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**Basic Income  
for  
Equal Citizens**



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## Quotations

The intellectual who attempts to have his/her proposals accepted by a repressive and authoritarian society becomes immediately its repressive agent. Antonio Otero.

Be careful! Basic Income (BI) is not eclectic, as some people want to persuade us. Either it is a means for social transformation, or it is a means for supporting the values of the system, acquiescent with power; we shall never present BI, and further less to accept it, as a neutral proposal. BI can be a charity system, but the strong model of BI never will. José Iglesias Fernández.

Scientists are never neutral, and consequently neither is the science they produce. Emmanuel Wallerstein.

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Translation by Carmele Schouten

## 1. Historical context

In November of 1998 I published the book *Economía crítica del bienestar social, Volume I*,<sup>1</sup> dedicated to the subject of the *Citizen Right to Basic Income (BI)*. An aim of this compilation of articles was to offer a spreading of the essential foundations of BI, at the same time as a method of analysis and an application of those concepts that characterize the critical Economy of the well-being.

In a Volume II, I tried to continue using the *critical economy of the well-being* to defend the **Basic Income for Equal Citizens (BIFEC)**<sup>2</sup> of the attacks that is receiving. In addition I add the role that could play the BIFEC as a mechanism to transform this society into other more *pragmatically utopian*.



Simultaneously, I keep maintaining a position of defense of the goods and services that compose the present social *model of welfare*: pensions, health, education, social care and attendance, transport, house, etc.. From the utopian proposals, we observe that a series of subjects related to the well-being of the population are covered directly by the common effort (public social cost) of the collectivity. However, within the capitalist societies, the different neoliberal governments have as an objective to eliminate these rights and privatize the so important goods and services for the citizenship. Therefore, in my denunciations and fights, I attempt not to neglect these so opposite fronts.

When I began to publish my first articles on BI, about 1994, the critical remarks came from *the laborious and the productivists ones*: their idea of the human life was/is that the sweat of the forehead is what must govern our lives; people and institutions for whom the alienation and the capitalist exploitation are at a second level of preoccupation or are considered irrelevant.

Since then, 10 years have passed, time in which the idea and the work of reflection that I have done on BI gave me another perspective, *another* approach to the subject. I have moved from a conventional interpretation of BI to develop more critical and more ideas coherent with my political and social commitment; an interpretation and a method that always keep me in a process of revision and change. All these evolutions have made me develop the BI into the *Basic Income for Equal Citizens* and have caused that, now, the critics come indeed from those authors who keep stuck to, and defend a care centered interpretation of the term, instead of the egalitarian one. The antagonists are within our own house: some of them know the rules of the debate and apply them; with others, we are waiting for them to learn the rules and put them into practice.

Which are the theoretical and practical changes I have introduced during this process? As a summary, the fundamental changes to be distinguished in the evolution of the concept can be joined into two groups that I consider new:

## 2. Evolution of the concept

### 2.1 Related to the theoretical development to turn the BI into the “ Basic Income for Equal Citizens”

- About the *ethical justification*, I have initiated and introduced the bases for a *first anticapitalist reading* of BI (based in Marx), in opposition to the traditional or the conventional one, in the liberal sense (Rawls) and property-keeping (Nozick) done until now.

<sup>1</sup> The Critical Economy of the well-being.

<sup>2</sup> From now on the strong model of *Basic Income*, with all the conceptual improvements, becomes the *Basic Income for Equal Citizens (BIFEC)*

- About the *concept*, I have first explained the economic reason why it must be considered as *rent*; and secondly I have extended it, to be able to develop for the first time a typology of BI. From now on we count on the distinction between *strong and weak models*. The necessity is born to stop using the term basic income in singular (BI) and begin to talk about basic income in plural (BIs).
- The choice of model imposes a previous decision on how to approach the subject of the *financing* element of BI. Upon the chosen model depends largely who are beginning to perceive BI, how, how much, and when. Mainly it depends on if we consider the BI as a way to make justice, or a way to practice the public charity; of if we consider it an aim in itself, or *an instrument for the social transformation*.
- The election of a model, strong or weak, also allows to explore which can be *the impacts* of their implantation in the *labour market*, in the *social public system* and in the *model of development* of the economy. The weak model hardly means an alteration of these items and, for that reason, they are politically more applicable and attractive for the parties and for some charity organizations. At the time of elections, they are politically more saleable and they are nearly meaningly.
- All this reflection allows me to contribute with an articulated explanation of enough cross-sectional subjects related to BI: I design *a map* where the theories of justice/injustice can be followed, the role of the bourgeois human rights, the fiscality, the system of labor relations, the systems of social welfare, the self-centered model of economic growth and social development,<sup>3</sup> or of subjects like poverty, women, immigration, etc.
- Finally, this interpretation and anticapitalist using of BI, this concept from, with and for the people, is making that more and more grassroots groups and organizations join us, which find BifEC as a useful instrument to work for the transformation of society. The BifEC is starting to be considered as *a common asset* to many of these social movements.

## 2.2 Related to the practical development

The importance of introducing and having the models is that they allow to simulate several stages and layers to make several calculations on the amount of BI, as well as on of the diverse sources of financing that can be applied. Within our research, we emphasize the following aspects:

- In my *financing model*, the BifEC based ethically on the doctrine of distributive justice,<sup>4</sup> I consider the State the main agent to be able to put it into practice. The main instruments to achieve are a progressive fiscal policy and the reassignment of public expenditure. A liberal and radical Government in power could give priority to the social policy on the productive infrastructure policy.
- I base my *calculation method* on the Budget, which is made up essentially of fiscal policy (income) and of the policy of public allocation (expenses).<sup>5</sup> The Budget is not only widely applied by the States, but it is also the main instrument of the firms, the financial organizations, and even of the associations and the organizations without the aim of profits. This mechanism allows the State to elaborate the General Budgets and to establish a real pursuit, a planning and a budgetary control throughout the economic and fiscal exercise; and to the companies, banks and associations to establish a planning by objectives, and to control the real deviations that can be appearing to short, half and long term, according to the planning horizon that they settle down. This temporary pursuit allows the managers to know the causes that bring the deviations and to act at its due moment to correct them. In some cases, in which these variables can be treated like numbers indices, the managers and people in charge can even anticipate themselves to the circumstances, introducing measures that attenuate the negative effects, or can be brought back into positives.
- Using this method in Catalonia,<sup>6</sup> an area chosen for a study, I have been able to establish and to consider a scene with the strong model, and several scenes with weak models of BI. If the communitarian authorities had applied it, we could have studied for each one of the groups that I suggest in the description of the population the causes of the possible deviations that had been able to arise. And, known the causes,

<sup>3</sup> It can also be used in the endogenous models of development

<sup>4</sup> The well-known principle of transferring from who has more income to whom has more needs to cover

<sup>5</sup> We use the budgetary control, or countable science, by pure practical sense, and to tribute my grandmother, who counted using her fingers. She used to tell me: "Neno, ¡xamáis descoides ás catro regras!" And it is that, no matter what they say, the Arithmetic is in the base of mathematics.

