

Friends and the State

Proposed for a one-year provisional period.

While we recognize the need of law and order, which in the present condition of mankind can perhaps only be maintained by governments resting on human authority, we believe that in the degree that we come individually under the government of that principle of justice and unselfish regard for the welfare of others, that lies at the foundation of the Christian faith, we shall render governments sustained by force, unnecessary, and build up through self restraint, the government of Righteousness in the earth.

Rules of Discipline and Advices of Illinois Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1878

Friends' relation with civil government proceeds both from our recognition that government plays a useful and beneficial role in promoting the common good, upholding justice, and providing a system for collective decision-making; and from our awareness that government sometimes depends on violence or threats of violence to achieve its goals, and may be diverted from the pursuit of justice into the service of powerful interests. It is our responsibility to participate in the civic life of our communities, states, nations and world. But it is also our responsibility firmly to oppose governmental structures, actions and policies which promote war or injustice of any kind.

Civic Responsibility and the Political Process

Remember your responsibility as citizens for the government of your town and country, and do not shirk the effort and time this may demand. Do not be content to accept things as they are, but keep an alert and questioning mind. Seek to discover the causes of social unrest, injustice and fear; try to discern the new growing-points in social and economic life. Work for an order of society which will allow men and women to develop their capacities and will foster their desire to serve.

London Yearly Meeting, 1964

Love of God and humankind calls us to labor for a just, equitable and peaceful society. Friends are urged to participate fully in public life, working to build and maintain civic institutions which strengthen communities, promote health and safety, and protect the rights and freedoms of all people. Friends should stand willing to serve their communities as needed, in elected or appointed office, through volunteer work, organizing, or in other ways. Friends communicate their views on public policy to those in positions of authority, promoting policies and decisions which build peace and justice.

Engagement in the political process is a necessary and useful part of efforts to improve the world, but also requires a good deal of care. Decisions in the public sphere, as in a Friends meeting, are most effective when those affected by them are deeply convinced of their rightness. A contentious, partisan spirit is rarely helpful in producing such conviction. Friends engaged in political activity must guard diligently against letting triumph over political adversaries become a goal, rather than reaching a real collective understanding of how an issue is to be resolved.

...and we are not for Names, nor for Men, nor for Titles of Government, nor are we for this party, nor against the other, because of its name and pretence; but we are for Justice, and Mercy, and Truth, and Peace, and true freedom, that these may be exalted in our Nation;

and that goodness, righteousness, meekness, temperance, peace, and unity, with God, and one with another; that these things may abound, and be brought forth abundantly...

Edward Burrough, 1659

Friends' religious values provide ample motivation for advancing peace, justice, compassion and equality in public life and government policy. But the promotion of such values must be clearly distinguished from the promotion of religion itself. Friends are firmly committed to the separation of church and state, and do not countenance any role for government in supporting religion, or any role for religious institutions in the operation of government.

Meetings are cautioned that their legal status as tax-exempt religious organizations may be threatened if they campaign for particular political candidates, or engage in substantial lobbying.

Police, Judicial, and Penal Institutions

Over more than three and a half centuries, Quakers have often faced imprisonment or other legal penalties for the sake of religious conscience. Based in part on this experience, Friends have been concerned to improve the institutions by which society deals with criminal and civil wrongdoing of all kinds. We work for the creation of a justice system which treats all people fairly, recognizes the value of every life, and promotes honesty, compassion, and regard for others as central principles by which society is ordered.

True justice consists not in the punishment of wrongdoers, but in kind and equitable treatment of all people. Once wrongdoing has occurred, the possibility of complete justice is lost. The first priority in building justice, therefore, is to foster the values of kindness, fairness, charity, and respect — in ourselves, in others, and in the general organization of society. To the extent that people order their lives around these values, and perceive themselves to be treated by others in accordance with them, the need for a system of responding to crimes and other wrongs is diminished.

The present reality of injustice requires some means of investigating crime and bringing those who commit it to account. Friends therefore recognize the legitimate police powers of the state. However, we stand in opposition to the militarization of police equipment and tactics. We recognize too the problems caused by real or perceived bias in police conduct, and support efforts to reduce it, and to hold officers accountable when bias occurs.

When crimes are committed, Friends generally favor responses which focus to the extent possible, on repairing the damage caused by the crime, involving all the affected parties in the resolution, and creating the conditions under which both those who have been affected by crimes and those who have committed them can resume safe and responsible roles in society.

In some cases, people who have committed crimes may have proven so dangerous that it is necessary to separate them from the rest of society, at least for a time. Such separation must not be imposed as a form of vengeance or retribution, but conducted in a way which recognizes and respects the humanity of prisoners. Prisoners, no less than other people, have a moral right to good quality healthcare, human interaction, and the opportunity to maintain family relations. The families of prisoners must not be excessively burdened by obstacles to communicating with their loved ones in prison such as unreasonable fees. Every effort must be made to provide prisoners with the skills, habits, and attitudes which will allow for a safe and successful reintegration on release. It is the responsibility of society as a whole to provide opportunities for people released from prison to build honest and productive lives; the lack of such opportunities all too often encourages ex-prisoners to resume criminal activity.

