Edmund G. Kaufman, president of Bethel College (North Newton, Kansas) from 1932 to 1952, faced exceptional problems of administration and public relations during World War II. Kaufman was a native Kansan from the Mennonite settlement in southern McPherson County. He graduated from Bethel in 1916 and served one term as a missionary in China (1917–1925) with his wife, Hazel Dester Kaufman. After returning from China he completed a Ph.D. in practical theology at the University of Chicago (1928). In Chicago Kaufman was especially inspired by sociologist Robert E. Park and others who taught that rational investigation of the social and political order would lead to the uplift of American civilization. Kaufman combined the traditional ways of Mennonite piety and nonresistance with a modern progressive and ecumenical spirit. He hoped to lead the rural Mennonite people out of sectarian isolation into wider arenas of service and mission. World War II was a great threat to Kaufman’s hopes.

The state of Kansas had welcomed the Mennonite immigrants in the 1870s for their agricultural productivity and community building. The Mennonites prospered in Kansas and contributed notably to the economy by raising hard Turkey Red Wheat. But Kansans were not tolerant in wartime when Mennonites refused military service. During World War I army officers at Camp Funston harassed and court martialed Mennonite conscientious objectors, and violent

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1. This article arises from research for a recent biography of Edmund G. Kaufman: James C. Juhnke, Creative Crusade, Edmund G. Kaufman and Mennonite Community (North Newton, Kans.: Bethel College Press, 1994). A different version of the article appears in this biography as chapter ten, “Peace and War.”
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mobs in rural communities intimidated Mennonite farmers who refused to buy war bonds. When world war again threatened, Mennonites feared that their time of troubles would be repeated.

Kansas was the home of prominent national figures who had differing views of America's national interest. In May 1940 William Allen White of Emporia became chairman of a preparedness organization, the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. But former Governors Alfred M. Landon and Arthur Capper took strong antiwar positions. Some Mennonites were active in local politics, but as a whole the Mennonite community was not well informed about or involved in state and national politics. They assumed, on the basis of their experience in World War I, that they would be treated better by national politicians than by local patriots. As Bethel College president, Kaufman worked hard to maintain good relations both with local officials in Newton and with Kansas representatives in Washington, D.C. But the world war forced him to turn away from his progressive ecumenical agenda and to reaffirm the principles of his Anabaptist—Mennonite heritage.

President Kaufman spoke about war and peace issues in chapel addresses, church sermons, and public speeches. His speech notes and outlines from the early 1930s show his belief that the rise of democracy was linked to progress toward peace and that the United States was leading the way. For one lecture entitled "Peace and War, Progress Made" he wrote, "The League of Nations, World Court, and Outlawing of War are all United States ideas. Some day will point with pride." He identified sixteen points of peacemaking in American history, from William Penn's "Holy Experiment" to the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928 to outlaw war. The wider American Protestant peace movement of the interwar years influenced Kaufman's thinking about nationalism and international law. One of his primary mentors was Charles Clayton Morrison, pacifist editor of The Christian Century and author of the book The Outlawry of War, A Constructive Policy for World Peace (1927). Some people said they knew from Kaufman's Monday-morning chapel addresses what had appeared in the previous week's issue of The Christian Century.

In 1937–1938 Kaufman joined with three faculty members (P.S. Goertz, E.L. Harshbarger, and A.E. Kreider) to teach an upper level course, "The Peace Principle." For that course the teachers wrote summaries of the foundations of their peace convictions. Kaufman's statement combined human experience with kingdom ideals—sacrificial service modeled after the life and death of Christ. He used the future indicative tense, "must come" and "will recognize," to suggest what lay ahead:

5 Ed. G. Kaufman, "Peace and War (Progress Made)," lecture notes, undated, box 38, folder 504, Kaufman Collection, Mennonite Library and Archives, Bethel College, North Newton, Kans.
God so loved the world that He gave Jesus Christ for men. Jesus so loved men that He gave his life for them. Next to God Himself, this makes human personality of supreme value. The war system is most destructive of human life as well as other human values. It, therefore, is the great sin of our common humanity and must be banished from the earth in the interest of human personality and the Kingdom of Christ. The time must come when Christians everywhere will recognize the duty of cooperating with God in the accomplishment of this task in every way possible and to the utmost of their ability and giving their own lives for the cause of peace if need be.6