<sup>6</sup> Later, we have also applied it to the studies to calculate the cost of replacing the agrarian subsidy that the agricultural temporary workers perceive by the BI in the communities of Andalusia and Extremadura.

to apply the consequent correcting policies.<sup>7</sup> Everything quantified until the last penny, with the minimum artificial or dummy variables.<sup>8</sup> Later, throughout 2003 and 2004, with a team formed by members of Baladre,<sup>9</sup> we have been able *to apply this methodology* to the studies that we did in the communities of Andalusia and Extremadura, on the possibility of *replacing the agrarian subsidy* that the temporary agrarian workers perceive and the corresponding Agreement for the Employment and Social Farmer Protection (AEPSA),<sup>10</sup> by the BI in its version of strong model or BIFEC. With local community groups, we are already doing a study in Alfajar-Valencia, financed by de local Council, as well as others in process in the Autonomies of Castilla-La Mancha, the Canary Islands and Galizia.

### 2.3 Pay attention: take care with the ambushes!

Nevertheless, to the reader who wishes to begin to study of BI, we must warn him or her not to fall in five of the most frequent traps:

- **The trap of the definition.** If he or she remained with the simple definition that BI is *the right that has each person to perceive a periodic amount of income to cover its material needs*, it would not discover the revolutionary potential that it has as an anticapitalist instrument that we gave it, since when we developed the definition we equipped it with structural and political characteristics. From being a weak, social assistance model, just a simple *declaration of principles*, the BI becomes a strong model of distributive justice.
- **The trap of the identification.** With the 1973 crisis, in the the richest countries of Europe four of the worse social adversities began to become chronic: a *poverty* around 20% of the population, a rate of *unemployment* around 11%, and a volume of *precarious labour contracts* that goes from the 35 to the 45 percent of the occupied population; in addition nobody knows the amount of citizens who suffer *social marginalization*.<sup>11</sup> In front of this situation, the proposal of BI resurges. But, when the BI is based on the defense of these social problems, the arguments to prevent this citizen right become forceful and difficult to argue back: they argue that *if stable job and "fair" salaries are created, the BI is unnecessary*. These three realities, poverty, uncertainty and marginalization, related one with each other, are nothing more than the external mechanisms that Capitalism uses to limit the freedom of the people. Underneath the three situations of deficiency, it is hidden what E. Fromm argues: "In human history and until the present moment, the man has seen limited his freedom to act by two factors: use of force by governors (essentially their capacity to kill those who are against), and most important, *the threat of hunger* for those who are not prepared to accept the conditions of work and the social existence that are imposed to them" (page 129).<sup>12</sup>
- **The trap of the justification.** Here, we have to follow an interpretative sequence. First, leaning on *private property*, Capitalism is a system that generates the adversities mentioned before suffered by the population. Secondly, in agreement with the theories of justice that the theoreticians (Rawls and Nozick) of the conventional reading of BI use, the private property is a primary good that is above and has the *lexicographical* priority on the other goods; that is to say, property, the generating element of the inequalities, is untouchable. Therefore, the BI proposal that the conventional theoreticians recommend fits the priorities of the system; that is why they do not denounce the system, they are not anticapitalists. Thirdly, it is necessary to implement and take some social action that can palliate such problems, Then they make a justificatory adventure, alleging that the rawlsian *self-esteem*, or the *Locke's proviso*

<sup>7</sup> The disadvantage of applying econometric models is that they lean in supposed and parameters that do not allow these more concise activities.

<sup>8</sup> We have to remember that good part of the official statistics, including which they often appear in the General Budgets of the State, represent amounts based on estimations, and not in real data. That some people may sanctify them, that is another question!

<sup>9</sup> It is the social meeting place of a great variety of people, groups and social movements. Its name means the one of a flower, that is pretty but poisonous.

<sup>10</sup> In 2003, in his attempt to eliminate the Plan of Empleo Agrario (PER) and the agrarian subsidy, the government of PP (Partido Popular) has replaced them by the Agreement for the Employment and Agriculture Social Protection (AEPSA) and the agrarian income. "The new Agrarian Income will only be able to be asked for a maximum of six years, whereas the previous Subsidy of Agrarian Unemployment could be asked every year. In this form, the subsidy stops being a permanent right to have a term of extinction or *date of caducity*". Oscar Sworn García. In "Living as you want". *Notebooks rent income* n° 6. November 2004.

<sup>11</sup> Marginalization of the system is a structural concept; exclusion of the society is a conductist concept.

<sup>12</sup> Eric Fromm. *About the disobedience*. Paidós. Barcelona 2004.

mentioned by Nozick, are primary goods of second order that require a weak or charitable redistribution of the income. Thus they justify the BI; they do not denounce the exploiting character of the system, but they propose distributive policies such as public alms. The weak models, or *basic income of the like* (similars), consequently do not pass of being a proposal “small-bourgeois and opportunist, that intends, or has the consequence of, to smooth out the class antagonisms”.<sup>13</sup>

▪ **The trap of the weak models.** As we cannot extend in this work, just to say that we define as *weak models* of BI those that violate some of the structural characteristics of the *strong model of BI* or BIFEC. We have to take into account that the weak models begin to proliferate at the proposal level and, some of them, like the one of the Basque Community in Spain, already reaches the implantation level.<sup>14</sup> This proliferation, due to the relaxation and vagueness of the concept, has taken to us to have to distinguish between Basic Income in the singular, as we did previously, and to use a more suitable and current one, as is the one of Basic Incomes in the plural.<sup>15</sup> From now on it is necessary to think that Basic Income does not exist, but the Basic Incomes, and that we must know clearly by which of the models we opt, or from which model they speak to us. In order to avoid falling in the trap of vagueness, or the ideological confusion, we have to be able to distinguish between the models of justice or anticapitalists, from those liberal or of assistential type. However, we can consider the weak models as transitorily *positive* when they suppose a means towards the consolidation of the strong model. That is to say, they can solely be accepted as long as they meet these *minimal conditions*:

- They have to be granted to each person individually, at least to those from 16 years old on.
- They do not have to demand any meantest or counterpart, such as community work, studies, etc.
- The quantity to perceive has to be, at least, equal to the determined by the poverty line.<sup>16</sup>
- And they have to recognize and to be directed towards the development of strong models.

This takes us to warn the reader that the liberation from all these ideological and political *traps* is obtained, in the measurement that we adopted, at least, the strong model, or the one that we began to call the *Basic Income for Equal Citizens*. We have already said in a previous book (b), and here we reaffirm again, that it is **indispensable** to contribute to a justification to fight against Capitalism; that it is **necessary** to demonstrate the suitability of the BIFEC as an instrument to fight against Capitalism; but that it is **irrelevant** to be entangled in a justification of BI to maintain Capitalism.

