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APC Communiqué

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# APC Communiqué

BOSTON UNIVERSITY AFRICAN PRESIDENTIAL CENTER NEWSLETTER

## President Rupiah Banda defends democracy in Zambia and Africa



His Excellency Rupiah Bwezani Banda accepted an appointment as the African Presidential Center's Eighth African President-in-Residence, which began in March, 2012. Previously, President Banda served as the Fourth President of the Republic of Zambia from 2008 to 2011.

President Banda assumed the presidency of Zambia under difficult circumstances, ascending to the office as Vice President, following the unexpected and untimely death of President Levy Mwanawasa. President Banda served one term after seeking election on his own and was elected in 2008, having been the overwhelming choice as the presidential candidate of the MMD party.

As President, Rupiah Banda dedicated himself to improving Zambia's economy, ensuring security, stability, and opportunity for all Zambians. During his tenure Zambia experienced impressive growth rates, with the GDP growth peaking at 7.6 percent in 2010. His policy priorities were focused on improving healthcare and education, increasing agricultural production, and increasing the number of jobs in Zambia, particularly for people living in rural areas.

In addition to his service as President, he also served as the Zambian U.N. Ambassador, as well as Zambia's Ambassador to the U.S., Foreign Minister, Vice President, amongst other offices.

"We are delighted to welcome President Banda to Boston University and the United States," said Ambassador Stith on President Banda's appointment. "Given President Banda's position as one of the continent's most recently retired presidents, and who, as President, oversaw the recovery of Zambia's economy following the 2008 global recession, there is much we can learn from his experience about the ongoing trend towards democratic and economic reform in Africa."

Beyond his responsibilities at Boston University, President Banda also gave lectures at colleges and universities that participate in the Center's American-African Universities Collaborative, including Morehouse College, in Atlanta, Georgia, Elizabeth City State University, in Elizabeth City, North Carolina, the University of Dar es Salaam, in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and the University of Ghana, in Legon, Ghana. President Banda was also invited to deliver lectures at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), in Cambridge, MA, the Center for American Progress in Washington DC, the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, and Georgetown University in Washington DC.

As President-in-Residence, he also joined other former heads of state and government at the African Presidential Center's African Presidential Roundtable, hosted at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, South Africa, May 23-25, 2012.

The African President-in-Residence program is an initiative of the African Presidential Center at Boston University and is funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Through this residency program for former democratically elected African leaders, the African Presidential Center provides a forum for sharing the insights and expertise of past and present heads of state and government.





### THE OTHER SIDE OF DEMOCRACY

“Ladies and gentlemen, one of the reasons I am here is because I have gained notoriety, hopefully temporarily, for having lost, not won, my last election. That might make me Boston University’s very first President-in-Residence who appears before you as an example of the other side of democracy – what happens when this cherished system of rules produces different outcomes.

But I ask everyone here to take a moment to reflect: what does it mean that we are so surprised when an incumbent African president loses an election and hands over power to another party? Isn’t it disappointing to see such low expectations for African democracy illustrated in such a manner? In a way, I am grateful to President Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal, who just stepped aside after being defeated at the ballot box by Mackay Sall, perhaps lifting the burden somewhat from my shoulders – though of course it is entirely a different question when a leader has been in power for more than a decade.

Many of the students here will undoubtedly be familiar with various academic definitions of democracy, but today, one that strikes me comes from a political scientist named Adam Przeworski, who once wrote the following: “Democracy is a system in which parties lose elections. There are parties: divisions of interest, values and opinions. There is competition, organized by rules. And there are periodic winners and losers.” In other words, when we talk about governance, we must also speak about the process of selecting the leadership, and the ongoing functioning of a fair system that continually reflects the desires and will of the citizens as a limitation on executive power.

There are many things of which I’m proud during my time as President of Zambia. One of which is the process of my ceding from office. The process by which you leave is as important as that by which you come in. I’m proud that my administration left with dignity, affording my successor the opportunity to succeed or fail based on his policies, not because of political traps laid by those he followed. Let me add that I made the transition from power complete. Of my own accord, I even relinquished the leadership position of my party. I did so because I believe past presidents must give future leadership an opportunity to emerge.