According to the “Peace Principle” course summary, Christians should participate in modern peace movements if the movements were Christian and if they enabled efforts to be “concentrated to the greatest of efficiency.”7 Kaufman looked to the Quakers for a cooperative effort in adult peace education at Bethel College. In the 1930s the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) sponsored adult peace education at Bethel.8 In the fall of 1935, when planning for the first institute at Bethel was under way, Kaufman was euphoric about the prospects. “It is the biggest thing, I think, that has ever come to Bethel College,” he wrote in a private letter, “other colleges in this state will be ‘green with envy’ and will wonder how it happened that they missed this Institute and Bethel secured it.”9

Bethel College sponsored five summer institutes from 1936 through 1940. Registered participants numbered between 100 and 150, with larger crowds for publicized evening lectures by prominent peace advocates such as Dr. Sidney B. Fay of Harvard University, revisionist historian on the origins of World War I, and by Clarence Streit, correspondent for the New York Times and advocate of a North Atlantic federal union. The most highly publicized presentation, on radio and in the newspapers, was delivered by Dr. Eduard Benes, former president of Czechoslovakia, then being threatened by German Nazi expansion. Kaufman and Harshbarger used the institute to make contacts with political leaders. The institute letterhead in 1937 claimed fifty-one notables as sponsors, including William Allen White, the “sage of Emporia,” and Charles M. Sheldon, famous social gospel preacher and author from Topeka. When the institute was two hundred dollars short of meeting its budget that year, Harshbarger wrote to Senator Arthur Capper in Washington, asking him to make up the difference.10

In September 1939 Germany invaded Poland. Europe plunged into war. The Newton Chamber of Commerce, which had unanimously endorsed the 1936 institute, now withdrew its support, and Kaufman’s enthusiasm for the institute as an expression of Mennonite missionary interest waned as it became an institutional liability. In December 1940 the Bethel board of directors met with AFSC representatives and agreed to continue hosting the institute, but Kaufman’s warnings and conditions to AFSC officials were so strong that they decided to transfer the institute to Friends University in Wichita for 1941. For Kaufman this was a pragmatic compromise in public relations. Although he could not disavow the goals of the institute, he wanted to do what he could to maintain good relationships between Bethel College and the town of Newton.11

The Newton community responded to the outbreak of war in Europe with a brief but shocking wave of anti-German hysteria that revived memories of Mennonite victimization in World War I. In Sep-

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7. Ibid., 36.
10. E.L. Harshbarger to Arthur Capper, June 23, 1937, box 12, folder 10, Kansas Institute file, Mennonite Library and Archives. No record of Capper’s reply, if indeed one was forthcoming, has been uncovered.
September 1939, within a month of Germany's invasion of Poland, the Newton City Commission officially resolved to ask the United States Department of Justice to investigate rampant rumors that "certain disloyal or un-American organizations, specifically the German-American Bund, have been active in or near Newton." The chamber of commerce and other civic organizations unanimously endorsed the action. Under pressure, Kaufman and other Mennonite leaders also endorsed the city commission's resolution. The resolution had not mentioned the Mennonites specifically, but reports in the Newton Evening Kansan-Republican made the linkage public in the process of defending Mennonites against unwarranted charges. Kaufman's crisis-management style was to open the matter to full campus community discussion. On September 25, 1939, at Bethel's chapel service, Kaufman read major sections from the newspaper reports and editorials on the matter. He explained the position of Bethel College:

The world has taken a tailspin toward war and, as in former wars, there is great danger at such a time that hysteria and panic may gain the upper hand. . . . We love America, and we will sacrifice for America. In the present struggle there is no doubt but what our sympathies are with the democracies, we being a democracy ourselves. At the same time, America is trying to remain neutral. It therefore behooves all of us to watch our tongues . . . according to Christ we are to love even enemies. In the time of war, especially, the Sermon on the Mount is the supreme sermon.

Kaufman did not directly challenge the Newton City Commission with the observation that its action threatened freedom of speech. Pro-German statements and activities were not criminal in September 1939, more than two years before the United States went to war against Germany. However, Kaufman was bold enough to tell the Bethel student body in an October 30 chapel address that a fight overseas for democracy would run "the very great danger of losing it here." In his view war was unjust, unchristian, and undemocratic. But he would respect those whose conscience told them otherwise. "I believe a college is duty bound not to make up your mind for you, but to help you make up your mind on some of the issues involved." As it became clear that no evidence existed of local Bund activity, the Newton community witch-hunt temporarily died down.