In agreement with this analysis, we find another author who pronounces itself in similar lines, but in the aspect of the *viability* he says that the implantation of basic income “does not demand previous budgetary calculations of feasibility; since it is a device of social-democratic governments to manage the misery, a fundamental instrument to debilitate collective bargaining; it is not a true and social protection mean against the blackmail of exclusion, but a brake to increase the cost of manpower, as well as the development of forms of shit work”.<sup>17</sup>

▪ **The ideological and political trap.** Joining both conclusions into one, we see the ideological and political trap by which we could be surrounded; in fact, as I explained previously, a very long time it has cost me to be aware of this elements, given that I was taken by these traps. How much effort I have dedicated to explain the necessity to justify BI as an ethical proposal, on one side, and as an economic, financial and politically viable proposal, on the other!<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Antonella Corsani and Maurizio Lazzarato. “The rent guaranteed as a constituent process”. *Multitudes*. 5/2/2005

<sup>14</sup> This it is an example towards which many Independent Communities will tend. Carefully analyzed, this measurement of aid to the incomes is applied in many situations under the name of *subsidy of noncontributing unemployment*. In the Spanish State, near 250,000 people benefit from this social subsidy.

<sup>15</sup> See two studies of Jose Iglesias Fernández that justify the use of this new typology of BI: *The Basic Income: a model of territorial implantation*. El Viejo Topo, June 2003 and *The culture of basic incomes*. Virus Editorial, July 2004.

<sup>16</sup> The poverty line is quantified by half of the country’s income per capita.

<sup>17</sup> Antonella Corsani and Maurizio Lazzarato. “The rent guaranteed as a constituent process”. *Multitudes*. 5/2/2005

<sup>18</sup> By this anticapitalist reading that the people of Baladre do of BI, some outstanding members of Basic Income Network (RBI) accuse us of “simple”; to these respectable personages, the proposal of the Basic Income for Equal Citizens does not seem to them “sensibly radical”. See AA.VV. *La Renda Bàsica de la Ciutadania*. Mediterrània editorial. Barcelona 2005

## 2.4 But now times arrived to give another step forward

I think that time has arrived for proposing and for taking another step within the process of development the BI. But for the very beginning, what is to be done is to repeat very clearly which is our very first permanent aim: it consists on emphasizing that our commitment, as much political as ideological, is the transformation of the capitalist system into another one. We must be assured that nothing, neither project or proposal, may relax us in our way of this persistence; rather to take care that everything we do and we think may show that we move in that direction.

With this basic reference, and already walking in the process, the first thing we did was an effort to make the concept (f) and the model (b and c) coherent with a anticapitalist reading of BifEC. We have also clearly shown how difficult is to specify when and who could be the precursor of this concept; rather, we have demonstrated that it is born as a result of thousands of preoccupations of the human being by justice (d).<sup>19</sup>

Once this work was done, which prevails now will be to establish towards where we direct ourselves, which has to be the reference of our model of society. Because in the process of development of BifEC we have said clearly, and we may insist, that our proposal does not contain a specific social organization as an aim, neither new nor old, and even less alternative, but it is a suitable instrument to initiate the transformation process. And it is here where history helps us, where it discovers to us that many thinkers have already done a great part of this work, designing/dreaming utopian societies, which in generic terms we could define as “the society in which the man has reached such perfection that is able to construct a social system based on justice, on reason and on solidarity”.<sup>20</sup> Little thinking can we do about them, except to evaluate them, and to find about how to apply them at the present time, and how they can help us to dream about a future project towards which we could advance through.

Therefore, we already know what we do not want, and we have an intuition of where we wish to move to. But, between one point and another one, who and how is this space to be crossed? In order to talk about these questions, in the mentioned book we have included a summary of the most representative *models of utopia* that have been written historically; we have also added some basic reflections on whom could be *the active social subject* of the BifEC; we have included some first reasons for which the BifEC can not be considered as an alternative; and we have added some first calls to the necessity to initiate *spaces of autonomy*, as collective forms of the active subject, and to recuperate old systems of coexistence of the communalism or primitive communism (communities, colonies), *structures that the activist social subjects will have to adapt and to make them operative against the present system*. Like a virus that ends definitively with Capitalism. And the reader is left to judge what use he can do of all this.

### 3. The strong model as Basic Income for Equal Citizens (BifEC)

While I was developing the strong model, by the characteristics that were added to it, the BI was transforming more and more in a benefit that considered to each and every person as citizens of *equal rights*.<sup>21</sup> These peculiarities that conform the model are:

- **INDIVIDUAL.** It is not the family, but the individual person (passive social subject) who is the subject of this right. *The citizen as the subject of equality.*
- **UNIVERSAL.** Besides being noncontributing, it is for each and every one of the citizens without any reason that may justify the exclusion. *Equality of every citizen before the social conditions.*
- **UNCONDITIONAL.** Besides not being subject to the labour market, the level of income does not either justify any discrimination. *Equality of the citizen before any requirements.*
- **AMOUNT / EQUITY.** The amount to perceive by the citizens will be equitably the



<sup>19</sup> We affirm that it doesn't exist a unique thinker responsible for the concept.

<sup>20</sup> Erich Fromm. “Prologue to the English edition of 1960”, P. 19. In E. Bellamy. Year 2000. Abraxas editions. Barcelona 2000.

same for everyone, with total independence of age, income, gender, etc. And the quantity to perceive that we propose as a minimum may be defined by the Poverty line, equivalent to 50% of the per capita income. *Equality of the amount of income to be perceived.*

- **SOCIAL FUND AND ITS ALLOCATION.** Of the total amount of BifEC allowed to each citizen, a small percentage will go to form a Basic Income Fund, devoted to finance collective public goods and services. At the time of distributing it, all the citizens will have the same right to take part in the debate for such allocation. *Equality as an active social subject among the members of the decidable making council by citizenship right.*
- **REFUNDING.** BifEC should replace the majority of the present social welfare benefits. This refunding of other grants and subsidies will end up making that all citizens without exclusion will enjoy this new right that embodies all others. *Equity for equal citizens.*
- **FROM THE SOCIAL BASE.** The mobilization for the attainment of the BifEC, from bottom up and not from above downwards, is achieved by the participation of people and social movements (active social subjects) in *a relation of equality.*

#### 4. The BifEC is not any alternative, but an instrument for applying to a changing process

“First of all, I believe that we should reject completely the idea that it is necessary to have an alternative before criticizing many (or all) aspects of this society... To criticize something already means somehow an alternative, since it implies that another way to do things would be preferred... More so, when one is enormously far from power and one knows that, it does not matter the kind of the alternative proposed, it does not have any possibility of being carried out in the short term. [That is to say], we may not forget that the content of the alternatives is very related to the power that one may have to put them into practice”.<sup>22</sup>

Excellent observations to be considered at the time of approaching this subject, but that, in any case, they may not suppose an obstacle to introduce first ideas on the distinction between *alternatives* (or utopias) and *processes of change*; between *objectives* and *instruments* (or means).<sup>23</sup>