For democracy to flourish there must be a continuing stream of individuals of integrity and ideas with promise. There must be room for a new generation of leaders to rise to solve the next generation of problems. If democracy is going to be secure in countries like Zambia, if development is going to take root, old leaders can’t cling to power or attempt to consolidate it at all costs. There comes a time when leaders must step aside and become statesmen (elder or not) and stop seeing themselves as the personification of the state. Again, let me say that’s why I applaud Wade’s conceding power in Senegal.

Before I go further, while am proud of how I left office, let me state for the record that I am very proud of my achievements while in office. During my time as Zambia’s president we grew the economy at over seven percent a year, despite our beginning in the wallows of the 2008 global financial crisis, making us a unique star of Africa. We lifted thousands of people out of poverty, and created hundreds of thousands of private sector jobs, while focusing on critical social needs, such as health-care and education. I am also proud of my campaign last fall. In an election contested by three major parties and seven smaller parties, our party secured the votes of thirty-five percent of the country, and lost by a narrow margin of around 180,000 votes in a hard-fought contest.





### ***Reflections on a Presidency***

Ladies and gentlemen, as I now reflect on my Presidency and on democratic governance in Zambia, from the moment I stood for the Presidency, I understood the challenges our country faced. This was reflected in my inaugural address at the footsteps of Parliament on November 2, 2008. I pledged to be a president for all Zambians, to deliver economic prosperity, to deliver good governance, and to continue the fight against poverty and corruption, to ensure the country was able to feed itself and not rely on hand outs.

I also understood that to sustain growth and prosperity, the country needed to be unified, uphold democratic governance and the right of the people to elect their leaders freely and fairly. I reflected on the need to educate our nation and to ensure our young generation had life-sustaining skills through strong economic, growth and to have a healthy nation. I believed that this in turn would provide the necessary economic opportunities to our citizenry.

### ***Achieving Economic Growth***

Political leaders have a responsibility to listen to their people, not their own egos. The people of Zambia have basic needs – to put food on the table, to have the opportunity to find work, and to be granted the dignity to be able to select and hold accountable their political leaders. These goals cannot be met without a fair system and strong economic growth, and my government was faced with accomplishing this task in the face of the worst global economic recession in recent history.

So the question is: how we were able to grow the economy under these conditions? As a small economy, we could not stop the recession, but we could prepare for when it would end. I convened a special committee of our top economic minds to plan and prepare our nation for the end of the recession, to ensure that we saved as many jobs as possible, had sufficient food supply, and set the stage for economic diversification away from the copper sector through improving our infrastructure.



We worked to provide support to the key sectors of the economy such as agriculture, energy, health, education, tourism and manufacturing. This was a huge challenge, but we did score some exemplary successes in those areas. We sought to take advantage of Zambia's geopolitical position as a natural trade hub by building and repairing thousands of kilometers of roads. We made a dedicated investment to improve facilities at schools, health centers and hospitals, and even introduced mobile hospitals on a large scale to deliver quality health care to the remotest parts of our vast country. As a government we were eager to deliver results to our people.

### ***Strengthening a Democracy: The Value of Institutions and Rights***

But what I am most proud of during my presidency is less visible. It was our administration's steadfast refusal to allow the executive branch to encroach on other branches of government, to stand by the principles of democracy that had been damaged in the past. This led to a spirited competitive environment, sometimes to the detriment of my administration, but fully within the boundaries of what we should expect in a normal democracy.

There were also deep misunderstandings fueled by hostile newspaper editors who chose to back the opposition party. In particular, my government was criticized over a Zambian court decision regarding the former President Frederick Chiluba, who had been found guilty of corruption in a civil case by the London High Court. Essentially, I was being demanded as president to personally intervene in the judicial process and violate the separation of powers to force the judiciary to uphold the British decision against Chiluba, who, it must be recognized, was seen as an enormously popular leader by a large number of people in the country. Notwithstanding that Chiluba once jailed me as a political prisoner; my administration chose to uphold the constitution and allow the legal system to exercise its authority without executive intervention.

