

# nipsa

## Beyond the Politics of Hate



**No To Racism: Fight For Jobs, Homes and Public Services For All**

**SUMMER 2025**





The forest was shrinking, but the trees kept voting for the axe, for the axe was clever and convinced the trees that because his handle was made of wood he was one of them.

**Turkish Proverb**



Northern Ireland Public Service Alliance

Headquarters

54 Wellington Park

Belfast

BT9 6DP

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Front Cover Photography: Image taken of Anti-Racism Rally, Belfast, 2024. See footnote 2.



## Introduction

In 2023 the UK Government faced the following problems – the NHS in crisis including record waiting lists, stagflation, record child poverty, widespread industrial action and high interest rates. How did it respond? It chose to prioritise a longstanding debate about “immigration” to such an extent that it put a slogan about it (“stop the boats”) on a lectern and made it one of its five electoral pledges hoping it would be a future vote winner.

While the language the Sunak Government used was of prohibiting “illegal” immigration, the dishonesty of prioritising the issue in this manner is shown by the fact that all asylum seekers are in the Kafkaesque position of being asked to do the impossible – to seek a “legal” route that doesn’t exist as the UK has shut them down. The Government, albeit furtively, admitted this fact.<sup>1</sup> Even more disgracefully, it framed its policy by “othering” refugees and using the language of “invasion”. This shows this is not about stopping “boats” it is heartless political posturing on the backs of desperate human beings.

In July 2024, a new Labour Government was elected in the UK, successfully appealing to a Tory-weary electorate on an ill-defined slogan of “change”. On indulging rather than challenging and facing down anti-refugee rhetoric, however, there was to be no/little change and within less than a year of election, they were to reap the whirlwind of

toxicity such an approach always strengthens. This came in the form of orchestrated riots in England and Northern Ireland, when the far-right hijacked grief and anger in the wake of the horrific stabbing of three children in Southport in July 2024. Despite the perpetrator of this crime not being an asylum seeker, a Muslim or an immigrant and showing that this has nothing to do with any spontaneous reaction to a specific incident, this tragedy was exploited by the far-right to cynically indulge in their usual, social media fuelled<sup>2</sup>, violent Islamophobia, scapegoating and hate-filled activities. While their poisonous presence on the streets was successfully challenged by a mobilisation of civic society including the trade union movement and its allies, the main political parties at a national level on these islands continue to “tack right” in policy terms on migration issues when facing any electoral/corporate media pressure. This sees the continuation of dangerous rhetoric (“island of strangers”<sup>3</sup>) and the only “change” the new UK Prime Minister putting a different three words (“securing Britain’s future”) on a lectern.

1 On 3 April 2023 Tim Farron asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, (Robert Jenrick) what the (a) quickest and (b) slowest time was for communicating an asylum decision for an application made in the United Arab Emirates for an Afghan national who is a spouse of another Afghan national already granted asylum in the UK in the latest period for which data is available. Robert Jenrick answered: “There is no provision within our immigration rules for someone to be allowed to travel to the UK to claim asylum or temporary refuge or make a claim for asylum or protection from abroad”. [Online] Available: <https://www.theyworkforyou.com/wrans/?id=2023-03-15.166166.h&p=11923>

2 [Online] Available: <https://caj.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2025/05/Mapping-Far-Right-Activity-Online-in-Northern-Ireland-Project-Report.pdf> May 2025.

3 [Online] Available: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2025/may/12/keir-starmer-defends-plans-to-curb-net-migration> 12 May 2025.



## Selective Outrage

This behavior both feeds and feeds off the “protesters” who regurgitate the racist, right-wing dog-whistles about “asylum seekers”/ “illegal immigrants” and couch such rhetoric in “concern” about the pressure that “migration” per se (in all its forms) puts on health, housing and other social services. Of course the leaders of such protests have never campaigned for improvement on any of these issues and indeed have a history of supporting an underlying ideology (market capitalism) at home and abroad that generates inequality and displacement and is the root cause of this crisis. For example, while locally, we are supposedly struggling to deal with a few hundred refugees, when have the racist right shown any desire to protest the fact that in 2016 alone, there were 20,629 houses registered as being empty in Northern Ireland?<sup>4</sup>