It is not less necessary to say very clearly, when we speak about alternatives, processes and instruments, where philosophical and politically we are standing. This helps to the interlocutors to evaluate who and what we are proposing to reach. In order to give an example, I am of those who think, with Lenin, “that the humanity will not be released of the calamities that at the moment whip them with the well-meaning efforts of some notables and noble personalities”,<sup>24</sup> therefore, I am against those initiatives that solely try *to palliate* these evils or plagues. I am not either in agreement with the charitable activities that carry out lately thousands of NGOs which are financed by the companies, institutions and governments that cause these evils. Emir Kusturica, well-known Serbian director of cinema, explains it better than I: he says that “in the new capitalist order, the wars are financed by multinationals that pay to parties and politicians to declare them. They want the NGOs to wash the blood and the consciences of the citizens who vote to those politicians who order bombings. The NGOs, financed by Capitalism or its governments, collect the wounded and are their alibi to be politically correct after sending bombs on children and adults in the name of democracy. Those multinationals, and those who serve them to introduce the global Capitalism, may corner any country that dares to have its own culture, an identity, a different way to organize itself, an alternative”.<sup>25</sup>

I insist, neither ones nor the others want to become aware that, with their activities, they distract the impoverished classes to participate in the fight against Capitalism. Neither they want to be aware that a critical process cannot consider *alms*, public or private, that these institutions practice, as an instrument for the transition towards any utopia that may try to be an alternative to the model of capitalist society. *That is to say, neither they are alternative, nor are they part of a process of social transformation.*

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<sup>22</sup> Miren Etxezarreta. “A vueltas con las alternativas”. Article included in *Emergencies*, number 2

<sup>23</sup> For example, some people think that science and the technology are indispensable instruments, not only to know the evolution of the societies, but also as motors to influence in the social change. See Xavier Duran. *The crossroads of the utopia*. Editorial Labor. Barcelona 1993.

<sup>24</sup> VI. Lenin. *Federico Engels*. Marxist Internet Archive, 2000.

<sup>25</sup> La Vanguardia. 20th of January 2005

#### 4.1 The Basic Incomes, alternatives or instruments?

The proposal of the BI can be used as an example of application of the definitions, and to introduce criteria as a means to evaluate a social proposal, 'an alternative'.

According to our interpretation, we said that BI can displays a double dimension: weak and strong. In the models that we have typified as weak, it constitutes an instrument *within* the system; but, adopting an anti-system interpretation,<sup>26</sup> the strong model or *Basic Income for Equal Citizens*, can become a strong instrument to fight effectively *against* global Capitalism. This double characteristic allows that the same elements that make BI an instrument *within* the system, can turn into a suitable instrument to fight *against* the system.

#### 4.2 Elements that make the BIFEC a weak instrument (within) the system<sup>27</sup>

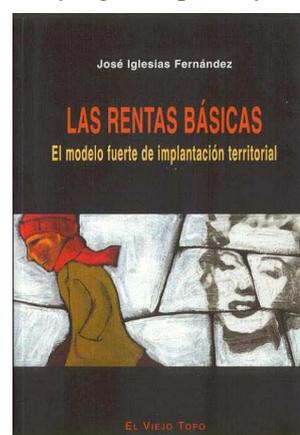
- **It is a mechanism of redistribution of income.** This system will significantly contribute to redistribute the income more equitably, especially improving the income of the poorest layers of the population, today frequently exclude from the mechanisms of social aid. Still considering all the existing difficulties to approach the problem of the economic lack of funds, BIFEC faces and goes directly against poverty, as long as the amount granted as BI may be equal to the considered poverty line.

- **It gives economic security.** This right to income, and the corresponding amount that is assigned to it, supposes an economic mattress that allows the citizen and the worker to defend itself better from the contingency of a free and gratuitous dismissal, from the abuse and the uncertainty that the employers exert through temporary contracts, and provides a greater capacity to negotiate individual and collectively salary levels, conditions of work, holidays, schedules, functional and geographic mobility, flexibility, etc. A great part of the submerged economy would be integrated into the formal one, because the possibility of paying salaries below the poverty line, or not having to pay the Social Security quotes, and increasing the inspections against the fiscal fraud, would be advantages the employers will lost.

- **It becomes a fund of resistance for class struggle.** At the same time, it would give to the unions a major power to be able to face the employer's associations, especially when they had to go on strike, since the BI becomes in these situations of conflict a resistance fund that each worker can use against the fear to the dismissal, unemployment, and the loss of wages.

- **It allows to initiate other ways of life.** The BIFEC has as one of its positive aspects that it facilitates to be frontally against all the policies of degradation of the conditions of life, of the increase of the differences that the economic globalisation and the European Union policies impose. In this sense, it is liberating since it offers a measure that removes us from the salary of fear,<sup>28</sup> instead of having to accept the laws of the market economy with his increase of insecurity and social differences. And not less important, the BIFEC could be used as a reference for new scopes of individual and collective autonomy, new consumption habits, in the sense of living better with less, of a fair trade, and of creating collective productive firms inside and at the margin of the market, etc.

- **It contributes to fight for gender equality.** The BIFEC will foment the equality of woman and man in the labour market; women will be able to demand equal pay for equal work, equal pay; masculine and feminine manpower will be able to negotiate better salaries in fronto of the proliferation of low cost jobs. In the case of women, they will be able to face the patriarchal relations within the family in better economic conditions.<sup>29</sup>



<sup>26</sup> At the moment, there exist two readings on BI: a conventional one and a another critic or anticapitalist. For an explanation of both, see Jose Iglesias Fernandez, *La Renda Bàsica a Catalunya*. Fundació Jaume Bofill/Mediterrània. Barcelona 2002.

<sup>27</sup> The BI can as well be considered a **multiple instrument** since it approaches diverse social proposals, all of them considered claims *within* the system.

<sup>28</sup> Fear in the sense of the dependency of a monetary income, that can be the salary, the unemployment benefit, the familiar subsidy, the minimum income of insertion, contingency to which all the citizens not proprietors we are subject

<sup>29</sup> Javier Aguado. "La Renta Bàsica y el sistema patriarcal". Cuadernos de renta bàsica. N° 4. Barcelona 2002

- **It contributes to eliminate the main social stigmas.** The fact of melting all social benefits in the BIFEC would allow to eliminate the *stigma of unemployment* and its corresponding subsidies, the *stigma of pensions* and its corresponding social benefits, the *stigma of poverty* and its corresponding alms (public and private), and the *stigma of marginalization*, helping to confront the problems that encounters the people who leave the jail and do not find a job because of their past of delinquency, or the people who suffer drug addiction and who are to appeal to robbery to be able to buy the narcotics and to take care of the compulsion that brings about the addition; that is to say, the society groups most poorly treated will count on an economic insurance from which they will be able to remake their lives.
- We can emphasize that the BIFEC becomes on itself a pillar of the **new system of well-being** for this new millenium, new in the sense that the benefits happen to be based on the citizen concept and not on the condition of workers. We consider that this new citizen right to a basic income contains the sufficient virtues and characteristics that make it suitable to establish the foundations of a new model of public social welfare for the 21st century (Iglesias; 2000).
- The BIFEC, even in its phases of weak but transitory application, whenever it does not entail a labor hours return, and whenever we keep conscious that it is a welfare alternative, can facilitate the improvement and dignity of the attention to certain groups. In these conditions, and with this degree of conscience, this characteristic would already justify the social interest of this new citizen right.

