



THE VOTER

THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS® OF SONOMA COUNTY

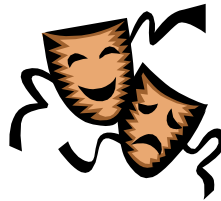
Volume 11, No. 2

February 2006

THEATRE PARTY FUNDRAISER

“URINETOWN” – The Musical!!!

- LWVSC's Annual Theatre Party
- A Preview Performance of this acclaimed musical
- Sunday, February 26, 1:00 PM
- 6th Street Playhouse, 52 West 6th Street, Santa Rosa
- Please join the League for this important fundraiser!
- Bring a guest!



Enjoy an afternoon of *Political Satire* and *Social Commentary* presented in a delightful musical format. Plus, the added treat of savory appetizers and delightful sweets before the performance and at intermission, all for the ticket price of \$20.

All monies raised go toward maintaining the League's office. If you cannot attend, please consider a donation.

Checks for \$20 per person may be made out to:

League of Women Voters of Sonoma County
Send to: LWVSC, 100 E Street, Suite 209,
Santa Rosa, CA 95404

Questions: Contact Sandy Benson: 763-1629

“PROGRAM IS THE LEAGUE'S 'REASON FOR BEING,' THE BASIS OF BOTH EDUCATION AND ACTION EFFORTS.”

See the article on p. 4 and attend the February 17 meeting. This is your opportunity to let our local league know the issues you would like us to pursue.

For Valentine's Day

Consider a contribution to the LWVSC Education Fund and/or the Hope Washburn Fund.



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The League of Women Voters of Sonoma County

100 E Street, Suite 209
 Santa Rosa, CA 95404
 707-546-5943
 info@lwvsonoma.org
 http://www.lwvsonoma.org/

Officers:

Corol Ann Fontana-Cary, President
 Willard Richards, VP Action
 Helen Sundergill, VP Administration
 Alexandra Benson, VP Program
 Chlele Gummer, Secretary
 Susannah Likins, Treasurer

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George Ellman, Transportation & Land Use
 Laurie Hall & Susan Milstein, Public Relations
 Olive Horrell, Membership
 Rosalie Gillmore & Amy Southwick, Voters Service

VOTER Team:

Jack Dupre, VOTER Editor
 Marsha Vas Dupre
 May Huddleston
 Caroline Ramberg
 Nancy Richards

BOOK CLUB CORNER

Members of the book group invite you to join them on Thursday, February 16, at 10:30 AM in the League Office, 100 E Street, Suite 209, Santa Rosa, to discuss Richard Clarke's *The Scorpion's Gate*.



Richard A. Clarke

Clarke is the longtime (now former) White House counter-terrorism expert who warned of a coming terrorist attack as early as 1999. *The Scorpion's Gate* is his first novel, praised less for its achievement as prose fiction than as a dissection of Middle East politics and the role of the United States there.

In a lengthy review for *The Washington Post*, Gary Hart notes that Clarke has come up with a novel "... that even if you swallow only a portion of it, will keep you awake at night." The subject is the turmoil of Middle East politics, with the novel's action motivated by the fall of the House of Saud. Hart's full review is available on Amazon.com.

The Scorpion's Gate even bears a bit on our energy study since one plot element is the effort to blow up a liquid natural gas facility at a US naval station and, of course, oil plays a central role.

League members and the public are invited to join in our book discussions the third Thursday of every month from 10:30 AM until noon. If you have questions about the book group, call the office (546-5943) or send me an email.

Lynda Hungerford
 info@lwvsonoma.org



INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS STUDY GROUP

The International Relations discussion group will meet on Tuesday, February 14, at 12:00 noon in the Santa Rosa League office. It is a brown-bag lunch session.

The topic for discussion will be "UN Reform. Both its supporters and critics recognize the United Nations as an organization in need of critical changes.



Disagreements about intervention in Iraq, the oil-for-food-scandal and management issues have fueled the debate about the UN's ability to take on global challenges. What reforms are needed to make the UN more effective?"

The group meets the second Tuesday of the month. The topics are selected from the Great Decisions briefing book published by the Foreign Policy Association in New York City. All members and friends are welcome to join the group discussion, with or without the briefing book. We also refer to the most current news items and articles pertaining to the discussion topic. The topics for 2006 will be UN Reform, Energy Resources, Human Rights in an Age of Terrorism, Global Health, Turkey, China and India: comparison and contrast, Iran, and Brazil.

