

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS

Hollywood, Florida

November 8, 1971

For many years, Americans thought they knew what a community or a city was ... tall buildings, concrete, automobiles, street cars, baseball games, parks ... and people, moving, pushing, hustling, doing.

But, the sights and the sounds are not the essence of the city. The tall buildings are there, of course. And there are plenty of cars and people.

But in all too many instances, the spirit has gone out of our cities. And no matter how hard we try, we cannot seem to replace it.

Look at the statistics. People move out of -- not into -- the cities. And they move away from -- not to -- the rural areas. They move increasingly to the suburbs, creating larger and larger mass metropolitan areas.

And, those who leave the city are often the young, those with education, will, spirit, and those with earning potential.

The result is predictable: The gap between rich and poor, between the haves and the have-nots grows wider, seemingly unbridgable, and frightening.

We wonder why and what can be done about it.

I'll not recite to you the usual litany about the urban and the rural crises. They are all too familiar.

What I want to do is give you my thoughts, perceptions about how to change life in American cities -- cities of all sizes with all kinds of problems.

And, this is not gospel. It is just one man's analysis and one man's desperate hope that we can do better. I believe we can. I know we must.

Government means different things to different people. To the government workers, it means his desk, his bureau, his department. To the governor, it is his state. To the senator, it is the Congress.

But, what does it mean to the people?

The average citizen does not differentiate among the various levels of government -- he thinks about the government.

And, when things do not work, he blames the government. If he is disillusioned, if he is angry, if he is bitter, if he is frustrated, it is the government.

And, we are all part of it.

But, too often, we pretend that it is someone else's responsibility -- the President's, the Senator's, the Mayor's, the Councilman's, or the City Manager's.

And government becomes alien, foreign, remote from the people.

What we must learn is that the government must serve people, not a system, or a board, or an authority, but people.

It is not an academic institution.

Government exists because of and for people.

I believe we need a refocus on that fact. We need to refocus on "street level government" and the essentials of public service.

People must be able to call city hall and have their sidewalks fixed, their apartments inspected, their garbage collected, snow removed, dependable electricity, enough heat.

And, no one knows this better than you -- you who are on the front lines, making the decisions, taking the heat and making it go.

You are professional and competent.

Yet, we both share a frustration about the fact that local government seems to have become a holding operation -- a custodian of dreams rather than a cutting edge of social progress.

Our challenge is this: We must couple responsibility with resources to make "street level" government work.

And, our challenge is great.

Within the next thirty years, over 70 percent of our population will be concentrated in three major metropolitan areas:

-- One stretching from Boston to Virginia.

-- Another from Chicago to Detroit.

-- A third from San Diego to San Francisco.

Each a megalopolis of over 60 million people -- stretching for hundreds of miles.

What kind of life will these people have? What kind of government will they have? How are they going to live?

We have a great disparity in this nation. Government services are unequal in quality and availability.

Our people -- no matter where they live -- should have certain basic standards of service -- standards of education, of health, of hospitals, of social services, of public services.

This is their basic right.

We are a mobile people. But our standards of service must be constant. We should have the same fundamental standards in Seattle as we have in Mississippi, in Albuquerque as in Miami.

This is but a first step in restoring the people's confidence in government.

So we have two principles now:

First, a government that focuses centrally on its people -- that provides the citizens with the best of street level government.

Second, a minimum floor of services for all Americans.

There is a third principle: development.

America today is a nation that is privately wealthy but publicly poor.

There is a \$12 billion poverty gap.

There is a \$70 billion waste disposal and sewage gap.

There is a \$15 clean air gap.

And, we could spend billions more on transportation, education, and housing.

What is points to is this:

The 1970's should be a Decade of Dynamic Domestic Development.

How are we going to do it?

The fundamental answer is a new credit mechanism, long term credit, and massive investment in public works.

Our communities desperately need money. Call it what you will -- Revenue Assistance, Revenue Sharing, Bloc Grants, Grants-in-Aid -- the name isn't important. What is important is where the money goes and what it does.

I am pleased that your organization broke a long-established precedent and endorsed the principle of revenue sharing.

We need it. Our communities need it. And I am strenuously opposed to the President's delay in helping our cities and states.