In summary, as an instrument to make a defense against the deterioration of the conditions of life that it is imposed by global Capitalism, all these BIFEC *purposes* imply a suitable counter-offensive to resist the consequences of the three first fronts opened by capitalist globalisation:

- *against the power exerted by the labour market*, the person can live without it;
- *against the social destitution and economic poverty*, a minimum material well-being is assured, as well as the different social benefits;
- *against the loss of rights*, the BIFEC is a citizen right that assures the rest of the social rights.

Regarding the political system, it is another bourgeois citizen right that has to be gained to Capitalism. But we also have to emphasize that the majority of the BIFEC proposals are weak alternatives, which could be easily integrated within the system.

We recommend the reader to apply this analysis to the instruments that we have classified before as weak, and get its own considerations about: cooperativism, microcredits, ethical bank, fair trade, programs of international cooperation, Tobin tax, external debt, etc.

#### **4.3 Elements that make the BIFEC an instrument (against) the system**

- Breaking with the class relationships as a means of control for the material survival. We have already said that the origin of the capitalist power, of economical, social, political and legal order, it is to be found in the way of production and interchange of the capitalist system:
  - “The materialistic conception of history begins with the principle that the production, and with the production the interchange of merchandise, is the base of each social order; wherever there is interchange of merchandise,<sup>30</sup> the society necessarily is divided into classes, which are determined by what and how is interchanged. Then, according to this principle, the last causes of the social changes and of the political revolutions, that originate new relations of power, do not have to be looked after in the mind of people, nor in the eternal vision of the truth and justice, but in the changes of the way of production and interchange; neither they have to be looked after in the philosophy, but in the economy of the period that is studied”.
  - “The social relations are born from the position that people occupy in the production system. With the development and the appearance of new productive forces, the workers also change, and with the changes, the production way is also transformed, originating a new group of social relations”.<sup>31</sup>

We should not forget the *centrality of labour* in the contemporary capitalist world. This means that one thing is that “the society of capital needs *less stable* work and more and *more* the diversified forms of

<sup>30</sup> *Selling* the labour force to capitalists, and *buying* to capitalists the goods and services that cover our needs

<sup>31</sup> These two quotations are from Karl Marx. *Capital and technology: unpublished manuscripts* (1861-1863). Terra Nova. Mexico 1980.

partial labour or *part-time*, that form, in an increasing scale, a constituent part of the process of capitalist production". [...] The "other thing, very different, is *to imagine that eliminating the living labour, capital can continue reproducing itself*".<sup>32</sup> Therefore, in the period of capitalist globalisation, the simple fact of being able to elude the obligation to sell the labour force to interchange it by the merchandise which is necessary to survive, is to begin to give to the dominant class a kick in the bottom, a kick in the base of its interchange and exploitation system. The impact of the BifEC in the labour market can radically alterate the social relations of production since it allows the population to survive without being so subjected under the dominion of the productive system. This is the key and radical sense of the transforming capacity of the BifEC.

- Simultaneously, it allows to initiate production processes, by means of personal and collective activities, independentment of its productivist and consumist system. All this also facilitates to build a new system of social relations, a system that establishes the bases and the so indispensable experience to design on reality new scopes of autonomy, independent experiences of the system of that alternative utopian societies for which we fight. Perhaps through these successive transformations, we will reach a sufficient knowledge level for elaborating those global plans that some many people demand.

All this reasoning allows us to understand why BifEC, for its financing, can start off from the double premise: that *the working processes have a global character*, and *that the production of value is social*, not individual. Not only a person directly occupied produces value during his/her labour day, but all the production is systemic: the application of knowledge, as indirect as it may seem, is also contributing to the generation of wealth. And education, health, infrastructures, technology, all are elements that contribute to the productive process.<sup>33</sup> Also, other aspects stimulate the cycle of the capital: the consumption induced by publicity, considered as normal, that can not be avoided, and even desirable by the system; the unemployment that instills fear to the occupied workers facilitating the reduction of costs and the increase of benefits, and other aspects of collective nature; and the improvement of benefits obtained through the detriment of the worker's conditions of life at any level. Even the immense cost in maintaining the political and military apparatuses that administer this order and guarantee its continuity. For this reason, in globalised Capitalism, the increases of wealth must not only be redistributed by the way of improving the salaries and working conditions; that is to say, reducing the number of hours of working every day or guaranteeing full employment. If the production of value is social, the idea of a strong model of BifEC goes beyond the ups and downs of the labour work of each individual and is perfectly possible. Its content allows to neutralize and to answer a big part of the measures taken against workers in particular, and all the citizens in general.

- Apart from the fact that the high-priority objective of BifEC is the achievement of the process towards a fair society, the BifEC would suppose an increase of people's real freedom in the period of transition. In this sense, as P. van Paris indicates, the person "is really free in opposition of being formally free, as far as the means are controlled, not only the right to make anything that one could wanted to do".<sup>34</sup> The BifEC assures to people a minimum of subsistence that allows them to choose their way of life. Therefore, it constitutes a great advance in the process towards a more fair and sensible society, since it assures the material base to be able to enjoy all the other human rights.<sup>35</sup>

With all what we have commented, it is difficult to exaggerate the importance that could have a BifEC as a means to create a genuine society for the well-being for all the population

## 5. Other conceptual thoughts

### 5.1 Lexicography of the basic incomes

This takes us to think about the need to evaluate the diverse models of basic incomes that are proposed. And the *rawlsian criterion of lexicography* serves us as an instrument to order hierarchically the diverse proposals of BI that are appearing in the social and political agendas. We could redefine the

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<sup>32</sup> Ricardo Antunes. *¿Adiós al trabajo?* Ediciones Herramienta. Buenos Aires 2003.

<sup>33</sup> Francisco Jose Martinez. "Fundamentos de la renta básica. Hacia un nuevo contrato social". *Cuadernos de renta básica*. Nº 0. Barcelona, November of 1998

<sup>34</sup> Philippe Van Paris. *Real freedom for all*. Paidós. Madrid 1996.

