



Its Party Time!

Party Conference season has been and gone with each of the three main parties embarking on their autumnal breaks to places near the sea beginning with the letter 'B'. First up were the Liberal Democrats in Blackpool.

Blackpool, famous for its illuminations and inclement weather, was host to minor rumblings in the third party as there were growing calls for greater clarity in the party's direction and what it stood for. There was some criticism of party leader Charles Kennedy whose collegiate style of leadership came under scrutiny with one former aide advising that the party needed 'leading' rather than 'chairing'. The high quality of many of the current Liberal Democrat MPs is increasingly evident and their ambitious young intake will not want to stand idly by without tasting political power in their careers. In order to become a party of Government another Blackpool analogy needs to hold true. A common and coherent theme is eagerly sought to bind the Liberal Democrats together as surely as the motif running through Blackpool rock. Charles Kennedy and his colleagues must succeed in the new Parliamentary session to position themselves at last for future growth and critical mass to achieve the irreversible electoral breakthrough that their supporters crave.

The next party conference was Labour's in Brighton. A party that succeeded quite a few years ago now in masterminding political breakthrough.

Last year was Bono, trade justice protests, the warm up to Make Poverty History along with the upcoming UK presidency of the EU and the G8, not to mention being the last party conference before the expected General Election.

This year at Brighton the mood was different. Walter Wolfgang, the octogenarian Labour activist, who has been a party member for longer than Tony

Blair has been alive, disastrously was ejected from the conference Hall for shouting 'nonsense' during Jack Straw's Iraq speech. However, this Conference was overshadowed by something far bigger than the nervous atmosphere of stifled

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debate and third term forward planning. The Blair/Brown question was prominent as never before.

Gordon Brown's speech was brilliant. One might hesitate to call it a Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech as it covered much more ground than usual. It was more like the speech of a leader in waiting. The speculation even provoked key cabinet colleagues, including Blair loyalists such as Tessa Jowell, to effectively anoint Gordon as heir apparent. But Mr Blair responded with a passionate and articulate appeal for the party to embrace even more radical reform and change, the inference being that so long a list of policy objectives will demand not a few more years of the Blair premiership.

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eight years if there is so much more still to do? Blaming the Tories no longer washes!

Mr Brown may not find his probable succession straight forward either. While the party conference was being held, a play was being performed in Brighton

Little Theatre entitled 'Waiting for Gordo'. In the play the Labour back benchers wait anxiously for 'Gordo' to come and replace 'Tonzo'. Unfortunately when 'Gordo' appears out of the gloom to take centre stage one backbencher cannot help but exclaim how similar 'Gordo' is to 'Tonzo'. The longer the ritual dance continues, the greater the likelihood that the more similar and tired the actors will appear.

The final act of the party conference cabaret returned to Blackpool, perhaps more a gambling mecca than the more genteel Brighton. Which seems apt, as all bets were off on who would succeed in the Conservative Party's very long leadership dance. All policy debate was obscured in the much more pressing need to find a leader to launch into the new Parliamentary term. David Davis, the long time early front runner, seemed to stumble in his speech. He failed to woo the audience or the hungry press pack, both of whom had lapped up Kenneth Clarke and rising star David Cameron (who suddenly seems to have become the activists' favourite since his conference speech). Sir Malcolm Rifkind did not disappoint with his oratory skills but he has subsequently pulled out of the race. Dr Liam Fox also managed to charm Conference with a good speech and remains in the running in this longest of political marathons.

As Parliament returns the Liberal Democrats will be hungry to make a bigger impact with their steadily increasing number of MPs. The Prime Minister will want to stamp his authority on Labour's third term and avoid previous PM's difficulties in maintaining momentum, especially amidst signs of economic downturn. Meanwhile the Conservative leadership race will continue until the 6th December. It will be an interesting autumn session in Parliament, if the party conferences are anything to go by.

