

Dissension amongst the Parliamentary Labour Party, 2005-2006

A Data Handbook



Philip Cowley

and

Mark Stuart

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Contents

Introduction	1
I Backbench rebellions and rebels, 2005-2006	7
II List of all Labour rebellions, 2005-2006	34
III Major rebellions against the party whip, by issue/bill	38
Racial and Religious Hatred Bill	38
Identity cards	39
Terrorism Bill	41
Immigration	44
Education Bill	45
IV. The 114 Labour Rebels	47
Sorted by number of rebellions	47
Sorted alphabetically	50

As always, we are grateful to the various bodies which have helped support our research on backbench behaviour – most obviously the Economic and Social Research Council and the University of Nottingham – and to the many MPs who have responded to our plentiful queries. We also thank Andy Platt who photoshopped the Corbyn-as-Che image which adorns the front of this pamphlet; and we offer suitable apologies to John McDonnell, who was in fact the most rebellious Labour MP of the past session, but who (sadly) just doesn't look enough like any revolutionary hero of the left. Copies of this pamphlet and other material on backbench dissent are available free of charge from www.revolts.co.uk.

Introduction

The first session of the 2005 Parliament was remarkable for the behaviour of Labour's backbench MPs. Indeed, what has happened since May 2005 can fairly be described as unique in modern British political history. Not only were the government defeated on four occasions (a record matched by no other post-war government with a majority of more than 60), but the government won another vote with a majority of just one (being saved by a handful of inattentive opposition MPs), and managed to pass the Education and Inspections Bill (a key plank of their legislative programme) only as a result of opposition support. The Third Reading of the Education and Inspections Bill saw the largest rebellion by Labour MPs against the third reading of any piece of their own government's legislation since the party first entered government in 1924. The Commons has also forced concessions from the government on a range of other legislation, most notably on the issue of smoking, where the government was forced to abandon one of its manifesto commitments in the face of backbench pressure.

Between the May 2005 election and 8 November 2006 there were 343 divisions (votes) in the House of Commons. A full 95 of these saw one or more Labour MPs vote against their whip. That equates to a rebellion in 28 per cent of divisions. This easily eclipses the 2001-2 session in the previous parliament (21%), as well as what had until recently been the most rebellious first session of the post-war era, the 1992-3 session (a rebellion in 23% of divisions) when John Major struggled so terribly with the Maastricht legislation.

These rebellions covered a wide range of issues and bills, although the majority of dissenting votes occurred on three measures: the Terrorism Bill; the Identity Cards Bill; and the Education and Inspections Bill. As is usual in the Commons, the majority of rebellions were not large. The average (mean) size comprised 11 MPs (marginally down from 14 during the previous parliament), and a majority consisted of fewer than ten MPs. These will not have caused the whips too many sleepless nights.

Despite this, the government still went down to four defeats in the Commons. In mid-November 2005, just six months into the Parliament, they were defeated twice during the Report Stage of the Terrorism Bill. These were their first defeats on whipped votes since Labour came to power in 1997; and, with the government losing by 31 and 33 votes, the largest substantive defeats in the Commons since July 1978, when the Callaghan government failed to overturn a Lords amendment on the Wales Bill.¹ Two more defeats came on 31 January 2006 during the Lords Amendment Stage of the Racial and Religious Hatred Bill. Neither of these two later rebellions – one consisting of 26 MPs, another of 21 – should have been large enough to defeat the Government, but the whips had miscalculated, allowing too many Labour MPs to be absent for campaigning in the Dunfermline and West Fife by-election. The embarrassment was made all the worse by the fact that the Prime Minister was present for the first vote but was then allowed to leave the Commons before the second – which was then lost by a majority of just one. The defeats in November 2005 can be fairly described as a failure of

¹ We say 'substantive' because technically the last time any Government was defeated by that much was on 28 March 1979 when a Conservative MP moved a prayer annulling an increase in the price of firearms certificates. Then, only one Labour MP - Max Madden - rebelled, but the Government did not have its troops in place, and the prayer was carried by 115 votes to 26, a majority against the Government of 89.

political leadership, the government failing to acknowledge the scale of discontent on the backbenches; those in January 2006 were simply a failure of whipping.

No other post-war government with a majority of over 60 in the Commons has gone down to as many defeats in an entire parliament, let alone merely in its first session. Indeed, John Major's Conservatives – much derided for their divisions – suffered just four defeats as a result of backbench dissent on whipped votes in the five years between 1992 and 1997. The third Blair term, therefore, managed to achieve in nine months what it took Major five years – despite having a majority three times the size.

Such rebellious behaviour did not come out of the blue. As we have comprehensively demonstrated elsewhere, the Parliament between 2001 and 2005 was (depending on how you measure it) either one of the most rebellious parliaments of the post-war era or *the* most rebellious.² The Parliamentary Labour Party (PLP) then set a series of records which the whips would much rather they had left well alone:

- a higher rate of rebellion than in any other post-war Parliament, and more rebellions than in all but the (longer) 1974-79 Parliament
- more rebellions in the first session than in the first session of any Labour Government
- more rebellions in the final session than in the final session of any post-war Parliament
- over Foundation Hospitals, the largest rebellion by Labour MPs over a Labour Government's health policy
- over top-up fees, the largest rebellion by Labour MPs over a Labour Government's education policy
- also over top-up fees, the (joint) largest rebellion at Second Reading since 1945, and
- over Iraq, the two largest rebellions against the whip by MPs of any party for over 150 years.

Despite this record-breaking behaviour, the MP-as-sheep cliché was so deeply ingrained that even many of the more experienced political commentators were simply unable to get it out of their head. Those of us who would try to point out the extent to which rebellion had become commonplace within the PLP soon grew used to being looked at as if we were slightly slow eight-year olds who had ingested too much lead somewhere along the line. We also grew used to being told that things would be different with a smaller majority. We shan't list all of those who told us with absolute certainty that Labour MPs would behave differently once there was a smaller majority – although like the U-Boat Officer in Dad's Army we have taken down their names.

The line from Labour HQ on election night, and afterwards, was that their smaller Commons majority of 66 would 'concentrate the minds' of Labour MPs. The bloated majorities enjoyed since 1997 had allowed Labour backbenchers to rebel without giving much thought to the consequences. With a smaller majority, so the argument went, Labour MPs would have to exercise more self-discipline. This view was also accepted by many outside observers, who would point out that the

² As, for example, in Philip Cowley, *The Rebels: How Blair Misled His Majority*, London, Politico's, 2005. We published a full list of all 259 rebellions during the 2001-2005 Parliament in a similar volume to this pamphlet, and which is available from www.revolts.co.uk.

government's majority was larger than in most post-war parliaments, and – a comparison the Prime Minister himself would use – was larger than that with which Mrs Thatcher had managed between 1979 and 1983.

Such commentators (and the Prime Minister) had forgotten the last time a government found itself re-elected with a much smaller majority. In the days after the 1992 election, most commentators declared that John Major's 21 seat majority was a perfectly workable state of affairs. But they had reckoned without the extent to which the habit of revolt had been widespread within the Conservative Parliamentary party during the Thatcher years, when (just as between 1997 and 2005) MPs had been able to rebel relatively freely given the size of the majority. When the majority came down, it did not force Bill Cash, Teddy Taylor et al to behave better. They had also forgotten how the Labour Government of 1974-79 managed (or rather, didn't) with a small, and sometimes non-existent, majority, with self-immolation rather than self-control being the order of the day.

A total of 114 Labour MPs have voted against their whips thus far in the Parliament. Of these, eight are from the new intake, elected in 2005. Katy Clark and Linda Riordan (both of whom have already got into the habit of rebelling, having done so on 18 and 21 occasions respectively, to date) were the most rebellious, followed by Sir Peter Soulsby, who has so far rebelled on eight occasions. By-election entrant Jim Devine, Labour MP for Livingston following the death of Robin Cook, has cast four dissenting votes. In the cases of another three newcomers (Sian James, Sadiq Khan and Emily Thornberry), their two votes against the party whip are not yet part of a discernible pattern, while one other Scottish newcomer - Jim McGovern – has cast only one dissenting vote. There are then five MPs who had not rebelled between 2001 and 2005, but who began to rebel after May 2005: Brian Jenkins, Andy Love, Nick Raynsford, John Smith and Ian Stewart. The remaining 101 (that is, 89 per cent of the rebels) were all known to the whips' office from the previous parliament. Indeed, they include the top 56 rebels from the previous parliament (and who remain on the backbenches), *all* of whom have voted against their whip already. In other words, with a handful of exceptions, the current difficulties are being caused by the very same people who have been rebelling against the government for years. We have seen no uprising of virgins. And the relationship between the number of votes cast against the whip between 2005 and 2006 and before is a fairly obvious one. The correlation between the number of votes cast by rebels against the government during this parliament and 2001-5 is, at 0.93, extremely high. It is not in any way to diminish the behaviour of the rebels to note that it was entirely predictable.

Writing in the *Guardian* in November 2005, Roy Hattersley claimed that the Terrorism Bill had 'at last, awakened a slumbering Parliamentary Labour Party'. It would be difficult to get it more badly wrong. The PLP have been wide awake – with significant parts of it screaming their opposition to key planks of the Government's programme – for years now. It is not that any particular piece of legislation introduced since the election has somehow awoken them. Nor that they have suddenly been encouraged to rebel because they know the Prime Minister is to stand down soon. What changed was the size of the government's majority.

This volume is a record of all the occasions which separated members of the Parliamentary Labour Party from their leadership. It provides brief details of all 95 rebellions by Labour backbenchers between 11 May 2005 and 8 November 2006,

along with full lists of every MP to participate in each of those rebellions. It is unlikely to be the most exciting volume you will ever read in your life. But it is not meant to be exciting. It's meant as a reference work, something to be checked occasionally for relevant information, and then put back on the shelf, or deleted from the PC.

We hope it might be useful for those voters who want to know what their MP did (or didn't do) during the last parliament, as well as for those – researchers, academics, lobbyists, journalists – who want to know about the behaviour of the PLP during the period. We do not pretend that this is the story of the 2005 session – the full story is, thankfully, far more interesting than this – but it is at least some of the raw material of that story, and is here for others to use, in the future, however they want.

We list here every occasion during the 2005-06 session when a Labour MP voted against his or her whip. This is a deceptively simple statement – but there are a handful of important caveats which need to be understood if the data are to make sense.

The first is that we have excluded 'free votes', those occasions on which the Labour party managers, the whips, did not issue instructions to the PLP. This volume is therefore not a record of every occasion when a Labour MP deviated from the rest of his or her party; it is a record of every occasion when Labour MPs defied the whip to do so. This differentiates this data source from some of the (otherwise excellent) web-based search engines that are available (such as publicwhip.org.uk or theyworkforyou.com), which record all occasions when a party's MPs are not 100% united.³ Our interest here is on matters of dissent, on those occasions where MPs defy their party leadership. For one thing, there is a qualitative difference between voting against your party when the whip is on, and doing so when it is not. In addition, not differentiating whipped from unwhipped votes can lead to strange conclusions about an MP's behaviour.

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish definitively between whipped and genuinely free votes – hence the problem that the websites have - and there is a tricky middle ground, where the vote may not be officially whipped but where it is quite clear what the party hierarchy want their MPs to do. As one whip put it: there are 'free votes and free votes'. But based both on contacts with MPs and with whips, we believe that we have identified all those occasions when Labour MPs defied the official instructions of their whips.

