Teacher Resource Folder

Table of Contents

Letter to Mary Jane copies (both handwritten and typed) by Truman. June 28, 1947. In this letter, Truman foreshadows the speech he will give that he is not looking forward to and indicates that his family will not like it.

Copy of Executive Order 9981: Issued July 26, 1948 Order 9981 desegregated the U.S. military. As Commander In Chief, the President can give this order, without congressional approval, and the order MUST be followed.

Harry S Truman PDF produced by the US Parks Service: This document gives additional (slanted) information about Truman's stance on Civil Rights during his presidency.

Ernie's letter: August 1948. Ernie writes to his friend Truman to urge Truman to leave the South alone. He argues that Truman's friends and family would not like Truman's Civil Rights Platform. This letter was not included for student use, due to derogatory language (N word), however, it may be useful as additional teacher background.

Truman's Diary Excerpts: January and February 1948. In the entries, Truman addresses his feeling regarding Congress, their opinion of him, and his church preference.

Palmer Report: The official Democratic Platform for the 1948 Presidential election. The report outlines the party's views on issues.

Truman/Clark letter: Truman sends a copy of a letter he wrote to Tom Clark (US Attorney General) to his assistant, David Niles, regarding the attack on Woodard in September of 1946. Truman expresses alarm and asks Clark what his thoughts are on forming a committee to look at human and civil rights.

To Secure These Rights Report of 1947: The committee that Truman formed to look into Civil Rights submits its report regarding its findings and urges action be taken.

Note on envelope: "Comments on Walter White, Mrs. R. & Old Abe."

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON



June 28, 1947

Dear Mary:- I am enclosing your eneck. If you run short of funds let me

night. The situation here is very bad. I am afraid the Taft-Hartley Law will not work. But I'll be charged with the responsibility whether it does or does not work. I've come to the conclusion that Taft is no good and Hartley is worse. Mrs. Norton, who was chairman of the House Labor Committee came in to see me a day or two ago and she told me that Hartley is a crock and she minced no words in saying it. Isn't it too bad that public men can't always be public servants?

I've got to make a speech to the Society for the Advancement of Colored People tomorrow and I wish I didn't have to make it. Hrs. R. and Walter White, Wayne Morse, Senator from Oregon & your brother are the speakers. Walter White is white in color, has gray hair and blue eyes, but he is a Negro. Mrs. Roosevelt has spent her public life stirring up trouble between whites and black - and I'm in the the middle. Mamma won't like what I say because I wind up by quoting old Abe. But I believe what I say

HE WHITE HOUSE 0

and that and sin in the widell a any or the age and she told me that sea that he is a crock and she minudes cause string it sat it be for he but suffer that search the serious it. Sat it to for he but suffer that sear fulli seriant? thelp ray much this beint dappassion On Ropepul we may ining by houth betyeen white topor Committee came Wester White is white in color, say no hair and have eyes, but he is a " Ed Roth, tomorrow and I mil idn't have to moke it his Kond te Mite, Vayne horse Seriote from to make a specieto

EXECUTIVE ORDER

ESTABLISHING THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUALITY OF TREATMENT AND OPPORTUNITY IN THE ARMED SERVICES

WHEREAS it is essential that there be maintained in the armed services of the United States the highest standards of democracy, with equality of treatment and opportunity for all those who serve in our country's defense:

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, by the Constitution and the statutes of the United States, and as Commander in Chief of the armed services, it is hereby ordered as follows:

- 1. It is hereby declared to be the policy of the President that there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion or national origin. This policy shall be put into effect as rapidly as possible, having due regard to the time required to effectuate any necessary changes without impairing efficiency or morale.
- 2. There shall be created in the National Military Establishment an advisory committee to be known as the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services, which shall be composed of seven members to be designated by the President.
- 3. The Committee is authorized on behalf of the President to examine into the rules, procedures and practices of the armed services in order to determine in what respect such rules, procedures and practices may be altered or improved with a view to carrying out the policy of this order. The Committee shall confer and advise with the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary



Harry S Truman and Civil Rights



Harry S Truman and African Americans aboard the presidential railroad car "Ferdinand Magellan," 1948. Credit: Truman Library.

No citizen of this great county ought to be discriminated against because of his race, religion, or national origin. That is the essence of the American ideal, and the American Constitution. Harry S Truman

With these words President Harry S Truman summarized his views on the rights of all Americans to enjoy the freedoms guaranteed in the Constitution's Bill of Rights. By acting on those views, President Truman succeeded in bringing the issue of civil rights to the forefront of national attention.

Harry Truman's Missouri Roots

Harry Truman's civil rights views surprised many people, because they seemed to contradict his southern heritage. Truman grew up in a former slave state where his small-town, rural surroundings included segregation and subordination for many of its citizens. Black residents lived in a separate section of town, attended a different school, and were prevented from shopping at most stores. In his early letters, the young Harry Truman reflected his background by frankly admitting prejudices against blacks and Asians.

Despite all this, Truman believed in fairness. While serving in Jackson County public office, he saw

the plight of African Americans in urban areas. Truman's experience as an officer in World War I and post-war business dealings with a Jewish partner also broadened his perspectives. By 1940, as he sought reelection to the U.S. Senate, his viewpoint had matured. In a speech in Sedalia, Missouri, he said, "I believe in the brotherhood of man, not merely the brotherhood of white men, but the brotherhood of all men before law. I believe in the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. In giving the Negroes the rights which are theirs, we are only acting in accord with our own ideals of a true democracy."

President Truman Addresses Civil Rights

After Franklin D. Roosevelt's death on April 12, 1945, President Harry Truman directed the conclusion of World War II, a war fought against racist dictatorships. Yet, black veterans returning from the conflict found poor treatment at home. Truman conveyed his alarm, "My stomach turned over when I learned that Negro soldiers, just back from overseas, were being dumped out of army trucks in Mississippi and beaten. Whatever my inclinations as a native of Missouri might have been, as President I know this is bad. I shall fight to end evils like this." Other episodes of violence profoundly moved Truman. In 1946, in Georgia, a mob shot and killed two black men and their wives. No one ever stood trial for the crime. In

South Carolina, police pulled a young African American soldier from a bus and beat him blind. These events left a deep impression on the President in a way that no statistics ever could.

In late 1946, Harry Truman established "The President's Committee on Civil Rights." He instructed its members: "I want our Bill of Rights implemented in fact. We have been trying to do this for 150 years. We're making progress, but we're not making progress fast enough." The committee released its report in 1947. Entitled *To Secure These Rights*, it documented nationwide discrimination in areas such as education, housing, public accommodations, and voting rights.



