

The Graduates' Manifesto

DEFENDING HISTORY

A Manifesto from
a Graduate Seminar
at the **University of
North Dakota** on the
Budget, History, and the
Humanities

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Joseph Kalka
Introduction

The humanities are undeniably at a crossroads. State universities across the country are cutting budgets and eliminating programs in an attempt to compete and adapt to their institutions to the modern model of higher education.¹ Specifically, humanities programs have been targeted, a trend which seems to be the result of, among other things, an abandonment of long-term thinking. In 2015, Jo Guldi and David Armitage outlined the rise of a problem they called short-termism. Today's modern political and economic climates disproportionately focus on immediate returns, ignoring the past, and fail to plan for the future.²

Such a trend sounds all too familiar to individuals familiar with the last decade of North Dakota history. The recent Bakken oil boom brought unprecedented prosperity to the region. Over 80,000 people flooded the state seeking employment, and the height of the boom brought left the state with a budget surplus of over \$1 billion.³ While this was not the first surge in western North Dakota oil production, the state failed to learn from its past or plan for the future or at least not for a future where non-vocational knowledge is advanced. From 2014 to 2016, oil prices fell more than 70 percent,⁴ sending the state into survival mode with several rounds of budget cuts.

¹ "State-by-State Fact Sheets: Higher Education Cuts Jeopardize Students' and States' Economic Future," Center for Budget and Policy Priorities, last modified August 18, 2016, <http://www.cbpp.org/research/state-by-state-fact-sheets-higher-education-cuts-jeopardize-students-and-states-economic>.

² Jo Guldi and David Armitage, *The History Manifesto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 1-2.

³ Ernest Scheyder, "Plains Crash: In North Dakota's Oil Patch, A Humbling Comedown," *Reuters* (May 18, 2016), 2.

⁴ Jack Healy, "Built Up by Oil Boom, North Dakota Now Has an Empiricist Feeling," *New York Times* (February 7, 2016).

This relates to history on two levels. First, as a result of cuts to higher education on the state level, the University of North Dakota suspended funding to its graduate programs in history in January of 2017. As we will see later, this negatively impacts the university, city, and state, both practically and ideologically. Second, the problems that created the need for the cuts, a lack of planning for volatile commodity prices and budget instability, are warrants for increased historical thinking in society. The warnings of the boom and subsequent bust of the 1950s and 1980s had little impact on policy decisions. Of course the variables differed, but this instance appropriately demonstrates the dangers of short-term thinking and the need for history. The cuts to history funding make matters worse by limiting the ability of the state in producing the type of knowledge that could help avoid such problems in the future.

As a result of recent events, the group assembled here gathered to create this manifesto. History has extreme value to individuals, institutions, and communities through the creation of better futures.⁵ While this thesis may seem abstract, the specifics of changes at the University of North Dakota ought to make it more clear. The intention of this project is to reinforce the validity of graduate level education in history while providing a thought provoking discussion on the discipline as a whole. This can be more specifically articulated through five main goals: to understand how higher education, specifically history, functions, to recognize the connection between graduate level history and secondary education, to examine the impact of history on communities, to analyze what history does on an intellectual level, and finally to capture this specific historical moment.

To do this, this brief volume first examines the current climate of higher education in the state and the trend toward technical fields. Next, it examines the necessity to think historically and how one's connection with the past can guide the future. Third, the paper considers how the changes to the History Department will impact the wider community while analyzing results that go beyond the classroom. To support these claims, the next section

⁵ Edward Hallett Carr, *What is History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), 138-140.

provides a narrative of history in American education, further establishing its place as a fundamental part of any scholarly institution. The final two sections connect history to our changing world, moving forward. The penultimate section explains the power of history to create communities, and the final piece highlights history's connection to community diversity, both in and out of the lecture hall.

If nothing else, historians are realists. Put very simply, they study events that already occurred in an attempt to understand the world. Historians rarely work via predictive models or thought experiments. They are grounded in reality. Therefore, the authors assembled below understand the realities of today. They recognize the difficulties in budget decisions and the trying times that face North Dakota and humanities higher education as a whole. This collection is not intended as an effort to save graduate education, but rather it exists to serve as a reminder of the power of history. In doing so, the authors hope that it reinforces the need to think of the past in order to unlock better futures.

Susanne Watts

The Purpose of Public Higher Education

The debate over the purpose of higher education in general and the humanities in particular is not new. Questions regarding what role higher education should play, the mission of universities and whom they should serve, the value of the humanities, as well as universities' responsibilities toward the greater public good have been raised over the past decades. Proponents of the humanities advocate the university's role is to produce well-educated individuals who are equipped with essential skills needed for civic engagement to create better communities and better opportunities for the future.¹ Their visions compete with those of supporters of the modern industrial university complex that should provide practical, even vocational, professional training.² The tensions between educating leaders of the future and producing highly trained professionals in an education setting that is run like a business venture are not new.

Almost a century ago, Thorstein Veblen explored these tensions in *The Higher Learning in America*. In his view, the purpose of higher education was the pursuit of knowledge. Veblen made this rather vague and ambiguous statement within the context of his perceived "business-fiction" of the American university, even a century ago. He asserted that the university's goal was to equip students with the skills needed for critical thinking so students would

¹ Bethany Zecher Sutton, "Higher Education's Public Purpose," Association of American Colleges and Universities, June 20, 2016, accessed March 28, 2017, <https://www.aacu.org/leap/liberal-education-nation-blog/higher-educations-public-purpose>.

² Jeffrey J. Williams, "The Need for Critical University Studies," in *A New Deal for the Humanities: Liberal Arts and the Future of Public Higher Education*, ed. Gordon Hutner and Feisal G. Mohamed (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2016), Kindle, loc. 3780.

know how to approach learning and knowledge.³ It was not the purpose of higher education to teach students how to do things by providing answers, but rather teach students thinking skills so they can ask questions, explore, research, and expand their knowledge.⁴ Veblen went so far to advocate for creating two separate education systems between the university and the professional and technical schools, as their educational purpose was very different.⁵ The university's objective was to train the next generation of scholars and scientists to pursue further knowledge and ensure that the skills to do so would continue to advance the ceaseless development of intellectual discourse for the benefit of civic engagement.⁶ The task of teaching and developing critical thinking skills constitutes an important part of the Liberal Arts disciplines. At the University of North Dakota (UND) the College of Arts and Sciences, which includes the Humanities, is the main torchbearer of disseminating intellectual discourse and critical thinking skills.

Throughout the last one hundred years, Humanities departments around the country were forced to not only address budget cuts, but also to justify the Humanities' relevance and value to society.⁷ The current budget crisis is not new for the University of North Dakota (UND). The history of UND provides ample evidence that the flagship university of the state of North Dakota has weathered financial woes before. Louis Geiger's *University of the Northern Plains: A History of the University of North Dakota, 1883-1958*, and William Caraher's "History at the University of North Dakota, 1885-1970" provide an overview of UND's past financial crises and how the school responded. The university faced its first serious financial crisis a few years after its founding, when budget shortfalls threatened the school's permanent closure. In order to save UND, President Webster Merrifield offered to forego his sal-

³Thorstein Veblen, *The Higher Learning in America* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1918), 17.

⁴ Veblen, *The Higher Learning in America*, 17.

⁵ Veblen, *The Higher Learning in America*, 32.

⁶ Veblen, *The Higher Learning in America*, 17.

⁷ Jo Guldi and David Armitage, *The History Manifesto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 10.

ary, the faculty agreed to a twenty-five percent salary cut, and the citizens of Grand Forks renewed their commitment to the school by raising \$33,000 to ensure UND's survival.⁸ Similarly, financial conditions worsened during the Great Depression. The school's response was familiar to today's budget cuts: President Thomas Kane called for the elimination of low-enrolment classes, a reduction in equipment purchases, an increase in teaching loads, and voluntary staff reductions.⁹ Two university publications, the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* and the *Quarterly Journal* also ceased their existence due to budget cuts in the 1930s.¹⁰ Looking at UND's past financial issues, the school's response to the current budget cuts is not new but is following its pattern over the longue-durée.

For this round of budget cuts each college has been tasked with a twelve percent reduction in funding. For the College of Arts and Sciences, which includes the humanities, this means an overall budget reduction of \$4,223,741.¹¹ This amounts to an almost forty percent share of the overall proposed reductions in the six colleges (Arts & Sciences, Business and Public Administration, Education and Human Development, Engineering and Mines, Nursing and Professional Disciplines, and Aerospace Sciences). No longer are the values of a traditional liberal arts education, which includes the humanities, a priority for the university. These latest proposals have also reached the Graduate History Department at UND by cutting funding for the program. Critical thinking used to be one of the primary purposes of a university education. In its founding days, UND was initially organized as a College of Arts and

⁸Louis G. Geiger, *University of the Northern Plains: A History of the University of North Dakota, 1883-1958* (Grand Forks: The University of North Dakota Press, 1958), 104-108.

⁹Geiger, *University of the Northern Plains*, 370.

¹⁰William R. Caraher, "History at the University of North Dakota, 1885-1970," (Unpublished Manuscript, 2009), 47, accessed March 28, 2017, <http://dx.doi.org/10.17613/M6SS6G>.

¹¹"College of Arts and Sciences Budget Spreadsheet," in "Tough decisions to position for the future," UND Today, March 10, 2017, accessed March 28, 2017, <http://blogs.und.edu/und-today/wp-content/uploads/sites/68/2017/03/College-of-Arts-Sciences-Budget-Spreadsheet.pdf>.

Sciences,¹² but has struggled throughout the decades to live up to its commitment to provide a humanities education. While UND's first president, William Blackburn, was dismissed after only one year because he "advocated a more practical and popular curriculum for the school,"¹³ the school would soon all but abandon its original mission. Under Webster Merrifield UND emphasized a more traditional, liberal arts curriculum while at the same time realizing its limits in terms of what North Dakota students needed as well as availability of faculty.¹⁴ Just as Thorstein Veblen deplored in *The Higher Learning in America*, the liberal arts at UND took a backseat in the early 1900s to the growing popularity of the new professional schools that promised a more practical education.¹⁵ The university turned away and abandoned its original intent of asking questions, of suggesting solutions without having to offer practical strategies.¹⁶

Over the past century, universities have transformed into modern, business-like constructions driven by technology and hard cost-benefit analyses.¹⁷ Thorstein Veblen realized this in 1918, when he criticized and opposed appointing businessmen to a university's governing board. In his view, operating a university like a business was detrimental to the university's core mission of the unconstrained pursuit of knowledge.¹⁸ Public officials of both major political parties demand this business model to stay competitive in a world economy that also drives the higher education

¹² "Heritage and Legacy," University of North Dakota, accessed March 30, 2017, <http://und.edu/discover/heritage-legacy.cfm>.