While we recognize a need to restrain those whose dangerous behavior is a threat, that restraint and any help offered must reflect our concern for that of God in everyone. The prejudice, dishonesty, and racism prevalent in society frequently lead to unfair and unjust sentences and to brutality in the handling of prisoners. Improvement in the parole system and the reduction of pretrial time are greatly needed.

New York Yearly Meeting, 1995

Capital Punishment

Friends have long felt a special concern to end the use of capital punishment as a penalty for crime. It is our faith that something of God is present in all people, even those who have committed the most heinous acts. A proper regard for the sanctity of human life weighs heavily against the idea of destroying life, even when intended as an act of justice. No person is beyond God's power of redemption, but to cut short an offender's life is to give up hope for his or her eventual reclamation. Execution of offenders by the state also tends to create in people's minds the impression that killing is a legitimate response to perceived offenses. It has a degrading and brutalizing effect on society, and offers no better safety than alternatives.

No man is ever utterly lost, and however deep he is sunk in evil, the only just approach to him is to work for his recovery. This principle led John Bellers, the earliest Friend to pay serious and systematic attention to social reform, to plead for the abolition of the death penalty. Society had done enough for its own protection, he argued, when it had rendered a murderer harmless by putting him in prison; if it did more it was acting in a spirit of revenge.

Harold Loukes, 1960

Oaths

In certain legal contexts, such as when testifying in court, Friends may find that they are asked to swear oaths. Since the very earliest days of the Quaker movement, Friends have resisted this expectation, taking seriously Jesus' injunction "Do not swear at all... Let what you say be simply 'Yes' or 'No'; anything more than this comes from evil" (Matthew 5:37). Swearing sets up a double standard, implying that a lie is more acceptable if not sworn to. In place of swearing, Friends generally give a simple affirmation that what they say is true. Statements made after such an affirmation are subject to perjury laws, just as sworn statements are.

The distinction between swearing and affirming may seem minor to some people; but the right to affirm rather than swear was hard-won, and many of our predecessors suffered greatly to establish it. Friends are urged not to abandon it lightly.

Conscientious Objection and Civil Disobedience

Friends have long held that participation in war is incompatible with a life of compassion and love for one's enemies as taught by Jesus. We stand in support of those who refuse for reasons of conscience to be conscripted into military service, or to register for such conscription. We likewise support those who withhold a portion of their taxes, up to the amount which would otherwise go to military spending, provided the withheld amount is set aside for charitable donation if not seized by the government.

More generally, we hold that no government or other human authority may compel people to act contrary to their conscience. When one's deeply and sincerely held moral convictions are

incompatible with the demands of the state, it is one's right and responsibility to refrain from complying with those demands.

The witness of those who conscientiously disobey a law is badly undermined if they — or those with whom they are associated — are perceived as having little regard for law even apart from issues of conscience. For this reason, all Friends are strongly urged to adhere strictly to the law in all cases where conscience permits.

When one's conscience is in tension with the expectations of the state or other authorities, difficult decisions must be faced. Noncompliance without sacrifice may not be possible and should not be expected. Those who violate the law for the sake of conscience must be prepared to receive punishment as the law provides. Employees who find that they cannot conscientiously perform essential parts of their jobs must be prepared to lose them. In many cases it may make more sense to resign, than to insist on remaining in a job while refusing to perform it.

Friends feeling led to violate the law for reasons of conscience, or to pursue any course of action which may result in adversity for themselves or others, are urged to seek a clearness process from their meetings. Young Friends who believe that they may eventually seek legal status as conscientious objectors are advised to document their anti-war beliefs and activities, starting as early as possible. In some cases it may be appropriate to seek a minute from one's monthly meeting in support of action pursued as a form of religious witness. See 'Recognizing Gifts and Leadings', pp. xx–xx. Meetings should stand ready to provide spiritual and practical support to Friends and others who may be suffering for their convictions.

Meetings have a role not only in supporting individuals as they face such issues, but also in taking action themselves, as a meeting. The corporate action of a meeting may provide a powerful witness to the unjustness of a law. Modern examples include Friends meetings which have sheltered refugees who were in the United States without proper documentation, and meetings which held same-sex marriages under their care before such marriages were legal. Meetings must approach such actions very seriously, and only with deep, prayerful discernment, and clear-eyed attention to possible consequences. But if, after such careful discernment, a meeting is united in its perception of what God requires it to do, it must proceed as led.

Civil disobedience means open, considerate, non-violent defiance of some law which is against the conscience of those who disobey it, and is resorted to after all means of altering it have been exhausted. Since the purpose of civil disobedience is to compel others to re-examine the conscientious basis of the law, the proposed disobedience and the reasons for it are widely announced in advance. The law enforcement authorities are given every opportunity to prevent the proposed action and to punish the participants. The necessary role of the authorities in enforcing the law is recognized and they are treated courteously, but opposition to the law is unyielding and its opponents willingly accept prison sentences and sacrifice all rather than comply. This builds a moral force which no law can withstand if the cause is just and the disobedience is sufficiently widespread and prolonged.

Lawrence S. Apsey, 1960