Political Risk and Executive Power

On February 2, 1948, President Truman took great political risk by presenting a daring civil rights speech to a joint session of Congress. Based on the committee's findings, he asked Congress to support a civil rights package that included federal protection against lynching, better protection of the right to vote, and a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission. These proposals met strong opposition in Congress and led to the splintering of the Democratic Party right before the 1948 presidential election. Still, Truman won

reelection, but little civil rights legislation was enacted during his administration because some southern congressmen blocked his recommendations. Instead, Truman turned to his executive powers and issued orders prohibiting discrimination in federal employment and to end segregation in the military. African Americans in the military served in separate units, where they often preformed minor duties and were commanded by white officers. Finally, in 1954, the Army disbanded its last all-black unit.

Civil Rights and the Truman Legacy

Harry S Truman wrote, "Discrimination is a disease, we must attack it wherever it appears." Through his efforts as leader of the world's most prominent democracy, he sought to improve the opportunity of each American to lead a successful life with basic guarantees of freedom. Some critics believe that he should have done more, while, at the time, others thought he went too far.

Considering his upbringing and the climate of the times, Truman demonstrated a great deal of personal growth and political courage while in the White House. Although Truman never entirely overcame all of his personal prejudices, his heartfelt sense of fairness and his deeply rooted faith in the U.S. Constitution made him the first modern president to champion civil rights, paving the way for the legislative successes of the 1960s.





HISTORIC MORMON TEMPLE

CENTER OF

SALT LAKE'S SCENIC WONDERS



HOTEL TEMPLE SQUARE

Saturday Nite

Dear friend Harry:

Please pardon me, in my TYPING, and approaching you as I am but I am close to you as I know you, in my humble way.

Harry, in this letter, I could say many things to you and maybe correct you, as I think. I will not do that but allow me to pass this on to you.

Now I will skip over the "Equal Rights Bill" as you and I are outherners and we should appease our thoughts and let the South be the South as you and I know. It is Mexico I wish to convey a message.

In Tampico, Mexico there is an American who is one of the few successful investors in the whole Country of Mexice. I know him well and you should know him and really know JUST how we are getting along with our Mexican Policy.

Harry, please contact Mr. I. B. Sutton of Tampico, Mexico. He will give you more about Mexico than all the information you have in hand. He is one man that is not a politician but he knows Mexico and can be helpful to you, yes, give you more definite information than all our Representives who we have sent down there. I mean this Harry but maybe I have not expressed myself tooklearly.

He comes to Denver each year and, at the present time, is at the Colburn Hotel, 980 Grant Street Denver, Colorado.

Friend Harry, I would not guide you wrong about Mr. Sutton. Contact Mr. Sutton, forget about our " Equal Rights Bill" appease the South and allow me to continue to be your silent pardner.

Oh Harry, you are a fine man but are a poor salesman so listen to me --





HISTORIC MORMON TEMPLE

CENTER OF

SALT LAKE'S SCENIC WONDERS

HOTEL TEMPLE SQUARE

You can win the South with out the "Equal Rights Bill" but you cannot win the South--with it. Just why?? well You, Bess and Margaret, and shall I say, myself, are all Southerners and we have been raised with the Negros and we know the term "Equal Rights". Harry. let us let the South take care of the Niggers, which they have done, and if the Niggers do not like the Southern treatment, let them come to Mrs. Roosevelt.

Harry, you are a Southerner and a D--- good one so liston to me. I can see, you do not talk domectic problems over with Bess. ????? You put equal rights in Independence and Bess will not live with you, will you Bess.

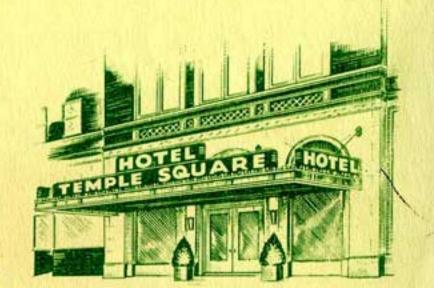
Well Harry, I have said my piece and I am only a boy who travels, helping you, but you are making it hard on me.

Anyway, PLEASE contact Mr. I. B. Sutton NOW. He has no idea I have written this letter so please do not convey.

HARDINAL MARCHIVES AND MARCHIV

Most Sincerely-

Ernest W. Roberts



Dear Ernie:

I appreciated very much your letter of last Saturday night from Hotel Temple Square in the Mormon Capital.

I am going to send you a copy of the report of my Commission on Civil Rights and then if you still have that antibellum proslavery outlook, I'll be thoroughly disappointed in you.

The main difficulty with the South is that they are living eighty years behind the times and the sooner they come out of it the better it will be for the country and themselves. I am not asking for social equality, because no such thing exists, but I am asking for equality of opportunity for all human beings and, as long as I stay here, I am going to continue that fight. When the mob gangs can take four people out and shoot them in the back, and everybody in the country is acquainted with who did the shooting and nothing is done about it, that country is in pretty bad fix from a law enforcement standpoint.

When a Mayor and a City Marshal can take a negro Sergeant off a bus in South Carolina, beat him up and put out one of his eyes, and nothing is done about it by the State authorities, something is radically wrong with the system.

On the Louisiana and Arkansas Railway when coal burning locomotives were used the negro firemen were the thing because it
was a backbreaking job and a dirty one. As soon as they turned
to oil as a fuel it became customary for people to take shots at
the negro firemen and a number were murdered because it was
thought that this was now a white-collar job and should go to a
white man. I can't approve of such goings on and I shall never
approve it, as long as I am here, as I told you before. I am going
to try to remedy it and if that ends up in my failure to be reelected
that failure will be in a good cause.

I know you haven't thought this thing through and that you do not know the facts. I am happy, however, that you wrote me because it gives me a chance to tell you what the facts are.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

Ar. S. V. Roberts c/o Faultless Starch Company Kansas City, Missouri

Note in longhand --

This is a personal & confidential communication and I hope you'll regard it that way - at least until I've made a public statement on the subject - as I expect to do in the South.

HST

(Envelope marked - Personal and Confidential)

Report enclosed - "To Secure These Rights" -
"The Report Of The President's Committee
On Civil Rights"

DIARY, 1948

Tuesday, January 6, 1948:

Congress meets - Too bad too.

They'll do nothing but wrangle, pull phony investigations and generally upset the affairs of the Nation.

I'm to address them soon. They won't like the address either.

Monday, February 2, 1948:

I send the Congress a Civil Rights message. They no doubt will receive it as coldly as they did my State of the Union message. But it needs to be said.

Sunday, February 8, 1948

I go for a walk and go to church. The preacher always treats me as a church member and not as the head of a circus. That's the reason I go to the 1st Baptist Church.

One time I went to the Foundry Methodist Church, next door to the 1st
Baptist, because Rev. Harris was Chaplain for the Senate when I was V. P.
He made a real show of the occasion. I'll never go back. I don't go to
church for show. I hate headline hunters and showmen as a class and individually. It's too bad I'm not a showman. My predecessor was, and I suppose
profited politically by it. Fate put me here, and fate can keep me here or
put me out - and out would suit me better.

