

Chapter 16

Politics, Protests, and Social Change

Chapter Preview

TERMS

boycott, affirmative action, Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title IX, American Indian Movement (AIM), Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), embargo, deregulation, price parity

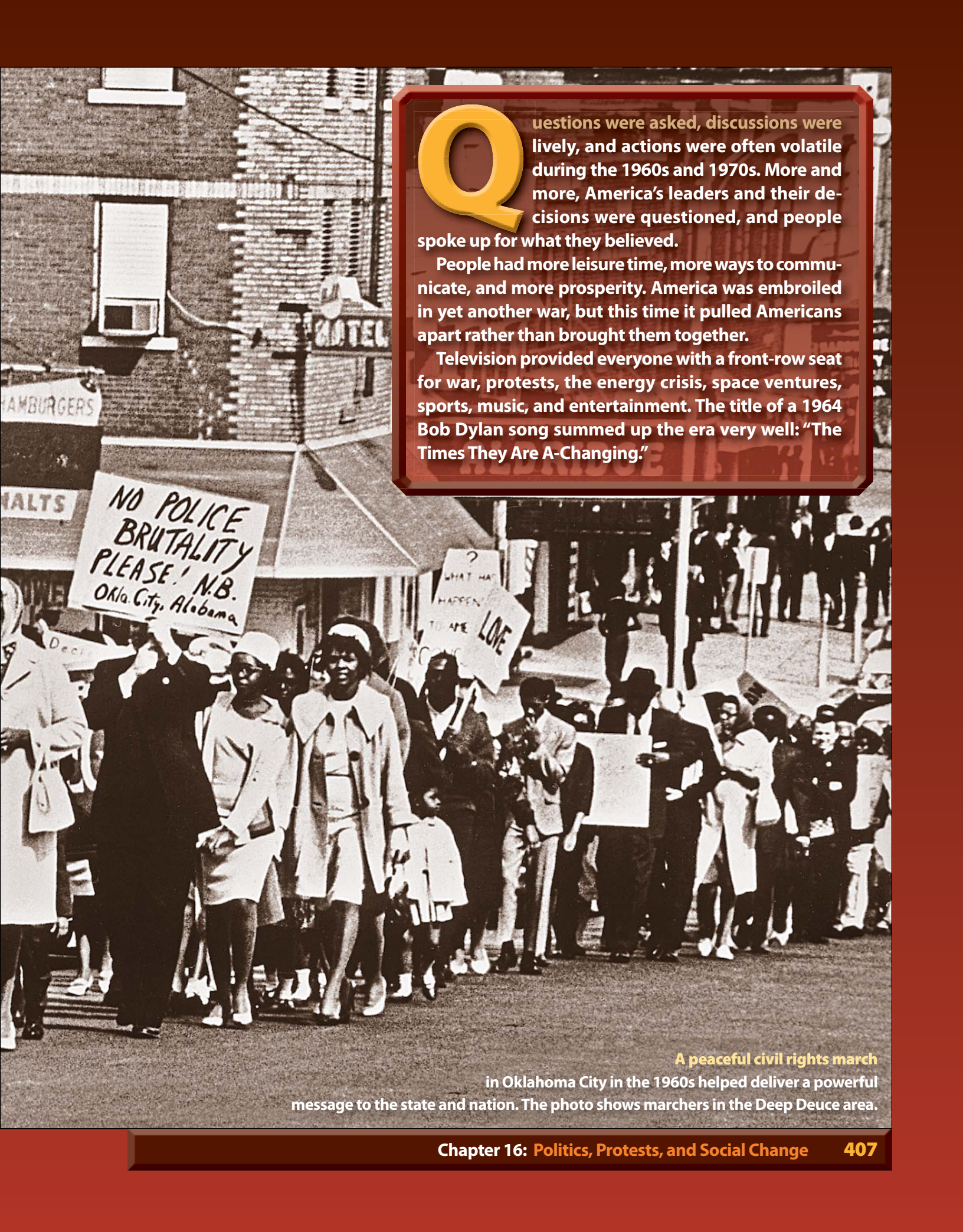
PEOPLE

J. Howard Edmondson, Henry Bellmon, Dewey Bartlett, Lelia Foley-Davis, Clyde Warrior, LaDonna Harris, David Hall, David Boren

PLACES

Tar Creek





Q

uestions were asked, discussions were lively, and actions were often volatile during the 1960s and 1970s. More and more, America's leaders and their decisions were questioned, and people spoke up for what they believed.

People had more leisure time, more ways to communicate, and more prosperity. America was embroiled in yet another war, but this time it pulled Americans apart rather than brought them together.

Television provided everyone with a front-row seat for war, protests, the energy crisis, space ventures, sports, music, and entertainment. The title of a 1964 Bob Dylan song summed up the era very well: "The Times They Are A-Changing."

A peaceful civil rights march in Oklahoma City in the 1960s helped deliver a powerful message to the state and nation. The photo shows marchers in the Deep Deuce area.

Signs of the Times

NEWS

The Northeast was hit with a blackout on November 9, 1965, affecting about 30 million people. In 1969, Neil Armstrong was the first human to walk on the moon.

SPORTS

Olympic champions included Wilma Rudolph, Muhammad Ali, and Peggy Fleming. Baseball greats included Mickey Mantle, Sandy Koufax, Johnny Bench, and Willie Mays, while Joe Namath was a star football player. Basketball greats included Bill Russell and Wilt Chamberlain, and Arthur Ashe became the first black to win a major tennis tournament. Arnold Palmer and Jack Nicklaus dominated golf.

TELEVISION

Sixties TV fare included *Sesame Street*, *The Flintstones*, *The Jetsons*, *The Andy Griffith Show*, *The Twilight Zone*, and *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In*. Sitcoms reigned in the seventies with *All in the Family*, *M*A*S*H*, and many others.

THEATER, FILM

Camelot; *Hello, Dolly*; *Oliver*; *Hair*; and *Funny Girl* were hit musicals in the 1960s. Some were made into movies, including *The Sound of Music* and *My Fair Lady*. Walt Disney continued offering family entertainment with popular movies. Adult moviegoers saw *The Graduate*, *Midnight Cowboy*, and James Bond movies.

MUSIC

English groups led by the Beatles and the Rolling Stones were hits in America. Many black artists found fame through Motown Records, including Smokey Robinson and the Miracles, the Temptations, and the Supremes. San Francisco produced heavier forms of rock by groups such as Jefferson Airplane and the Grateful Dead. Over 400,000 young people were at the Woodstock festival in 1969.

ENTERTAINMENT

World's Fairs opened in Seattle (1962), New York City (1964), Spokane (1974), Knoxville (1982), and New Orleans (1984).