If anyone has a question about the group, please contact me at 769-8826.

Rosalie Gillmore

IN MEMORIAM
FRANCES MACINNES
 Passed away in Santa Rosa on
December 11, 2005

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

This is a very important time for us because we are planning our program for the coming year. At our Program Planning meeting we will participate in LWVUS as well as our local planning. This is your opportunity to let our local league know about issues that you would like us to pursue. Your participation is very important.



Also, while planning for our future activities it is important to remember that we need to look to our members for financial support. Contributions to the LWVSC Education Fund and the Hope Washburn Fund, which is held in the Community Foundation Sonoma County, are tax-deductible and are ways for you to help us maintain our high level of community service. Please let me know if you are able to contribute and I will give you the details.

One important issue we are following closely is the SMART (Sonoma-Marina Area Rail Transit) District proposal for rail service in Marin and Sonoma counties. Since the project impacts both counties, we are meeting with the Marin and Bay Area Leagues to keep ourselves up to date on this project. I hope that League can be the "go to" place for information as we approach the November election, which will carry a ballot measure for the project.

Carol Ann Fontana-Cary

UNA ASSOCIATION MEETING

On Wednesday, February 22, at 7:00 PM, Ann Hancock, Director of the Climate Protection Campaign, will give a talk on "Climate Protection and the UN."



The Climate Protection Campaign has made remarkable progress with local governments and schools in reducing greenhouse gas emissions. Learn how and why.

The meeting will be held in Fellowship Hall at the First United Methodist Church, 1551 Montgomery Drive, Santa Rosa. Refreshments will be served.

MISSION

The League of Women Voters, a nonpartisan political organization, encourages the informed and active participation of citizens in government, works to increase understanding of major public policy issues, and influences public policy through education and advocacy.

VOTERS SERVICE

Voters Service has already started working on the upcoming elections. June 6 will be the primary for the California general election on November 7, and for each date one state ballot measure has already qualified. For state propositions wording and status updates, watch this space each month or check online. This information is available on the Secretary of State website: http://www.ss.ca.gov/elections/elections_j.htm.



We are meeting with representatives of the Marin League to consider cooperation on several matters, such as a jointly sponsored and videotaped debate for the U.S. House of Representatives 6th District contest between Rep. Lynn Woolsey and Assemblyman Joe Nation. We would like to do Pros and Cons in some new ways, perhaps making a practice run-through presentation for League members only and/or producing our own video for the November election. We would very much like to expand our community outreach, especially into younger and minority populations in Sonoma County.

Another opportunity for League will open with the July 1 implementation of SB 61, which requires outside monitoring of elections in all California homeowner associations. In preparation for this change, LWVC will provide training in Sacramento May 6-7 at the Leadership Council. Locally, we have already been collecting resources for this activity. However, to undertake such efforts, we need more active participants.

Voters Service is at the core of LWV, and we have more ideas than energy or bodies at present. We always welcome new, interested visitors to our committee meetings and invite you to call or e-mail us!

The next meeting will be Thursday, February 9, at 10:00 AM at the Santa Rosa League office.

Amy Southwick and Rosalie Gillmore

Voters Service Co-Chairs

CALIFORNIA CLEAN MONEY CAMPAIGN REVISITED*

AB-583 subject of Town Hall Meeting

On Saturday, January 7, Assemblywoman Loni Hancock, the author of AB-583, The California Clean Money & Fair Elections Act, presided over a Town Hall meeting at Oakland City Hall. The panel included California State Senator Liz Figueroa, Arizona State Representative Meg Burton-Cahill, Judy Cox of the Oakland League of Women Voters, the Executive Director of the California Clean Money Campaign, and representatives from five other organizations.

We learned that AB-583 now has 25 co-sponsors in the California legislature. One of the recurring questions is "How will Clean Money be funded?" In Arizona, funding comes from small increments added to court fees and fines. The California state legislature will need to dedicate a new secure funding source. California is the only oil producing state that does not charge oil companies any fee when they remove non-renewable resources from public land.

Other possibilities are surcharges on criminal and civil penalties, a tax on advertising, closing corporate tax loopholes, and an income tax return check-off option.

