

Chronicles of three years of struggles of the socialist deputies - Territorial experimentation of a basic income

Never for three years, despite its considerable weakening after the double defeat of 2017, the group of socialist and related deputies has resigned itself to abandon the fight for Justice that has been its for more than a century in the National Assembly. Faithful to the memory and struggles of Jaurès, Blum, Mendès-France, or Mitterrand, the Socialist and related deputies held on. Justice as a response to the disorders of financialized capitalism, justice as the engine of the great ecological and social transformation to which our country is called, justice against all domination, relegation, discrimination, inequality. In an unprecedented context of loss of reference points and the destructuring of political life, we have stood in firm opposition every time the principles and defense of the great republican compromises patiently constructed have been at stake.

But because we live as members of a party that has a vocation to govern, our opposition has never given in to the ease of criticism alone. Untiringly, methodically, we have systematically formulated alternative proposals. These proposals have been constructed on the basis of in-depth, serious work, nourished by numerous meetings and consultations, by listening to researchers, NGOs, unions, associations, citizens, companies, ... A group that listens to society, that listens to French men and women at a time marked in particular by the crisis of the yellow jackets reminding everyone of the harshness of the lives of so many of our compatriots and the need for a relentless fight against inequality, by the climatic anguish of a youth that is struggling to invent a future for itself and challenge political leaders, by a pandemic that is lasting and sounds like a social ultimatum, by an attack (again) that shakes the Republic and its promises and demands that its values be defended in action and on a daily basis?

Our two parliamentary groups, "Socialists & Related" in the National Assembly and "Socialists, Ecologist and Republican" in the Senate, represent the first left-wing opposition force in Parliament with 95 parliamentarians. It is thanks to this political weight that we have been able to carry, united as deputies and senators, a certain number of battles, such as the one on the Referendum of Shared Initiative, which ultimately blocked the privatization of the Paris airports. In the light of this 79th congress, we wish to share with you the 79 proposals that the socialist deputies have elaborated and defended in the National Assembly over the last 3 years. These proposals could be classified in 3 categories:

* Those for which we have been precursors, i.e., those that have never been formulated before and that aim to transform society. For example, the crime of ecocide, the creation of a basic income and a universal endowment, the definition of a new capitalism, a revision of the taxation of multinationals to make them pay their tax on profits where they make their turnover, etc.

* Those that aim to respond to an emergency and propose solutions for now. Examples include the economic, social and ecological rebound plan presented during the health crisis, a plan to get out of the yellow vest crisis, which we were the first to highlight with our energy tax simulator, a

plan for the hospital and autonomy, a plan to deal with medical deserts, our fight against the privatization of ADP and for the defense of our public services.

* Those aimed at demonstrating to the Government and its majority that, in a given context, another policy is possible. Examples include our counter-budgets, where we propose fairer fiscal choices with the restoration of the wealth tax, our proposals for agriculture and food, for transport and mobility, our "real" project for research, our alternative plan for the reintroduction of neonicotinoids, and our defense of social dialogue.

Attached you will find a thematic contribution from a proposed bill to experiment with a Basic Income.

We are at your disposal to discuss it with you !!!



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CHRONICLE OF THREE YEARS-OE STRUGGLE OF THE SOCIALIST DEPUTIES

PROPOSITION DE LOI D'EXPÉRIMENTATION TERRITORIALE VISANT À INSTAURER UN REVENU DE BASE

PAR HERVÉ SAULIGNAC, LE 19.12.2018 Joël Aviragnet, Ericka Bareigts, Marie Noëlle Battistel, Gisèle Biémouret, Christophe Bouillon, Jean Louis Bricout, Luc Carvounas, Alain David, Laurence Dumont, Olivier Faure, Guillaume Garot, David Habib, Marietta Karamanli, Jérôme Lambert, George Pau Langevin, Christine Pires Beaune, Dominique Potier, Joaquim Pueyo, Valérie Rabault, Sylvie Tolmont, Cécile Untermaier, Hélène Vainqueur Christophe, Boris Vallaud, Michèle Victory.



ASSEMBLÉE NATIONAL

CONSTITUTION OF OCTOBER 4, 1958

FIFTEENTH LEGISLATURE

Registered at the Presidency of the National Assembly on December 19, 2018.

LAW PROPOSAL

of territorial experimentation *aimed at* establishing *a* basic income,

(Referred to the Social Affairs Committee, if not constituted of a special commission within the time limits provided for in Articles 30 and 31 of the By-Laws).

presented by Ladies and Gentlemen

Hervé SAULIGNAC, Valérie RABAULT, Joël AVIRAGNET, Ericka BAREIGTS, Gisèle BIÉMOURET, Boris VALLAUD and the members of the Socialist Group ⁽¹⁾ and related ⁽²⁾,

members of Parliament.

