



'All that fear and all those thoughts came back to me as anger'

Resistance to Detention & the Urgency of Abolition

Submission to the Parliamentary Inquiry on Immigration Detention

By Movement for Justice, By Any Means Necessary

Appendices

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APPENDIX 1

Yarl's Wood detention centre and the fight for women's rights¹

"We don't want them to change the officers, we don't want them to change the food that they are putting in Yarl's Wood, we don't want them to decorate the hair salon, we don't want them to have materials for the gym, we want them to shut down Yarl's Wood." Maimuna Jawo

The attempt to deport Christine N sparks the October 2012 uprising in Yarl's Wood

1. Christine N was a member of the Movement for Justice group in Yarl's Wood detention centre. During the morning of Monday 15th October 2012 she was taken forcibly from her room in an attempt to put her on a deportation flight. She was screaming and shouting and struggling to resist removal as she was dragged through the centre by 6 or 7 guards (all but one of them male) and she was naked; the guards merely threw a blanket over her. This was witnessed by many detainees and heard by many more. The guards were intent on taking Christine to Kingfisher House, the Yarl's Wood punishment block, many hours before she was due to be taken to Heathrow for a 9.00pm flight, in order to isolate her from other women. Everyone knew that Christine had been on suicide watch since she took an overdose of pills in a failed suicide attempt before a previous attempt to send her back to Uganda; the Yarl's Wood management feared action by fellow detainees to prevent her removal.
2. Christine was 28 at the time and was a victim of family sexual abuse: as a teenager in Uganda she was serially abused and raped by her own father and gave birth to his son in her late teens. She was a 'cursed woman' in her community; the only escape from this horrific situation was suicide or leaving the country. She managed to get to Britain but was destitute for a long time, living in a homeless shelter in Glasgow. As a result of her experience she was severely depressed and in a fragile psychological state. She was taken into detention in April 2012 and the experience of detention made her mental health problems much worse.
3. The news of Christine's brutal, inhuman treatment and the sense of outrage spread fast. For all the women her treatment stood for the whole racist regime that oppresses every detainee in

¹Hear the testimonies of ex Yarl's Wood detainees recorded at MFJ's public hearing putting Yarl's Wood on trial and our demonstration against the sexual abuse in Yarl'sWood in 2013 <https://vimeo.com/channels/816354/107611662> (discs 5 & 6)

Yarl's Wood; her fear of the ordeal the UKBA were sending her back to stood for the fear of every woman in the centre. This was the flashpoint for three days of mass protest that involved over 200 women, a majority of all those in Yarl's Wood.

Yarl's Wood 2012: the organisation of a Movement for Justice group

4. The women in Yarl's Wood felt, like the Oakington men in 2010, that 'We have one moment to show what we've been through', and by this time they had an organisation, the Movement for Justice group that Christine was part of. That shaped the scale, unity and political character of the uprising. The group originated from the contact the Movement for Justice had from the end of July that year with two lesbian detainees, Aderonke Apata from Nigeria and Alice Njie from Cameroon, who were soon joined by Freda Nsumbe from Uganda when she was moved there. The Home Office refused to accept their claims to be lesbians, but in Yarl's Wood they suffered (and were not protected from) homophobic abuse. They drew up a petition that they circulated within Yarl's Wood and outside.ⁱⁱ Later that month they were joined by another Ugandan lesbian when Sarah Najjuma, a member of the Movement for Justice since the previous January, was detained.
5. The most important outcome of this petition was not any action by Serco or the UKBA, but the fact that by standing up for the right to be who they were and challenging prejudice these women became a focus, a leadership, for both straight and gay women in detention. That was its real effectiveness in combatting anti-gay prejudice. The women who wanted to build collective resistance quickly formed a Movement for Justice group that found ways to hold regular meetings and kept in contact with one another and with the Movement outside. It included women from every corner of Africa, from the Middle East, the Caribbean and South Asia. By the end of September the group numbered over 30 and was discussing a set of demandsⁱⁱⁱ.
6. The meetings gave the women a link to the movement outside the isolating restriction of detention and an opportunity to be part of a wider discussion of the detention system. At the same time the meetings gave the women an opportunity to talk and hear about what horrors each of them would face if they were deported. Straight women learned about the torture and terror their lesbian sisters from Uganda, Cameroon etc. had experienced, and the high

ⁱⁱ The first petition started by the Yarl's Wood MFJ Group - <http://www.gopetition.com/petitions/asylum-now-for-aderonke-alice-and-freda-free-them-no.html> Later that petition changed to encompass the broader demands of the women of Yarl's Wood - <http://www.gopetition.com/petitions/support-the-women-of-yarls-wood-end-detention.html>

ⁱⁱⁱ The completed demands of the Yarl's Wood Movement for Justice Group - <http://www.movementforjustice.org/2012/10/349/>

probability they would be killed if they were returned - and the cynical claims of the Home Office that they have not provided enough proof that they are gay. Women who were victims of trafficking and knew their traffickers were waiting to enslave them again, reported the cynical argument that it was safe for them to go back, since they had successfully escaped from captivity in Britain. Women who escaped the threat of genital mutilation described how a wilfully ignorant Home Office told them they were sufficiently 'educated' to avoid cutting, or could easily 'relocate.' Women from Pakistan, Morocco and other countries who had escaped forced marriage or formed relationships with men that their families opposed spoke of the threat of 'honour' killings or the life of rape and abuse they would face if deported.

7. They forged a greater unity through their growing understanding, firstly of the common oppression and persecution they faced *because they are women*, whatever their nationality, religion etc. and secondly that, for all its protestations about the rights of women, Britain either fails to put women into a distinct social and political category that would entitle them to asylum - or where it does, cynically circumvents their right to asylum by treating them as liars and belittling the dangers they face.

The first mass meeting and Christine's return

8. Once Christine was taken to Kingfisher the whole centre was put on lock-down for several hours, but at lunchtime Aderonke and the women from the Movement for Justice group organised a mass meeting in one of the dining halls. The women yelled at the managers and demanded that they leave the room. Women who had witnessed the brutal treatment of Christine described what happened. The demands that had previously been drawn up by the group were read out, translated for South Asian detainees by Shazia Aslam from Pakistan, and amended with an additional section on the brutal treatment of Christine and demanding her return. The demands opened with the declaration that:

WOMEN DETAINEES IN YARL'S WOOD DEMAND JUSTICE NOW

Bring Christine Back to Yarl's Wood

"We are women held against our will in Yarl's Wood detention centre, with no charge and no sentence. We have formed a Movement for Justice Group to stand up together and fight for our freedom and the freedom of all women not to be detained. Between us we have faced persecution in many forms - as lesbian, bisexual, and as straight women. Most of us are on 'Fast Track', a procedure designed to deport as many people as possible before they know what is really happening. We come from every region of Africa and from the Middle East, Pakistan and the Caribbean. We speak the truth about oppression wherever it occurs, and we

are committed to fighting for our collective rights and dignity and to end the racist, sexist and abusive detention system. There is no 'crime' in seeking freedom, safety and the chance to live free.

"We have witnessed on several occasions the degrading and inhumane manner that women are being deported back to their countries in Yarl's Wood but particularly today; we witnessed a fellow sister, Christine Nakato from Uganda being forcefully taken naked by about 7 men out of the Centre to be deported. Christine was naked, and had a blanket over her body, whilst the officers were dragging her to the airport to be deported with her head bent down permanently by the officers for her face not to be identified by other residents.

"Christine's hysterical shouting and screaming drew our attentions to her and we cannot understand why a human being should be treated in that form. We were informed during our meeting that Christine had been injected by the officers to subdue her and make her unconscious in order for the UKBA to forcefully enforce her removal from the UK".

9. The first demand after that was, **"We demand our freedom – Release us now! End detention!"** followed by a "Call on pilots' associations, staff unions and passengers not to assist in or condone the forcible removal of women, or any person, to a future of abuse, persecution and even death, or being torn from their families," and the demand to end Fast Track. The statement raised the intrusion of male guards on the privacy of women detainees, the exploitation of detainees' labour, and the restriction of detainees' ability to prepare their cases, including restricted Internet access – issues that have since received much wider publicity.
10. In addition the statement raised the important demand for the expansion of the protection of women asylum seekers from gender-related persecution:

"Recognise the right to asylum of women who have been victims of trafficking or violence & abuse in the family, who are escaping forced marriage or FGM, or protecting their daughters from FGM, and women who are persecuted for opposing such practices. These rights and the right to asylum of persecuted lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender & intersex (LGBTI) people must be upheld, not undermined by the UKBA and Fast Track in the way that LGBTI asylum rights have been. Britain publicly opposes such persecution and oppression; it should not be sending us back to the hands of our oppressors".

11. There was a unanimous vote and the demands were given to the manager, who said he would get back to the women on Wednesday.

12. Meanwhile, during the afternoon Freda Nsumbe (who had been released in September) was able to keep in touch with Christine by mobile phone, including when she was in the UKBA holding facility at Heathrow. A female guard thought to intimidate Christine by telling her “There’s a riot in Yarl’s Wood because of you,” and Christine heard other guards saying that people were speaking about her threatened deportation to passengers checking in for her Ethiopian Airways flight. Christine’s determination to resist grew stronger and the removal had to be cancelled. She was driven to two other detention centres that refused to take her and by next morning she was back in Yarl’s Wood. The women knew they had won their most immediate demand.