Simultaneously while permanently outraged about “foreigners” getting “something for nothing” they seem remarkably relaxed that: landlords are rewarded with a zero rating on their empty properties; that there are one hundred plus “properties and pieces of land owned by the government...sitting unused, vacant or derelict” (costing over £1m a year to secure/maintain)<sup>5</sup> or that “nearly twice as much public money is put into the pockets of private landlords as is spent on new public housing”.<sup>6</sup> More widely, while the (wholly inappropriate for purpose) use of hotel accommodation for asylum seekers<sup>7</sup> attracts much attention and is framed as the “gift” of luxury to the “undeserving”, the only luxury (again unprotested by these outraged, “patriotic taxpayers”) is the outsourced delivery model that sees, for example, a booking agency used by the Home Office trebling “its pre-tax profits from £2.1m to £6.3m in the 12 months up to February 2022.”<sup>8</sup>

## Searching for Scapegoats

In short, if those *leading* protests and making the most hostile noises about “asylum seekers”, framed around the specific “pressure” they are exerting on social services were sincere, they would have a history of campaigning on these issues without this xenophobic/racist tenor. Instead they choose to use the easiest targets as scapegoats for this *capitalist* failure in order to attract followers for their politics of hate. In this way, it is accurate rather than cynical to suggest that they and the ruling class they serve want us to:

1. Work more hours;
2. Retire later;
3. Pay more tax;
4. Receive less pension;
5. Fall ill;
6. Pay for the related healthcare privately;
7. Die as close to retirement as possible and crucially;
8. Blame 1-7 on a family in a dinghy.

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4 Politicians slam ‘shameful’ response to the number of empty houses in Northern Ireland | BelfastTelegraph.co.uk [Online] Available: <https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/northern-ireland/politicians-slam-shameful-response-to-the-number-of-empty-houses-in-northern-ireland/41050127.html> 14/11/21.

5 [Online] Available: <https://www.belfastlive.co.uk/news/northern-ireland/vacant-properties-owned-stormont-lying-24070737> 26 May 2022.

6 Update: New Build Social Housing Spent Vs. Housing Benefit Payments to Private Landlords | Freedom of Information Archive | PPR (nlb.ie) [Online] Available: <https://www.nlb.ie/investigations/FOI/19/2022-07-update-new-build-social-housing-spent-vs-housing-benefit-payments-to-private-landlords> 1/7/22.

7 [Online] Available: <https://www.nlb.ie/investigations/FOI/2022-04-foi-requests-reveal-huge-increase-in-the-use-of-hotel-accommodation-for-asylum-seekers-and-their-families> 5/4/22.

8 [Online] Available: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-64991234> 20/3/23.

## The Politics of the Gutter

This is why opportunist politicians chose to use deliberately provocative language. Suella Braverman's "invasion" speech<sup>9</sup> or Robert Jenrick's statement that "uncontrolled illegal migration" might "cannibalise" the UK's compassion"<sup>10</sup> echoed late 1960s Enoch Powell or 1970s Margaret Thatcher who once talked of "people...afraid that this country might be swamped by people with a different culture."<sup>11</sup> In the present this is further toxified by the demonising focus on (young) male refugees who the media link to terror groups/ conflicts they are in fact likely to be fleeing from rather than being members of/participants in. They are presented as both "cowardly" for desertion of their homeland/family and a violent, criminal threat to local communities they have fled to. If female refugees are less demonised within this context, such a media truce ends at the point they or refugee children can be attacked for their "drain" on local services and social security provision (which, as we discuss below, they in fact cannot access). Such a narrative and Braverman's "dream"<sup>12</sup> of hoping to see a Daily Telegraph front page showing pictures of detention flights to Rwanda demonstrates the politics of the gutter's perverse priorities. In this way:

*The scapegoating of refugees and migrants, Islamophobia, anti-Semitism, Sinophobia, anti-south-east Asian and anti-Gypsy, Roma and Traveller racism have become the common language of governments attempting to deflect criticism from mishandling of everything from the Covid-19 pandemic to economic and environmental crises. No wonder the far right is able to gain a hearing.<sup>13</sup>*

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9 [Online] Available: <https://www.kcl.ac.uk/suella-bravermans-talk-of-a-refugee-invasion-is-a-dangerous-political-gambit-gone-wrong> 3/11/22.

