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PAGE 01 ORIGIN AF-01		STATE	ATE 150411 061747Z			RELEASED.	
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DRAFTED BY: AF/C: KCAISTON APPROVED BY: AF/C: AXRENDER

AF/C: DPRAWSON AF/C: RJFENDRICK

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ARABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA AMEMBASSY NAIROBI AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

#### CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 150411 0617472 CONFIDENTIAL STATE 150411

YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL PGOV PHUM PREF MOPS RW

SUBJECT: AF/C PRESSES GOR AND RPF REPS

- 1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.
- 2. SUMMARY. IN SEPARATE MEETINGS WITH GOR AMBASSADOR UWIMANA AND RPF REP GAHIMA ON JUNE 2 AND 3, AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER AND AMBASSADOR RAWSON CALLED ON BOTH SIDES TO AGREE TO AN IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE AND URGED UWIMANA TO STOP THE KILLING OF CIVILIANS BEHIND GOR LINES. RENDER AND RAWSON OUTLINED OUR EFFORTS TO EXPEDITE THE EXPANSION

OF UNAMIR, AND UWIMANA AND GAHIMA REAFFIRMED THE GOR AND RPF'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE EXPANDED UNAMIR MISSION. RENDER TOLD UWIMANA THE GOR MUST COOPERATE WITH THE UN EFFORT TO EVACUATE THREATENED CIVILIANS, AND RAWSON PROTESTED TO GAHIMA CONCERNING RECENT ATTACKS ON UNAMIR AND AID WORKERS WHICH APPEARED TO ORIGINATE FROM RPF-HELD AREAS. UWIMANA CLAIMED THAT, EXCEPT FOR ISOLATED INCIDENTS, THE GOVERNMENT HAD BROUGHT THE KILLINGS BEHIND GOR LINES TO A HALT. HE SAID THE GOVERNMENT WANTED A CEASE-FIRE, BUT RPF PRECONDITIONS MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE. UWIMANA CLAIMED THE GOVERNMENT WAS STILL OPERATING IN GITARAMA. END SUMMARY

MEETING WITH UWIMANA

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03

STATE 150411 061747Z

3. AMB. UWIMANA REQUESTED THE JUNE 2 MEETING WITH AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER TO DISCUSS LATEST EVENTS IN RWANDA. HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY EMBASSY COUNSELOR BONIFACE KARANI. RENDER WAS JOINED BY AMB. RAWSON AND DESKOFF AISTON.

# KILLINGS MUST STOP

- 4. RENDER REPEATED OUR DEMAND THAT THE KILLINGS OF CIVILIANS BEHIND GOR LINES MUST STOP IMMEDIATELY. UWIMANA SAID HE HAD REPORTED THIS DEMAND TO THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND CLAIMED THAT, EXCEPT FOR ISOLATED INCIDENTS, THE GOVERNMENT HAD BROUGHT THE KILLINGS TO A HALT. HE SAID THE REPORTED "INCIDENT" NEAR GITARAMA (AT KABGAYI, WHERE 500 CIVILIANS MAY HAVE BEEN KILLED) HAS NOT BEEN VERIFIED. IF THE RPF ATTACKS THIS AREA, HE WARNED THAT THE GOR SOLDIERS WHO ARE "GUARDING" THE CIVILIAN ENCLAVE AT KABGAYI WOULD HAVE TO ABANDON THEM TO BATTLE THE REBELS.
- 5. RENDER RAISED THE REPORTS OF CONTINUED KILLINGS IN CYANGUGU AND REPEATED OUR DEMAND THAT THE KILLINGS MUST STOP, AND MUST STOP NOW. SHE SAID THE MILITARY IS RESPONSIBLE FOR WHAT THE MILITIAS ARE DOING AND THAT THEY COULD STOP THE MILITIAS IF THEY WANTED TO. RENDER ADDED THAT EACH SIDE MUST DO SOMETHING TO ACHIEVE A CEASE-FIRE AND, IN THE GOR'S CASE, THAT MEANS STOPPING THE KILLING OF CIVILIANS.