¹³ Caraher, "History at the University of North Dakota," 9.

¹⁴ Geiger, *University of the Northern Plains*, 41.

¹⁵ Geiger, *University of the Northern Plains*, 165.

¹⁶ Guldi and Armitage, *The History Manifesto*, 6.

¹⁷ William W. Keep, "The Worrisome Ascendance of Business in Higher Education," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, June 21, 2012, accessed March 30, 2017, <http://www.chronicle.com/article/The-Worrisome-Ascendance-of/132501>; Andrew Rossi, "How American Universities Turned Into Corporations," *Time*, May 21, 2014, accessed March 30, 2017, <http://time.com/108311/how-american-universities-are-ripping-off-your-education/>.

¹⁸ Veblen, *The Higher Learning in America*, 69-70.

sector.¹⁹ Universities have given into the pressure to perform and produce graduates that can get the kind of jobs politicians and society deem practical and useful. After all, the public's perception is that higher public education is funded with taxpayers' money. In reality, it is more complex and complicated. In the case of North Dakota, about five percent from the state's General Fund are allocated for UND's budget; the rest comes from "other funds" and endowments that are tied to specific programs.²⁰ According to UND's "2015 Annual Financial Report," twenty-five percent of the university's total revenues came from state appropriations, while thirty percent came from student tuition and fees.²¹ While taxpayers fund about one-third of UND's budget, the "public" in the form of students, parents, alumni and alumnae obviously has an interest in the education UND provides. Often called stakeholders by university administrators, the term illustrates that universities are in the business of education and as such must offer a product that is economically viable.

¹⁹ Patricia Cohen, "A Rising Call to Promote STEM Education and Cut Liberal Arts Funding," *The New York Times*, February 21, 2016, accessed March 28, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/22/business/a-rising-call-to-promote-stem-education-and-cut-liberal-arts-funding.html?_r=0; Scott Jaschik, "Obama vs. Art History," *Inside Higher Ed*, January 31, 2014, accessed March 28, 2017, <https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2014/01/31/obama-becomes-latest-politician-criticize-liberal-arts-discipline>; Daniel Lee Kleinman, "Sticking Up for Liberal Arts and Humanities Education," in *A New Deal for the Humanities*, ed. by Gordon Hutner and Feisal G. Mohamed (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2016), Kindle, loc. 2236-2327; Williams, "The Need for Critical University Studies," loc. 3760.

²⁰ "Agency Budget Information (July 2017-June 2019): 230 University of North Dakota, Executive Budget Comparison to Prior Biennium Appropriations," *North Dakota Legislative Branch*, accessed March 28, 2017, <http://www.legis.nd.gov/files/fiscal/2017-19/docs/230eb.pdf>; "Total Institutional Budget," *University of North Dakota*, accessed March 28, 2017, http://und.edu/finance-operations/budget/_files/docs/institutional_budget_fy13-fy17.pdf.

²¹ "2015 Annual Financial Report," UND Financial Report, Finance Operations, University of North Dakota, accessed April 26, 2017, http://und.edu/finance-operations/_files/docs/und-fy-2015-financial-report.pdf.

Universities now serve more as a production and vocational breeding ground for professional training that will lead the way (preferably via drones) into the future. They feel pressured to focus on and expand STEM programs. North Dakota established the ND STEM Exchange that “seeks to provide a collaboration for providing all students high-quality experiences in Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics related fields.”²² While the emphasis is still on STEM, it is important to note that there is cooperation between the sciences and arts. The North Dakota Department of Public Instruction is promoting STEAM (science, technology, engineering, arts, and mathematics) to highlight the importance of an integrated and inclusive curriculum.²³ This cooperation is much needed. It is important to acknowledge that despite the current STEM preoccupation students also need to learn skills that the humanities impart. It is now up to the humanities to put the H in STEAM and to push for expansion in teaching important skills necessary to navigate in a technology-driven world. In a world currently obsessed with “fake news” and “alternative facts” it is detrimental to be able to dissect, expose, and dispel incorrect information.

On the higher education level, however, UND follows the general trend by concentrating on promoting in particular STEM programs that enjoy the current high-tech craze. The school was the first university in the country to offer a B.S. in Unmanned Aircraft Systems Operations.²⁴ UND is also promoting the public-private partnership as the preferred investment for the future of college education by emphasizing the role private businesses should

²² “Mission Statement,” *ND STEM*, accessed April 2, 2017, <http://www.ndstem.org/mission-statement/>.

²³ “STEAM: Science, Technology, Engineering, Arts, and Mathematics,” North Dakota Department of Public Instruction, accessed April 26, 2017, <https://www.nd.gov/dpi/SchoolStaff/FTP/STEAM/>; “STEAM: Strategies that engage all minds,” *ND STEM*, accessed April 26, 2017, <https://dl.dropboxusercontent.com/u/6571906/STEAMApr-May2017.pdf>.

²⁴ “Unmanned Aircraft Systems Operations,” *University of North Dakota*, accessed March 30, 2017, <http://und.edu/majors/uas-operations.cfm>.

play, particularly in the College of Engineering and Mines.²⁵ These technical and professional programs promise to produce degrees that businesses consider practical and useful. They also produce what Thorstein Veblen called “matter-of-fact knowledge,” the dispassionate study of the “dry light of science” that the business model of the university demands.²⁶ However, the business model ignores that higher education’s purpose goes beyond simply getting a job but also equip students with the skills needed for civic engagement to create better communities and better opportunities for the future.

If STEM is the acronym of the future it leaves out an important letter - H, which in this particular case stands for History, but can also represent the Humanities. The Humanities, or *Geisteswissenschaften* (the sciences of the mind!), are not included. The German term translates the definition of the Humanities into an easily grasped concept. The “sciences of the mind” defines and explains what the Humanities (and in particular History) are concerned with: thinking and reflecting about the past over a long period of time, the *longue-durée*.²⁷ By cutting funding for the Graduate History Program, UND deprives the state of North Dakota of people who are trained in analyzing the long-term perspective of events, such as past budget cuts, and can offer solutions that lead to a more sustainable future. What is missing is a long-durée budget vision from the state as well as the university. Focusing on a “better managed approach to growth” instead of expanding sports programs, building projects, and administration budgets during prosperous economic times would ensure a more sustainable future.²⁸ The need for historians to engage on the public policy level has recently been addressed in an article in the September 2016 issue of *The Atlantic*. In it, Graham Allison and Niall Ferguson propose

²⁵ 30. Jan Orvik, “Core Investment,” *UND Engineering and Mines*, September 26, 2016, accessed March 28, 2017, <http://engineering.und.edu/news/2016/09/core-library-expansion.cfm>.

²⁶ Veblen, *The Higher Learning in America*, 7.

²⁷ R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford: Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1946), 307.

²⁸ 33. Kevin Killough, “Schafer: ND budget problems could have been avoided,” *Grand Forks Herald*, March 31, 2017, B1.

the creation of a “Council of Historians” that “would take a current predicament and try to identify analogues in the past. Their ultimate goal would be to find clues about what is likely to happen, then suggest possible policy interventions and assess probable consequences.”²⁹ Similarly, in the past historians have played integral roles in shaping policies to create better opportunities for the future. In *Brown vs. Board of Education* the NAACP hired Dr. John Hope Franklin as the lead historian to prepare the historical interpretation of the case.³⁰ Thus, History departments need to regain their role as defenders and facilitators of higher education’s thinking tradition. It is the role of historians to transform and support universities as “centres of innovation where research takes place without regard to profit or immediate application.”³¹ While results in History are not instant, they are measurable in the opportunities long-term reflection about the past creates for the future. By cutting funding for the Graduate History program the university also eliminates the opportunity for students to “apply the lessons of history in a concrete and practical way to certain problems in the development of the state.”³² Historians understand the realities of university budgets, and as such can offer their training in analyzing past events for long-term sustainable solutions and apply the lessons of the past to help guide the future development of North Dakota. However, H as in History is left out in UND’s planning for the future.

To guide the future, it is paramount to look to the past. Historians are adept at explaining why this disciplinary technique is necessary. The current economic downturn in the state’s highly prized commodity, oil, is not the first time North Dakota has faced economic woes. In the past, the agricultural sector was able to

²⁹ Graham Allison and Niall Ferguson, “Why the U.S. President Needs a Council of Historical Advisors,” *The Atlantic* (September 2016), accessed April 24, 2017, <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/09/dont-know-much-about-history/492746/>.

³⁰ “John Hope Franklin,” John Hope Franklin Center for Reconciliation, accessed April 24, 2017, <http://www.jhfccenter.org/john-hope-franklin/>.

³¹ Guldi and Armitage, *The History Manifesto*, 5.

³² Caraher, “History at the University of North Dakota,” 29.

absorb the major impacts of a downturn in oil revenues.³³ While there has been a renewed scholarly interest in the impact of North Dakota's oil industry on the state's budget and citizens, Historians missed the chance to help the state legislature learn from the past to weather future economic storms. This could include working with the North Dakota Humanities Council and establish a liaison office with not only the state legislature but also the North Dakota Petroleum Council as well as the North Dakota Renewable Energy Council. Working together to analyze historical data would provide a clearer picture to create a stable financial outlook that benefits all North Dakotans during economic recessions and provide sustainable opportunities for the future. Studying the past is the gateway to the future. We study the past, we study History to create greater and hopefully better opportunities for the future.³⁴ Without studying the past we do not know if we are creating greater opportunities or if we are merely repeating past failed solutions and hoping for different results.

