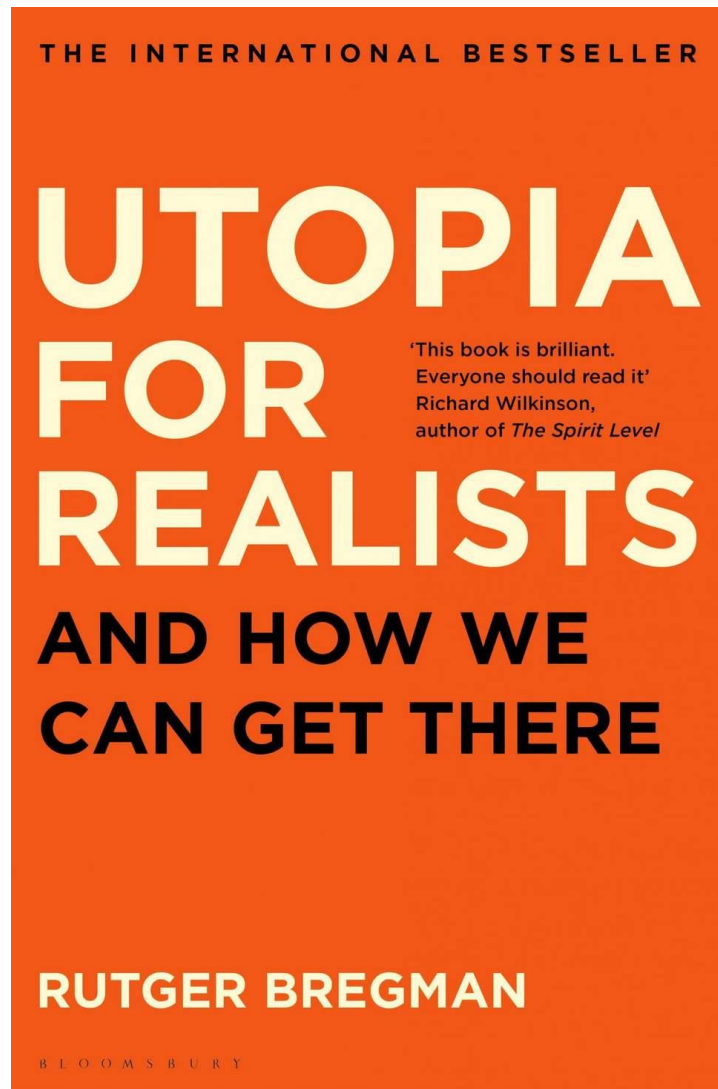


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Utopia for Realists and How we Can Get There
Rutger Bregman



*“A map of the world that does not include Utopia is not worth even glancing at,
for it leaves out the one country at which Humanity is always landing.
And when Humanity lands there, it looks out, and, seeing a better country, sets sail.
Progress is the realisation of Utopias.”¹*

¹ Wilde, Oscar, “The Soul of Man Under Socialism”, *Fortnightly Review*, n.º 291, February 1891, pp. 292-319.

BREGMAN, Rutger, *Utopia for Realists and How We Can Get There*, London-New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017, pp. 336. Translation: Elizabeth MENTONE. Cf.: <https://www.bloomsbury.com/uk/utopia-for-realists-9781408890264/>
https://books.google.fr/books?id=L0-jDQAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s
https://books.google.fr/books?id=L0-jDQAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

We live in a time of unprecedented upheaval, with questions about the future, society, work, happiness, family and money, and yet no political party of the right or left is providing us with answers. Rutger Bregman, a bestselling Dutch historian, explains that it needn' t be this way.

Bregman shows that we can construct a society with visionary ideas that are, in fact, wholly implementable. Every milestone of civilization – from the end of slavery to the beginning of democracy – was once considered a utopian fantasy. New utopian ideas such as universal basic income and a 15-hour work week can become reality in our lifetime.

This guide to a revolutionary yet achievable utopia is supported by multiple studies, lively anecdotes and numerous success stories. From a Canadian city that once completely eradicated poverty, to Richard Nixon's near implementation of a basic income for millions of Americans, Bregman takes us on a journey through history.

Utopía para realistas

Un mapa del mundo que no incluya Utopía no es digno de consultarse, pues carece del único país en el que la humanidad siempre acaba desembarcando. Y cuando lo hace, otea el horizonte y al descubrir un país mejor, zarpa de nuevo. El progreso es la realización de Utopías.

Óscar Wilde (1854-1900)

BREGMAN, Rutger, *Utopía para realistas*, Barcelona: Ediciones Salamandra, 2017, pp. 304. Traducción: Javier GUERRERO JIMENO. Cf.: [Texto completo del Capítulo 1: "El regreso de utopía"]
<http://salamandra.info/libro/utopia-realistas>
http://salamandra.info/sites/default/files/books/previews/utopia_para_realistas-1er_capitulo.pdf

Fruto del espectacular avance de la ciencia en los últimos decenios, la globalización está transformando de forma radical el orden social y económico del siglo XXI. En un mundo más pequeño y conectado, el progreso y el bienestar

llegan hasta el último rincón del planeta, rescatando de la miseria a cientos de millones de personas. Sin embargo, la nueva economía virtual, sumada a la progresiva sustitución del trabajo humano por robots y computadoras, ha generado también un incremento de la desigualdad de tal dimensión que preocupa incluso a quienes no la padecen.

La distribución del trabajo y la acumulación de la riqueza se ha distorsionado, tensando a la sociedad hasta el punto de asomarse al abismo de la ruptura. La incertidumbre y el desconcierto se instalan en la gente y los políticos no ofrecen una respuesta racional sino al contrario, algunos apelan a las emociones más primarias. No la ofrecen porque no la tienen, y no la tienen, sencillamente, porque no son capaces de imaginar un sistema diferente.

Este libro, que ya ha provocado un impacto considerable en su versión digital abreviada, llama a encarar el desafío desde una óptica tan audaz como realista. Rutger Bregman no propone recetas milagrosas ni fórmulas magistrales. Reconoce las dificultades que entraña un cambio profundo del modelo social, y está convencido de que éste no surgirá de un genio solitario ni de ningún grupo de iluminados, sino de arraigar en la conciencia colectiva la idea de que otro modelo es posible y beneficioso para todos.

Asentado sobre el estudio de hechos históricos contrastados y el análisis de miles de trabajos de investigación, Utopía para realistas es el resultado de un ejercicio de imaginación, libre y sin prejuicios. Su publicación en varios idiomas servirá, sin duda, para avivar el debate acerca de cómo resolver la gran paradoja de nuestro tiempo: que en la era de la abundancia, millones de personas sufran escasez. Pongámonos a pensar. Soñemos con la Utopía.

Capítulo 1: “El regreso de utopía”

Empecemos con una pequeña lección de historia: en el pasado, todo era peor.

El 99 % de la humanidad, a lo largo del 99 % de la historia, pasaba hambre y era pobre, sucia, temerosa, ignorante, enfermiza y fea. Y no hace mucho, en el siglo xvii, el filósofo francés Blaise Pascal (1623-1662) describió la vida como un enorme valle de lágrimas. «La grandeza del hombre –escribió– radica en que se sabe miserable.» En el Reino Unido, su colega Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) coincidía con él en que la vida del hombre era en esencia «solitaria, pobre, tosca, embrutecida y breve».

Sin embargo, en los últimos doscientos años todo eso ha cambiado. En un breve período del tiempo que nuestra especie lleva habitando este planeta, miles de millones de nosotros hemos pasado de repente a estar bien alimentados, sanos, limpios y a salvo, a ser inteligentes, ricos y, en ocasiones, incluso bien parecidos. Mientras que en 1820 el 94 % de la población mundial todavía vivía en la pobreza extrema, en 1981 ese porcentaje se había reducido hasta el 44 % y ahora, sólo unas décadas más tarde, se sitúa por debajo del 10 %.¹ (p. 11)

[...]

La utopía medieval

El pasado era sin duda implacable, y por lo tanto es lógico que la gente soñara con un tiempo en que las cosas mejorarían.

Uno de los sueños más vívidos era el de la tierra de leche y miel conocida como el País de Cucaña o Jauja. Para llegar allí, primero tenías que devorar arroz con leche durante tres millas. Pero el esfuerzo merecía la pena, porque al llegar a Cucaña te encontrabas en una tierra donde fluía el vino por los ríos, los gansos asados volaban al alcance de la mano, en los árboles crecían panqueques y del cielo llovían tartas calientes y pasteles. Campesinos, artesanos, clérigos: todos eran iguales y disfrutaban juntos bajo el sol. (p. 14)

Un paraíso inhóspito

En otras palabras, bienvenidos a la tierra de la abundancia. A la buena vida. Al País de Cucaña, donde casi todos son ricos, sanos y están a salvo. Donde sólo nos falta una cosa: una razón para levantarnos de la cama por la mañana. Porque, al fin y al cabo, no se puede mejorar el paraíso. [...] (p. 19)

Según el escritor irlandés Oscar Wilde, después de alcanzar la tierra de la abundancia deberíamos, una vez más, fijar nuestra mirada en el horizonte más lejano y volver a izar las velas. «El progreso es la realización de Utopías», escribió. Pero el horizonte lejano permanece vacío. La tierra de la abundancia está envuelta en niebla. Justo cuando deberíamos estar asumiendo la tarea histórica de dotar de significado a esta existencia rica, segura y sana, hemos enterrado la utopía. No hay ningún sueño nuevo que la sustituya porque no somos capaces de imaginar un mundo mejor que el que tenemos. De hecho, en los países ricos, la mayor parte de la población cree que sus hijos estarán peor que ellos.¹⁹

Aun así, la verdadera crisis de nuestro tiempo, la de mi generación, no es que no estemos bien, ni siquiera que más adelante podríamos estar peor. (p. 19)

No, la verdadera crisis es que no se nos ocurre nada mejor. (p. 20)

El modelo cerrado

Este libro no es un intento de predecir el futuro. Es un intento de poner en marcha el futuro. De abrir de golpe las ventanas de nuestras mentes. Por supuesto, las utopías siempre ofrecen más información acerca del tiempo en que se imaginaron que de aquello que en realidad se consigue. La utópica tierra de la abundancia dice mucho de cómo era la vida en la Edad Media. Deprimente. O mejor, nos confirma que las vidas de casi todos en casi todas partes siempre han sido deprimidas. Al fin y al cabo, cada cultura tiene su propia variante de la tierra de la abundancia.²⁰ (p. 20)

El regreso de Utopía

[...]

Fue con este espíritu con el que el filósofo británico Tomás Moro escribió su libro sobre la utopía (y con él acuñó el término). Más que un modelo cerrado que debe aplicarse de manera inflexible, su utopía era sobre todo una crítica a una (p. 21) aristocracia avariciosa que exigía más lujos mientras la gente común vivía en la pobreza extrema.

Moro comprendió que la utopía es peligrosa cuando se toma demasiado en serio. Tal como señala el filósofo y destacado experto en utopías Lyman Tower Sargent: «Uno tiene que ser capaz de creer apasionadamente y también poder ver el absurdo de las propias creencias y reírse de ellas». Como el humor y la sátira, las utopías abren las ventanas de la mente. Y eso es vital. A medida que envejecen, las sociedades y las personas se acostumbran al statu quo, en el cual la libertad puede convertirse en una prisión, y la verdad, en mentiras. El credo moderno –o peor, la creencia de que no queda nada en que creer– nos impide ver la cortedad de miras y la injusticia que aún nos rodea a diario. (p. 22)

La destrucción del gran relato

Por desgracia, hoy en día nos despertamos antes de que nuestros sueños puedan empezar siquiera. Dice el tópico que los sueños suelen acabar en pesadillas. Que las utopías son terreno abonado para la discordia, la violencia e incluso el genocidio. En última instancia, las utopías se convierten en distopías: una utopía es lo mismo que una distopía. «El progreso humano es un mito», dice otro tópico. Y aun así, hemos logrado hacer realidad el paraíso medieval. (p. 22)

[...]. Optimismo y pesimismo se han convertido en sinónimos de confianza de los consumidores y ausencia de ésta. Las ideas radicales sobre cómo cambiar el mundo se han convertido en algo casi impensable en sentido estricto. Las expectativas de lo que podemos lograr como sociedad se han erosionado drásticamente, obligándonos a aceptar que, sin utopía, sólo nos queda la tecnocracia. La política se ha diluido hasta convertirse en la mera gestión de problemas. [...] (p. 23)

[...]

Y todo esto lo impulsa una fuerza que en ocasiones llamamos «liberalismo», una ideología que ha sido prácticamente vaciada de contenido. Lo que es importante ahora es «ser tú mismo» y «hacer lo tuyo». Puede que la libertad sea (p. 23) nuestro ideal más alto, pero se ha convertido en una libertad vacía. Nuestro temor a caer en el moralismo ha hecho de la moralidad un tabú en el debate colectivo. Al fin y al cabo, el espacio público debería ser «neutral»; sin embargo, nunca antes había sido tan paternalista. A todas horas nos tientan para que bebamos, nos atiborremos, pidamos prestado, compremos, nos dejemos la piel, nos estremos y estafemos. No importa lo que nos contemos a nosotros mismos sobre la libertad de expresión: nuestros valores se parecen sospechosamente a los

promocionados por las mismas empresas que pueden permitirse anuncios en *prime-time*.²⁶ Si un partido político o una secta religiosa tuviera ni que fuera una parte de la influencia que la industria publicitaria tiene sobre nosotros y nuestros hijos, nos sublevaría. En cambio, como se trata del mercado, permanecemos «neutrales».²⁷

Lo único que debe hacer el gobierno es mejorar la vida en el presente. Si no nos ajustamos al modelo del ciudadano dócil y satisfecho, los poderes fácticos no dudan en ponernos a raya. ¿Sus herramientas favoritas? Control, vigilancia y represión.

Entretanto, el estado del bienestar ha ido desplazando el foco de las causas de nuestro descontento a los síntomas. [...]

Al mismo tiempo, los intereses mercantiles y comerciales campan a sus anchas. [...] (p. 24)

La generación mimada

No es cierto –y toda insistencia es poca– que no estemos bien. Al contrario. Si acaso, los niños luchan hoy con la carga de estar demasiado consentidos. Según Jean Twenge, psicóloga de la Universidad Estatal de San Diego que ha llevado a cabo una detallada investigación sobre las actitudes de los adolescentes de hoy y del pasado, ha habido un brusco aumento en la autoestima desde los ochenta. La generación actual se considera más lista, más responsable y más atractiva que nunca.

«Es una generación en la que a todos los chicos se les ha dicho: “Puedes ser lo que tú quieras. Eres especial”», explica Twenge.²⁹ Nos han criado con una dieta constante de narcisismo, pero, en cuanto nos sueltan en ese mundo maravilloso de las oportunidades ilimitadas, cada vez somos más los que nos estrellamos. Resulta que el mundo es frío y despiadado, saturado de competencia y desempleo. No es como Disneylandia, donde se puede formular un deseo y ver cómo tus sueños se hacen realidad, sino una carrera feroz donde, si no triunfas, el único culpable eres tú.

