

The Government's dangerous plans

The Government's proposals for a religious hatred law would have seriously harmed religious liberty in the UK. It was vital that Christians put so much prayer and action into opposing the plans. God gave our nation a great deliverance.

However, it had always been clear from the wording of the offence that it was *not* a blanket ban on preaching the Gospel. The law would *not* have outlawed all preaching about the uniqueness of salvation in Christ or criticism of religious beliefs overnight.

Nevertheless, at its lowest threshold the offence criminalised 'insulting words likely to stir up religious hatred'. And court cases could have held this to outlaw evangelism or reasonable opposition to particular religious beliefs. Under the law proposed by the Government, the fear was that case after case would ratchet up restrictions on free speech.

The conviction of Pastor Daniel Scot in Australia shows the danger of how loosely-drafted and vague 'religious hatred' laws can be used to curtail Christian freedom. In 2004 Daniel Scot was found 'guilty' under a similar law in Victoria State after criticising fundamentalist Islam in a church seminar. The judge banned him from making similar criticisms of Islam again anywhere in Australia and ordered him to issue a public apology.

Historic victory!

On 31 January the nation witnessed a tremendous victory for religious liberty when the Government suffered extraordinary defeats in the House of Commons over its Religious Hatred Bill. In two successive votes MPs backed House of Lords amendments dramatically narrowing the scope of the law and introducing a broad protection for free speech. The Government had been defeated only once before in the Commons since its election in 1997.

Many MPs spoke in the debate strongly opposing the Government's plans. On the first vote some 26 Labour MPs voted against the Government and more abstained. MPs voted first by 288 to 278, and then by 283 to 282. Although the Prime Minister voted in the first division, he then left and was absent for the second crucial vote, which was lost by a majority of one.

The Government's proposals for an incitement to religious hatred offence were loosely worded and could have criminalised reasonable criticism of religious or atheistic beliefs. The Bill put Gospel freedom in jeopardy. Many people opposed the Government's plans, citing the chilling effect on religious debate. The Bill was strongly opposed by Christians along with others from across the religious and political spectrum.

The House of Lords amendments were passed by Peers with a majority of 149 in October. Following the vote by MPs on 31

January the Religious Hatred Bill will become an Act of Parliament, but with the excellent Lords safeguards included. The new law only covers *threatening* words or behaviour where it is *intended* to incite hatred against a person because of their religious belief. There is also a broad free speech section which protects Christian evangelism and witness.

The Lords amendments added the following free speech protection for the new religious hatred offence: "Nothing in this Part shall be read or given effect in a way which prohibits or restricts discussion, criticism or expressions of antipathy, dislike, ridicule, insult or abuse of particular religions or the beliefs or practices of their adherents, or of any other belief system or the beliefs or practices of its adherents, or proselytising or urging adherents of a different religion or belief system to cease practising their religion or belief system."

In numbers

We sent **176,344** emails

We spent at least **£160,000** on the religious hatred campaign and securing key amendments to the Equality Bill

We sent **95,430** letters to supporters

We printed **88,000** briefings

and **73,000** flyers for meetings

47,057 visits to the religious hatred pages on our website

Daniel Scot travelled over **42,000** miles to speak at our meetings

30,594 megabytes of data on religious hatred were downloaded from our website

Staff travelled **28,500** miles

We sent **8,635** letters to politicians

4,780 people came to our 17 public meetings

We involved **15** staff

2 legal opinions were commissioned

For a majority of **1** on the final victorious vote!

What we did for the campaign

The campaign first started in **November 2001** when the Government tried to include the incitement to religious hatred offence in its Anti-terrorism, Crime and Security Bill. It was forced to drop the idea the following month after two defeats in the House of Lords.

In **November 2004** the Government tried again, slipping the offence into the Serious Organised Crime and Police Bill. In **December** we updated our briefing against the offence and sent it to MPs. The Second Reading later that month was dominated by this issue, with many MPs speaking against the proposal. In **January 2005** we organised meetings in Parliament and urged supporters to contact their MP. During **February** the Institute organised a

series of meetings with Pastor Daniel Scot, who had been convicted under a similar law in Australia. Prior to the Bill's Second Reading in the House of Lords, the Institute urged supporters to write to Peers. In the debate itself, there was heavy opposition to the offence. In **April**, with time running out before the General Election, the Government was forced to drop the proposed offence.