10 [Online] Available: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2023/apr/25/values-and-lifestyles-of-small-boat-refugees-threaten-social-cohesion-says-jenrick> 25/4/23.

11 [Online] Available: <https://www.versobooks.com/en-gb/blogs/news/1282-thatcher-the-pm-who-brought-racism-in-from-the-cold> 10/4/13.

12 [Online] Available: <https://www.thelondoneconomic.com/politics/home-secretary-says-she-dreams-of-landing-a-telegraph-front-page-of-a-plane-taking-off-to-rwanda-336384/> 4/10/22.

13 [Online] Available: <https://morningstaronline.co.uk/article/f/stand-refugees-dont-let-racism-or-far-right-divide-us>



Original Cartoon meme/image attributed to Australian artist: Denis Lushch.

The dangerous cynicism at play here is also shown by how support for “refugees” in the media or at least opposition can be switched off if there is a political preference by media owners to do so. We see, for example, the contrast with how the issue of Ukrainian refugees was debated and facilitated because they, rightly were treated as what they are, desperate human beings fleeing danger and in need of humanitarian help. But it is also clear that the “worthiness” of victims is informed both by the Government position on particular conflicts and a form of racial profiling i.e. the “whiter” the victim the greater the sympathy – contrasting Ukrainians with those fleeing desperate circumstances from the global south – in Syria, Ethiopia or Yemen. Such views are not the sole preserve of UK politicians as the “Fortress Europe” system across the European Union seems to reflect the neo-colonialism expressed by Josep Borrell, the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, when he described Europe as a “garden” and the rest of the world as a “jungle”.<sup>14</sup>

14 [Online] Available: <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2022/10/17/josep-borrell-eu-racist-gardener> 17/10/22.



## A World set on Fire

While neo-imperial nations and their jingoistic press express dismay about why these foreigners “are here or are coming here”, a rational examination of the West’s consistently reckless foreign policies answers the rhetorical question “why are they here?” with the factual “because you were there”. That is, people arriving here are flesh and blood victims of both historic imperialism and the current neo-imperialism of Western policy. This has sought or seeks control of resources (e.g. oil, gas), attempts regime change (via “a war on terror”), engages in hegemonic positioning (“the pivot to China”) or supports the US’s struggle against “de-dollarisation.”<sup>15</sup>

The results of these policies has been catastrophic with a legacy of death, destruction and failed states in their wake. This has led to millions of people being displaced both internally within their own countries and internationally. They are also fleeing the untrammelled capitalist economic order (exemplified by the Common Agricultural Policy’s adverse effect on developing countries)<sup>16</sup> and its escalation of “global heating [that] is the fault of rich countries, but [who] will stop at nothing to prevent the world’s most deprived people from finding a safe home.”<sup>17</sup> This has created a world of:

- 4.4 million stateless people...residing in 101 countries (at end 2024).
- 123.2 million people forcibly displaced people, 40% of whom (49 million) are children under 18 years of age.
- 2.3 million children...born as refugees with, between 2018 and 2024, an average of...337 800 children per year born as refugees.<sup>18</sup>

## Challenging the “Big Lies”

Given the nature of the mainstream media’s ownership and its deliberate fuelling of the “divide and rule” poison that leaves its power intact, it is essential to support the information campaigns that refute the lazy definitions, myths and “big lies” about the root causes of the refugee crisis. It is also necessary to explore how to build the type of a broader movement for international peace and progress that was needed to defeat fascism in the last century and will also be needed to defeat its latest manifestation in this one.

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<sup>15</sup> [Online] Available: <https://michael-hudson.com/2021/10/3rd-edition-super-imperialism/>

<sup>16</sup> [Online] Available: <https://www.euractiv.com/section/agriculture-food/news/the-cap-has-devastating-effects-on-developing-countries-report-says/> 18/10/19.

<sup>17</sup> [Online] Available: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2023/mar/06/rishi-sunak-anti-refugee-climate-crisis-poorer-countries> 6/3/23.