When my presidency began, we continued the fight against corruption, and sought to base these anti-corruption efforts under a sound statutory framework that would conduct prosecutions in a lawful manner. One of the most important measures we took was to streamline the prosecutorial bodies, by moving the Anti-Corruption Task Force under the police to improve its efficiency, deepen access to resources, and cut back on all the redundancies.

### ***Caught in the Middle: West vs. East***

As a relatively small nation on the global stage, Zambia remains dependent on foreign investment and relations with both trade partners and donor countries. As such, the rise of China's presence in Africa, and the management of these East-West tensions, became an important issue for our government.

When we were facing the challenge of financing, constructing and rehabilitating our infrastructure in the various sectors, it became clear that we needed to seek financing quickly, and could not delay our plans to develop the country. The rise of new financial powerhouses in Asia, as you all know, is producing a geopolitical shift, and Africa is far from the only place where these new lenders and investors are going. Even Europe these days is propped up from Indian, Malaysian, and Chinese finance – so it is far from unique that Zambia experienced diversification. In some cases, we had successful partnerships with the West, including the U.S. government and U.S. companies. However, in other cases, increasingly, our needs were met by the Chinese. They offered the financing we needed and the technical know-how, and so it followed that we should negotiate with them on certain projects.

This did not always sit well with our cooperating partners from the West, who, discomforted by the new Eastern presence in Africa, would make unfounded allegations of impro-

priety and unreasonable demands to know the details of loan conditions and pricing of competitive bids, which were not only false and damaging to us, but also to the welfare of our people. For as much as the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union played out in various struggles for influence among African countries, often damaging the region's democratic development, there is a new economic struggle for influence between the East and West that touches not just Zambia, but many young democracies of Africa.

It is my hope that any disputes arising out of Eastern investment in Africa can be successfully managed in a collaborative manner, and that decision makers in the West adopt a more long-term vision of these emerging relationships, rather than the myopia that has characterized some of the more regrettable exchanges between our countries. There is this proverbial saying that describes this - "when two elephants fight, the grass suffers" - and we are the ones who have suffered. A good partner does not seek to limit the choices of the other - instead a good partner mutually benefits from the success of the other.

#### **"Social Combustions"**

While strong economic indicators are important, as I am sure you have studied here in this prestigious institution, it's not just the statistics but the perceived state of things on the ground that ultimately matters more. From as much economic growth as was generated under three different MMD presidencies, it became apparent that the expectations of our young population to share in this growth had not yet been met. In fact, I recently discussed this with Ambassador Stith in some detail over dinner a few days ago and read his article in *African Business* magazine on "How to contain spontaneous social combustions" - and I couldn't agree more with him.

Zambia is one of the most urbanized countries in Africa and also features a very young population. About thirty-eight percent or more of our population live in urban areas and the median age is about seventeen years. As the economy has grown our people, particularly those in these urban areas and the youths, have become increasingly disillusioned and have been looking for an answer to why there are no jobs for them, why there are no opportunities for them to earn a decent living. This leaves young democracies vulnerable even though progress is being made through a democratic process, the real question remains unresolved: JOBS!

The kind of transformation my government was working towards does not happen overnight - it takes years of hard work to incorporate everyone into the economy, and, despite recognizing this process, I can fully appreciate the impatience that many Zambians felt to be included in the growth.

This means that even when the economy has emerged from negative growth, and all the macroeconomic indicators have shown positive performance, this has not translated into real change in the lives of many of our young people.