17th October: demonstrating together, in Yarl’s Wood & at Lunar House

13. On Wednesday (17 October) the Movement for Justice held a demonstration in support of the Yarl’s Wood women at the UKBA headquarters, Lunar House in Croydon. The demonstrators were overwhelmingly asylum seekers and refugees, some of them former detainees in Yarl’s Wood and elsewhere. For all of them Lunar House was a place of fear and foreboding, being near it a reminder of their insecurity. Demonstrating there was a big step but once there, ‘the fears came back as anger’, and as solidarity.

14. At the same time the women in Yarl’s Wood gathered in the dining hall for a second mass meeting, in reality a demonstration held jointly with the protest at Lunar House. Many women had made Movement for Justice T-shirts decorated with their demands. There were around a hundred women there; many others who tried to join were locked out by the guards. The two Movement for Justice demonstrations communicated by speaker phone and joined in the same chants.

15. Later in the afternoon the women in the dining hall were outraged when they learned that the UKBA had refused to respond to their demands. A Nigerian detainee, Alaba Bello, called for everyone to go to the UKBA office in Yarl’s Wood to demand answers. The whole meeting followed and were joined by those who had been locked out; there were 200 women in the corridor leading to the office.

16. The guards closed the electric doors at each end of the corridor to prevent the women from getting to the UKBA office or returning to their rooms. They demanded to search all the women before anyone could leave. The women refused to accept this obvious attempt to intimidate them and kept chanting and shouting. They were kept there for five hours, during which Aderonke called a BBC reporter and gave an interview over her phone that was broadcast on

BBC 3 Counties Radio. Aderonke described what happened in a report she emailed the following morning:

17. "We had over 200 women packed in there. Including people with heart conditions, elderly ones over 60 years left suffocating and fainting whilst the managers of Serco and staff watched them being distressed. We were threatened, intimidated, oppressed for demonstrating peacefully for our freedom..."
18. "I was amazed by the expression of unity amongst the women yesterday i.e. people from different and diverse religious and cultural background and nationality pulled together to bring the foundation of the detention centre shaking!"
19. "We had four casualties at the demonstration caused from lack of ventilation. Two women collapsed as they had underlying heart conditions, a woman over 60 years old became very, very dehydrated and nearly fainted, whilst another one had nose bleeding".

Repression and Release

20. The whole centre was kept on lock-down for most of the next day (Thursday). Over the course of Thursday and Friday Aderonke, Sarah, Alaba, Shazia and five other women (four Jamaican and one from Zimbabwe) were taken to Kingfisher (a seclusion and lock down unit in Yarl's Wood).
21. On Friday there was an unprecedented mass release of detainees from Yarl's Wood. Around 50 women were released, including many who had been held in Yarl's Wood for a long time despite having very serious health problems. The UKBA feared a fresh explosion if anyone died in Yarl's Wood at this point.
22. Over the next few days five women were transferred to prisons. Aderonke was in Styal prison for four months and Sarah and Alaba in Holloway. The Movement for Justice held a series of demonstrations at both prisons and campaigned for their release. Aderonke was released on bail in February 2013; she is an active public campaigner for LGBT asylum rights, living in Manchester with her partner, and is awaiting a Judicial Review. Sarah was removed to Ireland where she has got asylum on the basis of her sexuality. Alaba was unfortunately deported to Nigeria; before she left she told the Movement for Justice that she was proud of her role in the protests and said, 'It had to be done.'
23. The UKBA made another unsuccessful attempt to deport Christine after the protests. She remained a powerful symbol of successful resistance as long as she was in Yarl's Wood, and a month after the protests she was released. Christine is now living in London.

The central fight for women's rights in Britain

24. The women in Yarl's Wood have resisted and escaped every form of oppression and persecution that women around the world face because they are women. Return to their countries is simply not an acceptable option for them. They have sought the protection of the British state so that they can exercise the rights that successive British governments have proclaimed publicly and internationally; the rights and equality of women, the rights of LGBT people, freedom from FGM and forced marriage, the right of asylum. Instead they find themselves in Yarl's Wood, treated as *de facto* criminals. Women in Yarl's Wood are waging on-going struggles, collective and individual, low-level and high-level, against sexism, racism, abuse and injustice. Their struggles are exposing the hypocrisy of official pledges on women's rights. That is why the Movement for Justice describes Yarl's Wood as the site of the most important fight for the rights of women in Britain.
25. The only conclusion that can be reached by all of the experience and evidence about Yarl's Wood is that it must be completely shut down.

APPENDIX 2

Jackie Nanyonjo – immigrant, asylum seeker, fighter

1. Jackie Nanyonjo was in Yarl's Wood (for a second time) from November 2012. She died in a hospital in Uganda on Friday 8th March 2013 as a result of the injuries inflicted by 'escorts' who tried to deport her on Boxing Day, and again when they managed to deport her on 10th January. Jackie had been in Yarl's Wood earlier in 2012 and was at the forefront of the Movement for Justice demonstration at Lunar House on 17th October. She was a fighter for herself and for others: a lesbian who escaped from anti-gay persecution and a brutal forced marriage. In Britain she was able for the first time to live and love openly as a lesbian; she was a member of the Movement for Justice and was much loved by a wide circle of friends who kept in touch with her when she was detained and after she was deported. Her death sparked profound outrage that was expressed on two Movement for Justice demonstrations at the Home Office (Lunar House and Marsham Street) and at a public hearing organised by the Movement for Justice in May.
2. Jackie had lived in Britain for several years. She came here to find 'asylum', a place of safety. Like thousands of others who come to Britain to escape persecution she did not formally apply for asylum. Very many, like TackoMbengue, do not know about asylum or think it is only for prominent political opponents of a government. But like those others Jackie would have learned about asylum over the years and what she learned would have deterred her from applying. She would have learned that applying for asylum is dangerous, that you are assumed to be lying and treated like a criminal, she would have heard about detention and learned that it was the likely outcome of an asylum application and a short cut to being deported. If she applied for asylum before July 2010, when the Supreme Court gave its decision in *HJ Iran*^{IV}, she would probably have been told to return and live 'discretely.' Working in the NHS seemed a safer option and meant she could send money to Uganda for her daughter's education.
3. When Jackie was arrested at work she applied asylum as a last resort, like many others. Despite being in Yarl's Wood she was managed to get hospital records of her injuries from Uganda and witness statements from LGBT friends in Britain (which she could not have done if she applied for asylum on arrival). All that was disregarded, she was said to lack 'credibility' because she had worked without papers.

^{IV}<http://www.bailii.org/uk/cases/UKSC/2010/31.html>

Jackie's resistance and death

4. Return to Uganda was not an option for Jackie. She knew she had no life there and she had built a new life as a lesbian in Britain. She used every ounce of strength she could muster to resist being put on a plane to Uganda just before Christmas. She was brutally assaulted by escort guards from Reliance (now Tascor, a subsidiary of Capita) who were awarded the contract when it was taken from G4S following the death in 2010 of Jimmy Mubenga, who had been detained in Dover.
5. Jackie was so badly beaten that paramedics said she could not be put on the plane. She was in great pain when she got back to Yarl's Wood, especially around her chest and ribs. Breathing was painful. Every person who has been in Yarl's Wood or any detention centre for any time knows what happens to people when they resist deportation. Certainly the guards and healthcare staff know. But when she went to healthcare, told them what had happened and described her symptoms she was ignored. She was sent away with a couple of Ibuprofen and was never given a medical examination.
6. Jackie made a formal written complaint to the UKBA about the brutality of the Reliance guards, but never received a reply. Instead they tried to use the general shut-down over Christmas to deport her via Turkish Airways on Boxing Day – to Rwanda! That was cancelled and Jackie was given removal directions for early January via Egyptian Airways that were cancelled when the Movement for Justice lobbied the airline.
7. Through all this time in Yarl's Wood Jackie still got no medical examination or treatment, even though she was in pain and her health was deteriorating. She was still rated 'Fit to Fly'.
8. Jackie continued to fight back when four Reliance guards took her to a Qatar Airways flight on 10th January and she was beaten again. She continued fighting on the plane when the guards drew curtains round their end of the plane. She struggled for as long as she could until, beaten up, half strangled and bent double, she was overcome by the pain in her chest and neck and was unable to breathe.
9. When Jackie arrived at Entebbe Airport the 'escort' party handed her over to the Ugandan authorities, who held her for many more hours without any medical attention. When her cousin finally picked her up Jackie was in terrible pain and vomiting blood; they rushed her to a clinic but they were unable to get the medical attention she needed. Friends in Britain who phoned Jackie described her as unable to raise her voice. Since Jackie was in hiding as a known lesbian, protected by relatives, every trip to a doctor or hospital involved a possible risk to her life and to

the safety of her family. They were condemned to watch the agonising decline of Jackie's health and strength over her last two months.