However, in **June 2005** the Government re-introduced the offence in a new Bill. Throughout the summer we continued campaigning, asking supporters to contact their MP before the Third Reading in **July**. During **August** the Institute held meetings in London, Cardiff, Newcastle and Liverpool where Daniel

Scot spoke – approximately 2,400 people attended in total. In **September** the Institute held further meetings and published a website 'meetings pack' to help churches hold their own meetings. In **October** we updated supporters by a newsletter. A separate Scottish newsletter highlighted how the Bill would impact Scotland; in **December** we sent Scottish MPs our legal opinion outlining this threat to Scotland. The **New Year** saw a final push, with the Institute arranging a meeting in Parliament and urging supporters to pray and contact their MP one last time before the crucial, ultimately victorious vote on **31 January 2006**.

Eye witness account from our man at Westminster



A personal perspective by Simon Calvert, Deputy Director (Public Affairs) of The Christian Institute.

Sitting "Below Bar" in the House of Commons I found myself just feet from the massed ranks of opposition MPs, cheering and waving their order papers as the votes were read out enumerating the Government's defeat.

Along with other Christian campaigners, I had been speaking to MPs of all parties right up to the start of the debate. Likely Labour rebels told me they regretted previous support for the Bill. Their minds had been changed by the careful arguments of hundreds of Christians in their constituencies. One MP had more letters on religious hatred than on the Iraq war.



He also had met with countless delegations from churches. Another who listened willingly to our concerns, was one of just a couple of dozen of Labour MPs who sat through the entire debate, listening carefully.

He voted against the Government.

The debate itself was the best I have witnessed in the Commons in almost ten years of working for The Christian Institute. The Government's so-called 'compromise' proposals – claimed as 'guarantees' for free speech – were dismantled by speaker after speaker. MPs knew that the Government's insistence on including "abusive or insulting" words or behaviour would catch legitimate criticism,

evangelism and ordinary debate. Casting the net beyond "intentional" stirring up of hatred to also include "recklessness" was fraught with dangers. Preachers could commit the offence unintentionally. As for the Government's "free speech" clause – Angela Watkinson MP quoted (from a Christian Institute letter) a Home Office official who declared it had "no legal effect".

Government Minister, Paul Goggins, could hardly get through a sentence of his prepared speech without being interrupted by MPs who wanted to point out the latest hole in his argument. Throughout the long campaign, the same weak arguments were raised again and again by the Home Office and each time they were knocked down. The same tired arguments did nothing to win over waverers in the Commons.

Tory Front Bencher, Dominic Grieve, dissected the arguments with forensic precision. Lib Dem

spokesman, Alistair Carmichael, quoted with approval from Christian Institute material. SNP spokesman, Angus MacNeil, raised fears about the impact on Scottish publishers. Ann Widdecombe gave a barnstorming speech, punctuated by loud shouts of "hear, hear!" from fellow MPs. John Hayes argued passionately in defence of the right to follow biblical teaching. Speeches from Labour rebels such as Tony Wright and John Grogan were almost moving in their intensity and devastating in their accuracy. Charles Clarke's later accusation, made in TV interviews, that his opponents were motivated by party politics was far from the truth. (It was, don't forget, Clarke who wrote to Mosques prior to the election, soliciting Muslim votes in return for a religious hatred law). After the vote, evangelicals and ardent secularists rejoiced knowing their freedom to argue with each other had been preserved.

Backing of Scots MPs was crucial

The votes of the SNP and the Scottish Tory, David Mundell, were crucial. The claim was made that it was an English Bill that didn't affect Scotland. But we knew Scottish publishers could be jailed for material that crossed the border. We distributed legal advice from Neil Addison and Scots QC Herbert Kerrigan that said: "...every institution in Scotland which is in any way involved in writing, publishing or broadcasting will have to obey it [the law] even though it is not part of Scots law". Quoted in the Commons debate, we believe the opinion helped persuade David Mundell and 5 of the 6 SNP MPs to vote with us. With the decisive vote being secured by a majority of only one, we see how vital this approach was.