Back-door Euthanasia

On the 10th October the House of Lords discussed the report of the Select Committee on the Assisted Dying for the Terminally Ill Bill. This Bill seeks to allow people who are terminally ill to end their lives through administered drugs. If implemented the Bill would effectively make euthanasia legal in the UK, even though the Committee sought to establish a distinction between voluntary euthanasia and assisted dying. This Bill would lead to society's prohibition on intentional killing being weakened. The creation of an possibility of opting for euthanasia in the case of a terminally ill patient will not only affect the patient concerned but will also affect their families, healthcare professionals and society as a whole. The actions of individuals and their families who choose euthanasia over palliative care will have profound consequences for future generations in the choices that they make in relation to their health and medical care.

Advances in medicines mean that people struck by terminal illnesses are now faced by many choices. Good palliative care means that suffering experienced by the patient can largely be managed appropriately. The UK currently is a world leader in services that it offers the terminally ill although it is woefully under-funded. There is concern that the introduction of Patient Assisted Suicide (PAS) would inevitably lead to palliative care

being affected.

In 1994 a Lord's Committee that sat to debate the issue of PAS/euthanasia was persuaded that a change in law should not go ahead because PAS would unavoidably introduce an element of pressure on patients who are especially vulnerable due to illness or old age to feel that they had no option but to choose PAS over palliative care. Presently doctors are committed to preserving people's lives; the Hippocratic Oath binds them to do this. If the proposed Bill were to be implemented it would have a profoundly negative effect on the relationship between doctor and patient and undermine the trust between them.

Christian medical experts believe that 'intention' is the crucial issue. In this respect there is no moral difference between PAS and euthanasia'. Allowing PAS would lead to the effective legalisation of euthanasia, due to the demand to provide 'help' to incapacitated patients who would not be able to end their lives themselves and would require a doctor to step in and finish the job. The vast majority of the demands for PAS and euthanasia are essentially calls for good medical care. However, if a person's physical, social, emotional and spiritual needs are properly met – it would be unlikely that PAS or euthanasia would be requested and hopefully would be considered unnecessary. This Bill must be strongly resisted.

Prayer, Politics and George Bush

Much has been made lately of George Bush's prayer life. On 7 October it was splashed across the front pages of *The Guardian* and *The Independent*. Later, it provided *Private Eye* with a typical cover joke: the President looks out of the window of Air Force One and says: "Stop the plane. God's on that cloud over there waving at me!" Granted, a few journalists did make some effort to understand how Bush's evangelical faith informs his political vision, but much of the reportage carried the same mocking sneer as *Private Eye's* lead caption.

The spur for this media scorn was a comment made by the former Palestinian foreign minister Nabil Shaath in a BBC documentary about the Middle East peace process. At the Sharm al Sheikh summit in 2003, Shaath claims that Bush told him and PLC President Mahmoud Abbas: "I'm driven with a mission from God. God would tell me, 'George, go and fight those terrorists in Afghanistan', and I did. And then God would tell me: 'George, go and end the tyranny in Iraq', and I did." Shaath also reported Bush as saying: "'Go get the Palestinians their state and get the Israelis their security.'" The White House denied Shaath's story, but at other times Bush has been happy to make his Christian motivations clear—not least on the campaign trail.

Of course, commentators who dislike Bush's politics are likely to damn his prayers. But there are some important points to be made here amidst the sarcasm. First, Bush was speaking behind closed doors. The official press releases from Sharm al Sheikh referred neither to God's call on the Commander in Chief's life, nor to his 'divine mission' in the Middle East. Secondly, if Bush did speak off the record about prayer and vocation, he surely did so as a person of faith seeking to build trust with people of faith.

The Palestinian delegation was heavily Muslim, and Muslims characteristically reject western secular assumptions about the need to 'privatize' religion. In this at least, they share common ground with classical Christianity, which relates discipleship to every aspect of existence. Perhaps Bush was attempting, like St Paul, to 'become all things to all people'—to talk the Palestinians' language in order to promote mutual understanding. Thirdly, the so-called 'wall of separation' between church and state in America is misapplied here. That principle prohibits the federal establishment of one denominational expression of religion to the exclusion of all others. It does not ban discussion of faith in the civic realm, and it certainly does not bar a President from citing his own Christian motives in the context of negotiation. Fourthly, those who have been strongest in their condemnation of Bush

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seem to assume that a worldview which systematically excludes God is somehow more sane, neutral or benign than one which maintains a theistic aspect. But Stalin's Russia, Mao's China and Pol Pot's Cambodia give the lie to this notion. Atheism has proved itself much more prone to tyranny and slaughter in the last hundred years than Christianity.