There is no doubt that this caused Jackie's death. The UKBA are greatly responsible, for Jackie's death. The system – the system and business of deporting gays and lesbians back to their countries to face torture – from the countries they escaped – is really so unfair.(From a report given by Jackie's close friend Eddie Mubiru on a demonstration outside the Home Office soon after Jackie's death)^V

Brutal treatment is not 'exceptional', it's routine

10. The number of known deaths during or as a result of deportation is small, but there is plenty of evidence that the kind of brutality Jackie experienced and described is quite routine. Movement for Justice tries as far as possible to keep in contact with detainees who are deported and have had many descriptions of similar use of force, including the same 'techniques' described by Jackie used on two women deported on different charter flights to Nigeria a few months later..
11. We include here one description from an independent report from someone who met a deportee on return, two months after Jackie died. Mary K was also a lesbian who had escaped from Uganda and had been in Yarl's Wood. She was able to stop deportation twice, but was finally forced onto a plane on 10th April 2013. On this occasion we were able to arrange for a worker in a Ugandan organisation to meet her at the airport. The following is the brief report emailed the next morning:

"I wish to inform you that Mary K. arrived this morning as scheduled. I was at the Entebbe International Airport to receive her. However she was mistreated and excessive force applied on her by four escorts from Tascor. This happened while she was at the holding facility at Heathrow, at the time of boarding the plane and during transit. Her handcuffs were tightly secured which has caused her hands to swell, her legs were shackled, she was shoved around, one of the escorts grabbed and pulled her by the hair, which came off as a result of the force applied, she was held by the neck and mouth, she now has pains around her throat and sustained a cut above her lip, she was elbowed in the chest and is in pain. We drove straight to a Hospital where she is currently receiving treatment."

^Vvideo of full speech - <http://vimeo.com/channels/816354/107383243> or Disc 2

APPENDIX 3

Testimony of Prossie N, “I ask for doctors, they bring me guards”^{VI}

1. What makes me to speak out is that everybody hearing me, knows that they can stand and talk and to fight for themselves as I am doing. (I want) Britain to know that even if they send us back, we can talk. I need other people to know the situation; how to be in that situation, to know where they can stand, they can fight. To encourage them to be more strong.
2. Because some people they think that when they catch them, when they send them back, they just leave it like that. But me, I want to show people that they need to speak for themselves, They need to fight. I want them to know that I can still fight even if I’m back home, I can still fight because I need my freedom.
3. I came in the UK to fight for my life, because in my country I was going to be killed. That's why I came to UK, to live my life as me, as a lesbian, what I came for. I was 17.
4. When I came in UK I came because I was fighting for my life. The first year I came in the UK it was really difficult for me because everything was new on me and I was feeling scaring (scared) I didn't know whether I can be there.
5. The partners I get in UK, I'd get the partners who are married but are doing both. (It's meant) for me, to be in a secret way, because I didn't know what would happen when they (other Ugandans) know me. (I was) sleeping in people's houses. The last partner I have try to rent from me some room for me to be there. But before I rent my flat I was staying in people's houses. I go there to straighten their hair and sometimes I went there to be with these children in the night, until I get in Leyton.
6. Before they arrested me I was there about seven months, and I was trying to get my life as I want. When I was in Leyton I was living alone. The partner I had was just coming to be with me sometimes because she was married; But I was living alone and I was a hairdresser, that's what I was doing, Before they came, arrested me
7. They came and arrested me when I was in Leyton. I remember it was July, 20th of July; it was really early in the morning, it was six in the morning.(They) broke my door, they come from me.

^{VI} This is a transcript of recorded testimony that Prossie provided to MFJ's Public Hearing putting the immigration system on trial, 31/05/14). You can hear that full recording here <http://vimeo.com/channels/816354/97051854> or Disc 2

8. When they broke my door to come for me there was three men, two ladies. They were saying, they were immigration and then they asked me... at that time, because I was really in a deep sleep the way they woke me up, I get shock. I couldn't even know what they're asking me or why and then they catch me and put me in their van.
9. They took me, but they took me one place, I can't remember that place, but I spend there are like four hours, 4/5 hours (waiting) for them to take me in Yarl's Wood.
10. At that time because they just broke my door to come looking for me, it gave me shock and my head wasn't working properly. I was really in big shock and I was having so much headaches and I spent all that day with them in the car without eating.
11. By the time we reach Yarl's Wood, I was really sick... really sick, because I had too much headache. They told me they would bring the doctor because I told them I'm not feeling well. But the doctor they brought for me, he asked me the questions, which really I can't remember. I was telling him that please, I'm sick, my head is really paining me and I can't think.
12. But they didn't want to listen to me. They kept on asking me (questions) and I keep telling them that I can't talk right now.
13. Before I reached Yarl's Wood, there's a place I went there where they tortured me, calling me every time, asking me my year's (age), and I was telling them my years, but they were refusing, they asked me because they didn't see my fingerprint on the system. They called me, like five times until I told them that, you know what, that's my years, if you can't see me I don't know because what I know I told you but you say I'm lying.
14. I told them that, I told you how I came... but they keep shouting at me and telling me they're going to bring other strong people that are going to make me talk. I was telling them, I'm not a thief, I'm not a killer, why do you treat me like that. But they wouldn't listen to me and then they took me in Yarl's Wood.
15. When they took me in Yarl's Wood, I saw like, four people asking me questions every day, scaring me that they are going to bring other people that are going to make me talk, because I'm not talking. I was keeping telling them that I'm talking what I know, they're not going to force me to talk what I don't know. And I was telling them that if you want me to tell you, you can get me an interpreter or somebody who can understand my language. So that you can understand me, maybe you cannot understand me in English.
16. I was asking them, what did I do for you to make me like this? They told me that because I don't answer their questions, that's why they are going to force me and I need to tell them. Every day,

they had to call me every day and I was telling them that, really, I'm not in a good way, I'm not well because all that time I couldn't sleep.

17. Every time I was hearing their voices they were shouting at me, banging the door, really, I was in a bad, bad situation.

Detention triggers Post Traumatic Stress “the memories come back”

18. Because the way they come for me and I was asleep, because they banged the door, that shock took all my... I don't know how to explain it in English - If somebody scares me that shock comes back.

19. When I was in Uganda, because I had that incident (abuse in Uganda) I spent one year without sleeping and I had to get medicine to help me sleep. Every time I was putting my head down, if something scared me waking me up... (like) when people go in the door... and because I had that incident (in Uganda), when they (immigration officers) did that (broke my Door), all the bad incidents and memories came back in my head, hurting and shaking.

20. All my system changed and I felt so weak I couldn't eat, I couldn't drink, I was having so much headaches and I couldn't sleep. Every time I was like, I hear people coming to me, it was like I was back to Uganda, it was like all the things I went through in Uganda is back on me.

21. I tried to tell them that, but they wouldn't listen to me. For them, you have to answer the questions they were asking you, but the situation I was in, I couldn't know how I was answering them because every day I was scared.

22. I was so, so weak but for them, they kept asking me the questions, Bringing more people to ask me, putting a guard on me to watch every time. They were making me more scared, I was really in a big stress. I was telling them that at least they could give me something to (calm) down but they refused, I was keeping insisting because I was feeling I'm going to be mad, Because my head was so roaring, too much, I feeling like something is roaring in my head.

23. The way they were treating me, they were putting me under guard, watching me every time (Prossie was put on suicide watch), where I've been, where I'm going and it was keeping me scared, making me more stressed. I was telling them please, can you just leave me alone,

Because in this situation I need to be alone but they couldn't listen; and then they were forcing me to do what they want me to do. When I spent a month there, I started getting friends, talking to them, some friends came talking to me.

24. (Still) everything I was doing I was scary

25. I was really scaring, I was like something is going to be bad on me, some people are going to hurt me. Everybody I was seeing, all the people who were seeing me, they saw me like I'm scared of something, and they say "what's wrong with you?"
26. They put a guard with me, to watch me. For me, I was asking them to get me a doctor, to send me medicine so that I can at least sleep or for me to be alone, because I tried to tell them that because I had that situation when I was in Uganda, I was running, like being alone. But for them they say if I'm going to kill myself that's why they put the guard to watch me every time.
27. I feel like I want to die, because, I was like, my life is over. Everything they were doing they did what they wanted to do, and for me it was more scary and more being stressed.
28. (I told them that) if they are not going to stop what they are doing I'm going to kill myself, because now you are making me more and more stressed. And I was telling them that it's really annoying me because they don't want to get me a doctor to treat me, but they are putting on guards to watch me.
29. In the third month, they gave me a ticket and I told the person who gave me that ticket that if they're not going to treat me, I'm not going to go anywhere until (they've) treated me or I'm going to kill myself. That time they bring a doctor and they test me and he gives me medicine, because they took me outside there, outside to the hospital
30. But when I get back in Yarl's Wood... I had heard the doctor (in the hospital) telling them that I had to take my medicine in three days, but for them, they give me the medicine one day, in one go, to take 10 tablets, but these tablets were going to kill me.