The second caveat is that we have excluded from our list of rebels those occasions when MPs vote twice. One of the most common reasons for this happening is that MPs have no way of registering abstentions. The procedures of the House of Commons give MPs just two formal options: to vote aye or no on whatever question is before them. MPs occasionally get around this by voting in both lobbies. This practice – which has been deprecated by the Speaker – is

³ There is one other problem with the various web-based sources on MPs' voting. When a party's official line is to abstain, they fail to detect MPs who are breaking their whip to vote on an issue (either for or against). This is usually less of a problem for the government – since it is extremely rare for the government to be neutral on an issue – but it can be a much more serious problem when analysing the behaviour of MPs from opposition parties. And it can prove a problem with government MPs too. It means, for example, that the rebellion over the 'NatWest three' (see rebellion 80, below), when the government line was to abstain is recorded by the Public Whip as involving just three MPs, whereas in all seven MPs were rebelling, with the government line being to abstain.

known by some Labour MPs as 'Skinner abstentions', after the veteran Labour MP, and frequent rebel, Dennis Skinner. It is a curious nomenclature. Skinner is by inclination not the abstaining type – and (as far as we are aware) has never voted in both lobbies to register an abstention. It would be much more sensible to call them 'Taylor abstentions' after the Labour MP for Leicestershire North West, David Taylor, who began to engage in the practice fairly regularly during the 2001 parliament as a way of casting what he called a 'positive abstention' (and, as will be clear in what follows, it is a practice he has continued to pursue).⁴ We do not include such MPs in our lists of rebels – or in our overall figures – but we have recorded their presence in notes each time it has occurred.

MPs also sometimes vote in both lobbies as a way of correcting an initial vote cast in error, rushing back through the other lobby once they realise their mistake. As the Labour MP Paul Flynn notes in his wonderful book, *Commons Knowledge*, 'outsiders guffaw at the possibility of MPs voting the wrong way. After all the choice is simple, yes or no'. But with around 300 votes each year, MPs do not know all the details about each vote they cast, especially on the more arcane amendments; so, as Flynn puts it, they are 'grateful for the sheepdog herding of the Whips who direct them safely into the lobby of righteousness and truth'.⁵ But sometimes the herding breaks down, and the MP gets directed into the wrong lobby. Voting can be a particular problem for Liberal Democrats and those from minor parties because they both often lack the sight of masses of their colleagues flooding into one lobby. It can, though, happen to MPs of all parties. Lastly, there are also those occasions when *Hansard* – the official record of parliamentary debates – simply mis-records an MP's vote. Again, where, with the help of the MPs concerned, we have been able to identify such mis-recorded votes we have excluded them from the data.⁶

Perhaps most importantly, of all, however, we are not able to record all the occasions when MPs defy their whips by abstaining, rather than voting against. Because the House of Commons does not allow MPs to register abstentions – other than, as discussed above, by voting twice – it is not possible to read anything into absences. The whips may have: formally sanctioned an absence from a vote; it may be accidental; or it may be deliberate. There is no information on the record that allows us to establish, at least not systematically, the causes of absences. Where the information is available, we do provide a note of the numbers believed to be abstaining in any particular vote.

We are very grateful for the MPs who helped us with the research, research of which this volume is just one part. MPs get bombarded with academic requests for assistance – from school children, students, and academics – and yet nearly all of them took the time to help clear up, or explain, what had taken place on a

⁴ Indeed, he is doing so with increasing frequency. In the last parliament Taylor cast a total of 21 deliberate abstentions; in the 2005-6 session alone he did so on fourteen occasions. One change in his behaviour is that he has now begun to 'double-vote abstain' on votes in which no other Labour MP rebelled. In addition to the ten double votes listed below, Taylor cast a double-vote abstention on four occasions during the 2005-6 session when no other Labour MP was rebelling. Gordon Prentice also cast a double-vote abstention on two occasions during the 2005-06 session when no other Labour MP was rebelling.

⁵ Paul Flynn, *Commons Knowledge*, Seren, 1997, p. 16.

⁶ For example, see division 178 on 28 February 2006, when *Hansard* (and the Public Whip) recorded two Labour MPs as voting for a Liberal Democrat amendment to the Government of Wales Bill. Both MPs deny having done so.

particular vote. We are also grateful for the assistance of the government whips' office, for similar help in determining the whipping arrangements on some votes. Many MPs helped further, by granting interviews, the material from which we intend to use in further (more interesting) publications.

The research reported here was conducted as part of a research project funded, principally, by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), and we are grateful to the ESRC for their support. The research also benefited from various support supplied by the University of Nottingham, where the authors are based.

The pamphlet is in four main sections.

Section I (pp. 7 to 33) contains a listing of every rebellion by Labour MPs between 2005 and 2006, giving an explanation of each vote and listing the backbench rebels.

Section II (pp. 34 to 37) contains summary tables of all 95 rebellions, giving issue, date, division number and size of rebellion.

Section III (pp. 38 to 46) contains tabulations of each of the issues to see significant rebellions during the Parliament.

Section IV (pp. 47 to 52) provides totals for the number of dissenting votes cast by each Labour MP, listing MPs by both the total number of dissenting votes cast, and alphabetically.

We have made every effort to ensure that the information contained in this volume is correct, but in the event that we have made mistakes, we would, of course, welcome the chance to correct them. We can be contacted at either info@revolts.co.uk or philip.cowley@nottingham.ac.uk.

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I Backbench rebellions and rebels, 2005-2006

11 May 2005-8 November 2006

[1] 21 June 2005 (Div. 14):

Four Labour MPs voted in favour of a Conservative Opposition reasoned amendment to the Second Reading of the Racial and Religious Hatred Bill:

Jeremy Corbyn
Bob Marshall-Andrews
John McDonnell
Robert Wareing

[2] 21 June 2005 (Div. 15):

Two Labour backbenchers opposed the Second Reading of the Racial and Religious Hatred Bill:

Jeremy Corbyn
John McDonnell

Note: David Taylor and Colin Challen each cast a deliberate abstention by voting in both lobbies.

[3] 28 June 2005 (Div 20):

Twenty Labour MPs opposed the Second Reading of the Identity Cards Bill:

Diane Abbott	Kate Hoey	Clare Short
Katy Clark	Kelvin Hopkins	Alan Simpson
Frank Cook	Glenda Jackson	John Smith
Jeremy Corbyn	Dr Lynne Jones	Robert Wareing
Gwyneth Dunwoody	Bob Marshall-Andrews	David Winnick
Mark Fisher	John McDonnell	Mike Wood
Paul Flynn	Linda Riordan	

Note: David Taylor cast a deliberate abstention by voting in both lobbies.

[4] 28 June 2005 (Div. 21):

Twenty-two Labour MPs voted against the programme motion for the Identity Cards Bill:

Diane Abbott	Dr Ian Gibson	Linda Riordan
Katy Clark	Kate Hoey	Clare Short
Frank Cook	Kelvin Hopkins	Alan Simpson
Jeremy Corbyn	Glenda Jackson	David Taylor
Gwyneth Dunwoody	Dr Lynne Jones	Robert Wareing
Mark Fisher	Bob Marshall-Andrews	Mike Wood
Paul Flynn	John McDonnell	
Neil Gerrard	Austin Mitchell	

[5] 28 June 2005 (Div. 22):

Two Labour backbenchers opposed the money resolution for the Identity Cards Bill:

Jeremy Corbyn
Glenda Jackson

[6] 11 July 2005 (Div. 34):

Fourteen Labour backbenchers supported a Liberal Democrat amendment during the Report stage of the Racial and Religious Hatred Bill that would have kept offences only on grounds of hatred against race, rather than religion:

Colin Challen	Paul Flynn	John McDonnell
Katy Clark	John Grogan	Gordon Prentice
Jeremy Corbyn	Kate Hoey	Alan Simpson
Ann Cryer	Kelvin Hopkins	David Taylor
Frank Field	Bob Marshall-Andrews	

[7] 11 July 2005 (Div. 35):

Four Labour MPs voted against the Third Reading of the Racial and Religious Hatred Bill:

Colin Challen
Paul Flynn
John McDonnell
Dennis Skinner

Note: David Taylor cast a deliberate abstention by voting in both lobbies.

[8] 20 July 2005 (Div. 46):

In a deferred division, one Labour MP opposed a deferred division revising the funding code prepared by the Legal Services Commission:

Geoffrey Robinson

[9] 10 October 2005 (Div. 50):

Three Labour backbenchers supported a Conservative frontbench amendment during the Report stage of the Civil Aviation Bill that would have removed from the Secretary of State's duties the stipulation to determine the number of flights at designated airports at night, and replaced them with other stipulations, particularly concerning noise and emissions:

Bob Marshall-Andrews
John McDonnell
David Taylor

[10] 18 October 2005 (Div. 55):

Three Labour MPs opposed the third programme motion for the Identity Cards Bill:

Dr Lynne Jones
Bob Marshall-Andrews
Clare Short

[11] 18 October 2005 (Div. 56):

Eight Labour MPs supported a Liberal Democrat motion that would have committed the Identity Cards Bill to a Select Committee:

Katy Clark	Dr Lynne Jones	Clare Short
Mark Fisher	Bob Marshall-Andrews	Geraldine Smith
Kate Hoey	Linda Riordan	

[12] 18 October 2005 (Div. 57):

Nine Labour backbenchers supported a Conservative frontbench amendment during the Report stage of the Identity Cards Bill that would have restricted the scope of the National Identity register to only those facts about individuals 'who reasonably require proof':

Jeremy Corbyn	Dr Lynne Jones	Austin Mitchell
Mark Fisher	Bob Marshall-Andrews	Clare Short
Glenda Jackson	John McDonnell	Alan Simpson

[13] 18 October 2005 (Div. 58):

Twenty-three Labour MPs supported a Labour backbench amendment during the Report stage of the Identity Cards Bill in the name of Neil Gerrard that would have made it possible for people to apply for a passport without having to submit their details for the new ID cards database:

Martin Caton	Kelvin Hopkins	Alan Simpson
Michael Clapham	Glenda Jackson	Dennis Skinner
Katy Clark	Dr Lynne Jones	John Smith
Mark Fisher	Andy Love	David Taylor
Paul Flynn	Bob Marshall-Andrews	Robert Wareing
Neil Gerrard	John McDonnell	David Winnick
Dr Ian Gibson	Linda Riordan	Mike Wood
Kate Hoey	Clare Short	

[14] 18 October 2005 (Div. 59):

Eighteen Labour backbenchers supported a Conservative frontbench amendment during the Report stage of the Identity Cards Bill that would have made identity cards free of charge:

Michael Clapham	Paul Flynn	Bob Marshall-Andrews
Katy Clark	Dr Ian Gibson	John McDonnell
Michael Connarty	David Hamilton	Clare Short
Jeremy Corbyn	Kate Hoey	Alan Simpson
David Drew	Kelvin Hopkins	Geraldine Smith
Mark Fisher	Dr Lynne Jones	Robert Wareing

Notes: David Taylor cast a deliberate abstention by voting in both lobbies. Sir Gerald Kaufman was incorrectly recorded by Hansard as having voted in both lobbies. In fact, he voted with the Government in the no lobby.