No es de extrañar que el narcisismo oculte un mar de incertidumbre. Twenge también descubrió que en las últimas décadas nos hemos vuelto más temerosos. Después de comparar 269 estudios realizados entre 1952 y 1993, llegó a la conclusión de que, en promedio, los niños norteamericanos de principios de los noventa padecían más ansiedad que los pacientes psiquiátricos de principios de los cincuenta.³⁰ Según la Organización Mundial de la Salud, la depresión se (p. 25) ha convertido en el principal problema sanitario entre los adolescentes y llegará a ser la primera causa de enfermedad en todo el mundo en 2030.³¹

Es un círculo vicioso. Nunca antes tantos jóvenes habían ido al psiquiatra. Jamás hubo tanta gente que abandonara su carrera profesional tan pronto. Y estamos tomando más antidepresivos que nunca. Una y otra vez, achacamos al individuo

problemas colectivos como el desempleo, la insatisfacción y la depresión. Si el éxito es una elección, entonces también lo es el fracaso. ¿Has perdido el empleo? Tendrías que haber trabajado más. ¿Enfermo? Seguro que no llevabas un estilo de vida saludable. ¿Infeliz? Tómate una pastilla.

En los años cincuenta, sólo el 12 % de los jóvenes se identificaba con la afirmación: «Soy una persona muy especial. » Hoy lo hace el 80 %,32 cuando lo cierto es que cada vez somos todos más parecidos. Leemos los mismos *bestsellers*, vemos las mismas películas taquilleras y llevamos las mismas zapatillas deportivas. Si nuestros abuelos aún seguían los preceptos impuestos por la familia, la Iglesia y la nación, nosotros seguimos los dictados de los medios, el marketing y un Estado paternalista. No obstante, pese a ser cada vez más parecidos, hace mucho que superamos la época de los grandes colectivos. La pertenencia a iglesias, partidos políticos y sindicatos ha caído en picado y la tradicional línea divisoria entre derecha e izquierda tiene ya escaso significado. Lo único que nos preocupa es «resolver problemas», como si la política pudiera externalizarse a consultores de gestión. (p. 26)

Para que no haya ningún malentendido: el capitalismo abrió las puertas a la tierra de la abundancia, pero el capitalismo por sí solo no puede sostenerla. El progreso se ha convertido en sinónimo de prosperidad económica, pero el siglo xxi nos enfrenta al reto de encontrar otras formas de impulsar nuestra calidad de vida. **Y aun cuando en Occidente la gente joven se ha hecho adulta en una era de tecnocracia apolítica, tendremos que regresar otra vez a la política para encontrar una nueva utopía.**

En ese sentido, me siento reconfortado por nuestra insatisfacción, porque la insatisfacción está a un mundo de distancia de la indiferencia. La nostalgia generalizada, el anhelo de un pasado que en realidad nunca existió, sugiere que todavía tenemos ideales, aunque los hayamos enterrado vivos.

El verdadero progreso empieza con algo que ninguna economía del conocimiento puede producir: sabiduría sobre lo que significa vivir bien. Debemos hacer lo que grandes pensadores como John Stuart Mill, Bertrand Russell y John Maynard Keynes ya propugnaban hace cien años: «valorar el fin por encima de los medios y preferir lo bueno a lo útil».34 Hemos de dirigir nuestras mentes al futuro. Dejar de consumir nuestro propio descontento a través de las encuestas y de unos medios de comunicación centrados de manera incesante en las malas noticias. Considerar alternativas y formar nuevos colectivos. Trascender ese espíritu de nuestro tiempo que nos limita y reconocer nuestro idealismo compartido. (p. 27)

El modelo

Es hora de regresar al pensamiento utópico.

Necesitamos un nuevo norte, un nuevo mapa del mundo que incluya una vez más un continente distante, inexplorado: Utopía. Con esto no me refiero a los modelos

inflexibles que los fanáticos utópicos tratan de imponernos con sus teocracias o sus planes quinquenales, que sólo pretenden que las personas de carne y hueso se sometan a sueños fervorosos. Tengamos en cuenta lo siguiente: la palabra «utopía» significa al mismo tiempo «buen lugar» y «ningún lugar». Lo que necesitamos son horizontes alternativos que activen la imaginación. Y si digo horizontes en plural es porque, al fin y al cabo, las utopías enfrentadas son la savia de la democracia.

Como siempre, nuestra utopía empezará en una dimensión modesta. Los cimientos de lo que hoy llamamos «civilización» los establecieron hace mucho tiempo soñadores que siguieron el ritmo de su propia orquesta. [...]

Una cosa está clara, no obstante: sin todos esos soñadores cándidos de todas las épocas, todavía pasaríamos hambre y seríamos pobres, sucios, temerosos, ignorantes, enfermizos y feos. Sin utopía, estamos perdidos. No es que el presente sea malo, al contrario. Sin embargo, si no albergamos la esperanza de algo mejor, se vuelve sombrío. «Para (p. 28) ser feliz, el hombre necesita no sólo el disfrute de esto o lo otro, sino esperanza, iniciativa y cambio», escribió en cierta ocasión el filósofo británico Bertrand Russell. Y también añadió: «No es una Utopía acabada lo que deberíamos desear, sino un mundo donde la imaginación y la esperanza estén vivos y activos.» (p. 29)

BREGMAN, Rutger, *Utopies réalistes*, Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2017, pp. 256.
Traduction de l'anglais par Jelia AMRALI. Cf.:
<http://www.seuil.com/ouvrage/utopies-realistes-rutger-bregman/9782021361872>
<https://fr.scribd.com/document/362868812/eBook-Rutger-Bregman-Utopies-Realistes#>

Ouvrir grand les frontières, une semaine de travail de quinze heures, le revenu de base universel... Des idées naïves et dépassées ou bien la force de l'utopie renouvelée ? Résolument anti-décliniste, *Utopies réalistes* tombe à pic et nous explique comment construire un monde idéal aujourd'hui et ne pas désespérer ! D'une ville canadienne qui a totalement éradiqué la pauvreté à l'histoire d'un revenu de base pour des millions d'Américains sous Richard Nixon, Rutger Bregman nous emmène dans un voyage à travers l'histoire et, au-delà des divisions traditionnelles gauche-droite, défend des idées qui s'imposent par la force même de l'exemple et le sérieux de la démarche historique. Tout progrès de la civilisation – des débuts de la démocratie à la fin de l'esclavage – fut d'abord considéré comme un fantasme de doux rêveurs.

À la fois stimulant et passionnant, appuyé sur les travaux d'Esther Duflo, Thomas Piketty, David Graeber, etc., cet essai vif, pédagogique et amusant rouvre plusieurs perspectives : la réduction du temps de travail, le revenu universel, plus largement la lutte contre la pauvreté et la réduction des inégalités, la taxation des flux financiers, et enfin l'ouverture des frontières. Alors laissons

l'enthousiasme de l'auteur, à contre-courant du pessimisme ambiant, nous convaincre que de nouvelles propositions utopiques peuvent être envisageables à court terme.

Historien, journaliste pour le magazine en ligne *De Correspondent*, Rutger Bregman a publié quatre livres sur l'histoire, la philosophie et l'économie. Formidable succès aux Pays-Bas, *Utopies réalistes* est en cours de traduction dans 17 pays et depuis sa sortie au Royaume-Uni est dans la liste des meilleures ventes.



BREGMAN, Rutger, *Wikipedia*, last edited on 9 July 2018. Cf.:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rutger_Bregman

BREGMAN, Rutger, *Utopia for Realists* (book), *Wikipedia*, last edited on 13 April 2018. Cf.: [Full text: “.html”]

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Utopia_for_Realists_\(book\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Utopia_for_Realists_(book))

BREGMAN, Rutger, “Why Garbagemen Should Earn More Than Bankers. How more and more people are making money without contributing anything of value”, *Economics*, 21 April 2016. Cf.: [Full text: “.html”]

<https://economics.com/why-garbage-men-should-earn-more-than-bankers/>

Thick fog envelops City Hall Park at daybreak on February 2, 1968. Seven thousand New York City sanitation workers stand crowded together, their mood rebellious. Union spokesman John DeLury addresses the multitude from the roof of a truck. When he announces that the mayor has refused further concessions, the crowd's anger threatens to boil over. As the first rotten eggs sail overhead, DeLury realizes the time for compromise is over. It's time to take the illegal route, the path prohibited to sanitation workers for the simple reason that the job they do is too important.

It's time to strike.

The next day, trash goes uncollected throughout the Big Apple. Nearly all the city's garbage crews have stayed home. “We've never had prestige, and it never bothered me before,” one garbageman is quoted in a local newspaper. “But it does now. People treat us like dirt.”

When the mayor goes out to survey the situation two days later, the city is already knee-deep in refuse, with another 10,000 tons added every day. A rank stench begins to percolate through the city's streets, and rats have been sighted in even the swankiest parts of town. In the space of just a few days, one of the world's most iconic cities has started to look like a slum. And for the first time since the polio epidemic of 1931, city authorities declare a state of emergency.

Still the mayor refuses to budge. He has the local press on his side, which portrays the strikers as greedy narcissists. It takes a week before the realization begins to kick in: The garbagemen are actually going to win. “New York is helpless before them,” the editors of *The New York Times* despair. “This greatest of cities must surrender or see itself sink in filth.” Nine days into the strike, when the trash has piled up to 100,000 tons, the sanitation workers get their way. “The moral of the story,” *Time Magazine* later reported, “is that it pays to strike.”

[...]

New York City, 50 Years Later

Half a century after the strike, the Big Apple seems to have learned its lesson. “Everyone in NYC wants to be garbage collector,” read a [recent newspaper headline](#). These days, the people who pick up after the megacity earn an enviable salary. After five years on the payroll, they can take home as much as \$70,000 plus overtime and perks. “They keep the city running,” a Sanitation Department spokesperson explained in the article. “If they were to stop working, however briefly, all of New York City would come to a standstill.”

The paper also interviewed a city sanitation worker. In 2006, Joseph Lerman, then 20, got a call from the city informing him he could report for duty as a collector. “I felt like I’d won the jackpot,” he recounts. Nowadays, Lerman gets up at 4 a.m. every morning to haul garbage bags for shifts of up to 12 hours. To his fellow New Yorkers, it’s only logical that he is well paid for his labors. “Honest,” the city spokesperson smiles, “these men and women aren’t known as the heroes of New York City for nothing.”

BREGMAN, Rutger, “Nixon’s Basic Income Plan”, *Jacobin Magazine*, 05-05-2016. Cf.: [Full text: “.html”] [Republished from [The Correspondent](#)]
<https://www.jacobinmag.com/2016/05/richard-nixon-ubi-basic-income-welfare/>

Why Richard Nixon once advocated for basic income – and then turned against it.

BREGMAN, Rutger, “Le revenu universel a fait du chemin depuis sa conception au XVI^e siècle. Ses expérimentations ont toutes réussi. (Partie 1)”, *ULYSES Monde*, 3 juin 2016. Cf.: [Texte complet : “.html”]
<http://www.ulyces.co/rutger-bregman/tout-prouve-que-nous-devrions-donner-gratuitement-de-largent-a-tout-le-monde/>

Utopie pour réalistes. C’est ainsi que [Rutger Bregman](#), l’auteur de cet article, définit le revenu universel. Utopique, parce que l’idée d’un revenu mensuel accordé inconditionnellement à tous les citoyens majeurs du pays semble sortir d’un songe de doux rêveurs ; réaliste, parce qu’au fil des quatre chapitres qui suivent, le journaliste néerlandais démontre minutieusement que l’idée est réalisable (en s’appuyant sur de nombreuses expérimentations réussies). Si elle

n'a jamais été appliquée au niveau national, toutes les expériences menées sur la planète ont été un succès, quelle que soit la période de l'histoire à laquelle elles ont eu lieu.

[...]

[...] Ainsi, lorsqu'il publie *L'Utopie* en 1516, l'homme politique et philosophe anglais Thomas More y fait déjà référence. Et pour cause, elle est pensée pour la première fois par son ami et collègue, l'Espagnol [Juan Luis Vives](#), jamais avare de réflexions visant à réformer l'organisation sociale sous un jour plus humaniste. En 1526, après avoir fui l'Inquisition espagnole en 1509 et étudié à la Sorbonne, c'est réfugié à Louvain – où séjournent Thomas More et d'autres humanistes – qu'il fait paraître *De Subventionem pauperum*, « *De l'Assistance aux pauvres* ». Ce traité, adressé aux magistrats de Bruges où sévit une pauvreté qui l'écœure, contient pour la première fois l'idée d'un moyen de subsistance accordé à tous, aux pauvres comme aux riches.

« Même ceux qui ont dilapidé leur fortune dans une vie dissolue – dans les jeux, les prostituées, le luxe excessif, la glotonerie et les paris – devraient avoir de quoi manger, car personne ne devrait mourir de faim », écrit ce philosophe juif converti au catholicisme, né à Valence. Sa pensée inspirera certaines villes des environs de mettre en place les premières expérimentations, comme la municipalité flamande d'Ypres. Depuis lors, sa thèse a traversé les âges et les esprits de bon nombre de penseurs.

En 1895, dans *La Machine à explorer le temps*, H. G. Wells décrit une société des Eloïs reposant sur un revenu universel pour pallier au chômage causé par l'automatisation généralisée de leur société. Dans son dernier livre paru en 1967, *Où allons-nous ? la dernière chance de la démocratie américaine*, [Martin Luther King](#) écrit sa conviction qu'il est possible de créer un « revenu garanti » pour tous les citoyens américains.

BREGMAN, Rutger, “Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 8: Decent Work & Economic Growth”, *UNESCO IPDC Talks*, 2016. Cf.: [IPDC = International Programme for the Development of Communication]
<https://en.unesco.org/ipdc-talks/mr-rutger-bregman>

BREGMAN, Rutger, “Entrevistas sobre *Utopía para realistas*”, *Centre d'Estudis Joan Bardina*, marzo de 2017. Cf.: [Texto completo: “.html”]
<http://chalaux.org/nw/escrits/rutger-bregman-entrevistas-sobre-utopia-para-realistas-es.htm>

- Sinopsis del libro «Utopía para realistas».



- La mitad de la población afirma que no se siente realizada con su trabajo, y casi la mitad de todos los puestos de trabajo están amenazados debido a la tecnología y el uso de las máquinas. Y mientras tanto, tras una interminable jornada laboral, acabamos comprando cosas que no necesitamos. El historiador y periodista

holandés Rutger Bregman nos recuerda que no hay que seguir funcionando así, que el mundo no es estático y que las sociedades han cambiado muchas veces desde el inicio de la Humanidad.

- Esta guía hacia una utopía revolucionaria pero perfectamente alcanzable pone a nuestra disposición múltiples estudios, anécdotas vívidas y numerosos experimentos que han resultado ser un éxito allí donde se han llevado a cabo. Bregman nos muestra que cada hito de la civilización –desde el fin de la esclavitud hasta el principio de la democracia– se consideró en su momento una fantasía utópica, nos guía a través de un viaje increíble para la historia, más allá de las divisiones tradicionales de izquierda y derecha, y nos señala algunas ideas para las que parece que, por fin, ha llegado el momento. Lo que resulta del todo imposible es sostener la hiperproducción y el consumo tal como hemos hecho hasta ahora: el sistema económico menos realista de todos es este en el que vivimos actualmente.

Utopía para realistas es uno de esos libros curiosos que te cogen por sorpresa y ponen en duda todo lo que creías saber.