"They want us to be killed or they want us to be mad"

31. Really, what the Home Office are doing, they want us to be killed or they want us to be mad. When I went to Yarl's Wood, I was 20 years (old). They ask me how I came in UK, how I was, why am I in the UK. The first questions were like that; and then they told me, okay; you're going on fast track. At that time I didn't know how fast track is.
32. When I went to fast track, he asked me how my life was for me in Uganda. I told him I never seen my mum, I grew up with my grandma and my dad died when I was still young, and when I was 13 I start being with girls. In the village where I was, they knew me, because even the girl I was with, they took her.
In that incident, when they took that girl away because they knew what we were doing, the men came in our place asking for me, but me, I run away. I heard them, they were asking my grandma but because I hear them I know that the girlfriend I had, they took her away.

33. Me, I just run away and that night I sleep in the bush. In the (morning) I was coming back to see how things were going at home. I find people crying because my grandma was dead,
34. I don't know whether those people who came after me had killed my grandma, but ever since then I just run away, I was hiding. They (the Home Office) ask me (about) my family... I told them that I don't know them. Because, they were asking me "if you go back can you reside with your grandma?" They knew that my grandma died because of me and for them, they are searching for me I can't go back there.
35. I told them I found in the UK I can live my life, because, by the time they arrested me, I was starting life not being scared, no one was searching for me, nobody was hunting for me, that's the life I was living.
36. In our country you can't live as a lesbian, I'm in danger from the government, from people. But in UK I found that you can be free, you can live your life freely. I told them when you put me back (deport me) I'm really going to be in danger. For them, they didn't accept it. They told me that because I didn't talk before about my life with the doctor, me I didn't know that you have to talk about life with the doctor.
37. I didn't know that, I told them that there is only my step dad (uncle) I know (in Uganda) but he... he used (sexually abused) me when I was too young and I don't know where he is when I grow up, because my grandmum knew I was a lesbian and she tried to talk to me, but I told her that's what I want to be because of the incident I had when I was eight,
38. I was being used by my step dad (uncle) and I didn't want men to be around me and around 13 I found myself being good with it, with women.
39. When they knew it, my life was in danger, that's what I told them, that's why I came in UK. For me to survive in my life, to survive.
40. They told me that I can go back in my country, and I can go in another village or I can go in another part, but I told them that even if I go another part or another village, it'll be the same.
41. I told them that I don't want to be every time hiding because you're telling me to go back... (I'll have to) hide it... I don't want to.

What fast track means

42. It was one day, it took one day and then they bring back the refusal. They gave me, it was five days I think because it was like one week, and then I was told I had to appeal in two days. Then I get an appeal, the court told us in five days we have to appeal, so five days to be in court. Then

you appeal, when we go in the court... for them to answer me it was two days for them to bring me their answer, that no, we are not accepting you, that's what fast track means.

43. My hearing, they didn't consider all the things we answered in my appeal. They never even considered this, they just considered immigration (Home Office) part. The immigration (Home Office) was just refusing me, because they asked me, did I ever have a partner and I told them yeah, I had a partner and then they told me, you have a partner now, I said yeah... that's the issue they bring into court (saying) that I told them I had two partners at home. I was like asking that you told me that, you asked me had I ever **had** a partner and I told you yeah, and you told me that do I **have** a partner and I told you yes because the past tense had now changed, but for him... he was just put in one go.
44. That's the thing he was putting in the court and that's the thing the judge decides on. (They said) that what I'm saying is not true, what I'm saying, I'm lying, Because it wasn't really a fair judge. Even he never asked me (any questions) in the court. My lawyer talked, and the Home Office lawyers talked, but me, they never asked me. Anyway, the only thing they asked me was my name and my year. They just went on the refusal of the Home Office.
45. All the courts where I went, they were judging on the refusal, I had three appeals, but I went to just one court. The two courts, I never go there, they just go on the past judges paper (decision). All the judges are going on what the first judge said. You can't get the evidence in two days or one week, they don't give you time for you to gain the evidence they want. And everything you tell them, they say it's not this, not this, not this... they put you in that situation, everything they say is not this, not this.
46. What I might tell people... that when they get in Yarl's Wood, if they're not ready to talk then don't talk, if you're not ready to talk, because that's the thing they use (against you). They can't help you, even if you're needing them, because they are scaring us, everything they are doing is scaring us, it's putting us in a big stress.
47. And they are putting you on fast track to get you back quick, back to your country. The thing I can give or tell people is how it's good to be with people or to be in a group, to know all the things you can learn to do in detention. Actually, the movement for Justice group is good because you can get any help you want from movement for justice.
48. If you be in that group we can help you to know everything you can do when they put you in detention. They can fight for you and even now they are the one that still fighting for me. And really, I can give everybody advice to be in a movement for justice group. Giving your advice to each other, and if there is some incidents on somebody, your group can call people outside like

movement for Justice, and they can do petitions, letters and they can come and know, they can come and tell you okay, you can do this you can do this.

49. And if you are going to fight, you can do it together, to change something, if there is something that you want to be changed. If you are being with a group, it's good, you can fight and win. But if you be in detention being alone, you can't fight and you can really be in bad danger.

Sexual harassment by guards

50. These guards, they use the opportunity to get you to do what they want to do. Saying that they are going to help you, if you do what they want to do. Because I was on watch and they were putting so much guards on me, every time, every hour.
51. There's one guard who wanted to use me. He told me that he is going to help me if I accept what he wants. I was in my room alone and I was on watch because they knew that my head wasn't working well, and me, I told them I didn't want to be anybody, because when I'd be with somebody I was like, I'd want to hurt them or myself.
52. One day there is a guard, he used to come to my room, checking on me, looking for me, and one day he came in my room telling me he was going to help me, and so I asked him how he was going to help me. He told me "if you do what I want, I can help you and you can get out from here".
53. I say, what condition are you want to help me on? He was like, if you don't tell anybody what we're going to do, then I will talk to the managers, I will talk to people, and then he was coming near to my bed, but I shouted and said, can you please get out because I don't want what you are saying and I don't want anything from you, and if you put any hand on me you don't know... I'm mad, leave me alone
54. He was like, if you don't accept that, we they'll want to take you back in their country and I will not fight for you. But me, I told him that he can just get out, if he doesn't get out I'm going to call the lawyer. But even ever since I told him that in my room, he was so rude to me every time, because I refused what he wanted me to do.
He was talking bad things to me, "Oh, let me sit here and watch you, and say bye-bye to you. All the things he used to tell me because I refused him. Me, I told him he could just get out.
55. Because I have heard, I have talked to girls that they (the guards) used them, they come and tell them they are going to help them, and then they used them to be in sex, to abuse, have sex... that's what they wanted.

56. I hear my friend was talking about it, there was people talking about it, and there's people are used and there was even someone in the next room, who was pregnant in that building ... with a guard.
57. Okay, how I get off the first flight, it was a group approached me, Movement for justice approached me to be stopping people (at the airport), and by the time I reached there, these men knew that I have a group there waiting for me, fighting for me. They just told me that my ticket was cancelled because... me I hear them talking, they knew there was people in the airport waiting for me, fighting for me.
58. The second ticket, I get on the plane, the person who drove the plane told them to get me out, if they don't do that, the people are not going to get on the plane. That's how I removed from the second plane.
59. When I get out they told me they're going to change the plane, because they are not taking me. They want to change the plane to get me, that's why on the third ticket they put me on Kenya Airways, because the first ticket was Ethiopian, and the second ticket was Ethiopian, but they were refusing to take me. On my third ticket they put me on Kenya Airways.

APPENDIX 4

What Movement for Justice Stands for

1. Build the independent, integrated civil & immigrant rights movement to END detention, END Fast Track, WIN the reversal of the burden of proof in asylum cases, END the Scapegoating of immigrants, WIN Amnesty now & full citizenship rights for all.

Our wider demands

Defend the social welfare gains of the Labour movement: Unite black, Asian, immigrant, other minority, poor, and working class communities in a common fight to protect our rights, and our dignity: Put Britain on the road to become the New Britain: multiracial and equal: Stop the Government's attacks on pensions - NO increase in retirement age - Jobs for youth now: Full, comprehensive, quality education - Open up access to elite universities - Stop tuition fees hikes: No victimisation of activists. No evictions, no expulsions: Stop blaming of black, Asian, Muslim, immigrant & poor for the economic and social crisis: Fight racism, sexism, anti-immigrant & anti-gay bigotry: No detention or deportation, open the borders - sanctuary campuses, sanctuary cities: Full citizenship for all migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, we are all the New Britain

The Movement for Justice Pledge

2. **I PLEDGE** to build a New Britain, far better than it is now, far better than it has ever has been. Britain is becoming the most diverse, multi-cultural society in Europe. Millions of people across every continent see this country as a beacon of hope, a land of opportunity, and a haven of democratic freedoms. Some come to our nation to improve the lives of their families. Others escape from tyranny and political, religious or ethnic persecution. Britain is the nation that offers the hope of freedom, dignity and equality to women and lesbians and gay men who face brutality, rape, imprisonment and death in their native lands for simply demanding the right to live and love as who they are and to be treated as equal members of their societies. What distinguishes the people who are immigrating to Britain from so many born here, is not their different languages or customs, but rather their deep appreciation and commitment to preserve the democratic freedoms and rights that are now under attack in this country. The core values the vast majority of British citizens believe in and want their society to provide – good jobs for

everyone able to work, world class health care for all, decent housing, free education from nurseries through the university, a good quality of life for those can not work, and other basic human needs – are no different from the values of those who come to Britain for political asylum or a better life.