'Homophobic hatred' law next?

The Religious Hatred Bill sets a dangerous precedent by moving the law into the realm of legislating on people's beliefs. Now that legislation has been made covering religion, there will be increased calls for 'homophobic hatred' to be specifically outlawed as well.

The Liberal Democrats already have a manifesto pledge to introduce a homophobic hatred offence, and the Government has stated it is open to considering whether such an offence is needed.¹

This is a real concern because of a number of recent high profile cases where gay rights activists have sought to get the police to stop Christians speaking up about homosexuality. Just before Christmas Joe and Helen Roberts, a Christian couple from Lancashire, were interrogated by police

because they complained to their local council over its gay rights policy.

Christians would never support violent or intimidating behaviour against any person. Such behaviour is rightly already a criminal offence. But a 'homophobic hatred' law, especially in today's climate, would have a chilling effect of free speech and could lead to the prosecution of those who hold and state the Christian belief that homosexual practice is sinful.²

¹ Baroness Scotland of Aghal, House of Lords, Hansard, 14 March 2005, cols 1195-1196

² Leviticus 18:22; Romans 1:26-27



◀ Joe and Helen Roberts had a visit from the police because they complained about 'gay rights'

Christians played a vital role

Thousands of Christians across Britain contacted their MPs during 2005 urging them to oppose the Religious Hatred Bill. They wrote letters, arranged meetings with their MP and even telephoned in the days before the crucial House of Commons vote. This Christian opposition had a massive influence in persuading MPs to vote for the Lords amendments.

Ministers and church members presented in a clear and simple way to MPs the great dangers to religious liberty and freedom of speech implicit in the original wording of the Government's Bill.

Mr H of Eastbourne wrote to the Institute to tell us that his MP (Nigel Waterson) alone had received over 200 letters urging him to support the Lords amendments, which he did. Many MPs were strengthened in their existing position to vote against the Government.

Revd W. of Gosport rang to let us know he had had a phone call from his Conservative MP (Peter Viggers) to say many people had rung him about the Bill, whom he described as clearly sensible people concerned about the community, and he would vote for the amendment.

Some contacts definitely resulted in MPs changing their minds to oppose the plans. Supporter, Mr P and his church minister had a meeting with their Labour MP (Paul Flynn). Mr Flynn explained that following the concerns raised by them and others he had decided to vote for the Lords amendments.

The day after the historic Commons vote, a supporter emailed the Institute. He wrote, "I spoke to my MP, Frank Cook, by telephone yesterday morning and aired my concerns..." Worried that his phone call would count for little, he was delighted when he heard the result. "I'm so thrilled that the victory is the Lord's!" Frank Cook had supported the law in every previous vote, but on 31 January was one of the 26 Labour MPs to vote against the Government.

We thank God for this vital success



The Government's defeat in the House of Commons over the Religious Hatred Bill was extraordinary and historic. This is a cause for great rejoicing and we give thanks to God. It proves that with God all things are possible.

All of the circumstances, including the fact that the Government lost the crucial vote by one after the Prime Minister had been told not to bother voting, are a poignant reminder of God's sovereignty. As Christians we thank God for his great mercy for this victory. As a nation we do not deserve it.

The campaign against the religious hatred law involved the biggest mobilisation of Christians there has been for a generation. A wide range of

Christian organisations, as well as other groups, have worked very hard to protect religious liberty. We thank God for the privilege of having been involved. But thousands of individual Christians have been involved too. Many Christians met their MP, or wrote letters, or telephoned. This clearly had a great effect. Even MPs who had been determined to support the Government changed their minds because of the repeated arguments of their constituents.

From a human point of view I am absolutely certain that it was the lobbying by the individual Christians of their MPs which was the most decisive factor of all. Many supporters have told us how they went to see their MP in trepidation! Yet their courage has been honoured. The Religious Hatred Bill becomes law, but with the

excellent Lords safeguards included.

The Government told the House of Commons on 31 January that if the Lords amendments were passed "...it would be virtually impossible to bring a successful prosecution." (Hansard Columns 189-190). Well now the Lords amendments have been passed, so according to the Government a successful prosecution would be virtually impossible!