Índice:

- [Sinopsis del libro «Utopía para realistas».](#)
- [Ficha técnica del libro «Utopía para realistas».](#)
- [El Confidencial. Rutger Bregman: «Trabajaremos sólo 15 horas a la semana».](#)
- [El País. Rutger Bregman: «La renta básica universal sería el mayor logro del capitalismo».](#)
- [El Diario. Rutger Bregman: «La renta básica es una combinación de lo mejor de la izquierda y de la derecha».](#)
- [Vilaweb. Rutger Bregman: «La renta universal se puede ver como la vía capitalista al comunismo».](#)
- [Ara. Rutger Bregman: «Dejemos que trabajen los robots y ocupémonos de lo que importa».](#)
- [La Vanguardia. Rutger Bregman: «La renta básica nos hará libres».](#)
- [La Razón. Rutger Bregman: «La renta básica impulsa a buscar ambiciones propias».](#)
- [Enlaces relacionados.](#)

BREGMAN, Rutger, “Why Society’s Biggest Freeloaders Are at the Top. No, wealth isn’t created at the top. It is merely devoured there”, *Economics*, April 15 2017. Cf.: [Full text: “.html”]

<https://economics.com/no-wealth-isnt-created-top-devoured-rutger-bregman/>

This piece is about one of the biggest taboos of our times. About a truth that is seldom acknowledged, and yet – on reflection – cannot be denied. The truth that we are living in an inverse welfare state.

These days, politicians from the left to the right assume that most wealth is created at the top. By the visionaries, by the job creators, and by the people who

have “made it”. By the go-getters oozing talent and entrepreneurialism that are helping to advance the whole world.

Now, we may disagree about the extent to which success deserves to be rewarded – the philosophy of the left is that the strongest shoulders should bear the heaviest burden, while the right fears high taxes will blunt enterprise – but across the spectrum virtually all agree that wealth is created primarily at the top.

So entrenched is this assumption that it’s even embedded in our language. When economists talk about “productivity”, what they really mean is the size of your paycheck. And when we use terms like “welfare state”, “redistribution” and “solidarity”, we’re implicitly subscribing to the view that there are two strata: the makers and the takers, the producers and the couch potatoes, the hardworking citizens – and everybody else.

In reality, it is precisely the other way around. In reality, it is the waste collectors, the nurses, and the cleaners whose shoulders are supporting the apex of the pyramid. They are the true mechanism of social solidarity. Meanwhile, a growing share of those we hail as “successful” and “innovative” are earning their wealth at the expense of others. The people getting the biggest handouts are not down around the bottom, but at the very top. Yet their perilous dependence on others goes unseen. Almost no one talks about it. Even for politicians on the left, it’s a non-issue.

BREGMAN, Rutger, *Utopia for Realists*, YouTube, 9 March 2017, 59:49. Cf.:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U6vozRIo6bA>

Exciting new thinker Rutger Bregman visits the RSA to argue that the real crisis of our times is not that we don’t have it good, or even that we might be worse off in the near future – it’s that we don’t have the imagination to come up with anything better. Having already sparked a movement across the Netherlands, where 20 municipalities are now putting basic income into action, Rutger’s work inspires a firm belief that the most vital ingredient for political change is the conviction that there truly is a better way.

BREGMAN, Rutger, “Why we should give everyone a basic income”, YouTube, 17 April 2017, 16:46. Cf.:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9JhxpalOrxA>

BREGMAN, Ruger and Jim PUGH, “A Basic Income Utopia”, YouTube, 4 May 2017, 40:00. Cf.:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6nMDXygSdxE>

Universal basic income made a big splash recently at the annual TED conference. Rutger Bregman, basic income advocate and author of *Utopia for Realists*, received a standing ovation for his talk on why basic income could be the best solution for ending poverty.

On May 4, Rutger joined Universal Income Project co-director Jim Pugh to discuss his book, experiences from TED, and perspectives on basic income broadly.

BREGMAN, Rutger, “Libro *Utopía para realistas: otro modelo es posible*”, *elmostrador*, 22 de junio de 2017. Cf.: [Incluye un video de 15:02 de duración –en original inglés con subtítulos en español– con la conferencia de Bregman en abril de 2017 intitulada: “La pobreza no es una falta de carácter sino de dinero”. Totalmente opuesto a la “visión” de Margaret Thatcher: “Poverty is a personality defect”. Recomiendo verlo. Cf.:

<http://www.elmostrador.cl/cultura/2017/06/22/libro-utopia-para-realistas-otro-modelo-es-posible/>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ydKcaIE6O1k> [English version with subtitles in English]

<https://basicincome.org/news/2017/07/rutger-bregmans-ted-talk-basic-income-lecture-one-million-views/>

BREGMAN, Rutger, « La pauvreté n’est pas un manque de caractère, c’est un manque d’argent », *TED Conference*, April 2017. Vidéo de la conférence de Rutger Bregman –14:59 de durée, en originale anglais avec sous-titres en français. Traduction française de Morgane Quilfen. Cf.:

https://www.ted.com/talks/rutger_bregman_poverty_isn_t_a_lack_of_character_i_t_s_a_lack_of_cash?language=fr

SHAKESPEARE and Company, “Rutger Bregman on *Utopia for Realists on: And How We Can Get There*, *YouTube*, Paris, 11 July 2017, 44:36. Cf.:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o349VtOjYeY>

We were joined by visionary political thinker Rutger Bregman to discuss his groundbreaking work *Utopia for Realists: And How We Can Get There*. In association with Editions Seuil.

BREGMAN, Ruger and Hilman SCHNEIDER, “Universal Basic Income”, 11 January 2018, 1:04:56. Cf.:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yb5HphLtncs>

We are happy to announce that on January 11th, Room for Discussion will host an interview on the necessity and feasibility of a Universal Basic Income in the future.

With the ongoing automation and digitalisation of our societies many people fear job losses and rising unemployment. Yet the question remains whether automation will actually lead to job losses or whether existing jobs will merely shift to new sectors in the economy?

If unemployment would rise in the future, how can we ensure that everyone is still able to live a decent life? One solution which has become increasingly prominent is the introduction of a Universal Basic Income - or the idea that every citizen, no matter his employment status will be able to cover his/ her basic needs by a basic income provided by the government.

While several experiments have been conducted in recent years, many questions on the necessity and feasibility of a Universal Basic Income remain. How can a decent minimal income for everyone be financed? Will people be incentivised to

stop working if they no longer need to do so to lead a decent life? What are expected political and economic consequences of introducing UBI?

These and more questions will be explored during our interview on January 11th! Together with Rutger Bregman and Prof. Hilmar Schneider, we will discuss the necessity and feasibility of introducing a Universal Basic Income in the future.

Rutger Bregman is a Dutch Journalist at De Correspondent. In his international bestseller 'Utopia for Realists', Mr. Bregman argues very outspokenly for the introduction of a Universal Basic Income.

Prof. Hilmar Schneider is the director of the Institute for Labour Economics in Bonn. Unlike Bregman, Prof. Schneider argues that the introduction of a Universal Basic Income will neither be necessary nor desirable in the future.

Given the fierce opposition of our guests' opinions we expect a heated debate, highlighting the pro's and con's of introducing UBI from two very different perspectives. So make sure to join us and ask your questions during the interview.



ADAMS, Philip, "Is Utopia Possible?", *Australian Broad Casting Corporation*, Interview to Rutger Bregman, Wednesday 5 April 2017, 12:00. Cf.: [Complete audio] <http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/latenightlive/is-utopia-possible/8418342>

Basic income is attacked as a utopian fantasy but one of its strongest advocates was Richard Nixon. Its derided as unworkable but it has worked where its been tried. And far from undermining ambition, it may even spur it on.

ALALUF, Mateo et Daniel ZAMORA (dir.), *Contre l'allocation universelle*, Québec, Montréal (Canada), Lux Éditeur, 2017, pp. 120 (Collection Lettres libres). Cf. : <http://www.luxediteur.com/catalogue/contre-lallocation-universelle/>
https://www.amazon.fr/dp/2895962391/ref=rdr_kindle_ext_tmb

Depuis la crise de 2008, l'idée d'une allocation universelle suscite un engouement renouvelé, tant en Europe qu'en Amérique. Le projet trouve des appuis à gauche comme à droite et, de l'avis de bien des spécialistes, il pourrait être le fondement des politiques sociales de l'avenir. Plus d'un penseur critique l'a prôné, Philippe Van Parijs, Toni Negri, José Bové ou André Gorz, mais que signifie vraiment cet étonnant consensus ?

Selon les auteurs de cet essai, l'allocation universelle, sous couvert d'une bienveillante redistribution de la richesse, consacre l'abandon de l'enjeu politique central des cent cinquante dernières années: le conflit entre le capital et le travail. Chacun des textes composant ce livre uvre au rappel de l'importance décisive de cette question, pour justifier qu'il faille impérativement être contre l'allocation universelle.

ALTERNATIVES ÉCONOMIQUES, *Les Dossiers*, n.º 10 : *Revenu universel – Comprendre le débat*, Paris : Alternatives Économiques, Juin 2017, pp. 98 (Collection Dossiers Alt.Ec). Cf. :

<https://www.alternatives-economiques.fr/publication/revenu-universel-comprendre-debat/197001010100-00079322.html>

Un revenu de base ou des revenus de base ? Derrière un même terme se cachent des propositions aux antipodes. Pour les uns, instrument qui, couplé à d'autres, permet d'amorcer une sortie du capitalisme ; pour d'autres, outil permettant de réformer le système redistributif ; pour d'autres encore, solde de tout compte qui imposera le silence aux plus pauvres.

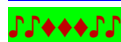
[...]

Le revenu de base répond à une aspiration à l'autodétermination individuelle. Mais quelles solidarités collectives dessine-t-il ? Quelle production en commun de services publics, de connaissances, doit et peut être imaginée avec ou à côté ? Au seuil de ce numéro, c'est l'une des questions à garder en tête. [Celine MOUZON, « Editorial »]

AMAL, « La revenu universel : une bonne idée ? », *Blooming You*, mercredi 30 mai 2018. Cf. : [Texte complet : “.html”]

<https://www.bloomingyou.fr/revenu-universel-bonne-idee/>

<https://maximevende.org/2018/06/04/le-revenu-universel-une-bonne-idee/>



Nous vous avons déjà présenté [le revenu universel](#), en abordant son histoire, son concept et les raisons qui l'ont fait surgir dans le débat public. Nous allons, aujourd'hui, aller plus loin au côté d'Abdenmour Bidar, philosophe et haut fonctionnaire français qui a rédigé son dernier essai paru ce mois-ci : [« Libérons-nous ! »](#).

ANDRÉS, Javier y Pablo MARÍN, “El libro que tienes que leer n.º 3: *Utopía para realistas* de Rutger Bregman”, *YouTube*, 30 de noviembre de 2017, 21:33. Cf.:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hWTZRT3EYU8>

Javier Andrés y Pablo Marín exprimen el libro *Utopía para realistas* de Rutger Bregman. Un libro que describe en profundidad el sistema económico mundial de manera ágil y atractiva. La globalización, la economía digital o la renta básica son algunos de los puntos que se abordan en esta obra que contribuye a la reflexión, genera debate y no deja indiferente al lector.

ADRIAENS, Alain, “Les utopies réalistes”, *Etopia*, n.º 11, novembre 2017, pp. 6. Cf. : [Texte complet : « .PDF »]

http://www.etopia.be/IMG/pdf/les_utopies_realistes.pdf

Utopies réalistes est déjà le quatrième livre de Rutger Bregman. Cet ouvrage d'une vedette médiatique aux Pays-Bas a été traduit en 17 langues, publié dans 23

pays et est un best-seller non seulement Outre-Moedijck mais aussi en Grande-Bretagne. Bregman a été interviewé par bien des médias européens, états-uniens et tout récemment par Trends-Tendance en Belgique. Son précédent livre sur l'histoire du progrès [3] a reçu en 2013 le prix Liberales de la droite flamande. Logique puisqu'il déclare dans une interview : « La gauche n'est capable que de se positionner contre quelque chose : contre l'austérité, contre l'homophobie, contre l'establishment, contre tout ». À première vue, assez clivant, il avance néanmoins des propositions concrètes fort intéressantes [4]. Quelles sont les utopies libertariennes proposées ?

ANTHONY, Andrew, "Interview: Rutger Bregman: 'We could cut the working week by a third'", *The Guardian*, Sunday 26 February 2017. Cf.: [Full text: ".html"]
<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2017/feb/26/rutger-bregman-utopia-for-realists-interview-universal-basic-income>

As liberal democracy seems to be crumbling under the weight of widespread despondency, some hardline opinions are in danger of becoming received wisdoms. In the global market, we are told, we must work harder and improve productivity. The welfare state has become too large and we need to cut back on benefits. Immigration is out of control and borders need to be strengthened.

The choice seems to be either to accept this new paradigm or risk the likes of [Marine Le Pen and Geert Wilders](#) gaining power. The centre ground is being dragged to the left and right, and collapsing down the middle. Meanwhile progressive politics has returned to its comfort zone, busily opposing everything and offering almost nothing. Where is the vision, the ambition, the belief?

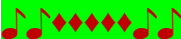
Yet into this bleak picture drops a book and an author bristling with hope, optimism and answers. Rutger Bregman is a 28-year-old Dutchman whose book, *Utopia for Realists*, has taken Holland by storm and could yet revitalise progressive thought around the globe. His solutions are quite simple and staunchly set against current trends: we should institute a universal basic income for everyone that covers minimum living expenses – say around £12,000 a year; the working week should be shortened to 15 hours; borders should be opened and migrants allowed to move wherever they choose.

If that all sounds like fantasy politics, then Bregman has assembled a wealth of empirical evidence to make his case. Better than that, though, it is not a dry, statistical analysis – although he doesn't shy from solid data – but a book written with verve, wit and imagination. The effect is charmingly persuasive, even when you can't quite believe what you're reading.

ARANDA, Germán, "Al Estado le saldría más barata una renta básica que atender a los pobres", *Play Ground*, 28 de marzo de 2017. [Incluye un video con una entrevista en inglés de Owen Jones a Rutger Bregman –de 16:44 de duración– intitulada "Capitalism will always create bullshit jobs". Cf.: [Texto completo: ".html"]

https://www.playgroundmag.net/lit/saldria-barata-renta-basica-pobres_22631666.html

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LsutNKH7KiE>

BAIGES, Siscu, “Rutger Bregman: ‘Los políticos serán los últimos en darse cuenta de que las utopías son posibles’”, *Red Renta Básica*, 06-09-2016. Cf.: [Texto completo: “.html”] 

<http://www.redrentabasica.org/rb/los-politicos-seran-los-ultimos-en-darse-cuenta-de-que-las-utopias-son-posibles/>

BASIC INCOME EUROPEAN NETWORK. Cf.:

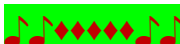
<https://basicincome.org/about-bien/>

<https://basicincome.org/>

Founded in 1986, the *Basic Income European Network* (BIEN) aims to serve as a link between all individuals and groups interested in basic income (i.e. a periodic cash payment unconditionally delivered to all on an individual basis, without means test or work requirement) and to foster informed discussion on this topic throughout the world.

Members of BIEN include academics, students and social policy practitioners as well as people actively engaged in political, social and religious organisations. They vary in terms of disciplinary backgrounds and political affiliations no less than in terms of age and citizenship.

The mission of the Basic Income Earth Network (BIEN) is to offer education to the wider public about alternative arguments about, proposals for, and problems concerning, basic income as idea, institution, and public policy practice. To this end, BIEN organises public conferences around the world on an annual basis in which empirical research and new ideas are disseminated and discussed. BIEN promotes and serves as a repository of published research, including congress papers, an academic blog featuring balanced debate for and against the basic income proposal in different contexts and forms, and by means of an independent academic journal linked with BIEN – Basic Income Studies. BIEN does not subscribe to any particular version of basic income, and fosters evidenced-based research, plural debate, and critical engagement about basic income and related ideas and public policy developments. Individuals connected with BIEN – including affiliated organisations – may express particular opinions about basic income, but they are not opinions of BIEN. BIEN’s explicit mission is to remain neutral among competing arguments for and against basic income and the relation of basic income with other ideas and policies.