³³Joshua E. Young, "Booms and Busts: Haunting Memories in the North Dakota Oil Boom," in *The Bakken Goes Boom: Oil and the Changing Geographies of Western North Dakota*, ed. By William Caraher and Kyle Conway (Grand Forks: The Digital Press @ The University of North Dakota, 2016), 78.

³⁴Edward Hallett Carr, *What is History?* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), 164; Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, 333; John Lewis Gaddis, *The Landscape of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 121; Guldi and Armitage, *The History Manifesto*, 10.

Matthew G. Marsh

Considering the Imperative: Why is History Worth Saving?

He who saw the Deep, the country's foundation
[who] knew..., was wise in all manners!
-Epic of Gilgamesh¹

Written in the Old Babylonian Period of the 2nd millennium B. C. the *Epic of Gilgamesh* is the oldest extant work of literature known. Even at that time Babylonian civilization was ancient, easily dating back over two thousand years, and as can be seen in the opening lines of *Gilgamesh* knowledge of the past was important.² In the Babylonian *narû*-literature which the epic belongs to Gilgamesh is considered wise for his knowledge of the past, the foundations of his country, of the long history of his people.³ Historical knowledge and wisdom was considered by the Babylonians more important than any martial or physical attributes Gilgamesh is later accorded in the Epic.⁴ Compared with the attitudes of the Old Babylonian civilization, modern society has come to have a very ahistorical or anti-historical attitude towards the past. History has become seen as a luxury item, unnecessary due to its lack of practical use. Our

¹ A. R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic: Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.), 539.

² While the epic is primarily a work of fiction, Gilgamesh was an actual historical figure, the king of Uruk circa 2600B.C. For a general introduction to the time of Gilgamesh see Petr Charvát, *The Birth of the State*, (Prague: Karolinum Press, 2013), 112-143; George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, 28-33 & 539; E. A. Speiser, "Ancient Mesopotamia" In *The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Robert C. Denton, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1955), 38-39 & 47-48.

³ George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, 32 & 444-445

⁴ George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, 445; Speiser, "Ancient Mesopotamia" 47-48.

society and higher education reflects that ahistorical or anti-historical view.⁵

In January of 2017 the North Dakota governor's office handed down a \$31 million budget cut to higher education funding.⁶ A direct casualty of this decision was the graduate program of the History Department at the University of North Dakota. While all current graduate students will continue to receive funding to finish their degrees, the future direction of the university's history program remains uncertain.⁷ The cuts to the university's budget appear to have been made on a purely quantitative level in which number of graduates equals the success and utility of a program. In addition, the defunding of the History graduate program is just one incident in a long-term battle over the future of the Humanities, and by extension History.⁸ This question is one that has been debated and argued back and forth by historians, journalists, politicians, and others across continents for most of the past century.⁹ Ultimately, corporate style numbers-driven management forces historians to answer a basic question-why. Why are we as a discipline worth saving?

First though, to answer the question of why, we must look at what historians do. Now, the utterly simplistic answer that historians could give is "history is the past and historians are people who

⁵ Richard E. Sullivan, "Present-Mindedness & Its Cure" In *Speaking for Clio*, (Kirksville, MO: The Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1991), 41-44.

⁶ North Dakota Office of the Governor, "Burgum Presents Budget Proposal to Legislative Leaders" January 16, 2017. Accessed 2 April 2017, <https://www.governor.nd.gov/news/burgum-presents-budget-proposal-legislative-leaders>.

⁷ See Row 22 of the "College of Arts and Sciences Budget Spreadsheet," in "Tough decisions to position for the future," *UND Today*, March 10, 2017, accessed April 2, 2017, <http://blogs.und.edu/und-today/wp-content/uploads/sites/68/2017/03/College-of-Arts-Sciences-Budget-Spreadsheet.pdf>

⁸ For a general overview of the evolution of American higher education see Eric Adler, *Classics, the Culture Wars, and Beyond*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016), 42-76.

⁹ Adler, *Classics*, 62-64 & 75-76

study that past.”¹⁰ A statement that while true, is misleading at the same time because of its simplicity. History is first and foremost an investigation.¹¹ Historians first develop their question, the reason for a reconstruction of the past, which they believe will provide greater clarity or understanding on their subject.¹² The questions developed by historians serve as the framework or outline of what they intend to write about, and will drive their historical research.¹³ Once having a question, historians assemble the possible forms of information which comprise our sources: written documents, inscriptions, artwork, physical artifacts, and other relevant pieces of evidence. Assembling historical evidence is not something undertaken quickly or haphazardly, since it is through the evidence that the historian gains knowledge for themselves.¹⁴ When all available sources have been assembled the historian must then critically look at each source, evaluating and interpreting them, for not every source is equal to another. Some sources may have more information than others. The information we find in one source may clash with what was found in another. Historians must reflect on and interpret the source, attempting to see not only what information the source can impart, but also why it gives us that information, and where it came from. Only by applying this process, again and again, can the historian begin to form an interpretation of the sources.¹⁵ Once a historian has finished their analysis and criticism

¹⁰John Warren, *Historian and the Historians*, Access to History, (Abingdon, UK: Hodder & Stoughton, 1999), 109.

¹¹R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, (Oxford: Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1946) 9-10, 256-57.

¹²Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, 9; Richard E. Sullivan, “History: Matrix of Liberal Arts,” In *Speaking for Clio*, (Kirksville, MO: The Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1991), 67

¹³ Marshall G.S. Hodgson, *Rethinking World History: Essays on Europe, Islam and World History*, Ed. Edmund Burke III, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 253-256; Sullivan, “History: Matrix of Liberal Arts,” 66-67

¹⁴C. V. Wedgwood, “History and Imagination,” In *History and Hope*, (London: William Collins Sons and Co., Ltd., 1987.) 459.

¹⁵E. H. Carr, *What is History?* With a new introduction by Richard J. Evans. (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillian, 2001), 23-24; Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, 249-252 & 256; Richard E. Sullivan, “Toward

of the sources they then begin to weave together the information gleaned from their sources into a narrative or thematic synthesis, taking care to not twist their facts to suit the purposes of their question. Historians must continually remember that they exist in a specific moment in time and are impacted by the world around them. Failure to do so, to allow for differences in human thought and belief, limits the historian making their sense of the past flawed and biased. While complete objectivity is not truly possible for a historian, with care the historian can construct an interpretation of the past that is as factually accurate and ideologically free as possible.¹⁶ In sum, historians take the past and interpret it for the present, in order to understand how the present came to be, and to give us possibilities for the future. We do not claim to be prescient, but we can help prepare other scholars, policy makers, and society as a whole for the future.¹⁷ Historians are like the weaver at the loom, taking disparate threads of historical sources to weave them together into a whole cloth, an interpretation of history.¹⁸

This, however, leads us back to the original question of why. Why is history important, what does it offer that social sciences do not? History can offer scale, as both the short and long-term scale is the specialty of historians. It can also offer scope, as historians recognize that there are always multiple variables that impact the course of events.¹⁹ As an example we can look at the concerns

a Definition of History,” In *Speaking for Clio*, (Kirksville, MO: The Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1991), 6-12.

¹⁶ Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, 247-8; Chester G. Starr, *The Flawed Mirror*; (Lawrence, KS: Coronado Press, 1983.) 32; Sullivan, “Toward a Definition of History,” 13; Warren, *History and the Historians*, 131-134; Wedgwood, C. V., “The Sense of the Past,” In *History and Hope*, (London, William Collins Sons and Co., Ltd., 1987.) 429-430.

¹⁷ Carr, *What is History?*, 48-49, 97-98; Gaddis, *The Landscape of History*, 10-11; Guldi and Armitage, *The History Manifesto*, 4; Starr, *The Flawed Mirror*, 59-63; Richard E. Sullivan, “The Spaciousness of the Past,” In *Speaking for Clio*, (Kirksville, MO: The Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1991), 57-63.

¹⁸ Gaddis. *The Landscape of History*, 22, 47-8; Starr, *The Flawed Mirror*, 32; Sullivan, “The Spaciousness of the Past,” 62-63.

¹⁹ Jeremy Black & Donald M. MacRaild, *Studying History*, 2nd Edition, (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave, 2000), 16-19.; Gaddis. *The Landscape of*

among American leaders about the rising power and importance of China. When analyzing the reasons behind the growth of the People's Republic of China in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, and the basis of their foreign policy, a social scientist might look at a number of factors. Issues such as the growing military strength of the Chinese; an economic expansion that has spanned over thirty years; the impact of Deng Xioping (Dvng Syauping) on the modernization of the Chinese government after the death of Mao Zedong (Mau Dzvtong)²⁰; Chinese concerns over the issue of Taiwan; or the effect of the Sino-Soviet split of the 1960's on PRC China foreign policy, a split which prompted their strategy of realigning themselves with the United States in the 1970's.²¹ The historian would look at these issues, but would also illustrate that for PRC China much of their 20th century foreign policy came from a strategic consideration of China's past interactions with Western nations in the 19th century. The unequal treaties between Qing (Ching) Imperial China and European powers such as the United Kingdom, France or Germany left a heavy influence on how China positions itself in world politics.²² Historians would note that the old Western view of China, based out of the late 19th century, as being unwarlike, backwards, and poor was a mistaken basis by which to judge the power and longevity of China. They could point out past examples of Chinese military strength such as

History. 52-55. Guldi and Armitage. *The History Manifesto*, 15, 20-22; Sullivan, "Toward a Definition of History," 18-19.

²⁰Chinese names are given initially in the Pinyin Romanization system. However, a number of letters in Pinyin have far different sounds than they do in English, such as Q making the Ch sound. The name in parentheses is the same name, but in the Yale Romanization system in which names are pronounced as they are spelled in English.

²¹Tai Sung An, *The Sino-Soviet Territorial Dispute*, (Philadelphia, PA: The Westminster Press, 1973), 91-121; Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*, 4th Edition, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.) 722-731 & 841-869; Ray Huang, *China: A Macro History*, (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1997.) 284-294, 295-299, & 303-312; Harold M. Tanner, *China: A History*, (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2009.) 542-577.