The transfer of the second sec

Explicit and implicit, too, in the strivings and achievements of the Democratic Party, as in the works and words of our founding fathers, is this same abiding and incontrovertible recognition of its responsibility for the welfare and dignity of all the people.

And, inherent in the works and ideals of the Democratic Party is the same moving concept of, and devotion to "Liberty and justice for all" -- not a spacial liberty and justice for only a privileged few, but a broad liberty and justice for all citizens of our country, repardless of race, creed, color, national origin or station in life.

While, as a nation of individuals, we grow in numbers and in natorial strength, we must also grow equally in social consciousness. As the complexities of living tegether with each other and with the world increase, we are faced with challenges which cannot be net unless we, as staunch Americans, onter the fray with clean hands and a clean conscience.

For the welfare of all the people, the Democratic Party avows:

- A. That as Americans we must live up to our professed ideals and that, though we may have differences as to methods of realizing these, there must never be disagreement as to our imperishable objectives.
- That we must eliminate as a political football issues re minorities.
- That our position of world leadership demands that our practices here at home square with our professions.
- D. That though our aims and indefatigable effort shall at all times be directed towards accomplishment of the ideal, we must be realistic and resourceful in our

march towards the attainment of our goal. We must avoid broad claims and promises which we know in our own hearts are not presently possible of accomplishment and which, if prematurely pressed to the fore, may actually result in victimizing minorities and impeding and even defeating our aims.

E. That centrary to general belief no section of our country has an irravocable pattern of, or a corner on, discrimination and appropriation. There are in certain areas problem not yet wholly understood either by the locals or by those in other nexts of the country. There are, however, in such areas may principled citizens fully conversant with the issues who as good Americans are constructively working towards assilves then.

The Democratic Party commits itself to insure:

- A. The gainful employment and upgrading of every citizen to the full measure of his or her capability regardless of race, creed, color or national origin.
- 8. That wherever federal funds are used and in all areas under control of the federal government, discrimination and segregation in employment and in opportunity for advancement shall be eliminated.
- C. The extension into all states of the Union of anti-discrimination commissions devoted to carrying out at state levels the inalienable rights of all citizens.
- D. That it will establish a cabinet post devoted to the preservation of the rights of the individual and of his dignity and welfare. Such provision will be further evidence to the world of our country's concern with the rights of all its individual citizens.

THE WHITE HOUSE

September 20, 1946

MEMORANDUM FOR:

David K. Niles
Administrative Assistant
to the President

FROM:

The President

I am attaching copy of a letter I have just sent to Tom Clark.

I am very much in earnest on this thing and I'd like very much to have you push it with everything you have.

Enclosure

Dear Tom:

I had as callers yesterday some members of the Mational Association for the Advancement of Colored People and they told me about an incident which happened in South Carolina where a negro Sergeant, who had been discharged from the Army just three hours, was taken off the bus and not only seriously beaten but his eyes deliberately put out, and that the Mayor of the town had bragged about committing this outrage.

I have been very much alarmed at the incressed racial feeling all over the country and I am wondering if it wouldn't be well to appoint a commission to analyze the situation and have a remedy to present to the next Congress - something similar to the Wickersham Commission on Prohibition.

I know you have been looking into the Tennessee and Georgia lynchings, and also been investigating the one in Louisiana, but I think it is going to take something more than the handling of each individual case after it happens - it is going to require the inauguration of some sort of policy to prevent such nappenings.

I'll appreciate very much having your views on the subject.

Sincerely yours,

Honorable Tom C. Clark Attorney General Washington, D. C.

cc x David K. Niles
Administrative Assistant to the President

To Secure These Rights





THE REPORT OF THE PRESIDENTS COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

". . . to secure these rights governments

are instituted among mm . . ."

—THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

Washington: 1947

Mr. President:

Your Committee has reviewed the American heritage and we have found in it again the great goals of human freedom and equality under just laws. We have surveyed the flaws in the nation's record and have found them to be serious. We have considered what government's appropriate role should be in the securing of our rights, and have concluded that it must assume greater leadership.

We believe that the time for action is now.

Our recommendations for bringing the

United States closer to its historic goal follow.

A REPORT THAT TAKES ITS PLACE IN HISTORY

Twice before in American history, the nation has reviewed the status of its civil rights. The first scrutiny, when the new Constitution was ratified in 1791, resulted in the first ten amendments—the Bill of Rights. Again, during the Civil War, when it became clear that we could not survive "half-slave, half-free," civil rights moved forward with the Emancipation Proclamation and three new amendments to the Constitution.

Today there are compelling reasons for a third re-examination of our civil rights—to eliminate abuses arising from discrimination on the grounds of race, creed, national origin or social and economic status:

- A moral reason—the United States can no longer countenance these burdens on our common conscience, these inroads on its moral fibre.
- An economic reason—the United States can no longer afford this heavy drain upon its human wealth, its national competence.
- 3) An international reason—the United States is not so strong, the final triumph of the democratic idea is not so inevitable that we can ignore what the world thinks of us or our record.

FOUR ESSENTIAL RIGHTS

The President's Committee sets forth four basic rights essential to the well-being of the individual:

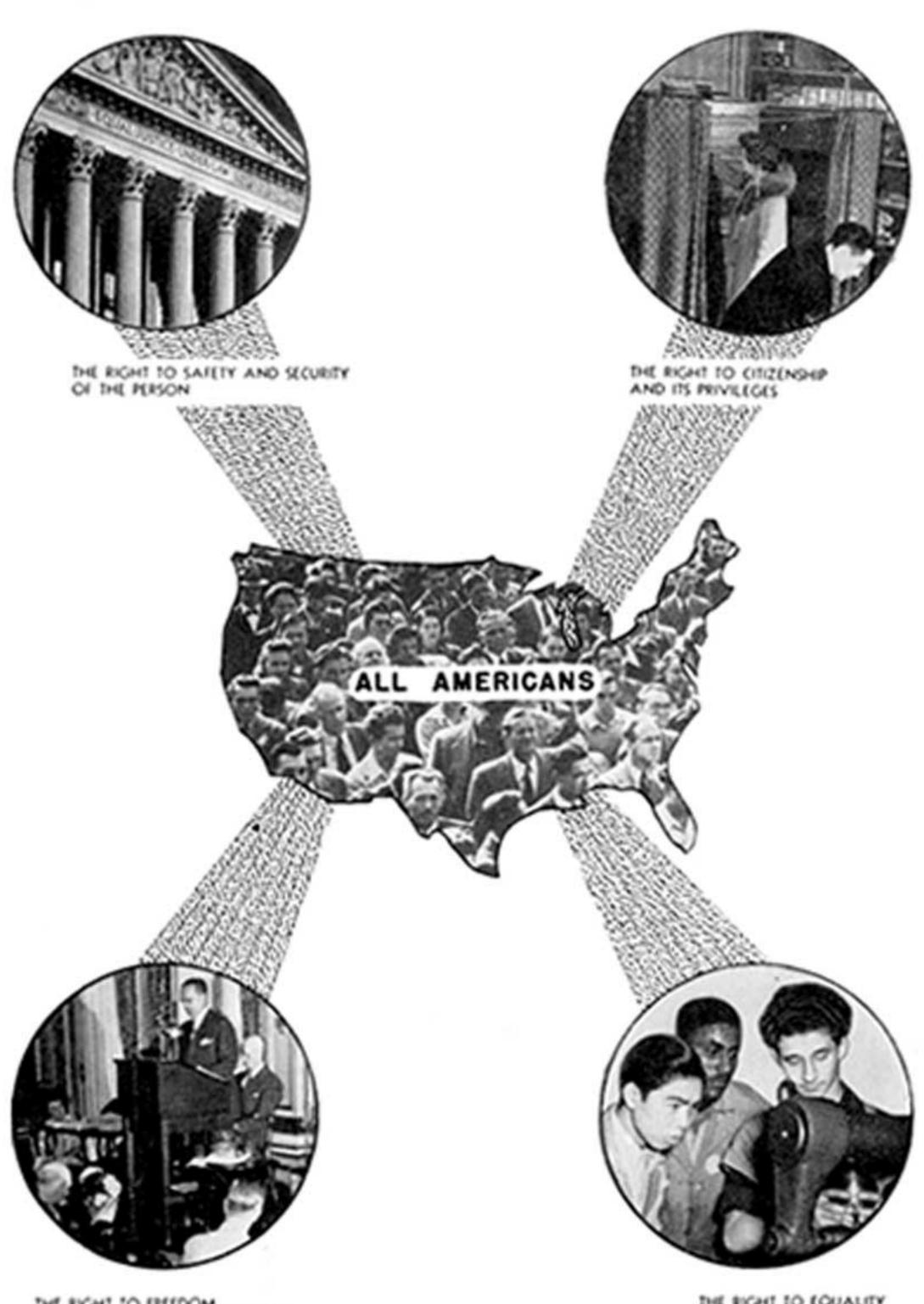
- 1) The Right to Safety and Security of Person
- 2) The Right to Citizenship and its Privileges
- 3) The Right to Freedom of Conscience and Expression
- 4) The Right to Equality of Opportunity

1. The right to safety and security of person

Freedom exists only where everyone is secure against bondage, lawless violence, and arbitrary arrest and punishment. Where individuals or mobs take the law in their own hands, where justice is unequal, no man is safe.

The Committee found that many Americans still live in fear of mob violence and brutal treatment by police officers.

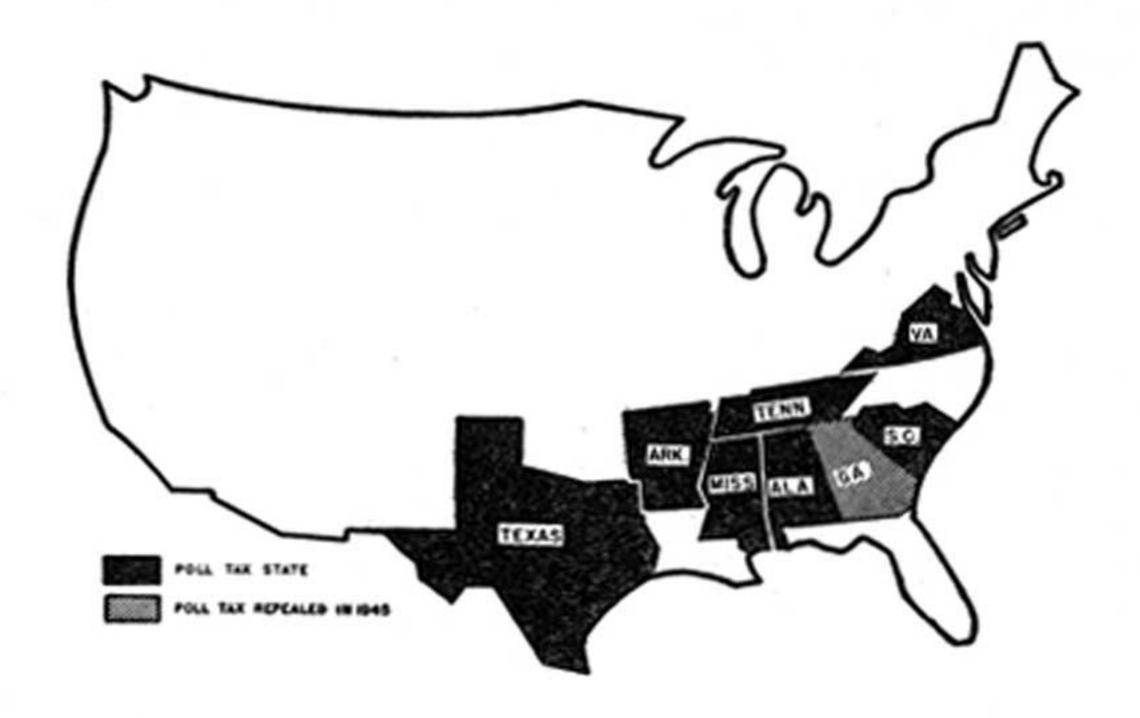
FOUR ESSENTIAL RIGHTS



THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE AND EXPRESSION

THE RIGHT TO EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

SUFFRAGE IN POLL TAX STATES



POTENTIAL VOTERS WHO VOTED IN THE 1944 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