Figure 17 Timeline: 1950–1985



	<p>1970 Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity founded</p>	<p>1971 Mining Lands Reclamation Act passed</p>	
	<p>1968 Office of Inter-Agency Coordination created</p>	<p>1972 Desegregation of schools ordered</p>	<p>1983 Patience Latting became mayor of Oklahoma City</p>
	<p>1967 Oklahoma Indian Affairs Commission created</p>	<p>1973 Lelia Foley-Davis became first black female elected mayor</p>	
<p>1964 First vocational-technical school opened</p>			

1950 1955 1960 1965 1970 1975 1980 1985

	<p>1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision in <i>Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka</i></p>		<p>1973 American troops left Vietnam</p>	
	<p>1963 National Education Improvement Act passed</p>		<p>1972 Title IX</p>	
	<p>1964 Civil Rights Act passed</p>	<p>1971 18-year-olds got right to vote</p>	<p>1968 Indian Civil Rights Act enacted</p>	

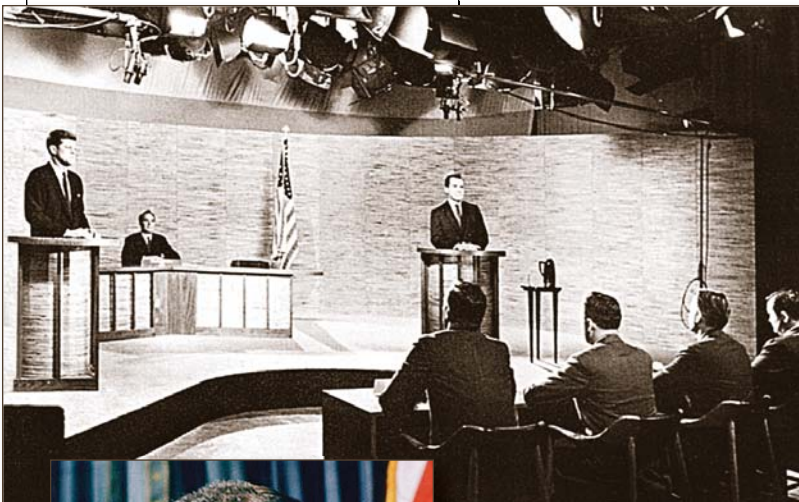
Section 1

War and Politics

On September 26, 1960, viewers tuned in to watch Senator John Kennedy of Massachusetts (left) and Vice President Richard Nixon (right) in the first-ever televised presidential debate. Kennedy (below) won the election.

As you read, look for:

- the civil rights movements in Oklahoma—for blacks, women, and American Indians,
- the upheaval resulting from the Vietnam War, and
- vocabulary terms **boycott**, **affirmative action**, **Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title IX**, and **American Indian Movement (AIM)**.



The youth movement and social unrest in the 1960s and 1970s helped create a turbulent time. Oklahoma's youngest governor, J. Howard Edmondson, age thirty-three, took office in January 1959. Two years later, the youngest person ever elected president, forty-three-year-old John F. Kennedy, was inaugurated. Although Kennedy, a Democrat, won the national election, Oklahomans had supported the Republican candidate, Richard M. Nixon. The state's Republican support continued in the 1962 election when Henry

Bellmon became Oklahoma's first Republican governor. Bellmon was followed in 1967 by another Republican governor, Dewey Bartlett.

President Kennedy's agenda of the space race, civil rights, the Peace Corps, and ending the Cold War was cut short when he was assassinated in Dallas, Texas, on November 22, 1963. Americans and people around the world were shocked at the sudden, tragic loss of the young, vibrant leader. Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson was immediately sworn in as president. Johnson continued many of Kennedy's social and economic programs, including the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Civil Rights Movement

African Americans had fought alongside whites, American Indians, and others during World War II, and they wanted the equality

to continue at home. President Harry Truman established a Commission on Civil Rights in 1946 to address the issue, and his administration integrated military training facilities in 1948. But this was not enough, and the voices for civil rights grew louder.

In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* that separate educational facilities for black children were not equal, but opposition by white officials continued. African American Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat on a Montgomery, Alabama, city bus in 1955, which led to a boycott of the city's buses. (A **boycott** occurs when people refuse to buy certain items or take certain actions until specific conditions are met.) President Dwight Eisenhower ordered federal National Guard troops in to ensure the safety of black students enrolling at Little Rock's Central High School in Arkansas in 1957.

Desegregating Public Facilities

The 1958 Oklahoma City sit-ins by the NAACP Youth Council and Clara Luper were part of the growing national effort. After the group's success at Katz Drug Store, they moved across the street to Veazey's Drug Store. Veazey's had already decided to change its lunch counter policy to serve black customers. Another downtown store, S. H. Kress, decided to serve everyone but removed all of the counter stools and converted to stand-up service. The sit-in at John A. Brown's Department Store continued from August 1958 until June 1961, but the Youth Council prevailed. Actor Charlton Heston gave a boost to the efforts in May 1961 when he joined in a march in front of John A. Brown's. Economics played a part in changing the stores' policies, because businesses targeted for sit-ins usually saw a loss of income as a result of the disruption.

The three-year effort in Oklahoma City resulted in 117 integrated stores, and the Youth Council grew from fourteen members to over one thousand. The success of the sit-in tactic in Oklahoma City led to its use in many other locations in the South. Emotions, however, were mixed. Most of the African American community supported the nonviolent sit-ins, but a few blacks were unhappy. While many white people supported the Youth Council's efforts, Luper also received hate-filled telephone calls and threats. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. believed that the fight for equality should be nonviolent, but other African Americans thought a more militant effort was needed. Most of the civil rights activity in Oklahoma remained nonviolent.

Marches were another way that blacks and their supporters showed their discontent. Several marches were held in Tulsa during the 1960s, sometimes resulting in arrests. Luper led a march at an amusement park in Lawton in 1966 to protest the segregated swimming pool.



Clara Luper (1923-2011), a schoolteacher, led a group of black youth who staged a sit-in at the lunch counter of Katz Drug Store in Oklahoma City.

Something Extra!

Dr. Juanita Kidd Stout, born in Wewoka, became the first black woman in America elected to a judgeship in 1959. Stout earned a law degree and joined the district attorney's office in Philadelphia, where she was elected judge of the common pleas court.



She related later in an interview, “The man who owned it had me arrested . . . because he didn’t want blacks to swim. He said he didn’t want me swimming in his pool and I looked at him and didn’t say anything because I couldn’t swim.” Oklahoma City’s amusement parks – Wedgewood and Springlake – were also caught in the civil rights struggle. Wedgewood was segregated on certain days, which resulted in a protest and the arrest of more than fifty people in 1963. Thirty people were arrested and several were hurt in a racial incident at Springlake on April 11, 1971.