3. I am certain that we can build a new alliance between the British workers and oppressed of all races and many different nationalities who fought so passionately and resolutely to create Britain's social welfare state, and those who have sacrificed far too much to get here to ever accept living in a society that denies basic rights and needs to the great majority of its people. I know this the only way for us to win.
4. For so many decades the Irish, Asian, African and Caribbean masses streaming out of Britain's exploited and impoverished colonies were the motor force for progress in our society. Today the immigrants and asylum seekers drawn to our shores provide Britain with a new bold, fearless and optimistic group of young leaders, determined to defend and build on all that is progressive in our society. Uniting the new immigrant and asylum seekers communities, most of whom are young with the best and most progressive elements of Britain's established black, Asian, Irish and Muslim communities and white working class, middle class and poor, in a single movement bold enough to fight for equal rights and opportunities for everyone; we can create a new Britain. If the oppressed of this nation unite and assert our great collective social power through the building of a new youth- led, mass, militant, integrated movement, independent of the Labour Party, Britain can become *our* nation: a truly egalitarian and deeply human society, a model of diversity, equality, mutual respect and human progress for rest of the world to emulate.
5. **I PLEDGE** to build an integrated, independent youth-led Civil Rights and Immigrant Rights Movement because this is the only way to create the new Britain. Integrated mass actions that unite poor, working class and middle class white communities with black, Asian, Muslim, immigrant and other oppressed communities in a single movement for our shared demands are the only way to breakdown the racial and ethnic divisions created by ignorance, fear, mistrust and segregation. Standing together we can take on and defeat the ideology pressed by the Tories, the Lib Dems and the Labour Party, that the way to achieve economic recovery is by destroying the social welfare state, lowering the living standards and aspirations of the vast majority of British people, widening the gap between the rich and the poor, and increasing nationalist and racist sentiment. We can stop the politicians' attempts to eviscerate the precious and broadly popular gains won by the mighty trade union struggles and social movements of the past. But this requires our overcoming the racism, and the anti- immigrant and anti-Muslim

bigotry and scapegoating that is the major obstacle to unity. Racism, anti-immigrant scapegoating, anti-Muslim hysteria, and the fear and mistrust born out of segregation and ignorance are the most powerful divide and conquer tactics possessed by our enemies: we have no use for them.

6. **I PLEDGE** to accept the challenge of becoming my generation's voice of freedom. I know this requires always speaking for and to the oppressed, speaking the plain truth about racism and inequality, and expressing both the anger and the aspirations of our communities. I reject the popular, wrong and dominant ideology of most of those who claim to support progressive reforms, who say that the only people who can make and change history are the rich and powerful. Accepting this false assumption places the oppressed and poor in the dead-end position of having no alternatives other than making moral appeals to the rich and the powers-that-be, or trying to find 'clever' arguments to convince them that granting our demands will make it easier for them to exploit us. Those who are in power and currently decide the social, economic and political policies of our nation are completely aware that their determination to prioritise profits over people causes the vast majority of the world's people to live in squalor and in despair. We can only change the actions and attitudes of the rich and powerful and their political representatives if we assert the superior power and will of the oppressed and exploited through mass action. This is the only road to victory.
7. **I PLEDGE** to be a youth leader of mass actions led by the youth themselves. I do not fear the anger, boldness or power of youth in struggle. I refuse to condemn youth who riot because they see no other way to express their anger and opposition to the Government's policies. I stand with Dr. Martin Luther King who stated the plain truth that "riots are the language of those who are not heard". To those who criticize the legitimacy of student and youth-led marches, walkouts, occupations or other mass actions by claiming that "most of the students/youth cannot even say what they are fighting for", I say – rest assured, we are always fighting for our dignity, equality, respect and justice. We understand that actions speak louder than words. We judge leaders by what they do, not by their ability to make great speeches that they never deliver on. Some of our greatest leaders are those who lead in action and fight to win.
8. **I PLEDGE** to be a great leader by always being proud of who I am and by just being myself. I am a role model for others when I am not ashamed to be myself. I cannot stand on the truth if I am trying to act like the people in power who oppress us and assign us to second-class status. I know that to secure progress, equal rights and a fuller life for people of all races in Britain we must fight racism in all its forms, including the racist lie that black and Asian people and those

from the world's poor countries are inferior. Speaking the plain truth about racism and imperialism must be a principle of our movement.

9. **I PLEDGE** to be a youth leader who acts at all times with the fierce urgency of now. I reject the advice of all those who tell us that we must wait for the support of the trade union movement to act and to win. Over the past three decades the struggles of black and Asian communities and youth have been the most dynamic and radical force in British society, and our struggle to eradicate Britain's time-worn and institutionalised racism and win equality is the key issue for the future of the nation. I know that if we build our independent, integrated youth-led movement we can revitalise all the progressive forces in British society: the trade union and student movement, the fight for gender equality and lesbian/gay liberation, and the movement against climate change.
10. **I PLEDGE** to be a leader who is not scared to challenge the wrong and dangerous policies put forward by any leader or organisation that will weaken or divide our movement and lead to defeat. I prefer to disagree with authority figures I am told to respect even if I am a lone voice. I prefer winning to politeness. Our movement must reject the false, cynical and insulting view of the Labour Party and trade union miss-leaders, shared by virtually all of their left critics, that the only way to achieve unity amongst the oppressed is to silence any discussion of racism and build struggles around a single narrow, economic demand. This is a recipe for disaster.
11. **I PLEDGE** to work collectively with other young leaders of the new movements, struggling to overcome the ignorance, prejudice, and bigotry that is imbued in everyone who grows up and lives in a society so divided by race and distorted by racism, sexism, anti-LGBT bigotry, anti-Muslim prejudice and national arrogance. I understand that being a leader requires sacrifice, dedication, strength and the courage to grow and change. I know that I must learn to think critically and question the views of anyone, no matter how well-meaning they might seem, who urges me to put off fighting until a later time in my life (until I finish school, college, university, etc.). I cannot win a bright, happy or hope-filled future for myself by fighting only for my own prosperity or immediate self-interest. I know my future is bound up with our shared future.
12. **I PLEDGE** to the millions of oppressed people around the world, most of whom I will never know but all of whom I regard as my sisters and brothers that I will fight for freedom, equality and the right of all of us to democratically decide the future of each of our own nations. Winning freedom and justice for all in Britain is not possible so long as hundreds of millions of other people throughout the world live in desperate poverty, battle small and large man-made disasters on a continuous and regular basis, and are forced to accept the dictates of wealthier

foreign powers. To win, our movement must be an international movement of the oppressed. The issues of racism, immigration, the right of all to real, direct, democratic control of our governments, and what social forces and power will determine the policies of our nations, are the questions of the day everywhere.

13. And so, to all those who are oppressed, I say as a proud young leader of the growing, integrated, independent, youth-led civil rights/immigrant rights movement: your blood is my blood. Your enemy is my enemy. Your struggle for freedom is my struggle for freedom. Your dreams and hopes echo in my heart and mind. The borders that separate us will not divide us. We will win as one. We have the power to make this world into the world we want to live in. We can, if we act, create a new society in which the needs of humanity come before the enrichment of a few and for the first time in human history, human beings can finally think, love and socialise as equals while protecting and realising the great potential of both human beings and all that inhabit this earth.

APPENDIX 5

The ‘Burden of Proof’ in Asylum Claims Must Fall on the Home Office, Not the Asylum Seekers

Remember Jackie Nanyonjo! No More Deaths from Deportation!

(This statement was released in July 2013 following the MFJ submission to the Home Affairs Select Committee on asylum)

1. Asylum is a fundamental human right. As long as there have been governments and states people have asserted their right to live free from persecution by finding sanctuary in another country. Britain recognises this in words every time it signs an international convention or declaration on the rights of refugees, human rights and the rights of women, LGBT people etc. – but the truth is that Britain’s present asylum system is set up to restrict and deny the right of asylum in practice. For one Movement for Justice member, Jackie Nanyonjo, this systematic undermining of the right of asylum was a death sentence. Jackie was not the first person to die as a result of this perversion of justice, but the Movement for Justice is fighting to ensure that she is the last one. We have campaigned to expose what happened to Jackie and we made it part of our submission to the asylum inquiry by Parliament’s Home Affairs Select Committee. When the Committee’s chair, Labour MP Keith Vaz, refused to allow Tacko Mbengue of the Movement for Justice to make an opening statement when he gave evidence to the inquiry on 25th June 2013, and then closed the meeting, he prevented any public exposure and discussion by this parliamentary body of Jackie’s death and the injustice it represented.

How a Perverted Asylum System Condemned Jackie Nanyonjo to Death.

2. Jackie was a lesbian and a victim of domestic violence from Uganda who had lived openly as a lesbian in Britain for years, with a circle of LGBT friends in south London. She had found some measure of sanctuary in this country but without formal asylum, because she knew that the way the system operates makes it dangerous to apply for asylum: if you apply early you are told you don’t have enough evidence; if you apply late your evidence is discounted because you didn’t make a claim on arrival. Like thousands of other immigrants and refugees, Jackie was forced by this injustice into an insecure grey area of the economy on low pay and with few if any rights, in order to survive. Applying for asylum was a last resort, and despite evidence from her partner and other lesbian and gay male friends, plus hospital records from Uganda of her history of domestic violence, she found that her years of working in the National Health Service were somehow turned into ‘evidence’ that nothing she or her witnesses said could be believed.