8 POLL TAX STATES ---- 18.31%



40 NON-POLL TAX STATES-- 68.74%



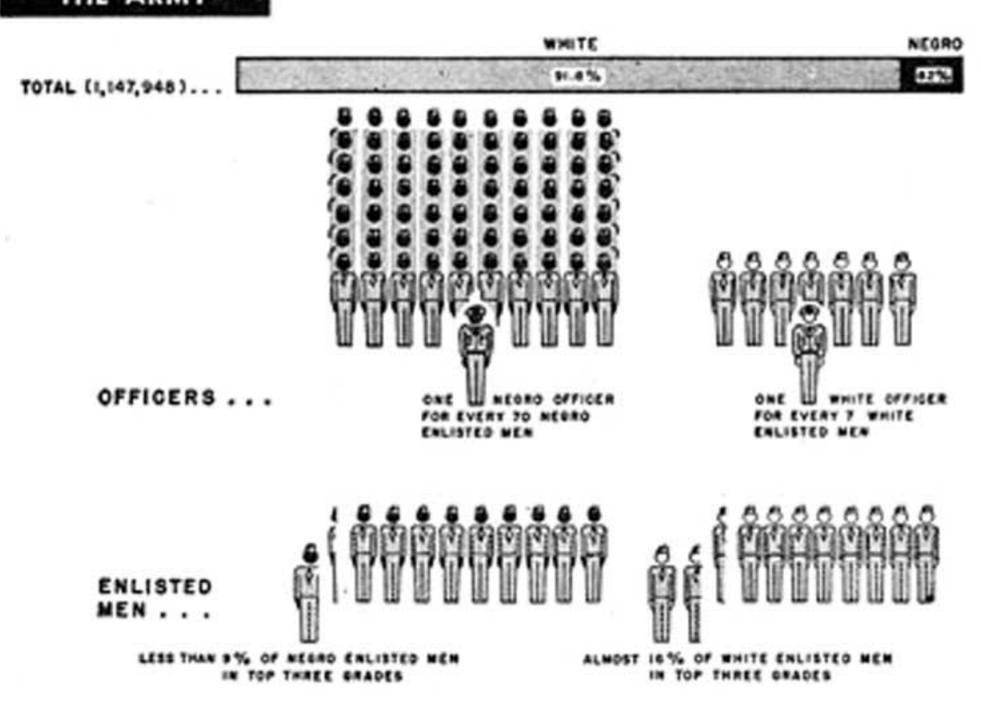
NEGRO MILITARY MANPOWER

ALL SERVICES COMBINED

		WHITE		NEGRO
PEAK STRENGTH: 1945	经 对外的经验。1000年的	92.8%		2.2%
AFTER DEMOBILIZATION: 1947 (1,762,663)		93.2%	13.77% C.C.	6.0%
or	FFICERS (PERCENT OF TO	TAL WHITE OR NEGE	O PERSONNEL)	
PEAK STRENGTH: 1945	5			
WHITE	11.7%			
NE480	0.6%	((E) (5) F (G) (100 100 100 100 100 100 100 100 100 100	SHARRA
AFTER DEMOSILIZATION: 1947	,			
waite	12.9%			STATE OF THE PARTY
MEGRO	UNITED TO SEE		0.0000000000000000000000000000000000000	(S) (S) (S)

BEFORE UNIFICATION OF THE ARMED SERVICES: 1947

THE ARMY



WHITE

NEGRO

TOTAL (469,910) ...

99.4%

...



OR STEWARD'S MATES









1561

LESS THAN 2 % OF WHITES ARE COOKS, STEWARDS, OR STEWARD'S WATES

THE MARINES .

WHITE

NEGRO

TOTAL (103,337) ...

17.9%

21%

... THE MARINE CORPS HAS 7,798 OFFICERS ... ALL WHITE

ENLISTED MEN . . .





THE COAST GUARD

MHILE

NEGRO

TOTAL (21,688) ...

95.8%

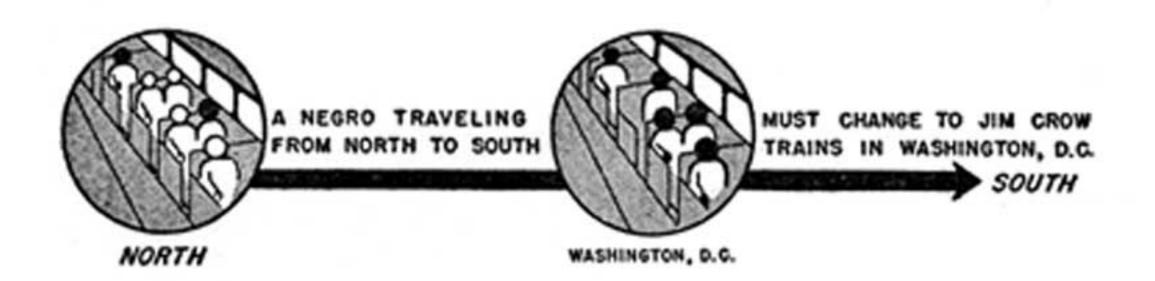
4.2%





SOURCE: From data supplied by Wor, Novy, and Treasury Departments.

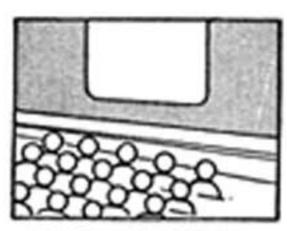
THE NATION'S CAPITAL A SYMBOL OF FREEDOM AND EQUALITY?



IF HE DECIDES TO REMAIN IN D. C. OVERNIGHT HE WILL FIND THAT:



HE CANNOT EAT IN A DOWNTOWN RESTAURANT



HE CANNOT ATTEND A DOWNTOWN MOVIE OR PLAY.



HE CANNOT SLEEP IN A DOWNTOWN HOTEL.

IF HE DECIDES TO STAY IN D. C.

HE USUALLY MUST FIND A HOME IN AN OVERCROWDED, SUB-STANDARD. SEGREGATED AREA:













WHITE-OCCUPIED DWELLINGS







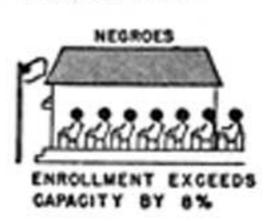






HE MUST SEND HIS CHILDREN TO INFERIOR JIM CROW SCHOOLS:





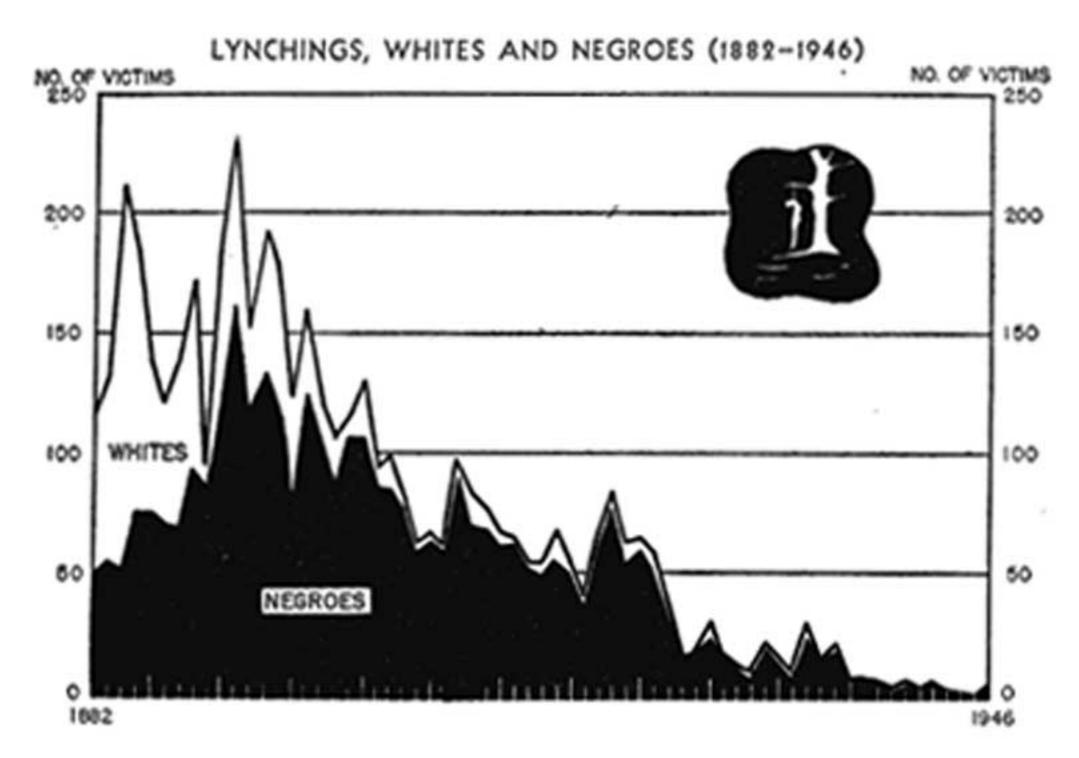
HE MUST ENTRUST HIS FAMILY'S HEALTH TO MEDICAL AGENCIES WHICH GIVE THEM INFERIOR SERVICES:



HOSPITALS IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA EITHER DO NOT ADMIT NEGROES OR ADMIT THEM ON A SEGREGATED BASIS

To Secure These Rights

ALTHOUGH LYNCHING HAS DECLINED SHARPLY ... NO YEAR SINCE 1882 HAS BEEN FREE OF IT!



LYNCHINGS BY STATES (1882-1945)

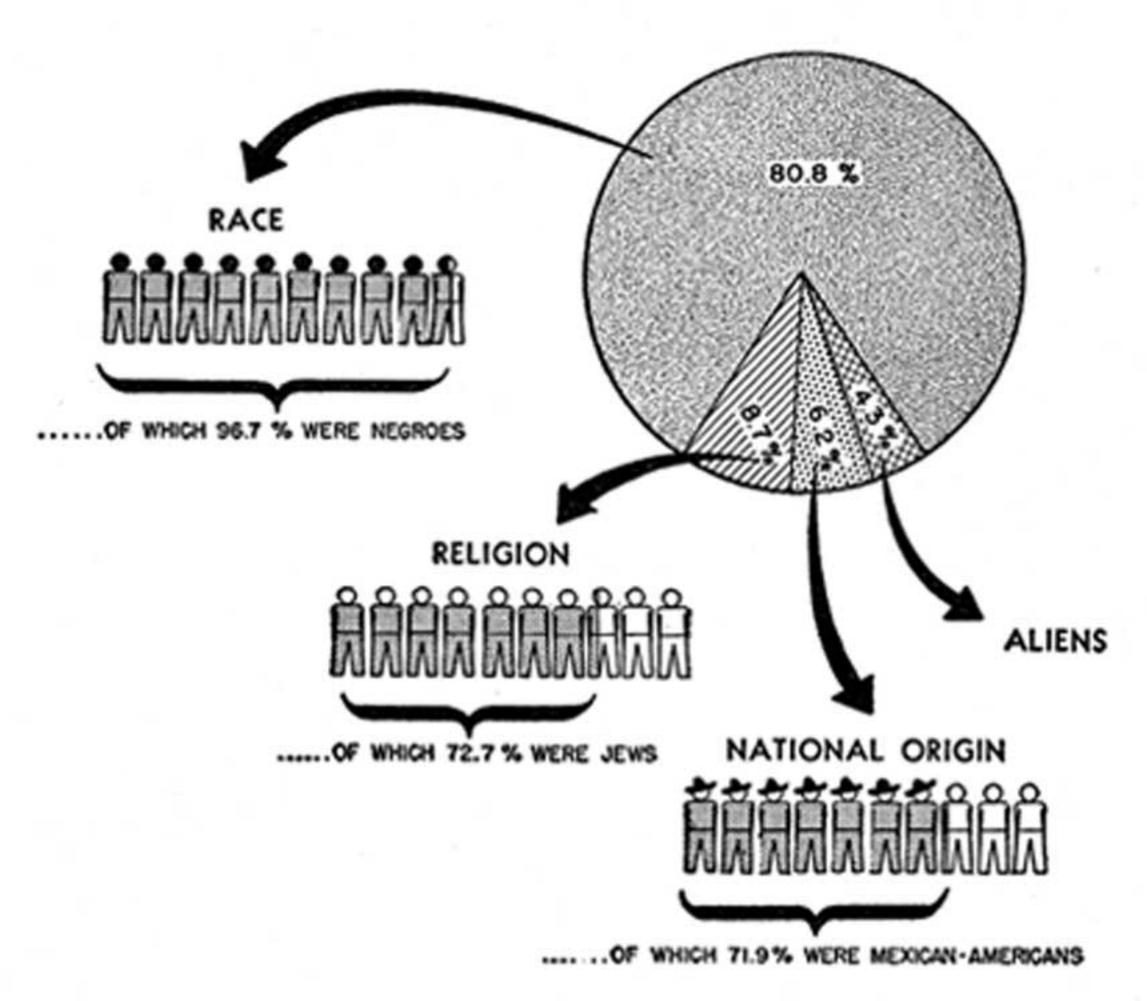


SOURCE: Tuninger Iruthire, Alabama

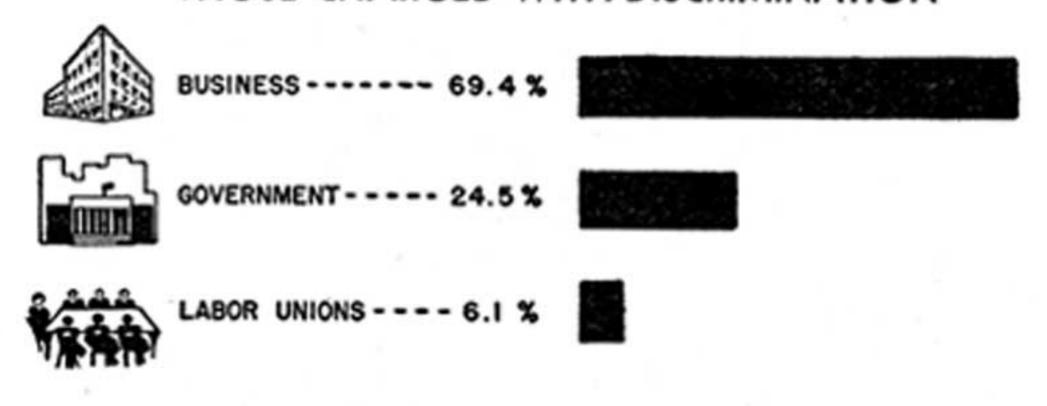
The

BASES OF JOB DISCRIMINATION

(COMPLAINTS TO FEPC, FISCAL YEAR 1943-44)



THOSE CHARGED WITH DISCRIMINATION



DISCRIMINATION CONTRIBUTES TO POOR HEALTH

HEGRO

40

30

50

... MATERNAL DEATH RATE OF NEGROES
IS MORE THAN DOUBLE THAT OF WHITES
(1940)





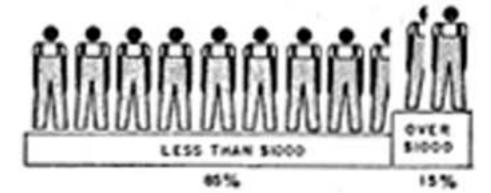
SOME UNDERLYING CAUSES



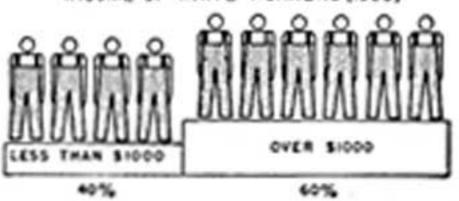
POOR ECONOMIC STATUS OF NEGROES ...