[15] 18 October 2005 (Div. 60):

Twenty-five Labour MPs voted against the Third Reading of the Identity Cards Bill:

Diane Abbott	Kate Hoey	Alan Simpson
Michael Clapham	Kelvin Hopkins	Geraldine Smith
Katy Clark	Glenda Jackson	John Smith
Jeremy Corbyn	Dr Lynne Jones	David Taylor
Gwyneth Dunwoody	Bob Marshall-Andrews	Robert Wareing
Mark Fisher	John McDonnell	David Winnick
Paul Flynn	Albert Owen	Mike Wood
Neil Gerrard	Linda Riordan	
Dr Ian Gibson	Clare Short	

[16] 19 October 2005 (Div. 61):

In a deferred division, four Labour backbenchers opposed a take note motion relating to the marketing of foods derived from genetically modified maize:

Jeremy Corbyn
David Drew
Tony Lloyd
John McDonnell

[17] 26 October 2005 (Div. 70):

Sixteen Labour backbenchers opposed the Second Reading of the Terrorism Bill:

Diane Abbott	Kelvin Hopkins	Alan Simpson
Michael Clapham	Glenda Jackson	Dennis Skinner
Jeremy Corbyn	Bob Marshall-Andrews	Robert Wareing
Jim Cousins	John McDonnell	Mike Wood
Dr Ian Gibson	Linda Riordan	
David Hamilton	Clare Short	

Notes: With the Conservative frontbench position being to support the Government, eight Conservative MPs also opposed Second Reading, as did the Liberal Democrat MP, Mike Hancock. The Conservative MP, Boris Johnson cast a deliberate abstention by voting in both lobbies.

[18] 26 October 2005 (Div. 71):

One Labour backbencher opposed the programme motion for the Terrorism Bill:

Dr Lynne Jones

[19] 2 November 2005 (Div. 73):

Fourteen Labour MPs voted in favour of a Conservative frontbench amendment during the Committee stage of the Terrorism Bill that would have tried to ensure that the offence of encouragement of terrorism could not be committed by negligence by adding two tests, of specific intent and recklessness:

Michael Clapham	Kelvin Hopkins	Gordon Prentice
Jeremy Corbyn	Glenda Jackson	Clare Short
Mark Fisher	Dr Lynne Jones	Alan Simpson
Dr Ian Gibson	Bob Marshall-Andrews	Robert Wareing
Kate Hoey	John McDonnell	

[20] 2 November 2005 (Div. 74):

Thirty-four Labour MPs supported an amendment during the Committee stage of the Terrorism Bill in the name of Bob Marshall-Andrews, which tried to introduce an element of intention to the new offence of encouragement of terrorism. The rebellion reduced the Government's majority to just one:

Diane Abbott	Mark Fisher	Michael Meacher
John Austin	Neil Gerrard	George Mudie
Richard Burden	Dr Ian Gibson	Gordon Prentice
Martin Caton	John Grogan	Linda Riordan
Michael Clapham	Kate Hoey	Clare Short
Katy Clark	Kelvin Hopkins	Alan Simpson
Harry Cohen	Glenda Jackson	Dennis Skinner
Jeremy Corbyn	Dr Lynne Jones	David Taylor
Jim Cousins	Peter Kilfoyle	Jon Trickett
Ann Cryer	Andy Love	Robert Wareing
Frank Dobson	Bob Marshall-Andrews	
Gwyneth Dunwoody	John McDonnell	

[21] 2 November 2005 (Div. 75):

Twenty-seven Labour MPs supported a Conservative frontbench amendment during the Committee stage of the Terrorism Bill that would have deleted the glorification of terrorism provision entirely from the Bill:

Diane Abbott	Neil Gerrard	Bob Marshall-Andrews
John Austin	Dr Ian Gibson	John McDonnell
Richard Burden	John Grogan	George Mudie
Katy Clark	Kate Hoey	Gordon Prentice
Jeremy Corbyn	Kelvin Hopkins	Linda Riordan
Jim Cousins	Glenda Jackson	Clare Short
Frank Dobson	Dr Lynne Jones	Alan Simpson
Gwyneth Dunwoody	Peter Kilfoyle	Jon Trickett
Mark Fisher	Andy Love	Robert Wareing

[22] 3 November 2005 (Div. 76):

Two Labour backbenchers supported a Conservative frontbench amendment during the Committee stage of the Terrorism Bill that would have provided a defence for university lecturers and teachers accused of failing to stop teaching any students whom they suspected of training for terrorism that they had reported any such suspicions to the police or to a person in authority over them:

Jeremy Corbyn
Dr Lynne Jones

[23] 3 November 2005 (Div. 77):

Two Labour backbenchers supported a Conservative frontbench amendment during the Committee stage of the Terrorism Bill, which sought to protect from prosecution any person who attended a terrorist training camp with the aim of preventing training taking place, for the purposes of gathering information about training (such as journalists), or those who found themselves involuntarily in such camps:

Jeremy Corbyn
Dr Lynne Jones

[24] 3 November 2005 (Div. 78):

During the Committee stage of the Terrorism Bill, six Labour MPs supported a Liberal Democrat amendment, which would have restricted the ability of UK courts to prosecute anyone who committed terrorist acts abroad if they came to this country to those offences that directly affected British nationals or the interests of the UK through British nationals:

Jeremy Corbyn	Dr Lynne Jones	Dennis Skinner
Glenda Jackson	Bob Marshall-Andrews	Robert Wareing

[25] 9 November 2005 (Div. 83):

Three Labour MPs opposed the second programme motion for the Terrorism Bill:

Dr Lynne Jones
Clare Short
Alan Simpson

[26] 9 November 2005 (Div. 84):

Forty-nine Labour MPs opposed a Government amendment during the Report stage of the Terrorism Bill that would have introduced a maximum of 90 days' detention without charge for terrorist suspects (subject to weekly review by a high court judge and then subject to a sunset clause after a year). The amendment was defeated by 291 votes to 322, *a majority against the Government of 31*. It was the Government's first defeat on a whipped vote since it came to power in 1997, and the first time since December 1995 that a Government had been defeated as a result of backbench dissent by its own MPs.

Diane Abbott	Frank Dobson	Doug Henderson
John Austin	Gwyneth Dunwoody	Kate Hoey
Richard Burden	Mark Fisher	Kelvin Hopkins
Michael Clapham	Paul Flynn	Glenda Jackson
Katy Clark	Neil Gerrard	Sian James
Harry Cohen	Dr Ian Gibson	Dr Lynne Jones
Jeremy Corbyn	Roger Godsiff	Sadiq Khan
Jim Cousins	John Grogan	Peter Kilfoyle
Ann Cryer	David Hamilton	Mark Lazarowicz

Tony Lloyd
Andy Love
Bob Marshall-Andrews
Christine McCafferty
John McDonnell
Michael Meacher
Julie Morgan
George Mudie

Chris Mullin
Gordon Prentice
Nick Raynsford
Linda Riordan
Clare Short
Alan Simpson
Dennis Skinner
Sir Peter Soulsby

David Taylor
Emily Thornberry
Jon Trickett
Robert Wareing
David Winnick
Mike Wood

Note: The Conservative frontbench position was to oppose the Government, but there were several Conservative abstentions and one Conservative – Sir Peter Tapsell – voted with the Government in the aye lobby.

[27] 9 November 2005 (Div. 85):

Fifty-one Labour backbenchers voted in favour of a Labour backbench amendment during the Report stage of the Terrorism Bill in the name of David Winnick that reduced the maximum period of detention of terrorist suspects without charge from 90 days to 28 days. The amendment was carried by 323 votes to 290, *a majority against the Government of 33*:

Diane Abbott
John Austin
Richard Burden
Martin Caton
Michael Clapham
Katy Clark
Harry Cohen
Jeremy Corbyn
Jim Cousins
Ann Cryer
Frank Dobson
Frank Doran
Gwyneth Dunwoody
Mark Fisher
Paul Flynn
Neil Gerrard
Dr Ian Gibson

Roger Godsiff
John Grogan
David Hamilton
Doug Henderson
Kate Hoey
Kelvin Hopkins
Glenda Jackson
Sian James
Dr Lynne Jones
Sadiq Khan
Tony Lloyd
Andy Love
Bob Marshall-Andrews
Christine McCafferty
John McDonnell
Michael Meacher
Julie Morgan

George Mudie
Chris Mullin
Gordon Prentice
Nick Raynsford
Linda Riordan
Joan Ruddock
Clare Short
Alan Simpson
Dennis Skinner
Sir Peter Soulsby
David Taylor
Emily Thornberry
Jon Trickett
Dr Rudi Vis
Robert Wareing
David Winnick
Mike Wood

Note: As in the previous vote, the Conservative frontbench position was to oppose the Government but the Conservative MPs Michael Mates and Sir John Stanley, both of whom had abstained on the earlier vote on 90 days, voted with the Government in opposition to 28 days.

[28] 9 November 2005 (Div. 86):

During the Report stage of the Terrorism Bill, 13 Labour backbenchers opposed a Government amendment that altered the encouragement to terrorism offence, restricting it to acts that were either intentional and/or reckless:

John Austin	Kelvin Hopkins	Clare Short
Katy Clark	Dr Lynne Jones	Alan Simpson
Jeremy Corbyn	Bob Marshall-Andrews	Robert Wareing
Paul Flynn	John McDonnell	
Dr Ian Gibson	Linda Riordan	

[29] 9 November 2005 (Div. 87):

Twelve Labour MPs supported a Conservative frontbench amendment during the Report stage of the Terrorism Bill that would have deleted the offence of glorifying terrorism (which still remained in a sub-section of clause 1 of the Bill, despite the Government agreeing to merge that offence with encouragement to terrorism):

Katy Clark	Dr Ian Gibson	John McDonnell
Jeremy Corbyn	Kate Hoey	Clare Short
Gwyneth Dunwoody	Dr Lynne Jones	Alan Simpson
Mark Fisher	Bob Marshall-Andrews	Robert Wareing

[30] 15 November 2005 (Div. 94):

Two Labour MPs voted in favour of a Conservative Opposition prayer that attempted to annul the Licensing Act 2003 (Second appointed day) Order 2005, a provision that introduced the possibility of 24-hour licensed drinking in England and Wales:

Frank Field
Kate Hoey

[31] 16 November 2005 (Div. 96):

In a deferred division, six Labour MPs opposed a European Take Note Motion relating to the marketing of goods from genetically modified maize:

Jeremy Corbyn	John McDonnell	Dennis Skinner
David Drew	Michael Meacher	Dr Rudi Vis

Note: The Conservative frontbench line was to abstain, but five Conservative MPs voted against the take note motion.