Yet there is an even more fundamental point to be made here. If he actually did so, Bush has every right to claim guidance from above, but from a Christian point of view that claim must be tested against his actions. The President may well believe that God led him into Iraq and told him to secure Palestinian statehood. At present, both situations are deeply precarious. In these as in other things, Bush will be known not so much by his prayers, as by his fruits.

Winning back Bioethics

I guess that many readers will have noticed some of the recent newspaper headlines such as 'virgin conception', 'embryo with two mothers', 'the case for cloning humans' or 'Fear over human-animal embryos'.

I wonder what your reaction was when you read these headlines? Perhaps it was a mix of instinctive revulsion and anger? Perhaps it was a feeling of resignation, mixed with frustration that you cannot do anything about it? Perhaps it was just a feeling of rather helpless ignorance and a vague hope that maybe someone else will speak out about it? Perhaps you've decided that these issues are nothing to do with you, or maybe you've not even noticed...

Well, if you have ever felt any kind of concern or interest in these kinds of headlines, or felt that as a Christian it would be good to be able to have a say in what is permitted to take place in this country, now is the ideal time. The Government is in the process of carrying out a major review of the laws that cover embryo research and fertility treatments in the UK (specifically, the Human Fertilisation and Embryology Act (HFE Act)).

Science and technology have developed significantly over the years since the Act was first passed in 1990, as have society's attitudes. So the Government has decided it is time to question whether the laws should also be changed, and if so how. And they want the public's help in deciding what should be changed.

I believe it is imperative that many people respond to this review. On reading the consultation document, one cannot help but feel that the only way will be 'forward' and that technological imperative will always have its way. Science says we can, so why not? We are potentially facing a very open legislation, allowing science to go where it will. Indeed, just a few weeks ago Ian Wilmut, 'creator' of Dolly the sheep, called for even fewer restrictions on cloning in the UK saying that: "In this country we are at a great disadvantage by concentrating too much on the ethical and negative issues surrounding great science."¹ Any moral concerns - ethics - are becoming ever more sidelined in this quest for constant 'progress'. Christians have to try to win back bio-ethics.

Do not be put off by complex sounding terms and scientific language. The Consultation document on this review of the HFE Act is in itself a reasonably easy to read document. It is 90 pages in all and can be easily downloaded. And it is not essential that all the questions are answered - that can be left to organizations such as CARE, CMF and the Centre for Bioethics and Public Policy (CBPP). Our hope is that many individual Christians will contribute by at least responding on the main issues raised - even if only one or two - using some basic ethical principles and questions.

These are the issues that the Government is asking for our views on:

- The type and amount of regulation needed
- Whether we need to consider the welfare of the child born
- Research on, and storage of, eggs, sperm and embryos
- The screening and selecting of embryos

- Information on donors
- Surrogacy
- Status and legal parenthood, and the need for a father
- Limits to research including research on animal/human chimeras

Here are some of the kinds of questions and issues to think about when responding to the consultation questions:

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- Where could this lead to in the future? (In other words, look at the long-term logical outcomes of the proposals).
- What are the boundaries that should never be crossed?
- What effect might these proposals

have on the child to be born, or on his/her siblings?

- Is the welfare of the child paramount, including its need for a father?
- Is this undermining, or reinforcing, the value of each and every human individual, including the disabled?
- What is the status of the human embryo and how should it be treated? (Are embryos simply raw material, or are they human, alive and individual - full human beings? We should push to have their status and value defined).
- Is the proposed research ethical? (We are not anti-science, we are anti-unethical science)

If you haven't watched the film 'Gattaca' yet, nor read the book 'My Sister's Keeper' by Jodi Picoult, try and put them high on your 'to do' list - they will stimulate some useful ideas at the same time as providing some good entertainment! Commentaries on both are on the CBPP website (see below).