URGENT NEED FOR CEASE-FIRE CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 150411 061747Z

- 6. RENDER EMPHASIZED THE URGENT NEED FOR AN IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE SO THAT NEGOTIATIONS COULD RESUME. SHE CALLED ON BOTH SIDES TO DO THE MAXIMUM TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT ON A CEASE-FIRE.
- 7. UWIMANA REPLIED THAT HE HAS ALWAYS STRESSED THE NEED FOR A CEASE-FIRE. HE SAID THE GOR WAS READY TO NEGOTIATE AND WOULD ACCEPT A CEASE-FIRE IF THE RPF DOES NOT IMPOSE IMPOSSIBLE CONDITIONS, SUCH AS ABOLITION OF THE PRESIDENTIAL GUARD OR DISSOLUTION OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT. HOWEVER, UWIMANA SAID THE RPF IS UNWILLING TO TALK, AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS NOT PUT ENOUGH PRESSURE ON THEM TO DO SO. HE COMPLAINED THAT THE PRESS SEEMS TO PREFER AN RPF VICTORY. AN RPF VICTORY, IN UWIMANA'S VIEW, WOULD LEAD TO ANOTHER CAMBODIA.

RPF CAN'T WIN; INTERIM GOVT. HAS NOT FLED; FM TO TUNIS

- 8. THE GOR DOES NOT BELIEVE THE RPF CAN WIN A MILITARY VICTORY. THE WAR WILL CONTINUE IF NO CEASE-FIRE IS AGREED TO. THE MAJORITY CANNOT ACCEPT BEING RULED BY THE MINORITY, AND THEY ARE NOT GOING TO FLEE TO BURUNDI, UGANDA, OR SOME OTHER COUNTRY.
- 9. CONTRADICTING PRESS REPORTS THAT GOR MINISTERS HAVE FLED TO KIBUYE AND ELSEWHERE, UWIMANA CLAIMED THAT THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT IS STILL IN GITARAMA. HE SAID THEY WOULD NOT LEAVE GITARAMA, EXCEPT TO RETURN TO KIGALI. CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 150411 061747Z

10. UWIMANA REPORTED THAT INTERIM GOVERNMENT FOREIGN MINISTER BICAMUMPAKA WAS TRAVELING TO TUNIS THAT SAME DAY TO ATTEND THE OAU SUMMIT. HE SAID THAT THE FM MIGHT HAVE MEETINGS ON THE MARGINS OF THE SUMMIT IN AN EFFORT TO RESOLVE THE CRISIS.

EXPANDED UNAMIR OPERATION DISCUSSED

- 11. UWIMANA ASKED FOR A BRIEFING ON ACTIVITY IN THE UN. RENDER DISCUSSED THE TRIPS TO NEW YORK BY THE USG INTERAGENCY TEAM AND SAID THAT THE SYG'S REPORT WAS EXPECTED TO COME OUT THAT WEEK (IT WAS RELEASED LATER THAT DAY). SHE TOLD UWIMANA THAT A NEW RESOLUTION WOULD FOLLOW SHORTLY THEREAFTER. SHE ADDED THAT THE UN IS IN THE PROCESS OF OBTAINING THE NECESSARY EQUIPMENT FOR THE EXPANDED UNAMIR DEPLOYMENT.
- 12. UWIMANA SAID HE WANTED THE U.S. TO SUPPORT THE UN EFFORT. RAWSON ASSURED UWIMANA THAT WE ARE IN THE LEAD ON THE EFFORT TO EXPAND UNAMIR. WE HAVE OFFERED APC'S AND HAVE EXPRESSED OUR GENERAL WILLINGNESS TO PROVIDE OTHER EQUIPMENT AND AIRLIFT. HE SAID WE ARE TRYING TO FIND THE FASTEST WAY TO GET THE APC'S ON THE GROUND.

UWIMANA: WHOSE SIDE ARE YOU ON?

13. UWIMANA SAID THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT THE USG FAVORED THE RPF. HE POINTED TO CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 150411 061747Z

THE USG'S SUPPORT FOR DRAWING DOWN UNAMIR IN APRIL AND
SAID THERE WAS A PERCEPTION THAT THE U.S. WAS HOLDING UP
DEPLOYMENT OF THE EXPANDED UNAMIR FORCE.

- 14. RAWSON REPLIED THAT WE HAVE NEVER ACCEPTED THE RPF'S POSITION THAT THEIR DEMANDS JUSTIFIED MILITARY ACTION. WE ARE IN REGULAR CONTACT WITH THEM AND HAVE URGED THEM TO AGREE TO AN IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE. AS FOR UNAMIR, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAD NO CHOICE BUT TO SUPPORT A DRAWDOWN IN APRIL; THE FORCE HAD BEEN COMPOSED AND EQUIPPED AND GIVEN A MANDATE TO OPERATE IN THE PERMISSIVE ENVIRONMENT THAT PREVAILED AFTER THE PEACE ACCORDS WERE SIGNED; GIVEN THE DRAMATIC CHANGE IN CIRCUMSTANCES, IT JUST WASN'T POSSIBLE TO KEEP THEM THERE SAFELY. RAWSON EXPLAINED TO UWIMANA THAT WE WERE NOT BLOCKING THE SUBSEQUENT DECISION TO EXPAND THE OPERATION, AS HIS GOVERNMENT SEEMED TO BELIEVE; RATHER, WE WERE ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN HELPING THE UN DEVELOP A VIABLE CONCEPT OF OPERATION THAT WOULD HELP ENSURE THAT THE NEW HUMANITARIAN MISSION WAS A SUCCESS.
- 15. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM DESKOFF, UWIMANA REAFFIRMED THAT THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT ACCEPTS THE EXPANDED UNAMIR OPERATION AND WILL COOPERATE WITH THE FORCE. DESKOFF NOTED THAT THE UN WAS EXAMINING VARIOUS

