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attempting to monitor the operation. The respondents can cast doubt on the reliability of this, but they cannot contradict it or provide more reliable information themselves. Indeed the figures gathered were used by both sides before Burton J as a "useful working basis' (Judgment, para 27).

92. Mr Vasil, a Czech Roma working for the ERRC, observed most flights leaving for the UK on 11 days in January, 13 days in February, 14 days in March and 13 days in April 2002. He was able to identify the Roma travellers by their physical appearance, manner of dress and other details which were recognisable to him as a Roma himself. His observations showed that 68 out of 78 Roma were turned away whereas only 14 out of 6170 non-Roma were rejected. Thus any individual Roma was 400 times more likely to be rejected than any individual non-Roma. The great majority of Roma were rejected. And only a tiny minority of non-Roma were rejected. It is, of course, entirely unsurprising that a far higher proportion of Roma were turned away. But if the officers began their work with a genuinely open mind, it is more surprising that so many of the Roma were refused. If all or almost all asylum seekers are Roma, it does not follow that all or almost all Roma are asylum seekers. It is even more surprising that so few of the non-Roma were refused. One might have expected that there would be more among them whose reasons for wanting to travel to the UK were also worthy of suspicion. The apparent ease with which non-Roma were accepted is quite consistent with the emphasis given in the Instructions and training materials to the sensible targeting of resources at busy times. The respondents have not put forward any positive explanation for the discrepancy.

93. Mr Vasil also observed that questioning of Roma travellers went on longer than that of non-Roma and that 80% of Roma were taken back to a secondary interview area compared with less than 1% of non-Roma. The observations of Ms Muhic-Dixdarevic, who was monitoring the operation on behalf of the Czech Helsinki Committee, were to much the same effect. She also points out that "It was very obvious from their appearance which travellers were Roma and which were not. Firstly, at least 80% of the Roma could be readily identified by their darker skin and hair ..." Aspects of her evidence have been attacked but not this.

94. These general observations are borne out by the experience of the individuals whose stories were before the court. The ERRC conducted an experiment in which three people tried to travel to the UK for a short visit. Two were young women with similar incomes, intentions and amounts of money with them, one non-Roma, Ms Dedikova, and one Roma, Ms Grundzova; the third, Ms Polakova, was a mature professional married Roma woman working in the media Ms Dedikova was allowed through after only five minutes' questioning, none of which she thought intrusive or irrelevant. Her story that she was going to visit a woman friend who was also a student was accepted without further probing. Ms Grundzova was refused leave after longer questioning which she found intrusive and requests for confirmation of matters which had been taken on trust from Ms Dedikova. Ms Polakova was questioned for what seemed to her like half an hour, was then told to wait in a separate room, and was eventually given leave to enter. She felt that the interview process was very different from that undergone by the non-Roma passengers travelling at the same time as her and that the only reason she was allowed to travel was that she had told them that she was a journalist interested in the rights of the Roma people. All three of these people were to some extent acting a part, in that their trips had been provoked and financed by the ERRC, but they were genuinely intending to pay a short visit to a friend or relatives living here. Czech television also conducted a similar experiment with a Roma man and a non-Roma woman wishing to pay a short visit to the UK. The non-Roma was given leave while

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