(2) Mr. Christian Hutin, Mr. Régis Juanico, Mr. Serge Letchimy, Ms. Josette Manin.

members of Parliament.

⁽¹⁾ *This group is composed of Ladies and Gentlemen*: Joël Aviragnet, Ericka Bareigts, Marie-Noëlle Battistel, Gisèle Biémouret, Christophe Bouillon, Jean-Louis Bricout, Luc Carvounas, Alain David, Laurence Dumont, Olivier Faure, Guillaume Garot, David Habib, Marietta Karamanli, Jérôme Lambert, George Pau-Langevin, Christine Pires Beaune, Dominique Potier, Joaquim Pueyo, Valérie Rabault, Hervé Saulignac, Sylvie Tolmont, Cécile Untermaier, Hélène Vainqueur-Christophe, Boris Vallaud, Michèle Victory.

EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

France is going through one of the most serious social crises it has experienced since the post-war period. Those who are the first victims have expressed their despair sometimes, their anger often and their demand for social justice always.

This popular expression of a suffering that no one can contest obliges us. The belief that economic growth alone can meet social needs is no longer valid. We are now obliged to rethink in depth our solidarity mechanisms in a spirit of innovation and justice. It can no longer be a question of alleviating social unrest. It must be extinguished on a lasting basis. Fighting poverty, increasing purchasing power, and encouraging employment through higher incomes can no longer be vague issues that are constantly postponed to the future.

Against poverty, we have not yet tried everything. While our country is among the richest in the world, it also has nearly 9 million people living below the poverty line. Resignation to this state of affairs would be unworthy of the mission that is collectively assigned to us.

This is why we propose to experiment with a means-tested basic income that responds to a diversity of situations and objectives. The text we are presenting today is the legislative translation of a reflection initiated by parliamentarians, elected members of various departmental councils, supported by experts in social innovation.

This basic income is a solidarity income. If our social protection system is effective in terms of international comparisons, its performance could be significantly improved by correcting two major injustices: automating social benefits to integrate those entitled to them who do not use them, and opening them up to young people under the age of twenty-five, most of whom are excluded from the RSA, while a quarter of 18-24 year olds live below the poverty line.

This Basic Income is an income that addresses the situation of those left behind. Many workers are unable to earn a decent income from their activity: farmers, craftsmen, employees and low-wage workers. income, part-time work... The system must provide them with additional resources to improve their purchasing power and regain their sometimes lost dignity.

This basic income is finally a self-sufficiency income. The unconditionality of its payment, coupled with a social contract between the social services and the recipients concerning support, should make it possible to develop people's power to act and to promote socially useful activities (caring for disabled or elderly people, professional reconversions, long-term training, volunteer work, creation of activities, etc.).

The Basic Income is therefore a powerful tool in the fight against poverty, but also a springboard for social and professional integration, and thus a vector of citizen integration. It makes it possible to accompany, in the movement of a changing world, work and life paths, sometimes chaotic and often less linear than in the past. As a genuine instrument of social investment, it must prevent the spiral of exclusion by providing everyone with the resources they need to achieve an inclusive trajectory.

The Basic Income renews the ambition that founded the creation of the Revenu Minimum d'Insertion in 1988: to guarantee a basic income for all. As in the case of the "Territories with zero long-term unemployment" project, the aim is to test the scheme locally to evaluate its effectiveness and its effects on the behavior of beneficiaries before considering its deployment, if necessary.

The exploratory work, based on the social engineering of the departments and a citizen survey that gathered nearly 15,000 responses, led to the simulation of models in order to set up an experiment that is socially bold, financially sustainable and scientifically credible. Several objectives quickly emerged: reducing poverty, supporting low-income workers, empowering young people, securing career paths, promoting social and professional integration, recognizing multi-activity and simplifying the social benefit system.

For this purpose, a reform of the structure of social benefits is proposed, based on the experimentation of two models: a merger of RSA/Prime d'activité and a merger of RSA/Prime d'activité/housing assistance. Three principles were then identified: - The unconditionality and automation of the system to reduce the lack of recourse, modernize the services and encourage pluriactivity;

- The opening to young people under 25 years of age;
- The degressivity of the basic income according to the income from activity.

The announcement by the President of the Republic, during the presentation of the Poverty Plan, of the creation of a "universal activity income" fully recognizes the acuity of the issues thus raised. However, given the depth of the institutional changes that it augurs, a reform of the structure of social benefits requires prior experimentation in order to anticipate all the effects. The departments are ready.