#### **"Rome Wasn't Built in a Day"**

From my experience as the President of Zambia, what I can tell you is that democracy and good governance is a never ending job - it is not something that is accomplished and then just left to stand alone - it must always be strengthened, respected, and upheld. Democracy also requires a culture of acceptance, the people of the country must understand that even when their candidate loses and the other candidate wins, it is still their government. That is why the expectations of the people need to be managed in African democracies, requiring that leaders be honest and transparent with their citizens.

Despite the challenges that yet remain I think my continent is getting there. As you say in the West, "Rome wasn't built in a day." We're building democracies on the continent, it is Africa's day. Despite setbacks like Mali, we will continue to move forward. As noted in the African Presidential Center's Fact Sheet on Democracy in Africa, ten years ago there were eleven democratically retired African heads of state, today there are thirty-four! With the help of friends like the United States, the energy and encouragement of the next generation of leaders symbolized by the students in this room, Africa's future is full of promise and our young people, like yours, will have cause to dream. Thank you."



HIS EXCELLENCY RUPIAH BWEZANI BANDA  
*Morehouse College Short-Term Residency, April 5-8, 2012*



(L-R) Reverend Bernice King, daughter of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Mrs. Coretta Scott King, The Honorable Charles R. Stith, Director, APC, and His Excellency Rupiah Banda, former president of the Republic of Zambia, pay their respects to the slain civil rights activist and his wife.

His Excellency Rupiah Bwezani Banda conducted a short-term residency in Atlanta, Georgia, from April 5 - 8, 2012. His residency included a lecture at Morehouse College, a partner in BU's African Presidential Center's American-African Universities Collaborative. His residency also included visits to the birthplace and crypt of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.; the Allen Entrepreneurial Institute; Goodworks International, LLC; as well as the Carter Center.

During the wreath-laying ceremony at the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center, President Banda said, *"On behalf of His Excellency Michael Sata, former Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, in memory of President Levy Mwanawasa, on behalf of all Zambians, and as an honored guest of Boston University, I lay this wreath in memory of Martin Luther King, Jr., as an example of a human rights activist who inspired Africans in their quest for freedom."*

President Banda went to the Carter Center to renew acquaintances established when he was the head of a Carter Center election monitoring delegation to the Democratic Republic of Congo. While there he met with Dr. John Stremlau, Vice President of Peace Programs and other senior level staff, distinguished guests and colleagues of the Carter Center, including Mr. Itonde Kakoma, Assistant Project Coordinator of the Conflict Resolution Program; Dr. David Pottie, Associate Director of the Democracy Program; and Morehouse College President Robert Franklin. Dr. Stremlau also treated His Excellency to a tour of the Carter Center to explore the legacy of former U.S. President Jimmy Carter. At the outset, Dr. Stremlau explained the ideology at the heart of the Carter Center's work – in particular, the promotion of democracy through their two primary areas of work: health programs and peace/conflict-resolution programs.

President Banda also met with Ambassador Andrew Young, former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations during the Carter Administration, former Mayor of Atlanta, and lifelong crusader for civil rights. They discussed the tremendous progress Africa has made, and the opportunities for further development.

His Excellency concluded his Atlanta Residency with a formal lecture on "Ethical Leadership" in Dr. Melvinia King's "Ethical Leadership & African American Moral Tradition" class at Morehouse College. The class was attended by a diverse group of students and faculty members, who were eager to engage in conversation with His Excellency regarding his experiences as President of Zambia.



(L-R) Dr. Robert Franklin, President of Morehouse College, Mrs. Thandiwe Banda, former First Lady of the Republic of Zambia, President Banda, Ambassador Charles Stith, Dr. Melvinia King, director of the Leadership Center, Morehouse College.



## HIS EXCELLENCY RUPIAH BWEZANI BANDA

*Elizabeth City State University Short-Term Residency, April 9-12, 2012*



(L-R) His Excellency Rupiah Banda poses with students from Elizabeth City State University.

Elizabeth City State University's Global Leadership Academy hosted His Excellency Rupiah Bwezani Banda for a short-term residency from April 9-12, 2012.