School Integration

Racial segregation in the Oklahoma City Public Schools was challenged in 1961. At the time, students attended neighborhood schools, and the neighborhoods were largely segregated. In 1972, Judge Luther Bohanon ordered the school board to desegregate the schools by busing students. Black students were transported by bus from their neighborhoods to attend the predominantly white, grades 1-4 elementary schools. The predominantly black elementary schools became fifth-grade centers, and white students were bused to them. New attendance

zones were drawn to integrate the middle and high schools. While the effort was somewhat successful, it also resulted in *white flight*, when some families moved outside the district to attend school in the suburbs, which were outside of the reach of the busing order.

Black athletes were not allowed to play on the varsity teams of a number of southern universities until the late 1960s and early 1970s. In 1957, Prentice Gautt became the first of many African Americans to play football at the University of Oklahoma. In the mid-1960s, Coach Abe Lemons at Oklahoma City University recruited two African American basketball players from Kentucky—Jerry Lee Wells and Charlie Hunter. The OCU team lost to Texas Western in the first round of the 1966 NCAA Tournament, but the Texas team went on to win the tournament with five African American starters. Their story was featured in the 2006 movie *Glory Road*. Oklahoman Don Haskins, who had played under Henry Iba at Oklahoma A & M, was the head coach of the winning Texas team. Jerry Lee Wells was selected as an All-American and was drafted by Cincinnati in the NBA draft. His professional basketball career was cut short, however, when he was picked by another draft—for the U.S. Army.

Something Extra!

The 14th Amendment’s equal protection clause was interpreted as “separate but equal” for over fifty years.

In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in the *Brown* decision that segregated schools were unequal and therefore unconstitutional.



The Vietnam War

Vietnam was a French colony prior to World War II, when it was seized by Japan. France wanted to regain control of the Asian colony after the war, but the Vietnamese communist leader, Ho Chi Minh, wanted independence for his country. The United States supported France's battle economically, but would not send in U.S. troops. In 1954, France withdrew from Vietnam.

In the withdrawal settlement, Vietnam was temporarily divided in half. The communist regime of Ho Chi Minh controlled the northern part. The United States helped establish a democratic, anticommunist government in the south, and President Eisenhower sent weapons and about 650 "military advisers" to Vietnam in the late 1950s. By the time of President Kennedy's assassination in 1963, the number had grown to 15,000 American military advisers. Under President Johnson, 5,000 more advisers were sent to Vietnam. By 1965, a decision had to be made to either escalate the effort or withdraw. Thinking that a heavy infusion of troops would win the war, Johnson announced in July 1965 that the troops would fight a ground war.

By 1966, the number of Americans in Vietnam more than doubled to four hundred thousand, and more than four thousand U.S. troops had been killed in the fighting. The jungles and rice paddies of Vietnam greatly hampered American troop movement. The terrain of the coun-

Above: A U.S. Army private prepares to leave a burning enemy base camp at My Tho, Vietnam. **Opposite page:** A civil rights march in front of the State Capitol in the 1960s.

Something Extra!

Although pageant officials did not recommend the travel, Oklahoma's Miss America Jane Jayroe performed in USO shows for the troops in Vietnam.



Map 37 North and South Vietnam

Map Skill: In what part of the world is Vietnam located?

Protests against the Vietnam War reached the very doors of the Pentagon in 1967, when fifty thousand protesters were kept at bay by military police.

try was much more suited to the North Vietnamese guerrilla warfare.

Even though earlier wars were covered by the media, technology had developed greatly by the 1960s, and coverage was more thorough. The horrors of war and daily military routine were vividly replayed in living rooms across the country, although reports were about five days old by the time the film was flown to the United States and processed. The news bureau in Saigon, South Vietnam, was the third largest for many years, behind only New York and Washington. During the first part of the war, reporting was mostly positive in support of the American effort. By the early 1970s, soldiers were still portrayed positively, but journalists were growing skeptical of the war's progress, as were Americans at home.

War Protests

As the fighting in Vietnam dragged on with no end in sight, more Americans became frustrated. Costs for the war were escalating rapidly, and inflation in the United States put many social programs at risk. People began questioning America's involvement in Vietnam. The emotionally charged antiwar movement was debated on university and college campuses across the nation in the late 1960s and early 1970s.



Oklahomans too were torn in their feelings about the war. The majority continued with their daily routines of work or school, but several young people exercised their First Amendment right of free speech on their campuses and at the State Capitol. In 1968, fearful of campus disorder reaching Oklahoma campuses, Governor Bartlett created the Office of Inter-Agency Coordination to gather information on people suspected of “radical” activities.

Even though some American troops were being pulled out of Vietnam in 1970, U.S. forces invaded neighboring Cambodia in April of that year. The action ignited thousands of protests at home. Four students were killed at Kent State University in Ohio on May 4, 1970, and two died at Jackson State University in Mississippi ten days later as demonstrators and law enforcement clashed. Saddened, shocked, and shaken, some people feared major uprisings on campuses. Campus Army ROTC (Reserve Officers’ Training Corps) units, as a perceived arm of the government or the “establishment,” were often the target of antiwar demonstrators. Oklahoma State University’s ROTC drill field was declared off limits to protesters. Although protesters were present, a crisis was averted at OU’s ROTC awards ceremony a few days after the Kent State incident.

The End of the War

American troops were withdrawn from Vietnam in 1973 when a cease-fire was signed, but the North Vietnamese continued fighting the South Vietnamese. In April 1975, Saigon fell to the communist regime. The remaining U.S. military and diplomats were hurriedly evacuated, and many frantic South Vietnamese tried to escape with them. Thousands of Vietnamese people were flown out of Vietnam, including hundreds of children in Operation Babylift. Many others fled on rafts and boats. An estimated 132,000 Southeast Asian refugees immigrated to the United States in 1975.

Friends and family were thrilled to have their loved ones home, but the welcome home for Vietnam veterans lacked the jubilation that followed other wars. America’s longest conflict was costly in many ways, including the loss of human lives and confidence in our country. Over 6 million American troops served in the Vietnam War effort, and over 58,000 died. Oklahomans who served in Vietnam numbered 144,000, and at least 988 Oklahomans were killed.



Top: Thousands of South Vietnamese fled the country when their government fell to the North Vietnamese. A large number of the Vietnamese refugees eventually settled in Oklahoma, and by 1980 the number had grown to over 6,500. **Above:** *The Soldiers* by Frederick Hart is part of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C.



A very young marine waits apprehensively on the beach at Da Nang, Vietnam. The fact that eighteen-year-olds could die for their country but not vote gave great impetus to the passage of the Twenty-sixth Amendment.

