

integrated plan for the area. The AWF took the lead in this process and produced both a business plan and a compelling scheme designed by Rem Koolhaas. Financing the infrastructure for the development was very high. To cover this cost would have meant that all proposed office development be located on the banks of the Ij. This did not happen, as the market had already discovered the south side of the city. In 1994, the public–private partnership collapsed. The project proved too intense, had too great a financial risk, and would take too long to implement. Political fragmentation, board arguments and the downward demand for financial office space finally finished the AWF. After a brief period of reflection, the city took the initiative and passed a strategic memorandum entitled "Anchors of the Ij" in 1995.