The estimated amount of funding needed for all the statewide offices is about \$134 million. It works out to be about \$5.50 per adult, per year. For the price of one coffee and a muffin, California voters can take back election-funding democracy. Senator Figueroa and Rep. Burton-Cahill both stressed the inordinate amount of time public officials have to spend fundraising, and the absurd sums that have to be raised. Clean Money frees up time for elected officials to concentrate on the job, not the lobbyists.

As Marc Spitzer (R), Chairman of Arizona's Corporation Commission and a former state Senator says, "The question shouldn't be how can you afford to do this, but how can you afford not to?" George Skelton a columnist for *The Los Angeles Times* writes, "Either the public buys the politicians or the special interests will."

**An article on the funding of election campaigns with public money, i.e. "Clean Money," appeared in the June 2005 issue of the VOTER.*

(<http://sonco.ca.lwvnet.org/files/june05.pdf>) Our League had recently co-sponsored a Clean Money forum at the Santa Rosa library. Since then, the CA Clean Money Campaign has been moving at a quick pace.

Reference: <http://www.caclean.org>

Stan Gold



Assemblywoman Loni Hancock

LWVUS PROGRAM PLANNING 2006-2008

According to the LWVUS publication, *In League*, "Program is the League's 'reason for being,' the basis of both education and action efforts." Program—governmental issues chosen for study and action—is an essential element of League and, because it is so important, has traditionally originated with the membership through the program planning process.

It is important for local Leagues to participate in this process. Unfortunately, grassroots participation has steadily declined over time. As a result, we are seeing program planning at the state and local level increasingly being replaced by program planning on the convention floor, which traditionally accounts for only 1.3 percent of the membership. In 2004, only 29 percent of local and state Leagues participated in LWVUS program planning, making it difficult for the LWVUS Board to determine the extent of interest on specific issues for study and action.

In order to open up the process, a LWVUS Program Planning discussion list is being made available for the first time to engage members in conversation about issues of national interest prior to the March 2006 deadline for Leagues to submit suggestions for program.

Local Leagues provide opportunities for members to participate in LWVUS Program Planning discussions. **We need your input and your ideas to bring Program back to its (grass)roots!**

ATTEND OUR LEAGUE'S PROGRAM PLANNING MEETING

When: Friday, February 17
10:30 AM – 12:30 PM

Where: Rohnert Park/Cotati Regional Library
6250 Lynne Conde Way
Rohnert Park

What: Our opportunity to select issues for study and action

Join with League members for this important meeting. Your ideas and input are needed.

Light refreshments provided.

Contact Sandy Benson at 763-1629 for more information.

ACTION COMMITTEE

The SMART Property in Santa Rosa

Readers of The VOTER know that the Sonoma-Marín Area Rail Transit (SMART) District owns 5.4 acres of empty land in Railroad Square. Last fall, three firms were selected from 14 applicants to bid on the development of this property. By the time you read this, it is likely that the SMART Board will have approved a request for proposals (RFP) and set a time in March when bids are due. The request for proposals provides guidelines on how the property should be developed, describes the requirements that bidders must meet, and describes the criteria that will be used to select the successful bidder. It is expected that the successful bidder will be selected in May or June and a public process for developing the detailed development plans will follow.

Many interests are working to influence the design of this development. Business owners in Railroad Square would like to have a public parking structure in this property. The Sonoma County Food & Wine Center is interested in building a facility there, and the Santa Rosa City Council unanimously supports their project. The Sonoma County Accountable Development Coalition asked that prevailing wages and the use of apprentices be required during the construction phase, and the RFP includes those provisions.

The League of Women Voters began its efforts to influence this development more than two years ago. Eva Alexis, then President of the Bay Area League and Nancy Richards, then President of the Sonoma County League, signed an August 18, 2003 letter that began, "The League of Women Voters of the Bay Area actively supports transit-oriented development. We cannot afford frequent transit if it is not supported by transit-oriented development patterns. We cannot afford to spoil our air, water and land with expanding use of cars. We cannot ignore access for the many who do not drive." The letter then asks for attention to:

- An income stream from the property to support planning and operating costs of the railroad.
- Transit-oriented development that includes some high-density housing and retail space in addition to space for the Sonoma County Food & Wine Center (the source of current interest in the lease).
- Adequate provision for future bus needs and other modes of public transit to support passenger rail.
- Performance guarantees that set a time line for the development of the property and provide increases in the lease rate as rail service and development occurs.