But revenue sharing is just a short term aid -- a temporary infusion.

We need long term credit.

In May of this year, I introduced the National Domestic Development Bank Act of 1971.

The objective of my bill is to provide an alternative source of funds for new schools, medical and hospital centers, day-care centers, parks, waste disposal plants, playgrounds, and much more.

Many of you here have used municipal bonds.

And you know how hard it is to sell a 40-year bond at any reasonable rate of interest.

Yet, the government of the United States, through such institutions as the Inter-American Bank makes loans for people you and I have never met.

I say to you that if we can make loans to Rio de Janeiro, at low rates of interest for 40 years, then we can make loans to Miami,

to Williamsport, to Minneapolis, or anywhere else right here at home.

We simply must change our financing system.

We are trying to build new community facilities on credit terms that were designed for the 1900's. And, it simply won't work.

We must have a credit structure that will eliminate the present stop-start method of public finance.

The National Domestic Development Bank emphasizes community planning -- planning that results in decisions, to move on projects, not to have another study.

It is a bank that emphasized multi-year financing so that longer-term projects are completed.

And, it is a system that can ensure that government does reach the people.

The National Domestic Development Bank can help large cities and counties -- but what/**about** rural areas?

Millions of people are leaving rural America for the cities, compounding the urban crisis, adding the problems of poverty and joblessness, and welfare.

It was with this in mind that I introduced companion legislation to the National Domestic Development Bank -- a supplementary program specifically for communities under 35,000 population.

The Rural Development Bank bill can give our smaller towns new hope.

Credit financing will enable us to build the public projects that are so vital and so necessary. They can provide jobs. They can infuse the economy of a town with money, with enterprise. They can put people to work.

Long term credit and investment in public projects and services can help end the stagnation of our economy -- help end the hopelessness.

There is a fourth principal: We must have professionalism, management, and progressive leadership in our communities.

And this is where you are vitally important.

At one time, it was the custom for the city manager to be only the guider of policy, the administrator, the detached professional.

But things have changed.

You are still the professional. You are using the new techniques of modern city management -- techniques of operations research, critical path analysis, simulation, modeling, and network programming.

You are using information to its fullest. And, you, better than anyone, are adapting the new techniques of computer technology to budgeting and decision making.

But, you are more than just a professional. Your role is more difficult. Agressive progressive community leadership is now required.

And, I applaud this trend. For I firmly believe that the administration of a community cannot be separated from the life blood of a community.

Passive leadership has no place in the contemporary community.

The stakes are too great, too awesome.

So what do we need?

-- A government that serves people.

-- A nation that has a floor of services for its people.

-- A financing strategy that provides the resources for local people to design their own solutions.

-- And positive, forward-thinking leaders.

These are the elements -- the fundamentals -- that will allow us to improve the human condition.

As Lincoln said, we must disenthral ourselves of the past. The times are new, and the times call for new ideas.

000402

amarillo taxes

- John Stoff - President
- John Wentz - (Past President)
Phoenix
- Mark Keane - Director
Former President
(2 conferences in DC. while U.P.)

✓ 1972 Meeting in Mpls (Sept)

✓ Fellow Minnesotans

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Vikings
49ers

INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS

HOLLYWOOD, FLORIDA

NOVEMBER 8, 1971

("a Hitch" as v.p.)

FOR MANY YEARS, AMERICANS THOUGHT THEY KNEW WHAT A COMMUNITY
OR A CITY WAS ... TALL BUILDINGS, CONCRETE, AUTOMOBILES, STREET
CARS, BASEBALL GAMES, PARKS ... AND PEOPLE, MOVING, PUSHING,
HUSTLING, DOING.

L BUT, THE SIGHTS AND THE SOUNDS ARE NOT THE ESSENCE OF THE
CITY. THE TALL BUILDINGS ARE THERE, OF COURSE; AND THERE ARE

PLENTY OF CARS AND ~~TRUCKS~~ ^{more, but}

*A city is people -
People coming together for a better a better life*

L BUT IN ALL TOO MANY INSTANCES, THE SPIRIT HAS GONE OUT

OF OUR CITIES, AND NO MATTER HOW HARD WE TRY, WE CANNOT SEEM

TO REPLACE IT.