Kaufman found more support for his antiwar attitudes from Kansas politicians in Washington than he did in downtown Newton. He was especially close to John M. Houston, a retail lumber businessman from Newton who was elected to the U.S. Congress on the Democratic ticket in Kansas' fifth district in 1934. In 1935 Kaufman and Houston exchanged letters about the McSwain Bill, a measure designed to take the profits out of future wars. Houston spoke at Bethel College on a number of occasions. The National Council for the Prevention of War reported that he had an excellent, although not perfect, record on peace issues. In 1939 Houston wrote to Kaufman, "under no circumstances will I vote to send American soldiers to foreign battle fields." Houston helped Kaufman secure a post office in North Newton, and during the war he offered Kaufman his assistance in attaining a soil conservation Civilian Public Service (CPS) camp for conscientious objectors in Harvey County. Houston was defeated in the 1942 election. After the war he expressed his admiration for Kaufman in private correspondence: "In my book, you could serve [as president] in

16. It is possible that the Newton rumors related to John Jacob Kroeker, a pro-German Mennonite post-World War I immigrant. Kroeker, however, had left the Newton community several months before the September excitement.
18. John M. Houston to Ed. G. Kaufman, October 26, 1939, ibid.
19. Ibid., December 11, 1940.
any of the large universities in the country, if you so desired."20

Kaufman also supported the noninterventionist stance of Arthur Capper, a nationally influential Republican senator from Kansas who had his own publishing empire.21 Capper was of Quaker background and vigorously promoted a peace program from the mid-1930s until December 1941 when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. Capper called for nationalization of the munitions industry, a reduced armed forces budget, an arms export embargo, restrictions on war profits, and a constitutionally required popular referendum before war could be declared.22 Kaufman not only wrote to Capper about these issues, but sent the senator Christmas greetings and congratulations after election victories. Capper was antiwar but had strong internationalist interests and concerns that Kaufman appreciated. The “America First” movement, on the other hand, opposed the war on isolationist grounds, assuming that America could separate itself from other nations. Kaufman, like Capper, was not an “America Firster.” In 1941, when lend-lease legislation to aid the democracies was under consideration, Kaufman’s letter-writing pace accelerated. He opposed lend-lease. In a letter of September 11, 1941, to the Kansas legislators he wrote, “We have no use for Hitlerism, and it seems to us the quickest way to get Hitlerism here and lose our democracy would be to join the nations at war.”23

The war was a primary shaping event in the adolescence of Kaufman’s children, Gordon and Karolyn. In September 1939 when Germany invaded Poland, and Newton had its first wave of anti-German hysteria, Gordon was in the eighth grade and Karolyn in the fourth grade of the Newton school system. The two never seriously questioned the moral and practical truth of the Mennonite peace heritage, including the conviction that America’s involvement in the war would be wrong. In the seventh grade Gordon had confronted his mathematics teacher, a member of the Methodist church and a man Gordon respected, with the idea that Christians should love their enemies and should not go to war. The teacher said he had never heard of such an idea, and he was amazed when Gordon brought evidence from the Bible and other books to demonstrate the pacifist position. Whatever the teacher learned from the exchange, Gordon concluded that “these people call themselves Christian but they don’t know anything about it.”24

When America declared war, Mennonite students including Gordon, a high school junior, and Karolyn, a seventh grader, found themselves socially isolated as the public schools mobilized war support. Karolyn refused to buy defense stamps, and her teacher “made a big issue of that in front of the whole class.” Karolyn and a few other Mennonite students made a

20. Ibid., August 12, 1947.
21. See the Kaufman–Capper correspondence, box 46, folder 42, Bethel College files.
In April 1942, four months after the United States declared war against Japan and Germany, Kaufman had to deal with a new wave of anti-Mennonite militarist hysteria in downtown Newton.

point of remaining seated when patriotic songs were sung at school assemblies. She and her friends, walking home from school, hid in a culvert to escape some boys who were harassing them. In Newton High School, which Gordon attended, the principal called all the male students to hear a pep talk from a “rabid militarist” about establishing a Reserve Officer Training Corps at the school. All who favored the proposition were asked to stand, and the group rose up en masse “except four or five of us who were Mennonites.” From then on the Mennonite students endured insults, taunts, or threats “practically every day.” As Gordon later wrote, “The alienation from the rest of the student body, including even my personal friends, was now completed.”