OPTIONS FOR BRINGING IN THE TROOPS, INCLUDING CROSS-BORDER FROM NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES. UWIMANA VIEWED THIS AS MERELY A MATTER OF PRACTICALITY AND LOGISTICS AND DID NOT SEE A PROBLEM WITH IT.

EVACUATION OF CIVILIANS

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 07 STATE 150411 061747Z

- 16. RENDER SAID OUR EFFORTS TO FACILITATE EVACUATION OF THE CIVILIANS TRAPPED AT THE MILLE COLLINES HOTEL AND OTHER PLACES OF REFUGE WAS CONTINUING. SHE REGRETTED THAT THE UN HAD TO SUSPEND THE OPERATION FOLLOWING THE DEATH OF ONE OF ITS SOLDIERS AND SAID WE WANTED TO SEE THE OPERATION RESUMED WITH THE FULL COOPERATION OF BOTH SIDES.
- 17. UWIMANA CLAIMED THAT UN "DISCRIMINATION" TORPEDOED THE INITIAL ATTEMPT TO EVACUATE THE MILLE COLLINES. HE SAID THE UN HAD A LIST OF 60 INDIVIDUALS THAT VARIOUS EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WANTED EVACUATED FROM THE HOTEL. UWIMANA SAID THE UN SEEMED TO WANT TO EVACUATE TUTSIS TO SAFETY, BUT NOT HUTUS. RENDER NOTED THAT ALL WILL BE EVACUATED FROM THE HOTEL TO THEIR CHOSEN DESTINATION.

GAHIMA MEETING

18. AF HAD SEVERAL POINTS WE WISHED TO CONVEY URGENTLY TO RPF COMMANDER KAGAME. AFTER ATTEMPTS TO CONTACT HIM BY SATELLITE PHONE FAILED, AF/C (RENDER, RAWSON, AND AISTON) CONVOKED RPF REP GERALD GAHIMA TO THE DEPARTMENT ON JUNE 3 TO DELIVER THE POINTS AND ASKED THAT THEY BE COMMUNICATED TO RPF LEADERSHIP. GAHIMA SAID THAT IF THE DEPARTMENT WISHES TO CONTACT THE RPF LEADERSHIP DIRECTLY, THE RPF WOULD PREFER THAT THE USG SPEAK TO CHAIRMAN KANYARENGWE, NOT KAGAME.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 08 STATE 150411 061747Z

CEASE-FIRE URGED; UNAMIR EXPANSION DISCUSSED

19. RAWSON OPENED THE MEETING BY HANDING GAHIMA A

NON-PAPER CONTAINING OUR POINTS (TEXT IN PARA. 26).
RAWSON STRESSED THE URGENT NEED FOR A CEASE-FIRE AND SAID
THE RPF OFFENSIVE WAS DISPLACING HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS,
CAUSING TREMENDOUS HUMAN SUFFERING. HE ADDED THAT A
CEASE-FIRE WOULD ALLOW CIVILIANS IN THREATENED ENCLAVES
TO MOVE OR BE EVACUATED TO SAFETY. RENDER REINFORCED
THESE POINTS AND NOTED THAT, NO MATTER WHAT HAPPENS
MILITARILY, BOTH SIDES WILL HAVE TO SIT DOWN AND
NEGOTIATE; IT WOULD BE BETTER TO DO THIS SOONER RATHER
THAN LATER.