Finally, there is a proposal in the Consultation to create a new 'Regulatory Authority for Tissues and Embryos'. Our response would be that there is indeed an urgent need to remove any ethical decision making from the unelected HFEA as soon as possible and return ethical decision-making to Parliament.

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My hope, therefore, is that as patients, or relatives, or citizens we will all engage the issues raised here, ones where human life is most immediately at stake: "These issues will define our future, and that of

the human race. They will dominate the moral agenda of the 21st century. Who lost bioethics? Well, we did. Time to go get it back!"²

You can respond to the consultation on the internet or by letter. Remember, there is no need to answer every question! Download from: www.dh.gov.uk/Consultations/fs/en. Responses must be in by 25th November.

If you would like more information, you will find a fuller briefing paper on this Consultation, as well as papers on sex selection, the embryo, surrogacy, cloning, genetic screening and diagnosis, chimeras and the welfare of the child, all available free on the CBPP website: www.bioethics.ac.uk

Philippa Taylor: Associate Director, the Centre for Bioethics and Public Policy (www.bioethics.ac.uk) and Consultant to CARE.

¹ "Dolly creator warns lives being lost by cloning laws", Scotland on Sunday, 25/09/05.

² Nigel Cameron, Chair of the Centre for Bioethics and Public Policy.

Informed Consent

Scotland

The Health Committee in the Scottish Parliament is at present taking evidence on the Human Tissue (Scotland) Bill. The stage 1 process is drawing to a conclusion and the full Parliament will debate the principles in due course.

Much of the Bill is to be welcomed and in particular it supports the principle of 'informed decision making' for post-mortem investigations and transplantation. Over half of the Bill deals with post-mortem issues. The deceased person's wishes should be respected as long as they reflect an 'informed decision', whether these have been expressed verbally or in writing. This principle implies that when the deceased's wishes are clear the nearest relatives should not have a right to veto.

One problem with the provisions as they stand at the moment, however, is that persons are sometimes not adequately informed of what is involved when they consider donating their bodies or their body parts after death.

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general public in order to enable the important principle of informed consent to become established.

The Bill has clearly been drafted with the aim of increasing the supply of organs for transplantation, or of human material for education, training and research. This aspiration will be welcomed by most, but must not come at the expense of one of the most important ethical

principles in medicine, namely the guaranteed principle of informed consent. Indeed, to go beyond the express and specific wishes of a person by letting others make important decisions on what they assume or presume are their wishes is what specifically led to the scandal of Alder Hey Children's

Hospital in Liverpool. At this hospital, body parts of children were retained after post-mortem examination when healthcare professionals presumed that this would be acceptable without consultation with parents.

Unless there is informed consent the Scottish public will have little confidence in the system and fewer organs will be donated. The danger of the Bill as it stands is that it could have the opposite effect. That would be tragic which is why the politicians must get the Bill right first time and tackle the question of appropriate forms of education.

Sins of the Fathers?

Forty years ago saw the flooding of a picturesque Welsh valley in rural Gwynedd. The beneficiaries of this were primarily the citizens of Liverpool, as the flooding was to create a reservoir to provide water for this great city.

Just this past week, Liverpool's Liberal Democrat-controlled council has made moves towards making an official apology to Wales over the incident.

Feelings over what was seen by many as a complete refusal to listen to the voice of the Welsh people still run high. It wasn't only the fact that it was a valley in Wales, but also that it was a Welsh-speaking valley – every one of the inhabitants of the village of Capel Celyn, who were forcibly resettled, spoke Welsh.

Not one of the 36 Welsh MPs of the day voted in favour of the compulsory purchase of the land in order to build the reservoir, but the plans were given the go-ahead anyway.

This one event gave rise to such strong feelings of nationalism and desire for self-determination, that it would not be an understatement to say that the seeds that led to the establishing of the Welsh Assembly were actually sown in Tryweryn 40 years ago. Plaid Cymru, "The Party of Wales" with Welsh affairs as its main focus, was catapulted

in less than a year from a small pressure group to a major force in Welsh politics.