The Twenty-Sixth Amendment

All men over eighteen were eligible to be drafted into the army, and the average age of the American soldier in Vietnam was nineteen. Since most states required voters to be twenty-one, the young soldiers had no voting voice in their government. Efforts had been made sporadically since the Civil War to lower the voting age, but the unrest of the 1960s helped propel the issue forward. A passionate movement began to gain the vote for young people, and Congress quickly passed the Twenty-sixth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution on March 10, 1971. Three-fourths of the state legislatures had to approve the amendment before it could be ratified; the amendment was approved on July 1 of that same year. Eleven million Americans between eighteen and twenty were eligible to vote for the first time, and in the next national election, in 1972, 50 percent of eighteen- to twenty-year-olds voted, a percentage that has never been equaled.

Other Rights Movements

The events unfolding in the 1960s inspired various other groups to fight for their rights.

Affirmative Action

In 1961, President Kennedy created a Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity to help achieve fair employment for all races. That committee was to “take **affirmative action**” to ensure that hiring and employment practices were free of racial bias. President Johnson took the effort a step further in Title VII of the **Civil Rights Act of 1964**, which required equal employment opportunity without regard to race, religion, and national origin.

Women’s Rights

Women sought equal rights in the workplace and in society. In 1964, gender was added to the protected categories of the Civil Rights Act. The energized feminist movement eventually helped to achieve “equal pay for equal work,” to open new career possibilities, and to remove barriers for advancement of women. At least two Oklahoma communities elected female mayors in the 1970s. In 1971, Oklahoma City became the largest city with an elected female mayor, and Mayor Patience Latting ably served until 1983. Lelia Foley-Davis became the first black female elected mayor in America when she took the job in Taft in 1973. Hannah Atkins became the first African American woman elected to the Oklahoma house of representatives in 1968, a position she held until 1980. In the 1980s, Atkins served in the United Nations, as a consultant to the Oklahoma Corporation Commission, assistant director of the Department of Human Services, cabinet secretary for social services, and secretary of state. She also held various teaching positions.

The National Organization for Women (NOW) and The National Women's Political Caucus gained nationwide momentum for the proposed Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the U.S. Constitution. The amendment's text read "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." Although polls showed that a majority of Americans were for the ERA, a very vocal group opposed it. The U.S. Congress

approved the ERA in 1972, and it was then sent to the states for ratification. Thirty-five states approved the amendment. However, three-fourths of the states, or thirty-eight, were needed for it to become a law. The Oklahoma Legislature failed to ratify the ERA by three votes.

In 1970, an amendment was added to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act to prohibit sex discrimination in education; in 1972, this amendment became **Title IX**. Any educational institution that receives federal funding—elementary through college—is required to provide equal opportunities in educational programs and activities.

Girls' basketball in Oklahoma schools has had a long history, but before Title IX, the opportunity for female athletes beyond high school was almost nonexistent. Prior to Title IX, women were somewhat limited to traditional careers, and some colleges didn't allow females to take certain courses, stay out past midnight, or take classes if they were married. California swimmer Donna de Varona earned two gold medals in the 1964 Olympics, but couldn't compete in college because there was no athletic program for women. Twenty-five years after passage of Title IX, significantly more women were earning college degrees, and the number of female athletes increased greatly at all levels.

American Indian Rights

American Indians also made a renewed effort to make their voices heard. Delegates from sixty-seven tribes met in 1961 at the American Indian Chicago Conference to bring attention to their growing issues, which included health care, education, and employment.

Resolutions were adopted at the conference, but the conference also served to stimulate new leadership. One of the new young leaders who emerged in Chicago was Clyde Warrior, a Ponca Indian and a graduate of Northeastern State University in Tahlequah. Warrior became a leader in the National Indian Youth Council and was involved in the fishing-rights protests in the Pacific Northwest.



President Jimmy Carter signed an extension in 1978 to give the Equal Rights Amendment three additional years to be ratified. No additional states ratified the amendment during that time, and the amendment was not adopted.

Something Extra!

Longtime Byng basketball coach, Bertha Frank Teague, was one of the first three women inducted into the National Basketball Hall of Fame in 1985. She coached at Byng High School from 1927 to 1969, winning 1,157 games and many awards.



LaDonna Harris, a Comanche, as the founder and president of Americans for Indian Opportunity is one of the strongest voices on behalf of Native Americans. She has served on presidential commissions for four presidents.

LaDonna Harris, born in Temple, had married her childhood sweetheart, Fred Harris, who became a U.S. senator in the 1960s. Mrs. Harris, who was part Comanche Indian, used her position to work to improve the lives of American Indians. In 1970, she founded the intertribal Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity and served as president of Americans for Indian Opportunity for several years.

The sometimes militant **American Indian Movement (AIM)** was organized in the late 1960s to gain Indian rights. The group participated in several protests, including occupying the Bureau of Indian Affairs' office in Washington, D.C., in 1970. In 1973, to protest police brutality, AIM activists occupied the village of Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota. The seventy-one-day standoff between federal authorities and the activists resulted in two people killed and twelve wounded at the site of the 1890 Battle of Wounded Knee massacre.

The Legislature created an Oklahoma Indian Affairs Commission (OIAC) in 1967. The OIAC's mission was to promote

unity, purpose, and understanding between Indian tribes and state and federal governments. The U.S. Congress enacted the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968 to protect the basic rights of Indians, and in 1975, the American Indian Self-Determination and Education Act opened even more opportunities. The 1975 act gave tribal governments the option to assume responsibility for tribal administration and to increase control over their resources.

It's Your Turn

- 1. Why were the 1960s and 1970s a turbulent time for Oklahoma?**
- 2. What was the intent of affirmative action programs?**
- 3. What was the Equal Rights Amendment? Was it ratified?**

Section 2

State Affairs in the 1970s

As you read, look for

- Oklahoma's economy in the 1970s,
- educational reforms,
- noteworthy Oklahomans, and
- vocabulary terms **Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), embargo, deregulation, and price parity.**

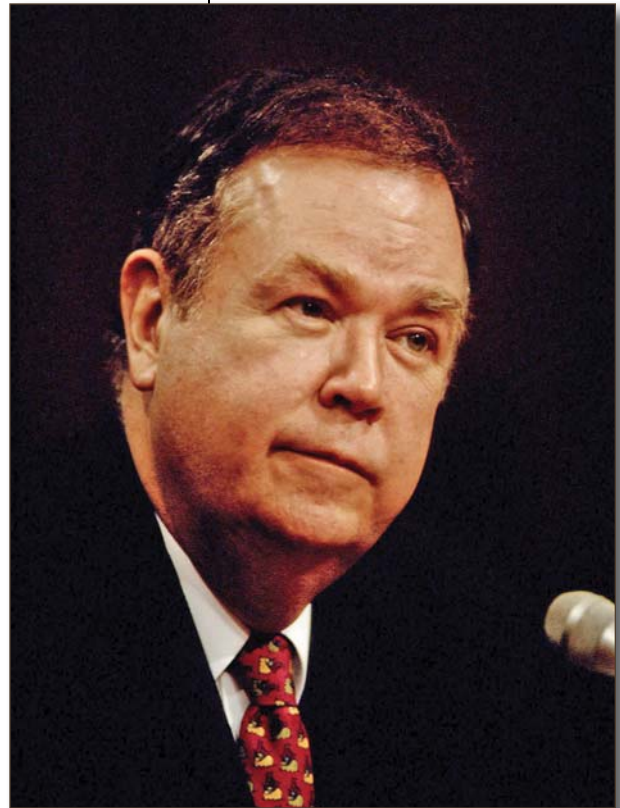
David Boren served as a state representative from 1967 to 1974, one term as governor from 1975 to 1979, as a U.S. senator from 1979 to 1994, and as president of the University of Oklahoma from 1994 to the present.