BATTISTONI, Alyssa, “The False Promise of Universal Basic Income”, *Dissent Magazine*, Spring 2017. Cf.: [Full text: “.html”] 

<https://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/false-promise-universal-basic-income-andy-stern-ruger-bregman>

Long dismissed as utopian, proposals for a universal basic income are now gaining traction on both the right and the left. But UBI's supporters on the left should proceed with caution.

[...]

Basic income is therefore often posited as a post-ideological solution suited to a new era of politics: the odd confluence of interest from the left and right tends to be read as a sign that political positions should be eschewed in favor of rational compromise. But UBI's cross-ideological appeal is the bug, not the feature. Because basic income is politically ambiguous, it also has the potential to act as a Trojan horse for the left or right: left critics fret that it will serve as a vehicle for dissolving the remains of the welfare state, while proponents herald it as the "capitalist road to communism." The version of basic income we get will depend, more than policies with a clearer ideological valence, on the political forces that shape it.

Which is why the prospect of pushing for basic income in the United States right now—when the right controls everything—should be cause for alarm: UBI's supporters on the left should proceed with caution.

But that doesn't mean basic income is a lost cause. To the contrary, capitalism's inability to provide a means of making a decent living for the over 7 billion people currently alive is one of its most glaring defects—and one of the most significant opportunities for the left to offer an alternative. A universal basic income, though not the only answer, might point us in the right direction.

[...]

The left hasn't seriously organized around welfare rights for years. But in the coming years it will be more important than ever to defend what remains of U.S. social provision from Paul Ryan and company, particularly given the nasty racial tack that fight will undoubtedly take. And we can't defend welfare just as a backstop for vulnerable and unlucky members of society, or as a handout to the benighted poor, but as a fundamental and universal good for all. In other words, we should advocate for the exact opposite of the Clintonian welfare reform programs of the 1990s, and the only kind of welfare program that can build a broad and universal constituency for social provision rather than marking out the undeserving poor.

A recent *New York Times* op-ed argued for UBI as a kind of reparations for decades of unpaid work done by women, echoing socialist-feminist arguments about the value of social reproduction. The Movement for Black Lives endorsed basic income as part of a reparations program, in the model of a new Freedom Budget. The labor movement in the United States has understandably focused on

higher wages, but it can—and must—also revive the demand for shorter hours and more leisure. Basic income isn't the only way to make that demand, and it isn't even a necessary part of it—but its utopian elements can help drive a more visionary agenda for labor.

[...]

Utopia is possible. If we want it, though, we'll need to make it a part of the demands and visions of the left movements we build over the next few years. Because we can't just invent the future—we're going to have to fight for it.

BESANCENOT, Olivier et Michael LÖWY, *La journée de travail et le « règne de la liberté »* (Karl Marx), Paris : Fayard, 2018, pp. 160. Cf. :

<https://www.fayard.fr/la-journee-de-travail-et-le-regne-de-la-liberte-9782213709710> [Avec un extrait à lire]

<https://www.fayard.fr/olivier-besancenot-michael-lowy-la-journee-de-travail-et-le-regne-de-la-liberte> [Olivier Besancenot interviewé par Axel de Tarlé, France 5, 7 mai 2018, 9 :28]

Le règne de la liberté commence avec la réduction de la journée de travail. Karl Marx avait nettement désigné, au Livre III du *Capital*, la finalité du communisme, le point où il se réaliserait : il serait la liberté rendue à chacun une fois effectué collectivement le travail nécessaire pour répondre aux besoins de tous. Cet aspect de sa pensée, négligé, oublié, garde une acuité et une pertinence renouvelées dans le contexte actuel.

À l'aube du XXI^e siècle, le royaume de la non-liberté s'étend. Le vol de temps de travail effectué au détriment des salariés a pris l'ampleur d'un braquage mondial. Les huit heures travaillées par jour, victoire arrachée de haute lutte, sont menacées. On assisterait même à la fin d'un phénomène qui aura duré plus de cent ans : la diminution du temps de travail. Et la part du temps chômé, plongeant les gens dans la misère, ne semble rien devoir y changer. Les maîtres du temps salarial ont décidé de dérégler les horloges et de repousser les aiguilles du cadran, par tous les moyens nécessaires, empiétant sur chaque instant possible : le surtravail humain reste encore, pour l'économie de marché, le gisement le plus profitable.

Cette attaque chronophage, menée telle une croisade, à coups de réformes, rencontre de nombreuses résistances sur son chemin. Il est urgent de se réapproprié plus d'un siècle de luttes.

REETH, Adèle Van, « Marx sur le terrain avec Olivier BESANCENOT et Gaspar KOENIG » – *Livres & Vous*, Interview dans la chaîne Public Sénat, 4 mai 2018, 53:30. Cf. :

<https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x6iwhzp>

Cette semaine Livres & Vous vous emmène sur le terrain, à la rencontre d'un homme politique, lecteur de Karl Marx, Olivier Besancenot qui fait paraître : *La journée de travail et le « règne de la liberté »* (Karl Marx), chez Fayard. Il sera rejoint en deuxième partie d'émission par un philosophe ardent défenseur de la liberté, Gaspard Koenig qui sort les *Voyages d'un philosophe aux pays des libertés* aux Éditions de l'Observatoire. Nous tenterons de vérifier si l'idéal de liberté est applicable sur le terrain.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSITÉ DE RENNES 1, « Que penser du revenu universel ? », s.d. Cf. :

<https://bibliotheques.univ-rennes1.fr/actualites/que-penser-du-revenu-universel>

En ligne ou en papier, des livres et articles qui vous aideront à vous forger votre propre opinion.

Qu'est-ce que le revenu universel ?

Pour répondre à cette question, la BU Droit-Économie-Gestion vous propose une [bibliographie](#).

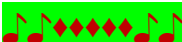
Allocation universelle, revenu de base, revenu inconditionnel d'existence, revenu social garanti, salaire universel... La diversité des expressions est, à elle seule, révélatrice de l'intérêt porté actuellement par les économistes, journalistes et hommes politiques à ce sujet.

Et pourtant l'idée n'est pas nouvelle. En 2005, Yannick Vanderborght et Philippe Van Parijs faisaient déjà le point dans un petit ouvrage intitulé [L'allocation universelle](#). « Verser sans conditions à tous les citoyens un revenu de base, cumulable avec tout autre revenu », telle était la définition proposée à l'époque.

Pour ou contre un revenu de base ? : la question au cœur du débat public

Ces derniers mois, le nombre de publications sur le sujet s'est nettement accru. D'une idée encore utopique, le revenu universel est devenu une alternative sérieuse figurant dans les programmes de plusieurs candidats aux élections présidentielles. Les magazines [Alternatives économiques](#) et [Sciences humaines](#) y consacrent plusieurs articles de même que les revues académiques telles [l'Économie politique](#). Plusieurs ouvrages sont déjà parus, [tantôt pour](#), [tantôt contre](#), et d'autres sont à paraître au printemps 2017.

Au cours des prochaines semaines, la BU Droit-Économie-Gestion mettra en avant les documents sur le sujet à l'entrée de la salle D, au fur et à mesure de leur disponibilité.

BIZARRO, Sara, "United States: Andrew Yang is running for President in 2020 on the platform of Universal Basic Income", *Basic Income*, April 8, 2018. Cf.: [Full text: ".html"] 

<https://basicincome.org/news/2018/04/united-states-andrew-yang-is-running-for-president-in-2020-on-the-platform-of-universal-basic-income/>

Andrew Yang is a young entrepreneur who is [running for president](#) on the platform of Basic Income. As an entrepreneur, he started and led several technology and education companies. More recently he founded [Venture for America](#), “a nonprofit that places top graduates in startups in emerging U.S. cities to generate job growth and train the next generation of entrepreneurs.” Because of his varied experience, Yang travelled all over the United States and came face to face with the reality of several dreary and forlorn locations. In his new book, [The War on Normal People](#), he describes visiting Detroit in 2010, when the city “was just beginning its descent into bankruptcy,” he remembers “cold, empty streets feeling abandoned,” and he saw the same in “Providence, New Orleans, and Cincinnati.” These experiences led him to create Venture for America, sending talented entrepreneurs to these cities in an attempt to create jobs and revitalize these areas.

[...]

When asked about how he decided to run for president, he said: “What happened was that I saw Donald Trump get elected and realized that there is a very short window of time between now and when things get so bad that it is going to be difficult to easily reconstitute many of the regions [that are most affected and that elected Trump]. It was in 2017 and I decided that someone should run for President on Universal Basic Income and so I went around and asked who is going to do this? When I saw no one was going to do it, I decided to do it.” [Yang’s platform](#) is mainly focused on Universal Basic Income, but also includes Medicare for All and something he calls Human Capitalism. In Human Capitalism we would still have a free market, but would not be focused primarily on corporate profits, but instead should follow three central tenets: “1. Humans are more important than money, 2) The unit of a Human Capitalism economy is each person, not each dollar, 3) Markets exist to serve our common goals and values.”

BLIN, Simon, « Les utopies naissent dans les livres, et puis un beau jour... », *Libération*, 25 septembre 2017. Cf. : [Texte complet : « .html »]
http://www.liberation.fr/debats/2017/09/24/les-utopies-naissent-dans-les-livres-et-puis-un-beau-jour_1598573

Comment un idéal peut-il devenir réalité ? Plusieurs ouvrages examinent la possibilité d’autres futurs, par exemple une société émancipée du travail. Tom Hodgkinson, Rutger Bregman, Erik Olin Wright décrivent un monde que nous n’apercevons pas encore.

BRECK-McKYE, Jimmy, “Review: *Utopia for Realists*, Rutger Bregman”, *breck-mckye.com*, Tuesday July 25 2017. Cf.: [Full text: “.html”]

<http://www.breck-mckye.com/blog/2017/07/review-utopia-for-realists-rutger-bregman/>

Rutger Bregman thinks the time has come for Universal Basic Income: to replace all benefits and state support with a single, basic, unconditional wage, paid to every adult in our society. Rather than plunging society into idleness and poverty, the argument goes, humans would continue to work, but rather than idling their days in useless occupations, non-jobs that only serve consumer capitalism, they would labour for the causes that truly motivate them.

With shrinking manufacturing industry and the threat of automation as hot-button topics in the press, then, *Utopia for Realists* will be read eagerly by technosceptics, anti-capitalists and futurists alike. But how well will it satisfy them?

Here's what I think is a fair-minded assessment: UFR is a fairly short book with a very ambitious scope, but that suffers from being spread so thinly. It raises lots of interesting ideas, but that doesn't cover any of them with enough depth to make them stick.

[...]

If *Utopia for Realists* is light on the details, it is light on the theory too. There is no political philosophy here. Bregman asserts that more equality makes us happier, but he never takes a moment to ask whether it's morally desirable. I'm a socialist and even I think that one can't be taken for granted. And for a historian, Bregman seems unreflectively Whiggist: he suggests all history has been nothing a ceaseless, beautiful, great march forwards; that we will keep going on and on and that there will always be a bright new idea waiting to advance us. *UFR* all but says UBI is a historical necessity just by dint of being new and progressive.

Utopia for Realists is a TED talk expanded into a book. It is slickly argued and it successfully argues that don't just work out of hunger, but out of their basic social natures. But like TED it is shallow, it is self-promotional, it is too excited about the solutions and not thoughtful enough about the problems. My sceptics' antennae twirled madly throughout and I left half the text marked with my trademark 'wavy underline of doubt'. I was not convinced.

CAETANO, Joana, "Spain: Review of Publications on Utopia", *Utopian Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 3, 2017. Special Issue: Utopia and Fashion, pp. 613-623. Cf.: https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5325/utopianstudies.28.3.0613?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents

CARROLL, Peter, "Book Review: *Utopia for Realists and How We Dan Get There* by Rutger Bregman", *London School of Economics Review of Books*, July 24th, 2017. Cf.: [Full text: ".html"]

<http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/lseviewofbooks/2017/07/24/book-review-utopia-for-realists-and-how-we-can-get-there-by-rutger-bregman/>

Record-high life expectancies, technological advances, military conflicts at historic lows and the unprecedented levels of wealth in developed economies all suggest that we are living through a golden age of humanity. For Rutger Bregman, a 29-year-old Dutch historian and author of *Utopia for Realists and How We Can Get There*, our arrival at ‘the land of plenty’ means that the most pressing challenge for humanity is moving to a new stage of capitalism and creating a better society for everyone.

Bregman’s starting point is recognising the flaws within the existing system. *Utopia for Realists* offers a wide-ranging critique of the individualism necessitated by the broken deregulated neoliberal economic model. Dangerously dysfunctional long before the 2007-08 financial crisis, modern capitalism is making us depressed, indebted and spiritually bereft. As Bregman writes:

A culture that encourages us to spend money we don’t have on stuff we don’t need, in order to impress people we can’t stand. Then we go and cry on a therapist shoulder. That’s the dystopia we live in today.

[...]

Utopia for Realists ends with a template for progressives around the world to organise and rally. It is a suitable conclusion to an assured, ambitious and at times outrageous book that aims to solve the toughest and complex challenges that modern societies face. At its heart is a simple idea: to revive what we have lost in our race to embrace a competitive, free market economy; to look after each other and reject the failed consensus that has led us to the current dangerous and unhappy political and social impasse.

In Bregman’s view, the only thing stopping us from achieving utopia is ourselves. He sets the bar high and challenges us all to clear it: it is only when we conquer ourselves that we will reach our full potential, a valuable and timely message in a book that deserves to be read widely.

CUNNINGHAM, Benjamin, “Money for Nothing”, *Los Angeles Review of Books*, October 9, 2017. Cf.: [Full text: “.html”]

<https://lareviewofbooks.org/article/money-for-nothing/#!>

THE IDEA OF a universal basic income, whereby the state or another such sovereign provides all citizens with regular cash payments to supplement earnings, has existed in various incarnations for centuries, even if it is not yet a reality. In recent decades prominent intellectual advocates, like the Belgian academic Philippe van Parijs and American ex-union leader Andy Stern, have argued its merits, but the universal basic income – known by the acronym UBI –

is gaining new momentum amid fears that automation will continue displacing the traditional working class.

[...]

By using the triumph of neoliberalism as a parallel, Bregman exposes his earlier Nixonian dabblings as misdirection. Agree with its key tenets or not, but contemporary neoliberalism amounts to a far-reaching worldview that is generally hostile to UBI. There are public policies that result from that, but neoliberalism is an ideological force not a policy itself. So while Bregman justifies his own book by insinuating it is doing the yeoman's work of challenging existing ideological norms à la Milton Friedman, he also contends that UBI is merely a sober, rational public policy choice. In unevenly claiming both, he absolves himself of fully delivering an argument on either one. By insisting he has written a book of ideas, he shirks explaining the practicalities of how UBI might be implemented (policy). By hinging his argument on empiricism and Richard Nixon, he also avoids rooting it in a larger, lucid worldview (philosophy or ideology).

This means that as entertaining and reasoned as his book is, Bregman is overly utopian in his belief in the significance of an isolated idea. While implementing policies are largely about details and power relations, tectonic shifts in how society is organized are anchored in more comprehensive theory. *Utopia for Realists* does not fully deliver on either, but should still make for good conversation at the next dinner party.

DAVIES, Stephen, "Review Article: Basic Income, Labour, and the Idea of Postcapitalism. Rutger Bregman, *Utopia for Realists: And How Can We Get There*. Bloomsbury, 2017, 336 pp.", *Economic Affairs*, vol. 37, n.º 3, pp. 442-458. Cf.: [Full text: ".PDF"]

<https://iea.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/ecaf-oct17-davies.pdf>

Rutger Bregman's book is both interesting and irritating. It is interesting not so much because of its particular content but because it is a classic example of an emerging trend in what we may call radical political economy. As such it gives us an insight into what may turn out to be a development of both intellectual and political importance. The truly remarkable collection of blurbs and encomia at the start of the book gives some indication of the extent of this intellectual phenomenon in terms of the number of prominent intellectual figures who support it.