That Tryweryn is still very much an unresolved issue for many came to light as the city of Liverpool was being considered as a venue for Wales' National Eisteddfod in 2007. The festival, held annually in different parts of Wales, has actually been held in Liverpool on 3 other occasions, and Liverpool wants that to hold that year's Eisteddfod to tie in with the city's hosting of the European City of Culture in 2008.

Many Welsh people were against Liverpool holding the

Eisteddfod though, because of Tryweryn 40 years ago. Lord Roberts, a Welsh speaker and the former leader of the Welsh Liberal Democrats, approached the Lib Dem-run council in Liverpool with the aim of securing an apology to go some way to right what many perceive as an injustice against the people of Wales.

Let us not underestimate the effects that our words and decisions can have on others. Although we may elicit tacit agreement to our plans, we may actually be losing the battle to win hearts and minds.

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Wales

Real Decommissioning?

So here it is at last. Following their statement earlier this year the IRA has now, according to the Independent International Commission on Decommissioning and two independent church witnesses, put its weapons verifiably beyond use. It is what we have all been proverbially holding our breath for, but unsurprisingly there has not been a collective sigh of relief to release the tension. Perhaps wisely, most are holding off for the publication of the next International Monitoring Commission report in January which will detail the activities of all paramilitary organisations between now and Christmas.

The credibility of the church witnesses has been the subject of much discussion – especially for the DUP. Their chosen representative, Rev Dr David McCaughey, a former Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland was snubbed in favour of Rev Harold Good, a former President of the Methodist Church in Ireland. Although he was involved in the reconciliation ministry of the Corrymeela Community for many years it is perhaps his previous role in the Human Rights Commission, an institution which is anathema to unionists, which reduced his credibility in the eyes of Ian Paisley's party. The other church witness Fr Alex Reid, a Redemptorist Priest in Clonard, has had close links with Sinn Fein for a number of years. He was instrumental in bringing together the leaders of Sinn Fein and the SDLP, Gerry Adams and John Hume, in the late 1980's to begin discussions which eventually led to the IRA ceasefire in 1994.

Admittedly this 'final' act of decommissioning is at least five years too late (the original deadline in the Good Friday Agreement was in May 2000). And after 35 years of conflict perhaps even General de Chastelain cannot say without a shadow of a doubt that every single bullet, gun or other weapon has been put beyond use. However, this should not take away from the fact that this is a potentially momentous step on the road to 'normal' politics in Northern Ireland.

There is much work still to do as Kevin Connolly, BBC Ireland Correspondant, points out. Now decommissioning has come to pass, the IRA's criminal empire is likely to find itself under the growing scrutiny and pressure. The recent raids on supposed IRA assets in Manchester appear to be evidence of this.

Neither should it distract us from the real act of decommissioning which must take place if we are to achieve the peaceful society we so long for – that of our hearts and minds. For we continue to be cursed – on both sides of the community, across social class – with attitudes of suspicion and hate of the 'other' side. This insidious bitterness, which manifests itself in so many ways has been ignored due to the threat of physical violence. As this threat dissipates we must learn to face new realities. There will be no international body monitoring our actions, words or thoughts but surely now we must all take seriously our responsibility for the part we each must play in making Northern Ireland a better place in which to live.

China: Facing in Two Directions

In the years leading up to the 2008 Beijing Olympics, as the world turns its eyes towards a supposedly reforming China, it seems to be proving its reputation for religious intolerance and lack of acknowledgement of human rights. Despite a constitution stating that citizens of China enjoy religious freedom, the government has consistently attempted to restrict religious practice, requiring all religions to register with the government religious affairs bureau. Organised worship outside state-sanctioned organisations can be punished harshly. In a Westminster Hall debate on July 13th, the brutal treatment of Liu Xianzhi during her interrogations by Chinese police was highlighted, together with the massive police raid on Pastor Chen Dongming's village in order to capture him, when 50 police officers "had first surrounded the entire village, as if they were hunting dangerous armed criminals or terrorist suspects. Instead, their target was a harmless...Christian pastor who was doing nothing more than trying to serve God". Stephen Crabb noted: "The Chinese Government seems to regard religion as a threat to their power. As a result, they place severe restrictions on religious activities and seek to control them".