3. Because Jackie **did** have what the UN Refugee Convention calls “A well-founded fear of persecution” she put up a brave and determined resistance to removal as a ‘failed asylum seeker’ on 16th December and was brutalised by Reliance (now Transcor) guards. She sought and was denied medical treatment for severe and continuing chest pains when she was back in Yarl’s Wood detention centre. She made a formal complaint about her treatment to the UKBA, which went unanswered. She still summoned the strength to resist in an unavailing attempt to prevent her removal on 10th January, and suffered further brutality. Precisely because she **was** a lesbian, protected at some risk by sympathetic family members, it was difficult for her to seek medical treatment in Uganda. Her friends and relatives have described the rapid decline in Jackie’s health after 16th December and on her return to Uganda. She died in a Kampala hospital on 8th March.
4. Jackie’s history speaks not only for all those whom the perversion of the asylum system has condemned to death, but for the experience of every asylum seeker trying to fight her or his way through a set of nightmare administrative and legal processes designed to deny a basic human right. From the moment an asylum seeker makes a claim, through the interview procedure, detention, the conditions under which he or she lives, the appeal tribunals and the courts, everything is based on the assumption that he or she is a ‘bogus asylum seeker’ and a liar. The asylum system turns the normal principles of justice upside down by imposing **an absurd and totally unjust burden of proof** – asylum seekers are assumed to be guilty of lying unless they find a way to prove that their accounts of persecution, torture or rape or of their sexuality, political activism etc. are true. For most asylum seekers this is impossible, because of the very conditions of escaping from persecution. This reverses the burden of proof applied to anyone charged with a crime: innocent until proved guilty beyond reasonable doubt. **As a result every asylum seeker is subjected to a miscarriage of justice, even those who eventually ‘win’.**

The Challenge before the Asylum Inquiry

5. The real test for the Home Affairs Committee is whether it can respond to the struggles and demands of asylum seekers and overturn the unfair burden of proof that is the fundamental injustice of the present system. Instead of the burden of proof being placed on an asylum claimant to prove that he or she is not lying, anyone requiring asylum would be granted it and if the Home Office disputes her or his claim it would have to prove beyond reasonable doubt that they are lying, so that asylum seekers are afforded at least the level of justice that applies in criminal cases. The change is simple and obvious. **It is obvious to anyone that if this burden of proof had been applied in her case Jackie Nanyonjo would be alive today and living in Britain.** Only when the existing burden of proof is reversed will this country have an asylum

system that really upholds the right of asylum and ensures that no-one else suffers the same injustice and death as Jackie Nanyonjo.

6. Once this principle is recognised all the other necessary reforms of the system that the Movement for Justice has argued for fall into place. To be able to exercise their rights, asylum seekers must have time to fully prepare their cases and gather evidence and therefore have access to lawyers whom they choose (and it follows that the currently proposed changes to the Legal Aid system must be withdrawn). The detention of asylum seekers and especially the process of Detained Fast Track, which isolates claimants and rushes them through an already unjust system when they are in no position to prepare their cases, would therefore have to be abolished. All the demeaning restrictions on asylum seekers' rights to work, benefits, education, housing etc., which are now driving growing numbers into destitution, would have to go. The only purpose of these restrictions is to create a "Hostile Environment" – to use the phrase the Prime Minister favours to describe his plans for immigrants and asylum seekers – on the basis that asylum seekers are assumed to be lying and must be deterred. Once the present unfair burden of proof has been turned right-way-up these supposed deterrents would have no purpose and would have to be recognised for what they are: racist, discriminatory and a denial of legal and human rights.
7. To be in a position to propose and fight for this obvious, necessary and fundamental change the MPs on the Home Affairs Committee need the public voices and evidence of asylum seekers, they need the public recognition that Jackie Nanyonjo was killed by a system that denies the right of asylum to thousands of people who desperately need it, and they need the public acknowledgement of the injustice, the parody of legal process and the degrading treatment and brutality, in and out of detention, that are the fruits of the present system. That is why the Movement for Justice insisted that refugees and their supporters should be able to appear as public witnesses at the asylum inquiry and should be able to make opening statements. We know that if witnesses are limited to answering questions from the start, the responses will be shaped by what is asked (especially for those whose first language is not English and who are not familiar with committee procedures). What was at stake was whether the Committee was prepared to listen to what asylum seekers and refugees know, and what they know that MPs **need** to hear – or whether the MPs would use their questions to limit the answers to what they, as politicians, **want** to hear.
8. Even before the meeting where Movement for Justice members were due to give evidence it was becoming increasingly apparent that the Committee had chosen the second option: limit what you hear in order to limit what you propose. The Committee was having sessions to hear

from a bevy of NGOs, senior Home Office officials and company executives from G4S and Serco, but there was only going to be a single meeting at which it would hear from asylum seekers and refugees (and that eventually turned into half a meeting). Asylum seekers were to be heard in private. After we got agreement that the two Movement for Justice witnesses would give evidence in public we learned that their combined 'slot' on the agenda was limited to 20 minutes, compared to a combined 'slot' of 45 minutes for the G4S and Serco bosses. While Movement for Justice members were waiting for the start of the inquiry meeting on 25th June we met three asylum seekers who were going to give evidence in a closed session before the public session; no-one had told them they could give evidence in public and they went in isolated, in front of a committee of 11 MPs. Their combined 'slot' lasted for little more than 15 minutes.

9. Despite all this the Movement for Justice was determined to do everything we could to set out the truth about the death of Jackie Nanyonjo and the operation of the asylum system, and the fundamental change needed to prevent the **otherwise inevitable** deaths of other so-called 'failed' asylum seekers.
10. The Movement for Justice witnesses due to give evidence on 25th June were Tacko Mbengue, a gay man and victim of torture from Senegal who has been a leading member for the past three years, and FlaviaZziwa, a lesbian refugee from Uganda and another victim of torture, who was prevented from appearing by her employer. At the start of his session Tacko told the chair, Keith Vaz, that he wanted Tony Gard of the Movement for Justice to make a statement about how and why Flavia – who feels no more secure or equal now that she has asylum than she did before she got it – had been prevented from giving evidence. If the Committee took its statements about hearing from asylum seekers and refugees at all seriously this should have been a matter of obvious importance, but Keith Vaz brushed Tacko's request aside with a smug 'assurance' that "We will be hearing from lots of asylum seekers". When Keith Vaz continued by launching into formal questions, Tacko refused to collude and said that he needed to begin with an opening statement – as we had requested in a series of e-mails and telephone conversations. When Tony Gard spoke up to support Tacko's request and reiterate the Movement for Justice's position the chairman instantly closed the meeting, less than two minutes after Tacko took his seat – throwing 45 asylum seekers out of an inquiry into asylum!
11. This was a **political** decision. It would have been very easy to accommodate the simple requests Tacko and the Movement for Justice were making. Such committees can always be flexible if they wish, and in any case Select Committee procedures provide for witnesses beginning with an opening statement. What was at issue was whether a growing movement of asylum seekers, refugees, detainees and anti-racist activists fighting for equality and justice would be allowed to

speaking the fundamental truth about the system we are fighting every day of our lives – or whether the Committee would be allowed to treat asylum seekers with thinly-veiled condescension so that it could get on with a cover-up.

12. To put it bluntly, Keith Vaz was not prepared to be a party to the further public exposure of the death of Jackie Nanyonjo: he did not want it on the public record of his committee; it did not suit him as a Labour politician when the leaderships of the three main parties in Parliament are in a competition to appear the most hostile to immigrants; it would expose the inadequacy of whatever limited proposals the Committee is currently planning to make.
13. The basic problem for the Home Affairs Committee is that the asylum system is in crisis. Over many years the increasingly rightward, racist, irrational development of British and European Union immigration policy has shaped, distorted and dominated the operation of the asylum system. The Committee would probably like to disentangle the two with some modest and partial reforms on asylum, but this will achieve very little in the short term and nothing in the longer term as long as asylum seekers are assumed to be liars guilty of filing fraudulent claims. **To make a real and lasting difference now and ensure that there are no more deaths like Jackie Nanyonjo's, the Committee must seize this opportunity to demand that the burden of proof is reversed in asylum cases, so that it falls on the Home Office and the presumption of good faith favours asylum claimants. Then we will be able to speak of some measure of justice for Jackie Nanyonjo.**

APPENDIX 6

List of organisations supporting the Surround Harmondsworth demonstrations

- Anti Raids Network
- Birkbeck Black Students Committee
- Brent Anti-Racism Campaign
- Bristol Defend Asylum Seekers
- Close Campsfield Campaign
- Lambeth UNISON
- Leeds No Borders Leeds
- London Black Revolutionaries
- London Guantanamo Campaign
- Movement Against Xenophobia (MAX)
- Myrdle Court Press
- No One is Illegal
- NUS Black Students Campaign
- Right To Remain
- SOAS Detainee Support Group
- This is Not a Gateway
- Unity Centre Glasgow
- WSSAG Wales