A Democrat again won the governor's election

in 1970, but only by 2,190 votes. The winner, Tulsa attorney David Hall, immediately abolished the controversial Office of Inter-Agency Coordination. State income was not keeping up with inflation, but Governor Hall didn't want Oklahoma to stop growing. He placed top priority on improving education, including a reduced teacher-pupil ratio, kindergarten for every child, special education, and improved guidance counseling. The baby boom generation created a peak ADA (average daily attendance) of 566,857 Oklahoma students in 1971. To address state needs, legislators increased several taxes, and education received much of the new money.

An investigation of wrongdoing resulted in Hall being indicted by a federal grand jury three days after leaving office in January 1975. He was convicted in March 1975 on charges of extortion, conspiracy, and violating antiracketeering laws. Hall was the first Oklahoma governor convicted of crimes committed while in office, and he served nineteen months in a federal penitentiary.

David L. Boren, age thirty-three, succeeded Hall as governor in 1975. Boren also staunchly supported education. He initiated the Oklahoma Scholar-Leadership Program, the Oklahoma Summer Arts Institute, and state funding for gifted and talented programs. The Physician Manpower Training Commission was established in 1975



Something Extra!

The current members of OPEC are Algeria, Angola, Ecuador, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Libya, Nigeria, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, and Venezuela.

to enhance medical care in rural and underserved areas by providing funding assistance for medical training.

An Oklahoma Open Meetings Act was first enacted in 1959, but a new law was written in 1977 during Boren's term. The Open Meetings Act and Open Records Act help keep public meetings and records available to everyone, and prevent abuse of power by elected and appointed officials.

Oil

After World War II, the demand for petroleum in America grew rapidly, and it soon outpaced production. In 1948, the United States began to import more oil than it exported. For years, the price and production of oil around the world was generally controlled by a group of American- and European-owned companies known as the "Seven Sisters." These companies were Standard Oil of New Jersey (today's Exxon), Royal Dutch Shell, British Petroleum, Standard Oil of New York (Mobil), Texaco, Standard Oil of California (Chevron), and Gulf Oil. The companies paid the countries where they produced petroleum a royalty or percentage of the profits.

In 1951, a revolution in Iran resulted in the Iranian government taking control of the oil industry in that country. The Shah of Iran contracted with companies to drill and operate the wells. Other oil-rich nations soon followed Iran's example. In 1960, the **Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)** was organized by Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela. OPEC grew in international prominence in the

1960s and 1970s, and it became a major voice in oil production and pricing in world markets.

In the late 1960s, environmentalists began to oppose drilling in certain areas because they believed it might harm wildlife and the environment; that debate continues today. Partly as a result of the environmentalists' efforts, the U.S. government imposed stricter controls and regulations on drilling. The added controls and regulations, coupled with price regulations, kept many producers from looking for oil in the United States. American oil companies began buying foreign oil because it cost less.



The OPEC headquarters building is located in Vienna, Austria. OPEC moved into this new building in 2009. Its headquarters have been in Vienna since 1965.

The Oil Embargo

War broke out in the Middle East in 1973 between Egypt, Syria, and Israel. The United States and much of Western Europe supported Israel. Arab members of OPEC placed an **embargo** on oil; that is, they refused to ship oil to the nations that supported Israel. At the same time, OPEC quadrupled oil prices. The national average price of gasoline at the filling station rose from 38.5 cents a gallon to over 55 cents. By the end of the summer of 1974, the United States experienced its first fuel shortage since World War II. Gasoline was often rationed to customers, and long lines and short tempers often formed at gas stations.

The embargo was lifted in March 1974, but the effects of the energy crisis lasted throughout the decade. Congress reduced the speed limit nationwide to 55 miles an hour to help reduce gasoline consumption. Daylight Saving Time was initiated year-round, and everyone was asked to conserve energy. Automakers started making smaller, more fuel-efficient vehicles. Alternative and renewable sources of energy were studied, as the United States began efforts to become energy self-sufficient.

Oklahoma Wells

Natural gas was first produced in Oklahoma in the early 1900s, but it was not until the 1940s that its value increased. Oil was the prize most drillers searched for, and gas was “an unintended consequence of oil exploration.” It’s estimated that 500 billion cubic feet of natural gas was vented or burned off by oil producers. Production of gas in Oklahoma doubled in the 1960s and 1970s, and was aided further by **deregulation** (the removal of government rules and regulations).

With many government rules and regulations removed and a high demand, another drilling boom took place in Oklahoma. Natural gas was abundant in the Anadarko Basin of western Oklahoma, but deep wells were needed to recover it. The Bertha Rogers No. 1 in Washita County was the world’s deepest well when it was drilled to 31,441 feet in 1974. In 1979, a well near Sayre became the state’s deepest gas producer at 24,996 feet.

The oil boom revitalized many towns and cities in the state. Woodward’s 1960 population of 7,747 was almost doubled by 1980 to 13,610. New schools, post offices, hospitals, and businesses were built.



The Oklahoma History Center has a collection of oil derricks from the various periods of the oil industry.

Environmental Challenges

Tar Creek Superfund Cleanup Site

Between 1918 and 1945, Oklahoma led the world in zinc production. Rich lead and zinc ore were discovered in Ottawa County and in neighboring Kansas and Missouri, an area that was called the Tri-State Mining District. Some of the underground mines were sixty feet deep with only a thin layer of rock separating the mine from the surface. Pumps ran constantly to remove water. The ore was processed at nearby mills, which accumulated large piles of waste mine tailings, or *chat*, that contained high levels of toxic lead. Declining world prices led to the demise of the market, and the mines were closed in 1970 after producing 1.3 million tons of lead and 5.2 million tons of zinc.