Chancellor Willie J. Gilchrist welcomed President Banda to the ECSU campus and hosted a dinner in his honor. His Excellency was also treated to a full tour of Elizabeth City's campus, especially the Global Leadership Center. He met with the center founder Dr. Johnnie L. Houston, as well as Dr. Bonita Ewers, Dr. Sandra Copeland, and Dr. Marjorie Coulson-Clark.

President Banda delivered a lecture as the guest for the Chancellor's Distinguished International Lecture Series Luncheon on April 11. In his speech, he shared lessons learned from his presidency and the years in government that preceded his election. He admitted being disappointed at losing the 2011 election that would have granted him a second term as president, but said he learned valuable lessons about democracy even through the experience of defeat.

President Banda reiterated a point he raised in his Inaugural Lecture at Boston University, saying:

"There are many things of which I'm proud during my time as president of Zambia, one of which is the process of my ceding from office. The process by which you leave is as important as that by which you come in. I'm proud that my administration left with dignity, affording my successor the opportunity to succeed or fail based on his policies, not because of political traps laid by those he followed. Let me add that I made the transition from power complete. On my own accord, I even relinquished the leadership position of my party. I did so because I believe past presidents must give future leadership an opportunity to emerge."

President Banda concluded his presentation by expressing his concerns about his native country, Zambia, which he described as one of the most urbanized countries in Africa. "The country," he said, "has a very young population and is struggling to provide meaningful employment to its citizens. The anger of young, unemployed, hungry citizens can destabilize any country leaving it open to radical ideas." He applauded the role regional and internationally recognized "mature" democracies play in assisting fragile nations.

"From my experience as the president of Zambia, what I can tell you is that democracy and good governance is a never-ending job. It is not something that is accomplished and then just left to stand alone. It must always be strengthened, respected and upheld. Democracy also requires a culture of acceptance. The people of the country must understand that even when their candidate loses and the other candidate wins, it is still their government."





His Excellency Rupiah Bwezani Banda delivered a public lecture to an audience of more than 300 on October 31, 2012 during his two-day visit to the University of Ghana. During his remarks, President Banda said the international community is looking up to Ghana as a beacon of peace and a model of development, as well as a top destination for investment. He has called on competing parties as well as the citizenry to keep this positive reputation intact in the run-up to Ghana's December 2012 general election.

President Banda's lecture, "Democracy and Good Governance in Africa," was chaired by University of Ghana Vice-Chancellor Professor Ernest Aryeetey. Also in attendance were the Chairman of the Council Justice Prof. Samuel Kofi Date-Bah, Pro-Vice-Chancellors Prof. Kweku Osam and Prof. John Gyapong, the Registrar Mr. J. M. Budu, Members of the Council, Deans, Directors, Heads of Department, faculty, and students and members of the public.

Drawing on his experience as President of Zambia in the period 2008-2011, following the demise of President Levy Mwanawasa, His Excellency Banda identified three major planks that could support and move democratic governance forward in Africa, namely: (i) strong institutions, (ii) socially focused development, and (iii) unity of the people. He noted that democracy is not only what is exhibited on voting day, but is also a daily adherence to the values of mutual respect, equality, and consultation by the government of the day, leading to inclusion of all in governance. He added that key to inclusive governance is empowerment and opportunity for all, which is impossible without access to education and healthcare.

The former Zambian leader offered condolences to the nation and people of Ghana over the recent passing of former President Prof. J. E. A. Mills, praising the country for handling such a national tragedy with maturity.

The former President thanked the African Presidential Center in Boston for instituting a programme such as the African

Presidential Lecture Series, and also expressed appreciation to the African governments and universities that invited and hosted him, including the University of Ghana.

During a question and answer session after the lecture, President Banda stressed the need for an educated electorate to realistically analyze electoral promises before going to the polls.

In his concluding remarks, Professor Aryeetey thanked President Banda for his "thought-provoking speech." He stressed that Africa needs democratic systems of governance because its tenets, such as freedom of expression, help to expose corruption and other negative vices. He added that African governments must take a cue from leaders such as Former President Banda to relinquish power at the end of their tenure to help entrench democracy and bring development to the continent.