<sup>18</sup> [Online] Available; <https://www.unhcr.org/refugee-statistics/>

On the question of definition, Amnesty International<sup>19</sup> provide the following clarity:

**Who is a refugee?** A refugee is a person who has fled their own country because they are at risk of serious human rights violations and persecution there. The risks to their safety and life were so great that they felt they had no choice but to leave and seek safety outside their country because their own government cannot or will not protect them from those dangers. Refugees have a right to international protection.

**Who is an asylum seeker?** An asylum seeker is a person who has left their country and is seeking protection from persecution and serious human rights violations in another country, but who hasn't yet been legally recognized as a refugee and is waiting to receive a decision on their asylum claim. Seeking asylum is a human right. This means everyone should be allowed to enter another country to seek asylum.

**Who is a migrant?** Migrants [are...] people staying outside their country of origin, who are not asylum seekers or refugees. Some migrants leave their country because they want to work, study or join family, for example. Others feel they must leave because of poverty, political unrest, gang violence, natural disasters or other serious circumstances that exist there. Lots of people don't fit the legal definition of a refugee but could nevertheless be in danger if they went home. It is important to understand that, just because migrants do not flee persecution, they are still entitled to have all their human rights protected and respected, regardless of the status they have in the country they moved to. Governments must protect all migrants from racist and xenophobic violence, exploitation and **forced labour**. Migrants should never be detained or forced to return to their countries without a legitimate reason.<sup>20</sup>

## Hosting Refugees

If these are the factual definitions and the obligations they should bestow on Governments, the UK Government has instead decided to flout longstanding, international legal norms of appropriate behaviours in this regard and exaggerate its international contribution on the question of asylum. In this way, despite the narrative in the press implying that the UK is carrying a disproportionate burden, it is dealing with tens of thousands of potential applicants, not “millions” or “billions”<sup>21</sup> and assesses **three times less** asylum applications than Germany and significantly fewer than France does. In mid-2024, of the 25 most significant refugee hosting countries worldwide, the UK was only 18th. (See Figure 1).

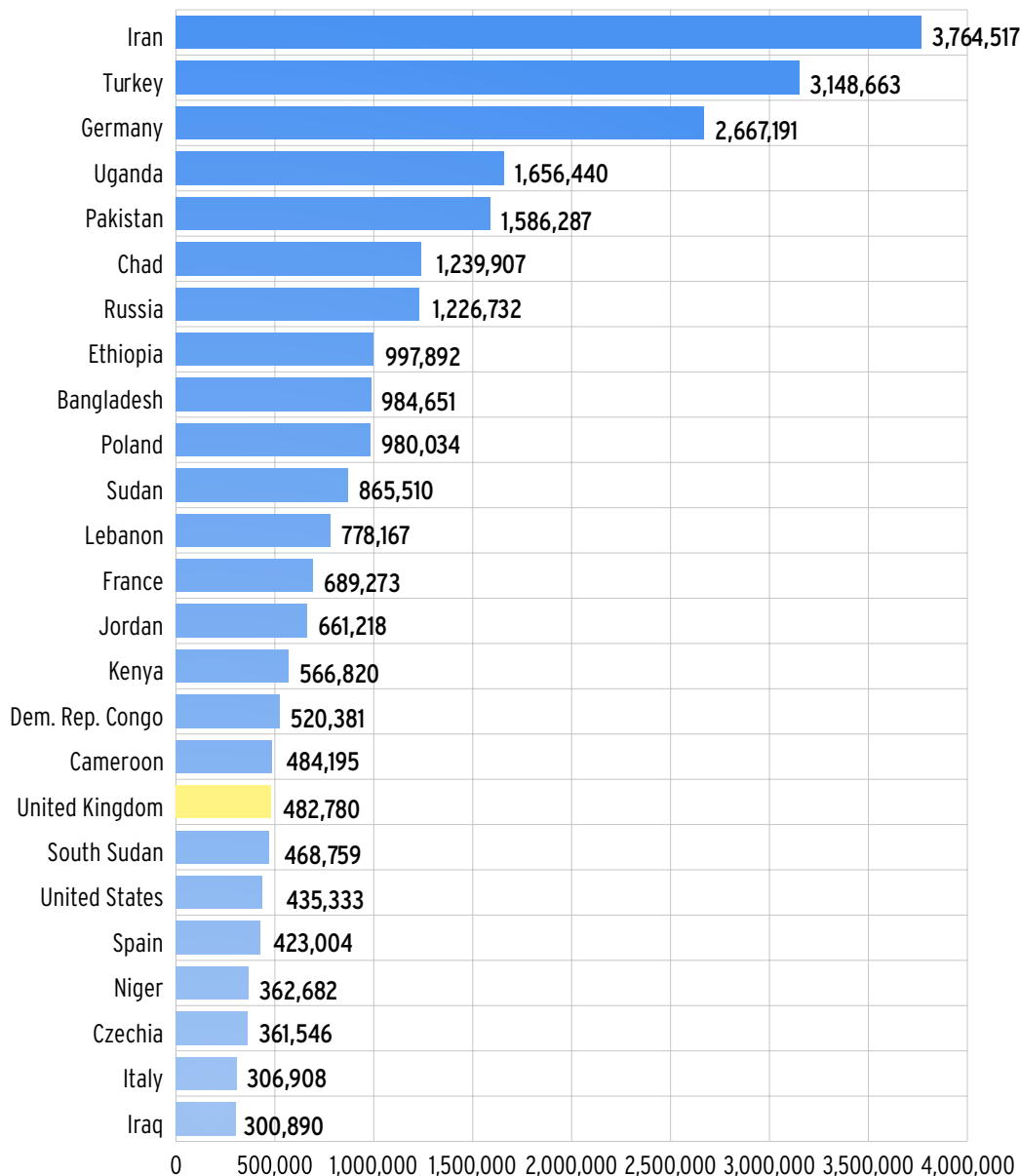
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19 [Online] Available: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/what-we-do/refugees-asylum-seekers-and-migrants/>