When the mines closed, the pumps were shut off, and mine water discharge began to seep into the surface water and groundwater. Some of the chat was used in driveways and in other areas in the nearby communities, but large piles remained. After reports of water issues and after extensive testing, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) declared the area one of the worst contaminated in the country in 1983 and placed it on the federal Superfund list.

The Tar Creek Superfund Site is a forty-square-mile area in Ottawa County. Many residents have been relocated and communities have become ghost towns. The Picher-Cardin school closed in 2009. Health issues, collapsing mines, and groundwater contamination are continuing concerns. The EPA, the Corps of Engineers, the state Department of Environmental Quality, the University of Oklahoma, and others continue cleanup efforts.

Other Minerals

Zinc and lead mines, which at one time produced one-half of the world's zinc supply, closed in 1970. Concerns about groundwater contamination and the collapse of deserted zinc and lead mines continue in the far northeastern part of Oklahoma in the Tar Creek Superfund Cleanup Site.

A copper deposit in Jackson County was mined from 1965 to 1975. Ore from the Jackson County mine was processed at a nearby mill, and the copper was then shipped by rail to a smelter in El Paso, Texas.

In 1971, the Oklahoma Legislature passed the Mining Lands Reclamation Act. In 1977, Congress passed the national Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act. Both pieces of legislation were intended to protect society and the environment from problems resulting from abandoned mines.

Agriculture

Better equipment, fertilizers, and pesticides made it possible for fewer farmers to produce an abundance of agricultural products in the 1960s and 1970s. Cattle and wheat were the top products in Oklahoma, but cotton,

hay, peanuts, milk, eggs, and hogs were also important products. The wheat crops were so large some years that trucks lined the streets of many rural communities waiting to unload the wheat at the grain elevator during the early summer wheat harvest. The abundance of wheat created surpluses that caused the market prices to drop.

The frustration of farmers came to a head in 1979, when the federal government imposed a grain embargo against the Soviet Union following that country's invasion of Afghanistan. Farmers felt they were singled out to take the brunt of the impact of the embargo. Many farmers joined the American Agriculture Movement to create a more unified voice. Farmers wanted **price parity**, which is the point where

prices received for farm products keep pace with the costs of other products and services to ensure a constant standard of living. Farmers from many states joined a *tractorcade* (a procession of tractors), and drove their farm implements across the country to Washington. Several Oklahoma farmers joined the tractorcade or donated money for lodging, food, and fuel for the participants. Several hundred farmers and tractors were in Washington for several weeks while they met with legislators.

Educational Reforms

The launching of the *Sputnik* satellite caused Americans to take a long look at their educational programs, especially those in science and technology. In 1963, Congress passed the National Education Improvement Act, which expanded the federal role in technology education.

In 1964, Tulsa opened the state's first area vocational-technical (vo-tech) school with an enrollment of 321. Oklahoma received funds initially for five area vo-tech schools, which provided programs for high school students and adults. In addition to Tulsa, schools were opened in Oklahoma City, Ardmore, Duncan, and Enid. Other cities soon joined the growing list of cities with vocational-technical schools. Today, the state's twenty-nine schools have fifty-seven campuses that cover most of the state. In 1971, skills centers for juvenile offenders and inmates were begun, and today there are sixteen such facilities.

Before the establishment of the area vo-tech schools, vocational education within local schools included agriculture, home economics, industrial arts, and business education. Today, the vo-tech schools, renamed *technology centers* in 1999, offer a wide variety of programs and add new ones to meet the needs of businesses and the public. For example, the Moore Norman Technology Center hosts the Red Carpet Film Festival for student-produced short films. A state-of-the-art Pipeline & Safety Training Center is offered at Drumright's Central Tech, located near the pipeline hub of Cushing. Oklahoma's nationally acclaimed technology centers are often cited by businesses as the reason they relocate to the state.

A new type of education—public school district junior college—was developed in Oklahoma in the 1920s and 1930s. The first junior colleges essentially added a thirteenth and fourteenth year of study to high schools. By 1939, there were 16 two-year junior colleges and 4 one-year colleges throughout the state with an enrollment of 1,600 students. A lack of students and funding caused most of the junior colleges to close by 1939.



Cattle were among the top agricultural products in the 1960s and 1970s.

Something Extra!

A tractor acquired after the 1979 tractorcade to Washington, D.C., was displayed in the National Museum of American History for a number of years.

Spotlight

McClellan-Kerr Arkansas River Navigation System

In 1905, the Muskogee Commercial Club organized the Arkansas Navigation Company to take advantage of the Arkansas River for transporting oil. In the 1920s, Newt Graham of Tulsa and Clarence Byrns of Fort Smith, Arkansas, became leaders in development of the river. Their efforts were doubled after disastrous floods in 1923 and 1927. Tulsa's waterworks were destroyed, four thousand people were driven from their homes, and many bridges and roads were washed out in 1923. In the 1927 flood, an eight-foot wall of water roared down the Arkansas River, caus-

ing enormous damage from Kansas to the Mississippi River. In the 1930s, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers began working on flood control projects in the area, but in 1943 another flood left "half of Arkansas" underwater. The power of the river had to be controlled.

In 1946, the Arkansas Basin Development Association organized by Graham and John Dunkin of Tulsa led the effort for federal legislation for Arkansas River navigation. The Rivers and Harbors Act authorized the system for hydroelectricity, flood control, recreation, and navigation from Catoosa



just north of Tulsa to the Mississippi River, but funding was not guaranteed. Oklahoma Senator Elmer Thomas and Arkansas Senator John L. McClellan, both on the Senate Appropriations Committee, helped ensure funding. When Robert S. Kerr was elected to the Senate in 1948, he became a primary force for the waterway. In 1950, the waterway project was the largest civil works project undertaken by the Corps of Engineers.

Professor Hans Albert Einstein, son of the famous scientist, devised a way to remove the silt from the river by deepening and narrowing parts of the river to create a faster flow. Construction of lakes Oologah, Eufaula, and Keystone and the Dardanelle lock and dam began in the 1950s. Others followed throughout the 1960s. In 1967, Tulsa and Rogers County approved funds to develop the Tulsa Port of Catoosa, which is the largest port on the Arkansas

Will Rogers was correct when he quipped that “paving the Arkansas would be cheaper than making it navigable.” The McClellan-Kerr Arkansas River Navigation System cost \$1.32 billion to complete. Lock and Dam #15 (below) is located at Cowlington.

River system. The 448-mile McClellan-Kerr Arkansas River Navigation System was ready for use on December 30, 1970.

Commercial tow boats and barges can travel from Catoosa to the Mississippi River in five days and to New Orleans in ten days. Five public and approximately fifty private ports are located on the system. Commodities shipped on the waterway include chemical fertilizer, farm products, sand, gravel, rock, iron, steel, petroleum products, wheat, and soybeans. Forty-two foreign countries have traded with the region through the system, and the Arkansas National Guard traveled via the waterway to Michigan for training.