When we consider that the victory was won by a majority of only one, we see how vital every MP's vote was. It all goes to show the great importance of Christian involvement. Let us not neglect our freedom, as has been done in years past. We must be watchful and prayerful and obey our Lord's Great Commission to take the Gospel to all (Matthew 28: 19-20).

Analysis of the religious hatred vote

In the final decisive debate, the House of Commons voted on two amendments. The second was more crucial because it contained the substance of the House of Lords changes to the Bill. The Government lost the first vote by 278 to 288, and the second by 282 to 283.¹

Although 26 Labour MPs rebelled in the first vote, in the second vote three of them switched back to support the Government and two abstained. The general voting pattern in both votes was the same. No Conservative or Lib Dem MPs supported the Government.

The votes of MPs from smaller parties were vital to the successful defeat of the Government – all nine DUP MPs, five SNP and all three Plaid Cymru MPs voted for the Lords amendments, as did Lady Hermon (UUP), Mark Durkan (SDLP) and Dr Richard Taylor (Independent); George Galloway (Respect) was the only non-Labour MP to vote with the Government.

Breakdown of the second vote:

Of 353 Labour MPs –

- 283 voted against the Lords amendments (inc. 2 Tellers)
- 21 voted for the Lords amendments
- As many as 34 may have deliberately abstained²

Of 196 Conservative MPs –

- 184 voted for the Lords amendments (inc. 1 Teller)
- 12 abstained or were absent

Of 62 Lib Dem MPs –

- 60 voted for the Lords amendments (inc. 1 Teller)
- 2 abstained or were absent

¹ Hansard totals do not include two MPs on each side who act as Tellers.

² Hansard does not record any distinction between abstention or absence.

MPs who voted against the Government listed overleaf ►



MPs who voted against the Government on the second crucial vote:

Conservative

Afriyie, Adam (Windsor)
Ainsworth, Peter (Surrey East)
Amess, David (Southend West)
Ancram, Michael (Devizes)
Arbuthnot, James (Hampshire North East)
Atkinson, Peter (Hexham)
Baldry, Tony (Banbury)
Barker, Gregory (Bexhill & Battle)
Baron, John (Billericay)
Bellingham, Henry (Norfolk North West)
Benyon, Richard (Newbury)
Bercow, John (Buckingham)
Beresford, Paul (Mole Valley)
Binley, Brian (Northampton South)
Blunt, Crispin (Reigate)
Bone, Peter (Wellingborough)
Boswell, Tim (Daventry)
Bottomley, Peter (Worthing West)
Brady, Graham (Altrincham and Sale West)
Brazil, Julian (Canterbury)
Brokenshire, James (Hornchurch)
Browning, Angela (Tiverton and Honiton)
Burns, Simon (Chelmsford West)
Burrows, David (Enfield Southgate)
Butterfill, John (Bournemouth West)
Cameron, David (Witney)
Carswell, Douglas (Harwich)
Cash, William (Stone)
Chope, Christopher (Christchurch)
Clappison, James (Hertsmere)
Clark, Greg (Tunbridge Wells)
Clarke, Kenneth (Rushcliffe)
Clifton-Brown, Geoffrey (Cotswold)
Conway, Derek (Old Bexley & Sidcup)
Cormack, Patrick (Staffordshire South)
Cox, Geoffrey (Devon West and Torridge)
Crabb, Stephen (Preseli Pembrokeshire)
Curry, David (Skipton and Ripon)
Davies, Quentin (Grantham and Stamford)
Davies, David (Monmouth)
Davies, Philip (Shipley)
Davis, David (Haltemprice and Howden)
Djanogly, Jonathan (Huntingdon)
Dorrell, Stephen (Charnwood)
Dorries, Nadine (Bedfordshire Mid)
Duncan, Alan (Rutland and Melton)
Duncan Smith, Iain (Chingford and Woodford Green)
Dunne, Philip (Ludlow)
Ellwood, Tobias (Bournemouth East)
Evans, Nigel (Ribble Valley)
Evennett, David (Bexleyheath and Crayford)
Fabricant, Michael (Lichfield)
Fallon, Michael (Sevenoaks)
Field, Mark (Cities of London and Westminster)
Forth, Eric (Bromley and Chislehurst)
Francois, Mark (Rayleigh)
Fraser, Christopher (Norfolk South West)
Garnier, Edward (Harborough)
Gauke, David (Hertfordshire South West)
Gibb, Nick (Bognor Regis and Littlehampton)
Gillan, Cheryl (Chesham and Amersham)
Goodman, Paul (Wycombe)
Goodwill, Robert (Scarborough and Whitby)
Gove, Michael (Surrey Heath)
Gray, James (Wiltshire North)
Grayling, Christopher (Epsom and Ewell)
Green, Damien (Ashford)
Greening, Justine (Putney)
Greenway, John (Ryedale)
Grieve, Dominic (Beaconsfield)
Hague, William (Richmond (Yorks))
Hammond, Philip (Runnymede and Weybridge)
Hammond, Stephen (Wimbledon)
Hands, Greg (Hammersmith and Fulham)
Harper, Mark (Forest of Dean)
Hayes, John (South Holland and The Deepings)
Heald, Oliver (Hertfordshire North East)
Heathcoat-Amory, David (Wells)
Hendry, Charles (Wealden)
Herbert, Nick (Arundel and South Downs)
Hoban, Mark (Fareham)
Hollbone, Philip (Kettering)
Holloway, Adam (Gravesham)
Horam, John (Orpington)
Howard, Michael (Folkestone and Hythe)
Howarth, Gerald (Aldershot)
Hunt, Jeremy (Surrey South West)
Hurd, Nick (Ruislip Northwood)
Jackson, Stewart (Peterborough)
Jenkin, Bernard (Essex North)