The book is also deeply irritating. It presents commonplaces as though they are shocking new discoveries while simultaneously presenting misleading or clearly incorrect ideas and studies as simple truth. More importantly, it is deeply confused about some of the key proposals and ideas that it advocates and shows no awareness of the likely difficulties or problems that they may present, even on

their own terms. This, though, is useful as it reveals the problems and difficulties of the emergent intellectual movement to which it belongs.

Bregman's book is usually described as a proposal for a Universal Basic Income (UBI) and that is indeed the core element of the work. However, it ties this in with a number of other arguments. Reading this book helps us to understand what many of its advocates hope to realise from a basic income and why for some this is seen not simply as a technical 'fix' for the problems of contemporary welfare states but as a transformative measure that will bring about a new social order. Unfortunately, the book's main flaw is that it is confused about exactly what a UBI is, and persistently conflates it with other things such as unconditional cash transfers and income supplements.

DOURGNON, Julien, *Revenu universel : Pourquoi ? Comment ?* Les petits matins, en coédition avec l'[Institut Veblen](#), 2017, pp. 128 (Collection Essais). Cf. : [On trouve de références à des interviews de l'auteur –radio, tv–, à des articles sur le livre, etc.]

<http://www.lespetitsmatins.fr/collections/revenu-universel-pourquoi-comment/>

Une synthèse sur l'histoire et les enjeux du revenu de base (ou revenu d'existence) et une réflexion engagée en sa faveur. Un livre en partenariat avec l'institut Veblen.

Un revenu mensuel garanti pour tous, de la naissance à la mort, sans aucune contrepartie... Une incitation à la paresse ? Une idée généreuse mais inapplicable? Non: la meilleure des solutions, dans un contexte de crise, pour garantir une continuité d'inclusion sociale et réduire les inégalités.

Inscrit dans la dynamique d'évolution du salariat capitaliste, le revenu universel n'est ni un dispositif d'assistance ni un outil de simplification. Il constitue un autre mode de répartition de la richesse produite, dans une économie largement dominée par les machines numériques, où la précarité s'accroît et où le retour de la croissance apparaît peu probable et peu souhaitable.

Justement parce qu'il est universel, un tel revenu est pourvoyeur de liberté et d'estime de soi, là où les allocations de solidarité renforcent le sentiment d'exclusion, voire de honte.

Réforme fiscale, glissement progressif des outils actuels, création de monnaies complémentaires... L'auteur examine les différentes hypothèses de financement du revenu universel. Et met au jour son puissant potentiel de transformation de la société.

FERRY, Jean-Marc, *L'allocation universelle. Pour un revenu de citoyenneté*, Paris : Ed. du Cerf, 2016, pp. 144 (Collection Lexio). Cf. :

<https://www.editionsducerf.fr/librairie/livre/17663/l-allocation-universelle>

Allocation universelle : revenu social primaire distribué égalitairement de façon inconditionnelle. Il s'agit d'un véritable revenu de citoyenneté. Même si l'économie se ranime, elle n'apportera par elle-même aucune solution à l'exclusion sociale.

La crise nous appelle à réfléchir sur un nouveau paradigme de la répartition : assurer un revenu de base à tous les citoyens, quelle que soit leur situation dans la production : riches ou pauvres, actifs ou chômeurs, étudiants ou retraités. C'est en développant un droit indépendant au revenu, lequel favoriserait aussi l'essor d'un « secteur quaternaire » d'activités personnelles, que le droit au travail cessera d'être une hypocrisie. Un livre fondamental à l'heure où se sont dégradées les perspectives sociales et où les écarts de richesse n'ont jamais été si importants. La France est au bord de la dépression : ce livre propose une voie pour l'éviter.

**GARCÍA, Gustavo, “¿Son posibles la renta universal y la semana laboral de 15 horas?”, *La Prensa*, 9 de agosto de 2017. Cf.: [Texto completo: “.html”]
<http://www.laprensa.com.ar/456112-Son-posibles-la-renta-universal-y-la-semana-laboral-de-15-horas.note.aspx>**

**GHIOTTO, Simon et Marc de VOS, « Le revenu universel : déconstruction d'une fausse idée », *Itinera Institute Analyse*, vol. 3, n.º 17, 17-06-2017, pp. 58. Cf. : [Texte complet : « .html »]
<http://www.itinerainstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Rapport-revenu-universel.pdf>**

Un étrange consensus tacite semble donc se former autour du revenu universel (ci-dessous : RU). Nombreux sont ceux qui y voient une panacée à la fois sociale et économique. Ce rapport examine les motivations apportées et les évidences brandies par les partisans du RU et les évalue sur une échelle des valeurs sociale.

Après une brève introduction du concept et de son évolution – dans laquelle nous en soulignerons également les nombreuses variations – durant les trois premiers chapitres, nous établirons les caractéristiques du RU au chapitre 4. Au chapitre 5, nous confronterons le concept aux valeurs et normes de notre société et de notre État-providence. Le chapitre 6 proposera une analyse statique, une description de la manière dont un RU répartirait le gâteau actuel et les ressources qu'exigerait le financement d'un RU viable. Au chapitre 7, nous aborderons les expériences les plus souvent évoquées. L'analyse statique nous amènera à une analyse dynamique des effets comportementaux et de l'impact à long terme possibles du RU au chapitre 8. En bref, ce qu'apportera le RU à notre prospérité et notre bien-être. Le chapitre 9 fera office de conclusion.

Le RU paraît attrayant et ne comporter que des avantages. Il est d'ailleurs défendu par des courants très divers. Mais dans cette analyse, nous porterons un regard objectif sur cette idée aussi sympathique qu'utopique. Est-ce une nouvelle

idée utile qui transcende le vieux concept de l'État-providence ? N'est-il combattu que par ceux qui ne peuvent se résoudre à abandonner des schémas dépassés ? Où se situe l'équilibre entre idéalisme et sens des réalités ? En d'autres termes : le RU résiste-t-il à un examen critique ?

GILLIGAN, Chris, "Leading the People to Utopia through Universal Basic Income?: a review of Rutger Bregman's *Utopia for Realists*", *Marxist-Human Initiative*, June 14, 2018. Cf.: [Full text: ".html"]

<https://www.marxisthumanistinitiative.org/reviews-and-culture/leading-the-people-to-utopia-through-universal-basic-income-a-review-of-rutger-bregmans-utopia-for-realists.html>

Utopia for Realists is one of a number of recent books, that makes the case for Universal Basic Income (UBI). At the heart of the arguments for UBI is an acknowledgement that capitalism is not working for millions of people, and a proposal to make capitalism more caring for those at the bottom. Bregman, and other proponents of UBI, do appear to be well intentioned. They want a more caring capitalism. The problems that UBI seeks to address, however, are systemic and cannot be overcome *within* capitalism as a social system.

[...]

Neither Utopian nor Realistic

In a capitalist society, workers are compelled to work in order to feed ourselves and our families. We are compelled to work in order to put a roof over our heads. We are compelled to work in order to cover our transport costs. Adequately-funded UBI is incompatible with a capitalist society because it would undermine this compulsion. If workers' time is our own time, not something that we are compelled to hand over to another, then the majority of us would choose not to willingly hand this time over. We would use it for our own ends, not those of another. As Marx put it in [Capital](#), as long as 'the labourer can accumulate for himself [or herself]—and this he [or she] can do so long as he [or she] remains possessor of his means of production—capitalist accumulation and the capitalistic mode of production are impossible'.

Bregman's vision is, ultimately, a paternalistic one. His stated aim, of helping poor people to become independent, is at odds with his policy proposal. He is not proposing giving workers common ownership over the means of production. He is not proposing that those who produce the wealth of society should decide how that wealth should be generated, or how it should be distributed. He is, instead, proposing that the better-off members of society salve their consciences by using the state to give handouts to the poor, and remove the stigma associated with welfare by making these handouts universal. His proposal is not realistic. And his vision, of a world in which people would still work for another, is not particularly utopian.

HARRIBEY, Jean-Marie et Christian MARTY (coordonné par), *Faut-il un revenu universel ?*, Paris : Les Édition de l'Atelier, 2017, pp. 128 (Collection Social Eco HC). Cf. :

http://www.editionsatelier.com/index.php?page=shop.product_details&flypage=bookshop-flypage.tpl&product_id=696&category_id=5&option=com_virtuemart&Itemid=1

https://www.amazon.fr/dp/2708245333/ref=rdr_kindle_ext_tmb

Le débat sur le revenu universel est omniprésent. Ses partisans partent du constat que les plus pauvres ne peuvent vivre décemment avec le niveau actuel des minima sociaux... pour en conclure qu'il conviendrait de donner un revenu identique à chaque personne, quel que soit son niveau de vie. Si le constat est juste, la proposition avancée ne contribue à résoudre ni le problème du chômage ni ceux de la pauvreté et des inégalités. Elle s'appuie sur l'idée fautive que le travail serait en voie de disparition, que les protections sociales seraient obsolètes et que nous serions condamnés à vivre dans une société de plus en plus «uberisée».

Ce livre pose des questions qui traversent la société, les partis politiques, les syndicats et les associations. Il propose une alternative au revenu universel basée sur la mise en place d'une garantie de revenu décent, qui ne laisse personne sur le bord de la route, ainsi que sur une transformation du système productif associée à une réduction du temps de travail afin d'assurer une transition sociale et écologique.

Les Économistes atterrés et la Fondation Copernic font une proposition alternative, basée sur un travail valorisant pour tous.

HELLER, Nathan, "Who Really Stands to Win from Universal Basic Income?" It has enthusiasts on both the left and the right. Maybe that's the giveaway, *The New Yorker*, July 9, 2016. Cf.: [Full text: ".html."]

<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2018/07/09/who-really-stands-to-win-from-universal-basic-income>

HOWARD, Neil, "Utopia for Realists?" – a review", *Open Democracy*, 18 April 2016. Cf.: [Full text: ".html"]

<https://www.opendemocracy.net/neil-howard/utopia-for-realists-review>

[...]

These questions notwithstanding, *Utopia for Realists* is an excellent contribution to the politically imperative utopian literature. It deserves to be read alongside Kathi Weeks' [The Problem with Work](#) or Nick Srnicek and Alex Williams' [Inventing the Future](#). It is fabulously well-researched and engagingly well-written. It's also extremely accessible. One of Bregman's real qualities is to write about the revolutionary as if it were run-of-the-mill. This matter-of-fact style drives home just how obvious it should be that in our age of plenty no-one should

be going hungry, no-one working too hard, and no-one dying at the border. This brings me to my final point: Bregman writes not for the converted but for the sceptical-with-a-heart. His intended audience are not young activists but precisely the everyday middle classes whose votes and pessimism will need to be conquered if ever our societies are to move beyond their current impasse. And for this, perhaps more than anything else, his book deserves to be added to the utopian canon that was inaugurated five centuries ago by Thomas More.

HUTTON, Will, “Book Review: *Utopia for Realists: And How We Can Get There* by Rutger Bregman”, *The Guardian*, Monday 13 March 2017. Cf.: [Full text: “.html”]

<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2017/mar/13/utopia-realists-how-we-can-get-there-rutger-bregman-review>

This is a book with one compelling proposition for which you can forgive the rest. It is utopian visions that have driven humanity forwards. It was the hope we could fly, conquer disease, motorise transport, build communities of the faithful, discover virgin land or live in permanent peace that has propelled men and women to take the risks and obsess about the new that, while not creating the utopia of which they dreamed, has at least got us some of the way. Celebrate the grip that utopia has on our imagination. It is the author of progress.

HYAFIL, Jean-Éric (coordonnée par), *Le Revenu de base : un Outil pour Construire le XXème Siècle*, Gap, Hautes-alpes (France) : Éditions Yves Michel, 2016, pp. 152 (Collection Économie). Cf. :

<http://www.yvesmichel.org/product-page/economie/revenu-de-base-le-un-outil-pour-construire-le-xxie-siecle/>

Tandis que notre économie est en pleine mutation, nous sommes à la recherche d’une dynamique de progrès pour nos sociétés en souffrance. La proposition du revenu de base – un revenu versé de façon inconditionnelle, universelle et individuelle, cumulable avec les autres revenus (travail, patrimoine, remplacement) – incarne fortement cette idée de progrès en ce qu’il est porteur d’émancipation.

Ce livre présente les multiples arguments qui justifient la mise en œuvre d’un revenu de base dès maintenant : besoin d’émancipation des travailleurs, tremplin pour développer de nouvelles richesses, notamment nonmarchandes, meilleure protection des travailleurs dans un contexte d’automatisation des emplois et d’uberisation de l’économie, émancipation des femmes, des jeunes et des citoyens... Mais aussi possibilité de sortir d’un carcan idéologique et d’une impasse politique dans lesquels la croissance économique est devenue l’unique solution aux problèmes sociaux. Le revenu de base offre ainsi la promesse de changer de paradigme économique, politique et social.

HYAFIL, Jean-Éric et Thibault LAURENTJOYE (coordonnée par), *Revenu de base : comment le financer*, Gap, Hautes-alpes (France) : Éditions Yves Michel, 2016, pp. 192 (Collection Économie). Cf. :

Après avoir présenté les multiples justifications du revenu de base dans le livre précédent, *Revenu de base : un outil pour construire le XXIème siècle*, nous présentons ici les multiples propositions concrètes de mise en œuvre du revenu de base.

Ce manuel donne la possibilité au lecteur de construire sa propre proposition de revenu de base et de choisir la façon dont il souhaite le financer. Les sources de financement sont multiples (impôt sur le revenu, sur la consommation, sur les bénéfiques, sur le patrimoine, fiscalité écologique, etc.). La question du montant du revenu de base est aussi débattue, celle de son coût budgétaire, ainsi que celle des prestations et politiques qu'il pourrait éventuellement remplacer. Enfin, une dernière partie s'intéresse à la façon dont est créé la monnaie aujourd'hui et propose une réforme qui consisterait à passer à une création monétaire sous forme de dividende universel. Ce livre de montre non seulement que le revenu de base est une mesure à portée de main, mais aussi que les pistes pour le financer sont multiples.

JEFFORDS, Shawn, "Ontario Basic Income Project End Date To Be Announced, Lisa MacLeod Says", *HuffingtonPost*, 08-09-2018. Cf.: [Full text: ".html"]
https://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2018/08/09/ontario-basic-income-project-failing_a_23499021/?utm_hp_ref=ca-homepage

Anti-poverty advocates went to the Ontario legislature to urge the government not to cancel the program.

A basic income pilot project aimed at reducing poverty in Ontario is failing and many of the participants have dropped out, the province's Progressive Conservative government said Wednesday as it defended its controversial decision to wind down the program.

Social Services Minister Lisa MacLeod said pilot participants would receive their cheques past August, and the program's end date would be announced later this month.

"I just wanted to point out, to begin with, the basic income research project is failing, and it's plain and simple," MacLeod said during Question Period. "The (previous) Liberal government had difficulty signing people up for this approach. Now a sizable number, over 25 per cent, have either dropped out or were failing to meet their obligations such as filing their taxes. It calls into question whether the \$150 million being spent is actually going to be with valid research."

[...]

Michael Coteau, a Liberal legislator who helped oversee the creation of the basic income pilot as a cabinet minister in then-premier Kathleen Wynne's government, slammed the rationale provided for the project's cancellation.