On May 20, 2002, a horrific accident on the navigation system resulted in the deaths of fourteen people. A barge traveling up the waterway struck one of the piers supporting the I-40 bridge, causing it to collapse. Not realizing the bridge had collapsed, drivers of several vehicles traveling on I-40 drove off the bridge. Another disruption to the waterway occurred in 2005 when the port at New Orleans was heavily damaged by Hurricane Katrina. The hurricane damage stalled barge traffic for several months.





Top: The Red River Technology Center is one of about fifty vo-tech campuses in the state. **Above:** Braum's is a familiar sight to Oklahoma's fast food diners.

However, the reexamination of education in the late 1960s and early 1970s resulted in new junior college development. Tulsa Junior College (now Tulsa Community College) was established in 1968; Altus Junior College was converted to Western Oklahoma State College in 1969. In the early 1970s, two new facilities were opened—Oscar Rose Junior College (Rose State College) in Midwest City and South Oklahoma City Junior College (Oklahoma City Community College). Ju-

nior colleges from the 1930s that survived and grew are at El Reno (Redlands Community College), Seminole (Seminole State College), and Warner (Connors State College). The decline of the mining industry resulted in changing the state's two schools of mines into junior colleges. The State School of Mines at Wilburton was changed to Eastern State College, and the College of Mines and Metallurgy at Miami became Northeastern Oklahoma A & M College. Sayre Junior College merged with Southwestern Oklahoma State University, Weatherford, in 1987. By 2011, there were twenty-five public institutions of higher education in Oklahoma, with an enrollment of almost 200,000.

Business

When suburbs began to develop, shopping patterns began changing, from large downtown stores to suburban shops and stores. Developers of Tulsa's Utica Square worked for almost ten years convincing financial backers that a shopping center could survive on the edge of a town. Opened in 1952, Utica Square was Tulsa's first shopping center, as well as one of the first in the country. Penn Square opened in Oklahoma City in 1960 as the city's first multi-building shopping center. Oklahoma City's first enclosed shopping mall, Shepherd Mall, was built on the Shepherd family farm in 1964.

Sam Walton was born in Kingfisher in 1918. In 1943, he married Helen Robson of Claremore, and they bought a Ben Franklin variety store in Arkansas in 1945. Over time, Walton bought fifteen more variety stores. In 1962, he opened the first Wal-Mart discount store in

Arkansas. The eleventh Wal-Mart was opened in Claremore in 1969, and Walton went on to build an empire in the discount store business.

A number of other businesses that started in the 1960s and 1970s have had a lasting impact on our state's economy. Tom Love opened a gas station in Watonga in 1964 and soon followed with filling stations in Minco and Sayre. The first Love's Country Store, a combination convenience store-filling station, opened in Guymon in 1972; the company now operates 365 locations in 39 states. Bill and Mary Braum sold their successful ice cream business in Kansas in 1967. In 1968, they moved to Oklahoma and started a new chain of twenty-four stores called Braum's Ice Cream and Dairy Stores. The family dairy herd and processing plant in Emporia, Kansas, supplied Braum's until a new processing plant was built in Oklahoma in 1971. In 1975, the Braum dairy herd was moved to Tuttle, and the company added a bakery in 1978. The dairy business now includes seven ranches and farms, and almost three hundred stores in five states. David Green opened the first Hobby Lobby arts and crafts store in 1972 in Oklahoma City, and the business now includes over five hundred stores in forty-one states.

Great Oklahomans

Five Oklahomans joined Gordon Cooper and Jerrie Cobb at NASA in the 1960s and 1970s. Thomas Stafford of Weatherford was selected in the second group of NASA astronauts in 1962. Stafford piloted *Gemini VI* in 1965 and commanded the 1966 *Gemini IX* and *Apollo 10* in May 1969. General Stafford was also Apollo commander of the Apollo-Soyuz Test Project in 1975, which resulted in the first meeting in space between American astronauts and Soviet Union cosmonauts.

Owen Garriott of Enid joined NASA in 1965 as one of the first six scientist-astronauts. Garriott conducted a number of experiments aboard the *Skylab* in 1973 and *Spacelab-1* in 1983.

Two Oklahomans were in the fifth group of astronauts selected in 1966—William Pogue from Okemah and Stuart Roosa of Claremore. Colonel Pogue served on astronaut support crews for three Apollo missions and piloted *Skylab 4*, the eighty-four-day flight launched in November 1973. Colonel Roosa was command module pilot on *Apollo 14* in 1971, which was the third lunar landing mission. While fellow crewmen Alan Shepard and Edgar Mitchell landed and conducted experiments on the moon's surface, Roosa remained in lunar orbit.

Something Extra!

General Thomas Stafford was listed in the *Guinness Book of World Records* for achieving the highest speed ever reached by a person, during *Apollo 10's* reentry to Earth at 24,791 statute miles per hour.



Thomas P. Stafford made his first flight on *Gemini VI* in 1965. Ten years later, he was the Apollo commander for a meeting in space with Soviet cosmonauts.

Right: Shannon Lucid, seen here on the treadmill aboard the Russian space station *Mir*, set records for longest stays in space by an American, and by a woman. **Below:** Owen Garriott during an extravehicular activity (more commonly called a spacewalk) to attach a solar shield to *Skylab 3* in 1973.



Dr. Shannon Lucid of Bethany, selected by NASA in 1978, became an astronaut in 1979. Lucid's missions have included *Discovery* in 1985, *Atlantis* in 1989 and 1991, *Columbia* in 1993, and *Atlantis* in 1996 in which she traveled to the Russian Space Station *Mir*. Lucid set several records for duration in space.

Other Oklahomans selected as astronauts include John Herrington of Wetumka, who became the first American Indian in space in 2002; and Neil Woodward, a Putnam City High School graduate, who joined NASA in 1998.

Lasting literary works were created by Oklahomans S. E. Hinton and N. Scott Momaday. Writing about the "Socs and Greasers" at her school in Tulsa, the fifteen-year-old Hinton created a novel for young adults, *The Outsiders*, that was first published in 1967 while she was a freshman at Tulsa University. Hinton went on to write several other young adult novels. Four of her books were adapted into movies. At about the same time, N. Scott Momaday wrote *House Made of Dawn*, which

was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for fiction in 1969. Momaday, born in Lawton in 1934 and of Kiowa, Cherokee, and English descent, lived with his family near Mountain View until his parents took teaching jobs on Indian reservations in Arizona and New Mexico. Momaday's award-winning novel tells the story of a young Indian who is torn between the two worlds he lives in. A later book by Momaday, *The Way to Rainy Mountain*, traces the physical and spiritual migration of the Kiowa Indians from Montana to their lands in Oklahoma.