[32] 16 November 2005 (Div. 97):

Three Labour backbenchers supported a Liberal Democrat amendment during the Report stage of the Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Bill that would have retained the right of in-country appeal for those refused extension of leave to stay in Britain:

Dr Lynne Jones
John McDonnell
Keith Vaz

[33] 16 November 2005 (Div. 98):

One Labour MP supported a Conservative frontbench amendment during the Report stage of the Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Bill that would have left out a clause, relating to the removal of the right of appeal to refugees:

John McDonnell

[34] 16 November 2005 (Div. 100):

Four Labour backbenchers supported a Liberal Democrat amendment during the Report stage of the Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Bill that would have removed a clause from the Bill excluding from refugee status those committing 'acts of encouraging or inducing others to commit, prepare or instigate terrorism':

Jeremy Corbyn
Dr Lynne Jones
John McDonnell
Alan Simpson

[35] 16 November 2005 (Div. 101):

Two Labour MPs supported a Liberal Democrat amendment during the Report stage of the Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Bill that would have removed a clause depriving citizenship from those who had committed acts 'not conducive to the public good':

Jeremy Corbyn
John McDonnell

[36] 23 November 2005 (Div. 106):

In a deferred division, four Labour MPs opposed an order bringing into force the Criminal Justice Act 2003:

David Drew
Dr Lynne Jones
John McDonnell
Alan Simpson

[37] 23 November 2005 (Div. 107):

One Labour MP supported a Conservative Opposition Reasoned Amendment that declined to support the Second Reading of the Northern Ireland (Offences) Bill:

Kate Hoey

[38] 23 November 2005 (Div. 108):

One Labour MP opposed the Second Reading of the Northern Ireland (Offences) Bill:

Kate Hoey

[39] 12 January 2006 (Div. 123):

Two Labour backbenchers opposed a Government motion to the Crossrail Bill, a hybrid bill, to ensure the creation of an extra Select Committee:

George Howarth
Peter Kilfoyle

[40] 24 January 2006 (Div. 142):

One Labour MP voted in favour of a Conservative frontbench amendment to the Committee stage of the Government of Wales Bill that would have ensured that in the event of a no vote in a future referendum on expanding the legislative competence of the Welsh National Assembly, a moratorium on further referendum initiatives would last for two Assembly elections:

Alan Williams

[41] 31 January 2006 (Div. 147):

Twenty-six Labour MPs supported a Lords amendment to the Racial and Religious Hatred Bill restricting the scope of the new offence of incitement to religious hatred to threatening words or behaviour rather than the Government's broader

definition that had included threatening, abusive or insulting words or behaviour. The amendment was carried by 288 votes to 278, *a majority against the Government of ten*:

Joe Benton	Mark Fisher	John McDonnell
Roger Berry	Paul Flynn	Alan Meale
Ronnie Campbell	Dr Ian Gibson	Gordon Prentice
Colin Challen	John Grogan	Geraldine Smith
Frank Cook	Kate Hoey	David Taylor
Jeremy Corbyn	Kelvin Hopkins	Dr Rudi Vis
Gwyneth Dunwoody	Peter Kilfoyle	Robert Wareing
Bill Etherington	Andrew Mackinlay	Dr Tony Wright
Frank Field	Bob Marshall-Andrews	

[42] 31 January 2006 (Div. 148):

Twenty-one Labour MPs supported a Lords amendment to the Racial and Religious Hatred Bill insisting that the new offence of incitement to religious hatred had to be intentional rather than the Government's preference for intentional and/or reckless words or behaviour. The amendment was carried by 283 votes to 282, *a majority against the Government of one*:

Joe Benton	Paul Flynn	John McDonnell
Ronnie Campbell	Dr Ian Gibson	Gordon Prentice
Colin Challen	John Grogan	Geraldine Smith
Frank Cook	Kate Hoey	David Taylor
Jeremy Corbyn	Kelvin Hopkins	Dr Rudi Vis
Bill Etherington	Andrew Mackinlay	Robert Wareing
Mark Fisher	Bob Marshall-Andrews	Dr Tony Wright

Note: The Prime Minister, who had voted in Division 147, did not vote in this division.

[43] 13 February 2006 (Div. 158):

Twenty Labour MPs supported a Lords amendment to the Identity Cards Bill that would have allowed people to decide whether or not to get an ID card when they renewed or applied for a passport after 2008:

Diane Abbott	Kate Hoey	Clare Short
Katy Clark	Kelvin Hopkins	Alan Simpson
Jeremy Corbyn	Glenda Jackson	John Smith
Gwyneth Dunwoody	Dr Lynne Jones	David Taylor
Mark Fisher	Bob Marshall-Andrews	Robert Wareing
Paul Flynn	John McDonnell	Mike Wood
Dr Ian Gibson	Linda Riordan	

Notes: Although the Conservative frontbench line was to oppose the Government, the Conservative MP Ann Widdecombe supported the Government in the aye lobby, disagreeing with the Lords amendment. Liberal Democrat MP Paul Keetch voted in both lobbies.

[44] 13 February 2006 (Div. 159):

Two Labour backbenchers supported a Lords amendment to the Identity Cards Bill that would have removed the ability to make an ID card part of a designated document (like a passport), thus ensuring that it had to be a separate, self-standing form of identification:

Glenda Jackson
Robert Wareing

Note: Although the Conservative frontbench line was to oppose the Government, the Conservative MP Ann Widdecombe supported the Government in the aye lobby against the Labour amendment.

[45] 13 February 2006 (Div. 160):

Two Labour backbenchers supported a Lords amendment to the Identity Cards Bill that would have insisted that the Bill could not have come into force until MPs had approved a new report into the costs and benefits of ID Cards:

Frank Field
Glenda Jackson

[46] 13 February 2006 (Div. 161):

One Labour MP supported a Lords amendment to the Identity Cards Bill that would have ensured that the new National Identity Scheme Commissioner be appointed on recommendation by the Secretary of State:

Glenda Jackson

[47] 14 February 2006 (Div. 166):

One Labour MPs voted against the Third Reading of the Health Bill:

Brian Jenkins

Notes: Although the official Conservative line was to abstain, 21 Conservative MPs voted against Third Reading. Lembit Opik was the only Liberal Democrat MP to oppose Third Reading.

[48] 15 February 2006 (Div. 168):

Seventeen Labour backbenchers supported a Lords amendment to the Terrorism Bill that would have deleted the glorification provisions from the Bill:

Diane Abbott	Kelvin Hopkins	Gordon Prentice
Jeremy Corbyn	Glenda Jackson	Clare Short
Jim Cousins	Dr Lynne Jones	Alan Simpson
Mark Fisher	Peter Kilfoyle	Robert Wareing
Paul Flynn	Bob Marshall-Andrews	Mike Wood
Kate Hoey	John McDonnell	

[49] 15 February 2006 (Div. 169):

One Labour MP supported a Lords amendment to the Terrorism Bill that would have required judicial oversight in issuing notices ordering internet service providers to removed 'offending' material:

Alan Simpson

[50] 28 February 2006 (Div. 177):

One Labour MP supported a Conservative amendment to the Report stage of the Government of Wales Bill that would have left out clauses giving the Secretary of State for Wales the right to refuse a draft order proposed by the Welsh Assembly:

Alan Williams

[51] 13 March 2006 (Div. 186):

Eighteen Labour MPs supported a Lords amendment to the Identity Cards Bill that would have allowed people to decide whether or not to get an ID card when they renewed or applied for a passport after 2008:

Diane Abbott	Kelvin Hopkins	Alan Simpson
Jeremy Corbyn	Dr Lynne Jones	John Smith
Gwyneth Dunwoody	Andy Love	Dr Gavin Strang
Mark Fisher	Bob Marshall-Andrews	David Taylor
Paul Flynn	John McDonnell	Robert Wareing
Kate Hoey	Clare Short	Mike Wood

[52] 14 March 2006 (Div. 190):

Two Labour MPs supported a Conservative backbench amendment to the Report stage of the Animal Health Bill that would have banned the sale of endangered animals on the internet:

David Drew
John McDonnell

[53] 15 March 2006 (Div. 192):

Fifty-two Labour backbenchers opposed the Second Reading of the Education and Inspections Bill. The Bill was only secured with the support of 176 Conservatives in the aye lobby:

Diane Abbott	Neil Gerrard	George Mudie
Colin Burgon	Dr Ian Gibson	Gordon Prentice
Ronnie Campbell	John Grogan	Ken Purchase
Martin Caton	Fabian Hamilton	Linda Riordan
Michael Clapham	Dai Havard	Clare Short
Katy Clark	Doug Henderson	Alan Simpson
David Clelland	David Heyes	Dennis Skinner
Harry Cohen	Kelvin Hopkins	Geraldine Smith
Michael Connarty	Joan Humble	John Smith
Jeremy Corbyn	Glenda Jackson	David Taylor
Jon Cruddas	Helen Jones	Jon Trickett
Ian Davidson	Dr Lynne Jones	Paul Truswell
Jim Dobbin	Alan Keen	Dr Desmond Turner
Frank Dobson	Peter Kilfoyle	Joan Walley
David Drew	Tony Lloyd	Robert Wareing
Gwyneth Dunwoody	John McDonnell	Mike Wood
Clive Efford	Michael Meacher	
Paul Flynn	Austin Mitchell	

[54] 15 March 2006 (Div. 193):

Thirty Labour backbenchers opposed the programme motion for the Education and Inspections Bill, reducing the Government's majority to 10:

Diane Abbott	Paul Flynn	George Mudie
Colin Burgon	John Grogan	Gordon Prentice
Michael Connarty	Doug Henderson	Linda Riordan
Jeremy Corbyn	Kelvin Hopkins	Clare Short
Ian Davidson	Glenda Jackson	Alan Simpson
Frank Dobson	Helen Jones	Geraldine Smith
Gwyneth Dunwoody	Dr Lynne Jones	David Taylor
Clive Efford	Peter Kilfoyle	Jon Trickett
Paul Farrelly	Bob Marshall-Andrews	Robert Wareing
Mark Fisher	John McDonnell	Mike Wood

[55] 16 March 2006 (Div. 194):

Thirteen Labour MPs supported a Lords amendment to the Identity Cards Bill that would have allowed people to decide whether or not to get an ID card when they renewed or applied for a passport after 2008:

Diane Abbott
Jeremy Corbyn
Mark Fisher
Dr Ian Gibson
Kate Hoey

Kelvin Hopkins
Glenda Jackson
Dr Lynne Jones
Andy Love
John McDonnell

Clare Short
Dr Gavin Strang
Robert Wareing

Note: David Taylor cast a deliberate abstention by voting in both lobbies.

[56] 16 March 2006 (Div. 195):

One Labour MP supported an unsuccessful Conservative frontbench amendment to a Lords amendment to the Terrorism Bill that would have defined 'indirect encouragement' to terrorism as the making of a statement referring to terrorism in such a way that the listener, reader or viewer would infer that he should emulate it:

Clare Short

[57] 16 March 2006 (Div. 196):

At Lords amendment stage, ten Labour backbenchers opposed a Government motion reinstating the glorification provisions back into the Terrorism Bill:

Jeremy Corbyn
Jim Cousins
Mark Fisher
Kate Hoey

Kelvin Hopkins
Glenda Jackson
Dr Lynne Jones
John McDonnell

Clare Short
Robert Wareing

[58] 21 March 2006 (Div. 198):

Nine Labour MPs supported a Lords amendment to the Identity Cards Bill that would have delayed the linkage of the issue of identity cards to the issue of passports until 2012:

Jeremy Corbyn
Mark Fisher
Kate Hoey

Glenda Jackson
Bob Marshall-Andrews
John McDonnell

Clare Short
Dr Gavin Strang
Robert Wareing

[59] 29 March 2006 (Div. 203):

Nine Labour MPs supported a Lords amendment to the Identity Cards Bill that would have delayed the automatic linkage between designated documents such as passports, and the issue of identity cards:

Jeremy Corbyn
Mark Fisher
Kate Hoey

Kelvin Hopkins
Glenda Jackson
Dr Lynne Jones

John McDonnell
Alan Simpson
Robert Wareing

[60] 29 March 2006 (Div. 204):

One Labour backbencher opposed the third programme motion for the Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Bill:

Clare Short

[61] 29 March 2006 (Div. 205):

Nineteen Labour MPs supported a backbench amendment to a Lords amendment to the Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Bill in the name of Neil Gerrard that would have allowed the Government to retain the option of giving out cash to failed asylum seekers, as well as vouchers for food and accommodation:

Diane Abbott
Michael Clapham
Harry Cohen
Jeremy Corbyn
Jon Cruddas
David Drew
Mark Fisher

Neil Gerrard
Dr Ian Gibson
Kate Hoey
Glenda Jackson
Dr Lynne Jones
John McDonnell
George Mudie

Clare Short
Alan Simpson
Marsha Singh
Dennis Skinner
Keith Vaz

Note: The Conservative frontbench line was to abstain, but three Conservative MPs voted for the amendment.

[62] 29 March 2006 (Div. 208)

Six Labour MPs voted against a compromise Lords amendment to the Identity Cards Bill, which the Government accepted, in which anyone who renewed a passport would be put on a national ID database but not forced to have an ID card until 2010 instead of 2008:

Diane Abbott
Jeremy Corbyn

Kelvin Hopkins
Dr Lynne Jones

John McDonnell
Robert Wareing

Notes: David Taylor cast a deliberate abstention by voting in both lobbies. The Conservative frontbench line was to support the government, but eight Conservative MPs voted against the amendment.