"Every day it seems like the reason for cancelling this program changes," he said. "The simple fact is we're talking about a government that is completely in chaos. They don't know what they're doing. Their priorities are not aligned with what Ontarians want."

KAATS, Micah, "UK: Steven Davies reviews Rutger Bregman's "Utopia for Realists", *Basic Income Network*, December 24, 2017. Cf.: [Full text: ".html"]

<https://basicincome.org/news/2017/12/uk-steven-davies-reviews-rutger-bregmans-utopia-realists/>

In the three years since its initial publication, Rutger Bregman's *Utopia for Realists* has helped spur a global conversation on universal basic income (UBI). The book has become an international bestseller, garnering praise from [intellectual heavyweights](#) and propelling its author to the [TED stage](#) this past April. However, [Stephen Davies](#), education director at the [Institute for Economic Affairs](#) (IEA), remains skeptical of many of the young Dutch journalist's ideas. He makes his case in the most recent edition of the *Journal of Economic Affairs*.

[...]

While he may be unmoved by *Utopia for Realists*, Davies clearly recognizes the significance of the political and intellectual movements it represents. The book's international success seems to reflect a growing anxiety about stagnation of big ideas in the face of an increasingly unsatisfying status quo. Davies concludes, "What we are starting to see is an attempt to work out what a non-capitalist or, more accurately, a post-capitalist political economy would look like" (p. 457).

KAPUR, Aksh, "Money for nothing: the case for a basic income", *Financial Times*, March 2, 2017. Cf.: [Complete text: ".html"]

[Money for nothing: the case for a basic income | Financial Times](#)

<https://www.ft.com/content/81fdf4c4-fdc2-11e6-8d8e-a5e3738f9ae4>

We live in implausible times. Robots may take our jobs. The Arctic might disappear. A new wave of strongmen is pushing back against what only yesterday seemed like an unstoppable tide of liberal democracy. As the *New York Times* recently reported, media references to that menacing line from Yeats – "Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold" – have spiked to a 30-year high. It's only natural, amid all this uncertainty, to cast about for alternatives. Conventional wisdom and expertise are at a dead end. Our policy toolkit seems woefully empty. Into this void steps Rutger Bregman, a 28-year-old Dutch writer and thinker whose four books and writing in the media have received considerable attention in his own country. His ambition in *Utopia for Realists* is large; he wants to rescue us from our current economic, social and political malaise. The language

he uses to describe his mission is similarly soaring; he seeks nothing less than to guide us toward “a new lodestar, a new map of the world that once again includes a distant, uncharted continent – ‘Utopia’ ”.

[...]

Reading these books – especially Bregman’s – gives rise to conflicting reactions. On the one hand, the guiding impulse and ambitions are clearly worthy, perhaps noble. But even a sympathetic reader (like this one) can’t help feeling that there is something a little anachronistic, not to mention unrealistic, about proposals to effectively widen government support, increase taxes and more fully open borders in an era of Trump and Brexit. Unrealistic is, of course, a word that makes utopians bristle, and it’s probably true that impracticality is a facile charge to throw at schemes that by definition seek to reimagine reality. “Calling my ideas ‘unrealistic’ was simply a shorthand way of saying they didn’t fit the status quo,” writes Bregman. “The best way to shut people up is to make them feel silly. It’s even better than censorship.” So perhaps the best — or at any rate most generous – way to approach these books is with a certain wilful suspension of scepticism. The contribution of utopian thinking is rarely in its particulars anyway; blueprints for change, as Bregman himself acknowledges, have a way of collapsing in the face of human complexity (or, worse, turning into totalitarian nightmares). The real value of utopian thought is that it forces us to confront the present, and to at least acknowledge the need for a very different future. In this sense, these books are more interesting as diagnoses than prescriptions: they tell us we’re at an impasse, and they make a compelling – even devastating – case for the insufficiency of business as usual.

KIRK, Andrew, “*Utopia for Realists*”, *Visiting Enki*, April 16, 2017. Cf.: [Full text: “.html”]

<http://visitingenki.com/utopia-for-realists/>

[...]

At the risk of suffocating the analogy by explaining it, the altitudes of these mountains correspond to the quality of Utopia as it progresses and the flags to the citations. While Utopia is a decent agglomeration of a great deal of important work, Bregman has, as far as I can tell, absolutely nothing of original value to add and the farther we get from the crests of the work of others, the worse the scenery and more treacherous the territory.

Billed as a bold policy compendium, the ideas in Utopia essentially boil down to Universal Basic Income (more than a third of the book), a shorter workweek, and a global relaxation of border controls, plus a few epicyclic extensions of these. All good ideas in their own right, but all better elucidated elsewhere, by actual researchers. More to the point, none particularly radical. Indeed, the policies, their histories, and even much of the evidence Bregman cites should all be

thoroughly familiar to any reader whose revolutionary education extends no further than the opinion pages of a few large newspapers. Despite Bregman's self-praise for his apparently radical thinking, policies that have been detailed on the front cover of *The Economist* are not shockingly unthinkable.

[...]

More than once, Bregman repeats Hugo's quote, *On résiste à l'invasion des armées; on ne résiste pas à l'invasion des idées*. Nothing is more powerful than an idea whose time has come. And Bregman is right to do so. These are good policies, policies whose time has come. They deserve more attention. They deserve to be called from the peaks of mountain ranges. They deserve better than this book.

LAMBERT, Elise, « L'article à lire pour comprendre le débat sur le revenu universel », *Franceinfo*, 15 janvier 2017. Cf. : [Texte complet : ".html"]
https://www.francetvinfo.fr/politique/ps/primaire-a-gauche/l-article-a-lire-pour-comprendre-le-debat-sur-le-revenu-universel_2014168.html

Considérée jusqu'à peu comme une utopie, la création d'un revenu universel en France est largement débattue depuis quelques mois au sein de la classe politique, notamment entre les candidats de la primaire de la gauche. Réponse à la raréfaction du travail pour les uns, outil de liberté pour les autres, l'idée divise à droite comme à gauche. Dans le monde, plusieurs pays comme les Pays-Bas ou l'Inde ont lancé des initiatives allant dans ce sens, afin de répondre à l'évolution du monde du travail. Mesure émancipatrice ou piège économique ? Franceinfo fait le point.

LE NAIRE, Olivier et Clémentine LEBON, *Le revenu de base : Une idée qui pourrait changer nos vies*, Arles (France), Actes Sud Éditions, 2017, pp. 154 (Collection *Domaine du possible*). Cf. :
<https://www.actes-sud.fr/catalogue/societe/le-revenu-de-base>
https://www.amazon.fr/dp/2330072414/ref=rdr_kindle_ext_tmb

Libérale ou étatique, aucune des solutions tentées par nos gouvernements pour sauver un modèle devenu obsolète n'a abouti. La France compte aujourd'hui 5 millions de chômeurs, plus de 8 millions de pauvres et elle finance ses retraites par le déficit. Pourtant la plupart des candidats à l'élection présidentielle reviennent avec leurs mêmes vieilles recettes. Seule émerge une proposition originale : le revenu de base. Son principe ? Verser à chacun, de sa naissance à sa mort et sans condition, une somme qui lui permettrait de vivre une existence décente. Et d'exercer pleinement sa citoyenneté. Un sujet d'actualité dans un monde où le travail, la croissance et les carrières ne sont plus garantis.

Cette proposition n'est-elle qu'une utopie ? En quoi pourrait-elle concrètement changer nos vies ? Pourquoi de plus en plus d'intellectuels, d'économistes, de

politiques veulent-ils l'expérimenter ? Pour quelle raison ce concept est-il défendu à la fois par des libéraux et des altermondialistes ? Risque-t-il de fabriquer une société d'assistés ? Quelles sont les pistes pour le financer ?

Sans parti pris, mais avec la conviction que ce débat doit enfin être mis sur la table, les auteurs donnent pour la première fois les outils clairs et précis afin de bien comprendre ce sujet complexe mais crucial. Et de permettre à chacun de se faire son opinion. En toute liberté.

LEPESANT, Michel et Baptiste MYLONDO, *Inconditionnel : Anthologie du revenu universel*, Paris : Éditions du Détour, 2018, pp. 256. Cf. :

<http://editionsdudetour.com/index.php/les-livres/inconditionnel/>

<https://www.revenudebase.info/2018/03/25/livre-revenu-de-base-preface-mfrb/>

En la remettant en perspective, les auteurs retracent l'évolution politique et intellectuelle du revenu inconditionnel, idée aux multiples facettes, aujourd'hui sur le devant de la scène démocratique.

La première partie de cette anthologie, historique, présente le travail théorique des More, Fourier, Kropotkine ou Russel, autant d'utopistes qui ont vu dans cette idée de revenu inconditionnel une mesure de bon sens. La deuxième partie retrace les différentes justifications avancées à l'appui du revenu inconditionnel, des auteurs libéraux comme Locke ou Friedman, jusqu'aux approches fondées sur une autre idée de la coopération et de la société (Aristote, Flahault), en passant par le célèbre article de Philippe van Parijs « Pourquoi il faut nourrir les surfers », inédit en français. La troisième partie prolonge la réflexion au-delà du simple revenu inconditionnel en se penchant sur la problématique plus large des inégalités, à partir de textes de Platon, Rousseau, Montesquieu, et d'auteurs contemporains tels Gorz et Caillé, plaidant pour un revenu suffisant, mais aussi pour l'introduction d'un plafond de richesse.

LINEKER, Bradley, "Book Review: *Utopia for Realists: And How We Can Get There*", *Strife*, 26-04-2017. Cf.: [Full text: ".html"]

<http://www.strifeblog.org/2017/04/26/book-review-utopia-for-realists-and-how-we-can-get-there/>

Utopianism has long been discredited in political thinking. According to theorists like Hannah Arendt and Karl Popper, the pursuit of perfection has invariably ended in tyranny, disaster, and death. Yet, on the first page of Rutger Bregman's^[1] new book, *Utopia for Realists: And How We Can Get There*, there is a quotation by Oscar Wilde: 'progress is the realisation of utopias',^[2] which asks us to think otherwise.

[...]

On this account alone, the book is remarkably successful in getting its reader to rethink stock ideas and phenomena. It particularly shines when considered as a

well-packaged, and eminently readable, alternative think-tank digest. This is not to say that all Bregman's positions are completely sound – plenty of work remains to be done on these areas – but that's not necessarily the purpose of the book: the point is to get people thinking. This is a book about ideas and the aim of this review is to offer an open-handed discussion about the things that have been presented. Therefore, the first half of the review will assess the book as it is, breaking down the book's core arguments into three thematic areas before the second half offers some points of discussion.

LUCAS, Caroline, "Utopia for Realists by Rutger Bregman review: A brilliantly written and unorthodox page-turner", *The Independent*, Wednesday 22 March 2017. Cf.: [Full text: ".html"]

<https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/books/reviews/utopia-for-realists-rutger-bregman-review-caroline-lucas-book-a7643371.html>

Rutger Bregman's new book isn't traditional bestseller material. Packed full of case studies, graphs and complex ideas – you might expect it to appeal to a small niche of people who are actively involved in politics, but instead it's created quite a storm here in Britain.

In case you haven't heard Bregman on the radio, seen him on TV or read one of the many reviews of *Utopia for Realists* here's the thrust of his argument: humans have moved forwards a lot in the last two centuries but we're now stalling. In response to soaring inequality, stubbornly high levels of poverty and very long working hours, Bregman puts forward bold proposals for creating a better society.

LUM, Zi-Ann, "A Canadian City Once Eliminated Poverty And Nearly Everyone Forgot About It", *HuffingtonPost*, 12-23-2014; updated: 01-03-2017. Cf.: [Full text: ".html"]

https://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2014/12/23/mincome-in-dauphin-manitoba_n_6335682.html?guccounter=1

On a December afternoon, Frances Amy Richardson took a break from her quilting class to reflect on a groundbreaking experiment she took part in 40 years earlier.

"Well, that was quite a few years ago," she said. "There was a lot of people that really benefitted from it."

Between 1974 and 1979, residents of a small Manitoba city were selected to be subjects in a project that ensured basic annual incomes for everyone. For five years, monthly cheques were delivered to the poorest residents of Dauphin, Man. – no strings attached.

And for five years, poverty was completely eliminated.

The program was dubbed “Mincome” – a neologism of “minimum income” – and it was the first of its kind in North America. It stood out from similar American projects at the time because it didn’t shut out seniors and the disabled from qualification.

The project’s original intent was to evaluate if giving cheques to the working poor, enough to top-up their incomes to a living wage, would kill people’s motivation to work. It didn’t.

But the Conservative government that took power provincially in 1977 – and federally in 1979 – had no interest in implementing the project more widely. Researchers were told to pack up the project’s records into 1,800 boxes and place them in storage.

A final report was never released.

McNALLY, Terrence, “Rutger Bregman in conversation with Terence McNally”, *Vimeo*, Saturday 1 May 2017, 58:37. Cf.:

<https://vimeo.com/216277650>

MORENO, Aldemar, “Quienes son realmente expertos en pobres son los pobres, no los ricos...”, *Semana*, 15 de noviembre de 2017. Cf.: [Texto completo: “.html”]

<https://www.semana.com/mundo/articulo/entrevista-a-rutger-bregman/547260>

MOUVEMENT FRANÇAIS POUR UN REVENU DE BASE (MFRB), *Pour un revenu de base universel*, Paris : Éditions du Détour, 2017, pp. 224 (Collection Essai). Cf. :

<http://editionsdudetour.com/index.php/les-livres/pour-un-revenu-de-base-universel/>

Face à l’urgence des crises économique, sociale et politique que traverse la société française, l’idée d’un revenu universel de base est aujourd’hui présente dans tous les débats. Versé à tous, de la naissance à la mort, sur une base individuelle, sans contrôle des ressources ni exigence de contrepartie, il peut être un levier puissant d’émancipation individuelle et collective.

L’ouvrage fait un point complet sur cette proposition. Il présente, dans un style clair et accessible, l’histoire de l’idée, en quoi elle peut être un formidable outil pour faire face à la montée des inégalités, aux mutations du monde du travail ainsi qu’aux enjeux de l’éducation initiale et continue.

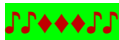
NERÍN, Gustau, “Rutger Bregman: ‘La renta básica universal puede erradicar la pobreza y dar libertad’”, *El Nacional*, Viernes, 24 de marzo de 2017. Cf.: [Texto completo: “.html”] [Entrevista]

https://www.elnacional.cat/es/cultura-ideas-artes/rutger-bregman-utopia-realistas_146538_102.html

NOYÉ, Jean-Claude, « Rutger Bregman: 'Il y a toujours une alternative' », *La Vie*, 23-08-2017. Cf. :

http://www.lavie.fr/debats/idees/rutger-bregman-il-y-a-toujours-une-alternative-23-08-2017-84416_679.php

Historien et journaliste néerlandais, Rutger Bregman livre un essai qui se veut résolument optimiste sur les capacités de nos sociétés à s'engager dans l'innovation sociale. Solidement documenté, *Utopies réalistes* a été traduit dans dix-sept pays et a fait un tabac aux Pays-Bas et au Royaume uni. Revenu de base, réduction drastique du temps de travail, ouverture des frontières... tout y passe. Délirant ? Moins qu'on l'imagine.

OBSERVATOIRE FRANÇAIS DES CONJECTURES ÉCONOMIQUES, « L'OFCE consacre un dossier au revenu de base », *OFCE*, 15 décembre 2017. Cf. : [Texte complet : ".html"]  [Renvoi à d'autres sources d'information]

<https://maximevende.org/2017/12/15/ofce-dossier-revenu-de-base/>

Le numéro 154 de la revue de l'Observatoire Français des Conjectures Économiques dédie un dossier au revenu universel.