<sup>35</sup> See "The BI and the human rights" (Iglesias, 2001).

first part of the rule of *rawlsian priority*<sup>36</sup> saying that *the contents of the basic income can be classified in a lexicographical order*. In agreement with this norm we maintain:

- That the BIFEC, or strong model, will be in a *superior order* than the weak models, whenever it fulfills its own exigencies: to maintain unaltered the structural characteristics of individuality, universality and unconditionality; to satisfy that the amount to perceive is, at least more than half of the per capita income or poverty line; and to assure that the distributive justice of the communal fund is decided/shared by the ones that perceive it (horizontal democracy). This model has a major answer capacity, and gives better results than the weak models in order to *leximize* the distribution of income between the citizens.<sup>37</sup>
- Whereas the weak models, or *Basic incomes of the likes*, will always be in an inferior order regarding the strong model, because they do not fulfill the exigencies asked to this last model. And the smaller the number of citizens who perceive the BI may be, or the quantity that is granted to them may be minor than the poverty line, or greater the number of limitations (restrictions) that settle down as conditions to perceive it, such as the mean-test, age, to be unemployed, the personal or familiar incomes, etc., the weak model will be hierarchically further according to the superior order; where we find that the BIFEC can be used as a norm or measurement of the distributive capacity of the weak models of BI.

Therefore, the diverse characteristics that conform the BIFEC treat the citizens more *equitable* than the weak models, and also demonstrate its greater importance to distribute the well-being and social justice between them. It also takes us to conclude that the BIFEC can and must be considered as an effective instrument to initiate the transformation towards a more equalitarian societies.

## 5.2 *Bourgeois radicalism*

We will later see as socialism, according to Marx, was not originally a movement for the abolition of economic inequality, but its objective was essentially the emancipation of people, their restoration as non alienated individuals, non handicapped, who start a new, rich and spontaneous relation with all the people and the nature. The objective of socialism was that people had to get free of the chains, the fiction and the unrealities that tied them, and to transform themselves into beings who can make a creative use of their thinking and feeling abilities. Trying to maintain this Marx's socialist idea, our thinking on BIFEC consists of turning this concept into a suitable instrument to abolish Capitalism and to open a road towards people's emancipation.

Nevertheless, once the mentioned theories of justice are carefully considered, we get to the conclusion that they do not seek this emancipation, neither the *maximum of equality* between people, but that each individual has, at least, a guaranteed a minimum of freedom. Consequently, what justifies the theories of justice is the existence of an *unequal distribution of real freedom between people*. Let's develop this idea:

- Both, Rawls and Nozick identify freedom with the private property of wealth and of income that it generates: by *the principle of equal freedom*, Rawls establishes that the right to private property is a right that is, in lexicographical values, over all the others; and by *the principle of original appropriation*, Nozick establishes that anyone can take control of whichever wealth has never belonged to anybody. Therefore, in both theories, who owns privately more wealth enjoys more freedom. As the private wealth cannot be distributed without the consent of its owner, and he is not going to authorize a greater distribution, the greater inequality in the distribution of the property, will generate a greater inequality in the distribution of freedom, and less social equality.
- It is true that the authors contemplate the possibility of applying *submitted principles* that may prevent a very high tension between the primary objective, *freedom*, and the subsidiary objective, *equality*; but the idea is to apply smaller measures, like the one to favour the unprotected ones (unequal), by means of indirect policies that favour the equality of opportunities. At heart and in their form, the theories of justice do not question the origin of the productive wealth but, by means of the *principles of*

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<sup>36</sup> John Rawls, *Teoría de la Justicia*. P. 286. Fondo de Cultura Económica. Madrid 1995

<sup>37</sup> Comparing income with freedom, we could apply the expression of P.van Paris saying that the hard model leximizes the real freedom or, even, a more vague way, is the one that gives more real freedom for all. p. 47. *Real freedom for all*. Paidós. Barcelona 1996.

*difference and rectification*, they propose the distribution of a small part of the income that it generates; they do not touch property nor they propose the distribution of wealth, or freedom, but the distribution of income, or access to the possibility of a certain amount of money in the form of *basic income between the likes*.<sup>38</sup>

Let us see a case that illustrates this situation. For the 2002, the average salary of a Spanish worker was of about approximately 19.220 annual Euros,<sup>39</sup> whereas the remunerations that declared to gain annually Francisco González, president of the BBVA, and Alfredo Sáez, vice-president and advisor of the BSCH, were of 3.600.000 Euros and 6.250.000 respectively.<sup>40</sup> It is obvious that these unequal levels of wealth and private incomes must establish, by hierarchy of lexicographical values, unequal degrees of freedom; that is to say, the autonomy that gives earning 187 and 325 times them more than the average worker must allow to these bank directors some more degrees of freedom than to the mentioned worker. A reality of differences in that power whose tendency is even increasing.<sup>41</sup>

Not to be accused of bias with these arguments, I think that it is not bad to add another critical remark, this time done by an author near the own quarry of the weak BI, a reading from the Social-Democratic thinking. In *Real freedom For All?*,<sup>42</sup> Ian Gough show very clearly the intentionality of the defenders of *the liberal Basic Income*. On the most concrete and influential proposal, as it is the one of van Parijs, he comments the following thing: “the real freedom for all... [that this author proposes] is designed to save the <<European model>> of capitalism, taking it to a new stage..., its support to the Capitalism of basic grant has something common with my defense (the one proposed by the own Gough) of a <<social regulated capitalism>>..., capitalism offers a better socio-economic frame than the socialism to secure a high basic grant and thus to maximize the real freedom for all..., the fight for Socialism is like a street without exit, whereas the fight for Capitalism of basic grant has everything to win..., and the approach of van Parijs [supported in Paine]<sup>43</sup> approaches the one of Rawls, as in several occasions he himself recognizes his influence” (pp. 267-277). Still another critical remark, this one of Callinicos, a nonliberal author, who tries to combine the “philosophical concepts” of Rawls, with the “socio-economic structures” of Marx for “considering the question of the equality and the inequality”, in spite of this effort, he shows that it exists a “contradiction between the normative pretensions of egalitarian liberalism, that not defy directly the capitalist institutions, nor the lasting life of those institutions”.<sup>44</sup>

I suppose that it is evident that the weak models of BI have little or nothing to do with the strong model or BIFEC: we can say that the weak models are thought *to* defend the bourgeois individual and Capitalism (of basic income or regulation), whereas we designed the strong model, or BIFEC, *against* Capitalism. In fact, J. Harrington advises to us that, “within a republic, it is not the wealth of the rich men like individuals [what is to worry us], but the wealth of the republic; because equality of goods is a cause of equality of power and equality of power is freedom not only of the republic, but of the men all”.<sup>45</sup>

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38 Another author will approach this small amount of income to distribute by means of an economic model in which the growth satisfies the unconditional cover of the minimum needs without altering the scene of a distribution in situation of weak abundance. See Robert J van de Veen. “From contribution to needs: To normative-economic essay on the transition towards full communism”, P. 478. *Political Act*. No.18, 1984

39 “Las diferencias salariales”. *La Vanguardia*. 6 June of 2005

40 Iñigo de Barrón. “Emilio Botín won 2’75 millions in 2004, a 31% less than Francisco González”. *El País*. 21th of April 2005. Núria Almiron. *Juicio al poder: el pulso de la justicia con el BSCH*. Temas de Hoy. Madrid 2003.