[63] 8 May 2006 (Div. 223):

Six Labour MPs supported a Lords amendment to the Civil Aviation Bill that would have reinstated the power of a future Secretary of State to restrict flight numbers at designated airports:

Jeremy Corbyn
Bob Marshall-Andrews

John McDonnell
Alan Simpson

David Taylor
Paul Truswell

[64] 8 May 2006 (Div. 224):

Three Labour MPs voted against a motion taking note of the European Union Budget deal agreed by the Heads of Government at the December 2005 European Council:

Jeremy Corbyn
Ian Davidson
Kelvin Hopkins

[65] 10 May 2006 (Div. 227):

One Labour backbencher supported a Conservative amendment during the Report stage of the Police and Justice Bill which would have omitted the United States of America from the list of designated territories in category 2 of the 2003 Act, meaning that the US would no longer have enjoyed privileged status in securing extradition without producing evidence:

Mike Wood

[66] 15 May 2006 (Div. 232):

Seven Labour backbenchers supported a Liberal Democrat amendment during the Report stage of the Legislative and Regulatory Reform Bill that would have applied the test of reasonableness to determine whether a minister had acted appropriately when bringing forward deregulatory measures:

Jeremy Corbyn
Mark Fisher
Kate Hoey

Kelvin Hopkins
Dr Lynne Jones
John McDonnell

Alan Simpson

[67] 15 May 2006 (Div. 234):

Three Labour backbenchers supported an amendment during the Report stage of the Legislative and Regulatory Reform Bill in the name of Greg Knight, the Chairman of the Procedure Committee, which would have forbidden ministers to expand upon Law Commission recommendations to introduce deregulatory orders:

Dr Lynne Jones
John McDonnell
Robert Wareing

[68] 16 May 2006 (Div. 237):

Five Labour MPs supported a Liberal Democrat New Clause during the Report stage of the Legislative and Regulatory Reform Bill that would have introduced a Commons veto if 10 per cent of MPs objected to a deregulatory order:

Jeremy Corbyn
Mark Fisher
Dr Lynne Jones
John McDonnell
Robert Wareing

Note: Fifteen Conservative MPs also supported the amendment, with the Conservative frontbench choosing to abstain.

[69] 16 May 2006 (Div. 238):

Two Labour backbenchers supported a Liberal Democrat New Clause during the Report stage of the Legislative and Regulatory Reform Bill that would have stopped ministers, by Order in Council, from conferring to any person the function of legislating:

Jeremy Corbyn
Mark Fisher

[70] 16 May 2006 (Div. 239):

One Labour MP supported a Conservative backbench New Clause during the Report stage of the Legislative and Regulatory Reform Bill in the name of William Cash that would have made it explicit that Parliament could introduce deregulatory legislation notwithstanding the provisions of the European Communities Act 1972:

Kelvin Hopkins

[71] 16 May 2006 (Div. 240):

Six Labour MPs supported a Conservative amendment during the Report stage of the Legislative and Regulatory Reform Bill in the name of Greg Knight, Chairman of the Procedure Committee, that would have stopped ministers from making deregulatory orders if either House of Parliament so resolved within a forty-day period, or if a Committee of either House charged with reporting on the draft order recommended within forty days that the order should not be proceeded with:

Jeremy Corbyn
Mark Fisher

Dr Lynne Jones
John McDonnell

Alan Simpson
Robert Wareing

[72] 16 May 2006 (Div. 241):

Six Labour backbenchers opposed the Third Reading of the Legislative and Regulatory Reform Bill:

Jeremy Corbyn
Kelvin Hopkins

Peter Kilfoyle
Bob Marshall-Andrews

John McDonnell
Robert Wareing

[73] 22 May 2006 (Div. 245):

Seventeen Labour MPs supported an amendment during the Report stage of the Armed Forces Bill that would have scrapped life imprisonment for desertion in favour of a maximum desertion penalty of two years:

John Austin
Michael Clapham
Katy Clark
Harry Cohen
Jeremy Corbyn
Bill Etherington

Paul Flynn
Neil Gerrard
Dr Ian Gibson
Kelvin Hopkins
Dr Lynne Jones
John McDonnell

Linda Riordan
Alan Simpson
Dennis Skinner
Dr Rudi Vis
Robert Wareing

[74] 23 May 2006 (Div. 247):

In the largest Labour backbench rebellion of the session (and, so far, of the Parliament), some 69 Labour MPs supported a New Clause during the Report stage of the Education and Inspections Bill in the name of John Grogan that would have insisted upon a ballot of parents before a new trust school could be created:

Diane Abbott
John Austin
Dr Roger Berry
Clive Betts
Richard Burden
Colin Burgon
Martin Caton
Colin Challen
David Chaytor

Michael Clapham
Katy Clark
Harry Cohen
Jeremy Corbyn
David Crausby
Jon Cruddas
John Cummings
Ian Davidson
Jim Devine

Andrew Dismore
Jim Dobbin
Frank Dobson
David Drew
Gwyneth Dunwoody
Angela Eagle
Clive Efford
Louise Ellman
Paul Farrelly

Mark Fisher
Paul Flynn
Neil Gerrard
Dr Ian Gibson
John Grogan
Fabian Hamilton
Dai Havard
David Heyes
Kelvin Hopkins
Lindsay Hoyle
Joan Humble
Eric Illsley
Glenda Jackson
Helen Jones
Dr Lynne Jones

Peter Kilfoyle
Tony Lloyd
Rob Marris
Bob Marshall-Andrews
Christine McCafferty
John McDonnell
Michael Meacher
George Mudie
Denis Murphy
Gordon Prentice
Gwyn Prosser
Ken Purchase
Linda Riordan
Martin Salter
Clare Short

Alan Simpson
Dennis Skinner
Geraldine Smith
Sir Peter Soulsby
David Taylor
Jon Trickett
Paul Truswell
Dr Desmond Turner
Joan Walley
Robert Wareing
Mike Wood
Anthony Wright
(Great Yarmouth)

Notes: At least a further 15 Labour backbenchers abstained. Martin Salter had resigned as PPS to the Schools Minister, Jacqui Smith on 1 December 2005.

[75] 24 May 2006 (Div. 251):

Twenty-five Labour MPs supported a Liberal Democrat New Clause during the Report Stage of the Education and Inspections Bill that would have forbidden foundation schools from appointing foundation governors to a point where they outnumbered elected parent governors:

Clive Betts
Colin Burgon
Jeremy Corbyn
Ian Davidson
Andrew Dismore
Paul Farrelly
Mark Fisher
Paul Flynn
John Grogan

David Heyes
Helen Jones
John McDonnell
George Mudie
Gordon Prentice
Ken Purchase
Linda Riordan
Clare Short
Alan Simpson

Sir Peter Soulsby
David Taylor
Jon Trickett
Paul Truswell
Dr Desmond Turner
Robert Wareing
Mike Wood

[76] 24 May 2006 (Div. 252):

Thirty-four Labour backbenchers supported a Liberal Democrat New Clause during the Report stage of the Education and Inspections Bill, which proposed giving local authorities or some more independent body, responsibility for allocating places to all maintained schools, by considering applications against published admissions criteria:

Colin Burgon
David Chaytor
Michael Clapham
Jeremy Corbyn
David Crausby
Ian Davidson
Jim Devine
Jim Dobbin

Frank Dobson
Paul Farrelly
Mark Fisher
Dr Ian Gibson
Roger Godsiff
John Grogan
Patrick Hall
David Hamilton

Dai Havard
David Heyes
Kelvin Hopkins
Glenda Jackson
Christine McCafferty
John McDonnell
George Mudie
Gordon Prentice

Ken Purchase
Linda Riordan
Clare Short
Alan Simpson

Sir Peter Soulsby
Jon Trickett
Paul Truswell
Dr Rudi Vis

Joan Walley
Mike Wood

[77] 24 May 2006 (Div. 253):

Sixty-one Labour MPs supported a New Clause during the Report Stage of the Education and Inspections Bill in the name of David Chaytor that would have abolished England's remaining grammar schools:

Diane Abbott
John Austin
Dr Roger Berry
Clive Betts
Colin Burgon
Martin Caton
Colin Challen
David Chaytor
Michael Clapham
David Clelland
Harry Cohen
Jeremy Corbyn
David Crausby
Ian Davidson
Janet Dean
Jim Devine
Andrew Dismore
Jim Dobbin
Frank Dobson
David Drew
Clive Efford

Paul Farrelly
Mark Fisher
Paul Flynn
Neil Gerrard
Dr Ian Gibson
Roger Godsiff
John Grogan
Patrick Hall
David Hamilton
Dai Havard
David Heyes
Kelvin Hopkins
Lindsay Hoyle
Joan Humble
Dr Brian Iddon
Eric Illsley
Glenda Jackson
Helen Jones
Christine McCafferty
John McDonnell
George Mudie

Gordon Prentice
Gwyn Prosser
Ken Purchase
Linda Riordan
Clare Short
Alan Simpson
Dennis Skinner
John Smith
Sir Peter Soulsby
David Taylor
Jon Trickett
Paul Truswell
Dr Desmond Turner
Dr Rudi Vis
Joan Walley
Robert Wareing
Alan Williams
Mike Wood
Anthony Wright
(Great Yarmouth)

[78] 24 May 2006 (Div. 255):

Forty-six Labour MPs opposed the Third Reading of the Education and Inspections Bill. The Bill passed only thanks to support from Opposition MPs, both Conservative and DUP:

Diane Abbott
John Austin
Colin Burgon
Martin Caton
Michael Clapham
Katy Clark
David Clelland
Jeremy Corbyn
Jon Cruddas
Ian Davidson
Jim Devine
Jim Dobbin
Frank Dobson
Gwyneth Dunwoody

Clive Efford
Paul Flynn
Dr Ian Gibson
Roger Godsiff
John Grogan
Dai Havard
David Heyes
Kelvin Hopkins
Joan Humble
Glenda Jackson
Helen Jones
Peter Kilfoyle
John McDonnell
Jim McGovern

Michael Meacher
George Mudie
Gordon Prentice
Gwyn Prosser
Ken Purchase
Linda Riordan
Alan Simpson
Dennis Skinner
Geraldine Smith
John Smith
Sir Peter Soulsby
Ian Stewart
David Taylor
Jon Trickett

Paul Truswell
Dr Desmond Turner

Robert Wareing
Mike Wood

Note: Ian Stewart, PPS to Alan Johnson, the Education Secretary, resigned immediately prior to the vote.

[79] 4 July 2006 (Div. 276):

Six Labour MPs backed a new clause during the Report stage of the Finance (No. 2) Bill in the name of Alan Simpson that would have required the Chancellor of the Exchequer to submit to the House of Commons an annual report on fiscal measures - and their success - to assist with the Government's climate change and fuel poverty targets:

Jeremy Corbyn
Bob Marshall-Andrews

John McDonnell
Gordon Prentice

Clare Short
Alan Simpson

[80] 12 July 2006 (Div. 284):

Seven Labour MPs helped to divide the House on an emergency adjournment motion, called by the Liberal Democrats, to question the fate of the 'NatWest three' in relation to the US-UK Extradition Treaty. The Government abstained, with four Labour MPs voting in the aye lobby:

Kate Hoey
John McDonnell
Clare Short
David Winnick

Three other Labour MPs, also defying their whip, voted in the No lobby to ensure that a division on the adjournment took place:

Harry Cohen
Alan Simpson
Dennis Skinner

Note: David Taylor registered a deliberate abstention by voting in both lobbies.