- 20. GAHIMA SAID HE WOULD CONVEY THIS MESSAGE, BUT THAT THE RPF'S POSITION IS UNCHANGED: THEY ARE NOT READY TO ACCEPT AN UNCONDITIONAL CEASE-FIRE. RENDER REPLIED THAT IT IS UP TO THE PARTIES TO DECIDE WHAT CONDITIONS ARE APPROPRIATE; HOWEVER, IF THE RPF INTENDS TO SEEK CONDITIONS, THEY MUST BE REALISTIC CONDITIONS.
- 21. RAWSON REVIEWED OUR WORK WITH THE UN TO EXPEDITE DEPLOYMENT OF THE EXPANDED UNAMIR HUMANITARIAN OPERATION AND SAID WE WANTED TO SEE THE CLOSEST POSSIBLE COOPERATION BETWEEN UNAMIR AND THE COMBATANTS. GAHIMA SAID THE RPF POSITION ON THE EXPANDED UNAMIR MISSION HAS NOT CHANGED. THEY HAVE SENT THE DEPLOYMENT PROPOSALS TO RWANDA FOR REVIEW BUT DO NOT EXPECT ANY PROBLEM. THE U.S./UN PLAN TO PROTECT THREATENED CIVILIAN POPULATIONS CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 09 STATE 150411 061747Z IS THE TYPE OF MISSION THE RPF WANTS TO SEE.

PROTEST OVER ATTACKS ON UNAMIR, AID WORKERS, CIVILIANS

22. RAWSON DECRIED THE RECENT KILLING OF A UNAMIR SOLDIER AND NOTED THAT THE SHOT SEEMED TO HAVE COME FROM RPF TERRITORY. HE RECALLED THE RPF'S PAST COOPERATION WITH UNAMIR AND URGED THEM TO RESPECT THE OPERATION AND SEE THAT IT DOES NOT COME UNDER FIRE. HE INFORMED GAHIMA OF REPORTS FROM INTERNATIONAL RELIEF WORKERS THAT THE RPF HAD MADE ATTACKS ON RELIEF EFFORTS AND DEMANDED THAT THE RPF INVESTIGATE THIS AND NOT ALLOW IT TO HAPPEN AGAIN. GAHIMA SAID HE WAS UNAWARE OF SUCH ATTACKS AND ASKED FOR DETAILS. DESKOFF MENTIONED ATTACKS IN KIGALI NEAR THE WFP WAREHOUSE AND OTHER INCIDENTS. GAHIMA ASKED THAT THE RPF BE INFORMED IMMEDIATELY OF ANY SUCH INCIDENTS SO THEY COULD INVESTIGATE. AF/C AGREED TO DO SO AND NOTED THAT RELIEF AGENCIES WOULD HAVE COMPLAINED CONTEMPORANEOUSLY ON THE GROUND, PROBABLY THROUGH UNAMIR.

23. DEPTOFFS DEPLORED THE KILLINGS OF CIVILIANS BY EITHER SIDE. RAWSON URGED THE RPF TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO PROTECT CIVILIANS IN THE AREAS THEY CONTROL. HE SAID WE HAD TOLD INTERIM GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS THAT WE CONSIDERED THEM PERSONALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR KILLINGS BEHIND GOR LINES, AND THAT THE SAME HOLDS TRUE FOR THE RPF WITH RESPECT TO KILLINGS IN THE RPF ZONE.

HUMANITARIAN SITUATION DISCUSSED

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 10

STATE 150411 061747Z

- 24. GAHIMA ESTIMATED THAT 600,000 PERSONS HAD BEEN DISPLACED IN THE RPF-HELD TERRITORY AND ANOTHER 1.5 MILLION, WHILE STILL IN THEIR HOMES, NEEDED SOME FORM OF HUMANITARIAN AID. HE COMPLAINED THAT THE HUMANITARIAN SITUATION IN THE RPF ZONE WAS MUCH WORSE THAN IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS IN TANZANIA BUT WAS NOT RECEIVING ADEQUATE ATTENTION.
- 25. RENDER FIRST POINTED OUT THAT OFDA'S KATE FARNSWORTH HAD ATTENDED A MEETING OF NGO'S IN MULINDI HOSTED BY THE RPF. SHE THEN EXPLAINED THAT PART OF THE PROBLEM WITH DELIVERING AID WITHIN RWANDA IS THE LACK OF SECURITY, PARTICULARLY IN THE KIGALI AREA. THIS WAS JUST ANOTHER REASON WHY IT WAS IMPORTANT TO PUT A CEASE-FIRE IN PLACE. GAHIMA REPLIED THAT THE FACT RELIEF WORKERS MAY HAVE BEEN ATTACKED IN KIGALI DOES NOT MEAN THEY CANNOT SAFELY WORK IN OTHER AREAS. RAWSON POINTED OUT THAT WE HAD JUST HELD A MEETING WITH PVO'S AND HE HAD ENCOURAGED THEM TO GO INTO AREAS WHERE THERE WAS SUFFICIENT SECURITY AND SUGGESTED, IN PARTICULAR, RPF-HELD AREAS. HE NOTED THAT OUR DART TEAM WAS IN THE REGION AND ITS LEADER, KATE FARNSWORTH, WAS WILLING TO RETURN TO RWANDA.