20 [Online] Available: <https://una.org.uk/magazine/1-2016/10-myths-about-refugee-and-migrant-crisis> 3/10/16.

21 [Online] Available: <https://fullfact.org/immigration/suella-braverman-100-million-claim> 8/3/23.

**Figure 1: Major Refugee hosting countries worldwide as of mid-2024<sup>22</sup>**



This reinforces how:

*the international community, and in particular wealthy nations, are failing to meaningfully share the responsibility for protecting people who have fled their homes in search of safety. In other words, they are failing to agree on and support a fair and predictable system for protecting people forced to leave everything behind because of violence and persecution. Instead, lower and middle-income countries are doing much more than their fair share – hosting more than double the number of refugees that high-income countries are [with] 85% of refugees...hosted in developing countries".<sup>23</sup>*

Furthermore, while the politically opportunistic narrative presents population shifts as an

<sup>22</sup> [Online] Available: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/263423/major-refugee-hosting-countries-worldwide/>

<sup>23</sup> [Online] Available: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/what-we-do/refugees-asylum-seekers-and-migrants/global-refugee-crisis-statistics-and-facts/>

irreversible *influx*, this ignores the fluidity of the global situation and the scale of return or re-settlement. For example “more than 1.6 million refugees returned to their countries of origin during 2023 while 188,800 were resettled (with or without UNHCR’s assistance)”.<sup>24</sup>

## Where Refugees Claim Asylum

Ignoring the fact that “67% of refugees and other people in need of international protection lived in countries neighbouring their countries of origin”<sup>25</sup> there has been much discussion of why refugees do not claim asylum in the first country they reach. But the law on these issues is clear and longstanding. Under the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (1948) nations are obliged to allow refugees or asylum seekers to apply for asylum. Furthermore, under the UN Convention on Refugees (1951) it is explicit that asylum seekers **do not** have to apply for asylum in the **first** country they reach but can apply for it in any country that is a signatory to the Convention. In terms of how they arrive this does not have to be by “lawful/regular” means nor does it demand that a refugee arrives with “documentation”. The UNHCR, the UN Refugee Agency’s Convention and Protocol relating to the status of refugees stipulates that:

*...subject to specific exceptions, refugees should not be penalized for their illegal entry or stay. This recognises that the seeking of asylum can require refugees to breach immigration rules. Prohibited penalties might include being charged with immigration or criminal offences relating to the seeking of asylum, or being arbitrarily detained purely on the basis of seeking asylum. Importantly, the Convention contains various safeguards against the expulsion of refugees. The principle of nonrefoulement is so fundamental that no reservations or derogations may be made to it. It provides that no one shall expel or return (“refouler”) a refugee against his or her will, in any manner whatsoever, to a territory where he or she fears threats to life or freedom.”<sup>26</sup>*

Also relevant in this regard is the European Convention on Human Rights - offering due process of law and no imprisonment without fair trial. Ironically the UK was a founding signatory of both the United Declaration of Human Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights.

