ist, muss sich in der Tat der Durchsetzung des Grundeinkommens national und global und der Durchsetzung aller anderen Menschenrechte verpflichtet fühlen.

### **3. Grundlegend zu beantwortende Fragen in der Grundeinkommensdebatte aus dem Blickwinkel der Diskussionen in Deutschland**

In den nächsten Jahren müssen aus meiner Sicht folgende, mit dem Grundeinkommen zusammenhängende Fragen beantwortet werden:

1. Welche als Grundeinkommen bezeichneten Konzepte garantieren wirklich ein Mehr an Freiheit für die Menschen und ein Mehr an unbedingten Teilhabemöglichkeiten aller Menschen an der Gesellschaft, welche nicht?
2. Wie sind die breite Zustimmung der Menschen und auch der skeptischen bis ablehnenden Institutionen zum Grundeinkommen zu erreichen sowie die demokratische Einführung des Grundeinkommens voranzutreiben?
3. Welche ersten Schritte hin zu einem Grundeinkommen sind global, kontinental und national kurz- und mittelfristig möglich?
4. Mit welchen grundlegenden Politikansätzen muss ein Grundeinkommen angesichts der kapitalistischen Wirtschafts- und Finanzkrisen und der Umwelt- und Energiekrise verbunden werden?

5. Wie kann die internationale und nationale Grundeinkommensbewegung den komplexen und globalen Anforderungen bei der Aneignung Globaler Rechte durch alle Menschen gerecht werden – ohne dabei ihr ureigenstes Ziel, die Durchsetzung des Grundeinkommens als einen wichtigen Bestandteil dieser Rechte, zu vernachlässigen?

Meine sehr geehrten Damen und Herren,  
liebe Freundinnen und Freunde des Grundeinkommens,  
ich glaube, dass sich in der internationalen und in der koreanischen Grundeinkommensbewegung genügend intellektuelles und politisches Potenzial versammelt hat, um diese Fragen gemeinsam mit anderen Streitern für eine bessere Welt zu beantworten.

## Abstract

# Unconditional Basic Income As Seen through the Concept of Real Freedom and the Ideal of Democratic Republic

Geum Min | Alternative Forum

This paper addresses an argument for the justification of the unconditional basic income. For this argument, I take the concept of 'freedom' and the idea of 'republic' as the reference. Much has been said about the justification of basic income to the reference of freedom since the publication of *Real Freedom for All* by van Parijs. He divides himself from those who stick only to the egalitarianism (he calls them 'Left-libertarianism'), defining his position as 'Real-Libertarianism'. His reformulation not only assures more both the 'principle of self-ownership' and the 'principle of leximin priority', but also elaborates the correlation of the two principles, while Hillel Steiner formulates the concept of the self-ownership as the 'equal share' for all in the resources. The concept of real freedom for all, reformulated in this manner, could open the possibility of the new kind of solidarity without doing damage to the individuality as typical foundation of the Justice. Above all, it is suitable for the sole justification of basic income among the arguments upon the libertarianism.

This paper relates van Parijs' concept of 'real freedom' to the ideal of 'democratic republic'. In order to do this, I will apprehend the concept of public ownership of the earth for all human beings as the foundation and the possible condition of individual rights on the one hand, the concept of republic in the meaning of the common of all individuals on the other hand. This Paper is based on both interpretative and analytical reconstruction of

John Locke's *The Second Treaties*. This approach is a useful manner to intervene in libertarian arguments, because Locke's text is their classical reference. And this pays attention to the similarity of the "original community of all things amongst the sons of men" by Locke and the concept of the common. The original community of goods which is considered as a foundation of private acquisition implies the universal community of all human beings. It has the conceptual connotation of the universal 'republic' as a concept of the universal common for all members. Further, Locke's concept gets beyond the division between the private and the public. It functions as the condition which makes the system of private rights and obligations possible rather than is the instance demarcated from the private sphere. It is not peculiar to the concept of classical republic. It also approaches the concept of 'republic' in the modern sense brought out in Rousseau or Kant in the 18th century.

The original community of goods and the universal common for all human beings are the same positions and roles in the demonstration of the individual rights. On the one hand, both establish the 'universal-necessary rights' directly, on the other hand function as the foundation of possibility of obtaining the 'special contingent rights'. Upon this, we can make a thought experiment, that is, we can ask the question: what kind of right is the unconditional basic income? The clue to the answer is found in the 'sufficiency-proviso' which Locke presented as a premise for the demonstration of private ownership. Unconditional basic income must be the 'universal-necessary rights' for all community members, as long as the opportunities for the obtaining the private ownership by the one's own labor are rare, so to speak, the wilds open to all are not remained, and the full employment society is not possible. If one supposes that basic income is not the rights as such, the 'particular-conditional right' such as the private

ownership in the means of production has the implication of damage to others' 'universal-necessary rights'.

This paper does two tasks, bringing the original community of all things to the concept of the common peculiar to the universal republic doing away with all particularities. They endow the common with the role establishing the rights on the one hand, the principle of 'Real Freedom' set forth by van Parijs with the basis of body politic on the other hand. In addition, this paper seeks to make the justification of unconditional basic income on the other principle of equality upon which the idea of 'democratic republic' is supported with the principle of the common: the idea of democracy. Basic income paid equally to all has homology in principle to the democracy in the sense of the equal voting rights. Because of it, the democratic movements could gain the concept of the unconditional basic income as the new topic under the present condition the neo-liberalism has skeletonized the equal democracy. In addition, it connects with the typological distinction of the individual rights. Basic income has the quality as the 'rights from universal status', because it is paid by the reason that everyone is the citizen, or belongs to the community of all human beings, while the existing public benefits are the 'benefits from special contingent condition'. We can get the important standard which divides the welfare upon the unconditional basic income from the existing residual, selective, beneficial welfare.

My main focus is the justification of unconditional basic income. However, my arguments will unfold in the manner of reformulation of the references for the justification. The principles of Freedom, the Common, and Equality as the references accepted for the justification are renewed through the development of arguments. For the 'thought experiment' with the unconditional basic income is led to the reexamination of the existing

measure of political, social, and economic justification. The ultimate portée of this work gets beyond the justification upon the existing society's criteria, and is the making of the criteria itself that clarifies the constitutive principle of the new society. It, consequently, give the direction to the work which hopes to explain the real conditions and the course of the transformation of society.