This bill aims to allow this experimentation in volunteer departments.

Article¹ sets out the broad outlines of this experiment. It provides for a period of three years to experiment with a unique, automatic and unconditional social benefit, called "basic income", in voluntary departments. The latter will be able to experiment with one or the other of the two options: either a social benefit replacing the Active Solidarity Income and the activity bonus for the beneficiaries participating in the experiment, or a social benefit replacing the same benefits plus housing assistance.

Article 2 specifies that this experiment will be conducted in the volunteer departments selected for the experiment, within territories chosen from within them, on persons receiving the benefits mentioned in Article¹ or meeting the conditions other than the age to receive them, aged at least 18 years. The lump-sum amount of the benefit, the nature of the resources taken into account for its calculation, and the methods of calculation shall be defined by decree in Council of State, without these being able to result in a reduction in the benefit for a beneficiary. The calculation methods used must be such as to encourage people to return to work.

Article 3 specifies that, as part of the experiment, selected recipients will have automatic access to Basic Income, automaticity being, along with unconditionality, one of the principles of Basic Income.

Article 4 specifies that beneficiaries will be entitled to social and professional support, organized by a single referent. One of the interests of the Basic Income is indeed to allow this accompaniment, by removing control tasks for social workers, and thus allowing them to concentrate on their social accompaniment tasks.

Articles 5 and 6 set up an experimental fund aimed at establishing a basic income, as well as a follow-up association.

The experimentation fund aims to organize the financing of the experimentation. This fund will be financed by the State and by the departments, according to modalities that will be defined in the finance law. The management of this fund will be entrusted to an association governed by the law of July ¹, 1901 relating to the contract of association.

For the duration of the experiment, the Experimentation Fund will sign agreements with the selected departments as well as with the family allowance funds and the agricultural social mutual insurance funds, so that eligible persons will be entitled to the social benefit known as the "basic income". Each agreement will specify the part of the benefit paid by the fund, taking into account the rights already open to one of the benefits mentioned in Article ¹. The agreement will also set out the conditions to be met in order to benefit from the financing of the fund, in particular the commitments of the volunteer departments in terms of monitoring the experiment.

In addition, an association composed of the volunteer departments for the experimentation is planned, in charge of the follow-up of the experimentation.

Article 7 indicates that at the latest six months before the end of the experimentation, a scientific committee appointed by order of the minister in charge of social affairs will carry out an evaluation report of the introduction of this basic income, a report that should allow the continuation, the generalization or the abandonment of the introduction of the basic income. This evaluation report will be addressed to the Parliament and to the Minister in charge of social affairs.

Article 8 stipulates that if the experiment is not renewed at the end of the three-year period or if it is interrupted before that time by a decision of the experimentation fund, the departments, the family allowance funds, the agricultural social mutual benefit funds, and

and Pôle emploi, will receive notification from the experimental fund that Basic Income funding has ended.

Article 9 of the Experimentation Act is subject to a decree of the Council of State.

Article 10 states that the law will come into force on a date set by decree in the Council of State, no later than July ¹, 2020.

LAW PROPOSAL

Article¹

Idecree Conseil d'État and no later than July ^{1,} 2020, an experiment will be carried out on aimed at establishing a single, automatic and unconditional social benefit,

known as the "basic income", is being implemented in voluntary departments.

- II. The social benefit mentioned in I replaces the following benefits, as long as the beneficiaries participating in the experiment are eligible for them :
- 1°code social action and families;
- 2°theSocial SecurityCode;
- 3°L. 542-1 and L. 831-1 the Social Security Code and L. 351-1 of the Construction and Housing Code.
- Volunteer departments have the opportunity to experiment with the substitution of all of these services, or only the first two.
- III financial support of the State and the local authorities mentioned in I of this article.
- IVlist of the voluntary departments selected to carry out the experimentation, on the proposal of the experimentation fund aimed at introducing a basic income and the association for monitoring the experimentation of the basic income, mentioned in article 5 of the present law.

Article 2

selected for the experimentation, and within the territories selected within them for the experimentation, the benefit of the Basic Income is open to persons benefiting from the

benefits mentioned in II of Article ^{1 of the} present law or fulfilling the conditions other than that relating to the age to benefit from them, aged at least eighteen years old.