APPENDIX 7

Transcriptions of speeches at Surround Harmondsworth and other demonstrations

All speeches can be seen on our Detention Inquiry Vimeo Channel

<http://vimeo.com/channels/816354>

1. Stephina at Surround Harmondsworth #4 on 13/09/14

(Quotes highlighted on the subject of threats from officers to detainee organisers, the burden of proof, healthcare and the need for detention to end not be changed)

1.1: *"I everybody I'm sorry I'm a bit emotional. I haven't heard that recording (recording of Stephina speaking out whilst still inside Harmondsworth against the mistreatment of pregnant and ill detainees); it's my first time. I just wanted to say, I just called someone in Yarl's Wood and I told them that when Antonia would call and say we were going to march, I appreciated it but not like today. Being here it's so real.*

1.2: ***I'm happy that I am released but I'm more happy that all of the women I was so concerned and kept fighting for are released also. It hasn't been easy, because I've had officers come to my room to threaten me that I would be put in jail, that the things I'm doing are not right. But it's alright I wasn't scared, after everything I've gone through in my life it was a piece of cake for an officer to come and scare me.***

1.3: *But I just want to encourage everyone that what you're doing is really making a difference. I think all they want is for us to say "I quit", "I will go back", but we're not going to do that. We all have our stories, and for me **it was too painful to have someone who hasn't known me, ever, to judge me on something I'm telling them. To even come to think that someone is going to tell me that the abuser that has abused me since I was seven years old and at 14 years old they got me pregnant and has a child with that person, and I came here just so I can feel safe, and they are telling me that no, that man was your husband and you are just coming here to be here, that's not right. If you are going to question I don't have proof of what I'm telling you, who are you to question when you have no proof that I am lying.***

1.4: *So for me, this is a battle I know we're going to win. I know my case is still going, but I know I'm not going anywhere, and I know none of us are going anywhere, and I know all of the people in there are going to come out because every one of us deserves the same thing. It's just a shame that we are treated like this regardless, and the very same people that come to visit the places we are coming from, they are treated like Gods, but we are treated like*

dirt. It's not right. We haven't killed anybody, we haven't gone in across somebody's path, all we did was just come whether legal or illegally just wanting to have a better life.

1.5: So I'm going to tell you guys, really, **when you put fear aside it pays off, when you stop thinking about yourself for a while it pays off.** Because there was a time I stopped thinking I was in detention all I wanted was for the ladies to get out. **I've seen my friends losing their pregnancies in detention and they don't care, I've been in health care where I tell them my legs are swelling up and my stomach is acting up and they say "choose one thing, because I don't have enough time to treat you for both, so you have to choose one thing", seriously, if you don't want, just tell me to turn. For us that have been in detention, you know there is time for health care, a time for whatever, you go there at the right time and they'll tell you "we can only take the first four people, the rest of you have to go back", really, then why did you say at this particular time you can come and book because we are not going to be seen at the same time anyway, that's just how they do it, but it's not right. We are all humans, regardless of our skin colour, it's not right. Let us love one another, **this has to stop and it needs to stop now, it's not going to stop tomorrow it needs to stop today. All detention centres, we don't want things to change, we want things to STOP.**"**

2. Samba Njie at Surround Harmondsworth #3 on 09/08/14

(Quotes highlighted on the subject of the repetition of persecution in the UK, everyone being treated as liar and fast track)

2.1: Ladies and gentlemen, every asylum seeker that stands here today has experienced, one form or the other of humiliation, harassment and abuse. Each of us has a story and the stories that we hear or the stories that we tell of our asylum seeking here is a horrible story, each and every one of us. For those who are not asylum seekers, they are here because they know the brutality of the asylum system that is tearing apart friendships, families, love and everything.

2.2: We are fighting deportation and detention because for every individual that has been deported out of this country, a friend is lost, a love is lost, a girlfriend or a boyfriend, a father or a mother or a brother or a son, a human being.

2.3: The British went around the whole world, talking about freedom, talking about human rights. **In our countries we believe that human rights is everybody's rights and when your human rights is infringed and you run away from persecution, you run away from being killed, what do you face here? The same brutality that you have run away from. Some of us have escaped prisons or police custody, what do you have when you come here?**

Immediately they will put you in another detention and mind you, the prisons in Africa, in Asia, in all the other places where asylum seekers come from, are very bad. But the detention here is worse because they humiliate you. What is the difference now; I ask what is the difference? If you run away from persecution and you run to this country yet you are detained, you are persecuted, what is the difference?

2.4: *Maimuna says she has been crying and crying and crying and most of us have been crying ever since we came to this country. Some of us don't have a choice because we don't have any other place to go; but we have been humiliated so much that we just want to die, some of us just want to kill ourselves. Because what happens is, **for those of us who are claiming asylum on their sexuality and persecution from their own countries – we have been subjected to a lot of humiliation and a lot of name-calling. Because every asylum seeker is a liar, that's how the home office sees us, every asylum seeker is a liar.***

2.5: *If somebody is arrested and they are going to take you to detention, but now they have added another spice to the mix; they will put you in handcuffs. Handcuffs! As if you are a criminal, as if you have killed somebody. We have seen people who have committed murder, we have seen it on television and yet those people are not jailed because it is said there is not enough evidence. But for the asylum seeker, the mere fact that you have gone and said "I'm seeking asylum" because of this and this and this, you will be taken to detention straightaway without even hearing your story. That person has already judged you, **there is nothing you can say that will convince that person because already he has painted you that you are a liar.***

2.6: *If you are put on fast track, that is the worst. The meaning of fast track as they say is to enable your case to be quick so that they will take a decision on your behalf. But that is not in the interest of the asylum seeker, it is in the interest of the Home Office and the immigration. Because what they want to do is not even listen to you, but just to fast track everything and put you in a plane whether they know that when you go you will be killed or whatever, they don't care, they don't mind.*

2.7: *One thing we appreciate as asylum seekers is the British people because a lot of the British people, though there are others who listen to the Home Office and the politicians, but there are a lot of British people who we can see among us here. We are not here as criminals, we are here as people who have come to seek protection. One thing that we have to understand with detention, it is very bad. Psychologically they will torture you, you will hear every day the guards what they are telling you. They will threaten you, if they want to deport*

you and you resist, they will take the opportunity when you resist and they will beat you and do everything that is possible to make sure they take you back. People have been beaten and their hands broken because they refused to be deported. We have to fight, we cannot fight physically, but we have to fight by building a movement, tell our friends, tell everybody that needs to know, let them listen. **The number is small today, our voices are not heard but by all means, everybody in the UK will know that we are not criminals, we are people who are here to stay.**

3. Maimuna Jawo at Surround Harmondsworth #3 on 09/08/14

(Quotes highlighted on the subject of the hypocrisy, asylum as a money making machine, Burden of proof and being treated as liars)

3.1:... and still now I'm here, standing not safe at all, I can be detained any time and sent back to the country where I am going to cut girls. **This country, it talks about FGM but they want me to go back to perform FGM on those girls.**

3.2:We can see the flags here, those are Gaza's flags, we all know what is going on in Gaza, there are innocent people, women and girls, children dying in Gaza but they have this money to spend on detainees, not to spend it on Gaza. **We asylum seekers are looked at as a business, all about us is business, when you go to the housing they are making a lot of money, in detention Serco is making a lot of money, people even who are deporting us they don't care because they need the money, to have their money in their pocket. If you die or whatever happens to you, they don't care; this money could go to Gaza. To support Gaza, to support the children in Gaza, to support those innocent women in Gaza. When there is a bomb in Gaza, you see, it they put it on TV, but who cares? No one.**

3.3:Those detainees in Yarl's Wood, Harmondsworth, everywhere, they are innocent. **Asylum seekers, we are not criminals; we are running for our lives. We came here for protection, not to be detained. We came here to save our life, not to be detained, to be held in prison. People call it detention, but it's not, it's Prison.** Still now slavery is going on. Can you imagine, if whatever you do somebody is escorting you. **When you are detained you are no longer Maimuna, you are no more Ousman, you are just a number, you are nothing any more. How can they say that innocent people need to be locked up, why?** There are people to lock up, let them lock up the criminals, they have a lot of people to lock up.

3.4:If somebody kill someone, you are innocent until you prove yourself guilty, but if you are an asylum seeker you're guilty from the first time. They don't want to listen to you all they want is to put you in detention, the next minute they book a flight for you and take you back

to your country. If you die or not, they don't care yet this is the country that is saying they are the most supportive of human rights.

3.5:Brothers and sisters in detention, let's fight, let's keep on fighting. If you think that if you are nice that it will make it will make you come out of detention, no; you will see yourself on that flight, going back to the country that you are running away from. What can we do? FIGHT IT!

4. Frederick Kkonde Speaks at Surround Harmondsworth #2 on 05/07/14

(Quotes highlighted on the subject of ex detainees demonstrating at Hsrmondsworth, the humiliation and the high security)

4.1:I'm really happy that you are here. My name is Frederick Kkonde. I was in detention, right here and this is my second time to use this road, this time on my own. The first time I was brought here, I don't know how much it cost, but they drove me all around London, all by myself in the van with over six Serco guards. I felt so humiliated. Walking yourself into Luner House, the last thing you'd expect is cuffs being put on your hands, as if you are a criminal.