TEXT OF NON-PAPER

26. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF NON-PAPER DELIVERED TO GAHIMA:

BEGIN TEXT

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 11 STATE 150411 061747Z

- -- WE NOTE THAT YOU MET WITH GOR FORCES AGAIN YESTERDAY, UNDER UN AUSPICES, AND THAT THERE ARE PLANS TO MEET AGAIN. WE URGE YOU TO AGREE TO AN IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE.
- -- A CEASE-FIRE IS THE BEST WAY TO SAVE INNOCENT LIVES AND PREVENT A HUMANITARIAN DISASTER OF EVEN GREATER PROPORTIONS.
- -- THE RPF'S CONTINUING MILITARY ADVANCE IS PUTTING TREMENDOUS PRESSURE ON POPULATIONS BEHIND GOR LINES. WE UNDERSTAND AS MANY AS 2 MILLION PEOPLE MAY BE ON THE ROAD FROM GITARAMA TO BUTARE, FLEEING IN ADVANCE OF THE RPF OFFENSIVE.
- -- THE UPROOTING OF HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF ADDITIONAL CIVILIANS WILL ONLY INCREASE THE ENORMOUS HUMAN SUFFERING IN RWANDA.
- -- THE CONTINUED FIGHTING ALSO PUTS AT GREAT RISK THE ENCLAVES OF CIVILIANS. AS THE RPF ADVANCES, THE EXTREMIST MILITIAS AND THUGS BEHIND GOR LINES MAY INTENSIFY THEIR ATTACKS ON THESE SURVIVING ENCLAVES OUT OF DESPERATION AND REVENGE.
- -- WE ARE WORKING CLOSELY WITH THE UN TO FINALIZE PLANNING ON THE EXPANDED UNAMIR HUMANITARIAN OPERATION IN ORDER TO EXPEDITE DEPLOYMENT. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WILL DO WHAT IT CAN TO PROTECT THESE THREATENED GROUPS, BUT THE FASTEST WAY TO REMOVE THEM FROM IMMEDIATE DANGER IS TO AGREE TO A CEASE-FIRE NOW.

#### CONFIDENTIAL

- PAGE 12 STATE 150411 061747Z

  -- WE ARE DEEPLY DISTURBED BY THE DEATH OF ANOTHER
  UNAMIR SOLDIER, WHO, WE UNDERSTAND, WAS KILLED BY RPF
  FIRE. THIS CAUSED THE UN TO SUSPEND ITS OPERATION TO
  EVACUATE, FROM THE KIGALI REGION, THREATENED CIVILIANS
  UNDER UN PROTECTION. UNAMIR IS NOW EVALUATING WHETHER
  ITS FORCES ARE BEING TARGETED BY ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER.
- -- WE ALSO WERE INFORMED THAT ANOTHER UNAMIR VEHICLE WAS RECENTLY SHOT AT AND THAT THE SHOTS MAY HAVE COME FROM AN RPF HELD AREA. THESE ATTACKS ARE HINDERING THE EVACUATION OF THREATENED CIVILIANS AND MUST STOP IMMEDIATELY.
- -- WE URGE THE RPF TO COOPERATE FULLY WITH UNAMIR AND TO ENSURE THAT UNAMIR DOES NOT COME UNDER FIRE, SO THAT IT

CAN CARRY OUT ITS HUMANITARIAN MISSION TO HELP PROTECT/EVACUATE THREATENED CIVILIAN GROUPS.

- -- WE ARE DEEPLY DISTURBED BY A RECENT REPORT FROM HUMANITARIAN RELIEF SOURCES THAT THE RPF MAY HAVE SPECIFICALLY TARGETED HUMANITARIAN MISSIONS FOR ATTACK.
- -- WE APPRECIATE THE RPF'S PAST COOPERATION WITH HUMANITARIAN RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS AND HOPE THESE REPORTS ARE UNFOUNDED. WE INSIST THAT THE RPF DO EVERYTHING IT CAN TO FACILITATE HUMANITARIAN RELIEF EFFORTS.
- -- WE ARE DEEPLY DISTURBED BY REPORTS OF RPF ATTACKS ON CIVILIANS. THE RPF MUST ENSURE THAT NO SUCH ATTACKS OCCUR AND THAT ANY AND ALL GUILTY PARTIES ARE HELD FULLY ACCOUNTABLE.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 13

STATE

150411 061747Z

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CONFIDENTIAL

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