- The benefit of the Income Base, which was opened as part of the experiment, can be refused or interrupted at the simple request of the beneficiary.
- II. The Basic Income is a guaranteed minimum income.
- When 1° and 2° of II of Article ^{1 of the} present law, it is defined as the difference between a lump sum, which varies according to the composition of the household, and the resources of the household, to which is added a percentage of the activity income.
- Whenmentioned in 1°, 2° and 3° of II of Article ^{1 of the} present law, the lump sum mentioned in the preceding paragraph is increased by a lump sum increase which varies according to the composition of the household and the living area.
- The guaranteed lump-sum amount cannot be less than the amount of the benefits mentioned in II of Article ^{1 of the} present law to which the beneficiaries would be eligible if they did not receive the Basic Income. This amount shall be revalued on April ^{1st of} each year by application of

of the coefficient mentioned in Article L. 161-25 of the Social Security Code.

The methods for calculating the basic income and the nature of the resources taken into account, which should provide an incentive to return to work, are defined by decree in the Council of State.

Article 3

Within the framework of the experimentation, the selected beneficiaries have automatic access to the Basic Income mentioned in I of Article¹ of the present law.

Article 4

- Beneficiaries are entitled to social and professional support, organized by a single referent.
- Each beneficiary is directed, according to his needs, to the institution mentioned in Article L. 5312-1 of the Labor Code, to the authorities or competent bodies in the field of social integration or to the local missions for the professional and social integration of young people mentioned in article L. 5314-1 of the same code.

Article 5

- I. An Experimental Fund is set up with the aim of establishing a Basic Income, responsible for financing experimentation. The fund shall be financed by the State and the local authorities mentioned in I of Article¹ of the present law.
- The management of the fund mentioned in I is entrusted to an association governed by the law of July ¹, 1901 relating to the contract of association. It is administered by a board of directors made up of representatives of the State, the territorial authorities mentioned in I of Article ^{1 of} the present law, the family allowance funds, the agricultural social mutual insurance funds and the institution mentioned in article L. 5312 of the labor code.
- II. The local authorities mentioned in I of article ^{1 of} the present law participating in the experiment set up an association for the follow-up of the Basic Income experiment, governed by the law of July ¹, 1901 relating to the contract of association, in charge of the follow-up of experimentation.

Article 6

The experimentation fund aiming at establishing a basic income sign s, for the duration of the experimentation, agreements with the territorial authorities mentioned in I of article ¹ of the present law, the family allowance funds and the funds of the agricultural social mutual insurance in order to to open to the beneficiaries fulfilling the conditions mentioned in article 2 of

the present law the right to the social benefit mentioned in I of article 1 of the present law.

- Each agreement specifies the part of the benefit paid by fund, taking into account the rights already open to one of the benefits mentioned in II of Article¹.
- The agreement also sets out the conditions to be met order benefit from the fund's financing, in particular the commitments made by the voluntary local authorities in terms of monitoring the experimentation.

Article 7

At the latest six months before the end of the experimentation, a scientific committee shall carry out an evaluation report of the implementation of the Basic Income mentioned in I of Article¹ of the present law.

The evaluation details in particular :

- 1° poverty rate in the participating territories and on the evolution of social welfare indicators ;
- 2° the effects of the experimentation on the social and professional integration beneficiaries of the benefit;
- 3° the financial consequences of the experiment for the participating territories, the territorial authorities mentioned in Article ¹ of this law and the State.
- The composition of the scientific committee is defined by decree. Its members are appointed by order of the Minister in charge of social affairs. They serve on a voluntary basis.
- The evaluation report is addressed to the Parliament and to the Minister in charge social affairs.

Article 8

If the experiment is not renewed at the end of the period mentioned ^{1 of} ^{the} present law or if it is interrupted before this term by a decision of the experimentation fund mentioned in I of Article 5 of the present law, the voluntary territorial authorities mentioned in I of Article ^{1 of the} present law, the family allowance funds, the agricultural social mutual insurance funds, as well as the institution mentioned in

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Article L. 5312-1 of the French Labor Code, receive a notification from the Experimentation Fund signifying the end of Basic Income financing.

Article 9

A decree in Council of State defines the methods of application of the present law, in particular the criteria for entitlement to the basic income, the methods of operation and management of the experimentation fund, the methods of signing the agreements concluded between the fund, the local authorities taking part in the experimentation, the family allowance funds and the agricultural social mutual insurance funds, and the methods of evaluation of the experimentation.

Article 10

The present law comes into force on a date fixed by decree in the Council State, and no later than July ¹, 2020.

This Act shall be enforced as the law of the State.

Article 11

Expenses incurred by local authorities are offset to the extent of the increase in the overall operating budget and, correspondingly, by the increase in the State's budget at the same rate.

du 1° du B du 1 de l'article 200 A du code général des impôts.

The cost to the State is offset to the extent of the rate of 1° of B of 1 of Article 200 A of the General Tax Code.