

point is blessed, and judging from the working class standpoint is cursed, with a President who is particularly adept in the making of symbols and in the coining of phrases, which in themselves mean nothing in the struggle for freedom and democracy, but which are so beautiful and fascinating that they exert a poisonous influence upon the minds of the people. There is not a single phrase of this character that the President has coined, which, if put to the test, will not be shown to be poisonous and misleading, absolutely different from what the phrase or symbol apparently means."

"There are hundreds of thousands, aye there are millions of men in this country—some of whom have the courage of their convictions and others who have not—who are unwilling to fight and to be conscripted. But they are equally being conscripted with the few who are willing. They are being taken by the scruff of the neck, and made to fight—in a war for democracy! Is this a conscription of the willing, or is it a conscription of the unwilling carried through by force and imposed upon the people of this country? It is precisely at this point that the Conscientious Objector makes his protest."

"The problem of the Conscientious Objector goes much deeper. We are asked that because this country is in a war, because the war is an accomplished fact, that the Conscientious Objector should submit to the accomplished fact. Because a fact is a fact does not necessarily mean that I should abide by that fact; and if that fact represents reaction, if that fact represents tyranny, if that fact represents something which is a brutal violation of my conscience and my principles, I am not going to recognize that fact, and they cannot compel me."

"It is an evil thing that men are killed at the front. But I shall not prevent those men from being killed by myself going out to kill and be killed. I am then directly promoting the horrible business of butchery; and by standing by the principles of the Conscientious Objector, by striking not at the temporary enemy across an imaginary frontier, but by striking directly at the economic and social causes that promote war, I am doing

effective work to destroy war and to prevent this horrible butchery ever happening again."

"The government is wise in placing a premium upon the religious Conscientious Objector (by exemption) and penalizing the non-religious one, because the system of things that this government represents, the infamous system of Capitalism, has nothing to fear from the religious Conscientious Objector. But it has everything to fear from the non-religious, from the Socialist Conscientious Objector, because he is not interested in his conscience alone. He is interested in the social principles that his conscience represents and is trying to overthrow the infamous system of things that produces war and other evils. In that sense the non-religious Conscientious Objector is dangerous. They may tolerate the Quaker, and grant him exemption. But they are not going to do it with the non-religious Conscientious Objector, because while we represent our conscience, our feelings, our emotions, we represent more than that—we represent a revolutionary principle that strikes directly at the system of things that produces war. We represent a new social order that is going to overthrow this system of things. We are not going to be coddled. We are not going to be exempted. We are going to be penalized. We are going to be compelled, if they can compel us. But I say right now that they cannot conscript the Conscientious Objector! They cannot do it, because we have made up our minds and we are going to stick."

The passages from Fraina's leaflet considered most objectionable by the prosecution were as follows:

"The Conscientious Objector is determined, come what may, to refuse any form of military service."

"He is equally determined to refuse alternative, or non-combatant service."

"Against all forms of military service, because all are objectionable—that is our animating purpose."

"The Conscientious Objector is supremely indifferent to what the government may decide."

During the trial itself, which lasted four days, counsel for the