The evening concluded with Justice Prof. Samuel Kofi Date-Bah presenting a gift to His Excellency Banda on behalf of the University.

In addition to his public lecture, President Banda also paid a courtesy call on the Vice-Chancellor, during which the Vice-Chancellor briefed him on the history of the University and developments that have taken place over the past years. President Banda also paid a courtesy visit to His Excellency Jerry John Rawlings, former President of the Republic of Ghana.

President Banda also met with students from the faculty of Social Sciences of the University at the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy. In a well-attended and interactive ceremony with the Director of LECIAD, Professor Henrietta J.A.N Mensa-Bonsu as Chairperson, the former President answered questions from students on social, economic, political, and religious issues.



## HIS EXCELLENCY RUPIAH BWEZANI BANDA

*University of Dar es Salaam Short-Term Residency, November 7-9, 2012*



His Excellency Rupiah Bwezani Banda conducted a short-term residency in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, from November 7-9, 2012. He was hosted by the University of Dar es Salaam, another partner university in the African Presidential Center's American-African Universities Collaborative.

President Banda delivered a public lecture to more than 100 students and faculty at the Council Chamber at the University of Dar es Salaam. He spoke of the historic ties between Tanzania and Zambia, pointing to their common colonial past, the timing of their independence, and the way they handled the aftermath of war with regional enemies. President Banda also pointed to similarities of success in their respective countries - how Zambia and Tanzania have turned around their previously anemic economies, and the manner in which both countries have used democracy to bring national unity to countries that boast numerous tribal groups.

When talking about democracy and the importance of holding democratically-elected leaders accountable, President Banda said:

“What people want are solutions, services, and accountability. They have no use for ideology, no attraction to the anger and attacks, and no patience for incompetence. The message I am hearing from so many young people, not only in Africa, but around the world and particularly in places I have been to under the African Presidential Center lecture series, this year, is that they are ready to work together, united, to pursue pragmatic solutions to social problems, and the problems they face—namely unemployment. And this is precisely the difference between governance and government: the embracing of democracy as a tool to facilitate cooperation rather than only perpetuate competition.”

President Banda pointed to the progress made across the African continent, in terms of expanding democracy and good governance. He said:

“Africa has come a long way in terms of the consolidation of democracy. In the past two years alone, more than two-dozen countries held democratic elections. Over the past decade, there have only been a few successful coups, compared to the 1970s, when there were more than 20 seizures of power by force.”

President Banda also had the opportunity to meet with students and faculty from the Institute of Development Studies and the department of Political Science and Public Administration. He responded to questions from the students about his experience, not only as President of Zambia, but also in other positions he held in the public- and private-sector.

President Banda delivered some informal comments at a dinner in his honor, where he was joined by Ambassador Judith K. K. Kangoma-Kapijimpanga, Zambian High Commissioner to Tanzania. He also paid a courtesy visit to Vice Chancellor Professor Rwekaza Mukandala, as well as other top university officials.

To conclude his short-term residency, President Banda met with His Excellency Jakaya Kikwete, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, who welcomed the former Zambian president to Tanzania.



HIS EXCELLENCY RUPIAH BWEZANI BANDA  
*African Presidential Center's Eighth President-in-Residence*



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Newsletter of the African Presidential Center  
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**Director**

Ambassador Charles R. Stith

**Program Development Manager**

Verity Norman

**Project Coordinator**

Kisha Wilson

**President-in-Residence Attache**

Myriam Michel

**Photography**

Don West - Boston, MA

Horace Henry - Atlanta, GA

Kesha Williams - Elizabeth City, NC

Paul Koutanyi - Accra, Ghana

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Ramadhan Kitwana - Dar es Salaam, Tanzania



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Phone: +1-617-353-5452

Email: [vnorman@bu.edu](mailto:vnorman@bu.edu)



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