This letter is as timely now as it was two years ago, and now is a good time to let your preferences be known. Developers need to be sensitive to the community, so

letters and other public presentations may influence their proposals.

If you have questions or wish more information, send an email to action@lwvsonoma.org.

Willard Richards
Action Chair

SMART NEWS

League Committee provides feedback on DEIR

The Draft Environmental Impact Report (DEIR) for the Sonoma-Marín Area Rail Transit (SMART) startup was released in December, and a committee of League members organized by George Ellman began reading and discussing it. A 700-page document always contains errors, but the committee has not identified any adverse environmental impacts from SMART that are not adequately described and documented in the DEIR. The committee believes the DEIR satisfies the requirements of the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA).



The committee was disappointed that the DEIR was very conservative when documenting benefits from SMART. Many benefits were underestimated or ignored. This does not weaken the ability of the DEIR to satisfy the legal requirements, but it does allow the opponents of SMART to refer to the DEIR when they argue that the rail startup has few benefits. By the time you read this, the Marin and Sonoma County Leagues will have met to discuss the comments prepared by each League for formal submission to SMART on the adequacy and completeness of the DEIR.

UPDATE FROM LWV BAY AREA

Action on Regional Air Quality

The LWVBA will be encouraging local Leagues in the Bay Area to support the adoption of local ordinances to restrict the emission of



particulates from wood fired smoke. The Bay Area Air Quality Management District's model woodburning and woodsmoke prevention ordinance is designed to improve air quality and public health by reducing particulate matter air pollution.

LWVBA will provide a sample letter for you to send to your local City Council or Board of Supervisors on this important issue.

For more information, see http://www.baaqmd.gov/pio/wood_burning/.

TRANSPORTATION COMMITTEE TO PREPARE UPDATE TO TRANSPORTATION STUDY

Previous studies of transportation by the League of Women Voters of Sonoma County (LWVSC) did not explicitly include a study of rail transit. Therefore, the current transportation position of the LWVSC does not provide a firm basis for taking a position on the proposed Sonoma-Marín Area Rail Transit (SMART) startup of passenger rail. A quarter percent sales tax to fund this startup will be on the November 2006 ballots in Sonoma and Marin Counties.

It was voted at the June 2005 Annual Meeting of the LWVSC to conduct a study of rail transit and to revise the transportation position before taking a position on the SMART ballot measure. This process will begin with a meeting of the Transportation Committee at 10 AM Wednesday, February 8, at the League office. The committee will discuss the pros and cons of rail transit and funding this transit by a sales tax measure. If present policies need revisions or additions, we should specify these and determine what language to use in responding to the issues.

Any member who is interested in these matters is invited to attend and participate in this meeting. We have set aside Thursday, March 23, to finalize any recommended changes in the transportation position. At that meeting, we should be able to provide needed planning for the Annual meeting of the LWVSC.

George Ellman
Transportation Chair

SAVE THIS DATE

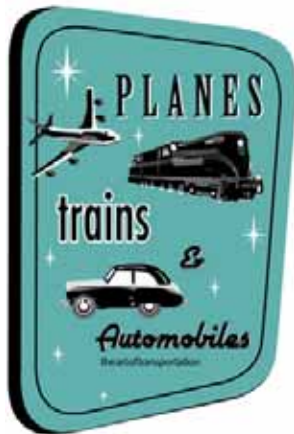
Transportation Position Update and Study

When: Thursday, March 23
10:00 AM – 2:00 PM

Where: Rincon Valley Regional Library
6959 Montecito Boulevard
Santa Rosa

Study information will be in the March VOTER.
Public invited.

Bring your brown bag lunch.
Light refreshments provided.



DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE REPORT

The Development Committee met last week to discuss long and short-term fundraising plans. As you may know, we rely on fundraising of many kinds to augment our dues, which just barely cover the amounts we pay to National, State and Bay Area Leagues. In return, these very effective Leagues provide services that keep us informed and represented on all levels of government.

Direct pleas to members and to the community have been one good source of funds for our work. Events that have been successful are the theatre party and the holiday party silent auction. In the past, we have had successful rummage sales, which have the advantage of bringing in money from non-League members, but the disadvantage of using member time and energy which could better be spent on our work of study, advocacy and voter information.

Sonoma County is unusual in that there are more non-profits in this county than in any other county in the country. That makes fundraising that much harder to do, but do it we must, and the Development Committee met recently to chart the course.