Johnson, Boris (Henley)
Jones, David (Clwyd West)
Kawczynski, Daniel (Shrewsbury and Atcham)
Key, Robert (Salisbury)
Kirkbride, Julie (Bromsgrove)
Knight, Greg (Yorkshire East)
Laing, Eleanor (Epping Forest)
Lait, Jacqui (Beckenham)
Lancaster, Mark (Milton Keynes North East)
Lansley, Andrew (South Cambridgeshire)
Leigh, Edward (Gainsborough)
Letwin, Oliver (West Dorset)
Lewis, Julian (New Forest East)
Liddell-Grainger, Ian (Bridgwater)
Lidington, David (Aylesbury)
Lilley, Peter (Hitchin and Harpenden)
Loughton, Tim (East Worthing and Shoreham)
Luff, Peter (Worcestershire Mid)
MacKay, Andrew (Bracknell)
MacLean, David (Penrith and the Border)
Main, Anne (St Alban's)
Malins, Humfrey (Woking)
Maples, John (Stratford upon Avon)
Mates, Michael (Hampshire East)
Maude, Francis (Horsham)
May, Theresa (Maidenhead)
McIntosh, Anne (Vale of York)
McLoughlin, Patrick (Derbyshire West)
Mercer, Patrick (Newark)
Miller, Maria (Basingstoke)
Milton, Anne (Guildford)
Mitchell, Andrew (Sutton Coldfield)
Moss, Malcolm (Cambridgeshire North East)
Mundell, David (Dumfriesshire, Clydesdale and Tweeddale)
Murrison, Andrew (Westbury)
Newmark, Brooks (Braintree)
O'Brien, Stephen (Eddisbury)
Osborne, George (Tatton)
Ottaway, Richard (Croydon South)
Paice, James (Cambridgeshire South East)
Paterson, Owen (Shropshire North)
Pelling, Andrew (Croydon Central)
Penning, Mike (Hemel Hempstead)
Penrose, John (Weston-Super-Mare)
Pickles, Eric (Brentwood and Ongar)
Prisk, Mark (Hertford & Stortford)
Pritchard, Mark (The Wrekin)
Randall, John (Uxbridge)
Redwood, John (Wokingham)
Rifkind, Malcolm (Kensington and Chelsea)
Robathan, Andrew (Blaby)
Robertson, Hugh (Faversham and Kent Mid)
Robertson, Lawrence (Tewkesbury)
Rosindell, Andrew (Romford)
Ruffley, David (Bury St Edmunds)
Scott, Lee (Ilford North)
Selous, Andrew (Bedfordshire South West)
Shapps, Grant (Welwyn Hatfield)
Shepherd, Richard (Aldridge - Brownhills)
Simpson, Keith (Norfolk Mid)
Soames, Nicholas (Sussex Mid)
Spelman, Caroline (Meriden)
Spicer, Michael (Worcestershire West)
Spink, Bob (Castle Point)
Spring, Richard (Suffolk West)
Stanley, John (Tonbridge & Malling)
Steen, Anthony (Totnes)
Streeter, Gary (Devon South West)
Stuart, Graham (Beverley and Holderness)
Swaine, Desmond (New Forest West)
Swire, Hugo (Devon East)
Syms, Robert (Poole)
Tapsell, Peter (Louth and Horncastle)
Taylor, Ian (Esher and Walton)
Tredinnick, David (Bosworth)
Turner, Andrew (Isle of Wight)
Tyrie, Andrew (Chichester)
Vaizey, Ed (Wantage)
Viggers, Peter (Gosport)
Villiers, Theresa (Chipping Barnet)
Walker, Charles (Bromsgrove)
Wallace, Ben (Lancaster and Wyre)
Walter, Robert (Dorset North)
Waterson, Nigel (Eastbourne)
Watkinson, Angela (Upminster)
Whittingdale, John (Maldon and Chelmsford East)
Widdecombe, Ann (Maidstone and The Weald)
Wiggin, Bill (Leominster)
Willets, David (Havant)
Wilshire, David (Spelthorne)
Wilson, Robert (Reading East)