523 55.6

INCOME OF NEGRO WORKERS (1939)



INCOME OF WHITE WORKERS (1939)



... 99 % OF ALL HOSPITAL BEDS AVAILABLE TO OTHERS

2

DISCRIMINATION IN MEDICAL FACILITIES ...

IN 1946 ONLY 1% OF ALL HOSPITAL BEDS

WERE AVAILABLE TO NEGROES (10% OF POPULATION)

APPROXIMATELY



APPROXIMATELY 1,450,000 BEDS



SHORTAGE OF TRAINED NEGRO PERSONNEL...

(1942)



I NEGRO DOCTOR FOR EVERY 3,377 NEGROE



IN 1940 THERE WERE ONLY 7,192 TRAINED AND STUDENT NEGRO NURSES...



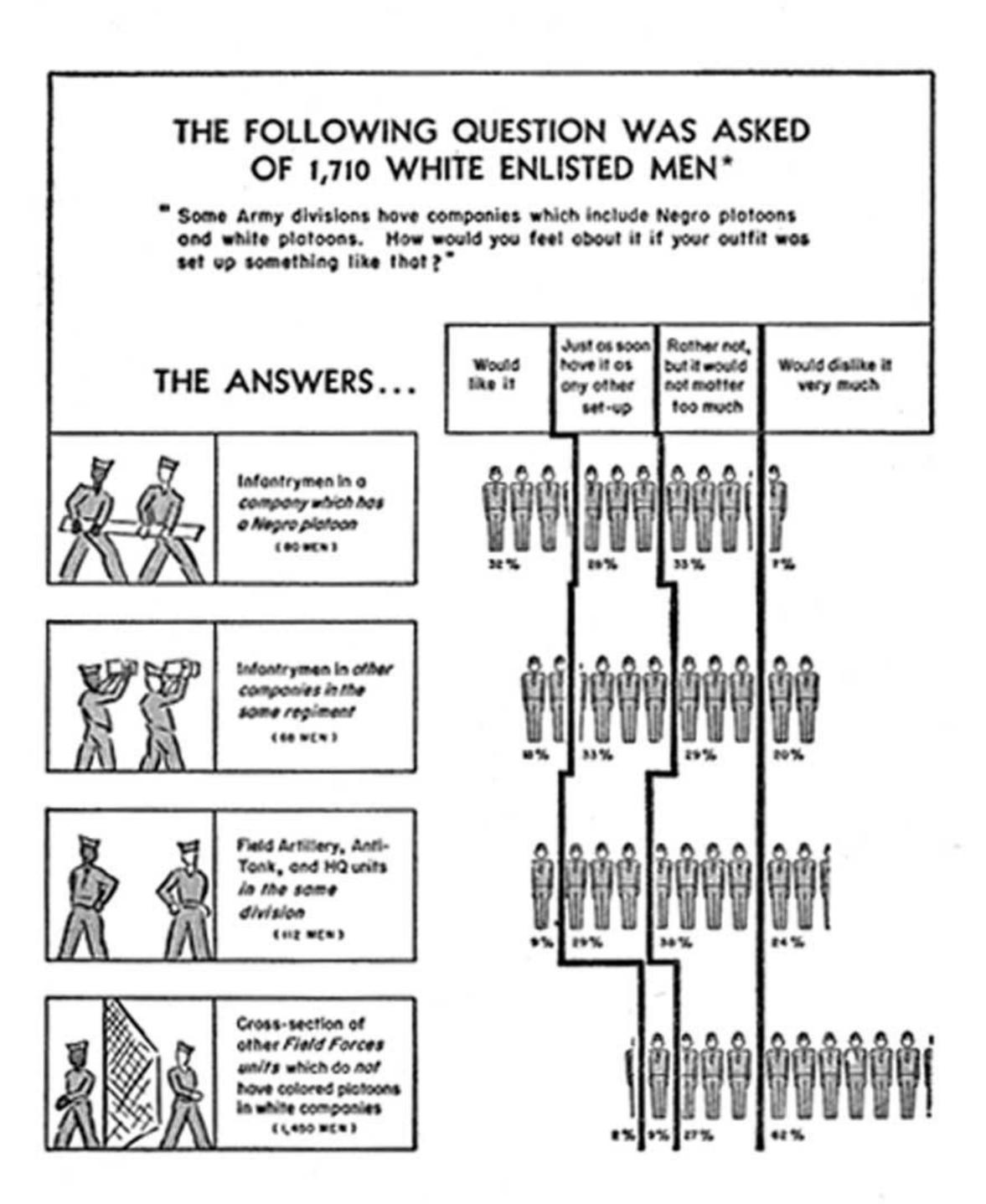
RATIO OF DOCTORS TO GENERAL POPULATION I TO EVERY 750 PERSONS



... AND ONLY 1,471 NEGRO DENTISTS