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24 [Online] Available: <https://www.unhcr.org/refugee-statistics>

25 [Online] Available: *ibid.*

26 [Online] Available: <https://www.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/legacy-pdf/3b66c2aa10.pdf> p.3.



## The “Easy Access” to the UK Narrative and the Hostile Reality

As well as the “UK’s burden” a reactionary media also presents the fantasy of “illegal immigrants” gaining “easy access” to the UK, wherein they will be recipients of luxurious hotel accommodation and generous financial support from “benefits”. The reality is far from this. For example, “if an asylum seeker is placed in contingency accommodation such as a hotel, which offers meals, they are eligible for £8.24 [in 2023, £8.86 in 2025] per week to cover clothes, non-prescription medication and travel. They are not eligible for mainstream benefits [and are]... not allowed to work.”<sup>27</sup> The fact that people *still* come given this “hostile environment” again needs further explanation:

*Some people come to the UK because they have relatives or friends already here. It has been found that “even where asylum seekers had only vague connections with distant relatives in the UK, the knowledge that they would know someone in this country made it more attractive than other possible destinations where they would be completely alone.”<sup>28</sup> For most, however, when smugglers/agents are involved in arranging travel there can be a mixture of the preference of the person being transported and how much they can afford to pay. In many cases people have no choice or knowledge of where they were going.<sup>29</sup> The important motivation is to get away from danger. Others may have some knowledge of English; come from a country that has a historical association with the UK; or feel that there is a chance for peace, security and fairness here, where their rights will be protected. Research published in 2010, found that: Over two thirds of people seeking asylum in the UK did not choose to come here. Most only discovered they were going to the UK after leaving their country of origin. The primary objective for all those interviewed was reaching a place of safety. Around three quarters had no knowledge of welfare benefits and support before coming to the UK – most had no expectation they would be given financial support. 90% were working in their country of origin and very few were aware they would not be allowed to work when they arrived in the UK.<sup>30</sup>*

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27 [Online] Available: <https://fullfact.org/immigration/hotel-asylum-seekers/>

28 Vaughan Johnson and Jeremy Segrott, Home Office Research Study 243 Understanding the Decision-Making of Asylum Seekers, 2002, p. 42.

29 Understanding the Decision-Making of Asylum Seekers, page 25.

30 Heaven Crawley, Chance or Choice? Understanding Why Asylum Seekers Come to the UK. London: Refugee Council, 2010. [Online] Available: <https://www-media.refugeecouncil.org.uk/media/documents/Chance-or-choice-2010.pdf>

Research<sup>31</sup> on the specific refugee experience in Northern Ireland further captures the range of reasons for flight. These are:

- A whole ethnic group may be under threat (attempted genocide);
- Some political regimes will not tolerate an opposition and kill political opponents;
- Homosexual or transgender people may be subject to brutal punishment including execution;
- Some states, or groups within states, persecute minority religious groups;
- Women or girls may be threatened with forced abortion, honour killing, forced marriage or female genital mutilation;
- Children are forced into armed groups;
- Disabled children may be under threat of death.<sup>32</sup>

## Focusing on Deterrence Over Support

These details reinforce how, as the UN report “the refugee and migrant crisis is driven by human desperation – not the readiness of Europe to provide shelter”<sup>33</sup>. This again illustrates how a focus on deterrence over support only leads to tragedy such as when “Italy’s search-and-rescue operation, Mare Nostrum, was replaced by a low-budget alternative in October 2014...[and] migrants continued to cross the Mediterranean...with 3,771 deaths [and] 2015 was the deadliest year for people making this dangerous journey – ‘deterrent policies’ [again] based on the flawed assumptions that most migrants understand the policies of their country of destination and that they are acting out of calculation, rather than desperation.”<sup>34</sup>