In September 1942 Gordon and Karolyn were happy to leave public school, each skipping a year in the process. Gordon had finished high school requirements in three years and enrolled at Bethel College. Karolyn bypassed the eighth grade and enrolled in the Mennonite Bible Academy in North Newton, which was established adjacent to the college campus that fall. Both youngsters had received powerful lessons in the Mennonite teaching of separation from, or nonconformity to, the world.

In April 1942, four months after the United States declared war against Japan and Germany, the elder Kaufman had to deal with a new wave of anti-Mennonite militarist hysteria in downtown Newton. This time the issue was conscientious objection to military conscription, and Bethel College was the target. Already in May 1941 an American Legion convention in Newton had passed a resolution calling for legislation to disqualify anyone who refused service in the armed forces from holding any government office or from teaching in public schools. That Mennonites were of German-speaking background added fuel to patriotic citizens’ resentments toward Mennonite young men who did not have to join the army but were guaranteed the relative safety of Civilian Public Service camps. A triggering event of some sort probably was unavoidable.

On May 27, 1942, a brief article, “On the Serious Side, To Register or Not to Register,” appeared on page four of the Bethel College student newspaper. The student author, Lawrence Templin, was a Methodist pacifist and the son of Ralph Templin, director of the School of Living in Suffern, New York. Lawrence was a soft-spoken, conscientious person whose article noted the cases of some men who had refused to register under Selective Service. Templin’s conclusion came to the edge of endorsing nonregistration: “The state has no right in forcing the will of individuals. It might be a good thing if a few of our more daring souls would go to jail over a hot issue and awaken some of the drowsy pacifists.”

27. “Resolution #3, Fifth District Kansas Department American Legion in Convention at Newton, Kansas, May 10, 1941,” box 1, folder 20, Bethel College files. The resolution also was adopted at the American Legion state convention.
28. The Collegian (North Newton), March 27, 1942. On the Templin incident, see Don Schrag, “On the Serious Side, A Study of the Templin Incident and a College Under Pressure” (social science seminar paper, Bethel College, April 1971); and Heide, “A Chronicle of Conviction,” 24–26. The founder and man most often identified with the School of Liv-
Newton residents heard about the article, resentment flared, and Mennonites suffered threats of violence. The chamber of commerce summoned Kaufman and Willis Rich, Bethel’s director of public relations, for a meeting that Rich described as “almost like a court of law.” Some chamber members demanded that Templin be expelled from school and that Lester Hostetler, Bethel College Church pastor and advisor to the student paper, be relieved of college duties. Guy Hawk, a Newton businessman and Kaufman’s friend, counseled the chamber against overly hasty action.29

Kaufman moved decisively, again making certain that the Bethel community was informed and involved. He refused to order Templin’s dismissal, but placed him on probation, removed him from the newspaper staff, and had him sign a statement of apology asserting his intention to register for the draft when he became of age. He called meetings of the faculty and the board of directors on the same day, April 2, and pushed through resolutions apologizing for the incident and affirming that Bethel officially advised registration for Selective Service. One dissenting faculty member, Bernhard Bargen, later said that “it was wrong to run a guy like Templin into a corner to save the school’s reputation.”30 The board invited the Newton Chamber of Commerce to withdraw its sponsorship of the Bethel Booster banquet. On the night of April 2 vandals ransacked and smeared yellow paint on Mennonite businesses in downtown Newton and hung an effigy of Templin on the Bethel College flagpole. Fearing for Templin’s personal safety, and probably remembering stories of mob violence against Mennonites in 1918, Kaufman invited him to stay in the Kaufman home at night until the crisis subsided. Templin, in retrospect, noted Kaufman’s “rather conspiratorial attitude toward the situation. He seemed to enjoy the role of protecting me from the bad outside world.”31 When the school year ended Templin returned to New York where he refused to register for the draft. He spent most of the war in federal prison and returned to graduate from Bethel College in 1948. Kaufman’s energetic role in the Templin affair demonstrated that in some ways he welcomed the new challenges the war presented. He did not respond out of discouragement and fear.