L'ensemble de la revue est librement consultable. Cf. :

<https://www.ofce.sciences-po.fr/publications/srevue.php?num=154>

PARIJS, Philippe Van et Yannick VANDERBORGHT, *L'allocation universelle*, Paris : Éditions La Découverte, 2005, pp. 128 (Collection Repères. Thèses et débats). Cf. :

http://www.editionsladecouverte.fr/catalogue/index-L_allocation_universelle-9782707145260.html

https://www.amazon.fr/dp/2707145262/ref=rdr_ext_tmb

Impossible aujourd'hui de penser l'avenir de nos systèmes de protection sociale sans évoquer l'allocation universelle, dont le principe est de verser, sans condition, à tous les citoyens, un revenu de base cumulable avec tout autre type de revenu.

Défendue sous des appellations et pour des motifs divers par des universitaires et des militants, des hommes d'affaires et des syndicalistes, des formations politiques de droite et de gauche, des mouvements sociaux et des organisations non gouvernementales, l'allocation universelle a bénéficié de l'appui d'étranges coalitions et suscité de féroces oppositions. Pour certains, elle constitue un remède décisif à de nombreux fléaux, à commencer par la pauvreté et le chômage. Pour d'autres, elle n'est qu'une absurde chimère, économiquement impraticable et éthiquement inacceptable.

En s'efforçant de donner d'un débat multidimensionnel, souvent confus, parfois émotionnel, un aperçu limpide, honnête et bien informé, ce livre fournit au lecteur une base solide pour former ses propres convictions.

RODRÍGUEZ, Juliana, “Si queremos hacer más, tenemos que empezar por trabajar menos”, *La Voz*, 18 de febrero de 2018. Cf.: [Texto completo: “.html”]
<http://www.lavoz.com.ar/numero-cero/si-queremos-hacer-mas-tenemos-que-empezar-por-trabajar-menos>

Rutger Bregman, autor del ensayo *Utopía para realistas*, sostiene que la mejor manera de resolver la pobreza es entregando "dinero gratis para todos" y con una semana laboral de 15 horas.

El libro tiene tapas amarillas estridentes. En la solapa aparece la cara de un autor que podría integrar el elenco de la serie Vikingos pero integra el grupo de jóvenes intelectuales europeos en boga. Y el ensayo desarrolla una idea que circula desde hace un par de años. Según estas páginas, la pobreza, el gran problema de la sociedad contemporánea, podría empezar a resolverse con tres medidas: una renta básica universal (eufemismo de la fórmula más simple “dinero gratis para todos”, que equivaldría a una “asignación universal por humano”), una semana laboral de 15 horas y fronteras abiertas en todos los países del mundo.

STANDING, Guy, *Basic Income: And How We Can Make It Happen*, London: Pelikan Books, 2017, pp. 374. Cf.:

<https://www.penguin.co.uk/books/304706/basic-income/>

https://books.google.fr/books?id=MPahDQAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s

https://books.google.fr/books?id=MPahDQAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

https://www.amazon.co.uk/dp/B01N9IM222/ref=rdr_kindle_ext_tmb

*It is from the champions of the impossible rather than the
Slaves of the possible that evolution draws its
Creative force*

(Barbara Wootton)

‘Basic Income is an idea whose time has come, and Guy Standing has pioneered our understanding of it...as we move into an age where work and leisure become blurred, and work dissociated from incomes, Standing’s analysis is vital’. –Paul Mason

Shouldn’t everyone receive a stake in society’s wealth?

Could we create a fairer world by granting a guaranteed income to all?

What would this mean for our health, wealth and happiness?

Basic Income is a regular cash transfer from the state, received by all individual citizens. It is an acknowledgement that everyone plays a part in generating the wealth currently enjoyed only by a few. Political parties across the world are now

adopting it as official policy and the idea generates headlines every day. Guy Standing has been at the forefront of thought about Basic Income for the past thirty years, and in this book he covers in authoritative detail its effects on the economy, poverty, work and labour; dissects and disproves the standard arguments against Basic Income; explains what we can learn from pilots across the world and illustrates exactly why a Basic Income has now become such an urgent necessity.

McLEOD, Cameron, “New Book: Guy Standing, *Basic Income And How We Can Make It Happen*”, April 22, 2017. Cf.: [Full text: “.html”]

<https://basicincome.org/news/2017/04/new-book/>

BIEN co-founder and honorary co-president [Guy Standing](#) (also Professorial Research Associate at SOAS) has written a new introduction to basic income, [Basic Income: And How We Can Make It Happen](#). The book has been published by [Pelican Books](#), a well-known publisher of nonfiction works intended to be accessible to a broad audience in both content and cost.

As the publisher describes the book: “Guy Standing has been at the forefront of thought about Basic Income for the past thirty years, and in this book he covers in authoritative detail its effects on the economy, poverty, work and labour; dissects and disproves the standard arguments against Basic Income; explains what we can learn from pilots across the world and illustrates exactly why a Basic Income has now become such an urgent necessity.”

[...]

Standing’s last book, [The Corruption of Capitalism](#) (July 2016), generated widespread global attention, as did his previous works on the [precariat](#).

SWENNY, Christine, “Book Review: Basic Income: And How We Can Make It Happen by Guy Standing”, *London School of Economics Review of Books*, July 5th, 2017. Cf.: [Full text: “.html”]

<http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/lsereviewofbooks/2017/07/05/book-review-basic-income-and-how-we-can-make-it-happen-by-guy-standing/>

Drawing on thirty years experience researching, testing, designing and advocating for basic income schemes, Guy Standing offers a concise and well-organised overview of their history, development, definition and implications in Basic Income: And How We Can Make it Happen. While the adoption of basic income by governments will ultimately depend on the results of pilots and emerging data, writes Christine Sweeney, this book effectively prepares readers to participate in the growing discussion surrounding this increasingly debated policy.

To reduce economic inequality, stimulate spending and update its social welfare system, a government decides to dedicate a portion of tax revenue to pay all citizens an average of £2,500, with children receiving less and pensioners

receiving more. The amount is to be given universally, regardless of employment, health or family status. The amount is calculated based on a distribution of GDP and estimated costs of key goods like food, clothing and shelter. All citizens would have their most basic needs met, and any additional earned income would supplement their desired lifestyle and living situation.

Utopian fantasy or viable policy solution designed to meet the economic challenges of the twenty-first century? Economist Guy Standing questions why these labels are mutually exclusive. In *Basic Income: And How We Can Make It Happen*, Standing examines basic income (BI) as a serious policy alternative. After more than 30 years researching, testing, designing and advocating for basic income schemes, Standing argues that failed welfare systems, the global recession, mass economic inequality, technological advancements and political standoffs have generated a global atmosphere where governments must contemplate a new course. Rather than repairing current welfare programmes, governments must reconsider the relationship between paid labour, unpaid work and how basic needs are met.

SHOEMAKER, Natalie, “Rutger Bregman’s ‘Utopia for Realists’ Shows Us Why We Deserve Universal Basic Income”, *Big Think*, s.d. [2017?]. Cf.: [Full text: “.html”] <https://bigthink.com/natalie-shoemaker/rutger-bregmans-utopia-for-realists-shows-us-why-we-deserve-universal-basic-income>

If you’re looking for the blueprint for a better tomorrow, you’ll find it in Rutger Bregman’s *Utopia for Realists*. Its premise is simple: we should adopt a universal basic income plan for all citizens, work less, and open up our borders. Crazy, right?

[...]

If your looking for what kind of future we should be striving for, you’ll find it in Rutger Bregman’s *Utopia for Realists*. It was a national bestseller when it was first released in Dutch in the Netherlands, and helped start a conversation which led to municipalities [experimenting with basic income](#). Here’s hoping this book will help America reignite an old conversation Nixon started back in the 70s. [Utopia for Realists: The Case for a Universal Basic Income, Open Borders, and a 15-Hour Workweek](#) is available now.

SHOEMAKER, Natalie, What Happens When You Give Basic Income to the Poor? Canada Is About to Find Out”, *Big Think*, s.d., 2017. Cf.: [Full text: “.html”] <https://bigthink.com/natalie-shoemaker/canada-testing-a-system-where-it-gives-its-poorest-citizens-1320-a-month>

Ontario is poised to become a testing ground for basic income in 2017 as part of a pilot program. Hugh Segal is the special advisor to the Canadian province and a former senator. He believes a supplemental income of \$1,320 a month could

provide a viable path to poverty abatement—effectively replacing welfare programs and a system he described as “seriously demeaning” in a [paper discussing](#) this basic income pilot project.

Segal suggests this pilot project would provide real evidence to whether basic income is the solution to poverty many governments have been seeking. It would answer many of the burning questions and concerns regarding such a system:

- Can basic income policies provide a more efficient, less intrusive, and less stigmatizing way of delivering income support for those now living in poverty?
- Can those policies also encourage work, relieve financial and time poverty, and reduce economic marginalization?
- Can a basic income reduce cost pressures in other areas of government spending, such as healthcare?
- Can a basic income strengthen the incentive to work, by responsibly helping those who are working but still living below the poverty line?

SNOWDON, Christopher, “Review: *Utopia for Realists* by Rutger Bregman”, *Institute for Economic Affairs*, 16 March 2017. Cf.: [Full text: “.html”]
<https://iea.org.uk/review-utopia-for-realists-by-rutger-bregman/>

First published in the Netherlands in 2014 and now republished in English with a retina-burning, bright orange jacket, [Rutger Bregman’s *Utopia for Realists*](#) has become an international bestseller thanks to three big ideas: open borders, a basic income and a shorter working week. At least two of these proposals have been of longstanding interest to libertarians. It is good to see them making waves on the centre-left. Bregman’s passion for the basic income, in particular, is beyond doubt although it sometimes comes at the expense of objectivity. If you have studied any of these ideas before and are sceptical, Bregman’s analysis is unlikely to convince you, but there is enough original material to give most readers something to think about.

Utopia for Realists is a cut above your average socialist tract by the likes of Oliver James or Danny Dorling and yet its author falls back on some of the same lazy rhetoric at times. He spends several pages berating people for having ‘bullshit jobs’, overlooking the fact that somebody must value this work otherwise they would not get paid. His chapter about mechanisation does not give a convincing reason why we should view the current hysteria about ‘robots taking our jobs’ any differently to previous Luddite movements. And do we really need another bog standard critique of GDP, a measure of economic output that no one has ever claimed was the sole measure of progress?

When, in the closing chapters, the solution to mechanisation turns out to be ‘massive redistribution’ and the only way to get people to do jobs that Bregman considers ‘useful’ is to introduce ‘higher taxes’, it becomes clear that the shiny

new vision for the Left is not so different from the old. The apple, alas, does not fall far from the tree.

STROOBANTS, Karen, “Book Review: *Utopia for Realists* by Rutger Bregman”, *Cambridge University Science and Policy Exchange Communications*, August 2017, pp. 2. Cf.: [Full text: “.PDF”]

<http://www.cuspe.org/book-review-utopia-for-realists-by-rutger-bregman/>

<http://www.cuspe.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/Stroobants-August-2017.pdf>

Are we still able to think big, to imagine a better world than the one we currently live in? Rutger Bregman, a young Dutch historian, certainly thinks so. I have been following his activities for a while now, as he strongly believes in the concept of ‘a basic income for everyone’, and so do I. Although the idea is appealing, it is hard to establish firm arguments that cannot in any way be refuted by critics, and maybe even by realists. So when Bregman announced that he was about to publish a book, ‘Utopia for realists’, I knew it would be my next read. I was determined to arm myself with stronger arguments to discuss the topic with housemates, colleagues and friends.

TOVAR SAMANEZ, Carlos (Carlín), *Manifiesto del siglo XXI: la gran fisura mundial y cómo revertirla*, Lima (Perú): Fondo Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos (UNMSM), 2006, pp. 178. Cf.:

<https://www.perubookstore.com/libro/NF789/manifiesto-del-siglo-xxi>

Detrás del conocido caricaturista político, aparece un agudo crítico teórico, poseedor de una fina y sólida cultura política.

En este libro Carlín nos dice que algo falla en la gran maquinaria de la economía mundial: se expanden la economía y la riqueza en proporciones espectaculares, pero por doquier crece también el malestar.

Según Carlín existe un remedio probablemente efectivo para la crisis, ya propuesto en el siglo XIX, sin embargo nunca comprendido ni aplicado, porque está oculto tras el vidrio opaco de los prejuicios teóricos e intereses políticos.

TOVAR SAMANEZ, Carlos (Carlín), *Habla el Viejo. Conversaciones con el fantasma de Carlos Marx*, Lima (Perú): El Caballo Rojo, 2011 [2002], pp. 199. Cf.: [con un prólogo y anexo del autor]

<http://libros-san-francisco.blogspot.com/2011/12/libro-habla-el-viejo.html>

http://www.andes.missouri.edu/andes/Breviario/JBA_HablaElViejo.html

[Análisis de José B. Adolph de la 1ª edición publicada en 2002]

<http://pacarinadelsur.com/lecturas-recomendadas/465-habla-el-viejo>

<http://ateaysublevada.over-blog.es/article-caricaturista-peruano-carlin-marx-esta-hoy-mas-vigente-que-cuando-estaba-vivo-90645665.html>

[Entrevista publicada por Ivonne Leites el 30 de noviembre de 2011]

Atribulado por los malentendidos que existen en torno de sus ideas, el fantasma de Carlos Marx recurre a una vidente para que lo ponga en contacto con algún marxista. Carlos Tovar es el afortunado interlocutor que, a través de más de cincuenta sesiones, hace al filósofo alemán las preguntas que tantos quisieran hacerle: ¿por qué fracasó el socialismo en la URSS?, ¿considera usted que sus ideas están vigentes todavía?, ¿se puede aplicar el método marxista, enunciado en el siglo XIX, a la realidad del capitalismo informatizado y globalizado?

Marx critica a muchos de sus seguidores por haberse deslizado hacia el populismo, y a Stalin, por obstinarse en emprender la imposible tarea de construir el socialismo en una sociedad que carecía de las bases materiales para ello. Concluye su mensaje proclamando que la solución a los graves problemas del capitalismo actual consiste en la reducción de la jornada laboral a cuatro horas.

TOVAR SAMANEZ, Carlos (Carlín), *El socialismo en cuatro horas*, edición del autor, Lima (Perú): 2014, pp. 187. Cf.:

<https://lamula.pe/2015/01/06/el-socialismo-en-cuatro-horas/manuelalegria/>

<https://librosdepoliticaeconomica.lamula.pe/2016/06/26/el-socialismo-en-cuatro-horas-por-carlos-tovar-carlin/manuelkamichi/>

<https://peru21.pe/opinion/carlos-tapia-socialismo-cuatro-horas-176736>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gQWPOMYLDLE>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YLZMwsJUYfo&t=308s> [Carlos Tovar: “The four-hour work day, 2012, 11:26]

Carlos Tovar proyecta hacia el futuro la propuesta de la jornada laboral de cuatro horas. Habiendo argumentado, en sus dos libros anteriores, que la reducción progresiva de la jornada laboral es una medida pacífica, gratuita e inmediata, que permitiría a la humanidad conseguir el pleno empleo, desaparecer la pobreza, estabilizar la economía y conquistar el tiempo libre, el autor explica que el logro de tales beneficios sería, a su vez, la plataforma sobre la cual la humanidad podría enrumbarse hacia la desaparición de la división social del trabajo, lo que, en otras palabras, significa la conquista pacífica del socialismo y la libertad plena.