We would like to create an annual fundraising event, which would be attractive to the community-at-large as well as to our membership. We discussed various ideas including an annual luncheon with a distinguished speaker, a plan for obtaining bequest pledges, the possibility of charitable gift annuities and the strengthening of our Hope Washburn Fund administered by the Sonoma County Community Foundation.

We also discussed short-term events, with the suggestion of some kind of picnic or trip to see the new Tolay Lake County Regional Park.

Please let us know your ideas and thoughts, and your expertise in these fields.

Phyllis Clement
823-0925, pvclement@aol.com

LWVSC WEB PRIVACY POLICY

There is increasing concern about privacy of information posted on websites. As most of you know, our League posts this newsletter, the VOTER, on the web at <http://www.lwvsonoma.org/>. Beginning last September, it became our policy to suppress members' addresses, telephone numbers, and email addresses on the web versions of the newsletter.

As an additional measure, this information will be removed from past issues of the VOTER as well. This policy does not apply to contact information included by the authors of articles, assuming they want to be contacted.

If you have any questions about this policy, please contact the VOTER editor at newsletter@lwvsonoma.org.

BOARD BRIEFS

December 6, 2005

- Treasurer Susannah Likins reported that the total expenses for the month of November were \$1,059.61 with an income of \$707.00 from dues and member contributions.
- The board decided to have Corol Ann appoint Veronica Jacobi to be our representative to the Sonoma County Water Coalition.
- Sandy Benson reported that 42 people attended the Holiday Party. The Silent Auction grossed \$800.00. She voiced appreciation for Janie Hawker and Phyllis Clement and their handling of the auction.
- Willard Richards indicated that there were three components to the SMART (Sonoma-Marin Area Rail Transit) project that concern the League. First, the DEIR (Draft Environmental Impact Report) has been published. The SMART Board wants written public comment on the document by January 23. Secondly, the ballot measure to fund the rail transit project in November's election will demand our energies. And thirdly, the development of the SMART property at Railroad Square will continue. As of today, three developers have been asked to submit proposals to SMART.
- George Ellman said that his committee to review the DEIR from the SMART Board has met and decided on their plan of review, each covering a different area of the report. The main criteria for evaluation are adequacy and completeness.

Respectfully submitted,
Chlele Gummer

January 3, 2006

- Treasurer Susannah Likins reported total income of \$1021.00 and total expenses of \$1,279.47, which included \$747.00 to LWVC for website maintenance.
- It was announced that the fee required of us in the Downtown Improvement Area as determined by our Type E status as a nonprofit organization will be \$275.00.
- Corol Ann announced that our League is responsible for arranging and participating in legislative interviews with Joe Nation and Noreen Evans. She is looking for a person to coordinate this activity.
- Willard Richards reported that the committee to read and evaluate the SMART Draft EIR had met and had completed their comments. The general feeling was that the draft was adequate and complete.
- The board tentatively set March 22 as the date of the Transportation Position Update Meeting pending the availability of a meeting room. It will be held at the

Rincon Valley Library, 10 AM to 2 PM, with a brown bag lunch.

- Amy Southwick reported several possible goals for the Voters Service committee: Pros and Cons video for voter outreach, a card of registration rules, and a guideline for mentoring elections.

Respectfully submitted,
Chlele Gummer

THANKS TO OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Michael Carney
Daphne Smith
Joan Dickerson

NEW MEMBERS

Lillian Meyers

ROSTER CORRECTIONS

Ilse Rostel

Carol Anderson

Ruth Belmont

Diana Immel

Denise Frey

For privacy considerations, members' addresses, telephone numbers and email addresses are not provided in the web version of the VOTER

LWVUS TAKES AIM AT PARTISAN REDISTRICTING

Washington, DC – As a part of its Democracy Agenda, the League of Women Voters has called on the U.S. Supreme Court to overturn the partisan gerrymander imposed on the citizens of Texas in 2003.

In an amicus curiae, or “friend of the court” brief the League of Women Voters of the United States and the League of Women Voters of Texas argue that the Texas legislature’s mid-census redistricting was unconstitutional because it was carried out solely to achieve partisan advantage. The law firm of Wilmer, Cutler, Pickering, Hale and Dorr LLP prepared the brief on behalf of the League. The Court will hear arguments in the case, LULAC v. Perry, on March 1, 2006 .