The war temporarily derailed Kaufman’s impulses toward wider Christian ecumenical fellowship. America’s Protestants and Catholics, including the pacifism of the Quakers, almost universally supported the war against Germany and Japan. On December 17, 1941, Charles Clayton Morrison in The Christian Century proclaimed the war an “Unnecessary Necessity” and wrote, “we choose to stand with our country.”32 Kaufman could not make that same stand. Early in the war a group of fellow-members of Newton’s Rotary Club encouraged him to “get off the fence” on the war issue. In a powerful moment of self-definition, Kaufman responded that if fence-sitting were the issue (as he later told of the encounter), “I have to get down from the fence with my people because that’s where my convictions are. I couldn’t go to war and I don’t want my children to go to war and I’m with this group.”33 The war temporarily separated Kaufman from American Protestants and strengthened his ties with other Mennonite groups and historic peace churches—the Quakers and the Church of the Brethren. The issues of military conscription and alternative service for conscientious objectors brought these groups together before, during, and after the war.34

The label “historic peace churches” first became common coin after a meeting of Mennonite, Quaker, and Brethren leaders that Kaufman hosted at Bethel College in the fall of 1935. Henry Peter Krehbiel, a Newton Mennonite publicist and businessman, initiated the 1935 meeting.\(^{35}\) Subsequent conversations among historic peace church leaders led to a common political effort on behalf of conscientious objectors during years of military conscription legislation. President Roosevelt signed the Burke-Wadsworth Selective Training and Service Act on September 16, 1940. Under the new law, conscientious objectors served in Civilian Public Service camps, operated and funded by their church agencies, doing work “of national importance” such as soil conservation, reforestation, hookworm eradication, and mental health services.\(^{36}\)

Kaufman quickly realized that the CPS program was a great improvement over arrangements for conscientious objectors in World War I. The government not only offered opportunities for constructive alternative service, but concentrated the young men in camps where they could be strengthened in their Mennonite identity and Christian peace convictions. The CPS camps could be laboratories for Mennonite youth to learn leadership skills for witness in the postwar world. Kaufman said the experience could not only revitalize the Mennonite church but also point out new directions for the Christian faith generally. He wrote to Orie O. Miller, (Old) Mennonite leader who helped fashion the CPS program: “There is so much at stake for the future of our church and for Christianity as a whole.”\(^{37}\) In a letter to a CPS camp commander, Kaufman wrote expansively of the CPS contribution “toward a higher level of Christian civilization.”\(^{38}\)

Kaufman did not have a direct role in developing or administering the CPS program, but Bethel College teachers and graduates took responsible positions as directors of CPS camps and in other roles in the program. A dozen Bethel faculty members lectured on various topics to men in the camps. In the fall of 1944 Kaufman went on a major lecture tour of CPS camps and churches in Illinois, Iowa, Indiana, and Michigan. His report was upbeat. “In general I have nothing but good things to say regarding the hospitals and camps. Morale seems to be good and the boys are doing a fine job.”\(^{39}\) Bethel College hosted two national meetings for educational directors of the camps and in 1945 held a “Conscription Conference” that addressed the issue of militarism in the postwar world. Gordon Kaufman was more ambivalent about the CPS program than was his father. Although he questioned whether CPS was too great a compromise with a war-making system, Gordon did register with Selective Service and accept a CPS assignment in 1943.

Kaufman’s expanded contacts with other Mennonite leaders convinced him of the significance of inter-Mennonite cooperation, especially between the two largest groups—General Conference and (Old) Mennonites. The (Old) Mennonites were more conservative socially and more episcopal in church polity. They were strongest in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana, while the General Conference center was in Kansas. The (Old) Mennonite had colleges in Goshen, Indiana; Harrisonburg, Virginia; and Hesston, Kansas (junior college). Kaufman worked most congenially with E.E. Miller, president of Goshen College and, like Kaufman, a former overseas missionary. With Harold Bender, Goshen College dean, and Orie Miller, Mennonite Central Committee (MCC), he had more difficulty. According to Kaufman, Bender and Miller agreed to inter-Mennonite cooperation, but only if they were in the driver’s seat. During the war Kaufman protested that the MCC—CPS recruited Bethel faculty for certain jobs without first contacting

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36. Melvin Gingerich, Service for Peace (Akron, Pa.: Mennonite Central Committee, 1949).
37. Ed. G. Kaufman to Orie O. Miller, October 20, 1941, IX-6-3. CPS 1940–45, file 3, Archives of the Mennonite Church, Goshen, Ind.
38. Kaufman to David Suderman, October 31, 1944, box 3, folder 21, Kaufman Collection.
the Bethel administration. The MCC even expected free service on college-paid time, wrote Kaufman, a "most unethical" practice. From the MCC's point of view, Kaufman was overprotective of his faculty and institution.