## A Diverse Future for All

It is important to challenge the mainstream, deliberate deceit in the public domain around asylum – that the UK as a host is doing the heavy lifting, that those in desperate circumstances and needing assistance should be treated with hostility as “bogus”/“illegal” and who are trying to exploit a “generous” benefit system etc. We know the major purveyors of such lies are not interested in solutions but are only hoping to gain advantage from the politics of hate. While their cynicism can be exposed, confronting the terrain on which they seek to operate, defeating their politics requires a broader approach so that anyone potentially seduced by the protest leaders’ simplistic rhetoric and who mistakenly believe they are “on your side”, hears a different, genuine, positive and progressive message.

This means the trade union movement and its community allies not allowing the far-right to adopt the garb of “concerned citizens” and instead, publicise its own internationalist, empathetic, humanitarian, rights based approach to the issue of asylum. This starts with supporting the progressive changes to our society that its new arrivals can

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31 Refugees in Northern Ireland 2020-21 Some basic facts [Online] Available: <https://www.embraceni.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Refugees-in-N-I-EMBRACE-20%E2%80%9321-Final-version.pdf> See the case of ‘Abdi’ in Dr Brendan Quail’s unpublished PhD thesis, The Use and Formation of Social Networks among Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Northern Ireland, Queen’s University Belfast, page 125

32 Asylum seekers and refugees’ experiences of life in Northern Ireland, [Online] Available: <https://www.qub.ac.uk/home/media/Media,784971,en.pdf> p.3.

33 [Online] Available: <https://una.org.uk/magazine/1-2016/10-myths-about-refugee-and-migrant-crisis>

34 Ibid.

bring. As the Committee on the Administration of Justice<sup>35</sup> has reported, new members of our society challenge our fossilised sectarian divisions and give a real opportunity to celebrate diversity. Rejecting any possibility of a “hostile environment” we start from the position of “who lives here belongs here” and accept that our society:

*...is no longer a majority/minority society, but rather a place where ‘we are all minorities...’<sup>36</sup> This has to be seen as a plus...instead the arrival of migrants to a fairly conservative community brings with it many new opportunities – economic, social and cultural. The perception of culture as something that is alive and as having transformative values would be of great benefit to Northern Ireland where long-standing debates on essentialised notions of community have created blind spots. This could help to make the transition to a cultural identity that ‘belongs to the future as much to the past’.<sup>37</sup>*

In addition, given that it has been the trade union movement and wider civic society that has been at the forefront of confronting attempts by the far-right to mobilise, it is essential that the democratic space to do so is protected. This requires that government bodies and public agencies step up on this front (including taking “positive steps to tackle racist and sectarian expression...[and fulfil] positive obligations under the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), which are directly enforceable in the courts due to the Human Rights Act 1998 (HRA)”<sup>38</sup>). It also means we have to continually review how best, in a practical manner, we organise against future manifestations of racism on the streets. In this respect the adoption of the motion that NIPSA brought to the 2024 NICICTU conference (calling on ICTU to establish “a trade union member based stewarding group to provide support and protection, where needed, for meetings, protests, picket lines and demonstrations to ensure trade union members and the wider public can exercise their democratic rights”) was welcome. This could be the platform for ensuring that, working directly with those under attack, there is the maximum mobilisation of the trade union movement and its allies to deliver the most impactful antiracist intervention.

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35 [Online] Available: <https://caj.org.uk/our-work/immigration/>

36 Nolan, P. (2013) Northern Ireland Peace Monitoring Report, Number Two. Belfast: Community Relations Council.

37 Hall, 1990, p.225 Hall, S. (1993) ‘Culture, Community, Nation’ in Cultural Studies vol. 7(3), pp 349-363.

38 See the Rabble Cooperative report, [Online] Available: <https://caj.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2025/05/Mapping-Far-Right-Activity-Online-in-Northern-Ireland-Project-Report.pdf> p.43.