*because The noise, the congestion,
the traffic, the slums, the crime, - the
toxic - all of these harsh forces
of urbanization ⁻¹ have drained the
spirit of the people in this city.*

LOOK AT THE STATISTICS. PEOPLE MOVE OUT OF -- NOT INTO --

THE CITIES L AND THEY MOVE AWAY FROM -- NOT TO -- THE RURAL AREAS,

L THEY MOVE INCREASINGLY TO THE SUBURBS, CREATING LARGER AND LARGER

MASS METROPOLITAN AREAS, *They move and shortly thereafter, that which they sought to escape moves in on them.*

L AND, THOSE WHO LEAVE THE CITY ARE OFTEN THE YOUNG, THOSE

WITH EDUCATION, WILL, SPIRIT, AND THOSE WITH EARNING POTENTIAL.

L THE RESULT IS PREDICTABLE: THE GAP BETWEEN RICH AND POOR,

BETWEEN THE HAVES AND THE HAVE-NOTS GROWS WIDER, SEEMINGLY

UNBRIDGABLE, AND FRIGHTENING.

L WE WONDER WHY AND WHAT CAN BE DONE ABOUT IT.

L I'LL NOT RECITE TO YOU THE USUAL LITANY ABOUT THE URBAN

AND THE RURAL CRISES. THEY ARE ALL TOO FAMILIAR.

WHAT I WANT TO DO IS GIVE YOU MY THOUGHTS, PERCEPTIONS
 ABOUT HOW TO CHANGE LIFE IN AMERICAN CITIES -- CITIES OF ALL
SIZES WITH ALL KINDS OF PROBLEMS,

AND, THIS IS NOT GOSPEL IT IS JUST ONE MAN'S ANALYSIS
 AND ONE MAN'S DESPERATE HOPE THAT WE CAN DO BETTER. I BELIEVE
WE CAN. I KNOW WE MUST!

GOVERNMENT MEANS DIFFERENT THINGS TO DIFFERENT PEOPLE. TO
 THE GOVERNMENT WORKERS, IT MEANS HIS DESK, HIS BUREAU, HIS
 DEPARTMENT. TO THE GOVERNOR, IT IS HIS STATE. TO THE SENATOR,
IT IS THE CONGRESS. *To the Mayor, to city hall.*

BUT, WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO THE PEOPLE?

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L THE AVERAGE CITIZEN DOES NOT DIFFERENTIATE AMONG THE
VARIOUS LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT -- HE THINKS ABOUT THE GOVERNMENT.

L AND, WHEN THINGS DO NOT WORK, HE BLAMES THE GOVERNMENT.

L IF HE IS DISILLUSIONED, IF HE IS ANGRY, IF HE IS BITTER, IF HE
 IS FRUSTRATED, IT IS THE GOVERNMENT

he blames - yes
just government - the politicians - the
 L AND, WE ARE ALL PART OF IT. *Bureaucrats*
of all shapes + sizes.

L BUT, TOO OFTEN, WE PRETEND THAT IT IS SOMEONE ELSE'S
RESPONSIBILITY -- THE PRESIDENT'S, THE SENATOR'S, THE MAYOR'S,
 THE COUNCILMAN'S, OR THE CITY MANAGER'S.

L AND GOVERNMENT BECOMES ALIEN, FOREIGN, REMOTE FROM THE PEOPLE.

WHAT WE MUST LEARN IS THAT THE GOVERNMENT MUST SERVE *the*
PEOPLE, NOT A SYSTEM, OR A BOARD, OR AN AUTHORITY, BUT PEOPLE.

~~However~~ ~~IT IS NOT AN ACADEMIC INSTITUTION.~~

GOVERNMENT EXISTS BECAUSE OF AND FOR PEOPLE.
Constitution? We the People!

~~WE~~ WE NEED A REFOCUS ON THAT FACT ~~WE~~ WE NEED TO REFOCUS

ON "STREET LEVEL GOVERNMENT" AND THE ESSENTIALS OF PUBLIC SERVICE.