Despite personality conflicts and inevitable jockeying for control, Kaufman's support for inter-Mennonite cooperation grew stronger both during and after the war. He thought the (Old) Mennonite governance structure, in which the colleges related more directly to the general education board of the church, was preferable to the General Conference structure, in which Bethel and other colleges were run by autonomous corporations. Although Kaufman occasionally complained that "the Old Mennonites are running away with the M.C.C.," he also admitted they were "doing a pretty good job" of organizing the program. For several weeks in the summer of 1943, Kaufman was on the Goshen College campus to help teach a CPS "training corps" course. He came away convinced "that the Old Mennonites and we are not so far apart...and that the future salvation of the colleges, as well as the church, lies in the direction of cooperation."42

Although they suffered the pains and burdens of being pacifists in a war-crusading America, Mennonites benefited immensely from World War II. Part of the benefit was a renewed sense of group identity and morale. Even though more than half of the drafted men from General Conference Mennonite churches accepted regular military service—and many of these left the church as a result—the denomination in general was strengthened in its self-understanding as a peace church.

At Bethel College one clue that Mennonites would band together in the face of a war challenge came with the Bethel College Booster Banquet of May 1942, held in the wake of the explosive Templin incident. More than twice as many people bought tickets to that event than ever before—a total of nearly fifteen hundred. It was the first time the booster banquet had been held in the new Memorial Hall. At that meeting O. Jolliffe, a non-Mennonite businessman from Peabody, Kansas, presented a gift of fifty thousand dollars for Bethel's endowment. Donations to Bethel College increased substantially during the war, which proved more than sufficient to compensate for the loss of tuition income due to declining student enrollments. On October 14, 1945, two months after the Japanese surrendered in the Pacific, Kaufman led the Bethel community in a Founder's Day celebration of the liquidation of the college debt.43

The war brought prosperity to Mennonite wheat-raising farm communities at the same time that it stimulated Mennonites to group benevolence. Kaufman spent much of his time during the war seizing

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42. Ed. G. Kaufman to Harry Martens, August 20, 1943, box 8, folder 230, Bethel College files.
43. James M. Harder, "Current Fund Operations of Bethel College" (social science seminar paper, Bethel College, 1978).
When Kaufman became president of Bethel College he hoped for progress toward outlawing war and believed that Mennonites could contribute to that goal through their historic peace witness.

the opportunity to raise money for Bethel. Some substantial gifts came as large estates. A major financial drive in 1943–1944 was more successful than earlier drives had been. As in World War I, Americans pressured Mennonites to buy war bonds to contribute to the national cause, but this time church leaders were able to work out a civilian bond alternative with government officials. By July 1942 the arrangements for civilian bonds were in place, and by the end of the war Mennonites nationally had purchased nearly five million dollars of bonds. Kaufman urged donors to buy the bonds and register them in the name of the college. Bonds contributed nearly $150,000 to the college endowment fund—a figure similar to the $141,000 debt that Kaufman inherited when he became president in 1932. The alternative bond program was a boon to other Mennonite denominational programs of mission and education as well.

In 1932, when Edmund Kaufman became president of Bethel College, he did not expect a major world war. He rather hoped for progress toward outlawing war, and he believed that Mennonites could contribute to that goal through their historic peace witness. In 1943, with the world suffering through the most destructive war in history, Kaufman said, "The world has failed, and is beginning to know it has failed. It has built its foundations on sand." Mennonites deplored and denounced war. Nevertheless they were re-energized in a war-making world, through their witness as dissenting conscientious objectors in Civilian Public Service and through their renewed commitment to their institutions for education, mutual aid, and mission. In the challenge of World War II, Kaufman helped Mennonites constructively live out a Christian pacifist conviction that said both "No" and "Yes" to the world.

44. Gingerich, Service for Peace, 358.