## Conclusion

Beyond this we must also look more broadly at the material conditions in which we all should be able to live. In 2021, for example, NIPSA explored the concept of Universal Basic Income<sup>39</sup> and argued that while it is a start it needs to be properly enhanced with a proper adoption of the broader concept of Universal Basic Services (UBS). In terms of UBS, the Nevin Economic Research Institute (NERI) suggest that:

*A non-exhaustive list of essential needs might include health, education, housing, transport, childcare and adult care. Additionally, a case might be made for including other needs, for example, food, water, legal services and electricity. For some of these items, policies designed to ensure sufficient minimum incomes for all might be more appropriate. It will depend on the context and the policy design. Finally, the coronavirus pandemic has revealed that access to digital services and broadband are now essential requirements for full participation in a modern society.<sup>40</sup> Universal service provision amounts to a virtual income or 'social wage' and is preferable to cash transfers in many instances. Anna Coote and Andrew Percy<sup>41</sup> build the case that UBS offers benefits that range across four dimensions: greater equality, efficiency of outputs, solidarity and environmental sustainability."<sup>42</sup>*

This broader approach looks to the wider examination of "core questions of citizenship, rights and democratic control of our lives - in and out of work."<sup>43</sup> In the midst of naked, deliberate "profit gouging"<sup>44</sup> hiding behind the euphemism of a "cost of living crisis" a new fight for common ownership has never been more needed. This is a reminder that our movement, once unashamed of making the case for peace and socialism as the real cures for the war, exploitation and displacement that capitalism and its highest form, imperialism delivers has to reconnect to such core beliefs. One of the martyrs of civil rights in the United States, Fred Hampton, outlined the message of cross-racial class based radical unity that made him so dangerous to the Establishment:

*We don't think you fight fire with fire best; we think you fight fire with water best. We're going to fight racism not with racism...we're going to fight with solidarity. We say we're not going to fight capitalism with...capitalism, but we're going to fight it with socialism.<sup>45</sup>*

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39 [Online] Available: <https://nipsa.org.uk/publications/40334.pdf> May 2021.

40 [Online] Available: <https://www.nerinstitute.net/sites/default/files/2020-12/Universal-Basic-Services-long-read-Nov-20.pdf> Nov 2020 p. 2

41 [Online] Available: <https://neweconomics.org/2020/02/the-case-for-universal-basic-services> 11/2/20

42 [Online] Available: <https://www.nerinstitute.net/sites/default/files/2020-12/Universal-Basic-Services-long-read-Nov-20.pdf> Nov 2020 p. 3.

43 [Online] Available: <https://nipsa.org.uk/publications/40334.pdf> p.18.

44 See Unite the Union [Online] Available: <https://www.uniteunion.org/media/4757/unite-investigates-corporate-profiteering-and-the-col-crisis.pdf> June 2022.

45 [Online] Available: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/hampton/1969/05/19.htm> 19/5/23.



We too reject the idea of a “kinder” capitalism, there isn’t one. We challenge the lies of the Right not to embarrass the liars or their media skills – as their politics and economic model is built on shameless opportunism – that would be a waste of time. We do so to ensure that they do not operate **unchallenged** – seeking to attract the disillusioned and/or gullible with their politics of hate, self-pity and nihilism, solving nothing and endangering us all. We reiterate our position that we need to reject the “there is no alternative” blinkers and look to the broader international visions (as shown, for example, by collective advances in the last decades across Latin America). These advances *were* possible and overcame race, religious and factional divisions far greater than our own. This involved building broad alliances “of the alienated, the discontented, the deprived and the dispossessed.”<sup>46</sup> This is how we defeat anti-refugee rhetoric, move beyond the politics of hate and build “an economy we own, a society we shape.”<sup>47</sup>

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46 [Online] Available: <http://davidharvey.org/2009/12/organizing-for-the-anticapitalist-transition/>

47 [Online] Available: [https://nipsa.org.uk/publications/Ref-A4\\_0464.pdf](https://nipsa.org.uk/publications/Ref-A4_0464.pdf) Spring 2015.



An aerial photograph of a city, featuring a large stadium with a curved roof in the upper left, a dense forest in the center, and a modern building with a grid-like facade in the lower right. The image is overlaid with a light blue tint.


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 [info@nipsa.org.uk](mailto:info@nipsa.org.uk)  
028 9066 1831

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