41 Another example of the concentration of wealth and power is offered us by Trout Jack, adviser of the Department of State during the government of Clinton; this personage assures that “Spain is controlled by four families”. *La Vanguardia*, 8 of June, 2005.

42 Ian Gough. *Global capital, basic needs and social policies*. Miño y Dávila editores. Buenos Aires 2003

43 Thomas Paine (1737-1809), considering his time, is to be considered as a radical liberal

44 Alex Callinicos. *Igualdad*. Pp.29-31. Siglo XXI. Madrid 2003

45 James Harrington. *La república de Océana*. FCE. México 1987.

We conclude. “Whenever great is the inequality, greater is the concentration of power”.<sup>46</sup> Or, to unequal property, legitimized by the theories of justice, unequal freedom. And as it is not possible to change the distribution of private property, it is not possible either to go beyond an unequal distribution of the real freedom between all. Therefore, we say that the weak models of BI are inspired by a *bourgeois radicalism*, although nobody dares to describe them so forceful. The strong model seeks to build a *society of equals*, whereas the weak models seek to maintain a *society of likes*. For those of us that have as an immediate goal the transformation of Capitalism, we cannot hope of it to be the instrument of emancipation that mankind needs to implement a classless society.

### 5.3 Equitable distribution of the real equality between all

It is obvious that human beings *are very different* one from another by reasons of race, ethnic group, colour, culture, sex, age, capacity and ability to learn, just like *we have different levels* of wealth, incomes, opportunities, rights, etc. Then, being so different, what sense must demand the right to a BIFEC? Indeed, in spite of, or respecting all this immense range of differences, nothing that means that we can not live in a society of equals, and that, as a way towards it, we begin to practice this future value within Capitalism. However, I repeat, being all so different, which are the reasons to justify the equality, and to specify in which points we are to be equal?.<sup>47</sup> One of the main objectives of this book<sup>48</sup> will be to display utopian proposals that answer both questions: the reasons *why there must be equality* between the citizens, and the reasons why everybody must *be equal regarding* the means and the productive resources (wealth), the access to the commodities to satisfy the material needs, the management of public goods and services, the application of justice, etc.

### 6. The personal autonomy implied in the strong model or BIFEC

We have developed a *typology* on the BI concept to have a measurement that allows us to evaluate if the model is anticapitalist, or it proposes the submission to the system; at this moment an ample range of proposals of social aid have proliferated, almost all directed to support the family, frequently demanding counterparts, the majority limited to very precarious groups, and almost all with amounts that line the maintenance of begging and misery.

For this reason, we have classified the diverse proposed benefits as weak models or strong models. The *strong model*, by its characteristics, assures us that it is a **suitable instrument to fight against Capitalism**. Its content entails justice, because it’s a **mechanism of strong redistribution of the income**;<sup>49</sup> but at the same time it is an anticapitalist because it allows to elude the labour market, one of the pillars of domination and exploitation of the population which is essential for the system. In addition, the emergence within the Spanish State of a structured *network* of a hierarchic and elitist group, with technical-revisionist expositions, and that weakens the content of the concept, has taken us to reinforce the characteristics of which the BIFEC has to be demanded from the mobilization of people and the grassroots groups. That is to say, we aim to demand a BIFEC that is to be obtained **by** and **with** the will of the citizens, and not from above, **for** the citizens.



<sup>46</sup> Alex Callinicos. P.47. Cited work.

<sup>47</sup> Amartya Sen establishes those two questions for the discussion on equality. *Inequality Reexamined*. Oxford 1992. Cited by A. Callinicos p.47, mentioned work.

<sup>48</sup> José Iglesias Fernández. *¿Hay alternativas al capitalismo? La Renta Básica de los iguales*. Baladre/Zambra Xàtiva 2006.

<sup>49</sup> The Basic Income Network, in its different works, recommends that the amount of Basic Income consists of a modest quantity, so as the real liberty that people will “enjoy” will compulsory be very modest; that is to say, with this such a small quantity, which autonomy or personal self-esteem will people have?

## 7. Participation and citizen mobilization

Any social change must start *from the bottom to up and horizontally*. This means that any process of social transformation has to be characterized by participation of the citizens. In this sense, I am thinking of valuable observations established by P. Kropotkin on the possible social changes:<sup>50</sup>

- Refusal of the use of parliamentary institutions and of any other representative organization (from above): “Socialism, whatever the form that it takes in his evolution towards *communism*, needs to determine **its own form of organization**; it must not use by any mean the representative government like a weapon for the working emancipation (citizen)... From such elements never has started any revolution, and if the present working-class appealed to similar procedures, it would be condemned to never arrive to results of satisfactory stability... We do not have faith in any class of government, neither coming from the force or from any electoral procedure”.
- **Participation and citizen mobilization** by means of the action of the social movements (from down): “The town (the citizenship) will have to begin the constructive work by itself, according to more or less communist principles and without waiting for orders nor plans from above... It has to be the town (the citizenship) that raises the building of the new and indispensable social institutions”. What the social movements must and “we can do regarding the future is to define vaguely the essential tendencies and to clear the way for its better and faster setting up”.
- As far as all this is clear, it prevails the **creation of scopes of personal and collective autonomy** that, still working within the system, are not put under its logic of property and accumulation.

Therefore, after all those arguments, the BifEC can be a crucial instrument to fight against global Capitalism, by its capacity of mobilization and citizen participation. Nowadays, when, as we analyzed at the beginning, the majority of rights and possibilities to develop a life with dignity is seen strongly attacked and handicapped, there is no doubt that the fight for the implantation of the BifEC has the particularity of being able to articulate a radical and common political project in terms of citizen mobilization, that responds to the material and social interests of groups and very diverse organizations. By their cross-sectional character, the BifEC is an instrument that has the advantage and the attractiveness of being able to agglutinate the majority of the movements that compose the left: *the trade unions; the movement around the social economy; the feminist movement; the ecologist movement; the squatter movement; the movement against unemployment, poverty and marginalization; the movements for democratic deepening and defense of human rights; the student movement; the antimilitarist movement; the movement for papers for all and the rest of immigrants; the laicist movement; the movement in favour of euthanasic; the gay and lesbian movement; etc.* That is to say, the BifEC approaches a multitude of common interests, which can serve as a departure point to secure a series of agreements and to establish a joint mobilising action, through the elaboration of a *common program of minimum objectives* for the transformation of the capitalist system. The materialization of such a wide collective mobilization is one of the most important aspects to emphasize, and would have to be one of the immediate objectives to obtain: “the crucial potentiality for a social change is more in the possibility of generating a social movement that in which or what the movement can obtain... For those people who are in favour of the transformation of the society are more important the instruments of collective action that are being consolidated that the own partial results that are obtained” (Robert Cox, mentioned in Iglesias 1999). At the moment, when we are living/suffering the consequences of the capitalist globalisation, the left would not dismiss the subversive force contained in the *Basic Income for Equal Citizens* to fight against the power of Capitalism.