4.2:We are here to let our brothers inside there know that seeking asylum is never an offence. You are asking for protection, but the way we are handled, we are humiliated. Don't tell me that you're putting cuffs on my hands because you are protecting your image. For heavens sake, if someone walks themselves to Lunar House, or wherever, to seek asylum, it's not an offence. They treat asylum seekers as if they are murderers, just look at these fences; to be honest with you, getting inside there, there are over 10 gates opened behind you before you get to your cell. Before you get to your prison cell. They call it detention, but it is a prison.

4.3:I was inside there, I know what it means and I want to let our brothers in there know, that we are together, we are with them, and we shall fight

5. Jaffa at Surround Harmondsworth #4 on 13/09/14

(Quotes highlighted on the subject of impact of Harmondsworth demonstrations and inadequacy of healthcare)

5.1:One month ago, I was inside for two months, and I hear your voices and I say to myself; If I am free I must come with you, be with you.

5.2:Many people inside They have too much problem, for everything; it is very dirty inside, all the shower is full, the toilet is full, it is very dirty, the doctor they don't care. You cry

many times, they send for the nurse, after 4 or 5 days if they feel like it, they will send for the doctor, just they give one tablet for the headache. I have many problems, I have all my papers, I can show if somebody wants to check me, I have problem in my head, in my stomach, I have inside a stone (point to stomach), for two days I have pain, I cannot sleep, I cannot do nothing, they don't take me to the doctor. This is no good.

*5.3:I want to say to you, all the persons inside, they hear your voice and they are very happy. When you come here they try to change everything, they ask us if we are ok, they clean. **If you come, you can change – you will win.***

6. Rebecca at Demonstration against sexual abuse in Yarl's Wood 18/09/13

(On the subject of lack of privacy, guards barging into womens rooms)

6.1:I thought I didn't know where to start but there's really a lot going on in detention centre, especially Yarl's Wood. Seeking asylum is not a crime, all we are asking if for protection. But where is the protection? Especially they put us in detention for five months, six months, a year-and they say we have the right to be protected... I don't think that's 'protection'.

6.2:Like, men bashing into your room while you are naked, with so-called officers and without even saying a word, 'I'm sorry'. They barge into your room – I believe a woman should have her privacy but they don't do that, they just barge into your room without knocking on your door. They make silly questions- 'Oh my god, you look hot!' 'Oh, look at the bum' if that's in detention- where is the protection? I don't think anyone deserves to be in detention.

7. Lisa C at demonstration against sexual abuse in Yarl's Wood on 18/09/13

(Quotes highlighted on the subject of detainees being fighters, burden of proof, the ongoing psychological effect after release, example of disabled and mentally ill women and only solution is shut it down)

7.1:I'm here to share with you some of the experiences that we had in detention. Yarl's Wood is a place where none of the women who are in there deserves to be there. We call it a mental detention centre because there, we undergo lots of struggles. But the women in there are not losers; they are fighters.

***7.2:We organise ourselves, come together, because we know; together we can make it. When we are united, united against a common enemy or in order to achieve something; we go to end the struggle.** So, the women in there, we have undergone a lot of different, different, different things that, luckily, the case that has been published is an example of. But*

that's just the tip of an iceberg: a lot of things happen there. It is only when you have been in detention, you know. because, psychologically, you are tortured.

7.3: You are there termed as a liar, whatever you say is a lie. They want us to have the burden of proof and we know that in some of the cases we have, it's like you have to explain what you've undergone, what you went through. You don't have photos, you don't have newspaper articles, you don't have letters from your family members or whatsoever. But that doesn't mean that all what we are saying is lies. It is true! So if we have been isolated into the hands of those who took advantage of the situation because of the condition we found ourselves in and the public are silent over it - they don't make any changes. So we are here to speak about the women who are in Yarl's Wood at this point in time and those who have been there. Because if you come out of that place, you are no longer yourself. you have to look behind your shoulder before speaking because somewhere you have lost your confidence, because if you are looked at as being a liar you feel that no one trusts you anymore. No matter what you say or do, people will not listen to you. To them, you don't even exist.

7.4: What we need is, we have to come together and have to fight all the problems that we face here. For example, **there are some people in Yarl's Wood who have been in detention for more than two years. We all know a women in there who is going be two years in there next month, November. She is using a Zimmer frame to walk- she had an accident in Yarl's Wood but still now she is in detention. She's got to wear Pampers because she's got a bladder problem; she's got a back injury, but yet they still think that she's faking it all. They are women there who are going mad- excuse my language- because little things can trigger the mental conditions of people; we all know that. There are people there who are losing it. They don't know where they are, they don't know what to do, there's no one there to support them.**

7.5: There are women who are there who have been sexually abused and they are afraid to speak about it. This is happening there, and it will continue to happen there until we close down that place! So the solution to that problem is to close down Yarl's Wood!

7.6: And they have to stop Fast track! Fast track is not a fair system! Because this is a system wherein decisions are taken randomly. I have a feeling that they just take the money, interview them within 24 hours but before the interview has concluded, the interviewer has already made up his mind. **Sometimes, even before seeing you they have already made up their minds. Even if you send in for the representation, before your representation arrives;**

they've already made up their decision - what kind of decision is that? So they have to shift the burden of proof from the appellant to the respondent- that's very, very important. They have to take up their responsibility.

8. Josephine at demonstration against sexual abuse in Yarl's Wood 18/09/13

(on the subject of torture)

8.1: There is no privacy there, there's always torture there. We are always on Paracetamol and when you are sick and if you took your tablets with you, you are being denied some days to have your medication. When you're walking, as for me, I fell down there twice - no special attention was paid to me. And when you are walking, men will wink their eyes at you and laugh at you and ask you 'Are you OK?'

8.2: It was a torture for me and those of us who have been in that place. It was true, of course, at that age over 60 in that place. They never respected us - we are not even to be respected. They will walk into your room at any time and when you tell them you want to kill yourself, that's the time they're going to torture you more and more. When you tell them that you are not going to go home because of what you have experienced, they will tell you 'we don't believe what you have told us. You have to go to your country; it is a university of torture.'

8.3: No privacy is observed, they are no respecter's of age - they said 'age is a number', and to them, everything, it doesn't matter if you walk again, it doesn't matter what happens to you, they are not bothered to know. Yes, we are emotionally tortured at Yarl's Wood.

9. Eddie Mbiru at demonstration for Jackie Nanyonjo 14/03/13

(A full account of what happened to Jackie Nanyonjo)

9.1: Hello everyone. Thank you for coming today. Thank you very much for coming today, for this cause. Jackie Nanyonjo was well known to me right from Uganda before I came to the UK. I was so surprised to find her in the UK, when I joined Movement for Justice. That was the last time I got out of detention, She told me everything that happened to her that led her to come to the UK. I wasn't surprised, because I was the same - I fell under the same category. Because we all ran out of Uganda, for fear of our lives. She was a lesbian, and I am a gay man from Uganda.

9.2: Jackie was taken out of detention and was given her first flight in December 2012. However she bravely managed to fight off the plane and when she got back to Yarl's Wood

she told me, explained to me all the pain she was feeling in her chest because of the force that was exerted on her as the escorts were trying to force her, onto the flight.

9.3:She managed to hand in all her evidence to the UKBA, which were all resisted, which were all rejected. As a result of that rejection, Jackie was given a second flight in January 2013.

9.4:It was on this flight that Jackie tried to resist a second time but this time around she was overpowered by the four escorts. When she reached Uganda, I managed to speak to her on the phone right from the first day she was deported. She explained to me everything that was done to her on the plane. I couldn't avoid crying, because – whatever she went through,I've gone through.

9.5:I was in detention for five and a half months, I was forced on flights four different times, but I managed to escape those flights. I know what those escorts look like: muscular, tall men, you can never even think of fighting against. But the fact that she managed to fight them the first time and she even tried fighting them the second time shows that she was a true fighter.

9.6:She tried fighting for her life, she never wanted to go back to Uganda! Because she feared for her life! Why would the UKBA try to deport such a person, who is fighting for her life? She was thrown by her neck as the other escorts were trying to fold her head in between her legs. It must have been such pain. By the time she was dragged to the other airport in Uganda she was vomiting blood. She couldn't speak like the normal Jackie I knew before.

9.7:She told me she couldn't talk properly again, she had lost her voice, because they had strangled her. And since then she'd never been the same again, until the time she died. She told me that she experienced so much pain, because they tried to fold her, and I think that they caused damage around the chest area.

9.8:There is no doubt that this caused Jackie's death. The UKBA are greatly responsible, for Jackie's death. The system – the system and business of deporting gays and lesbians back to their countries to face torture – from the countries they escaped – is really so unfair.

We have to fight for justice. I thank everyone who has come here today, I thank the Movement for Justice, for their support, and their fight, fighting for both the dead and the alive.

9.9: We have to keep fighting, we shouldn't give up, we have to fight for the right to live openly as gays and lesbians in this country. Thank you very much for coming today, all of you.