²²Hsü *Rise of Modern China*, 189-193, 313-330, 339-346, 348-351, 398-406; Huang, *China*, 227-241; Tanner, *China*, 383-386, 399-411

the massive military expansion of China under the Qing (Ching) Dynasty, culminating with the conquest of Xinjiang (Syinjang), and the Qing (Ching) Dynasty's heavy emphasis on military prowess as a counter to the passive view taken from the 19th century.²³ Historians would also be able to shed far better light on the long-standing issue of Taiwan, pointing out that the Chinese conquest in 1683 established their claim to the island and until the fall of the Qing (Ching) Dynasty the island was a permanent part of China.²⁴ Because of this the PRC claim to Taiwan must be seen in the light of the "unequal treaties" of the 19th century, which were seen as having robbed China of land which was rightfully their own. With these and other examples American leaders would have a far more complete understanding of China and why it has acted the way it has on the world stage. It is important to note that it is not always necessary or even desirable to trace the causes of history back hundreds or thousands of years. It is sometimes just as important to focus on the immediate impact at hand. What is most important though is that historians can fluidly move between a macro-view of history (*longue durée*) and a micro-view of history (*courte durée*) in order to analyze, reflect and interpret the past.²⁵ As historians we are able to use our discipline as a mirror for society, helping us to better understand our present, by incorporating multiple forms of evidence across several disciplines, some of whom have their origins in history. By offering that understanding of the present, we as historians are able to help society prepare for possible futures.²⁶

²³ Joanna Waley-Cohen, *The Culture of War in China: Empire and the Military under the Qing Dynasty*, (London: I.B. Tauris & Co, Ltd., 2006.) 19-21 & 89-106; Pamela Kyle Crossley, "The Conquest Elite of the Ch'ing Empire," In *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 9, Pt. 1, Ed. Willard J. Peterson, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002.), 326-357; Hsü, *Rise of Modern China*, 40; F. W. Mote, *Imperial China 900-1800*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.), 835-838.

²⁴ Mote, *Imperial China*, 848-850

²⁵ Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Vol. I & II, (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1973) gives the best application of the *longue durée*. See also Gaddis, *The Landscape of History*, 95-97; Guldi & Armitage, *The History Manifesto*, 118-123.

²⁶ Guldi and Armitage, *The History Manifesto*, 123-125; Sullivan, "Present-Mindedness & Its Cure," 46-48 & 50.

Janet Wolf Strand

The Impact of Diminished Resources for the University and the City of Grand Forks

The State of North Dakota's budget cuts are negatively impacting the College of Arts and Sciences at UND. The History Department has suffered greatly. The legislators of North Dakota believe these budget cuts, especially at the university level, are necessary. According to Doug Burgum, these cuts are needed in order to "position our state for long-term success with a leaner budget that is more adaptable to volatile swings in commodity prices."¹ By commodity prices he means *oil* and *agriculture*. Long-term success means that, at present, the dean has defunded the Masters and Doctoral programs in the History Department at UND. The good news is that students who are currently enrolled in graduate programs may finish out their academic requirements and receive their degrees. In addition, according to one of our professors, the remaining faculty will not suffer a decrease in their salaries and will have fewer responsibilities than they currently have. Meanwhile, students, faculty, and staff still worry about the longevity of the department because a recent decision has been made to stop accepting applications for graduate programs in the History Department. It appears as though the state of North Dakota, the university administration and the deans are promoting programs of study that are similar to vocational training. These governing bodies want to enroll students in these programs, graduate the students as soon as possible and ensure these students obtain employment immediately after graduation. This primitive goal can be achieved by simply turning UND into a vocational school. Donald Poochigian, a philosophy professor at UND, echoes this thought, stating

¹ John Hageman, "Burgum releases budget plan to legislative leaders calling for more cuts than Dalrymple," *Grand Forks Herald*, Jan 16, 2017.

that a “drift away from Humanities is a shift into a business-technical institution.”² Defunding graduate programs in the History Department will require students to evaluate their academic plans and choose majors that prepare them for occupational fields which require hands-on training programs. These types of programs and courses are not offered in the History Department and they do not require the critical thinking skills that studying history provides. Unfortunately, future impacts of diminished resources for higher education remain to be seen.

History is an important aspect of a general education. History teaches us that by learning about the past we can learn about ourselves. History is not simply the act of collecting and memorizing the facts of the past. History involves inquiry and requires the historian to ask questions about the past and try to answer them in order to achieve self-knowledge.³ According to R. G. Collingwood, history is a valuable “science” because it “teaches us what man has done, what man is, and what man can do.”⁴ The university administrators are seeking an expedient path that mimics a form of vocational training which closes the door on a true and effective path to occupational health. This path limits the benefits of studying history as described by Collingwood. The ultimate purpose of studying history is to learn about past experiences of humans in order to understand one’s place in the world and realizing what one can contribute to any future understanding of history. While an emphasis on technical programs may produce students who are work-force ready, these types of programs lack the “experience and wisdom” that studying history provides.⁵ The study of history facilitates an individual’s ability to deal with potential problems that may arise in the future. Furthermore,

² Andrew Haffner, “Long-term university professors choose retirement in face of academic cuts,” *Grand Forks Herald*, February 27, 2017.

³ R.G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, ed. Jan Van Der Dussen (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 315.

⁴ Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, 10.

⁵ John Lewis Gaddis, *The Landscape of History* (New York: Oxford, 2002), 10-11.

The city and state, its residents and communities, need a university with a mission to explore and produce knowledge; to think and do research on the cutting edge of all its disciplines, including the arts, humanities and social sciences; to facilitate discussion and deliberation of the critical issues of our times, both on and off campus.⁶

There is no doubt that the humanities is in crisis, but defunding graduate programs and eliminating courses in the humanities is not going to solve North Dakota's current economic deficit. The state needs individuals who obtain self-knowledge by looking at historical progress; individuals who realize the importance of a liberal education and can participate in future educational and economic debates while engaging in problem solving.

Students from all over the world choose to come to Grand Forks and attend UND. According to UND's own website, it is a "Carnegie Doctoral Research Institution with an international reputation for research and scholarship."⁷ The website also maintains that the university is the "state's flagship research university" and is "one of the top 100 doctoral research universities in the United States."⁸ So, students and their families contribute to the economic welfare of the city of Grand Forks. They pay for housing, go shopping, eat out, get jobs and seek entertainment here in the city. Some make their permanent homes here in Grand Forks. Students choose UND for its programs of study and the funding that is offered to its graduate students. By eradicating graduate programs in History, eliminating funding, reducing courses and faculty positions in the History Department, the state of North Dakota ensures that Grand Forks will suffer economically. Succinctly noted by Dan Rice, former Dean of UND's College of Education and Human Development and a retired professor of Edu-

⁶Lana Rakow, "Retired UND professor: Don't give up UND's mission without a fight," *Grand Forks Herald*, March 25, 2017.

⁷University of North Dakota "Research: Serving the State and Beyond <https://und.edu/research/index.cfm> (accessed March 30, 2017)

⁸ University of North Dakota, "Discover: About UND," <https://und.edu/discover/about-und.cfm> (accessed March 30, 2017)

cational Leadership at UND, “these cuts will reduce the quality of life in our state for everyone, either directly or indirectly.”⁹

Dr. Rice is not the only individual concerned about the economic impacts of the budget cuts. In a recent interview Keith Lund, vice president of the Grand Forks Region Economic Development Corporation, said “the university touches nearly every facet of the local economy, most clearly due to its student population of more than 14,600 and a total workforce of about 4,000.”¹⁰ Lund is concerned with the quality of education students will receive in the future and how this will affect their marketability. Lund believes that we should be worried about our “talent pipeline” because “UND is a major contributor to the regional and city economy due to their contributions to the state’s workforce.”¹¹ These talents are not acquired by hands-on-training. As rightly noted by Dr. Gordon L. Iseminger, a Chester Fritz Distinguished Professor, who has been teaching history at UND for over fifty years, “academic areas rooted in the traditional liberal arts and Humanities” are “areas that have historically been part of the foundation of society.”¹² Cracking the foundation of society and diminishing potential talents of future graduate students will ultimately have negative impacts at UND and in our economy.

E. H. Carr insisted that the historian must have acuity or rather an “imaginative understanding,” so he can study the minds of historical people in order to understand them.¹³ History is essential in that it is an important field in which the student is taught this significant practice. If the youth of today do not receive this type of knowledge they cannot rise to the level of success of which they have dreamed. Developing sympathy for others, in the past or

⁹ Dan Rice, “Higher-ed cuts hurt North Dakota’s quality of life,” *Grand Forks Herald*, March 4, 2017.

¹⁰ Andrew Haffner, “Budget cuts could impact economy beyond UND,” *Grand Forks Herald*, March 28, 2017.

¹¹ Andrew Haffner, “Budget cuts could impact economy beyond UND,” *Grand Forks Herald*, March 28, 2017.

¹² Andrew Haffner, “Long-term university professors choose retirement in face of academic cuts,” *Grand Forks Herald*, February 27, 2017.

¹³ Edward Hallett Carr, *What Is History?* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), 26-27.

in the present, guides one's values and beliefs. More importantly, "the function of history is to promote a profound understanding of both past and present through the interrelation between them."¹⁴ We are better suited to deal with the future by learning about the past. The state of North Dakota is dumbing-down education in the city of Grand Forks and robbing our youth of the critical aspects of a liberal arts education. The state of North Dakota is also proposing to "prioritize K-12 education."¹⁵ But, based on the cuts implemented at UND, the proposal of prioritizing K-12 seems counter-productive. North Dakota leaders also promise to "support our state's most vulnerable people" while allowing UND's administration, deans and departments to gut the liberal arts program and maintain the robust vocational oriented training programs such as the medical school, nursing program, engineering, mining, aerospace and the UAS programs.¹⁶ North Dakota's high school seniors will now have a much easier time when deciding on what university they want to attend. Chances are – their choices – will be out of state. Thomasine Heitkamp, a professor in the College of Nursing and Professional Disciplines at UND also worries about the future of UND. She says that "students looking at attending North Dakota institutions will think twice upon seeing the barebones approach and the inevitable low staff and faculty morale, factors that doom the chances of attracting first-rate talent."¹⁷

As for higher education, the new budget "proposes a \$31 million cut in the impending 2017-19 cycle" and "subsequently, universities across the state of North Dakota have been given the task to propose budget cuts to comply with what he has suggested — UND included."¹⁸ The impact of diminished resources for the

¹⁴ Edward Hallett Carr, *What Is History?*, 86.