PEOPLE MUST BE ABLE TO CALL CITY HALL AND HAVE THEIR

SIDEWALKS FIXED, THEIR APARTMENTS INSPECTED, THEIR GARBAGE

Police Protection, Fire Protection

COLLECTED, SNOW REMOVED, DEPENDABLE ELECTRICITY, ENOUGH HEAT. *etc*

AND, NO ONE KNOWS THIS BETTER THAN YOU -- YOU WHO ARE ON
THE FRONT LINES, MAKING THE DECISIONS, TAKING THE HEAT AND MAKING

IT GO!

L YOU ARE PROFESSIONAL AND COMPETENT.

L YET, WE BOTH SHARE A FRUSTRATION ABOUT THE FACT THAT LOCAL
GOVERNMENT SEEMS TO HAVE BECOME A HOLDING OPERATION -- A CUSTODIAN
 OF DREAMS RATHER THAN A CUTTING EDGE OF SOCIAL PROGRESS.

So - what to do about it -

OUR CHALLENGE IS THIS: WE MUST COUPLE RESPONSIBILITY WITH *the*

RESOURCES TO MAKE "STREET LEVEL" GOVERNMENT WORK.

L AND, *that* OUR CHALLENGE IS *incredibly difficult and demanding.*

L WITHIN THE NEXT THIRTY YEARS, OVER 50 PERCENT OF OUR

POPULATION WILL BE CONCENTRATED IN THREE MAJOR METROPOLITAN AREAS:

-- ONE STRETCHING FROM BOSTON TO VIRGINIA.

-- ANOTHER FROM CHICAGO TO DETROIT.

-- A THIRD FROM SAN DIEGO TO SAN FRANCISCO.

L EACH A MEGALOPOLIS OF OVER 60 MILLION PEOPLE -- STRETCHING
FOR HUNDREDS OF MILES.

L WHAT KIND OF LIFE WILL THESE PEOPLE HAVE? WHAT KIND OF
 GOVERNMENT WILL THEY HAVE? HOW ARE THEY GOING TO LIVE? *well,*

L WE HAVE A GREAT DISPARITY IN THIS NATION. L GOVERNMENT SERVICES
 ARE UNEQUAL IN QUALITY AND AVAILABILITY. *Yet, as citizens*
of the United States guaranteed equal protection of the
laws,
 L *Law* PEOPLE -- NO MATTER WHERE THEY LIVE -- SHOULD HAVE CERTAIN

BASIC STANDARDS OF SERVICE -- STANDARDS OF EDUCATION, OF HEALTH,
OF HOSPITALS, OF SOCIAL SERVICES, OF PUBLIC SERVICES.

L THIS IS THEIR BASIC RIGHT -- *indeed, their*
constitutional right.

↳ WE ARE A MOBILE PEOPLE, BUT OUR STANDARDS OF SERVICE MUST

BE CONSTANT. WE SHOULD HAVE THE SAME FUNDAMENTAL STANDARDS IN *factum*

mississippi
~~MISSISSIPPI~~ AS WE HAVE IN *Seattle* ~~MISSISSIPPI~~, IN ALBUQUERQUE AS IN MIAMI.

↳ THIS IS BUT A FIRST STEP IN RESTORING THE PEOPLE'S CONFIDENCE

IN GOVERNMENT. *The Physical + Social environment in which our people live must assure*

↳ SO WE HAVE TWO PRINCIPLES NOW:

*equality of treatment
in so far as public
policy is concerned.*

(1)

FIRST, A GOVERNMENT THAT FOCUSES CENTRALLY ON ITS PEOPLE --

THAT PROVIDES THE CITIZENS WITH THE BEST OF STREET LEVEL GOVERNMENT.

(2)

SECOND, A MINIMUM FLOOR OF SERVICES FOR ALL AMERICANS.

#3

THERE IS A THIRD PRINCIPLE: DEVELOPMENT.

↳ AMERICA TODAY IS A NATION THAT IS PRIVATELY WEALTHY BUT

PUBLICLY POOR. -

△ THERE IS A \$12 BILLION POVERTY GAP.

△ THERE IS A \$70 BILLION WASTE DISPOSAL AND SEWAGE GAP.

△ THERE IS A \$15 BILLION CLEAN AIR GAP.

△ AND, WE COULD ^{+ should invest} SPEND BILLIONS MORE ON TRANSPORTATION, EDUCATION,
AND HOUSING.