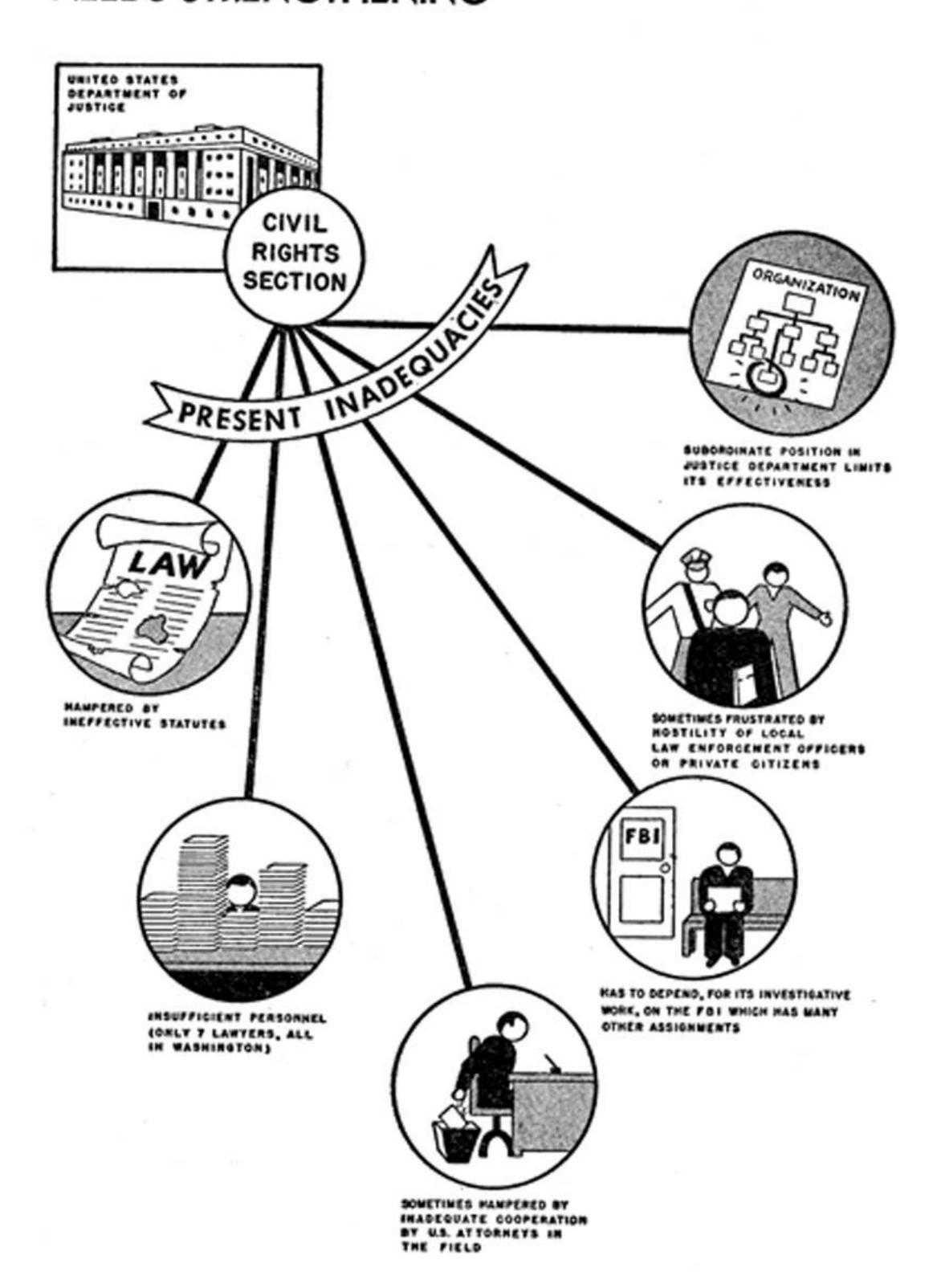
...TO SERVE A NEGRO POPULATION OF 13,000,000

SEGREGATION AND PREJUDICE



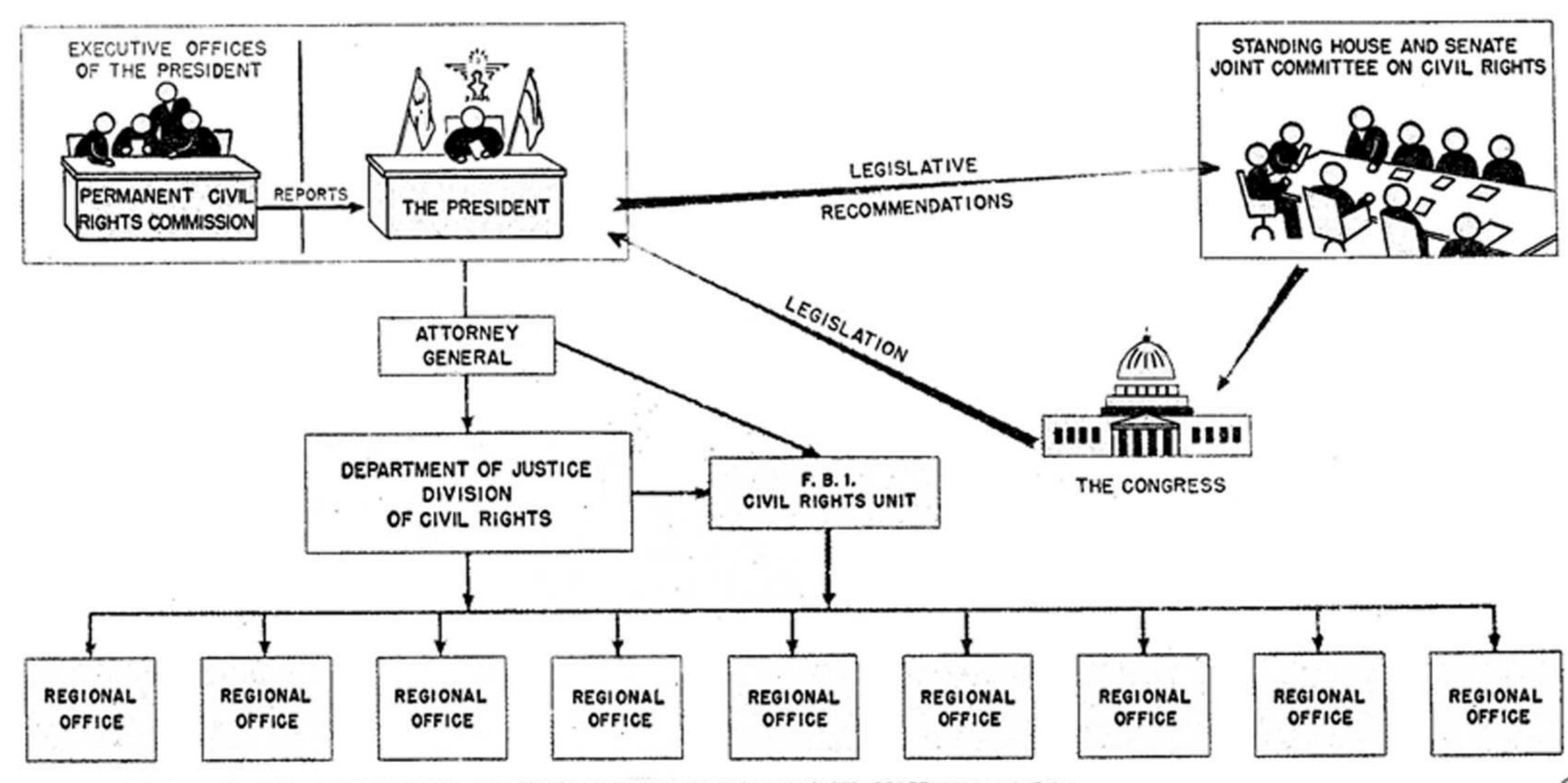
Based on a survey in France, Research Branch, Information and Education Division, Hdgfrs., ETO, Report ETO-82, June 1945.

OUR FEDERAL CIVIL RIGHTS MACHINERY NEEDS STRENGTHENING



To Secure These Rights

FOR STRONGER CIVIL RIGHTS ENFORCEMENT MACHINERY THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS



A PLAN ALONG SIMILAR LINES IS RECOMMENDED FOR STATES GOVERNMENTS WITH INCREASED PROFESSIONALIZATION OF STATE AND LOCAL POLICE FORCES.