One of the most prolific songwriters of the era was Jimmy Webb, who was born in Elk City in 1946. Webb is the only person to receive Grammy Awards in all three categories—music, lyrics, and orchestration. His song “By The Time I Get To Phoenix” is the third-most-performed song in the last fifty years, with “Up, Up and Away” not far behind. Webb was joined in music circles by such other Oklahomans as Mason Williams, John Denver, Roger Miller, David Gates, Roy Clark, Leon Russell, and Jody Miller.

Other Oklahomans were making their name in acting, including James Garner, Dennis Weaver, Dale Robertson, Donna Reed, Tony Randall, and Ron and Clint Howard.

Paul Harvey, Curt Gowdy, Walter Cronkite, Jim Hartz, Bill Moyers, and Frank McGee were making their mark in the journalism field.

The national spotlight was turned on Oklahoma in 1967 when Jane Jayroe of Laverne was crowned Miss America. Jayroe was the second Oklahoman to receive the honor, after Norma Smallwood of Bristow in 1926.

Athletes from the state were putting their names in the record books: Bobby Murcer, Darrell Porter, and Susie Maxwell Berning of Oklahoma City; Johnny Bench from Binger; Steve Owens of Miami; and the Selmon brothers and J. C. Watts of Eufaula. Barry Switzer of the University of Oklahoma and Jimmy Johnson of Oklahoma State University were legendary coaches.

State of the State

Oklahoma’s population in the 1960 census was 2,328,284. The upward trend continued in 1970 with a count of 2,559,229; by 1980, there was almost a half a million increase to 3,025,290. Oklahoma was starting the decade of the 1980s on a strong, optimistic note. The words from Rodgers and Hammerstein’s song rang more true than ever, “You’re doing fine Oklahoma, Oklahoma, OK!”

It’s Your Turn

1. What is OPEC?
2. Why was a 55-mile-an-hour speed limit imposed?
3. What is Utica Square?



Top: Jimmy Webb has written songs that were hits in the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s.
Above: One of television’s most popular stars, James Garner, is seen here in his signature role as gambler Bret Maverick.

Chapter Review

Chapter Summary

- African Americans used such protest methods as sit-ins and nonviolent marches to gain equality. This struggle for equality led to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.
- The escalation of U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War led to many protests in Oklahoma and the rest of the United States against the war.
- Events of the 1960s led women to seek equal rights in the workplace and in society.
- American Indians made their voices heard through various protest movements in the 1960s, which eventually resulted in the passage of the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968.
- The voting age was lowered from twenty-one to eighteen when the Twenty-sixth Amendment was passed and ratified in 1971.
- Under the administrations of Governors David Hall and David Boren, progress was made in education, the arts, and medical care.
- Stricter government price controls and regulations on drilling of oil were the result of efforts by environmentalists and a war in the Middle East.
- Production of natural gas in Oklahoma doubled in the 1960s and 1970s, particularly in the area of the Anadarko Basin.
- Cattle and wheat were the top agricultural products in Oklahoma in the 1960s and 1970s. Price controls and a grain embargo led many farmers to join the American Agriculture Movement to create a more unified voice when approaching the government for relief.
- Vocational-technical education expanded in Oklahoma through state and federal funding. Junior colleges grew in importance in the field of higher education.

- During this era, shopping patterns began changing in larger cities as shopping centers appeared in suburban areas.
- Many Oklahomans made a name for themselves as astronauts, writers, musicians, journalists, and athletes.

Vocabulary

Define the following words, showing that you understand how they relate to this time period.

1. affirmative action
2. boycott
3. deregulation
4. embargo
5. embroiled
6. "establishment" (the government)
7. feminist movement
8. price parity
9. price regulations
10. prosperity
11. protesters
12. radical
13. shopping center
14. skeptical
15. Title IX
16. tractorcade
17. Twenty-sixth Amendment
18. white flight

Understanding the Facts

1. What was the significance of the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* decision?
2. What order did Judge Luther Bohanon give the Oklahoma City school board in 1972?
3. Who was the first African American athlete to play football at a state university in Oklahoma, and what year did he start?
4. What particular group benefited by the Title IX

amendment to the Civil Rights Act of 1964?

5. What was the purpose of the Oklahoma Indian Affairs Commission that was created in 1967?
6. Which amendment to the U.S. Constitution lowered the voting age from twenty-one to eighteen?
7. Which two pieces of legislation were designed to keep public meetings and records available to everyone?
8. What are the two top agricultural products in Oklahoma?

Developing Critical Thinking

1. How do you think television influenced Americans' opinions and actions during the Vietnam War?
2. Why do you think so many young Americans between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one do not take the opportunity to vote?
3. Compare and contrast the efforts of American Indians to those of African Americans and women in their struggles for rights and equality.

Applying Your Skills

1. Imagine you are a member of one of the groups in the chapter that was striving for equal rights. Write an "autobiographical narrative" that describes your beliefs, personal sacrifices, and efforts to promote rights for your group.
2. On a map of Oklahoma, show the locations of major crops and livestock. Include symbols and a legend on your map.

Exploring Technology

1. Using a computer, research the history of the Peace Corps and describe its impact on global understanding and efforts to bring peace throughout the world. If possible, interview a person in your community who has been a Peace Corps volunteer and prepare a short report for your classmates.
2. Prepare a database that lists Oklahoma state colleges, universities, and community colleges; their founding dates and locations; and any name changes through the years.

Building Skills Detecting Bias

Everyone has certain opinions or ideas about certain topics or subjects. For this reason, written material is not always objective (free from the writer's personal opinions). Even though a writer may try hard to be objective, what he or she writes or says may show *bias*, a highly personal and sometimes unreasonable opinion about something or someone. Bias can be either for or against an idea or individual.

To be a good and thoughtful citizen, you need to learn how to detect bias in both written and oral materials from both the past and the present. Asking the following questions may help you.

1. When and why was the material written or the statement made?
2. Did the writer or speaker use certain phrases for emotional impact or try to play on your emotions rather than present facts?
3. Did the writer or speaker tend to show one group as good and the other group as evil?

Read the following statements and identify any bias you believe exists.

The court had restored to the American people a measure of the humanity that had been drained away in their climb to worldwide supremacy. The Court said, without using the words, that when you stepped on a black man, he hurt. The time had come to stop.

—Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice*

This unwarranted exercise of power by the court, contrary to the Constitution, is creating chaos and confusion in the states principally affected. It is destroying the amicable relations between the white and Negro races that have been created through ninety years of patient effort by the good people of both races. It has planted hatred and suspicion where there has been heretofore friendship and understanding.

—From the "Southern Manifesto"