¹⁵ John Hageman, "Burgum releases budget plan to legislative leaders calling for more cuts than Dalrymple," *Grand Forks Herald*, January 16, 2017.

¹⁶ John Hageman, "Burgum releases budget plan to legislative leaders calling for more cuts than Dalrymple," *Grand Forks Herald*, January 16, 2017.

¹⁷ Thomasine Heitkamp, "Tap Legacy Fund to preserve universities' legacy," *Grand Forks Herald*, March 6, 2017.

¹⁸ Liz Kacher, "Upcoming Budget Cuts at UND," *Dakota Student*, Feb-

History Department will negatively impact students and faculty welfare, and ultimately the economy of Grand Forks. This devastation will not stop here. According to Marcus Weaver-Hightower, a professor of Educational Foundations and Research at UND, our legislators are not only cutting programs and their courses, but they have even thought about “capping enrollment, eliminating tuition waivers and cutting on-campus jobs.”¹⁹ According to Laura Slaathaug, a student at UND, “we sometimes forget about our young adults and the stamina, enthusiasm and hard work they bring to our state and economy.”²⁰ For Slaathaug, and many others like myself, the “budget cuts cost UND a part of its soul.”²¹ Students will suffer the consequences of having fewer classes to choose from, possibly no graduate programs in the Arts and Sciences and they may face higher tuition rates as well. The economy of Grand Forks will suffer because of the potential loss in student enrollments and the employment these students will obtain in our city after they have completed their education here at UND. The University of North Dakota can no longer boast that it “remains true to its 1883 original vision as a university with a strong liberal arts foundation.”²² The lack of communication from the administration combined with the recent budget cuts implemented at UND are unacceptable. The students and faculty of the History Department have had enough, “it is time that North Dakotans realize that much of this pain was not necessary, and in fact has been intentionally planned.”²³

ruary 10, 2017.

¹⁹ Marcus Weaver-Hightower, “Don’t build walls around North Dakota universities,” *Grand Forks Herald*, February 16, 2017.

²⁰ Laura Slaathaug, “Letter: Budget cuts cost UND a piece of its soul,” *Grand Forks Herald*, April 29, 2017.

²¹ Laura Slaathaug, “Letter: Budget cuts cost UND a piece of its soul,” *Grand Forks Herald*, April 29, 2017.

²² US News & World Report, “Higher Education Rankings: University of North Dakota,” accessed April 29, 2017, <https://www.usnews.com/best-colleges/university-of-north-dakota-3005>.

²³ Dan Rice, “Higher-ed cuts hurt North Dakota’s quality of life,” *Grand Forks Herald*, March 4, 2017.

Peter Baganz

The Role of History in American Education

From the earliest days of America, the American people have debated whether education should concentrate on teaching job related skills or a background of knowledge to promote thinking and problem solving, but history has always been considered one of the cornerstones of a well-rounded education. In his 1749 proposal for education, Benjamin Franklin suggested that education should prepare students for any kind of profession, but then devoted eight pages to the importance of history, by far the most attention he devoted to any subject. He argued that history would help students learn to use logic and reasoning to debate questions of justice. Students would develop the ability to better express themselves in both oral and written arguments as they studied and debated these issues. They would better understand religious and civil customs and develop an appreciation for art, writing and the achievements of others. They would realize the benefits of organizing in societies and forming governments. He also argued that history would provide a universal benefit to other subjects because students would learn about developments that had taken place over the centuries in science, mechanics, agriculture, engineering, and other areas. It would provide a greater understanding of manufacturing and commerce. Finally, history would promote civic duty, “an Inclination join’d with an Ability to serve Mankind, one’s Country, Friends and Family”.¹

Once our nation was founded, calls for the importance of history in education continued. Thomas Jefferson felt that in order for democracy to survive and flourish, our nation needed to develop an

¹ Benjamin Franklin, “Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pensilvania,” (Philadelphia, 1749), accessed March 3, 2017, <http://www.archives.upenn.edu/primdocs/1749proposals.html>, 19-26.

educated citizenry that would make wise decisions and be a check upon the powers of their rulers. To accomplish this, he advocated the development of a system of publicly funded schools to educate all citizens. Within these schools, he stressed the importance of history. Jefferson said that “History by apprising them of the past will enable them to judge of the future; it will avail them of the experience of other times and other nations; it will qualify them as judges of the actions and designs of men.”² Jefferson founded the University of Virginia to carry out his dream for higher education, providing instruction in math, chemistry, and medicine, but also including history as one of the core subjects. The earliest American colleges such as Harvard, Yale and Columbia also featured ancient history, including classical Greek and Roman studies among their coursework.³

By 1870, history had gained general acceptance as a standard school subject in elementary and secondary education. However, curriculum was in a constant state of flux throughout the remainder of the century as the industrial revolution reached full force and American business leaders demanded that schools take on a more vocational role and add courses in mechanical and business skills. The same forces were at play in higher education. The Morrill Act of 1862 established land grant colleges with the goal of training American youth in agriculture, mechanical engineering and other “practical” skills. However, within a few decades almost all of these schools began to take on other roles as well. Like the older eastern colleges such as Harvard and Yale, they became universities such as the Universities of Wisconsin, Minnesota and Illinois and added graduate research programs.⁴ Universities also turned from a set curriculum to more electives, and one program of study open

²Thomas Jefferson “Notes on the State of Virginia,” accessed March 3, 2017, <http://press-pubs.uchicago.edu/founders/documents/v1ch18s16.html>, 148.

³Leander L. Boykin, “Introduction of History into the American College Curriculum,” *The Social Studies*, vol.38 no.5 (1947), 218.

⁴Roger L. Geiger, “From the Land-Grant Tradition to the Current Crisis in the Humanities.” in *A New Deal for the Humanities*, ed. Gordon Hunter and Feisal G. Mohamed (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2016), 21.

to graduate students was history, a subject that was just becoming professionalized at this time. These early university programs often focused on the development of Western civilization in addition to adding some early American history.⁵ The first catalog of the University of North Dakota showed that first year students were required to take Greek and Roman history, second year students took European and English history, and third year students studied a Constitutional history of England and the United States.⁶ By the 1908-09 school year, graduate students were studying history at the University, beginning a period of almost 110 years during which a cadre of professional historians received their training at this institution.⁷

This conflict between vocational training and the Eastern tradition of education in the humanities often caused great tension in the land grant universities, and the University of North Dakota was no different. William Blackburn, the first president of the University, was forced out of office after only one year because he favored a “practical” form of education. The new President, Homer Sprague, favored the idea that the university prepare students “to be valuable members of the body politic.”⁸ Meanwhile, in public K-12 education, The Committee of Ten, a committee of ten college presidents chaired by Charles Eliot of Harvard, presented a report that temporarily quieted the debate between vocational training and preparing well rounded citizens at that level of education. This report made preparation for college one of the significant roles of K-12 education and made three years of history education a standard part of the preparatory curriculum, setting standards that were often followed throughout the twentieth century.⁹

⁵ Lawrence W. Levine, *The Opening of the American Mind: Canons, Culture, and History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996), 46-47.

⁶ William R. Caraher, “History of the University of North Dakota, 1885-1970,” (Unpublished Manuscript, 2009), accessed April 1, 2017, <http://dx.doi.org/10.17613/M6SS6G>, 9-10.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 9, 11.

⁹ Report of the Committee of Ten to the National Council of Education, by Charles W. Eliot, chairman (New York: Published for the National Educational Association by the American Book Co., 1894), 4.

Advocates of history and the Humanities on one side and supporters of training young people in employable skills on the other continued their back and forth battle for the control of educational curriculum into the 20th century. Supporters of history pointed out that students needed a knowledge of history to understand the workings of a democratic government and their rights and duties towards that government. History helped them understand religious, artistic, economic, and other non-civic institutions of their nation. It gave them an appreciation of their culture as well as other cultures. It helped teach them about social interaction and working with others.¹⁰ Others realized the importance of history in critical thinking. On the other hand, even though John Dewey is best known for his theories of teaching students to “do things,” he did see an important role for history in helping students apply the lessons of the past to their own lives, helping them make better informed decisions for their own futures.¹¹

At the collegiate level, the GI Bill created a huge influx of students following World War II. The number of graduate students and programs increased dramatically, and with students allowed to choose elective areas of study, history programs also expanded dramatically. The 1950s brought Sputnik, and an increased emphasis on math and the sciences. The oscillations continued with more emphasis on student interests in the 1960s, a shift to vocational needs in the 70s, and a subsequent call for a return to more traditional subjects like history.¹² The University of North Dakota experienced the same oscillations, but the History department continued to grow and created a new program, the Doctor of Arts in History Education, to fill the need for qualified history professors in two and four year colleges.¹³ In the 1990s, the battle

¹⁰ Robert D. Heslep, *Education in Democracy: Education's Moral Role in the Democratic State* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1989), 126-127.

¹¹ Christopher Leahey, “Creating Authentic Spaces for Democratic Social Studies Education,” in *The Social Studies Curriculum: Purposes, Problems, and Possibilities*, ed. E. Wayne Ross (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 2014), 53.

¹² Heslep, *Education in Democracy*, 123.

¹³ Caraher, “History of University of North Dakota,” 67-68.

for history education also was clearly heard at the K-12 level once again with the release of the National History Standards. These clearly called for the need to teach more history, but also created a great deal of debate about how America should be portrayed to school children.¹⁴

The back and forth dialogue in K-12 education and higher learning has continued into the 21st century. Some are pushing for a strong emphasis on math and science while others point out the need for humanities such as history. Some leaders promote teaching Americans practical business skills while others argue that we must prepare them to investigate knowledge. However, the University of North Dakota has now chosen to cut off one side of that debate by eliminating its graduate history program, despite the continuing need for citizens who understand their rights and responsibilities and can envisage ways in which they can influence policy. The University of North Dakota considers itself the state's flagship research university but has dropped the role of developing professional historians who can study the past in a search for solutions to the issues that face our nation.¹⁵

¹⁴ Joseph Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation: Conflicts over American History Textbooks from the Civil War to the Present* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: The University of Michigan Press, 2003), 9-10.