Wright, Jeremy (Rugby and Kenilworth)
Yeo, Tim (Suffolk South)
Young, George (Hampshire North West)

DUP

Campbell, Gregory (Londonderry East)
Dods, Nigel (Belfast North)
Donaldson, Jeffrey (Lagan Valley)
McCrea, William (South Antrim)
Paisley, Ian (Antrim North)
Robinson, Iris (Strangford)
Robinson, Peter (Belfast East)
Simpson, David (Upper Bann)
Wilson, Sammy (Antrim East)

Independent

Taylor, Richard (Wyre Forest)

Labour

Benton, Joe (Bootle)
Campbell, Ronnie (Blyth Valley)
Challen, Colin (Morley and Rothwell)
Cook, Frank (Stockton North)
Corbyn, Jeremy (Islington North)
Etherington, Bill (Sunderland North)
Fisher, Mark (Stoke-on-Trent Central)
Flynn, Paul (Newport West)
Gibson, Ian (Norwich North)
Grogan, John (Selby)
Hoey, Kate (Vauxhall)
Hopkins, Kelvin (Luton North)
MacKinlay, Andrew (Thurrock)
Marshall-Andrews, Robert (Medway)
McDonnell, John (Hayes and Harlington)
Prentice, Gordon (Pendle)
Smith, Geraldine (Morecambe and Lunesdale)
Taylor, David (Leicestershire North West)
Vis, Rudi (Finchley and Golders Green)
Wareing, Robert (Liverpool West Derby)
Wright, Tony W (Cannock Chase)

Liberal Democrat

Alexander, Danny (Inverness, Nairn, Badenoch and Strathspey)
Baker, Norman (Lewes)
Barrett, John (Edinburgh West)
Beith, Alan (Berwick-upon-Tweed)
Brake, Tom (Carshalton and Wallington)
Breed, Colin (Cornwall South East)
Brooke, Annette (Dorset Mid and Poole North)
Browne, Jeremy (Taunton)
Bruce, Malcolm (Gordon)
Burstow, Paul (Sutton and Cheam)
Burt, Lorely (Solihull)
Cable, Vincent (Twickenham)
Campbell, Menzies (Fife North East)
Carmichael, Alistair (Orkney & Shetland)
Clegg, Nick (Sheffield Hallam)
Davey, Edward (Kingston and Surbiton)
Farron, Tim (Westmorland and Lonsdale)
Featherstone, Lynne (Hornsey and Wood Green)
Foster, Don (Bath)
Gidley, Sandra (Romsey)
Goldsworthy, Julia (Falmouth and Camborne)
Hancock, Mike (Portsmouth South)
Harris, Evan (Oxford West and Abingdon)
Harvey, Nick (North Devon)
Heath, David (Somerton and Frome)
Hemming, John (Birmingham Yardley)
Holmes, Paul (Chesterfield)
Horwood, Martin (Cheltenham)
Howarth, David (Cambridge)
Hughes, Simon (North Southwark and Bermondsey)
Huhne, Chris (Eastleigh)
Hunter, Mark (Cheadle)
Keetch, Paul (Hereford)
Kennedy, Charles (Ross, Skye and Lochaber)
Kramer, Susan (Richmond Park)
Laws, David (Yeovil)
Leech, John (Manchester Withington)
Moore, Michael (Berwickshire, Roxburgh and Selkirk)
Mulholland, Gregory (Leeds North West)
Oaten, Mark (Winchester)
Opik, Lembit (Montgomeryshire)
Pugh, John (Southport)
Reid, Alan (Argyll and Bute)
Rogerson, Dan (North Cornwall)
Rowen, Paul (Rochdale)
Russell, Bob (Colchester)
Sanders, Adrian (Torbay)
Smith, Robert (Aberdeenshire West and