[81] 25 July 2006 (Div. 295):

One Labour backbencher supported a Lords amendment to the Northern Ireland (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill that would have barred Irish citizens and bodies from donating to political parties in Northern Ireland:

Kate Hoey

Note: The Conservative frontbench line was to abstain, but nine Conservative MPs voted in the no lobby.

[82] 9 October 2006 (Div. 297):

Four Labour backbenchers supported a Labour backbench clause during the Report stage of the Road Safety Bill that would have introduced mandatory retro-reflective markings on all heavy goods vehicles:

Jeremy Corbyn
David Drew
John McDonnell
Betty Williams

[83] 12 October 2006 (Div. 302):

Four Labour MPs opposed the Government's decision to reject a Lords amendment that would have introduced a legal duty on all licensed aerodromes to impose noise-related and emission charges:

John McDonnell
Alan Simpson
David Taylor
Paul Truswell

[84] 18 October 2006 (Div. 312):

One Labour MP opposed a Government motion that made 36 separate amendments during the Report stage of the Companies Bill:

Patrick Hall

[85] 24 October 2006 (Div. 320):

Six Labour MPs supported a Lords amendment to the Police and Justice Bill that would have restored the prima facie evidence requirement in US extradition requests:

Jeremy Corbyn
Roger Godsiff

John McDonnell
Alan Simpson

Robert Wareing
Mike Wood

Notes: Kate Hoey cast a deliberate abstention by voting in both lobbies. Clare Short, who resigned as a Labour MP on 20 October 2006 voted against the Government.

[86] 24 October 2006 (Div. 321):

Fourteen Labour MPs supported a Lords amendment to the Police and Justice Bill that would have required a UK judge to hold a hearing to consider an extradition request, and to refuse it unless it was in the interests of justice to extradite the person concerned:

Harry Cohen
Jeremy Corbyn
Frank Field
Neil Gerrard
Roger Godsiff

Kate Hoey
Kelvin Hopkins
Dr Lynne Jones
Bob Marshall-Andrews
John McDonnell

Alan Simpson
Keith Vaz
Robert Wareing
Mike Wood

Notes: David Taylor cast a deliberate abstention by voting in both lobbies. Clare Short also voted against the Government.

[87] 25 October 2006 (Div. 326):

Five Labour MPs supported an amendment during the Report stage of the Charities Bill in the name of the Liberal Democrat MP, Dr Evan Harris that would have explicitly extended the meaning of charitable purposes to non-religious belief systems:

Colin Challen
Jeremy Corbyn
Kelvin Hopkins
Bob Marshall-Andrews
John McDonnell

[88] 26 October 2006 (Div. 328):

Four Labour MPs opposed a European Take Note motion, referring to a European Commission document entitled 'A Citizens' Agenda – Delivering Results for Europe', which sought to take forward the Hampton Court agenda of delivering concrete results and benefits to EU citizens:

Ian Davidson
David Drew
Kelvin Hopkins
Dennis Skinner

[89] 31 October 2006 (Div. 330):

Twelve Labour MPs supported a joint Plaid Cymru/SNP Opposition Day motion that called for a Commons inquiry into the war in Iraq, reducing the Government's majority to twenty-five:

Harry Cohen
Jeremy Corbyn
Mark Fisher
Roger Godsiff

Glenda Jackson
Bob Marshall-Andrews
John McDonnell
Alan Simpson

Sir Peter Soulsby
Dr Gavin Strang
Robert Wareing
Mike Wood

Notes: David Taylor cast a deliberate abstention by voting in both lobbies. Clare Short also voted against the Government. Around 20-25 Labour MPs are also thought to have abstained. The Conservative frontbench position was to vote against the Government, but 14 of their MPs did not participate in the division, many of whom were abstaining.

[90] 31 October 2006 (Div. 331):

Eight Labour MPs supported a Government amendment to a Plaid Cymru/SNP opposition Day motion, declining to hold a Commons inquiry into the war in Iraq:

Harry Cohen
Jeremy Corbyn
Roger Godsiff

Glenda Jackson
John McDonnell
Dr Gavin Strang

Robert Wareing
Mike Wood

Note: Three Labour MPs – Ann Cryer, Neil Gerrard and Dr Ian Gibson – who voted for the Government on the Plaid Cymru motion (Div. 330) abstained on the Government amendment.

[91] 1 November 2006 (Div. 332):

Three Labour MPs voted against a deferred division, approving the draft Rates (Amendment) (Northern Ireland) Order 2006:

Frank Field
David Hamilton
Kate Hoey

Note: The Liberal Democrat frontbench line was to vote against the order, but two of their MPs – Norman Baker and Charles Kennedy, the former leader - were recorded by *Hansard* as having voted in the aye lobby.

[92] 1 November 2006 (Div. 333):

Two Labour MPs voted against a European Take Note motion relating to the voluntary reduction or 'modulation' of direct farm support payments:

David Drew
Dennis Skinner

Note: The Liberal Democrat frontbench line was to vote against the motion, but Charles Kennedy, the former leader, was recorded by *Hansard* as having voted in the aye lobby.

[93] 2 November 2006 (Div. 338):

Nine Labour MPs opposed a Government motion supporting a Lords amendment to the Education and Inspections Bill that will introduce a faith test for a head teacher if he or she also wishes to teach religion at a faith school in addition to his or her role as the head of the school:

Colin Challen	Bill Etherington	Dr Lynne Jones
Michael Clapham	Dr Ian Gibson	Ken Purchase
Jeremy Corbyn	Glenda Jackson	Dennis Skinner

Notes: The Liberal Democrat frontbench line was to oppose the motion, but two Liberal Democrats – Dr John Pugh and Dan Rogerson – supported the motion alongside Labour and the Conservatives in the aye lobby.

[94] 6 November 2006 (Div. 340):

Eight Labour MPs opposed a Government motion (with minor amendments) to the Lords amendment stage of the Police and Justice Bill that refused for a second time a requirement that a UK judge hold a hearing to consider an extradition request, and to refuse it unless it was in the interests of justice to extradite the person concerned:

Harry Cohen	Kate Hoey	John McDonnell
Jeremy Corbyn	Dr Lynne Jones	Robert Wareing
Roger Godsiff	Bob Marshall-Andrews	

Note: David Taylor cast a deliberate abstention by voting in both lobbies.

[95] 6 November 2006 (Div. 341):

In the final Labour rebellion of the session, three Labour MPs opposed a Government motion to the Lords amendment stage of the Road Safety Bill that refused to agree to the mandatory introduction of retro-reflective markings on all heavy goods vehicles:

Jeremy Corbyn
David Drew
John McDonnell

Note: The Conservative frontbench line was to oppose the Government motion, but one Conservative MP – Mike Penning – supported the Government in the aye lobby.

II List of all Labour rebellions, 2005-2006

No. 2005-	No. 1997-	Title/Issue	Date	Size	Div. no.
1	356	Racial & Religious Hatred Bill (Con Opposition Reasoned Amdt on 2nd Reading)	21 June 2005	4	14
2	357	Racial & Religious Hatred Bill (2nd Reading)	21 June 2005	2	15
3	358	Identity Cards Bill (2nd Reading)	28 June 2005	20	20
4	359	Identity Cards Bill (Programme)	28 June 2005	22	21
5	360	Identity Cards Bill (Money Resolution)	28 June 2005	2	22
6	361	Racial & Religious Hatred Bill (Report: LibDem amdt)	11 July 2005	14	34
7	362	Racial & Religious Hatred Bill (Third Reading)	11 July 2005	4	35
8	363	Funding code (Deferred division)	20 July 2005	1	46
9	364	Civil Aviation Bill (Report)	10 October 2005	3	50
10	365	Identity Cards Bill (Programme No.3)	18 October 2005	3	55
11	366	Identity Cards Bill (Select Committee referral)	18 October 2005	8	56
12	367	Identity Cards Bill (Report: Proof)	18 October 2005	9	57
13	368	Identity Cards Bill (Report: Passport applications)	18 October 2005	23	58
14	369	Identity Cards Bill (Report: Free of charge)	18 October 2005	18	59
15	370	Identity Cards Bill (3rd Reading)	18 October 2005	25	60
16	371	Marketing of Foods Derived from Genetically Modified Maize (Deferred Division)	19 October 2005	4	61
17	372	Terrorism Bill (2nd Reading)	26 October 2005	16	70
18	373	Terrorism Bill (Programme)	26 October 2005	1	71
19	374	Terrorism Bill (CWH: Negligence - Offence of Encouragement to Terrorism)	2 November 2005	14	73
20	375	Terrorism Bill (CWH: Intent to Encourage Terrorism)	2 November 2005	34	74
21	376	Terrorism Bill (CWH: Delete 'glorification of terrorism')	2 November 2005	27	75
22	377	Terrorism Bill (CWH: Teachers and 'Training for Terrorism')	3 November 2005	2	76
23	378	Terrorism Bill (CWH: Terrorist training camp exceptions)	3 November 2005	2	77
24	379	Terrorism Bill (Cttee of Whouse) Terrorist acts abroad: UK courts only prosecute UK interests	3 November 2005	6	78
25	380	Terrorism Bill (Programme No. 2)	9 November 2005	3	83
26	381	Terrorism Bill (Report: Govt amdt 90 days)	9 November 2005	49	84
27	382	Terrorism Bill (Report: Lab b/b amdt 28 days)	9 November 2005	51	85

28	383	Terrorism Bill (Report: Govt amdt encouragement to terrorism – concessions)	9 November 2005	13	86
29	384	Terrorism Bill (Report: Con amdt delete glorification provision)	9 November 2005	12	87
30	385	Licensing Act 2003 Order 2005 (Con Opposition Prayer)	15 November 2005	2	94
31	386	Marketing of Foods Derived from Genetically Modified Maize (Deferred Division)	16 November 2005	6	96
32	387	Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Bill (Report: Removal of in-country right of appeal)	16 November 2005	3	97
33	388	Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Bill (Report: Removal of right of appeal)	16 November 2005	1	98
34	389	Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Bill (Report: Remove for encouraging terrorism)	16 November 2005	4	100
35	390	Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Bill (Report: Remove 'not conducive to public good')	16 November 2005	2	101
36	391	Criminal Justice Act 2003 (Commencement) Order 2005 (Deferred Division)	23 November 2005	4	106
37	392	Northern Ireland (Offences) Bill (Con Opposition Reasoned Amdt on Second Reading)	23 November 2005	1	107
38	393	Northern Ireland (Offences) Bill (Second Reading)	23 November 2005	1	108
39	394	Crossrail Bill (Instructions to create extra Select Committee)	12 January 2006	2	123
40	395	Government of Wales Bill (CWH: No referendums for two Assembly election if no vote)	24 January 2006	1	142
41	396	Racial and Religious Hatred Bill (Lords amendments: threatening words or behaviour only)	31 January 2006	26	147
42	397	Racial and Religious Hatred Bill (Lords amendments: intent only)	31 January 2006	21	148
43	398	Identity Cards Bill (Lords amdts: passport applications and ID cards - if a person chooses)	13 February 2006	20	158
44	399	Identity Cards Bill (Lords amdts: No. 22 to Clause 8: Issue of ID cards etc)	13 February 2006	2	159
45	400	Identity Cards Bill (Lords amdts: report of costs and benefits)	13 February 2006	2	160
46	401	Identity Cards Bill (Lords amdt No. 47 to Clause 24: Appt of National Identity Scheme Commissioner)	13 February 2006	1	161
47	402	Health Bill (Third Reading)	14 February 2006	1	166
48	403	Terrorism Bill (Lords amdts: delete glorification provisions)	15 February 2006	17	168
49	404	Terrorism Bill (Lords amdts: internet offences)	15 February 2006	1	169
50	405	Government of Wales Bill (Report: remove provisions introducing government through Order in Council)	28 February 2006	1	177
51	406	Identity Cards Bill (Lords amdts: Passport applications and ID cards - if a person chooses)	13 March 2006	18	186
52	407	Animal Health Bill (Report: Con Opp New Clause 2: end sale of endangered animals on internet)	14 March 2006	2	190
53	408	Education and Inspections Bill (Second Reading)	15 March 2006	52	192
54	409	Education and Inspections Bill (Programme)	15 March 2006	30	193
55	410	Identity Cards Bill (Lords amdts: Passport applications and ID cards - if a person chooses)	16 March 2006	13	194
56	411	Terrorism Bill (Lords amdts: define 'indirect encouragement' - infer that he should emulate it)	16 March 2006	1	195
57	412	Terrorism Bill (Lords amdts: reinstating glorification provisions)	16 March 2006	10	196
58	413	Identity Cards Bill (Lords amdts: Passport applications and ID cards - delay until 2012)	21 March 2006	9	198