¹⁵ "About UND | About UND | Discover | UND: University of North Dakota," accessed March 3, 2017, <https://und.edu/discover/about-und.cfm>.

Nicholas Graves

Imagined Communities, Partisanship, and Alternative Solutions

Stories matter. From serialized romances to Tolkien epics of good versus evil, the stories cultures tell themselves intrinsically shape the values of that society in meaningful ways. On an obvious level, they provide role models and morals for individuals to follow, but on a deeper level they provide examples of shared cultural values and beliefs regarding socioeconomic status, gender, race, and power. Numerous researchers have noted that the stories that various cultures tell to young and developing minds significantly impact the values, morals, and behaviors these individuals will display throughout their lives.¹

All stories are historical because the listener understands them within a particular community and social framework. They explain the existence of communities, provide justification for beliefs and values, legitimize existing power structures, and shape existing behaviors. The author and audience interact within a delicate discourse of expectations, implicit beliefs, rules, and narratives. There is always a point to the story. The audience is different for having heard the story.

National history possesses many fantastic stories. The defiance, will, and sacrifice of the founders for the lives of the masses they will never meet, makes for compelling storytelling that captures the imagination of a community. As the story twists, financial and societal difficulties introduce new conflicts, policy makers, pundits, and major networks wage ideological battles, and politicians and constituents immortalize their own popular figures as heroes.

¹ Sean Martin, “Stories about values and valuable stories: A field experiment of the power of narratives to shape newcomers’ actions.”, *Academy of Management Journal*, October 1, 2016

The way in which these events occur shape the biases and values a nation possesses, but what if the story is fractured? The heroes of South Carolina become the villains of Vermont, the motivations of Dr. King, General Lee, or Franklin Roosevelt, are obfuscated and changed from state to state, or the existence of certain controversial figures such as Julius and Ethel Rosenberg or Malcolm X are entirely omitted. The story changes and implicitly, beliefs, morals, and values shift.

America is at a crossroads. Increased partisanship in our government is apparent. The gap between liberal and conservative has widened as the partisan divide has grown in the last 30 years. There are many different explanations, be they sociological, economic, or scientific that attempt to identify why this is the case. These explanations are all valid in their own way, but have failed to offer many meaningful solutions. Jo Guldi and David Armitage claimed that history can be used to look for what they called “alternate solutions... realistic alternative pathways to a world that we actually want to inhabit”.² By using historical thought, historians and their audience can recognize alternate solutions that indicate that the issue’s cause is inherently historic. The failure of policymakers, local, state, and national, to appreciate the power of historical thought may have already created a political culture that radically divides the story of our political community.

In his work *Imagined Communities*, historian Benedict Anderson described the creation of nation-states and their beginnings. He identified several national consciousness, but he spends a discernable amount of time discussing stories and their impact. With the development of the printing press, the “vernacular print market created by capitalism” in the 1500-1600’s led to a community of individuals reading the same materials on a near daily basis.³ These individuals read stories that included details that were intimately connected to their local or regional area and featured people who, were like them, but never in contact with them. Thanks to these publications, different groups of people, who would likely never have the opportunity to meet in person, could have “com-

² Guldi and Armitage, *The History Manifesto*, 67, 69

³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, (New York: Verso, 2006), 40

plete confidence in their steady, anonymous, simultaneous activity.”⁴ The shared simultaneous stories in novels; familiar locations, times, customs, and patterns created imagined communities of people and, because of this, these communities “did come to visualize in a general way the existence of thousands and thousands like themselves through print-language.”⁵ This imagined community of similar individuals provides the basis for a nation-state to imagine itself into being. To Anderson, imagined communities must necessarily exist before the nation-state can even conceptualize its very existence.

Language was an important step in the creation of imagined communities, but it alone was not enough to differentiate between nations. This is readily apparent in the modern world when one identifies Australia, the United States, and the United Kingdom on a map. What made these nations different is that they shared, in some sense, a way of being “self-contained” units that were distinctly different from one another.⁶ There needs to be a sense of a unified journey taken by groups of people that is theirs and theirs alone. This is a shared story or journey that creates “a self-contained coherent universe of experience.”⁷ During the foundation of a nation-state, this journey is lived by individuals experiencing a moment of clarity in which they find themselves asking “why are we here... together” and determining, in a fateful moment, that they are inherently distinct from other nations due to this shared journey that they alone possess.⁸ In short, a nation-state needs a story that distinctly belongs to itself.

As imagined communities of individuals linked by language, collective experience, and a shared journey began to emerge, imperialistic nations began using different tactics to create unity in their empires.⁹ They turned to tactics used by nationalists to increase the levels of unity in their nations and provide legitimacy

⁴ Ibid., 26

⁵ Ibid., 77

⁶ Ibid., 52

⁷ Ibid., 121

⁸ Ibid., 52

⁹ Ibid., 84

for a form of government that was quickly showing signs of age. In doing so, empires turned to centralized schooling and education. As such, nationalism became a historic model learned in colonial states to enforce unity.¹⁰ Over time, this model failed to accomplish its intended objective of creating coherence over diverse groups of people and instead created the means for individuals to share a collective journey. The “uniform textbooks, standardized diplomas” and other materials created a shared journey amongst imagined communities that eventually fractured from their colonial overlords.¹¹ This is evident in Southeast Asia, where Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia all can credit their origins to failed educational policies that attempted to create centralized unity among these nations.¹² That standardized education had this effect, to the absolute opposite of colonial intentions, shows the incredible power education possesses for forming imagined communities of individuals. However, in most states, the individuals who shared this journey together have long passed. What remains of the journey, is history.

Nationalism is not genetic. It is not a trait that can be dominant or recessive, passed through the mother’s side of the family, or inherently manifest in biology. In fact, nationalism can be learned and acquired throughout time. Why else would every nation possess some institution for the naturalization of new citizens? Today, nationalism is “the expression of an historical tradition of serial continuity”.¹³ History is the shared journey that imagined communities possess which make them distinct from all other nations. It is the glue that holds nations together.

This shared journey of history is acquired through the momentous power of centralized education. With exceptions, most Americans can vividly describe stories of the Civil War, American Revolution, Civil Rights Movement, and World War Two. The narratives, characters, and moments all have shaped the imagined community of the United States of America and have created the values that Americans, traditionally, hold dear. Properly utilized,

¹⁰Ibid., 118

¹¹Ibid.,121

¹² Ibid., 130

¹³ Ibid., 195

history education in the United States binds a diverse people together into a cohesive whole of American unity. If mismanaged, the story of our history changes. Motivations are obfuscated, characters marginalized, and the morals and values taught by the story is fundamentally different.

Social studies and history are one of the few disciplines in schools that require no standardization from place to place. National standards, such as the National Standards for Social Studies Teachers do exist, but are rarely enforced by large scale standardized testing. This can be a positive thing in some cases, but has allowed for each state to select the story that they choose to teach students.

This is most apparent in the case of Texas. The Texas state Board of Education includes a 15 member group dedicated to determining what should be included in all history classrooms across Texas.¹⁴ This 15 person panel has more input on our imagined community than nearly any other institution because, in 2010 alone, Texas spent 22 billion dollars on education endowment and purchased 48 million textbooks.¹⁵ With so much money at stake, textbook writers have a massive financial incentive to tailor their textbooks to meet Texas state standards. This means that for many other states, purchasing textbooks means following the Texas guidelines. According to Phillip VanFossen, head of Curriculum and Instruction at Purdue University, “Decisions that are made in Texas have a ripple effect across the country”.¹⁶

Membership on the Texas board of education has been exclusively conservative since the 1980’s when the Christian Coalition, founded by Pat Robertson after his failed presidential bid, determined that a grassroots movement was needed to revitalize conservatism in the United States. According to Russell Shorto, “one part of that strategy was to put candidates forward for state

¹⁴ Russell Shorto, “How Christian Were the Founders?”, *New York Times*, February, 11, 2010

¹⁵ Ibid

¹⁶ Brad Knickerbocker, “In Texas, social studies textbooks get a conservative makeover.”, *Christian Science Monitor*, May 22, 2010

and local school board elections”.¹⁷ This led to an environment in which the Texas Board of Education has mandated textbooks that called slavery a side issue to the Civil War, ignored the Transatlantic Slave Trade, taught that the New Deal was a minor part of American history, and attempted to justify the actions of Joseph McCarthy.¹⁸ These textbooks deliberately work to obfuscate, modify, and change the story of American history with intent to change cultural values.

Liberal states across the nation have responded to this development. For example, California has passed a bill attempting to limit the influence of Texas state standards and aligned textbooks.¹⁹ Other liberal states possess standards radically different to those of Texas and purchase textbooks that align with these standards. This fundamentally divides our culture by dividing our history. There exists two different stories of American history containing two different versions of the same characters, events, and motivations. These stories create differing values and morals for young Americans. They change the shared journey that Americans have inherited from their forbearers and threaten to create two distinct imagined communities inside America.

If two different imagined communities have been forming in the history classrooms of America since 1980, it reasons that there should be an increase in partisanship. Differing communities would begin to see less and less of themselves in their opposition throughout time and would develop radically different political ideologies that reflect their differences. Research done on cross-party voting and ideological differences of Congress indicate that, while partisanship had been increasing since the 1960’s, partisanship saw a radical increase in the House of Representatives

¹⁷ Russell Shorto, “How Christian Were the Founders?”, *New York Times*, February, 11, 2010

¹⁸ Russell Shorto, “How Christian Were the Founders?”, *New York Times*, February, 11, 2010, Emma Brown, “Texas officials: Schools should teach that slavery was ‘side issue’ to Civil War.”, *Washington Post*, July, 5, 2015

¹⁹ Brad Knickerbocker, “In Texas, social studies textbooks get a conservative makeover.”, *Christian Science Monitor*, May 22, 2010

in 1989 and has only been exacerbated further in decades since.²⁰ This increased politicization has also been shown in the civilian population of America. According to Pew Research, the “overall share of Americans who express consistently conservative or consistently liberal opinions has doubled over the past two decades from 10% to 21% “and in 2014, the “share with a highly negative view of the opposing party has more than doubled since 1994”.²¹ This sharp increase in partisanship coincides with the time that textbooks became increasingly politicized in differing locations. Two sixth graders with radically different textbooks in 1982 would be of voting age by either 1989 or 1990. The radical divide in our country’s morals and beliefs could likely be caused by the increasing number of voters who, by differing stories of American history, have experienced different unified journeys and consequently belong to radically different imagined communities.