△ WHAT ~~IS POINTED TO~~ IS THIS: *the all means is,*

△ THE 1970'S SHOULD BE A DECADE OF DYNAMIC DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT.

HOW ARE WE GOING TO DO IT?

Planning - organization

THE FUNDAMENTAL ANSWER IS A NEW CREDIT MECHANISM, LONG TERM

CREDIT, AND MASSIVE INVESTMENT IN PUBLIC *facilities -*

The modernization and improvement of public services & facilities is the basis to a higher standard of living and a better quality of life for each citizen. It is the extra dividend that represents the

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difference between progress and retreat.

OUR COMMUNITIES DESPERATELY NEED MONEY. CALL IT WHAT YOU
WILL -- REVENUE ASSISTANCE, REVENUE SHARING, BLOC GRANTS, GRANTS-
IN-AID -- THE NAME ISN'T IMPORTANT. WHAT IS IMPORTANT IS WHERE THE
MONEY GOES AND WHAT IT DOES.

I AM PLEASED THAT YOUR ORGANIZATION BROKE A LONG-ESTABLISHED
PRECEDENT AND ENDORSED THE PRINCIPLE OF REVENUE SHARING.

WE NEED IT OUR COMMUNITIES NEED IT AND I AM STRENUOUSLY
OPPOSED TO THE PRESIDENT'S DELAY IN HELPING OUR CITIES AND STATES.

BUT REVENUE SHARING IS JUST A SHORT TERM AID -- A TEMPORARY
INFUSION.

*We need a total overhaul of Federal
State & local tax structures. The solid
and fair standard for taxation
is on the ability to pay. This
as when you begin. The loop holes
& special privileges denies us state
this principle & deny much needed
revenue*

Then too, We need long term credit!

↳ IN MAY OF THIS YEAR, I INTRODUCED THE NATIONAL DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT BANK ACT OF 1971.

THE OBJECTIVE OF MY BILL IS TO PROVIDE AN ALTERNATIVE SOURCE OF FUNDS FOR NEW SCHOOLS, MEDICAL AND HOSPITAL CENTERS, DAY-CARE CENTERS, PARKS, WASTE DISPOSAL PLANTS, PLAYGROUNDS, AND MUCH MORE.

↳ MANY OF YOU HERE HAVE USED MUNICIPAL BONDS.

↳ AND YOU KNOW HOW HARD IT IS TO SELL A 40-YEAR BOND AT ANY REASONABLE RATE OF INTEREST. *The average is 12 to 14 yrs.*

↳ YET, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, THROUGH SUCH INSTITUTIONS AS THE INTER-AMERICAN BANK *the Asian Bank, World Bank* MAKES LOANS FOR PEOPLE

YOU AND I HAVE NEVER MET.

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↳ I SAY TO YOU THAT IF WE CAN MAKE LOANS TO RIO DE JANEIRO, AT
LOW RATES OF INTEREST FOR 40 YEARS, THEN WE CAN MAKE ^{these same} LOANS TO MIAMI,
TO WILLIAMSPORT, TO MINNEAPOLIS, OR ANYWHERE ELSE RIGHT HERE AT
HOME.

↳ WE SIMPLY MUST CHANGE OUR FINANCING SYSTEM.

↳ WE ARE TRYING TO BUILD NEW COMMUNITY FACILITIES ON CREDIT
TERMS THAT WERE DESIGNED FOR THE ^{early} 1900'S. AND, IT SIMPLY WON'T

WORK.

↳ WE MUST HAVE A CREDIT STRUCTURE THAT WILL ELIMINATE THE
PRESENT STOP-START METHOD OF PUBLIC FINANCE.

↳ THE NATIONAL DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT BANK EMPHASIZES COMMUNITY
PLANNING -- PLANNING THAT RESULTS IN DECISIONS, TO MOVE ON
PROJECTS, NOT TO HAVE ANOTHER STUDY!

↳ IT IS A BANK THAT EMPHASIZES MULTI-YEAR FINANCING SO THAT
LONGER-TERM PROJECTS ARE COMPLETED.

↳ AND, IT IS A SYSTEM THAT CAN ENSURE THAT GOVERNMENT DOES REACH
THE PEOPLE.