59	414	Identity Cards Bill (Lords amdts: Passport applications and ID cards - delay until 2012)	29 March 2006	9	203
60	415	Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Bill (Programme) (No. 3)	29 March 2006	1	204
61	416	Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Bill (Amdt to Lords amdt: cash option as well as vouchers)	29 March 2006	19	205
62	417	Identity Cards Bill (Lords amdt: Passport applications and ID cards - database only, delay until 2010)	29 March 2006	6	208
63	418	Civil Aviation Bill (Lords amdt: aircraft noise)	8 May 2006	6	223
64	419	Future EU Finances and Own Resources (EU Budget deal)	8 May 2006	3	224
65	420	Police and Justice Bill (Report: Con New Clause - Designation of Part 2 Territories, Omission of USA)	10 May 2006	1	227
66	421	Legislative and Regulatory Reform Bill (Report: Lib Dem amdt to Govt New Clause 19 - 'reasonably')	15 May 2006	7	232
67	422	Legislative and Regulatory Reform Bill (Report: Con amdt to Govt New Clause 21 - Law Comm recomm.)	15 May 2006	3	234
68	423	Legislative and Regulatory Reform Bill (Report: Lib Dem New Clause 14 - Veto by 10% of MPs)	16 May 2006	5	237
69	424	Legislative and Regulatory Reform Bill (Report: Lib Dem New Clause 15 - Sub-delegated legislative funct.)	16 May 2006	2	238
70	425	Legislative and Regulatory Reform Bill (Report: Con b/b New Clause 17 - disapply EC Act 1972)	16 May 2006	1	239
71	426	Legislative and Regulatory Reform Bill (Report: Con amdt to Clause 13 - block order within 40 days)	16 May 2006	6	240
72	427	Legislative and Regulatory Reform Bill (Third Reading)	16 May 2006	6	241
73	428	Armed Forces Bill (Report: Lab b/b amendment, two years maximum for desertion not life imprisonment)	22 May 2006	17	245
74	429	Education and Inspections Bill (Report: Lab b/b New Clause 16 - ballot of parents before trust schools created)	23 May 2006	69	247
75	430	Education and Inspections Bill (Report: Lib Dem New Clause 26 - composition of governing bodies)	24 May 2006	25	251
76	431	Education and Inspections Bill (Report: Lib Dem New Clause 24 - Admissions administrator)	24 May 2006	34	252
77	432	Education and Inspections Bill (Report: Lab New Clause 39 - selection by aptitude, ballot of parents)	24 May 2006	61	253
78	433	Education and Inspections Bill (Third Reading)	24 May 2006	46	255
79	434	Finance (No. 2) Bill (Report: Lab b/b New Clause 9 - Annual Report by Chancellor on climate change targets)	4 July 2006	6	276
80	435	US-UK Extradition Treaty ('NatWest 3') (Adjournment motion)	12 July 2006	4&3	284
81	436	Northern Ireland (Misc. Prov) Bill (Lords amdts: barring Irish citizens from donating to parties in NI)	25 July 2006	1	295
82	437	Road Safety Bill (Report: Lab b/b New Clause - retro-reflective markings on HGVs)	9 October 2006	4	297
83	438	Civil Aviation Bill (Report: Lords amdts, legal duty on aerodromes to impose noise-related charges)	12 October 2006	4	302
84	439	Companies Bill (Report: assorted Government amendments)	18 October 2006	1	312
85	440	Police and Justice Bill (Lords amdt: restore prima facie evidence requirement in US extradition cases)	24 October-2006	6	320
86	441	Police and Justice Bill (Lords amdt: hearing requiring UK judge to decide upon US extradition request)	24 October 2006	14	321
87	442	Charities Bill (Report: Lib Dem amdt - extend meaning of 'charitable purpose' to non-religious belief systems)	25 October 2006	5	326
88	443	European Take Note motion - 'A Citizens' Agenda'	26 October 2006	4	328
89	444	Iraq (Plaid Cymru/SNP Opposition Day Motion)	31 October 2006	12	330

90	445	Iraq (Govt amdt to Plaid Cymru/SNP Opposition Day motion)	31 October 2006	8	331
91	446	Draft Rates (Amendment) (Northern Ireland) Order 2006	1 November 2006	3	332
92	447	European Take Note motion - voluntary reduction of direct farm support payments	1 November 2006	2	333
93	448	Education and Inspections Bill (Lords amdts: faith test for head teacher teaching religion in faith school)	2 November 2006	9	338
94	449	Police and Justice Bill (Lords amdts: UK judge to decide upon US extradition request)	6 November 2006	8	340
95	450	Road Safety Bill (Lords amdts: Govt disagreeing to retro-reflective markings on HGVs)	6 November 2006	3	341

III Major rebellions against the party whip, by issue/bill

Racial and Religious Hatred Bill

<i>Name</i>	Reasoned Amendment	Second Reading	Exclude religion	Third Reading	Threatening behaviour	Intention
Benton, Joe					X	X
Berry, Dr Roger					X	
Campbell, Ronnie					X	X
Challen, Colin		A	X	X	X	X
Clark, Katy			X			
Cook, Frank					X	X
Corbyn, Jeremy	X	X	X		X	X
Cryer, Ann			X			
Dunwoody, Gwyneth					X	
Etherington, Bill					X	X
Field, Frank			X		X	
Fisher, Mark					X	X
Flynn, Paul			X	X	X	X
Gibson, Dr Ian					X	X
Grogan, John			X		X	X
Hoey, Kate			X		X	X
Hopkins, Kelvin			X		X	X
Kilfoyle, Peter					X	
Mackinlay, Andrew					X	X
Marshall-Andrews, Bob	X		X		X	X
McDonnell, John	X	X	X	X	X	X
Meale, Alan					X	
Prentice, Gordon			X		X	X
Simpson, Alan			X			
Skinner, Dennis				X		
Smith, Geraldine					X	X
Taylor, David		A	X	A	X	X
Vis, Dr Rudi					X	X
Wareing, Robert	X				X	X
Wright, Dr Tony					X	X

Note: In this and all subsequent tables, X indicates a vote against the whip; A indicates a double-vote abstention.

Identity cards

Name	Second Reading	Programme motion	Money resolution	Programme motion (No 3)	Select committee	Restrict scope	Passport, without ID (div. 58)	Free of charge	Third Reading	Passport without ID (div. 158)	Designated document	Report on costs	Commissioner	Passport without ID (div 186)	Passport without ID (div. 194)	Delay till 2012	Delay automatic linkage	Delay until 2010
Abbott, Diane	X	X							X	X				X	X			X
Caton, Martin							X											
Clapham, Michael							X	X	X									
Clark, Katy	X	X			X		X	X	X	X								
Connarty, Michael								X										
Cook, Frank	X	X																
Corbyn, Jeremy	X	X	X			X		X	X	X				X	X	X	X	X
Drew, David								X										
Dunwoody, Gwyneth	X	X							X	X				X				
Field, Frank												X						
Fisher, Mark	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X	X	
Flynn, Paul	X	X					X	X	X	X				X				
Gerrard, Neil		X					X		X									
Gibson, Dr Ian		X					X	X	X	X					X			
Hamilton, David								X										
Hoey, Kate	X	X			X		X	X	X	X				X	X	X	X	
Hopkins, Kelvin	X	X					X	X	X	X				X	X		X	X
Jackson, Glenda	X	X	X			X	X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	
Jones, Dr Lynne	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X		X	X
Love, Andy							X							X	X			
Marshall-Andrews, Bob	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X		X		

Name	Second Reading	Programme motion	Money resolution	Programme motion (No 3)	Select committee	Restrict scope	Passport, without ID (div. 58)	Free of charge	Third Reading	Passport without ID (div. 158)	Designated document	Report on costs	Commissioner	Passport without ID (div 186)	Passport without ID (div. 194)	Delay till 2012	Delay automatic linkage	Delay until 2010
McDonnell, John	X	X				X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X	X	X
Mitchell, Austin		X				X												
Owen, Albert									X									
Riordan, Linda	X	X			X		X		X	X								
Short, Clare	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X		
Simpson, Alan	X	X				X	X	X	X	X				X			X	
Skinner, Dennis							X											
Smith, Geraldine					X			X	X									
Smith, John	X						X		X	X				X				
Strang, Dr Gavin														X	X	X		
Taylor, David	A	X					X	A	X	X				X	A			A
Wareing, Robert	X	X					X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X
Winnick, David	X						X		X									
Wood, Mike	X	X					X		X	X				X				

Terrorism Bill

Name	Second Reading	Programme motion	Intent and recklessness	Intention	Delete glorification (div. 75)	University academics	Terrorist training	British nationals	Programme motion (no. 2)	90 days	28 days	Intentional and/or reckless	Delete glorification (div. 87)	Delete glorification (div. 168)	Judicial oversight	Indirect encouragement	Reinstate glorification
Abbott, Diane	X			X	X					X	X			X			
Austin, John				X	X					X	X	X					
Burden, Richard				X	X					X	X						
Caton, Martin				X							X						
Clapham, Michael	X		X	X						X	X						
Clark, Katy				X	X					X	X	X	X				
Cohen, Harry				X						X	X						
Corbyn, Jeremy	X		X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X			X
Cousins, Jim	X			X	X					X	X			X			X
Cryer, Ann				X						X	X						
Dobson, Frank				X	X					X	X						
Doran, Frank											X						
Dunwoody, Gwyneth				X	X					X	X		X				
Fisher, Mark			X	X	X					X	X		X	X			X
Flynn, Paul										X	X	X		X			
Gerrard, Neil				X	X					X	X						
Gibson, Dr Ian	X		X	X	X					X	X	X	X				
Godsiff, Roger										X	X						
Grogan, John				X	X					X	X						
Hamilton, David	X									X	X						
Henderson, Doug										X	X						
Hoey, Kate			X	X	X					X	X		X	X			X

Name	Second Reading	Programme motion	Intent and recklessness	Intention	Delete glorification (div. 75)	University academics	Terrorist training	British nationals	Programme motion (no. 2)	90 days	28 days	Intentional and/or reckless	Delete glorification (div. 87)	Delete glorification (div. 168)	Judicial oversight	Indirect encouragement	Reinstate glorification
Hopkins, Kelvin	X		X	X	X					X	X	X		X			X
Jackson, Glenda	X		X	X	X			X		X	X			X			X
James, Sian										X	X						
Jones, Dr Lynne		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X
Khan, Sadiq										X	X						
Kilfoyle, Peter				X	X					X				X			
Lazarowicz, Mark										X							
Lloyd, Tony										X	X						
Love, Andy				X	X					X	X						
Marshall-Andrews, Bob	X		X	X	X			X		X	X	X	X	X			
McCafferty, Christine										X	X						
McDonnell, John	X		X	X	X					X	X	X	X	X			X
Meacher, Michael				X						X	X						
Morgan, Julie										X	X						
Mudie, George				X	X					X	X						
Mullin, Chris										X	X						
Prentice, Gordon			X	X	X					X	X			X			
Raynsford, Nick										X	X						
Riordan, Linda	X			X	X					X	X	X					
Ruddock, Joan											X						
Short, Clare	X		X	X	X				X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Simpson, Alan	X		X	X	X				X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
Skinner, Dennis	X			X				X		X	X						
Soulsby, Sir Peter										X	X						