The best defense against radicalized textbooks and misguided policy at the classroom level is good teachers. After all, a good teacher should be able to see through any attempts to distort the American story and lead their students to a subtle, nuanced idea of American history. Effective teachers, at one point, needed to have effective professors. A functioning link between universities and secondary education is critical to maintaining quality history education in the nation’s classrooms.

Universities are absolutely essential for shaping the historic minds of social studies educators. Every single teacher in North Dakota has spent time in a college history classroom sharpening their minds for their future students.²² A quality history program at the university level can be the difference between an effective teacher that knows how to interpret primary sources for intent, locate multiple perspectives on past issues, and understand the methods historians use to understand the world. If a teacher is pre-

²⁰ Clio Andris, et al., “The Rise of Partisanship and Super-Cooperators in the U.S. House of Representatives.”, *Plos One*, April 21, 2016

²¹ Pew Research Center, “Political Polarization in the American Public”, *Pew Research Center*, June 12, 2014

²² “Licensure”. North Dakota Education Standards and Practices Board, accessed April 1, 2017.

pared to do these things, they can open their student's minds to navigate the complex story of American history. A teacher who received a poor education at the university level lacks these skills and is, therefore, reliant on textbooks that are increasingly designed to obfuscate truth and promote an agenda that divides our nation.

Besides teacher education, universities play an important role in shaping secondary education at a practical level. Standards boards across the United States rely on the dialogue between teachers and high school administration, as well as university professors and Ph.D.'s in order to create the standards that determine curriculum across the United States. The National Council for the Social Studies, the closest thing the United States has to national curriculum standards, lists, not only high school teachers, but university professors as the authors of their national standards. Nearly every member of this task force possesses either a doctorate in history or has earned their MA in history or history education.²³ University history departments host local events, create galleries, and bring in authors for book talks that facilitate the continued development of local history teachers in meaningful ways.

By defunding the history department at UND, the university is severing this critical thread between secondary history teachers and continued education. This will have both an immediate and long term effect on the community of Grand Forks. In the immediate future, opportunities for historic development will be cut, and quality teachers looking to improve their craft will find themselves without local opportunity. More importantly, however, is the effect this will have on students in the community.

The Higher Learning Commission, the accrediting institution for both North Dakota and Minnesota, has mandated that in order to teach classes that provide college credit, high school teachers must possess a "master's degree in the area they teach" or, at the very least "18 graduate credit hours in the discipline that they're teaching".²⁴ Without a history program in which to acquire

²³ "National Curriculum Standards for Social Studies: A Framework for Teaching, Learning, and Assessment". National Council for the Social Studies, accessed April 1, 2017.

²⁴ Helmut Schmidt, "Dual-credit crunch: Tougher teacher degree rules

these graduate credits, Grand Forks teachers will have to rely on online masters credits offered from other universities, greatly hampering their educational experience and potentially rendering the intentioned effect of this policy a moot point. Students in the area will find themselves with less opportunity to pursue classroom environments that challenge and engage them and, perhaps just as important to many, will have less opportunity to take advantage of any savings their family could have accrued by earning college credit in high school.

UND believes itself to be a flagship university recognized by its contemporaries for its forward thinking and ability to blaze paths to follow. By defunding history, UND is sending the message to area institutions that history is an acceptable target for budget shortcomings. With nearly half the states in the US expected to face budget shortfalls in 2018 alone, UND's budget cuts can set a tone for hundreds of universities across the nation and could lead to further historic crisis in the country.²⁵ There is no doubt that decisionmakers are paying attention to Grand Forks hoping to glean any insights they can for their own potential future crises. If history is seen as an acceptable target, departments across the nation could be defunded, cutting the valuable thread between secondary education and university insight, and causing boundless students to be at the mercy of misguided textbooks meant to divide and rewrite our story.

This conclusion is hardly a scientific fact. It fails to isolate the required variables, eliminate other explanations, and, perhaps most importantly, does not distinguish between the causation and correlation between educational standards, the role of university on local education, and increased partisanship. However, all social sciences suffer from these issues to a point. What matters is that each discipline will approach the problem of increased partisanship in many different ways, but history provides a valuable interpretation that cannot exist in other social sciences. Approaching the issue

for college-credit high school classes prompt concerns" *Fargo Forum*, September 28, 2015

²⁵ Gretchen Frazee, "Nearly half of states are facing budget shortfalls. Here's why that matters." *PBS Newshour*, February 22, 2017

of partisanship from a historical perspective has opened up an alternative pathway to discovering a solution. By understanding the historic implications of imagined communities and nation building, the role of divisive education in partisanship becomes more apparent.

The need for history is also underscored by the simple fact that the problem is caused by a lack of proper appreciation for the discipline of history by policymakers on all levels. By simply viewing history as a tool to further their own political agendas, they have all but ignored the long-term effects their policies will have on the American nation and its future. An appreciation of history, its methods, and crafts, as well as its implications would have prevented such policies from being taken. This lack of appreciation for historic work was not only possessed by the decision makers themselves, but also possessed by the institutions that had the means to criticize and prevent these policies from occurring. By marginalizing historic thought, universities, newspapers, and other institutions failed to perform their critical role in shaping public views to keep policymakers accountable.

This is why it is so critical to keep funding the history program at the University of North Dakota. Budget constraints are real, deficit spending is unsustainable, and everyone at the university will be impacted, but UND has an obligation to produce good historians that provide alternate solutions to complex problems and view policy through a long-term scope for the state of North Dakota. These historians are essential for providing guidance to the local community of Grand Forks and to the politicians in Bismarck who, oftentimes, fail to grasp the long-term implications of their actions. By defunding history, UND will ostracize its current crop of historians, fail to recruit brilliant young minds who can create new futures, and show an indifference to a discipline necessary to safeguard North Dakotans from policy doomed to failure.

Yonca Çubuk

The Future of North Dakota: Diversity and Representation

During the recent budget cuts at the University of North Dakota, College of Arts and Sciences was hit hard with \$3 million in cuts.¹ The College of Arts and Sciences is the home of Humanities, Social Sciences, Math, and Science in addition to Fine Arts and Special Programs such as Linguistics, International Studies, and Women and Gender Studies.² Cutting the budget of these fields, and especially halting the funding of future graduate students in the History Department, will have negative impacts on Grand Forks and on North Dakota, especially regarding diversity. With respect to this issue, the discipline of history has a dual role in our contemporary times. First, it serves as a stepping stone to other professional fields for minorities including women, and second, it directs minorities into certain fields and eventually provide a healthier and diverse work and study opportunities for all.

Minorities are underrepresented in the US politics.³ One of the most popular degrees for politicians is Law and, one of the most popular undergraduate degrees for Law students is History.⁴ In addition to the need of a strong History Department to produce adequate Law graduates and politicians; history, as a field, would be able to represent the underrepresented groups in politics. As ar-

¹ Burleson, "Layoffs, Program Cuts Part of UND Budget Plan as Tuition Increase...," April 27, 2016, <http://www.grandforksherald.com/news/education/4019488-bottom-line>.

² "Arts & Sciences | Arts & Sciences | UND: University of North Dakota," accessed March 3, 2017, <https://arts-sciences.und.edu/>.

³ "Report: Every Level of Government Is Suffering From a Serious Woman Problem," New Republic, October 8, 2014, <https://newrepublic.com/article/119737/report-women-minorities-underrepresented-all-levels-government>.

⁴ "Applicants by Major," accessed March 6, 2017, <http://www.lsac.org/lsacresources/data/applicants-by-major>.

gued by the founders of History & Policy, a network where historians publish their peer-reviewed historical perspectives regarding contemporary policy issues, “knowledge of the past can provide essential background information to help those grappling with complex policy issues today, understand the context in which previous decisions were made, and provide the tools to assess evidence and evaluate a range of policy options.”⁵ Individuals who have proper historical training would make better law and policymakers than people with no understanding of the historical background of issues. Jeremi Suri and Hal Brands point out that history played an immense role on American statecraft throughout the 20th Century, yet policymakers often could not use history in the proper fashion as a historian would; they tend to be “selective, uncritical, one-dimensional, and biased in their thinking about the past.”⁶ Historians and history are essential for creating healthy and inclusive policies.⁷

This becomes especially important in a state that has issues with equal representation. It is well known that women in North Dakota are underrepresented in state politics.⁸ Most female students at UND are concentrated in the College of Arts and Sciences, and there are more female graduate students than male students.⁹ The number of female graduate students increased dramatically in the last 10 years from 778 to 1,719.¹⁰ The gap between male and female students progressively increased as well; from 132 more females in 1997-98 to 721 more females in 2015-2016.¹¹ Cutting

⁵ History & Policy, “History & Policy,” accessed April 1, 2017, <http://www.historyandpolicy.org>.

⁶ Hal Brands and Jeremi Suri, *The Power of the Past History and Statecraft* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2016), 2.

⁷ Guldi and Armitage. *The History Manifesto*, 67.

⁸ Mihaela “Ina” Cernusca and Kendra Erickson-Dockter, “2016 Status of ND Women,” North Dakota Women’s Network, accessed March 6, 2017, <http://www.ndwomen.org/our-focus/2016-status-of-nd-women/>.

⁹ “UND Student Body Profile | Student Profile | Discover | UND: University of North Dakota,” accessed March 3, 2017, <http://und.edu/discover/student-profile/2016.cfm>.

¹⁰ “UND Student Body Profile | Student Profile | Discover | UND: University of North Dakota,” accessed March 3, 2017, <http://und.edu/discover/student-profile/1998.cfm>.

¹¹ “UND Student Body, 2016.”

the funding of these departments will result in lower female enrollment rates and leave the campus with disproportionately high numbers of male students. It will also lower the number of graduate students since the student body of Graduate School indicates that many women who earn their degrees from the College of Arts and Sciences continue their education in a relative discipline in the Graduate School.