Ya no viviremos para el trabajo, sino para realizarnos en tanto seres humanos, con todas nuestras potencialidades, en el tiempo libre.

Los ciudadanos podrán disponer de su tiempo libre para mejorar su educación y, con ello, debilitar las barreras que mantienen la división social del trabajo, aquellas que condenan a unos a obedecer mientras otros mandan, a trabajar mientras otros gozan, y a producir mientras otros consumen.

VALETTE, Guy, “Donner de l’argent sans contrepartie : une utopie particulièrement réaliste”, *Revenu de Base*, 9 octobre 2017. Cf. : [Texte complet : “.html”]

<https://www.revenudebase.info/2017/10/09/donner-de-largent-contrepartie-utopie-particulierement-realiste/>

Avec le livre « Utopies réalistes » de Rutger Bregman (Editions du Seuil, 2017) on est servi. Il nous rappelle qu'il existe encore des prophètes du bonheur capables d'ouvrir grandes les fenêtres de nos univers clos et sinistres et de nous offrir un horizon fait d'un revenu d'existence universel, de réduction du temps de travail et d'ouverture des frontières. S'appuyant sur de nombreuses expériences, il nous révèle la force et la pertinence de ces utopies. Utopies encore aujourd'hui pour être demain des évidences dont les mises en œuvre se généraliseront aux quatre coins de la planète comme le furent, en son temps, l'abolition de l'esclavage ou la conquête de la démocratie.

Dans cet article nous aborderons la pertinence de l'allocation sans conditions d'un revenu avec les multiples expériences que décrit R. Bregman dans son livre. Il faudrait aussi consacrer un article à ces deux autres utopies réalistes que sont « la semaine de 15 heures » qui remet en cause la centralité du travail dans nos sociétés et qui s'articule parfaitement avec l'allocation d'un salaire socialisé sous la forme d'un revenu de base (lire [l'article d'Alain Véronèse](#)), et « un monde sans frontières », frontières pour les hommes dans un marché libre pour les marchandises, qui sont la plus grande cause de discrimination de tous les temps.

VAN PARIJS, Philippe and Yannick VANDERBORGHT, *Basic Income: A Radical Proposal for a Free Society and a Sane Economy*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2017, pp. 400. Cf.:

<http://www.hup.harvard.edu/catalog.php?isbn=9780674052284>

https://books.google.fr/books?id=KeRMvgAACAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s

https://books.google.fr/books?id=KeRMvgAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

https://www.amazon.com/dp/0674052285/ref=rdr_ext_tmb

It may sound crazy to pay people an income whether or not they are working or looking for work. But the idea of providing an unconditional basic income to every individual, rich or poor, active or inactive, has been advocated by such major thinkers as Thomas Paine, John Stuart Mill, and John Kenneth Galbraith. For a long time, it was hardly noticed and never taken seriously. Today, with the traditional welfare state creaking under pressure, it has become one of the most widely debated social policy proposals in the world. Philippe Van Parijs and Yannick Vanderborght present the most comprehensive defense of this radical idea so far, advocating it as our most realistic hope for addressing economic insecurity and social exclusion in the twenty-first century.

The authors seamlessly combine philosophy, politics, and economics as they compare the idea of a basic income with rival ideas past and present for guarding against poverty and unemployment. They trace its history, tackle the economic

and ethical objections against an unconditional income—including its alleged tendency to sap incentives and foster free riding—and lay out how such an apparently implausible idea might be viable financially and achievable politically. Finally, they consider the relevance of the proposal in an increasingly globalized economy.

In an age of growing inequality and divided politics, when old answers to enduring social problems no longer inspire confidence, *Basic Income* presents fresh reasons to hope that we might yet achieve a free society and a sane economy.

VANOLI, Hernán, “Los trabajos basura, el crecimiento económico, regalar plata y sus amantes”, *Crisis*, 15 de marzo de 2018. Cf.: [Texto completo: “.html”]
<https://revistacrisis.com.ar/notas/los-trabajos-basura-el-crecimiento-economico-regalar-plata-y-sus-amantes>

VÉRONÈSE, Alain, «Récension du livre *Utopies réalistes* de Ruter Bregman, Ed. du Seuil, 2017 », *Alternative21*, 5 octobre 2017. Cf. : [Texte complet : “.html”]
<http://alternative21.blog.lemonde.fr/2017/10/05/soyons-realistes-exigeons-tout-le-possible/>

Les effervescences soixanthuitardes sont aujourd’hui bien amoindries. « *Ne travaillez jamais !* » pouvait-on lire sur le mur d’une banque (de ce graffiti, Guy Debord serait l’auteur, dit une légende).

Pourtant aujourd’hui, plus qu’hier, peut-être, il est difficile d’imaginer une société où le travail-emploi (salarial) ne serait pas le principal constituant d’une identité laborieuse.

Fermeement, de façon récurrente, R. Bregman plaide pour la fin de la centralité du travail.

[...]

Le revenu de base couplé à une réduction féroce du temps de travail, ce serait aussi une façon d’avoir les moyens de refuser les « boulots à la con », « les *bullshits jobs* » débusqués par David Graeber.

Soyons sérieux, posons les bonnes questions: Pourquoi « *dans un monde qui s’enrichit, où les vaches produisent de plus en plus de lait, les robots de plus en plus de trucs, il n’y a plus de place pour les amis, la famille, le travail bénévole, la science, l’art, le sport et toutes choses qui font que la vie vaut d’être vécue...* » (p.157).

Sur la question de ce qui donne du sens à la vie, ci-dessous le point de vue d’Oscar Wilde plusieurs fois cité dans l’ouvrage.

« *C’est la machine qui doit travailler pour nous dans les mines de houille, qui doit faire les besognes d’assainissement, [...] Actuellement la machine fait concurrence*

à l'homme. Dans des conditions normales, la machine sera pour l'homme un serviteur [...]. Il est certain que la civilisation a besoin d'esclaves. Sur ce point les grecs avaient tout à fait raison. Faute d'esclaves [aujourd'hui mécaniques] pour faire la besogne laide, horrible, assommante, toute culture, toute contemplation devient impossible. Est-ce de l'utopie cela ? [...] Progresser, c'est réaliser les utopies. » – Oscar Wilde, « L'âme humaine sous le régime socialiste », 1891.

Aristote avait déjà souhaité, prévu dans « *Politique* », le nécessaire dépérissement de l'esclavage, « *si les navettes pouvaient tisser seules, ... le maître n'aurait pas besoin d'esclaves...* ».

Les citoyens grecs qui ne travaillaient pas (les anciens, pas les endettés d'aujourd'hui...) s'adonnaient à la « *Scholè* », loisirs actifs, impliqués, politique et philosophique. L'équivalent des aristocrates romains fut « *l'otium* », son contraire le *neg-otium*, négoce et activités vulgaires réservés aux esclaves et métèques industriels.

Avec Oscar Wilde, n'est-il largement temps de revendiquer la *scholè généralisée*, en d'autres termes l'« *otium du peuple* » ? Soyons réalistes... La révolution numérique ouvre de nouveaux horizons.

VYVE, Valentine Van, «Rutger Bregman: 'Revenu universel, semaine de travail de 15h, un monde sans frontières : mes idées sont radicales, utopiques mais réalistes'», *La Libre.be*, vendredi 03 novembre 2017. Cf. : [Texte complet : “.html”]

<http://www.lalibre.be/actu/planete/inspire/rutger-bregman-revenu-universel-semaine-de-travail-de-15h-un-monde-sans-frontieres-mes-idees-sont-radicales-utopiques-mais-realistes-59fae153cd705114f0126ef9>

Rutger Bregman se définit comme un idéaliste réaliste. Le titre de son livre (« Utopies réalistes »), cet écrivain hollandais l'a puisé dans son propre caractère, dans sa conviction qu'un monde meilleur peut advenir. « *On n'atteindra jamais le paradis, c'est un jeu sans fin* », tempère-t-il toutefois, comme pour apporter une réponse à ceux qui traiteraient cet historien de formation de 29 ans de doux rêveur ; et ses solutions, de politique-fiction. Ses « *idées radicales* », il les défend à l'aide de preuves empiriques, s'appuie sur les travaux de ses prédécesseurs et contemporains et pose sur l'évolution du monde son regard d'historien. Sa responsabilité, dit-il, ne se limite pas à décrire ce qu'il observe. « *Jusqu'ici, les philosophes n'ont fait qu'interpréter le monde de différentes manières, ce qui importe, c'est de le transformer* », souligne-t-il en reprenant les mots de Karl Marx. Le « Monsieur revenu universel » des Pays-Bas insuffle du nouveau à des tendances (trop vite) enterrées. « *Leur temps est venu* », pense-t-il. Entretien.

[...]

Vous ne vous posez pas la question d'un « si » mais d'un « quand » ces changements adviendront.

Chaque fois que l'on tente de prédire le future, on se rend ridicule ! A la fin des années 60, on était persuadé qu'une sorte de revenu de base allait être mis en place aux Etats-Unis. Richard Nixon était sur le point de le faire... Mais, étonnamment, ça n'a pas abouti. Les idées radicales que je propose ne sont pas nouvelles. Mais aujourd'hui, elles semblent audibles au plus grand nombre.

C'est important de se battre pour les changements que l'on veut voir émerger. Ils n'advieront pas par eux-mêmes.



[7 Great TED Talks for Basic Income – Basic income – Medium](https://medium.com/basic-income/7-great-ted-talks-for-basic-income-1472e77b737f)

<https://medium.com/basic-income/7-great-ted-talks-for-basic-income-1472e77b737f>

1. Why we should give everyone a basic income | Rutger Bregman
2. A BIG idea, a bot idea—How smart policy will advance tech | Albert Wenger
3. What if we were free to work? | Olivier Schneller
4. No One Has the Right | Karl Widerquist
5. Basic income and other ways to fix capitalism | Federico Pistono
6. The wonderful and terrifying implications of computers that can learn | Jeremy Howard
7. Why we shouldn't have to work just to survive | Jonny Ross-Tatam



Financial Post (Toronto, Canada), 9 August 2018. Cf.:

<https://business.financialpost.com/pmn/press-releases-pmn/business-wire-news-releases-pmn/university-of-tampere-what-is-the-role-of-basic-income-in-welfare-state-development>

University of Tampere:

What is the Role of Basic Income in Welfare State Development?

24-26 August 2018

TAMPERE, Finland – Increasing economic, social and political inequality and division are problems of our time. However, social activists, academics and decision-makers are reflecting how innovative social programmes – such as an unconditional and universal basic income – could reinvigorate the foundations of the welfare state in Finland and elsewhere in Europe and around the world. Finland holds a unique place in this debate because of the basic income experiment currently rolled out across the country, which has gathered international media and policy attention.

Bringing together more than 300 participants from more than 30 countries, the congress will discuss the role of basic income in the next stage of welfare state development. Plenary sessions feature distinguished speakers from Australia, Brazil, Canada, India, and several European countries, including an opening address by the former President of Finland. **Tarja Halonen**

Basic Income in Motion, an international film festival showcasing more than a dozen documentaries and short films will take place alongside the congress.

The 2018 BIEN Congress will be preceded by a Nordic Basic Income Day on 23 August, with specific focus on the basic income debate across the Nordic countries and a public talk by Rutger Bregman on his bestselling book *Utopia for Realists*.

Congress website

<https://events.uta.fi/bien2018/>

Plenary Speakers

<https://events.uta.fi/bien2018/plenary-speakers/>

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Le Temps

Vendredi 25 août 2017

Mark HUNYADI



Le revenu universel: une utopie réaliste ?

<https://www.letemps.ch/culture/revenu-universel-une-utopie-realiste>

Paris, 18 August 2018

Dear Friends and Colleagues:

One month ago I was rereading Erasmus of Rotterdam's (1469-1536) *In Praise of Folly* and Thomas More's (1478-1535) *Utopia*. What a pleasure to rediscover new senses and new ways of looking reality thanks to these two great works written in the XVIth Century.

Ten days ago, preparing a presentation of Martin Mahner and Mario Bunge's book *Foundations of Biophilosophy*, I discover a book whose title attracted me: *Utopia for Realists and How We Can Get There*. It is written by Rutger Bregman, and author that I never knew existed.

I went through internet to get more information about the book and the author. The contrasted presentation of the book and of the author stimulated my curiosity.

Last week-end, accompanied by my daughter Flavia and my grand girl Alizee we went to a concert and then we visit the bookshop Shakespeare. And as I use to say: "Haphazard is a friend that travels incognito". The book was there, waiting for me.

I have read it as well as many reviews –in English, French and Spanish– from different perspectives and ideological backgrounds. I think that it is really stimulating and challenging.

Then, it is a great pleasure to share with you the presentation of this provocative work that makes us aware that, as Alyssa BATTISTONI says: "Because we can't just invent the future—we're going to have to fight for it".

I wish you and enjoyable, insightful and fruitful travel with Rutger Bregman.

My warmest wishes to you and your loved ones.

Alfonso

P.S.: To make your travel with Rutger Bregman placidly I add a link to have access to the extraordinary master-pieces of Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750) of the album *Complete Concertos*, Vol 2 (Full Album). Various Artists. Musica Amphiom, Neues Bachisches Collegium Musicum & Netherlands Bach Ensemble, 4:08:31. Enjoy it. Cf.:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AjBoL9E8uIk&t=3951s>

Please, confirm the receipt of this message and the attached file. Grazie e tanti auguri.

Alfonso E. Lizarzaburu
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París, 18 de Agosto de 2018

Queridos amigos y colegas:

Hace un mes releí el *Elogio de la locura* de Erasmo de Rotterdam (1469-1536) y la *Utopía* de Tomás Moro (1478-1535). Qué placer redescubrir nuevos sentidos y nuevos caminos para ver la realidad gracias a estas dos grandes obras escritas en el siglo xvi.

Hace diez días, preparando una presentación del libro *Fundamentos de biofilosofía* de Martin Mahner y Mario Bunge, descubrí un libro cuyo título me atrajo: *Utopía para realistas*. Ha sido escrito por Rutger Bregman, un autor de cuya existencia no tenía conocimiento.

Mediante la Internet recogí más información acerca del libro y el autor. La contrastada presentación del libro y el autor estimularon mi curiosidad.

Al final de la semana pasada, acompañado por mi hija Flavia y mi nieta Alizee asistimos a un concierto y luego visitamos la librería Shakespeare. Y, como suelo decir: “el azar es un amigo que viaja de incógnito”. El libro estaba ahí, esperándome.

He leído el libro así como numerosas revisiones –en inglés, español y francés– desde diferentes perspectivas y marcos ideológicos. Considero que es realmente estimulante y desafiante.

Por consiguiente, es con un gran placer que comparto con ustedes la presentación de esta provocativa obra que hace que seamos conscientes de lo que dice Alyssa BATTISTONI: “Dado que no podemos únicamente inventar el futuro vamos a tener que luchar por él”.

Les deseo un gozoso, penetrante y fructífero viaje con Rutger Bregman.

Mi más cordial saludo para ustedes y sus seres queridos.

Alfonso

P.S.: Para hacer más plácido su viaje con Rutger Bregman les envío un enlace para acceder a las obras maestras de Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750) del álbum *Complete Concertos*, Vol. 2 (álbum completo). Various Artists. Musica Amphiom, Neues Bachisches Collegium Musicum & Netherlands Bach Ensemble, 4:08:31. Disfrútenlo. Cf.:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AjBoL9E8uIk&t=3951s>

Por favor, confirmen la recepción de este mensaje y del fichero adjunto. Grazie e tanti auguri.

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