“Partisan gerrymandering undermines the basic principles of representative government,” according to Kay J. Maxwell, president of the national League. “The Texas League fought this plan when it was presented, and we are proud to join with them in asking the Court to overturn it. Partisan gerrymandering subverts the democratic system because it allows politicians to choose their voters, rather than vice versa. This turns representative government upside-down,” Maxwell said.

The Texas mid-census redistricting case involves the threshold decision of whether to redistrict at all and not just a decision about how to draw the lines in a redistricting plan. While

acknowledging that redistricting policy necessarily has an effect on election outcomes, the League in its brief urges the Court to decide that “there is a stark difference in kind between, on the one hand, relying on neutral considerations that incidentally affect partisan outcomes and, on the other, adopting exclusively partisan criteria for which specific partisan outcomes are the goal.”

By filing this brief the League of Women Voters continues its long history of fighting against attacks on the basic constitutional right to fair and equal representation guaranteed to all citizens by the Constitution. Leagues have worked vigorously across the country to secure representative redistricting plans in their states after each census and are seeking reforms to assure that the redistricting process is nonpartisan, equitable and open. These are core rights for citizens of a free and democratic nation.

The League’s Democracy Agenda is an advocacy and public education program to strengthen and renew the basic tenets of American democracy. This effort seeks to protect our electoral processes through election reform and campaign finance reform, advance our representative government through nonpartisan redistricting, and preserve our constitutional rights by safeguarding civil liberties.

HOLIDAY PARTY 2005 AT THE CEDAR’S BEAUTIFUL HOME



Phyllis Clement, Eve Roberson, and Liz Basile



Anita Cedar, Esther Meskis and Mildred Benioff



Lynda Hungerford and Susannah Likens



Corol Ann Fontana-Cary, Rosalie Gillmore, and Amy Southwick

Photos are courtesy of Todd Cary. For many additional photos, go to this website: http://209.204.172.137/lwv/051204_holiday_party/

**Join the Gang –
Become a member of the
Charles M. Schulz Museum**



We have a world-class museum as an attraction in our county. Memberships are important to sustain the museum, and every membership level rewards YOU!

Call Emily @ 579-4452 ext. 108
or visit the Museum web site:
www.SchulzMuseum.org
Click on Membership.



PEANUTS © United Feature Syndicate, Inc.



League of Women Voters® of Sonoma County Membership Application

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

Zip _____ Telephone _____

Fax _____ Email _____

I am interested in the following areas:

Program _____ Membership _____

Speakers Bureau _____ Social Policy _____

Natural Resources _____ Voters Service _____

Newsletter _____ Fundraising _____

Cable TV _____ Smart Voter _____

Community Outreach _____ Website _____

Yes, I want to join the League of Women Voters. Enclosed is my check for dues. (\$50.00 for individual annual membership, \$75.00 for household, and \$37.00 for limited income. The membership year is July 1 to June 30.) Please mail check to LWV Sonoma County, 100 E Street, Suite 209, Santa Rosa, CA 95404. Thank you.

FEBRUARY 2006 CALENDAR

Unless otherwise noted, meetings are open to the public.

Date	Time	Place	Description
Tuesday February 7	10:00 AM - 12 NOON	League Office 100 E Street, Suite 209 Santa Rosa	Board Meeting League members are welcome. Board meetings are not open to the public.
Thursday February 9	10:00 AM	League Office 100 E Street, Suite 209 Santa Rosa	Voters Service Meeting See p. 3.
Tuesday February 14	12:00 NOON	League Office 100 E Street, Suite 209 Santa Rosa	International Relations Study Group UN Reform See p. 2.
Thursday February 16	10:30 AM	League Office 100 E Street, Suite 209 Santa Rosa	Book Club Richard Clarke's <i>The Scorpion's Gate</i> See p. 2.
Friday February 17	10:30 AM - 12:30 PM	Rohnert Park/Cotati Regional Library 6250 Lynne Conde Way Rohnert Park	Program Planning Meeting See p. 4.
Tuesday February 21	10:00 AM	League Office 100 E Street, Suite 209 Santa Rosa	Action Committee See p. 5.
Sunday, February 26	1:00 PM	6 th Street Playhouse 52 W. 6 th Street Santa Rosa	Theatre Party Fundraiser See p. 1.

LINK TO CURRENT CALENDAR