Immigration

Name	In-country appeals	Right of appeal	Encouragement to terrorism	Public good	Programme motion (no. 3)	Cash payments
Abbott, Diane						X
Clapham, Michael						X
Cohen, Harry						X
Corbyn, Jeremy			X	X		X
Cruddas, Jon						X
Drew, David						X
Fisher, Mark						X
Gerrard, Neil						X
Gibson, Dr Ian						X
Hoey, Kate						X
Jackson, Glenda						X
Jones, Dr Lynne	X		X			X
McDonnell, John	X	X	X	X		X
Mudie, George						X
Short, Clare					X	X
Simpson, Alan			X			X
Singh, Marsha						X
Skinner, Dennis						X
Vaz, Keith	X					X

Education Bill

Name	Second Reading	Programme	Ballots	Governors	Admissions	Selection	Third Reading	Faith test
Abbott, Diane	X	X	X			X	X	
Austin, John			X			X	X	
Berry, Dr Roger			X			X		
Betts, Clive			X	X		X		
Burden, Richard			X					
Burton, Colin	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Campbell, Ronnie	X							
Caton, Martin	X		X			X	X	
Challen, Colin			X			X		X
Chaytor, David			X		X	X		
Clapham, Michael	X		X		X	X	X	X
Clark, Katy	X		X				X	
Clelland, David	X					X	X	
Cohen, Harry	X		X			X		
Connarty, Michael	X	X						
Corbyn, Jeremy	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Crausby, David			X		X	X		
Cruddas, Jon	X		X				X	
Cummings, John			X					
Davidson, Ian	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Dean, Janet						X		
Devine, Jim			X		X	X	X	
Dismore, Andrew			X	X		X		
Dobbin, Jim	X		X		X	X	X	
Dobson, Frank	X	X	X		X	X	X	
Drew, David	X		X			X		
Dunwoody, Gwyneth	X	X	X				X	
Eagle, Angela			X					
Efford, Clive	X	X	X			X	X	
Ellman, Louise			X					
Etherington, Bill								X
Farrelly, Paul		X	X	X	X	X		
Fisher, Mark		X	X	X	X	X		
Flynn, Paul	X	X	X	X		X	X	
Gerrard, Neil	X		X			X		
Gibson, Dr Ian	X		X		X	X	X	X
Godsiff, Roger					X	X	X	
Grogan, John	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Hall, Patrick					X	X		
Hamilton, David					X	X		
Hamilton, Fabian	X		X					
Havard, Dai	X		X		X	X	X	
Henderson, Doug	X	X						
Heyes, David	X		X	X	X	X	X	
Hopkins, Kelvin	X	X	X		X	X	X	

Name	Second Reading	Programme	Ballots	Governors	Admissions	Selection	Third Reading	Faith test
Hoyle, Lindsay			X			X		
Humble, Joan	X		X			X	X	
Iddon, Dr Brian						X		
Illsley, Eric			X			X		
Jackson, Glenda	X	X	X		X	X	X	X
Jones, Helen	X	X	X	X		X	X	
Jones, Dr Lynne	X	X	X					X
Keen, Alan	X							
Kilfoyle, Peter	X	X	X				X	
Lloyd, Tony	X		X					
Marris, Rob			X					
Marshall-Andrews, Bob		X	X					
McCafferty, Christine			X		X	X		
McDonnell, John	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
McGovern, Jim							X	
Meacher, Michael	X		X				X	
Mitchell, Austin	X							
Mudie, George	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Murphy, Denis			X					
Prentice, Gordon	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Prosser, Gwyn			X			X	X	
Purchase, Ken	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
Riordan, Linda	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Salter, Martin			X					
Short, Clare	X	X	X	X	X	X		
Simpson, Alan	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Skinner, Dennis	X		X			X	X	X
Smith, Geraldine	X	X	X				X	
Smith, John	X					X	X	
Soulsby, Sir Peter			X	X	X	X	X	
Stewart, Ian							X	
Taylor, David	X	X	X	X		X	X	
Trickett, Jon	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Truswell, Paul	X		X	X	X	X	X	
Turner, Dr Desmond	X		X	X		X	X	
Vis, Dr Rudi					X	X		
Walley, Joan	X		X		X	X		
Wareing, Robert	X	X	X	X		X	X	
Williams, Alan						X		
Wood, Mike	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Wright, Anthony (Great Yarmouth)			X			X		

IV The Labour rebels, 2005-2006

a) Sorted by number of rebellions

Name of MP	Number of votes against the whip
McDonnell, John	63
Corbyn, Jeremy	60
Wareing, Robert	42
Jones, Dr Lynne	41
Simpson, Alan	40
Hopkins, Kelvin	36
Marshall-Andrews, Bob	35
Fisher, Mark	34
Short, Clare	34
Jackson, Glenda	33
Hoey, Kate	32
Gibson, Dr Ian	24
Wood, Mike	22
Flynn, Paul	21
Riordan, Linda	21
Taylor, David	20
Abbott, Diane	19
Clark, Katy	18
Skinner, Dennis	18
Prentice, Gordon	17
Clapham, Michael	16
Dunwoody, Gwyneth	15
Grogan, John	14
Cohen, Harry	13
Drew, David	13
Gerrard, Neil	13
Mudie, George	12
Kilfoyle, Peter	11
Trickett, Jon	11
Dobson, Frank	10
Godsiff, Roger	10
Austin, John	9
Davidson, Ian	9
Smith, Geraldine	9
Challen, Colin	8
Smith, John	8
Soulsby, Sir Peter	8
Truswell, Paul	8
Burgon, Colin	7
Cousins, Jim	7
Hamilton, David	7
Love, Andy	7
Meacher, Michael	7
Purchase, Ken	7

Vis, Dr Rudi	7
Caton, Martin	6
Field, Frank	6
Heyes, David	6
Jones, Helen	6
Winnick, David	6
Burden, Richard	5
Dobbin, Jim	5
Efford, Clive	5
Farrelly, Paul	5
Havard, Dai	5
Lloyd, Tony	5
McCafferty, Christine	5
Strang, Dr Gavin	5
Turner, Dr Desmond	5
Campbell, Ronnie	4
Cook, Frank	4
Cruddas, Jon	4
Cryer, Ann	4
Devine, Jim	4
Etherington, Bill	4
Henderson, Doug	4
Humble, Joan	4
Walley, Joan	4
Berry, Dr Roger	3
Betts, Clive	3
Chaytor, David	3
Clelland, David	3
Connarty, Michael	3
Crausby, David	3
Dismore, Andrew	3
Hall, Patrick	3
Mitchell, Austin	3
Prosser, Gwyn	3
Vaz, Keith	3
Williams, Alan	3
Benton, Joe	2
Hamilton, Fabian	2
Hoyle, Lindsay	2
Illsley, Eric	2
James, Sian	2
Khan, Sadiq	2
Mackinlay, Andrew	2
Morgan, Julie	2
Mullin, Chris	2
Raynsford, Nick	2
Thornberry, Emily	2
Wright, Anthony (Great Yarmouth)	2
Wright, Dr Tony	2
Cummings, John	1
Dean, Janet	1
Doran, Frank	1

Eagle, Angela	1
Ellman, Louise	1
Howarth, George	1
Iddon, Dr Brian	1
Jenkins, Brian	1
Keen, Alan	1
Lazarowicz, Mark	1
Marris, Rob	1
McGovern, Jim	1
Meale, Alan	1
Murphy, Denis	1
Owen, Albert	1
Robinson, Geoffrey	1
Ruddock, Joan	1
Salter, Martin	1
Singh, Marsha	1
Stewart, Ian	1
Williams, Betty	1

Note: Figures are for votes cast against the whip; the figure for Clare Short only includes votes up to 20 October 2006.

b) Sorted alphabetically

Name of MP	Number of votes against the whip
Abbott, Diane	19
Austin, John	9
Benton, Joe	2
Berry, Dr Roger	3
Betts, Clive	3
Burden, Richard	5
Burgon, Colin	7
Campbell, Ronnie	4
Caton, Martin	6
Challen, Colin	8
Chaytor, David	3
Clapham, Michael	16
Clark, Katy	18
Clelland, David	3
Cohen, Harry	13
Connarty, Michael	3
Cook, Frank	4
Corbyn, Jeremy	60
Cousins, Jim	7
Crausby, David	3
Cruddas, Jon	4
Cryer, Ann	4
Cummings, John	1
Davidson, Ian	9
Dean, Janet	1
Devine, Jim	4
Dismore, Andrew	3
Dobbin, Jim	5
Dobson, Frank	10
Doran, Frank	1
Drew, David	13
Dunwoody, Gwyneth	15
Eagle, Angela	1
Efford, Clive	5
Ellman, Louise	1
Etherington, Bill	4
Farrelly, Paul	5
Field, Frank	6
Fisher, Mark	34
Flynn, Paul	21
Gerrard, Neil	13
Gibson, Dr Ian	24
Godsiff, Roger	10
Grogan, John	14
Hall, Patrick	3
Hamilton, David	7

Hamilton, Fabian	2
Havard, Dai	5
Henderson, Doug	4
Heyes, David	6
Hoey, Kate	32
Hopkins, Kelvin	36
Howarth, George	1
Hoyle, Lindsay	2
Humble, Joan	4
Iddon, Dr Brian	1
Illsley, Eric	2
Jackson, Glenda	33
James, Sian	2
Jenkins, Brian	1
Jones, Dr Lynne	41
Jones, Helen	6
Keen, Alan	1
Khan, Sadiq	2
Kilfoyle, Peter	11
Lazarowicz, Mark	1
Lloyd, Tony	5
Love, Andy	7
Mackinlay, Andrew	2
Marris, Rob	1
Marshall-Andrews, Bob	35
McCafferty, Christine	5
McDonnell, John	63
McGovern, Jim	1
Meacher, Michael	7
Meale, Alan	1
Mitchell, Austin	3
Morgan, Julie	2
Mudie, George	12
Mullin, Chris	2
Murphy, Denis	1
Owen, Albert	1
Prentice, Gordon	17
Prosser, Gwyn	3
Purchase, Ken	7
Raynsford, Nick	2
Riordan, Linda	21
Robinson, Geoffrey	1
Ruddock, Joan	1
Salter, Martin	1
Short, Clare	34
Simpson, Alan	40
Singh, Marsha	1
Skinner, Dennis	18
Smith, Geraldine	9
Smith, John	8
Soulsby, Sir Peter	8
Stewart, Ian	1

Strang, Dr Gavin	5
Taylor, David	20
Thornberry, Emily	2
Trickett, Jon	11
Truswell, Paul	8
Turner, Dr Desmond	5
Vaz, Keith	3
Vis, Dr Rudi	7
Walley, Joan	4
Wareing, Robert	42
Williams, Alan	3
Williams, Betty	1
Winnick, David	6
Wood, Mike	22
Wright, Anthony (Great Yarmouth)	2
Wright, Dr Tony	2

Note: Figures are for votes cast against the whip; the figure for Clare Short only includes votes up to 20 October 2006.