Kincardine)
Stunell, Andrew (Hazel Grove)
Swinson, Jo (East Dunbartonshire)
Taylor, Matthew (Truro and St Austell)
Teather, Sarah (Brent East)
Thurso, John (Caitness, Sutherland and Easter Ross)
Webb, Steve (Northavon)
Williams, Roger (Brecon and Radnorshire)
Williams, Mark (Ceredigion)
Williams, Stephen (Bristol West)
Willis, Phil (Harrrogate and Knaresborough)
Willott, Jenny (Cardiff Central)
Younger-Ross, Richard (Teignbridge)

Plaid Cymru

Llwyd, Eifyn (Meirionnydd Nant Conwy)
Price, Adam (Carmarthen East and Dinefwr)
Williams, Hywel (Caernarfon)

SDLP

Durkan, Mark (Foyle)

SNP

Hosie, Stewart (Dundee East)
MacNeil, Angus (Na h-Eileanan an Iar)
Robertson, Angus (Moray)
Salmond, Alex (Banff and Buchan)
Weir, Mike (Angus)

UUP

Hermon, Sylvia (Down North)

The following 34 Labour MPs abstained or were absent from the vote. They are not members of the Government. A number of these MPs were in Dunfermline campaigning for a by-election. But it is likely that many of the others deliberately missed the vote in order to help secure the Lords amendments and defeat the Government. Parliament does not record reasons for an MP's absence from a vote.

Abbott, Diane (Hackney North and Stoke Newington)
Allen, Graham (Nottingham North)
Banks, Gordon (Ochil and South Perthshire)
Begg, Anne (Aberdeen South)
Betts, Clive (Sheffield Attercliffe)
Clark, Katy (North Ayrshire and Arran)
Connarty, Michael (Linlithgow and East Falkirk)
Cryer, Ann (Keighley)
Davidson, Ian (Glasgow South West)
Dobbin, Jim (Heywood and Middleton)
Drew, David (Stroud)
Dunwoody, Gwyneth (Crewe and Nantwich)
Foster, Michael Jabez (Hastings and Rye)
Francis, Hywel (Aberavon)
Hall, Patrick (Bedford)
Hamilton, David (Midlothian)
Hood, Jimmy (Lanark and Hamilton East)
Jones, Lynne (Birmingham Selly Oak)
Kaufman, Gerald (Manchester Gorton)
Lazarowicz, Mark (Edinburgh North and Leith)
Lepper, David (Brighton Pavilion)
MacDougall, John (Glenrothes)
McCabe, Steve (Birmingham Hall Green)
McKenna, Rosemary (Cumbernauld, Kilsyth and Kirkintilloch East)
Meacher, Michael (Oldham West and Royton)
Meale, Alan (Mansfield)
Mitchell, Austin (Great Grimsby)
Moon, Madeleine (Bridgend)
Murphy, Denis (Wansbeck)
O'Hara, Edward (Knowsley South)
Riordan, Linda (Halifax)
Simpson, Alan (Nottingham South)
Stringer, Graham (Manchester Blackley)
Truswell, Paul (Pudsey)