Fields of Aerospace Sciences, Engineering and Mines, and Business and Public Administration barely enroll female students in comparison to the number of enrolled male students. This underrepresentation of female students in these fields was almost identical to the academic years of 2006-07 and 1997-98.¹² If UND continues to increase funding for traditionally male-dominated fields around the campus without enacting a plan to increase women's enrollment rates in these fields, it will end up being a male dominated institution. This will, of course, contribute to the underrepresentation of women in North Dakota politics. As of now, UND already enrolls more male students than female students.¹³

5.5% of North Dakota's population are Native Americans, yet, Chase Iron Eyes, who has a degree in Indian American Studies from UND in addition to his Law degree, was the first Native American from North Dakota to run for Congress in 2016.¹⁴ This is not unusual considering the fact that there are only two elected Native Americans serving in the Congress, which is equal to 0.33 of the Native American population. Both are from Oklahoma where the 9% of the state's population are Native Americans.¹⁵ As of the

¹² 1997-98 is the earliest demographics data published by UND.

¹³ "Discover UND | Discover | UND: University of North Dakota," accessed March 3, 2017, <http://und.edu/discover/>.

¹⁴ Alejandro Dávila Fragoso, "Meet the Native American Candidate the Oil Industry Doesn't Want in Congress," *ThinkProgress*, November 4, 2016, [https://thinkprogress.org/north-dakota-native-american-candidates-make-history-a1682dbe8e30#.6whkyc68s.](https://thinkprogress.org/north-dakota-native-american-candidates-make-history-a1682dbe8e30#.6whkyc68s;); "Who Is Iron Eyes?," *Chase Iron Eyes*, July 20, 2016, <https://ironeyesforcongress.us/about/>.

¹⁵ Mark Trahan, "A Political Turning Point for Native Americans," *YES! Magazine*, accessed April 1, 2017, [http://www.yesmagazine.org/people-power/a-political-turning-point-for-native-americans-20160726.](http://www.yesmagazine.org/people-power/a-political-turning-point-for-native-americans-20160726;); "United States - American Indian and Alaska Native Population Per-

2015-16 academic year, 78.78% of the student body is non-Hispanic white at UND whereas the national average is 54.1%.¹⁶ The biggest minority group at UND is the Non-Resident Aliens with a 6.92% enrollment rate.¹⁷ Women are also underrepresented among racial minorities.¹⁸

UND enrolls 236 Native American students while 7,960 Native Americans live in the State. In comparison University of Arizona, being the state university of a state with similar Native American demographics to North Dakota, enrolls fewer Native Americans than UND despite being the number one school in the country conferred PhDs to Native American students.¹⁹ University of Minnesota enrolls 397 Native American students out of 73,101 Native Americans, a significantly larger Native American population than of North Dakota's.²⁰ While UND managed to attract enough Native American students to meet the national average percentage of 1.7, the school needs to employ a plan to keep the Native American enrollment rates stable with the recent budget cuts.²¹ Defunding History and other liberal arts departments will result in

centage, 2013 by State,” accessed April 1, 2017, <https://www.indexmundi.com/facts/united-states/quick-facts/all-states/american-indian-and-alaskan-native-population-percentage#map>.

¹⁶ David Johnson, “How Diverse Is Your School?,” Time, accessed April 1, 2017, <http://labs.time.com/story/percentage-of-black-college-students-in-u-s-outnumber-professors-nearly-2-to-1/>.

¹⁷ “UND Student Body Profile, 2016.”

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Native Americans make up the 5.4% of ND's population, and 5.3% of AZ's. “United States - American Indian and Alaska Native Population Percentage;,” “Diversity: By the Numbers | Diversity & Inclusion,” accessed April 1, 2017, <http://diversity.arizona.edu/diversity-numbers>.

²⁰ “Diversity at the University of Minnesota,” accessed April 1, 2017, <https://admissions.tc.umn.edu/diversity/>; U. S. Census Bureau, “American FactFinder - Results,” accessed April 1, 2017, <https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=bkmk>; “US Census Bureau 2010 Census Interactive Population Map,” accessed April 1, 2017, <https://www.census.gov/2010census/popmap/>.

²¹ David Johnson, “How Diverse Is Your School?,” Time, accessed April 1, 2017, <http://labs.time.com/story/percentage-of-black-college-students-in-u-s-outnumber-professors-nearly-2-to-1/>.

fewer minorities attending UND since minorities are still highly underrepresented in STEM fields.²² This will cause issues in both representations of scientific truth and minorities' interests. Similar incidents to the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe having no representatives on the political stage against the environmentally harmful projects like DAPL will happen more often.

This underrepresentation trend is very clear in politics as well. The minorities make up the 39.1% of the US population, yet only 17% of the 114th Congress were non-white. While there is a 4.6% increase in minorities' representation in the current Congress, the underrepresentation issue is still persistent.²³ In the Senate only 10% of the senators are minorities.²⁴ When it comes to representation of women, only 34.5% of lawyers, 24.5% of State Legislatures, 19.4% of Congress Members, and 12% of Governors are women nationwide.²⁵ Another very problematic fact is in addition to minorities, scientists are also underrepresented in politics.²⁶ The decreased diversity at UND, as a result of the continuous funding of STEM fields at the expense of the fields that are traditionally chosen by minorities and women, is simply dangerous for the future of the state's representation; only 10% of the 133rd Congress came from STEM fields, while 42% held degrees in law.²⁷

²² "STEM Workforce No More Diverse Than 14 Years Ago," *US News & World Report*, accessed March 3, 2017, <https://www.usnews.com/news/stem-solutions/articles/2015/02/24/stem-workforce-no-more-diverse-than-14-years-ago>.

²³ Jens Manuel Krogstad, "114th Congress Is Most Diverse Ever," *Pew Research Center*, January 12, 2015, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/01/12/114th-congress-is-most-diverse-ever/>.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ "Almost 1 in 5 Congress Members Are Women. Here's How Other Jobs Compare," *NPR.org*, accessed March 3, 2017, <http://www.npr.org/2016/06/11/481424890/even-with-a-female-presumptive-nominee-women-are-underrepresented-in-politics>.

²⁶ John Allen Paulos, "Why Don't Americans Elect Scientists?," *Campaign Stops*, 1329190320, <https://campaignstops.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/02/13/why-dont-americans-elect-scientists/>.

²⁷ Mic, "There Are 535 Members Of Congress. How Many Of Them Really Understand Math and Science?," *Mic*, May 25, 2013, <https://mic.com/articles/43899/there-are-535-members-of-congress-how-many-of->

This is another huge issue for a state like North Dakota that relies on its natural resources for the well-being of its economy. When only the small number of the political representatives can understand the importance of sustaining the environment, as Jo Guldi and David Armitage argue in *the History Manifesto*, it is the historian's duty to demonstrate the long-term effects of unwise practices and work with scientists to stop the destruction of the World's environment.²⁸ Since people with STEM backgrounds are not prominent in US politics, who exactly will represent and protect North Dakota's interests in the future?

History studies the roots of these underrepresentation problems. Historians study how and why minorities started being suppressed. Historians also study when and why science became the enemy of politicians. Cutting the History Department's graduate funding means there will be fewer individuals who can provide solutions to current problems. Without understanding the roots of these problems based on historical research, the representatives will not be able to solve issues. The History Department is where the current issues originated in the past are mapped out to be solved. Historians can unpack, understand, and politically represent urgent issues that are not limited to environment, climate change, racism, sexism, misogyny, and mass incarceration of African American males. It is simply a Catch-22. Until we solve the issues of underrepresentation on the political stage, we need history to defend everyone's rights. Without history, we are bound to make the same mistakes that caused the disproportional representation of a privileged group in the first place.

Who will have political power in North Dakota in the future? Who will represent the state? Who will represent the scien-

them-really-understand-math-and-science.; "Dear Congress: Why Are You So Anti-Science?," *Popular Science*, accessed March 3, 2017, <http://www.popsci.com/science/article/2013-05/dear-congress-why-are-you-so-anti-science>.

²⁸ Guldi and Armitage. *The History Manifesto*, 38.

tists funded by North Dakota through UND while working for the well-being of its peoples and protect the state's interests? Based on the impact of the budget cuts, it will be people from out of state. Cutting the state's flagship History Department's funding will result in students studying history, and other fields that will lead into politics, elsewhere. These people will lack the understanding of Grand Forks but on a larger scale the understanding of North Dakota and its peoples.

Joseph Kalka

Conclusion: A Reminder of the Past

The future of graduate level history education at the University of North Dakota remains to be seen. For now, it exists only as a memory yet to be completed. As the program itself becomes history, it is important to remember the value the offerings provided to the community. Beyond enrollment numbers, the presence of high level historical thought allowed the university to achieve one of the original goals of education as described by Veblen. This assemblage of authors collected above stands as an example of that next group of scholars that he references, and the absence of new groups of academics provides a sorrowing reminder of the end of an era.

But as this era ends, it ends as one that will certainly be remembered. Graduate level history education at the University of North Dakota has taught its students the power of long-term thought. It has imbued future scholars with the ability to examine texts, even when they may clash with preconceived notions. It has led to examinations of wider impacts of historical phenomena, considerations of imperatives, and creations of communities and identities.

To those reading this with the power to impact discussions on the future of higher education, do not forget about the past nor its connection to the future. Remember that long trends continue to impact the world in which we live. Unfortunately, graduate level history may be a permanent casualty of changes in higher education in North Dakota. While this is not preferable, it is real. What is more important than the future of one specific department, is the future of the communities we live in. If we strive to think historically, to connect our actions to those of wider narratives, to weigh the impacts of our actions for future generations, and to

remember that the hard decision is often justified via the future, then history will live on.

To assist in this, readers of this text can act in three key ways:

- **Apply historical thinking to higher education policy decisions**

- **Recognize the relationship between higher education and community building**

- **Understand that the historical success of the American university as a means of promoting prosperity is not necessarily linked to job creation**

History can and will continue to shape our understanding of the world. The program will be missed, but it does not mark the end of history at the University of North Dakota. Our renowned faculty will continue to produce worthy scholarship. While the coming days will be trying, time will march on, and historians will be there to record it. They will remember why we study history, with Collingwood's words sticking in their collective memories: we learn history to learn about ourselves.

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