↳ THE NATIONAL DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT BANK CAN HELP LARGE CITIES
AND COUNTIES -- BUT WHAT ABOUT RURAL AREAS?

↳ MILLIONS OF PEOPLE ARE LEAVING RURAL AMERICA FOR THE CITIES,
COMPOUNDING THE URBAN CRISIS, ADDING THE PROBLEMS OF POVERTY AND
JOBLESSNESS, AND WELFARE.

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IT WAS WITH THIS IN MIND THAT I INTRODUCED COMPANION LEGISLATION
TO THE NATIONAL DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT BANK -- A SUPPLEMENTARY
PROGRAM SPECIFICALLY FOR COMMUNITIES UNDER 35,000 POPULATION

↳ THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT BANK BILL CAN GIVE OUR SMALLER TOWNS
NEW HOPE.

↳ CREDIT FINANCING WILL ENABLE US TO BUILD THE PUBLIC PROJECTS
THAT ARE SO VITAL AND SO NECESSARY. THEY CAN PROVIDE JOBS ↳ THEY
CAN INFUSE THE ECONOMY OF A TOWN WITH MONEY, WITH ENTERPRISE. ↳ THEY
CAN PUT PEOPLE TO WORK.

↳ LONG TERM CREDIT AND INVESTMENT IN PUBLIC PROJECTS AND
SERVICES CAN HELP END THE STAGNATION OF OUR ECONOMY -- HELP END

THE HOPELESSNESS. *It can stimulate private investment and generate jobs.*

#4 THERE IS A FOURTH PRINCIPAL: WE MUST HAVE PROFESSIONALISM,

MANAGEMENT, AND PROGRESSIVE LEADERSHIP IN OUR COMMUNITIES.

L AND THIS IS WHERE YOU ARE ^{SO} VITALLY IMPORTANT.

L AT ONE TIME, IT WAS THE CUSTOM FOR THE CITY MANAGER TO BE

ONLY ~~THE SUIPER OF POLICE~~, THE ADMINISTRATOR, THE DETACHED

PROFESSIONAL.

L BUT THINGS HAVE CHANGED.

L YOU ARE STILL THE PROFESSIONAL L YOU ARE USING THE NEW

TECHNIQUES OF MODERN CITY MANAGEMENT -- TECHNIQUES OF OPERATIONS

RESEARCH, CRITICAL PATH ANALYSIS, SIMULATION, MODELING, AND

NETWORK PROGRAMMING.

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∟ YOU ARE USING INFORMATION TO ITS FULLEST. AND, YOU, BETTER
THAN ANYONE, ARE ADAPTING THE NEW TECHNIQUES OF COMPUTER TECHNOLOGY
TO BUDGETING AND DECISION MAKING.

∟ BUT, YOU ARE MORE THAN JUST A PROFESSIONAL. YOUR ROLE IS
MORE DIFFICULT. ∟ AGGRESSIVE PROGRESSIVE COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP IS
NOW REQUIRED.

∟ AND, I APPLAUD THIS TREND. ∟ FOR I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT THE
ADMINISTRATION OF A COMMUNITY CANNOT BE SEPARATED FROM THE LIFE
BLOOD OF A COMMUNITY.

∟ PASSIVE LEADERSHIP HAS NO PLACE IN THE CONTEMPORARY COMMUNITY.

∟ THE STAKES ARE TOO GREAT, TOO AWESOME.

∟ SO WHAT DO WE NEED?

-- A GOVERNMENT THAT SERVES PEOPLE.

-- A NATION THAT HAS A FLOOR OF SERVICES FOR ITS PEOPLE.

-- A FINANCING STRATEGY THAT PROVIDES THE RESOURCES FOR

LOCAL PEOPLE TO DESIGN THEIR OWN SOLUTIONS.

-- AND POSITIVE, FORWARD-THINKING LEADERS.

THESE ARE THE ELEMENTS -- THE FUNDAMENTALS -- THAT WILL

ALLOW US TO IMPROVE THE HUMAN CONDITION.

AS LINCOLN SAID, "WE MUST DISENTHRALL OURSELVES OF THE
PAST. THE TIMES ARE NEW, AND THE TIMES CALL FOR NEW IDEAS."

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