## 8. Summary

In Baladre, and personally miself, the vision that we have is that the BifEC is a *suitable instrument* for the transformation of Capitalism. It aims at some goals that can be devoured, swallowed by the system.

<sup>50</sup> Quotations taken from Irving L. Horowitz. *Los anarquistas. I La Teoría*. Pp. 171-201. Alianza Editorial. Madrid 1975

But, also, BIFEC contains some others that are impossible to be integrated, as it is the possibility to live out and far from the salary system, without having to rely on the labour market, one of the basic guns in the class struggle against Capitalism. Or the fact that each woman is considered a citizen on equal terms and rights as any man, and that disposes freely of this amount of BIFEC, giving another valuable element to fight against the economic dominion that imposes the patriarchal system. The text is full of other more considerations and arguments that are not necessarily to be repeated again. Anyway, in any case, it should be worth for everybody to ask if it is not essential to incorporate and adopt an instrument that fights for:

- A better redistribution of income.
- The eradication of poverty.
- To insure an economic security that allows to create and to organize spaces of autonomy to the citizenship, as much to fight for a liberation of class and gender, as to initiate new activities without the pressure of the markets, especially the labour one.
- A mechanism of citizen participation.
- A process that gives leisure time, which can be dedicated to other activities that they do not have to go necessarily through the market system.

A liberating process at personal and collective level, which fights against the individualism that we have inside, and which prevents the blossoming of the human brotherhood, of the social responsibility, in front of the needs that our fellow citizens suffer.

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- k)** Muchos de los temas tratados se pueden encontrar en *Cuadernos renta básica*. Números publicados del 0 al 6
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### A) *Second Manifest of Barcelona on Basic Income (BI)*

Where it is possible to understand better the content of the *strong model* or *Basic Income for Equal Citizens (BifEC)* is in the **Second Manifest** on the Basic Income. Since the **First Manifest**<sup>51</sup> was approved, five years have already gone. During this time, the direct activity for BI has been trepidant. Nowadays, some groups have adopted it genuinely, others only know about it confusedly, and some have even converted it into an electoral catchphrase. The BI concept that was adopted in the First Manifest, and that is the one that has been more used in conventional circles, leans on a very conservative philosophy of society. That is to say, the concept (foreign) and the ethical justification (liberal) that are used by these associations outside Baladre, are not in accordance with the paradigm and the idea of justice of our social commitment. Its ample spreading of BI between these organizations is understood because it totally responds to the care attendant and caritative conception they have, much more in accordance with their creed and their social practice. Indeed, one of the ambiguities respected in the first document was that the Congress realised at that time left open the contradictory names of the term that each attending group could freely use, but that responded to the different creeds from these organizations, such as “universal grant, unconditional grant, guaranteed universal subsidy, social dividend, social grant, social wage, basic grant”, etc.<sup>52</sup>

To be consequent with our way of thinking, the necessity imposed a need to find a definition and a justification of BI that responded more to our anticapitalist political position. That is to say, we have arrived at a maturity point that demanded an own concept that allowed us to part from the liberal thinking and to replace it by an anticapitalist model of BI. Nowadays, the change of BI into BifEC converts it in an instrument of transformation of society, well in accordance with our philosophy. Luckily enough, we could borrow assistance from the diverse historical currents of anticapitalist philosophy that helped us to condemn the perversities of this system: this advice came from the multiple anarchist tendencies, to the socialists and communists. It is an intellectual wealthy tradition that is within the reach of we all.

### B) **What is Baladre?**

Baladre is a pretty flower, but poisonous. For us, it is defined as a means coordination for the struggle against unemployment, poverty and marginalization, and that has assumed the defense of the citizen rights to the BI, in its new version of *basic income for equal citizens*. It joins a multitude of individual people and groups all over the Spanish territory that work and fight these subjects, with total autonomy and denominational independence of official institutions, parties, unions and many other groups in the form of organizations. The majority of these groups is formed by people who suffer these problems directly. Some of the following groups and movements that come regularly to the encounters:

### C) **From where we took the name of BifEC**

I re-named the strong model with the name of *Basic Income for Equal Citizens* in honor to François Noël Babeuf (1760-1797), a theoretical radical and French republican revolutionary, who passed the majority of its persecuted adult years in jail, and died executed in the guillotine in Vendôme, for developing and maintaining its ideas of justice.

As a theoretician, he began proposing an egalitarian fiscal reform, a perpetual *Cadastre* (1789) by which defended the communities of farmers against the feudal gentlemen. And he continued dedicating his life to the denunciation of the existing social order, that allowed the limitless accumulation of wealth, and therefore, an order against the natural law of equality. Shortly after, he would publish the *Manifest of the Plebeians (1795)* in his newspaper *The Tribune of the Town*, of which was director.

<sup>51</sup> Approved in the “First Congress on Basic Income”. Barcelona, November of 1998. Cuadernos renta básica. Nº 0.

<sup>52</sup> The theoretical effort realised to convert the English term of *income* with its counterpart of *renta* in Spanish was made in order to demonstrate that Basic Income as a concept was highly differente to the one that had to be used in Spanish. Otherwise, the indistinct use of both terms would not be consequent with our anticapitalist political compromise. See José Iglesias Fernández (ed.). *Before the lack of rights, Basic Income, ALREADY!*. Publishing Virus. Barcelona

As a citizen, he had the spirit and the motives that impregnates the philosophy inspiring the model of Basic Income for Equal Citizens. That is why the concept takes his name.<sup>53</sup>

### C) Basic Income for Equal Citizens Fund

## BASIC INCOME FOR EQUAL CITIZENS (BIFEC) Finances



INCOME From wealthy citizens		INCOME From wealth citizens	EXPENDITURE To needed citizens
<b>Income Direct Taxes</b>			
* Personal Taxes	Progressive	A	BI Fund for Public Goods BI in cash
* Corporation taxes	Progressive	A	
* Wealth Taxes	Progressive	A	
* Propety rent taxes, etc	Progressive	A	
<b>Indirect Taxes</b>			
* VAT	Distributive	B	BI in cash
* Special taxes (oil, drinks, games)	Distributive	B	
* Others	Distributive	B	
<b>Other sources</b>			
* Control of tax evasion	Inspection	C	BI in cash
* Tobin Tax	Proportional	C	
* Control of tax heavens	Progressive	C	
* Others	Progressive	C	
<b>Reallocation of Public Expenditure</b>			
* Subsidies and other supports	Refunding	D	BI in cash
* Bussiness aids	Refunding	D	
* Defense and security	Refunding	D	
* Churches and NGOs	Refunding	D	
* Transfers from other social policies	Refunding	D	
* Transfers from industrial policies	Refunding	D	
* Transfers from Local authorities	Refunding	D	
* Others	Refunding	D	

José Iglesias Fernández  
Barcelona, reviewed in October of 2008

<sup>53</sup> Fernando Prieto. *The French Revolution*, Publishing Istmo. In <http://ateneovirtual.alasbarricadas.org/his>