Earlier in September the European Parliament adopted a motion calling on the Chinese government to end discrimination and religious repression. The motion, backed by every party in the European Parliament, calls on Beijing 'to put an end to religious repression and to ensure that it respects international standards of human rights as well as religious rights', and called on member states to raise the issue of the persecution of Chinese Christians in their dealings with the Chinese government. Concerned

readers could write to the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary requesting that continuing pressure be kept on the Chinese government in line with the European Parliament motion.

The Communist Party of China officially states that religious belief and party membership are incompatible, and party membership is required for most high-level positions. Foreigners are forbidden to proselytize. They can preach to other foreigners, but to Chinese people only at the invitation of a registered religious organisation. The seminaries of China are largely controlled by the government, and to qualify for clergy status, candidates must demonstrate 'political reliability'. There is also a considerable ongoing shortage of Bibles as Bible-publishing is restricted to the state-controlled Catholic and Protestant religious associations, which cannot keep up with the continuing rapid church growth, resulting in new Christians who are vulnerable to false teaching and extreme groups as Bible and training materials are in such short supply.

Estimates of the numbers of Christians in underground 'house' churches not sanctioned by the authorities range from nearly 80-100 million - greater than the 70 million members of the Chinese Communist Party. When a Southern Baptist international mission board asked a prominent leader in the Chinese house church movement what to pray for, he responded 'Stop praying for persecution in China to end, for it is through persecution that the church has grown'. He added that the Chinese church was praying for the churches of other nations to undergo such persecution so that revival would come in the same way that is has in China!

Prayer, Action and Breaking News...

Prayer points: Andy Reed MP



Andy Reed was elected the first Labour and Co-operative MP for the Loughborough constituency for 18 years, on the 1st May 1997. He is a committed Constituency MP but also introduced a Bill into the Commons about Tax relief for Community and Amateur Sports Clubs which was adopted by the Government and is now law. Andy is currently Vice-Chair of the Parliamentary Christian Fellowship, having served for 2 years as Chair. He asks PQ readers to pray:

- ▶ For those Christians involved in international development and the alleviation of world poverty
- ▶ For those affected by natural disasters and for governments to respond in a spirit of love
- ▶ For those Christians involved in political campaigning and lobbying
- ▶ For an increasing knowledge of God's grace and will in the political world

- ▶ For those Christian MPs, Peers and policy staff in Parliament
- ▶ For peace, particularly for the families of all who work in Parliament
- ▶ For all Christians involved in politics to be enabled to speak truth with grace, to be real and to be realistic about what politics and government can achieve

your chance to get involved...

Feedback from the Protest against the Racial and Religious Hatred Bill

On 11th October over 2000 Christians and others held a demonstration outside Parliament to coincide with the second reading of the Bill in the House of Lords. Although no vote was taken, 80% of Peers spoke against the Bill as it stands.

The Bill enters Committee on 25th October and it would be a good idea to write to the Committee members when they are announced. Please check the Evangelical Alliance website for more details.

Thank you for your continued support as we join with others in opposing this measure.

Eliminating Anti-Social Behaviour

The Evangelical Alliance (29th September) challenged the Government to look at the underlying causes of anti-social behaviour, rather than simply promising to eliminate 'disrespect' by the next general election.

R. David Muir, Director of Public Policy at the Evangelical Alliance said, "The Home Secretary wants to eliminate the anti-social behaviour and disrespect that blights so many people's lives. But, in reality, what we have are mechanisms that fail to address why so many people feel unconnected to society and therefore feel no obligation to make a positive contribution. Young people will model respect if they believe the authorities and institutions in this country value them. This is what the Government needs to address." Dr Muir drew attention to a project run by the Alliance's member organisation Youth for Christ in Bath, called '180'. The project is a weekly indoor skateboarding event held at the Bath Pavilion, which provides an opportunity for young people to engage in a fun activity. It also gives them a safe environment where they have a chance to share their problems with trained youth workers.

He added, "I would like to see the Government putting more money into these sorts of projects which actually try to impact young people before they are faced with an anti-social behaviour order."

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